

An exploration of the person-related markers in finite synthetic verbs in C16 Basque

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE THESIS

ABL	ablative
ABS	absolute
ACC	accusative
ALLOC	allocutive
ALLAT	allative
AUX	auxiliary
Bq	Basque
C	consonant
COMP	complementizer
DAT	dative
DEF	definite
DET	determiner
ERG	ergative
F	feminine
FLAG	(dative) flag
Fr	French
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperative
INDF	indefinite
INS	instrumental
INTR	intransitive
IPFV	imperfective
LOC	locative
M	masculine
MOD	modal
NEG	negative
PARTIT	partitive
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PRS	present
PST	past
PTCP	participle
PROS	prospective
Q	question particle/marker
RAD	radical
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
RELAT	relational
SG	singular
Sp	Spanish
SUBJ	subject
TR	transitive
V	vowel
V+AUX	Non-finite verb + auxiliary, commonly called ‘periphrastic’ in the literature on Basque

**AN EXPLORATION OF THE PERSON-RELATED MARKERS IN FINITE SYNTHETIC VERBS
IN SIXTEENTH CENTURY BASQUE**

ABSTRACT

From an examination of the emergence of Batua, dialect classification, the relationship of sixteenth century Basque to Batua, two sets of sixteenth century sources, the thesis contends that, over the last half-millennium, Basque has changed to a greater extent than generally acknowledged. Semantic, aspectual, syntactic, phonological and morphological change is illustrated, showing how different sources reflect different stages of key transitions. Investigation of the morphosyntax of sixteenth century person-related markers contrasts patterns of distribution, positioning, pleonasm and omission with those of the modern language. Indexing between pre- and post-root features suggests a history of serial verbs, or possibly root suppletion; in particular the shift from sixteenth century predominantly pre-root (where they exist) to the modern overwhelmingly post-root positioning of dative flags lends weight to the contention that Basque might have transitioned from a language with previously greater pre-inflective typology than the overwhelmingly post-inflective language of today. Sixteenth century intermediate forms permit insights into an earlier history of reanalysis and repurposing and suggest foci for future research.

CHAPTER ONE

PRELIMINARIES

1.1 THE SCOPE, AIMS AND APPROACHES OF THE THESIS

The thesis investigates the patterns, trends and variations manifested by person-related markers in the finite synthetic verb reflexes of sixteenth century Basque. It draws comparisons with the modern language and explores the implications of the sixteenth century findings for the earlier historical picture.

The thesis contextualizes its aims through thumbnail grammatical sketches (Chapter Two) reviewing the emergence of Batua (modern unified Basque), dialect classification, the relationship of sixteenth century Basque to Batua and an overview of the pre-sixteenth century record (Chapter Three, **3.1**). Two sets of sixteenth century texts are examined. The first (Chapter Three) comprises those extensively investigated, at least throughout the past century: Etxepare, Leizarraga, Garibai and *Refranes y Sentencias* (henceforth *RS*). The second (Chapter Four) is a selection of lesser investigated texts, complementing the first by narrative type and provenance: the Lazarraga manuscript, the Zumarraga letter, two poems from Oñati and a compilation of High Navarrese items. Chapter Five presents a synthesis examining the behaviour of person-related markers from across the texts. Chapter Six, draws together threads from across the thesis, including reflections on syntactic phenomena, e.g., word order in negative polarity clauses and embedded clause formation. According to Salaberry (2021, p. 2) ‘the diachronic development of Basque negation remains largely understudied and poorly understood, as indeed do other aspects of Basque diachronic syntax’, an area which provides worthwhile material towards consideration of the respects in which Basque, over the last 500 years, has not conformed to its conservative reputation, and illustration of transitions in progress during the sixteenth century. Finally, it explores implications, arising from the markers investigated, for the earlier history of the language and proposes directions for future research to evaluate and extend the findings of the present thesis.

1.2 MARKER TYPES INVESTIGATED

Person markers, pluralizers, dative flags and the marking of allocutivity are investigated in respect of variants, distribution, positioning, pleonasm, and omission. Theories on the genesis of ergative fronting/displacement, discussed extensively in the literature, are briefly reviewed (Chapter Two, 2.3.6); constituting a weighty topic in their own right, they are not a prime focus of the thesis.

1.3 TERMINOLOGY CHOICES

The nomenclature of DP cases and of verb paradigms varies significantly between writers on Basque, reflecting facets of linguistic thinking in different times and milieux. Lafon sees the pre-root person marker of intransitive and non-ergative-fronted transitive reflexes as encoding the subject, the ergative post-root marker encoding the agent of a passive construction, elucidating *nacar* as ‘*je suis amené par lui*’ ‘I am brought by him/her/it’ (1944, p. 372, vol. 1) rather than the currently preferred ‘s/he, it brings me’ according with the concept of ergativity; some French grammarians use ‘elative’ (Trask, 1997, p. 93), uncomfortably close to allative, for the ablative desinence. The nomenclature used in this thesis is centrally that of Trask (1997 pp. 92 - 94 for DP cases; pp. 104 - 105 for verb paradigms).

Terminology for the 2nd person modes of address, for reasons of consistency and comparability between sources, maps to their modern semantic scope: 2INTIMATE *hiketa*; 2FORMAL *zuketa*, spanning most singular contexts; 2INTERMEDIATE *xuketa* of singular reference and intermediate familiarity, confined to a few Eastern varieties; 2PL *zueketa* and the occasionally encountered morphosyntactically 3rd person 2.HONORIFIC *beroriketa*. Where contextually desirable, forms are elucidated, e.g., as ‘2FORMAL as PL’ to reflect earlier usage, persisting e.g., in Garibai and *RS*: different sources capture different stages of the semantic scope shift as the older generic singular, *hiketa* progressed towards a constrained intimate role, the older plural *zuketa* towards generalized singular reference, also providing the basis for the development of the more recently formed plural *zueketa*.

1.4 TEXTUAL REFERENCES

As with terminology, the numerical referencing of the texts has followed different conventions. Some investigators, e.g., Lafon, reference Etxepare and the works of Leizarraga other than the New Testament, using the original notation: an alphabetical letter applying to a group of pages followed by an explicit or implicit lower case Roman numeral denoting page number, r or v according to side, finally a line number, counting from the page top.

With Etxepare, the more recently established convention, used in the Basque Academy's multilingual edition (1995) and throughout the works of Altuna (e.g. 1987) is to designate each of the 15 poems by an upper case Roman numeral and to number lines continuously throughout each poem, poem number followed by line number, the two separated by a comma, e.g., III,56: the thesis follows this convention.

With Leizarraga, New Testament references are provided by Chapter and verse, relating specifically to Leizarraga's translation unless otherwise stated e.g., where material from a modern translation is cited to illustrate a point of comparison between sixteenth century Basque and Batua. The other, associated works of Leizarraga are referenced by providing the page number from the primary source consulted (Leizarraga et al., 1990) and the sixteenth century alphanumeric reference in square brackets, followed where appropriate by the line number counting from the top of the specific side, e.g. (Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 1395, [Abc A 3r], 4).

Garibai's proverbs are notated according to their provenance and number, following Urquijo (1919), as detailed in Chapter Three. Line references for Garibai's other works follow those of Mitxelena's *Textos Arcaicos Vascos* (1964). The numbering of items in *RS* is well-established (e.g. as in Lakarra Andrinua, 1996).

Various referencing systems have been applied to the Lazarraga text. The convention adopted in this thesis is to cite the facsimile page number from Urkizu (2004), specifying the side as r or v, column R or L where applicable, the item (e.g. poem, *loa* playlet) number in Roman numerals followed by line number continuous through the item as in Urkizu's

transcription (2004), e.g. f. 42v L, XVIII,121. With the pastoral novel, presented without numerical referencing, line number is established by counting from the top of the relevant side of the facsimile and the reference begins with P, e.g. P, f. 11r,7. Transcription departs from the modern orthographic conventions applied in Urkizu (2004). The aim has been to follow the manuscript closely, adhering to its diacritics (including where arguably superfluous), punctuation, capital letters and word boundaries. Where word boundaries positioning differs from that of the modern language, usually by attachment, sometimes a gap, the two letters between which the modern boundary would fall, or those flanking a gap are underlined.

The line numbering of the longest of the High Navarrese tests, *Elegía de Juan de Amendux*, follows that of Mitxelena.

For the Oñati poetry, the transcription followed, in conjunction with the facsimile, is that of Ros Cuba and Irijoa Cortés;¹ linebreaks are respected, including when they fall within phrases. Line numbering has been added, denoting the lines of the first poem as I.1- I.19 and those of the second as II.1- II.9.

The line numbering of the Zumarraga letter varies across sources. The reference source for the text is Tovar, Mitxelena and Otte (1980), but to obviate the problem of the 18th line being designated 10, the numbering used is that of Sarasola (1983).

1.5 PROPER NAMES, ORTHOGRAPHY AND SIBILANTS

Representations of Basque firstnames and surnames vary considerably. Romance and Basque counterparts can differ beyond recognition, e.g. Mitxelena's first name appears as *Luis* or *Koldo*. Surnames can have variants calqued on Romance structures, in addition to orthographic discrepancies, Trask (1997, pp. xxi–xxii) describing as 'a bibliographer's nightmare' the representations of the surname of the first published Basque author:

¹ available at, cf ('*Ene lastan gozo ederra...*', 2020)

Etxepare, Etchepare, Detchepare, Detxepare, Dechepare and *Etxeparekoa*, having ‘found no principled solution to the problem’ of selecting from among variants, other than to choose the most widely used or arbitrarily decide between equally used contenders.

Throughout this thesis, not without misgiving and without any claim to an optimal solution, modern orthographical conventions are used in representing the names of sixteenth century and more recent writers. To facilitate the traceability of works cited, however, the orthography represented in individual works is conserved in references: while this practice inevitably results in conjunctions of different conventions within the text e.g. modern *Leizarraga* vs sixteenth century *Leiçarraga*, modern *Mitxelena* vs *Michelena*, it permits the reader to access literature spanning more than a century, featuring a range of orthographical conventions. Other than when referencing, modern orthographic representations support searches for recent writings and those yet to come from vasconist investigators from the Basque Country and elsewhere.

Throughout, the orthographic conventions of Batua are used, more closely and consistently approaching a one grapheme – one phoneme correspondence than those of the sixteenth century, furthermore, varying between sources. Where verb citation forms vary within the texts, or those deduced in the literature, the variants are represented in the thesis e.g., *ebili/ibili* ‘walk, go about’, *uk(h)en/*edun* ‘have’, in order to represent Continental and a Peninsular variation, *ukan* featuring additionally in Leizarraga. The sixteenth century representation of sibilants is problematical. Modern orthographical convention represents the laminal sibilant as *z* and the apical as *s*. In sixteenth century, by contrast, not only is there discrepancy between sources as to their representation, but not infrequently inconsistency within a single source. A dilemma in respect of how to represent sibilants can be inferred from Etxepare’s brief guidance at the outset of his work, which uses *c*, *ç*, *z*, *s* and *ss*. Both *c* and *ç*, in the context of Etxepare’s note, map to modern *z*, representing the laminal sibilant, *c* also corresponding to Batua *k* when preceding *a*, *o*, *u* or a consonant, e.g. *creatu* ‘create’ (1,3) cf Batua *kreatu*. Etxepare sets apart the sound he represents by *z* (see Chapter Two, 2.3.5) and does not mention the apical sibilant represented as *s*, yet insight into his rationale for the use of *s* vs *ss* might be illuminating.

Insofar as possible, the thesis consults facsimiles of earliest known versions as its primary sources in preference to modern orthographical transcripts. Therefore, as is the case with proper names, there are points at which the thesis text refers to, e.g., *z* in conjunction with an example which has *ç*, *c* or *z*. The demarcation of apparent word boundaries within the source material is respected, including in cases where they depart from modern practice. In particular, the participle and finite verb of a periphrastic V+AUX group not infrequently appear as a single wordform e.g., *ygortendu* 's/he, it sends (it) forth' (Etxepare I,235) vs Batua *igortzen du*.

CHAPTER TWO

THUMBNAIL GRAMMATICAL SKETCHES OF BASQUE

2.1 THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN UNIFIED BASQUE: *EUSKERA BATUA*

2.1.1 The quest for a standard — its roots and development

The quest for a standard written form of Basque dates at least to the earliest published texts. This need is rooted in two major factors: first, a written form determined by the individual accorded the language little status by which to assert its presence alongside languages used as official instruments of civic life; second, the magnitude of varietal differences, has, throughout the known history of the language, to a greater or lesser extent impeded inter-dialect communication.

The genesis of Basque publication, against the backdrop of France's prominence in European book production during the first half of the sixteenth century and the Renaissance drive for the civic use of vernacular languages, provided a new platform for the enhancement of communication between varieties. The opportunity was not lost on Leizarraga, who wove Navarrese and Zuberoan elements into a Lapurdian base (Lafon, 1944, pp. 61–63, vol. 1) in his 1571 translation of the New Testament and associated religious texts, the second known published work in Basque, making explicit in a preface his quest to make his translation accessible to the widest possible audience, i.e. throughout those parts of the Basque Country in which Calvinism was officially established. Leizarraga's attempt at standardization, however, 'died out along with Basque Calvinism' (Hualde & Zuazo, 2007, p. 146).

The impetus for a standard remained undaunted: the Counter-Reformation saw the establishment of the 'Classical Lapurdian School' (Hualde & Zuazo, 2007, p. 146), fuelled by Axular's 1643 masterpiece on procrastination: *Gero* 'later' (Trask, 1997, p. 48), heralding diversification of subject matter, for instance Oihenart's poetry and proverbs, technical treatises on navigation and farming. In the Continental Basque Country, the language growing in prestige, non-native speakers were learning and writing in it (Trask, 1997, p. 48). By the mid-eighteenth century, 'moderately standardized versions' of the four 'literary

dialects' (Bizkaian, Gipuzkoan, Lapurdian, to a lesser extent, Zuberoan) had arisen (Trask, 1997, p. 48). Publication having developed later and more slowly in the Peninsula, the aftermath of the French Revolution (1789-1799) suppressed Basque in the Continental area. The Continental-Peninsular equilibrium reversed, the 'literary centre of gravity' shifting to increasingly prosperous Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa (Trask, 1997, p. 49).

The thrust engendering modern 'Unified Basque', (*Euskera*) *Batua* (henceforth *Batua*), persisted for more than a century, manifest from endeavours such as the guidance on spelling and pronunciation in Chaho's 1856 Basque-French-Spanish-Latin dictionary and Bonaparte's orthography principled on phoneme-grapheme correspondence (1869).

Orthographical standardisation was the first, most lengthily deliberated focus in the evolution of *Batua* and theme of major conferences, starting with that convened in Hendaia (Fr Hendaye) in 1901, headed by the Bizkaian priest and incumbent of the first chair of Basque in Bilbo (Sp Bilbao), Resurrección María de Azkue (Trask, 1997, p. 58), leading to the founding of *Eskualzaleen Biltzarra* 'The Assembly of Vascophiles'. Bitter dissent hampered progress, not least from Sabino Arana Goiri, who coined an orthography 'stuffed with pointless and highly inconvenient diacritics' and an alphabet, the *agaka* with idiosyncratic sequencing (Trask, 1997, p. 60), opposing the concept of a unified language and pressing for an individual standard for each province, notwithstanding the lack of coincidence between isoglosses and provincial boundaries (Hualde & Zuazo, 2007, p. 147). From its forerunner *Eskualzaleen Biltzarra* the *Euskaltzaindia*, the Royal Basque Language Academy was established in 1918. Azkue, its first president, convening the first congress for Basque Studies that same year, proposed that standard Basque assume the form of *Gipuzkera Osotua* 'Completed Gipuzkoan' incorporating elements from other dialects (Trask, 1997, p. 61).

Opposing views continued. The alphabet agreed in 1920 was met with some dissent from Continental Basques, keen to continue their use of aspirated *h*. Debate over which dialect should form the basis of the new standard continued, a majority favouring Gipuzkoan, yet powerful lobbying for Bizkaian by those deeming it the "oldest" and "richest" dialect (Hualde & Zuazo, 2007, p. 146) and Lapurdian on grounds of its sixteenth and seventeenth

century literary roots. Some opposition to a unified standard persisted, Menéndez Pidal predicting it would erode the richness and diversity of varieties (Hualde & Zuazo, 2007, p. 156).

Its activities curtailed, until 1945 by the Spanish Civil War and World War II (Hualde & Zuazo, 2007, p. 149), the *Euskaltzaindia*'s 1964 Baiona (Fr Bayonne) and 1968 Arantzazu (Sp Aranzazu) conferences were milestones towards standardizing orthography, resulting, with minor modifications, in that currently used.

Its second major focus was morphology, Gipuzkoan-based, with significant contributions from Lapurdian and Low Navarrese (Trask, 1997, p. 7). Intense debate attended work towards the standardisation of the verb system, a significant body prioritizing maximal paradigm regularity. Mitxelena, during the 60s having become the most influential figure in the construction of the new standard (Trask, 1997, p. 68), was accorded the lead role. From Haugen's three key processes in the creation of a standard (1972, p. 109, quoted in Hualde & Zuazo, 2007, p. 150): reconstruction from related dialects, drawing on older writings, and selecting the most widely used forms, the last two were deployed, along with maximal application of the 'one morpheme—one function' principle. The auxiliary verb system, a suppletive patchwork of allomorphs and roots varying between dialects, illustrates these foundations. Literary Lapurdian was selected wherever its paradigms were more regular or representative than those of its contenders: *dut* 'I have it', *du* 's/he, it has it' (vs. Gipuzkoan *det*, *du*; Bizkaian *dot*, *dau*). Gipuzkoan trivalent forms were selected for their greater regularity (Hualde & Zuazo, 2007, p. 150). Respecting the 'one morpheme—one function' principle, the Eastern use of the radical was adopted in non-indicative contexts: *etor zaitez!* 'come.FORMAL!' in place of the perfective participle, in the popular *etorri!* The finalized version of the Batua synthetic verb system was published in 1979 under the auspices of Villasante, then head of the *Euskaltzaindia*, using a framework devised by Txillardegui, with structure and nomenclature that persists today.

Work on DP desinences, aiming for maximal application of the principles of 'one morpheme—one function' and paradigm regularity, was also essentially complete by the early 1970s. Illustrating the first, from Trask (1997, p. 153) is *zaldi* 'horse'+ article > *zaldia*

(standard), many local pronunciations having less cleanly segmentable variants, e.g. [saldije], [saldize], [saldija]. Similarly, *buru* ‘head’ + article > *burua* (standard), variants including [buruwa], [buruβa], [buruja]. Exemplifying the second, Peninsular ablative plural *-etarik* was adopted as standard, forming a regular paradigm with SG.DEF *-tik* and INDF *-(e)tarik* (Trask, 1997, p. 79). The Continental counterpart is less regular, all three major dialects having SG.DEF *-tik*, but replacing *t* by *r* in INDF *-(e)tarik* and PL *-etarik* (e.g. for literary Navarro-Lapurdian, Lafitte (1979, p. 58); for Zuberoan Etxegorri (2003, p. 259)), *-(r)ik* furthermore serving as the partitive on both sides of the Pyrenees, therefore not reflecting the one morpheme—one function relationship. Eastern ABS.PL *-ak* and ERG.PL *-ek* were selected over Western *-ak* fulfilling both functions (Trask, 1997, p. 79). Occasionally, other principles took precedence: the ABS.PL of *hau* ‘this’ was formed through the principle of following the diphthong *au* by *e* before adding a consonant-initial desinence: *hauek* ‘these.ABS’, despite syncretism with the ergative form, rather than adopting the Eastern ABS.PL *hauk* (Trask, 1997, p. 79).

The *Euskaltzaindia* focused next on the standardisation of Basque names for all cities, towns and villages in the country, decisions informed by early documentary evidence and modern popular use. The new official names were not, however, universally well received: some inhabitants of *Errenteria* campaigned for a name change to *Orereta*, attested in a single mediaeval document (Trask, 1997, p. 80).

Batua dictionary publication in the 1970s highlighted further needed refinements. Language planners, e.g., Xabier Kintana, Luix Mari Muxika and the private company UZEI, specialising in technical dictionaries, plugged lexical gaps by coining neologisms, providing Basque terminology to cope with any field. Further consolidation and selection was needed. Variation in alphabetical order emerged, some lexicographers listing digraphs as discrete letters, others not (Trask, 1997, p. 80). The need arose to standardize loan word orthography, the *Euskaltzaindia* conducting a reform during 1984-86. The spelling of words of Greek origin was being influenced by French in the Continent, with *thermometro*, *psykologia* and Spanish in the Peninsula, with *termometro* and *sikologia* (Trask, 1997, p. 80): the *Euskaltzaindia* adopted the latter type, in the interests of closer phoneme—grapheme correspondence, a principle sometimes overridden in favour of international

orthography: French Basque *zozializta*, reflecting Continental pronunciation was rejected in favour of *sozialista*; notwithstanding the general avoidance of contrasting sibilants within a single lexical root; *geologia* is standard, although its pronunciation would be better represented as *jeolojia*, mapping to the voiceless uvular fricative in Peninsular [χ] and the voiced palatal plosive [j] in Continental varieties (Trask, 1997, p. 80).

Around half a century since the promulgation of Batua, its impacts are being assessed. Its implementation has been enormously successful, with dramatic expansion in the use of Basque at all levels of civic life and into areas where the language had been lost for centuries (Hualde & Zuazo, 2007, p. 159). Yet the forebodings of Menéndez Pidal (Hualde & Zuazo, 2007, p. 156) are coming to fruition, with negative impact on the rich diversity of local speech, for instance on prosodic systems, with loss among younger speakers, of contrastive word accentuation in some Bizkaian and Navarrese varieties (Hualde & Zuazo, 2007, p. 156). In a study of data collected in Oiartzun, Gipuzkoa, Haddican (2005: 313-4) notes the alacrity of infiltration of Batua elements into the local speech, particularly of 20–30-year-old speakers), hypothesising that prescriptive Basque-medium education is a driving force and noting the tendency of younger family members, to correct the speech of their elders where varying from Batua. Such consequences were far from the intentions of Mitxelena and collaborators. Haddican (2005, p. 114), perceptively notes that Batua was not intended to replace, but to facilitate communication between dialects. Many, however, now see Batua as more correct (Urla, 1987, pp. 313, 318 cited in Haddican, 2005, p.114) .

2.1.2 An overview of the morphology of Batua

The morphology of Batua is overwhelmingly ergative and highly agglutinating, with more regular and morphemically segmentable verb and noun reflexes than typical in other varieties, arguably enhancing learnability and favouring the growth and survival of Basque. The material of this section divides into two overarching topics, the verb system and the determiner phrase, linked to Appendices A-D. Some overlap occurs, particularly in consideration of non-finite verb-forms; adverbs are considered alongside adjectives on account of shared morphology.

2.1.2.1 The verb system

Basque has four classes of verbs, each characterised by the final morph of the perfective participle, the citation form. One class forms the perfective participle by adding *-i* to the radical e.g., *ebil-i/ibil-i* ‘walk, go about, function’, *eros-i* ‘buy’, *ipin-i* ‘put’. Another adds *-tu* (*-du* after *l* or *n*) e.g., *har-tu* ‘take’, *argitara-tu* ‘publish’, *sal-du* ‘sell’. A third takes no discrete desinence, the perfective participle and radical coincidental e.g., *jaio* ‘be born’, *jarrio* ‘flow’ *laga* ‘leave’, *hil* ‘die’. The fourth ends in *-n* e.g., *egon* ‘be (stative), remain, stay’ *jakin* ‘know (a fact)’, *entzun* ‘hear, listen’, again identical with the radical, although the *-n* is absent from finite forms and gerund-based non-finite forms.

Table 2.1.1 The verb classes of Basque

Perfective participle designator	Radical	Examples
		Perfective participle
1. <i>-i</i>	<i>eros</i>	<i>eros-i</i> ‘buy’
2. <i>-tu</i> (<i>-du</i> after <i>l</i> or <i>n</i>)	<i>har</i>	<i>har-tu</i> ‘take’
3. Coincidental with radical	<i>jaio</i>	<i>jaio</i> ‘be born’
4. Coincidental with <i>-n</i> -final radical	<i>jakin</i>	<i>jakin</i> ‘know (a fact)’

Causatives are readily and productively formed by attaching *-erazi* ~ *-arazi* to the radical, e.g., *ebili/ibili* ‘walk, go about, function’ yields *erabili* ‘use, cause to move’; the absolutive subject of an intransitive originator verb becomes the direct object and the ergative subject of a transitive verb, the indirect object. Historical causative-generating pre-inflective *ra-* is nowadays not productive; in those *ra-* causatives which persist, the semantic relationship between originator verb and causative is not always systematic, e.g. *ekarri* ‘bring’ vs *erakarri* ‘attract’, *jantzi* ‘get dressed’, *erantzi* ‘get undressed’ (Trask, 1997, p. 114). Several semantically intransitive roots manifest transitive morphology (Trask, 1997, p. 83), e.g. *iraki* ‘boil’, some variably between dialects, e.g. *afaldu* ‘dine’, intransitive in the East but transitive in the West (Trask, 1997, p. 111).

2.1.2.1 i. Synthetic finite forms

A synthetic verb inflects as a single word form, incorporating person markers according to verb valency and, if present, mode of allocutivity. Where an argument requires, it includes a pluralizer, postposed absolutive *-z*, *-tza*, *-tzi*, *-te*, less frequently *-zki* (with *jakin* ‘know (a

fact)'), ABS-DAT reflexes of *izan*, **edin*, both 'be', ABS-DAT-ERG reflexes of *-*i*- and **ezan*, both 'have'). Three auxiliary roots have preposed *it*:- *uk(h)en*/**edun*, divalent reflexes of **ezan* and **edin* (overt in the 3PL.ABS jussive *bitez* 'let them be!' vs *bedi* 'let him/her/it be!'). The ergative pluralizer *-(t)e* is verb-final, except when followed by the complementizer *-la*, complementizer/past-tense marker *-(e)n* and their compounds. Verbs marking a dative argument have a flag, *-(k)j* immediately preceding the dative index; **ezan*, exceptionally, has a pre-root flag, with pleonastic post-root *-i* in 3SG/PL.DAT reflexes.

The form of the 1SG and 2INTIMATE markers varies with position rather than function. Preposed absolutive indices coincide with their counterparts in ergative-fronted forms, where, in non-present-tense paradigms, a 1ERG or 2ERG marker, co-occurring with 3.ABS, is verb-initial. The 3rd person index is null in the ergative and absolutive, overtly represented in the dative only. The 1PL, 2FORMAL and 2PL indices retain the same initial morph whether pre- or post-posed; 2PL, of relatively recent formation, is, when preposed, accompanied by post-root plural marking, which like the final *e* of its postposed marker, serves to distinguish it from 2FORMAL. Postposed dative and ergative markers are identical, affected only by regular phonological process dependent on whether the morpheme is word-internal or word-final.

Table 2.1.2 The person markers of finite verbs

Person	Preposed ABS/ERG	Postposed DAT	Postposed ERG
1SG	<i>n-</i>	<i>-da- /-t</i>	<i>-da- /-t</i>
2INTIMATE	<i>h-</i>	<i>-a- /-k(M); -an-/-(n(a))(F)</i>	<i>-a- /-k(M); -an-/-(n(a))(F)</i>
3SG	\emptyset -	<i>-o-</i>	\emptyset
1PL	<i>g-</i>	<i>-gu</i>	<i>-gu</i>
2FORMAL	<i>z-</i>	<i>-zu</i>	<i>-zu</i>
2PL	<i>z-....-(z)te</i>	<i>-zue</i>	<i>-zue</i>
3PL	\emptyset -	<i>-e</i>	\emptyset

(Pluralizers accompanying person markers are not included, save when assimilated to the person marker in *-zue*)

The initial position is occupied by a person marker. Where none is available, in the 3rd persons, the locus is occupied by ancient markers of verbal category (Trask, 1997, p. 219): *d-* in the present, *z-* in the past, *l-* in the irrealis, *b-* in the jussive, \emptyset - in the imperative. The present-tense typically manifests *a-* and the past by *e-*, immediately following the initial

pre-root segment, accompanied by word-final *-n*. Immediately following the pre-root vowel *n* (henceforth ‘medial *n*’) generally appears in past-stem reflexes with a pre-root 1SG/PL.ABS, or 1/2PL.ERG marker, i.e., absent from 3SG/PL.ABS/ERG and 1/2SG.ERG reflexes. In the context of auxiliary reflexes, the most abundant synthetic forms, but readily applicable to lexical synthetic reflexes and adaptable to ergative-fronted forms, Trask provides the canonical formula:

Abs – tense – (n) – root – (flag –Dat) – (Erg) – (tense) (1997, p. 106),

re-visited in the context of sixteenth century reflexes in 5.2.

Illustrating Trask’s template, Appendix A provides present and past indicative paradigms of two related lexical verbs, ABS and ABS-DAT reflexes of intransitive *ebili/ibili* ‘walk, go about, function’, ABS-ERG and ABS-DAT-ERG reflexes of its morphological causative, *erabili* ‘use’. Additionally, it presents conditional and imperative reflexes of *ebili/ibili* (ABS).

The Euskaltzaindia, in its defining treatise on the Batua verb (Euskaltzaindia, 1979), recognised 35 lexical roots furnishing at least some synthetic reflexes, and twenty with a few literary forms (Euskaltzaindia, 1979, p. 181): four overlap (*eman* ‘give’, *erosi* ‘sell’, *ihardetsi* ‘answer, reply’ and *igorri* ‘send’) giving a total of 51 verbs potentially yielding synthetic reflexes (see Appendix B). Scarcely a dozen (including the auxiliary roots) appear synthetically in ordinary speech, usually the present and past indicative, sometimes the imperative (Trask, 1997, p. 108). Synthetic forms are, in general, aspectually progressive, or at least imperfective, contrasting with their periphrastic *v+AUX* counterparts, e.g., *dakit* ‘I know (it)’ vs *jakiten dut* ‘I find (it) out/I am finding (it) out’.

2.1.2.1 ii. Periphrastic *v+AUX* finite forms

Most verbs have periphrastic *v+AUX* conjugations only. They comprise one of a subset of non-finite forms (the radical, perfective participle, imperfective participle, prospective/future participle) plus a synthetic finite auxiliary (see also 2.1.2.1 iv. on non-finite verb-forms). The *aditz laguntzaile* (auxiliary verb) featured in modern dictionaries and

grammars, is a suppletive patchwork of roots determined by valency and mood. Four valency types each form paradigms on two modally contrasting roots. One root supplies the indicative, epistemic indicative and irrealis conditional (henceforth ‘indicative contexts’), the other, the potential, realis conditional, subjunctive, jussive and imperative (‘subjunctive contexts’).

Table 2.1.3 Auxiliary paradigm types

valency	indicative context auxiliary	subjunctive context auxiliary
ABS	<i>izan</i>	* <i>edin</i>
ABS-DAT	<i>izan</i>	* <i>edin</i>
ABS-ERG	* <i>edun</i>	* <i>ezan</i>
ABS-DAT-ERG	*- <i>j-</i>	* <i>ezan</i>

From the eleven types of tense and mood paradigm of the standard auxiliary verb table approved by *Hezkuntza, Unibertsitate eta Ikerketa Saila* (the Department of Education, Higher Education and Research), four (the present indicative, present potential, present subjunctive and imperative) are based on the present stem. The remaining seven (the past indicative, the conditionals (protasis, present apodosis, past apodosis), the hypothetical and past potentials and the past subjunctive) are based on the non-present stem, itself sourcing two paradigm types: the past and the irrealis, characterised in the third person by initial *z-* and *l-* respectively, but coincidental in their first and second person reflexes (see Appendix C, Table 1).

Six paradigms are absent from this framework. Mitxelena’s 1973 defining treatise on the auxiliary system of Batua arranges paradigms differently; for each auxiliary root, distinguishing two paradigm sets (+ and – potential) in the present, past, and hypothetical. Mitxelena includes six paradigms not represented in the currently widespread table, yet in 1997 the *Euskaltzaindia* re-published and ratified his 1973 treatise, adding a modest amount of clarification and a caveat on the provisional nature of the terminology of the original (1997, pp. 621, 683). Trask’s outline of the periphrastic verb system includes three of Mitxelena’s additional paradigms: the indicative epistemic, the present and past realis conditional (Trask, 1997, p. 105), in Mitxelena’s terms the present plus potential, the present minus potential and the past minus potential, being the three contrasting most in

meaning with the standard paradigm set. In Appendix C, Table 2 provides an expanded set of paradigms, integrating those recorded by Mitxelena and Trask with the standard set of eleven. The accompanying rationale sets forth the reasoning underpinning its construction. Appendix C examines how auxiliary pluralizer behaviour mirrors and departs from that found in lexical synthetic verbs, also discussing trivalent reflexes with a non-3rd person absolutive direct object.

2.1.2.1 iii. Allocutives

In auxiliary, as in lexical reflexes, allocutives can mark a non-argument addressee. They occur only in main clauses, where they are obligatory; the modes of address used, always singular, vary across the country, the 2^{INTIMATE} *hiketa* most widespread. 2^{FORMAL} *zuketa* allocutives also feature in some Eastern varieties, a few of which additionally manifest allocutives in intermediate-familiarity *xuketa* (Trask, 1997, p. 235). Exceptionally, ABS reflexes of *izan* and ABS-ERG reflexes of *uk(h)en/*edun* show stem suppletion in allocutive formation: *naiz* ‘I am’ from *izan* forms allocutives *nauk* (M) *naun* (F) ‘I am, you.^{INTIMATE} (M~F) see’, syncretic with unmarked 2^{INTIMATE.ERG-1SG.ABS} ‘you.^{INTIMATE} (M~F) have me’. *Uk(h)en/*edun* forms its allocutives on *-i-, unmarked *dut* ‘I have (it)’ yielding allocutives *diat* (M), *dinat* (F) ‘I have (it), you.^{INTIMATE} (M~F) see’, syncretic with unmarked 2^{INTIMATE.DAT} tripersonals ‘I have (it) to you.^{INTIMATE} (M~F)’ (Trask, 1997, p. 135). Cross-linguistically, Basque allocutivity marking is typologically unusual in that other allocutive-marking languages tend to differentiate allocutive markers from person markers in other roles and not to preclude allocutivity from co-occurring with an argumental addressee (Igartua, 2020, pp. 13-14). As illustrated by *diat* (M), *dinat* (F), ABS-ERG non-ergative-fronted reflexes of *uk(h)en/*edun* serving as allocutives undergo no initial-consonant change, unlike their trivalent counterparts: unmarked *diot* ‘I have (it) to him/her/it’ yields allocutives *zioat* (M), *zionat* (F). ‘I have it to him/her/it, you.^{INTIMATE}(M~F) see’. Building on an observation by Trask in respect of the peripheral dialects (1997, p. 236), the correspondence between unmarked ABS reflexes of *izan* and allocutive counterparts syncretic with unmarked 2^{ERG} reflexes of *uk(h)en/*edun*, breaks down in Batua when the corresponding unmarked *uk(h)en/*edun* reflex is ergative-fronted. Pre-root allocutive person marking is precluded, consequently allocutives of non-present 3^{ABS} forms cannot be the corresponding unmarked

transitive forms e.g., the allocutive of *joaten lirateke* ‘they would go (now)’ is not the predicted *hituzke*, serving only as unmarked ‘you.INTIMATE would have them’, but the non-syncretic *joaten lituzkek* (M) / *lituzken* (F). A few tripersonal present-tense 3.ERG allocutives are syncretic with unmarked reflexes with final *-n*, construed in the allocutive as the 2INTIMATE(F) marker, in the unmarked form as a past-tense marker: unmarked *dio* ‘s/he, it has (it) to him/her/it’ has the non-syncretic masculine allocutive *ziok*, whilst the feminine counterpart *zion* equally encodes ‘s/he, it had (it) to him/her/it’; unmarked *dizkigu* ‘s/he, it has them to us’ yields the feminine allocutive *zizkigun*, syncretic with unmarked ‘s/he, it had them to us’.

2.1.2.1 iv. Non-finite verb-forms

Basque has numerous non-finite verb formations, built on the radical. An important group is based on the gerund, composed of the radical plus *-(z)te*, *-te* occurring in three conditions: where the radical and syncretic perfective participle are *-n* final, *-te* replaces *-n* e.g., *emate* from *eman* ‘give’; where the radical ends in a simple sibilant, e.g., *haste* from *has-i* ‘begin’; where the final affricate of a radical is replaced by the corresponding sibilant e.g., *idazte* from *idatz-i* ‘write’. All other stems add *-tze*: *buka-tu* ‘finish’ gives *bukatze* (King, 1993, pp. 393–394).

Four non-finite forms appear in periphrastic V+AUX constructions: The radical alone combines with **edin* ‘be’ and **ezan* ‘have’, furnishing subjunctive context reflexes e.g., the imperative *buka ezazu!* ‘finish it!’ Three contrasting aspectual participles appear with *izan* ‘be’, *uk(h)en/*edun* and **-i-* (di- and trivalent ‘have’), supplying indicative contexts: the imperfective participle formed by adding locative *-n* to the gerund e.g. *joaten* ‘going’, *etortzen* ‘coming’; the perfective participle e.g. *etorri* ‘come’, *joan* ‘go’; the prospective/future participle, formed by adding *-ko*, voicing to *-go* after *l* or *n*, to the perfective participle: *etorriko* ‘destined to come’, *joango* ‘destined to go’.

Table 2.1.3 illustrates how each of the three participles of *etorri* ‘come’, by combining with the same reflex of *izan*, colour the meaning of periphrastic V+AUX groups.

Table 2.1.4 V+AUX groups : participle contribution to meaning					
Paradigm		Perfective participle	Imperfective participle	Prospective/future participle	
Participles		<i>etorr-i</i> come-PFV.PTCP	<i>etor-tzen</i> come-IPFV.PTCP	<i>etorr-i-ko</i> come-PFV.PTCP-ko	
Indicative	present	recent past/perfect <i>etorri da</i> 's/he, it has come/came (earlier in current timeframe)'	present imperfective/ habitual <i>etortzen da</i> 's/he, it is coming; comes'	future <i>etorriko da</i> 's/he, it will come'	
	epistemic	past <i>etorri dateke</i> 's/he, it will have come (I suppose)'	present <i>etortzen dateke</i> 's/he, it will be coming (I suppose)'	future <i>etorriko dateke</i> 's/he, it will be going to come (I suppose)'	
	past	remote past <i>etorri zen</i> 's/he, it came; had come'	past imperfective/ habitual <i>etortzen zen</i> 's/he, it was coming; used to come'	future-in-the-past <i>etorriko zen</i> 's/he, it was going to come/ would have come'	
Irrealis conditional	protasis	past <i>etorri balitz</i> 'if s/he, it had come'	present <i>etortzen balitz</i> 'if s/he, it came (now)'	future <i>etorriko balitz</i> 'if s/he, it came (later)'	
	apodosis [1]	past <i>etorri litzateke</i> 's/he, it would come'	present <i>etortzen litzateke</i> 's/he, it would come (now)'	future <i>etorriko litzateke</i> 's/he, it would come (later)'	
	apodosis [2]	past <i>etorri zatekeen</i> 's/he, it would have come'	present <i>etortzen zatekeen</i> 's/he, it would have come (now)'	future <i>etorriko zatekeen</i> 's/he, it would have come (later)'	

(Adapted from Trask, 1997, p. 105)

Non-finite forms, though unmarked for person or voice, can take case-marked DP arguments e.g. *bat nator zure esandakoarekin* ‘I’m in agreement **with what** you’ve **said**’ and be marked temporally e.g., *zu etortzerako gu alde eginda ginen* ‘we had gone away **before you came**’; *atea irekitzerakoan ohartu zen giltza falta zitzaiola* ‘As s/he **was going to open** the door, s/he realized s/he had forgotten the key; *hura ikusitakoan bere gurasoez oroitu nintzen* ‘**after I had seen** him/her, I remembered his/her parents’; *Euskaltzaindiak nahi du berak erabakitako Ortografia gorda dadin...* (Villasante in Euskaltzaindia, 1979, p. 3) ‘The Basque Academy wants the Orthography **which it established** to be conserved...’ and *beharrezkoa izango da lan hori herriak onartzea* (Villasante in Euskaltzaindia, 1979, p. 3) ‘It is essential that the country **recognise** this work’.

Other examples of non-finite forms include (from Trask, 1997, p. 103):

‘Having (been seen) :	<i>ikusita</i> (Western), <i>ikusirik</i> (Eastern)
‘Having seen’, i.e., causal ‘since DP has seen’:	<i>ikusiz gero</i>
‘On seeing’:	<i>ikustean</i>
‘In the event of seeing’:	<i>ikustekotan</i>
‘Because of seeing’:	<i>ikustearren</i>
‘In order to see (adverbial):	<i>ikustera</i>
‘In order to see (adnominal):	<i>ikusteko</i>

2.1.2.2 The Determiner Phrase

The Determiner Phrase (DP) inflects as a single unit, at its right-hand edge, with no internal agreement. There are some 18 desinences, of which 14 are cases, with some variation with categorization principles and dialect. DPs with common nouns manifest the greatest number of reflexes, forming three paradigms: singular definite (SG.DEF), indefinite (INDF) and plural definite (PL.DEF).

The Basque DP lacks gender, or classes such as the five Latin declensions. Differences in a given desinence depend on three factors: whether the rightmost entity of the uninflected DP is vowel- or consonant final; whether the lexical head is a common or proper DP; in local cases and in the relational, with animacy vs inanimacy of the lexical head. (See Appendix D for paradigms (Table 3), rationale, salient trends and patterns).

2.1.2.2 i. The ordering of DP constituents

The constituents of the DP are rigidly ordered according to the canonical structure:

complex modifier–DET1–noun–adjective–DET2–number–case
(Trask, 1997, p. 89).

Complex modifiers include genitives, relative clauses, adverbial and other phrases bearing the relational *-ko* e.g.

Gure joan den udaberrian ekoitzi genuen etxeko gazta bikaina zen

<i>Gure</i>	<i>joan</i>	<i>den</i>	<i>udaberri-a-n</i>	<i>ekoitzi</i>	<i>genuen</i>
our	go.PFV.PTCP	be.PRS.3PL.REL	spring-DEF.DET-LOC	produce.PFV.PTCP	be.PST.1PL
<i>etxe-ko</i>	<i>gazt-a</i>	<i>bikain-a</i>	<i>zen</i>		
house-RELATIONAL	cheese-DEF.DET	excellent-DEF.DET	be.PST.3PL		

‘Our home-made cheese that we produced last spring was excellent’

Quantifiers are allocated to the DET1 or DET2 position, not according to functional category, the individual members of a category having their designated position: *(h)anitz* ‘many, much’, indefinite determiners like *zein* ‘which?’ and numerals immediately precede the noun. Other members of the same categories e.g., *asko* ‘many, much’, *batzu(k)* ‘some, a few’, *bat* ‘one’ and in Bizkaian alone, also *bi* ‘two’ immediately follow \bar{D} ; similarly, demonstratives and bound morphemes indicating definite, indefinite, or partitive status. The final element, unless precluded by the partitive, is case. The only determiners which can co-occur in a DP are number and a definite determiner: *lau gizonak* ‘the four men’, ‘all four men’, *lau gizon hauek* ‘these four men’ (Trask, 1997, p. 90).

2.1.2.2 ii. Definite determiners

A significant weight of evidence suggests that the bound definite determiner (see Appendix D Table 3, desinence 1) is a reanalyzed distal demonstrative yielding singular *-a* in *gizona* ‘(the) man’ < *gizon *har* ‘that man’ (Trask, 1997, p. 198). Like its mesial and proximal counterparts, it continues as a free adjective and pronoun. The demonstratives are of special interest historically: their diversification of function has been prominent in the

morphosyntactic evolution of the language, also furnishing the 3.DAT markers of synthetic verbs. Demonstratives are unusual in exhibiting root suppletion, otherwise restricted to verbs. The proximal, mesial and distal demonstratives, *hau*, *hori*, *hura* respectively in the ABS.SG, have oblique roots *hon-* *horr-*, *har-* and plurals *hau-*, *hori-*, *hai-*. In Batua, as in the Eastern dialects, *-e* marks the plural in oblique definite inflections. Considerable support is accorded to a model with pluralizing *-k* < **-g*, giving ABS.PL *gizonak* < **gizonag*, other cases formed by directly adding further inflections: ERG.PL *gizonek* < **gizonaek* < **gizonagek*; it seems more plausible, following Trask, to postulate a parallel with the singular, the plural distal demonstrative sourcing the ERG.PL e.g., *gizonek* akin to the modern *gizon haiek* ‘those men’ (1997, p. 200). In modern Basque, only DPs bearing the bound definite determiner or accompanied by a free demonstrative have SG/PL distinction, suggesting a distinction historically confined to the demonstratives. The bound definite determiner is considered of relatively late formation, possibly between C8 and C10, like parallel developments in Germanic and Romance (Trask, 1997, p. 199). That the current tripartite demonstrative system arose from an earlier bipartite one is persuasively argued and evidenced by Irigoien (1981), postulating the source of the distal suppletive *hura* as a combination of proximal and distal stems, **haur-a* (Trask, 1997, p. 198).

The determiner is the essential component of the DP, which can form without a noun, e.g.

Handienak
handi-en-a-k
 big-SUPERLATIVE-DEF.DET.ABS-PL
 ‘The biggest ones’

Aurkitu ditudanak
aurkitu d-it-u-da-n-a-k
 find.PFV.PTCP d.PRS-ABS.PL-root-1SG-REL-DET.ABS-PL
 ‘The ones which I have found’

Complex ‘nesting’ DPs can form through the agglutination of inflections; both the embedded and the matrix DPs can lack a lexical head e.g., after Trask (1997, p. 91):

Mendietako gizonaren alabari
mendi-e-ta-ko gizon-a(r)en alab[a]-a(r)i
 mountain-PL-LOC-RELAT man-DEF.DET.SG-GEN daughter-DEF.DET.SG-DAT
 ‘To the daughter of the man in the mountains’

Mendietakoarenari
mendi-e-ta-ko-ø-a-(r)en-ø-a-ri
 mountain-PL-LOC-RELAT-ø-DEF.DET.SG-GEN-ø-DET.SG-DAT
 ‘To the one of the one in the mountains’

Such structures are not the superdeclensions, i.e. formed by adding a series of case-endings to a single DP, often alleged by Basque Grammarians: neither the relational nor the determiner desinences are cases (Trask, 1997, p. 91).

2.1.2.2 iii. Personal pronouns

In Batua, as in most of the country, distal demonstratives provide 3rd person pronouns. Mesial *hori* is frequently used as a second person vocative, notably in terms of abuse: *txerri hori!* ‘you pig!’, also being a component of honorific *berori* < *ber-*‘self’ + *hori* ‘that’, indexed to the verb as 3SG. In Western dialects *bera* serves as the 3SG pronoun, ‘s/he/it’, with plural counterparts *berak/ eurak* ‘they’.

Table 2.1.5 Personal pronouns (absolute)

1SG	<i>ni</i>
2INTIMATE	<i>hi</i>
3SG	<i>hura, (bera)</i>
1PL	<i>gu</i>
2FORMAL	<i>zu, berori, hori</i>
2PL	<i>zuek</i>
3PL	<i>haiak, (berak, eurak)</i>

The 2INTIMATE *hiketa* is of much more restricted semantic scope than French *tu* or Spanish *tú*, being used between siblings, in some varieties between young children of either sex, between close friends of the same sex and similar same age, optionally by adults addressing children. The 2FORMAL *zuketa* is used between spouses, even if they addressed one another as *hi* during childhood. Some wider usage of *hiketa* is witnessed: ‘some younger speakers, especially in Gipuzkoa, use *hi* as freely as they use *tú* in Spanish; other Basques are often considerably annoyed by this’ (Trask, 1997, p. 96). A few Eastern varieties have a pronoun *xu*, of intermediate familiarity.

Personal pronouns inflect like animate DPs, with exceptions. The genitive lacks the characteristic *-n* seen elsewhere, typically ending in *-re*: *nire* (with variants *ene* and *nere*), *hire*, *zure*, *gure*, although 2PL *zuen*. The instrumental includes the morph *-ta-* (e.g., *nitaz*), also present in the indefinite and plural inanimate inflections of the relational and local cases (Appendix D Table 3).

Reanalysed demonstratives again appear in emphatic pronouns, formed by the attachment of proximal (*h*)*au(r)*, e.g., *nihaur* 'I/me (emphatic), although with wide variation, e.g., *nerau*, *neu*. The unmarked 3rd person pronouns, already demonstratives, have emphatic singular and plural counterparts furnished by *bera* and *berak*, also functioning as unmarked 3rd person pronouns in the West. Some varieties have emphatic genitives e.g. *neure* 'my, *heure* 'your.INTIMATE' (Trask, 1997, p. 97).

Reflexive pronouns are formed by the genitive plus *buru* 'head' with the definite determiner: *zure burua* 'yourself.FORMAL'. Like the reciprocal pronoun *elkar*, they cannot occupy the subject position.

Indefinite pronouns are based on the interrogatives. The desinence *-bait* yields e.g., *norbait* 'someone', *zerbait* 'something'; *-nahi* 'want' or *edo* 'or' give '*noiznahi* 'any time (you want)' *nolanahi* 'any way (you want)' or flanked by a reduplicated interrogative *zer-edo-zer* ~ *edozer* ~ *zeozer* 'anything (at all)'. A pre-inflective vowel generates interrogative and negative context forms e.g., *inor* 'anyone', *ezer* 'anything'. Basque lacks discrete negative pronouns, this last type of indefinite pronoun, combined with *ez* 'not', providing for this role e.g. *inoiz ez* 'never' (Trask, 1997, p. 98).

2.1.2.2 iv. Adjectives and adverbs

Basque is well-endowed with productive processes for converting lexical items from one word class to another and between sub-categories within a single class. The verb *ikus-i* 'see' yields the nouns *ikusmin* 'curiosity', *ikuspen* 'view', *ikustalde* 'visit'. Many adjectives derive from verbs or nouns, desinence correlating with meaning: *-kor* denotes facility or propensity e.g. the verb *apur-tu* 'break' provides *apurkor* 'fragile', the antonym *apurgaitz*

'breakage resistant, unbreakable', *-gaitz*, denoting resistance or difficulty; *-tsu* encodes abundance e.g., the noun *huri* 'rain' gives *euritsu* 'rainy'; *-garri* indicates source, causation, or worthiness e.g. the noun *interes* 'interest' provides *interesgarri* 'interesting' and the verb *ikus-i*, *ikusgarri* 'worth seeing'. More than one adjective can be generated from the same root, e.g., the noun (also serving as an adjective) *bero* 'heat, warmth' furnishes *berogarri* 'warming' (heating another entity) vs *berotsu* 'hot' (intrinsic property). Other unmodified nouns, or verbs, also serve as adjectives e.g., *ilun* 'darkness' or 'dark', *hil* 'die' or 'dead'. Finally, some adjectives comprise a lexical root only, e.g. *on* 'good' *eder* 'beautiful' (Trask, 1997, p. 99).

Adjectives mostly follow the noun, their ordering largely conforming to that given in the literature as universal (Artiagoitia, 2006, p. 111). Unmarked strings have fixed order: origin, colour, shape, weight, size, subjective comment (Artiagoitia, 2006, p. 108), although varying to reflect speaker intention, the most salient at the right-hand edge. Artiagoitia (2006, p. 109) highlights Trask's 'short yet juicy' comment, taking as a departure point:

etxe zuri txiki polit bat (Trask, 1981, p. 137; Trask, 2003, 137)
 house white small beautiful one
 'A beautiful small white house'

'As illustrated here, the order of multiple adjectives in Basque is in general precisely the reverse of that in English (or, from the point of view of distance from the noun, precisely the same as in English).' (Artiagoitia, 2006, pp. 109-110, citing Trask, 1981, p. 137).

Specific morphological adjectival classes can precede the noun: those ending in *-dun*, a relativized form of the 3SG. present of *uk(h)en/*edun* 'have', 's/he who has' reanalyzed as an adjective e.g. *haurdun emakumeak* '(the) pregnant women' (Trask, 1997, p. 99); those with the ethnonymic *-(t)ar* e.g. *bilbotar* 'from Bilbao', *bilbotar sukaldariak* '(the) chefs from Bilbao'; adjectives of nationality, e.g. *Frantses Bidea* 'The Milky Way' ('the French Road') (Trask, 1997, p. 100). Other adjectives preceding the noun include *beste* ~ *bertze* 'other' and modifiers bearing relational *-ko* e.g., *herriko langileak* 'the workers of the village'.

Degree modifiers are positioned at the left edge of the DP e.g., *oso* ‘very’ in *oso liburu interesgarria irakurri nuen* ‘I read (past) a very interesting book’.

Adverbs of manner are formed in most dialects by adding *-ki* to adjectives: from *eder* ‘beautiful’ *ederki* ‘beautifully’, or occasionally *-zki* e.g., *egiazki* ‘truthfully’. Lafitte (1979, p. 128) records variants in *-kiro*, e.g. *emekiro* ‘gently’, including *gero* ‘afterwards’ as a remnant. Bizkaian instead has *-to*: *ederto* ‘beautifully’. Adverbs of frequency are formed with *-(e)ro*: *urtero* ‘annually’ from *urte* ‘year’.

Certain adverbs comprise lexical morphs alone, e.g., *atzo* ‘yesterday’, *la(i)ster* ‘quickly’ and many unmodified adjectives are used as adverbs e.g., *zuzen* ‘direct’ or ‘directly’.

The adverbs extracted from *on* ‘good’ are irregular, with *ongi* in most dialects, but *ondo* in Bizkaian and *ontsa* in Continental dialects.

2.1.2.2 v. The comparison of adjectives and adverbs

Adjectives and adverbs have a common comparative paradigm, with desinences *-ago* (comparative), *-en* (superlative) and *-egi* (excessive). The comparative morph directly follows any word class desinence e.g., *ederrago* ‘more beautiful’, *ederkiago* ‘more beautifully’ and can in turn be followed by the DP desinences in Appendix D Table 3. The order is standard-pivot-comparative, e.g.

Nire liburuak zureak baino interesgarriagoak dira
nire liburu-a-k zure-a-k baino
 my book-DEF.DET.ABS-PL your-DEF.DET.ABS-PL than
interesgarri-ago-a-k dira
 interesting-COMPARATIVE-DEF.DET.ABS-PL d.be.PRS.3PL
 ‘My books are more interesting than yours’

The second line of the well-known Zuberoan song *Agur, Xiberua* ‘farewell, Zuberoa’ illustrates the superlative:

bazter güztietako xokhorik eijerrena
bazter güzti-e-ta-ko xokho-(r)ik eijerr-en-a
 land all-PL-LOC-RELAT corner-PARTIT beautiful-SUPERLATIVE-DEF.DET.ABS
 ‘The most beautiful corner of all lands’

Equative phrases have the same ordering, with pivots including *beste*, *adina* and *bezain*:

Ez dut zuk adina irabazten

<i>ez</i>	<i>du-t</i>	<i>zu-k</i>	<i>adina</i>	<i>irabaz-ten</i>
NEG	d.have.PRS-1SG.ERG	YOU.FORMAL-ERG	as.much	earn-IPFV.PTCP

'I don't earn as much as you'

'Good' *on* is idiosyncratic, with comparative *hobe*, although regular superlative *onen*, in some varieties co-existing with *hoberen* or *hoben*.

2.2 DIALECT CLASSIFICATION

Reviewing distinctive verb features of Basque dialects provides geographical and temporal contextualization elucidating the synchronic and diachronic picture. Leizarraga's observation (see Chapter Two, **2.1.1**; Chapter Three, **3.2.3**) that the language varies not only from village to village, but from house to house, epitomises the dialect categorization challenge (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 86). Various classifications have been postulated, using different criteria sets, conventionally, naming dialects and varieties after the historical provinces and smaller localities, although dialectal and provincial boundaries do not entirely coincide. Throughout, Trask's nomenclature and spelling of dialect names (1997, p. 5) will be used.

Elucidation of the sixteenth century dialect picture is beset by limitations: text provenance and/or authorship sometimes unknown; geographical distribution patchy; co-occurring variants typifying more than one modern dialect; save for very few written observations, much remaining unknown of the written-spoken relationship, including the accentual patterns. From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, dialect classification has received significant attention, starting with Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, largely upheld by Azkue, Mitxelena and Yrizar, Mitxelena's classification being the main reference point (see Appendix E for a comparison of classifications). Zuazo provides a more radical departure from Bonaparte's categorization, focussing on productive innovation distribution in the modern language.

2.2.1 Early Basque and dialects

Tenth and eleventh century attestations from the Rioja, Araba and Gipuzkoa intimate dialectal diversification, yet also greater uniformity than in the modern language, e.g. The Emilian Glosses (ca. 950), from the Rioja at the South-Western edge of the Modern Basque Country, manifest *dugu* 'we have (it)' (Trask, 1997, pp. 42–43), found in distant Lapurdian, also High and Low Navarrese (cf Bizkaian *dogu*, Gipuzkoan *degu*).

Historical sightings of the earlier, more uniform language vary: Trask summarises '[M]any Vasconists are convinced that a pan-Basque koiné had existed not many centuries earlier:¹ the distinctive characteristics of the modern dialects appear to be very recent indeed' (1997, p. 44). More recently, some have placed the more uniform language much earlier, Zuazo holding that the dialects differentiated during the Middle Ages (*Bertan 24 - The Basque Language Chapter 17: The Dialects and Unified Basque*, 2021). Debate continues on whether this uniform language would have been a koiné complementing, and facilitating communication between, dialects, with a role like that of modern Batua, or a largely undifferentiated variety used throughout the Country. Other dialect-related research foci include the positioning of principal axes of divergence and the diachrony of the magnitude and nature of dialectal differences. For instance, Mounole Hiriart-Urruty deduces that many of the changes to the verb system, e.g. the expansion of the periphrastic construction PFV.PTCP + PRS *izan* or *uk(h)en/*edun* from expressing the perfect to also including the non-endpoint (narrative) past in eastern dialects, indicate a relatively late onset of a broadly East-West opposition, although with elements of Continental/Peninsular opposition, e.g. the Continental assimilation of ABS-DAT goal verbs to ABS-ERG action verbs vs Peninsular DAT-ERG realignment (see Chapter Two, **2.3**); further, she concludes that dialectal differences, many due to different rates of the same evolution, are relatively minor, both during (15th and sixteenth centuries) and after (the first half of the eighteenth century) the reconfiguration

¹ i.e., than the sixteenth

of the verb system (2014 [2018], pp. 155, 367) ‘these dialectal differences do not affect the architecture of the system, which remains the same everywhere’ (2014 [2018], p. 155).²

Strikingly, the language of mediaeval texts, e.g. *Cantar de la batalla de Beotibar* ‘Song of the Battle of Beotibar’ recounting a 1321 battle, *Cantares de la quema de Mondragón* ‘Verses on the Burning of Mondragón (Bq Arrasate ~ Mondragoe)’ on a 1448 clan conflict, the sixteenth century providing the earliest known written attestations, is almost indistinguishable morphologically from modern Basque, most phonological developments likely having occurred between Roman times and a time much earlier than that of the earliest texts (Trask, 1997, p. 46). Furthermore, Trask observes ‘Basque in the last thousand years appears to have been an astonishingly conservative language, much more conservative than, say, English.’ (1997, p. 47). These well-founded assertions *prima facie* seem to mitigate the need for the present endeavour. It will, however, demonstrate that significant change has taken place semantically (e.g., the shift from an aspectual to a modal auxiliary system), syntactically (e.g., the diachronic advancement of fronting of the finite verb in negative polarity main/matrix clauses) and morphologically (e.g., the spread of the post-root dative flag).

Dialectal differences appear in the traditionally investigated sixteenth century texts: Etxepare and Leizarraga from the Continental Basque Country, Garibai and *RS* from Bizkaia. Sixteenth century Lapurdian and Bizkaian, however, had similarities lacking today (Trask, 1997, p. 47). From the seventeenth century onwards, with publication in authors’ dialects increasing, roughly standardized variants emerged of the ‘literary dialects’: Bizkaian, Gipuzkoan, Lapurdian, and, to a lesser degree Zuberoan. Since the sixteenth century, the division of the Basque County and its incorporation into superordinate politico-administrative domains has fuelled dialectal differentiation, e.g., its apportioning between France and Spain in the eighteenth century (*Bertan 24 - The Basque Language Chapter 17: The Dialects and Unified Basque*, 2021), the three Continental Basque provinces losing their political identity, following the French Revolution being combined with Béarn into the département of Basses-Pyrénées, now Pyrénées-Atlantiques (Trask, 1997, pp. 3–5); the division of the Peninsular Basque Country into the Basque Autonomous Community and the

² «... ces différences dialectales n’affectent pas l’architecture du système qui demeure la même partout. »

Community of Navarre (*Bertan 24 - The Basque Language Chapter 17: The Dialects and Unified Basque*, 2021) in the late 1970s.

The seventeenth century records a striking case of inter-dialect communication difficulty. Sarasola (1983, pp. 132–137) cites correspondence between the city councils of Hondarribia (Sp Fuenterrabía, coastal Gipuzkoa) and Urruña (Fr Urrugne, coastal Lapurdi) in 1680. In response to receiving a letter in Basque, the authorities of Urruña requested their counterparts from Hondarribia thenceforth use Spanish, given their difficulties in understanding the Basque letter, this despite the adjacency of the two provinces.

2.2.2 Modern Basque dialectal characteristics and their history

Despite the striking differences between Basque dialects, diachronic phonological research suggests that much of the morphology has a common source, with the consolidation of different variants in different localities. Despite a history of authors incorporating into their writing elements from different varieties to widen access, the magnitude of obstacles to mutual intelligibility is commonly exaggerated. Scope for communication difficulties between dialects, however, exists, frequently from lexical differences, e.g., High Navarrese construes *urri* as ‘September’, but *Batua* as ‘October’, with *irail* as ‘September’. Auxiliary reflexes can differ markedly between dialects e.g., High Navarrese *zakion* ‘s/he, it was to him/her/it’ vs. *Batua zitzaion*. Differing accentual patterns, particularly the strong contrasts between accented and non-accented syllables in the Eastern dialects, with attendant syncope, can obscure relatedness with forms from elsewhere. Intelligibility issues between dialects are frequently multifactorial, in part from linguistic differences, other factors including the degree of geographical and economic contact between dialects, speakers’ awareness of shared and differing linguistic features and the impact of administrative divisions on the lexicon of daily use (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 32).

The literature frequently observes that, broadly, central dialects are innovative and those on the periphery are conservative (Trask, 1997, p. 5), a somewhat parallel observation of this thesis being that texts examined from varieties on the periphery of the Basque Country, e.g. in the North, Etxepare and Leizarraga, in the West, Garibai, *RS*, Zumarraga seem to have been earlier to consolidate than Lazarraga’s North-Eastern Araban (see Chapter Six, **6.2**).

Sections follow on each of the seven living dialects identified by Mitxelena (e.g. 1990 [1961], pp. 42 - 43), focused on salient features of finite verbs. For a sample of auxiliary paradigms in each, along with Batua, see Appendix F, Table 6.

2.2.2 i. Bizkaian

Bizkaian, spoken throughout central and Eastern Bizkaia, in the Deba Valley in Western Gipuzkoa, in Aramaio and Legutio in Northern Araba (Zuazo, 2014, p. 163), is generally regarded as highly idiosyncratic (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 39), with an extreme degree of linguistic diversity (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 40). Possessing phonetic and lexical idiosyncrasies, it is most differentiated by its morphology (Zuazo, 2013, p. 58).

Bizkaian is most distinct from other dialects in its finite verb-forms. The initial *z-* found elsewhere in non-present 3.ABS forms without a 1st/2nd person pre-root marker is absent in Bizkaian, except with *izan* (e.g., *zan* ‘s/he, it was’), **edin* (e.g., *zidin* ‘that s/he, it were’), reflexes of *uk(h)en/*edun* with a pre-root absolutive pluralizer (e.g., *zituan* ‘s/he, it had them’). There is general consensus that Bizkaian \emptyset - is more conservative than widespread *z-*, many seeing *z-* as originating from the initial segment of the root of *izan* (Trask, 1997, p. 224), possibly **ezan*, more widespread elsewhere than in Bizkaia, also had a role. Moving Eastwards, progressively more *z-* initial forms appear: *zeban* ‘s/he, it had (it)’, *zeustan* ‘s/he, it had (it) to me’. In Bizkaian post-root *-a* typifies non-present forms, *neban* ‘I had (it)’ corresponding to *nuen* in the centre and the East of the country, both different resolutions of possible common ancestral **ne-dun(-a/e)-n* (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 41). Vowel choices in ABS-ERG present-tense reflexes of *uk(h)en/*edun* vary between dialects: ‘I have (it)’ is *dot* in Bizkaian cf. Gipuzkoan *det* and Continental *dut* (see Appendix F, Table 6), probably from common ancestral **da-du-da* (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 41).

In 3.ABS-DAT present- and past-tense reflexes of *izan*, Bizkaian varieties manifest initial *y-*, *dx-*, *d-* or *j-*, e.g. in *jat*, *yat* ‘s/he, it is to me’ (Zuazo, 2014, p. 172) rather than the *z-* of Gipuzkoan and Eastern forms, e.g. *zait* ‘s/he it is to me’, past-tense forms have the same initial segment, lacking the *zit-* initial of Batua and distinguished only by past *-(e)n*, where available, e.g. *jako* ‘s/he, it is to him/her/it’ vs *jakon* ‘s/he, it was to him/her/it’. Some hold

that the Bizkaian forms are not from *izan* (cf. Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 41), a view called into question by Gipuzkoan counterparts such as *zat s/he, it is to me*'.

Trivalent auxiliaries depart from those in other dialects e.g., Bizkaian *deutso* 's/he, it has (it) to him/her/it' vs. *dio* in Batua, Gipuzkoan and Lapurdian, *derauko* in the East. The Eastern and Bizkaian forms are likely sourced by different compounds of *uk(h)en/*edun*, with *-ts* an ancient dative flag preference in Bizkaian transitive verbs (Trask, 1997, p. 234).

In Bizkaian, *egin*, lexically 'do, make' furnishes transitive subjunctive context auxiliary reflexes, contrasting with **ezan* elsewhere, **iro* in parts of the East. Old Bizkaian manifested **ezan*, although hardly ever as a tripersonal auxiliary (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 42). Based on detailed analysis of texts with and without **ezan* in subjunctive contexts Lakarra Andrinua (1996, pp. 184–185) postulates that *egin* replaced **ezan* starting in Southern Bizkaia, moving progressively North and East. Martínez-Areta (2013, p. 42) suggests that Old Bizkaian might reflect the state of the common language, with **ezan* used in ABS.PL-ERG and *egin* in ABS-DAT-ERG auxiliaries.

The absolutive pluralizer *-z*, widespread throughout Basque dialects, exhibits two idiosyncrasies in Bizkaian. First is its exceptional productivity, by recent analogical development (Trask, 1997, p. 223), some varieties manifesting *-z* in ABS-DAT reflexes of *izan*, e.g. *jataz* vs *-zki* in Batua, Gipuzkoan, Lapurdian *zaizkit* 'they are to me' (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 42); ABS.PL reflexes of *uk(h)en/*edun*, e.g. *dauz* 's/he, it has them', *gauz* 's/he, it has us' vs Batua *ditu*, *gaitu* with *it-* (Trask, 1997, p. 223); ABS.PL reflexes of **edutsi* e.g. *deustaz* 's/he, it has them to me' vs *-zki* in the Batua counterpart *dizkit*. The spreading of *-z* is glimpsed in the earliest texts, where only forms like *ditu* 's/he, it has them', *zituan* 's/he, it had them', or pleonastic hybrids like *dituz*, *zituzan*, appear in Bizkaian (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 42). Second, the positioning of *-z* departs from the common immediately post-root locus preceding any dative, ergative, potential marker or other post-root pluralizers (Trask, 1997, p. 222). In Bizkaian, *-z* is verb-final, except when followed by the complementizer/past-tense marker *-(e)n* e.g. *neukezan* 'I would have had them' vs. Batua *nituzkeen*, *dakardaz* 'I bring them' vs Gipuzkoan *dakarzkit*, Lapurdian *dakartzat*) (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 42). Martínez-Areta suggests that the spread of verb-final *-z* may have begun with trivalent auxiliaries, since the root-final sibilant of **edutsi* would bleach contrast

between ABS.PL ***deus-z-ku* ‘s/he, it has them to us’ vs ABS.SG *deus-ku*, resolved by moving the pluralizer to the verb-final position (2013, p. 42, footnote 9), further noting historic instances of -z in localities distant from Bizkaia e.g. *ekarri ginduzen* ‘we brought them’, used by a Lapurdian gypsy in a 1597 theft trial in Sunbilla Navarre (Sarasola, 1983, p. 111), cf Batua *ekarri genituen*. A preference for the word-final pluralizer -z over pre-root word-internal *it-* preceded by verb-initial verb elements such as *d-*, *z-* may relate to the cross-linguistic tendency to externalize inflection, attested for instance in Swedish, Polish, Georgian, Russian, Latin, Finnish, Lithuanian, Icelandic, Pengo, Yakut, Spanish, Russian, German, Classical Greek, also elsewhere in Basque e.g., demonstrative pronouns with emphatic -xe (Haspelmath, 1993, p. 285). That inflectional markers generally appear further from the lexical root than derivational markers is a long-held tenet, encoded in Greenberg’s Universal 28 (Haspelmath, 1993, p. 292), closely connecting to Sapir’s (1921, p. 101 cited in Bybee, 1985, p. 14) distinction between *material* and *relational* content, the springboard for Bybee’s concept of *relevance*. Bybee (1985 p. 13) contends that relevance, dependent on ‘cognitive and cultural salience’ and with a graduated scale, entails that the greater the ability of one entity to colour the meaning of another, the more closely linked they will be: morphologically rather than syntactically expressed and, within the morphological word, more proximal than entities less relevant to one another (1985 p. 13). The mechanism of externalization frequently involves a pleonastic intermediate with inflective marking of the same property word-internally and -externally (Haspelmath, 1993, p. 297) as in Basque forms such as *dituz* ‘s/he, it has them’, *zituzan* s/he, it had them’.

A feature of South-East Bizkaia, shared by the High Deba, Southern Gipuzkoa and Araba is the lack of an absolute plural index when the plural direct object argument is indefinite (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 45).

The generalized past-marker *-(e)n* is commonly absent from North-West Bizkaian varieties; forms lacking *-(e)n* appear in the earliest known Bizkaian texts e.g., *ezer ez nekarre* (RS, 332) ‘I didn’t bring anything’ vs. *nekarren* elsewhere (Martínez-Areta, 2013: 43). Despite the lack of past-tense *-(e)n* in Aezkoan and some High Navarrese varieties, the consensus is that this loss is both secondary and recent (Trask, 1997: 224). The gerund, the basis of many non-finite forms, including the imperfective participle, in Bizkaian is formed with the allomorph -

te vs predominant *-tze* elsewhere, e.g. Bizkaian *ekar-ten* ‘bringing’, *ibil-ten* ‘walking’, *jo-ten* ‘hitting’ vs *ekar-tzen*, *ibil-tzen*, *jo-tzen* (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 40).

2.2.2 ii. Gipuzkoan

Gipuzkoan is the dialect on which Batua is based, exceptions including choices to increase regularity and morphemic segmentability of paradigms and the adoption of orthographic *h*. Gipuzkoan, often perceived as the most actively thriving dialect (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 42) is uniquely, apart from the coast, completely flanked by other Basque-speaking areas. It is spoken throughout Gipuzkoa, with characteristics extending into Navarre, Bonaparte assigning the variety of Burunda and Etxarri-Arrantz (6) to Gipuzkoan on the basis of work by local translators, who instead of reflecting local speech used the prestigious variety of Beterri, located between Donostia and Tolosa. Later researchers have reconsidered this allocation, Yrizar seeing the variety of Burunda, which includes elements of Gipuzkoan, Bizkaian and High Navarrese, as of uncertain classification; Zuazo considers it transitional, allocating the varieties of Etxarri-Aranatz and Ergoiena to High Navarrese (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 43).

Gipuzkoan manifests distinctive characteristics within the verb system, notably the predominance of *e* (see Appendix F, Table 6) in present-tense reflexes of *uk(h)en/*edun: det* ‘I have (it)’ *degu* ‘we have (it)’ (although *du* ‘s/he, it has’). Representation of the root vowel of *uk(h)en/*edun* as *e* extends to localities in Navarre, in certain varieties e.g., Burunda, Ergoiena in forms with a plural subject only e.g., *dezu* ‘you.FORMAL (a historic plural) have (it)’ (Burunda). Some Gipuzkoan varieties have forms transitional between Gipuzkoan and Bizkaian: Zegama has *deu* ~ *do* ‘s/he, it has (it)’ and Azpeitia *du* ~ *deu* (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 44, citing Yrizar 1991-2008) vs. Gipuzkoan *du*, Bizkaian *dau*. In Gipuzkoan, as in some localities in Navarre and coastal Lapurdi, *e* pervades present-tense reflexes of *izan*: *gera* ‘we are’ *zera* ‘you.FORMAL are’, likely from the dissimilation *a-a* > *e-a*, or vowel metathesis upon reanalysis of complementized forms like *zarela* ‘that you.FORMAL are’ (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 44). In ABS-DAT reflexes of *izan*, widespread *-ai-* > *-a-*, e.g. *zat* ‘s/he, it is to me’ vs Batua *zait*; *zitzazun* ‘s/he, it was to you.FORMAL’ vs *zitzazun*. Similarly, in

ABS-ERG reflexes of *uk(h)en/*edun -au- > -a-* e.g. *nazu* 'you.FORMAL have me' vs *nauzu* (Zuazo, 2014, pp. 79–85).

Some forms combine Eastern and Western features e.g. Ochoa de Arin (seventeenth-eighteenth century), writing in the variety of Ordizia, uses *zeban* 's/he, it had (it)', with the characteristic Western post-root *-a* and central ~ Eastern *z-*, cf. Southern High Navarrese and Batua *zuen* (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 44).

Some North-Eastern Gipuzkoan varieties form the post-root 2PL.ERG/DAT marker with *-te* rather than widespread *-e*: *dezute* 'you.PL have (it)', similarly *duzute* in some Northern High Navarrese varieties (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 44). The absolutive pluralizer *-zki* is widespread in Gipuzkoan, e.g. in the intimate allocative auxiliary forms *dizkiat* (M) ~ *dizkiñat* (F) 'I have them, you.INTIMATE (M~F) see' vs Batua *ditiat* (M) ~ *ditinat* (F) (Zuazo, 2014, pp. 79–85); lexical synthetic reflexes, e.g. *daramazki* 's/he, it carries/takes them' vs Eastern/Batua *daramatza*, *dakarzki* 's/he, it brings them' as opposed to Eastern/Batua *dakartza*. Some Navarrese varieties have *daramazki*, in Baztan, *da(ra)mazki* and *da(ra)matza* coexisting (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 44, citing Salaburu & Lakar, 2005, p. 128). Elsewhere, *-zki*, believed to be an innovation from reanalysis of the pluralizer *-z* and adjacent DAT flag *-ki* (Trask, 1997, p. 222), is anomalous, appearing e.g., in Batua *dakizkit* 'I know them', establishing itself through restricted analogical spread in central varieties. In some localities in the High Deba and Araba, the pluralizer *it-* is absent from 2.ABS-ERG auxiliaries e.g. *serbiduko zaut* 'I will serve you.FORMAL' cf. Batua *zaitut*; Martínez-Arieta (2013, p. 46) considers the omission of the pluralizer an innovation, motivated by the inherent plurality of the person marker *z-* rendering pleonastic pluralization unnecessary.

Gipuzkoan has idiosyncratic reflexes of *joan* 'go', e.g., *nijoa* 'I go' *dijoa* 's/he, it goes', *dijoaz* 'they go' cf. widespread *noa*, *doa*, *doaz*. Zuazo (2014, p. 80) considers these forms, also occurring in some Navarrese localities, illustrative of the innovative nature of central varieties. On the other hand, they might reflect an incomplete pre-root attachment process.

2.2.2. iii. High Navarrese

The High Navarrese Basque-speaking area is bordered to the North by Eastern Lapurdi and Low Navarre; it extends to Aezkoa in the East, its Southern perimeter some kilometres North of Iruñea-Pamplona. To the South-West is an island of High Navarrese speech, including Sakana, adjacent to transitional varieties with features of Lapurdian, Central and High/Low Navarrese varieties.

Since Bonaparte's harvesting of data, the High Navarrese Basque-speaking area, then extending significantly South of Iruñea-Pamplona, has regressed considerably Northwards. The decline of Basque within the Autonomous Community of Navarre is being somewhat offset by Batua-medium schooling although in younger speakers, reduction in the lexical and stylistic richness of local autochthonous varieties, frequent code-switching, pidginization and reduction in use of the intimate mode of address have ensued (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 48).

A strong intensity contrast between accented and unaccented syllables frequently triggers post-tonic syllable loss, most productively in Arantza, syncope and aphaeresis commonly co-occurring e.g. *kustnu* 's/he, it sees (it)' < *ikusten du* (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 48, citing Zelaieta, 2008, 126) This accentual type is considered archaic (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 48), attested in the late seventeenth century in coastal Lapurdi, suggesting it was once more widespread (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 48, apud Mitxelena 1972). Zuazo (2014, p. 108) remarks that vowel loss through frequent aphaeresis and syncope is also evident in North-East Gipuzkoa.

The idiosyncrasies of High Navarrese finite verbs include absolute pluralizer behaviour. Contrasting with the Gipuzkoan productivity of *-zki*, in High Navarrese (including its varieties in North-East Gipuzkoa) *it-* has spread from ABS-ERG to ABS-DAT-ERG auxiliary reflexes: *ditit* (> *ttit*) 's/he, it has them to me' vs *dizkit*; *ditio* (> *ttio*) 's/he, it has them to him/her/it' vs *dizkio*, *nittion* 'I had them to him/her/it' vs *nizkion* (Zuazo, 2014, p. 110). Divalent ABS.SG reflexes of *uk(h)en/*edun* with *u* are general in High Navarrese, although in some High Navarrese-Gipuzkoan transitional varieties *dut* and *det* 'I have (it)' alternate. The two isoglosses between Bizkaian *dot*/ Gipuzkoan *det* /Eastern *dut* (Z. *düt*) 'I have (it)' converge in Sakana. In Urdiain (Burunda), Western 1SG.ERG and 3SG.ERG *dot* and *dau* prevail, but

2FORMAL is the central *dezu*. By contrast, in Etxarri-Aranatz (mid Sakana) 1SG.ERG and 2INTIMATE.ERG have central *det, dek* (M) ~ *den* (F) but 3SG.ERG, Western *dau*. Ergoiena has Western *dot, dok* (M) ~ *don* (F) and 3SG.ERG *do* (<*dau*), while mid Sakana has Eastern *dut, duk* (M) ~ *dun* (F), *du* (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 49, citing Erdozia, 2001, p. 260).

Uniquely, non-present 3.ABS-DAT indicative context reflexes in Southern High Navarrese and some Northern High Navarrese varieties are sourced not by *izan*, but **edin*, elsewhere furnishing subjunctive contexts, having eluded the switch from aspectual to mood function (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 52). They have the initial string *zaki-* rather than Batua *zitza-* e.g. *zakidan* ‘s/he, it was to me’ vs *zitzaidan*; *zekio* (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 52) or *zakion* or ‘s/he, it was to him/her/it’ vs Batua *zitzaion* (Zuazo, 2014, p. 110).

Trivalent auxiliaries are furnished by **-i-* in most of Peninsular Navarre, **eradun* prevailing in Baztan and part of Sakana. The two roots alternate facultatively in High Navarrese writings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 54, citing Kerejeta, 1991, p. 168), tripersonal reflexes of **eradun* also appearing in Old Gipuzkoan (with ABS.PL) and Araban (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 54).

In Southern High Navarrese word-final 1SG.DAT *-da* does not yield word-final *-t* as in most other dialects: the eighteenth-nineteenth century writings of Lizarraga de Elcano include e.g. *atzendu zekida* ‘I forgot it’, *ori eztagokida* ‘that does not correspond to me’ (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 52). Similar forms appear in some Northern High Navarrese varieties, e.g. Ultzama, with *zaide* ‘s/he, it is to me’ <*zaida* (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 52, citing Ibarra Murillo, 1995, p. 422).

Southern High Navarrese past-tense forms lack predominant *-(e)n*, e.g. *nitza* ‘I was’ vs. Batua *nintzen* furthermore lacking medial *n* as do Northern High Navarrese varieties, *ze* ‘s/he, it was’ vs. *zen*, *zue* ‘s/he it had (it)’ vs *zuen*, *-n* deletion occurring independently in North-Western varieties of Bizkaian (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 51). Some see this development as an innovation consequent on the reanalysis of complementized forms obscuring the past marker, e.g. *zuela* ‘that s/he, it had (it)’ (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 52).

In synthetic reflexes, the pre-root 2INTIMATE marker is *y-* rather than *h-* ~ \emptyset -, e.g. *yaiz* ‘you.INTIMATE are’ vs widespread *haiz*; *yabil* ‘you.INTIMATE walk’ vs *habil*, also found in

North-East Gipuzkoan localities (Zuazo, 2014, p. 96). A set of idiosyncratic reflexes of *joan* 'go', manifests *g-* as the pre-root 2INTIMATE marker: (*g*)*oaie* vs. widespread *hoa* 'you.FAMILIAR go', the post-root vowels *-ie* continuing in other persons e.g. *noaie* for *noa* 'I go' *doaie* for *doa* 's/he, it goes' (Zuazo, 2014, p. 108).

In the High Navarrese prospective/future participle of verbs in the *-tu* class, *-tiko* replaces widespread *-tuko* e.g., *artiko* 'will take' vs *hartuko*, *pastiko* 'will pass, spend (time)' vs *pasatuko* (Zuazo, 2014: 101).

2.2.2 iv. Aezkoan

Aezkoan is flanked to the West by High Navarrese, to the North by Low Navarrese; to the East, South and South-West it neighbours areas Basque-speaking during the time of Bonaparte, but no longer so (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 56). Bonaparte classified Aezkoan (25) as a subdialect of Western Low Navarrese on account of forms such as *niz* 'I am', the lack of *-(e)n* in past-tense forms, the initial velar of demonstratives and distinctive initial segments of non-finite verb-forms, e.g. *xan* for *jan* 'eat', *fan* for *joan* 'go' (Zuazo, 2013, p. 105). Although classified as a dialect in its own right by Azkue and Mitxelena, Zuazo considers Aezkoan intermediate between Navarrese and Navarro-Lapurđian (Zuazo, 2013, pp. 12, 62)

Like High Navarrese, it manifests pervasive syncope e.g. *atra* 'take out' vs. Batua *atera*, *abrats* 'rich' vs. *aberats* (*Euskarabidea: Euskararen Nafar Institutua*, n.d.). Aphaeresis is common in present tense auxiliary reflexes e.g. *tut* 'I have them', *tuzu* 'you.FORMAL have them' (Yrizar, 2008, p. 538) vs. Batua *ditut*, *dituzu*.

Aezkoan shares with Low Navarrese reflexes of *izan* e.g. *niz* 'I am', *zira* 'you.FORMAL are', *gira* 'we are' (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 56). Aligning with Southern High Navarrese, it overwhelmingly lacks past-tense *-(e)n* e.g. *zire* 'they were' (*Euskarabidea: Euskararen Nafar Institutua*, n.d.) vs. Batua *ziren*. As in Low Navarrese, **eradun* furnishes indicative context tripersonal reflexes (*Euskarabidea: Euskararen Nafar Institutua*, n.d.) and 3.DAT forms manifest *-k* e.g. *dakot* 'I have it to him/her/it' < **deraukot*. The past-tense pre-root vowel is *a-* e.g. *zabile* 's/he, it walked' (vs. *e-* in Batua *zebilen*), *nakien* 'I knew (it)' vs Batua *nekien*, except in *zego* 's/he, it was (stative)' from *egon*; the 2.FORMAL post-root marker is *-zie* vs.

Batua *-zue* (*Dialectos – Mediateka*, n.d.). Aezkoan generally lacks the medial *n* of non-present forms (unlike Salazarese and Roncalese) e.g., *nitze* ‘I was’ (vs. Batua *nintzen*), aligning with High Navarrese, although not systematically: e.g., *gindaitze* ‘we walked’, *gindaude* ‘we were (stative)’, *ginuzen* ‘we had them’ (*Dialectos – Mediateka*, n.d.) with the absolute pluralizer *-z* as in Bizkaian *genduzan*, despite the dialects being geographically distant from one another, vs *it-* in Batua *genituen*.

The prospective/future participle of *-n* class verbs forms with *-ain* vs *-go/-en* elsewhere, e.g., *izan* giving *izain* ‘will be’ (*Dialectos – Mediateka*, n.d.) vs Western *izango* ~ Eastern *izanen*, arguably supporting Trask’s hypothesis (1990) that this verb group was anciently *-ani* final.

Aezkoan has the 2INTERMEDIATE *xuketa* mode of address, but without the allocutives manifest in Eastern Low Navarrese (Yrizar, 2008, p. 686). Distinctively, in some Aezkoan localities, e.g. Sunbilla, the 2INTIMATE *hiketa* is used between husband and wife; 2FORMAL, the marital norm elsewhere, seen as indicating a lack of trust (Yrizar, 2008, p. 685).

2.2.2 v. Lapurdian

Bonaparte (1869) identified Lapurdian (IV) as extending from Western Lapurdi to the North of Baztan in Peninsular Navarre, distinguished from Low Navarrese by *-u + -a/-e* not triggering morpho-phonological change e.g. *mundu* ‘world’ + *-a* > *mundua* ‘(the) world’, rather than *munduya* > *mundia*; the reflexes *naiz* ‘I am’ and *gare* ‘we are’ vs Eastern *niz* and *gira* (Zuazo, 2013, p. 105), the lack of 2FORMAL allocutives and of the Eastern 2INTERMEDIATE *xuketa* address (Zuazo, 2013, p. 104). In the twentieth century Yrizar deemed the varieties of Ustaritze (Fr Ustaritz) and Hazparne (Fr Hasparren), Low Navarrese for Bonaparte, similar to other Lapurdian varieties, concluding that the boundary between Lapurdian and Low Navarrese was less distinct than previously thought (Zuazo, 2013, p. 103). Zuazo, whilst acknowledging distinctive varieties, considers the magnitude of difference between those previously allocated to Lapurdian or Low Navarrese insufficient to invoke two dialects, conflating Lapurdian and Low Navarrese into Navarrese-Lapurdian (2013, p. 204). This conflation not only accords with the spirit of Lafitte’s 1944 *Grammaire basque (navarro-labourdin littéraire)* but reflects the increasing contact between speakers of inland and coastal varieties through coastwards migration (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 52), earning

Navarrese-Lapurcian the nickname *Iparraldeko Batua* — ‘Unified Northern’ (Zuazo, 2013, p. 109).

Monovalent ABS.PL (including the historically plural 2FORMAL) reflexes of *izan* tend to be *-e* final: *gare* ‘we are’, *zare* ‘you.FORMAL are’, *dire* ‘they are’ vs Batua *gara*, *zara*, *dira* (see Appendix F Table 6), with *ge* ‘we are’ and *ze* ‘you.FORMAL are’ in the coastal variety (Zuazo, 2014). Final *-e* appears in early writings, e.g., Axular alternating with *-a*. Martínez-Areta suggests that *-e* forms could result from dissimilation, from analogy with *dire*, itself resulting from vowel assimilation (< *dira*), or from reanalysis of complementized forms such as *zare-la* < **zaraela* (2013, p. 54). An alternative explanation might arise from *-de*-final forms, e.g., in Etxepare, possibly *dirade* > **dirae* > *dira* /*dire*. In Eastern Lapurdi *ai* > *au* in ABS-DAT reflexes of *izan*, e.g. as in Low Navarrese *zaut* for *zait* ‘s/he, it is to me’ (Zuazo, 2013, p. 110), *-au*-forms appearing in the work of some nineteenth century Lapurdian authors (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 58, citing Pikabea 1993, pp. 50-66).

Tripersonal indicative context auxiliaries are mainly from **-i-* as in Gipuzkoan and Batua e.g., *diot* ‘I have (it) to him/her/it’, *diogu* ‘we have (it) to him/her/it’. Around Uztaritze, however, reflexes of **-i-* and **eradun* vary facultatively: *dako* (< **derauko*) ~ *dio* ‘s/he, it has (it) to him/her/it’ (Zuazo, 2013, p. 111), as in 3.DAT tripersonal reflexes in Axular’s seventeenth century work, with *derauka* and *dio*, both ‘s/he, it has (it) to him, her, it’ (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 54, Footnote 22).

An idiosyncrasy termed by Lafitte (1944, p. 296) *le solécisme de la côte* ‘the solecism of the coast’ is the expression of a 3SG.ABS trivalent reflex using a form where a pre-root 1st/2nd person marker, in the locus typically reserved for the absolute, or, the ergative in ergative-fronted forms, is construed as dative. The *solécisme* is blocked by a 3SG/PL.DAT marker (Zuazo, 2013, p. 111). Lafitte (1944, p. 296) insists on *ogia ekharri daut* ‘he has brought (the) bread to me’, never *ogia ekharri nau* ‘he has brought me the bread’, with both *n-* ‘me’ and *ogia* ‘(the) bread’ as direct objects (*nau* elsewhere construed as ‘s/he has me’). The *solécisme* appears in Arbona (Arbonne), Basusarri (Bassussary), Arrangoitze (Arcangues), with traces in Zuraide (Souraïde). In the Peninsula it has spread to North-East Gipuzkoa and North-Western Navarre, also to geographically distant Lekeitio (Bizkaia) (Zuazo, 2013, p. 111). According to Martínez-Areta (2013, p. 55) the *solécisme* is a recent innovation.

In South-Western varieties, some perfective participles are formed with *-iten*: e.g. *izaiten* ‘being’, *joiten* ‘hitting, playing’, reminiscent of the Aezkoan prospective/future participle *izain*, these forms losing ground to Batua *izaten*, *jotzen* (Zuazo, 2013, p. 113).

2.2.2 vi. Low Navarrese

Low Navarrese is flanked to the West by Lapurdian, to the North by romance-speaking Gascony, to the East by Zuberoan and to the South and South-West by Peninsular Navarre. It extends into Eastern Lapurdi as far as Ustaritze, and according to some classifications, Southwards to include the Aezkoan Valley.

Bonaparte distinguished Western (VIII) from Eastern (VII) Low Navarrese, using as a key criterion the presence of 2^{FORMAL} and 2^{INTERMEDIATE} allocutives in the East, but not in the West: the presence of 2^{INTERMEDIATE} allocutives is unique to Eastern Low Navarrese, including Salazarese (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 57). Bonaparte, as others since, expressed reservations on the validity of an East-West divide, Lafon considering Etxepare’s unsystematic usage of 2^{FORMAL} allocutives indicative of innovation (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 57, citing Lafon, 1999 [1951], p. 754). Azkue’s merging of Eastern and Western Low Navarrese (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 55) was upheld by Mitxelena, and more than half a century later, by Zuazo’s Navarrese-Lapurdi.

Despite progressive merging (see Chapter Two, 2.2.2 v.), data from the early 1970s show a set of isoglosses delimiting Low Navarrese: *izan* yields Low Navarrese *niz* ‘I am’, *zira* ‘you.2^{FORMAL} are’, *gira* ‘we are’, *nitzai-* ‘I am (+ DAT)’ vs Lapurdian *naiz*, *zare*, *gare*, *natzai-*; **edin* furnishes e.g., *zite(ze)n* ‘that you.FORMAL are’ vs. Lapurdian *zaite(ze)n*.

Monophthongization is recurrent, appearing in Low Navarrese reflexes of *uk(h)en/*edun*: *nu* ‘s/he, it has me’, *gitu* ‘s/he, it has us’ vs Lapurdian *nau*, *gaitu* (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 56). **Eradun* largely sources trivalent indicative context auxiliaries, as in Aezkoan, 3.DAT reflexes featuring *k* (See Chapter Five, 5.2.3 iv.): *dako* ‘s/he, it has to him, her, it’ < **derauko* vs. Lapurdian *dio*.

Low Navarrese 1/2.ABS present, past, present conditional and imperative reflexes of **edin* lack the pluralizer *-z*: *giten*, *ziten* ‘that we, you.FORMAL were’ (Lafitte, 1979, pp. 266–267) cf.

Batua *gaitezen, zaitezen*. Such Low Navarrese forms appear in Etxepare, with *zau-* in ABS-DAT reflexes of *izan*, although, greatly outnumbered by forms with *zai-* (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 58), the spread of *zau-* possibly favoured by transitive divalent reflexes with *dau-*.

In Low Navarrese, as general in the Eastern varieties, some verbs systematically, others sporadically, do not index a dative argument, even when overt and definite (Trask, 1997, p. 221), already evidenced in Etxepare e.g. *Ceyn guiçonec andriari emaytendu oguena* (III,46) ‘What man gives the blame to the woman?’ with ABS-ERG auxiliary *du*, rather than ABS-ERG-DAT **darauca* ~ *derauca*. Dative index omission has spread Westwards through the Continental Basque Country in recent times (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 57).

2.2.2 vii. Zuberoan

Zuberoan is the most Easterly Basque dialect, its range shifted East relative to the historic province boundaries of Soule (Bq Zuberoa). In the West of Zuberoa is a thin Low Navarrese-speaking triangle, widest to the North. In the North and East, Zuberoan extends into adjoining Béarn. In the South, it borders Aezkoan to the West, and the extinct Roncalese to the East. Gascon has been the major source of innovation in Zuberoan, from its use as the official administrative language of the province between the fourteenth and sixteenth century (Zuazo, 2013, p. 22). Zuberoa, being relatively isolated, was never reached by some widespread changes (Zuazo, 2013, p. 23).

Attested from the seventeenth century works of Oihenart and Tartas, the latter including Low Navarrese and Lapurdian elements in order to reach speakers of other Continental dialects (Martínez-Areta (ed.), 2013, p. xxi), Zuberoan is regarded by some as the most idiosyncratic dialect; by many, second to Bizkaian. Its distinctive features are overwhelmingly phonetic: *u* > *ü* from Gascon (Zuazo, 2013, p. 23); /j/ as French [ʒ], represented as *dx-* e.g., *dxan* ‘eat’ vs. Bat. *jan* (Zuazo, 2013, p. 26); /r/ > /λ/ e.g., *holli* ‘yellow’ vs. Batua *hori* (Zuazo, 2013, p. 33); minimal pairs distinguished by aspiration, e.g. *ókher* ‘twisted’ vs. *óker* ‘belch’, or a glottal fricative, e.g. *har* ‘worm’, also ‘take’ vs *ar* ‘male’ (Trask, 1997, p. 162). Distinctively, Zuberoan has a full set of nasal vowels, reflexes of lost archaic intervocalic (lenis) *n* (Trask, 1997, p. 140), the process of intervocalic loss *-VnV-* > *ṽhṽ-* > *-VV-*, not reaching completion. Nasal vowels also appear in early Bizkaian writings,

e.g. *ardão* ‘wine’ (< **ardano*) in Garibai, probably not long before their loss, which elsewhere seems to predate known records (Trask, 1997, p. 140). Like High Navarrese, Zuberoan has strongly differentiated accented and unaccented syllables, giving rise to contracted forms (Zuazo, 2013, p. 28) with an important role in lexical and grammatical development, e.g. *gazná* ‘cheese’ < **gaztana* vs Batua *gazta*, assimilation of the definite determiner to the root-final vowel e.g. *itxasóan* ‘on the sea’ > *itxasúan* > *itxasún* (Zuazo, 2013, p. 26). Zuberoan idiosyncrasies include the *hitz egiten ari dira* attachment of *-ik /-rik* to participles where *-ta /-a* is added elsewhere e.g. *entzünik nízün* ‘I had heard about it’ vs Batua *entzuna nuen* (Zuazo, 2013, p. 32).

Zuberoan verb inflections are distinctive phonetically rather than morphologically e.g., in the vowels of ABS-ERG auxiliaries such as *düt* ‘I have (it)’, *-au-* > *-ai-* giving *nái* ‘s/he has me’ (< *nau*), *nái-e* ‘they have me’ (< *nau-e*) vs. Batua *nau*, *naute* (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 63), Zuberoan sharing with Bizkaian the ERG.PL marker *-e*. The last syllable of past-tense auxiliaries is stressed e.g. *ginén* ‘we were’, *zinén* ‘you.FORMAL were’, possible contractions of **gináen*, **zináen*, (Zuazo, 2013, p. 28). Past-tense 2INTIMATE allocutives lack the past-tense marker *-n* e.g. *nündia* ‘I was, you(M) see’ vs. Batua *ninduan* [unmarked *nintzen*], *ziá* s/he, it was, you(M) see’ vs. Batua *zuan* [unmarked *zen*] (Zuazo, 2014, p. 156). **Eradun*, furnishing ABS-DAT-ERG indicative context auxiliary reflexes, has undergone the idiosyncratic transformation **eradun* → **erau* → **erai* → **erei* → *ei* giving *deit* ‘s/he, it has (it) to me’, *déizüt* ‘I have (it) to you.FORMAL’ vs. Bat. *dit*, *dizut* (Zuazo, 2013, pp. 31-32).

The few exceptions where idiosyncratic verb behaviour is less readily explained phonetically include absolute pluralizer choice, past-tense ABS-DAT paradigm formation and the synthetic future. The absolute plural index in ABS-DAT and ABS-DAT-ERG and auxiliaries is – (t)z: *záitzat/ záízt* ‘they are to me’, *deízt* ‘s/he, it has them to me’, *déizkü* ‘s/he, it has them to us’ vs. *-zki* in Batua *zaizkit*, *dizkit*, *dizkigu*, the Zuberoan forms being firmly established in the repertoire of young people (Zuazo, 2013, p. 32). Past-tense ABS-DAT indicative context reflexes are not formed using *zit-* as in central varieties. As in Western Basque, they form on the present-tense + past *-(e)n*: *zei-* in *zéitan* ‘s/he it was to me’, *zeión* ‘it was to him/her/it’ vs. Batua *zitzaidan*, *zitzaion*, similar reflexes appearing in the 1696 writings of Athanase Belaipere e.g. *bi aingürü xuriz estalirik agertü zaitzen* ‘two angels swathed in white appeared to them’ (Zuazo, 2013, p. 32). Uniquely, Zuberoan, and a few adjacent Low

Navarrese varieties have an inflected future, largely confined to *izan* e.g., *nizate(ke)* ‘I will be’. Once widespread, its usage has declined and where it persists, its role includes the epistemic (Trask, 1997, p. 225). In early texts, its semantic scope was wider than that of futurity alone, Lafon postulating that *-ke* could attach freely to finite verbs to convey indefiniteness, possibility or probability (Trask, 1997, p. 224). In Batua, *-ke* appears in the conditionals, the hypotheticals, and the epistemic indicative. There would likely have been an interim period during which the epistemic took the role of the ‘archaic future’ representing an extension of potentiality to futurity (Trask, 1997, p. 225).

2.2.3 Concluding comments

Endeavours in phonology and dialectology have provided insights into the history of the language, indicating which features are likely innovations and which, although confined to specific localities, were previously widespread e.g., the presence of nasalized vowels in the diametrically opposed North-East and far West. Indicative context tripersonal auxiliaries, assuming different forms across dialects, derive from two main sources: **-i-* and roots compounded on **edun* (**eradun*, **edutsi*, **eradutsi*). These insights have, in turn, generated further investigation into which dialect(s) may have split first from common Basque. Zuazo considers that Western Basque branched off earliest; others, however, cf. Lakarra Andrinua, see the East as first to split (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 80). All dialects have both innovating and ancient features; first appearances as to which might be which, can be deceptive. Whilst the literature often tacitly accepts that the central dialects are innovating and those on the periphery conservative, it is wise to recall Trask’s note of caution that the state of historical dialect understanding renders this generalization less than secure (Trask, 1997, pp. 5–7).

2.3 THE RELATIONSHIP OF SIXTEENTH CENTURY BASQUE TO BATUA

This section evaluates the perception that Basque has barely changed since the sixteenth century, Trask asserting ‘those early texts are very largely congruent with the modern language in their grammar’ (1997, p. 196). It is, indeed, possible, on the basis of Batua, to access the texts investigated in Chapters Three and Four with reasonable comprehension.

As in the sixteenth century, Basque remains overwhelmingly ergative in its finite verb and DP indexing, case-marking only the final element of the DP, largely post-inflective (Trask, 1997, p. 83), morphology approaching the agglutinating pole of the inflecting-agglutinating continuum.

In what follows, salient semantic, verb system, syntactic, textual, phonological and morphological features of the sixteenth century language are examined to gauge the nature and extent of change between the sixteenth century and the present day.

2.3.1 Semantic change

The sixteenth century witnesses identifiable semantic change. The scope of the 2nd person address forms underwent a shift at different rates in different localities. Throughout the New Testament and accompanying religious texts, Leizarraga uses *hiketa* as a generic singular, freely between the sexes: Christ addresses Martha using the allocutive *eztun* ‘it is not, you.INTIMATE(F) see’ and unmarked *dun* ‘you.INTIMATE(F) have (it)’: *Eta norc-ere vici baita, eta sinhesten baitu ni baithan, secularan eztun hilen. Sinhestẽ dun haur?* (John Ch.XI v.26) ‘And whoever lives and believes in me will never die, do you.INTIMATE(F) believe this?’. The modern Interchurch Bible counterpart uses 2.FORMAL *zuketa*, with non-allocutive *badu* ‘if s/he, it has (it)’ and *duzu* ‘you.FORMAL have (it)’: *Eta bizi dena, niregan sinesten badu, ez da betiko hilko. Sinesten al duzu hau?* (BIBLIJA.Net - Biblia Interneten, n.d.). In his religious texts, Leizarraga uses more recently formed plural address *zueketa*, avoiding the older plural *zuketa*, reserved for singular reference in two addresses to the monarchy, demonstrating that, in his variety, its transition to modern singular scope was underway and that *hiketa* was no longer an all-context singular. Etxepare generally uses *zuketa* with singular reference, occasionally *hiketa* to express frustration. Lazarraga uses *zuketa* and *hiketa*, the first more frequently, without confining the second to emotive contexts, also the developing *zueketa*, sometimes with the new plural pronoun indexing old plural person markers. The Bizkaian of *Garibai* and *RS* reflect the earlier picture, *hiketa* as the unmarked singular, e.g., *Garibai* (Cc. 79, VIII), *RS* (36) and *zuketa* as the plural, e.g., *Garibai* (Cc. 79, LVIII), *RS* (67). Neither text features *zueketa*. Zumarraga’s Durango Bizkaian letter, however, uses *zuketa*

with singular reference in an intimate context, as does the Gipuzkoan Oñati poetry. The High Navarrese texts manifest three forms of address: the marriage vows, from Zufia and Esparza use *zuketa* with singular reference; those from Urtega, use *hiketa* between the sexes; *Elegía de Juan de Amendux* features the newer plural *zueketa*, with specialized person markers consistent with those in the modern language. The transition from generic singular *hiketa* and plural *zuketa* to modern intimate *hiketa*, singular *zuketa* and plural *zueketa* spanned a number of centuries, pace varying with location: Azkue observes that *zuketa* was still in use with plural reference in parts of Bizkaia in the late nineteenth century (Trask, 1997, p. 196).

The sixteenth century argumental structure subcategorized by certain verb groups had, by the eighteenth century, undergone realignment. The class of intransitive biargumental ABS-DAT verbs provide an interesting example in that one subclass largely retained its archaic valency, while another did not. Affective verbs where the experiencer, or ‘subject’ is expressed in the dative and the stimulus in the absolutive retained ABS-DAT valency (Mounole Hiriart-Urruty, 2014 [2018], pp. 131, 356): e.g., from the sixteenth century, *EsPerançeau galdu jat* (Lazarraga, P, f. 6v,5) ‘I have lost hope’ with PFV.PTCP *galdu* ‘lost’ + AUX *jat* ‘it is to me’. Affective ABS-DAT valency, also known as dative subject construction, persists today, e.g., ‘*Joni liburua ahaztu zaio* ‘John has forgotten the book, literally ‘the book has forgotten to John’ ’ (Trask, 1995, p. 71). There were, however, a few exceptions where valency changed, e.g., *etxeki* ‘attach, adhere’ has shifted from its sixteenth century ABS-DAT patterning e.g.,

<i>eta guciey baitacheté laincoaren zeloá</i>				(Leizarraga, Acts Ch.XXI v.20)	
<i>eta</i>	<i>guci-ey</i>	<i>bait-[d]ache-té</i>	<i>lainco-a-ren</i>	<i>zelo-a</i>	
and	all-PL.DAT	COMP-attach.PRS[3SG.ABS]-3PL.DAT	God-DEF.DET-GEN	zeal-DEF.DET	
‘and the zeal of God imbues them all’					

to predominantly marking the stimulus as ERG in the modern language, Lhande (1926) describing two types of conjugation: intransitive, as in the sixteenth century, e.g. *natxiko* (1SG.ABS-3SG.DAT) ‘I hold onto him/her/it’ and transitive, e.g. *datxikat* (3SG.ABS.-1SG.ERG) ‘I hold it’, the valency contrast correlating with a semantic difference. A further example of an ABS-DAT affective verb attested in the sixteenth century is *ixeki/exeki* ‘burn’, e.g., *berroari suz iechequi* ‘the burning bush’ (Leizarraga, ã.iii.r /1221, 19), with *berroari* ‘the bush.DAT’.

Archaic ABS-DAT goal verbs, by contrast, did undergo diachronic change to diathesis. In contradistinction to affective verbs, ABS-DAT goal verbs express the agent or ‘subject’ as ABS and the goal as DAT (Mounole Hiriart-Urruty, 2014 [2018], p.131), e.g. *eutsi* ‘hold, grab, seize’ yields *ausso* ‘seize.INTIMATE (it)!’: *Ausso Chordon arz orri ta nic yñes dayda* (RS, 422) ‘Hordoño seize that bear that I may flee!’, similarly in Garibai *Ausbo Perucho Vdeorri, eta neuc iesdaguidan* (Garibai, G.139, 26) ‘Perucho, seize the boar that I may flee!’.

Ausso/ausbo has a 2INTIMATE.ABS subject, (h)a- and a 3SG.DAT marker -o, indexing the DP dative desinence -ri. By the eighteenth century, the category of ABS-DAT goal verbs had drastically shrunk. In those remaining, Continental dialects reassigned the agent (ABS > ERG) and the goal (DAT>ABS), assimilating a minority valency template to that of the major category of ABS-ERG action verbs; Peninsular dialects also reassigned the agent (ABS > ERG), but retained the goal as DAT, despite the rarity of valency change to an atypical argumental structure (Mounole Hiriart-Urruty, 2014 [2018], p. 355) e.g., *egunak egunari eztautso* ‘The day does not hold the day’ i.e. times change (Lafon, 1944, p. 177, vol.1), with *egunak* (ERG) and *egunari* (DAT) , both ‘the day’. The Peninsular realignment of goal verbs from ABS-DAT to ERG-DAT is a process distinct from the ERG-DAT alignment, first attested in seventeenth century texts, sourced by borrowings from Spanish with the personal marker *a*, homophonous with the dative, calqued in Basque as DAT rather than ABS, the alignment subsequently propagated to some verbs of Basque origin, notwithstanding the extreme rarity of differential object marking in ergative languages (Mounole Hiriart-Urruty, 2014 [2018], p.356).

Certain verbs attested in the early texts could take two ABS arguments, some, additionally, a DAT, e.g., *çarrez* ‘tell 2FORMAL.ABS (it) to me.DAT’ in Lazarraga *Arren eguia bat . çarrez/on dereiztaçuin ala ez* (f.17r III,1-2) ‘Please, tell me the truth, of whether you love me or not’, with a 3SG.DAT parallel in the Maiora (2011) compilation of Navarrese texts, cited in Mounole Hiriart-Urruty (2014 [2018], p.133) *çareço* ‘tell 2FORMAL.ABS (it) to him.DAT’: *Martini viar arrasean datorrela* ‘tell Martin to come tomorrow’. In parallel with ABS-DAT goal verbs, the minority ABS-ABS-(DAT) valency type has been analogically realigned to transitive verbs subcategorizing a single ABS argument. In the sixteenth century, ABS-ABS-(DAT) reflexes were already in competition with ABS-DAT-ERG transitive counterparts, e.g. ergative-fronted

vanerro in *Valinetan nic vanerro hari neure vihoça* ‘if I were to tell her (what is in) my heart’ (Etxepare V,17), *erradaçue* ‘tell.2PL (it) to me!’ (Leizarraga, Luke Ch.20 v.3), V+AUX *erran ieçaguc* ‘tell.INTIMATE[as SG] it to us!’ (Leizarraga, Luke Ch.22 v.67). Contrasting with ABS-ABS-(DAT) valency, a few verbs, less numerous than in subsequent centuries, can lack an ABS argument, having ERG and DAT only (Mounole Hiriart-Urruty, 2014 [2018], p. 134), e.g., *utzi* ‘leave’ in *niri vztaçu* (Etxepare X,54) ‘leave.FORMAL.ERG me.DAT!’, yet the same verb can also appear as trivalent ABS-DAT-ERG, e.g. *vtzi ieçoc mantoa-ere* (Leizarraga, Matthew Ch.5 v.40) ‘leave.INTIMATE.ERG him/her.DAT (your) cloak.ABS as well!’.

As with *erran* and *utzi*, variation in diathesis was widespread in the sixteenth century, even appearing within the same text, e.g. *beldur izan* ‘fear’ with a dative patient, *Ecen Herodes beldur çayón loannesi* ‘for Herod.ABS feared John.DAT (Leizarraga, Mark Ch.VI v.20), but a genitive patient in *populuaren beldur cen* ‘he.ABS feared the people.GEN’ (Matthew Ch.XIV v.5) (Mounole Hiriart-Urruty, 2014 [2018], p. 133).

Nowadays, as in the sixteenth century, di- and trivalent auxiliaries of **ezan* coexist; similarly di- (ABS-ERG) and trivalent (ABS-DAT-ERG) bi- reflexes of *erran* ‘say, tell’, e.g. *darradan* ‘that I.ERG say (it).ABS’ (Etxepare IX,43), *erradaçu* ‘say.FORMAL.ERG (it).ABS to me.DAT!’ (IX, 42). *Eduki* ‘have, possess’, however, no longer manifests the two valency patterns which coexisted in the sixteenth century: trivalent ABS-DAT-ERG forms, e.g., the imperative *euoc* ‘have.INTIMATE(M) (it) to him/her/it!’ in *Tamal euoc chiroari* (from *RS*, 78) ‘Have pity for the poor man!’, and divalent ABS-ERG reflexes, e.g., *daucat* ‘I have (it)’ in *rromeríabat Eguíteco/ jauna daucat níc gogo* (Lazarraga, f. 10r. 12) ‘I have desire, sir, to make a pilgrimage’. Trivalent reflexes appear until the late eighteenth century e.g. in Haraneder’s 1740 translation of The Gospel of St. Mark *edukiko dio bere emazteari* ‘he will hold [to] his wife’, but a dative object not possible with this verb today (Trask, 1997, pp. 227–228, citing Schuchardt, 1983, p. 46), the dative flag and 3SG.DAT marker having been reanalyzed as root components.

While the perfective participles *etxeki*, *iexeki/exeki* and *eduki* apparently manifest the dative flag *-ki*, the trend has been away from an indexed dative argument as patient. The 3SG.ERG null index could have catalyzed valency change, underpinning the morphological ambiguity +/- 3SG.ERG, particularly where a dative flag is accompanied by a segment interpretable as a 3.DAT Index, e.g., *dauka*, nowadays divalent ‘s/he, it has (it)’, historically, equally ‘s/he, it has (it) to him/her/it’. Similarly, forms such as *dautso* are interpretable as 3SG.ABS-3SG.DAT-3SG.ERG or 3SG.ABS-3SG.DAT. Generalizing, functional ambiguity provides fertile ground for valency shift.

The semantic change most profoundly re-shaping the language is the shift from an aspectual to a mood-based auxiliary system, considered below.

2.3.2 The verb system

Thinking has varied on the relationship between synthetic and V+AUX constructions. Until the twentieth century, synthetic reflexes were deemed corruptions of V+AUX verb groups, current consensus holding that synthetic reflexes anciently dominated (Gómez & Sainz, 1995, p. 236). Trask suggests that anciently, all indicative forms were synthetic, the only V+AUX groups involving the radical (1997, p. 108). In the sixteenth century, synthetic and periphrastic V+AUX constructions co-existed, well-established in the language.

The sixteenth century distribution of auxiliary roots differed from that of Batua, as two aspectually contrasting sets, particularly evident in the more extensively investigated texts: **edin* ‘be’, **ezan* (Bizkaian *egin*) di- and trivalent ‘have’ vs *izan* ‘be’, *uk(h)en/*edun* divalent ‘have’ and trivalent **-i- ~ *eradun ~ *edutsi*. Investigation into the aspectual distinction has focused on two oppositions: perfective vs perfect/pluperfect (e.g., Schuchardt, more recently Aldai Garai) and endpoint- vs non-endpoint encoding (Lafon) (see Appendix G). While these two oppositions complement, rather than exclude, one another, Lafon’s is the mainstay reference here, given its inclusion of the full range of timeframes, rather than focused on past-tense paradigms.

**Edin* and **ezan* ~ *egin*, specialized to subjunctive contexts in Batua, in the sixteenth century appear in main clause indicative contexts: from **edin*, *cedin* ‘s/he, it was’ in *Egun hunequin has cedin Euāgelioaren araeuzco reformationea Geneuaco ciuitatean* (Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 1386, [a.vi.v]) ‘On this day began the normative reformation of the Gospel in the city of Geneva’; from **ezan*, *ceçan* ‘s/he, it had (it)’ in *Egun hunequin har ceçan Mahomet bigarrenac Constantinopleco hiria* (Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 1383, [a.v.r]) ‘On this day Mahomet the Second took the city of Constantinople’.

Sixteenth century **edin* and **ezan* ~ *egin* had lexical function lacking today. Both expressed transformation, **edin* ‘become, come into being’: *Abraham cedin baino lehen, ni naiz* (John Ch. VIII v.58) ‘Before Adam **came into being**, I am’; **ezan*, ‘do, make’ parallel to auxiliary and lexical *egin* in Bizkaian: *gauça guciac ahal ditzaquet* (Phil., Ch. IV v.13) ‘I can do all things’ (Lafon, 1944, p. 40, vol.1). The two auxiliary sets impart contrasting nuances to other elements within the VP, e.g., in Leizarraga, the complementizer *-no*: ‘while’ with *izan* e.g., *deno* ‘while it is’ in *mundu hunetan bataillatzen deno* (1990, p. 1308, [C vii.v], 18) ‘while it (the church) battles in this world’ vs ‘until’ with **edin* e.g., *nadino* ‘until I am’ in *educaçue etor nadino* (Revelation Ch.II v.25) ‘hold fast to it until I come’ (Lafon, 1944, pp. 45, 49, vol.1).

Past-tense synthetic reflexes were, in the sixteenth century, perfective or aspectually neutral, but are imperfective in Batua. Lafon observes that the sixteenth century forms map to the French past historic and Spanish preterite instead of, as in the modern language, to the French imperfect, e.g. *engarren* ‘s/he, it brought you.INTIMATE’, *aroa* ‘s/he, it took you.INTIMATE away’ in *Gure mandoa, Ur-ac engarren eta urac aroa* (Garibai Cc 79, VIII) ‘Our mule, water brought you and water took you away’; *nentorre* ‘I came’, *nencarre* ‘I brought (it)’ in *Adiunça onean nentorre vaya ezer ez necarre* (*Refranes y Sentencias*, 332) ‘I came in a good season, but brought nothing’ (Lafon, 1944, pp. 34–35, vol. 1). In Batua, imperfective synthetic reflexes oppose perfect/perfective v+aux constructions: synthetic reflexes of *jakin* as ‘know’, their v+AUX counterparts, ‘find out’ (Trask, 1997, p. 108).

The sixteenth century boundary between auxiliary and lexical function was more graded than today. In Peninsular and Continental sources, predominantly lexical verbs frequently

appear as nuanced auxiliaries, some such usage continuing today. For instance, gnomic or habitual nuances are encoded by *joan 'go'*: *Surean quehea jayo doa* (RS, 360) 'smoke has the habit of arising from fire', *Picher ebilia hauxi diohaçu* (Etxepare, X, 43) 'The circulated jug is bound to break, you.FORMAL see', also *eroan* (Bizkaian) 'take, carry (away)'; *Triscan badabil asoa aus asco erigui daroa* (RS, 79) 'if the old woman goes dancing, she is wont to raise a lot of dust'.

Futurity finds expression in a greater range of sixteenth century constructions than in the modern language. Modern Basque expresses futurity by means of V+AUX groups with a prospective/future participle, formed by attaching *-ko/-go* or *-en* to the perfective participle together with a present-tense auxiliary; also in non-finite adverbial clauses, by the gerund plus *-rakoan* 'on going to'; Zuberoan has a vestigial synthetic future, syncretic with the epistemic indicative, largely confined to *izan*. Sixteenth century Basque represents a transition: like the modern language, it had future-tense V+AUX constructions, some, showing vacillation in respect of the modern structure by using a future, not a present-tense auxiliary, e.g., the prospective/future participle *erranen* 'will say' and the future auxiliary *dirate* 'they will say': *Emazteac cerengatic gaiz erranendirate* (Etxepare, III,9) 'Why will they denigrate women?'. The construction of finite verbs encoding futurity, and the breadth of their semantic scope, varied between sources and with the aspect encoded by the root. The marker *-ke ~ -te ~ teke* has narrower futurity scope in Etxepare and RS than in Leizarraga, where it encompasses possibility and probability; with non-endpoint-encoding roots, the marker expresses temporal indetermination, gnomic aspect or future duration with the sense 'will be in the process of/bound to', with endpoint-encoding roots, 'will/(will) be able to' (Lafon, 1944, pp. 58, 62, vol. 2). In Batua, *-ke* (*-teke* with *izan* and **edin*), present in the modern epistemic indicative, apodoses of the conditional and potential paradigms, has lost its earlier future meaning (Trask, 1997, pp. 224–225).

Morphologically present-tense reflexes of certain verbs are semantically future, e.g., suppletive congeners of *et(h)orri* 'come', *egin* 'make, do' and *eman* 'give': *iaugin* in Etxepare, **-idi-*, **-i-*, e.g. *atera day* 's/he, it will get (it)', with the radical *atera* 'take/go out' + *day* from **-i-*: *Arrien ganean jarri dina ypirdian atera day mina* (RS, 385) 'He who sits down on stone will get a pain in his backside'. Morphologically present-tense auxiliaries

expressing futurity without *-ke ~ -te ~ teke*, are endpoint-encoding, their futurity expressing facility possibly arising from their encoding of transformation. Similarly, in V+AUX constructions, an endpoint-encoding auxiliary can express futurity with the lexical radical, whereas a non-endpoint encoding auxiliary requires a prospective/future participle, e.g. *hardaçanac* ‘s/he, it who comes to take (it)’, comprising the radical of *hartu* ‘take’ and a relativized reflex of **ezan*, contrasting with *vqhenendu* ‘s/he, it will have (it), with the future/prospective participle and a finite reflex of *uk(h)en/*edun*:

Bercerena hardaçanac beretaco amore /Oborotan vqhenendu plazer bano dolore
(Etxepare, IV,7/8)

‘He who comes to take another’s beloved/Will more often have misery than pleasure’.

Pleonastic futurity marking is common in the sixteenth century e.g. V+AUX groups with a prospective/future participle and a future auxiliary as seen above (Etxepare, III,9), similarly in Leizarraga: *erranen baituque* (Mark Ch.XI v.23) ‘that s/he, it will say it’; **-i-* with *-ke* plus, *-a*, another futurity marker in some Bizkaian varieties; **-idi-* with *-ke* and *-a*: *diqueada* (RS, 233) ‘I will give (it) to you.INTIMATE(M)’.

The question of whether V+AUX constructions have eroded the tenure of synthetic reflexes is complex. The repertoire of sixteenth century periphrastic V+AUX constructions was arguably richer than that of today, with endpoint- and non-endpoint encoding auxiliaries in both matrix and embedded clauses, indicative and subjunctive contexts, later stripped of their aspectual nuances and modally compartmentalized. The role of the lexical participle expanded, it, rather than the auxiliary expressing the imperfective, perfect/perfective and the prospective/future. A reanalyzed apportioning of roles arose between the non-finite and finite components, the lexical participle predominantly acquiring the expression of aspect, the auxiliary expressing mood and the past-present distinction. The aspectual relationship between synthetic and V+AUX constructions underwent reanalysis: where a verb forms both, the synthetic encodes the imperfective and the V+AUX, the perfect/perfective; yet without rendering the imperfective participle redundant: *jakin* synthetically ‘know’, V+AUX ‘find out’.

A major difference between sixteenth century Basque and Batua arises from the reselection

of paradigms contingent upon the transition from an aspectual to a modal auxiliary system. As in Batua, paradigms form two groups, one based on the present, the other non-present. Fourteen paradigms have been lost since the sixteenth century, when there were already signs of endpoint-encoding paradigms acquiring modal roles; aspectual expression was also transferred from the finite verb to lexical means (see Appendix G, Tables 7, 8, 9 and ‘paradigms lost’).

Another type of paradigm loss, at least reduction from a relatively small sixteenth century base, concerns trivalent verbs with a 1/2.ABS direct object. Today, leastwise in everyday speech, a constraint applies permitting a 3.ABS direct object only (Trask, 1997, p. 196); see, however, Appendix C, especially Chart 1 and section 3 in respect of Mitxelena’s 1973 treatise. Leizarraga includes thirteen trivalent forms with a 1/2.ABS index (see Chapter Three, 3.3 on Leizarraga’s forms and subsequent attestations).

2.3.3 Syntactic change

In sixteenth century and modern Basque, phrase ordering is flexible, but with an embargo on the finite verb in the clause-initial position, handled by attaching as a semantically empty morph affirmative *ba-*. Flexible phrase order in clauses contrasts with rigid order within major phrases (Trask, 1997, p. 109), echoing widespread cross-linguistic contrasts in ordering within the same language, e.g., rigid clitic order vs very free word order in Serbian/Croatian (Spencer and Luís, 2013: 26).

Ez ‘not’, tending to immediately precede the verb, permits the negated verb complex, with a pronominal argument if present, to occupy the clause-initial position e.g., ***Nic ez tut erideiten haur baitan causeric batre*** (John Ch.XVIII v.38) ‘**I do not find** in him any fault whatsoever’, as in the modern language ordering. Sixteenth century sources, e.g. *RS* also witness an older ordering without verb-fronting in negative polarity clauses, as in their positive counterparts (Lakarra Andrinua, 1996, p. 255). In the sixteenth century, unlike in the modern language, the conservative *lexical participle–negator–auxiliary* ordering appears, albeit not exclusively, in main/matrix clauses, from which it was progressively displaced by the innovative *negator–auxiliary–lexical verb* sequencing (Salaberri, 2021, p.

11). In Batua, apart from negative polarity clauses, direct questions and imperatives, the predominant ordering is SOV, which had a significant sixteenth century presence, although less prominently than today.

Sixteenth century Basque and Batua manifest three complementizer types: attached to the right-hand edge of the finite verb, e.g. *-la* ‘that’ in an embedded statement, *-(e)n* ‘that’ in an embedded question, relative ‘which’, *-(e)lako* ‘because’; attached to the left-hand edge of the verb, e.g. *bait-* ‘for, because’, *ba-* ‘if’ (syncretic with the affirmative morph); clause-initial free words e.g. *ezen* ‘that’, *zeren* ‘because’, ‘for’. In the sixteenth century, clauses with the first and third complementizer types typically follow the matrix clause, the reverse obtaining in Batua: *Baina nic erraiten drauçuet ... iudicioz punitu içateco digne datela* ‘But I say to you.PL ... [that he] will deserve to be punished through the judgement’ (Matthew Ch.V, v.22).

As with other complementized clauses, in Batua the relative clause overwhelmingly precedes the matrix clause:

Goizean ikusi dugun mutilarekin hitz egiten ari dira

<i>goiz-ea-n</i>	<i>ikus-i</i>	<i>d-u-gu-n</i>	<i>mutil-a-rekin</i>	<i>hitz</i>
morning-DEF.SG-LOC	see.PFV.PTCP	d-have.PRS-1PL.-REL	boy-DEF.SG-COM	word.INDEF
<i>egi-ten</i>	<i>ari</i>	<i>dira</i>		
do-IPFV.PTCP	act.RAD	d-be.PRS.3PL.ABS		

‘They are talking to the boy (whom) we saw this morning’

but in some sixteenth century Basque, it not infrequently follows. As Rijk (2008, p. 489) points out ‘older usage in all dialects allowed a postnominal variant of the standard relative’. An illustration is provided by *mundura etorteco cena* ‘who was destined to come into the world’ in

.. ecen hi aicela Christ laincoarẽ Seme mundura ethorteco cena

(Leizarraga, John Ch.XI v.27)

<i>ecen</i>	<i>hi</i>	<i>aic-ela</i>	<i>Christ</i>	<i>lainco-a-rẽ</i>	<i>Seme</i>
COMP	you.INTIMATE	be.PRS.2INTIMATE.ABS-COMP	Christ	God-DEF.DET-GEN	Son.ABS.SG
<i>mundu-ra</i>	<i>ethor-te-co</i>	<i>cen-a</i>			
world-ALLAT	come-GERUND-ko	be.PST.3SG.ABS[COMP]DEF.DET.ABS.SG			

‘... that you are Christ the son of God who was destined to come into the world’

The distinction between postnominal and appositive relative clauses is an important one (Rijk, 2009, p. 489), but not always clear-cut. Rijk's examples include other renditions of John Ch.XI v.27: *Zu zarela, Jesus Kristo, Jainko biziaren Seme mundura etorri zarena* (Lardizabal 1855) as postnominal and *Jainko biziaren Semea, mundu honetara etorri zarena* (Duvoisin 1858) as appositive. In these written examples, the difference is evident through punctuation alone and, according to Krajewska, postnominal relative clauses may well have developed from appositives and been of later formation than their prenominal counterparts (2018, p. 421-422). Her findings also interestingly suggest that postnominal relative clauses, appearing in Leizarraga and Etxepare, but not in sixteenth century Bizkaian sources, are more common in formal than informal texts (2018, p. 129).

Another relative clause type, abundant in the sixteenth century, following the matrix clause, uses an interrogative as a clause-initial relative pronoun and *bait-* attached to the finite verb:

*Eta emanen darayela **cer** vaytute mereci* (Etxepare I,247)

<i>eta</i>	<i>eman-en</i>	<i>dara-ye-la</i>	cer
and	give-FUT.PTCP	d-have.PRS.[3SGABS]-3PLDAT[3SG.ERG]-COMP	what.REL
vayt- [d]ute	<i>mereci</i>		
COMP-[d]-have.PRS-3PL	deserve-PFV.PTCP		

'That He will give them what they deserve'

This last type, generally avoided in Batua,³ is useful since 'it is capable of bypassing a limitation of the *-(e)n* type relative clause: that only subject, direct object and indirect object NPs can be relativized' (Trask, 1997, p. 115). Perhaps for this reason, it occasionally occurs in modern literature, particularly in translations into Basque (Zubiri & Zubiri, 1995, p. 678).

In Batua, the use of clause-initial complementizers is widely deemed substandard and un-Basque: *Zenbait gramatikarik gaitzetsi izan ditu erdal kutsukoak direla eta* (Zubiri & Zubiri, 1995, p. 666) 'Certain grammarians reject them as being interferences from other languages'. Yet in the sixteenth century they were abundant, frequently accompanied by a

³ Particularly in the spoken language (Zubiri & Zubiri, 1995, p. 678)

verb-attached complementizer, e.g. *Cerenbait-* ‘for, because’:

*O heuscara lauda ezac garacico herria/Ceren hantic vqhen **baytuc** beharduyan thornuya*
(Etxepare, XV, 2/3)

‘O Basque, praise the town of Garazi/ **For** from there you have received the accolade due to you’.

The distribution of *l*-initial finite forms contrasts between sixteenth century Basque and Batua. In both, *l*- forms are restricted to 3.ABS reflexes with no 1st or 2nd person pre-root marker. Sixteenth century *l*- forms appear in concessive, until-, past-purpose-subjunctive clauses and some embedded clauses with indicative meaning (Aldai Garai, 2000, p. 77), John Ch.XI v.33 exemplifying *l*-form usage within an embedded indicative clause: *lesusec bada ikus ceçanean hura nigarrez **legoela**, eta harequin ethorri ciraden ludac nigarrez **leudela**...* ‘For when Jesus saw her weeping, and the Jews who had come with her weeping...’ with 3SG/PL.ABS reflexes of *egon*, **legoela** ‘that s/he, it was (stative)’, **leudela** ‘that they were (stative)’. Forms with initial *l*- also appear, in Continental and Peninsular use, in main clauses without the attached morphs obligatory today: from **iron* ‘be able’, *ezliro* ‘s/he, it would not be able to’ in *Ene mina sendo ezliro çuc bayeci vician* (Etxepare, IX, 36) ‘Other than you.FORMAL, no living soul could to cure my pain’; from *eman* ‘give’, *lemayo* ‘s/he, it would give’ in *Aramaio, dabenac ez lemayo* (RS, 284) ‘He who possesses Aramayona (village), wouldn’t give it away’. Batua *l*-forms are confined broadly to the irrealis (Trask, 1997, p. 219), specifically (see Appendix C, Table 2) the present irrealis conditional (4,5), the hypothetical (future) potential (8), past realis conditional (11), always accompanied by *ba-* or *-ke*, except by *-(e)n* in the hypothetical (future) subjunctive (13). For Aldai Garai’s hypothesis on the evolution and role of *l*- forms, see Appendix G, Part 2.

2.3.4 Textual features

Sixteenth century textual features provide insights into earlier phonological and morphological history. Diacritics, scanty today except for Zuberoan *ü* [y], and the occasional

use of *ñ* in placenames, are common in the sixteenth century texts, particularly Leizarraga; word boundaries frequently differ from those of Batua.

Leizarraga uses the acute accent abundantly, the diaeresis, somewhat less, frequently on the first syllable of a DP desinence with a definite determiner non-segmentable from an *a*-final root, or where a probable historic vowel sequence is represented, possibly indicating vowel lengthening or accentual position: *resuma* ‘kingdom’ gives *resumá* (Matt. Ch.XIX v.14) ‘the kingdom’; in the same verse, *hunelacoén* ‘the likes of these’, possibly underpinned by **hunelacoa(i)en* from the distal demonstrative plural *haie*- sourcing the DP pluralizer. Similarly, the DAT.PL person marker, *é* e.g., in *erran cieçén* (Matt. Ch.XIX v.28) ‘He said to them’, a vowel-sequence history underpinned both by Schuchardt’s (1947, p. 50) postulated 3SG.DAT *o* + pluralizer *-e* and Trask’s proposed distal demonstrative root **ai* (Gómez & Sainz, 1995, p. 251).

Word boundary positioning in VPs and DPs suggests notions of wordhood varying with those of today. Vacillations were common, e.g. the imperative *hazitzaçue* ‘nurture.2PL them’ as a single word form in *hazitzaçue çuen haorrac* (Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 1392 [A.i. v]) ‘nurture.2PL your children’, vs *haz itzaçue* (Ephesians Ch. VI v.6) with the radical and auxiliary separated; *bat* ‘a (certain) one’, often hyphen-linked or attached to a lexical host: *guiçon-batequin* (Luke Ch.I v.27) ‘with a (certain) man’; with anticipatory assimilation *guiçombat* (John Ch.XI v.1) ‘a (certain) man’.

In the earlier of Garibai’s two proverb collections, desinences are overwhelmingly linked to the lexical root by a hyphen or stop, across word classes and cases, e.g. the 2FORMAL.DAT index to the verb root in *Villa real de Urrechu, veti guerrea darrai-çu* (Cc 79 LVIII) ‘Royal town of Urrechu, war always **follows you**’; the ABS.DEF.DET *-ac* (*-ak*), comparative *-ago*, both twice in *Sar-ac urr-ago, Arrayn-ac estu-ago* (Cc 79 LX) ‘The **nearer** the **nets**, the **more crowded** the **fish**’. Two desinences always attach directly to the lexical root: partitive *-ic* (*-ik*) e.g. *Valiz-co ole-ac burniaric equin eç taroa* ‘The hypothetical forge produces no **iron**’ (Cc 79 XXX) and ABS.SG.DEF.DET *-a*, e.g. *Tresne-ac jabea dirudi* (Cc 79 XIX) ‘The tool resembles **the owner**’. Generalizing, non-case desinences, particularly the partitive and the absolutive (although not relational *-ko*) are less often separated from the lexical host.

In pre-Batua sources, in and later than the sixteenth century, constituents of the conservative negative polarity *lexical participle–negator–finite verb* ordering not uncommonly merge phonologically and orthographically, e.g. from the Lord’s Prayer in Betolatza’s *Doctrina Christiana en Romanze y Basquence* (1596)

da echiezeyguçu / jausten tentaciñoan
da ech-iez=eyguçu jaus-ten tentaciño-a-n
 and allow-PFV.PTCP=NEG-AUX fall-IPFV.PTCP temptation-DEF.DET-LOC
 ‘And do not allow us to fall into temptation’

(Adapted from Salaberri, 2021, p.26)

Furthermore, the vowel of the negator *ce* can merge with the first vowel of the auxiliary reflex, e.g., in *RS* 558

Ylbeeran ereyn cegic arean
Ylbeer-a-n ereyn ce=guic arean
 moon.wane-DEF.DET-LOC sow.PFV.PTCP NEG=AUX nothing
 ‘Do not sow anything at the time of the waning moon’

(Adapted from Salaberri, 2021, p.26).

Drawing upon a corpus of 120 texts spanning the sixteenth to mid-twentieth centuries Salaberri (2021, p. 14) observes that the *lexical participle–negator–finite verb* ordering, relatively common in sixteenth century main clauses, became increasingly infrequent, practically disappearing in the twentieth century (2021, p.29), postulating that univerbisation and merging, also low frequency, highly restrictive disruption by other constituents (comprising a maximum of four syllables) interleaved between the lexical participle and auxiliary afforded inferior syntactic flexibility relative to the innovative *negator – auxiliary – lexical participle* patterning, accommodating a disruption of several words and up to 48 syllables between the auxiliary and lexical verb (2021, p. 24).

Notwithstanding some counterexamples such as phonological and orthographical fusion within negative polarity units, forms such as *guiçombat* (John Ch.XI v.1) ‘a (certain) man’, diacritic use and word boundary positioning suggest that the sixteenth century witnesses a

transition from independent wordhood of at least some indices and desinences to dependency on a lexical root.

2.3.5 Phonological change

The phonology of Basque has change little over time: ‘it appears that most of the phonological development occurred before our earliest texts were written down’ (Trask, 1997, p. 47), that of the sixteenth century Basque overwhelmingly mapping to that of the modern language.

Authors provide guidance on specific orthography-pronunciation relationships: Leizarraga’s guidelines for instructing young people in literacy (Leizarraga et al., 1990, pp. 1393–1397 [A.ii r - A.iv r]), Etxepare’s advice to printers and readers includes that *ç* before *a*, *o*, or *u* is pronounced as *c* before *e*, *i*, with a more rasping sound than *z*. Etxepare’s *ç* and *c*, reflecting French orthographic convention, map to modern *z*, representing the laminal sibilant; Etxepare apparently perceives *-z*, overwhelmingly word-final in Etxepare’s orthography, as less ‘rasping’, perhaps consequent upon accentual patterning. The distribution of *ç*, *c*, *z* vs *s* parallels that of laminal *z* vs apical *s* in the modern language.

Sixteenth century orthography overwhelmingly represents a laminal – apical sibilant contrast, continuing in Batua and most varieties today. Sixteenth century High Navarrese texts, however, intimate a merger in favour of the apical ahead of its first Bizkaian attestation in the early seventeenth century (Trask, 1997, p. 138). Apical *s* sporadically occurs where the laminal, represented as *z* or *ç*, is anticipated: *isanen* ‘will have’, *estu* ‘s/he, it does not have (it)’, *estudan* ‘which I do not have’ (all line 11, Text II, *Elegía de Juan de Amendux*); instrumental *-z* as *-s* in *garitates* ‘by charity’ (line 12); in Text IIIc *duenas* ‘according to ... which it possesses’: *Erromaco eliča sanduac birtute duenas* ‘according to the authority which the Holy Roman Church possesses’. Co-occurring forms e.g., *drauçut* ‘I have (it) to you.FORMAL’, *biçi* ‘live (verb)’ suggest the merger was far from complete.

Garibai attests the presence of nasal vowels in sixteenth century Bizkaian, latterly restricted to Zuberoan and the extinct Roncalese (Trask, 1997, p. 140). Garibai contrasts *min* ‘pain’

with *miñ[a]* ‘[the] tongue’: *Aguine an min daben-ac miña ara* (Cc 79 XXXI) ‘On the tooth which has the pain, thither the tongue’, explaining ‘That word *miña*, meaning *tongue*, must be pronounced somewhat with the nostrils to represent the *n* with the tilde, in very common use in this language in many words, for if it were to be written with *n*, it would be pronounced *mina*, meaning pain and sorrow’.⁴ Urquijo recalls the Navarro Tomás reference to the earlier (1565) remarks of Madariaga Vizcayno, ‘... N on occasion is pronounced hidden in the nostrils, such as in *oracio* (‘prayer’, for *oración*), *ardaoa* (‘wine’, probably from **ardano*) and this sort of n should be denoted by a superscripted symbol in nose-like form’⁵

Pre-Basque had fortis **N** and lenis **n**, contrasting only in the intervocalic position; intervocalic **n** was lost before AD 1000, following which **N** > **n** (Trask, 1997, p. 139). ‘Tongue’ is reconstructed as **bini*, nasal assimilation producing **mini*, loss of intervocalic lenis **n**, **mĩĩ* (Trask, 1997, p. 141). This loss must have predated the protective, regular triggering of palatalization by preceding *i*-. The adjacent vowels were then protected against hiatus by the glottal fricative, giving *mihi* in modern Lapurdian and Low Navarrese, *mĩhĩ* in Zuberoan. In the Peninsular dialects, the glottal fricative was lost, yielding *mii*, or, through coalescence *mi* (Trask, 1997, p. 141), more frequently *min*. *Min* illustrates the reinterpretation of a nasal vowel from a historic preceding nasal consonant, as a following nasal consonant, a mechanism for metathesis (Trask, 1997, p. 140).

The common appearance of the tilde or circumflex suggests nasal vowels were widespread in the sixteenth century; Leizarraga elucidates *ã* as *am* or *an* (1990, p. 1396 [A.iii v]), mirroring French, where nasal vowels, represented as a vowel plus a nasal consonant are realized in the same way irrespective of whether the consonant, unpronounced in its own right, is *n* or *m*.

The sequence *-adu-* features in some sixteenth century finite reflexes, where Batua has lost intervocalic *d*: from *eduki*, e.g., *daducate* (Matthew Ch.21 v.26) ‘they hold him/her/it’,

⁴ ‘Aquella dición *miña*, que significa *lengua*, se ha de pronunciar algo con las narizes, supliendo la *n* de la tilde con ellas, cosa muy usada en esta lengua en muchas diciones, porque si se escribiese con la *n*, diria *mina*, que significa *dolor y amargura*’ (Urquijo é Ibarro, 1919, p. XLI).

⁵ ‘...La N alguna vez se pronuncia escondida en las narizes, como en *oracio*, *ardaoa* y para denotar aquella n, se deue sobre poner vna cifra desta manera a modo de nariz.>> (Urquijo é Ibarro, 1919, p. XLI citing Madariaga Vizcayno, 1565)’.

daduçaçu ‘you.FORMAL have’ (Etxepare, X, 32) vs Batua *daukate, daukazu*.

Sixteenth century sources offer valuable insights into earlier stages in change: the sibilant merger underway in High Navarrese, the widespread presence of nasal vowels, lost intervocalic *d* and, with reference to 2.3.4 and 2.3.6, forms evidencing the diverse re-grammaticalization of demonstratives.

2.3.6 Morphological change

This subsection addresses the regrammaticalization of demonstratives, contrasting hypotheses on two major finite verb issues: the chronology of person and number marker attachment and the genesis of ergative fronting, also causative morphology. It is complemented by Chapter Five, 5.2 which examines sixteenth century regular and idiosyncratic behaviour of person markers and pluralizers, dative flags and allocutivity marking.

The regrammaticalization of demonstratives has played a powerful, diverse role in Basque morphological evolution. In the sixteenth century language and in Batua, alongside maintained demonstrative function, they appear to fulfil at least four roles. First, they furnish 3rd person pronouns. Second, sixteenth century intermediate forms, with three grades, strongly support the definite determiner’s demonstrative origin: from the proximal, *yçoc* ‘(the) words’ (High Navarrese Text II,13); from the mesial, *larruyori* ‘(your) skin’ (Etxepare IX, 34), Altuna (1987, p. 190) confirming the definite determiner role of *-ori*; from the distal, *gentea* ‘the people’ (Zumarraga, 16) with *-a*, prevailing today, although mesial *-o* persists in the plural *-ok* in Gipuzkoan and Bizkaian (Trask, 1997, p. 199), indicating proximity or inclusiveness e.g. *entzule maiteok* ‘dear listeners’. Third, following Aldai Garai (2000), the distal demonstrative could underlie the initial morph of *l-* verb reflexes. Fourth, demonstratives contend strongly as sourcing the 3.DAT indices of synthetic verbs, supported by free *-o* ~ *-a* alternation (Lafon, 1944, pp. 393–394, vol.1): ‘he says to him’ as *diotsó* and *diotsa*, ‘they say to him’ as *diotsote* and *diotsate* in Leizarraga (Lafon, 1944, p. 297, vol.1), suggesting correlation with proximal and distal demonstratives respectively. In the modern language distribution is dialect-based, *-a* confined to Bizkaian, *-o* consolidated elsewhere.

Contrasting perspectives appear in the literature on the chronology of person and number attachment in finite verbs. Gómez and Sainz (1995, p. 252) see dative as later than absolutive or ergative person marker attachment, demonstrative-sourced markers being generally later incorporated than those from pronouns cross-linguistically, and from Moravcsik's (1978, p. 364) contention that no language marks agreement with an indirect but not a direct object. The internal positioning of the dative relative to the ergative index, however, might suggest that Basque has run contrary to both trends, given that '[c]omparative evidence within many language families indicates that morpheme order often does reflect the sequence of grammaticalization of affixes' those closest to the root, oldest, and those on the periphery of words more recently attached (Mithun, 1999, p. 1). Bakker (1984, p. 84) supports earlier dative incorporation, taking impetus from Trask's (1977) hypothesis that ergativity arose from a passive structure (Gómez & Sainz, 1995, p. 253) via increased use of a marked construction of the type "Peter got his hitting from John", cross-linguistically often generating a passive. This passive would be re-analysed as unmarked, followed by the movement of the new subject to the initial position (Trask, 1997, p. 247). A parallel evolution occurs in the development of an agent from a dative in the formation of a past paradigm from the historic passive participle *q̄tīl* in Eastern Aramaic, some seeing the new structure as ergative (Bar-Asher Siegal, 2014). From a different perspective Givón (1976, p. 160, cited in Gómez & Sainz, 1995, p. 252) argues for dative preceding accusative agreement, on the basis of agreement markers arising from reanalyzed marked constructions with a dislocated topic. Post-attachment changes to morphemic order are, however, attested, suggesting that relatively late dative marker attachment is possible. As Mithun (1999, p.8-9) explains in the context of the *inflection-outside-derivation principle*, 'all derivational affixes in a language are not necessarily older than all inflectional affixes derivational affixes may evolve into inflectional markers', their reanalysis as part of the inflectional paradigm stimulating positional shift. An example is the Yup'ik past contemporative suffix *-l̄er-* 'when (in the past)', belonging to the inflectional suffix complex expressing mood and core arguments at the rightmost edge of the verb. The particle is descended from the nominalizer *-l̄er-* 'former (noun) or 'the one that ...-ed; was ...-ed' persisting in the modern language (Mithun, 1999, p. 9-10). E.g., in

ekuallrunritellruyaquq

ekua-llru-nrite-ller-u-yaq-u-q

burn-PAST-NEGATIVE-PAST:NOMINALIZER-be-indeed-INTRANSITIVE:INDICATIVE-3:SG

'Indeed it is not the object that burned!'

-ller- as a derivational nominalizer occupies a relatively internalized position, followed by derivational verbalizer *-u-* 'be', *-yaq-* 'indeed', then the inflectional complex comprising intransitive indicative mood marker *-u-* and pronominal *-q*. By contrast, in

qumacunguallrullerani

qumar-cuk-u-aq-llru-ller-ani

worm-ugly:old-be-indeed-PAST-PAST:CONTEMPORATIVE-3:SG

'As he was indeed a low-life worm, ...' (Mithun, 1999, p. 12)

-ller- as an inflectional mood marker is followed only by pronominal *-ani*, having apparently moved over *-u-* 'be', and *-yaq-* 'indeed'. Yup'ik, however, has a layered structure: each attachment process creates a new stem potentially serving as a base for further attachment and its ordering reflects the semantic or grammatical scope of one element over others, without fixed positions for derivational elements, hence affording 'no special slots for the nominalizer to hop over' (Mithun, 1999, p. 12). In nouns, with their absence of mood markers, nominalizers typically appear at the end of the derivational string and can immediately precede possessive pronominal markers resembling the core argument markers of indicative verbs, therefore '[i]n many deverbal forms, it would be easy to reanalyze a nominalizer immediately preceding the pronominal complex as a mood marker.

The reinterpretation of a derivative particle as inflective is also manifest in Cherokee, which, unlike Yupi'ik has a templatic system of fixed morpheme ordering unlinked to scope relationships, e.g. allomorphs marking a new infinitive aspectual category, possibly stimulated through contact with Creek (Muskogean) and Caddo (Caddoan), through recycling pre-existing causative-instrumental allomorphs; the causative-instrumental remains an inner derivational marker, while the new aspect marker belongs to the outer

inflectional suffixes apparently having ‘jumped over the dative, the andative, the purposive, the reiterative, the progressive, the repetitive and the completive’ (Mithun, 1999, p. 18).

In both languages, the important shift was from ‘derivational to inflectional status (Mithun, 1999, p. 12), rather than one of position, with the marker beginning to acquire inflectional sense while still in its word-internal, derivational position and developing a growing semantic infinity with, and being reanalyzed as, a member of the following inflectional marker group. It would be the derivational-inflectional boundary which shifted from right to left of the marker, rather than movement of the marker itself. None of the markers potentially occurring between the derivational group and the word-final inflection complex is obligatory; consequently, the final marker of the derivational group was often adjacent to the inflectional group, to which its membership was facilitated. Morpheme reanalysis would become apparent only when subsequent complex forms were constructed with derivational markers to the left of the redefined inflectional marker, indicating that ‘though morpheme order may be routinized and rigidified within a language, it is not necessarily fully frozen or opaque’ (Mithun, 1999, p. 18-19).

Consensus is that number and person indices were incorporated independently. Gómez and Sainz see person markers as first to attach (1995, p. 251); Trask, number, leastwise absolutive pluralizers, as predating person markers (1997, p. 246). Incorporation chronology could be more intricate than a number-person split: possibly not all markers for a given role were incorporated at the same time: Oyharçabal (p.c., cited in Gómez & Sainz, 1995, p. 253) suggests 3.DAT incorporation from demonstratives may postdate that of pronominally-sourced 1/2.DAT indices. Consensus on the succession of incorporation remains to be reached, although sporadic root-ergative-dative sequencing (see Chapter Five, **5.2.1 v.**), might represent relics of an earlier passive.

In the sixteenth century and modern language, a major exception to the rigid ABS-root-DAT-ERG ordering in the finite verb, is ergative fronting/displacement, in non-present reflexes combining a 3rd person absolutive and a non-3rd person ergative, the ergative index taking the form and position characteristic of the absolutive. An explanation of ergative fronting

remains to be agreed, sixteenth century data thus far shedding no light on potential triggers. The four main theories each have detractors: first, Heath's antipassivization hypothesis, yet the antipassive lacks functional value in Basque and is unaccompanied by change of argumental case (Heath, 1976, cited in Gómez & Sainz, 1995, p. 262); second, Trask's split ergativity hypothesis (1977), ergative-fronted forms taking nominative-accusative marking, contrary to the cross-linguistic trend of a split linked to tense or an animacy ranking with the agent lower than the patient (Ortiz de Urbina, 1989, pp. 13-14 cited in Gómez & Sainz, 1995, p. 263); third, Laka's phonological filter, one condition being an overt functional head, yet there are reflexes where the head fails to trigger ergative fronting and ergative fronted forms lacking such a head (Laka 1988, 1993, cited in Gómez & Sainz, 1995, pp. 246–265); fourth, Aldai Garai's (2000) Antipassive-Imperfect Hypothesis combines antipassivization and split ergativity, seeing ergative-fronting, initial *l-* and medial *n* as antipassive devices, generating morphologically intransitive, syntactically transitive past imperfective reflexes (Aldai Garai, 2000, p. 65), but without postulating a chronology of the mechanisms generating the imperfective (see Appendix G Part 2), nor at which stage morphologically intransitive forms became syntactically transitive. Although perhaps the last is a strong contender, none of the four has to date won universal acceptance.

Two morphological causative verb types appear in sixteenth century and modern Basque: one ancient, unproductive in the modern language, with *ra-*, according to Aldai Garai (2000, p. 70) of allative origin, immediately preceding the root; the other, *-erazi* ~ *-arazi* (Bizkaian *-eraso* ~ *-arazo*), a likely ancient causative (Trask, 1997, p. 231), attachable to virtually any verb (Trask, 1997, p. 113), resultant verbs lacking synthetic reflexes; similarly *-eragin*, a causative of *egin* 'do, make'. The two types epitomize a possible pre-inflective to post-inflective evolutionary trend, perhaps reflecting a general cross-linguistic dispreference against prefixes (Haspelmath, 1993, p. 287), echoed in Chapter Five, e.g., the plural marker *it-* (5.2.2 iv.) the dative flag *i-* (5.2.3 i.), the displacement of a pre-root by a post-root causative marker interpretable as 'evidence pointing to a very ancient VO sentence structure preserved in the verbal morphology' (Trask, 1997, p. 231). The *ra-* type is abundant in the sixteenth century, predominantly synthetic, with co-existing V+AUX constructions e.g. *eraman* (Bizkaian *eroan*) 'carry, take (away)' causative of *ioan* 'go' (Lafon,

1944, vol.1 p. 269) yields *darama* ‘s/he, it leads’: *Mundu honec anhez gende enganatu darama* (Etxepare, II,74) ‘This world leads many people to be deceived’; from *erek(h)arri* ‘bring/lead back’, causative of *ek(h)arri* ‘bring’: *ezterakarran preputioa* ‘let him not become uncircumcised’ (1 Cor Ch.VII v.18); *erekarten duẽ* ‘which he reduces’ (Leiçarraga et al., 1990, p. 270,[**vii, v] 32), both relativized 3SG.ERG-3SG.ABS present-tense reflexes. For sixteenth century *ra-* causatives see, Appendix H, Table 10.

Causatives with *-erazi* ~ *-arazi* were already established by the sixteenth century; unlike in the modern language, typically the lexical radical and causative particle are separate word forms e.g., *haur ebil eraci baguindu beçala* (Acts Ch.III v.12) ‘as though.... we had made him to walk’. *Ebili/ibili* had both types of causative, with different meanings: the *ra-* form, ‘move (transitive)’; the *erazi* form, ‘make to walk’ (Lafon, 1944, p. 266, vol.1). The systematic semantic relationship between the *ra-* causative and a lexical root is sometimes not discernible, e.g. from *iauzi* ‘jump’ the causative *erauzi* ‘cause to jump, remove (clothing), snatch away’, with variants *eraunzi* (Lafon, 1944, p. 277, vol. 1) and, in Lazarraga’s Araban, *eronzi*: the imperative *eronçu* ‘remove.2FORMAL (it)’ in *yelmo orj. Eronçu* (f. 47 v R, 145) ‘remove that (your) helmet’. Other verbs in sixteenth century use, e.g. *erausi* ‘strike’, *iraki* ‘boil’, *irudi* ‘seem, appear’, *eritzi* ‘deem, be called’, *iraun* ‘persist, last’ may have causative origin, Lafon deeming *iraun* a causative of *egon* ‘be (stative)’ (1944, p. 356, vol. 1). According to Gómez & Sainz (1995, p. 245, footnote 13) a causative origin is general for unergative verbs i.e., intransitive verbs with an agent DP subject, except for noun-sourced verbs, e.g. *distiratu* ‘shine’, a nominal plus *egin* such as *lo egin* ‘sleep’ and borrowings like *funtzionatu* ‘work’.

2.3.7 Concluding remarks

Consideration of semantics, verb morphology, syntax, textual features, phonology, and morphology, illustrates change in Basque since the sixteenth century. The 2nd person forms of address have shifted in scope. Instances of verb valency change are discernible. In the verb system, aspectual oppositions yielded to temporal and modal distinctions resembling those of Romance languages (Lafon, 1944, p. 50, vol. 2), with attendant paradigm re-selection: the grammatico-semantic domain of periphrastic verb groups with *izan* or

*uk(h)en/*edun* extended, displacing not only synthetic paradigms, e.g. from the expression of the non-endpoint present and past (narrative past), from the future (save for *izan* and *uk(h)en/*edun*, today continuing to form synthetic future reflexes in Zuberoan and in some Eastern Low Navarrese varieties, *jakin* in Maister's 1757 *Jesü Kristen imitazionea*); but also periphrastic groups with **edin/*ezan* from indicative contexts (Mounole Hiriart-Urruty 2014 [2018], pp. 348, 363). Certain embedded clause structures and clause sequencing mirrored neighbouring Romance more closely than in Batua; the distribution and function of *l*-initial reflexes have changed. Word boundary positioning and diacritics suggest a historically greater degree of isolating character than discernible in Batua; orthographic representations attest intermediate phonological and morphological stages, informing earlier historical insights.

Basque appears to have changed more than generally considered since the time of the earliest texts. As further findings of early writings emerge, their investigation with the rigour and depth applied to the four most investigated writings, notably by Lafon, alongside more recent foci e.g., the nature of marker attachment, give cause for optimism that new insights into the deeper history of Basque may be forthcoming. Grounds for hopefulness include, prominently, the research of Mounole Hiriart-Urruty, who, through quantified comparisons of verb structures from a selection of archaic (1400 - 1600)⁶ and ancient (1600-1745) sources (2014 [2018], p. 6) investigates the nature and processes of the verb system reconfiguration, her instruments of investigation including the linking of typology to diachronicity and the analysis of diathesis. Her findings lead her to identify synthetic reflexes, periphrastic verb groups with **edin/*ezan* and with *joan* 'go' / *eroan* 'carry, take' as auxiliaries, as the most ancient in the system, pre-dating the archaic period (2014 [2018], p. 371). Her approach, data analysis and conclusions furnish well-founded optimism for advances in reconstruction: 'Finally, we hope to have shown the feasibility of uncovering the history of a language isolate such as Basque and the effectiveness of the methodology deployed. Philology or the exhaustive study of texts, interdialectal comparison and internal

⁶ Mounole Hiriart-Urruty considers certain texts to represent a state of language from around a century earlier than the conventionally attributed date, e.g., seeing *RS* and the proverbs of Garibai as fifteenth century and the work of the seventeenth century writer Oihenart as sixteenth century. By contrast, the present thesis adheres to the convention of considering *RS* and the works of Garibai as of the sixteenth century.

reconstruction remain indispensable instruments through which to better understand the history of a language and to reconstruct a part of its prehistory – or at least to open up pathways to these. In addition, typology proves an invaluable aid by offering insights into general tendencies of languages which enable the diachronic investigator to tackle the history of language isolates more assuredly.’ (2014 [2018], p. 371).⁷

⁷ « Enfin, nous espérons avoir montré la possibilité de découvrir l’histoire d’une langue isolée comme le basque, et l’efficacité de la méthodologie employée. La philologie ou l’étude exhaustive des textes, les comparaisons interdialectales et la reconstruction interne demeurent des outils indispensables pour mieux comprendre l’histoire d’une langue et reconstruire une partie de sa préhistoire – ou du moins en ouvrir des pistes. La typologie elle aussi s’avère d’une aide précieuse dans la mesure où en offrant des données concernant les tendances générales des langues, elles permettent au diachronicien d’appréhender l’histoire des langues isolées avec plus d’assurance. »

CHAPTER THREE

PRE-SIXTEENTH CENTURY ATTESTATIONS AND THE TRADITIONALLY MORE INVESTIGATED SIXTEENTH CENTURY TEXTS

The synthetic verb is widely held to be the most ancient surviving finite reflex type in Basque (cf Trask, 1997, p. 246). This chapter investigates the place of the synthetic verb in attestations prior to and during the sixteenth century, showing how the earlier record both illuminates and obstructs inquiry into the history of the language, contrasting with the pivotal advent of publication in the sixteenth century. It reviews how the traditionally more investigated sixteenth century texts inform understanding of the verb system of the era, differences between sources and between the sixteenth century and the modern era. Together with the review of lesser studied texts in Chapter Four, Chapter Three provides the backdrop and the context for the treatment of the morphosyntax of synthetic verbs in respect of person-related markers in Chapter Five.

3.1 THE PRE-SIXTEENTH CENTURY RECORD

The pre-history of Basque is shrouded in obscurity: not a single word recorded from before the Roman period is securely Basque (Trask, 1997, p. 35). Following the Roman arrival in 196 BC, classical writers, including Pliny the Elder, Ptolomey and Pomponius Mela recorded tribe distribution. In his *Geographica*, Strabo documents the Ουασκωνους (Ouaskōnous) in the Western Pyrenees (Trask, 1997, p. 10); it is unknown how their speech related to that of the other peoples of the area, including the independently attested Vascones, occupying an area corresponding to present-day Navarre and adjoining lands to the East and later, according to seventh century Frankish chronicles, expanded Northwards into Aquitania (Gorrochategui, 2020, p. 4). It is also unknown whether the speech of other Peninsular tribes such as the Varduli and Caristii bore any genetic relationship to Basque. Julius Caesar, recording the presence in South-Western Gaul of the *Aquitani*, observed their distinctiveness from their Gallic neighbours (Trask, 1997, p. 398), Strabo (IV.2.1) noting their greater resemblance to Iberians than to Gauls (Gorrochategui, 2020, p. 4). Luchaire's 1877 analysis of Aquitanian indigenous onomastics of people and deities embedded in Latin texts (Trask, 1997, p. 56) and Ricci's 1903 investigations informed Mitxelena's 1954 establishment of an irrefutable relationship between Aquitanian and Basque, a standpoint since upheld by

the 1984 and 1995 research of Gorrochategui (Trask, 1997, pp. 398–399). Attestations North of the Pyrenees extend even to their Eastern margin, e.g., the second century AD *NESCAS/NISCAS*, mapping to Basque *neska* ‘girl’ (Coromines, 1975), relating to nymphs associated with a medicinal spring in Roussillon (Trask, 1997, p. 40). Epigraphs from the ancient territory of the Vascones, discovered in the 1960s, however, also evidenced the presence of related speech south of the Pyrenees (Gorrochategui, 20020, p.7), pointing to an Aquitanian-Vasconic linguistic continuum, with slight dialectal differences (Igartua, p.c.), e.g. *umme* in Vasconic, for instance the personal name *Umme Sahar* mapping to Basque *ume zahar* ‘eldest (lit. old) child’ on a second or third century AD stele from Lerga (Trask, 1997, p. 403) vs *ombe* in Aquitanian (Gorrochategui, 2020, p. 18). The next cluster is early mediaeval, with Basque proper names, e.g. *Momus*, a Latinized form of Bizkaian *Mome*, in funerary inscription from around 883 (Trask, 1997, p. 42).

In the 10th century the first known finite verbs appear, difficult to elucidate because of opaque contextual elements. The 950 Emilian Glosses from the Monastery of San Millán in the Rioja comprise two Basque sequences, *jzioqui dugu* [67 v.] and *guec ajutuezdugu* [68 v.], (Mitxelena, 1964, p. 42 citing Menéndez Pidal, 1950). While *ez* ‘not’, *dugu* ‘we have (it)’ and the possibly emphatic *guec* ‘we.ERG’ are intelligible, *jzioqui* and *ajutu* remain elusive. Opinion increasingly favours a match between the glosses and Latin phrases at some remove, Ortuño Arregui (2015, p. 72) suggesting that the positioning was motivated by the glossarist’s observing the order necessitated by Basque syntax. The root vowel *u* of *dugu*, contrasts with Western *dogu* and Gipuzkoan/central *degu*, typifying Lapurdian and Navarrese. The glossarist could have been Araban, Navarrese or Riojan (Michelena, 1964, p. 42), alternatively, *u* forms might have been widespread over the Continental and Peninsular Basque Country, perhaps facultatively co-existing with other variants. The 10th and 11th centuries see increasing attestations of personal and place names. In particular, the 1025 *Reja de San Millán*, recording archaic place names not encountered elsewhere, impacted on diachronic phonological understanding and informed the reconstruction of the then Basque-Romance boundary (Trask, 1997, pp. 42–43).

The later mediaeval period witnesses increased text diversity. The 12th century French pilgrim, monk and scholar Aymeric Picaud compiled the first known Basque glossary, readily

intelligible, consisting of nominals, some inflected (Michelena, 1964, pp. 50–51), some attesting nasalized vowels following the regular loss of an intervocalic nasal: *ardum* ‘wine’ (probably representing *ardū*) < **ardano* vs modern *ardo* ~ *arno*; *arraign* ‘fish’ (< **arrani*) vs modern *arrai(n)* ~ *arraiñ* ‘fish’, (Trask, 1997, p. 44). Gonzalo de Berceo (ca. 1195-ca. 1264) peppered his works with Basque elements, e.g. *don Bildur* ‘Fear Esq.’ (Trask, 1997, p. 45). The earliest known connected text, a pre-1425 prayer from Pamplona (Basque Iruñea) contains at least three finite verbs: *dac[a]r* ‘(it) brings (forth)’ (line 2); *dauilça* ‘(they) go about’ (line 5); *guaradela* ‘that we may be’ (Trask, 1997, p. 45), Mitxelena further seeing the relativized *dionak* ‘s/he who says (this [prayer] thrice)’ (line 7) (Michelena, 1964, p. 59). A second known glossary, compiled by Arnold von Harff of Cologne during his 1496-1499 pilgrimage, consists of nominals, numerals and three short phrases; the transcriptions are largely recognizable, though less lucid than those of Picaud (Trask, 1997, p. 46).

To conclude, the scarcity of finite verb attestations before the sixteenth century and obscure adjacent material obstructing elucidation of their role in their clause entail that, pending future discoveries, advancement of understanding of synthetic reflexes must be based principally on sixteenth century sources.

3.2 THE SYNTHETIC VERBS OF THE FIRST PUBLISHED TEXT: THE PLACE OF ETXEPARE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY AND THE MODERN LANGUAGE

1545 saw the first publication of a work in Basque, of 52 pages, *Linguae Vasconum Primitiae*. Opening with an address to Bernard Leheté, Counsel to King Henri d’Albret of Navarre, it presents 15 poems on varied themes: a life of faith, praise of women, romantic relationships, an experience of imprisonment and the joy of the Basque language going forth into the world, in print for the first time. Written by Bernard Etxepare, parish priest of Saint-Michel-le-Vieux, in Cizain, an ancestral variety of Eastern Low Navarrese, the work was rediscovered from oblivion in 1847 by Francisque Michel in the French National Library, since when it has attracted significant interest from the international community of Vasconists. Lafon (1944, p. 48 vol. 1) asserted that, were no other contemporaneous work

known, Etxepare alone provides a precise and secure picture of the sixteenth century Basque verb system.¹

Etxepare's work contains some 36 of the synthetically inflecting verb roots from around 60 represented in the four traditionally more studied texts. Occasionally, it is debatable whether to regard a root as inflecting synthetically: from *garbitu* 'clean, cleanse', the imperative *garbizaçu* (I,384) 'clean.2FORMAL them!' analysed by Altuna (1987, p. 71) as elided from periphrastic V+AUX *garbi itzazu* (same gloss). It is uncertain whether *narçaque* (XI,4) represents a known or unattested root. Lafon (1952, pp. 169–170, cited in Altuna, 1987, p. 213), suggests *narraque* 'I would say' or *naçaque* 'I would do'; Altuna favours *nacarque* 'I would bring. *Narçaque* illustrates a contrast between Etxepare's language and that of today. Nowadays, pre-root *a-* typifies present-tense and pre-root *e-* non-present reflexes: Etxepare's pre-root vowels are unspecialized for tense, *a-* frequent in non-present-based reflexes Altuna (1987, p. 213). Both *a-* and *e-* appear in present-tense reflexes: from **eradun*, *daraucate* (III,34) 'they give (it) to her' but *derautaçu* (IX,25) 'you.FORMAL give (it) to me'; from *eraman* 'carry, take (away) lead, spend (time)'; *badaramac* (II,65) 'you.INTIMATE(M) spend (it)' yet *deramadan* (I,427) 'that I spend (it)'.

For the insecurely elucidated *drugatzula* (VIII,1), likely 'may He help you.FORMAL', Lafon (1952, p. 193), cited in Altuna (1987, p. 168), suggests the root *urgatz* 'help' from *urgatzi* or *urgaitzi*, supported by the imperative *urgaz nesasu* (Oihenart V,46) 'help.2FORMAL me!' and *eguoc vrgaçi geydeari* (RS 339) 'help the people nearby'. From the lack of pre-root person marker, the post-root 2FORMAL.DAT marker *zu* and inferred null 3SG.ERG, the form in Etxepare is tripersonal. Other morphologically trivalent verbs with dative objects are: *eritzi* 'esteem, deem, consider' ('love' in conjunction with *hon* 'good') e.g.,

Ceren vada hon derizat hon ezteriztanari (XII,48)
Ceren vada hon d-eriz-a-t hon
 why then good d-esteem.PRES[3SG.ABS]-3SG.DAT-1SG.ERG good
ez-t-eriz-ta-n-a-ri
 NEG-(d)-esteem.PRES[3SG.ABS]-1SG.DAT-REL-DEF.DET-DAT
 'Why, then, do I love she who does not love me?';

¹ « Même si l'on ne possédait que les *Linguae Vasconum Primitiae*, on pourrait se faire, grâce à Dechepare, une idée précise et sûre du système de la langue basque au XVI^e siècle. »

erausi ‘strike, wound, cause to feel, cause to be moved’, among the four traditionally more studied texts, appears in Etxepare alone:

Viocian diraustaçu guertuz ama eztia (I,124)

viocian *d-iraus-ta-çu*
heart-DEF.DET.LOC d-strike.PRES[3SG.ABS]-1SG.DAT-2FORMAL.ALLOC[3SG.ERG]
guertuz ama eztia-a
truly mother sweet.DEF.DET
‘It truly moves my heart, you.FORMAL see, sweet mother’;

utzi leave, abandon, allow’, interestingly conjoined with a V+AUX group with an absolutive (here, the partitive) object:

Berceric har eçaçu niri vztaçu (X,54)

berce-ric *har* *eça-çu* *ni-ri* *vz-ta-çu*
other-PARTIT take.RAD AUX.IMP[3SG.ABS]2FORMAL.ERG I-DAT leave.IMP[3SG.ABS]-1SG.DAT-2FORMAL.ERG
‘Take another, leave me’;

Etxepare also includes ABS-DAT synthetic reflexes, e.g. of *iarraiki* ‘follow’:

Bana vera çoraturic andriari darrayca (III,43)

bana *vera* *çoraturic* *andri-a-ri* *darrayca*
but he.ABS crazily woman-DEF.DET-DAT.SG d-follow.PRES[3SG.ABS].FLAG.3SG.DAT

‘But he crazily follows the woman’;

V+AUX groups with *ohartu* ‘notice, realise’, here with an ABS-DAT reflex of **edin*:

Gure echian ohart vadaquizquigu (X,37)

gure *echi-a-n* *ohart* *va-d-a-qui-z-qui-gu*
our house-DEF.DET.LOC notice.RAD if-d-AUX-FLAG-PL.ABS.FLAG-1PL.DAT
‘If they notice us at home’.

Today, *eritzi*, *utzi*, *iarraiki* and *ohartu* take dative objects, having the same valencies as in Etxepare, although *iarraiki* ‘follow’ can form either intransitive or transitive reflexes.

Despite the presence of verbs with dative objects, a striking phenomenon in Etxepare is the not infrequent lack of an indexing dative marker, even in the presence of a free definite argument in the dative, e.g. the prescriptive reflex of **ezan*, *albaiteça* ‘may you.INTIMATE.ERG have (it).ABS’ in I,36 *Hari eguin albaiteça lehen eçagucia*. ‘May you.INTIMATE make (your) first acknowledgement be to Him’.

The principle auxiliary verbs in Etxepare are intransitive *izan* ‘be’, **edin* ‘be, become’ and transitive *uk(h)en/ *edun* ‘(divalent) have’, **-i-*, **eradun* ‘(trivalent) have’ and *iron* ‘can, be able’. Auxiliary usage is of interest for four main reasons: the lexical function of predominantly auxiliary verbs; the functional specialization of roots furnishing trivalent reflexes; the auxiliary function of a subset of predominantly lexical verbs, imparting distinctive aspectual nuances and the striking contrast between the aspectually-based auxiliary system of the sixteenth century and the modal one of today (see Chapter Two, **2.2.3**).

In respect of Etxepare’s lexical use of endpoint-encoding auxiliaries, **edin* has a discernible sense of ‘become’, as in all four traditionally more studied texts (Lafon, 1944, pp. 88–93, vol. 1), while transitive **ezan* can encode the notion of ‘do, accomplish’. Found in Etxepare and Leizarraga, but not in Garibai or *RS*, *iron* ‘can, be able’, is in the modern language overwhelmingly supplanted by *-ke* bearing reflexes of **ezan*, Altuna (1987, p. 116) equating Etxepare’s *diroyte* (III,7) ‘they can do (it)’ to Batua *dezakete*. *Iron* persists in Zuberoan, Eastern Low Navarrese and some varieties of Lapurdian Western Low Navarrese, featuring in the Navarro-Lapurdian *Grammaire basque* of Lafitte (1979, pp. 312–313). Etxepare’s lexical use of non-endpoint encoding auxiliaries, *izan* and *uk(h)en/ *edun*, persists in today’s Continental varieties. The stative use of *izan* corresponds to *egon* in Peninsular Basque and Batua; similarly, the denoting of possession by *uk(h)en/ *edun*, while Peninsular varieties and Batua favour *eduki*. The roots furnishing non-endpoint-encoding morphologically trivalent reflexes **-i-* (possibly a contraction of *egin* ‘do, make’) and **eradun*, function as auxiliaries and congeners of *eman* ‘give’. Their auxiliary function shows a high degree of compartmentalization, **eradun* providing unmarked, semantically and morphologically trivalent reflexes and **-i-* semantically divalent, morphologically trivalent allocutives (see below), a single exception appearing in XIV,5, where the unmarked trivalent reflex *dio* ‘s/he, it has (it) to him/her/it’ is formed on **-i-*.

The lexical-auxiliary boundary is graded. The major auxiliaries have lexical use and primarily lexical verbs an auxiliary or quasi-auxiliary function: *darama* ‘it leads, induces to be’, from *eraman*, encoding the bringing about of a state: *Mundu honec anhez gende enganatu*

darama (II,74) ‘This world induces many people to be deceived’; *ebili/ibili* ‘go about, walk’ a state with a defined starting point: *dabilela* ‘that s/he, it has (gained)’ in *Abantallan dabilela albayledi segura* (XIII,17) ‘May he become confident that he has (gained) the upper hand’; *joan/ioan* ‘go’ can impart gnomic or habitual aspect — a sense of inevitability in the allocutive *diohaçu* ‘s/he, it is destined, you.FORMAL see’: *Picher ebilia hauxi diohaçu* (X,43) ‘A circulated jug is doomed to break, you.FORMAL see’; *egon* be (stative), stay, remain,’ e.g. in *Oray egun vatetan cenaudela pensetan* (IX,27) ‘some day not long ago you.FORMAL were reflecting’ forms a v+AUX group where the lexical component, rather than Etxepare’s predominant imperfective participle structure of GERUND+LOC: *-(t)zen*, assumes a form encountered in Bizkaian *RS* and the Araban of Lazarraga, the DP PL.LOC desinence (see Chapter Three, 3.4 and Chapter Four, 4.2.2).

The aspect-mood distribution of synthetic verb reflexes, most notably the auxiliaries contrasts markedly between the language of Etxepare and that of today. In both eras, two intransitive-transitive groupings oppose one other: *izan* and *uk(h)en/*edun* on the one hand, **edin* and **ezan* on the other. Nowadays, the distinction is of mood, the first specialized to indicative, the second to subjunctive contexts. In the language of Etxepare, the distinction is, instead, one of aspect: Lafon’s *dététerminé* (endpoint-encoding) vs *indététerminé* (non-endpoint encoding) (see Chapter Two, 2.3.2). The past-tense reflex *cedin* ‘s/he, it was/became’ from **edin*, can feature in main clauses: *Cerutica iayxicedin harçaz amaturic* ‘He came down from heaven loving Her’ (III,48); similarly, *nenzan* ‘s/he, it had me’ from **ezan*: *laun errequec meçu nenzan ioanenguion bertaric* (XIII,7) ‘His Majesty the King summoned me to go to him straight away’.

Lexical synthetic verbs, like auxiliaries, appear in indicative and subjunctive contexts, distinguished solely by complementizers, e.g., *dacussat* ‘I see (it)’: *Emaztetan nic dacussat honguiz ere guehiago* (III,36) ‘In women, I see even greater good’ vs complementized *dacussadan* ‘that I might see (it)’: *Eta nic handacussadan çure veguitartia* (I,76) ‘That there I might see your face’. In the modern language, by contrast, the subjunctive context requires a periphrastic v+AUX group, Altuna (1987, p. 23) providing *ikus dezadala*, with the lexical radical and a complementized reflex of **ezan*.

Etxepare exemplifies the sixteenth century usage of *l*-initial forms (see Chapter Two, **2.3.3**) in indicative contexts, contrasting with the modern language, e.g., *laryola* ‘while it poured/flowed from him’: *Orotaric laryola odol preciatuya* (I,127) ‘While His precious blood poured from Him from everywhere’, elucidated by Altuna as the Batua past indicative *zeriola* (1987, p. 31); similarly, *lagola* ‘that he was (stative)’ *Gaycez lagola ençun nuyen bana nicez oguenic* (XIII,8) ‘I heard that he was angry, but I was innocent’. Aldai Garai’s (2000) postulate that *l*- forms encoded an imperfective aspect at the time (see Appendix G, Part 2) is consistent with Etxepare’s usage.

Also differing from modern usage is Etxepare’s expression of tense/mood through suppletive stems lacking markers of the tense/mood which they encode. In particular *-ke* is predominantly a marker of futurity (Lafon, 1944, p. 94, vol. 1), alongside connotations more recognizable today of possibility and probability. In Etxepare, *etorri* ‘come, arrive, appear’ has the suppletive congeners *jin* (forming only periphrastic V+AUX groups) and *iaugin* of which morphologically present-tense reflexes encode the tense/mood value of *-ke*: *dauguinian* ‘when s/he, it comes’ (Lafon, 1944, vol. 1 p. 160) in all six instances (I,138; I,146; I,337; I,443; II,16; II,69), has future reference. Similarly, the synthetic paradigms of *egin* ‘do, make’ lack *-ke* forms in Etxepare, as in the other three traditionally more studied texts, the role taken on by suppletive **-idi-* (Lafon, 1944, vol.1 p. 100) e.g. *daydi* ‘s/he, it can/will do’ in *Seme honac anhez daydi amaren amorecatic* (II,129) ‘A good son will do much for the love of his mother’; *daydit* ‘I can/will do’ in *loric ecin daydit* (VIII,21; IX,21) ‘I cannot sleep’. Similarly, *eman* ‘give’ lacks reflexes with *-ke* in all four traditionally more studied texts: in Etxepare, one *-ke* synthetic future appears, but built on the suppletive root **-i-* *vaytequegu* ‘s/he will give (it) to us’ (II,50); the other future reflexes of *eman* are periphrastic. None of the four texts has past-tense synthetic forms of *eman*. Suppletion is not only linked to tense/mood, but also to valency. Within the four texts, trivalent forms of *eman* are overwhelmingly expressed as reflexes of other roots, **eradun*, **-i-*, and **-ngu*, the last occurring once in Etxepare and twice in Leizarraga. The correlation of root distribution and valency is, however, not clear-cut: the occasional trivalent reflex of *eman* appears, e.g., in Etxepare *eztemayo* (I,148) ‘s/he, it does not give (it) to him/her/it’ although the majority of trivalent reflexes of *eman* are imperatives in the other three texts.

Many verb reflexes have competing forms. The plural reflexes of *izan*, already distinguished from singular forms by a morph *r*, appear both with and without a pluralizer *-de*. 1PL ‘we are’ appears as both *guira* (e.g., I,382) and *guirade* (e.g., I,159), 2FORMAL ‘you are’, morphologically plural although used as singular in Etxepare, as in the modern language is rendered as *cira* (e.g., II,106) and *cirade* (e.g., I,381) and 3PL ‘they are’ as *dira* (e.g., I,224) and *dirade* (e.g. XII,34). Save for the complementizer *-(e)la* and the past marker *-(e)n*, the past tense 3PL form is syncretic with present tense 2FORMAL, e.g. *Hi nolaco ciradela vici ciren artian* (I, 30) ‘That they were like you when they were alive’. *-de* serves typically as an ergative, rather than an absolutive pluralizer (*-z* with variants *-tza* or *-tzi*), although spread analogically to plural reflexes of *egon* ‘be (stative), remain, stay’ except in Bizkaian (Trask, 1997, pp. 221–222). In Etxepare, plural reflexes of *egon* consistently manifest *-de*, e.g. *daude* ‘they are (stative)’ in *Ceru eta lur gucia daude yqharaturic* (I,238) ‘All Heaven and earth are trembling’ while with *izan*, forms with and without *-de* alternate, the latter in the minority (for discussion of distribution, see Chapter Five, 5.2.2 iii.). Two competing types of ABS-DAT reflexes of *izan* feature in Etxepare. Most have the sequence *-ai-*, three instead have *-au-*: *irudi baçautzu* (Prologue,21) ‘if they seem fitting to you’; *Eci hala ariçauçu Ihesu christo vera ere* (II,110) ‘For Jesus Christ himself does likewise to you’, with a pre-root 1SG.ABS marker, *niçauçu* ‘I am to you.FORMAL’ in *Othoyceniçauçu nyry euztaçu* (X, 29) ‘I beg you, leave me!’, Altuna (1987, p. 202) observing that, within the same poem, the present-tense 1SG.ABS-2.FORMAL.DAT is represented in X,45 and X,61 as *nyçayçu*.

The parameter for which, perhaps, the greatest number of forms compete, is the expression of futurity. One contender, *-ke* (*-te* for *izan*), predominantly serves as a future marker in Etxepare, while its wider sixteenth century scope embraces possibility and hypotheticality. The future of *izan* is expressed by *-te* more frequently than by periphrastic means, e.g. *dirate* ‘they will be’ in *Baçarriac veqhan eta veldurrequi dirate* (IV,9) ‘encounters will be rare and fearful’. In the immediately preceding line, by contrast, the future of *ukhen* ‘have’ is expressed in a v+AUX periphrastic group with the prospective/future participle *ukhenen*: *Oborotan vqhenendu plazer bano dolore*. (IV,8) ‘He will have grief more often than enjoyment’. The prospective/future participle is built on the perfective participle, adding *-en*

to a final consonant and *-ko* to a final vowel, probably from the genitive *-en* and the relational marker *-ko* respectively (Trask, 1997, p. 216): *ioan* ‘go’ forms the future participle *ioanen* (e.g. in I,140), while *egarri* ‘carry’ has *egarrico* (e.g. in I,150). This alternation of desinences, seen in Etxepare, reflects the pattern persisting today in central varieties, while *-ko* consolidated in the West and *-en* in the East (Trask, 1997, p. 103). One ‘double future’ appears in Etxepare, a V+AUX construction with both the auxiliary and participle future-marked, *date yrequiren* ‘it will open up’: *Bertan date yrequiren lurra oren verian* (I,361) ‘Right on the appointed hour, the earth will open up’. Double marking of futurity, more abundant in Leizarraga, might indicate a time of competing forms within the transition from a synthetic to a periphrastic future, the function of the former being reanalyzed. Lafon (1944, vol.1 p. 447) observes that, in the sixteenth century, *-ke* could be added to any auxiliary forms except the past protasis of the irrealis (e.g. *banu* ‘if I had’). Indeed, in Etxepare *-ke* appears with other past-based reflexes: *nuqueen* ‘I would have had’ in *haren menian ezpanengo nic nuqueyen çucena* (XIII,21) ‘If I were not in his power, I would have had justice’. Lexical verbs expressing futurity with *-ke* include *dauque* (I,111) ‘s/he, it will be (stative)’ from *egon* and *vaytequegu* (II,50) ‘She will give (it) to us’ in, from **-i-*. Specific verbs encode futurity in morphologically present tense reflexes. In Etxepare, these are **-idi-* and *iauguin*, suppletive congeners of *egin* ‘do, make’ and *ethorri* ‘come, arrive, appear’ e.g., *daydiçu* ‘You.FORMAL will (be able to) do’ in X,62 *Nahi duçunori orduyan daydiçu*. ‘You.FORMAL will now be able to do what you want’. In sum, in Etxepare there are competing contenders for the expression of the future: with V+AUX constructions, future participles in *-en* and *-ko*, a ‘double future’, also between periphrastic and synthetic expressions of futurity. It was the periphrastic V+AUX.PRES type which prevailed throughout the Basque Country, with the exception of synthetic ABS reflexes of *izan* confined to Zuberoan and a few adjacent varieties of Low Navarrese.

It is worth highlighting a couple of phonological points concerning specific finite verbs. In reflexes of *eduki*, the *d* is never elided in Etxepare, e.g., *daducat* ‘I possess/have (it)’ in X,24 *Nic nola daducat amore çugana* (X,24) ‘The sort of love which I have for you’ cf. modern syncopated *daukat*, although in Etxepare, possession is expressed much more frequently by *ukhen/*edun* than *eduki*. By contrast, some reflexes exhibit root reduction not apparent in

all modern variants, e.g., from *egon* the ABS-DAT reflex *daut* ‘it is to me’ in *Gende honac vihoça daut bethiere nygarrez* (VII,23) ‘Good people, my heart is forever weeping’ cf *Batua dagokit* (see Chapter Five, 5.2.3 on dative flags). In reflexes of *ukhen/*edun* and *ezan* with the pre-root ABS pluralizer *it-*, the elision of the first syllable appears to split the pluralizer morpheme, e.g. *tugu* ‘we have (them)’ (II,26) for *ditugu*; *tuçu* ‘you.FORMAL have (them)’ (I,204, IX,31) for *dituzu*, Altuna (1987, pp. 44–45) attributing the elision to metrical necessity (see also Chapter Five, 5.2.2 viii.).

Modes of address, the use of which varied considerably in the sixteenth century, merit consideration. Etxepare’s use of the intimate mode, *hiketa*, is broadly more in line with that of today than that of Leizarraga, Garibai or *RS*. Etxepare addresses his reader using the masculine form of the intimate, e.g. the imperative *Pensa eçac* ‘think.INTIMATE(M)!’ with the possessive pronoun *hire* ‘your.INTIMATE’ in *Pensa eçac hura dela hire saluaçalia* (I,38). ‘Think that He is your saviour’. Today, 2INTIMATE is ‘extraordinarily restricted ... between siblings and between close friends of the same sex...it is never used in addressing God. Except between siblings, it is never used between adults of the opposite sex, not even between man and wife.’ (Trask, 1997, p. 96). Etxepare digresses somewhat from the picture painted by Trask. A woman addresses a man using 2.INTIMATE, combined with *launa* ‘Sir’: *launa guerthuz hic daducat² porfidia handia* (XII,37) ‘Sir, you really have great impudence’ persisting with the intimate address throughout the verse; elsewhere in the poem, both parties use 2.FORMAL. The choice of 2INTIMATE is likely motivated by intention to communicate disdain, consistent with Trask’s mention of its use for teasing and abusing (1997, p. 96). Contrary to Trask’s picture (1997, p.96), in the same poem, the man uses 2INTIMATE to address God: XII,49: *langoycoa mutha ezac othoy ene vihoça* (XII,49) ‘God, please change my heart’, probably to vent exasperation. Overwhelmingly, Etxepare’s mode of singular address is the 2FORMAL *zuketa*, which in his variety of Eastern Low Navarrese, had clearly already shifted from its earlier plural to singular reference, as in the modern

² The form *daducat* has been much debated, apparently having a 1SG.ERG marker, while, from the antecedent 2INTIMATE.ERG pronoun *hic*, a 2INTIMATE.ERG marker is expected. Lafon, concurring with Schuchardt (Lafon, 1952, p. 170 cited in Altuna, 1987, 222) postulates exchanging the apparent person markers to give *dadutac* ‘you.INTIMATE(M) have (it) to me’. Altuna, by contrast, proposes a single change, yielding *daducac*, from *eduki*, with internal *c* (mod. *k*) as a root element, not a person marker: ‘you.INTIMATE(M) have (it)’, without a 1SG.DAT, a more persuasive contender: the form *daducac* also appears in Leizarraga, e.g., John Ch.10 v.24; Revelation Ch.2 v.13. Altuna’s interpretation is further supported in that *uk(h)en/*edun* does not yield trivalent reflexes, furnished by **eradun* and **-i-*.

language. For the 2PL mode of address, he uses the more recently formed *zueketa*, of which, probably for contextual reasons, there are only two instances, *vaytuçuye* (I,343); *baytuçuye* (I,354) ‘you.PL have’, the first lexical and the second auxiliary. Nonetheless the ample appearance of a range of reflexes of the pronoun suggest that *zueketa* was well-established in Etxepare’s variety.

Second person attached markers can encode not only subject, direct and indirect object arguments but also allocutivity, referencing the addressee and generally construed as non-argumental (e.g. Trask, 1997, p. 234). Modes of address in allocutive usage vary between dialects, the most widespread with 2INTIMATE *hiketa*, the only mode of allocutive address in Lapurdian. In the unmarked 2FORMAL *zuketa*, allocutives are restricted to a few Eastern Continental varieties, similarly the recently formed intermediate *xuketa* (Trask, 1997, p. 235). Navarrese forms allocutives in *hiketa*, *zuketa* and *xuketa*. Etxepare uses *hiketa* and *zuketa* allocutives. In a sample comprising the Prologue and first 150 lines of verse, allocutive forms appear in main clauses only, as in their modern usage. The sample includes allocutives of *izan*, *uk(h)en/*edun*, *egon*, *et(h)orri* ‘come’ and *erausi* ‘strike, wound, cause to feel, cause to be moved’. All are present-tense forms, except for a reflex of *et(h)orri* with future meaning: *Ni çugana nyatorqueçu beqhatore handia* (I,51) ‘It is to you that I, a great sinner will come, you.FORMAL see’. *erausi*, appearing in Etxepare but not in the other three traditionally more studied texts, provides 3SG.ABS-1SG.DAT-3SG.ERG-2.FORMAL.ALLOC *diraustaçu* (I,124) ‘it moves me, you see’. Both *hiketa* and *zuketa* allocutives are abundant throughout the text, generally formed by a valency increase of +1, attended by a change of root with *izan* and **edun*. Except for the monovalent reflexes of *izan*, having allocutives syncretic with ABS-2.ERG reflexes of **edun*, allocutivity is generally conferred through recycled dative markers. Many allocutives are syncretic with unmarked reflexes from another paradigm: *dic* as 3SG.ABS-3SG.ERG-2.INTIMATE.ALLOC, ‘s/he, it has (it), you.INTIMATE(M) see’, allocutive of unmarked *du* (3SG.ABS-3SG.ERG) ‘s/he, it has (it)’ or as 3SG.ABS-2.INTIMATE.DAT-3SG.ERG, the allocutive exemplified, e.g., in *Harc eryo haritudic hiri leyan vicia* (I,43) ‘He took death, you.INTIMATE(M) see, to give you life’.

Etxepare’s trend of consolidating **-i-* as the root of bipersonal transitive auxiliary allocutives, and **eradun* as sourcing unmarked trivalent forms e.g., *igorten darauritzut* ‘I am

sending them to you’ (Prologue, 18) provides an intimation that the selection of allocutive-generating devices minimizes syncretism with unmarked forms. The small number of examples constrain any secure conclusions and a focused comparison of corresponding unmarked and allocutive forms from a wide sixteenth century sample could be fruitful. Near-counterparts include *ioan* ‘go, (AUX. habitual aspect)’ with the 3SG.ABS-2.FORMAL.ALLOC *diohaçu* ‘it is doomed, you.FORMAL see’ in *Picher ebilia hauxi diohaçu* (X,43) ‘A circulated jug is doomed to break, you see’ and the 3SG.ABS – 1SG.DAT *doat* ‘s/he,it goes to me’ in *Harçaz orhit nadinian vihoza doat ebaqui* (VI,6). ‘Whenever I think of her, my heart breaks’. Similarly with *egon* is *diagoc* ‘s/he, it is, you.INTIMATE(M) see’ 3SG.ABS-2INTIMATE(M).ALLOC in *leyngoaren hurranena hura diagoc glorian* (I,47) ‘She is, you.INTIMATE(M) see, the closest to God in glory’ and the unmarked 3SG.ABS – 1SG.DAT *daut* ‘it is to me’ in *Gende honac vihoça daut bethiere nygarrez* (VII,23) ‘Good people, my heart is forever weeping’. In the near-counterparts above, although the post-root positioning of the person marker is the same in both dative and allocutive reflexes, the allocutive is distinguished by pre-root *i-*, available and in use as a dative flag elsewhere.

In the modern language, allocutivity, in those modes of address where it is used in a given variety, is obligatory in all main clauses. In Etxepare, however, its use is sporadic with *zuketa*, as Altuna illustrates (1987, p. 19) in respect of the parataxis formed by I,50 and I,51: *çutan dago beqhatoren speranza gucia* (I,50) and *Ni çugana nyatorqueçu beqhatore handia* (I,51) ‘In you resides all the hope of the sinners’ and ‘It is to you that I, a great sinner, will come, you.FORMAL see’ with line 50 featuring unmarked *dago* ‘s/he,it is (stative)’ and line 51 allocutive *nyatorqueçu* ‘I will come, you.FORMAL see’. Altuna notes that there is no reason for both verbs not to be allocutives. Several investigators, including Martínez-Areta (2013, p. 57, citing Lafon, 1999 [1951], p. 754) consider the lack of regularity in the use of the *zuketa* allocutive suggestive of innovation.

Two causative-generating mechanisms appear in Etxepare (See Chapter Two, 2.3.6 and Appendix H, Table 10 on sixteenth century causatives): predominantly pre-root *ra-*, e.g., in *erabili* ‘(cause to) move, lead, bring, use’, *erakutsi* ‘show, reveal’ *eratzan* ‘cradle, lay, cause to recline’ **eradun*, ‘have.AUX (tripersonal), give’, *eraman* ‘lead, take away, pass (time)’. The second mechanism, a V+AUX group comprising a lexical radical followed by *erazi* + AUX is represented once only: *imprimi eraci diça/çun* (Prologue 21/22) ‘that you should have

them printed’, with *eraci* as a word separate from the lexical radical; in the modern language they are conjoined: *inprimerazi ~ inprimarazi*.

Etxepare’s work seems to witness a time at which SOV order was not consolidated as in the language as it is today (although non-SOV constructions remain, including imperatives, negative polarity statements and direct questions). Etxepare however, as Altuna (1987, p. 32) notes, boldly omits finite verbs, e.g. the V+AUX group *eguinen duc* ‘you.INTIMATE(M) will do (it)’ lacks the auxiliary *duc* ‘you.INTIMATE(M) have (it)’ in *Eta aguian hic eguinen vertan verriz beqhatu* (I,133) ‘And perhaps you.INTIMATE will immediately sin again’, a trait reflected in the proverbs and sayings recorded by Garibai and in *RS*. Aspects of syntax vary with that of Batua: a distinctive point is raised by Altuna (1987, p. 88) in respect of:

Amore bat nahi nuque liadutanic eguia (Etxepare II,20)
Amore bat nahi n-u-que liadutanic
 love one desire 1SG.ERG-AUX[3SG.ABS]-ke I-FLAG-possess[3SG.ABS]-1SG.DAT[3SG.ERG]-REL-PARTIT
eguia
 truth-DEF.DET
 ‘I would like a love who would be constantly true to me’

Contrasting with Lafon’s *Euskal ordenu* ‘Basque ordering’ with the relative clause pre-posed, as in Batua:

egia liadutan amore bat nahi nuke
egia liadutan amore bat nahi nuke
 truth-DEF.DET I-FLAG-possess[3SG.ABS]-1SG.DAT[3SG.ERG]-REL love one desire 1SG.ERG-AUX[3SG.ABS]-ke

In Etxepare, a clause can admit two complementizers, one free clause-initial, the other verb-attached e.g.

Ceren hantic vqhen baytuc beharduyan thornuya (Etxepare XV,3)
Ceren han-tic vqhen bay-t-u-c
 COMP there-ABL have.PFV.PTCP COMP-[d]-AUX.PRES[3SG.ABS]-2INTIMATE.ERG
behar-d-uy-a-n thornuy-a
 need-d- AUX.PRES[3SG.ABS]-2INTIMATE.ERG-REL accolade.DEF.DET
 ‘For from there you have obtained your rightful accolade’

contrasting with the dominant pattern of a single verb-attached complementizer in Batua. Sixteenth century non-final verb positioning, also clause-initial complementizers are addressed summatively in Chapter Six, 6.2.

3.3 THE WORKS OF LEIZARRAGA: THE RELATIONSHIP OF KEY POINTS TO THEIR COUNTERPARTS IN ETXEPARE

The works of Leizarraga, published in 1571 constitute the second known published source, save for a lost 1561 Castilian-Basque Catechism from Peninsular Navarre (Urrizola Hualde, 2006, p. 145). Leizarraga, best known for the first translation into Basque of the New Testament, penned accompanying items. Four precede the New Testament: a bilingual French and Basque dedication to Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre; a short section on orthography, pronunciation and the principles underpinning his translation; a proclamation of the merits of Jesus Christ, and a summary of the teachings of the Old and New Testaments. It is followed by a further eight: the elucidation of proper names; difficult Biblical terms; words unknown to Zuberoan; an alphabetical list of subject matter; prayers and guidance for officiations; a Catechism; an address to the King, and a confession of faith for French subjects. Also published in 1571, within the source consulted, feature an elaborate, informative calendar and the *ABC*, providing guidance for the instruction of the young in Christianity, literacy and numeracy.

Most known copies of Leizarraga's work are incomplete. The source consulted is a facsimile of that prepared by Schuchardt and Linschmann, printed in Strasbourg in 1900 and reprinted in Bilbao [Bq. Bilbo] in 1990 from a copy held by the Euskaltzaindia; it is deemed a particularly scrupulous representation of the first edition (Leizarraga et al., 1990 *Aurkezpena* (foreword)). It is difficult to attribute Leizarraga's writings to a specific dialect on account of two factors: first, Leizarraga's avowed aim of forging language accessible to as many people as possible: 'each and everyone knows what difference and diversity exists in the Basque Country in the way of speech, practically from one house to another: for this reason, without altering the true sense, it has been our aim, through language as accessible as possible to the majority, to have everyone understand without merely following the way of speech of any given place.'³ (Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 254, 15-20). Leizarraga, therefore, four centuries before the implementation of Batua, worked to forge a common code

³ *batbederac daqui heuscal herrian quasi etche batetic bercera-ere minçatceco manerán cer differentiá eta diuversitatea den : raçoin hunegatic sensu eguiazcotic aldaratu gabe, lengoageaz den becembatean ahalic guehiena, guciey adi eraciteari iarreiqui içan gaitzaitza, eta ez choil edocein leku iaquineco lengoage bereciri:*

intelligible to Basque speakers across the varieties spoken within the then Protestant domain. Schuchardt asserts Leizarraga himself established the language in which he wrote'⁴ (Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 20 [XIV]). Second, as Schuchardt observes, this approach was inevitable, given the lack, with the exception of Etxepare, of precedent, and the dearth of contemporaneous writing obstructing determination of the provenance of individual entities.

The consensus is that Leizarraga combined a Lapurdian base (cf. Lacombe, 1931, pp. 363–366. vol. 22) with Low Navarrese and Zuberoan elements (Lafon, 1944, pp. 61–62 vol.1). A native of Briscous in Eastern Low Navarrese-speaking Lapurdi, non-Lapurdi elements may have persisted as he strove to 'Lapurdinize his own speech'⁵ (Lafon, 1944, p. 65, vol. 1), customary among Continental Basque clergy when preaching or writing (Lafon, 1944, p. 63, vol. 1). Two of his scrutineers, Tartas and Landetcheberry were from Low Zuberoa (Jaurgain, 1908, p. 601 cited in Lafon, 1944, p. 58 vol.1), possibly introducing forms from their native speech (Lafon, 1944, p. 64 vol.1). Furthermore, Bonaparte (1876 cited in Lafon, 1944, p. 62, vol. 1) suggests that, in the sixteenth century, Lapurdian had, but later lost, forms in common with Lower Navarrese and Zuberoan. Competing forms associated with different varieties include *bere* (North-East) and *beren* (Lapurdi), both 'their', sometimes in close proximity, e.g. *berén bihotzetaco guthicietara, satsutassunera, bere gorputz propriey* (Romans Ch.I v.24) 'through the lusts of their own hearts, to dishonour their own bodies' (Schuchardt in Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 81 [LXXV]). A desinence generating an abstract noun from an adjective appears as Lapurdian *-tassun*, and the less frequent Low Navarrese/Zuberoan *-tarçun*.

Leizarraga's glossary elucidating items not found in Zuberoan (Leizarraga et al., 1990, pp. 1213–1214 [ã. vii r/v]) includes *iguzquia* 'sun' as Zuberoan *ekia* and the generalized DP dative plural marker *-ey* corresponding to *-er* in Zuberoa and surroundings, (Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 1214 [ã. vii v]). Interestingly, *-er* is recorded in the coastal variety of Saint-Jean-de-Luz [Bq. Donibane Lohitzune], distant from Zuberoa, by Voltaire (1642) (cited by Schuchardt

⁴ *Leizarraga hat die Sprache in der er geschrieben, selbst festgestellt.*

⁵ *labourdiniser son parler propre*

in Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 117 [CXI]), whose examples include *idiçagñer, urdagñer, astoçagñer, oullagñer* (1642, p. 142), ‘to oxheards, to swineheards, to muleteers’, illustrating how variants associated with a particular locality can appear in a distant one, suggesting selection from a common pool of alternating forms.

Leizarraga uses the same set of auxiliaries as Etxepare, again forming two aspectually contrasting groups: endpoint-encoding vs non-endpoint-encoding. Their lexical function mirrors that in Etxepare: **edin*, often used lexically with the sense ‘become, come to be’ e.g. 3SG past-tense *cedin* ‘s/he, it became, came to be’ reflecting the text of the Vulgate *antequam Abraham fieret* (Lafon, 1944, pp. 88–89, vol. 1) ‘before Abraham was made/came to be’: *Abraham cedin baino lehen, ni naiz* (John Ch.VIII v.58) ‘Before Abraham came to be, I am’, illustrating the aspectual contrast between endpoint-encoding **cedin* and non-endpoint, *naiz* ‘I am’, from *izan*, as often, with stative function. Endpoint-encoding **ezan* can encode the lexical sense of ‘do, make, achieve’ e.g., *ditzaquet* ‘I do (them)’ *Gauça guciac ahal ditzaquet Christ fortificatzen nauenez* (Philippians Ch.IV v. 13) ‘I can do all things through Christ strengthening me’ The lexical function ‘have’, possess’ of *uk(h)en/*edun* (*ukan* in Leizarraga) is thrice illustrated in Mark Ch.XVIII v.7 within periphrastic V+AUX groups *vkanen dituçue* ‘you.PL will have’, *vkanen baituçue* ‘for you.PL will have’ and *eznauçue...vkanen* ‘you will not have me’. Like *uk(h)en/*edun*, other auxiliaries rarely form periphrastic V+AUX groups with their own non-finite forms, except the future participle (Lafon, 1944, p. 80, vol. 1). Conversely, predominantly lexical verbs can have auxiliary function, e.g. *joan* ‘go’ to encode destiny: *galdu guihoaçac* (Matthew Ch.VIII v.25) ‘we are doomed to perish’; *eraman* ‘carry, take away’ encodes the endpoint of a progressive process, e.g. in *ceren harc ... recrubatu baitarama bere leheneco edertassun Apostoluen demborán ohi çuena* (Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 250 [*5v], 14) ‘whichregains its ancient beauty which it used to have at the time of the Apostles’.

In Leizarraga, **iron* ‘be able to (do)’ has a function additional to those encountered in Etxepare: the encoding of habitual or gnomic aspect: *diroçue* ‘you.PL can’ *ceruären irudiaz, iugeatzen daquiçue, eta demboretaco signoéz ecin diroçue ?* (Matthew Ch.XVI v.3) ‘You.PL know how to interpret the appearance of the sky; but can you.PL not interpret the signs of the times?’ Similarly, beside the mood and tense scope of *-ke* (with *izan*, *-te* in Etxepare, *-te* and *-teke* in Leizarraga) in Etxepare, in Leizarraga this particle can, like **iron* encode a

habitual or gnomic aspect, which Lafon describes as *intemporal* (Lafon, 1944, p. 84 vol. 1) ‘timeless’ e.g. *datela* ‘that s/he is afraid’ in *haren beldur datela badacussa* (Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 1292 [b. vii v], 12/13) ‘if (the minister) sees that s/he (the sick person) is afraid of it (death)’ in the context of what the minister should always do in this situation (Lafon, 1944, pp. 84–85, vol. 1).

In trivalent forms, the absolutive direct object is almost invariably 3rd person; in Leizarraga, however, thirteen forms, exceptionally, have a 1st or 2nd person absolutive direct object (Lafon, 1944, p. 397, vol. 2). Leizarraga’s non-3.ABS trivalent forms are auxiliaries, except *ezemón* ‘that he does not give you.INTIMATE to him’ (Matthew Ch.V v.25). Two others, also from *eman* ‘give’, are in periphrastic V+AUX groups with **ezan*. The remaining 10 are reflexes of **eradun* within periphrastic V+AUX groups, e.g. with a 1PL.ABS pre-root marker in *redimitu garauzcac* (Revelation Ch.V v.9) ‘you.INTIMATE(M) ransomed us for Him’; a 2PL.ABS marker in *gommendatzen cerauzquietet* (Acts Ch.XX v.32) ‘I commend you.PL to Him’. One instance, with a 1SG.ABS marker, is allocutive: *ecin eman nieçaqueec* (Acts Ch.XXV v.11), a *-ke* suffixed present form, ‘he cannot give me to them, you.INTIMATE(M) see’. It has been debated whether Leizarraga’s non-3.ABS trivalent reflexes were constructed to meet the needs of translation (Gómez & Sainz, 1995, p. 236), a standpoint refuted by Trask (1997, p. 220), not only because ‘inventing complex verb-forms out of thin air is hardly the sort of move we would expect from a native speaker like Leizarraga’, but on account of later examples, e.g. as reported by Lacombe (1907, p. 415), cited in Lafon (1944, p. 397, vol. 1), *eman giotza* ‘he(ERG) has given us(ABS) to him(DAT) in Duhalde’s 1980 *Meditacioneac* and *nako* ‘he(ERG) has me(ABS) to him(DAT)’ contemporaneously in Briscous, Leizarraga’s birthplace (Lafon, 1944, p. 397, vol. 1). In *Morfología vasca*, (1925, p. 575, 808, cited in Lafon, 1944, p. 397, vol. 1) Azkue attests three Western Bizkaian forms described by informants as in common usage: *nautsak* in *ik ni aitari eroan nautsak* ‘You.INTIMATE(M)(ERG) have taken me(ABS) to (your) father(DAT), *neutsazu* in *zuk ni berari eroan neutsazu* ‘You.FORMAL(ERG) have taken me(ABS) to him(DAT)’ and *autsat* in *nik i berarieroan autsat* ‘I(ERG) have taken you.INTIMATE(ABS) to him(DAT)’ (Lafon, 1944, p. 397, vol. 1).

In transitive forms, two competing dative 3SG markers, *-o* and *-a* appear. Dodgson (1907, pp. 180–182 cited in Lafon, 1944, p. 49) observes that, from Matthew Ch.XX onwards, *diotsa*

(e.g. in Matthew, Ch.XVII v.26) replaces *diotsó* (e.g. in Matthew Ch.VIII v.7), both ‘s/he, it says (it) to him/her/it’, coexisting before this point. A similar alternation appears in Garibai: 3SG.DAT *-a* e.g., *deutsat* ‘I have (it) to him/her/it’; *-o* in *dio* (same gloss). Leizarraga also has *-a* as 3SG.DAT marker in reflexes of **eradun*: *draucac* ‘you.INTIMATE(M) give (it) to him/her/it’, (e.g. Luke Ch.I v.13).

Schuchardt observes the ordering variance between a group of Leizarraga’s *-ke* marked verb-forms and their Lapurdian counterparts recorded by Bonaparte (Schuchardt in Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 75 citing Bonaparte, 1869). In Leizarraga’s forms, the pluralizer *-z* appear after *-ke*, which it precedes in Lapurdian.

Verb	Valency	Example reference	Contextual gloss	Leizarraga	Lapurdian
<i>*ezan</i> ‘have’	2 FORMAL.ABS – 3SG.ERG	John Ch.VII v.7	‘it cannot (hate) you’	<i>çaitzaquezte</i>	<i>çaitzazquete</i>
<i>uk(h)en/*edun</i> ‘have’	3PL.ABS – 3PL.ERG	Matt. Ch.XIII v.49	‘they will (separate) them’	<i>dituqueizte</i>	<i>dituzquete</i>

(Adapted from Schuchardt, in Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 75)

Like Etxepare, Leizarraga frequently uses **iron* as an auxiliary and a lexical verb ‘be able to (do)’ (Vinson, 1891, p. 587 cited by Schuchardt in Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 118), its range spanning Zuberoan, Eastern Low Navarrese and some varieties of Western Low Navarrese (Lafon, 1944, p. 100 vol.1 citing Bonaparte, 1869 p. xxv, n. 2). It is often accompanied by an particle *ahal* ‘ability’ or *ecin* ‘impossibility’ e.g. *diroçue* ‘you.PL can’: *edan ahal diroçue nic edateco dudan copa?* (Matthew Ch.XX v.22) ‘Are you able to drink the cup that I am to drink?’, a co-occurrence not typical in Etxepare, e.g. *Mundu honetan vadirogu batac bercia engana* (I,139) ‘In this world we can deceive one another’. Furthermore, in Leizarraga, *-ke* reflexes of **ezan* are frequently synonymous with reflexes of **-iro*: *laquin ahal deçaquegu...?* (Acts Ch.XVII v.19 ‘May we know...?’), contrasting with Etxepare’s use of *-ke*, overwhelmingly expressing futurity.

As with the DP DAT.PL desinence, varieties other than Lapurdian, Zuberoan and Low Navarrese have features in common with Leizarraga. Dodgson (Euskara 11 [1892], p. 88, cited by Schuchardt in Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 87[LXXXI]) observes in Leizarraga reflexes with a pre-root index to a dative argument, in the locus typical of ABS markers (also ERG

markers in ergative fronted forms), e.g. *çor bahau* as ‘if he owes (it) (to) you.INTIMATE’, against the general interpretation of *bahau* as 2INTIMATE.ABS–3SG.ERG, where ‘you.INTIMATE’ is the debt, instead of the expected 3SG.ABS–2INTIMATE.DAT–3SG.ERG forms *badrauc* (Batua *badik*) ‘if he owes (it) to you.INTIMATE(M)’: *Eta baldin cerbait bidegabe eguin badrauc, edo çor bahau...* (Philemon Ch.I v.18) ‘And if he has done any wrong to you.INTIMATE(M) or is in debt to you.INTIMATE...’. Similarly, a 1SG pre-root marker, construed as dative, appears in *eznauçue* ‘you.PL will not have (it) to me’ instead of *eztrautaçue* (Batua *ez didazue*): *Eta baldin interroga baçaitzatet-ere, eznauçue ihardetsiren* (Luke Ch.XXII v.68) ‘And if I ask you.PL, you will not reply to me’. Voltaire (1642, p. 225 cited by Schuchardt in Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 87[LXXXI]) records comparable verb-forms in the Basque of Saint-Jean-de-Luz (Bq. Donibane Lohitzune): *Estutusté hayñ berçe çorseytudela* ‘I don’t think I owe you so much more’, with the 2FORMAL marker in the pre-root position, very much Lafitte’s ‘solecism of the coast’ (see Chapter Two, 2.2.2 v.; Chapter Five, 5.2.1 v.).

Patterns of suppletion closely mirror those in Etxepare, present-tense reflexes of **-idi-* filling the gap left by absent *-ke* forms of *egin* ‘do, make’, although Leizarraga has the occasional *-ke* suffixed form of **-idi-* (Lafon, 1944, p. 235 vol. 1): *naidiqueen* appears in the address to the queen (Schuchardt in Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 252 [* . vi v], 18) *carguärë hartzera bathiric ecin naidiqueen* ‘in order to undertake the task such that I could not abandon it’. Certain verbs lack bare synthetic present-tense forms (although not periphrastic V+AUX counterparts): in the traditionally more studied texts, *erran* ‘say’ where **-io-* makes good this gap. Leizarraga, like Etxepare, uses four suppletive roots meaning ‘give’: *eman*, **-i-*, **eradun*, **-ngu-* (twice in Leizarraga, once in Etxepare), **-i-* and **eradun* also furnishing trivalent auxiliaries. In contrast with Etxepare, where **eradun* furnishes only unmarked reflexes, in Leizarraga, it also forms allocutives. Lafon (1944, p. 430, vol. 1) observes that *eman* is set apart in being endpoint-encoding, cautiously suggesting that the aspectual dichotomy seen in auxiliary verbs might underpin other suppletive relationships.

Leizarraga, like Etxepare, expresses futurity through different means: present-tense reflexes of **-idi-*; synthetic reflexes with *-ke* (*-te*, *-teke*); V+AUX periphrastic groups with a prospective/future participle formed with *-en* or *-ko*; a small number of ‘double futures’ combining a prospective/future participle with AUX-*ke* e.g., *arguituren duqueite* ‘they will shine’ (Matthew Ch.XIII v.34). Alternative future constructions appear in comparable

contexts, e.g. the periphrastic V+AUX group *vkanen duçue* ‘you.PL will have (it)’: *cer sari vkanen duçue* ? (Matthew Ch.V v.46) ‘what reward will you.PL have?’ vs synthetic *duqueçue* ‘you.PL will have’: *cer esquer duqueçue* ? (Luke Ch.VI v.34) ‘what thanks will you.PL have?’ (Lafon, 1944, p. 96, vol. 1).

As in Etxepare, /-initial forms appear in indicative contexts e.g., *lariola* ‘that it flowed/poured’: *eta lurrera eroriric iraulzcatzen cen haguna lariola* (Mark Ch.IX v.20) ‘and having fallen to the ground, he thrashed about, foam pouring from him’, closely paralleling *Orotaric laryola odol preciatuya* (Etxepare I,127) ‘While His precious blood poured from Him from everywhere’. Lafon’s (1944, pp. 388–389, vol. 2) view that /- indicates a process related to another is not inconsistent with Aldai Garai’s proposal (2000) of sixteenth century imperfective /- forms opposing aspectually neutral past-tense forms with z-.

Sixteenth century distinctions between present and non-present reflexes are less consolidated than in the modern language. Like Etxepare, Leizarraga frequently uses *a-* as the pre-root vowel in non-present reflexes (Schuchardt in Leizarraga et al., 1990, pp. 50–51), although *e-*, as in the modern language, also occurs: *çaçaten* ‘they had (it)’ in *ihardets çaçaten Sacrificadore principaléc* (John Ch.XIX v.15) ‘The chief Priests replied’ cf *ceçaten* in *conseillu eduqui ceçaten haren contra* (Mark Ch.III v.6) ‘they held counsel against Him’. Schuchardt (Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 51 [XLV]) suggests a preceding negator *ez* might favour disimilation to *a-*, though not applicable to the preceding or next example. Pre-root *e-* can appear in present-tense forms e.g., with *ezagutu* ‘know (person, place)’: *Ezteçagut guiçona* ‘I do not know the man’ (Matt. Ch.XXVI v.72), always with **ezan*, *eman* ‘give’ and more frequently than *a-* with *erran* ‘say’ (Schuchardt in Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 53 [XLVII]). Present-tense ABS-DAT reflexes of *izan* with initial z- are differentiated from their past-tense counterparts only by final (e)-n, equally a relativizer or complementizer, e.g. *çayẽ* ‘it was to them’ or ‘which is/was to them’: *berey irudi çayẽ beçala* (Hebrews Ch.XII v.10) ‘as seemed fitting to them’; Batua, by contrast, distinguishes present *zaie* ‘it is to them’ from past *zitzaie* ‘it was to them’. In Leizarraga, present/past distinctions are further blurred in V+AUX periphrastic groups by the use of the radical with **edin* or **ezan* in indicative contexts, the reading of tense dependent on that of the auxiliary alone, where the modern language uses an imperfective or perfective participle with **izan* or *uk(h)en/*edun*.

Leizarraga, like Etxepare, uses plural forms of *izan* with and without the pluralizer *-de*: both featuring in the New Testament, *-de* forms being favoured in the ABC. The 1PL *gara* ‘we are’ is more abundant than *garade* in the New Testament, likewise the past *guinen/guenen* ‘we were’ than *guinaden* (Schuchardt in Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 118 [CXII]). Parallel alternations are not only attested in Zuberoan and Roncalese, but more distantly, in Gipuzkoan (Bonaparte, 1869, p. XXVIII cited by Schuchardt in Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 118 [CXII]). A number of other alternations in Leizarraga rest on the presence or absence of pleonastic pluralizers: the word-final ABS pluralizer *-z* (Schuchardt in Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 78 [LXXII]) in the 2FORMAL imperative *çaitetztez* ‘be!’, appearing thrice in *Gaineracoaz, anayeác, aleguera çaitetztez, auança çaitetztez perfect içatera, consola çaitetztez* (2 Corinthians Ch.XIII v.11) ‘Finally, brothers, rejoice, strive to be perfect, be of good comfort’ vs also widespread *çaitetzte: fortifica çaitetzte* (1 Corinthians Ch. XVI v.13) ‘be strong’. From *egon, badaudez* ‘if they remain’: *baldin badaudez ni beçala*. (1 Corinthians Ch.VII v.8) ‘If they remain (single) like me.’ vs *badaude: eta ene hitzac çuetan badaude* (John Ch.XV v.7) ‘and if my words remain in you.PL’.

Pleonasm also occurs also with 3.DAT markers, e.g. duplicated *-o* in *cieçoyon* ‘he had (it) to him’ from **ezan: Eta nehorc ecin ihardets cieçoyon hitzic* (Matthew Ch.XXII v.46) ‘and no one could answer him a word’ vs *cieçon* in *biltzarreari congít eman cieçón* (Acts Ch.XIX v.41) ‘he dismissed the assembly’ (Schuchardt in Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 78 [LXXII], citing Schuchardt, 1893, p.56, vol. 1). By contrast, a root element, e.g. the *o* of *egon* ‘stay, remain’ can be reanalysed as a dative marking component (Schuchardt in Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 79 [LXXIII]) e.g., of *-ote* 3PL.DAT in *dagoten* ‘as it becomes them’: *sainduey dagoten beçala* (Romans Ch.XVI v.2) ‘as it becomes saints’ vs. *Batua dagokie* with dative flag *-ki* (see Chapter Five, 5.2.3) and 3PL.DAT *-e*.

Leizarraga manifests alternations in transitivity with arguments changing case, but not role.⁶ Synthetic and periphrastic *v+AUX* forms of *irudi* ‘seem, appear’, the former always transitive, e.g. *arboreac diruditela* (Mark Ch.VIII v.24) ‘that they resemble trees’: the latter usually, but not invariably: transitive *irudi du* ‘it seems’ (Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 1438 [I. viii

⁶ Traces appear in the modern language, e.g. *jarraitu* ‘follow’ can be transitive or intransitive; e.g. ‘say’ as transitive *esan, erran, hitz egin* vs Continental intransitive *mintzatu*.

v], 24) vs intransitive *irudi den* (Luke Ch.VI v.47) ‘whom he resembles’; ABS-DAT *irudi çayẽ* ‘it seemed to them’ (Hebrews Ch.XII v.10), akin to *irudi baçautzu* (Etxepare, Prologue,21) ‘if they seem fitting to you.FORMAL’. Schuchardt explores how a verb might emerge from a noun or adjective. He construes *irudi* as ‘similar’, with the entity resembled in the genitive (eg. Hebrews Ch.VII v.3) or allative (e.g. Matthew Ch.VI v.8) postulating the emergence of the transitive structure as a hybrid of INTR+GEN *noren irudi den* ‘whose likeness s/he, it is.COMP’ and TR+ABS *nor irudi duen* ‘whom s/he, it has.COMP (as) similar’ (Schuchardt in Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 88 [LXXXII]). In Leizarraga, *escatu* ‘ask for’ – transitive today – takes an intransitive auxiliary, the dative indexing the person asked: 3SG.ABS–3SG.DAT *badaquió* from **edin* in *baldin arrain esca badaquió* (Matthew Ch.VII. v.10) ‘if he asks him/her for fish’; with an ABS-only reflex: *cer-ere escaturen baitzarete* (John Ch.XIII v.13) ‘whatever you.PL ask for’. Schuchardt (Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 88 [LXXXII]) views intransitive constructions with verbs such as *irudi* ‘appear’ and *escatu* ‘ask for’ as a staging point along the pathway to the transitive structures of the modern language. The co-existence of transitive and intransitive constructions, in particular ABS-DAT raises two questions: whether some dative markers were reanalysed as ergative markers, syncretic word-finally, except in the 3rd person, and whether, e.g. with *irudi* ‘seem, appear’ synthetic verbs developed from transitive V+AUX groups, contrary to the view that synthetic verbs are the oldest type of verb construction known in the language. If the picture of intransitive lexical verbs predating their transitive counterparts can be extrapolated, an implication could be that ergativity arrived late to Basque.

Despite some 60 verbs having synthetic reflexes in the sixteenth century,⁷ barely 12 appear today in ordinary speech (Trask, 1997, p. 108). Nonetheless, in Leizarraga, periphrastic V+AUX groups assert a strong presence with verbs also capable of synthetic reflexes. Leizarraga overwhelmingly renders the future by periphrastic means: with *izan* e.g. *içanen da* ‘s/he, it will be’ in *hoguendũ içanen da* (1 Corinthians Ch.XI v.27) ‘(whoever...) will be guilty’ appears more frequently than the synthetic counterpart *date* ‘s/he, it will be’ e.g. in the section on communion, *hogendun date* ‘(whoever...) will be guilty’ (Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 1284 [B iii

⁷ Mounole Hiriart-Urruty, from an extensive and varied sample of archaic (1400-1600) sources, including e.g., Oihenart and Bela, which she regards as reflecting sixteenth century language, identifies sixty-eight verbs forming at least one synthetic reflex (2014 [2018], p. 345).

v], 2, cited in Lafon, 1944, p. 85 vol. 1). Similarly, *egin* ‘do, make’ with the periphrastic V+AUX group *eguien dugu* ‘we will do’ in Hebrews Ch.VI v.3, yet a small number of synthetic reflexes are built on its suppletive congener *-idi- e.g., *ungui daidiquec* (3 John, Epistle I v.6.) ‘you.INTIMATE(M) will do well’. Although capable of synthetic reflexes, *egin* overwhelmingly appears within periphrastic V+AUX groups, which alone provide forms marking the 3PL.ABS, e.g., *eguiten dituc* ‘you.INTIMATE(M) do them’, *eguin ditzán* ‘that you.INTIMATE(M) do them’ in *Cer autoritatez gauça horiac eguiten dituc eta norc emã drauc autoritate hori gauça horiac eguin ditzán?* (Mark Ch.XI v.28) ‘By what authority do you do these things and who gave you this authority to do these things?’. Although the use of synthetic reflexes has seen a net decrease and that of periphrastic V+AUX groups an increase, the picture is a more complex one involving changes in equilibrium. A synthetic verb-form can be favoured today in a context where a periphrastic V+AUX group appeared in the sixteenth century, e.g. Leizarraga’s *deitzẽ cen* ‘who was called’ in Luke Ch.I v.5 *Zacharias deitzẽ cen Sacrificadorebat* ‘a priest who was called Zacharias’ is rendered in the modern interchurch Bible as *zeritzan* ‘who was called’: *Zakarias zeritzan apaiz bat* (*BIBLIJA.Net - Biblia Interneten*, n.d.); similarly in John Ch.XI v.33 Leizarraga’s *etorri ciraden* ‘they (who) had come’ vs *zetozen*; in John Ch.I v.30 Leizarraga’s *ethorten da* ‘he comes’ vs. the relativized *datarren* ‘he who comes’.

Throughout Leizarraga’s religious texts, *hiketa*, the mode of address designated here as 2INTIMATE, fulfils its earlier role as the unmarked generic singular, contrasting with Etxepare’s usage, reflective of speaker attitude. It is used freely between the sexes: by Jesus to Martha (John XI v.26), the woman of Samaria to Jesus (John Ch.IV v.11) cf the 2FORMAL *zuketa* in the modern Interchurch Bible. In contrast with Etxepare, God is addressed consistently in *hiketa*. 2INTIMATE *hiketa* opposes the more recently formed 2PL *zueketa*, whose established use is indicated by consistent application of dedicated markers: post-root 2PL.DAT/ERG marker *-çue* and pre-root 2nd person *ç-* with one or more co-occurring pluralizers (see Chapter Five, 5.1.5). Only in the dedication to the queen and address to the king, does Leizarraga use the modern 2FORMAL *zuketa*, as singular, though historically plural; with *çure Maiestate* ‘Your Majesty’ as a direct form of address, Leizarraga uses the morphologically 3SG forms of *berorika* (e.g. 1990, p. 1355 [F. vii r], 8/9).

Leizarraga uses allocutives in *hiketa* only, as in Lapurdian today, while in Etxepare they also appear in *zuketa*. (e.g., I,51: see 3.2). Allocutives are not used in 2PL *zueketa*. Within parameters of allocutive use which persist today (preclusion from embedded clauses, from affixed forms except those with positive *ba-*, negative *ez-*, *-ke* (*-te*, *-teke*) and past marker *-(e)n* (Lafon, 1944, pp. 407–408, vol. 1), Leizarraga uses the 2INTIMATE allocutive consistently and frequently. Examples include, from *ioan* ‘go’, *guihoaçac* ‘we go, you.INTIMATE(M) see’, as an auxiliary conveying the sense of destiny, overlapping with its usage in Etxepare (X,43), *galdu guihoaçac* (Matthew Ch.VIII v.25) ‘we are doomed to perish’ contrasting with neutral *goacen* ‘that we go’ within an embedded clause in *Magistruá, eztuc ansiaric ceren galduac goacen?* (Mark Ch.IV v.38) ‘Master, do you not care that we are doomed to be lost?’

Many of Leizarraga’s allocutives, like Etxepare’s, have pre-root *i-* e.g., from *ebili/ibili* ‘walk, go about’ *guiniabiltzán* ‘we were going about, you see’: *hire bilha guiniabiltzán* (Luke Ch.II v.48) ‘we were searching for you.INTIMATE’. No neutral counterpart appears, but from the complementized 2PL *cinabiltzatela* (1 Corinthians Ch.XII v.2), it would be **ginabiltzan*. As Lafon (1944, p. 409, vol. 1) states, further research on the differentiation of allocative and dative forms is needed (see Chapter Five, 5.2.4). Building on the work of Schuchardt, Lafon (1944, pp. 409–410, vol. 1, citing Schuchardt, 1923, Prim., § 149, p. 30) suggests accentual position may have been instrumental: Leizarraga, uniquely among the traditionally more studied texts, includes some written accents, as Lafon observes, frequently on the final syllable of allocutives, corresponding to their accentuation in modern Zuberoan. Concurring with Schuchardt that **d-a-du-ki-k* sources allocutive *dik* ‘s/he, it has (it), you.INTIMATE(M) see’, Lafon suggests that, in Zuberoan, final-syllable accentuation yielded allocutive *dik*, while penult-accentuation gave rise to the unmarked dative *deik*, from the same source.

Forms fallen from regular use include votive *ai-*, which Leizarraga deploys occasionally, in conjunction with non-present stems. The only synthetic votive is from *izan*, *aihinz* ‘would that you.INTIMATE were’: *aihinz hotz edo eraquin* (Revelation Ch.III v.15) ‘would that you.INTIMATE were either cold or boiling’. Three further votives appear, in periphrastic V+AUX groups in Lafon’s *déterminé* (endpoint-encoding) category e.g. with **edin*: *Ailitez trenca çuec trublatzen çaituztenac* (Galatians Ch.V v.12) ‘Would that those who trouble you.PL become emasculated’ (Lafon, 1944, p. 494 vol. 1). The sixteenth century dialectal range of

the votive is unknown; it is mentioned by Inchauspe and Bonaparte in relation to Zuberoan, where it is no longer in use, and Azkue reported traces in Bizkaian and Gipuzkoan in the early twentieth century (Lafon, 1944, p. 495 vol. 1).

More completely disappeared from the language is the prescriptive with initial *albeit-* (*albeit-* in Etxepare), again attached to a past stem. Both Leizarraga and Etxepare use it as a nuanced imperative, conditional upon, and subsequent to, another event: *hari eguin albaiteça lehen eçagucia*. (Etxepare I,36) ‘to this (the font) make. INTIMATE your first act of acknowledgment’ in the context of what to focus on having entered a church (Lafon, 1944, p. 491 vol. 1). Similarly, Leizarraga uses the prescriptive to express what to do in the event of an attack on Jerusalem: *ihes albeilequite* ‘let them flee’, *retira albeilitez* ‘let them depart’ and *ezalbeilitez ... sar* ‘let them not enter’ (Luke Ch.XXI v.21) (cited in Lafon, 1944, p. 492 vol. 1). In closely related contexts, an imperative and a votive appear: the imperative *erran eçaçue* ‘say.2PL (it)!’ in *othoitz eguiten duçuenean, erran eçaçue...* (Luke Ch.XI v.2) ‘When you pray (present tense), say..’; the prescriptive *albeitzinarrate* ‘say.2PL (it)’ in the Catechism, with a margin cross-reference to the same verse of Luke, *othoitzeric eguinen duçuenean, albeitzinarrate hunela* ‘when you.PL pray (future tense), say thus’ (Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 1333 [E iii r], 7, also cited in Lafon, 1944, p. 492 vol. 1). The sixteenth century dialectal range of the prescriptive is unknown, but it seems to have been widespread. Azkue (1925, p. 774 § 1008, cited in Lafon, 1944, p. 492, vol. 1) reports its use in Bizkaian, Gipuzkoan and High Navarrese, also noting the adverbial use *albeit lenen* ‘as early as possible’ in the 19th century Bizkaian writer Añibarro.

The marking of the relationship of embedded to matrix clauses contrasts with that of Batua. As with Etxepare, Leizarraga’s embedded clauses are frequently marked with two complementizers, one clause-initial (e.g. *ceren* ‘for, because’) and the second (often *bait-* or *-lako* also ‘for, because’) attached to the verb, e.g. *.....neure mādataria....., ceinec appaindurẽ baitu hire bidea hire aitzinean*. (Mark Ch.I v.2) ‘...my messenger....., who will furnish your way before you’. In Batua, the relative clause overwhelmingly precedes its head: in Leizarraga, it typically, although not invariably, follows.

In sum, the quest to establish securely the nature of Leizarraga's dialectal tapestry is significantly constrained, notwithstanding the painstaking research of Schuchardt, drawing upon early sources and Bonaparte's dialectal investigations. Items appeared in localities distant from one another: the DP PL.DAT marker *-er* in Zuberoan and coastal Lapurdian; plural reflexes of *izan* with and without the pluralizer *-de* in Continental and Gipuzkoan varieties; 3SG.DAT allomorphs *-a* and *-o* in Leizarraga and Garibai; pre-root dative indexing in Leizarraga and in coastal Lapurdian. Possibly, these and similar phenomena reflect a continuum of variants across the Basque Country prior to specialization attendant upon dialectal differentiation. Leizarraga and Etxepare have much in common: similar lexical use of auxiliaries, similar aspectual use of lexical verbs serving as auxiliaries, the imperfective aspect of *l*-forms, lack of tense-specialization in the pre-root vowel. Both writers include some pleonastic person-related markers (see Chapter Five, 5.2). Leizarraga uses trivalent reflexes with 1st or 2nd person pre-root ABS markers, not found in Etxepare. Leizarraga uses allocutive forms with *hiketa* only, Etxepare with *hiketa* and *zuketa*. Contrasting accentual position may underlie the genesis of dative and allocutive descendents from a common source. Synthetic transitive reflexes of some verbs may derive from periphrastic V+AUX groups with an intransitive history, with dative > ergative reanalysis. If this picture can be extrapolated, it may indicate the late emergence of ergativity in Basque. With both writers, embedded clauses mirror the Romance pattern of a clause initial complementizer e.g. *ceren* 'for, because', genitive of *cer* 'what', in contrast with the preference in Batua for complementizers attached to the right-hand edge of the finite verb: possibly some role was played by calculated Abstand, in which context it is noteworthy that both Leizarraga and Etxepare use a large number of Romance loans, which neither writer conceals (Lafon, 1944, p. 61, vol. 1).

3.4 THE WORKS OF GARIBAI [SP. GARIBAY] AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER TEXTS

The historian and Bascophile Esteban Garibai y Zamalloa, from Arrasate/Mondragoe [Sp. Mondragón], compiled two collections of proverbs for the Counsellor of State Juan de Idiaquez, sending one on 18th July 1592, with accompanying Spanish translations. The whereabouts of the originals is uncertain, but they are linked to two related manuscripts, containing 63 (Cod. G. 139) and 64 (Cod. Cc.79) proverbs respectively, in the Spanish

National Library. The two collections, with other Basque items interspersed throughout the works of Garibai, were published in 1919 with an introduction and commentary by Urquijo who considers Cc.79 the probable work of Garibai (1919, p. XVIII), but G. 139, with handwriting characteristic of the mid-17th century (1919, p. XIV), to have been compiled by a later Basophile with knowledge of Garibai's work, not representing either collection, since it duplicates 37 items in Cc.79 (1919, p. XVIII). Urquijo hypothesises that the other collection sent to Idiaquez might be the 1596 *Refranes y Sentencias* (Urquijo é Ibarro, 1919, p. XVIII). Lakarra Andrinua (1986), however, from quantified analyses, concludes that the later copyist made negligible alteration to the original, that both collections not only represent the work of Garibai, but diverge phonetically and morphologically from the more Westerly variety of *RS* and that Cc.79 was the first of the two collections sent to de Idiaquez (Lakarra Andrinua, 1986, pp. 62–63).

Arrasate, in Gipuzkoa, lies within a Bizkaian-speaking area with Gipuzkoan influence (Urquijo é Ibarro, 1919, p. XXXV), in Bonaparte's terms, the Salinas variety of Gipuzkoan Bizkaian (Lafon, 1944, p. 67 vol. 1). Garibai's language overwhelmingly resembles latter-day Bizkaian in the frequent use of *o* in reflexes of *uk(h)en/*edun: dot* 'I have (it)' *doçu* 'you.FORMAL have (it)' (Urquijo é Ibarro, 1919, p. XXXVI) rather than the *u* of Etxepare and Leizarraga. There are, however, reflexes more typically associated with Gipuzkoan, e.g. *det* 'I have (it)' (G139, 50); Urquijo observing that Gipuzkoan elements are more abundant in G. 139 and deducing that the copyist was Gipuzkoan (Urquijo é Ibarro, 1919, p. XXXVIII). The scarcity of finite verbs from many proverbs in both collections, however, renders the data pool a small one to support this deduction, which runs contrary to the findings of Lakarra Andrinua (1986).

In *Textos Arcaicos Vascos* (1964), Mitxelena complements Urquijo's focus on the proverbs with the examination of the four Basque songs and dictum recorded by Garibai, recounting events pre-dating the historian's birth. Transmitted orally from generation to generation, the extent of modification between their composition and documentation is unknown, imposing constraints on the determination of verb-form antiquity or degree of dialectal interplay.

The items are as follows:

1. Michelena (1964, pp. 67–69 quoting Isasti, c. 1620, *Compendio*, book 26, chap. 15; also Zaldibia, 1560) records a fragment of *Cantar de la batalla⁸ de Beotibar* ‘Song of the battle of Beotibar’, marking a 1321 triumph of the Gipuzkoans over the Navarrese army. The metre indicates composition at most one or two centuries prior to its earliest attestation (Michelena, 1964, p. 66). Identifiably Bizkaian verb-forms are absent.
2. *Endechas de Doña Milia de Lastur* ‘Dirges for Doña Milia de Lastur’: (Michelena, 1964, p. 75 citing Garibai, *Memorias*, p. 177-180. cf Guerra, 1924, pp. 38-44, 276 et seq.; Urquijo, 1919, XXXVI-XXXVIII). The sister of Doña Milia addresses a rageful lament to her sister-in-law, who denies that her brother maltreated Doña Milia. Although the earliest known record of the lament was penned in the sixteenth century, Guerra (1924, p. 42 cited in Michelena, 1964, p. 78) dates it to the first half of the fifteenth century from the mention of the then living doña Ochanda de Gabriola.
3. In *Cantar de Olaso* ‘Song of Olaso’ (Michelena, 1964, p. 88 citing Garibai, *Ilustraciones genealógicas*), a daughter asserts her right to honour a marriage commitment opposed by her mother consequent upon the implication of her betrothed in her father’s assassination during an escalation of hostilities between the Oñazino and Gamboino clans. The marriage, in January 1450, heralded a return to peace.
4. *Endechas por la muerte de Martin Bañez de Artaçubiaga* ‘Dirges for the death of Martin Báñez de Artaçubiaga’: (Michelena, 1964, pp. 90–92 citing Garibai, 1854 [c. 1596], *Memorias* p. 46 et seq.). The widow of a Gamboino murdered at Ibarreta in May 1464 by Oñazinos vows to exact her revenge.

⁸ *batala* in Michelena, 1964, p. 66

5. A dictum: *Fray Vicentec esala, Fedea cina liçala* (Urquijo é Ibarro, 1919, p. XXXIX, citing Garibai, Memoria, p. 248, book III, § II; also Michelena, 1964, p. 111) ‘For Fray Vicente said that faith was the oath’. The Dominican Saint Vincent Ferrier (1365-1419) was remembered for railing against the swearing of the oath, asserting that faith suffices (Lafon, 1944, p. 86 vol.1).

The sources consulted are Urquijo’s 1919 *Euskalerrian Alde separatum, El refranero vasco I* and Mitxelena’s 1964 *Textos Arcaicos vascos*.

Like Etxepare and Leizarraga, Garibai uses the auxiliaries *izan, uk(h)en/*edun* and **edin*; in common with other Bizkaian texts, *egin* replaces **ezan*; **iron* is absent. In the 3SG.ABS of *izan*, Garibai has *a* to Etxepare and Leizarraga’s *e* e.g., *çan* ‘s/he, it was’ in *Guiçon chipi sotil baten andra çan* ‘She was the wife of a meek and handsome man’ (Endechas de Doña Milia de Lastur, 21), *dala* ‘that s/he, it is’ in *Martin Bañez Ybarretan il dala* (Endechas por la muerte de Martin Bañez de Artaçubiaga, 3) ‘that *Martín Bañez* has been killed in Ibarreta’. Reflexes of *uk(h)en/*edun*, instead of Etxepare and Leizarraga’s *u*, predominantly have *o* e.g., *doçu* ‘you (formal) have (it), *dau* ‘it has (it)’ *Lastur-era bear doçu, Milia*. (Endechas de Doña Milia de Lastur, 5) ‘You have to go to Lastur, Milia.’

Trivalent reflexes of *uk(h)en/*edun* are furnished by a suppletive root, not the causative **eradun* seen in Etxepare and Leizarraga, but by a different compound of **edun*, **edutsi*, where the +1 increase in valency is effected by a post-root dative flag. Examples include *deust* ‘s/he, it has (it) to me’ in *Mandatariac eguin deust gaxtoto* (Endechas de Doña Milia de Lastur, 26) ‘The messenger has deceived me’; *deusat* ‘I have (it) to him, her, it’ in *Mondr<a>goeri artu deusat gorroto* (Endechas de Doña Milia de Lastur, 33) ‘I have come to hate the town of Arrasate’. Bizkaian uses two different dative flags in derivatives of *uk(h)en/*edun* for two different purposes: *-s* (modern *-ts*) in trivalent auxiliaries and *-ki* in lexical *eduki* ‘have, possess’, previously encountered in Etxepare and Leizarraga, reanalyzed from ABS-DAT-ERG to ABS-ERG valency e.g., *dauco* ‘s/he it possesses (it)’ in *Ezcon bequio, bere idea dauco*. (Endechas de Doña Milia de Lastur, 16) ‘Let him be married to her, she’s his type.’ **-i-* is used, not as an auxiliary, but as a suppletive of *emon* (elsewhere *eman*) ‘give’: *diguela* ‘that s/he, it give (it) to us’ *Arren diguela gure andrea* ‘Pleading that it (Heaven) give

us (back) our lady' (Endechas de Doña Milia de Lastur, 32). As in Etxepare and Leizarraga, **edin* features in main clauses, encoding a process with a defined endpoint, e.g. *arçaiac aserra çiteçen, Gasteac aguri çiteçen* (G. 139, 11) 'the shepherds argued, the cheeses appeared'. In Garibai, 3rd person past reflexes of both **edin* and *izan* have an initial sibilant, yet in contrast with Etxepare, Leizarraga and present-day Batua, initial z- is typically absent from 3.ABS and 3.ABS-(DAT)-3.ERG past-tense reflexes e.g., *esala* 'for s/he it' said' in *Fray Vicentec esala* 'As Brother Vincent said'. The auxiliary use of *egin*, instead of Etxepare and Leizarraga's **ezan*, is illustrated by *daguidan* 'that I do (it)' in *Ausbo Perrucho Vrdeorri, eta neuc iesdaguidan* (G. 139, 26) 'Hold the boar, Perrucho, that I mayflee'.

The work of Garibai contains a restricted range of lexical verbs: more than 30 of those found in sixteenth century texts are not represented, yet as in Etxepare and Leizarraga, predominantly lexical verbs appear as aspectually nuanced auxiliaries. *joan* 'go' confers a habitual or gnomic aspect: *doa* 's/he, it goes' *Erregue-ri vere aceti pusesa emon doa* (Cc. 79, XLIII) 'Even behind the king's back, rude gesture is wont to be made'; similarly, its causative, *eroan*: *taroa* (for *daroa* after a negative) 's/he, it takes, bears': *Valiz-co ole-ac burniaric equin eçtaroa* (Cc79 XXX) 'the hypothetical forge is not wont to bring forth iron'.

Also as in Etxepare and Leizarraga, /- characterises a verb within an embedded clause which is dependent on a past-tense verb in the matrix clause, such as in reported speech (Michelena, 1964, p. 161), also according with Aldai Garai's deduction of imperfective aspect (2000) : *liçala* '(that) it was' in the Fray Vicente dictum: *Fray Vicentec esala, Fedea cina liçala* 'For Fray Vicente said that faith was the oath'.

As observed by Urquijo (1919, p. XLVII), Garibai includes synthetic reflexes and periphrastic v+AUX groups. The former is illustrated in *engarren* 's/he, it brought you.INTIMATE' and *aroa* 's/he, it takes you.INTIMATE' (away)': *Gure mandoa, Ur-ac engarren eta urac aroa* (Cc. 79, VIII) 'Our mule, water brought you and water takes you away'; the latter in *Aurquitu dau* 'It hit': *Aurquitu dau Lastur-en torre barria* (Endechas de Doña Milia, 6) 'It hit the new tower of Lastur'.

In Garibai, as in Etxepare and Leizarraga, the future is expressed by several devices. First, periphrastic V+AUX groups with a prospective/future participle, which, unlike its Continental counterparts, is always formed in *-ko* (*-go* following a nasal or a liquid) e.g., *içango: Olaso içango da ene aulquia* (Cc.79 LXI) ‘Olaso will be my niche’ contrasting with Etxepare and Leizarraga’s *içanen*. Second, in common with the Continental texts, present tense reflexes of **-idi-* ‘make, do’ can express futurity, e.g., *daidi* ‘it will make’: *Gox gorric euri daidi, Arras gorric eguzqui* (Cc. 79, XLVIII) ‘Red morning will make rain, red afternoon, sunshine’. Third, not evident in the Continental texts is verb-final *-a*, seen more clearly as a futurity marker in *RS* (Lakarra Andrinua, 1996, p. 169), possibly underlying, although masked by the word-final complementizer *-(e)n* in *iesdaguidan* (G. 139, 26) ‘while I flee (with future reference)’.

Alternating forms occur within Garibai and between Garibai and the Continental texts. Although typically Bizkaian reflexes of *uk(h)en/*edun* predominate, typically Gipuzkoan forms co-occur, e.g. *det* ‘I have (it)’ (G.139, 51) not Bizkaian *dot*; sometimes Bizkaian and Gipuzkoan forms are proximal: in *Endechas de Doña Milia de Lastur* (28), Bizkaian *dau* ‘s/he, it has (it)’; yet in the following line Gipuzkoan *ditu* ‘s/he, it has them’, not Bizkaian *dauz* (same gloss): *Jo dau Lastur-co torre gorea,/ Eroan ditu ango jauna eta andrea* ‘It (a beam) struck the high tower of Lastur,/ it ferried off its lord and lady’; Tripersonal *dio* (line 11) ‘s/he, it has (it) to her, him, it’ from **-i-*, as in Gipuzkoan, vs reflexes such as *deusat* ‘I have it to him, her, it’ (line 33) from **edutsi* as in Bizkaian. *Dio* and *deusat* illustrate 3SG.DAT marker *-o ~-a* as alternation, which appears within Bizkaian and between dialects: in ABS-DAT-ERG reflexes of modern Bizkaian an alternation *dio* ~ *diotsa* ‘s/he, it gave it to him, her, it’ persists, the 3SG.DAT markers conceivably reflexes of proximal and distal demonstratives respectively (Trask, 1997, p. 220). In *Endechas de Doña Milia de Lastur* is an ABS-DAT reflex of *izan* ‘be’, *jacan* (line 24) ‘s/he, it was to him/her/it’ contrasting with modern Bizkaian *jakon* (also *Batua zitzaion*) with *-o* as the 3SG.DAT marker. Modern Bizkaian ABS-DAT reflexes have resolved in favour of *-o*, the earlier *-o /-a* alternation persisting in tripersonal reflexes (Lafon, 1944, pp. 393–394 vol .1).

Sixteenth century *eduki* ‘have, possess’ furnishes predominantly ABS-ERG reflexes, yet some ABS-DAT-ERG forms appear: *diadutac* ‘you.INTIMATE(M) have (it) to me’ in Isasti’s (1625) recording of *Cantar de la batalla de Beotibar* (Michelena, 1964, p. 68); *liadutanic* (Etxepare,

II,20) ‘one who would have (it) to me’; *diadutela* (in Leizarraga’s Catechism, p. 1297[C ij r], 19) ‘s/he, it has (it) to them’, both lacking the root velar (see Chapter Five, 5.2.3) of ABS-ERG *dauco* ‘s/he has, possesses (it)’: *Ezcon bequio, bere idea dauco*. (Endechas de Doña Milia de Lastur, 16, with the same form in line 17) ‘Let him be married to her, she’s his type’. Yet in the Continental texts, the parallel forms are *-a* final: *eztaduca* ‘s/he, it does not possess (it)’ (Etxepare, VII,29), *badaduca* ‘for s/he, it possesses (it)’ (Leizarraga’s Catechism, p.1317[D iii r], line 14). The conjunction of *-k* and the *-o/-a* vowel alternation suggests an earlier dative flag and 3SG.DAT marker subsequently reanalyzed as part of the root. That *eduki* had dative valency is further supported by the ABS-DAT-ERG periphrastic V+AUX group and dative argument noted by Schuchardt in Haranader’s eighteenth century translation of the Gospel of St. Mark *edukiko dio bere emazteari* ‘He will cleave unto his wife’ (Trask, 1997, p. 229 citing Trask, 1977).

As with Etxepare and Leizarraga, elision is widespread. Both Garibai and Leizarraga use *akio* ‘be.INTIMATE to him/her/it!’, an ABS-DAT imperative of **edin* ‘be’, where the root *-di-* is lost (Lafon, 1944, p. 90 vol. 1): *adin onari aquio* (G. 139, 8) ‘undertake.INTIMATE the reasonable!’; *ethor nadin artean, aquió irakurtzeari, exhortatzeari, doctrinari* (1 Timothy Ch.IV v.13) ‘Until I come, attend.INTIMATE to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine’.

Verbs may increase their valency via several mechanisms, although either the semantic and/or the valency relationship between a radical and its valency-increased derivative may not map to the syntax: a semantic mismatch is illustrated by *eraunzi* ‘take off (clothing)’ in Leizarraga, the causative of *iauzi* ‘jump’ (Lafon, 1944, p. 277 vol. 1); a valency mismatch by *uk(h)en/*edun* ‘have’ and *eduki* ‘possess’. First, Garibai, like Etxepare and Lafon, manifests causatives formed with *ra-*: *ioan* ‘go’ and *eroan* (elsewhere *eraman*) ‘carry, take (away)’ *aroa* ‘s/he, it takes you.INTIMATE away’: *Gure mandoa, Ur-ac engarren eta urac aroa* (Cc. 79, VIII) ‘Our mule, water brought you and water takes you away’; *eçtaroa* ‘s/he is not wont’ as a habitual/gnomic nuanced auxiliary in *Valiz-co ole-ac burniaric equin eçtaroa* (Cc. 79, XXX) ‘The hypothetical forge is not wont to bring forth iron’; *egin* and *eragin* ‘cause to do’: the imperfective participle *eraguiten* in *Bearrac bearra eraguiten du* (G. 139) ‘Necessity causes the doing of the necessary’. Second, Garibai witnesses valency increasing through the post-root attachment of a dative flag: from *uk(h)en/*edun*, trivalent non-endpoint auxiliary

**edutsi* and lexical *eduki*, historically trivalent and subsequently reanalyzed as ABS-ERG. Azkue observes a tendency for *-ts* to appear in transitive and *-ki* in intransitive verbs (Azkue, 1891, p. 478.2-3; 632), a distribution echoed in finite forms in Bizkaian (Trask, 1997: 227). Trask speculates that dative flags such as *-ki*, *-ts*, also the pre-root *i-* of some dative and allocutive reflexes, (e.g. *diadutac* ‘you.INTIMATE(M) have (it) to me’ in Zaldibia and Isasti’s *Cantar de la batalla de Beotibar*) might originate from adpositions or serial verbs, out of character with the language’s verb-final syntax and possibly relics of an earlier VO order (1977, pp. 203–217, cited in Trask, 1997, p.229). Garibai does not provide illustration of a third causative device *(-)erazi/(-)arazi*, found in Etxepare and Leizarraga.

As in the Continental writings, the work of Garibai includes constructions in which semantically transitive verbs are syntactically intransitive ABS-DAT: from **edin*, *aquio* ‘be.INTIMATE to it!’: *adin onari aquio* (G. 139, 8) ‘undertake.INTIMATE the reasonable’; from *edutsi*, the imperative *ausbo* ‘hold.INTIMATE!’: *Ausbo Perrucho Vrdeorri, eta neuc iesdaguidan* (G. 139, 26) ‘Hold.2INTIMATE the boar, Perrucho, that I may flee!’; from *iarraiki*, *iarreiki*, *jarrain darrai-çu* ‘s/he, it follows you.FORMAL’: *Villa real de Urrechu, veti guerrea darrai-çu* (Cc. 79 LVIII) ‘Royal town/Villarreal of Uretxu(a), always war follows you’; from *ebili/ibili* ‘go about, walk’, here probably with the aspectual nuance ‘initiate, set’ ABS-DAT *jabilt* ‘s/he, it goes about to me’: *Oñetaco lur aur jabilt icara* ‘This foot-pounded ground sets me quaking’ (*Endechas por la muerte de Martin Bañez de Artaçubiaga*, 1). The Batua counterpart *dabilkit*, by contrast, has an overt dative flag, *-ki*. On a further issue of transitivity, as in Leizarraga, Garibai’s use of synthetic *irudi* ‘seem’ is transitive, with ERG-ABS *dirudi* ‘s/he, it resembles him, her it’: *Tresne-ac jabea dirudi* (Cc 79, XIX), also *Tresneac jabea dirudi* (G. 139, 45) ‘The tool resembles its owner’.

The virtually disappeared vative appears in Garibai, as in Etxepare and Leizarraga, with *ey(-)* to Continental *ai-*: *Ederra vay liz, Ona eç ey liz* (Cc. 79, X) ‘would that, were she beautiful, she were not good’ cf. *Eder valiz, on ez eiliz* (G. 139, 56). As in many of the proverbs which overlap between the two collections, there are slight differences between the two versions.

Finally, a few further items merit consideration: the apparent recycling of the DP PL.LOC

-etan in imperfective participle formation, word-boundaries at variance with those of today, modes of address and word order. Although Garibai overwhelmingly uses the gerund+LOC to form the imperfective participle, as in Etxepare, the PL.LOC also appears: *gaxtigaetan* ‘punishing’ in *Gonçalo Moro tati tati, Gaxtoa gaxtigaetan daqui* (Cc 79, LV) ‘Gonzalo Moro - Look out! Look out! He knows how to punish the bad’.

Throughout the works of Garibai, nominal and verbal morphemic desinences are not uncommonly represented as word forms separate from, or hyphenated to, the roots or synthetic formations with which they are associated. It is instructive to compare parallel proverbs from the Cc.79 collection, held with reasonable security to be the older of the two (Lakarra Andrinua, 1986) and G. 139, probably copied two centuries later. Word boundaries in the latter bear a closer resemblance to those of today, whereas in the former, desinences may be separated from roots and synthetic formations to which they were later conceived as attached e.g., *ey liz* (Cc. 79, X) ‘would that she were’, but *eyliz* (G. 139). In *Valiz-co* (Cc. 79) ‘hypothetical’, the relational modifier *-ko* linked by a hyphen to the verb, similarly the determiner in *ole-ac* ‘the forge’, are not paralleled in *Valisco oleac, buriaric eguin, eçtaroa* (G. 139, 36) ‘The hypothetical forge is not wont to bring forth iron’; in *darrai-çu* (Cc. 79, LVIII) ‘it follows you.FORMAL’ a hyphen connects the 2.FORMAL.DAT marker *çu* to the stem, yet not in parallel *darraiçu* (G. 139, 33). Such representations may indicate an intermediate stage of attachment through cliticization. Basque manifests a combination of flective and agglutinative behaviour, the latter predominating, and a central characteristic of agglutination is the relative autonomy of morphemes ‘to the extent that often the boundary between agglutinative affixes and autonomous words is hard to draw’ (Plungian, 2001, p. 674). Furthermore, agglutinating units can attach to both roots (e.g., *Guibeleco* ‘for the liver’, *areco* ‘for the spleen’ in *RS 141. Guibeleco on dana areco gasso* ‘What’s good for the liver, bad for the spleen’) and synthetic formations (e.g. *Valiz-co* (Cc. 79) ‘hypothetical’, from the protasis realis conditional reflex of *izan, valiz (balitz)* ‘if it were’), reflecting not only agglutinative transcategorial behaviour by attachment to different word classes (Plungian, 2001, p. 674) but also attachment to synthetic and analytic word forms, as illustrated by Plungian (2001, p. 675) with agentive particle *-ne* in Dogon, a Niger-Congo language of Mali. A high degree of morpheme autonomy, although characteristic of agglutination in its own right, it can also link diachronically to the analytic/isolating – agglutinating – fusional –

flexion cline: '[a]ll these are stages of one and the same process, which may be described as the gradual loss of syntactic (and morphological) autonomy of linguistic units' (Plungian, 2001, p. 677). The consensus that the Basque definite determiner is sourced by the demonstrative pronoun, and that free pronouns such as *çu* (*zu*) 'you' source at least some person marking of finite verb reflexes could support the view that Basque anciently manifested a greater degree of analytic/isolating character than it does today.

The 2^{INTIMATE} mode of address, *hiketa*, has, as in Leizarraga, unmarked singular reference in Garibai: *aroa* 's/he, it takes you.INTIMATE' (away)' (Cc. 79, VIII); *diadutac* 'you.INTIMATE(M) have (it) to me' in *Cantar de la batalla de Beotibar*; *akio* 'be.2^{INTIMATE} to him/her/it' (G. 139, 8); *ausbo* 'hold.INTIMATE!' (G. 139, 26). In contrast to Leizarraga, however, the 2^{FORMAL} *zuketa* has plural reference, e.g. *darrai-çu* in *Villa real de Urrechu*, *veti guerrea darrai-çu* (Cc. 79, LVIII) (with slight variation, G. 139, 33) 'Royal town/Villarreal of Uretxu(a), always war follows you', were the verb *darrai-çu* 'it follows you' accords semantically, but not syntactically, with the singular vocative *Villa real de Urrechu*, by which is understood the townsfolk, reflected in the Spanish translations which have *os* and *vos* (both 'you.PL') respectively. The morphologically 3^{SG}, semantically 2^{SG} honorific address does not appear in Garibai. In contrast with Leizarraga, the 2^{PL} *zueketa* does not appear in Garibai, nor in *RS*.

In Garibai's proverbs, akin to many instances in Etxepare's poetry, finite verbs are frequently absent, e.g., *Mila urte ygaro eta ura vere vide-an* (Cc. 79, VI), paralleled in G. 139, 25 and in *Cantar de la batalla de Beotibar* 'A thousand years (may) pass, yet water (follows) its course'. SOV ordering appears e.g., *dira* 'they are' in final position in *Gipuzcoarrocc sartu dira* 'We Gipuzkoans entered' (*Cantar de la batalla de Beotibar*, 3). In Garibai, however, the verb is by no means invariably clause-final, even if direct questions and negative polarity statements (see also 3.5) are excluded. The finite verb *da* 's/he, it is' occupies the second place in *Olaso da ene egoteco aulquia* 'Olaso is my niche' (line 4, *Cantar de Olaso*), a position not infrequently encountered elsewhere. In *Endechas de Doña Milia de Lastur*, the lexical perfective participle of periphrastic *v+AUX* groups appears clause-initially: *lausi da cerurean arria*, 'a stone fell from Heaven'(9): *Eguin dau andra Marina Arraçolaco* (15) 'He made Marina of Arraçola his wife'. A direct or indirect object can precede the non-clause-final

V+AUX group, e.g. *artu deusat* ‘I have taken (it) to him/her/it’ and *artu ditu* ‘s/he, it has taken them’ in *Mondr<a>goeri artu deusat gorroto/Guipuz andraoc artu ditu gaxtoto: (33/34)* ‘I have come to hate Arrasate/it has received Gipuzkoan women badly’. Furthermore, in Garibai is an indication that *-la* complementized verbs are more likely than matrix clause verbs to be clause-final, e.g. *dala* ‘that s/he, it is’ in *Martin Bañez Ybarretan il dala* ‘Matín Bañez has been killed at Ybarreta’ (Endechas por la muerte de Martín Bañez de Artaçubiaga, 3); *Fedea cina liçala* ‘that faith was the oath’.

3.5 REFRANES Y SENTENCIAS AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER TEXTS

In 1894 the Dutch Vasconist van Eys discovered an incomplete collection of 539 proverbs and sayings, *Refranes y Sentencias comunes en Bascuence, declarados en Romance e con numeros sobre cada palabra para que se entiendan las dos lenguas*⁹ (commonly known as *Refranes y Sentencias, RS*), of unknown authorship. Twenty further items belonging to the collection were later discovered by Urquijo from an unpublished manuscript by Oihenart and one further by Mitxelena, among Bizkaian harvestings informing Larramendi’s 1745 *Diccionario trilingüe*. *RS* manifests overwhelmingly Bizkaian features, e.g., reflexes of *uk(h)en/*edun* with *o: dot* (40) ‘I have (it)’, *j-* initial ABS-DAT reflexes: *jat* (424) ‘s/he, it is to me’, verb-final positioning of the ABS.PL marker *-z*: *becaz* (453) ‘let him/her/it carry them’; the absence of *z-* in past-tense reflexes lacking a 1st or 2nd person pre-root marker, e.g. *euan* ‘s/he, it had (it) in *jan ez euan* (345) ‘he did not eat (it), (although present with **edin, izan* (e.g. both in 358) and **ezan* (294)). Urquijo, previously considering the collection to be compiled by Garibai (Urquijo é Ibarro, 1919, p. XVIII), later deemed the variety of Bizkaian to resemble that of more Westerly Orozko rather than that of Arrasate. From some 60 attested verbs with synthetic reflexes, *RS* includes around 30, plus a further five or so represented in non-finite form only.

Its auxiliaries include *izan, *edin, uk(h)en/*edun*, as in Etxepare, Leizarraga and Garibai. Unlike Etxepare and Leizarraga, but in common with Garibai, it lacks **iron* ‘can, be able’ and, like modern Bizkaian, overwhelmingly replaces Continental **ezan* with *egin*: *ceguioc* ‘do not

⁹ 1596 Proverbs and Sayings common in Basque, elucidated in Romance and with numbers above each word so that the two languages be understood.

have (it) to him/her’: *Otu ceguioc oean andreari...* (217) ‘Do not request from a woman in bed...’. Hence *egin* serves as a transitive, endpoint-encoding auxiliary and as a lexical verb meaning ‘do, make’, the latter occurring in both Continental and Peninsular varieties. As elsewhere, *egin* lacks *-ke* reflexes, a role fulfilled by bare reflexes of the suppletive root **-idi-*. There are a couple of exceptions where **ezan* replaces *egin*, e.g., *deçala* ‘let him, her, it have (it)’: *Saguac jango dauena/ catuac jandeçala* (532) ‘Let the cat eat what the mouse has to eat’.

As in Garibai, divalent reflexes of *uk(h)en/*edun* represent divergent evolutionary forms, the root *o* appearing e.g., in *doc* (296) ‘you.INTIMATE(M) have (it)’ and *e* in *det* (370) ‘I have (it)’. Not only typically Bizkaian *o*, Gipuzkoan *e*, but also Lapurdian *u* and Zuberoan *ü* are considered to derive from a common string composed of the *a-* of the present-tense pre-root sequence *da-* and root *-du-*, **-adu-*, reduced everywhere to **-au-*, which persists Bizkaian 3SG.ABS-3SG.ERG *dau* and 3SG.ABS-3PL.ERG **daue* > *dabe* (Trask, 1997, p. 233). In the 1st and 2nd persons ergative, Bizkaian levelled **-au-* to *o*; everywhere else **-au-* raised to **-eu-*, which, in Gipuzkoan reduced to *e* in the 1st and 2nd persons ergative, but to *u* in the 3rd persons ergative. Other dialects, including Lapurdian, reduced **-eu-* to *u* across all persons (Trask, 1997, p. 233).

Tripersonal non-endpoint encoding reflexes are overwhelmingly furnished by **edutsi: deusc* ‘s/he, (it) has (it) to you.INTIMATE(M) in *Badeguioc yñori,/ eyngo deusc bestec yri*. (13) ‘If you do it to someone, someone else will do it to you’. The root **-i-*, however, which prevails in Batua and in Gipuzkoan, appears once: *dyc* ‘s/he has (it) to you.INTIMATE(M)’ in *Arloteari emayoc ar[r]auça, /escatuco dyc zoça*. (25) ‘Give.INTIMATE(M) the beggar an egg (and) he’ll (have to) ask you for the broom’. Interestingly, syncretic *dic* (and NEG *eztic*), appearing nine times in Etxepare, is specialized to the 2INTIMATE(M) allocative counterpart of *du* ‘s/he, it has (it)’, unmarked tripersonal forms built on **eradun*. The non-allocutive 3SG.ABS-2INTIMATE(M).DAT-3SG.ERG counterpart of *RS dyc* would in Etxepare be **derauc*.

In contrast to the Continental texts, plural reflexes of *izan* lack variants with the absolutive pluralizer *-de*: *gara* (212) ‘we are’; *çara* (132) ~ *zara* (144) ‘you.FORMAL are’; *dira* (115) ‘they are’. Verb-final *-a* does not become *-e* before a complementizer as in the Continental dialects: *dana* ‘s/he, it who is’ in *Lapico eçin dana/estalgui liçate,/çe edoceynec dauco/vere*

lecu a vete (69) ‘S/he who cannot be a pot could be a lid/ for each has/his rightful role’. In *RS* *-de* appears as a pluralizer, but an ergative one in reflexes of *uk(h)en/*edun*, e.g., in 3SG.ABS-3PL.ERG *daude*, which appears seven times: *aldia gauzac daude....* (440) ‘... things have (their) time’, although syncretic with 3PL.ABS *daude* from intransitive *egon* in Etxepare (e.g. I,238) and Leizarraga (e.g. 1 Corinthians Ch.1 v.22). In *RS*, *egon* instead takes the verb final absolutive pluralizer *-z*, e.g. *dagoz* ‘they are’ in *Chacur catu dagoz* (477) ‘They’re (like) dog (and) cat’. In *RS*, the predominant ergative pluralizer is *-e*, rather than the Continental *-te*, e.g. *daquie* ‘they know (it)’ vs Continental *daquite*: *Celangoa da Butroe/oroc daquie* (92) ‘Everybody knows what sort Buitrón is’.

On both sides of the Pyrenees, auxiliary verbs also have lexical roles. As in the Continental texts, **edin* denotes ‘become, come into being, turn (into)’: *çidi* ‘s/he, it became, turned into’ in *autsazala euri az loyza çidi* (358) ‘what was dust turned with the rain into mud’. Possession can be encoded by *uk(h)en/*edun*: *doquec* ‘you.INTIMATE(M) will have (it)’: *Badaguic eguipidea /ona doquec erioçea* (215) ‘if you do your duty, you will have a good death’. In addition to its auxiliary role, *egin* is lexical, as throughout the Basque Country: *badaguic* (215) ‘if you.INTIMATE(M) do (it)’. The role of *izan* ‘be’ differs somewhat from that of the Continental texts: it rarely has a stative role, fulfilled largely by *egon*. Again, the auxiliaries fall into two aspectually opposing groups: endpoint-encoding intransitive **edin* and transitive *egin*, non-endpoint-encoding intransitive *izan* and transitive *uk(h)en/*edun* (along with tripersonal suppletive congeners **edutsi*, **-i*).

The boundary between auxiliary and lexical function is again a graded one, certain primarily lexical verbs serving as aspectually nuanced auxiliaries. *ioan* ‘go’ can confer habitual or gnomic aspect: *doa* ‘s/he, it is apt to’ in *Escurean haora/oquelea galdu doa*. ‘Between hand and mouth/ the morsel is apt to get lost’ (176); similarly, its morphologically causative, transitive counterpart, *eroan* ‘carry, take (away)’: *daroa* in *Triscan badabil asoa/ aus asco erguidaroa* (79) ‘if the old woman goes dancing/ she is wont to raise a lot of dust’; contrasting with lexical *daroenic* ‘that s/he, it takes away (NEG polarity)’ in *ezta gachic/ aldiac ez daroenic* (221) ‘there’s no ill/ that time doesn’t take away’.

A small number of verb roots differ from their counterparts in the Continental texts. *eroan* ‘carry take (away)’ overwhelmingly replaces *eraman*, both causatives of *ioan*, although a

jussive of *eraman* appears: *berama* (465) 'let him/her/it take him/her/it away'. *Esan* 'say' features in neither Etxepare nor Leizarraga, which instead have *erran* and its suppletive congener **-io-*, the latter, interestingly, with the Bizkaian-favoured dative flag *-(t)s*: *nic diossat eguia* (Etxepare II,71) 'I'm telling you.INTIMATE(M) the truth; Leizarraga, *diotsó* (Matthew Ch.4 v.6), *diotsa* (Matthew Ch.17 v.26) both 's/he, it says (it) to him/her/it'. **-io-* appears in *RS*, only as divalent *dio* 's/he, it says (it)' (113, 340, 393), appearing with the same meaning and valency in Leizarraga, Matt Ch.16 v.7. Possibly the divalent form arose from reanalysis of a trivalent reflex with 3SG.DAT *-o*; alternatively *-o* may have been a root element, reanalysed as a dative marker by analogy with other dative reflexes and the flag *ts* infixes into the historic root.

In contrast with the three previous texts, initial *l-* does not appear in indicative contexts, instead fulfilling a modal role recognizable today: *lequique* 's/he, it would not know (it)' in *Ycasi eztaguianac esean, /ez lequique çelayan* (241) 'S/he who did not learn (it) at home, would not know (it) in the outside world'; *lioaque* 's/he, it would go' in 350 *Guichia guichia vrrin lioaque* 'Little by little, it's possible to go far'.

Both synthetic reflexes and periphrastic *v+AUX* groups are abundant. The group of some thirty verbs capable of synthetic behaviour forms two categories, both including transitive and intransitive verbs. Just over half appear as synthetic reflexes only, e.g., *eduki* 'have, possess' *egon* 'be (stative), remain, stay', *eutsi* 'hold onto', *igaro* 'pass', *joan* 'go', *eretxi* 'deem, esteem', *erosi* 'buy' (one attestation), *esaun* 'know, be acquainted with' *iaquin* 'know (a fact)', *ek(h)usi/ik(h)usi* 'see', *imini/ibini* 'put', *iraki* 'boil', *yhadon* 'wait'. Those in the second category, furnishing both synthetic reflexes and periphrastic *v+AUX* groups, include *egin* 'make, do' e.g. *daguianac* (34) 's/he, it who makes (it)' cf. *v+AUX eguite..du* (220) 's/he, it ... makes/does', similarly *eman* 'give', *ebili/ibili* 'go about, walk', *et(h)orri* 'come', *iarrain* 'follow' *enzun* 'hear', *era* 'kill', *eroan* 'take away'. A third group of verbs supplies periphrastic *v+AUX* groups only, e.g., *sart(h)u* 'enter' *galdu* 'lose'. Some members of this third group are synonymous with verbs forming synthetic reflexes, e.g. *yl* and synthetic reflex forming **era* 'kill'; *esan* and synthetic reflex forming **-io-* 'say'.

As in Etxepare, Leizarraga and Garibai, competing forms map to a single function, in

particular, the expression of futurity, pre-root and post-root vowels. The marker *-ke* (*-te* with *izan* and **edin*), attached to a present-tense stem, encodes futurity, with a narrower scope than that encompassing possibility and probability in Leizarraga, e.g., *doquec* (215) ‘you.INTIMATE(M) will have’; *ajate* (158) ‘you.INTIMATE will be’.

Verb-final *-a* serves as a future marker unattested in other dialects: from *imini* ‘put’, *daminda* (99) ‘I will put (it)’; from *izan*, *axa* or *aja* ‘you.INTIMATE will be’ cf present tense *ax* (e.g., 31) : *yre ydeaz ezcoadi ta aja ondo veti* (240) ‘marry your equal and you’ll always be fine’. The Spanish translations for proverbs expressing this marker alternate between future and subjunctive, e.g. *garea* (334) as *seamos* ‘let us be’. Mitxelena (Luis Michelena, 1988, pp. 792–798 cited in Lakarra Andrinua, 1996, p.169) having demonstrated the morphemic nature of the future marker *-a*, also pointed out the cross-linguistically common close relationship between the future and the subjunctive (e.g. in ancient Greek); the nasal of *-an*, which, amongst other functions in Basque, marks the subjunctive, is frequently elided in *RS* and in Mikoleta’s late seventeenth century writing, which can result in syncretisms.

The syntactically present tense of **-idi-* (e.g. 33, 34) and **-i-*, congeners of *egin* ‘make, do’ and *eman* ‘give’ respectively, both with lexical and auxiliary function, encode futurity. From **-i-* is *deyc* ‘s/he, it will give (it) to you.INTIMATE(M)’ in *Astoagaz adi quirolan/ta deyc buztanez biçarrean* (116) ‘Play with the donkey/ and he will give you.INTIMATE(M) (a blow) on the chin with his tail’.

Pleonastic futurity marking occurs in several forms: **-idi-* plus *-a* in auxiliary *dayda* ‘I will (do)’ in *Ausso Chordon arz orri ta nic yñes dayda* (422) ‘Hordoño, hold onto that bear, and I’ll flee’; **-i-* with *-ke* plus *-a* in *diqueada* (233) ‘I will give (it) to you.INTIMATE(M)’. Possibly, as with the prescriptive *albeit-/albeit-* in Etxepare and Leizarraga, also future imperatives (see below), pleonastic future forms in *RS* indicate a situation contingent upon another: construing *(e)ta* as a complementizer, not infrequently feasible in Etxepare (e.g. Altuna, 1987, p. 256) permits the interpretation of 422 as ‘Hordoño, hold onto that bear, so that I may flee’, furthermore illustrating the sometimes faint boundary between future and subjunctive.

As in Garibai, the prospective/future participle is formed by adding *-ko/-go* to the perfective participle e.g., *escatuco* (25) ‘will ask’ *emongo* (490) ‘will give’. In *RS*, Trask’s notion of ‘prospective’ (1997, p. 103) is readily discernible. The Spanish translation of *v+AUX* groups with prospective/future participles typically implies obligation or necessity, e.g., *Edo eguiaz nay guzurras,/elicatuco nayz - O con verdad, o con mentira, mantener me he* (57) ‘Whether by truth or by lie,/ sustain myself I must’. Other means of expressing futurity are overwhelmingly translated with a Spanish future, e.g. *yre ydeaz ezcoadi ta aja ondo veti - Casa con tu igual/ y serás siempre bien* (240) ‘Marry your equal and you’ll always be fine’.

In *RS* as elsewhere, *a-* and *e-* appear as a pre-root vowel in present-tense forms, contrasting with the present vs past specialization in the modern language. ‘I have (it)’ from *eduki* ‘have, possess’ appears as *deucot* (425) and *daucat* (478). Vowel assimilation to the alternating post-root vowel seems unlikely, given the presence of 3SG.ERG-3SG.ABS *dauco* (69) ‘s/he, it has him/her/it’ and the 3SG.ERG-3PL.ABS jussive *beucaz* (421) ‘let him/her, it have them’, notwithstanding the ‘rudimentary vowel harmony’¹⁰ of many Bizkaian varieties (Trask, 1997, p. 151). There is an intimation that *e-* might correlate to contemporaneous or historic dative reference: *daucat* (478) as 3SG.ABS-1SG.ERG *oza daucat* ‘I am cold’; while *deucot* (425) could, although not securely, be construed as 3SG.ABS-3SG.DAT-1SG.ERG in *Peco gassoa deucot...* ‘I have a bad suspicion (about it)’, rendered in Spanish with the dative *le*: *Mala sospecha le tengo*, although Lafon regards *deucot* as bipersonal 3SG.ABS-1SG.ERG (1944, p. 214 vol. 1). A clear dative argument, *yñori* ‘to somebody’ is indexed to *badeguioc* ‘as you.INTIMATE(M) do (it) to him, her, it’: *Badeguioc yñori, /eyngo deusc bestec yri* (13) ‘As you.INTIMATE(M) do to someone, another will do to you.INTIMATE(M)’. Pre-root *e-* in present-tense dative forms might have arisen though dative flag *i-* + pre-root *a-* levelling to *e-*, although not a well-attested pathway of phonological change in Basque, notwithstanding the raising of *a* after a high vowel in some Western varieties giving e.g. from *zaldi* ‘horse’ the definite form [saldije] (Trask, 1997, p. 153). Consensus remains to be reached on the likely provenance of pre-root dative flag *i-*. Schuchardt (1923, p. 6 cited in Trask, 1997, p. 228) invoked metathesis from a post-root position, a hypothesis which Lafon, after initial rejection, accepted, invoking

¹⁰ In respect of reasons underlying the preferable avoidance of the term ‘vowel harmony’ with reference to Basque, see Footnote 2 in Appendix E.

Leizarraga's *zohian* and *zioan*, both 'he went' (Lafon, 1961, p. 156 cited in Trask, 1997, p. 229), although neither form appears to be dative-marked. If, however, *i-* was anciently a pre-root element, it could suggest a stage contrasting with the overwhelmingly post-inflective modern language. A few verbs have a pre-root vowel other than *a-* or *e-* in present-tense reflexes, e.g., *irudi* 'seem, appear' with *dirudi* 's/he, it appears': *Asiac eguina dirudi,/asacatuac eder.* (171) 'The begun appears finished, the finished beautiful.'; from *iraki* 'boil', *diraki* 's/he, it boils': *Hodolac su baga diraqi* (146) 'Blood boils without fire'.

Salient issues of phonological interest are the use of *-t* as a 2INTIMATE(M) marker, the elision of intervocalic voiced plosives, and the absence of word-final *-n*. The post root 2INTIMATE(M) marker, typically expressed as word-internal *-a* and word-final *-k*, both from **-ga* (Trask, 1997, p. 135), occasionally surfaces as *-t*, coincidental with the 1SG verb-final marker. In 49, both 1SG.DAT and 2INTIMATE(M).DAT are represented by *-ta*: *deustac* 'you.INTIMATE(M) have (it) to me'. *deustat* 'I have (it) to you INTIMATE(M)': *Trancart eguiten deustac ta vlerretan deustat* 'Trick me and I understand you'. Lakarra Andrinua (1996, p. 265) reconstructs the ancestral form of *deustat* as **deus-ga-da*. The velar, protected by a non-intervocalic environment from elision would have become a dental, not through place assimilation to the plosive of the following the 1SG marker, but through a regular process of compound formation triggering devoicing and dentalization, a plosive, irrespective of place of articulation, becoming *-t* when followed by a vowel-initial second element e.g. *begi* 'eye' + *azal* 'skin' forms *betazal* 'eyelid' cf Trask (1997, p. 186). The same mechanism accounts for *-ta* as the 2INTIMATE(M).DAT marker in *onderextanari* (257) 'to the one who loves you.INTIMATE(M)' from *eritzi, eretxi* 'deem, esteem'. Less readily explained, given the intervocalic environment of the 2INTIMATE(M).DAT marker, by the same mechanism, is Southern Navarrese and Aezkoan 2INTIMATE(M).DAT *-ta* in *zekita and zitzaita* 's/he, it was to you.INTIMATE(M)', *zauta* 's/he, it had (it) to you.INTIMATE(M)' and the coinciding 2INTIMATE(M).ERG marker in *ninduta* 'you.INTIMATE(M) had me' (Lafon, 1944, p. 291 vol.1, citing Bonaparte, 1869, p. xvi). Possibly *-ta* as a variant 2INTIMATE(M) post-root marker underwent a limited spread by analogy.

Intervocalic loss of voiced plosives is more prevalent in *RS* than in the Continental texts, particularly of *d* and *g*; *b* being largely protected by its predominantly non-intervocalic, often initial, position. Examples include the loss of *d* from the reflex of *eduki*: *neuca* (244)

<**neduka* ‘I had (it)’; of *g* from the prospective/future participle of *egin* ‘do, make’: *eyngo* (13; 530) < *egingo*. Loss of intervocalic *d*, discernible in the continental texts, is less pervasive than in Bizkaian; the loss of intervocalic *g* very much less so, both Etxepare and Leizarraga consistently featuring *eginen* as the prospective/future participle; *g* is, however, protected by a preceding consonant in *RS* e.g., *nenguiā* (75) ‘(Necessity) made me...’.

In contrast with the Continental texts, word-final *-n* is frequently absent: from imperfective participles, e.g., *eguite* ‘making, doing’ in *lazquereac parrahua/eguite ez du* (220) ‘The habit does not make the monk’; from past-tense reflexes, e.g., *nentorre* (322) ‘I came’ *nencarre* (438) ‘s/he, it brought me’, although with a few exceptions: *neuen* (419) ‘I had (it)’, while in the same saying *naroa* ‘s/he, it took me’ follows the predominant pattern of absent *-n*: *Perrau neuen gogoa/axeac bestera naroa* ‘I wanted to be a monk, (but) the wind took me elsewhere’.

Two modes of 2nd person address appear in *RS*: *hiketa* (notated throughout as 2INTIMATE), used as a generic unmarked singular, as in Leizarraga’s religious texts and in Garibai; *zuketa* (notated throughout as 2FORMAL) as plural, as indicated by the familiar plural in the accompanying Spanish translations, e.g., in *Emongo badeustaçu/luzatu çe eguidaçu*. (490) ‘If you have to give (it) to me, do not procrastinate with me’, Spanish *aeuys* ‘you.FAMILIAR.PL have’ and *alargueys* ‘that you.FAMILIAR.PL procrastinate’. The modern plural, *zueketa*, also honorific *berorika*, are absent.

In *RS*, the absolute pluralizer is typically verb-final *-z* in transitive and intransitive reflexes: from *ek(h)arri* ‘bring’ *dacaz* ‘it brings (them)’: *Yzozac ta euriac/dacaz escura gariac* (492) ‘Ice and rain/brings wheat to hand’; from *egon* ‘be (stative) stay, remain’ *dagoz* ‘they are’: *Chacur catu dagoz* (477) ‘They’re (like) dog (and) cat’. Two absolute pluralizers, *it-* and *-z* co-occur in *dituz* ‘s/he, it has them’: *Osaylgo euria,/erayten dituz onçoeriac* (89) ‘the February rain, / it kills the moneylenders’, not a hapax, but paralleled by *ditus* in line six of *Cantar de Rodrigo de Zárata*, from the Chronicle of Ibarгүйen Cachopín: *bi mylla guyçon oy ditus bere lelengo deyeayn* (Arriolabengoa Unzueta, 2008, p. 10) ‘He usually has two thousand men at his first call’. By contrast, despite the presence of a free ABS.PL argument, *day* ‘s/he, it will make (it)’ has no absolute pluralizer in *Zaran bat daguiaynac bi day* (34) ‘S/he who makes one basket will make two’. Lakarra Andrinua (1996, p. 260) suggests

absence correlates with the indefinite status of the ABS referent, although can be varietal, as Azkue points out in respect of Bizkaian varieties within Gipuzkoa and Araba. Bähr (1926, pp. 98–99, cited in Lakarra Andrinua, 1996, p. 189) notes the absence from transitive and intransitive forms in South-Western Gipuzkoa, but occasional fossilized forms which may indicate relatively recent loss.

Similarly, a 3SG.DAT DP marker does not always index a free dative argument. Parallel to Lakarra Andrinua's correlation between lack of ABS.PL indexing and an INDF.ABS free argument, are *-/+3SG.DAT* imperatives of *emon* 'give': bipersonal *emac* 'give.INTIMATE(M) (it)!' with INDF.DAT *yñori* 'to anyone': *yraunic çe emac yñori* (189) 'do not hurl abuse at anyone' vs. tripersonal 3SG.DAT *emayoc* with DEF.DET.DAT *arloteari* 'to the beggar': *arloteari emayoc arauça...* (25) 'give the beggar an egg ...'. Clear-cut correlation does not, however, always hold e.g., 3SG.ABS-3SG.DAT-2INTIMATE(M).ERG *badeguioc* 'if you.INTIMATE(M) do (it) to him/her/it' indexing *yñori* 'to someone': *Badeguioc yñori,/ eyngo deusc bestec yri* (13) 'If you.INTIMATE(M) do it to someone, another will do it to you.INTIMATE(M)'. The switch from absence to presence of the dative marker may correlate with a point within the graded continuum of indefiniteness: *yñori* in a negative polarity context (189) perhaps has greater indefiniteness than the same item in the positive polarity context of (13). An endeavour focused on identifying the pivotal point along the continuum could yield findings of interest.

A number of transitive verbs take dative objects, e.g., *yhadon* 'await, expect' indexing *aynbesteri* 'to the same in kind' (296); *eritzi*, *erexi* 'deem, esteem', used in all four of the more extensively studied texts e.g., *onderextanari* 'to the one who loves you' with a 2INTIMATE(M).DAT marker *Ezca çe aquio daucanari /ta vay onderextanari* 'Do not ask the one who has/but the one who loves you' (257). The radical *echi* 'leave', with imperative force, indexes *ayta assabaoy* 'to fathers (and) forefathers': *Ayta assabaoy echi,/ta garea gu on veti* (125) 'Put aside fathers and forefathers and let us always be good', although with an absolutive object, *eyngo doana* 'what you.INTIMATE(M) have to do' in *Eyngo doana /ez biarco echi* (530) 'Don't leave what you have to do until tomorrow'. Possibly, the initial relative clause is a dislocation; alternatively, the verb might take either a DAT or ABS object, the latter supported by both valencies in Etxepare: 1SG.DAT *-ta* indexing *niri* 'to me' *Berceric har eçaçu niri vztaçu* (X,54) 'Take another (lover), leave me!', but 1SG.ABS *n-* in the 1SG.ABS-2FORMAL.ERG auxiliary reflex *Aldi honetan othoy vci naçaçu* (X,60) 'This time, please, leave me!'.

Intransitive verbs frequently take a facultative dative marker: from *ebili/ibili* ‘walk, go about,’ , *jabilt* ‘it goes about to me’ in *Loca jabilt aguina...* (398) ‘My tooth is loose...’; from *et(h)orri* ‘come’, *jatorguz* ‘they come to us’ in *Ezconçea ta aguincea çerurean jatorguz* (232) ‘Marriage and commandment come to us from Heaven’; from *ioan* ‘go’, *joacu* ‘it goes to us’ in ... *gora joacu ycaztobico quea* (507) ‘... up goes for us the smoke from the charcoal burner’. Others have an obligatory dative marker indexing a dative object e.g., *jarrain* ‘follow’ indexing *ynurriari* ‘to the ant’: *Ynurriari arrayo* (183) ‘Follow the ant’; *iexeki, exeki* ‘burn’ in a periphrastic V+AUX group with tripersonal *deuso* ‘s/he, it has (it) to him/her/it’: *Mizqueriac erajegui deuso* (519) ‘Bounty lit her/him up’.

In *RS*, all five instances of *irudi* ‘seem’ are synthetic; as in the synthetic reflexes of Leizarraga and Garibai, all are bipersonal, the entity resembling in the ERG and the resembled in the ABS: *Çozpalac dirudi vere egur[r]a,/ ta egur[r]ac vere ezcur[r]a* (483) ‘The splinter resembles the wood, and the wood, the tree’.

Post-root dative flags are scarce: from *etorri* ‘come’ *jatorguz* (232), ‘they come to us’; from *ebili/ibili* ‘go about, walk’ *jabilt* ‘s/he, it goes about to me’ (398, also in Garibai, *Endechas por la muerte de Martin Bañez de Artaçubiaga*, line 1). Possibly the first segment reflects a pre-root flag, Lakarra Andrinua (1996, p. 305, in respect of *jatorguz*) suggesting **dj* > *j*. **Edin*, however, runs contrary to the general trend, the flag *-ki* appearing in eight reflexes e.g., before the 1SG.DAT marker *-da* in *çaquidaz* ‘you.FORMAL be/become to me’: *Sayra noçu, asper çaquidaz* (36) ‘You have me in the eagle’s eyrie, exact revenge on me’; before the 3SG.DAT marker in *aquio* (257, 411) ‘be.INTIMATE to him/her/it’: ... *ta aquio veti betesegien eznearean* (411) ‘... and always continue milking a cow with a two-year-old calf’.

Uniquely among the four more extensively investigated texts, *RS* manifests a future imperative, bearing *-ke(-te)*, in lexical and auxiliary verbs, e.g., from *egin* ‘do, make’ *eyquec* ‘do. INTIMATE(M) (it)!’: *Çe eyquec maurtuti hoeaneā/ ederr eztanic calean* (36) ‘When you go through the wilderness, do not do/what is not nice in the street!’. Like the prescriptive *albait-* ~ *albeit-* forms in Etxepare and Leizarraga respectively, the future imperatives of *RS* relate to a condition, which at variance with the prescriptive, is implicit in the clause

containing the future imperative, rather than in a related clause and has the sense ‘in the event of’. Unlike Etxepare, Leizarraga and Garibai, *RS* manifests no instance of the votive; unlike Etxepare and Leizarraga, none of the prescriptive. Two imperfective participle formations appear to compete, as in Garibai, and to a far lesser extent in Etxepare: the gerund+LOC (often without LOC -*n*) e.g., in *egite* (220), *egiten* (49) ‘making’ and the addition to the stem of the DP PL.LOC -*etan*, e.g., in *vlerretan* ‘understanding’ in *Trancart eguiten deustac/ta vlerretan deustat*. (49) ‘You.INTIMATE(M) trick me, and I understand you.INTIMATE(M).’

As in Etxepare, Leizarraga and Garibai, word-order varies: SOV, predominant in the modern language, is well-represented, e.g., *Posaco orac heyz onic ezin ley* (377) ‘A forced mastiff cannot do good hunting’. Fronting occurs in a small set of circumstances, overlapping those in the modern language, as in the other texts e.g., with imperatives: *Ax adinhon ta axa hon* (31) ‘Be moderate and you will be good’. In contrast to the modern language, however, a finite verb can be clause-initial when preceded by another clause, e.g., *diada* ‘I will give (it) to you’: *Yndac mica bat orban barga,/ diada nesquea gajpaga* (174) ‘Give me a magpie without a patch and I’ll give you a girl without a fault’. SVO sequencing is common, e.g., *dacaz* ‘s/he, it brings them’: *opeyl bustiac dacaz oguiac* (129) ‘Wet April brings loaves’. A relative clause can follow the matrix clause, contrary to the predominant sequence in the modern language, e.g., *dacusena* ‘s/he, it who sees (it)’: *Yssua da baeti ez dacusena* (426) ‘S/he is blind who does not see through a sieve’. Word-order in negative-polarity clauses differs from modern *negator—auxiliary—lexical verb*. The *RS* ordering is *lexical verb—negator—auxiliary* e.g., ... *ta ençun eztayçu guextoric* (18) ‘... and you will hear no evil’, an older sequencing pervasive throughout the Basque Country before the time of the first texts (Lakarra Andrinua, 1996, p. 255).

In *RS*, clause-initial free complementizers feature, as in the other more extensively investigated texts, by contrast not prevalent in *Batua*. Examples include *çe/ze*: *Lapico eçin dana/estalgui liçate,/çe edoceynec dauco/vere lecuva vete* (69) ‘He who cannot be a pot could be a lid/ for each one has/his rightful role’.

Non-finite clauses are abundant, as in Etxepare and Garibai. A lexical verb overt in one

clause can be omitted from another: *Ardi bat doean lecuti oro* (223) 'To the place where one sheep goes, all (go)'. A lexical participle can lack a finite auxiliary, e.g., *jan* 'eat', *edan* 'drink': *Gaxtoto edo ondo jan,/yru bider edan* (342) 'Whether eating well or badly/drink thrice'. A verb may be completely omitted, e.g., in the *RS* counterpart of a proverb encountered in Garibai: *Balizco oleac burdiaric ez* (15) 'The hypothetical forge, no iron.' Very frequently, the copula is omitted: *Ardi chipia veti bildos* (354) 'The little sheep (is) always the lamb'. Finally, reminiscent of the omission of absolutive plural and dative markers discussed above, a finite verb can lack an *ERG.PL* index where the *ERG* subject comprises two singular DPs: *Ylac ta viciac diraqi* (56) 'Dying and living boils' with a *3SG.ABS-3SG.ERG* reflex and *ERG*-marked subjects *ylac* 'dying', *viciac* 'living'; *3PL.ABS-3SG.ERG* *dacaz* 's/he, it brings them' with *ERG*-marked subjects *yzozac* 'ice', *euriac* 'rain' in *Yzozac ta euriac/ dacaz escura gariac* (492) 'Ice and rain/ brings to hand wheat grain'.

CHAPTER FOUR

A SELECTION OF OTHER SIXTEENTH CENTURY SOURCES

This chapter reviews the nature and provenance of sixteenth century texts additional to the four traditionally more investigated. It selects four sources complementing those reviewed in Chapter Three, on grounds of contrast in geographical origin, varietal, or textual parameters, examining the contribution of each to the sixteenth century picture of the synthetic verb and its context.

4.1 OTHER SIXTEENTH CENTURY ATTESTATIONS: THEIR NATURE AND PROVENANCE; THE RATIONALE FOR THE SELECTION OF SOURCES EXAMINED

This section provides a representative, rather than comprehensive, overview of the diversity of known sixteenth century texts. It reviews the sixteenth century contents of Mitxelena's *Textos Arcaicos Vascos* (1964) (henceforth *TAV*), exemplifies key discoveries from the 1970s and 1980s, highlights a collection of letters discovered in the 1990s and three significant finds made in the twenty-first century. It concludes with a rationale for the selection of sources examined in this chapter.

TAV provides invaluable examination of discrepancies between different sources of the same text, varietal features and unanticipated items. Elucidating ambiguous and less legible elements, also critiquing Castilian translations, Mitxelena's analysis is imbued with a wealth of historical, sociological, and cultural insight. The sixteenth century materials in *TAV* form three groups: poetry, prose, and short texts. The first comprises 19 items including accounts of historical events, romantic verse, dirges and laments; it features the verses recorded by Garibai examined in Chapter Three. The second group is similarly varied, including a Castilian text with embedded Basque elements; a Franciscan vow; a vocabulary compiled by the Sicilian Lucio Marineo Sículo; the Basque section of a multilingual speech by Panurgo from *Pantagruel* by Rabelais, marriage vows and letters. The final group comprises proverbs including those added to the incomplete text of *RS*, mottos, slogans and short phrases. Much of the sixteenth century material in *TAV* is from Bizkaia and Bizkaian-speaking localities of Gipuzkoa, although it includes several texts from elsewhere: Continental items e.g., a 1584 letter from Bertrand d'Echoux de Baigorry, with Low Navarrese elements; High Navarrese texts e.g. the 1564 *Elegía de Juan de Amendux* from Iruñea (Sp Pamplona); three

texts from Araba, including *Cantar de la Batalla de Urrejola* 'Song of the Battle of Urrejola', recorded by Lazarraga, author of a much more extensive work, undiscovered at the time of Mitxelena's writing.

Since the publication of *TAV*, other sixteenth century texts have continued to come to light. In 1972, a 1597 document was discovered relating to a trial concerning preferential treatment within the Church, in 1975, the late fifteenth - early sixteenth century transcript of the nautical prayer *El cantar de Bretaña*, and in the same year, short stretches of Roncalese in a 1569 text pertaining to a witchcraft trial in Burgui. In 1977, a 1547 record of marriage vows from Uterga, Navarre came to light, older than comparable texts in *TAV* (in Satrústegui, 1977, pp. 109–114) and in 1978 expressions relating to witchcraft in the valley of Baztán, Navarre from a 1575 Navarrese document. In 1979 a 1537 letter from Juan de Zumarrága, first Bishop of Mexico, was published in an article by Enrique Otte (Singer-Polignac, 1979, pp. 489–496). Two years later a 1501 mass from Iruñea appeared, also records of marriage vows relating to legal cases in Peninsular Navarre: Belascoain (1536), Olazagutia (1548) and Baquedano (1550) (Satrústegui, 1981). Two years later, a poem marking the birth of Henry IV of Navarre (1554) was discovered and published (Haritschelhar, 1983).

In the early 1990s, 20 letters were discovered over a three-year period in the Simancas Archive near Valladolid. They report military and political developments between 1589 and 1595 in France, contributing to the espionage of the pro-Catholic *Ligue français* against protestant Henry IV. They were all sent from the Continental Basque Country, the earliest written by the daughter of the Seigneur de Luxe, on his behalf, to the Viceroy of Navarre; the others by La Dame d'Urterbie from Lapurdi to Juan Velázquez, governor of Gipuzkoa.

Significant discoveries continue in the twenty-first century. In 2004, Borja Aginagalde Olaizola discovered a manuscript enveloped by unrelated writings, in the premises of an antiquarian book dealer in Madrid. The main author was established as Juan Perez de Lazarraga (b. 1548?- d. 12.04.1605) from Larrea in Araba, an erudite writer already known for his genealogy on the Lazarraga or Elaçarraga lineage, completed in 1589 (Michelena, 1964, pp. 69–70), featuring lines from *Cantar de la batalla de Urrejola*. This 2004 discovery adds considerably to the otherwise sparse attestations from Araba. Another major

contribution to the corpus of sixteenth century materials are the fruits of a six-year investigation by Julen Arriolabengoa Unzueta (2008) of previously overlooked material from the highly dilapidated and dispersed Iburgüen-Cachopín Chronicle, complementing the TAV materials from this source. Arriolabengoa's discoveries include *Cantar de Rodrigo de Zárate* 'Song of Rodrigo de Zárate', cited in Chapter Three, **3.5** in respect of the pleonastic absolutive plural marking of *ditus* 'he has them' (line 6). In June 2020, a love poem dated to between 1503 and 1522, was found in Oñati (Sp Oñate). Not only does this discovery date from the early sixteenth century, but it originates from further East in Gipuzkoa than other texts, at a greater distance from the boundary with Bizkaia.

Four sources are selected to complement the texts examined in Chapter Three: the 1567 Lazarraga manuscript, on account of the substantial nature of the text and the scarcity of texts from Araba¹, also three briefer items. The compilation of High Navarrese items and the early sixteenth century Gipuzkoan poem are chosen, since material from Peninsular Navarre and from non-Bizkaian Gipuzkoan do not feature in Chapter Three. Finally, the 1537 Zumarraga letter, exemplifying Bizkaian prose, complements the Bizkaian texts examined in Chapter Three, **3.4** and **3.5**.

4.2 LAZARRAGA

4.2.1 Contextual background

Joan Perez de Lazarraga was the eldest son of a branch of his lineage, which in the fifteenth century, moved from Oñati, Gipuzkoa to the plain of Araba (*Joan Perez Lazarraga - bideragarritasun-azterketa Info*, n.d.), his forebears establishing themselves in the Tower of Larrea in the municipality of Salbat(i)erra/Agurain (Sp Salvatierra) in North-Eastern Araba, on the Way of St. James ('Agurain/Salvatierra', 2020). Shortly after the 2004 discovery of the Lazarraga text, Enrike Knörr of the Euskaltzaindia (Royal Basque Language Academy) asserted that, despite the apparent isolation of Larrea, the manuscript attests a linguistic

¹ also in memory of my dear friend, Joseba Karlos González Sáez de Arregi (d. 30 August 2020 *goian bego*) who informed me of the discovery of the text and whose grandparents were native to Lazarraga's locality.

continuum between the Plain of Araba, Oñati in Gipuzkoa and the area of Deba, close to the Bizkaian border, united rather than separated by the Elgea range.²

The manuscript, of 105 sides, written between 1564 and 1567, appears, from numerous deletions and re-workings, to be a draft, and from the text and page numbering, to be an incomplete part of a more extensive work. Most pages are replete with text, predominantly Basque although including poetry in Castilian; around ten pages are torn to a greater or lesser degree and a few others filled with graphics. See Chapter One, 1.4 on referencing and transcription.

The predominant lettering style is a variant of *arkaikozale*, characteristic of the second third of the sixteenth century; a few more embellished sections are attributed to the same author, although marginal items of f.17v and f.20v appear to be 1609 additions by Martin Lopez de Bikuña (Aldai Garai, 2013, p. 8 citing Bilbao et alii: www.lazarraga.com). The last section, f.50r onwards, in a style characteristic of the Renaissance (Aginagalde Olaizola, 2004) bearing the heading *De la S^a M^a Estializ de Sasiola* ‘by Señora María Estibaliz de Sasiola’, is thought to have been penned, or otherwise facilitated by a noblewoman of this name from Deva, Gipuzkoa. Some of this final section is lost through tears.

Lazarraga’s work, making up the bulk of the manuscript, includes prose and poetry. The first item, most securely attributed to Lazarraga (Aldai Garai, 2013, p. 13) is a pastoral novel, a genre in vogue during the Renaissance, inspired by Virgil and Petrarch. Lazarraga’s pastoral novel centres on four characters: Silvero, Sirena, Silvia and Doristeo (or Dorido), trapped in a circle of unrequited love. The storyline includes travel, disguise, the abduction of Sirena and Silvia into imprisonment pending execution for cruelty against love, and, through the guidance of a Heavenly ambassador, their rescue by Silvero and Doristeo. The remainder of the pastoral novel is lost. The rest of the work consists of *loas* (playlets) and an eclectic mix of poetry, including historical epics e.g., the 1544 burning of Salbaterra; religious verse; love poetry and erotic elements.

Around 15 items receive their first known mention in Basque literature, including mythological names, e.g. *Marte* ‘Mars’, three references to the Basque Country as *Eusquel*

² *En realidad, la sierra de Elgea no separaba, sino que unía estas comarcas (Lazarragaren «primitiae», 2004).*

erria, other toponyms including *Salbatera* (once, *Salbatierra*), *Sibilia* ‘Seville’, *Venezia* ‘Venice’ and hagiological references, e.g. *Jan Doneane* ‘Saint John’ and *Jandone Peria* ‘Saint Peter’ (Kintana, 2004).

Echoes of literature from diverse localities appear: *ikara jabilt/ lau laurenok bildurrez* (f. 49v R, XXIII, 15-16) ‘my four quarters are set quaking with fear’ recalls, from the West, the first line of *Endechas por la muerte de Martin Bañez de Artaçubiaga* recorded by Garibai; in the margin of f. 27v is *ama librrea ganjc . jaío ninçan.... dirurren saldu njnçan esclabea* ‘I was born of a free mother ... I was sold for money as a slave’, recalls *aita saldu nauzu* ‘father, you have sold me’ (Lazarraga & Urkizu, 2004, p. 197), from a poem later recorded in the East. Parallels with Etxepare appear, e.g. *ez dot entendimenturíc/ claruxeago beruqeguçu/Edo çaoza yxilíc* (f. 20, V,48) ‘I do not understand/speak more clearly/ or be silent cf *Ni enuçu iaquinxu clarqui erran eçaçu/Ehorc vnsa adi ciçan nahi valin baduçu* (Etxepare IX,17/18) ‘I am not learned, speak clearly/if you want to be understood well’.

The Lazarraga manuscript includes a rich variety of synthetic reflexes from more than 40 verb roots, including eleven which do not feature, or have periphrastic V+AUX groups only, in the four more extensively investigated texts: *atera* ‘take out’, *ausatu* ‘attempt’, *begiratu* ‘look’, *ireki* ‘open’, *iarri* ‘place’, **jauri* (a suppletive of *etorri*) ‘come’, each as a single imperative; *ekin* ‘take away’, *irten* ‘go out’; the causatives *irakatsi* ‘teach’, **eragin* ‘cause to’, **eradutsi* ‘cause to’. To this list can arguably be added a twelfth item, *jagin*, non-endpoint encoding and equated to tripersonal **-i-* by Aldai Garai (2013, p. 22).

In sum, the Lazarraga manuscript features a greater range of variants associated with different dialects than those seen in the works examined in Chapter Three. Furthermore, variants which either approach, or manifest mutual exclusion between Continental and Peninsular texts, co-occur in Lazarraga, echoing the appraisal of Enrike Knörr cited above.

4.2.2 Language specifics

In Lazarraga, as in the Chapter Three texts, the auxiliary verbs form endpoint- vs non-endpoint-encoding sets, in the modern language mapping to subjunctive and indicative contexts respectively. The Lazarraga text, stands apart from those examined thus far, by featuring an expanded set of auxiliary verbs from Peninsular and Continental sources. As in

the Continental and the Peninsular texts, the auxiliary inventory of Lazarraga includes endpoint-encoding intransitive **edin* and its non-endpoint counterpart **izan* and the non-endpoint encoding divalent transitive *uk(h)en/*edun*. Endpoint encoding di- and trivalent transitives are furnished by both Continental **ezan* and Peninsular *egin* with suppletive congener **-idi-*, while non-endpoint encoding tripersonal forms are supplied by Peninsular **edutsi*, its previously unencountered syntactic causative **eradutsi*, *-i-* (the latter not specialized, as in Etxepare, to the allocutive) and possibly **jagin*.

Some, including Bilbao et alii (Lazarraga, 2010, p. 154) and Urkizu (2004, p. 153) see the initial *j-* of reflexes of *jagin*, e.g. *jagot* ‘I have (it) to him/her/it’ (f. 47v, XXI, 39) as from the initial **dera-* of present-tense reflexes of **eradun*, Aldai Garai (2013, p. 22) suggesting that the *g* of the root could have arisen by analogy with ABS-DAT forms containing a velar, e.g. from *izan*, *jako*, ‘it is to him/her it’.

The other previously unattested auxiliary, **eradutsi*, looks to be a compound of **edun*, possibly a causative of Peninsular **edutsi* or a hybrid of the latter with Continental **eradun*. Its usage is factitive e.g., *aserratu deraustaçu* (f. 47, XXI,5) ‘you have made me angry’; at variance with corresponding *haserrarazi nauzu* in Batua, with causative *-arazi* attached to the lexical root and a divalent 1SG.ABS-2FORMAL.ERG reflex of *uk(h)en/*edun*. **Eradutsi* expresses as a dative the surface direct object, as in the applicative constructions characteristic of the Bantu languages (Trask, 1993, p. 18).

As in the Chapter Three texts, the auxiliary-lexical boundary is graded. **Edin*, in addition to auxiliary function, has the sense of ‘become’ e.g., *çidin* ‘he became’ in *çidin andíro enojadu* (P, f. 11r,7) ‘he became greatly enraged’. In addition to its auxiliary function, *egin* has the lexical usage ‘do, make’ discernible in both Continental and Peninsular varieties, e.g., *Pelicanooc amoríoz/umeac. dagueanean* (f. 30v, XII,94/95) ‘When the pelican, through love, makes its young’. *Joan*, lexically ‘go’ also serves as an auxiliary with habitual or gnomic aspect e.g. *joaçen* ‘they were’ in *çerren guztíac Egon joaçen/andíro Admíraduric* (f. 25r, VIII,97/98) ‘for all were in great admiration’.

As in the Chapter Three texts, the Lazarraga manuscript includes verbs with suppletive congeners, frequently using *egin/*-idi-*, ‘do, make’ and *eman/*-i-*. The former pair serve as

lexical verbs and auxiliaries, as in Garibai and *RS*. As in the Continental and Peninsular texts, in Lazarraga, **-idi-* furnishes irrealis reflexes, prominently the potential. The radical (coincidental with the perfective participle) of *eman* takes the distinctive form *emun*, varying with *eman* in Etxepare and Leizarraga, and with the prospective/future participle *emongo* (although imperfective participle *emayten*) in *RS*. The distribution of *emun* and **-i-* provides a less clear-cut complementary pattern than that of *egin/*-idi-*. Both *emun* and **-i-* can furnish tripersonal reflexes, **-i-* exclusively so.

Several transitive verbs are capable of furnishing both ABS-ERG and ABS-DAT-ERG reflexes. With the frequently used *egin* ‘do, make’, a clear pattern obtains in pre-root vowel alternation: *a-* in bipersonal and *e-* in tripersonal reflexes in both auxiliary and lexical contexts e.g., the bipersonal auxiliary form *badaguiçu* ‘if you have (it)’ in *quenduez badaguiçu* (P. f. 13v 12) ‘if you don’t take (your eyes off the mirror)’ and the bipersonal lexical *daguianean* ‘when s/he it does, makes (it)’ (f. 25r, VIII,98) contrasting with tripersonal forms e.g. auxiliary *deguidaçula* ‘that you.FORMAL have (it) to me’ in *suplicaetan nachaçu/deguidaçula rremedioa emun* (P, f. 12r, 13) ‘I implore you to give me the remedy’. The data from other verbs furnishing di- and trivalent reflexes e.g. *emun* ‘give’, *ifini* ‘place’, is too sparse to demonstrate securely whether the same distribution obtains, although the one tripersonal reflex of *emun* suggests that it might: *demala* ‘that s/he, it give (it) to him/her’ in *jaun' çerùçoâc . /onidemala /biçionata luçea* (f. 42v L, XVIII, 124) ‘Lord of heaven give to her a good and long life’. By contrast, reflexes of *egon* ‘be (stative), remain, stay’ show no pre-root vowel alternation contingent on whether or not they are dative-marking: *nago* ‘I am’ in *oí nago congoaduríc* (P, f. 4r, 11) ‘I am anguished’ vs ABS-DAT *nagoçu* ‘I am to you.FORMAL’ also with pre-root *a-*: *siluero nagoçu* (P, f. 2v, 8) ‘Silvero, I am for you.FORMAL’. A focused study of sixteenth century texts to determine whether the alternation applies to transitive, but not to intransitive verbs and, if so, whether varieties specific, would be a worthwhile undertaking.

Past-tense forms without a 1st or 2nd person pre-root marker overwhelmingly lack the initial *z-* found in Etxepare and Leizarraga. In this respect, the Lazarraga text aligns with the Bizkaian of Garibai and *RS* e.g. from *uk(hen)/*edun, eben* ‘s/he, it had (it)’ (P, f. 10r,3) (cf *çuen* in Leizarraga, Revelation Ch.IV v.7); from **edutsi, eusala* (P, f. 12r,19) ‘that s/he, it had (it) to him/her’; from **ek(h)usi* ‘see’, *ecusen* (P, f. 12r,15) ‘s/he, it saw (it)’; from *et(h)orri*

'come', *etorrela* (P, f. 13r,18) 'that s/he, it came'. Exceptions appear with **uk(h)en/edun*, **edin*, *irudi* and *izan*. With **uk(h)en/edun*, the initial sibilant appears in ABS.PL *çituen* (twice in P, f. 13r,9/10) 's/he, it has them', as in the Continental texts e.g. Leizarraga, Acts Ch.XIV v.27 also Batua *zituen*, contrasting with Bizkaian *ebazan*. With **edin*, as in Garibai and *RS* (e.g. *RS* 358), the sibilant appears in unipersonal reflexes, e.g. *çidin* 's/he, it was/became': *Erorri çidin* (P, f. 6r, 16) '(that) he fell'. The sole past-tense form of *irudi* 'seem' is sibilant-initial: *çirudien* 'they appeared' (P, f. 13r,2). *Izan* furnishes *çan* (P, f. 5r,4) 's/he, it was', cf modern Bizkaian *zan*, and it is generally held that past-tense initial *z-* spread by analogy from this extremely common reflex, where it is the initial segment of the root, but that the zero marker, overwhelmingly prevalent in modern Bizkaian, is the earlier form (Trask, 1997, p. 224). By contrast, past-tense ABS-DAT reflexes of *izan* are *j-* initial in Lazarraga, as in Bizkaian, and are syncretic with *-n* complementized present-tense reflexes, e.g. *jacán* (P, f. 5v,11) 'it was to him/her/it', equally 'that it is to him/her/it'. Similarly, *joan*, which diverges from the common pattern of initial *e-* in the radical, forms *j-*initial past-tense reflexes, e.g. *joaçela* (P, f. 12r,6) 'that they were going'. In Lazarraga a pre-root *a ~ e* alternation correlates with present ~ past-tense more consistently than in the Continental texts e.g. 'they walked' as Lazarraga's *ebilçen* (f. 25r, VIII,93) vs Leizarraga's *çabiltzan* 'they walked' (e.g. Mark Ch.9 v.30).

In Etxepare and Leizarraga many past-tense forms with 1st and 2nd person pre-root markers manifest a medial *n*, as in Batua e.g. *nenbilen* 'I was walking', *zenekien* 'you.FORMAL knew', except where the pre-root marker is ERG.SG. The history of this nasal and its distribution are unknown (cf Trask, 1997, p. 244). It is often absent in Lazarraga, where it can render past-tense forms with a 2.FORMAL pre-root marker syncretic or almost so, with 3SG.ERG person past-tense forms in other varieties, e.g. *çeguían* (P, f. 13v,2) 'you.FORMAL had (it)' from *egin* (auxiliary), closer to Batua 3SG.ERG *zegien* 's/he, it did/made (it)' than to 2.FORMAL.ERG *zenegien* 'you.FORMAL did/made (it)'. *Baçeequi* (P, f. 11v,8) 'if you.FORMAL knew (it)' is very close to Batua *bazeki* 'if s/he knew (it)' cf *eguia vaciniaqui* (Etxepare, IX,32) 'if you.FORMAL knew the truth', *ezinaquitén* 'You.PL did not know (it)' (Leizarraga, e.g. Luke Ch.2 v.49) contrasting with 3SG.ERG *baçaquian* 'S/he knew' (Leizarraga, e.g. John Ch.2. v.25).

Lazarraga's use of /- initial forms is congruent with that seen in the Continental and Peninsular texts in Chapter Three, differing from the conditional and hypothetical usage in the modern language. A major context is reported speech, e.g. *leguíola* 'that s/he, it has (it)', appearing thrice in P, f. 5v,1-4: ... *Eçe Erregutu Eusan siluiarí leguí-/ola ain mesede andía Eçe leguíola be-/re Partez sirenarí Erregutu bísítaetan/ Etorrileguiola* '... that he asked Silvia to do him so great a favour/ of asking on his behalf for Sirena to come to visit him'. Two further uses appear in Lazarraga. First, an event contingent another e.g. by dint of manner in *negarrez egoala/ beruaoc Eguite lebela* (f. 12r, 11/12) 'crying, he said these words', a usage arguably superordinate and including reported speech. Second, within final clauses with the suffix *-çat* 'in order that', e.g. *leguíançat* 'in order that s/he, it have (it)': *sílvia desPediduric bere ugaçabaganíc ynorc Eçautu Ez/leguíançat quenduében bere jaztecoac eta Artu Eben/arçaibaten jaztecoac* (P, f. 10r,17-19) 'After saying farewell to her master, so that no-one would recognise her, Silvia took off her clothes and put on shepherd's clothing' where, furthermore, usage is consistent with Aldai Garai's (2000) imperfective interpretation, as also reflected e.g. in Etxepare and Leizarraga.

Uniquely among the texts in Chapters Three and Four, Lazarraga includes finite reflexes with an initial palatalized lateral, /l- (possibly from <*li), e.g. from *joan* 'go', *lloaçen* possibly with the sense of 'they might be going':...*arçaibigaz çeñai siluiac/ytaundeusten nora lloaçen* (P, f. 10r,21/22) '...two shepherds whom Silvia asked where they might be going'. Also from *joan*, *balloa* 's/he, it might go' appears in *yfíní daue /Oy eta asco penaríc /comarcaetan./ara balloa. gíçonic* (f. 48v L, XXII,65-68) 'They decreed within the municipality that severe punishment (would be given) to any man who might go to Salbaterra'. Another example is the 3SG.ABS-3SG.DAT reflex of **edin*, *ballaco* 'if s/he, it were to him/her/it' *Erorri çidin jarriric Egoan/sillabaterian Aín aguiz eçe siluia ysasi/ez ballaco...* (P, f. 6r,16/17) 'He fell so suddenly from the chair in which he was sitting, that had Silvia not seized him...'. Although not entirely clear cut, on balance the contexts of the palatalized lateral forms suggest a hypothetical role, distinct from the event contingent on another event /reported speech function typifying forms with the unpalatalized lateral. An /- reflex, *lequidanari* from *ekin* 'remove, take away', however, has a hypothetical role in *amorantian lequidanari/atera neio beguiac* (f. 17r, III,19/20) 'I would take out the eyes of whoever

might take away my beloved from me'. Although distinctive core functions can be postulated for *ll-* and *l-* forms, each form infiltrates the domain of the other.

As in the Chapter Three texts, verbs forming synthetic reflexes can also appear in V+AUX forms e.g. from *ebili/ibili* 'go around, walk': *dabil* in *sírena bére Aínbeste dabil/besteoc leguez galduric* (P, f.8v,3) 'Sirena also goes around lost like the others' vs *dirade ebili* 'they have gone around' in *libreríc Eta ardurabaga/oyta dirade Ebíli* (15v, I,51/52) 'And carefree / they have gone around'; from *joan* 'go' *banoa* 'I am leaving' in *ní honerean banoa bere/Ene**h**íoça çuc doçu* (P, f.9v,7/8) 'although I am leaving this place/my heart belongs to you.FORMAL' vs *joan ninçan* 'I went'; *joan ninçanda Ecusíneben/asco donzella galantic* (f. 15r, Poem I, 5/6) 'I went and I saw many elegant damsels'.

In Lazarraga, as in the Chapter Three texts, there are contenders for the expression of futurity which overlap in semantic scope to a greater or lesser degree: periphrastic V+AUX groups with futurity marked on the lexical participle, **-idi*, **-i-*, *-ke* (*-te* with *izan*). First, the prospective/future participle is always formed, as in Garibai and RS, with the marker *-ko/-go*, whether the perfective participle is vowel- or consonant-final: from *bilatu* 'seek', *bilatuco* in *beste amore bilatuco nax* 'I will seek another lover' (f. 17r, III,11), from *jakin* 'know' *jaquingo* in *çuec jaquingo/doçu eçe....* 'you have to know that....'. (P, f. 13r,24/5). These examples illustrate the semantic range of the participle: *bilatuco* encodes futurity; *jaquingo*, obligation or anticipation, better designated as 'prospective'. Second is another periphrastic V+AUX structure with futurity encoded not by the participle, but by the syntactically present-tense reflexes of auxiliary **-idi-*, a suppletive congener of *egin* (lexically, 'do, make') e.g. *eguin daidit* 'I will do (it)' in *utra borondate honeç eguin daidit* (P, f. 11v,7) 'I will do it with great good will'. In Lazarraga, this second structure expresses the narrowest scope of futurity. Third, contrasting with **-idi-*, **-i-* has wider scope, encompassing futurity, subjunctive and imperative contexts: *dindala* 'that s/he give (it) to me' in *jaun' çerucoac. arrendindala / cunplietaco dicheâ* (f. 42v L, XVIII,112/113) 'May the Lord of Heaven, (I) pray, grant me the fulfilment of happiness'. Fourth, *-ke* (*-te*) expresses futurity e.g. *dauquezu* 'you.FORMAL will have': *asco dauquezu senarric* (47v L, Poem XXI,30) 'You will have a lot of husbands' (i.e. you will meet many potential candidates). As in Leizarraga, but in contrast with its specialized futurity role in Etxepare and RS, in Lazarraga

-ke (-te), like the periphrastic V+AUX structure with the future participle, can encode obligation or anticipation e.g. *çateçela* ‘that you.PL are to’ *eta dio joan çateçela confusioco Esera* (P, f.13v, 8) ‘and he says you are to go to the House of Confusion’. A further role of -ke (-te) is as an adjunct to the possibility encoding prefix *al-* in the hypothetical: *alçatean* ‘there could be’: *con-/fusioco Esea Ay fuerte Eta galanto labraduric nola Eçin ayn-/beste munduan alçatean* (13v, 18-20) ‘The House of Confusion so strong and elegantly worked that there could not be anything like it in the world’.

Finally, in contrast with Garibai and *RS*, but like Etxepare and Leizarraga, verb-final-*a*, rather than encoding futurity, represents a variant in unipersonal intransitive plural forms: from *egon*, ‘be (stative), remain, stay’ *daoça* ‘they are’ (f. 27v R, XXVII, 40 (margin, verse 13)) vs *daoz* (f. 45, XX,50); similarly with *ebili* ‘go about, walk’, *dabilça* ‘they go around’ in the epic on the 1564 burning of Salbaterra: *oyta guraso bagaríc/asco dabilça* (f. 49, XXII,126/127) ‘O and many go around without parents’ vs *dabilz* (same gloss) in a marginal poem: *énearaguioc ycaraDabilz* (P, f. 13v, M.10, 1) ‘My flesh(PL) is set quaking’. Similar -*a* final forms in the Continental texts include *dabilça: haren sehi dabilça* (Etxepare e.g. II, 75) ‘they are its servants’; *(ba)dabiltza* ‘they walk’: *Itsuéc ikustea recrubatzẽ duté, eta mainguac badabiltza* (Leizarraga, Matthew Ch.11 v.5) ‘the blind receive their sight, and the lame walk’.

A striking feature of the Lazarraga manuscript, evident to a much smaller extent with an indefinite argument in *RS*, is the overwhelming absence of absolute pluralizers, e.g. *dacart* ‘I bring (it)’, not *dakartzat* ‘I bring them’: *Barri onac dacart* (f. 26v L, X,1) ‘I bring good news’; ergative fronted *çébela* cf. *Batua zenituela/ Bizkaian zenduzala* ‘that you.FORMAL had them’: *Sinsquetadot eç çébela Esango* (P, f. 11v,9) ‘I believe that you would not have said them (those words)’. Furthermore, in the 1562 dictionary of Landucci, written in a dialect termed Southern by Trask (1997, 50), latterly identified as Araban, Mounole Hiriart-Urruty ([2014] 2018, p. 140) notes that patient plurality is never indexed by the verb e.g., *velarri andiac daucana* (923) rendered in Spanish as *Orejudo* ‘big-eared one’, more literally ‘s/he who has big ears’; despite the plurality of *velarri andiac* ‘big ears’, the verb *daucana* lacks an absolute pluralizer. According to Aldai Garai (2013, p. 22), the absence of an absolute

pluralizer from transitive reflexes is characteristic of Araban and of varieties from the Southern margin of Gipuzkoa.

An absolutive pluralizer is, however, present in transitive forms in two contexts: first, 3.ABS-3.ERG present and past-tense reflexes of **uk(h)en/edun* e.g., *dítugu* ‘we have them’: *çerren dítugu quebrantadu/ oy. mandamentu/ santuac* (f. 44v, XX,44-46) ‘because we have broken the Holy Commandments’; *çítuan* ‘s/he, it had them’: *loác artu/çítuan* (P, f. 13r,16-17) ‘sleep overcame them’. The pluralizer, however, is typically absent where a singular non-3rd person marker is present e.g. *dodan* ‘(that) which I have’, not *ditudan/dodaz* ‘(those) which I have’: *padesçietan dodan doloreac* (f.33, XIV,120) ‘the ills which I am suffering’; *neben* ‘I had (it)’, not *nituen/nebazan* ‘I had them’ in *neure begúioc goratu neben* (f. 20v, V,65) ‘I lifted up my eyes’. The second context obtains with non-3rd person absolutive plurals e.g. the historically plural 2.FORMAL, where discrete pluralizer marking accompanies the intrinsically plural pre-root person marker: from *uk(h)en/*edun*, *çaitudaz* ‘I have you.FORMAL’ in *aoan laztan çaitudaz bana ...* (f. 17r, III,3) ‘I cherish you with my mouth, but ...’, with *it-* and *-z* as absolutive pluralizers, cf *Batua zaitut*; similarly, from **-idi-*, *çaídaz* ‘I will have you.FORMAL’ in *beti çaídaz loadu* (f. 18r, IV,12) ‘I will always praise you’. In intransitive verbs, by contrast, absolutive pluralizers are manifest with all persons plural: from *et(h)orri* ‘come’, the imperative *çatoz* (P, f. 12r,20) ‘come.FORMAL!’, with the word-final absolutive pluralizer *-z*; from *ebili/ibili* ‘go around, walk’ *qabilça* ‘we walk’ (f. 24v, VIII, 67). An exception is *izan* which, as in Etxepare and Leizarraga, forms reflexes with and without the pluralizer *-de*: *çara* (P, f. 9r,24) ‘you.FORMAL are’ vs *baçarade* (P, f. 7v,8); *dira* ‘they are’ (f. 15v L, I,29) vs *dírade* (15v, I,52). As in Etxepare, *-de* forms are in the minority: throughout the Lazarraga text, there are 19 occurrences of *dira* (auxiliary and copular), but *dírade* appears only once.

In contrast with Etxepare, in Lazarraga 3.DAT markers are present systematically e.g., from **-idi-*, ergative fronted *neio* ‘I would have (it) to him/her/it’ with 3SG.DAT *-o*: *amorantian lequidanari/atera neio beguiac* (f. 17r, III,19/20) ‘I would take out the eyes of whoever would take away my beloved from me’. *Neio*, indexing the dative DP *lequidanari* ‘to whoever would take her away from me’, further illustrates the lack of an absolutive pluralizer, despite the ABS.PL argument *beguiac* ‘eyes’.

Unlike dative person markers, post-root dative flags are typically absent in Lazarraga where present in Batua. Starting with intransitive verbs, the 3SG.ABS-1SG.DAT reflex *jabil* (f. 49v L, XXIII, 15/16) ‘it goes around to me’ from *ebili/ibili* ‘go about, walk’ also appearing twice in Garibai as the only synthetic ABS-DAT reflex of *ebili/ibili* in the more extensively investigated texts, has the Batua counterpart *dabilkit* with the post-root dative flag *-ki*. Lazarraga has *jatorrt* (f. 41v R, XVIII,6) ‘it comes to me’ from *et(h)orri* ‘come’, of which the only synthetic dative reflexes in the more extensively studied texts are *jatorguz* (RS 232) ‘they come to us’ and *jatordala* (RS 425) ‘that it comes to me’, contrasting with Batua *datorkit*, again with the dative flag *-ki*. From *egon* ‘be (stative), stay, remain’ is *nagoçu* (P, f. 2v,8) ‘I am to you.FORMAL’, the dative flag absence echoed in the more extensively investigated texts, e.g., *dagoc* (RS 434) ‘s/he, it is to you.INTIMATE(M)’, *daucu* (e.g. Leizarraga, Romans, Ch.13 v.11) ‘s/he, it is to us’, except in 3SG.DAT forms: *dagoca* (Hebrews Ch.8 v.13) ‘s/he, it is to him/her/it’, where a velar precedes the 3SG.DAT marker *-a*. Again in Batua, the flag *-ki* appears in all persons, e.g. *nagokizu* ‘I am to you.FORMAL’. Exceptionally in the sixteenth century, **edin* ‘be, become’, consistently displays *-ki* before a dative marker in all persons: *Ezdaquidan* (P, f. 9v,11) ‘that it is not to me’; the imperative *aquit* ‘be.INTIMATE to me!’: *quen aquit neure/ beguiètaric* (P, f. 12v,14/15) ‘get out of my sight!’.

Transitive *ifini* (*imini, ipini*) ‘place, put’, of which no tripersonal reflexes feature in the more extensively investigated texts, has in Lazarraga the ABS-DAT-ERG imperative *jafindaçu* ‘put.2FORMAL (it) to me!’: *Neure bioçau. libre . jafindaçu* (f. 31v, XIV,44) ‘set.2FORMAL my heart free!’. Again, no post-root dative flag is present, although initial *j-* could be a reflex of the pre-root flag *i-*. The dative flags *-ki* and *-ts* are arguably represented in *edugi* (elsewhere *eduki*) ‘have, possess’, the tripersonal auxiliary **edutsi* and its syntactic causative **eradutsi* ‘cause to’. In Lazarraga, as overwhelmingly in the more extensively investigated texts, *edugi* ~ *eduki* sources ERG-ABS reflexes, indicating the reanalysis of *-ki* as a root element; by contrast **edutsi* and **eradutsi* furnish tripersonal reflexes. An instructive future endeavour would be to examine the distribution of dative flags in the early texts, collating dative reflexes according to whether the flag is zero, post-root or pre-root and evaluating evidence as to which might be more ancient in order to take forward investigation into possible

dative flag sources, e.g. serial verbs, and to consider how the findings could inform investigation into ancient word-order and how it differs from that of the modern language.

The Lazarraga text manifests four forms of address, morphologically corresponding to those the present-day: intimate, formal, plural and honorific. The 2^{INTIMATE} *hiketa* is used as an unmarked singular as in Leizarraga, Garibai and *RS*, in both masculine and feminine forms and between the sexes. When Silvia, in shepherd's disguise, asks two unknown shepherds where they are going, they reply using Bizkaian *doc* 'you.INTIMATE(M) have (it)': *arçai: polita yc jaqui-/ngo doc Eçe guēc goaçela dueroco Riberara* (P, f. 10r,23/24) 'Handsome shepherd, you.INTIMATE(M) are to know that we are going to the River Duero'; Doristo addresses Sirena using *don* 'you.INTIMATE(F) have (it)': *çegayti ezton losaric beruaoriec esaten guregurrean* (P, f. 12v,18) 'Why are you not ashamed to say these words in front of us?'. Lazarraga includes *hiketa* allocutive forms: *diat* (f. 43v L, XIX,88) 'I have (it), you.INTIMATE(M) see', *dinat* (f. 43r L, XIX, 10) 'I have (it), you.INTIMATE(F) see'. As in the more extensively investigated texts, particularly Etxepare and Leizarraga, these forms are syntactically trivalent, yet semantically divalent as regards their argument indexing.

Lazarraga's writing attests the emergence of the plural *zueketa*. Alongside *hiketa*, *zuketa* had asserted its role as a singular mode of address, e.g. *çaraçu* 'you.FORMAL are': *ní honerean joateco/causea hoyta çaraçu* (P, f. 9r,23/24) 'You are the cause of my leaving here'. There may have been a period when *çu* had both singular and plural reference, prior to the introduction of *zueketa*, used by a Heavenly figure addressing Doristo and Silvero in *çuec jaquingo/doçu eçe....* (P, f. 10v,14) 'you.PL have to know that...'. The plural pronoun *çuec*, however, derived from *zu* by the addition of the plural demonstrative *hek*, yielding **zu-hek* (Mounole Hiriart-Urruty, 2014 [2018], p. 18), appears to have emerged earlier than the corresponding person marker, which with *doçu* 'you.FORMAL have (it)', as elsewhere in Lazarraga, corresponds to the now singular *zuketa*. Finally, to mark social distance, the morphologically 3rd person can serve as a semantically 2nd person e.g. the jussive *besat* 'let him/her/it say to me': (f. 20, Poem V, 36) *çe besat. horrelacoric* 'do not say such a thing to me'.

Semantic and syntactic valency of the verb do not always correspond e.g., *iraki* 'boil', encountered in Etxepare, Leizarraga and *RS* takes an ergative subject although intransitive. Similarly Lazarraga's semantically intransitive *urten* 'leave' indexes an ergative subject: *siluíac* 'Silvia.ERG' in *siluíac Urten Eben arean* (P, f. 6r,27) 'Silvia left from that place'. By contrast, occasionally, an absolutive subject argument accompanies a syntactically and semantically transitive verb e.g. absolutive *ný* 'I' in *...ný aseguindot/ayta eguin çure. mandamentua* (f. 14r R XXX, 52/53) '...I take pleasure, father, in doing your bidding'. It would be worthwhile to investigate whether subject case was once more fluid than the established ABS-ERG pattern, aiming to contribute to debate on the genesis of ergativity in Basque. The relationship between the case-marking and semantic role of person indices is also an important consideration in the context of dative marking: it would be illuminating to investigate whether dative marking results from the reanalysis of a different semantic role, in a process somewhat converse to the reanalysis of *edugi* ~ *eduki* as a source of bipersonal rather than tripersonal reflexes.

Lazarraga includes verbs whose semantic direct object maps to a dative marker. **Eradutsi* 'cause to', forms *derausteçu* 'you.FORMAL cause them to,' with 3PL.DAT *-te* 'to them': *çegaítí lauoi bardín on Erechí/Ezderausteçu Euren Amoreetan* (P, f. 8v,9/10) 'Why, have you not caused the four to feel reciprocally in their love?'; *deraustaçu* 'you.FORMAL cause me' with 1SG.DAT *-ta* <*-*da*: *oy aserratu deraustaçu* (f. 47r L, XXI,5) 'Oh, you.FORMAL have made me angry'. Similarly unencountered in the more extensively investigated texts is *ereitzi* 'call, name' with *ereičan* 'it was called' indexing dative *çeñari* 'to which': *y taliaco çudadebatera çeña-/ri Ereičan Arçileo* (P, f. 8r,3/4) 'To an Italian city called Arzileo'. Another verb marking the direct object as dative is *eretxi* 'deem, esteem', frequently as *on eretxi* 'love', also appearing in the Chapter Three texts, where, as in Lazarraga, the 3SG.DAT marker alternates *-o* ~ *-a*: *-o* in *honderecho* 's/he loves him/her': *donçelleorri honderecho* (f. 26r L, IX,5) 'He loves the damsel'; *-a* in *hon erechan* 's/he loved him, her': *çegaítí Utra hon Erechan/síluía donzelleari* (P, f. 8v,1/2) 'because he has fallen deeply in love with the damsel Silvia'. By contrast, in *erakutsi* 'show' and *esan* 'say', bipersonal ABS-ERG forms have *-a* and tripersonal ABS-3SG.DAT-ERG forms have *-o*: the bipersonal future jussive *beracusque* (f. 28v, XII,37) 'let him/her/it show (it)' vs the conditional protasis *baderacuso* (f. 28r, XII,11) 'if s/he, it shows (it) to him/her/it'. Among the more extensively investigated texts, there is one synthetic

tripersonal 3SG.DAT reflex of *erakutsi*, with the marker *-o* : *nerauxon* ‘I would show (it) to him/her’: *Miraylbat nic ahalbanu hala luyen donoa/ Neure gogoa neracuxon secretuqui han varna* (Etxepare, V, 5/6) ‘If I had a mirror endowed with the property, whereby I could secretly reveal to her my inner desire’.

Lazarraga’s North-Eastern Araban appears fertile ground for the co-occurrence of forms associated with different Basque varieties, some geographically remote from one another, indicating that selection and specialization may have taken place earlier in the Western (Garibai, *RS*) and Northern (Etxepare, Leizarraga) extremities of the Basque Country than in Lazarraga’s more central location. Lazarraga includes near mutually exclusive auxiliaries of other localities: **ezan* prevalent in Etxepare and Leizarraga, *egin* in Garibai and *RS*. Not only auxiliaries, but also the root vowel of the ABS-ERG reflexes of *uk(h)en/*edun* reflect variants consolidated in different dialects. ‘I have (it)’ appears predominantly as Bizkaian *dot* (e.g. P, f. 4r,2), but also Gipuzkoan *det* (f. 17v, III,46) and Continental *dut* (P, f. 12r,10) and intermediate variant *deut* (f. 36r, XV,3 and 5) from the evolutionary string **dadut > *daut > deut > det / dot / dut* (Lazarraga & Urkizu, 2004, p. 149). Overwhelmingly, past-tense forms without a 1st or 2nd person pre-root marker have zero prefix, mostly *e-* initial, as in Bizkaian, yet with exceptions, e.g., *çituen* (P, f. 13r,9/10) ‘s/he, it has them’, *çidin* ‘s/he, it was/became’ (P, f. 6r, 16) *çirudien* ‘they appeared’ (P, f. 13r,2). Like Garibai and *RS*, Lazarraga has future imperatives, being a particularly rich source of previously unattested future jussives, e.g., from *erakutsi* ‘show’ *beracusque* (f. 28v, XII,37) ‘let him/her/it show (it)’. Like Garibai and *RS*, Lazarraga lacks the votive and prescriptive paradigms of the Continental texts. As in Garibai and *RS*, a sibilant is palatalized when preceded by *i*, producing, e.g., from *izan* the majority forms *nax* (P, f. 12v,24) ‘I am’, *axan* (P, f. 12v,15) ‘that you.INTIMATE are’ (although in the margin of f. 20v appears unpalatalized *naiz ~ nayz*, seemingly in another hand) cf Leizarraga’s *naiz, aiz*, Etxepare’s *niz, hiz* and Batua *naiz, haiz*. Like the Continental texts, Lazarraga manifests *-de* variant plural reflexes of *izan*, yet all future participles are formed with the addition of *-ko/-go* to the perfective participle, as in Bizkaian. As in *RS*, loss of word-final *-n* is common, particularly from the locative in DPs and from the imperfective participle e.g., *arçaitte* (P, f. 4r,6) ‘receiving’. Two imperfective participle formations appear: the gerund + locative *-n*, e.g., *ebilten* (f. 30v L, XIII,73) ‘going around’ and the lexical stem + DP PL.LOC *-etan*, also represented in *RS*, Garibai

and to a far lesser extent in Etxepare, e.g., *suplícaetan* (P, f. 11,17) ‘imploring’. Lazarraga includes both the Continental and the Peninsular root meaning ‘know (a fact)’, *ezagutu* and *ezaun* respectively, but the non-Bizkaian variant *irago* ‘cross, spend time’, rather than the *igaro* of Garibai and *RS*. For ‘say’ *esan*, whose range includes Bizkaian, Gipuzkoan and some Northern High Navarrese varieties (Lafon, 1944, p. 293 vol. 1) predominates, yet *erran* which appears in Etxepare and Leizarraga, is also represented in the imperative *çarezt* ‘tell (it to) me’ in *Arren eguia bat . çarezt/on dereiztaçuin ala ez* (f.17r III,1-2), (transcribed as *Arren, eguia bat çarrez, /on dereiztaçun ala ez* in Bilbao et alii., 2010, p. 72) ‘Please tell me the truth, of whether you love me or not’, a 2FORMAL.ABS-3SG.ABS-1SG.DAT reflex, contrasting with a majority of transitive ABS-ERG and ABS-DAT-ERG forms of *erran*, e.g. *darradan* (Etxepare IX,43) ‘that I.ERG say (it).ABS’, *erradaçue* ‘tell.2PL.ERG it.ABS to me.DAT!’ (Leizarraga, e.g. Luke Ch.20 v.3); at least one further example of an ABS-ABS-DAT reflex of *erran* is known from the Maiora compilation of Navarrese texts (see also Chapter Two, 2.3). Supporting the presence of *erran* in Araba is, in Niccolò Landucci’s *Dictionarium Linguae Cantabrigiae* (1562), *meçarralea* ‘priest’ (Bilbao et alii, 2010, p. 72), analyzable as ‘mass sayer’. Landucci, who spent many years in the Basque Country, collected his dictionary entries from Basque speakers (Trask, 1997, p. 50) in a dialect termed ‘Southern’ by Trask (1997, p. 50), who suggests it was probably spoken in or around Gasteiz, Hualde (2009, p. 17) concurring on a likely Araban origin at a time contemporaneous with that of Lazarraga. In sum, although Bizkaian forms predominate, the present findings not only echo the words of Enrike Knörr cited in 4.2.1 above, but suggest Lazarraga’s variety bears witness to a linguistic continuum across not only the Elgea range, but the Pyrenees.

The final section of the manuscript, poetry attributed to Sasiola, includes variants characteristic of more than one dialect, yet their relative prominence differs from that in Lazarraga’s writings. Sasiola uses *naiz* ‘I am’ five times, e.g., *Eleicara juen oy naiz* (e.g. f. 50, L, XXXIII,11) ‘I have gone to church’, as in Leizarraga, also in Batua cf Lazarraga’s predominant *nax* (f. 12v, 24) with *naiz* as a minority variant (Aldai Garai, 2013, p. 16). Gipuzkoan *det* ‘I have (it)’ predominates in Sasiola, e.g., *Eguín oy det becatu* (f. 50 L, XXXIII,12) ‘I have indeed sinned’, in Lazarraga a minority form against overwhelming Bizkaian *dot*. Post-root epenthetic vowels differ in 3SG.ABS reflexes of *uk(h)en/*edun*: *a* in Sasiola, *e* in Lazarraga (Aldai Garai, 2013, pp. 21–22): in Sasiola, *neban* ‘I had (it)’:

corcierrean yrteneban (f. 50v R, XXXIII,72) ‘I left Corsica’ vs Lazarraga’s *neben* (same gloss):
joan ninçanda Ecusineben (f. 15, l,5) ‘I went and I saw’.

Sasiola includes two types of 3SG.ABS-3.SG.ERG past-tense forms of *uk(h)en/*edun*: one, as in Lazarraga, lacking initial z-: *eben-* (f. 51r L, XXXV,8) ‘s/he, it had (it)’, the other z- initial: *çeban* (51r R, XXXIV,21) (same gloss). Two points arise with *çeban*. First, in the writing of Lazarraga, the only z-initial 3.ERG-3.ABS past-tense forms of *uk(h)en/*edun* are ABS.PL (*çituen* ‘s/he, it had them’ in P, f.13r,9): the Sasiola form is ABS.SG. Second, apart from a difference in post-root epenthetic vowel and the complementizer *-la* which deletes *-n*, Sasiola’s *çeban* is syncretic with Lazarraga’s 2FORMAL.ERG *çébelá* ‘you.FORMAL had (it)’ (P, f. 11v,9).

In Sasiola, *-i-* is the majority non-endpoint encoding tripersonal auxiliary root; **edutsi*, predominating in Lazarraga, is absent. In Sasiola’s tripersonal forms, the 3SG.DAT marker *-o* is preceded by *g* e.g. *digoçu* ‘you.FORMAL have (it) to him/her/it’: *contu estua Emango digoçu/çeruetaco Jaunari* (f. 50v L, XXXIII,49/50) ‘you.FORMAL will pay strict heed to God’. The velar, appearing elsewhere in tripersonal forms, e.g. a 1596 letter from Azkoitia, Gipuzkoa (Satrustegi, 1987, pp. 31–35), might reflect a velar-initial demonstrative. Contrasting with Lazarraga’s overwhelming lack of absolute pluralizers in transitive reflexes with an ABS.PL argument, pluralizers appear in the few comparable contexts in Sasiola, e.g. *dituanari* ‘to him who has them’: *munduan diran podere oro/escuan dituanari* (f. 50v L, XXXIII,51/52) ‘to Him who has in his hand all the powers that are in the world’. In Lazarraga, the perfective participle of ancient loans is formed in *-atu* or *-itu* e.g. *laudatu* (f. 18r, IV,16), ‘praise’, but more recent loans in *-adu*, *-idu* e.g. *loadu* (f. 18r, IV,12) ‘extol’. The Sasiola text, however has *-itu*, *-idu* in recent loans: *miratu* (f. 50 L, XXXIII,20) (Aldai Garai, 2013, p. 21). The *-etan* variant of the imperfective participle is absent from Sasiola. Choice and form of vocabulary also differs between the two writers: for ‘give’ Sasiola has *eman*, the predominant form in much of the Basque Country except Bizkaia (although Bizkaian *emon* appears in Sasiola f. 50v R, XXXIII,78 followed by an auxiliary reflex of *egin*, as in Bizkaian, rather than **ezan*) to Lazarraga’s *emun*, which appears to be local to his North-East Araban variety. The pattern of demonstratives differs between the two texts, as do elements of phonology, e.g. the distribution of laminal and apical sibilants. Aldai Garai (2013) offers a detailed and insightful review of selected differences between Lazarraga’s

pastoral novel and the poetry of Sasiola, concluding, on balance, that Sasiola's variety has a predominantly Gipuzkoan base.

A few matters of syntax are worth briefly highlighting: the sequencing of related clauses, complementizers, word order in negative polarity clauses and the splitting of a matrix clause by an embedded clause. Lazarraga's matrix clause usually precedes the embedded clause, contrasting with the predominant sequencing in the modern language, e.g.

suplícaetan nachazu [deguíoçula oy siluerorí [onderextala] aguíndu]

(Lazarraga P, f. 11r, 17-19)

<i>suplícaetan</i>	<i>n-acha-zu</i>	<i>d-eguí-o-çu-la</i>
Implore.IPFV.PTCP	1SG.ABS-PRS.be-2FORMAL.DAT	d-have.PRS.[3SG.ABS]-3SG.DAT-2FORMAL.ERG-COMP
<i>oy siluero-rí</i>	<i>on-dere-x-ta-la</i>	<i>aguíndu</i>
EXCL Silvero-DAT	good-deem.PRES[3SG.ABS]-1SG.DAT[3SG.ERG]-COMP	command.PFV.PTCP

'I implore you that you command Silvero to love me'

In contrast to the above example, with a verb-final attached complementizer *-la* only, many embedded clauses have both a verb-attached (e.g. *-la*, *-en*) and a clause-initial (e.g. *eçe*) complementizer: ...*Eçe Erregutu Eusan siluiari leguí-/ola*... (P, f. 5v,1/2) '...that he asked Silvia to do him (such a great favour)'.

In place of devices used in the modern language to express causality, e.g. the attachment of *bait-* or *-(e)lako* to the finite verb of the embedded clause, Lazarraga uses clause-initial complementizers, e.g. *çegati* 'because': *çegaiti çan utra querida bere Ugaçabaren/Esean* (P, f.5r,15/16) 'because he was much loved in his master's house', also serving as interrogative 'why?', as with *Batua zergaitik: Oí sirena çegaiti çatoz/oyeta ene açean* ... (P, f. 11v,21/22) 'O Sirena, why do you come after me...?' Another frequent clause-initial complementizer is *nola* 'how': *ycasíben nola eben eoçen çuen causaçeta* (P, f. 13v,1) 'He found out that they were there because of you'.

In the modern language, the relative clause precedes its head noun, the clause-final finite verb bearing the desinence *-(e)n*, followed either by an attached determiner and case marker or a DP. Lazarraga's relative clauses, by contrast, follow the matrix clause, their initial element being one of the set of pronouns nowadays serving as interrogatives, with a determiner and case marker as necessitated syntactically, e.g. *çeña* 'which.DEF.DET.ABS.SG' and *çeñari* 'which.DEF.DET-DAT.SG': ...*Esan Eusan Ugaçabac/ Eçe biaramunEan joangoçireála Eurenbia-/jera çeña çan y taliaco çiadadebatera çeña-/ri Ereíçan Arçileo* (P, f. 8r,1-4) '....his

master said to him that on the following day they would go on their journey which was to an Italian city which was called Arzileo’.

Negative polarity periphrastic V+AUX groups have the sequencing *lexical participle–negator–finite verb*, as encountered in RS, e.g.

<i>Esançeeguidaçu berua/oriec</i>					(P, f. 12v,3/4)
<i>Esan çe eguidaçu berua oriec</i>					(modern word boundaries)
<i>Esan</i>	<i>çe</i>	<i>egui-da-çu</i>	<i>berua</i>	<i>ori-ec</i>	
say.RAD	NEG	do.IMP-1SG.DAT-2FORMAL.ERG	word.DEF.DET.ABS	that-ABS.PL	
‘Do not say those words to me’					

Furthermore, as illustrated from Betolatza (see Chapter Two, **2.3.4**) *lexical participle–negative particle–finite verb* constituents present as a single word.

Much as Lazarraga’s embedded clauses typically follow a matrix clause, there are more complex ordering variants. It is not uncommon for an embedded clause to split another clause, including a matrix clause e.g.

<i>Eçe casi Eucan gax/ guztia quendu jacán</i>					(Lazarraga P, f. 5v,12/13)
<i>Eçe</i>	<i>casi</i>	<i>[Euca-n</i>	<i>gax</i>	<i>guzti-a]</i>	
COMP	almost	possess.PST. [3SG.ABS-3SG.ERG]-COMP]	ill	all-DEF.DET.ABS	
<i>quendu</i>	<i>ja-cá-n</i>				
take.away.PFV.PTCP	be.PST-[3SG.ABS] 3SG.DAT-COMP				
‘that it almost took away all the ills he had’					

Also from P, f. 11r, 17-19 above ...*deguíoçula oy siluerorí/ onderextala aguíndu* ‘that you.FORMAL command Silvero to love me’, one embedded clause, *onderextala* ‘that he love me’ separates the auxiliary + dative argument from the participle of another embedded clause which forms its matrix: [*deguíoçula oy siluerorí [onderextala] aguíndu*] ‘that you command Silvero to love me’.

4.3 A SELECTION OF HIGH NAVARRESE SOURCES

4.3.1 Contextual background

Known sources of sixteenth century High Navarrese³ are sparse, although discoveries continue. Since the texts are generally short, the following five are examined here:

- I. a fragment of a letter by Juan de Irañeta,
- II. *Elegía de Juan de Amendux*,
- III. three sets of marriage vows from lawsuit records: a. Uterga, b. Zufia, and c. Esparza.

Sources II and III are from Southern High Navarrese-speaking localities from which Basque has since disappeared, lying South of the boundary delineating the limit of Basque speech in the early twentieth century (Yrizar, 2008, p. 398 citing *Guía Eclesiástica de 1904*). The author of (I) was native to Irañeta, further North in Peninsular Navarre, where some Basque use continues today.

Source I includes a tripersonal reflex unattested elsewhere, lacking an anticipated dative marker and a main clause split by an embedded clause. Dated 8th January 1549, it was sent from Rome by Juan de Irañeta to Pedro de Itero, Abbot of Saldias. The source consulted is TAV (1964, pp. 59–60, citing Fagoaga, 1961, p. 29), Mitxelena observing that a use of Basque in correspondence was to thwart prying eyes (1964, p. 60), as with the Zumarraga letter. Here, the private content relates to the admonishment of a third party, Miguel de Itero, specialist in canonical law (1964, p. 60). The text, twelve words long, reads: *eta Jaincoac parcaderozola Migueli, çeren ni emen nayzala eçuen scribatu bear berçeri* ‘so may God forgive Miguel, for since I am here, he should not have written to someone else’.

Of particular interest in II, the longest item at 15 lines, are a syncopated transitive auxiliary, also the pluralizers and the dative flag of a lexical reflex. Penned in 1564 by Juan de Amendux, in a notebook of his father, an Iruñea surgeon, the text reflects back on life and forward on the Day of Judgement. The text and line numbering followed here are from TAV (1964, pp. 107–110, after Satrústegui, 1963, pp. 63-85), Mitxelena subsuming the generally

³ ‘High Navarrese’ refers to varieties spoken in Peninsular, rather than Continental Navarre; both ‘High’ and ‘Peninsular’ are used here.

accepted amendments of Irigarai (1963, pp. 85, 217–219). Satrustegi (1987, pp. 25–26) is also referenced.

Source IIIa stands out for the use of the intimate *hiketa* between spouses, rather than the formal *zuketa* in IIIb, IIIc. It is extracted from 1547 lawsuit documentation concerning Joanna of Uterga and Martin Azterain of Adiós, both localities lying to the South of Iruñea. Since their clandestine marriage, Martin had bigamously contracted a second marriage in a church ceremony in Zizur (Satrustegi, 1987, p. 22).

Of interest in IIIb is the co-occurrence of two roots furnishing tripersonal reflexes. The text, made known by Irigarai (TAV 1964, p. 149 citing Irigarai 1933, pp. 34–36) is from records of a 1552 ecclesiastical trial held in Iruñea relating to the marriage of Mari Miguel and Diego, both native to Zufia, South-West of Iruñea, the wife's family having brought a case against the husband on discovering his affair with his sister-in-law (Satrustegi, 1987, p. 26). The sources followed are TAV (1964, pp. 149–150) and Satrustegi (1987, pp. 25–26), adopting the latter's distribution of *ç* and *z*: *drauçut* 'I have it to you.FORMAL rather than *drauzut* as in TAV.

IIIc includes the lexical use of a root, featuring only in auxiliary use elsewhere in the High Navarrese selection, furthermore with pleonastic 1SG.ERG marking. The text is extracted from records in the Diocese of Iruñea Archive⁴ of a 1557 trial concerning the clandestine marriage of Joanes Remirez of Esparza and María of Taxonar (Sp Tajonar), both from the outskirts of Iruñea. María de Zuazu, who had officiated, 80 years old at the time of the trial, gave evidence, as did Joana de Taxonar, witness to the marriage. The source followed is TAV (1964, pp. 152–154 citing Fagoaga, 1961, pp. 27 et seq.).

4.3.2 Language specifics

The auxiliary verbs featuring in the text selection are intransitive *izan* 'be', transitive **edun*, **ezan*, **eradun*, **-i-* and **erazan* 'have', the last three furnishing tripersonal reflexes. Intransitive **edin*, transitive **iron* and auxiliary *egin* are absent.

⁴ Archivo Diocesano de Pamplona

As in the Continental texts, *izan* appears with stative, *ni emen nayzala* (I) ‘that I am here’; *baque dela gusiequi* (II,15) ‘may peace be with us all’ and auxiliary function, *Josafat<en> baturen gara judision elcarrequi* (II,14) ‘We will gather together in Josafat at the Judgement’. The 1SG.ABS reflex *nayz-* corresponds to Leizarraga’s *naiz* e.g. *Ni naiz artzain ona* (John Ch.X v.14) ‘I am the good shepherd’, as in Batua, cf Etxepare’s *niz*, *nax* in *RS* and Lazarraga (although *nayz* ~ *naiz* is a minority form in these last two). The 1st and 2nd plural *gara* ‘we are’ (II,14) and *çar-* (IIIc) ‘you.FORMAL are’ align with reflexes in, e.g., Leizarraga, *RS*, Lazarraga, Zumarraga, but depart from Etxepare’s *gira/girade*, *cira/cirade*. While the High Navarrese texts lack forms of *izan* with the absolutive pluralizer *-de*, one such instance appears in *Cantar del Condestable de Navarra* ‘Song of the Supreme Commander of Navarre’, the earliest known attestation dating from the seventeenth century: *diràde* ‘they are’ in *Aytà semè diràde* ‘they are father and son’ (*TAV* 1964, p. 101). In the texts examined here, the post-root epenthetic vowel fluctuates: *-a* in *nayzala* (I) ‘that I am’; but *e-* in all other cases: *çaren* (IIIc) ‘that you.FORMAL are’; *dela* (II,15) ‘that it is’ as in the Continental texts: Leizarraga (e.g., 1 Timothy Ch.III v.16), Etxepare (e.g., I,19), contrasting with Bizkaian *dala* (e.g., *RS* 425). Trask resolves this alternation in complementized *da* ‘is’, Eastern *de-* and Western *da-*, as reflexes of ancestral **dae-*: High Navarrese presents a mixed picture, aligning more with Eastern *dela*. At variance with its specialization to indicative contexts in the modern language, in High Navarrese *izan* appears in both indicative (e.g., II,14) and subjunctive (e.g., II,15⁵) contexts. The transitive use of non-finite forms of *izan*, with the prospective/future participle *isanen* in *isanen estu* (II,11) ‘s/he, it will have (it)’, aligns with Western rather than Eastern usage, where non-finite forms of *uk(h)en/*edun* perform this role (cf Trask, 1997, p. 104).

Like *izan*, *uk(h)en/*edun* is not restricted to an auxiliary role. Lexical use as ‘have, possess’ appears: in II,11 above, in *Erromaco eliča sanduac birtute duenas* (IIIc) ‘according to the authority which the Holy Church of Rome possesses’, also in the Oñati poetry (Chapter Four, **4.4.2**), Zumarraga (Chapter Four, **4.5.2**) and the more extensively investigated Continental texts, while its use is overwhelmingly auxiliary in *RS* and *Garibai*. Lexical and auxiliary functions occur in *Niorc ere isanen estu ni<c> estudan partiduric* (II,11) ‘Nobody will have the shelter which I do not’, the former in *estudan partiduric* ‘the shelter which I do not

⁵ *baque dela gusiequi*. ‘may peace be with us all’

have', the latter in *isanen estu* 's/he, it will not have (it)'. High Navarrese reflexes of *uk(h)en/*edun* align with those of the Continental texts and Batua: *duçuen* 'that you.PL have (it)' (II,12); *duçu* (IIIc) 'you.FORMAL have (it)', cf the *o* root Bizkaian and Lazarraga's Araban, the *e* root of Gipuzkoan. The High Navarrese selection includes three non-3.ABS reflexes: *naçu* (IIIc) 'you.FORMAL have me', *aut* (IIIa) 'I have you.INTIMATE', *çaitut* and *çaytut* (IIIc) 'I have you.FORMAL'. In respect of IIIc, Yrizar (2008, p. 398) points out inflections at variance both with those in other early texts from the Ezparza region and the Southern High Navarrese paradigms collected by Bonaparte: widespread *nauzu* 'you.FORMAL have me' being expressed locally by forms elsewhere serving as tripersonals, e.g. *didazu*, widespread 'you.FORMAL have (it) to me', but local 'you.FORMAL have me', the position and form of 1SG -*da* corresponding to the dative elsewhere, locally interpreted as the absolutive direct object — the inverse of Laffite's *solécisme de la côte* (1979, pp. 296, 307) (see Chapter Two, **2.2.2 v.**). Other local Southern High Navarrese variants cited by Yrizar (2008, pp. 398–399) include *dizut* for widespread *zaitut* 'I have you.FORMAL', the 2^{FORMAL} marker -*zu* more widely construed as dative rather than absolutive; from Puente de Reina, *dirazu* as 'you.FORMAL have me'; *dira* – elsewhere 'they are' – as 's/he, it has me'. It seems, therefore, in the sixteenth century, that in transitive verbs a personal marker locus could be interpreted as indexing arguments with different thematic roles, giving a complex picture.

Reflexes of **ezan* appear, two in IIIa, one in IIIb, all with auxiliary function and a pre-root 1SG marker. In both IIIa forms, the pre-root person marker denotes the absolutive: *naçan* 'you.INTIMATE(F) have me', *naçac* 'you.INTIMATE(M) have me': *eta hic arnaçan yre esposoçat* and *eta hic arnaçac eure sposoçat* 'and you.INTIMATE(F/M) take me as your spouse'. What motivates the choice of **ezan* is unclear: the clause mirrors a preceding one with *aut* 'I have you.INTIMATE' from *uk(h)en/*edun*: *Nic Martin y Joanna arçenaut/neure alaroçaçat/ eta hic arnaçan yre esposoçat* 'I, Martin take you, Joanna as my wife, and you take me as your spouse'; *Nic Joanna y Martin arçenaut/neure sposoçat/ eta hic arnaçac eure sposoçat* 'I Joanna take you Martin as my spouse and you take me as your spouse'. There seems to be no obvious difference in usage between *uk(h)en/*edun* and **ezan* correlating with aspectual or modal distinction; they may have varied freely, perhaps reflecting a situation prior to aspectual specialization; possibly the second clause of each vow has imperative

sense, with the pronoun *hic* 'you.INTIMATE' as a dislocation. By contrast, marriage vows cited in a 1557 Tolosa (Gipuzkoa) trial have reflexes of *uk(h)en/*edun* in both clauses of the vow.

The ergative-fronted protasis reflex of **ezan, baneça* (IIIb) 'if I had (it)' appears in the testimony of Martin de Carlos, reporting the husband's word as *Nic ematen drauçut neure fedea valdin valdin Yo baneça aren senar yçateco* 'I give you.FORMAL my pledge if, if I bonk her, to be her husband'. The meaning of *Yo* (*io*) – centrally, 'beat, strike' has been much debated, but the view of Mitxelena (TAV 1964, p. 152) appears robust, invoking the parallel of Cicero's Latin *battuo*, Micoleta's elucidation of *yo* as Castilian *fornicar* 'to fornicate' and a metaphorical usage (Etxepare, III,39).

Tripersonal reflexes are absent from IIIa, while IIIb and IIIc manifest the auxiliary *drauçut* 'I have (it) to you.FORMAL' from **eradun* '(tripersonal) have', manifest in the Continental texts; like Lezarraga, but in contrast with Etxepare, lacking a pre-root vowel. Yrizar (2008, p. 398) deems **eradun* atypical of colloquial Southern High Navarrese, where **-i-* prevails, noting, however, its presence in *Tratado de como se ha de oyr missa*⁶ (1626) by Beriain, Abbott of Uterga. Possibly its use in the context of lawsuits IIIb, IIIc is conditioned by formality of register. By contrast, the Gipuzkoan lawsuit records of Tolosa (TAV, Michelena, 1964, p. 151) consistently use **-i-*.

A single reflex of **-i-* appears, *diçut* (IIIb) 'I have (it) to you.FORMAL'. Irigarai considers it, and several other items as Northern Navarrese elements introduced by the scribe into an otherwise a Southern Navarrese text (TAV Michelena, 1964, p. 150, citing Irigaray, 1933). *Diçut*, nonetheless, co-occurs in close proximity with *drauçut* – both 'I have (it) to you.FORMAL' in the testimony of Catalina, sister of the plaintiff: *nic fede ematen drauçut/ ez verçe emezteric equiteco çu bayçe/ nic alafede emayten diçut ez verçe senarric* (Satrustegi, 1987, p. 26). 'I give you (my) pledge to take no wife other than you/ I thus give you (my) pledge (to take) no other husband'. Lafon (1944, p. 37 vol. 2) reports the use of **-i-* in Southern High Navarrese, Gipuzkoan, and in Etxepare's Eastern Low Navarrese alongside **eradun*, observing that the picture of trivalent reflexes related to *uk(h)en/*edun* must, anciently have been complex. The examination of materials in Chapters Three and Four supports Lafon's findings in respect of not only trivalent, but also divalent reflexes: a picture

⁶ Treatise on hearing mass

emerges in which the co-occurrence of variants, with differing prominence in different varieties, is widespread.

Parallel to non-endpoint encoding **eradun* is endpoint-encoding **erazan*, unencountered in other texts examined in Chapters Three and Four, *derozola* ‘may s/he, it have to him/her/it’ appearing in *Jaincoac parcaderozola Migueli* (I) ‘May God pardon Miguel’. Like **ezan*, of which it is a causative, **erazan* appears with a radical, *parca* ‘forgive, pardon’. The lexical verb takes a dative patient and the finite reflex, accordingly, has the 3SG.DAT marker, *-o*. Contrary to anticipated *derazola*, *ro-* probably results from anticipatory assimilation to the following vowel, as supported by Lafitte, who, writing some five centuries later and with reference to old Lapurdian writings, notes the frequent assimilation of the *e-* of the radical to the following *o* of 3.DAT markers: *eman diozon* ‘that s/he, it gives (it) to him/her/it’ for *eman diezon*; *eman diozoten* ‘that s/he, it gives (it) to them’ for *eman dietzoten* (Lafitte, 1979, p. 307). Reflexes of **erazan* also appear later in Southern High Navarrese, e.g. *draçaguzu* ‘you.FORMAL give (it) to us’: *gure egun orosco oguia eman draçaguzu egun* ‘give us this day our daily bread’ (Beriain, 1626) (Camino Lertxundi, 2003, p. 444).

Four lexical verbs, two intransitive, two transitive, appear in the High Navarrese texts. In the former category is *naça* ‘I lie’ from *etzan*: *Hemen naça orçiric, noyzbait gozo ericiric* (II,1), ‘Here I lie buried, at one time having taken pleasure (in life)’. No 1SG.ABS reflex of *etzan* appears in the more extensively investigated texts, although synthetic reflexes are present in Etxepare, Leizarraga and Lazarraga and of its causative **eratzan* in Lazarraga and once in Etxepare. The other intransitive is the 2PL.ABS-1SG.DAT dative *çarrayzquidate* ‘follow.2PL me!’: *Çarrayzquidate guci bertan yçoc ongi notaturic* (II,13) ‘Follow.PL me closely, taking good heed of (my) words!’ Etxepare, Leizarraga, Garibai and *RS* also include synthetic reflexes of this verb. Transitive verbs *egin* and **eradun* appear. *Egin* occurs within the phrasal verbs *nigar egin* ‘cry’ and *lo egin* ‘sleep’: the 3SG.ABS-3SG.ERG jussive *begi* ‘may s/he, it do/make (it)’ in *Nigar begi bapederac bere aldias oroyturic* (II,10) ‘May each and everyone cry on remembering his time’; 3SG.ABS-1PL.ERG *dagigun* ‘may we do/make (it)’ in *Bitarteo lo dagigun* (II,15) ‘Meanwhile, let us sleep’. As in Etxepare and Leizarraga, **eradun*, in addition to its auxiliary role, has the lexical meaning ‘give’: *draudaçut* ‘I give (it) to you.FORMAL’ in *Nic draudaçut fede çu emazte arçeco* (IIIc) ‘I give you (my) pledge to take you as (my) wife’,

where 1SG.ERG is marked pleonastically, *-da* unusually preceding the dative marker and *-t* verb-finally.

Two prospective/future participles appear, both in II, fortuitously one built on a vowel-, the other on a consonant-final perfective participle. Both have the marker *-en*, aligning with Eastern patterning rather than Western *-ko* or central V+ *-ko*, C + *-en* (Trask, 1997, p. 103): *batu* ‘gather together, unite’, yields *baturen* (II,14); *izan*, *isanen* (II,11).

Two issues relating to absolutive pluralizers are of particular interest: elision in a reflex of *uk(h)en/*edun*, pleonasm and also dative flag presence in a reflex of *iarraiki*, *iarreiki*, *jarrain* ‘follow’. A syncopated variant *tut* (< *ditut*) ‘I have them’, appears in *Ycusetut ysuriric*, *arreci gusia deseginic*, (II,8), ‘I see them (kin and friends) scattered, all their defences demolished’, the elision apparently splitting the pluralizing morpheme *it-*, as in parallel formations in Etxepare (see Chapter Three, 3.2). Two discrete post-root absolutive pluralizers appear in *çarrayzquidate* (II,13) ‘follow.PL me’. The first, *-z*, indexing the syntactically plural 2FORMAL, immediately following the root, parallels *-tz* in Leizarraga e.g. *garraitzala* (1990, p. 1293 [B 8r], 31) ‘that we follow Him’. The second, *-te*, indexing the more recently formed syntactically pleonastic plural, is the final pluralizer, as in Leizarraga’s *çarreitzatē* (1990, p. 1395 [Abc A 3r], 4) ‘that you.PL follow it’. Also in *çarrayzquidate* is the dative flag *-ki*: all of the more extensively investigated texts have synthetic reflexes of *iarraiki*, *iarreiki*, *jarrain* ‘follow’, yet in none does a dative flag co-occur with a 1st or 2nd person dative marker. The dative marker is added directly to the root, except 3SG.DAT *-a* (variably *-o*) is preceded by *k* unless the root is followed by an absolutive pluralizer (Lafon, 1944, p. 179 vol. 1) e.g., *darayca* (Etxepare III,44) ‘he pursues her’. *Çarrayzquidate* is set apart from comparable reflexes in the more extensively studied texts not only by a dative flag preceding a 1SG.DAT marker, but also by a dative flag being preceded by an absolutive pluralizer.

By contrast with *çarrayzquidate*, other High Navarrese dative-marked reflexes lack dative flags: from **erazan*, *derozola* ‘that s/he, it has (it) to him/her/it’ (I); from **eradun*, *drauçut* ‘I have (it) to you.FORMAL’ (IIIb, IIIc); *draudaçut* ‘I give (it) to you.FORMAL’ (IIIc). Not only a flag, but the anticipated dative marker indexing the dative argument *berçeri* ‘to someone else’ are absent in *eçuen scribatu bear berçeri* (I) ‘he should not have written to someone else’, with 3SG.ABS-3SG.ERG *eçuen* ‘that s/he, it did not have (it)’ from bipersonal *uk(h)en/*edun*,

not tripersonal **eradun* or *-*i-*. Omission of dative marking is paralleled in Etxepare (e.g. I,36) (see Chapter Three, 3.2).

Three forms of address appear in the High Navarrese texts: intimate, formal, and plural. The intimate appears in IIIa alone: periphrastic V+AUX *arçenaut* ‘I take you.INTIMATE’ with, from *uk(h)en/*edun* auxiliary *aut* ‘I have you.INTIMATE’ unmarked for gender, contrasting with post-root 2INTIMATE-marked *naçac* ‘you.INTIMATE(M) have me’, *naçan* ‘you.INTIMATE(F) have me’, both from **ezan*. Also gender-marked, in the same text, are *diat* (M) and *dinat* (F): *prometaçen diat/ dinat* interpretable as semantically tripersonal ‘I promise (it) to you.INTIMATE(M/F)’, or as the bipersonal allocutive ‘I promise (it), you.INTIMATE(M/F) see’. The first contender is supported by a parallel tripersonal form *p(ro)metaçen drauçut* (IIIc) ‘I promise (it) to you.FORMAL’; on the other hand, the predominance of **eradun* rather than *-*i-* in IIIb, IIIc, also the tendency in Etxepare to specialization *-*i-* to the allocutive, seem, overall, to favour an allocutive interpretation.

The matching of mode of address to context possibly varied even within a relatively small locality: in IIIb and IIIc the formal *zuketa* is used: *drauçut* ‘I have (it) to you.FORMAL’; IIIb has, additionally, and with the same meaning, *diçut*. IIIc has *çaitut* ‘I have you.FORMAL’ and *çaren* ‘that you.FORMAL are’. Its use with a single addressee in Zufia and Esparza suggests its transition from plural to singular reference was well advanced there. The more recently emerged plural address is attested in *duçuen* ‘may you.PL have’: *Ene arima duçuen gomendatu, garitates mobituric* (II,12) ‘May you have commended my soul, moved by charity’ with the dedicated marker *-çue* in contrast to the hybrid plural pronoun + 2FORMAL marker of Lazarraga; also 2.PL is *çarrayzquidate* ‘follow.2PL me!’ (II,13).

Word order varies. A small number of clauses are verb-final, e.g. *Nic alaber arçen çaytut* (IIIc) ‘I likewise take you’. In most cases, however, the finite verb is not clause final. One or more free arguments frequently follow the verb, e.g., the absolutive direct object *neure fedea* ‘my pledge’ and indirect object *zuri* ‘to you’: *Nic Diego de Çufia ematen drauçut neure fedea zuri Maria Miguel ...* (IIIb) ‘I, Diego of Zufia, give to you, Maria Miguel, my pledge...’ Other elements, including the lexical participle (II,12), an adjective (II,1) also follow the finite verb.

In contrast to the predominant clause sequencing of the modern language, a main clause can precede an embedded clause: *nic fede ematen drauçut/ ez verçe emezteric eguiteco çu bayce* (IIIb) ‘I give you my pledge/not to take any wife other than you’. Verb-final *-(e)n* and *-la* appear without an additional clause-initial complementizer, e.g. in adverbial clauses: *ni emen nayzala* (I) ‘since I am here’, *ni biçi nayçen artean* (IIIc) ‘while I am alive’. Clause-initial *çeren* also appears: *çereneçuen scribatu bear berçeri* (I) ‘for he should not have written to anybody else’, the final *-(e)n* in the past-tense verb obscuring the presence or absence of the coinciding complementizer. As in Lazarraga (see Chapter Four, **4.2.2**) an embedded clause can split a main clause, e.g. [*çeren [ni emen nayzala] eçuen scribatu bear berçeri*] (I) ‘[Because [since I am here], he should not have written to anyone else].’

Two orderings are found in negative polarity clauses, a fronted negated auxiliary, preceding the lexical verb, as in the modern language: *eçuen scribatu bear berçeri* (I) ‘he should not have written to someone else’ and *lexical participle—negator—auxiliary*: *...isanen estu ...*(II,11) ‘...s/he, it will not have (it)’, as predominant in *RS*, Lazarraga, Zumarraga and the Oñati poetry. Pragmatics offer a possible inroad to explaining the choice of innovative ordering in the emotive, indignant context of (I), in keeping with Salaberri’s proposal of an initially marked structure with focalization of the negator, subsequently reanalyzed as the default order (2021, p. 23). By contrast, (II,11) presents the conservative, default ordering of Archaic and Old-Classic Basque (1400-1600, 1600-1745) (Salaberri, 2021, pp. 10, 23). Possibly also here, is an early indication of the general spread of the innovative *negator-auxiliary-lexical participle* ordering from East to West and South (Salaberri, 2021, p. 31).

4.4 THE OÑATI POETRY

4.4.1 Contextual background

In June 2020, Rosa Aierbe found in the Gipuzkoan Historical Archive of Protocols⁷ at Oñati (Sp Oñate) a previously undiscovered early Basque text, forming the perimeter of a rectangle using three margins and an area between the paragraphs of a legal document in Castilian, from the register of the lawyer and mayor of Azkoitia, Miguel Ibañez de Insausti (*'Ene laztan gozo ederra...'*, 2020). The Archive Director, Ramón Martín, instigated and participated in a working group dedicated to the investigation of the text, the historian Iago Irijoa Cortés and philologist Ander Ros Cubas (Archyde, 2020) taking on the task of transcribing the hard to elucidate material. Following the preparation of high-definition images by José Valderry and additional treatment to enhance legibility, the find was made public on the 'International Day of the Basque Language',⁸ 3rd December 2020 (*'Ene laztan gozo ederra...'*, 2020).

The text, thought to have been written by a scribe apprenticed to Insausti (Archyde, 2020), comprises two romantic poems, setting it apart from the preponderance of religious texts in early Basque literature (Regional Deputy for Culture, Harkaitz Millán, in Archyde, 2020). From the calligraphic style, it is thought to have been written between 1508 and 1521 (*'Ene laztan gozo ederra...'*, 2020). The poems constitute the third and fourth oldest known continuous Basque texts, following the 1416 bilingual letter of Matxin Zalba, the 1425 Little Pater noster and the 1509 Uitz marriage vows (Ros Cubas, 2020). With the possible exception of *Bretainiako kanta* 'song of Brittany', probably composed around the end of the fifteenth century, the earliest known transcription dating from 1626, the Oñati text is the earliest, and one of only six known in archaic Gipuzkoan (Ros Cubas, 2020).

The Oñati poetry manifests the influence of other literature through orally perpetuated clichés: the template *ene laztan ederra* 'my beautiful beloved' maps to *Ene laztan gozo ederra* (l.1), echoed in the Lazarraga manuscript *Ene lastan çuri Ederra* 'My beautiful white beloved' three times, including twice in the writings attributed to Sasiola (e.g., f. 50v L, XXXIII,47). The first two lines of the second poem, *Goyçean goyçic jagui ninçan, astein egun*

⁷ Gipuzkoako Protokoloen Artxibo Historikoa

⁸ Euskararen Nazioarteko Eguna

batean, astein/ egun batean, da asteleen goyçean ‘I arose early in the morning, on one day of the week, on one day of the week, and on Monday morning’ recall the well-known ballad *Egun bereko alarguntsa* ‘Widowhood on that very day’, extant in various versions in the Basque Country and more widely in Europe, recalling a 1633 Zuberoan source detailed by Jean de Jaurgain (1842-1920). It tells of a young woman who arose early, only to be suddenly bereaved on that same day and then keeping her husband’s body, which she washed every Friday morning with lemon water: *Goizean goiz jaiki nintzen (ninduzun) / / / ... astein egun batean / astein egun batean eta ostiral (astelehen)* ‘I arose (you got me up) early in the morning / / / ... on one day of the week / on one day of the week and Friday (Monday)’ (Ros Cubas, 2020).

The source consulted here is the transcription of Ander Ros Cubas and Iago Irijoa Cortés.⁹ The lines/sections of the transcription are adhered to and inform the numbering applied, denoting the lines/sections of the first poem as I.1- I.19 and those of the second as II.1- II.9, giving 28 lines of text in total.

4.4.2 Language specifics

The Oñati poetry includes reflexes of the intransitive auxiliary verbs *izan* ‘be’, **edin* ‘be, become’, transitive *uk(h)en/*edun*, both **ezan*, *egin* as in Lazarraga, all meaning ‘have’ and tripersonal **-i-*. This last root furnishes an auxiliary and a lexical reflex meaning ‘give’ as a suppletive of *eman/emon/emun*, reflecting its widespread duality of function, the prominence of its auxiliary role varying relative to co-occurring sources of non-endpoint encoding tripersonal reflexes, e.g. alongside **edutsi* in *RS*, as an auxiliary specialized to biargumental allocutives in Etxepare (with the exception of one unmarked tripersonal unmarked auxiliary in XIV,5), predominant in Lazarraga manuscript writings attributed to Sasiola. Not represented in the Oñati poetry are **iron* ‘can, be able’ along with the sources of tripersonal reflexes **eradun*, **edutsi* and **eradutsi*.

In the Oñati poetry, as in the other sixteenth century texts examined, the auxiliaries supplying the subjunctive group of paradigms in the modern language- **edin*, **ezan* and, in Bizkaian, *egin* – appear in main clauses, along with those furnishing modern indicative group paradigms. The distribution of auxiliary roots, however, resembles that of the Zumarraga

⁹ available at, e.g. (*‘Ene laztan gozo ederra...’*, 2020)

letter (see Chapter Four, 4.5.2), rather than the non-endpoint- vs endpoint-encoding aspectual distinction prominent in the more extensively investigated texts.

The picture of auxiliaries *izan*, **edun* and **-i-* as non-endpoint-encoding in the more extensively investigated texts, is not reflected in the Oñati poetry. None of the three auxiliary reflexes of *izan* unequivocally encodes an undefined endpoint: *jaqui ninçan* ‘I arose’ in *Goyçean goyçic jagui ninçan* (II.1) ‘Early in the morning, I arose’; *jarri ninçan* ‘I positioned myself’ in *Velaurico jarri ninçan* (II.7) ‘I knelt down’; *[j]uan çatan* ‘s/he, it went from me’ in *Niri [j]uan çatan neure amorea* (I.16) ‘my love left me’. Both non-endpoint- and endpoint-encoding usage is manifest with *uk(h)en/*edun*: of the five auxiliary reflexes present, four appear not to encode a defined endpoint: *naçu* ‘you have me’ in *penaz penaçen naçu* (I.2) ‘you pain me with sorrow’; *eztet*, ‘I do not have (it)’ in *usatu ez tet arma guiza erayten* (I.9) ‘I have not used a weapon to kill people’; *eneban* ‘which I did not have’ in *neurc nay eneban vian* (II.4) ‘in the (undeciphered) which I myself did not want’; *nevan* ‘I had (it)’ in *...penetençia eman çidan, vide nevan bequela* (II.8) ‘he gave me penance, accordingly as I deserved’. The remaining reflex, by contrast, marks a process with an endpoint: *[n]eba[n]* ‘I had (it)’ in *neure vecatuaz confesatu, eguin [n]eba[n] bequela...* (II.8) ‘to confess my sin, as I did’. Similarly, the auxiliary reflex of **-i-* appears in an endpoint-encoding context: *eman çidan* ‘s/he, it gave (it) to me’: above, *penetençia eman çidan* (II.8) ‘he gave me penance’.

By contrast, **edin*, **ezan* and *egin*, nowadays furnishing subjunctive context auxiliaries, though in the more extensively investigated sixteenth century texts endpoint-encoding, have in the Oñati poetry, a clear-cut aspectual role. From **edin*, *çequidan* ‘it was to me’ expresses a sudden event: *neure laztan velagay au[si] çequidan* (II.3) ‘My beloved Belagai broke with me/expired on me’; from **ezan*, *neçaçun* ‘you had me’: *Nola amora neçaçun* (I.4) ‘How did you win my heart?’ and *neçanean* ‘I had (it)’: *Eliçara vanijoean, colpea[u] ar neçanean* (II.6) ‘I was going to church when I took the blow’; from *egin*, *nenguian* ‘s/he, it had me’ in *colpe andiac jo nenguian vioçonen erdian* (II.5) ‘the great blow struck me, in the centre of my heart’. The aspectual distinction between two sets of auxiliaries is not delineated as in the more extensively investigated texts, yet in the Oñati poetry, reflexes of **edin*, **ezan* and *egin* encode an aspectual subcategory within endpoint expression, the instantaneous, in which the onset and conclusion of a process might be seen as

simultaneous in an event without duration. Perhaps the encoding of the instantaneous, starting with the previously endpoint-encoding auxiliaries, played a role in the transition in which periphrastic V+AUX constructions came to express the perfective and synthetic lexical verbs, previously aspectually neutral and in some instances perfective, the imperfective. In the Oñati poetry, the auxiliaries expressing instantaneous events oppose the set comprising *izan*, **edun* and **-i-* which, irrespective of expressing processes with or without an endpoint, express discernible duration.

Two auxiliary verbs also manifest lexical function: *uk(h)en/*edun* as ‘have, possess, hold’ in *ninduçula* ‘that you held/had me’ in *Orreyn culez ninduçula* (I.3) ‘that you held/had me so (undeciphered)’ and **-i-* ‘give’ in *diqueçut* ‘I will give (it) to you’, reminiscent of its role as a suppletive congener in the more extensively investigated texts of *eman* and variants, which, like *egin*, lack reflexes with *-ke* : *Barcaçio diqueçut ezcutaria* (I.8) ‘I will grant you pardon, squire’.

In addition to *uk(h)en/*edun* and **-i-*, lexical synthetic reflexes of two intransitive and two transitive verbs appear. *Egon* ‘be (stative), remain, stay’ furnishes past-tense *çeonçan* (II.4) ‘you.FORMAL were (stative)’ and, of difficult legibility, probably allocutive *ni[a]gon* ‘I was (stative), you.INTIMATE(M) see’. *Joan* ‘go’ provides *nijoeala* (I.19), *vanijoean* (II,6), both ‘that/when I was going’. *Eduki* ‘have, possess’ furnishes *[d]aducat* (I.18) ‘I have (it)’ with retention of the intervocalic *d* of the root, widespread in the sixteenth century, cf *Batua daukat*. *Eroan* ‘carry, take (away)’ supplies *naraçu* (I.6) ‘you.FORMAL take me’. As in the modern language, synthetic reflexes of lexical verbs encode the imperfective: *vanijoean* ‘I was going’ in *Eliçara vanijoean, colpea[u] ar neçanean* (II.6) ‘I was going to church when I took the blow’; by contrast, the periphrastic V+AUX group *ar neçanean* ‘when I took (it)’ is perfective. A further example is *[d]aducat* ‘I am keeping (it)’: *leena [on]esquero/ oy [d]aducat neure vioçean barruna* (I.17/18) ‘the first, henceforth, I am keeping within my heart’. The Oñati poetry, therefore, witnesses a stage where, in this variety, the earlier aspectual opposition of the two sets of auxiliaries was breaking down, linked to the shift of lexical synthetic reflexes from aspectually neutral to the imperfective role which carried forward into the modern language. This change highlights the need to investigate and explain the aspectual differences between lexical synthetic reflexes and periphrastic V+AUX

groups with a lexical imperfective participle, a venture rendered more complex by the backdrop of the many lexical verbs for which no synthetic reflexes are attested.

Despite the brevity of the poetry, there is no lack of transitive reflexes with a pre-root person marker, where past-tense opposition between 1SG.ERG in ergative fronted forms and 1SG.ABS markers is of interest. The reflexes of **ezan, neçanean* (II.6) ‘when I had (it)’ and *nençaçun* (I.4) ‘you had me’; of *uk(h)en/*edun, ninduçula* (I.3) ‘that you held/had me’, and *nevan* (II.8) ‘I had (it)’; also of *egin, nenguian* (II.5) ‘s/he, it had me’ illustrate the co-occurrence of medial *n* with the 1SG.ABS, but not the 1SG.ERG pre-root marker. The wider distribution pattern of medial *n* is not entirely clear-cut (see Chapter Five, 5.2.1 iii.); in addition to its association with the pre-root absolutive direct object of transitive forms, it co-occurs with pre-root absolutive subject markers in some, but not all past-tense intransitive forms: from *izan, ninçan* (II.1) ‘I was’, yet not in *nijoeala* (I.19) ‘I was going’, from *joan*. In *nijoeala*, furthermore, the obscuring of the word-final past-tense marker *-n* by the complementizer *-la* and absence of medial *n* means that no morph securely identifies the reflex as past-tense cf Batua *nindoan* ‘I was going’ vs *noa* ‘I am going’, *bahindoan* (Leizarraga, John Ch.21 v.18) ‘you.INTIMATE used to go’ vs *oha* (Leizarraga, John Ch.16 v.15) ‘you.INTIMATE are going’. A curious form is the 2.FORMAL reflex of *egon, çeonçan* (II.4) ‘you.FORMAL were (stative)’ where medial *n* follows, rather than precedes, the root <**zegoanzan* and is immediately followed by the absolutive pluralizer *-z*, cf *-de* and pre-root *-n* in *cenaudela*, (Etxepare, IX,27), illustrating how both sequencing and morphs can differ between varieties.

In past-tense reflexes without a pre-root 1st or 2nd person marker, the initial element is systematically *z-*, as in the Continental texts, in contrast to the majority zero-initial forms of Bizkaian and Lazarraga’s Araban. The Oñati poetry manifests, from *izan, çatan* (I.16) ‘s/he, it was to me’; from **edin, çequidan* (II.3) ‘it was to me’, from auxiliary **-i- çidan* (II.8) ‘s/he, it had (it) to me’.

From *uk(h)en/*edun*, the Oñati poetry has 3SG.ABS-1SG.ERG present-tense [*d*]et (as NEG *eztet*) (I.9) ‘I have (it)’ correlating with five instances in Sasiola within the Lazarraga manuscript, but at variance with Continental *dut* and the majority Bizkaian/Araban form *dot*. Another typically Gipuzkoan form is the 3SG.ABS-1SG.DAT past-tense reflex of *izan, çatan* (I.16) ‘s/he,

it was to me’, more comparable with contemporaneous *zetan, zitan* of Azpeitia-Azkoitia (Ros Cubas, 2020) than with Batua *zitzaidan*. Contrasting with modern usage is the modal function (Ros Cubas, 2020) of *bide*, lexically ‘way, road’ in *vide nevan* ‘that I should (do)’ in *penetencia eman çidan, vide nevan* (II.8) ‘he gave me such penance as I should do’, a usage appearing thrice in Etxepare, e.g. *Eta orduyan çuc ydaçu indar eta gratia/Beccatuyez vqheyteco vide dudan doluya* (I,64/65) ‘And give me, then, the strength and grace/to have due regret for my sins’, Altuna providing as the uncomplementized modern counterpart the 3.ABS-1DAT reflex of *egon* ‘be (stative), remain, stay’, *dagokit* ‘s/he, it is appropriate to me’ (1987, p. 22). In the foregoing example, Etxepare uses the instrumental case in *beccatuyez* ‘on account of my sins’, as does the Oñati poetry in *vecatuaz* ‘on account of my sin’: *Velaunico jarri ninçan, alderean aurean / neure vecatuaz confesatu...* (II.7/8) ‘I knelt down before the altar to confess my sin...’. Ros Cubas remarks that it is unusual for *confesatu* to take the instrumental (2020), a contention supported by Etxepare’s use of the absolutive plural *beqhatuyac* in *Bere beqhatuyac oro vaditu ere confesatu* (I,198) ‘Even if s/he has completely confessed his/her sins’.

In contrast with the Zumarraga letter, the Oñati poetry is rich in past-tense forms: from *izan, ninçan* (II.1, II.7) ‘I was’, *çatan* (I.16) ‘s/he, it was to me’; from *uk(h)en/*edun, ninduçula* (I.3) ‘that you.FORMAL held/had me’, *eneban* (II.4) ‘I did not have (it)’ [*n]eba[n]* (II.8) and *nevan* (II.8) ‘I had (it)’; from **-i-, çidan* (II.8) ‘s/he, it had (it) to me’; from **edin, çequidan* (II.3) ‘s/he, it was to me’; from **ezan, nençaçun* (I.4), ‘you.FORMAL had me’, *neçanean* (II.6) ‘when I had (it)’; from *egon, çeonçan* (II.4) ‘where you.FORMAL were (stative)’; from *joan, nijoeala* ‘that I was going’ (I.19), *vanijoean* (II.6) ‘when I was going’; from *egin, nenguian* (II.5) ‘s/he, it had me’. Yet the Oñati poetry includes only one future form: a synthetic reflex of lexical **-i-* ‘give’ with attached *-ke*, *diqueçut* ‘I will give (it) to you.FORMAL’: *Barçaçio diqueçut ezcutaria* (I.8) ‘I will grant you pardon, squire’. In *RS*, bare present-tense forms of **-i-* have future meaning e.g., *deyc* (*RS*, 116) ‘s/he, it will give it to you.INTIMATE(M), as also can **-i-* reflexes with attached discrete futurity-encoding morphs— both *-ke* and *-a* appearing in *diqueada* ‘I will give to you.INTIMATE(M)’ (*RS*, 233).

There are four dative-marked synthetic reflexes: from *izan, çatan* (I.16) ‘s/he, it was to me’; from **edin, çequidan* (II.3) ‘s/he, it was to me’; from lexical **-i-*, *diqueçut* (I.8) ‘I will give (it) to you.FORMAL’ and from auxiliary **-i-*, *çidan* (II.8) ‘s/he, it had (it) to me’. Of these, the reflex

of **edin* alone has a dative flag, *-ki*. No absolutive plural markers appear in transitive verbs, but since there is no context that might trigger them, it is not possible to form any conclusion in respect of their presence or absence in this variety. There is, however, a discrete post-root absolutive pluralizer in *çeonçan* (II.4) ‘where you.FORMAL were (stative)’, arguably pleonastic, since the verb already bears the syntactically plural 2.FORMAL pre-root marker *ç-*.

With the exception of one reflex in the last line, possibly interpretable as the only allocutive present, *ni[a]gon* ‘I am (stative), you.INTIMATE(M) see’, the 2.FORMAL *zuketa* is the only form of address used: *naçu* (I.2) ‘you.FORMAL have me’, *ninduçula* (I.3) ‘that you.FORMAL held/had me’; *nençaçun* (I.4) ‘you.FORMAL had me’; *naraçu* (I.6) ‘you.FORMAL take me’. Although historically, and syntactically plural, *zuketa* is used with a singular addressee, in an intimate context, as throughout the Zumarraga letter, and overwhelmingly in Etxepare and Lazarraga.

As elsewhere, there are intimations of word order differing from the predominantly verb-final patterning and negative polarity fronting of the modern language. In a minority of instances, the finite verb is unambiguously clause final: *ninçan* ‘I was’: *Goyçean goyçic jagui ninçan* (II.1) ‘I arose early in the morning; *çidan* ‘s/he, it gave (it) to me’: *penetençia eman çidan* (II.8) ‘he gave me penance’. In others, while the verb is not clause-final, the elements that follow could be considered adjuncts, e.g. *vioçonen erdian* ‘in the centre of (my) heart’: *colpe andiac jo nenguian vioçonen erdian* (II.5) ‘the great blow struck me, in the centre of my heart’; *andicoz eta ebeticoz* ‘from there to here’: *Çeure escuoz naraçu/ andicoz eta ebeticoz* (I.6/I.7) ‘with your hands you take me from there to here’, but less decisively so with *neure vioçean barruna* ‘within my heart’: *leena [on]esquero/ oy [d]aducat neure vioçean barruna* (I.17/18) ‘the first, henceforth, I am keeping within my heart’. The most unequivocal example of a non-clause-final finite verb, however, appears in I.16, where it is followed by the absolutive subject argument *neure amorea* ‘my love’: *Niri [j]uan çatan neure amorea* ‘My love left me’.

In common with, in particular, *RS*, Lazarraga and the Zumarraga letter, in the Oñati poetry, the periphrastic *v+AUX* group of negative polarity clauses follows the ordering *lexical*

participle – negator – auxiliary. Two examples: *usatu ez tet* ‘I have not used’ in *usatu ez tet arma guiza erayten* (I.9) ‘I have not used a weapon to kill people’; *nay eneban* ‘which I did not want’ in II.3 *neurc nay eneban vian* ‘in the (undeciphered) which I did not want’. In the present study, instances of conservative negative polarity ordering, particularly in main/matrix clauses, are concentrated in the West, perhaps heralding and reflecting Salaberri’s (2021, pp. 31-33) findings in respect of their displacement from main/matrix clauses by the innovative *negator-auxiliary-lexical verb* ordering.

Finally, echoing a phenomenon particularly manifest in Etxepare, Garibai, RS and Zumarraga, one clause lacks a finite verb, having only the lexical participle, *[ag]ueri* ‘appear’: I.15 *çaldiac [ag]ueri leyara* ‘The horses appeared at the contest’.

4.5 THE ZUMARRAGA LETTER

4.5.1 Contextual background

The Franciscan friar, Juan Zumarraga,¹⁰ native of Durango, Bizkaia, was appointed bishop-elect and Protector of the Indians, taking up his post in Mexico in December 1527 (*CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA: Juan de Zumarraga*, n.d.). Auditors in charge during the absence of Cortés used Zumarraga’s lack of episcopal consecration as a pretext to abuse the indigenous population physically and fiscally. Despite the auditors’ stringent censorship of communications leaving Mexico, Zumarraga alerted the Spanish Court to their outrages, helped by a Bizkaian sailor, concealing a letter in a wax cake immersed in a barrel of oil. Cortés, on returning, appointed a new team of auditors; several predecessors were imprisoned. In April 1533, during a return to Spain, where he continued to work for the welfare of the Mexican indigenous peoples, Zumarraga received episcopal consecration in Valladolid. He returned to Mexico the following year, accompanied by mechanics, and six women teachers to staff Colegio Tlaltelolco, a school he founded for Indian girls. Establishing the first printing press in the Americas, his *Doctrina breve* (1539) was its first publication (‘Juan de Zumárraga’, 2021). He founded hospitals across Mexico (*CATHOLIC*

¹⁰ Also encountered as Juan de Zumárraga, with or without the accent; the practice adopted here follows that of Mallea-Olaetxe (1992).

ENCYCLOPEDIA: Juan de Zumarraga, n.d.), promoted trade and the exchange of skills between Mexico and Spain, sending for master bakers and fruit trees from his native land (Tovar Llorente et al., 1980, p. 6,7); he is credited with introducing chocolate into Europe after being given it as a drink at a convent he was visiting ('Juan de Zumárraga', 2021). Zumarraga shipped commodities of interest to personal contacts, including a consignment of turkeys for the grounds of the Tower of Muntseratz (Tovar Llorente et al., 1980, p. 8), home of the Bizkaian noblewoman Kattalin Ruiz, to whom the letter is addressed. Early in 1546, Pope Paul III appointed him first archbishop of Mexico, but, sadly, Zumarraga died one month before the Bull of Appointment was sent in July of that year (*CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA: Juan de Zumarraga*, n.d.).

Zumarraga's letter, dated 15th February 1537, begins and ends in Castilian, but includes a section of some 400 words, comprising the earliest known letter and also the longest text in Basque before the 1545 publication of Etxepare. Zumarraga explains that the Castilian text is written in another hand, but that he now takes up the pen himself to address Kattalin in Basque¹¹. Throughout the letter, in both languages, Zumarraga addresses her as 'sister', in a spiritual rather than genetic sense. This is probably not Zumarraga's only work in Basque: he is accredited with the vows of the Third Order of Saint Francis¹², included in *TAV* (Michelena, 1964, pp. 142–144), gifted to the Beatas of Durango. The letter, a copy of the original, whereabouts unknown, was discovered in the *Archivo General de Indias*¹³ in Seville (Tovar Llorente et al., 1980, p. 6), the lines interleaved with a Castilian translation by contemporaneous scholar Ortiz de Vedia (Tovar Llorente et al., 1980, p. 8). Zumarraga's motivation for code-switching is to keep private the details of certain of the items which he is sending, his proposal that they work together to restore the house of Kattalin's youngest daughter, Mari Inígez and to found a hospice for friars, to be run by Mari with the

¹¹ *Lo de asta aquí señora hermana es de ajena mano lo que se sigue es letra de vuestro hermano fray Juan para con vuestra merced es todo lo que aquí diré en especial lo del bascuence. "What has been written up to this point, blessed sister, is in another hand, what follows is written by your brother, Fray Juan because all that I am about to say here is especially for you, particularly in the Basque part".*

¹² Fórmula de profesión de la Regla de la Tercera Orden de San Francisco

¹³ General Archive of the Indies

help of her prosperous husband-to-be, Zumarraga's nephew Antso Larrazabal.¹⁴ The text followed is that in Tovar, Mitxelena and Otte (1980); to avoid a numbering glitch, the line referencing adopted is that of Sarasola (1983).

4.5.2 Language specifics

Zumarraga's letter manifests a small set of auxiliary roots relative to those in Lazarraga, mirroring those in *RS*, where intransitive *izan* 'be' and transitive **edun*, **edutsi* supply non-endpoint-, intransitive **edin* and transitive *egin*, with its suppletive congener **idi*- endpoint-encoding contexts.

Izan functions as a copula and an auxiliary: illustrating the former, 3SG.ABS *da* 's/he, it is': *çure alabea da o-/rren çimjenturic onaena* (21/22) 'your daughter is the best foundation for it (the hospice)'; the latter, the same reflex in the periphrastic *V+AUX* construction *yçango da* 's/he, it will be': *çeruetaco Jauna yçango da çure faborean* 'The Lord of the Heavens will be in your favour' (34). This last example, along with *da* in *Durangoco/gentea baçaut juizio gujchizcoa da gueyaena* (15/16) 'I know the people of Durango, most are of little judgement' illustrates stative use of *izan*, aligning more with the Continental than the Bizkaian texts in Chapter Three, although the Zumarraga letter, like the Chapter Three Bizkaian texts also uses *egon* 'be (stative), remain, stay' in this context: *jauxiric dago* (21) 'it (your daughter's house) is tumbled-down'. As in the West generally (also illustrated in II,11 in High Navarrese) non-finite forms of *izan* function transitively and intransitively: the prospective/future participle *yçango* intransitively in 34 above; transitively with a reflex of *uk(h)en/*edun* in *yçango doçu* 'you.FORMAL will have (it)' — *çeuc / yçango doçu vear dana çeuretaco eta besteaendaco vere* (37/38) 'you will have what is needed for yourself and for the others'.

¹⁴ Antso Larrazabal accompanied his uncle to Mexico, where he worked as a tailor, leading a specialist ecclesiastical vestments provision. He had been forced to leave Durango following a brawl in which he injured his brother-in law (Mallea-Olaetxe, 1992, pp. 46–47). Zumarraga had involved Antso in his plans for the Durango hospice and it was Zumarraga's suggestion that Antso and Mari should marry. It is thought that the combination of the then financial strain of the Muntsaratz estate and the prospect of wealth from the New World influenced the acquiescence of mother and daughter, against the backdrop of the local memory of Antso's former impetuous reputation (Mallea-Olaetxe, 1992, p. 55).

Like *izan*, *uk(h)en/*edun* has auxiliary and lexical function: *çaytuela* ‘that they have you.FORMAL’, the former in *obato lagunetan çaytuela / munsarasco seme lealoc ençuten dot* (39/40) ‘I hear that the loyal sons of Muntsaratz are helping you more’; the latter denoting possession, aligning with the Continental, rather than the Bizkaian Chapter Three texts e.g. *davela* ‘that they have (it)’: *ene borondatea da / ogueta amar edo berroquey mjla marabj dj errenta davela / frayde becatarioc acogueta* (24-26) ‘it is my will that they have an income of thirty or forty thousand maravedís to accommodate the sinful friars’. *Eduki*, commonly denoting possession in the Chapter Three Continental and Peninsular Texts, Lazarraga and the Oñati poetry, is not represented in the Zumarraga letter.

The reflexes of *uk(h)en/*edun*, diagnostic in varietal identification, solidly typify Bizkaian, e.g., *dot* (40) ‘I have (it)’ contrasting with Gipuzkoan *det* and Continental *dut*; *dau* (11) ‘s/he, it has (it)’, *dogu* (20) ‘we have (it)’, *doçu* (27) ‘you.FORMAL have (it)’, *dabeen* (14) ‘that they have (it)’. Corroborating evidence of a Bizkaian variety include the complementized reflexes of *izan*, *dala* and *dan* ‘that it is’ (both line 14) cf widespread *dela*, *den*; the 3PL.ERG marker *-e*, e.g. *çaytuela* (40) ‘they have you.FORMAL’, *degujçuela* (32) ‘that they have (it) to you.FORMAL’, cf widespread *-te*, appearing in a minority of forms: as 3PL.ERG in *deustet* (40) ‘I give (it) to them’ but 3PL.ABS in *bayte* (2) ‘if they should be’; *baçaut* (16) ‘I know (it)’ from *ezaun* rather than Continental *ezagutu*, both ‘know (a person, place)’; the post-posed numeral *bi* ‘two’, *pla/ter bj* (3/4) ‘two plates’; the comitative desinence *-gaz* rather than widespread *-ekin* e.g. singular *ganecoagaz* (31) ‘with what remains’, plural *taçea conte/acaz* (4/5) ‘a cup with beads’, *liburuacaz* (7) ‘with the books’, unlike with widespread *-ekin*, built on the absolute plural *-ak*.

Tripersonal non-endpoint-encoding auxiliary reflexes are generally provided by suppletive roots, **-i-* or valency-increasing compounds of *uk(h)en/*edun*, **eradun* in Continental varieties and High Navarrese, **edutsi* in Bizkaian, **edutsi* and **eradutsi* in Lazarraga’s Araban. **Edutsi* sources trivalent auxiliary forms in the Zumarraga letter, e.g. *deusat* ‘I have (it) to him/her/it’: *escribietan deusat Vrtierj Sivilljara* (32) ‘I am writing to Seville, to Urti (Abendano); *deusteet* ‘I have (it) to them’: *njc borondate onez emongo / deusteet edolaan bere garia errenta* (23/24) ‘I will willingly give them at least the income from the wheat’.

**Edutsi* also appears lexically, as ‘give’: *esquerric asco deustet* (40) ‘I give them many thanks (for it)’.

**Edin* appears solely as an auxiliary. As in the modern language, it forms periphrastic V+AUX groups with the lexical radical only. In the Zumarraga letter, it finds a prominent role in jussives, forming a mediopassive with intransitive and transitive lexical radicals: *bite* ‘may they be’: *olaoc bere gujadu bite ondo* (36) ‘may the foundries be well-managed’; *ene gorayñiac eman vjte* (41) ‘may my regards be given’. **Edin* also appears in embedded clauses: *ditean* ‘that they should be’: *ene erechian oba da goarda ditean exiljc, orco miocaytj* (13) ‘in my opinion it is better that they should be kept secret, on account of the gossips there’; in a conditional protasis, *bayte* ‘if they should be’ (corresponding to the modern present realis conditional (cf Trask, 1997, p. 105): *aportabayte orra guisa onean vein ese orretara eta çure podrera* ‘(12) if they should reach port, importantly in good condition, (arrive) at your house and into your hands’.

As typical in Bizkaian varieties, the Zumarraga letter uses *egin* rather than **ezan* as a transitive auxiliary. As in the Chapter Three Bizkaian texts, it has dual auxiliary – lexical function, in the latter capacity meaning ‘do, make’ as throughout the Basque Country. It appears twice in the letter, once in each role: the auxiliary *degujçuela* ‘that they have (it) to you.FORMAL’: *memorjan daroaeçan gauçac erosita ganecoagaz acudidu / degujçuela curj alaan escribietan deusat Vrtierj Sivilljara* (31/32) ‘I am writing to Seville, to Urti, that, once they have bought the items which they have with them on the inventory, they are to hand over to you.FORMAL what remains’; lexical *dagujela* ‘may they do (it)’: *alaan eta orayndo obato /dagujela oneric aurrera guztioç* (41/42) ‘and may they all do thus, and even better from now onwards’.

The aspectual dichotomy of endpoint- vs non-endpoint-encoding auxiliaries, prominent in the Chapter Three texts, is less evident in the Zumarraga letter. In respect of those serving as endpoint-encoding in the Chapter Three texts, while it is reasonable to construe as such *degujçuela* (32) ‘that they have (it) to you.FORMAL’ from auxiliary *egin*, in the context of handing over the remaining money, it is hardly possible to do so with the reflexes of **edin*, *bite* ‘may they be’ in *olaoc bere gujadu bite ondo* (36) ‘may the foundries be well-managed’

or *ditean* ‘that they should be’ in *ene erechian oba da goarda ditean exiljc* (13) ‘in my opinion it is better that they should be kept secret’: the Bishop’s desire is that the foundries be well-managed and that the provisions for Kattalin and her daughter remain secret in the long term. All instances of **edin*, including *bayte* (12) and the one occurrence of auxiliary *egin* (32), occur within the range designated as subjunctive contexts.

In respect of the auxiliary set serving in the more extensively investigated texts as non-endpoint-encoding, *izan* manifests this aspect in *da ‘s/he, it is’: juizio gujchizcoa da gueyaena* (16) ‘most are of little judgement’ – an implied long-term state. As an auxiliary, however, it is either non-endpoint-encoding, e.g. *yçango gara ‘we will be’ in elexaen bere gomuta yçango gara* (18) ‘we will be mindful of the churches’ – a long-term intention, or endpoint encoding: *joango dira ‘they will go’ in joango dira gueyago* (17) ‘more (ecclesiastical vestments) will come (later)’. Similarly, *uk(h)en/*edun* appears in endpoint and non-endpoint contexts. *Dogu ‘we have (it)’* expresses an endpoint process: *gujchica gujchica maria Rujzen axoarorj / beteco dogu* (8/9) ‘little by little we will complete the dowery of Maria Ruiz’. Yet *doçu ‘you.FORMAL have (it)’* refers to a regular arrangement in *Orayn çeuc ene arrebea bear / doçu artu errentea erjdayteco ardurea, njc varriz bidale /taco* (26-28) ‘Now, you yourself, my sister, are to take on the responsibility of receiving the income and I, on the other hand, of sending it’. Tripersonal **edutsi* also appears in endpoint and non-endpoint contexts: the former, with *deusagu ‘we have (it) to him/her/it’: çure ala/baen ese jauxi orri vrgaçi vear deusagu* (19/20) ‘we have to restore that tumbled-down house of your daughter’s’; the latter with *deusteet ‘I have (it) to them’: njc borondate onez emongo / deusteet edolaan bere garia errenta* (23/24) ‘I will willingly give them at least the income from the wheat’, envisaged as a regular arrangement.

The endpoint vs non-endpoint distinction does not, therefore, in this text seem to determine the choice between intransitive **edin* and *izan* or between transitive auxiliary *egin* (of which one instance only) and *uk(h)en/*edun, *edutsi*: the first member of each set appears in subjunctive contexts, as in the modern language. The non-endpoint-encoding auxiliary set of the more extensively investigated sixteenth century texts does not, in the Zumarraga letter, manifest a complementary specialization to indicative contexts: e.g. from

izan, dala ‘that it is’: *çerren mylla bider gueyago dala dan vaño esango dabeen* (14) ‘because they will say it’s a thousand times more than it is’; *ez tirean* ‘that they are not’: *yn / bidiac aurqui esango bearr ez tirean gauçaac* (14/15) ‘envy will swiftly say things that are unnecessary’; from *uk(h)en/*edun, dogula* ‘that we have (it)’: *ese orj vear dogula / adelantadu* (42/43) ‘let us further that house’, *davela* ‘that they have’: *ene borondatea da / ogueta amar edo berroquey mjla marabdj errenta davela* (24/25) ‘it is my will that they should have an income of thirty or forty thousand maravedís; from **edutsi, deus/cula* ‘if s/he gives (it) to us’: *Jaunac biciçea emayten deus/cula* (18/19) ‘while the Lord gives us life’. *Izan, *edun* and **edutsi*, therefore, appear in indicative and subjunctive contexts, furthermore, in endpoint and non-endpoint contexts, setting this text apart from those more extensively investigated. The letter could reflect a time of transition between an older aspectual and the more recent modal distinction. Since the letter pre-dates the more extensively investigated texts, the aspectual-modal transition could have been underway earlier in the Durango variety. Alternatively, the modal system could be older, and a competing aspectual system might have displaced it in those varieties represented by the more extensively investigated texts, only to have been displaced again by the modal system prevailing elsewhere.

Unlike in the more extensively studied texts, there is no instance of an auxiliary role in predominantly lexical verbs. Only present-tense synthetic reflexes appear in the letter. Lexical reflexes include, from *eroan* ‘carry, take away’ *daroeçan* (31) ‘which.PL they are carrying’; from *ezaun* ‘know (a person, place)’ *baçaut* (16) ‘I know (it)”; from *ek(h)usi/ik(h)usi* ‘see’ *dacuscula* (2) ‘when we see (it)’, from *joan* ‘go’, *doaz* (17) ‘they go’; from and *egon* ‘be (stative), remain, stay’ *dago* (21). Elision of intervocalic *d* in finite forms is common, as in the Chapter Three Bizkaian texts and Lazarraga (e.g. Lazarraga’s *baquit* (f. 26r L, 15) for *badaquit* ‘I know (a fact)’); the Zumarraga letter features *baçaut* (8) for *badaçaut* ‘I know (a person, place)’ from *ezaun* cf. Leizarraga’s *badazagut* (Tovar Llorente et al., 1980, p. 13) from the Continental counterpart, *ezagun*; *baite* (12) ‘if they should be’ for *badite*; *voa* (29) ‘it is (indeed) going’ for *badoa* from *joan* ‘go’ as is common in ancient Bizkaian (Sarasola, 1983, p. 101). Transitive *eroan* and *ezaun* each furnish one present-tense synthetic reflex, but no periphrastic V+AUX group. Intransitive *joan* and *egon* supply synthetic present-tense reflexes, also prospective/future periphrastic V+AUX constructions: *joango dira* (17) ‘they will go’;

egongo ...ez çara (37) ‘you.FORMAL will not be (stative)’. Other lexical verbs appearing in periphrastic V+AUX present- or future-tense groups, are *bidaldu* ‘send’ (cf Batua *bidali*), *obatu* ‘improve’, *ondradu* ‘honour’, *bete* ‘complete’, *hartu* ‘take’, *irabazi* ‘earn, win’ and *eman* ‘give’. Zumarraga diverges from Bizkaian *emon*, appearing in Garibay (e.g. Cc. 79 XLIII) and *RS* (e.g. 283), using *eman* (once, in 41) like Etxepare (e.g. I, 40) and Leizarraga (e.g. Luke Ch.1 v.77), yet the Bizkaian prospective/future participle *emongo* (23). The imperfective participle *emayten* (19) appears: the *-i-*, nowadays confined to the Continental dialects, in the sixteenth century was widespread in Continental and Peninsular sources: Etxepare, Leizarraga, Garibai, *RS* and Lazarraga (an exception is High Navarrese — *ematen* in Text IIIb in Chapter Four, 4.2.2). Its presence is elucidated by Trask (1990) as the reflex of the verb-class marker *-i-*: on forming the imperfective participle, *-n* final stems of this class underwent regular intervocalic nasal loss, leaving the sequence *ai*, retained today in the Continental imperfective participles of *-n* final verbs, e.g. *jakin* ‘know’, *joan* ‘go’ *egon* ‘be, remain’.

Compared with the more extensively investigated texts and with Lazarraga, the Zumarraga letter manifests less diversity and overlap in the expression of futurity. Prospective/future participles form, as in Garibai, *RS* and Lazarraga, by the attachment of *-ko* (*-go*) to the perfective participle: *jauxiko* ‘will fall’, *egongo* ‘will be’ (both in 37). Arguably, *bear/vear*, in the modern language (as *behar*) conveying obligation, has in the letter a prospective sense: *Orayn çeuc ene arrebea bear / doçu artu errentea erjdayteco ardurea* (26/27) ‘Now, you yourself, my sister, are to take on the responsibility of receiving the income’; *ese orj vear dogula / adelantadu* (42/43) ‘let us advance that house’.

Two formations compete for the function of imperfective participle. Echoing Lazarraga, *RS*, Garibay and to a minor extent, Etxepare, the imperfective participle forms as the radical + *-etan* or the gerund + *-n*. In radical + *-etan* are *bidal-* (2, 5) ‘send’, *escribi-* (32) ‘write’, *lagun-* (39) ‘help’; with gerund + *-n* *emay-* (18) ‘give’, *yraz-* (23) ‘win’ and *ençu-* (40) ‘hear, listen’. Speculatively, as with Lazarraga, the first group represents a productive process with lexical roots more recently introduced than the second. The gerund + *-n* formation, however, predominates in the modern language. Other competing forms meriting brief consideration include reflexes of the three grades of demonstrative as the definite determiner, thought to have emerged between the eighth and tenth centuries (Trask, 1997, p. 199) e.g. the

proximal in *llobau* (22) ‘the nephew’, the mesial in *axoarorj* (8) ‘the dowery’, the distal in *catea* (6) ‘the chain’, Sarasola (1983, p. 101) confirming the definite determiner rather than demonstrative role of the attached morphemes. Contrastive deictic force may have been discernible, as in the free demonstratives, serving also as pronouns as in the modern language, e.g. mesial genitive *orren* ‘your, of that/him/her/it/the person there’,¹⁵ proximal ergative *onec* ‘this/he/she/it/the person here’: *alaba orrendaco orren esposo onec bidaletan deusaz* (5) ‘for your daughter, her husband is sending (these items)’, the husband being with the Bishop, in Mexico and the daughter, in the Basque Country.

In the Zumarraga letter, in contrast with Lazarraga, a free ABS.PL argument is regularly indexed by the finite verb. The attached pluralizer, with the exception of one instance of pre-root *it-*, is word-final *-z* in transitive and intransitive reflexes. The pluralizer is present whether the free argument precedes or follows the verb. In *ditugula* ‘that we have them’, *it-* indexes the preceding plural argument: *mjlla ducat bidalduco ditugula vrte onetan njc uste* (28) ‘I believe we shall send one thousand ducats this year’; regular *-z* in *daroaez* ‘they are carrying them’, a reflex absent from the more extensively studied texts: *eta exilic daroaez maestruoc yrureun bana* (30), ‘and secretly, the shipmasters are carrying three hundred (ducats) each’ where, as more frequently in the letter, the ABS.PL free argument follows. Exceptionally, no pluralizer appears in *obatuco ta ondraduco dogu / munçarasco eseorj eta çure alabaren orj* (9/10) ‘we will better and honour the house of Muntzaratz and that of your daughter’, with *dogu* ‘we have (it)’ rather than *doguz ~ ditugu* ‘we have them’: the ABS.PL direct object consists of two conjoined singular entities, the second possibly deemed an adjunct, giving the sense ‘we will better and honour the house of Muntzaratz – also that of you daughter’. With *uk(h)en/*edun*, Zumarraga (see 28 above), like Lazarraga, also *RS* (including co-occurrence with *-z*) uses pre-root *it-*. By contrast, tripersonal **edutsi*, although compounded on *uk(h)en/*edun* takes the regular Bizkaian pluralizer *z-* in *deusaz* ‘s/he, it has them to him/her/it’ in *bidaletan deusaz* (5) ‘he is sending them to her’.

Throughout the letter, Zumarraga addresses Kattalin using the formal *zuketa*, never intimate *hiketa*, despite their close connection. Consistency of usage and variety of reflexes, e.g.,

¹⁵ The Basque proximal, mesial and distal demonstratives are sometimes referred to as 1st, 2nd and 3rd person, cf the reference to 1st and 2nd person demonstratives in Sarasola (1983, p. 102).

emphatic *çeuç* ‘you yourself’, *çeuçetaco* ‘for you yourself’ suggest that *zuketā* was well-established with singular reference in Zumarraga’s variety. In its absence, little can be deduced regarding the role of *hiketā* here, save that it was not used in all intimate one-to-one contexts. The presence and developmental status of plural *zueketā* in this variety is unknown.

As elsewhere in the texts examined, instances occur of mismatch between semantic role and anticipated grammatical case. Altuna, concurring with Lafon, attributes the debated tripersonal reflex *drugaçula* (Etxepare, VIII,1) ‘may s/he, it protect you.FORMAL’ to a root otherwise unencountered in the more extensively investigated texts, *urgatz* ‘help, protect’ (Altuna, 1987, p. 168 citing Lafon, 1952, p. 162). The perfective participle, *vrgaçi* appears in Zumarraga in a periphrastic V+AUX group with the trivalent auxiliary *deusagu* ‘we have (it) to him/her/it’ indexing the dative DP *ese jauxi orri* ‘to that tumbled-down house’, semantically the direct object: *çure ala/baen ese jauxi orri vrgaçi vear deusagu* (19/20) ‘we must restore that tumbled-down house of your daughter’s’. The relationship between the semantic role and grammatical case of an argument can differ between verbs of closely related meaning. Contrasting with trivalent *vrgaçi* ‘help, protect, restore where the direct object maps to the dative, the direct object of *lagun-* also ‘help’ maps to the absolutive in *lagunetan çaytuela* (39) ‘that they are helping you.FORMAL’, with the 2FORMAL.ABS-3PL.ERG auxiliary *çaytuela* ‘that they have you.FORMAL’, Sarasola (1983, p. 102) remarking on the unexpected absence of dative marking here.

Two dative reflexes appear in the letter. From **edutsi*, in *deusagu* ‘we have (it) to him/her/it’, the dative flag *-(t)s* immediately precedes the 3SG.DAT marker *-a*. From auxiliary *egin*, in *degujçuela* (32) ‘that they have (it) to you.FORMAL’, while no post-root dative flag is apparent, the pre-root *e-* of the tripersonal reflex contrasts with the *a-* of the bipersonal reflex of lexical *egin*, *dagujela* ‘may they do (it)’:

ganecoagaz acudidu / degujçuela curj (31/32)

‘they should hand over what remains to you’.

alaan eta orayndo obato /dagujela oneric aurrera guztioç (41/42)

‘may they all do thus and (even) better from now onwards’.

Tovar et al. (1980, p. 8) view syntax as arguably the most interesting aspect of the text, given that it represents the colloquial language in a fuller way than any other attestation known at the time of its discovery. The positioning of the finite verb and the sequencing of main and embedded clauses are of particular interest.

In Zumarraga, the finite verb is mostly non-final, contrasting with the modern language's predominantly final position (main exceptions being questions, negative polarity clauses and imperatives, where it is fronted although precluded from absolute initial position). In Zumarraga, the diversity of elements following the finite verb include: the absolutive direct object, e.g., in a list of goods follows *deusaz* 's/he, it has them' in *bidaletan deusaz / vrra catea eta lau erestun ta joyela yru oe onac* (5/6) 'he is sending her a gold chain, four rings and a jewel, three good beds'; the ergative subject *munsarasco seme lealoc* 'the loyal sons of Muntsaratz' follows *çaytuela* 'they have you.FORMAL' *obato lagunetan çaytuela / munsarasco seme lealoc* (39/40) 'that the loyal sons of Mutsaratz are helping you more'; both the ergative subject *maestruoc* 'the shipmasters' and the absolutive direct object *yrureun* 'three hundred' follow the verb *daroaez* 'they are carrying them' in *eta exilic daroaez maestruoc yrureun bana* (30) 'and the shipmasters are secretly carrying three hundred each'. Other clause-final elements following the finite verb include the dative pronoun: *curj* (32) 'to you.FORMAL'; an allative preceded by a dative: *Vrtierj Sivilljara* (32) 'to Seville, to Urti'; the adverbial phrase *vrte onetan* (28) 'this year'.

Instances of verb-final patterning are fewer, though not rare in main (e.g. *yçango gara*) 'we shall be' or embedded clauses (e.g. *deuscula* 'if He gives (it) to us'), both in *orco / elexaen bere gomuta yçango gara Jaunac biciçea emayten deus/cula* (17-19) 'we shall be mindful of the churches while the Lord gives us life.' The omission of the finite verb or whole VP, a phenomenon seen in verse (frequent in Etxepare, e.g. I,133), is striking within the context of prose. Zumarraga includes three instances:

lepatrapu galantorj nic liburuacaz (7) 'I (am sending you) the elegant scarf, with the books'. 'I am (sending) them to you.FORMAL', *bidaletan deusudaz*, is deducible from *bidaletan deusaz* (5) 'he is sending them to her' and the free pronoun *nic* '1.ERG'.

mjlla ducat bidalduco ditugula vrte onetan njc uste (28) ‘I believe that we shall send one thousand ducats this year’. The elided main clause finite verb, *dot* ‘I have (it)’ is deducible from the free ergative pronoun, *njc* ‘1.ERG’.

yn / bidiac aurqui esango bearr ez tirean gauçaac (14/15) ‘Envy will swiftly say things which are not needed’. The main clause finite auxiliary, ‘s/he has them’, anticipated *ditu* (Sarasola, 1983, p. 101), Bizkaian *dauz* or pleonastic *dituz* (RS 89), is elided from *esango ditu ~ dauz ~ dituz* ‘it will say them’.

Contrasting with modern usage, the negated finite verb is not fronted: *ez çara* ‘you.FORMAL are not’ follows the prospective/future participles *egongo* ‘will be’ and *jauxico* ‘will fall’ in *edolaan / vere yoen azpian egongo edo jauxico ez çara diruacati* (36/37) ‘in any case, on account of the money, you will not be or fall under anyone’s control’, with the *lexical participle–negator–auxiliary* sequencing prominent in both main/matrix and embedded clauses in RS and Lazarraga. Tovar et al. (1980, p. 9 citing Rijk, 1969, pp. 319-351) highlight the prevalence of this sequencing, possibly as a stylistic device, among nineteenth century Gipuzkoan and Bizkaian writers, e.g. Lardizabal, 1855, also its attestation in one of the Emilian Glosses (c 950): *ajutu ezdugu* ‘we do not have (it)’ + undeciphered *ajutu*. Anciently, the negative polarity phrase may not have had a distinctive order contrasting with its positive counterpart (Tovar Llorente et al., 1980, p. 14), a view more recently endorsed by Salaberri (2021, pp. 12-13), evincing, in support of the greater antiquity of *lexical participle–negator–auxiliary* sequencing, the *lexical participle–auxiliary* sequence of positive clauses, the increasing frequency of *negator–auxiliary–lexical participle* ordering since the earliest texts and substantial cross-linguistic evidence that embedded clauses are more conservative than matrix clauses in respect of grammatical innovation.

As in modern formal registers, embedded clauses are predominantly pre-posed, an ordering unusual at the time (Sarasola, 1983, p. 102), as supported by other texts examined.

Examples include the main clause *ençuten dot* ‘I hear’: *obato lagunetan çaytuela munsarazco seme lealoc ençuten dot* (32) ‘I hear that the loyal sons of Muntzaratz are helping you more’. Sarasola (1983, p. 102) highlights a modern tendency to the converse ordering: *ençuten dot... lagunetan çaytuela*, reflected by Zumarraga occasionally, e.g. the

main clause *alaan yçango çara* ‘thus you.FORMAL will be’: *alaan yçango çara para/disuan alcarr dacuscula* (1/2) ‘such you.FORMAL will be when we see one another in Paradise’.

Zumarraga’s use of complementizers diverges from that of the other texts examined, being closer to that of the modern language. Clause-initial complementizers, elsewhere prominent to a greater or lesser degree, are absent, with one exception; *-la* (e.g., 2, 14) and *-(e)n* (e.g., 13, 14), attached to the righthand edge of the finite verb, overwhelmingly stand alone without a clause-initial complementizer. Clause-initial *çerren* ‘because’ co-occurs with *-n*, a formation persisting today in both East and West with a subset of adverbial clauses (Trask, 1997, p. 241): *çerren mylla bider gueyago dala dan vaño esango dabeen* (14) ‘because they will say it’s a thousand times more than it is’, echoing the clause splitting seen in Lazarraga. Here one embedded clause is split by a second, which itself comprises two clauses: [*çerren [mylla bider gueyago dala [dan vaño]] esango dabeen*].

[*çerren [mylla bider gueyago dala [dan vaño]] esango dabeen*] (Zumarraga, 14)
çerren mylla bider gueyago dala
 for thousand times more d.be.PRS.3SG.ABS-COMP
dan vaño esango dabeen
 d.be.PRS.3SG.ABS-COMP than say.PROS/FUT.PTCP d.have.PRS.[3SG.ABS].3PL.ERG-COMP
 ‘because they will say it’s a thousand times more than it is’.

CHAPTER FIVE

REFLEXES AND REFLECTIONS

5.1 THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY PANORAMA

Drawing together strands from Chapters 3 and 4, this section investigates the variation across sources of roots furnishing synthetic reflexes. It addresses variation in post-root epenthetic and pre-root vowels, highlighting their contribution to ambiguity of reflexes. It considers sources of ambiguity between person markers, person and tense markers, or both, in sixteenth century reflexes, showing how Batua manifests less syncretism. It examines sixteenth century variation in aspectual and modal auxiliary roles, shift in the synthetic - periphrastic V+AUX relationship, and in the semantic domain of modes of address.

5.1.1 Range of synthetic reflexes

Synthetic inflections of around 60 roots are attested in the sixteenth century texts examined. An exact total is elusive: Some apparent synthetic inflections, e.g., *garbizaçu < garbi itzazu* ‘clean.2FORMAL them!’ (Etxepare I,384) are elided V+AUX constructions (Altuna, 1987, p. 71); others might represent an otherwise unattested root, an intended or lapsus variant of one appearing elsewhere e.g., *narçaque* (Etxepare XI,4), possibly representing an unknown root, **erran* ‘say’ or **ezan* ‘have (AUX), do, make, accomplish’; others map to more than one semantotactic function e.g., *egin* ‘do, make’ and its suppletive congener *-*idi*-, lexically ubiquitous, yet also furnishing a set of transitive auxiliaries in Garibai, *RS*, Lazarraga and Zumarraga.

Modest variation appears between sources in roots fulfilling a specific lexical role: ‘carry, take (away), spend (time)’ is *eraman* in Etxepare and Leizarraga, but *eroan* in Garibai and *RS*, with the exception of the jussive *berama* (*RS* 465) ‘may s/he, it take (it)”; ‘say’ is *erran* in Etxepare and Leizarraga, but *esan* in Garibai, *RS* and Zumarraga, although the congener *-*io*- is common to Continental and Peninsular texts; ‘know (be acquainted with)’ is *ezagutu* in Etxepare and Leizarraga, *ezaun* in *RS* and Lazarraga. More striking, given their ubiquitous abundance is the variation in auxiliary distribution.

Table 5.1.1.1 Auxiliary root distribution across texts

	Group 1		Group 2				Group 3					
Text/verb	<i>izan</i>	<i>*edin</i>	<i>uk(h)en</i> ~ <i>*edun</i>	<i>*ezan</i>	<i>egin</i> (* <i>-idi-</i>)	<i>*iron</i>	<i>*-i-</i>	<i>*jagin</i>	<i>*eradun</i>	<i>*edutsi</i>	<i>*eradutsi</i>	<i>*erazan</i>
	Intransitive		Transitive				Trivalent only					
Etxepare	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓			
Leizarraga	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓			
Garibai	✓	✓	✓		✓					✓		
RS	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓			✓		
Lazarraga	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓ ⁱ		✓	✓	
Zumarraga	✓	✓	✓		✓					✓		
Oñati poetry	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓					
High Navarrese	✓		✓	✓			✓		✓			✓

ⁱ*jagin* may derive from **eradun*, according to Bilbao et alii (Lazarraga, 2010, p. 154), also Urkizu (2004, p. 153)

Group 1 auxiliaries furnish two valency types: ABS and ABS-DAT. Group 2 all form ABS-ERG, **ezan* and *egin* (**-idi-*) additionally forming ABS-DAT-ERG reflexes. Group 3 is specialized to trivalent reflexes only.

Intransitive auxiliaries *izan* and **edin*, transitive *uk(h)en*/**edun* are ubiquitous. Etxepare and Leizarraga additionally have **ezan*, **-i-*, **eradun*, and **iron*. Garibay and RS use *egin* (**-idi-*) in preference to **ezan*, **edutsi* instead of **eradun*; **-i-* occurs in RS, appearing lexically only in Garibai (many proverbs lacking finite forms). Lazarraga has the widest auxiliary inventory, featuring **egin* (**-idi-*) and *ezan*; specialized trivalents **-i-*, **edutsi*, **eradutsi*, and **jagin*. The trivalent reflexes of the Zumarraga letter are from **edutsi* and *egin*. The sole trivalent form in the Oñati poetry is from **-i-*; as in Lazarraga, both **ezan* and **egin* (**-idi-*) appear. Typical of Gipuzkoan, the 1596 Azkoitia letter, not a focus of the present work, and the Sarasola verses from Lazarraga's manuscript include trivalent reflexes, probably of **-i-*, a velar preceding the 3SG.DAT marker. The High Navarrese texts feature **ezan*, rather than *egin* (**-idi-*); **-i-*, **eradun* rather than **edutsi*, and otherwise unattested **erazan*. Although absent from Zumarraga and present with lexical, not AUX value, in Garibai, **-i-* with AUX function is attested in all dialects represented by the texts examined in this thesis, according with Mounole Hiriart-Urruty's (2014 [2018], p. 136) findings from a different, though in part

overlapping selection of archaic texts, which, furthermore, presents a picture of *-i- as the sole trivalent auxiliary attested across varieties. She deduces that *-i- is from the ancient Common Basque postulated by Mitxelena (1981) and that broadly Eastern **eradun* and Western **edutsi* would have arisen after the differentiation of dialects (2014 [2018], p. 357). She extracts from her data a picture of how the distribution of *-i- varies between dialects, alternating in Lazarraga with **edutsi*, but Bizkaian overwhelmingly preferring the latter; in both Etxepare (Eastern Low Navarrese) and Oihenart (Zuberoan) *-i- is confined to 3.DAT reflexes; in Gipuzkoan, contrasting with Etxepare, Oihenart and Bizkaian, *-i- is the productive auxiliary and **eradun* confined to reflexes with plural patients, e.g. 3PL.ABS-1SG.DAT-3SG.ERG *diraust* (*Salmo Miserere*) and 3SG.ABS-1SG.DAT-3SG.ERG *didan* (Tolosa) (adapted from Mounole Hiriart-Urruty, 2014 [2018], p. 137, Table 11).

*Uk(h)en/*edun* appears to source at least three of the six trivalent-specialized roots: **eradun*, **edutsi*, **eradutsi*, possibly **jagin*; **ezan* furnishes **erazan*. Meriting future investigation is what preceded the sixteenth century picture with ubiquitous intransitive *izan*, **edin* and transitive *uk(h)en/*edun*, but variation across the country in other transitive roots. Roots with the similar roles have differing prominence across sources: in *RS*, reflexes of **ezan* form a minority, co-occurring with dominant *egin*; in Lazarraga, reflexes of **edutsi* are more abundant than those of *-i-, while **eradutsi* has a distinctive factitive role. The sixteenth century distribution of auxiliaries suggests transition from freer variation towards the modern picture of consolidated subsets of transitive roots, differing between dialects.

The boundary between auxiliary and lexical function is graduated. Predominantly auxiliary verbs can function lexically and predominantly lexical verbs, as auxiliaries. The Continental texts use *izan* ‘be’ statively, a function predominantly fulfilled by *egon* in the Peninsular sources. Non-finite forms of *izan* can have transitive meaning, ‘have, possess’ in Peninsular sources (e.g., Zumarraga, High Navarrese) but not in the Continental texts. Across Continental and Peninsular texts: Etxepare, Leizarraga, *RS*, Lazarraga and Zumarraga) **edin* ‘be’ has the lexical meaning ‘become, come into being’. *Uk(h)en/*edun* encodes ‘have, possess’ both North and South of the Pyrenees: in Etxepare, Leizarraga, *RS*, Lazarraga, the Oñati poetry and High Navarrese; in Leizarraga, **ezan* encodes ‘do, make, achieve’. All furnishing lexical reflexes with the meaning ‘give’ are, **eradun* (Etxepare, Leizarraga, High Navarrese), **edutsi* (Zumarraga), *-i- (Etxepare, Leizarraga, Garibai, Lazarraga, the Oñati

poetry), e.g., from **eradun*, Nic *draudaçut fede* (High Navarrese, IIIc) ‘I give you (my) pledge’, this autonomous lexical usage becoming increasingly rare in the eighteenth century (Mounole Hiriart-Urruty 2014 [2018], p. 357). Mounole Hiriart-Urruty deduces, very plausibly, that the indicative trivalent auxiliaries are benefactive, sourced by verbs meaning ‘give’. Archaic Basque, in common with many languages, has several verbs of this meaning, hence the diversity of roots furnishing tripersonal auxiliaries. Further, she notes the presence of benefactive verbs in verb phrases across diverse languages, including Tamil, Mongolian, Tuvan and Equadorian Spanish, illustrating from the latter *me dio reparando el coche* ‘s/he repaired the car for me, with *dio*, lexically ‘s/he gave’ as AUX ([2018], p. 358). Primarily lexical verbs can furnish aspectually nuanced auxiliaries, e.g. *ebili/ibili* (lexically ‘go about, walk’), as an auxiliary, encoding a state with a defined starting point, e.g., Etxepare, XIII,17; *joan*, (lexically ‘go’) imparts a habitual, gnomic aspect often encoding anticipated destiny in Etxepare, Leizarraga, Garibai and RS, and its causatives, the endpoint of a progressive process: *eroan* (lexically ‘carry, take away’) in Garibai and RS, *eraman* in Etxepare (e.g., II,74) and Leizarraga (e.g., 1990, p. 250 [*5v], 14).

5.1.2 Variation and ambiguity

5.1.2 i. Variations within the same root

In parallel with more than one root fulfilling the same function within a single source is the occurrence of allomorphs of finite reflexes from a single root. The 1SG and 2INTIMATE present-tense forms of *izan* have *ai* in High Navarrese, Sasiola and Leizarraga: *naiz* ‘I am’ (e.g., John Ch.X v.14) as in Batua today. In Etxepare, they have *i: niz* (e.g., I,78), while in RS and Lazarraga root *i* palatalizes the following sibilant, giving *nax*, *naiz* appearing as a minority form in both. Yet 1PL *gara* ‘we are’ appears not only in High Navarrese, Sasiola and Leizarraga but also in Lazarraga and RS, the only divergent form being Etxepare’s *gira/girade*. The root of ABS-DAT reflexes of *izan* also manifests variation. The dominant allomorph in Etxepare, has *-ai-*, as in Batua, e.g., *çayt* (III, 51) ‘it is to me (AUX)’, but a variant *-au-* appears thrice e.g., *irudi baçautzu* (Prologue, 21) ‘if they seem fitting to you’. In each, the root is followed by a 2FORMAL marker and, notwithstanding counter examples, e.g., *eçayçula* (Etxepare, VIII,3) ‘let it not be to you.FORMAL’, *-i-* might have assimilated to the *u* of the 2FORMAL marker; alternatively, analogical change may have been triggered by transitive forms in neighbouring dialects, such as Leizarraga’s *naute* (e.g. Luke Ch.I v.48) ‘they have

me'. Contrasting with Etxepare's *-ai- ~ -au-* alternation, in Garibai, *RS* and Lazarraga, ABS-DAT reflexes of *izan* have *-a-* alone and, with 3.ABS, initial *j-*: *jat* 'it is to me' e.g., Lazarraga, P, f. 5v,5; *RS* 424.

Allomorphs of *uk(h)en/*edun* are less compartmentalized in the sixteenth century than in the modern distribution with specific allomorphs regarded as archetypical to different dialects: 'I have (it)' as Lapurdian/High and Low Navarrese *dut*, Bizkaian *dot*, Gipuzkoan *det*. While *det* appears five times, as sole allomorph, in the Sarasola verses, in Lazarraga's writing, *dot* predominates, with *dut*, *deut* and *det* as minority forms; *-e-* forms are minority in Garibai and *RS* against dominant *-o-*. Etxepare and Leizarraga, by contrast, consistently have *dut*. The Oñati poetry features *det* as the sole representative of *uk(h)en/*edun* and the High Navarrese sources consistently have *-u-* forms, aligning with Etxepare, Leizarraga (also modern Batua) rather than with Bizkaian/North-East Araban *-o-* or Gipuzkoan *-e-*.

5.1.2 ii. Epenthetic post-root vowels

The epenthetic post-root vowel which precedes verb-final complementizers and the past-marker *-n* varies not only between texts but can fluctuate within an individual source. While the Continental texts Etxepare (e.g., I,19), Leizarraga (e.g., 1 Timothy Ch.III v.16) consistently have *-e* in forms, e.g., *dela* 'that it is', in Bizkaian texts *a* predominates, e.g., frequent *dan* (same gloss) (*RS* 109), *dala*, *dan* in Zumarraga (both line 14). In 3SG.ABS-1.SG.ERG reflexes of *uk(h)en/*edun* Sasiola has *neban* 'I had (it)' (e.g., f. 50v R, XXXIII,72) to Lazarraga's *neben* (e.g., f. 15r, I,5), although Lazarraga presents a mixed picture: *-a* in *çala* (e.g. P, f. 5r,2) 'that s/he, it was', *çan* 's/he, it was' (e.g., P, f. 5r,1). Alternations also appear in the 1596 Azkoitia letter (Satrustegi, 1987, pp. 31–35), with both *dena* and *dana* 'which was'. Similarly, the High Navarrese writings have *-a*: *nayzala* (I) 'that I am', while *e* predominates: *dela* 'that s/he, it is' (II, 15), *çaren* 'that you.FORMAL are' (IIIc). Trask (1997, p. 212) suggests **dae-* as a common ancestral source of the broadly Eastern *de-* and Western *da-*, possibly implying different accentual positioning in different localities. Permutations are witnessed where the two adjacent vowels appear in the inverse order: Lazarraga consistently has 3PL.ABS *dira* 'they are' (e.g., P, f. 4v,6), and complementized counterparts e.g., relativized *direán* (P, f. 10v,19) 'which are', with dissimilation through the raising of the first vowel, such that *a + -a > ea*.

5.1.2 iii. Pre-root vowel variation and person/tense ambiguity

The presence and nature of the pre-root vowel varies between and within sources. High Navarrese and Leizarraga are set apart through the lack of a pre-root vowel in present-tense reflexes of **eradun*: in High Navarrese, *drauçut* (IIIa, IIIb) ‘I have (it) to you.FORMAL’; in Leizarraga, the near counterpart *drauçuet* (1 Corinthians Ch.IV v.17) ‘I have (it) to you.PL’ (although in Leizarraga, allocutives have the initial sequence *dir-*: see 5.2.4 below). In Etxepare, *a-* alternates with *e-*, e.g. *daraudaçu* (X,33) vs *deraudaçu* (XII,25), both ‘you.FORMAL have (it) to me’. This alternation occurs elsewhere in both Etxepare and Leizarraga, e.g., in Etxepare, divalent present-tense forms of *eraman* ‘carry, take (away) lead, spend (time)’ *badaramac* (II,65) ‘you.INTIMATE(M) spend (it)’ yet *deramadan* (I,427) ‘that I spend (it)’, from **ezan vadaçagu* (I,102) ‘if we have (it)’ but *badeça* (III,59) ‘if s/he, it has (it)’. In Leizarraga, while present-tense reflexes of **ezan* systematically have *e-*, alternation occurs in past-tense forms: *çaçaten* (John Ch.XIX v.15) ‘they had (it)’ vs *ceçaten* (Mark Ch.III v.6). The majority of Leizarraga’s reflexes of *ezagun* ‘know (be acquainted with)’ have *a-*: *badaçagut* (John Ch.VIII v.55) ‘I know him/her/it’, yet *e-* also appears: *ezteçagut* (Matthew Ch.XXVI v.72) ‘I do not know him/her/it’; *erran* ‘say’ yields *eztarradan* (Philemon Ch.I v.19) vs *ezterradaçat* both ‘not that I say (it)’.

The pre-root *a ~ e* alternation, prevalent in the Continental texts contrasts with the modern language with pre-root *a-* generally consolidated as a present-, *e-* as past-tense. Elsewhere unattested *narçaque* (Etxepare XI,4), possibly ‘I would say/do/bring (it)’, despite its past-tense base, has pre-root *a-*; a past-tense 3SG.ABS reflex of *egon* appears as *çagoen* ‘(that) s/he, it was’ (Etxepare I,114) cf Batua *zegoen*. In Lazarraga, present-tense reflexes of **ezan* have *e-* along with a few other reflexes, e.g., from **eradutsi* ‘make (someone do)’, *eman* ‘give’. Present-tense reflexes of *eman* consistently have pre-root *e-* in Etxepare, Leizarraga, Garibai, RS and Lazarraga. In Lazarraga, however, pre-root vowels correlate much more consistently with tense than in the Continental texts; the pre-root vowel is the sole distinction between the *-n* complementized present-tense form *naben* ‘s/he, it has me’ (P, f. 11r,14) and ergative fronted *neben* ‘I had (it)’ (P, f. 15r, I,5).

One explanation of certain *a ~ e* pre-root alternations is Schuchardt's (Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 51) postulate of preceding negator *ez* favouring assimilation of *-a* to *-e*, e.g., *ezteçagut guiçona* (Matt. Ch. XXVI v.72) 'I do not know the man'. Not all negated forms, however, support Schuchardt's model: *eztarradan* (Philemon Ch.I v.19) 'not that I say'. Alternatively, in both pre-root and post-root positions *a* and *e* might be neutralized consequent upon accentual type and positioning. Another elucidation might be the levelling of dative flag *i-* and pre-root *a-* in trivalent forms to *e-*, which then spread to some divalent forms by analogy.

It is not only the *a ~ e* pre-root alternation which reduces contrast between past- and present-tense in sixteenth century reflexes relative to their modern counterparts. Certain roots build reflexes with pre-root *i-*, most abundantly *izan* in a subset of forms in the Continental texts, High Navarrese, the Sasiola verses and, as a less frequent variant in Lazarraga. Verbs consistently manifesting pre-root *i-* in the sixteenth century and today include *irudi* 'seem, appear' *iraki* 'boil', *ihardetsi* 'reply'. Two complementized past-tense forms of *izan*, *ciradela* and *ciren* (both Etxepare I,30), clearly 3PL.ABS, 'that they were' in *Hinolaco ciradela vici ciren artian* 'They were like you when they were alive', could elsewhere equally represent complementized present-tense 2FORMAL.ABS, cf uncomplementized *cirade* (I,381), *cira* (II,106), both 'you.FORMAL are'; in Batua the pre-root vowel distinguishes *ziren* '(that) they were' from *zaren* 'that you.FORMAL are'. In Etxepare (I,30), three features conspire to bleach the past/present distinction: the coincidence between non-1st/2nd person past-tense and 2FORMAL/PL.ABS pre-root *z-*; the same pre-root vowel and the complementizers *-la* and *-n*, obscuring the past-tense marker *-n*. Tense distinction bleaching also arises from coincidence between non-1st/2nd person past-marking *z-* and *z-*initial radicals e.g., *izan* in ABS-DAT reflexes such as *çayen* '(which/that) is/was to them', context alone elucidating the role of *z-* and *-n*, e.g., *berey irudi çayẽ beçala* (Hebrews Ch.XII v.19) 'as seemed fitting to them'. Batua disambiguates: *zitzaïen* '(which/that) was to them' vs *zaien* 'which/that is to them'. From *uk(hen/*edun)*, Sasiola's *çeban* (f. 51r R, XXXIV,21) 's/he, it had (it)', in isolation rendered ambiguous by coincidence between a fronted 2FORMAL.ERG marker and past-marking *z-* could be construed as 3SG.ABS-3SG.ERG or 3SG.ABS-2FORMAL.ERG. Apart from the epenthetic vowel difference and the absence of the complementizer *-la*, the form is identical with Lazarraga's 2FORMAL.ERG *çébela* 'you.FORMAL had (it)': *Sinsquetadot eç çébela*

Esango (P, f. 11v,9) 'I believe you would not have said (those words)'. Batua disambiguates for person: *zuen* 's/he, it had (it)' vs *zenuen* 'you.FORMAL had (it)': the issue of medial *n* is examined in 5.2.1 iii. below.

As with post-root epenthetic and pre-root vowels, the presence and consistency of consonantal past-tense marking, non-1st/2nd person initial *z-*, verb-final *-n* varies between sources. The Continental texts use both consistently. By contrast, the Bizkaian of Garibai and *RS* and Lazarraga's Araban present a mixed picture, non-1st/2nd person past-tense reflexes lacking initial *z-*, except *izan*, **edin*, **ezan*, sporadically other roots: from **edin*, *çiteçen* (Garibai, G.137; Lazarraga P, f. 7,8/9) 'they were', *çidi* (*RS* 358) 'it became'; from **ezan*, *cizan* 's/he, it had (it)' (*RS* 294); from *izan*, *zala* (*RS* 358) 'that it was', *çan* (Lazarraga P, f. 5r,1) 's/he, it was'; from *uk(h)en/*edun* with ABS.PL *it-*, *çituen* (Lazarraga, P, f. 13r,9), a past reflex of *irudi* 'seem, appear' (Lazarraga, P, f. 13r,2), and one of *joan* 'go' (Lazarraga, P, f. 7r,6). The frequent absence of verb-final *-n* is particularly prominent in *RS*: 358 *çidi* 'it became'.

5.1.3 Aspectual and modal specialization of auxiliaries

The sixteenth century witnesses some divergence from the predominant endpoint- vs non-endpoint encoding auxiliary opposition in Etxepare, Leizarraga, Garibai, *RS* and Lazarraga. With both auxiliary and lexical verbs, subjunctive context reflexes were distinguished from their indicative counterparts through complementizers alone. The Zumarraga letter, Oñati poetry and High Navarrese sources, however, attest movement from an aspectually-based towards the modern mood-based framework. Zumarraga features **edin* in a non-endpoint role, in a subjunctive context commensurate with modern usage; yet, as with the more extensively investigated sixteenth century texts, *izan*, *uk(h)en/*edun* and **edutsi* occur in indicative and subjunctive contexts, although as with modern usage, in endpoint and non-endpoint contexts. In the Oñati poetry, **edin*, **ezan* and auxiliary *egin*, nowadays specialized to subjunctive contexts, appear in indicative contexts. Endpoint encoding is nonetheless discernible, as in the more extensively investigated texts, yet contrasting with them in encoding instantaneity, opposing *izan*, *uk(h)en/*edun* and **-i-* encoding discernible duration. The supplanting of the aspectual, by the modern mood-based auxiliary opposition,

was, however, still, far off. Intimations of the shift in lexical synthetic reflexes from aspectually neutral, frequently perfective, to imperfective is, however, more discernible: in Zumarraga, *baçaut* (16) ‘I know (am acquainted with)’, *doaz* (17) ‘they are on their way’, *daroaez* (30) ‘they are carrying’, *daroaeçan* (31) ‘which they have about them’; in the Oñati poetry *Elizara vanijoean, colpea[u] ar neçanean* (II.6) ‘I was going to church when I took the blow’ contrasting imperfective synthetic and perfective V+AUX; in High Navarrese *naça* ‘I lie (stative)’ (II,1), *estudan partiduric* ‘the shelter which I do not have’ (II,11). In Lazarraga, many synthetic reflexes are imperfective, e.g., *joaçela* ‘that they were going’ (P, f.12r,6), *zoaçen* ‘they were going’ (P, f. 7r,6) while some are neutral/perfective e.g., *baetoçen* ‘when they arrived’: *siluero ta dorido ónelaeoçela baetoçen narbaeçen jentea* (P, f. 14v,3) ‘thus were Silvero and Dorido when Narváez’s people arrived’.

5.1.4 Synthetic and periphrastic

The modern language uses synthetic reflexes of fewer roots compared with the sixteenth century picture, yet the history of the relationship between synthetic reflexes and periphrastic V+AUX constructions appears to be one of dynamic equilibrium rather than a simple reduction of the former and expansion of the latter. Synthetic reflexes appear today in certain contexts where the sixteenth century counterpart manifests a periphrastic V+AUX construction: Leizarraga’s *deitzẽ cen* (Luke Ch.I v.5) ‘who was called’, *ethorri ciraden* (John Ch.XI v.33) ‘they (who) had come’, *ethorten da* (John Ch.I v.30) ‘he comes’ are rendered by synthetic reflexes in the modern Interchurch Bible (*BIBLIJA.Net - Biblia Interneten*, n.d.): *zeritzan*, *zetozen* and *datorren*. Periphrastic V+AUX constructions hold a strong place in the sixteenth century literature, including from roots also furnishing synthetic reflexes. Periphrastic V+AUX structures are preferred in certain contexts, differing across sources, despite the availability of a synthetic reflex, e.g., in Leizarraga periphrastic V+AUX constructions of *egin* ‘do make’, which forms synthetic reflexes, not only dominate, but solely source 3PL.ABS forms; the periphrastic V+AUX future dominates against a raft of morphosyntactic templates expressing futurity, subsets of which vary between sources, as does the semantic scope of the markers: in Lazarraga, the narrowest scope is provided by morphologically present tense reflexes of *-idi-; in RS, by -ke(-te), the same marker in Leizarraga also encoding obligation and anticipation. In the Oñati poetry and RS, futurity can

be expressed by present-based reflexes of *-i- , variably accompanied by other futurity markers, *-ke* in the sole example in the Oñati poetry, *-ke, -a*, both (or neither) in *RS*.

5.1.5 Modes of address

The sixteenth century witnesses modes of address transitioning towards the modern set of five: the highly restrictive intimate *hiketa*; the generalized formal *zuketa*, of 2SG reference although morphologically plural; the intermediate *xuketa*, restricted to a few Eastern Continental varieties; the honorific *berorika*, morphologically 3SG but of 2SG reference; the plural *zueketa*, compounded on *zuketa* with additional plural marking.

Etxepare uses *hiketa* to address his reader (in the masculine form), himself (e.g., in poem XIII), once only to address God (XII,49) with exasperation, also in poem XII where a woman addresses a man with disdain. The scope of *hiketa* in Etxepare is somewhat wider than in the modern language, addressing the unknown reader and between genders. Etxepare's predominant singular mode of address is *zuketa*, in his variety of Eastern Low Navarrese having already shifted from plural to singular reference. He uses *zueketa*, rarely, consequent upon context, the ample presence of varied pronominal reflexes suggesting secure establishment. Contrasting with Etxepare, Leizarraga uses *hiketa* in its earlier, unmarked singular role, paralleling *zuketa* today, throughout the New Testament, consistently to address God, e.g., in the Lord's Prayer, and freely between the sexes: Jesus to Martha (John XI v.26), the woman of Samaria to Jesus (John Ch.IV v.11); *zuketa* is absent. In Leizarraga's religious writings, singular *hiketa* opposes plural *zueketa*, which, as in Etxepare, bears the hallmarks of an established mode of address, with dedicated pronominals and unique marking distinct from *zuketa* in ABS, DAT and ERG roles. Leizarraga uses *zuketa* in two texts alone: the dedication to Queen Jeanne d'Albret and the supplication to the King, singular reference and alternating with *berorika*. Possibly, Leizarraga chose forms of address to reflect two different contexts: his contemporaneous society, addressing the monarchy primarily with *zuketa*, opposing a style redolent of earlier times in translated ecclesiastical text, with *hiketa* as the unmarked singular. Possibly the use, in the ecclesiastical texts of the more recent *zueketa* rather than the historically plural *zuketa* was motivated by avoidance of *zuketa* with plural reference in one context, but singular in another.

In Garibai and *RS*, *hiketa*, particularly abundant in the latter, has unmarked singular reference, as in Leizarraga's ecclesiastical texts. In Garibai, *zuketa* appears in two versions of the same proverb, Cc 79, LVIII (with slight variation, G. 139, 33) *Villa real de Urrechu, veti guerrea darrai-çu* 'Royal town/Villarreal of Uretxu(a), always war follows you.FORMAL (as PL)', where *darrai-çu* 'it follows you' indexes *Villa real de Urrechu*, understood as the townsfolk, reflected in the Spanish renditions with *os* and *vos* (both 'you.PL'). The few instances of *zuketa* in *RS* have likely plural reference e.g., *zara* (144) 'you are'; *noçu* (361) 'you have me', the Spanish elucidations being 2PL, although the contexts do not lack ambiguity. Neither Garibai nor *RS* manifests *zueketa* or *beroriketa*.

Lazarraga uses *hiketa*, including between genders, and *zuketa* with unmarked singular reference. In the pastoral novel alone, he uses *zueketa* as unambiguously plural in ten VPs: nine have *zuek* as the ergative subject pronoun, e.g., to Doristo and Silvero: *çuec jaquingo/doçu eçe....* (P, f.10v,14) 'you.PL have to know that...', one as the absolutive subject pronoun: *çuec bere libertaduço çára* (P, f.14v,12) 'you.PL also will have (your) freedom'; a corresponding dative marker appears within a compound VP in *deusudan* 'that I have (it) to you.PL' *çuec socorriduezbada-/guiçu niceşangodeusudan manera honetan ...* (P, f. 13v, 4/5) 'if you.PL do not rescue them in the manner which I am going to tell you.PL...'. In each case, strikingly, a 2PL pronoun indexes a 2FORMAL marker: *doçu* not *doçue* for 'you.PL have (it)', *çara* not *çarete* for 'you.PL are', *deusudan* not *deusuedan* 'that I have (it) to you.PL', cf contrastive 2PL vs 2FORMAL markers in Etxepare and Leizarraga: Etxepare's *baytuçuye* (I,354) 'you.PL have (it)' vs *bay-/tuçu* (Prologue, 16/17) 'you.FORMAL have (it)'; Leizarraga's *çareten* (e.g. as an imperative in 1 Peter Ch.V v.5) 'that you.PL be' vs *çarela* 'that you.FORMAL are' (in the address to the King, Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 1357, [F. viii], 2). In contrast to the pastoral novel, some four reflexes with 2PL *-çue* occur in Lazarraga's poetry e.g., *desaqueçue* (f. 22v, VI,14) 'you.PL will say (it)'. One of the others (15v R, XXXI,35) appears to be in another hand. None is linked to a 2nd person pronoun and, with the possible exception of f. 22v, VI,14, none has an unambiguously plural referent. In Lazarraga's *Araban*, *zueketa* was developing, but not consolidated; the dedicated ergative/absolutive pronoun was established ahead of corresponding verb indices.

Zumarraga, despite his closeness to Kattalin, consistently addresses her with *zuketa*, contrasting with its plural reference in Garibai and *RS*. The Oñati poetry, like the Zumarraga letter, consistently uses *zuketa* with singular reference, within an intimate context, although one form of difficult legibility, towards the end of the second poem, could be *hiketa*. In the High Navarrese texts, as in Zumarraga, the Oñati poetry, Etxepare, Lazarraga, *zuketa* has singular reference in IIIb, IIIc for the exchange of marriage vows. In IIIa, however, the use of *hiketa* between genders parallels that of Lazarraga, to a lesser extent, that of Lazarraga and to an even smaller extent, that of Etxepare. In Text II, *zueketa* has unique verb marking and unambiguously plural reference: ergative *-çue* in *duçuen* ‘may you.PL have (it)’ (II,12), absolutive *ç-z-te* in *çarrayzquidate* ‘follow.PL me!’ (II,13).

In the sixteenth century, the semantic reframing of *hiketa* from generic singular to intimate, of *zuketa* from plural to generic singular and the establishment of *zueketa* as plural, was progressing differently in different localities. Broadly, in the East (Etxepare, Lazarraga, High Navarrese), pronominals and cognate markers of *zueketa*, were being used confidently. In Bizkaian, the most Westerly group of varieties, the picture is mixed, *zuketa* retaining its historic plural reference in Garibai and *RS*, yet in the earlier Zumarraga letter, having singular reference, as in the Oñati poetry. Lazarraga’s Araban represents an intermediate picture not seen elsewhere, a *zueketa* pronominal indexing a *zuketa* marker in a VP with plural reference. *Hiketa* is the unmarked singular in Garibai and *RS* in the West, also in Lazarraga’s ecclesiastical texts in the East, with the caveat that, given the use of *zuketa* in two contemporaneous items, he may have deliberately adopted antiquated usage in the religious texts. Both *hiketa* and *zuketa* have singular reference in High Navarrese, Lazarraga, also in Etxepare where a specialization of *hiketa* to emotive contexts is discernible. Proximal localities with closely related varieties can show different usage: in Bizkaian, *zuketa* with plural reference in Garibai and *RS*, but singular in Zumarraga; in High Navarrese, *zuketa* with singular reference in Zufia and Esparza, but *hiketa* in Urtega. Different usage of the same address mode can occur in the same source: in Lazarraga, *zuketa* markers alternate between earlier plural and more recent singular reference. The related topic of allocutives which, uniquely in Etxepare, appear in *hiketa* and *zuketa* is addressed in 5.2.4 i. below.

5.2 THE MORPHOSYNTAX OF PERSON-RELATED MARKERS IN SYNTHETIC REFLEXES

This section focuses on morphs associated with person marking in sixteenth century synthetic reflexes. It examines person markers, pluralizers, dative flags and the marking of allocutivity, addressing variants, distribution, positioning, pleonasm and omission.

For auxiliary reflexes (and applicable generally to synthetic reflexes) in the modern language Trask (1997, p. 106) provides the template:

Abs – tense – (*n*) – root – (flag – Dat) – (Erg) – (tense)¹

Erg replacing Abs in ergative-fronted forms, i.e. non-present reflexes combining 3.ABS and 1/2.ERG

Further, according to Trask (1997, p. 227) '[w]hen a dative agreement-marker is present, it is almost invariably preceded by a flag. The most usual flags are *-ki* and *-i*, which Trask (1995) derives from **-gi*, entirely parallel to the split of pluralizer **-de* into *-te* and *-e*. Occasionally we find *-k*, which probably derives from the same source, and very occasionally zero. B² makes heavy use of a distinct flag *-ts*, which is also marginally attested in most other parts of the country.'

This section highlights respects in which the sixteenth century language mirrors and departs from the modern language, including as tools for comparison Trask's template and review of dative flags.

5.2.1 Person markers

5.2.1 i. Morphology and positioning

The 1st and 2nd persons singular and plural have overt absolutive, dative and ergative markers; the 3rd person, the dative only, although 3PL.ERG and 3PL.ABS reflexes manifest case-associated pluralizers, as, in central varieties, does 3PL.DAT, *-ote* comprising 3.SG.DAT *-o* and the ergative pluralizer *-te* (Gómez & Sainz, 1995, p. 251). 1st and 2nd person pre- and post-root markers correlate with their corresponding free pronouns, except for the 1SG and

¹ *d-*, *l-* or *z-* appearing verb-initially when the ABS slot is unoccupied by a 1st or 2nd person marker, thought to be ancient verbal category markers (Trask, 1997, p. 219) are not discussed here (see Chapter Two, 2.1.2.1 i.).

² Bizkaian

2INTIMATE post-root markers: attempts to reconcile their pre- and post-root allomorphs as reflexes of a single stem, e.g. Martinet's 'dental nasal with oral release */n^d/' (Gómez & Sainz, 1995, p. 250 citing Martinet, 1974 [1955], p. 550) have not found general acceptance, leaving 'a serious obstacle for the hypothesized pronominal origin of agreement markers' (Gómez & Sainz, 1995, p. 251), for Trask (1997, p. 218) 'one of the great unsolved mysteries of Basque historical linguistics'. Furthermore, gender is marked on the 2INTIMATE post-root marker alone. Although intrinsically plural, 1PL.ABS *g-* and 2FORMAL/2PL.ABS *z-* were, in the sixteenth century, as now, accompanied by discrete plural marking, although a history of erosion, fusion and suppletion impedes segmentation of a known pluralizer in, e.g. *gara/gira* 'we are', *zara/zira* 'you.FORMAL are' cf *naiz /niz/nax* 'I am', *(h)aiz/iz/ax* 'you.INTIMATE are'. The historic plural, *zuketa*, latterly reanalyzed as 2FORMAL, is, in the absolutive accompanied by a discrete pluralizer. The latterly developed modern 2PL, manifesting additional ergative and absolutive plural marking, appears in some (Etxepare, Leizarraga's religious texts, the High Navarrese Text II – *Elegía de Juan de Amendux*), but not all (Garibai, *RS*) plural contexts in sixteenth century; on a number of occasions in Lazarraga a modern 2PL pronoun indexes a modern 2FORMAL marker.

Pre-root 1st and 2nd person markers are morphologically identical irrespective of whether they represent an absolutive subject/direct object or a fronted ergative subject. Similarly, their post-root counterparts, irrespective of whether dative or ergative, varying only with non-final ~ final position by regular phonological processes.

Table 5.2.1.1 Sixteenth century person marking³

Person	Absolutive pronoun	Pre-root marker	Post root marker	
			Non-final	Word-final
1 sg	<i>ni</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>-da /-ta⁴</i>	<i>-t</i>
2 (int)	<i>hi</i>	<i>h-</i>	<i>-a⁵ (M), -na(F)</i>	<i>-k (M), -n (F)</i>
3 sg	\emptyset , (<i>hura, bera⁶</i>)	\emptyset		\emptyset [<i>-o ~ -a⁷</i>]
1 pl	<i>gu</i>	<i>g-</i>		<i>-gu/-cu</i>
2 (formal)	<i>zu</i>	<i>z-</i>		<i>-zu</i>
2 pl	<i>zuek</i>	<i>z-</i>		<i>-zue</i>
3 pl	\emptyset , (<i>haiek, berak</i>)	\emptyset		\emptyset [<i>-e ~ -te ~ -ote</i>]

The 3SG.DAT marker manifests *-o ~ -a* alternation in Etxepare, Leizarraga, Garibai, *RS* and Lazarraga, strength of preference varying between sources, e.g. in Etxepare and Leizarraga *-a* predominates, Garibai has *dauco* (Endechas de doña Milia de Lastur, 16), *RS* has both, e.g., *daucat* (478) and *dauco* (69). In Batua *-o* prevails, while in modern Bizkaian the alternation persists, with more frequent use of *-a*: *dioitso ~ diotsa* ‘s/he, it has (it) to him/her/it’.

In the sixteenth century 3PL.DAT marker, *-e* predominates: *draue* ‘s/he, it has (it) to them’ (e.g., Matthew Ch.XXII v.20), Leizarraga manifesting the variant *-te*, syncretic with an ergative pluralizer, appears after a sibilant, e.g.

<i>drauztegu</i>				(James Ch.III v.3)
<i>d- rau -z -te -gu</i>				
d- root ABS.PL 3PL.DAT 1PL.ERG				
‘we have them to them’				

³ For clarity, and in line with Trask’s template, only pluralizers inseparable from person markers are included: specifically *-zue, -ote*; obligatorily co-occurring discrete pluralizers vary with position, case and variety. They are examined in 5.2.2.

⁴ In Leizarraga, also to a lesser extent elsewhere, the plosive of the 1st person sg and pl is devoiced, *drautan* ‘s/he, it has (it) to me’ (e.g. John Ch.6 v.37); *draucu* ‘s/he, it has (it) to us’ (e.g. Acts Ch.13 v.47); *derautaçu* ‘you (formal) give (it) to me’ (Etxepare IX, 25); *dacuscula* ‘that we see (it)’ (Etxepare I,89).

⁵ Occasionally represented as *-ta*, coinciding with 1 sg e.g. in *RS* 49 *deustat* for which Lakarra Andrinua (1996, p. 265) reconstructs **deus-ga-da*: the velar, protected from elision by its non-intervocalic position, in compound formation becomes *-t*, as does any plosive irrespective of place of articulation, when flowed by a vowel-initial segment.

⁶ The demonstratives *hura, haiek*, also *bera, berak* from the root *ber* ‘same’ are used as 3rd person pronouns.

⁷ Markers in square brackets for 3SG and 3PL are dative only, not ergative, although in the latter, morphs *-te* and *-e* are syncretic with ergative pluralizers.

The variant *-ote*, of late formation, comprising 3SG.DAT *-o* plus pluralizer *-te* (Trask, 1997, p. 220) is morphemically ambiguous with 3SG.DAT + ERG.PL, e.g., *dagoten* (Romans Ch.XVI v.2) ‘as it becomes them’, *-o* representing the reduction of consecutive identical vowels, one from the root *-go* of *egon* ‘be (stative), remain, stay’, the other, the *o-* of 3PL.DAT *-ote* (Schuchardt in Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 79) vs *diotsote* (e.g. Matthew Ch.XV, v.33) ‘they say (it) to him/her/it’; *eztemoten* (1 Timothy Ch.V v.14), ‘that they do not give (it) to him/her/it’. Other discernible traces of *-o* as a 3PL.DAT marker component are not forthcoming: in another reflex of *egon*, the 3PL.DAT marker separated from the root by ABS.PL *-z, -te*, not *-ote* appears — *dagozten* ‘they who are to them’ in *bere laguney oihuz dagozten haourtchoac* (Matthew Ch.XI v.16) ‘children who are calling to their friends’. Such examples weaken Schuchardt’s postulate of sixteenth century 3PL.DAT *-ote*, but do not definitively refute it if the vowel reduction predated the attachment of the pluralizer, following reanalysis of 3PL.DAT as *-te*, running contrary to Trask’s (1997, p. 246) contention that absolute pluralizer preceded person marker attachment. Evidence for sixteenth century 3PL.DAT *-ote* is rendered yet more tenuous by reappraising elucidations in the literature such as *cerauzquotet* as ‘I have you.PL to them’: *gommendatzen cerauzquotet* as ‘I recommend you to them’ (e.g. Trask, 1997, p. 220). From the contexts of the two occurrences of *cerauzquotet*: *gommendatzen cerauzquotet* (Acts Ch.XX v.32); *preparatu cerauzquotet* (2 Corinthians Ch.XI v.2), each indexes a 3SG.DAT argument with *-o*, the following *-te* relating to the pleonastically pluralized 2PL.ABS, hence meaning ‘I have you.PL to him/her/it’: Acts Ch.XX v.32 ‘I commend you.PL to God’; 2 Corinthians Ch.XI v.2 ‘I (have) prepared you for one husband’.

5.2.1 ii. Models of the attachment process

Where pre- and post-root person marker allomorphs correlate with the free pronoun, the post-root variant does so more strongly. Models put forward to explain this discrepancy, particularly the absence of the pronominal vowel from the pre-root allomorph, are based on *d-* initial forms, construed as person-neutral. That of Rijk (1992) sees the attachment of the personal marker as simultaneous with the loss of the pronominal vowel and initial *d-*; that of Trask (1977), the attachment of markers whose pronominal vowel has already been replaced by *a-*, followed by deletion of intervocalic *d*; building on these earlier models, the

proposal of Gómez and Sainz of the attachment of the unmodified free pronoun to the verb, with attendant regular loss of intervocalic *d* and monophthogization (1995), remains the favoured account of the genesis of personal markers:

* <i>gu-</i>	<i>da-</i>	<i>it-</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>-zu</i>
1PL.ABS	d.PRES	ABS.PL	root	2FORMAL.ERG
> <i>gw-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>it-</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>-zu</i>
> <i>g-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>it-</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>-zu</i>

gaituzu
 'you.FORMAL have us'

(Adapted from Gómez & Sainz, 1995, p. 250 (14))

Awaiting explanation is the pre-root *e-* of 3.ABS reflexes of certain verbs, e.g., **ezan* 3.ABS vs *a-* in 1.ABS and 2.ABS e.g., *dezazun* 'that you.FORMAL have (it)' cf. *nazazun* 'that you.FORMAL have me'.

5.2.1 iii. Medial *n*

The reflex-internal *-(n)-* of Trask's template ('medial *n*'), has a person-selective presence in non-present paradigms. It typically appears between the vowel following the verb-initial person marker and the root, co-occurring with singular and plural 1st and 2nd person absolutive markers, whether subject (*nentorre* 'I came'(RS 332)) or direct object (*nençaçun* 'you had me' (Oñati poetry, I.4)), yet only with plural 1st and 2nd ergative-fronted markers (Etxepare: *nacussen* 'I saw (it)' (V,7) vs *cenacussan* 'you.FORMAL saw it' (I,126)). It is absent from 3rd person reflexes lacking a 1st or 2nd person pre-root marker (*çaducaten* 'they who were holding Him (captive)' (Luke Ch.XXII v.63). This distribution applies to Batua and, with some exceptions, to sixteenth century sources.

The Oñati poetry largely conforms to the distribution outlined: ergative fronted *neçanean* 'when I had (it)' (II.5) vs *nençaçun* 'you.FORMAL had me' (I.4), yet twice, past-tense 1SG.ABS reflexes of *joan* 'go' lack medial *n-*: *nijoeala* 'that I was going' (I.19), *vanijoean* 'when I was going' (II.5). Elsewhere, it plays a role in distinguishing past- from present-tense reflexes: *bahindoan* (John Ch.XXI v.18) 'you.INTIMATE were going' vs. *oha* (John Ch.XVI v.15) 'you.INTIMATE are going'; in Batua, past-tense 1SG and 2INTIMATE reflexes *nindoan*, *hindoan* vs present-tense counterparts *noa*, *hoa*.

In Lazarraga, anticipated medial *n* is not infrequently absent, furnishing syncretism between 2nd person past-tense and sibilant-initial 3rd person forms of other varieties,⁸ e.g. 2^{FORMAL.ERG} *baçeequi* (P, f. 11v,8) ‘if you.FORMAL knew (it)’ is morphologically closer to *baçaquian* ‘s/he knew (it)’ (e.g. John Ch.II v.25) than *ezinaquitén* ‘You.PL did not know (it)’ (e.g. Luke Ch.II v.49).

Departing from Trask’s template, medial *n* follows the verb root in certain sixteenth century reflexes: in the Oñati poetry, the 2^{FORMAL.PST} reflex of *egon*,⁹ *çeonçan* ‘you.FORMAL were (stative)’ (II.3), cf *cenaudela* ‘that you.FORMAL were (stative)’ (Etxepare IX,27) (see Chapter Four, 4.3.2). Overwhelmingly pre-root in Leizarraga, from *egon*, *cinaudetençát* (1 Thessalonians Ch.I v.10) ‘that you.PL were (stative)’, a pleonastic post-root *n* appears in *baiquineunden* (*bai-* + **gineunden*) (Romans Ch.VII v.6) ‘for we were (stative)’. Lazarraga also has post-root *n* forms e.g. *gueonçen* ‘(where) we were (stative)’ (f.45r L, XX,72), as does Batua in 1^{PL} and 2^{FORMAL/PL.PST} reflexes of *egon*: *geunden* ‘we were (stative)’ cf *nengoen* ‘I was (stative)’. In Leizarraga, *etzan* ‘recline, lie’ manifests post-root *n*: *gaunçala* (Matthew Ch.XXVIII v.13) ‘while we were asleep’; exceptionally, in 3^{PL}, e.g. *ceunçanac* ‘they who were lying’ (e.g. Luke Ch.2 v.8) vs 3^{SG} *cetzan* ‘s/he was lying’ (e.g. Acts Ch.XII v.6), departing from the distribution in *egon* by its presence in all plural present-tense reflexes: *bagaunça* ‘if we lie’ (1 Thess Ch.V v.10); *çaunçate* ‘you.PL lie’ (Luke Ch.XXII v.46); *daunça* ‘they lie’ (1 Cor. Ch.XI v.30) vs *datza* ‘she is sleeping’ (e.g. Luke Ch.VIII v.52). Here, medial *n* supports differentiation between neither 1/2.ABS and 3.ABS, nor between past- and present-tense reflexes.

The function, source and distribution of medial *n* remain elusive (e.g. Trask, 1997, p. 224). Its distribution contrasts in *egon* and *etzan*, its appearance in past- and present-tense and all plural reflexes of *etzan*, suggesting SG/PL root suppletion. The pre- ~ post-root alternation in *egon* is reminiscent of linear ordering permutations of segments which may occur in agglutinative systems, e.g., in Eastern Mari, of the Finno-Ugric family, the

⁸ Some sibilant initial past-tense 3rd person forms appear in Lazarraga e.g., *çirudien* (P, f. 13r,2) ‘it seemed’.

⁹ The PL.ABS forms of **egon* have an irregular variant, e.g. present tense *gaude*, *zaude*, *daude*, possibly < **gagode* etc. cf regular counterparts in Bizkaian *gagoz*, *zagoz* *dagoz* (cf. Trask, 1997, pp. 221–222) witnessed in RS e.g. *dagoz* (477) ‘they are (stative)’; the future imperative *çagoquez* (18). Lazarraga includes a both variants: *gãgoçu* (P,f.10v,23) vs *gueonçen* ‘(where) we were (stative)’ (f. 45r L, XX,72).

possessive marker may precede or follow case and number suffixes, with both permutations in free variation:

taŋ-βlak-em or *taŋ-em-βlak*

friend-pl-1sg

'my friends'

čeβer-eš-em or *čeβer-em-eš*

beautiful-loc-1sg

'in my beautiful ...'

(Plungian, 2001, p. 675).

Possibly, the positional alternation in *egon* may link to agglutinative behaviour being preceded by a history of isolating/analytical behaviour, with freer ordering, *n* consolidating different positions in the syntax of different varieties prior to attachment. Positional variation could, however, result from a frequent but sporadic phonological evolution, whereby a regularly elided intervocalic oral nasal triggers nasalization in either or both adjacent vowels or diphthongs, subsequently reanalysed as a following oral nasal, e.g. **zani* > *zãĩ* 'waiting, watchful, expectant', persisting in the East, elsewhere undergoing reinterpretation > *zain* or denasalization > *zai* (Trask, 1997, p. 140). Similarly, post-root *n* in reflexes of *egon* might have evolved through **zenegozan* > **zeneozan* > **zẽõzan* > **zeonzan*. Investigation would be interesting of sixteenth century apparently pleonastic medial *n* distribution e.g. from *egon*, *baiquineunden* (Romans Ch.VII v.6), 'we were (stative); from *izan*, *ezniñçande* (Galatians Ch.I v.10) 'I would not be', *niñçande* (e.g. Etxepare XII, 33) 'I would be'; *iñçanden* (Etxepare XIII,2), 'you.INTIMATE would have been' vs Batua *ninzateke*, *hinzatekeen*, with a single medial *n*. Building on Trask's very guarded hint of 'adpositions or serial verbs', although mindful of the wider picture which remains unchanged to date '[w]e still, however, have little idea what the origin of these morphs might have been' (Trask, 1997, p. 229), speculatively and requiring future investigation, pleonastic medial *n* might have arisen from conjoined serial verbs with *n* as a common root element or as a marker of agreement between them.

5.2.1 iv. Pleonastic person markers

Pleonastic post-root dative and ergative markers appear.

Two 1SG.DAT markers *-t* and *-da* appear in the reflex of *izan*, *çaitadana* (1 Corinthians Ch.XIV v.11) ‘s/he, it who is to me’. Similarly, from auxiliary **eradun*:

<i>drautadala</i>					(Philemon Ch.I, v.19)
d-	<i>rau</i>	<i>-ta</i>	<i>-d[a]</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-la</i>
d-	root	1SG.DAT	1SG.DAT	2INTIMATE(M).ERG	COMP
‘That you.INTIMATE(M) have (it) to me’					

and 3SG.DAT *-o* occurs twice in, from **ezan*, *cieçoyon* (Matt. Ch.XXII v.46) ‘he had it to him’ vs *cieçon* (Acts Ch.XIX v.41) with the same meaning (Schuchardt in Leičarraga et al., 1990, p. 78 citing Schuchardt, 1983, 1, p. 56).

1SG.ERG appears twice in a lexical reflex of **eradun* ‘give’, following and preceding 2FORMAL.DAT:

<i>draudaçut</i>				(High Navarrese, Illc)
d-	<i>rau</i>	<i>-da</i>	<i>-çu</i>	<i>-t</i>
d-	root	1SG.ERG	2FORMAL.DAT	1SG.ERG
‘I give (it) to YOU.FORMAL’				

Hence pleonasm occurs in intransitive (*çaitadana*) and transitive (*drautadala*, *draudaçut*) reflexes, including those lacking an overt ergative marker (*cieçoyon*). In *drautadala*, *draudaçut* the immediate post-root 1SG marker, with the same form, in the same locus, encodes dative in the first, ergative in the second. Generally, in an ABS-DAT-ERG reflex, the dative index occupies the person marker closest to the right-hand edge of the root, as in Trask’s template.

Like *drautadala*, *indazüt* ‘give.FORMAL (it) to me!’ has pleonastic 1SG.DAT marking, appearing in *Ama*, *indazüt athorra* ‘Mother, give me (my) shirt’ from *Bereterretxen khantoria* (Salaberri, 1870) ‘the song of Bereterretxe’, recounting an event during the first half of the fifteenth century. The ordering of 1SG.DAT markers in *indazüt* parallels that of 1SG.ERG in *draudaçut*, both with 1SG-2FORMAL-1SG, although the roles of the markers differ: 1SG (*-da*, *-t*)

as dative and 2^{FORMAL} (-zū) ergative in *indazüt*; 1^{SG} (-*da*, -*t*) as ergative and 2^{FORMAL} (-*çu*) dative in *draudaçut*.

Pleonastic person marking appears cross-linguistically, notably as an intermediate stage in the process of externalization of inflection in accordance with the *inflection-outside-derivation principle* (Haspelmath 1993, p. 291). Examples include reflexes in the Dravidian language, Pengo, where a person marker can both precede and follow the perfect postfix -*na* (Burrow & Bhattacharya (1970); Bybee 1985, p. 40) e.g.,

	past 'see'	perfect (old)	perfect (hybrid)	perfect (new)
1sg	hur̥taŋ	hur̥taŋna	hur̥taŋnaŋ	hur̥tanaŋ

also in dialectal Lithuanian, where a person marker may precede and follow the reflexive marker (Haspelmath 1990, p. 43) e.g.,

	nonreflexive ('work')	reflexive ('work for oneself')	dialectal forms
1sg	dirb-u	dirb-uo-s	meldži-uo-si-u 'I am praying'
1pl	dirba-me	dirba-mè-s	suka-si-m 'we are turning'

in Spanish, with varietal forms such as *siént-e-(n-)se-n* 'sit-SUBJ-(3PL-)REFL-3PL' cf. standard Spanish *siént-e-n-se-n* 'sit-SUBJ-3PL-REFL' (Haspelmath, 1993, p. 287). By contrast, in the above Basque instances no patent derivational particle appears between the pleonastic person markers, rather a different person marker in a contrasting thematic role. The overwhelming trend for pleonastic ergative person markers to resolve to a verb-final single copy accords with Bybee's concept of relevance: '[a]mong inflectional categories, we can distinguish degrees of relevance of the concept expressed inflectionally to the concept expressed by a radical element... A category is *relevant* to the verb to the extent that *the meaning of the category directly affects the lexical content of the verb stem*... Subject agreement is somewhat less relevant to the verb [than, e.g., aspect], since it refers to an argument of the verb, and not to an action or state described by the verb itself.' (Bybee,

1985, p. 15). Pleonastic dative person marking, however, typically resolves in favour of the internal, in preference to the verb-final copy; possibly the ergative person marker outcompetes it for verb-final position, conflicting preferences entailing that all elements may not attain positional optimization. Linking to, and extrapolating from, the absence of 3.DAT markers, prominent e.g., in Etxepare, dative person markers might have had lesser claim on final position if they were perceived as indexing an entity less archetypally argumental than an ergative subject, perhaps even a dislocation. A diachronic investigation into the ordering of post-root dative and ergative markers and the evolutionary role of pleonastic marking would be a worthwhile future venture.

5.2.1 v. Variation in person marker positioning

Pleonasm links to positional variation: in High Navarrese *draudaçut*, the first ergative marker unusually precedes the dative; in *indazüt* the second dative marker unusually follows the ergative. Positional variation is not, however, restricted to pleonasm: a marker can encode a thematic role typical of a different locus, even on the opposite side of the verb root.

Relocation of function takes place in either direction. The ergative subject, typically the rightmost person marker e.g. 1PL.ERG *-gu* in *emaiten drauçuegu* ‘we give (it) to you.PL’ (2 Corinthians Ch.V v.12), verb-initial in ergative-fronted forms e.g. 1SG.ERG *n-* in *necusenean* ‘when I saw (them)’:¹⁰ *çure beguíoc necusenean* ‘when I saw your eyes’ (Lazarraga, f. 16, ll,9); *neçanean* ‘when I had (it)’ (Oñati Poetry, ll.5). A pre-root person marker can, however, have dative reference: 2INTIMATE.DAT *h-* in *bahau* as ‘if s/he, it has (it) to you.INTIMATE’, not ‘s/he, it has you.INTIMATE’ in *çor bahau* (Philemon Ch.I v.18) ‘if he owes (it) to you.INTIMATE’, instead of morphologically tripersonal *badrauc*; 1SG.DAT *n-* in *eznauçue* (Luke Ch.XX v.68) as ‘you.PL will not have (it) to me’, not ‘you.PL do not have me’, instead of morphologically tripersonal *eztrautaçue*. Verb-initial markers, additionally to the predominant absolutive as in Trask’s template and ergative in ergative-fronted forms, can encode a dative index, thereby having the capacity to represent absolutive, dative or ergative markers.

¹⁰ The verb has a plural direct object argument; as overwhelmingly in Lazarraga, the verb manifests no ABS.PL marker.

Person marker positioning departing from that of Trask's (1997, p. 106) template is not rare. Variant positioning appears, since the advent of Basque publication, in contexts distant geographically and temporally. Many instances involve a 2INTIMATE.DAT following the ergative marker, e.g. Roncalese *daiguk* 'we have (it) to you.INTIMATE(M)', Gipuzkoan *dikitek* 'they have (it) to you.INTIMATE(M)', Lapurdian *dautek* 'they have (it) to you.INTIMATE(M)', but not exclusively so: Roncalese *dauguzei* 'we have (it) to you.PL.', Lapurdian *dautet* 'they have (it) to me' (Gómez & Sainz, 1995, p. 247). A post-root absolutive marker appears in Southern High Navarrese reflexes collected by Bonaparte, e.g. *didazu* as 'you.FORMAL have me' (vs widespread *nauzu*), elsewhere construed as tripersonal 'you.FORMAL have (it) to me'; *dizut* as 'I have you.FORMAL' (vs widespread *zaitut*), elsewhere 'I have (it) to you.FORMAL' (Yrizar, 2008, p. 398). Pre-root dative markers appear in seventeenth century Donibane Lohitzune (Fr Saint-Jean-de-Luz) (Voltaire, 1620, p. 225 cited in Leïçarraga et al., 1990, p. 87) e.g. *seytudela* as 'that I have (it) to you.FORMAL' in *Estutusté hayñ berçe çorseytudela* 'I don't think I owe you so much more', mapping more closely to Batua divalent *zaitudala* 'that I have you.FORMAL' than to trivalent *dizudala* 'that I have (it) to you.FORMAL'. Lafitte, in the twentieth century, denounces 'the solecism of the coast' (see Chapter Two, **2.2.2 v.**), i.e. construing the pre-root marker as dative, even in reflexes with an absolutive pluralizer (-z): *bi ogiak ekharri nauzkate* for *bi ogiak ekharri dauzkidate* 'they (have) brought me two loaves' (1979, p. 296). In a language where personal marker allomorphs vary with pre- vs post-root positioning (also word-internal vs word-final with 1SG and 2INTIMATE), it is striking that a person marker in a given locus should represent more than one thematic role. Although local syncretic reassignments may have arisen independently, their marker sequencing might reflect earlier syntax with freer person marker positioning, prior to attachment to the verb. Marker ordering variability can, however, also arise as a purely morphological, rather than proto-syntactic phenomenon, particularly with variation between closely related varieties (e.g. Rice, 2011; Mithun, 2016).

While pleonasm and variable thematic role assignment to person marker loci occur in sixteenth century and subsequent sources, 3.DAT marker omission occurs on both sides of the Pyrenees. In the Peninsular Basque Country, *RS* furnishes plentiful examples. Contrasting with a pluralizer trend (see 5.2.2), 3.DAT absence does not securely correlate with argument indefiniteness: while divalent *emac* (*RS* 189) 'give.INTIMATE(M) (it)!' and

trivalent *badeguioc* (RS 13) ‘if you.INTIMATE(M) do (it) to him/her/it’ both relate to indefinite *yñori* ‘to anyone ~ someone’. Also in the Peninsular Basque Country, divalent *eçuen* (High Navarrese, Text I) ‘s/he, it did not have (it)’ relates to indefinite dative *berçeri* ‘to another/someone else’. In the Continental Basque Country, Etxepare provides abundant examples of 3SG.DAT or 3PL.DAT marker absence despite a co-occurring dative-marked argument; again there is no discernible correlation with argument indefiniteness. From **edin* ‘be, become’ monopersonal *adi* ‘be.INTIMATE!’ appears in Arraxian *ecitian gomendadi ieyncoary* (I,21) ‘In the evening, upon retiring, commend yourself to God!’, where bipersonal 2INTIMATE.ABS-3SG.DAT *akio* ‘be.INTIMATE to him/her/it’ would be anticipated (Altuna, 1987, p. 14); similarly from *egin* ‘do, make’ bipersonal *eguiç* ‘make.INTIMATE (it)!’ despite the dative argument *ieyncoari* ‘to God’: *Othoy eguiç ieyncoari deyen varcamenduya* (I,32) ‘Pray to God that he will give them (the dead) forgiveness’ yet, in the embedded clause, *deyen* ‘that He give (it) to them’, from *-i-, is tripersonal, with the 3PL.DAT marker -e. A 3PL.DAT marker is absent, e.g. from bipersonal *eçac* ‘make.INTIMATE(M) (it)!’ from **ezan* (cf tripersonal *iecec* ‘make.2INTIMATE(M) (it) to them!’ e.g. Luke Ch.XVIII v.22), despite the co-occurring PL.DAT argument *saynduyer* ‘to the saints’: *Saynduyer ere eguin eçac heure eçagucia* (I,53) ‘Make.INTIMATE your acknowledgement to the saints!’. Etxepare, however, includes plentiful 3.DAT marked reflexes, e.g. *laryola* ‘it flowed from Him’: *Orotaric laryola odol preciatuya* (I,127) ‘His precious blood flowed out of him from everywhere’; *eztemayo* ‘He does not give (it) to him/her/it’: *Harc ehoric eztemayo oren vaten epphia* (I,148) ‘He does not give an hour’s grace to anyone’. Further, the above examples accord with a trend highlighted by Mounole Hiriart-Urruty, concurring with the findings of Oyharçabal, that dative indexing in Etxepare is absent from auxiliary much more frequently than from lexical reflexes (2014 [2018], p. 142). Her data also reveal an evolutionary trend in which indicative auxiliaries in Eastern Continental dialects index dative arguments far more frequently in the eighteenth century than they did two centuries earlier (2014 [2018], p. 356).

Notwithstanding other distribution patterns, sixteenth century 3.DAT omission, rather than linked to indefiniteness, seems to affect particular verbs, as today, in Eastern varieties (Trask, 1997, p. 221). Sixteenth century verbs omitting 3.DAT marking include, in RS, *eman* ‘give’, *itxaron* ‘wait’; in High Navarrese, *uk(h)en/*edun* rather than anticipated **eradun*; in Etxepare **edin* ‘be, become’, **ezan* ‘have (auxil), do, make’, **egin* ‘do, make’, interestingly, all -n class verbs. In the Chapter Three and Four texts, dative marker omission affects only

3SG/PL.DAT; as more texts emerge, it would be worthwhile to audit the distribution of dative marker omitting verbs across the Basque Country and to ascertain whether dative marker omission affects non-3rd persons. Possibly 3.DAT marker absence arose through deletion; on the contrary, 3.DAT marking may have originated from a subset of verbs, spread, then stopped short of completion. Verb-selective marking suggests that 3.DAT markers may have been incorporated at a different stage from other person markers, although sheds no light on how person marker incorporation varied chronologically (for contrasting hypotheses, see Chapter Two, **2.3.6**). The lack of ergative and absolutive markers sets the 3rd person apart from the 1st and 2nd; furthermore, that the dative marker can be absent despite a co-referential argument echoes the behaviour of pluralizers rather than that of person markers.

5.2.2 Pluralizers

Basque pluralizers ‘mostly conform to a rather clear pattern’ (Trask, 1997, p. 221). Basque has ergative and absolutive pluralizers, Trask suggesting the latter, significantly more complex, may be older (1997, p. 222).

In the sixteenth century and modern language, a similar picture obtains. The ergative pluralizer normally verb-final, except when followed by past-tense marking *-n*, has two allomorphs, *-te* and *-e*, both from ancestral **-de*, generalized throughout most of the Basque Country following devoicing to *-te* after a voiceless sibilant, and in Bizkaia following intervocalic reduction to *-e* (Trask, 1997, p. 221).

The ergative pluralizer indexes neither 1PL nor historically plural 2FORMAL markers, restricted to 3PL and the relatively recent 2PL. The 2PL post-root marker *-zue* (cf 2FORMAL *-zu*) is reanalyzed from *-zu* + pluralizer *-e*, although in ergative fronted forms, the common 2FORMAL/2PL pre-root marker *z-* indexes the discrete post-root pluralizer *-te* ~ *-e* e.g. from *jakin* ‘know’ *etzinaquitén* ‘you.PL did not know (it)’ (Luke, Ch.II v.49), with negative *ez-* (as *et-* before the sibilant) and post-root pluralizer *-te* immediately preceding the past-tense marker *-n*.

Ergative and absolutive pluralizers have distinct morphosyntactic behaviour, with one overlap. The predominantly ergative pluralizer *-de* ~ *-te* functions as absolutive in a restricted set of intransitive forms, but with ergative pluralizer positioning. Plural reflexes of *egon* ‘be (stative), remain, stay’ manifest *-de* throughout the country, except in Bizkaian, which uses the absolutive pluralizer *-z* (Trask, 1997, pp. 221–223); in Leizarraga, Lazarraga and Etxepare *-de* furnishes variant plural forms of *izan* ‘be’ e.g. *guirade* (e.g. Etxepare I,159) ‘we are’; as is widespread today, *-te* serves as a discrete pleonastic post-root pluralizer in 2PL intransitive reflexes: *çabiltzate* ‘you.PL are going around’ (e.g. Mark Ch.XVI v.6); *çatozte* ‘come.2PL!’ (e.g., Matthew Ch.XI v.28).

Typically, the absolutive pluralizer immediately follows the verb root. Unlike the ergative pluralizer, the absolutive pluralizer indexes all plural arguments in all persons, whether a free DP or the plural feature of an attached or implicit person marker. The predominant absolutive pluralizer is *-z* (*-tza* ~ *-tzi*) (Trask, 1997, p. 221), alongside *-zki*, reanalysed from *-z* and the dative flag *-ki* (e.g. Trask, 1997, p. 222). Trask (1997, p. 223) terms the pre-root particle *it-*, an ‘apparent pluralizer’, cautiously suggesting it might represent an ancient SG/PL verb stem suppletion; *it-* appears in ABS.PL reflexes of **edin* ‘be, become’, *uk(h)en/*edun* ‘have’, **ezan* ‘have (AUX), make, do’.

The behaviour of each absolutive pluralizer is examined and illustrated below.

5.2.2 i. *-z/-tza*

In the sixteenth century, as in the modern language, *-z* and its variant *-tza* are widespread. Allomorph choice can vary between sources: Etxepare’s *-z* sometimes corresponds to Leizarraga’s *-tza*: from *ioan* ‘go’, *çoaz* (Etxepare, XII,24), ‘go.2FORMAL away!’ vs *doaçã* (Colossians Ch.II v.22) ‘they are wont to’, though both have *-tza* in, from *ebili/ibili* ‘go about, walk’, *dabilça* (Etxepare II,75) and *(ba)dabiltza* (Matthew Ch.XI v.5) ‘they (indeed) walk’. In the texts examined, *-z* or its allomorph appear in all four paradigm valencies, e.g. ABS *goacen* (Etxepare, XVI,1) ‘let us go’; ABS-DAT *dagozcan* (Luke Ch.VII v.32) ‘they are (stative) to him/her/it’; ABS-ERG *daduçala* (Etxepare I,135) ‘that s/he, it holds them’; ABS-DAT-ERG *ekaztaçue* (Matthew Ch.XIV v.18) ‘bring.2PL them to me!’, from auxiliary **eradun*, *drautzat*

Romans Ch.VII v.25) ‘I have them to him/her/it’ (see also a 5.2.2 ii. below for a parallel reflex with *-zki*). Departing from the predominant immediately post-root locus are reflexes with a verb-final pluralizer, e.g. *çaitudaz* ‘I have you.FORMAL’ (Lazarraga, f.17r, III,3) *jatorguz* ‘they come to us’ (RS, 232); in *goaquez* ‘we will go’ (RS 165) following the prospective/potential marker *-ke*, the reverse sequence obtaining in *dohazquen* ‘(they) who will go’ (Acts Ch.VII v.40). Verb-final absolutive pluralization predominates in sixteenth century and modern Bizkaian, e.g., following 1SG.DAT *-ta* and 2FORMAL.ERG *-zu* in modern *deustazuz* ‘you.FORMAL have them to me’.

5.2.2 ii. *-zki*

In Batua, *-zki* is confined to a small set of verbs: three auxiliary paradigm sets — ABS-DAT reflexes of *izan* e.g. *zaizkit* ‘they are to me’ vs *zait* ‘it is to me’; ABS-DAT-ERG reflexes of **-i-* e.g. *dizkiot* ‘I have them to him/her/it’, vs *diot* ‘I have (it) to him/her/it’; ABS-DAT-ERG reflexes of **ezan* e.g. *diezazkiotan* ‘that I have them to him/her/it’ vs *diezaiotan* ‘that I have (it) to him/her/it; also *jakin* ‘know (a fact)’ in Batua and central varieties: *dakit* ‘I know it’ vs *dakizkit* ‘I know them’ vs regular *dakitizat* elsewhere (Trask, 1997, p. 222).

Similarly, *-zki* occurs in sixteenth century reflexes of *izan*, e.g. *çaiquit*¹¹ (John Ch.X v.27) ‘they are to me’ vs *çait* (1 Corinthians Ch. XIV v.11) ‘I am to him/her/it’; of **eradun*, e.g. *drazquiat*¹² ‘I have them to you.INTIMATE(M)’ (Matthew Ch.IV v.9) vs *drauat* ‘I have it to you.INTIMATE(M)’ (Luke Ch.IV v.6); *drazquiot* ‘I have them to him/her it’ (Philippians Ch.I v.3) (compare *drautzat* with the same meaning in 5.2.2 ii. above). As in some modern varieties, sixteenth century *jakin* ‘know’ uses *-zki*, e.g., *daquizqui* (John Ch.VII v.15) ‘s/he knows them’. In the sixteenth century, however, *-zki* is more widespread in lexical verbs than today, partly consequential upon the modern preponderance of V+AUX constructions. Also using *-zki* are: *entzun* ‘hear’, e.g. *dançuzquigu* (Acts Ch.II v.8) ‘we hear them’; *eman* ‘give’, e.g.

¹¹ although *-z* rather than *-zki* is the pluralizer with the suppletive root *-au-*, e.g., *baçautzu* ‘if they are to you.FORMAL’ (Etxepare, Prologue, 21).

¹² Where the 3SG.DAT marker has *-ka*, however, the pluralizer is *-(t)z drautzat* (Romans Ch.VII v.25) ‘I have them to him/her/it’ vs *draucat* ‘I have (it) to him/her/it’ (Romans Ch.I v.3), also when ABS and DAT are both 3PL, e.g., *drautze* (Matthew Ch.VII v.11) ‘s/he, it has them to them’ vs *-zki* in *drazquiat* (Matthew Ch.IV v.9) ‘I have them to you.INTIMATE(M)’.

emainzquiçue ‘give.2PL (thanks)!’ (1 Thessalonians Ch.V v.18); in two more, the root-final sibilant obscures the initial sibilant of the pluralizer: *ikusi* ‘see’, e.g. *dacusquidan* (Etxepare XIII,35) ‘that I may see them’; *egotzi* ‘throw, hurl’: *egotzquic* (Galatians Ch.IV v.30) ‘cast.INTIMATE(M) them out!’. None of these four lexical verbs manifests dative reflexes; raising the question, if they incorporated *-zki* analogically, of the identity of the source verb(s), particularly since the dative flag *-ki* (see 5.2.3 below) appears far less widespread in the sixteenth century than in the modern language.

5.2.2 iii. *-de*

The *-de* variant plural reflexes of *izan*, while not overtly manifesting any other acknowledged pluralizer, are semantically and morphologically pleonastic by dint of duplication of the plurality feature implicit in the person marker. Alternating forms with and without *-de* occur in Leizarraga, Lazarraga and Etxepare; distribution is not clear-cut, varying between sources. In Leizarraga, prominence differs between texts: in the New Testament ‘we are’ is *gara*, not *garade*; ‘we were’ *guinen/guenen*, not *guinaden*, while in the ABC *-de* forms predominate (Schuchardt in Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 118). In the New Testament, in contrast with 1PL, 3PL *dirade* ‘they are’ is almost universal, *dira* and *dirade* exceptionally co-occurring in Luke Ch.XIII v.23, *dira* as a copula and relativized *dirade* as an auxiliary. In Leizarraga, variants with and without *-de* appear in copular and auxiliary contexts.

In Lazarraga, *-de* variants are a small minority, arguably copular, e.g. *çu baçarade seruíçen* ‘if you.FORMAL are (thereby) served’ (P, f. 7v,8) against overwhelming *gara* ‘we are’, *çara* ‘you.FORMAL are’, *dira* ‘they are’ in both copular and auxiliary contexts, e.g. *flordelisea çara çu* ‘you.FORMAL are the fleur-de-lis’ (f. 7r,15); *nola Açartu çara / çaoçen lecura Etorten* ‘how have you dared to come to the place you are in?’ (f. 14v,5/6).

In Etxepare, 1PL, 2FORMAL and 3PL variants with and without *-de* are, according to Altuna (1987, p. 15), interchangeable. Forms without *-de*, as in Leizarraga, have both copular and auxiliary roles, yet the intimation of a distribution pattern emerges. From the 21 instances of *-de* variants, 18 are copular, e.g. *cirade* ‘they were’ as complementized *ciradela*, contrasting with auxiliary *cira* as complementized *ciren*: *Hi nolaco ciradela viciciren artian*

‘they were like you when they were living’ (I,30); *guirade* ‘we are’ rather than *guira* in *Guguirade egun oroz heryoaren azpian* (I,159) ‘Every day we are under (the shadow of) death’.

Variants with *-de* occur beyond the texts examined e.g., in Juan de Huarte’s 1619 *Historia de Roncesvalles*: *Çu zarade ederrena* ‘you are the most beautiful’ (Michelena, 1964, p. 125); in the *Salve* recorded by Isasti around 1620: *diñu garaden* ‘that we be worthy’ (Michelena, 1964, p. 164); in *Sunbillako ebasketa* ‘Sunbilla robbery’ *yrur lagun guinaden* ‘we were three companions’ (Sarasola, 1983, p. 111), echoing Etxepare’s tendency to use *-de* outside the auxiliary role. Modern Zuberoan conserves *-de*, although rather than a variant, as a feature distinguishing 2PL from 2FORMAL: *zirade(i)e* ‘you.PL are’, *zinde(i)en* ‘you.PL were’ vs *zira* ‘you.FORMAL are’, *zinen* ‘you.FORMAL were’.

5.2.2 iv. *it-* and SG/PL correspondence

In the sixteenth century, as nowadays, *it-* appears in the reflexes of only three verb roots: from **edin* e.g. *bitez* (1 Corinthians Ch.XIV v. 29) ‘let them be’; from *uk(h)en/*edun* e.g. *ditu* (Lazarraga, f. 13v,4) ‘s/he, it has them’; from **ezan*, e.g. *bitzate* (Luke Ch.XVI v.29) ‘let them have them!’. Contrasting with Etxepare and Lazarraga, both of which have forms such as *dut* ‘I have (it)’, *ditut* ‘I have them’, Bizkaian sources manifest non-correspondence between ABS.SG and ABS.PL counterparts: 3SG.ABS *dau* ‘s/he, it has (it)’ vs *ditu* ‘s/he, it has them’ (e.g. Garibai, *Endechas de doña Milia de Lastur*, 28-29). Modern Bizkaian uses *ditu*, alongside regular *dauz*. That the *dauz* type is absent from the Bizkaian texts examined supports Trask’s conclusion that the *ditu* type was universal, including in Bizkaia and that the *dauz* type is of ‘recent analogical development’ (1997, p. 223). In the sixteenth century, pleonasm with *it-* and *-z* appears: *dituz* (RS 89) ‘it has them; Pleonastic pluralization is examined further in (vii) below.

5.2.2 v. Root suppletion

An ancient verb root alternation correlating with ABS.PL indexing presence ~ absence might account, not only for *it-*, but also for *u* in plural reflexes of *etzan* ‘lie, recline’ e.g. *datza* ‘s/he, it lies’ vs *dautza* ‘they lie’ (Trask, 1997, p. 223). Although the *ago* ~ *au* alternation of *egon* ‘be (stative), stay, remain’: 3SG.PRS *dago* vs 3PL.PRS *daude*, past-tense counterparts *zegoen*

vs *zeuden*, has been attributed to intervocalic velar loss followed by the raising of the second vowel (Gómez & Sainz, 1995, p. 258), a historic root alternation is conceivable: as with *uk(h)en/*edun*, Bizkaian varieties have formed regular, segmentable reflexes e.g. *dagoz* (RS 477) ‘they are (stative)’; similarly *dagode* (same gloss) in the folk song *Aizkorra etxean da* ‘The axe is in the house’. There are, however, instances where the putative plural root appears in a singular reflex: *dauque* (Etxepare I,111; I,276) ‘s/he, it will be (stative)’, which Altuna (1987, p. 29) relates to modern *dagoke* ‘s/he, it would be’. Possibly forms such as *dauque* are subsequent formations analogical on the plural root.

5.2.2 vi. Pluralizer alternation with a single verb root

As with *uk(h)en/*edun* (*it-* vs *-z*), **eradun* (*-zki* vs *-z*), *egon* (*-z* vs *-de*), different absolutive pluralizers can attach to the same root. ABS-DAT reflexes of *izan* use *-zki* and *-z*: *ç aizquit* (e.g. John Ch.X v.27) ‘they are to me’, yet *ç aizté* (e.g. Philippians Ch.II v.21) ‘they are to them’. In Lazarraga, *uk(h)en/*edun* forms ABS.PL reflexes with *it-*, whereas related **edutsi* does not index ABS.PL direct objects e.g., *baleustae* ‘if they were to have (it = them) to me’ (P, f. 10v, 19). Distribution correlates principally with variety, e.g. with *egon -z* appears in Gipuzkoan, Araban and Bizkaian: in the Oñati poetry, *çeonçan* (II.3) ‘you.FORMAL were (stative)’; in Lazarraga, *çaoz* (f.45, XX,73) ‘you.FORMAL are (stative)’; in RS *dagoz* (477) ‘they are (stative)’; contrasting with *-de* in the Continental texts: *cenaudela* (Etxepare, IX,12) ‘you.FORMAL were (stative)’, *ceuden* (Luke Ch.IV 32) ‘they were’. Anciently, some varieties, but not others could have manifested ABS.SG/ABS.PL root suppletion, suppletive and invariable roots not necessarily taking the same pluralizer, a scenario to some extent supported by instances of related roots taking different pluralizers: in Zumarraga, *it-* appears with *uk(h)en/*edun*: *ditugula* (28) ‘that we have them’, but *-z* with related **edutsi*: *deusaz* (5) ‘s/he, it has them to him/her/it’.

5.2.2 vii. Pleonasm

Absolutive pluralizers, unlike their ergative counterparts, manifest frequent pleonasm. In 2PL, built through further pluralization on a historic plural form reanalyzed as singular, 2FORMAL pleonasm is systematic, e.g., in Batua:

<i>maite zaitu</i>					
<i>maite</i>	<i>z-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>it-</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>-∅</i>
love	2.ABS	PRS	ABS.PL	root	3SG.ERG
‘s/he, it loves you.FORMAL’					

cf

maite zaituzte

<i>maite</i>	<i>z-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>it-</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>-z</i>	<i>-te</i>	<i>-∅</i>
love	2.ABS	PRS	ABS.PL	ROOT	ABS.PL	ABS.PL	3SG.ERG

's/he, it loves you.PL'

The sequence *-zte*, represented above as separate morphemes, could arguably be construed as one pluralizer here. It is, however, analysed as two since *-z* and *-te* can be separated, e.g. by modal *-ke* in *zintuzkete* 'you.PL would have (it)', although alternative perspectives might see *-zte* as one pluralizer in both reflexes, presenting a split morpheme in *zintuzkete*, or as having dual status: a single morpheme in *zaituzte*, two in *zintuzkete*.

Unusually in sixteenth century texts, Leizarraga's religious texts are rich in 2PL reflexes, using *zueketa*, as in the modern language. Reflexes with both *it-* and *-zte* include *çaituztegu* (1 Thessalonians Ch.IV v.1) 'we have you.PL'; *çaituzte* 's/he, it has you.PL' (John Ch.XVI v.27). *Çaituzte* represents two syncretic verb-forms: as above with ABS.PL *-zte*, and with *-zte* representing ABS.PL *-z* followed by ERG.PL *-te*: *çaituzte* 'they have you.PL': *ecen liuraturen çaituzte consistorioetara, eta bere synagoguetan açotaturen çaituzte* (Matthew Ch.X v.17) 'for they will deliver you to the courts and flog you in their synagogues'. The modern language contrasts *çaituzte* 's/he, it has you.PL' with *zaituztete* 'they have you.PL', a form absent from Leizarraga, but appearing in the same verse from the modern Interchurch Bible: *Auzitegi eta sinagogetara eramango zaituztete eta zigortu egingo* (BIBLIJA.Net - Biblia Interneten, n.d.) 'they will bring you to the courts and synagogues and will meet out punishment', where Batua more closely approaches morphemically segmentable typology than does the sixteenth century counterpart.

Pleonastic pluralization occurs not only in transitive, but also in intransitive 2PL reflexes: from **edin* 'be, become' *çaitetztez* 'be.2PL!' with *it-*, *-zte* and *-z* (three instances in 2 Corinthians Ch.XIII v.11); final *-z* is not always present, e.g. *çoazte* (Matthew Ch.VIII v.32) 'go.2PL away!'. In 2PL.ABS-DAT reflexes, pluralizer behaviour contrasts with that seen above in ABS-ERG and ABS reflexes, where *-zte* could be construed as a single morpheme, occupying the locus immediately following the verb root. In High Navarrese, *çarrayzquidate* 'follow.2PL me!' (II,13) the sequence furnishes either a split morpheme or two discrete pluralizers in

different loci: root-adjacent -z in the majority ABS.PL position, but -te in the typical verb-final ERG.PL locus, separated from -z by likely dative flag -qui and 1SG.DAT -da. Comparable ABS-DAT forms appear in Leizarraga: 2PL.ABS-3SG.ERG *çarreitzatē* (1990, p. 1395 [A 3r], 4) ‘that you.PL follow it’, the pluralizing elements separated by 3SG.DAT -a. Other ABS.PL person markers are typically not indexed by -te, e.g. 1PL.ABS-3SG.DAT *garraitzala* (1990, p. 1293 [B 8r], 31) ‘that we follow Him’; 3PL.ABS-3SG.DAT *darreitza* (1990, p. 267 [**6r], 22) ‘they seek it’. The New Testament lacks 2FORMAL.ABS-DAT reflexes, but RS, which uses 2FORMAL *zuketa* with its historic plural reference has *çaquidaz* ‘you.FORMAL are/become to me’ from **edin*: *Sayra noçu, asper çaquidaz* (361) ‘You(FORMAL as PL) have me in the vulture’s eyrie, exact your revenge on me’.

Pleonastic pluralization is not confined to the second person plural. In the modern language, *it-* and -z (instead of 2PL -zte) systematically co-occur in 3PL.ABS-3PL.ERG reflexes of *uk(h)en/*edin*: *gaituzte* ‘they have us’, *zituzten* ‘they had them’; also in persons plural across all paradigms of intransitive **edin* ‘be, become’: present potential *gaitezke* ‘we can be’, *bitez* ‘let them be!’.

Sixteenth century pleonastic absolute pluralization is more widespread, but less systematic than in Batua. *It-* and *z-* co-occur in **edin*, *uk(h)en/*edin* and **ezan* across sources, sporadically additional -zte or -te. From **edin*, *çiteçen* ‘they were/became’ appears twice in *Arçaiac aserra çiteçen. Gasteac aguir çiteçen* (Garibai G.137) ‘The shepherds quarrelled. The cheeses appeared’ though a close counterpart lacks -z: *Vnayoc arri citean,/ gasteoc aguir citean* (RS 52) ‘The cowherds quarrelled, the cheeses appeared’; *baditez* (e.g. 2 Corinthians Ch.IX v.4) ‘if they are’; *ezditeçen* (Lazarraga, P, f. 14r,3) ‘that they are not’; *çiteçen* ‘they were/became’ (Lazarraga, P, f. 14,20). *Uk(h)en/*edin*, yields *dituz* (e.g. RS 89) ‘s/he, it has them’, also attested as *ditus* (see Chapter Three, 3.5). In Lazarraga, *it-* and -z co-occur in *çaitudaz* ‘I have you.FORMAL (f.17r, III,3) although -z is absent from *çaitudan* ‘that I have you.FORMAL’ (f. 24v, VIII,71). Appearing twice in 2 Corinthians Ch.XI v.20 is *baçaituztez* ‘if s/he, it has you.PL’ where, in addition to *it-* absolute plurality is marked by -zte and -z. Three pluralizers can also occur in reflexes of **ezan*, e.g., *baçaitzatez* (2 Corinthians Ch.IX v.4) ‘if you.PL are’ with *it-*, -te and -z.

Sixteenth century pleonastically pluralized reflexes of other verbs appear sporadically. The present-tense 3PL of *egon*, in Leizarraga overwhelmingly *daude* (e.g. John Ch.XV v.7) ‘they

are/stay/remain’, pluralizers *-de* and *-z* sporadically co-occur, e.g. in *badaudez* (1 Corinthians Ch.7 v.8) ‘they remain’. The variant *-te*, appears as an additional pluralizer in a GEN.PL relativized form of *etzan* ‘lie, recline’, *lo daunçateney* (1 Thessalonians Ch.IV v.1) ‘to those who sleep’, cf with one pluralizer *daunça* (1 Corinthians Ch.XI v.30; 1 Thessalonians Ch.V v.7) ‘they recline’ vs 3SG *datza* (Matthew Ch.IX v.24) ‘s/he, it is sleeping’.

Contrasting with pleonastic behaviour, however, a pluralizer can undergo reduction or even be absent in the presence of a co-referential ABS.PL argument.

5.2.2 viii. The reduction of *it-*

The apparent pluralizer, *it-* can undergo syncope cutting through the morpheme, leaving only the plosive. The phenomenon is witnessed in both High and Low Navarrese. *Elegía de Juan de Amendux* features *tut-*, from *ditut* ‘I have them’: *Ycustetut* ‘I see them’ (High Navarrese, II,8). Etxepare’s Low Navarrese sources plentiful examples, e.g. *tu-* ‘s/he, it has them’ < *ditu-*: *nahi tuyela icussi* (I,246) ‘for He wants to see them’; *egocitu lurrian* (I,336) ‘He has flung them on the ground’. Altuna (1987, p. 63) sees the entire first syllable, *di-* as elided; the vowel loss alone would, however, give the same result, two adjacent plosives resolving to the place of articulation of the second and always voiceless (e.g. Trask, 1997, p. 187). Either way, the putative morpheme is already cut by a syllable boundary: investigation of mismatch between morpheme and syllable boundaries in early Basque texts could shed light on whether *it-* has a likely history as a discrete pluralizer or reflects SG/PL root suppletion.

5.2.2 ix. Absolute pluralizer absence despite a co-referential ABS.PL argument

Pluralizer absence is striking in Lazarraga, e.g. *Barri onac dacart* ‘I bring good news’ (f. 26v, X,1) with the ABS.PL argument *Barri onac* ‘Good news’ as the direct object of *dacart*, elsewhere ‘I bring (it)’, instead of **dacaçat* ‘I bring them’ cf *dacacela* (Etxepare I,240) ‘that he (death) bring them’, *dacazquet* (Galatians Ch.VI v.17) ‘I will bear them’, *dacaz* (RS 129) ‘it brings them’, all triggering elision of the *r* root component, unlike Batua e.g. *dakartzat* ‘I bring them’. In Lazarraga, *uk(h)en/*edun* exceptionally indexes absolute plurality, systematically with pre-root *it-*, e.g. *ditugu* ‘we have them’ (f. 44v L, XX,44, vs *dogun* ‘that we have (it)’ two lines later), including non-3rd person arguments: *çaitudaz* ‘I have

you.FORMAL' (f. 17, III,3), with pleonastic *-z*, unlike Batua *zaitut*). Otherwise, Lazarraga's Araban more generally distinguishes between the direct object and subject role of the absolutive: in the direct object role, plurality is not indexed, but it is in the subject role e.g. *ezdíteçen* 'that they are not' from **edin* (P, f. 14,3); *gueonçen* 'where we were (stative)' from *egon* (f.45, XX, 72), both with *-z*, *it-* co-occurring in the first. The Lazarraga text seems, therefore, to have the intimation of a nominative-accusative system. Furthermore, the indexing of subject absolutives and non-indexing of direct object absolutives calls into question the argumental status of the co-referential DP. If argumental status correlates with DP-verb indexing, then, in Lazarraga's variety, a subject absolutive DP is an argument, whereas a direct object DP is, generally, not, perhaps behaving as a dislocation.

In *RS*, contrasting with Lazarraga, pluralizers index definite, but not indefinite, ABS.PL direct objects e.g. *day* 's/he, it will make (it)' in *Zaran bat daguianac bi day* (*RS* 34) 'S/he who makes one basket will make two'. Lakarra Andrinua (1996, p. 189, citing Bähr, 1926, pp. 98-99) notes absolutive pluralizer absence in South-Western Gipuzkoan transitive and intransitive reflexes, seeing sporadic pluralizer presence as suggesting recent loss. Whether absence reflects loss or a historic lack is an issue warranting further investigation.

5.2.2 x. Positioning

Absolutive pluralizers, except *it-*, are separated from the person marker which they index at least by the verb root e.g. from **eradun*

garauzcac

g-	<i>a-</i>	<i>rau</i>	-z	-c	-a	-c
1PL.ABS	PRS ¹³	root	ABS.PL	FLAG	3SG.DAT	2INTIMATE(M).ERG

'you.INTIMATE(M) have us to Him'

in *redimitu garauzcac* 'you.INTIMATE(M) ransomed us for Him' (Revelation Ch.V v.9).

including in pleonastically pluralized forms, e.g.

cerauzquietet

c-	<i>e-</i>	<i>rau</i>	-z	-qui	-o	-te	-t
2.ABS	PRS	root	ABS.PL1	FLAG	3SG.DAT	ABS.PL2	1SG. ERG

'I have you.PL to Him'

¹³ In sixteenth century sources, the pre-root vowel manifested a less clear tense specialization than in Batua.

In *gommendatzen cerauzquotet* ‘I commend you.PL to Him’ (Acts Ch.XX v.32), the second pluralizer, *-te* further separated from its indexing person marker by the dative flag and dative marker. The verb-final position is occupied by the 1SG.ERG marker *-t*; *-te*, a redeployed ergative pluralizer, seeks the rightmost locus, yet semantically and syntactically ergative *-t* outcompetes it, constraining absolutive *-te* to penultimate position.

The pluralizer *-z* typically occupying the immediate post-root locus in the Continental texts, in the Bizkaian sources, and to a lesser extent in Lazarraga’s Araban, is verb-final, unless followed by the past-tense marker *-n* : from **edin* ‘be, become’, *çaquidaz* (RS 361) ‘be.2FORMAL(as PL) to me!’, where *-z* follows dative flag *-ki* and 1SG.DAT *-da*; from *etorri* ‘come’ *jatorguz* (RS 232) ‘they come to us’ .

The post-root pluralizer position varies when co-occurring with modal *-ke*. In the Bizkaian texts, the pluralizer remains verb-final, e.g., in the future imperative of *egon*, *çagoquez* (RS 18) ‘be.2FORMAL(as PL)!’. In Leizarraga, the pluralizer precedes *-ke* in intransitive forms: from *ioan*, *dohazquen* ‘they who will go’ (Acts Ch.VII v.40); from *et(h)orri* ‘come’ *çatozquete* ‘you.PL may come’ (John Ch.VII v.34), with pleonastic, verb-final *-te*. In transitive verbs, however the modal morpheme outcompetes the post-root pluralizer for the root-adjacent locus: *-ke* immediately follows the root *za* of **ezan* in *çaitzaquezte* (John Ch.VII v.7) ‘s/he, it can have you.PL.’; *-ke* immediately follows the root *u* of *uk(h)en/*edun*, preceding ABS.PL *-z* in *dituqueizte* (Matt. Ch.XIII v.49) ‘they will have them’. There is some varietal ordering difference: in Lapurdian reflexes recorded by Bonaparte, the post-root pluralizer is root-adjacent and followed by *-ke*: *çaitzazquete*, *dituzquete* (Schuchardt in Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 75 citing Bonaparte, 1869). That the same pluralizer occupies different loci in different parts of the Basque Country suggests historically variable positioning, different sequences establishing in different localities, intimating a greater degree of isolating character prior to the consolidation of verb-forms with attached person-related markers.

Sixteenth century post-root pluralizer positioning corresponds largely to that outlined by Trask, the absolutive immediately following the verb root; the ergative, verb-final (apart from the past-tense marker *-n*). There are, however, significant departures, absolutive *-de/-*

te contriving to occupy a position as far right of the root as possible, unless constrained to the penultimate locus by an ergative marker. Absolutive pluralizer positioning varies between localities: in Bizkaian, *-z*, elsewhere favouring the root-adjacent position, is verb-final. In Leizarraga, *-ke* outcompetes the absolutive pluralizer for the verb-adjacent locus in transitive reflexes, yet the reverse ordering obtains in Bonaparte's Lapurdian findings. Pluralizer pleonasm is abundant and, in dative reflexes, pleonastic pluralizers are generally separated by the dative flag and person marker. The typical separation of absolutive pluralizers from the person marker whose plural feature they index, intimates a historical agreement system between serial verbs.

Expanding Trask's template (1997, p. 106) with pluralizer loci:

Abs – tense – (*n*) – (Abs pl₁) – root – (Abs pl₂) – (flag – Dat) – (Abs pl₃) – (Erg) – (Erg pl) – (Abs pl₄) – (tense)

pl₁ *it-*

pl₂ *-z* (and allomorphs e.g. *-tza*), *-zki*

pl₃ *-de ~ -te, -z*

pl₄ *-z* in Bizkaian and some Araban reflexes: although the Abs pl₄ follows the ergative person marker, the data examined does not reveal whether it follows the ergative pluralizer, although it does so in the modern language.

5.2.3 Dative flags

This subsection examines the morphology and syntax of sixteenth century dative flags, drawing comparisons with the modern language, where a dative flag 'almost always precedes a dative agreement marker' (Trask, 1997, p. 106) e.g.

goazkio

<i>g-</i>	<i>oa</i>	<i>-z</i>	<i>-ki</i>	<i>-o</i>
1PL.ABS	root	ABS.PL	FLAG	3SG.DAT

'we are going to him/her/it'

Trask (1995) derives the most widespread flags, *-ki* and *-i*, probably the less abundant *-k*, from **-gi*, parallel to the pluralizer derivation *-te* and *-e* < **-de*. The flag *-ts*, notwithstanding endeavours to derive it from *-ki* (Trask, 1997, p. 227 citing Campión, 1884, p. 609; Schuchardt, 1972 [1893], pp. 44-45) is of separate origin, abundant in Bizkaian varieties, with a minority presence throughout the rest of the country (Trask, 1997, p. 227). The same flags appear in the sixteenth century, *-ts* prominent in Lazarraga's Araban and Bizkaian.

In the modern language, exceptionally, dative reflexes of the auxiliary root **ezan* have pre-root *i-*: bipersonal *dezazun* ‘that you.FORMAL have (it)’ vs tripersonal *diezadazun* ‘that you.FORMAL have (it) to me’; there are also traces of a historic pre-root dative flag *i-* in Bizkaian and Araban *j-* initial¹⁴ dative reflexes: *jat* ‘it is to me’, probably in pre-root *e-*, with inferred levelling of *ia-*. In the sixteenth century, by contrast, pre-root dative flags are prominent.

Examined below are pre- and post-root flags, relationships between non-finite and finite forms, flag variability, apparent pleonasm, flag positioning relative to the dative person marker and dative reflexes without a flag.

5.2.3 i. Pre-root dative flag marking: *i-*, *e-* and *j-*

Pre-root *i-* serves as a dative flag and marker of allocutivity (see 5.2.4); its distribution in each role varies between sources and verb roots; it may, or may not represent two distinct ancestral morphemes.

As in Batua, pre-root *i-* is regular in Leizarraga’s tripersonal reflexes of **ezan*: *dieçadán* ‘that you.INTIMATE(M) give (it) to me’: *Nahi diat orain bertan eman dieçadán platean loannes Baptistaren buruä* (Mark Ch.VI v.25) ‘I want you to give me the head of John the Baptist on a plate right now.’; similarly in Etxepare, *diaçan* ‘that s/he, it have to you.INTIMATE(M)’ *Azquen finian eman diaçan recebice dignia* (I,40) ‘That at the final end, He give you.INTIMATE(M) a worthy reception’. In 3.DAT forms, contrasting with Leizarraga’s *cieçón* (e.g., Luke Ch.XVIII v.22) ‘s/he, it had (it) to him/her/it’ and *cieçen* (e.g., Mark Ch.X v.11) ‘s/he, it had (it) to them’, Batua has *ziezaion*, *ziezaien*, with a morphosyntactically pleonastic post-root dative flag, perhaps indicating some reanalysis of pre-root *i-*, no longer always perceived to have a clear dative flag role.

The presence of an additional 2nd person marker can be the sole element distinguishing an allocutive reflex from its unmarked dative counterpart: from *izan*, with dative flags *i-* and *-ki*, allocutive *guiaizquioc* (Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 1302 [C 4v], 37) ‘we are to him/her/it, you.INTIMATE(M) see’ vs unmarked *guiaizquió* (Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 1339 [E 7r], 6) ‘we are to him/her/it’. Yet, unlike in Batua, where the same dative flag appears consistently

¹⁴ *j-* < **di[a]*- (e.g. Gómez & Sainz, 1995, p. 253, footnote 25)

throughout the paradigms of a given verb, the sixteenth century dative flag can vary: pre-root *i-* is absent from unmarked 3PL.ABS-3PL.DAT *çaizté* (e.g. Revelation Ch.XIV v.13) ‘they follow them’, yet present in the allocutive counterpart *ciaiztec* (1 Timothy Ch.V v. 24) ‘they are to them, you.INTIMATE(M) see’.

Tripersonal synthetic reflexes of *eduki* ‘have, possess, keep’ have pre-root *i-*: *diadutela* ‘s/he, it has (it) to them’: *bridá herstua diadutela* (Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 1297 [C 2r], 19) ‘that He keeps a tight rein on them’; *liadutanic* ‘one who would maintain (it) for me’, *Amore bat nahi nuque liadutanic eguia* (Etxepare II,20) ‘I would like a love who would be constantly true to me’, contrasting with bipersonal forms like *daducaten* (Romans Ch.I v.18) ‘which they have’, yet pre-root *i-* appears in the bipersonal allocutive *ezdiaducat* (Etxepare, XII,40) ‘I do not have (it), you.INTIMATE(M) see’. The sixteenth century looks to witness a transition in the function of *i-* from dative flag to allocutive marker, post-root dative flags gaining ground at different rates in different varieties.

Although not without exception,¹⁵ discernible divalent *a-* ~ trivalent *e-* patterning obtains, noted by Schuchardt in subjunctive reflex alternations: *dagidan* ‘that I do (it)’ vs *degidan* ‘that s/he, it do (it) to me’, postulating that *e-* might derive from **ia-*, *i-* indicating dative agreement (Schuchardt, 1972 cited in Gómez and Sainz, 1995, p. 254). In Lazarraga, *egin* ‘have (AUX), do, make’ presents a clear *a-*~*e-* distribution: *badaguiçu* (P, f. 13v,12) ‘if you.FORMAL(as PL) have (it)’ vs *deguidaçula* (P, f. 12v,2) ‘that you.FORMAL have (it) to me’. The same alternation occurs in Zumarraga: divalent *dagujela* (42) ‘may they do (it)’ vs trivalent *degujçuela* (32) ‘that they have (it) to you.FORMAL’. Similarly, *eroan* ‘take, carry (away)’, restricted to the Bizkaian and Araban sources, yields *daroa* (RS 472) ‘s/he, it takes (it)’ vs *deroat* (RS 82) ‘s/he, it takes (it) from me’. *Erran* ‘say’, while lacking clear-cut complementary distribution, shows some alternation: *badarragu* (e.g. Matthew, Ch.XXI v.21) ‘if we say (it)’ vs *derroçuen* (James Ch.II v.3) ‘(if) you.PL say (it) to him/her/it’.

*J-*initial dative reflexes, manifest in the Bizkaian and Araban sources only, are overwhelmingly ABS-DAT: from *izan*, *jat* (Lazarraga, e.g. P, f. 6v,5) ‘it is to me’, *jacan* (Garibai, *Endechas de doña Milia de Lastur*, 24) ‘it was to him/her/it’; from *ibili/ebili* ‘walk, go about’

¹⁵ all synthetic reflexes of *eman* ‘give’, whether di- or trivalent in the more extensively investigated texts have pre-root *e-*

jabilt (Lazarraga f. 49v L, XXIII,15; RS 398; Garibai, *Endechas por la muerte de Martin Bañez de Artaçubiaga*, 1) ‘it seizes me’; from *etorri* ‘come’, *jatorguz* (RS 232) ‘they come to us’, *jatort* (Lazarraga, 41v R, XVIII,6) ‘it comes to me’; from *ioan* ‘go’, *joacu* (RS 507) ‘it goes to us’. The only *j*-initial tripersonal reflex is an imperative of *ifini* (*imini*, *ipini*) ‘place, put’: *jafindaçu* ‘put.2FORMAL it to me!’ in *Neure bioçau. libre . jafindaçu* ‘set.2.FORMAL my heart free’ (Lazarraga, f. 31v, XIV,44).

5.2.3 ii. Post-root dative flag marking: *-i*, *-ki*, *-k*, *-ts*

Sixteenth century post-root *-i* (~*-y*) is sparse and, where it occurs, not always unequivocally a dative flag. It appears regularly in Continental ABS-DAT reflexes of *izan*, unlike their *j*-initial Bizkaian and Araban counterparts: in Etxepare, *çayt* (e.g. III,51) ‘it is to me’, *çaye* (II,46) ‘it is to them’; in Leizarraga, *natzaic* (e.g. Luke Ch.IX v.57) ‘I am to you.INTIMATE(M)’, *atzait* (e.g. John Ch.XIII v.36) ‘you.INTIMATE(M) are to me’. If Trask’s (1990) postulate is correct that *-n* class verbs, such as *izan*, anciently had final *-i*, regular loss of intervocalic *n* would produce *zai-*, yet whether the post-root *-i* thus arisen can be deemed a dative flag is debatable, given that its history does not discernibly connect with an ancestral **-gi*; it could be reanalysed analogically as such. In *-n* class verbs, however, *-i* characterizes Continental, not Peninsular, varieties, appearing in non-finite, but not invariably in finite forms, e.g., *eman* ‘give’ yields the imperfective participle *emaiten* (e.g. John Ch.VI v.37), vs *demogun* (e.g. Hebrews Ch.X v.24) ‘that we give (it) to him/her/it’ though as shown below, dative flags can appear in 3.DAT reflexes when otherwise absent from the same verb. The *-i* preceding a dative person marker can correspond to a root element (which, in turn, might have a different earlier history) e.g., *darrai-çu* (Garibai Cc. 79) ‘s/he, it follows you.FORMAL’, from the ABS-DAT verb *jarrain/iarraiki/iarreiki* ‘follow’.

In contrast with Batua, *-ki* is scarce in the sixteenth century. Exceptionally, with **edin* ‘be, become’ *-ki* appears with all persons, across sources, e.g. *cequien* (John Ch.VIII v.12) ‘s/he, it was to them’; *badaquit*¹⁶ (Matthew Ch.XXVI v.35; Etxepare, IV,19) ‘if it comes to pass to me’; RS manifests eight ABS-DAT reflexes of **edin*, including *çaquidaz* (361) ‘be.2FORMAL(as PL) to me!’; *gaquioza* (440) ‘let us be to him/her/it’; *aquio* (257; 411) ‘be.INTIMATE to

¹⁶ *Jakin* ‘know’ has a syncretic reflex ‘(if/indeed) I know (it)’.

him/her/it!'. The Oñati poetry features *çequidan* 's/he, it was to me' (II.3). Lazarraga includes *daquidan* (P, f. 9v, 12) 'that it is to me', *aquit* (e.g. P, f. 12v,14) 'be.INTIMATE to me!', but presents a mixed picture, most **edin* reflexes having *-ki*, yet others not: *daidizu* (f. 18v, IV,41) 'it is to you.FORMAL', *çaidaz* (f. 18, IV,12) 'you.FORMAL are to me' and *-k* appears in *ballaco* (P, f. 6,18) 'if s/he, it were to him/her/it'.

A further possible exception is 2PL.ABS-1SG.DAT *çarrayzquidate* (High Navarrese, II,13), 'follow.2PL me!', although it is uncertain whether *-ki* is a dative flag or an element of the reanalyzed pluralizer *-zki*. Etxepare, Leizarraga, Garibai and RS all have finite forms of *jarrain/iarraiki/iarreiki* 'follow', yet none has *-ki*. *Çarrayzquidate* could parallel the morphology of *izan*, where *-zki* is clearly a pluralizer: *çaizquit* (e.g. John Ch.X v.27) 'they are to me' vs *çait* (e.g., Hebrews Ch.I v.5) 's/he, it is to me'; yet nowhere else does *-zki* represent a pluralizer in a 2PL.ABS reflex of 'follow': *çarreizate* (e.g. 1 Corinthians Ch.XIV v.1) 'pursue.2PL him/her/it!' has the anticipated 2PL pleonastic pluralization, here furnished by –(t)z and *-te*, suggesting that in *çarrayzquidate*, *-z* and *-te* are pluralizers and *-ki* as a dative flag, *-zki* representing two distinct morphemes.

The root *-di-* of **edin* is frequently not discernible in finite reflexes; where it is, the dative flag *ki* is pre-root: *naquidic* (John Ch.XIII v.37) 'I am to you.INTIMATE(M)'; *aquidit* (John Ch.XIII v.36) 'you.INTIMATE are to me'; *lequidion* (Leiçarraga et al., 1990, p. 1325 [D 8r], 8) 'that which could be to him/her/it', leading, very tentatively, to the suggestion that forms lacking *-ki*, such as Lazarraga's *daidizu* and *çaidaz* above might reflect pre-root **gi-*, < **dagidizu*, **çagidaz*. Sixteenth century pre-root flags *ki-* and *i-*, reminiscent of absolutive pluralization with *it-*, possibly indicate a freer ancestral ordering, or a pre-root dative flag preference, contrasting with its dominant post-root location in Batua. As Trask points out, if pre-root dative flags derived from 'adpositions or serial verbs, the order of elements is absolutely out of line with the postpositional and verb-final syntax of the language', suggesting a relic of an ancient VO ordering, a picture which 'require[s] us to believe that the morphology of finite verbs is very ancient indeed' (1997, p. 229).

The flag *-k* immediately precedes a dative person marker, with or without a pleonastic pre-root flag. It appears on both sides of the Pyrenees, in intransitive and transitive reflexes, confined to 3SG.DAT markers. Intransitive examples include, from *izan*, *çayca* (Etxepare I,304) 's/he, it is to him/her/it' vs *çaye* (Etxepare II,46) 's/he, it is to them', *jacan* (Garibai, *Endechas*

de doña Milia de Lastur, 24) ‘s/he, it was to him/her/it’ vs *jat* (Lazarraga, P, f. 6v,5) ‘it is to me’; from *egon* ‘be (stative), stay, remain’ *nagoca* (Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 253 [*7r], 22) ‘I am (stative) to you.HONORIFIC’, *dagoca* (Revelation Ch.XIX v.1) ‘s/he, it is (stative) to him/her/it’ vs *dagote* (Revelation Ch.XXI v.8) ‘It is to them’; from ABS-DAT *jarrain/iarraiki/iarreiki* ‘follow’, (Etxepare, III,44) *darrayca* (John Ch.VIII v.12) ‘s/he, it pursues him/her/it’ vs *darreitana* ‘who(ever) follows me’; from ABS-DAT *(i)exeki* ‘burn’ *dachecan* ‘which burns’: *suz eta suphrez dachecan stagnean* (Revelation Ch.XXI v.8) ‘the lake burning with fire and sulfur’; from *etxeki* ‘be attached to, adjoin’ *baitatchecan* ‘for it adjoined’: *ceinen etchea baitatchecan synagogari* (Acts Ch.XVII v.7) ‘whose house adjoined the synagogue’, vs 3PL.DAT *baitacheté* ‘it imbues them’: *eta guciey baitacheté laincoaren zeloa* (Acts Ch.XXI v.20) ‘and the zeal of God imbues them all’. The transitive auxiliary **eradun* yields *draucat* (e.g. Revelation Ch.II v.7) ‘I have (it) to him/her/it’, yet *drauat* (e.g., Luke Ch.IV v.6) ‘I have it to you.INTIMATE(M)’. In a minority of reflexes of **-i*, also sourcing tripersonal auxiliaries, *-g* precedes the 3SG.DAT marker, in the Lazarraga manuscript (particularly the Sasiola writings) e.g. *digoçu* (f. 50v L, XXXIII,49) ‘you.FORMAL have (it) to him/her/it’ (vs Batua *diozu*), also in the 1596 Azkoitia (Gipuzkoa) letter (e.g. Satrustegi, 1987, p. 33), with three occurrences of *djgot* ‘I have (it) to him/her/it’.

The 3SG.DAT marker with associated velar can persist where valency is reanalyzed ABS-DAT-ERG > ABS-ERG. Divalent reflexes of *eduki* conserve *-ka* across all persons ergative, e.g. *daducat* (Etxepare, e.g. X,24) ‘I have/possess (it)’. The velar is generally obscured when adjacent to the post-root pluralizer *-z/-tza*: *daduçala* (Etxepare, I,135) ‘that s/he, it has them’, *dadutza* ‘s/he, it has them’ (e.g. Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 1297 [C 2r]. 8), as with other verbs, with exceptions e.g., *darreizconen* (Romans Ch.IV v.12) ‘to them who follow him/her/it’. The velar is regularly patent when not adjacent to the pluralizer, e.g., *jacazâ* (RS 526) ‘they were to him/her/it’, *beucaz* (RS 421) ‘let him/her/it have them!’

Some verbs do not feature *-k* in 3SG.DAT reflexes e.g. from *erran* ‘say’, *derroçuen* (James Ch.II v.3) ‘(if) you.PL say to him/her/it’; from *eman* ‘give’, *demon* (Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 1228 [ë 6v R], 19) ‘that s/he/it give (it) to him/her/it’. Nonetheless, with, e.g., *izan*, *jarrain* and variants, *(i)exeki*, *etxeki*, *eradun*, some reflexes of **-i-*, the selective co-occurrence of the velar with 3SG.DAT markers is intriguing. While a historic relation with *-ki* and *-i < *gi* cannot be discounted, the possibility of Pyrenean velar-initial demonstratives sourcing 3SG.DAT

markers merits investigation; the velar would have been subsequently reanalyzed as a dative flag.

In the sixteenth century, the dative flag *-ts* is most prominent in Bizkaian and Araban, e.g. in reflexes of the tripersonal auxiliary **edutsi*: *deuso* (RS, 519) ‘s/he, it has (it) to him/her/it’; *badeustaçu* (RS, 490) ‘you.FORMAL (as PL) have (it) to me’; *deustae* (Lazarraga, P, f. 6r,11) ‘they have (it) to me’. Unlike *-k*, *-ts* is used with all dative person markers. It appears as a minority flag throughout Continental and Peninsular varieties, e.g. in trivalent reflexes of **-io-* ‘say’: *diostaçu* (Etxepare, X,31) ‘you.FORMAL say (it) to me’; *diossat* (e.g. Mark Ch.II v.11) ‘I say (it) to you.INTIMATE(M)’; *diostaçu* (Lazarraga f. 43r L, XIX,23) ‘you.FORMAL say to me’ vs. divalent forms, e.g. *diogu* (e.g. Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 1360 [G 1v], 20) ‘we say (it)’. Other dative reflex verbs with the flag *-ts* include *erakutsi* ‘show’ and *ihardetsi* ‘reply’, both appearing in Continental writings.

5.2.3 iii. The relationship between non-finite and finite forms in respect of dative flags

Several verbs feature a possible historic dative flag in non-finite forms. They form two groups: those furnishing ABS-DAT reflexes only — *etxeki* ‘adjoin’ *eutsi* ‘hold (onto)’, *(i)exeki* ‘burn’, *iarraiki*, *iarreiki* (*jarrain*) ‘follow’ and those providing ABS-(DAT)-ERG reflexes — *eduki* (Bizkaian /Araban *eugui*) ‘have, possess’ *iharduki* ‘discuss, consider’, *iraki* ‘boil’.

In the first group, finite, unlike non-finite forms, typically lack the dative flag, apart from *-k* in some 3SG.DAT reflexes, e.g., *darrayca* (Etxepare, III,44) ‘s/he, it pursues him/her/it’. For ‘follow’, perfective participle/radical *iarreiqui* (e.g., John Ch.XII v.26), imperfective participle *iarreiquiten* (e.g., John Ch.X v.27), prospective/future participle *iarreiquiren* (e.g., Luke Ch.IX v.57), all manifest *-ki*. From the texts examined, however, the only finite reflex with *-ki* is *çarrayzquidate* (High Navarrese, II,13) ‘follow.2PL me!’ vs *narrayola* (Etxepare XII,47) ‘that I pursue him/her/it’, *arrayo* (RS 183) ‘follow.INTIMATE him/her/it!’.

From the second group, the *-ki* of *iraki* ‘boil’, if anciently a dative flag, has been reanalyzed as a root component with an attendant valency change to ABS-ERG, contrasting with semantic intransitivity. Unlike the first group, its finite reflexes manifest *-ki*: *diraqui* (RS 56, 146) ‘it boils’. By contrast, *iharduki* ‘discuss’ and *eduki* ‘possess, hold’ form finite reflexes with reanalyzed *-ka* ~ *-ko*. *Iharduki* has non-finite forms with *-ki*: imperfective participle

iharduquiten (e.g., Mark Ch.IX v.33), prospective/future participle *iharduquiren* (Matthew Ch.XII v.19), but finite forms with *-ka*: *diharducaçue* (e.g., Matthew Ch.XVI v.8) ‘you.PL are discussing (it)’, *baciharducaten* (Matthew Ch.XXI v.25) ‘they discussed (it)’. Similarly, all non-finite forms of *eduki* have *-ki/-gi*: perfective participle *eduqui* (Etxepare, Leizarraga) *eugui* (RS, Lazarraga), imperfective participle *edukuiten* (Leizarraga), prospective/future participle *eduquiren* (Leizarraga), yet finite reflexes such as *daducat* (Etxepare, e.g. X,24) ‘I have/possess (it)’, *daducac* (Leizarraga, John Ch.X v.24) ‘you.INTIMATE(M) keep/hold (it)’, *dauco* (Garibai, *Endechas de doña Milia de Lastur*, 16) ‘s/he, it has (it)’.

5.2.3 iv. Flag variability

In Batua, post-root dative flag positioning prevails across all persons and paradigms, immediately preceding the dative person marker. Tripersonal reflexes of the auxiliary **ezan*, exceptionally, have the pre-root flag *i-* and in 3SG/PL.DAT reflexes, a pleonastic post-root flag e.g., *diezaiodan* ‘that I have (it) to him/her/it’; *diezaiedan* ‘that I have (it) to them’. The sixteenth century picture is significantly more complex: dative flags, where present, can vary with a single verb root.

As shown above, *-k*, in the texts examined, is restricted to 3SG.DAT reflexes, but not always present in these, even with the same root: *izan* furnishes *çayca* (Etxepare I,304) ‘s/he, it is to him/her it’, *çazca* (e.g. John Ch.VII v.38) ‘they are to him/her/it’, yet *çayo* (e.g. Luke Ch.VIII v.18) ‘s/he, it is to him/her/it’ and its ABS.PL counterpart *çazquio* (1 Corinthians Ch.II v.14) ‘they are to him/her/it’, (vs Batua *zai*, *zazkio*). Similar variants appear with *jarrain/iarraiki/iarreiki* ‘follow’: *darrayca* (Etxepare, III,44) ‘s/he, it pursues him/her/it’, *darreicola* (John Ch.XX v.6) ‘that s/he, it follows him/her/it’ vs *çarrayón* (e.g. Revelation Ch.VI v.8) ‘s/he, it was following him/her/it’. Flag and person marker variant correlate, *-k* co-occurring with 3SG.DAT marker *-a*, yet generally absent with *-o*.¹⁷ In the variant *çatan* (Oñati poetry, I.16) ‘s/he, it was to me’ from *izan*, no dative flag is discernible, similarly with the possibly suppletive *-au-* root in Etxepare: *baçautzu* (Prologue, 21) ‘if they are to you.FORMAL’; *çauçu* (II,110) ‘s/he, it is to you.FORMAL’; *niçauçu* vs with *-i*, *nyçayçu*, both ‘I am to you.FORMAL’ (X,29, X,45 respectively).

¹⁷ An apparent exception is, from *eduki* ‘possess, hold’ *dauco* ‘s/he, it has (it)’ (Garibai, *Endechas de doña Milia de Lastur*, 16), although this reflex has ABS-ERG valency, *-k* is reanalysed as a root element.

Trivalent reflexes of *eduki*, *liadutanic* (Etxepare II,20) ‘one who would maintain (it) for me’, *diadutela* (Leiçarraga et al., 1990, p. 1297 [C 2r], 19) ‘that s/he, it keeps (it) to them’ vs divalent forms, e.g., *daducaten* (Romans Ch.I v.18) ‘which they have’, intimate a pattern of trivalent pre-root *i-*, divalent post-root historic 3SG.DAT *-ka*. Possibly, therefore, there were two ways of forming dative reflexes of *eduki*: one with *i-*, the other with *k-* in 3SG.DAT forms at least, the latter type subsequently reanalysed as ABS-ERG reflexes. A welcome find, unencountered in the texts examined, would be 3SG.DAT reflexes of *eduki*; more generally, it would be worthwhile to collate dative reflexes from other contemporaneous texts, extant and yet to come to light, to investigate the extent to which different flags associate with the same root, which may further understanding of the historic degrees of freedom of dative flag positioning, in turn informing insights into, and models of, earlier syntax.

5.2.3 v. Pleonasm

Sixteenth century dative flag pleonasm can be difficult to establish. Morphs with corresponding form and positioning may not have a discernible relationship with dative flags reconstructed from **gi*. Some instances of *-i* might reflect an ancient final *-i* of *-n* class verbs, e.g., *izan* < **izani*; the velar preceding 3SG.DAT markers could continue the initial morph of an attaching demonstrative; yet the resulting *-i* and *-k~g* may have been reanalyzed as dative flags. Furthermore, historic dative flags can, to a greater or lesser extent, be reanalyzed as a root component.

Reanalysis can be complex and incomplete, occurring in one domain, yet not another. In Batua, the *-ka* of reflexes of divalent *eduki* ‘have, possess, hold’ does not behave as a root component in the presence of an absolutive pluralizer, which precedes it: *daukat* (< *dadukat*) ‘I have, possess (it)’ vs *dauzkat* ‘I have, possess them’. Hence semantic, but not morphosyntactic reanalysis has occurred. Certain sources e.g. (e.g. ‘Bostak Bat’ Lantaldea, 1996, p. XXVIII) go so far as to designate *ka* as the verb root, by implication deeming *z* a pre-root pluralizer. While the notion of a dative flag + dative person marker becoming a root is interesting, the probable history of *eduki*, built on *uk(h)en/*edun* does not support this contention. Furthermore, the behaviour of *eduki* with respect to pluralizer positioning contrasts with verbs such as *jakin* ‘know’, also with a *-ki* sequence, which the absolutive pluralizer follows: *dakizkit* ‘I know them’ demonstrating that, unlike in *eduki*, the *-ki* of *jakin* is unequivocally a root component.

The duality of function, continuing in Batua, of the sequence *-zki* occasionally engenders uncertainty as to whether it constitutes an absolutive pluralizer alone or an absolutive pluralizer plus a dative flag, as seen above with *çarrayzquidate* ‘follow.PL me!’ (High Navarrese, II,13). Where a different dative flag co-occurs in the same reflex, pleonasm can, therefore, be questionable. A reflex such as *daquizquigu* ‘they are/become to us’ from **edin* ‘be, become’ e.g. in *Gure echian ohart vadaquizquigu* (Etxepare, X,37)¹⁸ ‘if they notice us at home’ might be construed as:

<i>d</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>qui</i>	<i>zqui</i>	<i>gu</i>
d	PRS	FLAG	ABS.PL	1PL.DAT

or

<i>d</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>qui</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>qui</i>	<i>gu</i>
d	PRS	FLAG	ABS.PL	FLAG	1PL.DAT

depending on whether the sequence had, at the time, in this reflex, been reanalyzed as a single absolutive pluralizer. If reanalysis took place after incorporation into the verb form, the reflex would, historically, have had pleonastic flags. Supporting the interpretation of *-zki* as a pluralizer is its establishment in this role in sixteenth century verbs including *izan* ‘be’, **eradun* ‘(tripersonal) have’, *jakin* ‘know’, *entzun* ‘hear, listen’, *ek(h)usi/ik(h)usi* ‘see’, *egotzi* ‘throw’. Furthermore, reflexes of **edin* lacking a pluralizer, yet with a pleonastic flag are not forthcoming. Favouring a two morpheme interpretation are reflexes where verb-final pluralizer *-z* is separated from *-ki* e.g., Bizkaian and Araban forms like *çaquidaz* (RS, 361) ‘be.2FORMAL(as PL) to me!’. Also supporting a two morpheme view are reflexes of **edin* where *-ki* precedes *-z*: from Etxepare, *çaquiztan* ‘that you.FORMAL be to me’ e.g. in *Arimaren saluacera çu çaquiztan valia* (I,52) ‘that you.FORMAL lend me your aid to save my soul’; *çaquiçat* (e.g. I,423) ‘be.2FORMAL to me!’; *çaquizcula* (II,91) ‘that you.FORMAL be to us’. Altuna provides Batua counterparts, for each in turn: *zakizkidan* (1987, p. 19), *zakizkit* (1987, p. 78), *zakizkigu* (1987, p. 101). Change has clearly taken place: in ABS-DAT reflexes of **edin*, Batua consistently uses the pluralizer *-zki*, whereas in the sixteenth century, *-z* dominated, although a minority of forms with *-zki* had started to appear. The sixteenth century picture

¹⁸ Similarly, *daquizquian* ‘that they be to you.INTIMATE(M)’: *Orhitsuqui othoy eguin daquizquian valia* (Etxepare, I,57) ‘Mindfully pray that they come to your.INTIMATE(M) aid’.

questions rather than sheds light on how *-zki* was incorporated and construed. Was *-z* straightforwardly replaced analogically by *-zki* as a pluralizer? Was *-ki* incorporated independently, left adjacent to the dative person marker, in the shift from few dative flags to the modern extensive, regular *-ki*? If the latter obtained, how soon after its incorporation was the sequence *-zki* reanalyzed as a pluralizer? Given the sixteenth century coexistence of *-zki* with majority *-z* forms, did *-zki*, in **edin*, constitute two morphemes, or, in the light of the contemporaneously established use of pluralizer *-zki* in a range of auxiliary and lexical verbs, a pluralizer alone?

Dative reflexes of **izan*, on both sides of the Pyrenees, have claim to flag pleonasm on different grounds. In the Continental texts, *-i* and *-k* co-occur in 3SG.DAT reflexes: in Etxepare, *çayca* (I,304) ‘s/he, it is to him/her/it’ vs non-3SG.DAT forms: *çayt* (III,51), *zayt* (V,11; XII,1) ‘s/he, it is to me’; *çaye* (II,46) ‘s/he, it is to them’; similarly in Leizarraga, e.g., *çaizca* (e.g. John Ch.VII v.38) ‘they are to him/her/it’, with the segmentable absolutive pluralizer *-z* cf *çayca* (Etxepare, I,304). In the Bizkaian and Araban sources, *j-* and *-k* co-occur in 3SG.DAT reflexes: *jacan* (Garibai *Endechas de doña Milia de Lastur*, 24; Lazarraga P, f. 5v,14) ‘s/he, it was to him/her/it’; *jacazâ* (RS, 526) ‘they were to him/her/it’.

5.2.3 vi. Positioning relative to the dative person marker

In modern synthetic lexical reflexes, the dative flag overwhelmingly immediately precedes the dative person marker; an absolutive pluralizer can separate both from the root, but not from one another e.g., *dakarkizut* ‘I am bringing it to you.FORMAL’, *dakarzkizut* ‘I am bringing them to you.FORMAL’. In dative reflexes of the auxiliaries *izan*, **edin* and **ezan*, however, the flag is separated from the dative person marker: with *izan*, *-i* by the absolutive pluralizer *-zki*: *zait* ‘s/he, it is to me’ vs *zaizkit* ‘they are to me’; with **edin*, *ki-* by absolutive pluralizer *-zki*: present subjunctive *dakidan* ‘that s/he, it be to me’, *dakizkidan* ‘that they be to me’; with **ezan*, *i-* by the root and absolutive pluralizer *-zki*: *diezazudan* ‘that I have (it) to you.FORMAL’ vs *diezazkizudan* ‘that I have them to you.FORMAL’. With **-i-*, the root, if **-i-* is such, is so eroded as to render conclusions regarding any dative flag as insecure, although if itself a dative flag, it again precedes the absolutive pluralizer.

It is the verbs comprising the auxiliary framework, rather than the lexical verbs of Batua which more reflect the sixteenth century picture. In the sixteenth century, dative flags

except *-k*, possibly a demonstrative component at incorporation, are separated from the corresponding person dative marker by the root, not only in auxiliaries **edin* and **ezan*, but in intransitive and transitive lexical verbs. The apparent dative flag reflex *j-* is separated from the dative person marker by the root in intransitive *jabil* ‘it seizes me’ (Lazarraga, *RS*, Garibai), *jatorguz* ‘they come to us’ (*RS*), *joacu* ‘it goes to us’ (*RS*), transitive *jafindaçu* ‘put.2FORMAL (it) to me!’ (Lazarraga); similarly, pre-root *e-* e.g. *degujçuela* ‘that they have (it) to you.FORMAL’ (Zumarraga), *deroat* ‘s/he, it takes (it) from me’ (*RS*), pre-root *i-* in trivalent *liadutanic* ‘one who would maintain (it) for me’ (Etxepare), *diadutela* ‘that he has (it) to them’ (Leizarraga).

5.2.3. vii. Dative reflexes without a dative flag

In stark contrast with *Batua*, many sixteenth century transitive and intransitive dative reflexes, from across sources, lack any discernible dative flag. Illustrating intransitive verbs, *egon* furnishes e.g., *nagoçu* (Lazarraga, P, f. 2v,8) ‘I am (stative) to you.FORMAL’; *dagote* (Revelation Ch.XXI v.8) ‘it is (stative) to them’; *nauçue*¹⁹ (Acts Ch.X v.29) ‘I am (stative) to you.PL’. In *Batua*, the dative flag appears consistently in dative reflexes: *dagokie* ‘it is (stative) to them, it is fitting to them’, *nagokizu* ‘I am to you.FORMAL, I am fitting for you.FORMAL’. Similarly lacking a dative flag in the sixteenth century are ABS-DAT reflexes of *ioan* ‘go’: *doat* (Etxepare VI,6) ‘s/he, it goes to me’; *dohacu* (Matthew Ch.XXVII v.4) ‘it goes to us’, likewise with the ABS-DAT verb *etxeke* ‘adjoin, attach to’ e.g. *datchetala* (Romans Ch.VII v.21) ‘that it is attached to me’; ABS-DAT *(i)exeki* ‘burn’ *çazpi lampa suz çachetenic* ‘seven torches were burning with fire’ (Revelation Ch.IV v.5), with *çazpi lampa* as absolutive, not dative, perhaps construed as a dislocation; with trivalent *utzi*, *uztaçu* (Etxepare X,1; X,45; X,54; XII,31) ‘leave.2FORMAL me!’.

Sixteenth century transitive verbs lacking dative flags include **eradun* ‘have (AUX); give’: *drauçut* (High Navarrese, IIIb, IIIc) ‘I have (it) to you.FORMAL’, *drauçuet* (e.g. Matthew Ch.XI v.28) ‘I have (it) to you.PL’; *daraudaçu* ‘you.FORMAL have (it) to me’ in *ioan daraudaçu lehen vihoça* ‘first you took away my heart’ (Etxepare, X,33), although, with the same meaning, *deraudaçu* (Etxepare, XII,25), where *e-* could reflect pre-root flag *i-* + *a*. Reflexes of **-i-* lack any discernible trace of a dative flag in all context examined, whether auxiliary or lexical e.g.

¹⁹ Syncretic with the ABS-ERG reflex of *uk(h)en/*edun* ‘you.PL have me’.

çidan (Oñati poetry II.7) ‘s/he, it had (it) to me’; *digun* (Garibai, *Endechas de doña Milia de Lastur*, 32) ‘that s/he, it give us’. Similarly *erran* ‘say’ yields forms such as *badarroçue* (Matthew Ch.XXI v.21) ‘if you.PL say to him/her/it’ (although here the pre-root vowel alternates *a~e* in both di- and trivalent reflexes). *Ek(h)arri* ‘bring, carry’ in Batua systematically manifests the flag *-ki* in dative reflexes, e.g., *dakarkidazu* ‘you.FORMAL are bringing (it) to me’ yet its sixteenth century counterparts lack any post-root flag e.g., the imperatives (where *e-* of the non-finite stem is conserved rather than *e- <ia-*), *eqhardaçu* (Etxepare IX,4) ‘bring.2FORMAL (it) to me!’; *ekarroçue* (John Ch.II v.8) ‘bring.2PL (it) to him/her/it’.

5.2.3 viii. How the sixteenth century dative flag picture differs from that of Batua

The sixteenth century dative flag picture contrasts sharply with that of today. In Batua, post-root flags appear consistently, rarely absent from lexical reflexes. Exceptionally, the auxiliary **ezan* has pre-root *i-* and, with 3.DAT reflexes only, a pleonastic post-root *i-*.

The sixteenth century presents a comparatively complex picture, somewhat parallel to that of pluralizers: different dative flags, or presence alternating with absence, occur with the same verb root, e.g., the restriction of *-k* to 3SG.DAT reflexes. Pre-root flags have a significant presence in lexical reflexes, while post-root *-ki*, the mainstay in Batua, is sparse in the sixteenth century apart from its regular presence in reflexes of **edin*. Furthermore, in reflexes of **edin* where the root is patent, *-ki* occupies a pre-root position. Post-root-*ki* is marginal; within the sequence *-zki*, it can be debatable whether *-ki* is a dative flag or a reanalyzed pluralizer segment. In the sources investigated, the predominant dative flag pre-root positioning and post-root flag scarcity provide no indication supporting Schuchardt’s contention (1923, p. 6 cited in Trask, 1997, p. 228) that pre-root *i-* arose by metathesis from earlier post-root *-i*, although other explanations have not been forthcoming (Trask, 1997, p. 229). Despite a few possible cases of pleonasm, sixteenth century dative reflexes typically lack a post-root flag, some devoid of any discernible flag at all.

Particularly with lexical verbs, the presence, positioning, and distribution of dative flags have changed significantly since the sixteenth century. Possibly, *(-)ki(-)* spread analogically from reflexes of **edin*. That the verb root is overwhelmingly indiscernible in finite reflexes

might have facilitated reanalysis of *-ki* as a post-root flag in a language with increasingly post-inflective typology.

The far lesser presence of sixteenth century dative flags and the relatively high proportion of pre-root flags intimates that, historically, the language manifested a lesser degree of post-inflective behaviour than today. The cessation of productivity of pre-root *ra-* causative marking and the expansion post-root counterparts with *erazi* ~ *-arazi* points in the same direction, as does the positional distribution of pluralizers in some varieties, e.g., within Bizkaian, where verb-final *-z* has predominated over earlier pleonastic constructions with *it-* and *-z*, e.g., *dauz* vs. *dituz/ditus*, all 's/he, it had them'.

A gradual transition from pre-inflective to post-inflective behaviour is supported by a cross-linguistic dispreference of pre-inflection (Haspelmath, p.287) and possibly by the cross-linguistic tendency to externalize contextual inflection markers, such as those relating to person, number and agreement, although local optimization may necessitate that conflicting preference parameters cannot all be optimized (Haspelmath, 1993, p. 305) e.g. in the modern language, *nituzke* 'I would have.AUX them', modal *-ke* following the second pluralizer *-z*, possibly with a role in conserving the generally dispreferred disparate allomorphic plural marking (*it-*, *-z*). Pleonastic formations, e.g., modern *diezaiodan* 'that I have (it) to him/her/it'; *diezaiedan* 'that I have (it) to them' with a pre- and post-root dative flag *i* are somewhat consistent with Haspelmath's concept of intermediate hybrids (1993, p. 279). Haspelmath's article does not include specific exploration of conditioning factors and mechanisms conducive to inflections migrating from left to right of a lexical root; a somewhat parallel example, however, is Preclassical Latin *eum-pse* ('himself; itself') comprising the M.ACC.SG demonstrative attached to the invariant postfix *-pse*, yielding hybrid *eum-ps-um* and ultimately Classical Latin non-pleonastic, post-inflective *ipsum* (Haspelmath, 1993, pp. 283-284, 303).

Pre-root flags, indexing dative person markers from which they are separated, at least by the verb root, could indicate historic agreement between serial verbs. Ongoing collation of dative reflexes, positioning and flag distribution in early texts could advance knowledge by illuminating the relative antiquity of the flags, their possible sources, their possible role in an agreement system, e.g. indexing between serial verbs and how ancient word-order might have differed from that of today's.

5.2.4 The marking of allocutivity

The enormous regional variation of allocutive formation (Trask, 1997, p. 108),²⁰ coupled with extensive syncretism of allocutives and unmarked reflexes has engendered divergent views on their origin and relative antiquity. Those concurring with Rebuschi (1984) hold that allocutives and unmarked forms were anciently distinct, on the basis of allocutive reflexes non-syncretic with unmarked forms; those following Alberdi (1995) regard unmarked forms as the more ancient, sourcing allocutive reflexes (Trask, 1997, p. 236). Equal antiquity of unmarked and allocutive forms is implied by Lafon (1944, pp. 409–410 vol. 1) who, after Schuchardt (1923, p. 30, § 149) postulates common ancestral forms, unmarked and allocutive reflexes consequent on differing accentuation, **d-a-du-ki-k* as an oxytone yielding allocutive *dik* ‘s/he, it has (it), you.INTIMATE(M) see’, yet as a paroxytone, unmarked dative *deik* ‘s/he, it has (it) to you.INTIMATE(M)’. Lafon (1944, p. 410 vol. 1) furthermore suggests that relating the clearly defined tonic accent of Zuberoan to accentual positions indicated in Leizarraga, might inform theory on allocutive genesis.

5.2.4 i. Allocutivity and modes of address

In the modern language, allocutivity is most widespread in the 2INTIMATE *hiketa* address, Eastern varieties also using allocutivity with 2.FORMAL *zuketa*, and where present, *xuketa*, a recently developed intermediate grade of familiarity (Trask, 1997, p. 235). Where available, allocutivity, broadly restricted to main clauses, is obligatory. As in the modern language, sixteenth century sources vary in which modes of address manifest allocutives, most abundant in the Continental texts, consequent on the nature of their material. Etxepare uses *hiketa* (masculine only) and *zuketa* allocutives, yet investigators, including Martínez-Areta (2013, p. 57 citing Lafon (1999 [1951], p. 754)) consider Etxepare’s unsystematic use of *zuketa* allocutives indicative of recent innovation. Leizarraga includes allocutives only in *hiketa*, in the religious texts opposing the more recently formed plural, *zueketa*, which lacks allocutives. Leizarraga’s scant use of *zuketa* appears only in two addresses to the monarchy,

²⁰ E.g. allocutive counterparts of unmarked *dago* ‘s/he, it is (stative)’ include *diagok/-n* ~ *jagok/-n* ~ *zegok/-n* (Trask, 1997, p. 234)

reduced by use of the honorific syntactically 3rd person *beroriketa*. Lazarraga, like Leizarraga, includes *hiketa* allocutives of both genders: *diat* ‘I have (it), you.INTIMATE(M) see’: *ynoçentea damu diat* (f. 43v L, XIX,88) ‘I lament innocence, you.INTIMATE(M) see’; *dinat* ‘I have (it), you.INTIMATE(F) see’ in (fragment) ...*ychidinat menaetan* ‘I really left ..., you.INTIMATE(F) see’ (f. 43 L, XIX,10).

5.2.4 ii. Sixteenth century trends and patterns

In sixteenth century sources, as nowadays, identifiable devices distinguish allocutives from their unmarked counterparts.

A pattern prevalent both in the modern and the sixteenth century language, for non-dative allocutives, is the repurposing of the corresponding unmarked form with a valency increase of 1, by attaching a 2.ERG marker to an intransitive reflex, e.g. unmarked *noa* ‘I go’ with allocutives *noak* (2INTIMATE(M)), *noan* (2INTIMATE(M)) and a 2.DAT marker to an ABS-ERG reflex e.g. unmarked *daukat* ‘I have/possess (it)’ with allocutives *zaukaat* (2INTIMATE(M)) and *zaukanat* (2INTIMATE(F)). Hence, in terms of indexing to arguments, semantically ABS and ABS-ERG allocutives are syntactically ABS-ERG and ABS-DAT-ERG respectively. Auxiliary reflexes are exceptional in that the valency increase entails stem suppletion: from ABS to ABS-2.ERG in unmarked *ioaiten da* (e.g. John Ch.XI v.31) ‘s/he, it goes’ vs allocutive *ioaiten duc* (Matt Ch.VIII v.9) ‘s/he, it goes, you.INTIMATE(M) see’; ABS-ERG to ABS-DAT-ERG in unmarked *eguinen dut* (1 Corinthians Ch.XIV v.15) ‘I will do (it)’ vs allocutive *eguinen diat* (Matthew Ch.XXVI v.18) ‘I will do (it) you.INTIMATE(M) see’.

Pre-root *i-*, which may or may not be a repurposed dative flag, with a post-root allocutive person marker, offers a widespread intransitive and transitive allocutive-forming device. Intransitive lexical verbs forming allocutives with *i-* include *ebili/ibili* ‘walk, go about’: *diabiltzac* (e.g., Mark Ch.I v.37) ‘they are going around, you.INTIMATE(M) see’; *etorri* ‘come’: *nyatorqueçu* (Etxepare I,51) ‘I will come, you.FORMAL see’; *etzan* ‘recline, lie’: *diatzac* (Matthew Ch.VIII v.6) ‘s/he, it is lying, you.INTIMATE(M) see’. The unmarked ABS-DAT reflex of *izan, çayo* (e.g. Luke Ch.VIII v.18) ‘s/he, it is to him/her/it’, has an allocutive *ciayon* (e.g. Luke Ch.I v.32) ‘s/he, it is to him/her/it, you.INTIMATE(F) see’. Unmarked *j-* initial dative reflexes, however, differ from their corresponding allocutives by the allocutive person marker alone: unmarked *jacán* (e.g. Lazarraga P, f. 5v,13) ‘that s/he, it was to him/her/it’ vs allocutive

jacac (f. 39v R, XVI,35) ‘s/he, it is to him/her/it, you.INTIMATE(M) see’, Bilbao et alii providing the Batua counterpart *zaiok* (2010, p. 191). In Leizarraga, unmarked trivalent reflexes of **eradun* overwhelmingly lack a pre-root vowel, e.g. *drauca* (e.g. Matthew Ch.VII v.10) ‘s/he, it will have it to him/her/it’, contrasting with allocutive *diraucan* (Luke Ch.I v.32) ‘s/he, it will have to him/her/it, you.INTIMATE(F) see’.

Another allocutive-forming device is the replacement of present-tense initial *d-* by *z-*, where, in the unmarked form, *i-* immediately follows *d-*, rendering *i-* unavailable as an allocutive marker: *ditut* (e.g. three times in Luke Ch.XII v.18) ‘I have them’, with pre-root absolutive pluralizing *it-* has the allocutive counterpart *citiat* (e.g. Luke Ch.XVIII v.12) ‘I have them, you.INTIMATE(M) see’; unmarked *ditu* (e.g. four times in 1 Corinthians Ch.XIII v.7) corresponds to *citic* (Revelation Ch.II v.1) ‘s/he, it has (them), you.INTIMATE(M) see’.

Similarly, **-io* ‘say’, with root-initial *i-*, forms allocutives with *z-*: unmarked *dio* (Matthew Ch.XVI v.7) ‘s/he, it said (it)’ with allocutive *cioc* (Matthew Ch.XXVI v.18) ‘s/he, it said (it), you.INTIMATE(M) see’. Allocutives of *jakin* ‘know’, however, manifest *z-* and *i-*, both absent from its unmarked reflexes: *daquit* (Etxepare, XIII,57) ‘I know (it)’ opposing *bacyaquiāt* (VIII,13) ‘I know (it), you.INTIMATE(M) see’; Leizarraga’s allocutives of *iakin* are mostly *ze-* initial, a few with *zi-*: *baceaquinagu* (John Ch.IV v.42) ‘we know (it) you.INTIMATE(F) see’ vs unmarked *badaquigu* (e.g. 1 John Ch.III v.14) ‘we know (it)’; *ciaquié* (John Ch.XVIII v.21) ‘they know (it) you.INTIMATE(M) see’ vs unmarked *badaquite* (Acts Ch.XXVI v.4).

3rd person absolutive or ergative subject reflexes often depart from the above allocutive-forming devices, e.g. *zen* ‘s/he, it was’ has allocutives *zuan* (M) and *zunan* (F); *litzateke* ‘s/he, it would be’ has *lukek*, *luken* (Trask, 1997, p. 236), unsyncretic with unmarked forms.

5.2.4 iii. Relationships between allocutives and unmarked forms

A discernible trend in the sixteenth century materials examined is the adoption of an allocutive-forming strategy which avoids syncretism with unmarked forms, for instance by deploying a morph typical of unmarked forms in another variety.

For instance, in Etxepare, the root **-i-* is specialized as sourcing argumentally divalent, but morphosyntactically trivalent allocutive counterparts to reflexes of *uk(h)en/*edun* ‘have’: *diat* ‘I have (it), you.INTIMATE(M) see’ e.g. in *Vstediāt escuyarqui eciçala burlacen* (VIII,19) ‘I truly believe that you do not jest, you.INTIMATE(M) see’; *dicit* ‘I have (it), you.FORMAL see’ e.g.

in *Dolu dicit eta damu çure contra eginaz* (I,187) ‘I repent and regret having acted against you, you.FORMAL see’, both counterparts of unmarked *dut* ‘I have (it)’. With the single exception of *-i- in an unmarked trivalent auxiliary — *dio* (XIV,5) ‘s/he, it has (it) to him/her/it’, Etxepare consistently sources unmarked trivalent auxiliaries from **eradun*. Other sources make some use of *-i- as a source of unmarked reflexes: to some extent the Lazarraga manuscript, particularly the writings attributed to Sasiola, the Bizkaian texts, e.g. *dio* ‘s/he, it has (it) to him/her/it’ (Garibai, *Endechas de doña Milia de Lastur*, 11); in *RS*, while *edutsi* predominates (Lakarra Andrinua, 1996, p. 252), e.g. *deusc* ‘s/he, it will have to you.INTIMATE(M) (13), one instance of *dyc* (*RS* 25) ‘s/he, it has it to you.INTIMATE(M)’ appears. In Etxepare, the syntactically parallel *dic* (including negative *eztic*), occurs nine times, always as an allocutive: the unmarked 3SG.ABS-2INTIMATE(M).DAT-3SG.ERG form corresponding to *RS dyc* would in Etxepare be **derauc* ~ *darauc*, cf *daraut* (Etxepare, VII,7) ‘s/he, it has (it) to me’.

Also avoiding syncretism is the use of pre-root *i-* in transitive and intransitive verbs which either do not form dative reflexes or whose dative reflexes lack *i-*.

Transitive examples include *iakin* ‘know’: *bacyaquiat* ‘I know (it), you.INTIMATE(M) see’ (Etxepare, VIII,13) vs *daquit* (XIII, 57) ‘I know (it)’; *ek(h)usi/ik(h)usi* ‘see’: *diacusaçut* (Etxepare I,400) ‘I see (it), you.FORMAL see’ vs unmarked *dacussat* (e.g. Etxepare, I,83) ‘I see (it)’. Intransitive examples include *joan* ‘go; be apt (to) (AUX)’: *diohaçu* (Etxepare X,43) ‘s/he, it is apt (to), you.FORMAL see’ vs the unmarked dative *doat* (Etxepare, VI,6) ‘s/he, it goes to me’; *egon* ‘be (stative), stay, remain’: *diagotac* (2 Timothy Ch.IV v.8) ‘it is (laid up) for me, you.INTIMATE(M) see’ vs *dagote* (Revelation Ch.XXI v.8) ‘s/he, it is to them’.

In a small handful of instances, however, *i-* appears in both allocutive and dative reflexes. With *eduki* ‘have, possess, keep’, *i-* distinguishes allocutive from unmarked divalent forms: *eztiaeducat* (Etxepare, XII,40) ‘I do not keep (it), you.INTIMATE(M) see’ vs *daducac* (Etxepare, X,24) ‘I possess (it)’, yet tripersonal reflexes have *i-*; *liadutanic* ‘one who would maintain (it) for me’ (Etxepare, II,20), *diadutela* (Leiçarraga et al., 1990, p. 1297 [C 2r], 19) ‘that s/he, it keeps (it) to them’: possibly this co-existence links to a relatively advanced stage in the reassignment of valency from ABS-DAT-ERG to ABS-ERG. The more widespread tendency, however, is the deployment of allocutive-forming devices absent from unmarked forms. Contrasting with verbs marking allocutivity with *i-* e.g., *ebili/ibili* ‘walk, go about’, *etorri* ‘come’, *egon* ‘be (stative), stay, remain’, *jakin* ‘know’, *ek(h)usi/ik(h)usi* ‘see’, reflexes of

**ezan* with pre-root *i-* are overwhelmingly dative, e.g. *diaçan* (Etxepare, I,40) ‘may s/he, it have (it) to you.INTIMATE(M)’ vs divalent *daçan* (e.g. Etxepare, V,28) ~ *deçan* (e.g. Etxepare, I,266) ‘s/he, it has (it)’, yet, as with *eduki*, *i-* reflexes of **ezan* are very occasionally allocutive e.g. *nieçaqueec* ‘s/he, it has me to them, you.INTIMATE(M) see’: *nehorc horiéy ecin eman nieçaqueec* (Acts Ch.XXV v.11) ‘No-one can give me to them, you.INTIMATE(M) see’, furthermore **eradun* furnishes allocutives in Leizarraga; by contrast it does not do so in Etxepare.

A further device distinguishing allocutives from unmarked forms is the use of a 3PL.ERG marker differing from the local majority marker in unmarked forms. In the Continental sources, the ergative pluralizer in unmarked forms is overwhelmingly *-te*, yet *-e* in allocutives: *dié* (e.g., Acts Ch.XXI v.22) ‘they have (it), you.INTIMATE(M) see’ vs unmarked *duté* (e.g., John Ch.X v.16). The divalent allocutive, however, is syncretic with the unmarked tripersonal ‘s/he, it has (it) to them’ with *-e* as 3PL.DAT marker, while in the Bizkaian and Araban sources, *-e* serves as the predominant 3PL.ERG marker. Similarly with *-e* in a 3PL.ERG role is tripersonal *diarocoé* (Revelation Ch.XVII v.13) ‘they have (it) to him/her/it, you.INTIMATE(M) see’; from **-io-* ‘say’ unmarked *dioite* (e.g. Matthew Ch.XVI v.13) ‘they say (it)’ vs *cioé* (Revelation Ch.III v.9) ‘they say (it)’, you.INTIMATE(M) see’, contrasting with *-te* in the unmarked past-tense form *cioiten* (e.g. two instances in Matthew Ch.VI v.15) ‘they said (it)’. The alternation between unmarked and allocutive 3PL.ERG markers perhaps results from reanalysis as 3PL.ERG of 3PL.DAT *-e* which spread by analogy, lending Abstand from unmarked counterparts; prior to the differentiation of dialects, however, *-e*, the majority 3PL.ERG marker in Bizkaian, could have coexisted on a widespread basis with *-te*, in the Continental sources *-te* being consolidated in unmarked forms and *-e* in allocutives.

There is some intimation that the role of pre-root *i-* in allocutive formation may differ between varieties, although further Bizkaian sources with securely identified allocutives would be necessary to uphold or refute it. Lafon (1944, p. 159 vol.1) construes a reflex of *egon*, *dagoc* (RS 1) as an unmarked 3SG.ABS-2INTIMATE(M).DAT, interpreting *Adi adi/ ce Jaungoycoa dagoc adi* as ‘Beware, beware, for God above is watching you.INTIMATE(M)’, 2INTIMATE(M) *-k* construed as dative. The verb *aditu* ‘listen, hear, be aware’, furnishing the radical *adi*, extrapolating from the Continental texts, takes an absolutive, not a dative object: *Hiz gutitan adi ezac nahi vaduc eguia* (Etxepare XII,39) ‘Hear, if you.INTIMATE(M) will,

the truth in a few words’ , the object *eguia* ‘the truth’ in the absolutive; *Ehorc vnsa adi ciçan nahi valin baduçu* (Etxepare IX,18) ‘if you want anyone to understand you well’ with the 2FORMAL.ABS person pre-root marker *z-* as direct object. In *Aditu dituçu gauça hauc guciac?* (Matthew Ch.XIII v.51) ‘Have you.PL understood all of these things?’ *gauça hauc* ‘these things’ and appositive *guciac* ‘all.PL are in the absolutive. *Aditu* taking an absolutive, rather than a dative direct object in other sources, therefore, favours an allocutive rather than an unmarked dative role of *dagoc* ‘s/he, it is (stative), you.INTIMATE(M) see’. A potential obstacle to this interpretation arises from the location of *dagoc* within an embedded clause, as indicated by the complementizer *ce*, in the light of the suggestion in the literature that allocutive reflexes are precluded from embedded clauses: Lafon (1944, p.408, vol.1) contrasts the main clause allocutive *guihoaçac* ‘we are going, you.INTIMATE(M) see’ in *launa, beguira gaitzac, galdu guihoaçac* (Matthew Ch.VIII v.25) ‘Master, look at us, we are perishing’ with the embedded unmarked, complementized *goacen* ‘that we are going’ in *Magistruá, eztuc ansiaric ceren galduac goacen?* (Mark Ch.IV v.38) ‘Master, do you not care that we are doomed to be lost?’; Trask (1997, p. 108) asserts that ‘[a]llocutive forms occur `only in main clauses, but are obligatory there.’ Rijk, by contrast, acknowledging the generality of this distribution, highlights that it is not absolute: ‘[t]here is a syntactic restriction on the use of allocutive forms: they should occur only in main clauses, not in subordinate clauses....This restriction is, however, not always reflected in everyday usage, and exceptions can be found, particularly in Guipuzcoan’ (Rijk, 2008, p. 810). Adaskina & Grashchenkov (2009, p.2), also referring to Rijk (2008) go further: ‘basing on the data from the Internet and native speaker judgmentswe claim that BAMS²¹ can be and are extensively used in embedded clauses’, illustrating with:

martxarik ez zegokela uste al d-u-k?

<i>martxa-rik</i>	<i>ez</i>	<i>zego-k-ela</i>	<i>uste</i>	<i>al</i>
march-PARTIT	NEG	3SG.ABS.PRS.be-2INTIMATE(M).ALLOC-COMP	think.PTCP	Q
<i>d-u-k</i>				
d.PRS[3.ABS.SG]-have.aux -2INTIMATE(M).ERG				
Do you think there won't be any march?				

²¹ Basque Allocutive Markers

CHAPTER SIX

THE CONTRIBUTION OF SIXTEENTH CENTURY SOURCES TO CURRENT UNDERSTANDING AND TO FUTURE DIRECTIONS OF INVESTIGATION

This chapter summarizes points of change against the backdrop of the reputation of Basque for conservatism. It illustrates the great value of sixteenth century sources in providing insights into transitions in progress and into the earlier history of Basque, informing reconstructions and future research directions.

6.1. A CONSERVATIVE REPUTATION IN THE BALANCE

Trask, noting the close similarity of mediaeval attestations to the modern language, observes: ‘the vast majority of the vocabulary consists of words in use today ... The inflectional and derivational morphology are almost indistinguishable in most respects from the morphology of the modern language, and the differences in syntax are not much greater.’ (1997, pp. 46–47). Like the earlier attestations indicated by Trask, the sixteenth century materials examined in this thesis do not present significant barriers to understanding when approached from the standpoint of *Batua*, yet there have been significant changes. Salient within the texts investigated are: the semantic scope of auxiliary verbs and forms of address, word-order, the absence of a discernible dative flag, despite the presence of a dative person marker; the predominantly pre-root positioning of dative flags and unconsolidated choices between verb roots. An overview of each appears in 6.2. Also noteworthy, either sporadically or in specific sources are: variation in the position of personal markers and pluralizers, mechanisms for linking matrix and embedded clauses, the marking of futurity, pluralizer absence, 3.DAT marker absence. These phenomena are also extant in particular modern varieties. For instance, the absolutive pluralizer *-z* in Bizkaian is word-final, though elsewhere immediately adjacent, or close, to the right-hand edge of the verb root; the use of free clause-initial complementizers in Low Navarrese and Northern High Navarrese, pluralizer absence in South-West Gipuzkoan and the lack of 3.DAT markers from a subset of verbs in Eastern varieties.

6.2. THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY: A SNAPSHOT OF TRANSITIONS IN PROGRESS

In the four more extensively studied texts, the auxiliaries *izan* ‘be’, divalent *uk(h)en/*edun* ‘have’, trivalent **eradun/*edutsi* ‘have’ along with **edin* ‘be, become’, **ezan/egin* ‘have (auxiliary), do, make’ appear in indicative and subjunctive contexts. With few exceptions, the first three encode states and actions with an undefined endpoint, opposing the last two, which are endpoint-encoding. This aspectual auxiliary opposition contrasts with today’s modal one, whereby the older non-endpoint-encoding roots furnish indicative context reflexes and the older endpoint-encoding, subjunctive. The sixteenth century attests the progress of the aspectual to modal transition, which looks to have begun in the Peninsular before the Continental varieties. In Zumarraga **edin* (lines 13, 36) and auxiliary *egin* (line 42) feature in non-endpoint, subjunctive contexts; *izan* (lines 17 and 18) and *edun* (lines 9 and 27) are both endpoint and non-endpoint encoding. In the Oñati Poetry, none of the three reflexes of *izan* (II.1; I.6; I.16) is unequivocally non-endpoint-encoding; by contrast, four of the five reflexes of *uk(h)en/*edun* are non-endpoint encoding, yet **edin* (II.3), **ezan* (I.4; I.5) and *egin* (II.4) each encode instantaneous events. In High Navarrese Text IIIb, *uk(h)en/*edun* and **ezan* vary freely in a set of marriage vows, whereas in a comparable Gipuzkoan text (Tolosa, 1557), *uk(h)en/*edun* alone features.

The semantic scope of modes of address has undergone change. In the modern language, the use of 2INTIMATE *hiketa*, formerly a generic singular, is highly restricted, with some variation in scope across the country; 2FORMAL *zuketa*, formerly plural, nowadays serves as the predominant singular, the more recently consolidated 2PL *zueketa* furnishing the plural. In the sixteenth century, the presence and scope of these three forms of address varies between sources and even within a dialect.

Etxepare reflects a position approaching that of the modern language, with 2INTIMATE *hiketa*, 2FORMAL *zuketa* and 2PL *zueketa*, although *hiketa* is occasionally used between the sexes and, once, to address God. Leizarraga, in religious texts, combines ancient and modern usage, discarding *zuketa* – contemporaneously singular or plural, depending on the source – in preference opposing *hiketa* in its older, generic singular role to the more recently formed plural *zueketa*. He demurs, however, from using *hiketa* in two addresses to the monarchy, preferring as a singular address *zuketa*, alternating with the 2HONORIFIC, morphosyntactically 3rd person *beroriketa*. Garibai and RS use *hiketa* as a generic singular, but unlike Leizarraga, *zuketa* in its historic plural role. Zumarraga, despite also writing in a Bizkaian variety, consistently uses *zuketa* with singular reference in addressing a close friend. The Araban of

Lazarraga captures an interesting transitional stage: *hiketa* and *zuketa* have singular reference; *zueketa* looks to be emerging, with intermediate VPs in the pastoral novel, *zueketa* free pronouns indexing attached *zuketa* absolutive, dative and ergative markers, e.g., *çuec ...doçu* (f.10v, 14) ‘that you.PL have...’ rather than *çuec ...doçue*. In the later poetry, however, *zueketa* attached markers appear.

Sixteenth century word order patterns do not entirely correspond to their Batua counterparts. Today’s dominant order is SOV, with the principle verb-fronted exceptions of imperatives, direct questions and negative polarity clauses. While SOV is well-represented in the sixteenth century, SVO has a significant presence (e.g. Mark Ch.I v.2; RS 129), along with a diversity of other non-verb-final configurations, for instance, the absolutive subject following the verb, e.g., in the Oñati Poetry (l.16); the dative object (High Navarrese Text 1); a lexical participle (High Navarrese text II,12). Verb fronting occurs in clause types where it tends not to in the modern language: in the second of two related clauses e.g., in the apodosis of the conditional in RS 13, with clause-initial periphrastic *eyngo deusc* ‘s/he, it will do to you.INTIMATE(M)’, followed by free ergative and dative arguments in *Badeguioc yñori,/ eyngo deusc bestec yri*. ‘If you do it to someone, someone else will do it to you.’ The expression of negative polarity frequently manifests the older ordering: *lexical verb—negator—auxiliary*, even in main clauses, (e.g., Lazarraga P f. 12v, 3; Zumarraga, 37; RS 18), where they are precluded in the modern language: like later grammarians, Azkue (1923: 524-525), even though working with Bizkaian, the most conservative dialect in respect of negation ordering, denies the possibility of *lexical participle—negator—auxiliary* ordering in main clauses (Salaberri, 2021, p. 30). The innovative *negator—auxiliary—lexical verb* ordering, however, also appears in sixteenth century main clauses (e.g., John Ch. XVIII v.38) and its success in progressively displacing the older ordering from main clauses could have been favoured by the greater syntactic flexibility which it afforded (see Chapter Two, 2.3.4), an important consideration in main/matrix clauses as the main site of pragmatic marking and constituent focalization (Salaberri, 2021, p 21).

In reflexes with a dative person marker, a dative flag, predominantly *-ki* or *-i*, is almost invariably present in Batua, e.g. *doa* ‘s/he, it is going’ vs *doakit* ‘s/he, it is going to me’. By contrast, dative flags are frequently lacking in sixteenth century forms: *doat* ‘s/he, it goes to me’ (Etxepare VI,6). Where present, their positional distribution is the mirror image of that of the modern language: overwhelmingly pre-root with a post-root minority. Following Trask’s lead in terming pre-root *it-* an ‘apparent pluralizer’ (1997, p. 223), it might be

prudent to denote at least pre-root dative flags similarly, depending upon the evolutionary stage considered. They may represent morphs from dative-specialized suppletive stems or serial verbs; nonetheless, they look to have been reanalyzed as dative flags, just as *it-* can stand alone in indexing an absolutive plural argument. Notwithstanding the appealing symmetry of dative flags *-ki* (possibly also *-k*) and *-i* < **gi* and pluralizers *-te* and *-e* < **-de* — a hypothesis which should not readily be discounted — other possible sources of post-root dative flags emerge e.g., reanalysis of *-i* from ancestral **-Vni* forms of *-n* class verbs, e.g., **izani* > *izan*. Noteworthy in sixteenth century dative reflexes, on both sides of the Pyrenees is the presence of *-k* selective to 3SG.DAT markers. Consensus is that the 3SG.DAT markers were sourced by the proximal (or possibly mesial) demonstrative. Furthermore, specific Pyrenean varieties have velar-initial demonstratives: Roncalese *kau* ‘this’, *kori* ‘that’, *kura* ‘that yonder’; Aezkoan *gau*, *gori*, *gura* and Trask, concurring with Mitxelena, concludes ‘[i]t is very difficult to explain these plosives except by assuming that they are original: it looks very much as though these three stems anciently began with *k*, which has everywhere been reduced to *h* or lost, except in R and Aezk, ...’ (1997, p. 181). It is, therefore, possible that the initial velar of an attached demonstrative may have been reanalyzed as a dative flag in reflexes such as *dagoca* ‘s/he, it is (stative) to him/her/it’ (Revelation Ch.19 v.1) and *digoçu* ‘you.FORMAL have (it) to him/her/it’ (Sasiola in Lazarraga f. 50v L, 49). If the dative flag *-k* is from a demonstrative, this may call into question the majority view that the 3SG.DAT marker attached to the verb at a later stage than ergative markers, depending on when *k-* was lost from the demonstratives and the locality from which 3SG.DAT marking was propagated. The dative flag *-ki*, widespread in Batua, looks to have spread analogically from **edin* ‘be, become’. Where the root **-di-* is patent in sixteenth century sources, the flag precedes it. The root is frequently not discernible, and its erosion could have facilitated reinterpretation, in an increasingly post-inflective language, as a post-root flag. Overall, from the sources investigated, pre-root flags look to be more ancient than their post-root counterparts which are dominant in Batua.

Choices from among contenders and their degree of consolidation to a specific role vary between sources: from the texts investigated, consolidation appears significantly further advanced in peripheral than central varieties: in Etxepare **eradun* is specialized to unmarked trivalent reflexes opposing **-i-* which furnishes morphosyntactically trivalent, argumentally divalent allocutives. By contrast, in the Sasiola writings within the Lazarraga manuscript, it supplies all of the unmarked trivalent auxiliaries. **Eradun*, sourcing trivalent

auxiliaries in the Continental and High Navarrese texts, has the Bizkaian counterpart **edutsi*. In Lazarraga, by contrast with Etxepare, Leizarraga, the Bizkaian sources and Sasiola, auxiliary roots which approach mutual exclusivity elsewhere, co-occur: supplying unmarked trivalent reflexes **-i-* co-occurs with **edutsi* and the hybrid **eradutsi*; **ezan* co-occurs with auxiliary *egin*. Contending markers can appear pleonastically e.g., in Bizkaian, the predominant verb-final absolutive plural marking co-occurs with *it-* in, from *uk(h)en/*edun, dituz* ‘s/he, it has them’ (e.g., *RS 89*), forms appearing despite the dispreference of co-occurring allomorphs, not only on grounds of the uneconomical marking of a reflex twice for one morphosyntactic property, but for violating the universal preference for uniform coding; cross-linguistically some instances are resolved by reanalysis, e.g. the Vulgar Latin doubly marked infinitive *es-se-re* reinterpreted as a stem *esse* with a single infinitive marker *-re* (Haspelmath, 1993, p. 299), *dituz* to *dauz* ‘s/he, it has them’ in varieties of Bizkaian.

The present thesis finds that the sixteenth century marked a key era of transitions in progress and competing structures, a view supported by Mounole Hiriart-Urruty: ‘[t]he archaic Basque verb system is an unstable system, in the midst of flux ... to put it another way, ancient forms are in competition with other apparently more recent ones’ (2014 [2018], p. 155).⁵⁵

By contrast, in the first half of the eighteenth century, the verb system was far more homogeneous, many of the transitions evident in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries having reached their concluding point (2014 [2018], p. 369).

6.3 INSIGHTS INTO EARLIER HISTORY AND SUGGESTED FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

The sixteenth century picture of person-related markers indicates an earlier language markedly different from that of today. The process heralding their redefined functionality could have involved exaptation, a concept first coined in evolutionary biology, applying to a pool of constantly evolving redundant ‘junk’ DNA, available for fortuitous mutation with potential for genetic expression enabling ‘opportunistic co-optation of a feature whose origin is unrelated or only marginally related to its later use’ (Lass, 1990, p. 80, with reference to Gould and Vrba, 1982, p. 171). Exaptation is one of the behaviours common to both evolutionary biology and diachronic linguistics by virtue of their evolving nature (Lass,

⁵⁵ « Le système verbal du basque archaïque est un système instable, en pleine mutation ... autrement dit, des formes anciennes sont en compétition avec d’autres apparemment plus récentes. »

1990, p.96) and ‘useless or idle structure has the fullest freedom to change because alteration in it has a minimal effect on the useful stuff’ (Lass, 1990, p. 98). If a grammatical function is lost from a language, its morphological exponents can be retained as functionless ‘junk’, with repurposing potential. The merger of the Indo-European perfect/aorist opposition in the formation of the aspectually undifferentiated Germanic preterite illustrates the point. Germanic ‘strong verbs’ retained the old Indo-European morphology, aspectual contrast marked by ablaut in nuclear vowels: *e-* marked the present, contrasting with both perfect aspect *-o* and aorist aspect *-∅* (verb classes I-III) or *-e:* (classes IV and V).

E.g., a class I strong verb

Go = Gothic

OE = Old English

Pres = present system, exemplified by the infinitive

PRET₁ = preterite 1,3 singular

PRET₂ = preterite 2 singular and plural

Class	VERB	<i>Go/OE</i>	PRES	PRET ₁	PRET ₂
I	‘bite’	<i>Go</i>	beit-an	bait	bit-um
		<i>OE</i>	bīt-an	bāt	bit-on

PRET₁ *a* is sourced by Indo-European */o/, while in PRET₂ *i* is morphophonemically a root component, remaining after nuclear vowel deletion. Indo-European perfect/aorist nuclear vowel alternations, bleached of their aspectual significance by the merger of two past-tense paradigms into the single Germanic preterite, now correlated with, and were reanalyzed as, the concordial category of number (Lass, 1990, p. 85).

The reanalysis of aspectual exponents as encoding concordial number is far from the sole domain of exaptation. The role of final *-e* in attributive adjectives in Afrikaans provides a contrasting manifestation. The syntagmatically controlled Old Germanic concordial inflection of attributive adjectives underpins, for instance, in Modern German the rich strong declension reflecting case/gender/number and, where the determiner expresses the concordial information of the DP, the much less differentiated weak declension. Certain other Germanic languages, by contrast, have undergone reductionism to a greater or lesser extent. The same inflectional principles were discernible in Old Dutch, e.g., Old Low

Franconian, but the strong/weak distinction was lost by Middle Dutch 'giving an impoverished system compared to Old English, Old High German or Modern Icelandic' (Lass, 1990, p. 89). In seventeenth century Dutch, the Old Germanic three-gender system reduced to a 'common' vs neuter opposition, with definite articles *de* and *het* respectively, persisting in Modern Standard Dutch and, apart from some survivals of old genitive and dative inflections, adjectives were overwhelmingly endingless or inflected with *-e*, depending on gender, number and definiteness oppositions. Early Afrikaans, however, completely lost grammatical gender, *de* and *het* > *die* by around 1740, adjectival *-e* becoming junk. Neuter nouns had favoured \emptyset and common nouns *-e* prior to the loss of gender, which was attended by near random alternation, old neuters such as *een kleyn-e stuk* 'a little piece' appearing alongside *een kleyn N*; old commons such as *een ander plaats* 'another place' alongside *een ander-e N* (Lass, 1990, p. 90). The now baseless *-e*/ \emptyset opposition was pressed into a novel non-syntactic role, determined solely by adjectival class, with those adjectives that inflected continuing to do so in attributive contexts only. The inflecting group includes morphologically complex adjectives e.g., polymorphemic like *ge-heim* 'secret' 'n *geheim-e resep* 'a secret recipe', morphophonemically complex with stem allomorphy, where the inflected form enables the alternation to persist e.g., *vas* 'fast', inflected *vast-e* where 'history presents a clear case of change acting to MAXIMIZE allomorphy', while dropping *-e* would have been an easy option in otherwise reductionist Afrikaans (Lass, 1990, p. 93-94). The non-inflecting group comprises mainly monosyllabic adjectives, ending in obstruents e.g., *los* 'loose' or sonorants in clusters, e.g., *dronk* 'drunk', though with some polysyllabics, often in *-er*, e.g., *ander* 'other' and comparatives. A few, e.g., some *-el* final adjectives, straddle the inflecting/non-inflecting opposition, displaying a different kind of exaptation with *-e* as a means of semantic contrast, e.g., 'n *enkel man* 'a solitary man' vs 'n *enkel-e man* 'a single (unmarried) man' (Lass, 1990, p. 94). In sum, the control of adjective inflection has 'shifted from syntax to lexicon' (Lass, 1990, p. 95).

Contrasting with the Afrikaans conservation of junk *-e* is its loss in the English invariable adjective, but not before it was exapted in Middle English as a marker of plurality, following its bleaching of case/gender/definiteness contexts (Lass, 1990, p. 95). A device encoding plurality also arose in German through exaptation: the suffixation of */i,j/ fronted root vowels, a change phonologized, then morphologized as an indicator of plurality following loss or neutralization of the suffix, e.g. Old High German *gast* 'guest', PL *gasti* < Middle High

German *gast/geste*, Modern German *Gast/Gäste* and analogically extended, e.g. Old High German *boum* ‘tree’, PL *boum-e*, Modern German *Baum/Bäume* (Lass, 1990, pp. 98-9).

In view of the significant functional shift exemplified above, from aspectual to number encoding, from concordial to word-class subcategory, semantic contrast and number marking, from vowel height assimilation to number marking, it would not be surprising if earlier functions of, e.g., the Basque pre-root apparent pluralizer and pre-root dative flag were to be distant from that attested in the sixteenth century texts.

The positional variation of absolutive pluralizers, of ergative in relation to dative markers and the mapping of a single person-marking locus to more than one thematic role intimate freer ordering than found in Batua, possibly indicating a history of a greater degree of isolating/analytical behaviour, although linear ordering permutations of segments are not an uncommon feature of agglutination e.g., in Eastern Mari (see Chapter Five, 5.2.1 iii.). The investigation of a larger corpus of contemporaneous and earlier texts is now needed to evaluate the extent to which the picture proposed is upheld or refuted.

Concordant marking (e.g. in Aikhenvald, 2018) redolent of a history of serial verbs, is indicated by indexing between pre- and post-root markers. Examples include pre-root dative flags indexing post-root dative person markers; medial *n*- co-occurring with verb-final past-marker *-n*, e.g. *bahindoan* (John Ch.XXI v.18) ‘you.INTIMATE were going’, *cenacussan* ‘you.FORMAL saw it’ (Etxepare I,126); post-root pluralizers indexing the plural feature of pre-root 1/2PL markers, e.g. the *-z* of *goacen* ‘let us go’ (Etxepare, XVI,1), *garauzcac* ‘you.INTIMATE(M) have us to Him’ (Revelation Ch.V v.9), *goaquez* ‘we will go’ (RS 165).

While reanalysis of morphs from serial verbs might underpin pre-root dative flags, medial *n*, the indexing of the plural feature of a pre-root person marker by a post-root pluralizer, also the apparent pre-root pluralizer *it-*, root alternation is a possible contender e.g., from *etzan* ‘lie, recline’ singular *datza* ‘she is sleeping’ in Luke Ch.VIII v.52 vs plural *çaunçate* ‘you.PL lie’ (Luke Ch.XXII v.46); *daunça* ‘they lie’ (1 Cor. Ch.XI v.30). On the one hand, root alternation does not explain apparent concordant marking, yet on the other, invoking serial verbs does not offer a ready explanation as to why 3rd person forms, and forms with a 1/2SG.ERG pre-root marker, should selectively lack a medial *n*. Furthermore, an extreme note of caution is due in respect of the intimation of a history of serial verbs (similarly adpositions) in Basque: they do not align with its highly consistent verb-final syntax (Trask, 1997, p. 229) although

might be relics of an ancient VO syntax (SVO suggested by Trask, 1977; VSO with the phrase-initial verb preceded by a particle, as in ancient Celtic, by Gómez and Sainz, 1995), and ‘such suggestions apparently require us to believe that the morphology of finite verbs is very ancient indeed’ (Trask, 1997, p. 229). A future investigative focus could evaluate whether a history of serial verbs or root alternation looks more likely and, if there is a case for their co-existence, their distribution. The investigation of mismatch between morpheme and syllable boundaries in early texts might elucidate whether the apparent pluralizer *it-* is more likely to have a history as a discrete pluralizer or an exapted string, possibly a previous root component of a serial verb or suppletive root, later reanalyzed as a pluralizer.

Pleonasm and variation in ordering occur with pluralizers, person markers, dative flags and medial *n*. Pluralizers are consolidated in different loci: *-z* as verb-final in Bizkaian; right-adjacent to the root in Lapurdian, e.g., *çaitzazquete* (Schuchardt in Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 75 citing Bonaparte, 1869) ‘s/he, it can have you.PL’; separated from the root by the modal marker *-ke* in Leizarraga, e.g. *çaitzaquezte* (John Ch.VII v.7), same gloss. Person markers vary morphologically according to whether they are pre- or post-root (also whether word-internal or word-final in the 1SG and 2INTIMATE). While, in the sixteenth century, the correlation of thematic role to locus largely reflects that of modern language, variations appear over a wide geographical area, some with concurrent pleonasm, e.g. *draudaçut* ‘I give to you.FORMAL’ (High Navarrese, Illc) with two 1SG.ERG markers; contrary to the prevalent dative-ergative sequencing, the first precedes the dative marker *-zu*. A pre-root 1st or 2nd person marker, generally absolutive, ergative in ergative fronted forms, can index a dative, e.g. *bahau* as ‘if s/he, it has (it) to you.INTIMATE’ (Philemon Ch.I v.18), despite the inland source, corresponding to Lafitte’s *solécisme de la côte* (1979, p. 296). Sixteenth century dative flags, often absent, and with a predominant pre-root positioning, unlike the regular post-root positioning today, manifest a diversity of apparent allomorphs (see Chapter Five, 5.2.3), likely of different origins, possibly including the initial velar of demonstrative variants and an ancient final *-i* of the radical of what was to become the *-n* class of verbs; *i* appears in pre- and post-root contexts (see Chapter Five, 5.2.3 i., 5.2.3 ii.), in trivalent reflexes of **edin*, *-ki*, rare in the sixteenth century, but a regular post-root flag in the modern language, is discernibly pre-root where the root is patent, e.g. *aquidit* (John Ch.XIII v.36) ‘you.INTIMATE are to me’. Medial *n* manifests pre- and post-root positioning, e.g., *cenaudela* ‘you.FORMAL were (stative)’ (Etxepare IX,27) vs *çeonçan* ‘you.FORMAL were (stative)’ (Oñati Poetry II.3), also pleonasm, e.g. *iñçanden* (Etxepare XIII,2), ‘you.INTIMATE

would have been' vs Batua *hinzatekeen* with a single medial *n*. While pleonasm, particularly of pluralizers and case markers, also linear ordering permutations, not uncommonly appear in agglutination, they can also intimate relatively free ordering from a history of isolating/analytical typology, from which agglutination can arise within the graduated isolating/analytical – agglutinative – fusional – flexional cline (cf. Plungian, 2001, pp. 675, 677). Movement, since the sixteenth century towards greater consolidation of sequencing might suggest progression rightwards along the cline towards an ordering more conducive to the development of a greater degree of fusional behaviour, although further progression in this direction is by no means inevitable.

The reanalysis and re-purposing of markers has played a significant role in the evolution of Basque, perhaps to a greater extent than generally acknowledged. The re-purposing of the dative flag *i-* as a marker of allocutivity; the formation of the pluralizer *-zki* from the pre-existing pluralizer *-z* and dative flag *-ki*; the redeployment of ergative pluralizer *-te* as an absolutive pluralizer are already well-supported in the literature. In none of these instances has the earlier function fallen into disuse: argumental contexts can inform interpretation, e.g., in *goazkio* 'we are going to him/her/it', the pluralizer *-z* is required to index the plural feature of the 1PL.ABS marker *g-*, therefore *-ki*, as corroborated by the presence of the following 3SG.DAT marker, is a dative flag rather than a morph within the pluralizer *-zki*. Positional pressures can vary with function. For instance, *-te*, when an ergative pluralizer, is generally verb-final, apart from past-tense/complementizer *-(e)n*; when redeployed as an absolutive pluralizer, it adopts neither the verb final locus typical of the ergative nor the immediate or near post-root locus typical of an absolutive pluralizer: the syntactic ergative marker has a greater claim on the verb-final locus, constraining absolutive *-te* to penult, e.g.

cerauzquietet (Acts Ch.XX v.32)
c- *e-* *-rau-* *-z* *-qui* *-o* *-te* *-t*
 2SG/PL.ABS PRS root ABS.PL FLAG 3SG.DAT ABS.PL 1SG.ERG
 'I have you.PL to Him'

Following exemplification of reanalysis and re-purposing, this thesis supports the view that the pre-root pluralizer *it-* and the dative flag *i-* may be morphs reanalyzed, possibly through exaptation, perhaps via sources such as serial verbs or alternating roots, that the post-root dative flag *-i* could have arisen from the earlier *-Vni* from *-n* class verbs and *-k*, specific to 3SG.DAT reflexes, from a demonstrative initial velar. From its investigation of the patterns, trends and variations of person-related markers in finite synthetic verbs, the thesis has

considered implications for the earlier picture of the language and, through comparison with the modern language, highlighted respects in which, over the last 500 years, the evolution of Basque has run contrary to its reputed conservatism.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Exemplar intransitive (ABS and ABS-DAT) and transitive (ABS-ERG and ABS-DAT-ERG) present and past indicative, conditional and imperative paradigms

Intransitive *ibili* ‘walk, go about, function’ and its causative, transitive *erabili* ‘use’, including 3SG.DAT reflexes of both verbs.

The 3SG.ABS direct object being unmarked, each 3PL.ABS counterpart reflex of *erabili* is shown with the segmentable pluralizer in brackets.

	<i>ibili</i>	<i>erabili</i>
	present indicative	
person/ valency	ABS	ABS-ERG
1SG	<i>nabil</i>	<i>darabil(tza)t</i>
2INTIMATE	<i>habil</i>	<i>darabil(tza)k</i> (M) / <i>darabil(tza)n</i> (F)
3SG	<i>dabil</i>	<i>darabil(tza)</i>
1PL	<i>gabiltza</i>	<i>darabil(tza)gu</i>
2FORMAL	<i>zabiltza</i>	<i>darabil(tza)zu</i>
2PL	<i>zabiltzate</i>	<i>darabil(tza)zue</i>
3PL	<i>dabiltza</i>	<i>darabil(tza)te</i>
	present indicative	
person/ valency	ABS-DAT	ABS-DAT-ERG
1SG	<i>nabilkio</i>	<i>darabil(z)kiot</i>
2INTIMATE	<i>habilkio</i>	<i>darabil(z)kiok</i> (M) / <i>darabil(z)kion</i> (F)
3SG	<i>dabilkio</i>	<i>darabil(z)kio</i>
1PL	<i>gabilzkio</i>	<i>darabil(z)kiogu</i>
2FORMAL	<i>zabilzkio</i>	<i>darabil(z)kiozu</i>
2PL	<i>zabilzkiote</i>	<i>darabil(z)kiozue</i>
3PL	<i>dabilzkio</i>	<i>darabil(z)kiote</i>

past indicative		
person/ valency	ABS	ABS-ERG
1SG	<i>nenbilen</i>	<i>nerabilen (nerabiltzan)</i>
2INTIMATE	<i>henbilen</i>	<i>herabilen (herabiltzan)</i>
3SG	<i>zebilen</i>	<i>zerabilen (zerabiltzan)</i>
1PL	<i>genbiltzan</i>	<i>generabilen (generabiltzan)</i>
2FORMAL	<i>zenbitzan</i>	<i>zenerabilen (zenerabiltzan)</i>
2PL	<i>zenbiltzaten</i>	<i>zenerabilten (zenerabiltzaten)</i>
3PL	<i>zebiltzan</i>	<i>zerabilten (zerabiltzaten)</i>

past indicative		
person/ valency	ABS-DAT	ABS-DAT-ERG
1SG	<i>nenbilkion</i>	<i>nerabil(z)kion</i>
2INTIMATE	<i>henbilkion</i>	<i>herabil(z)kion</i>
3SG	<i>zebilkion</i>	<i>zerabil(z)kion</i>
1PL	<i>genbilzkion</i>	<i>generabil(z)kion</i>
2FORMAL	<i>zenbilzkion</i>	<i>zenerabil(z)kion</i>
2PL	<i>zenbilzkioten</i>	<i>zenerabil(z)kioten</i>
3PL	<i>zebilzkioten</i>	<i>zerabil(z)kioten</i>

Divalent reflexes of *erabili* are also possible with a 1ABS or 2ABS direct object, trivalent forms with a 1DAT or 2DAT indirect object e.g., *narabilzu* ‘you.FORMAL are using me’ *garabiltzazu* ‘you.FORMAL are using us’, *ninderabilzun* ‘you.FORMAL were using me’, *ginderabiltzazun* ‘you.FORMAL were using us’; *darabildate* ‘they are using it for me’, *zerabilkidaten* ‘they were using it for me’.

The use of lexical synthetic verbs is nowadays largely restricted to the present and past indicative and some imperatives. Other paradigms of a few verbs are occasionally used, exemplifying with *ibili* (ABS):

person/ paradigm	conditional forms		imperative and jussive
	present protasis	present apodosis	
1SG	<i>banenbil</i>	<i>nenbilke</i>	<i>nabilen</i>
2INTIMATE	<i>bahenbil</i>	<i>henbilke</i>	<i>habil</i>
3SG	<i>balebil</i>	<i>lebilke</i>	<i>bebil</i>
1PL	<i>bagenbiltza</i>	<i>genbilzke</i>	<i>gabiltzan</i>
2FORMAL	<i>bazenbiltza</i>	<i>zenbilzke</i>	<i>zabiltza</i>
2PL	<i>bazenbiltzate</i>	<i>zenbilzket</i>	<i>zabiltate</i>
3PL	<i>balebiltza</i>	<i>lebilzke</i>	<i>bebiltza</i>

APPENDIX B

Lexical roots furnishing synthetic reflexes

(Adapted from Euskaltzaindia, 1979)

Some synthetic reflexes		A few literary reflexes	
<i>atxeki</i>	'attach to; cleave unto'		
		<i>ebaki</i>	'cut'
<i>eduki</i>	'have; possess; keep'		
<i>egin</i>	'do, make'		
<i>egon</i>	'be (stative); stay; remain'		
<i>ekarri</i>	'bring; bring forth'		
<i>ekin</i>	'undertake; start; get down to'		
<i>eman</i>	'give'	<i>eman</i>	'give'
<i>entzun</i>	'hear; listen'		
<i>erabili</i>	'use'		
		<i>eragon</i>	'busy oneself; undertake'
<i>erakutsi</i>	'show'		
		<i>erahatzi</i>	'cause to forget'
<i>eraman</i>	'carry; take (away)'		
		<i>erasi (edasi)</i>	'gossip; scold'
		<i>erautsi</i>	'take down; pour'
<i>erauntsi</i>	'hit; attack; blow (wind)'		
<i>eritsi</i>	'deem; judge; term'		
<i>eroan</i>	'carry; take away'		
		<i>erori</i>	'fall'
<i>erosi</i>	'sell'	<i>erosi</i>	'sell'
		<i>eratzan</i>	'cause to recline; cradle'
<i>esan</i>	'say; tell'		
<i>etorri</i>	'come'		
		<i>etsi</i>	'consider as; take for'
<i>etzan</i>	'lie down; be recumbent'		
<i>eutsi</i>	'seize, grab'		
<i>ezagutu</i>	'know (person, place); recognize'		

<i>ibili</i>	'walk; go about, function'		
		<i>idoki</i>	'exit; extract'
<i>igorri</i>	'send'	<i>igorri</i>	'send'
<i>ihardetsi</i>	'answer; reply'	<i>ihardetsi</i>	'answer; reply'
<i>iharduki</i>	'resist; oppose'		
<i>ihardun</i>	'busy oneself'		
<i>ikusi</i>	'see'		
		<i>ikuzi</i>	'wash; clean'
		<i>Imini/ipini</i>	'put; place'
		<i>Irgan/igaro/irago</i>	'pass cross'
<i>irakatsi</i>	'teach'		
<i>iraun</i>	'last; endure; survive'		
<i>iro</i>	'can; be able'		
<i>irudi</i>	'seem; look like'		
		<i>izeki</i>	'ignite'
		<i>jaiki</i>	'get up; rise (up)'
		<i>jaitsi</i>	'go down; descend'
<i>jakin</i>	'know (a fact)'		
<i>jarin</i>	flow		
<i>jarraiki</i>	'follow'		
		<i>jaugin</i>	'come'
<i>joan</i>	'go'		
<i>utzi</i>	'leave; give up'		

APPENDIX C

THE AUXILIARY SYSTEM OF BATUA

INFORMATION ACCOMPANYING TABLES 1 AND 2

Tables 1 and 2 present the auxiliary paradigms of Batua, comprising four valency types (ABS, ABS-DAT, ABS-ERG, ABS-DAT-ERG), each across tense and mood categories. Tense and mood nomenclature is informed by the commonly applied Basque labels and those of Trask (1997, p. 105), Table 1 comprising the eleven categories deemed standard for general purposes by *Hezkuntza, Universitate eta Ikerketa Saila* (the Department of Education, Higher Education and Research), Table 2 incorporating six additional categories informed by the work of Mitxelena and Trask. Three phenomena are of particular note in respect of both tables, ergative fronting, pluralizer diversity and, in trivalent paradigms, the representation of 3.ABS reflexes only, as illustrated below.

1. Ergative fronting

Non-present paradigms in the 3.ABS column of Table 1 are set apart from other transitive reflexes by ergative fronting. While auxiliary reflexes, like other synthetic verbs, have a post-root ergative marker in present-tense-based forms, e.g.

hartzen dituzu
har-tzen *d-it-u-zu*
take-IPFV.PTCP d-ABS.PL-have.PRS-2FORMAL.ERG
'you.FORMAL take them'

in non-present 3.ABS-1/2.ERG reflexes, it undergoes fronting to the verb-initial position, e.g.

hartu zenituen
har-tu *zen-it-u-en*
take-PFV.PTCP 2FORMAL.ERG-ABS.PL-have-PST
'you.FORMAL took them'

2. Pluralizer diversity

The pluralizers of the auxiliary system mainly conform, morphologically and syntactically, to the patterns in lexical synthetic verbs. The absolute pluralizers are most diverse, including *-zki*, *-z* and *-te* as with lexical verbs. The auxiliary picture, however, is more complex in

manifesting pre-root *it-* in *uk(h)en/*edun* (e.g., *hartu du* ‘s/he takes (it)’ vs *hartu ditu* ‘s/he takes them’), divalent reflexes **ezan* (e.g. *har dezake* ‘s/he, can take it (now)’ vs *har ditzake* ‘s/he, can take them (now)’), overtly in certain reflexes of **edin* (e.g. *bedi* ‘let him/her be’ vs *bitez* ‘let them be’). In non-present forms with a 1PL.ABS or 2PL.ABS marker, *it-* as a discrete pluralizer is not overt, although the plosive voicing contrast between singular and plural forms intimates a historic pluralizer presence: *hartu ninduen* ‘s/he took me’ vs *hartu gintuen* ‘s/he, it took us’. In ergative-fronted reflexes the absolutive pluralizer is overt throughout: *hartu banu* ‘if I had taken (it)’ vs *hartu banitu* ‘if I had taken them’. Pleonastic pluralization accompanies *it-* in certain reflexes of *uk(h)en/*edun*, *-z* immediately preceding the absolutive or ergative pluralizer *-te*, modal *-ke*, or both when in combination, e.g., *nahi nuke* ‘I would like (it)’ vs *nahi nituzke* ‘I would like them’, *hartzen bazintuztet* ‘If I took you.PL (now)’ with absolutive *-te*; *hartzen bazenituzte* ‘if you.PL took them (now)’ with ergative *-te*. Pleonastic plural marking with *it-* and *-z* also appears overtly in some monovalent reflexes of **edin*, e.g., the past subjunctive *zedin* ‘that s/he be’ vs *zitezen* ‘that they be’.

Trivalent reflexes of **-i-* and **ezan* interpose the absolutive pluralizer *-zki* between *-i-* or *-ieza-* respectively and the dative person marker: *igorri dizut* ‘I have sent (it) to you.FORMAL’ vs *igorri dizkizut* ‘I have sent them to you.FORMAL’; *igor diezazuket* ‘I can send it to you.FORMAL (now)’ vs *igor diezazkizuket* ‘I can send them to you.FORMAL (now)’.

Ergative pluralizers behave as in lexical synthetic verbs, appearing as the final element, except when followed by past-marker/complementizer *-(e)n*. 3SG.ERG is rendered plural by *-te*, a marker of plurality rather than of person, also serving to distinguish pre-root marked 2PL.ERG from 2FORMAL.ERG; although in post-root marked 2PL the pluralizer *-e* has been reanalyzed as a morph of the person marker e.g., from *uk(h)en/*edun*, *zenuen* ‘you.FORMAL had (it)’ vs *zenuten* ‘you.PL had (it)’, but *duzu* ‘you.FORMAL have (it)’ vs *duzue* ‘you.PL have (it)’. Like ergative *-te*, absolutive *-te* distinguishes 2PL.ABS from 2FORMAL.ABS e.g., from **edin*, *zaitetz!* ‘be.FORMAL!’ vs *zaitetzte!* ‘be.PL!’, from *izan*, *zara* ‘you.FORMAL are’ vs *zarete* ‘you.PL are’; with *izan*, absolutive *-te*, unlike its ergative counterpart, does not pluralize the third person.

All 3PL monovalent reflexes of *izan* have the morph *r*, e.g., *ziratekeen* ‘they would have been’ vs *zatekeen* ‘s/he would have been’, along with all plural forms of the present and

epistemic indicative e.g., *gara* ‘we are’, *garateke* ‘we are (I suppose)’. The paradigms of *izan* are, however, so irregular, that *r* cannot securely be deemed a pluralizer; the *z* of the root of *izan* is always absent from *r* forms, intimating a suppletive origin. By contrast, ABS-DAT reflexes of *izan* consistently manifest the pluralizer *-zki* in all ABS.PL forms, additional to the plural feature implicit in the person marker or the discrete post-root pluralizer *-te* associated with 2PL.ABS: *hurbildu nintzaion* ‘I approached him/her’, but *hurbildu gintzaizkion* ‘we approached him/her’; *hurbildu zintzaizkion* ‘you.FORMAL approached him/her’ vs *hurbildu zintzaizkioten* ‘you.PL approached him/her’. The pluralizer *-zki* is interposed between the morph *tzai*, comprising the root of *izan* possibly followed by a dative flag and the dative person marker. Similarly, **edin* manifests *-zki* in ABS.PL-DAT reflexes, e.g. *joan nakioke* ‘I can go to him/her/it (now)’ vs *joan gakizkioke* ‘we can go to him/her (now)’.

Absolutive pluralizer choice largely correlates with valency type rather than verb root. In transitive and intransitive dative reflexes, *-zki* appears. In present-tense-based and ergative-fronted paradigms of *uk(h)en/*edun it-* is overt and possibly underlying in non-ergative fronted non-present paradigms; at least some ABS.PL reflexes of **edin* overtly manifest *it-*, although root erosion renders systematic patterning difficult to discern. Trivalent reflexes of **-i-* and **ezan* manifest *-zki* where the absolutive is 3rd person; exceptionally, in their rarely encountered 1/2PL.ABS reflexes, *it-* appears, leastwise overtly in present-tense-based paradigms.

Chart 1: Auxiliary verb pluralization in Batua			
ABS	ABS-DAT	ABS-ERG	ABS-DAT-ERG
<i>izan</i>		<i>*edun</i>	<i>*-i-</i>
<p>All 3PL monovalent reflexes, also all plural forms of the present and epistemic indicative manifest <i>r</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p>Verb-final ABS.PL <i>-te</i> in 2PL reflexes, followed only by PST/COMP <i>-(e)n</i></p>	<p>ABS.PL <i>-zki</i> interposed between <i>tzai</i> and the dative person index</p> <p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p>Verb-final ABS.PL <i>-te</i> in 2PL reflexes, followed only by PST/COMP <i>-(e)n</i></p>	<p>ABS.PL <i>it-</i> immediately precedes the verb root, overt in present-tense-based and ergative-fronted reflexes</p> <p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p>Pleonastic ABS.PL <i>-z</i> immediately precedes ABS/ERG <i>-te</i> and/or modal <i>-ke</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p>In 2PL, ABS.PL <i>-te</i> immediately precedes any postposed ergative marker, otherwise can be followed only by PST/COMP <i>-(e)n</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p>ERG.PL <i>-te</i> (in 3PL forms, ergative-fronted 2PL forms) is verb-final, followed only by PST/COMP <i>-(e)n</i></p>	<p>With a 3PL.ABS argument ABS.PL <i>-zki</i> is interposed between <i>-i-</i> (a possible eroded root or dative flag) and the dative person marker</p> <p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p>With a 1/2PL.ABS (rare), the pluralizer is <i>it-</i> (overt in present-tense based paradigms only), e.g. <i>eraman naiozu</i> ‘you.FORMAL have taken me to him/her’ vs <i>eraman gaitiozu</i> ‘you.FORMAL have taken us to him/her’, past-tense counterparts <i>nindiozun</i>, <i>gintiozun</i> (Mitxelena, 1973, p. 683)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p>The ERG.PL <i>-te</i> of all 3PL forms and 2PL ergative-fronted forms is verb-final, followed only by PST/COMP <i>-(e)n</i></p>
<i>*edin</i>		<i>*ezan</i>	
<p>ABS.PL <i>-z</i> immediately preceding <i>-ke</i>, <i>-te</i> or PST/COMP <i>-(e)n</i>, whichever leftmost when in combination</p> <p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p>Verb-final ABS.PL <i>-te</i> in 2PL reflexes, followed only by PST/COMP <i>-(e)n</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p><i>it-</i> overt in certain ABS.PL reflexes; root erosion renders underlying distribution difficult to discern.</p>	<p>ABS.PL <i>-zki</i> interposed between the dative flag <i>-ki</i> and dative person index</p> <p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p>Verb-final ABS.PL <i>-te</i> in 2PL reflexes, followed only by PST/COMP <i>-(e)n</i></p>	<p>ABS.PL <i>it-</i> immediately precedes the verb root, overt in present-tense-based and ergative-fronted reflexes</p> <p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p>(Pleonastic ABS.PL <i>-z</i> absent)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p>In 2PL, ABS.PL <i>-te</i> immediately precedes any postposed ergative marker, otherwise can be followed only by PST/COMP <i>-(e)n</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p>ERG.PL <i>-te</i> (in 3PL forms, ergative-fronted 2PL forms) is verb-final, followed only by PST/COMP <i>-(e)n</i></p>	<p>With a 3PL.ABS argument ABS.PL <i>-zki</i> is interposed between <i>ieza</i> (comprising a pre-root dative flag and the root of <i>*ezan</i>) and the dative person marker, in 3SG/PL.DAT preceded by the pleonastic post-root <i>i-</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p>With a 1/2PL.ABS (rare), the pluralizer is <i>it-</i> (overt in present-tense based paradigms only), e.g. <i>eraman niazaiozun</i> ‘that you.FORMAL take me to him/her’ vs <i>eraman gaitzaiozun</i> ‘that you.FORMAL take us to him/her’ (Mitxelena, 1973, p. 683)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p>The ERG.PL <i>-te</i> of all 3PL forms and 2PL ergative-fronted forms is verb-final, followed only by PST/COMP <i>-(e)n</i></p>

3. In trivalent paradigms, the representation of 3.ABS reflexes only

Trivalent forms with 1/2.ABS person markers, not generally represented in auxiliary paradigm tables, are at most marginally accepted by native speakers. Mitxelena (1973, p. 683) however, a treatise endorsed by the Euskaltzaindia, upholds their validity, evincing fourteen examples, four of which appear in Chart 1 above. Trivalent 1/2.ABS have, however, been attested in both the Continental and Peninsular Basque Country, the 1571 works of Leizarraga including thirteen examples (See Chapter Three, 3.2.3).

TABLE 2: AN EXPANDED SET OF AUXILIARY PARADIGMS ILLUSTRATED WITH PERIPHRASTIC V+AUX GROUPS

Table 2 complements Table 1 by incorporating the six additional paradigms recorded by Trask and Mitxelena. The positions of the potential past and potential hypothetical (future) of Table 1 have been exchanged, applying the principle of, where reasonable, sequencing paradigms such that proximity and degree of morphosyntactic relatedness correlate, the same principle informing the positioning of the six additional paradigms. Nomenclature includes that applied in Table 1, drawing on the same sources, importantly Trask (1997, p. 105), rather than on Mitxelena's 1973 provisional designators, in order to reflect the modal contrast between, on the one hand, *izan*, *uk(h)en/*edun*, **-i-* and on the other, **edin* and **ezan*, also to distinguish between paradigms which Mitxelena's provisional designators (1973) allocate to a single quadrant e.g., the two forms of the present subjunctive and the present realis conditional as present minus potential.

Each paradigm type is illustrated with 3SG and 3PL periphrastic V+AUX groups, covering the initial segment range *d-* in the present, *z-* in the past, *l-* in the irrealis, *b-* in the jussive, \emptyset - in the imperative, thought to be ancient verbal category markers (Trask, 1997, p. 219).

Alongside the jussive, the 2INTIMATE and 2FORMAL imperatives are presented. The lexical verbs of the V+AUX groups, *etorri* 'come', *hartu* 'take' and *igorri* 'send', are selected for two reasons: together, they span the four valency types of Basque, as does Table 1.

Furthermore, each has a radical distinct from its perfective participle, clarifying the distribution of these two non-finite forms, in addition to which the imperfective participle is represented. In order not to duplicate finite reflexes in Table 2, the diversity of periphrastic V+AUX formations, including those with the prospective/future participle, not represented in Table 2, appears in Chapter Two, 2.1.2.1, Table 2.1.3.

In contrast with the local case inflections (see Appendix D), Basque verb-forms are animacy-neutral. In parallel with DP inflections, they are gender-neutral, with one exception. Verb-forms postinflectively marked for 2INTIMATE are M/F gendered, as illustrated by the transitive imperatives in Table 2. Throughout, for convenience, the English translations use gendered pronouns (vs s/he, it in the body of the thesis) except for the ABS.SG of transitive inflections, where 'it' alone is used.

Izan, *uk(h)en/*edun* and **-i-*, furnishing the indicative contexts, form periphrastic V+AUX groups with aspectual participles, the imperfective, perfective (also the prospective/future, not illustrated here), whereas **edin* and **ezan*, supplying the subjunctive contexts, form V+AUX groups with the radical only. Mitxelena (1973, p. 658), however, also admits jussive reflexes of *izan* and *uk(h)en/*edun*.

TABLE 1: THE STANDARD AUXILIARY PARADIGM SET OF BATUA
(adapted from <https://www.ikasbil.eus/documents/20928/f/izena>)

		ABS		ABS		ABS-DAT				ABS-DAT-ERG							
INDICATIVE	PRESENT	ABS	ABS	DAT						ABS	ERG		(ABS.PL)	DAT	ERG		
		naiz	NA	tzai	T					NA	U	T		T(DA)	T		
		haiz	HA	tzai	K/N					HA	U	K/N		K/N (A/NA)	K/N		
	PAST	da	Zai	O						D	U	-		O	-		
		gara	GA	tzai	zki	GU					GA	it	U	GU	Di (zki)	GU	GU
		zara	ZA	tzai	zki	ZU					ZA	it	U	ZU	ZU	ZU	
	PROTASIS	zarete	ZA	tzai	zki	ZUE te					ZA	it	U	zte	ZUE	ZUE	
		dira	Zai	zki	E					d	it	U	z/TE	E	TE		
								3.ABS		1/2.ABS							
	IRREALIS CONDITIONAL	PRESENT	nintzen	ABS	ABS	DAT		3SG.ABS	3PL.ABS	ABS	ERG		ERG	(ABS.PL)	DAT	ERG	
			hintzen	NIN	tzai	DA	N	nuen	nituen	NIND	U	DA	N	N	DA	N	
			zen	HIN	tzai	A/NA	N	huen	hituen	HIND	U	A/NA	N	H	A/NA	N	
PAST		ginen	ZI	tzai	O	N	zuen	zituen	()	-	eN	Z	O	N			
		zinen	GIN	tzai	zki	GU	N	genuen	GINT	U	GU	N	GEN	i (zki)	GU	N	
		zineten	ZIN	tzai	zki	ZU	N	zenuen	ZINT	U	ZU	N	ZEN	ZU	N		
PROTASIS		zireten	ZIN	tzai	zki	ZUE te	N	zenuten	ZINT	U	zte	ZUE	N	ZEN	ZUE	te N	
			ZI	tzai	zki	E	N	zuten	()		z/TE	N	Z	E	te N		
								3SG.ABS		3PL.ABS		ABS		ERG		ERG (ABS.PL) DAT	
IRREALIS CONDITIONAL		PRESENT	banintz	ba	NIN	tzai	T	banu	banitu	ba	NIND	U	T	ba	N	T	
			bahintz	ba	HIN	tzai	K/N	bahu	bahitu	ba	HIND	U	K/N	ba	H	K/NA	
			balitz	ba	LI	tzai	O	balu	balitu	()	-			ba	L	O	
	PAST	bagina	ba	GIN	tzai	zki	GU	bagenu	bagenitu	ba	GINT	U	GU	ba	GEN	i (zki)	GU
		bazina	ba	ZIN	tzai	zki	ZU	bazenu	bazenitu	ba	ZINT	U	ZU	ba	ZEN	ZU	
		bazinete	ba	ZIN	tzai	zki	ZUE te	bazenute	bazenituzte	ba	ZINT	U	zte	ba	ZEN	ZUE	te
	PROTASIS	balira	ba	LI	tzai	zki	E	balute	balituzte	()		z/TE	ba	L	E	te	
								3SG.ABS		3PL.ABS		ABS		ERG		ERG (ABS.PL) DAT	
		PRESENT	hintzateke	NIN	tzai	DA	ke	eN	nuke	nituzke	NIND	U	ke	T	N	DA	ke
	hintzateke		HIN	tzai	A/NA	ke	eN	huke	hituzke	HIND	U	ke	K/N	H	A/NA	ke	
	litzateke		LI	tzai	O	ke	eN	luke	lituzke	()	-			L	O	ke	
	PAST	ginateke	GIN	tzai	zki	GU	ke	genuke	genituzke	GINT	U	z	ke	GU	GEN	i (zki)	GU
zinateke		ZIN	tzai	zki	ZU	ke	zenuke	zenituzke	ZINT	U	z	ke	ZU	ZEN	ZU	ke	
zinatekete		ZIN	tzai	zki	ZUE	ke	zenukete	zenituzkete	ZINT	U	z	ke	te	ZUE	ZUE	ke	
PROTASIS	lirateke	LI	tzai	zki	E	ke	lukete	lituzkete	()		TE	L	E	ke	te		
							3SG.ABS		3PL.ABS		ABS		ERG		ERG (ABS.PL) DAT		
	PRESENT	hintzatekeen	NIN	tzai	DA	ke	eN	nukkeen	nituzkeen	NIND	U	ke	DA	N	N	DA	ke
hintzatekeen		HIN	tzai	A/NA	ke	eN	hukkeen	hituzkeen	HIND	U	ke	A/NA	N	H	A/NA	ke	
zatekeen		ZI	tzai	O	ke	eN	zukeen	zituzkeen	()	-	eN	Z	O	ke	eN		
PAST	ginatekeen	GIN	tzai	zki	GU	ke	genukkeen	genituzkeen	GINT	U	z	ke	GU	GEN	i (zki)	GU	
	zinatekeen	ZIN	tzai	zki	ZU	ke	zenukkeen	zenituzkeen	ZINT	U	z	ke	ZU	ZEN	ZU	ke	
	zinateketen	ZIN	tzai	zki	ZUE	ke	zenuketen	zenituzketen	ZINT	U	z	ke	te	ZUE	ZUE	ke	
PROTASIS	ziratekeen	ZI	tzai	zki	E	ke	zuketan	zituzketan	()		TE	N	Z	E	ke	te	
							3SG.ABS		3PL.ABS		ABS		ERG		ERG (ABS.PL) DAT		
	PRESENT	naiteke	NA	ki	DA	ke	ke	naizeke	nitzaizeke	NA	za	ke	T	N	DA	ke	
haiteke		HA	ki	A/NA	ke	ke	haizeke	hitzaizeke	HA	za	ke	K/N	N	A/NA	ke		
daiteke		DA	ki	O	ke	ke	daizeke	ditzaizeke	De	za	ke	-	N	IO	ke		
PAST	gaitezke	GA	ki	zki	GU	ke	gaizezke	ginitzaizeke	GA	it	za	ke	GU	Di eza (zki)	GU	ke	
	zaitezke	ZA	ki	zki	ZU	ke	zaizezke	zinitzaizeke	ZA	it	za	ke	ZU	ZU	ke		
	zaitezketete	ZA	ki	zki	ZUE	ke	zaizezketete	zinitzaizeketete	ZA	it	za	ke	te	ZUE	ZUE	ke	
PROTASIS	daitezke	DA	ki	zki	E	ke	daizezke	ditzaizeketete	d	it	za	ke	TE	ie	ke		
							3SG.ABS		3PL.ABS		ABS		ERG		ERG (ABS.PL) DAT		
	PRESENT	nintekeen	NEN	ki	DA	ke	eN	nezakeen	nitzaizekeen	NINT	za	ke	DA	N	N	DA	ke
hintekeen		HEN	ki	A/NA	ke	eN	hezakeen	hitzaizekeen	HINT	za	ke	A/NA	N	H	A/NA	ke	
zitekeen		ZE	ki	O	ke	eN	zezakeen	zitzakeen	()	-	eN	Z	IO	ke	eN		
PAST	gintzekeen	GEN	ki	zki	GU	ke	genezakeen	genitzaizekeen	GINT	za	ke	GU	N	GEN	i eza (zki)	GU	
	zintzekeen	ZEN	ki	zki	ZU	ke	zenezakeen	zenitzaizekeen	ZINT	za	ke	ZU	N	ZEN	ZU	ke	
	zintzezetan	ZEN	ki	zki	ZUE	ke	zenezaketan	zenitzaizeketan	ZINT	za	ke	te	ZUE	ZEN	ZUE	ke	
PROTASIS	zitezkeen	ZE	ki	zki	E	ke	zezaketan	zitzaketan	()		TE	N	Z	ie	ke		
							3SG.ABS		3PL.ABS		ABS		ERG		ERG (ABS.PL) DAT		
	PRESENT	ninteke	NEN	ki	DA	ke	ke	nezake	nitzaizeke	NINT	za	ke	T	N	DA	ke	
hinteke		HEN	ki	A/NA	ke	ke	hezake	hitzaizeke	HINT	za	ke	K/N	N	H	A/NA	ke	
liteke		LE	ki	O	ke	ke	lezake	litzake	()	-			L	IO	ke		
PAST	gintzezke	GEN	ki	zki	GU	ke	genezake	genitzaizeke	GINT	za	ke	GU	N	GEN	i eza (zki)	GU	
	zintzezke	ZEN	ki	zki	ZU	ke	zenezake	zenitzaizeke	ZINT	za	ke	ZU	N	ZEN	ZU	ke	
	zintzezketete	ZEN	ki	zki	ZUE	ke	zenezaketete	zenitzaizeketete	ZINT	za	ke	te	ZUE	ZEN	ZUE	ke	
PROTASIS	litezke	LE	ki	zki	E	ke	lezaketete	litzaketete	()		TE	N	L	ie	ke		
							3SG.ABS		3PL.ABS		ABS		ERG		ERG (ABS.PL) DAT		
	PRESENT	nadin	NA	ki	DA	N	N	nezadan	nitzaizeadan	NA	za	DA	N	N	DA	DA	N
hadin		HA	ki	A/NA	N	N	hezadan	hitzaizeadan	HA	za	A/NA	N	N	A/NA	A/NA	N	
dadin		DA	ki	O	N	N	zezadan	zitzizeadan	De	za	-	N	N	IO	-		
PAST	galitezen	GA	ki	zki	GU	N	genezadan	genitzaizeadan	GA	it	za	GU	N	Di eza (zki)	GU	GU	
	zaitezen	ZA	ki	zki	ZU	N	zenezadan	zenitzaizeadan	ZA	it	za	ZU	N	ZU	ZU		
	zaitzetan	ZA	ki	zki	ZUE	te	zenezazetan	zenitzaizeazetan	ZA	it	za	te	ZUE	ZUE	ZUE		
PROTASIS	daitezen	DA	ki	zki	E	N	zezazetan	zitzizeazetan	D	it	za	TE	N	ie	TE		
							3SG.ABS		3PL.ABS		ABS		ERG		ERG (ABS.PL) DAT		
	PRESENT	nadin	NA	ki	DA	N	N	nezadan	nitzaizeadan	NINT	za	DA	N	N	DA	N	
hadin		HEN	ki	A/NA	N	N	hezadan	hitzaizeadan	HINT	za	A/NA	N	H	A/NA	N		
zedin		ZE	ki	O	N	N	zezadan	zitzizeadan	()	-	N	Z	IO	N			
PAST	gaintezen	GEN	ki	zki	GU	N	genezadan	genitzaizeadan	GINT	za	GU	N	GEN	i eza (zki)	GU		
	zaintezen	ZEN	ki	zki	ZU	N	zenezadan	zenitzaizeadan	ZINT	za	ZU	N	ZEN	ZU	N		
	zaintzetan	ZEN	ki	zki	ZUE	te	zenezazetan	zenitzaizeazetan	ZINT	za	te	ZUE	N	ZEN	ZUE		
PROTASIS	daitezen	ZE	ki	zki	E	N	zezazetan	zitzizeazetan	()		TE	N	Z	ie	te		
							3SG.ABS		3SG.DAT		ABS		ERG		ERG (ABS.PL) DAT		
	PRESENT	()	ABS	DAT				3SG.ABS	3SG.DAT	ABS	ERG		(ABS.PL)	DAT	ERG		
hadi		HA	ki	K/N			ezak/n	itzak/n	NA	za	()		T	()			
bedi		BE	ki	O					Be	za	-		IO	-			
PAST	()	()	GU						GA	it	za	()		()			
	zaitetz	ZA	ki	zki	ZU			ezazu	itzazu				B) ieza (zki)	GU	ZU		
	zaitetzete	ZA	ki	zki	ZUE	te	ezazue	itzazue					ZU	ZUE			
PROTASIS	bitetz	BE	ki	zki	E					B	it	za	TE	IE	TE		

TABLE 2: AN EXPANDED SET OF AUXILIARY PARADIGMS ILLUSTRATED WITH PERIPHRASTIC V+AUX GROUPS

Designators in red indicate paradigms appearing in Trask and Mitxelena, but absent from the standard table; designators in green indicate paradigms in Mitxelena only.

Valency Tense/ mood		nor (ABS)		nor-nori (ABS-DAT)		nor-nork (ABS-ERG)		nor-nori-nork (ABS-DAT-ERG)	
		IZAN						UK(H)EN/*EDUN	
Verb of origin									
INDICATIVE	1. PRESENT	etortzen da <i>etor-tzen d-a</i> come-IPFV.PTCP d-be.PRS[3SG.ABS] 's/he comes'		etortzen zaio <i>etor-tzen za-i-o</i> come-IPFV.PTCP be.PRS.[3SG.ABS]-FLAG-3SG.DAT 's/he comes to him/her'		hartzen du <i>har-tzen d-u</i> take-IPFV.PTCP d-have.PRS.[3SG.ABS]. [3SG.ERG] 's/he takes it'		igortzen dio <i>igor-tzen d-i-o</i> send-IPFV.PTCP d-have/FLAG.PRS.[3SG.ABS]- 3SG.DAT.[3SG.ERG] 's/he sends (it) to him/her'	
		etortzen dira <i>etor-tzen d-ira</i> come-IPFV.PTCP d-be.PRS.3PL.ABS 'they come'		etortzen zaizkie <i>etor-tzen za-i-zki-e</i> come-IPFV.PTCP be.PRS-FLAG-ABS.PL- 3PL.DAT 'they come to them'		hartzen dituzte <i>har-tzen d-it-u-z-te</i> take-IPFV.PTCP d-ABS.PL-have.PRS-ABS.PL- 3PL.ERG 'they take them'		igortzen dizkiete <i>igor-tzen d-i-zki-e-te</i> send-IPFV.PTCP d-have/FLAG.PRS-ABS.PL- 3PL.DAT-ERG.PL 'they send them to them'	

2. EPISTEMIC	<p>etortzen dateke¹ <i>etor-tzen d-a-teke</i> <small>come-IPFV.PTCP d-be.PRS.[3SG.ABS]-MOD</small> ‘s/he will be coming’ (I suppose)’</p> <p>etortzen dirateke <i>etor-tzen d-ira-teke</i> <small>come-IPFV.PTCP d-be.PRS.3PL.ABS-MOD</small> ‘they will be coming’ (I suppose)’</p>	<p>etortzen zaioke <i>etor-tzen za-i-o-ke</i> <small>come-IPFV.PTCP be.PRS.[3SG.ABS]-FLAG-3SG.DAT-MOD</small> ‘s/he will be coming to him/her’ (I suppose)’</p> <p>etortzen zaizkieke <i>etor-tzen za-i-zki-e-ke</i> <small>come-IPFV.PTCP be.PRS-FLAG-ABS.PL-3PL.DAT-MOD</small> ‘they will be coming to them (I suppose)’</p>	<p>hartzen duke <i>har-tzen d-u-ke</i> <small>take-IPFV.PTCP d-have.PRS.[ABS.SG]. [3SG.ERG]-MOD</small> ‘s/he will be taking it’ (I suppose)’</p> <p>hartzen dituzkete <i>har-tzen d-it-u-z-ke-te</i> <small>take-IPFV.PTCP d-ABS.PL-have.PRS-ABS.PL-MOD-ERG.PL</small> ‘they will be taking them (I suppose)’</p>	<p>igortzen dioke <i>igor-tzen d-i-o-ke</i> <small>send-IPFV.PTCP d-have/FLAG.PRS.[3SG.ABS]-3SG.DAT-MOD.[3SG.ERG]</small> ‘s/he will be sending it to him/her’ (I suppose)’</p> <p>igortzen dizkiete <i>igor-tzen d-i-zki-e-ke-te</i> <small>send-IPFV.PTCP d-have/FLAG.PRS-ABS.PL-3PL.DAT-MOD-ERG.PL</small> ‘they will be sending them to them’ (I suppose)’</p>
	3. REMOTE² PAST	<p>etorri zen <i>etor[r]-i ze-n</i> <small>come-PFV.PTCP be.PST.[3SG.ABS]-PST</small> ‘s/he came, had come’</p> <p>etorri ziren <i>etor[r]-i zire-n</i> <small>come-PFV.PTCP be.PST.3PL.ABS-PST</small> ‘they came, had come’</p>	<p>etorri zitzaion <i>etor[r]-i z-itza-i-o-n</i> <small>come-PFV.PTCP z-be.PST.[3SG.ABS]-FLAG-3SG.DAT-PST</small> ‘s/he came, had come, to him/her’</p> <p>etorri zitzaizkien <i>etor[r]-i z-itza-i-zki-e-n</i> <small>come-PFV.PTCP z-be.PST-FLAG-ABS.PL-3PL.DAT-PST</small> ‘they came, had come, to them’</p>	<p>hartu zuen <i>har-tu z-u-en</i> <small>take-PFV.PTCP z-have.[3SG.ABS]. [3SG.ERG]-PST</small> ‘s/he took, had taken (it)’</p> <p>hartu zituzten <i>har-tu z-it-u-z-te-n</i> <small>take-PFV.PTCP z-ABS.PL-have-ABS.PL-ERG.PL-PST</small> ‘they took, had taken, them’</p>

IRREALIS CONDITIONAL³	4. PROTASIS	<p>etortzen balitz <i>etor-tzen ba-l-itz</i> <small>come-IPFV.PTCP if-I-be.[3SG.ABS]</small> ‘if s/he came (now)’</p> <p>etortzen balira <i>etor-tzen ba-l-ira</i> <small>come-IPFV.PTCP if-I-be.3PL.ABS</small> ‘if they came (now)’</p>	<p>etortzen balitzaio <i>etor-tzen ba-l-itza-i-o</i> <small>come-IPFV.PTCP if-I-be.[3SG.ABS]-FLAG-3SG.DAT</small> ‘if s/he came to him/her (now)’</p> <p>etortzen balitzaizkie <i>etor-tzen ba-l-itza-i-zki-e</i> <small>come-IPFV.PTCP if-I-be-FLAG-ABS.PL-3PL.DAT</small> ‘If they came to them (now)’</p>	<p>hartzen balu <i>har-tzen ba-l-u</i> <small>take-IPFV.PTCP if-I-have.[3SG.ABS]. [3SG.ERG]</small> ‘if s/he took it (now)’</p> <p>hartzen balituzte <i>har-tzen ba-l-it-u-z-te</i> <small>take-IPFV.PTCP if-I-ABS.PL-have--ABS.PL-ERG.PL</small> ‘if they took them (now)’</p>	<p>igortzen balio <i>igor-tzen ba-l-i-o</i> <small>send-IPFV.PTCP if-I-have/FLAG. [3SG.ABS]. [3SG.ERG]-3SG.DAT</small> ‘if s/he sent it to him/her (now)’</p> <p>igortzen balizkiete <i>igor-tzen ba-l-i-zki-e-te</i> <small>send-IPFV.PTCP if-I-have/FLAG-ABS.PL-3PL.DAT-PL.ERG</small> ‘if they sent them to them (now)’</p>
	5. APODOSIS (PRESENT)	<p>etortzen litzateke <i>etor-tzen l-itza-teke</i> <small>come-IPFV.PTCP I-be.[3SG.ABS]-MOD</small> ‘s/he would come (now)’</p> <p>etortzen lirateke <i>etor-tzen l-ira-teke</i> <small>come-IPFV.PTCP I-be.3PL.ABS-MOD</small> ‘they would come (now)’</p>	<p>etortzen litzaioke <i>etor-tzen l-itza-i-o-ke</i> <small>come-IPFV.PTCP I-be.[3SG.ABS]-FLAG-3SG.DAT.MOD</small> ‘s/he would come to him/her (now)’</p> <p>etortzen litzaiizkieke <i>etor-tzen l-itza-i-zki-e-ke</i> <small>come-IPFV.PTCP I-be-FLAG-ABS.PL-3PL.DAT-MOD</small> ‘they would come to them (now)’</p>	<p>hartzen luke <i>har-tzen l-u-ke</i> <small>take-IPFV.PTCP I-have.[3SG.ABS]. [3SG.ERG]-MOD</small> ‘s/he would take it (now)’</p> <p>hartzen lituzkete <i>har-tzen l-it-u-z-ke-te</i> <small>take-IPFV.PTCP I-ABS.PL-have--ABS.PL-MOD-ERG.PL</small> ‘they would take them (now)’</p>	<p>igortzen lioke <i>igor-tzen l-i-o-ke</i> <small>send-IPFV.PTCP I-have/FLAG.[3SG.ABS].[3SG.ERG]-3SG.DAT-MOD</small> ‘s/he would send it to him/her (now)’</p> <p>igortzen lizkiekete <i>igor-tzen l-i-zki-e-ke-te</i> <small>send-IPFV.PTCP I-have/FLAG-ABS.PL.[3SG.ERG]--3PL.DAT-MOD-ERG.PL</small> ‘they would send them to them (now)’</p>

	6. APODOSIS (PAST)	<p>etorri zatekeen <i>etor[r]-i za-teke-en</i> <small>come-PFV.PTCP be.[3SG.ABS]-MOD-PST</small> ‘s/he would have come’</p> <p>etorri ziratekeen <i>etor[r]-i zira-teke-en</i> <small>come-PFV.PTCP be.3PL.ABS-MOD-PST</small> ‘they would have come’</p>	<p>etorri zitzaiokeen <i>etor[r]-i z-itza-i-o-ke-en</i> <small>come-PFV.PTCP z-be.[3SG.ABS]-FLAG-3SG.DAT-MOD-PST</small> ‘s/he would have come to him/her’</p> <p>etorri zitzaizkiekeen <i>etor-[r]i z-itza-i-zki-e-ke-en</i> <small>come-PFV.PTCP z-be-FLAG-ABS.PL-3SG.DAT-MOD-PST</small> ‘they would have come to them’</p>	<p>hartu zukeen <i>har-tu z-u-ke-en</i> <small>take-PFV.PTCP z-have.[3SG.ABS].[3SG.ERG]-MOD-PST</small> ‘s/he would have taken it’</p> <p>hartu zituzketen <i>har-tu z-it-u-z-ke-te-n</i> <small>take-PFV.PTCP z-ABS.PL-have-ABS.PL-MOD-ERG.PL-PST</small> ‘they would have taken them’</p>	<p>igorri ziokeen <i>igor[r]-i z-i-o-ke-en</i> <small>send-PFV.PTCP z-have/FLAG.[3SG.ABS].[3SG.ERG]3SG.DAT-MOD-PST</small> ‘s/he would have sent it to him/her’</p> <p>igorri zizkieketen <i>igor[r]-i z-i-zki-e-ke-te-n</i> <small>send-PFV.PTCP z-have/FLAG-ABS.PL-3PL.DAT-MOD-ERG.PL-PST</small> ‘they would have sent them to them’</p>
Verb of origin		*EDIN		*EZAN	
POTENTIAL	7. PRESENT	<p>etor daiteke¹ <i>etor d-ai-teke</i> <small>come.RAD d-be.3SG.ABS-MOD</small> ‘s/he can come (now)’</p> <p>etor daitezke <i>etor d-ai-te-z-ke</i> <small>come.RAD d-be-MOD-ABS.PL-MOD</small> ‘they can come (now)’</p>	<p>etor dakioko <i>etor d-a-ki-o-ke</i> <small>come.RAD d-be.3SG.ABS-FLAG-3SG.DAT-MOD</small> ‘s/he can come to him/her (now)’</p> <p>etor dakizkieke <i>etor d-a-ki-zki-e-ke</i> <small>come.RAD d-be-FLAG-ABS.PL-3PL.DAT-MOD</small> ‘they can come to them (now)’</p>	<p>har dezake <i>har d-eza-ke</i> <small>take.RAD d-have.[3SG.ABS].[3SG.ERG]-MOD</small> ‘s/he can take it (now)’</p> <p>har ditzakete <i>har d-it-za-ke-te</i> <small>take.RAD d-ABS.PL-have.MOD.ERG.PL</small> ‘they can take them (now)’</p>	<p>igor diezaioko <i>igor d-i-eza-i-o-ke</i> <small>send.RAD d-FLAG-have.[3SG.ABS].[3SG.ERG]-FLAG-3SG.DAT-MOD</small> ‘s/he can send it to him/her (now)’</p> <p>igor diezazkiekete <i>igor d-i-eza-zki-e-ke-te</i> <small>send.RAD d-FLAG-have-ABS.PL-3SG.DAT-MOD-ERG.PL</small> ‘they can send them to them (now)’</p>

8. HYPOTHETICAL (FUTURE)	<p>etor liteke <i>etor</i> <i>l-i-teke</i> come.RAD I-be.3SG.ABS-MOD ‘s/he could come (later)’</p> <p>etor litezke <i>etor</i> <i>l-i-te-z-ke</i> come.RAD I-be.MOD--ABS.PL-MOD ‘they could come (later)’</p>	<p>etor lekioko <i>etor</i> <i>l-e-ki-o-ke</i> come.RAD I-be.3SG.ABS.FLAG-3SG.DAT-MOD ‘s/he could come to him/her (later)’</p> <p>etor lekizkieke <i>etor</i> <i>l-e-ki-zki-e-ke</i> come.RAD I-be.FLAG-ABS.PL-3PL.DAT-MOD ‘they could come to them (later)’</p>	<p>har lezake <i>har</i> <i>l-eza-ke</i> take.RAD I-have.[3SG.ABS].[3SG.ERG]-MOD ‘s/he could take it (later)’</p> <p>har litzakete <i>har</i> <i>l-it-za-ke-te</i> take.RAD I-ABS.PL-have-MOD-ERG.PL ‘they could take them’ (later)’</p>	<p>igor liezaioko <i>igor</i> <i>l-i-eza-i-o-ke</i> send.RAD I-FLAG-have-[3SG.ABS].[3SG.ERG]-3PL.DAT-MOD ‘s/he could send it to him/her (later)’</p> <p>igor liezazkiekete <i>igor</i> <i>l-i-eza-zki-e-ke-te</i> send.RAD I-FLAG-have-ABS.PL-3PL.DAT-MOD-ERG.PL ‘they could send them to them (later)’</p>
	9. PAST	<p>etor zitekeen <i>etor</i> <i>z-i-teke-en</i> come.RAD z-be.[3SG.ABS]-MOD-PST ‘s/he could have come’</p> <p>etor zitezkeen <i>etor</i> <i>z-i-te-z-ke-en</i> come.RAD z-be.MOD-ABS.PL-MOD-PST ‘they could have come’</p>	<p>etor zekiokeen <i>etor</i> <i>z-e-ki-o-ke-en</i> come.RAD z-be.[3SG.ABS]-FLAG-3SG.DAT-MOD-PST ‘s/he could have come to him/her’</p> <p>etor zekizkiekeen <i>etor</i> <i>z-e-ki-zki-e-ke-en</i> come.RAD z-be--FLAG-ABS.PL-3PL.DAT-MOD-PST ‘they could have come to them’</p>	<p>har zezakeen <i>har</i> <i>z-eza-ke-en</i> take.RAD z-have.[3SG.ABS].[3SG.ERG]-MOD-PST ‘s/he could have taken it’</p> <p>har zitzaketen <i>har</i> <i>z-it-za-ke-te-n</i> take.RAD z-ABS.PL-have-MOD-ERG.PL-PST ‘they could have taken them’</p>

REALIS CONDITIONAL	10. PRESENT	<p>etor badadi <i>etor ba-d-adi</i> <small>come.RAD if-d-be.PRS.[3SG.ABS]</small> ‘if s/he should come’</p>	<p>etor badakio <i>etor ba-d-a-ki-o</i> <small>come.RAD if-d-be.PRS.[3SG.ABS]FLAG-3SG.DAT</small> ‘if s/he should come to him/her’</p>	<p>har badeza <i>har ba-d-eza</i> <small>take.RAD if-d-have.PRS.[3SG.ABS].[3SG.ERG]</small> ‘if s/he should take it’</p>	<p>igor badiezaio <i>igor ba-d-i-eza-i-o</i> <small>send.RAD if-d-FLAG-have.PRS.[3SG.ABS].[3SG.ERG]-FLAG-3SG.DAT</small> ‘if s/he should send it to him/her’</p>
	11. PAST	<p>etor baledi <i>etor ba-l-edi</i> <small>come.RAD if-l-be.[3SG.ABS]</small> ‘if s/he should have come’</p>	<p>etor balekio <i>etor ba-l-e-ki-o</i> <small>come.RAD if-l-be.[3SG.ABS]FLAG-3SG.DAT</small> ‘if s/he should have come to him/her’</p>	<p>har baleza <i>har ba-l-eza</i> <small>take.RAD if-l-have.[3SG.ABS].[3SG.ERG]</small> ‘if s/he should have taken it’</p>	<p>igor baliezaio <i>igor ba-l-i-eza-i-o</i> <small>send.RAD if-l-FLAG-have.[3SG.ABS].[3SG.ERG]-FLAG-3SG.DAT</small> ‘if s/he should have sent it to him/her’</p>
		<p>etor badaitez <i>etor ba-d-ai-te-z</i> <small>come.RAD if-d-be.PRS-ABS.PL-ABS.PL</small> ‘if they should come’</p>	<p>etor badakizkie <i>etor ba-d-a-ki-zki-e</i> <small>come.RAD if-d-be.PRS-FLAG-ABS.PL-3SG.DAT</small> ‘if they should come to them’</p>	<p>har baditzate <i>har ba-d-it-za-te</i> <small>take.RAD if-d-ABS.PL-have.PRS-ERG.PL</small> ‘if they should take them’</p>	<p>igor badiezazkiete <i>igor ba-d-i-eza-zki-e-te</i> <small>send.RAD if-d-FLAG-have.PRS-ABS.PL-FLAG-3PLDAT.ERG.PL</small> ‘if they should send them to them’</p>
		<p>etor balitez <i>etor ba-l-ite-z</i> <small>come.RAD if-l-be-ABS.PL-ABS.PL</small> ‘if they should have come’</p>	<p>etor balekizkie <i>etor ba-l-e-ki-zki-e</i> <small>come.RAD if-l-be-FLAG-ABS.PL-3PL.DAT</small> ‘if they should have come to them’</p>	<p>har balitzate <i>har ba-l-it-za-te</i> <small>take.RAD if-l-ABS.PL-have-ERG.PL</small> ‘if they should have taken them’</p>	<p>igor baliezazkiete <i>igor ba-l-i-eza-zki-e-te</i> <small>send.RAD if-l-FLAG-have-ABS.PL-3PLDAT-ERG.PL</small> ‘if they should have sent them to them’</p>

SUBJUNCTIVE	12a. PRESENT	<p>etor dadin <i>etor d-adi-n</i> come.RAD d-be.PRS.[3SG.ABS]-COMP ‘that s/he come’</p> <p>etor daitezen <i>etor d-aite-z-en</i> come.RAD d-be.PRS.ABS.PL-ABS.PL-COMP ‘that they come’</p>	<p>etor dakion <i>etor d-a-ki-o-n</i> come.RAD d-be.PRS.[3SG.ABS]-FLAG-3SG.DAT-COMP ‘that s/he come to him/her’</p> <p>etor dakizkien <i>etor d-a-ki-zki-e-n</i> come.RAD d-be.PRS-FLAG-ABS.PL-3PL.DAT-COMP ‘that they come to them’</p>	<p>har dezan <i>har d-eza-n</i> take.RAD d-have.PRS.[3SG.ABS].[3SG.ERG]-COMP ‘that s/he take it’</p> <p>har ditzaten <i>har d-it-za-te-n</i> take.RAD d-ABS.PL-have.PRS-ERG.PL-COMP ‘that they take them’</p>	<p>igor diezaion <i>igor d-i-eza-i-o-n</i> send.RAD d-FLAG-have.PRS.[3SG.ABS].[3SG.ERG]-FLAG-3SG.DAT-COMP ‘that s/he send it to him/her’</p> <p>igor diezazkieten <i>igor d-i-eza-zki-e-te-n</i> send.RAD d-FLAG-have.PRS-ABS.PL-3PL.DAT-ERG.PL-COMP ‘that they send them to them’</p>
	12b. PRESENT	<p>etor dadila <i>etor d-adi-la</i> come.RAD d-be.PRS.[3SG.ABS]-COMP ‘that s/he come’</p> <p>etor daitezela <i>etor d-aite-z-ela</i> come.RAD d-be.PRS.ABS.PL-ABS.PL-COMP ‘that they come’</p>	<p>etor dakiola <i>etor d-a-ki-o-la</i> come.RAD d-be.PRS [3SG.ABS]-FLAG-3SG.DAT-COMP ‘that s/he come to him/her’</p> <p>etor dakizkiela <i>etor d-a-ki-zki-e-la</i> come.RAD d-be.PRS-FLAG-ABS.PL-3PL.DAT-COMP ‘that they come to them’</p>	<p>har dezala <i>har de-za-la</i> take.RAD d-have.PRS.[3SG.ABS].[3SG.ERG]-COMP ‘that s/he take it’</p> <p>har ditzatela <i>har d-it-za-te-la</i> take.RAD d-ABS.PL-have.PRS-ERG.PL-COMP ‘that they take them’</p>	<p>igor diezaiola <i>igor d-i-eza-i-o-la</i> send.RAD d-FLAG-have.PRS.[3SG.ABS].[3SG.ERG]-FLAG-3SG.DAT-COMP ‘that s/he send it to him/her’</p> <p>igor diezazkietela <i>igor d-i-eza-zki-e-te-la</i> send.RAD d-FLAG-have.PRS-ABS.PL-3PL.DAT-ERG.PL-COMP ‘that s/he send it to him/her’</p>

13. HYPOTHETICAL (FUTURE)	<p>etor ledin <i>etor l-edi-n</i> <small>come.RAD l-be.[3SG.ABS]-COMP</small> ‘that s/he were to come’</p> <p>etor litezen <i>etor l-ite-z-en</i> <small>come.RAD l-be.ABS.PL-ABS.PL-COMP</small> ‘that they were to come’</p>	<p>etor lekion <i>etor l-e-ki-o-n</i> <small>come.RAD l-be.[3SG.ABS]-FLAG-3SG.DAT-COMP</small> ‘that s/he were to come to him/her’</p> <p>etor lekizkien <i>etor l-e-ki-zki-e-n</i> <small>come.RAD l-be-FLAG-ABS.PL-3PL.DAT-COMP</small> ‘that they were to come to them’</p>	<p>har lezan <i>har l-e-za-n</i> <small>take.RAD l-have.[3SG.ABS].[3SG.ERG]-COMP</small> ‘that s/he were to take (it)’</p> <p>har litzaten <i>har l-it-za-te-n</i> <small>take.RAD l-ABS.PL-have-ERG.PL-COMP</small> ‘that they were to take them’</p>	<p>igor liezaion <i>igor l-i-eza-i-o-n</i> <small>send.RAD l-FLAG-have.[3SG.ABS].[3SG.ERG]-FLAG-3SG.DAT-COMP</small> ‘that s/he were to send (it) to them’</p> <p>igor liezazkieten <i>igor l-i-eza-zki-e-te-n</i> <small>send.RAD l-FLAG-have-ABS.PL-3PL.DAT-ERG.PL-COMP</small> ‘that they were to send them to them’</p>
	14a. PAST	<p>etor zedin <i>etor z-edi-n</i> <small>come.RAD z-be.[3SG.ABS]-COMP/PST</small> ‘that s/he come’</p> <p>etor zitezen <i>etor z-ite-z-en</i> <small>come.RAD z-be.ABS.PL-ABS.PL-COMP/PST</small> ‘that they come’</p>	<p>etor zekion <i>etor z-e-ki-o-n</i> <small>come.RAD z-be.[3SG.ABS]-FLAG-3SG.DAT-COMP/PST</small> ‘that s/he come to him/her’</p> <p>etor zekizkien <i>etor z-e-ki-zki-e-n</i> <small>come.RAD z-be-FLAG-ABS.PL-3PL.DAT-COMP/PST</small> ‘that they come to them’</p>	<p>har zezan <i>har z-e-z-an</i> <small>take.RAD z-have.[3SG.ABS].[3SG.ERG]-COMP/PST</small> ‘that s/he take it’</p> <p>har zitzaten <i>har z-it-za-te-n</i> <small>take.RAD z-ABS.PL-have-ERG.PL-COMP/PST</small> ‘that they take them’</p>

	114b. PAST	<p>etor zedila <i>etor z-edi-la</i> come.RAD z-be.[3SG.ABS]-COMP/PST ‘that s/he come’</p> <p>etor zitezela <i>etor z-ite-z-ela</i> come.RAD z-be.ABS.PL-ABS.PL.-COMP/PST ‘that they come’</p>	<p>etor zekiola <i>etor z-e-ki-o-la</i> come.RAD z-be.[3SG.ABS]-FLAG-3SG.DAT-COMP/PST ‘that s/he come to him/her’</p> <p>etor zekizkiela <i>etor z-e-ki-zki-e-la</i> come.RAD z-be-FLAG-ABS.PL-3PL.DAT-COMP/PST ‘that they come to them’</p>	<p>har zezala <i>har z-eza-la</i> take.RAD z-have.[3SG.ABS].[3SG.ERG]-COMP/PST ‘that s/he take it’</p> <p>har zitzatela <i>har z-it-za-te-la</i> take.RAD z-ABS.PL-have-ERG.PL-COMP/PST ‘that they take them’</p>	<p>igor ziezaiola <i>igor z-i-eza-i-o-la</i> send.RAD z-FLAG-have.[3SG.ABS].[3SG.ERG]-FLAG-3SG.DAT-COMP/PST ‘that s/he send it to him/her’</p> <p>igor ziezazkietela <i>igor z-i-eza-zki-e-te-la</i> send.RAD z-FLAG-have-ABS.PL-3PL.DAT-ERG.PL-COMP/PST ‘that they send them to them’</p>
15a. JUSSIVE		<p>etor bedi / biz⁴ <i>etor b-edi/ b-iz</i> come.RAD b-be.[3SG.ABS]/ b-be.[3SG.ABS] ‘let him/her come’</p> <p>etor bitez / bira⁴ <i>etor b-ite-z /b-ira</i> come.RAD b-be.ABS.PL-ABS.PL/ b-be.[ABS.PL] ‘let them come’</p>	<p>etor bekio <i>etor b-e-ki-o</i> come.RAD b-be.[3SG.ABS]-FLAG-3SG.DAT ‘let him/her come to him/her’</p> <p>etor bekizkie <i>etor b-e-ki-zki-e</i> come.RAD b-be-FLAG-ABS.PL-3PL.DAT ‘let them come to them’</p>	<p>har beza / beu⁵ <i>har b-eza/ b-eu</i> take.RAD b-have.[3SG.ABS].[3SG.ERG]/ b-have.[3SG.ABS].[3SG.ERG] ‘let him/her take it’</p> <p>har bitzate / bituzte⁵ <i>har b-it-za-te/ b-it-u-z-te</i> take.RAD b-ABS.PL-have-ERG.PL/ b-ABS.PL-have-ABS.PL-ERG.PL ‘let them take them’</p>	<p>igor biezaio <i>igor b-i-eza-i-o</i> send.RAD b-FLAG-have.[3SG.ABS].[3SG.ERG]-FLAG-3SG.DAT ‘let him/her take it to him/her’</p> <p>igor biezazkiete <i>igor b-i-eza-zki-e-te</i> send.RAD b-FLAG-have-ABS.PL-3PL.DAT-ERG.PL ‘let them take them to them’</p>

15b. IMPERATIVE	<p>etor hadi</p> <p><i>etor</i> <i>h-adi</i></p> <p>come.RAD 2INTIMATE.ABS-be</p> <p>‘come.INTIMATE!’</p>	<p>etor hakio</p> <p><i>etor</i> <i>h-a-ki-o</i></p> <p>come.RAD 2INTIMATE.ABS-be-FLAG-3SG.DAT</p> <p>‘come.INTIMATE to him/her!’</p>	<p>har ezak (M) / ezan (F)</p> <p><i>har</i> <i>eza-k (M)/</i></p> <p> <i>eza-n (F)</i></p> <p>take.RAD have. [3SG.ABS]-2INTIMATE(M)/(F).ERG</p> <p>‘take.INTIMATE (M)/(F) it!’</p>	<p>igor iezaiok (M) / iezaion (F)</p> <p><i>igor</i> <i>i-eza-i-o-k (M)/</i></p> <p> <i>i-eza-i-o-n (F)</i></p> <p>send.RAD FLAG-have. [3SG.ABS]-FLAG-3SG.DAT-2INTIMATE(M)/(F).ERG</p> <p>‘send.INTIMATE(M)/(F) it to him/her!’</p>
	<p>etor zaitez</p> <p><i>etor</i> <i>z-aite-z</i></p> <p>come.RAD 2FORMAL/PL.ABS-be.ABS.PL-ABS.PL</p> <p>‘come.FORMAL!’</p>	<p>etor zaizkio</p> <p><i>etor</i> <i>z-aiz-ki-o</i></p> <p>come.RAD 2FORMAL/PL.ABS-be.ABS.PL-FLAG-3SG.DAT</p> <p>‘come.FORMAL to him/her!’</p>	<p>har ezazu</p> <p><i>har</i> <i>eza-zu</i></p> <p>take.RAD have. [3SG.ABS]-2FORMAL.ERG</p> <p>‘take.FORMAL it!’</p>	<p>igor iezaiozu</p> <p><i>igor</i> <i>i-eza-i-o-zu</i></p> <p>send.RAD FLAG-have. [3SG.ABS]-FLAG-3SG.DAT-2FORMAL.ERG</p> <p>‘send.FORMAL it to him/her!’</p>
		<p>etor hakie</p> <p><i>etor</i> <i>h-a-ki-e</i></p> <p>come.RAD 2INTIMATE.ABS-be-FLAG-3PL.DAT</p> <p>‘come.INTIMATE to them!’</p>	<p>har itzak (M) / itzan (F)</p> <p><i>har</i> <i>it-za-k (M)/</i></p> <p> <i>it-za-n (F)</i></p> <p>take.RAD ABS.PL-have-2INTIMATE(M)/(F).ERG</p> <p>‘take.INTIMATE(M)/(F) them!’</p>	<p>igor iezazkiek (M) / iezazkien (F)</p> <p><i>igor</i> <i>i-eza-zki-e-k (M)/</i></p> <p> <i>i-eza-zki-e-n (F)</i></p> <p>send.RAD FLAG-have-ABS.PL-3SG.PL-2INTIMATE(M)/(F).ERG</p> <p>‘send.INTIMATE(M)/(F) them to them!’</p>
		<p>etor zaizkie</p> <p><i>etor</i> <i>z-aiz-ki-e</i></p> <p>come.RAD 2FORMAL/PL.ABS-be.ABS.PL-FLAG-3SG.DAT</p> <p>‘come.FORMAL to them!’</p>	<p>har itzazu</p> <p><i>har</i> <i>it-za-zu</i></p> <p>take.RAD ABS.PL-have-2FORMAL.ERG</p> <p>‘take.FORMAL them!’</p>	<p>igor iezazkiezu</p> <p><i>igor</i> <i>i-eza-zki-e-zu</i></p> <p>send.RAD FLAG-have-ABS.PL-3PL.DAT-2FORMAL.ERG</p> <p>‘send.FORMAL them to them!’</p>

Table notes

¹ Reflexes from different roots can be strikingly similar e.g., the 3SG epistemic indicative *dateke* and present potential *daiteke* from *izan* and **edin* respectively. Contrast is more evident in the 1SG counterparts *nazateke* and *naiteke*. Conversely, the 3rd person can be exceptional in two otherwise syncretic series: the past subjunctive and the hypothetical subjunctive 1st and 2nd person forms are syncretic — *nezan* ‘that I have (it) / were to have (it)’, *genezan* ‘that we have (it)/ were to have (it)’; *hezan* ‘that you.INTIMATE have (it)/were to have (it)’, *zenezan* ‘that you.FORMAL have (it)/were to have (it)’, *zenezaten* ‘that you.PL have (it)/were to have it’, while 3rd person forms contrast: *zezan* ‘that s/he have it’ ~ *lezan* ‘that s/he were to have (it)’, *zezaten* ‘that they have (it)’ ~ *lezaten* ‘that they were to have (it)’.

² The remote past, with the past tense of the auxiliary, is distinguished from the near past with the present tense auxiliary; both form with the perfective participle.

³ The irrealis conditional is morphologically indicative since its finite reflexes form on *izan*, *uk(h)en/*edun* and **-i-*, grouping with aspectual participles.

⁴ Reflexes of *izan* (*biz*, *bira*)

⁵ Reflexes of *uk(h)en/*edun* (*beu*, *bituzte*).

APPENDIX D

THE DECLENSION OF THE DETERMINER PHRASE

TERMINOLOGICAL AND STRUCTURAL RATIONALE OF TABLE 3

The literature varies considerably in the nomenclature of desinences, a single term not infrequently applied to different entities. The mainstay being adopted here is Trask's usage (1997, pp. 92–94), on account of its one term—one function approach and recourse to cross-linguistically shared understanding, e.g. 'benefactive' denotes *-(r)entzat/-(r)endako(tz)* (12), rather than the widespread 'destinative', a term reserved by Trask for *-(r)ako(tz)* (inanimate) */-(r)enganako* (animate) (16) 'for (a recipient of an action)'. The thesis, however, departs from Trask's nomenclature in adopting the common term 'prolative' for *-tzat/-tako* (4) rather than 'essive/translative' on account of 'inessive' commonly being applied to the unrelated locative case.

Diverse structural presentations appear in the literature, frequently not reflecting the morphological and functional relationships between desinences. Table 3 aims to reach a reasonable compromise between sometimes conflicting factors. Departing from the widespread practice of separating inanimate from animate inflections in the local cases, it presents them adjacently, so that their similarities and differences are readily discernible. It departs from Trask's (1997, p. 93) separation of composite from single-morpheme desinences, since in the relational (3), locative (13), ablative (14) and allative (15) animate DPs are composite, but not their inanimate counterparts. Those desinences which cannot reasonably be deemed cases are grouped together at the head of the table (1-4). Desinences 5-9 comprise single morphemes, 10 - 12 are composite, while 13 -18 are local cases, set apart by an animate vs inanimate distinction and the morph *-ta-* (similarly in the relational) in INDF and PL.DET animate desinences.

Three compromises were made in the grouping of desinences. Relational *-ko* (3) fits morphologically with the local case group, but not functionally, since it is not a case. Precedence was accorded to lack of case status. Similarly, the prolative (4) is not adjacent to the morphologically related benefactive (12), with regular voicing of *t* following the nasal in *-endako*. Finally, there is overlap between composite and local cases. The destinative (16), terminative (17), and directional (18) have composite desinences, based upon the allative for inanimate DPs and the genitive for animate DPs. By contrast, the locative (13), ablative (14) and allative (15)

have single morpheme desinences for inanimate DPs and genitive-based composites for animate DPs.

The non-case status accorded to desinences 1-4 follows the reasoning of Trask (1997, pp. 90–94), with one exception. The definite determiner, *-a* (1) does not imply any particular grammatical relationship to the rest of the clause; it may combine with, or be absent from, case-inflected DPs. The partitive *-ik* (2), used where positive presence is not assumed, marking negative polarity and the direct object in existential questions (Trask, 1997, p. 94), cannot co-occur with a definite determiner or any other desinence; Trask (1997, p. 90), argues persuasively that it is a determiner. The desinence *-ko* (3) is termed ‘relational’ following Trask (1997, p. 94) in preference to the traditional ‘locative genitive’, ‘relational’ better reflecting its function of generating an adjectival modifier. Its scope is not restricted to DPs, showing clitic-like promiscuity (Spencer & Luís, 2012, p. 15): application to locative-final adverbs is abundant, e.g. from *mahi gainean* ‘on top of the table’:

<i>mahi gaineako liburuak</i>		
<i>mahi</i>	<i>gain-e-ko</i>	<i>liburu-a-k</i>
table.ABS.SG	top-LOC-RELAT	book-ABS.DEF.DET-PL
‘the books on top of the table’		

(Adapted from Trask, 1997, p. 101).

Relational *-ko* can also attach to finite verbs e.g. the 3SG protasis conditional, *balitz* ‘if it were’ yields the adjective *balizko* ‘hypothetical’: *Balizko olak burdinarik ez* ‘A hypothetical forge doesn’t produce any iron’ (Trask, 1997, p. 102).

The prolativative *-tzat* (4), denoting capacity or role e.g. *nire irakasletzat daukat* ‘I consider him/her my teacher’ is not a case since it can only be added to an \bar{D} , not to a full DP with a definite determiner (Trask, 1997, p. 94). The present analysis departs from Trask’s (1997, p. 94) deeming causal *-engatik* (11) a non-case desinence, since its final element is a postposition governing the genitive, to which it has attached. The stance adopted here is, rather, that it merely represents a point further to the left along the function word–clitic–affix cline than other composites of similar origin. Likewise, the comitative *-ekin* ‘with’ (10), composed of the genitive plus *kide* ‘fellow, mate’ and the locative *-n*, likely from an earlier postpositional phrase such as **gizonare(n) kide(a)n* ‘in the company of the man’ and not of great antiquity (Trask, 1997, pp. 201–202)

TABLE 3: THE DECLENSION OF THE DETERMINER PHRASE

Common DPs appear in black, **place names in blue** and **personal names in purple**. Vowel-final, inanimate common DPs are exemplified by *etxe* ‘house’, their animate counterparts by *katu* ‘cat’; consonant-final inanimate common DPs by *gurpil* ‘wheel’, animate counterparts by *gizon* ‘man’. Exemplifying proper nouns are vowel-final *Durango* and *Andoni (m)*, consonant-final *Gasteiz* and *Izazkun (f)*.

Lower case letters represent epenthetic elements

Function	Desinence	Function	Vowel-final			Consonant-final		
			SG.DEF	INDF	PL.DEF	SG.DEF	INDF	PL.DEF
NON-CASE DESINENCES								
1. Definite determiner	-A(-);(-O- Western proximate animate PL)	Wider scope than in many other language contexts	etxe-A katu-A	etxe katu	etxe-A-K katu-A-K	gurpil-A gizon-A	gurpil gizon	gurpil-A-K gizon-A-K (gizon-O-K)
2. Partitive	-IK	Negative polarity direct object determiner	---	etxe-r- IK <i>Durango-r-IK</i> <i>Andoni-r-IK</i>	---	---	gurpil- IK <i>Gasteiz-IK</i> <i>Izazkun-IK</i>	---
3. Relational (Morphologically related to local cases: 13 -18)	(inanimate) -KO	Adjectival modifier, precedes the lexical head; GEN + baitako (animate)	etxe- KO	etxe- TA-KO <i>Durango-KO</i>	etxe- ETA-KO	gurpil- e-KO	gurpil- e-TA-KO <i>Gasteiz-(e)-KO</i>	gurpil- ETA-KO
	(animate) -EN BAITAKO		katua-r- EN BAITAKO	katu-r- EN BAITAKO <i>Andoni(-r-EN-)BAITAKO</i>	katu- EN BAITAKO	gizona-r- EN BAITAKO	gizon- EN BAITAKO <i>Izazkun(-EN-)BAITAKO</i>	gizon- EN BAITAKO
4. Prolative (constituent of 12. Benefactive)	-TZAT/ -TAKO	A deemed capacity or role	---	etxe- TZAT/ etxe- TAKO <i>Durango-TZAT/</i> <i>Durango-TAKO</i> <i>Andoni-TZAT/</i> <i>Andoni-TAKO</i>	---	---	gurpil- TZAT/ gurpil- DAKO <i>Gasteiz-e-TZAT/</i> <i>Gasteiz-e-TAKO</i> <i>Izazkun-TZAT/</i> <i>Izazkun-TAKO</i>	---
CASES								
(a) Single morpheme desinences								
5. Absolutive	-∅	Intransitive subject; transitive direct	etxe-A katu-A	etxe katu	etxe-A-K katu-A-K	gurpil-A gizon-A	gurpil gizon	gurpil-A-K gizon-A-K

		object; copular complement governed by some postpositions		Durango Andoni			Gasteiz Izazkun	
6. Ergative	-K	Transitive subject	etxe- A-K katu- A-K	etxe- K katu- K Durango- K Andoni- K	etxe- E-K katu- E-K	gurpil- A-K gizon- A-K	gurpil- e-K gizon- e-K Gasteiz- e-K Izazkun- e-K	gurpil- E-K gizon- E-K
7. Dative	-I	Indirect object, 'to' (a recipient); governed by some postpositions	etxe- A-r-I katu- A-r-I	etxe- r-I katu- r-I Durango- r-I Andoni- r-I	etxe- E-I katu- E-I	gurpil- A-r-I gizon- A-r-I	gurpil- I gizon- I Gasteiz- I Izazkun- I	gurpil- E-I gizon- E-I
8. Instrumental	-Z	'By means of'; governed by a few verbs; the default case	etxe- A-Z katu- A-Z	etxe- Z katu- Z Durango- Z Andoni- Z	etxe- E-Z katu- E-Z	gurpil- A-Z gizon- A-Z	gurpil- e-Z gizon- e-Z Gasteiz- e-Z Izazkun- e-Z	gurpil- E-Z gizon- E-Z
9. Genitive	-EN	Possessive 'of'; governed by many postpositions	etxe- A-r-EN katu- A-r-EN	etxe- r-EN katu- r-EN Durango- r-EN Andoni- r-EN	etxe- EN katu- EN	gurpil- A-r-EN gizon- A-r-EN	gurpil- EN gizon- EN Gasteiz- EN Izazkun- EN	gurpil- EN gizon- EN
(b) Composite desinences								
10. Comitative	-EKIN; -EKILA (Continental); -GAZ, PL -KAZ (Bizkaian)	'with', 'in the company of'; < GEN + <i>kide</i> 'fellow, mate' (Trask, 1997, p. 201)	etxe- A-r-EKIN katu- A-r-EKIN	etxe- r-EKIN katu- r-EKIN Durango- r-EKIN Andoni- r-EKIN	etxe- EKIN katu- EKIN	gurpil- A-r-EKIN gizon- A-r-EKIN	gurpil- EKIN gizon- EKIN Gasteiz- EKIN Izazkun- EKIN	gurpil- EKIN gizon- EKIN

11. Causal	-((r)E(N))-GATIK / -AKATIK	'because of' genitive + <i>-gatik</i>	etxe- A-(r-EN)-GATIK katu- A-(r-EN)-GATIK	etxe- (r-EN)-GATIK katu- (r-EN)-GATIK Durango- (r-EN)-GATIK Andoni- (r-EN)-GATIK	etxe- EN-GATIK katu- AKATIK katu- ENGATIK katu- AKATIK	gurpil- A-(r-EN)-GATIK gizon- A-(r-EN)-GATIK	gurpil- EN-GATIK gurpil- (e)-GATIK gizon- EN-GATIK gizon- (e)-GATIK Gasteiz- (E(N))-GATIK Izazkun- (EN)-GATIK	gurpil- EN-GATIK gurpil- AKATIK gizon- EN-GATIK gizon- AKATIK
12. Benefactive	-(r)EN-TZAT / -(r)EN-DAKO(TZ)	'for (the benefit of)' genitive + <i>-tzat</i> (prolative)/ <i>-dako(tz)</i>	etxe- A-r-EN-TZAT etxe- A-r-EN-DAKO(TZ) katu- A-r-EN-TZAT katu- A-r-EN-DAKO(TZ)	etxe- r-EN-TZAT etxe- r-EN-DAKO(TZ) katu- r-EN-TZAT katu- r-EN-DAKO(TZ) Durango- r-EN-TZAT Durango- r-EN-DAKO(TZ) Andoni- r-EN-TZAT Andoni- r-EN-DAKO(TZ)	etxe- EN-TZAT etxe- EN-DAKO(TZ) katu- EN-TZAT katu- EN-DAKO(TZ)	gurpil- A-r-EN-TZAT gurpil- A-r-EN-DAKO(TZ) gizon- A-r-EN-TZAT gizon- A-r-EN-DAKO(TZ)	gurpil- EN-TZAT gurpil- EN-DAKO(TZ) gizon- EN-TZAT gizon- EN-DAKO(TZ) Gasteiz- EN-TZAT Gasteiz- EN-DAKO(TZ) Izazkun- EN-TZAT Izazkun- EN-DAKO(TZ)	gurpil- EN-TZAT gurpil- EN-DAKO(TZ) gizon- EN-TZAT gizon- EN-DAKO(TZ)

(c) LOCAL CASES: INFLECTIONS WHICH DIFFER ACCORDING TO WHETHER THE NP IS INANIMATE OR ANIMATE

13. Locative	(inanimate) -N	'In', 'on', 'at', position in space or time; governed by a small number of postpositions	etxe- A-N	etxe- TA-N Durango- N	etxe- E-TA-N	gurpil- e-A-N	gurpil- e-TA-N Gasteiz- EN	gurpil- E-TA-N
	(animate) -((r)EN)-GAN, -AKAN / -(r)EN BAIT-AN		katu- A-(r-EN)-GAN katu- A-r-EN BAIT-AN	katu- (r-EN)-GAN katu- r-EN BAIT-AN Andoni- (r-EN)-GAN Andoni- (r-EN)-BAITAN	katu- EN-GAN/ katu- AKAN katu- EN BAIT-AN	gizon- A-(r-EN)-GAN gizon- A-r-EN BAIT-AN	gizon- EN-GAN gizon- EN BAIT-AN Izazkun- (EN)-GAN Izazkun- (EN) BAITAN	gizon- EN-GAN/ gizon- AKAN gizon- EN BAIT-AN
14. Ablative	(inanimate) -TIK; -RIK (Continental,	'From (a point of origin)'; pivot inflection in superlative constructions	etxe- TIK	etxe- TA-TIK/ etxe- TA-RIK Durango- TIK	etxe- E-TA-TIK/ etxe- E-TA-RIK	gurpil- e-TIK	gurpil- e-TA-TIK/ gurpil- e-TA-RIK Gasteiz- TIK	gurpil- ETA-TIK/ gurpil- ETA-RIK

	in restricted contexts)							
	(animate) -(EN)-GAN-(D)IK -AKAN-DIK -EN BAITA-RIK		katu-A-(r-EN)-GAN-(D)IK katu-A-r-EN BAITA-RIK	katu-(r-EN)-GAN-(D)IK katu-r-EN BAITA-RIK Andoni-(r-EN)-GAN-(D)IK Andoni-(r-EN)-BAITA-RIK	katu-EN-GAN-(D)IK/ katu-AKAN-DIK katu-EN BAITA-RIK	gizon-A-(r-EN)-GAN-(D)IK gizon-A-r-EN BAITA-RIK	gizon-EN-GAN-(D)IK gizon-EN BAITA-RIK Izazkun-(EN)-GAN-DIK Izazkun-(EN) BAITA-RIK	gizon-EN-GAN-(D)IK/ gizon-AKAN(D)IK gizon-EN BAITA-RIK
15. Allative	(inanimate) -RA; -a with consonant-final place-names; -RAT -LAT (Northern)	'To (a destination)'	etxe-RA(T)	etxe-TA-RA(T) Durango-RA(T)	etxe-E-TA-RA(T)	gurpil-e-RA(T)	gurpil-e-TA-RA(T) Gasteiz-(e-R)A(T)	gurpil-E-TA-RA(T)
	(animate) -((r)EN)-GAN-A(T)/ -AKAN-A -EN BAITA-RA(T)		katu-A-(r-EN)-GAN-A(T) katu-A-r-EN BAITA-RA(T)	katu-(r-EN)-GAN-A(T) katu-r-EN BAITA-RA(T) --- Andoni-(r-EN)-GAN-A(T) Andoni-(r-EN) BAITA-RA(T)	katu-EN-GAN-A(T) katu-AKAN-A katuEN BAITA-RA(T)	gizon-A(r-EN)-GAN-A(T) gizon-A-r-EN BAITA-RA(T)	gizon-EN-GAN-A(T) gizon-EN BAITA-RA(T) Izazkun-(EN)-GANA(T) Izazkun-(EN) BAITA-RA(T)	gizon-EN-GAN-A(T) gizon-AKAN-A gizon-EN BAITA-RA(T)
16. Destinative	(inanimate) -RA-KO; -RA-KOTZ (Continental)	'For (a recipient of an action)' allative +	etxe-RA-KO(TZ)	etxe-TA-RA-KO(TZ) Durango-RA-KO(TZ)	etxe-E-TA-RA-KO(TZ)	gurpil-e-RA-KO(TZ)	gurpil-e-TA-RA-KO(TZ) Gasteiz-e-RA-KO(TZ)	gurpil-E-TA-RA-KO(TZ)

	(animate) -(EN)-GAN-A-KO	-KO(TZ) (inanimate); GEN + -GAN-A-KO (animate)	katu-A-(r-EN)-GAN-A-KO	katu-(r-EN)-GAN-A-KO Andoni-(r-EN)-GAN-A-KO	katu-EN-GAN-A-KO	gizon-A-(r-EN)-GAN-A-KO	gizon-EN-GAN-AK-O Izazkun-(EN)-GAN-A-KO	gizon-EN-GAN-A-KO
17. Terminative	(inanimate) -RA-INO; -RAD-INO (Continental)	'Up to', 'until' allative + -INO (inanimate); GEN +	etxe-RA-INO	etxe-TA-RA-INO Durango-RA-INO	etxe-E-TA-RA-INO	gurpil-e-RA-INO	gurpil-e-TA-RA-INO Gasteiz-e-RA-INO	gurpil-E-TA-RA-INO
	(animate) -(r)-EN-GAN-A-INO, -AKAN-A-INO	-GAN-A-INO/ -AKAN-A-INO (animate)	katu-A-(r-EN)-GAN-A-INO	katu-(r-EN)-GAN-A-INO Andoni-(r-EN)-GAN-A-INO	katu-EN-GAN-A-INO katu-AKAN-A-INO	gizon-A-(r-EN)-GAN-A-INO	gizon-EN-GAN-A-INO Izazkun-(EN)-GAN-A-INO	gizon-EN-GAN-A-INO gizon-AKAN-A-INO
18. Directional	(inanimate) -RA-NTZ, -RO-NTZ, -RU-NTZ	'Towards' allative + -NTZ (inanimate); GEN +	etxe-RA-NTZ	etxe-TA-RA-NTZ Durango-RA-NTZ	etxe-E-TA-RA-NTZ	gurpil-e-RA-NTZ	gurpil-e-TA-RA-NTZ Gasteiz-e-RA-NTZ	gurpil-E-TA-RA-NTZ
	(animate) -(r)EN-GAN-A-NTZ -AKAN-A-NTZ	-GAN-A-NTZ / -AKAN-A-NTZ (animate)	katu-A-(r-EN)-GAN-A-NTZ	katu-(r-EN)-GAN-A-NTZ Andoni-(r-EN)-GAN-A-NTZ	katu-EN-GAN-A-NTZ katu-AKAN-A-NTZ	gizon-A(r-EN)-GAN-A-NTZ	gizon-EN-GAN-A-NTZ Izazkun-(EN)-GAN-A-NTZ	gizon-EN-GAN-A-NTZ gizon-AKAN-A-NTZ

SALIENT TRENDS AND PATTERNS

1. A notable morphosyntactic property of the Basque DP is group inflection, ‘... neither nouns nor adjectives are inflected at all in Basque: *it is noun phrases, and only noun phrases, which are inflected in Basque*’ (Trask, 1997, p. 89). In the present work, the term ‘desinence’ is used in preference to ‘affix’, commonly used in the literature, in order to obviate complex consideration not central to the thesis on the nature and positioning of the boundaries of the concept of affix within the word-affix-clitic cline. Furthermore, that the case desinence overwhelmingly attaches to the DP final element only, irrespective of word class, e.g. noun, adjective, demonstrative, determiner, typifies clitic behaviour, promiscuity of attachment being regarded as one of the main criteria for distinguishing clitics from affixes (Zwicky & Pullum, 1983, cited in Spencer & Luís, 2012, p. 40).
2. The plural of the article is *-e-* in oblique cases; *-r-* separates vowels in hiatus in non-plural forms, with the exception of *-ean*, the SG.DEF locative of consonant-final roots (13). In the local cases *-ta-* appears in non-SG forms and *e* is inserted to break up consonant clusters (Trask, 1997, pp. 94–95).
3. Vowel-final roots inflect differently for the INDF and the PL.DEF. With consonant-final roots, however, the INDF and the PL.DEF are syncretic, except in the absolutive, the dative, and in an alternative set of desinences containing the morph *-aka* restricted to the plural of the causal (11) and of local case animate reflexes.
4. Perhaps on account of intrinsic definiteness, proper DPs decline as the common DP INDF paradigm, with which they are grouped here. Place names, however, do not share with common inanimate DPs the morph *-(e)ta-* in the local cases and relational desinence.
5. Inanimate and animate nouns inflect identically except in the relational and the local cases. The relational (3) uses *baita-*, not *gan-* which would produce syncretism with destinative (16)

-ganako. Occasionally, animate and inanimate desinences are used with animate DPs, with a difference in meaning, e.g. the locative *alabengan* (animate desinence) ‘in/on the daughters’ vs *alabetan* (inanimate desinence) ‘among the daughters’ (Trask, 1997, p. 95).

6. Some desinences are compounded on the genitive (9) or allative (15): the causal (11) and benefactive (12) on the genitive; in the destinative (16), terminative (17) and directional (18) the animate is founded on the genitive, but the inanimate on the allative. In the locative (13), ablative (14), allative (15) and relational (3), only animate desinences are composite, being built on the genitive. Recent analyses of similar systems with composite desinences, e.g., Estonian, support the view that the genitive form has been reanalyzed as a stem component.¹

7. Consonant-final place names have identical genitive and locative inflections. They form their allative in *-a*, although on occasion alternating with the *-era* of common DPs, e.g., Gasteiza ~ Gasteizera.

In addition to the tabulated inflections, Basque has postpositions. Most govern the genitive, frequently inflected spatial nouns e.g., *ondo* ‘side’, *neskaren ondoan* ‘beside the girl’. Some govern other cases e.g., the absolutive in *mahai gainean* ‘on top of the table’, the dative in *euskalkiei buruz* ‘about (the) Basque dialects’, the locative in *uhartean zehar* ‘across the island’.

¹ Andrew Spencer, p.c.

APPENDIX E

COMPARISON OF THE DIALECT CLASSIFICATIONS OF BONAPARTE, AZKUE, MITXELENA, YRIZAR AND ZUAZO

Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, through meticulous work, was the first (ca. 1861-63) to establish a dialect classification using defined linguistic criteria, including vowel harmony (*etxe-a* ‘house-DEF.DET’ > *etxí-e*),² yod-insertion (*berri-a* ‘new-DEF.DET’ > *berri-ya*), the pronunciation of sibilants and palatal affricates, and ERG.PL marking in DPs (Western *gizon-ak* ‘man-ERG.PL’ vs. Eastern *gizon-ek*) (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 67), following revisions, culminating in the publication of *Le verbe basque en tableaux* (1869), with verbal, particularly auxiliary, morphology as the main classification basis (Lafon, 1944, pp. 11–13, vol. 1). Bonaparte identified eight dialects (indicated in Roman numerals), all except Bizkaian (A) belonging to one of two superordinate groupings (B, C), with 25 numbered subdialects, divided further into variants (see Table 4 below). Importantly, Bonaparte acknowledges some lack of correspondence between provincial and varietal boundaries in, e.g., the Bizkaian of Gipuzkoa, the Gipuzkoan of Navarre, the Northern High Navarrese of Gipuzkoa, the Eastern Low Navarrese of Lapurdi. Although with little recourse to phonetics or phonology, Bonaparte’s classification remains the foundation of subsequent classification work (Trask, 1997, p. 55), continuing to serve as a valuable analytical tool.

Prominent Vasconists since working on dialect classification include Azkue, Mitxelena, Yrizar and Zuazo. On the basis of verbal and DP paradigms, derivation and word compounding, Azkue, working at the turn of the century, upheld Bonaparte’s classification in large part, with the modifications deeming Roncalese (Bonaparte’s 19) an independent dialect, Northern (Bonaparte’s III) and Southern (V) High Navarrese a single dialect with Northern

² A term frequent in the literature with reference to Basque, although sometimes guardedly, e.g., ‘[v]owel harmony is absent, apart from some very rudimentary manifestations in a few varieties’ (Trask, 1997, p. 118). It is preferably avoided in the context of Basque, given its central notion that a single phonological word include vowels from only one of two subsets distinguished by one or more phonetic features, e.g. [back], [round], [ATR] (Trask, 1996, p. 383), such as in, e.g., Turkish, Hungarian and Finnish. The Basque manifestations of vowel accommodation are better conceptualized as: (1) low vowel assimilation, where /e/ raises to /a/ after a high vowel, with or without intervening consonants in Bizkaian, also many Gipuzkoan and High Navarrese varieties, although often not across members of a compound or across a lexical root and derivational desinence (Hualde in Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina (eds.), 2003, p. 46) and (2) mid vowel raising, where a mid vowel immediately preceding another vowel is raised, although not across compound members or word boundaries; patterning differs across varieties manifesting this phenomenon, e.g., in the variety of Gernika /e/ rises, while /o/ does not (Hualde in Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina (eds.), 2003, 47, 53-54)

and Southern subdialects, similarly Western (VIII) and Eastern (VI) Low Navarrese (1984 [1905], pp. 132–136 [XXVI-XXX]).

In the 1950s, taking Bonaparte's work as a starting point, Mitxelena postulated nine dialects (see Figure 1 below), reflecting phonetic and phonological contrasts (Trask, 1997, p. 5). Mitxelena departs from Bonaparte, like Azkue, in conflating Northern and Southern High Navarrese into a single dialect; likewise Eastern and Western Low Navarrese; unlike Azkue, Mitxelena, concurring with Bonaparte, deemed Roncalese (19) a variety of Zuberoan (Bonaparte's VI). In contrast with both Bonaparte and Azkue, Mitxelena deemed Aezkoan (Bonaparte's 25, as a subdialect of Western Low Navarrese (VIII)) and Salazarese (22, as a sub-dialect of Eastern Low Navarrese (VII)) dialects in their own right (1990 [1961], pp. 41–42). Mitxelena includes the Baztan valley variety within (Northern) High Navarrese (III), despite its affinity with Lapurdian and sees Bonaparte's Gipuzkoan of Navarre (varieties of Burunda, Etxarri-Arrantz) as Gipuzkoan. To Bonaparte's classification, Mitxelena adds *meridional* (termed Southern by Trask, 1997, p. 5), extinct before the time of Mitxelena's writing and probably spoken in Araba (Michelena, 1990, p. 42). Notwithstanding the sort of reservations and dilemmas which Mitxelena exemplifies on the allocation of the variety of Baztan, his classification has been the one most affirmed in the literature during the past half century.

TABLE 4: BONAPARTE’S 1869 CLASSIFICATION OF BASQUE DIALECTS

A.	I. Bizkaian	}	1. Eastern	}	Markina
			2. Western		Gernika, Bermeo
			3. of Gipuzkoa		Plentzia, Arratia Orozco, Arrigorriaga, Otxandiano Bergara, Salinas
B.	II. Gipuzkoan	}	4. Northern	}	Hernani, Tolosa, Azpeitia
			5. Southern		Zegama
			6. of Navarre		Burrunda, Etxarri-Aranatz
	III. Northern High Navarrese	}	7. of Ultzama	}	Lizaso
			8. of Baztan		Elizondo
			9. of Bortziriak (Cinco Villas)		Bera
			10. of Arakil		Uharte, Arakil
			11. of Araitz		Intza
			12. of Gipuzkoa		Irun
	IV. Lapurdian	}	13. archetypical	}	Sara, Ainhoa, Donibane
			14. hybrid		Lohizune (Saint-Jean-de-Luz) Arcangues
	V. Southern High Navarrese	}	15. Outlying Iruñea (Pamplona)	}	Egues, Olaibar, Artzi (Arce), Erro, Auritz (Burguete)
			16. of Iltzarbe		Gares (Puente la Reina)
			17. Proximity of Iruñea (Pamplona)		Oltza, Zizur, Gulina
	VI. Zuberoan	}	18. archetypical	}	Tardets
19. Roncalese			Bidankoze (Vidángoz), Urzainki, Uztarrotze (Uztárroz)		
VII. Eastern Low Navarrese	}	20. Cizo-Mixain	}	Cize, Mixe, Bardoze (Bardos), Erberua (Arberoue)	
		21. of the Ardour		Beskoitze (Briscous), Urketa (Urcuit)	
		22. Salazarese		Zaraitu (Salazar)	
VIII. Western Low Navarrese	}	23. Baigorrian	}	Baigorri	
		24. of Lapurdi		Ustaritze, Mendionde	
		25. Aezkoan		Aezkoa	
C.					

Adapted from Bonaparte (1869 (page unnumbered))

**FIGURE 1: GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF DIALECTS
ACCORDING TO MITXELENA'S CLASSIFICATION**

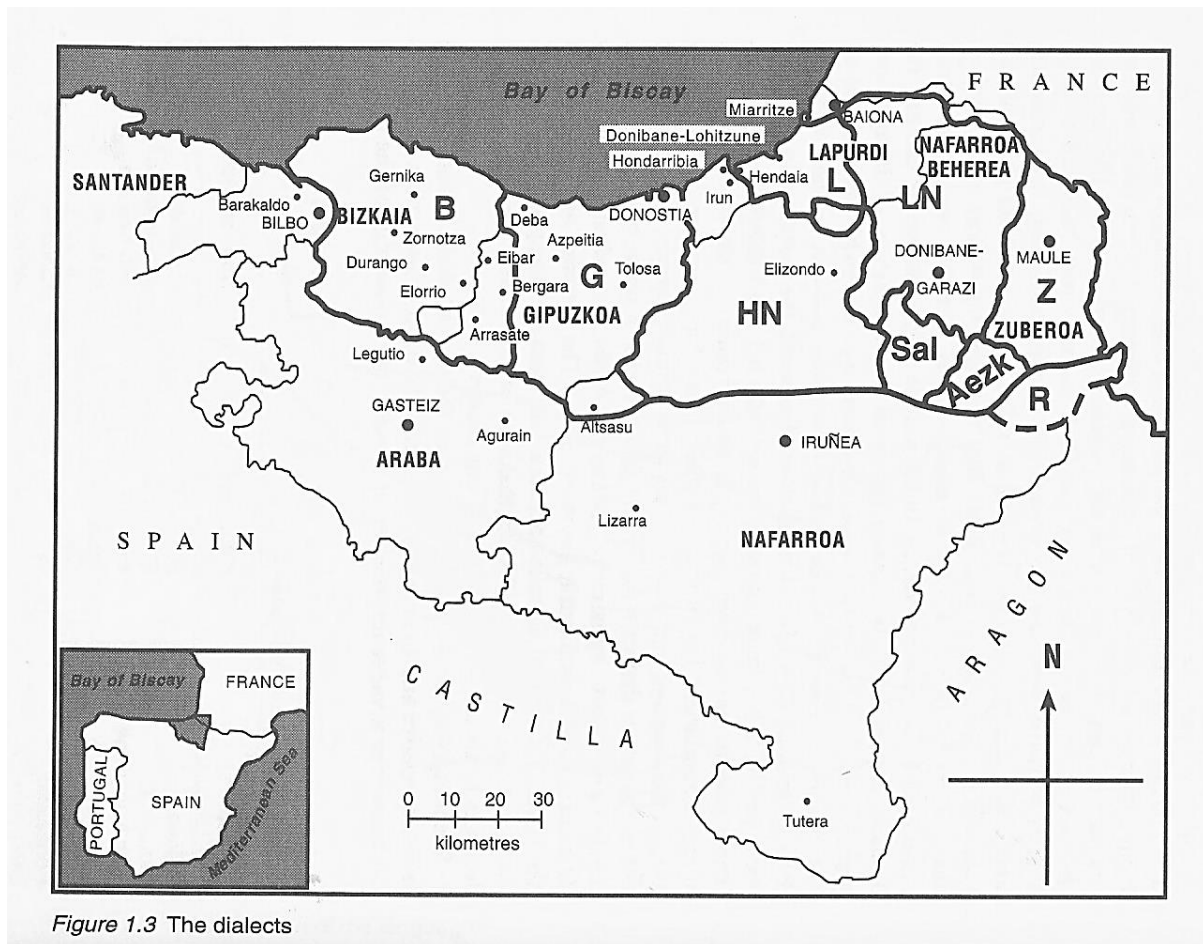


Figure 1.3 The dialects

(Trask, 1997, p. 6)

Yrizar, (1981, 1991-2008) overwhelmingly upheld Bonaparte's classification, while acknowledging Roncalese as an independent dialect and including Baztan (8, a subdialect of Northern High Navarrese (III)) within Lapurdian, an allocation previously contemplated by Bonaparte (Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 69).

The distribution of widespread, productive innovations extant in the modern language are prominent in the classification of Zuazo (2014, 2013 [2008]), noting that previous classification criteria do not distinguish innovations from archaisms and consolidated choices from among variables (apud. Martínez-Areta, 2013, p. 69). Zuazo recognises five living dialects: Western, comprising varieties of Bizkaia, Northern Araba and Western Gipuzkoa; central, comprising Gipuzkoan and some Western Northern High Navarrese

varieties; Navarrese, the varieties of Peninsular Navarre; Navarrese-Lapurcian, the varieties of Lapurdi, Low Navarre, North-West Zuberoa, also Lusaide in Peninsular Navarre; Zuberoan, spoken in Zuberoa and an adjacent area of Béarn. Zuazo identifies eleven sub-dialects, Zuberoan set apart without subcategorization. In addition to five living dialects, he identifies a sixth grouping, Eastern Navarrese, comprising the now extinct Salazarese and Roncalese (Zuazo, 2014).

TABLE 5 : COMPARATIVE DIALECT CLASSIFICATIONS				
Bonaparte¹	Azkue	Mitxelena	Yrizar	Zuazo
(8 dialects)	(7 dialects)	(9 dialects)	(9 dialects)	(6 dialects)
I. Bizkaian	Bizkaian	Bizkaian	Bizkaian	Western
		<i>Meridional 'Southern'²</i>		
II. Gipuzkoan	Gipuzkoan	Gipuzkoan	Gipuzkoan	Central
III. Northern High Navarrese	High Navarrese	High Navarrese	Northern High Navarrese	Navarrese
V. Southern High Navarrese			Southern High Navarrese	
IV. Lapurdian	Lapurdian	Lapurdian	Lapurdian	Navarrese-Lapurcian
VIII. Western Low Navarrese	Low Navarrese	Low Navarrese	Western Low Navarrese	
VII. Eastern Low Navarrese			Eastern Low Navarrese	
		<i>Salazarese</i>	<i>Salazarese</i>	<i>Eastern</i>
		<i>Roncalese</i>	<i>Roncalese</i>	<i>Navarrese</i>
		Aezkoan		
VI. Zuberoan	Zuberoa	Zuberoan	Zuberoan	Zuberoan

Table notes

¹Bonaparte's numbering is conserved, although arranged in the table to more readily reflect relationships with modifications to dialectal categorization postulated by subsequent Vasconists. The positioning of Aezkoan, reflecting neither its geographical siting between Salazarese to the West and Roncalese to the East, nor its inclusion by Bonaparte in Western Low Navarrese, is in order to separate it from Zuazo's Navarrese-Lapurcian on the one hand and extinct Eastern Navarrese on the other.

²Dialects in red typeface are now extinct.

Zuazo's approach is an interesting one, elucidating varietal relationships and in some measure moving further than predecessors from conventional dialect naming with politico-geographical designators. It is, however, not entirely applicable to the present work, since it reflects current variations against the backdrop of the impact of Batua, also of population movement, since the time of the first published texts, e.g., coastward migration favouring the fusion of Lower Navarrese and Lapurdian. The present work centrally follows Mitxelena's classification.

APPENDIX F

TABLE 6: EXAMPLE PARADIGMS IN THE LIVING DIALECTS FROM MITXELENA'S CLASSIFICATION AND IN BATUA

Verb and paradigm	Bizkaian	Gipuzkoan	High Navarrese	Lapurdian	Low Navarrese	Zuberoan ¹	Aezkoan	Batua	English elucidation
<i>Izan</i> , 'be' present	<i>naz</i> <i>(h)az</i> <i>da</i> <i>gara</i> <i>zara</i> <i>zarie</i> <i>dira</i>	<i>naiz</i> <i>aiz</i> <i>da</i> <i>gera</i> <i>zera</i> <i>zerate</i> <i>dira</i>	<i>naiz</i> <i>(y)aiz</i> <i>da</i> <i>ga(r)a</i> <i>za(r)a</i> <i>za(r)ate</i> <i>di(r)e</i>	<i>naiz</i> <i>haiz</i> <i>da</i> <i>gare</i> <i>zare</i> <i>zaizte</i> <i>di(r)e</i>	<i>n(a)iz</i> <i>h(a)iz</i> <i>da</i> <i>gira</i> <i>zira</i> <i>zirezte</i> <i>dira</i>	<i>niz</i> <i>hiz</i> <i>da</i> <i>gi(r)a</i> <i>zi(r)a</i> <i>zirade(i)e/zi(r)ae</i> <i>di(r)a</i>	<i>niz</i> <i>yiz</i> <i>da</i> <i>gira</i> <i>zira/xira</i> ² <i>zirate</i> <i>dira</i>	<i>naiz</i> <i>haiz</i> <i>da</i> <i>gara</i> <i>zara</i> <i>zarete</i> <i>dira</i>	'I am' 'you.INTIMATE are' 's/he, it is' 'we are' 'you.FORMAL are' 'you.PL are' 'they are'
<i>uk(h)en/</i> <i>*edun</i> 'have', 3 rd 3SG.ABS-ERG present	<i>dot</i> <i>dok/don(</i> <i>a)</i> <i>dau</i> <i>dogu</i> <i>dozu</i> <i>dozue</i> <i>dabe</i>	<i>det</i> <i>dek/den</i> <i>du</i> <i>degu</i> <i>dezu</i> <i>dezute</i> <i>dute</i>	<i>dut</i> <i>duk/dun</i> <i>du</i> <i>dugu</i> <i>duzu</i> <i>duzue</i> <i>dute</i>	<i>dut</i> <i>duk/dun</i> <i>du</i> <i>dugu</i> <i>duzu</i> <i>duzue</i> <i>dute</i>	<i>dut</i> <i>duk/dun</i> <i>du</i> <i>dugu</i> <i>duzu</i> <i>duzue</i> <i>(d)ute</i>	<i>düt</i> <i>dük/dün</i> <i>dü</i> <i>dügü</i> <i>düzü</i> <i>düzue/duzie</i> <i>dü(i)e</i>	<i>dut</i> <i>duk/dun</i> <i>du</i> <i>dugu</i> <i>duzu/ duxu</i> ² <i>duzie</i> <i>dute</i>	<i>dut</i> <i>dut/dun</i> <i>du</i> <i>dugu</i> <i>duzu</i> <i>duzue</i> <i>dute</i>	'I have (it)' 'you.INTIMATE have (it)' 's/he, it has (it)' 'we have (it)' 'you.FORMAL have (it)' 'you.PL have (it)' 'they have (it)'
<i>*-i-/*edutsi</i> tripersonal 'have', 3SG.ABS- 3SG.DAT-ERG past indicative	<i>neutsan</i> <i>(h)eutsan</i> <i>eutsan</i> <i>geuntsan</i> <i>zeuntsan</i> <i>zeuntsaen</i> <i>eutsaen</i>	<i>nion</i> <i>ion</i> <i>zion</i> <i>genion</i> <i>zenion</i> <i>zenioten</i> <i>zioten</i>	<i>nio(n)</i> <i>(y)io(n)</i> <i>zio(n)</i> <i>ginio(n)</i> <i>zinio(n)</i> <i>ziniote(n)</i> <i>ziote(n)</i>	<i>nion</i> <i>hion</i> <i>zion</i> <i>ginion</i> <i>zinion</i> <i>zinioten</i> <i>zioten</i>	<i>nakon</i> <i>hakon</i> <i>zakon</i> <i>ginakon</i> <i>zinakon</i> <i>zinakoten</i> <i>zakoten</i>	<i>neion</i> <i>heion</i> <i>zeion</i> <i>geneion</i> <i>zeneion</i> <i>zeneioe(de)n</i> <i>zeioe(de)n</i>	<i>nako</i> <i>yako</i> <i>zako</i> <i>gindako</i> <i>zindako/</i> <i>xindako</i> ² <i>zindakote</i> <i>zakote</i>	<i>nion</i> <i>hion</i> <i>zion</i> <i>genion</i> <i>zenion</i> <i>zenioten</i> <i>zioten</i>	'I had (it) to him/her/it' 'you.INTIMATE had it to him/her/it' 's/he had (it) to him/her/it' 'we had (it) to him/her/it' 'you.FORMAL had (it) to him/her/it' 'you.PL had (it) to him/her/it' 'they had (it) to him/her/it'

For illustration, the indicative context sources intransitive *izan*, divalent *uk(h)en/*edun* and trivalent **eradutsi/*-i-/*eradun* are represented, intransitive and divalent reflexes in the present tense and, to illustrate ergative fronting, trivalent reflexes in the past-tense.

Table notes

¹Zuberoan alone has a monointransitive future paradigm of *izan*, as follows: *nizate(ke)*, *hizate(ke)*, *date(ke)*, *girate(ke)*, *zirate(ke)*, *zirate(ke)ie*, *dirate(ke)*, the *-ke* variant syncretic with the generalized epistemic indicative, e.g. *etortzen dateke* 'I expect s/he, it will be coming', *etorri dateke* 'I expect s/he, it has come by now' (Trask, 1997, p. 225).

²Aezkoan has the 2INTERMEDIATE *xuketa* mode of address.

APPENDIX G

THE AUXILIARY SYSTEM OF BASQUE: A BRIEF HISTORY OF KEY CHANGES

PART I

THINKING ON ASPECTUAL CONTRASTS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY AUXILIARY SYSTEM

Aldai Garai, taking a perfective vs perfect/pluperfect approach, contends that past reflexes of **edin*, **ezan* ~ *egin* furnished the Mediaeval perfective, *izan* and *uk(h)en/*edun*, the perfect/pluperfect, the sixteenth century being a time of transition with the Mediaeval past perfective and perfect/pluperfect competing for the role of past perfective. He cites Irigoien's (1985, pp. 18–19) contrasting of Leizarraga's use of the Mediaeval perfective (**edin*, **ezan*) in main clauses with the Mediaeval perfect/pluperfect (*izan*, *uk(h)en/*edun*) in embedded clauses encoding a prior situation, e.g. with *uk(h)en/*edun*, *ikussi çuenean* 'when he saw/had seen' and with **ezan*, *eçar ceçan* 'He placed him' in *Eta Iesusec hayén bihotzeco pensamendua ikussi çuenean, haourchobat harturic, eçar ceçan bere aldean* (Luke Ch.IX v.47) 'And Jesus, when he had seen the thought in their hearts, took a child, and placed him at His side' (Aldai Garai, 1998, p. 382). Of note is the use of auxiliary roots from each of the two contrasting sets in the following verse, v.48 with a reflex of perfective **ezan* in Leizarraga *Eta erran cieçén* 'And He said (it) to them', but with *zien* from Mediaeval perfect/pluperfect **-i-*, in modern Interchurch text (*BIBLIJA.Net - Biblia Interneten*, n.d.).

Aldai Garai cites examples from Etxepare and *RS* where a main clause perfective is interpretable as a pluperfect:

laun erregek mezu nenzan ioan nengion bertarik;

gaitzez lagola enzun nuien bana nik ez ogenik (Etxepare, XIII, 7-8)

'His Majesty the King **summoned me** to go to him immediately; I **had heard** that he was angry, but I [was] innocent'

Eznea, guria ta odola

errorean atera neban,

ta exer irabazi ez nezan,

ta ene beitxua gal nezan. (*Refranes y Sentencias*, 513)

‘Milk, butter and blood/from the teat I **had drawn**/and nothing **did I gain**/and I **lost** my little cow’, both instances of *nezan* (from **ezan*) perfective (Aldai Garai, 1998, p. 383)¹ contrasting with pluperfect *neban* (from **edun*).

Earlier, Schuchardt (Lafon, 1944, p. 37, vol.1, citing Schuchardt, 1923, *Primitiae*, §§ 9-10, p.6), using partly different terminology, perceived Aldai Garai’s perfective vs perfect/pluperfect opposition, endorsed by Lafon, who took it as a starting point for aspectual exploration of synthetic and periphrastic V+AUX reflexes across Etxepare, Leizarraga, Garibai and RS. Lafon found an opposition between **edin*, **ezan* ~ *egin* **iron* (confined to Continental texts) ‘be able’, which ‘denote processes terminating at an end-point’² assigned the value *déterminé* (Lafon, 1944, p. 33, vol.2), here termed ‘endpoint-encoding’ vs *izan*, *uk(h)en*/**edun*, **-i-*, **eradun*, **edutsi* which ‘denote processes for which an end-point is not envisaged’³ (Lafon, 1944, p. 33, vol.2), assigned the value *indéterminé*, here termed ‘non-endpoint-encoding’. The endpoint-encoding set typically embodies a change of state, e.g. from **edin*, *çidi* ‘s/he, it became’, the non-endpoint encoding set, a persistent state e.g. from *izan*, *zala* ‘that s/he, it was’: in *Autsa zala eurias loyza çidi* (RS, 358) ‘What was dust became mud on account of the rain’ (Lafon, 1944, p. 38, vol.1). In RS, 358, **edin* has lexical function, and Lafon very much sees the *déterminé* ~ *indéterminé* dichotomy applying not only to auxiliary, but also lexical roots, although no specific morphological feature indicates to which aspectual group a given verb belongs.

PART 2

ON ALDAI GARAI’S HYPOTHESIS ON THE EVOLUTION AND FORMATION OF /-FORMS

Sixteenth century /- forms are imperfective, contrasting with aspectually neutral matrix clause synthetic forms: ‘the Old Basque Aorist’ (Aldai Garai, 2000, pp. 75, 78). Aldai Garai’s Antipassive-Imperfect Hypothesis, focused on ergative fronting, offers explanations for the

¹ Aldai Garai’s orthography is reproduced, rather than that of the facsimiles.

² *désignent des procès qui aboutissent à un terme*

³ *désignent des procès pour lesquels on n’envisage pas de terme*

source and usage of *l-*. Aldai Garai postulates a distal demonstrative **hal* < **har* (Aldai Garai, 2000, p. 59), a more robust contender than widely favoured *ahal* ‘power, ability, possibility’ which, despite apparent semantic plausibility, does not withstand phonological scrutiny in the light of Mitxelena’s reconstructed **anal* (Trask, 1997, p. 224). Aldai Garai, (1998 following Comrie, 1976, p. 16) distinguishes ‘perfect’, with reference in a time-frame other than its own, from ‘perfective’, bound within a specific time-frame (Aldai Garai, 1998, p. 378), seeing *l-* as generating an antipassive which became a past imperfective [B] from an earlier past perfective [A]; subsequently, a new past perfective [C] developed from and opposed [B], the 3rd person forms of [C] descending directly from [A]. [C] then supplanted [A], distinguished from [B] only by the 3rd person initial *z-* instead of the *l-* of [B]. Later, after developing secondary modal meaning, [B] was displaced from main clauses by the new *v+aux* periphrastic past imperfective and confined to modal clauses (Aldai Garai, 2000, p. 73), a change far from completion by the sixteenth century. The acquisition of an irrealis role by a past imperfective is supported cross-linguistically: in Hindi-Urdu and Armenian, constructions corresponding to the pluperfect in Castilian, English, French or Italian can express both pluperfect and remote past meanings; furthermore the Castilian conditional is formed from a future stem and the imperfect auxiliary and the French imperfect can have irrealis usage, e.g. in *je venais tout de suite* ‘I **would have come** right away’ (Aldai Garai, 2000, p. 77), but the contention that pressure from the ‘new’ periphrastic structure, already well-established in the sixteenth century, triggered this shift is perhaps open to further exploration.

For Aldai Garai, the emergence of [C] is underpinned by the reanalysis of *-(e)n* complementized forms from embedded clauses as main clause forms (2000, p. 62) in narrative contexts, where they acquired perfective meaning prior to reassignment as a general past (2000, pp. 70-71).

Trask (1997, p. 247) contends that the *-(e)n* of complementized forms was sourced by the genitive, and this postulate might be supported through Leizarraga’s use of the acute accent, particularly in relativized forms e.g. *dutén* ‘what they have’ in *Cer cergatic Religioneçoéc utzi edo cambiatu ukan **dutén** eta cer daducaten iaquin nahi duenac iracur beça Confessione haur gogoatuqui* (Leizarraga et al., 1990, p. 1440) ‘May whoever wants to find out why theologians may have omitted or changed what and why they retain what,

read this Confession mindfully'. If Trask is right that the relativizer may have been formed by adding the genitive desinence to the finite verb, in keeping with the fact that relative clauses, like all genitives, precede their heads (Trask, 1997, p. 247) this would suggest a historic double vowel with a vowel-final verb such as *dute* 'they have (it)': **duteen* > *dutén* 'what they have'. The accentual or length distinction marked by diacritics in the time of Leizarraga perhaps indicates that the syllable historically belonged, and was still construed as belonging, to an accentual group different from that of the DP or the verb stem and hence not an archetypal suffix. This contention is consistent with the 1975 hypothesis of Jacobsen, cited by Gómez and Sainz (1995, p. 258) that accentually marked forms arose from the contraction of a vowel sequence, proposing for the verb pluralizers *-e* and *-te* protoforms **-ee*, **-dee*, **-tee*, all from **-dee*, supported by some local Bizkaian variants such as *deudie*, *daurie* 'they have it' (*ibid.*) and by Leizarraga's frequent use of a diacritic in such indices e.g. *Iustoéc argui eguinen duté* (Leizarraga et al., 1990, *ĩ.v. v/* p. 1242) 'The righteous shall shine'.

This model illustrates how a morph can acquire new functions: of *-(e)n* from a genitive to an embedded clause complementizer to a past marker. In the sixteenth century, as today, it fulfils all three roles.

TABLE 7: A COMPARISON OF SIXTEENTH CENTURY AND BATUA AUXILIARY PARADIGMS, illustrated with <i>sart(h)u</i> + AUX.INTR 'enter'			
Lafon's categorisation	Illustration of C16 <i>indéterminé</i> (non-endpoint-encoding) and <i>déterminé</i> (endpoint-encoding) paradigms, with Lafon's elucidation (1944, pp. 40–117, vol. 2)	Composition	Modern function and meaning
1st group (based on the present-tense of the finite verb)			
1. Présent nu [Bare present]	indét. <i>sartzen da</i> il entre 's/he, it enters'	IPFV.PTCP + present	Present indicative 's/he, it enters'
	dét. <i>*sar dadi</i> *il entrera 's/he, it will enter'	radical + present	
2. Forme relative du présent [Relativized present]	indét. <i>sartzen den</i> qui (que, où) entre 'who (which, where) enters'	IPFV.PTCP + present-(e)n	Relativized present indicative 'who(which, where) enters'
	dét. <i>sar dadin</i> qui vient (viendra) à entrer, qui entrera, qui sera entré; pour qu'il entre 'who should (now/later) enter, will enter, will have entered, so that s/he, it enter'	radical + present-(e)n	Present subjunctive/ relativized present subjunctive 'that s/he, it enter' 'who enter'

3. Présent à suffixe <i>-la</i> [<i>-la</i> suffixed present]	indét. sartzen dela comme il entre, en entrant; qu'il entre (indic.) 'as s/he, it enters, on entering, that s/he enters (indicative)'	IPFV.PTCP + present-(e)la	Complementized present indicative 'that s/he it enters'
	dét. sar dadila qu'il entre (impér. ou subj.) 'may s/he, it enter, that s/he, it enter' (imperative or subjunctive)	radical + present-(e)la	(Complementized) present subjunctive 'may s/he, it enter, that s/he, it enter'
4. 1 ^{er} suppositif (présent à préfixe <i>ba-</i>) [1 st suppositional (<i>ba-</i> prefixed present)]	indét. sartzen bada s'il est vrai qu'il entre, si de fait il entre 'if s/he, it actually enters, if s/he, it in fact enters'	IPFV.PTCP + <i>ba</i> -present	Non-hypothetical present conditional protasis 'if s/he, it actually enters, if s/he, it in fact enters'
	dét. sar badadi s'il vient à entrer If s/he, it should enter'	radical + <i>ba</i> -present	Present realis conditional protasis 'If s/he, it should enter'
5. Potentiel du 1 ^{er} suppositif [Potential of the 1 st suppositional]	indét.		
	dét. *sar albadadi *s'il peut entrer 'if s/he, it can enter'	radical + <i>alba</i> -present	
6. Présent à préfixe <i>bait-</i> [<i>bait-</i> prefixed present]	indét. sartzen baita qu'il (qui) entre (indic.) 'that s/he, it enters (indicative)	IPFV.PTCP + <i>bait</i> -present	Present indicative with causal complementizer 'that/because s/he, it enters'
	dét. sar baitadi qu'il (qui) vient à entrer	radical + <i>bait</i> -present	

	'that s/he it should enter'		
7. Présent à suffixe <i>-ke</i> (ou <i>-te</i>) [- <i>ke</i> (or <i>-te</i>) suffixed present]	indét. sartzen date il entre (à un moment indéterminé); il sera en train d'entrer 's/he, it enters (at an indeterminate moment); s/he it will be in the process of entering'	IPFV.PTCP + present- <i>ke/-te</i>	<i>sartzen dateke</i> : Epistemic indicative 's/he, it will be entering' (I suppose)'
	dét. sar daite (Leizarraga. daiteque) il entrera, il peut (pourra) entrer 's/he, it will enter, can/will be able to enter'	radical + present- <i>ke/-te</i>	<i>Sar daiteke</i> : Present potential 's/he, it can enter (now)'
8. Parfait [Perfect]	indét. sarthu da il est entré 's/he, it (has) entered' (earlier in the matrix time-frame)	PFV.PTCP + present	Present perfect indicative 's/he, it has entered/entered' (earlier in the matrix time-frame)
	dét.		
9. Futur périphrastique de type ordinaire [Ordinary type of periphrastic future]	indét. sarthuren/sarthuko da il entrera 's/he, it will enter'	Prospective/FUT.PTCP + present	Future indicative 's/he, it will enter'
	dét.		
10. Parfait à suffixe <i>-ke</i> (ou <i>-te</i>) [- <i>ke</i> (or <i>-te</i>) suffixed perfect]	indét. sarthu date il sera entré; il est entré (à un moment indéterminé) 's/he, it will have entered, (has) entered (at an indeterminate moment)'	PFV.PTCP + present- <i>ke/-te</i>	<i>sartu dateke</i> : Epistemic indicative, past 's/he, it will have entered (I suppose)'
	dét.		

11. Futur double [Double future]	indét. sarthuren date il entrera (un nombre indéterminé de fois ou une fois pour toutes) 's/he, it will enter (an indeterminate number of times or for once and for all)'	Prospective/ FUT.PTCP + present- ke/-te	sarturen dateke: Epistemic indicative, future 's/he, it will be going to enter' (I suppose)
	dét.		
2nd group (based on the non-present of the finite verb)			
12. Prétérit [Preterite]	indét. sartzen zen il entrait 's/he, it was entering, used to enter'	IPFV.PTCP + past	Past habitual indicative 's/he, it was entering, used to enter'
	dét. sar zedin il entra 's/he, it entered'	radical + past	Past subjunctive 'that s/he, it enter'
13. Forme nue exprimant l'éventualité [Bare form expressing eventuality]	indét.		
	dét. *sar ledi *il entrerait 's/he, it would enter'	radical + bare eventual	
14. Éventuel à suffixe -ke ou -te [-ke ou -te suffixed eventual]	indét. sartzen liçate il entrerait (à un moment indéterminé) 's/he it would enter (at an indeterminate moment)'	IPFV.PTCP + -ke/-te suffixed eventual	sartzen litzateke: Irrealis apodosis [1] (present) 's/he, it would enter (now)'
	dét. sar leite il entrerait	radical + -ke/-te suffixed eventual	sar liteke: Future potential

	's/he it would enter'		's/he, it would arrive (later)'
15. Forme relative de l'éventuel [Relativized eventual]	indét. sartzen licén qui entrât (présentement, de fait) 'who entered (now, in fact)'	IPFV.PTCP + relativized eventual	
	dét. sar ledin il entrerait 's/he it would enter'	radical + relativized eventual	(Relativized) future subjunctive 'that s/he, it be able to enter'
16. Éventuel à suffixe <i>-la</i> [<i>-la</i> suffixed eventual]	indét. *sartzen liçala *étant éventuellement entré 'possibly having entered)	IPFV.PTCP + <i>-la</i> suffixed eventual	
	dét.		
17. Éventuel à préfixe <i>ba-</i> (2 ^e suppositif) [<i>ba-</i> prefixed eventual (2 nd suppositional)]	indét. sartzen baliz s'il entrerait présentement, de fait 'if s/he entered now, in fact'	imperfective participle + <i>ba-</i> prefixed eventual (2 nd suppositional)	Irrealis protasis (present) 'If s/he, it entered (now)'
	dét. sar baledi s'il venait à entrer 'If s/he, it should have entered'	radical + <i>ba-</i> prefixed eventual (2 nd suppositional)	Realis conditional (past) 'If s/he, it should have entered'
18. Éventuel à préfixe <i>alba-</i> (potentiel du 2 ^e suppositif) [<i>alba-</i> prefixed eventual (potential of the 2 nd suppositional)]	indét.		
	dét. *sar albaledi *s'il pouvait entrer 'if s/he, it could have entered'	radical + <i>alba-</i> prefixed eventual (potential of the 2 nd suppositional)	

19. Éventuel à préfixe <i>bait-</i> [<i>bait-</i> prefixed eventual]	indét.		
	dét. *sar baileđi *qu'il vînt à entrer 'that s/he, it should have entered'	radical + <i>bait-</i> prefixed eventual (potential of the 2 nd suppositional)	
20. Prescriptif [Prescriptive]	indét.		
	dét. sar albaileđi /albeileđi qu'il entre! 'may s/he, it enter!' (dependent upon a prerequisite)	radical + <i>albait-/albeit-</i> prefixed eventual (potential of the 2 nd suppositional)	
21. Votif [Votive]	indét.		
	dét. ailedi sar plût à Dieu qu'il entrât 'would that s/he, it entered'	radical + <i>ai-</i> prefixed eventual (potential of the 2 nd suppositional)	
22. Prétérit à suffixe <i>-ke</i> ou <i>-te</i> [<i>-ke</i> or <i>-te</i> suffixed preterite]	indét.		
	dét. sar çaiten il pouvait entrer 's/he, it could enter'	radical + past- <i>ke/-te</i>	<i>sar zitekeen:</i> Past potential 's/he, it could have entered'
23. Prétérit du parfait [Preterite of the perfect]	indét. sarthu zen il était entré 's/he, it had entered'	PFV.PTCP + past	Remote past indicative 's/he, it entered/ had entered'
	dét.		
24. Prétérit à suffixe <i>-ke</i> ou <i>-te</i> du parfait	indét. sarthu çaten il serait entré	PFV.PTCP + past- <i>ke/-te</i>	<i>sartu zatekeen:</i> Irrealis apodosis (past) [2]

[-ke or -te suffixed perfect preterite]	's/he, it would have entered' dét.		's/he, it would have entered'
25. Éventuel (à suffixe relatif) du parfait [Relativized perfect eventual]	indét. *sarthu licén *qui fût (serait) entré 'who would have entered' dét.	PFV.PTCP + eventual-(e)n	
26. Éventuel à suffixe -te du parfait [-te suffixed perfect eventual]	indét. *sarthu liçate *il fût entré s/he, it would have entered' dét.	PFV.PTCP + eventual-te	<i>sartu litzateke:</i> Irrealis apodosis (past) [1] 's/he, it would have entered'
27. 2 ^e suppositif du parfait [Perfect 2 nd suppositional]	indét. sarthu baliz s'il était entré 'If s/he, it had entered' dét.	PFV.PTCP + <i>ba</i> -prefixed eventual (2 nd suppositional)	Irrealis protasis (past) 'If s/he, it had entered'
28. Potentiel du 2 ^e suppositif du parfait [Potential of the perfect 2 nd suppositional]	indét. sarthu albaliz *s'il eût pu entrer 'if s/he, it could have entered/ had been able to enter' dét.	PFV.PTCP + <i>alba</i> - prefixed eventual (2 nd suppositional)	
29. Prétérit du futur périphrastique ordinaire [Preterite of the ordinary periphrastic future]	indét. *sarthuren cen *il était pour être entré; il serait entré; il entrerait 's/he it was about to have entered; would have entered, would enter'	prospective/FUT.PTCP + past	Future-in-the-past/ Irrealis, apodosis (past) 's/he, it was going to enter'/ 's/he would have entered'

	dét.		
30. Future périphrastique exprimant l'éventualité [Periphrastic future expressing eventuality]	indét. *sarthuren liçala *il entrerait 's/he, it would enter'	prospective/FUT.PTCP + eventual (2 nd suppositional)- <i>la</i>	
	dét.		
31. 2 ^e suppositif du futur périphrastique ordinaire [2 nd suppositional of the ordinary periphrastic future]	indét. *sarthuren baliz *s'il allait entrer 'if s/he it was going to enter'	prospective/ FUT.PTCP + <i>ba</i> - eventual (2 nd suppositional)	Irrealis protasis (future) 'If s/he, it entered (later)'
	dét.		
32. Impératif ordinaire [Ordinary imperative]	indét. dét. sar bedi qu'il entre! 'may s/he, it enter!'	radical + imperative/jussive	Imperative/jussive 'may s/he, it enter!'
	dét.		
33. Impératif à suffixe <i>-ke</i> ou <i>-te</i> [- <i>ke</i> or <i>-te</i> suffixed imperative / 'future imperative']	indét. dét. *sar bedite * qu'il entre! (à un moment indéterminé dans l'avenir) 'may s/he enter!' (at an indeterminate moment in the future'	radical + imperative/jussive- <i>ke/-te</i>	

Table notes

1. Lafon's paradigm designators and examples following the orthography of Etxepare and/or Leizarraga (1944, pp. 40–117, vol. 2) feature in the first and second columns of the table.
2. Categories are exemplified, following Lafon, with the 3SG.ABS reflexes of *izan* and **edin*. Where a category, although attested in the sixteenth century, does not include a 3SG.ABS reflex, the example and French elucidation constructed are marked with *.

3. Where a category-defining morpheme differs between sixteenth century and modern counterparts, this has been indicated in bold using modern orthography the fourth column; with monointransitive reflexes of **izan* and **edin*, the sixteenth century potential marker *-te* maps to *-teke* in Batua. Sixteenth century orthography e.g., in *sarthu*, *baliz* has been adjusted to the orthographic conventions of Batua (*sartu*, *balitz*) only in the fourth column.

4. Sixteenth century paradigms not extant in Batua are blocked in orange;
those where function and/or meaning has significantly shifted, in purple;
those where meaning incompletely corresponds between the two eras, in green.

TABLE 8: SIXTEENTH CENTURY <i>DÉTERMINÉ</i> (ENDPOINT-ENCODING) PARADIGMS ABSENT FROM BATUA		
Lafon's categorisation	Illustration of C16 <i>indéterminé</i> (non-endpoint-encoding) and <i>déterminé</i> (endpoint-encoding) paradigms, with Lafon's elucidation (1944, pp. 40–117, vol. 2)	Composition
1st group (based on the present of the finite verb)		
1. Présent nu [Bare present]	dét. <i>*sar dadi</i> <i>*il entrera</i> 's/he, it enters'	radical + present
5. Potentiel du 1 ^{er} suppositif [Potential of the 1 st suppositional]	dét. <i>*sar albadadi</i> <i>*s'il peut entrer</i> 'if s/he, it can enter'	radical + <i>alba</i> -present
6. Présent à préfixe <i>bait-</i> [<i>bait-</i> prefixed present]	dét. <i>sar baitadi</i> <i>qu'il (qui) vient à entrer</i> 'that s/he, it enters (indicative)	radical + <i>bait</i> -present
2nd group (based on the non-present of the finite verb)		
13. Forme nue exprimant l'éventualité [Bare form expressing eventuality]	dét. <i>*sar ledi</i> <i>*il entrerait</i> 's/he, it would enter'	radical + bare eventual
18. Éventuel à préfixe <i>alba-</i> (potential du 2 ^e suppositif) [<i>alba-</i> prefixed eventual (potential of the 2 nd suppositional)]	dét. <i>*sar albaledi</i> <i>s'il pouvait entrer</i> 'if s/he, it could have entered'	radical + <i>alba-</i> radical + <i>alba-</i> prefixed eventual (potential of the 2 nd suppositional)
19. Éventuel à préfixe <i>bait-</i> [<i>bait-</i> prefixed eventual]	dét. <i>*sar bailedi</i> <i>*qu'il vînt à entrer</i> 'that s/he, it should have entered'	radical + <i>bait-</i> prefixed eventual (potential of the 2 nd suppositional)
20. Prescriptif [Prescriptive]	dét. <i>sar albailedi / albeiledi</i> <i>qu'il entre!</i> 'would that s/he, it entered'	radical + <i>albait-/albeit-</i> prefixed eventual (potential of the 2 nd suppositional)
21. Votif [Votive]	dét. <i>ailedi sar</i> <i>plût à Dieu qu'il entrât</i> 'would that s/he, it entered'	radical + <i>ai-</i> prefixed eventual (potential of the 2 nd suppositional)

33. Impératif à suffixe <i>-ke</i> ou <i>-te</i> [- <i>ke</i> or <i>-te</i> suffixed imperative / 'future imperative']	dét. * <i>sar bedite</i> * qu'il entre! (à un moment indéterminé dans l'avenir) 'may s/he enter!' (at an indeterminate moment in the future')	radical + imperative/jussive- <i>ke/-te</i>
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TABLE 9: SIXTEENTH CENTURY INDÉTERMINÉ (NON-ENDPOINT ENCODING) PARADIGMS ABSENT FROM BATUA

Lafon's categorisation	Illustration of C16 <i>indéterminé</i> (non-endpoint-encoding) and <i>déterminé</i> (endpoint-encoding) paradigms, with Lafon's elucidation (1944, pp. 40–117, vol. 2)	Composition
2nd group (based on the past of the finite verb)		
15. Forme relative de l'éventuel [Relativized eventual]	indét. <i>sartzen licén</i> qui entrât (présentement, de fait) 'who entered (now, in fact)'	IPFV.PTCP + relativized eventual
16. Éventuel à suffixe <i>-la</i> [- <i>la</i> suffixed eventual]	indét. * <i>sartzen liçala</i> *étant éventuellement entré 'possibly having entered'	IPFV.PTCP + <i>-la</i> suffixed eventual
25. Éventuel (à suffixe relative) du parfait [Relativized perfect eventual]	indét. * <i>sartu licén</i> *qui fût (serait) entré 'who would have entered'	PFV.PTCP + eventual-(<i>e</i>) <i>n</i>
28. Potentiel du 2 ^e suppositif du parfait [Potential of the perfect 2 nd suppositional]	indét. <i>sarthu albaliz</i> *s'il eût pu entrer 'if s/he, it could have entered/ had been able to enter'	PFV.PTCP + <i>alba-</i> prefixed eventual (2 nd suppositional)
30. Future périphrastique exprimant l'éventualité [Periphrastic future expressing eventuality]	indét. * <i>sarthuren liçala</i> *il entrerait 's/he, it would enter'	prospective/FUT.PTCP + eventual (2 nd suppositional)- <i>la</i>

PART 3

PARADIGMS LOST

Sixteenth century Basque manifested a greater number of paradigm types than those in use in Batua. To illustrate comprehensively those represented in the sixteenth century texts examined, showing their relationship to those of Batua, monotransitive periphrastic V+AUX groups are presented, auxiliary reflexes being synthetic in their own right. Paradigm classification and nomenclature follows that of Lafon (1944, pp. 40-117, vol. 2), based on the traditionally more extensively investigated texts (see Chapter Three), also covering the paradigm types of those texts examined in Chapter Four. Reflexes sharing defining morphological features from the two aspectually contrasting auxiliary sets are, following Lafon, presented adjacently within each paradigm type insofar as attestation admits, contrasting with the modally-based separation into indicative and subjunctive context paradigms as befits the modern language. Table 7 indicates which paradigms have been lost, undergone significant semantic shift or with semantic scope incompletely correlating with that in Batua.

Fourteen of the sixteenth century paradigms have not persisted in Batua (see Tables 8 and 9). Of these, nine are endpoint-encoding (see Table 8), including those with bare reflexes (1, 13), precluded from the subjunctive context reflexes of modern language with the exception of the imperative. One of the paradigms not persisting in the modern language, **sar dadi* (1) stands apart, the only endpoint-encoding bare reflex with a non-endpoint-encoding counterpart, *sartzen da*. The other endpoint-encoding paradigms lost since the sixteenth century include three morphologically cognate present ~ non-present counterparts: with a bare auxiliary (1, 13), *alba-* (5, 18) and *bai(t)-* (6, 19), additionally the prescriptive (20), votive (21) and the future imperative (33).

Already by the sixteenth century, a transition to modal use was discernible among endpoint-encoding paradigms: the two imperatives (32 and 33), those where Lafon's translation includes *pouvoir* 'be able' (5, 18, 22), the prescriptive with *albait-* ~ *albeit-* (20), the votive with *ai-* (21), the *alba-*-prefixed eventual (18), the bare eventual (13) and *bait-*-prefixed

eventual (19). According to Lafon (1944, p. 54, vol. 2), as mood supplanted aspect, the expression of aspectual nuance transferred from the finite verb to lexical means, e.g. a sixteenth century nuance ‘if it should come about’ of *badadi* (although persisting today as in the sense of 4) in Leizarraga, Matthew Ch.V v.13, *eta baldin gatza gueçat badadi, cerçaz gacituren da?* ‘If salt should come to lose its taste, with what will it be made salty?’ was later rendered by a non-endpoint-encoding auxiliary in a V+AUX group (17) with *heldu* ‘arrive’ plus the allative in Duvoisin’s 1859 Lapurdian translation in Matthew Ch.V v.13 *baldin gezatzera heldu balitz gatza, zertaz hura gazi?*

All nine present-tense based sixteenth century non-endpoint-encoding paradigms persist in Batua, although (7, 10, 11) have undergone a degree of semantic shift to the epistemic indicative. Of the fourteen non-present based paradigms, nine persist in Batua: those with the past indicative *zen*, the irrealis protasis *balitz* and apodosis *litzakete*. The five sixteenth century forms which have not persisted are all *l*-initial forms, in Batua obligatorily accompanied by one or other of the mutually exclusive *ba-* or *-te(ke)*. In the sixteenth century, by contrast, *l*- forms combined with *-(e)n*, *-la*, *ai-* or *alba-*.

Just over two thirds, twenty-three of Lafon’s 33 paradigm types lack representation by one or other of the two aspectually contrasting auxiliary groups. Only the non-endpoint encoding paradigms with an imperfective participle are partnered by an endpoint-encoding counterpart (ten pairs), with the exception of **sartzen liçala* (16), which lacks a counterpart. More non-endpoint- than endpoint-encoding paradigms are unpartnered:

14 non-endpoint-encoding, lacking an endpoint-encoding partner: 8 - *sarthu da*, 9 - *sarthuren/sarthuko da*, 10 - *sarthu date*, 11 - *sarthuren date*, 16 - **sartzen liçala*, 23 - *sarthu zen*, 24 - *sarthu çaten*, 25 - **sarthu licén*, 26 - **sarthu liçate*, 27 - *sarthu baliz*, 28 - *sarthu albaliz*, 29 - **sarthuren cen*, 30 - **sarthuren liçala*, 31- **sarthuren baliz*; nine endpoint-encoding, lacking a non-endpoint encoding partner: 5 - **sar albadadi*, 13 - **sar ledi*, 18 - **sar albaledi*, 19 - **sar bailedi*, 20 - *sar albaledi /albeiledi*, 21 - *ailedi sar*, 22 - *sar çaiten*, 32 - *sar bedi*, 33 - **sar bedite*. Hence, endpoint-encoding paradigms were fewer by the time of the sixteenth century attestations. As further texts come to light and are investigated, light might be shed on whether counterparts to any of the unpartnered paradigms existed elsewhere, or earlier.

APPENDIX H

TABLE 10: SOURCE VERBS AND THEIR RA- CAUSATIVES APPEARING IN SIXTEENTH CENTURY TEXTS			
Source verb		Causative	
<i>ebili/ibili</i>	'walk, move around'	<i>erabili</i>	'move, shake'
<i>*edun</i>	'have.AUX; have, possess'	<i>*eradun</i>	'have.AUX (tripersonal); give'
		<i>*eradutsi</i>	'make to be/do'
<i>ek(h)usi/ik(h)usi</i>	'see'	<i>erakutsi</i>	'show'
<i>enzun</i>	'hear'	<i>eranzun</i>	'reply'
<i>etzan</i>	'lie'	<i>eratzan</i>	'cradle, lay, cause to recline'
<i>jauzi</i>	'jump'	<i>eraunzi, eronzi</i>	'take off (clothes)'
<i>iautsi, iaitsi</i>	'descend'	<i>erautsi ~ eraitsi</i>	'take down, pour'
<i>ek(h)arri</i>	'bring'	<i>erek(h)arri</i>	'bring/lead back, reduce, summon, require'
<i>ioan</i>	'go'	<i>eroan</i>	'lead, take away, carry, pass time'
		<i>eraman</i>	also an aspectual auxiliary

(Adapted from *table des matières*, Lafon, 1944 with supplementation)

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