



HAL
open science

A New look at Northern Basque Wh-Free Relative Clauses

Georges Rebuschi

► **To cite this version:**

Georges Rebuschi. A New look at Northern Basque Wh-Free Relative Clauses. Beatriz Fernandez & Itziar Laka, 2006. artxibo-00000054

HAL Id: artxibo-00000054

<https://artxiker.ccsd.cnrs.fr/artxibo-00000054>

Submitted on 9 Jan 2006

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

A New look at Northern Basque *Wh*-Free Relative Clauses*

Georges Rebuschi

Sorbonne Nouvelle & UMR 7107 (CNRS)

Abstract

Ordinary *Wh*-Free Relative clauses are typically correlative protases, resumed by a pronoun in the apodosis to their right. They sit in the spec. of a Topic head in the left periphery or CP domain of the complex sentence. Their internal structure is shown not to be always the same: when they contain a single *wh*- word, that item occupies another Spec,TopP position, but when there are two of them, they sit in the Spec. of two contiguous QuantifierPs. A lesser known structure is next described, in which a non-topical *Wh*-FR occurs within an “exotic” phrase which consists of that clause, the conjunction *eta* and a demonstrative pronoun: those structures are shown not to be the “source” DP of complex correlative sentences, but rather to be CPs with a predicate gap. Thus, Northern Basque standard correlative FRs are always base-generated, whereas the second type suggests a situation which is the mirror image of Bhatt's (2003) derivation of Hindi correlatives.

0. Introduction

1.1. The problem

Bhatt (2003) recently argued that Hindi correlative clauses do not have the same derivation, according to whether they contain one, or more than one *wh*- item. More specifically, if the latter must be externally merged in the left periphery of the main clause, the former are first adjoined to their pronominal correlate in argumental or adjunct (adverbial) position within the matrix clause, and raise later towards the left periphery of that clause. The same type of question will be addressed here: (i) Do the *Wh*-Free Relatives of Northern Basque have the same structure, independently of the number of *wh*- items they contain? (ii) Given that the same dialects offer constructions in which a *wh*-FR can form a constituent with a demonstrative pronoun to their right, can a Raising analysis be applied here too — and if not, what is the structure and derivation of those constructions?

*Thanks to Battittu Coyos, Ricardo Etxepare, Anikó Lipták, and the audiences at the two workshops organized by the group “Structure de la phrase” of the Fédération “Typologie et universaux linguistiques” (CNRS, Paris, December 2004, November 2005) for their remarks and questions, and to Joana Casenave, and Marie Pourquié, for their judgments on the data.

0.2. Basic data

All Basque dialects have Free Relative Clauses (FRCs) which look like ordinary restrictive RCs as in (1a), except that no modified NP “head” is present or visible, as shown in (1b).

- (1) a. erori de.n gizon.a / liburu.a
 fallen is-C° man-SG book-SG¹
 ‘the man / book that has fallen (down)’
 b. erori de.n.a
 fallen is-C°-SG
 ‘he who / that which has fallen (down)’²

Ordinary FRCs like (1b) normally do not exhibit *wh*- elements: their standard GB analysis supposes they possess an phonetically empty relative operator, which either raises from an argumental or adjunct position to “Spec,CP”, or is base-generated in the left periphery (see Oyharçabal 1989 and Rebuschi 2000).³ We will leave them aside here.

The Eastern dialects (those spoken in Navarre/Nafarroa and in the Northern or French Basque Country) also display another type of FRC, always interpreted generically, never elliptically, in which there is an explicit *wh*-operator, and where the C° is, normally the prefix *bait-* in the Northern varieties, whereas the South-Eastern varieties typically rather use the suffix *-(e)n* as their C°.⁴ This second type of FRC also displays certain distributional

¹ The abbreviations will be as follows. ABL, ablative; DAT, dative; DEM, demonstrative; E, (would-be) ergative ending of transitive subjects; FR(C), free relative (clause); GEN, genitive; HN, human; INSTR, instrumental case; IMP, imperative; INT, interrogative; KJV, King James' Version (for the translations from the Bible); LOC, locative case; *Op*, empty relative operator; PL, plural; PRTT, partitive case; PROS, prospective (aspectual) suffix; QFR, quasi-free relative; SG, singular. Dots will be used to separate morphemes in the Basque words, and hyphens in the corresponding glosses, and the C° prefix *bait-* will always be separated from the inflected verb it attaches to by a hyphen, without regard to the original spelling, which has systematically been modernized everywhere.

² Example (1b) has another possible translation, ‘the (one) that has fallen (down)’, which is clearly elliptical, and may well have another syntactic structure, with a empty (modified) NP, as in (ii) below — if the representation in (i) is correct for the “generic” interpretation of real FRCs:

- (i) [DP [CP *Op* [C° TP-C°]]]
 (ii) [DP [NP [CP *Op* [C° TP-C°]]] [NP Ø]]

³ A few examples are however attested in which both a *wh*- item and a final Number/def suffix *-a* follows the [+WH] C° *-(e)n*. (i) illustrates the case, and (ii) and (iii) show that the same holds good of appositive clauses:

- (i) Oi! zer bakea eta zer deskantsua goza lezakeen [nork ere, burutik keska alfer guziak kendurik, salbamenduko eta Jainkoaren gauzak baizik gogoan erabiliko ez lituzke.en. **ak**, eta Jainkoaren baitan bere esperantza guzia luke.en. **ak**!]
 “O, what peace and tranquillity should he enjoy, (he) who, casting off all vain care, would think only of salvation and of divine things, and would put all his hope in God!” [Haristoy 1896: I,20]
 (ii) Hau dateke gauza bat [zeinetan nik ezagutzarik hartu nahi izatu eztukeda.n. **a**]... [Etxeberri [±1715]
 Lit. ‘This must be something [in/about which I have not wanted to take knowledge]’ (1907: 33)]
 (iii) Nurk dü güdüka azkarrago bat, [zoina bere büriaren goitzera iseiätzen de.n. **ak**]? [Inchauspé 1883: I,3]

⁴ But not always; cf. e.g. Lizarraga (±1800):

- (i) Nork ere **bait**-ditu ene manamenduak...: ori da onesten nauena ni (Jn 14,21)
 who-E ere C°-AUX my commandments that-one is love AUX-en-SG me
 ‘He that hath my commandments, ... he it is that loveth me.’ [KJV]

properties which set them apart from the common type (1b), so that any *Wh*-FR can be replaced by an ordinary FRC, whereas the opposite does not hold. Thus, it is possible to find paraphrases like the following translations of the same text by the same author. Here are, for instance, two versions of John 8,12 by L. Léon:⁵

- (2) Jarraikitzen zaita.n.a ez dabil ilhunbetan. [Léon 1929: I,1]
 follow AUX-C°-SG not walks darkness-LOC
 ‘*He who follows me*[DAT] *does not walk in darkness*’ [lit. ‘*the that follows...*’]
- (3) Nor ere jarraikitzen bait-zait, eta hura ez dabila ilhunbetan. [Léon 1946]
 who *ere* follow C°-AUX and DEM not walks darkness-LOC (*ditto*)⁶

There exist two more types of *Wh*-Free Relatives, the first one of which, which has up to now received much less attention than the preceding ones, is illustrated in (4) — I will dub this type Quasi-Free Relatives (QFRs). Note that the coordination, along with the duplication of the exceptive morpheme *baizen* (*baizik* today), guarantees that the sequence [[*nori ere ... , eta hark*] *baizen*] is indeed one constituent.⁷

- (4) Nihork ez daki nor den Aita [[Semeak *baizen*] eta [*nori ere*
 nobody-E not knows who is-C° father-SG [son-SG-E except] and who-D *ere*
Semeak agertu nahiko bait-dio, eta hark *baizen*].
 son-SG-E reveal will-want C°-AUX, and he/that-one-E except
 ‘... *and no man knoweth ... who the Father is, but the Son, and he to whom the*
Son will reveal him.’
 [Haraneder 1740 & KJV: Lk 10,22]

Finally, *Wh*-FRs of the third type do contain a syntactic antecedent, although it (apparently) makes no semantic contribution to the sentence, see (5); as (6) shows, an ordinary FRC is of course also possible as a paraphrase.⁸

⁵ I must emphasize that, unless explicitly stated, all the examples given here, even the earliest ones, have been judged grammatical by (at least) one of my two informants.

⁶ The reason why I do not translate such occurrences or *ere* by ‘ever’ is that indefinites of the *whoever* type are not too good with adverbial quantification (??*Whoever steals is often arrested*) whilst *ere* is compatible with such quantification, a fact that shows that there is no maximalization effect produced, cf. (14a) in the text.

⁷ Other translations are of course possible, in which an ordinary FRC is used (Léon 1946, *ibid.*) — but here, the simple article *-a* is replaced by a demonstrative:

(i) Nehork ez daki Aitaren berri, [[Semeak *baizik*], eta [Semeak argitu nahi due.n harek *baizik*]]
 Nobody-E not knows Father’s news son-E except and Son-E reveal wants AUX-*en* DEM-E except

⁸ (i) below is another translation of the excerpt cited in (4), which again illustrates this last type:

(i) Nihork ez daki ... nor den aita, *baizik ere* [[Semeak] eta
 [*hainak zeinari* Semeak nahi izan bait-dio ezagutarazi] [Duvoisin, 1865, *ibid.*]

- (5) Bihotzeko bakea handia du [*hainak, zeinak* ez bait-du
heart's peace big-SG has *haina*-E *who/which*-E not C°-has
antsiarik ez munduko laudoriez ez afrontuez].
care-PRTT not worldly praise-INSTR not blame-INSTR [Chourio 1720, 2.6.2]
'*He who cares neither for praise nor for blame possesses great peace of heart*'
- (6) [Ez laudorioez ez erautsiez antsiarik ez dauka *n.ak*],
not praise-INSTR not confrontation-INSTR care-PRTT not has--*en*-SG-E
harek gozaten du barneko deskantsu handia.
that-one enjoy AUX interior quietness big-SG [Haristoy 1896, *ibid.*]

0.3. Organization of the paper

The distributional differences between the first two types of FRCs (those in (2) and (3)) wrt. the main clause they are attached to will be dealt with in section 1. Section 2 will concentrate on the inner structure of the left periphery, or “CP domain”, of the *Wh*-FRs exemplified in (3) themselves, when they appear in their typical, topical, position in the left periphery of a “main clause”, and have come to be known as *correlative clauses* (i.e. the protases of *correlative sentences*). Section 3 will provide an intermediary summary, and sections 4 and 5 will be devoted to the types illustrated in (4) and (5) above and their hypothetical transformational relationship with the standard correlatives like the one in (3).

1. Left-peripheral (or correlative) *Wh*-FRs are Topics

As the comma in (3), as against its absence in (2), indicates, when *Wh*-FRs occupy their preferred position, in the left periphery of the complex sentence in which they appear, they are normally separated from the rest by a pause —possibly followed by what is otherwise the normal coordinating conjunction *eta* ‘and’.⁹ As discussed in detail in Rebuschi & Lipták (to app.), they may be preceded or followed by XPs that function as Topics in the complex clauses that contain them. Thus, in (7), another topical XP (*holakoetan*) precedes the FRC, whereas in (8), it is the topicalised pronominal correlaten *haina*, that follows it.

- (7) *Holakoetan* [bakotxak zer ere bait-du bere baitan], eta hartarik ari da.
in-such-PL each-SG-E what *ere bait* AUX him in and that-ABL acting is

⁹ But *eta* can also cliticize to the word that precedes it, in this context (Oyharçabal 2003), just as in other contexts (Rotaetxe 2004).

- 'In such cases, whatever [strength] anyone has in himself, (and) that is what he uses.'*
 [Hiriart-Urruty [1892-1912] (1972:49)]
- (8) Nik *derratzuet* ...[[[nork ere anaiari erranen bait-dio, [Duvoisin 1865:
 I I-tell-you who *ere* brother-SG-DAT say-PROS *bait*-AUX Mt 5, 22]
 'Raka'], haina biltzarraren mene.ko izanen de]-la].
 Raka the-such court-SG-GEN power-ko be-PROS AUX-C°
'I tell you that whoever says 'Raca' to his brother shall be liable to the Council.'

What clearly shows that the (today obsolete) pronoun *haina* in (8) is itself a topic is the fact that it is followed by a focused phrase, *biltzarraren meneko* — it is commonly assumed today that there may only be one focused XP per clause.

Moreover, in contradistinction to FRCs of type (1b) or (2), *Wh*-FRs just *cannot* be focalized. Thus, even when they bring the new information contained in the answer to a *wh*-question, they have to precede the correlative pronoun, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (9b), a tentative paraphrase of the second half of (9a).

- (9) a. Zer da ezen horrelako *Esku-liburua* girichtino Eskualdunarentzat?
 what is then such *E.-I.* Christian Basque-SG-for
'What is then such an E-I. for a Christian Basque?' [Arbelbide 1892]
 Zer ere bait-da Apezarentzat *Brebiarioa*, eta gauza berbera [da].
 what *ere bait*-is priest-SG-for breviary-SG and thing same-same-SG is
'It's exactly what a breviary is for a [Roman Catholic] priest.'
- b. *[_{FocXP} Zer ere baita Apezarentzat Brebiarioa] da.

Needless to say, semantically or pragmatically stronger foci (either of the *even* type, or corrective ones) are just as bad as (9b).¹⁰ This resistance to sitting in Focus position, which markedly distinguishes *Wh*-FRs from ordinary ones, can be related to the (optional) presence of *eta*, as in (4), (6) or (8) above, which, as argued in Rebuschi & Lipták (to app.), should be interpreted as the possible lexicalisation of a specific Top° head in a decomposed CP domain à la Rizzi (1997). According to the latter, then, a variety of functional heads (and their projections) replace the now traditional C°, with Force° at the top, a possibly iterated Top[ic]°, and a Focus°.

Example (8) also shows that the whole complex (correlative) sentence can be subordinate (cf. the C° affix *-la* at the very end of the sentence). If comparative (proportional) correlatives

¹⁰ (11) below in the text illustrates the 'even' type of focalization: it is the correlative pronoun in the main clause, *haina*, that carries the clitic *ere* 'also, even', the *Wh*-FR being to their left.

can be likened to ordinary complex correlative sentences, (10) is a good instance of a complex *Wh*-FR+main clause sentence embedded in a relative— an example that corroborates the identification of the left-peripheral *Wh*-FRs as specifiers of TopicPs (given that relative *wh*-items sit in the Spec,Force position).

- (10) Ene egunak iragan dire itzalen gisa [zeinak [zenbatenaz
 my days passed are shadows-GEN like which-PL by-how-much
 beheratzen.ago bait-da iguzkia] hanbatenaz bait-dire handiagoak].
 declining-more *bait* is the-sun by-that-much *bait* they-are bigger
My days have passed like shadows which, the more the sun declines,
*the longer they grow.*¹¹ [Gasteluçar (1686)]

Furthermore, the possibility for Topics to iterate, well-established by Rizzi for Italian, and checked in Basque with (7) and (8) above, makes the prediction that correlative protases should be iterable — and they are, as (11) and (12) show.¹²

- (11) Nork ere erraiten bait-du hura baitan dagoela, [Liçarrague 1571: 1-Jn 2,6]
 who *ere* saying C°-AUX him in that-(he-)stays,
 behar du, nola hura ebili bait-da, hala hainak ere ebili.
 must how he walked C°-AUX thus the-such also walk
‘He that sayeth he abideth in him ought himself also so to walk, even as he
walked.’
 [KJV]
- (12) [Nork ere bere herritarretarik edozeini gaizki egin bait-dioke],
 who *ere* his neighbours-ABL anyone-to evil done *bait*-AUX, [Duvoisin 1865:
 [[nola berak egin du.en], hala egina izanen zaio]]. Lev 24,19]
 how he-himself done AUX-*en* thus done-SG be-pros AUX
‘And if a man cause a blemish in his neighbour: as he has done, so shall it be done
to him.’ [KJV]

The status and position of left-peripheral *Wh*-FRs as Topic are therefore well established.

¹¹ The first occurrence of the prefix *bait-* is the one typical of *Wh*-FCRs, whereas the second is due to the fact that the “main clause” is itself a relative clause.

¹² In (11), we have two *wh*- elements, *nor(k)* and *nola*, and two correlative pronouns, *hala* and *haina(k)*. In (12), the pronominal correlate is silent (a “little” *pro* can be identified by the dative marker *-o* in the final auxiliary), but the adverbial one is explicit (*hala* again). Note also that the second C° is the more typically “South-Eastern” suffix *-en*, rather than the expected prefix *bait-* as in (11).

2. On the internal structure of Wh-FRs

2.1. FRCs which contain only one *wh*- word

The *wh*- items Wh-FRs contain, in spite of their name, are not relative pronouns: whenever a difference can be made, they belong under the interrogative paradigm, as the following examples show, where the interrogative *nor* ‘who’ is out in normal relative clauses.¹³

- (13) a *Nor* ikusi duzu? (unmarked, [+hn] interrogative)
 who-ABS[+HN, +INT] seen you-have?
 ‘*Who(m) have you seen?*’
- b **gizona*, [*nor* ikusi bait-dut] (interrogative pro. used as a relative one)
 man-SG wh-[+HN,+INT] seen C°-AUX
- c *gizona*, [*zeina* ikusi bait-dut] (relative pronoun, with SG suffix *-a*)
 man-SG wh-SG[+REL] seen *bait*-AUX
 ‘*the man(,) whom I have seen*’

Moreover, the *wh*-expressions used in correlative FRCs do not occupy the initial (Spec, ForceP) position relative words and phrases do, as is shown by the fact that they can be preceded by topics:

- (14) [*Bertutean nor ere bait-da barnago sartzen*] [Léon 1929, II,12]
 in-virtue who *ere bait*-is deeper enter
 hak berak maiz kurutze dorpeagoak ditu kausitzen.
 he-ERG himself-ERG often cross heavier-PL AUX find
 ‘*The more spiritual progress a person makes in virtue, so much heavier will he himself frequently find [his] crosses.*’
- (15) [*Jainkoaren hitza nork ere entzuten bait-du eta obratzen*],
 God's word who *ere* hear *bait*-AUX and work

¹³ There are only very few texts in which *nor* is attested as a relative pronoun, but the corresponding sentences are unanimously rejected today. Here are two examples, from two distinct subvarieties of South-Eastern Basque (respectively Iparraldeko Goi-Nafarroera (more specifically, Baztanese), and Hegoaldeko Goi-Nafarroera).

- (i) delfin tipi bat, **nori** egun guzietan erematen bait-zioten yatera
 dolphin small one, *nor*+DAT day all-LOC bringing *bait*-AUX to-eat
 ‘a small dolphin they brought food to every day’ [Familia..., 18th c., (1995, p. 775)]
- (ii) Izan zaizten zuren Aita zerukoin hume imitatzaleak, **nork** ager aranzten du.en bere iduzkia onen eta gaistoen gañerat
 [San Mateoren Ebanjelioa, Anon., 1820: Mat 5,45]
 ‘So that you may be the children of your Father in heaven, **who** makes his sun rise upon the good and the bad.’

hura da ene ama eta ene aneia [Léon 1946: Lk 8,21]
 that-one is my mother and my brethren.
'Mater mea et fratres mei hi sunt, qui verbum Dei audiunt et faciunt.' [Latin
 original] / *'My mother and my brethren are these which hear the word of
 God, and do it.'* [KJV]

In fact, when there is only one *Wh*-P, the internal structure of FRCs reflects their position in the left periphery of the complex sentence they belong to, because they must also precede any focused phrase, as shown in (16) — but can also be *followed* by other topics, as in (17).¹⁴

- (16) Erraiten dautzuet nork ere *ENE IZENAREN GATIK* utzi bait-du edo etxe, edo
 telling AUX who *ere* my name's becaus left *bait*-AUX or house or
 haurride, harek batentzat ehun bilduko dituela... [Léon 1946, Mt 19,29]
 brother that-one one-for hundred gather-PROS AUX+C°
*'And every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren [...] for my name's sake,
 shall receive an hundredfold'* [KJV, *id.*]
- (17) Eztu halaber bertuterik aski [nork ere [TOP inkontru gaitzik heldu zaionean]
 not-has likewise virtue-PRTT much who *ere* event evil-PRT come AUX-*n*-LOC
 [FOC esperantza guzia] galtzen bait-du [Pouvreau 1666, 3,7,3]
 hope all losz C°-AUX
'Nor is he very wise, (he) who, in times of adversity, loses all hope.'

It thus appears that there is an interesting correspondence between the inner left-peripheral structure of simple correlative *Wh*-FRs and the left periphery of their host clause, highlighted by the frequent association of *ere* in the former, and of *eta* in the latter — see Rebuschi & Lipták (to app.) for details on that subject.

2.2. *Wh*-FRs which contain two *wh*- words

As the following paraphrases indicate, when two *Wh*-Ps follow each other, the first one is, as could be expected, interpreted as a universal quantifier (the second version is a revision, in typically Central-Western “unified Basque” of the first one, which was probably found too marked dialectally)¹⁵

¹⁴ In (17), the *Wh*-FR is not in the left periphery of the main clause, but this does not make any difference to my informants, who have judged it as grammatical by my informants as the variant in (i):

(i) [Nork ere [TOP inkontru gaitzik heldu zaionean] [FOC esperantza guzia] galtzen bait-du]
 ez du halaber bertuterik aski. (same meaning as (17))

¹⁵ The fact that the first clause is elliptical (it contains no inflected verb and no C°) is irrelevant.

- (18) a. Nork zer erein, hura du bilduko. [EAB-I: Gal 6,7]
 who-E what sow that AUX gather-PROS
 ‘*Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.*’ [KJV]
- b. Bakoitzak zer erein, huraxe bilduko du. [EAB-II, *id.*]
 each-E what sow that-itself gather-PROS AUX

The situation has been stable over centuries, as the different versions of the same passage from Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation* illustrate with interrogative *wh-* words:

- (19) Badakit nor nola dabila.n [Pouvreau 1669: III,24]
 I-know who how walks-C°¹⁶
 ‘*I know how people are.*’, lit. ‘[...] *who is how.*’
- (20) Badakit bat-bedera zer de.n [Chourio 1720, *id.*]
 I-know each-one what is-C°
- (21) Badakit bakotxa zertan d.en [Haristoy 1896, *id.*]
 I-know each-one what LOC is-C°

The first *wh-*word being interpreted as a distributive quantifier, the second one must represent the “share” domain (Beghelli & Stowell 1997), whence a duplication of the Quantifier position, which must in any case be distinguished from that of focused phrases (*contra* Rizzi (1997)), as illustrated by the acceptability of (22) below.

- (22) Nork nori ere HORRELAKORIK eginen bait-dio, eta...
 Who-E who-D *ere* such-PART do-PROS *bait-*AUX, and
 ‘*Whoever will say SUCH (THING)S to anybody, s/he/they...*’

Three more facts must be noted. First, in such cases, topics may neither intervene between the two *wh-*words, nor between the second one and the inflected verb (I have found no such examples in the corpus, and my informants have rejected such sentences) — compare (17) above, which contains only one *wh-* word. Second, in the Northern dialects at least, if three interrogative *wh-*words can be used in questions, FRCs are limited to two, a curious fact that definitely requires some further research.¹⁷ Third, the linear position of *ere* seems to have evolved in the last century. In earlier texts this word could be found in a fairly “high” position

¹⁶ In all dialects, the C° affix is *-(e)n* for embedded questions.

¹⁷ Ricardo Etxepare (p. c.) informs me that there is no such restriction in the Southern varieties of Eastern Basque.

in the left periphery, since an adnominal *wh*-word could be separated from the N(P) it modified, as in the 18th c. translation of Mat 7,2in (23); note that the second translation, from the mid-19th c., in (24), displays both options, first with *ere* after the XP *zer molde*, and second with *ere* tucked in, as in (23).

- (23) [Zer ere jujamenduz] juiatuko bait-ditutzueke bertzeak,
 what *ere* judgment-INST judge-PROS *bait*-AUX the-others
 juiamendu beraz izanen zarete zuek ere juiatuak
 judgment same-INST be-PROS AUX you-PL too judged
 eta [zer ere neurri] egin bait-diokezue bertzei,
 and what *ere* measure make *bait*-AUX other-PL-D
 eta neurri bera eginen zaitzue zuei ere. [Haraneder 1740: Mt 7,2]
 and measure same make-PROS AUX to-you-PL too
 ‘For with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged: and with what measure ye
 mete, it shall be measured to you again.’ [KJV]
- (24) Ezen [zer moldez ere] bertzez uste izanen baituzue,
 thus what means-INST *ere* others-INST opinion have-PROS *bait*-AUX
 molde beraz zuetaz ere uste izanen dute; [Harriet 1855, *ibid.*]
 means same-INST you-PL-INST *ere* opinion have-PROS AUX
 eta [zer ere neurriz] neurtuko baitiokezuete bertzei,
 and what *ere* means-INST measure-PROS *bait*-AUX others-DAT
 neurri beraz neurtuko zaitzue zuei ere.
 measure same-INST measure-PROS AUX you-PL-DAT too (ditto)

The second case is illustrated in the next examples: (25a) is ungrammatical (today), because *ere* follows the first *wh*- word, but (25b) is good, where it follows the second one.

- (25) a *Nork ere zertan huts egiten bait-du,
 who-E *ere* what-in mistake make *bait* AUX
 eta hark hartan ordaindu beharko du.
 and that-one-E that-in pay-back must-PROS AUX
- b Nork zertan ere huts egiten bait-du ...
 who what-in *ere* mistake making *bait* AUX
 ‘In what anyone makes a mistake, in that (domain) he will have to pay.’

3. Taking stock

The facts described above lead us to the following conclusions.

(i) All left-peripheral *Wh*-FRs occupy a Topic position in the CP domain of the main clause an argument of which they bind (i.e. in the CP domain of the apodosis which contains a pronominal correlate), and the Top head may be phonetically spelled out as *eta* – whereas ordinary FRCs like the one in (2), which can also be topicalised and echoed by a resumptive pronoun, can *never* be followed by that morpheme.

(ii) As far as their internal structure is concerned, the occurrence of *ere* today is strictly limited to the right edge of the last or only phrase which either consists in, of contains, a *wh*-word.

(iii) However, the internal structures of these two types of *Wh*-FRs differ slightly: if there is only one *wh*- element, the *Wh*-P is also a Topic, but if there are two of them, they occupy a distinct, lower position — a duplicated Quantifier position, with the first *Wh*-P interpreted as a universal quantifier, and the second one as the item that denotes the domain the former distributes over.

These results are also directly relevant from two viewpoints.

(iv) Semantically, the two types should not behave the same way. I have argued elsewhere that correlative FRCs with a single *Wh*-P ought to be interpreted as properties which bind a property variable in the translation of the pronominal correlate; such an approach, which goes against the standard “maximalization” analysis proposed e.g. in Grosu & Landman (1998) is corroborated in particular by the fact that the obsolete pronomoun *haina* (see (8) or (11)) has been analyzed as a universal quantifier (Rebuschi 1998 2001), the correlative protasis thus providing the restriction of the quantifier, and the apodosis its scope. Now it is a fact that *haina* was, as far as I know, never used when there were two *wh*- items in a correlative FRC. This falls out as a prediction from the fact that whenever there are two *Wh*-items, the first one is interpreted as a universal quantifier; now if both that *Wh*-P and *haina* have this translation, Full Interpretation will be violated, both items vying to bind the same variable(s).

Besides, the notion of a correlative-protasis-as-a-property does not make much sense when it contains two *wh*-words. But once both the syntax and the semantics are dealt with in a distinct manner, this problem no longer arises: only those *Wh*-FRs which contain one *wh*-element are to be so interpreted: when there are two, the first one will bind the pronoun in the main clause as a variable, and skolemization will allow to interpret the second one as a function of the former.

(v) Syntactically, this distinction corroborates the theoretical stance Bhatt (2003) adopts concerning the derivation of correlative sentences. Logically, he acknowledges that no raising analysis is possible when a correlative clause contains two *wh*- elements (and two pronominal

correlates). This is so because if the correlative clause raises from one position, associated with one specific pronoun, then it will not be able to raise from the other — and, of course, ATB considerations are clearly irrelevant here. But that, of course, does not preclude that in the other case, the correlative clause might first attach to the pronominal correlate, and be extracted later on. Bhatt therefore suggests a principle according to which Merge should take place as early as possible: at the pronoun/DP level if there is only one *wh*- word in the correlative clause, at the sentential level if there are more than one.

In the next sections, the other types of *Wh*-FRs mentioned in the Introduction will be analyzed, and their possible derivational relationship with the correlative ones will be discussed.

4. *Haina+Wh*- FRCs

Let us start with the type that was illustrated in (5), repeated here, where a *wh*- relative clause is right adjoined to a pronoun.

- (5) Bihotzeko bakea handia du [*hainak, zeinak* ez bait.du
heart's peace big-SG has *haina*-E *who/which*-E not C°-has
antsiarik ez munduko laudoriez ez afrontuez].
care-PRTT not worldly praise-INSTR not blame-INSTR
'He who cares neither for praise nor for blame possesses great peace of heart.'

These FRCs are interesting because they have unexpected properties: they may neither be topicalized, nor focalized. Thus, if their “content” must be focused, it is the pronoun that will raise to the left of the inflected copula, as in (26a,b), where a finer notation would insert a trace left-adjacent to the relative pronouns *zeinen*, *zeinek*.

- (26) a. Bide bazterrekoak, *hainak* dire *zeinen* baitan eraiten bait-da hitza
path those-at-the-side-of *h.* are which in sown C°-is word-SG
*'The ones that fell along the path are those in which the word
has been sown.'* [Duvoisin 1865: Mk 4,15]
- b. Elhorrietan ereiten zaroe.n.ak, *hainak* dira *zeinek* entzuten bait-dute hitza
thorns-in sow AUX-en-PL *h.*-PL are which-PL hear C°-AUX word-SG
'The ones sown among thorns are those which hear the word.'
[Harriet 1855: Mk 4,18]

These FRCs are not much used any longer, because of the stylistic reluctance to building relative clauses with an explicit *wh*- word. But if the question is asked whether they (or their underlying structure) could somehow be taken as a possible source for the correlative *Wh*-FRs proper, the answer is obviously negative. First, all the authors who used *haina* in other circumstances *only* used that pronoun, rather than the unmarked demonstrative *hura*, in these constructions: more specifically, with a correlative *Wh*-FR, both *haina* and *hura* were possible pronominal correlates to the right of the correlative clause. Second, the relative clause that specifies or restricts the content of *haina* cannot have the interrogative *nor* or its *wh*- item (recall (13b)). Finally, these *Haina+Wh*-FRCs are very often found in the plural, as in the examples above, whereas the usual way of building correlative FRCs consists in having both the verb inside it, and the pronominal correlate, in the singular.¹⁸

Whatever the exact internal structure of a sequence like [*hainak, zeinak ez baitu antsi-arik...*] in (5a) is, we must therefore conclude that they have no direct syntactic relationship with correlative clauses.

5. Quasi-Free Relatives (or [*Wh*-FR ((*eta*) Demonstrative)] constructions

5.1. More facts

Let us now return to example (4), the interesting part of which is repeated here as (27):

- (27) [[[Semeak] baizen] eta [[*nori ere Semeak agertu nahiko bait-dio,*
son-SG-E except and who-D *ere* son-SG-E reveal will-want C°-AUX
eta hark] baizen]]
and he/that-one-E except
'...but the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal him.'
Lit. 'and [[who(ever) the Son will want to reveal to him and he] except].'

As was mentioned, since the coordination of two constituents is marked by the iteration of the exceptive morphemes *baizik/baizen*, and given the presence of the conjunction *eta* 'and', such an example shows that the whole bracketed sequence is indeed one constituent.

¹⁸ This was not altogether true in the 16th and 17th centuries. Here is one example:

(i) Ezen **nor ere** legeko obretarik bait-**dirade**, maledikzioenea azpian **dirade** [Liçarrague 1571: Gal 3,10]
indeed who *ere* law's works-ABL C° they-are curse-SG under they-are
'As many as are of the works of the law are under the curse' [KJV, *ibid.*]

A version of this structure also existed without *eta*, at least until the 17th c. in the coastal, Labourdin dialect, cf. (39) *infra*, and until the middle of the 18th c. in the Souletin dialect, cf. (28), which is also from the 17th c.:

- (28) [Orazioniak] eritarzünak sendotzen ditü, ez solamente *nork ere* othoitzia
 prayer-SG-E illness-PL cure AUX not only who-E *ere* prayer-SG
 egiten *bait-dü, harenac*, baina oraino *norgati* othoitzen [*bait*]dü, *harenac*.
 make C°-AUX theirs but also for-whom pray C°-AUX theirs
 ‘A prayer does not only cure the diseases of those who make them, but also of
 those for whom they pray.’ Lit.: ‘...not only who(ever) prays, **his**, but also who he
 prays for, **his**.’ [Tartas, 1672]

If we really want to check whether a transformational process regulates the relations between correlative *Wh*-FRs proper and other types of FRCs, it seems reasonable to also consider their shortest version, in which neither *eta* nor the demonstrative pronoun that follows it in (27) turns up. In other words, I shall henceforth consider all the bracketed sequences charted in (29), when they appear to the right of the finite verb, to belong to the same basic type of *Wh*-FRs, independently of (i) whether they occupy an argumental position, or are adjoined like any adverbial phrases.

- (29) a. [*Wh*- *ere bait*-V+I..., *eta hura*...] (where V+I represents the inflected verb)
 b. [*Wh*- *ere bait*-V+I..., Ø *hura*...]
 c. [*Wh*- *ere bait*-V+I...Ø Ø]

The intermediate structure (29b) was illustrated in (28). Examples of type (29c) were attested even earlier, as in (30), another translation of Lk10,22 (see (4)/(27):

- (30) [Semeak baizen] *eta* [*nori ere* Semeak *manifestatu nahi ukanen bait*-drauka].
 son-SG-E except and who-D *ere* son-SG-E reveal want AUX-PROSP C°-AUX
 ‘Save the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal it.’ [Liçarrague 1571, *ibid.*]

Such “short” *Wh*-FRs remain acceptable to one of my informants in non-coordinating contexts, providing there is no case-clash between the case required by the lower, embedded predicate, and the matrix verb — but the “long” variant (29a) is preferred.

5.2. Against Bhatt's (2003) analysis

At first sight, one might think that the *Wh*-FRs of (29) are simply base-generated in argumental position, and next raised towards a Spec, TopP position in the periphery of the matrix clause. But there are two main objections to this approach:

(i) We have no idea of the internal structure of (29a-c). If (29b) is basic, as could be assumed following Bhatt's analysis of Hindi correlatives, there is a clear violation of the generally accepted ban on adjunction to arguments. Moreover, why *eta* can show up at all, as in (29a), is not accounted for. As for (29c), it is even more difficult to accept the idea that a full phrase (a CP here) could be adjoined to a phonetically empty argument (a little *pro*).

(ii) A pause, and/or a high continuative tone at the end of a topicalized phrase, is a natural, if not quasi-universal, phenomenon, but a Raising à la Bhatt would, in the case of (29a,b), predict the pause or the other prosodic mark to *follow* the demonstrative *hura* (the last word of the raised constituent), rather than precede it— contrary to fact.

(iii) An alternative might consist in raising several parts of the sequences in (29) independently of each other. Thus, if (29b) is the input to the transformation, only the *Wh*-clause proper might raise, and the optional (although preferred) movement of the demonstrative towards the left periphery of the matrix clause would be independent. That is not in itself a bad consequence, but, here again, what can we do about *eta* in the case of (29a)? Must it raise alongside of the *Wh*-clause? But wouldn't that mean that, contrary to the prosodic data, *eta* is encliticized to that *Wh*-clause? And what non ad hoc feature would force it to raise to the head of a Rizian Top° position?

(iv) At the time of its use in the Labourdin dialect, there is, as far as I know, no example of the pronoun *haina* in sequences like (29a) or (b) when they appear to the right of a finite verb. This may of course be just a gap in the corpus, but if it is not, there would be no simple, non ad hoc, way of accounting for that fact.

(v) Last but not least, there are occurrences of a demonstrative correlate within a strong syntactic island, as in the following example, from Rebuschi & Lipták (to app. (55)).¹⁹

- (31) [Nork ere huts egiten bait-du]_i, ez dut ezagutzen
 who-E *ere* mistake do *bait* AUX NEG AUX know
 [[*hura*_i zigortuko du]en gizona].
 that-one punish-PROS AUX-*en* man-SG
 ‘[Whoever makes a mistake]_i, I do not know the man who will punish **him/them**_i.’

¹⁹ In that paper (§4.3), we also analyze antireconstruction effects based on the Binding Theory to argue against a Raising analysis of Basque correlative clauses.

that, given that *eta* is a simple word/morpheme, (33) looks like a classical X-bar projection. But this implies that *eta* is its head, D(em)P its structural complement, and CP its specifier; in other words, X and Y would be the projections of the head *eta*.

Although a priori astonishing, this point of view is not altogether absurd, at least if we take the compositionality approach to semantics seriously. Thus, D(em)P would correspond to an object of type *e*, and *eta* would take the D(em)P as its argument to yield a generalized quantifier $\langle\langle e, t \rangle, t \rangle$, the role of the contents of the CP remaining, just as in normal *Wh*-FRs, to bind a property variable in the translation of the (possibly silent) D(em) itself.

However, the morphological case of both conjuncts *Semea-k* and the following sequence [*nori ... eta hark*] in (27) is not accounted for. Simplifying the structure, a full sentence like (34) can be analyzed with two parallel gaps, bound by the predicate *hori dakite* ‘know that’ in initial position:

- (34) *hori dakite* [[*semeak*—] *eta* [*nori ere agertuko bait-dio, eta hark*—]]
 that they-know son-SG-E and who-D *ere* show-PROS C°-AUX *eta* he-E
 Lit. ‘*Know that, the son and he to whom he'll reveal it do.*’

It should thus be clear that once this predicate gap is taken into account, it is not two nominal expressions that are coordinated, but *clauses*: the bracketed part of (34) would thus consist of the coordination of two Rizgian TopPs, preceded by the predicate *hori dakite* that occupies the specifier position of a higher TopP. The binding of the gaps would then just be an ordinary ATB case, and the structure of the sequence [*nori ere agertuko bait-dio, eta hark*—] would simply be that of an standard correlative sentence, with *eta* as a Top head whose specifier is the *Wh*-FR, and *hark* sitting in the specifier of the FocP.²⁰ If ATB phenomena are analyzed as instances of movement, the predicate *hori dakite* would be Rizzi's Fin[iteness]P, cf. (32), raised from the right to the higher Spec,Top position; if a base-generation approach is preferred, we would just have a case of predicate ellipsis or reconstruction, just as in (35), a comparative construction in which where the gap corresponds to *lan egin*, ‘work’.

- (35) *Jonek jaten du* [[*Mirenek* —] *bezala*]
 Jon-E eat AUX Miren-E like/as
 ‘*Jon eats like Miren.*’

²⁰ The case of reduced “QFRs” as in (30b,c) would be dealt with alike, since it has been shown in section 2 that both *eta* and the pronominal correlate can be silent.

Semantically, we therefore obtain the same results as above: the conjoined clauses of (34) correspond to generalized quantifiers, since they are objects of type *t* with a missing $\langle e, t \rangle$, and their combination yields a proposition (in fact, two conjoined ones).

6. Conclusion

Although (necessarily) partly borrowing from former studies dealing with Eastern, and more specifically Northern, Basque *Wh*-FRs, this paper has provided (a) a fuller diachronic array of examples from the Northern literary tradition, (b) a new and distinct analysis of correlatives *Wh*-FRs, according to whether they contain one, or two, *wh*- words, (c) the demonstration that even those that contain only one such *wh*-word are base-generated in a Spec,TopP position (based on a split-CP analysis à la Rizzi (1997)), and (d) the demonstration that what looks at first sight like a very strange complex DP, of the form [*Wh*-FR - *eta* - Dem], is not the source of the correlative constructions, but is rather a clause with a predicate gap at its right edge: if anything raises from an underlying structure, that structure is that of an ordinary correlative *Wh*-FR, and what moves is the FinP that standardly follows or complements the FocusP in (32) above.

Checking whether this analysis carries over to cases when adverbial adjuncts are concerned (as in the following examples), must be left for future research.

- (36) Itzül bidi erhautsa beré lürrerat, *nontik* jalki *bait*-zen, *harat*...
 return AUX(IMP) dust-SG its soil-to where-from exit C°AUX there(-to)
 ‘Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was [= where it has come from]’
 [Tartas 1666 & KJV: Eccles 12,7]²¹
- (37) ... *eta* eternalak [...] egin izan zioen [*nola ere* mintzatzen *baitzen eta hala*]
 and the-Lord-E do AUX AUX how *ere* speak *bait*-AUX and thus
 ‘and the LORD did unto [her] as he had spoken. [d’Urte ±1710 & KJV: Gen 21,1]
- (38) Bada gisa berean eskualdunak ere kausitzen [di]tuenean Eskual-herrian
 thus way same-in Basque-SG-E too find AUX-en-LOC Basque Country-in
eztiren gauzak, [*non ere* kausituko *baitituke, eta han*],
 not-are things where *ere* find-PROS *bait*-AUX and there

²¹ This passage is all the more interesting as the author quotes the Latin text: *Revertatur pulvis in terram suam unde erat* before translating it: the reader will note that the correlative construction is not present in the source text, an interesting fact for all the Bascologists who (dis)regard Basque correlatives constructions as mere Latin calques (see also (15) above).

obligatua dateke hango izenen hartzera
 obliged-SG he-will-be there-GEN names- GEN to-take [Etxeberri [±1715], 1907: p.
 45]

'Thus, likewise, when a Basque finds things that are not in the Basque Country, he'll be forced to borrow the local name, wherever he finds them [lit. and there].'

- (39) (Munduko gauza guztiek kondenatzen dute alferra.)

world-SG's thing all-PL-E condemn AUX lazy-SG
 Zeren hartzaz bertze guztiek enplegatzen bait-dute
 because that-INSTR other all-PL-E employ *bait*-AUX
 bere denbora, *zertako* eginak *bait-dira*, *hartan*. [Axular 1643: § 21]²²
 their time, for-which done-PL *bait*-they-are that-LOC

'(Everything in the world condemns the lazy person.) For all other beings apart from him spend their time in the very (thing) for which they have been created.'

Lit.: *'...[they] spend their time, for what they are done, in that.'*

- (40) Egizu nitaz iduri zaitzuna, [[*zer ere bait-zaitzu on eta haren*] arabera].

do with-me seems aux-*n*-SG what *ere* C° AUX good and that-GEN according
'Do with me as you like, what seems good (best) to you' Lit. *'...what is good for you and according to that.'* [Léon 1929, 3.15.2]

References

(i) LINGUISTIC SOURCES

Beghelli, Filippo, & Stowell, Tim. 1997. "Distributivity and Negation". In A. Szabolcsi (ed.), *Ways of Scope Taking* (Dordrecht: Kluwer), 71-107.

Bhatt, Rajesh. 2003. 'Locality in Correlatives'. *NLLT* 21.3, 485-541.

Grosu, Alex, & Landman, F. 1998. 'Strange Relatives of the Third Kind'. *Natural Language Semantics* 6.2, 125-170.

Hualde, José Ignacio, & Jon Ortiz de Urbina (eds.). 2003. *A Grammar of Basque*. Berlin:

²² Thanks to Ricardo Etxepare for pointing out this ex. to me. Note that neither the original text nor Villasante's edition display a comma before *hartan*, but the punctuation in the 1943 text is terrible, as shown by the preceding clause, the one in brackets in (39):

(i) Munduko gauça guztiec *condenatcendu, te* [sic] alferra.

The only way to read the relevant part of (29) aloud today is with a heavy pause between *baitira* and *hartan*.

Interestingly, as early as at the beginning of the 18th century, the relevant sentence was paraphrased with *eta* inserted between the *Wh*-FR and the demonstrative correlate:

(i) Egia handi hau klarki erakusten darokute munduko gauza guztiek, zeinek enplegatzen bait-dute bere denbora [zertako *ere* eginak *baitira, eta hartan*]: guztiek baituzte bere enpleguak, zeinek bere graduan...

'This truth is illustrated by all the thing in the world, which spend their time doing that for which they have been created, each one at its level...' [Etxeberri ±1715 (1907, p. 102)]

Mouton de Gruyter.

- Oyharçabal, Beñat. 1989. 'Pro-drop and the Resumptive Pronoun Strategy in Basque'. In L. Marácz & P. Muysken (eds.), *Configurationality; The typology of asymmetries* (Dordrecht: Foris), 63-83.
- Oyharçabal, Beñat. 2003. 'Relatives'. In J.I. Hualde & J. Ortiz de Urbina (eds.), 763-822.
- Rebuschi, Georges. 1998. 'Nouvelles remarques sur *haina*'. *Lapurdum* 3, 53-75.
- Rebuschi, Georges. 2000. 'A propos d'une construction non-standard du basque'. *Lapurdum* 5, 237-282.
- Rebuschi, Georges. 2001. 'Note sur les phrases complexes à protase corrélatrice du basque'. *Lapurdum* 6, 261-289.
- Rebuschi, Georges & Lipták, Anikó. (to app.). "Basque Free Relatives and the Left Periphery of sentences". In H.-G. Obenauer (ed.), *The syntax of the left periphery* (provisional title).
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. 'The Fine Structure of the Left Periphery'. In L. Haegeman (ed.), *Elements of Grammar; Handbook of Generative Syntax* (Dordrecht: Kluwer), 281-337.
- Rotaetxe, Karmele. 2004. '(E)ta enklitikoak sailkapen eskalarrean' [=A scalar analysis of the enclitic (e)ta, in Basque]. *Fontes Lingvæ Vascomum* 95, 115-139.

(II) BASQUE WRITTEN DATA

- Arbelbide, Jean-Pierre. 1892. 'Baimena' in (anon./ Catholic Diocese of Bayonne), *Sakelako liburuchka edo Girstino guzientzat on den esku liburu ttipia*, (Bayonne: Lasserre), pp. II-III.
- Axular, Pedro de. 1643. *Gero*. Bordeaux: Milanges. Facsim.: Bilbao: Euskaltzaindia, 1988. Edition with modernized spelling and Spanish translation by L. Villasante, Barcelona: Juan Flors, 1964.
- Chourio, Michel. [1720] 1788. *Jesu-Christoren Imitacionea [...] Escararat itçulia*. New ed., Bayonne: Trebos, 1788; facsim. of the latter, San Sebastián: Hordago-Lur, 1979.
- Duvoisin, Jean (1859-65). *Bible edo Testament Zahar eta Berria [...]*. London. Facsim., Bilbao: Gran Enciclopedia Vasca, 1972.
- "EAB-I". 1983. *Elizen Arteko Biblia: Itun Berria*. S.l., Sociedades Bíblicas Unidas.
- "EAB-II". 1994. *Elizen Arteko Biblia*. Madrid: Sociedades Bíblicas Unidas & San Sebastián-Donostia: E.A.B. Elkarte.
- Etxeberri "Sarakoa", Joannes. [±1715]. *Obras vascongadas*, ed. by J. de Urquijo é Ibarra, Paris: Geuthner, 1907. Facsim., Biarritz: Atlantica, s.d.
- Familiaren instrukziorako dotrina*. Anonymous ms., 18th c. Ed in R.M. Pagola et al., *BOE, Iparraldeko Goinafarrera*, II, Bilbao: Deustuko Unibetsitatea, 1995 (687-988).
- Gasteluçar, Bernard [1686]. *Egia catolicac [...]*. Critical ed. by L. Akesolo, Bilbao: Euskaltzaindia, 1983.
- Haraneder, Joannes. [1740]. *Jesu Christoren Evangelio Saindua*. Ms., éd. par P. Altuna,

- Bilbao, Euskaltzaindia, 1990.
- Haristoy, Pierre. 1896. *Jesu-Kristoren Imitazionea*. Pau: Sylvain Dufau.
- Harriet, Maurice. 1855. *Iesu-Christo gure Iaunaren Testament Berria* [...]. Bayonne: E. Lasserre.
- Hiriart-Urruty, Jean. [1892-1912]. Collected newspaper articles published under the title *Zezenak errepublikan*, Oñate: Ed. Franciscana Aranzazu/Jakin, 1972.
- Inchauspé, Emmanuel Théodore. (1883). *Jesu-Kristen Imitacionia*. Bayonne: Imprimerie Veuve Lamaignère.
- Léon, Léon. 1929. *Jesu-Kristoren Imitazionea*. Turnhout (Belgium): Brepols.
- Léon, Léon. 1946. *Jesu-Kristo gure Jaunaren Ebanjelio Saindua*. Ustaritz: published by the author.
- Liçarrague, Jean. (Leizarraga, Johannes). 1571. *Jesus Christ Gure Iaunaren Testamentu Berria – Kalendera – ABC edo Christinoen Instructionea*. La Rochelle. Reprint facsim, Bilbao: Euskaltzaindia, 1990.
- Lizarraga, Joaquín. [±1800]. *Jesucristoren Evangelio Saindua Juanec dacarran guisara*. Pulished by L.-L. Bonaparte, London, 1868.
- Pouvreau, Silvain. [1669]. *Iesusen Imitacionea*. Edited by J.M. Satrústegi, San-Sebastián–Donostia: Hordago/Lur, 1979.
- San Mateoren Ebanjelioa / El Santo Evangelio [...] según San Mateo*. Anon. ms., ±1820, printed in M.A. Pagola et al. (eds.), *Bonaparte Ondareko Eskuizkribuak, Hegoaldeko Goi-nafarrera IV* (Bilbao: Deustuko Unibetsitatea, 1996), 1277-1341.
- Tartas, Iván de. [1666]. *Oña hilceco bidia*. Critical ed. by P. Altuna, Bilbao: Deustuko Unibertsitatea, 1995.
- Tartas, Iván de. 1672. *Arima penitentaren occupatione devotac*. Orthez: Jacques Rouyer.
Downloadable (without any pagination) at:
<http://klasikoak.armiarma.com/idazlanak/T/TartasArima.htm>
- d'Urte, Pierre. [±1710]. *Moisseren lehenbicico libúruä Ieneraçionea edo Etórqiä deitiüä*. Second printing, London: Trinitarian Bible Society, 1898.

Georges Rebuschi
 Université de Paris III, ILPGA
 19 rue des Bernardins
 F-75005 Paris (France)
 <rebuschi@ext.jussieu.fr>