Abstract

The term "location noun" is a convenient designation for the type of nouns represented by aurre and atze. These two items, together with their synonyms aitzin, gibel and oste, can be viewed as prototypes: their behavior is typical of location nouns, but need not be shared by the whole class. In part one, this behavior is analyzed in some detail from the point of view of a learner of Basque. In part two, roughly two dozen other location nouns are studied and occurring deviations from prototypical behavior pointed out. As a whole, the article is meant to portray the author's views as to what should be taught in this domain as part of a course in Euskara Batua, and how to teach it to a certain type of audience. It also demonstrates that location nouns can be taught early in the course, since nothing more than a knowledge of the nominal declension needs to be presupposed.

Introduction

Whereas the possibility that this article may be of some interest to the Basque grammarian need not be discounted altogether, the emphasis in the following pages is not on the discovery of new facts nor on the elaboration of novel analyses. Its aim, rather, is to provide a reasonably methodical exposition of a set of well-known facts, presented in a way suited to the needs of an English-speaking learner of the language. Hence, in however modest a fashion, the present essay would like to portray itself as a contribution to language teaching, focussing, to be sure, on concrete practice rather than on abstract theory.

I, for one, do not believe that in teaching a language there is one way demonstrably superior to all others. Clearly, the most effective method of teaching can only be worked out after the existing circumstances have been taken into account, and, above all, with respect to a particular audience. As we observe time and again, a method that succeeds quite well with one kind of audience will not work at all for a different type of learner.

What, then, is the audience that I have in mind for the approach to language teaching exemplified in this article? I am thinking of an audience consisting of linguistically fairly sophisticated speakers of English who not only aim to reach an adequate understanding of the structure of Basque, but might even wish to acquire a reading knowledge of it, provided that task is not made too difficult. While a certain ease in coping with grammatical abstractions of the traditional ilk can be properly expected
of such a readership, no acquaintanceship with modern grammatical theory developed by any particular school needs to be required.

The material to be taught here is composed of the repertory of location nouns in standard Basque together with the most elementary syntactic and semantic properties of each of the items included. As to the type of knowledge that this teaching may aim for, trying to impart an operational reading knowledge seems to be a sufficiently ambitious goal to start with.

Our term "location noun" refers to any member of a set of frequently occurring nouns involved in specifying a spatial relationship, such as the nouns back, bottom, front, rear, side, top in English. Their interest in Basque lies in the fact that they seem to be the only structural device sanctioned by the syntax of that language to express spatial relations. This contrasts sharply with the situation in English, where the role of spatial prepositions such as above, before, behind, between, on, over, under etc. is at least as important as that of location nouns.

Because of their frequency and relatively simple behavior, location nouns can and should be taught at an early stage in the teaching of Basque. They can, in fact, be treated as soon as the nominal declension has been fully introduced, well before any part of the verbal system has been introduced. Although there is no compelling need to do so, in my own teaching practice location nouns receive full attention before even personal, possessive of demonstrative pronouns have been touched upon.

This habit has resulted in the absence from my presentation of such common examples as nire aurrean 'before me', zure atzetik 'after you', haren ondoan 'near him', and so on. There is no harm in this, however, since other examples, like amaren aurrean 'before mother', neskatzaren atzetik 'after the girl', zezenaren ondoan 'near the bull', will do just as well.

A more serious drawback to the early introduction of location nouns would appear to be found in the observation that such interesting sentence constructions as Mi- ren jarri zitzaidan aurrean 'Mary put herself in front of me' or Norbait aldamenean ese- ri zitzaiom cannot be analyzed yet at this point. These, however, are instances of the so-called possessive dative, and, as such, are more properly taken up in a section devoted to the syntactic behavior of dative verb forms, part and parcel of a general analysis of the morphosyntax of the Basque verb. Accordingly, in the present context a discussion of such constructions has been omitted without regret.

I have asserted in my opening paragraph that the facts I will seek to deal with are well-known. That is true, however, only up to a point. No one, of course, would deny that these facts are known to native speakers. But, then, who can claim to be a native speaker of Euskara Batua, the supradialectal standard? To a large extent, this noble language is still in statu nascendi. At any rate, normative grammarians have not so far offered us a systematic account of location nouns to be used in Euskara Batua. This essay, therefore, can be seen also as a first attempt to fill that gap.

By and large, the material covered below represents my opinion as to what ought to be incorporated into Euskara Batua and what not. Thus, certain items have been left out deliberately, such as the location nouns ertz(e) and kantú 'side', restricted to

(1) The footnotes to this article, however, are not restricted by any pedagogical considerations; they have been conceived specifically with the enlightened readership of this journal in mind. Hence, for brevity's sake we will leave Basque citations often untranslated.
Souletin — my most favorite dialect — and also leko(re) ‘outside’, a term frequent in Leizarraga’s New Testament Version, and perhaps for that reason, dear to the late father Olabide s.j., but nowadays utterly rare. Thus, Sarasola’s DiFre, based on a 1977 corpus, counts only 3 instances of it, as against 37 of landa and 429 of kanpo.

It hardly needs saying that I have taken grateful advantage of all the relevant material I was able to find. By far the most helpful has been Ibon Sarasola’s Hauta-Lanerako Euskal-Histegia, an extremely handy work, of which, however, only four volumes were available to me. Furthermore, the first three tomes of the magnificent, DGV, Micheleña’s Diccionario General Vasco, provided copious information about the attested uses of the location nouns beginning in a: aitzin, albo, aldamen, arte, aurre, and azpi. Of this rich data base, relatively little, however, was of such a nature as to percolate into the kind of elementary treatment envisaged here. Quite useful in its own way was also Gorka Aulestia’s fine Basque-English Dictionary, especially by helping to supply accurate English translations for some idiomatic uses of several location nouns. Euskaltzaindia’s EGLU-1 has also been consulted, but was found to provide disappointingly little by way of detailed information on the use and meaning of location nouns.

I hope and wish that the publication of this rather limited presentation will stimulate native Basque grammarians to gratify us with more substantial contributions to this area of investigation.

Part One: The Syntax of aurre and atze ‘front’ and ‘back’

The nouns aurre ‘front’ and atze ‘back’ may be considered as prototypical location nouns. Their syntactic behavior is typical of the whole class, although it need not be shared in all respects by every member.

Part One is accordingly devoted to a fairly detailed exploration of these prototypes. The other location nouns and their separate properties will be examined a little more briefly in Part Two.

An inherent property of location nouns is that they express a spatial relationship; hence their reference is always relative to some contextually given object X. Specifically applied to aurre and atze, we get:

- **aurrea:** the frontside of X (viewed from the exterior), the space in front of X,
- **atzea:** the backside of X (viewed from the exterior), the space behind X.

(2) My critical appraisal of this work in ASJU XXII-2 (1988) p. 695-700 was based on an examination of the first volume only. I am delighted to see that most of the shortcomings I was obliged to point out in that volume have been rectified in the second or third volume. My warmest congratulations to the compiling team and its sponsors for setting out to achieve what may now be extolled as a lexicographers’ dream. Their highly professional approach combining linguistic perceptiveness, historical concern and painstaking discipline truly deserves the utmost praise.

(3) Relict forms (such as aurrez aur ‘right in front’ and many others) provide abundant evidence in favor of Azkue’s hypothesis (Morf!, p. 11), also accepted by Micheleña (FHV, p. 133), that the original forms of aurre and atze were aur and an, the final vowel e having crept in from the locative case forms.

(4) Azkue’s etymological identification of atze ‘backside’ with atz ‘track’ finds a neat parallel in Finnish, where the inessive or illative forms of jalki ‘track’ are the most commonly used postpositions to indicate posteriority.
Thus:

etxe zuriaren aurrea: the frontside of the white house (seen from the exterior), (or) the space in front of the white house
eliza handiaren atzea: the backside of the big church (seen from the exterior), (or) the space behind the big church.

Therefore:

etxe zuriaren aurrean: in front of the white house, before the white house
eliza handiaren atzean: behind the big church

Note this: When its governed noun phrase denotes one or more persons, the meaning of aurre weakens to ‘presence’:

aita eta amaren aurrean: in the presence of father and mother
emaumeen aurrean: in the presence of the women

The genitive-based construction illustrated above is always correct, yet sometimes an alternative expression is available. If the governed noun phrase is inanimate and ends in a noun — as opposed to an adjective or numeral, a type of compound construction can be employed:

etxe aurrean: in front of the house
ispilu aurrean: in front of the mirror
mendi atzean: behind the mountain
leibo atzean: behind the window
Pelloren begi aurrean: Before Pete’s eyes
Mirenaren ate atzean: behind Mary’s door
Yolandin jauregiko aurrean: in front of Yolanda’s villa (Oñatibia, Neke, 37)
Pilatosen etxe aurrera: (to) in front of Pilate’s house (PasSant, 131)

Judging from these examples, preceding modifiers do not block the construction. (Even a preceding relative clause is possible: Feldman bizi den etxe aurrean, ‘before the house where Feldman lives’, example taken from Gotzon Garate, New York, New York, 159).

With animate noun phrases the compound construction is generally excluded. In particular, no compounds occur on the basis of either personal pronouns or personal proper nouns. An exception must be made, however, for semantically indefinite expressions of the following category:

lagun aurrean: in the presence of companions
inarki aurrean: before witnesses
neska atzean: (chasing) after girls

Also:

errege aurrean: before the king

An interesting fact about Basque compounds is that their first members are subject to certain formal changes in their final syllable as a result of phonological rules, some productive, some no longer so. Naturally, those rules that are productive also apply when the second member of the compound happens to be a location noun. In particular, there is a rule, to be called “Major Apocope rule”, that regularly deletes

(5) This example is given only between parentheses since the learner is not as yet acquainted with the verb form den, nor can he/she be expected to unravel the structure of relative clauses at this point.
the final vowel of words containing more than two syllables. Taking itsaso ‘sea’ and eliza ‘church’ as examples, we get:

- **itsas aurrean:** in front of the sea
- **eliza atzean:** behind the church

In some instances, consonants too can change after application of the Major Apocope rule:

- **afari:** evening meal, supper
  - **afalaurrean:** before supper
- **bazkari:** midday meal, lunch
  - **bazkalaurrean:** before lunch
- **gozari:** breakfast
  - **gosalaurrean:** before breakfast
- **atari:** doorway
  - **afalaurrean:** before the doorway

Also part of the phonology of compounds is a minor rule: the Minor Apocope rule, which turns a final vowel of a two-syllable first member into -a, except for a high vowel (i or u), which drops altogether. Application of this minor rule in front of a location noun is quite rare and lends the text an archaic flavor. Thus, a stylistically marked **hetaurrean** ‘before the eyes’ can be employed instead of the unmarked **begi aurrean**.

A note on spelling: Location nouns are written separately from the preceding noun even in compounds, except when a consonantal change has taken place: **itsas aurrean** ‘in front of the sea’, but **afalaurrean** ‘before supper’.

A location noun can take any locative ending, not just the inessive one:

- **mendi atzean** behind the mountain
- **mendi atzetik** from behind the mountain
- **mendi atzena** (to) behind the mountain
- **mendi atzeraino** all the way to behind the mountain
- **mendi atzerantz** towards behind the mountain

When the governed noun phrase designates a moving object (or at least an object normally conceived of as moving), instead of the inessive, the elative may be used on the location noun:

- **zezen gorriaren aurretik** in front of the red bull
- **zaldi zuriaren atzetik** behind the white horse
- **trenaren atzetik (korriin)** (to run) after a train
- **neska baten atzetik (ibili)** (to chase) after a girl

In all of these examples, however, the inessive case could have been used without, it seems, any difference in meaning. Thus, the phrases **neska baten atzetik ibili** and **neska baten atzean ibili** can both be used for the literal meaning ‘to walk behind a girl’, and for the metaphorical one ‘to chase after a girl’. Similarly, ‘to chase after money’ can be either **diru atzean ibili** or **diru atzetik ibili**.

A governed noun phrase need not be overtly expressed when its reference is clear from the rest of the sentence, the context or the situation. Moreover, the various

(6) Hybrid expressions like **itsas aurrean**, which are syntactically compounds, but not morphologically, can also be found here and there. If I am not mistaken, a tendency can be discerned to banish such hybrids from the more formal registers of Euskara Batua.

(7) See the Appendix.

(8) Some examples of this are Ez nabilkio atzetik. (Lab. TOE, 67), Madiani izkolaka zibazkitem ondoitik (Jg. 7, 23; Dv), Ohokit begien aitzinetik! (Inn, SBI, 536), or the sentence Miren jarri zitsaizaiden aurrean cited in the introduction.
case forms of location nouns can be self-supporting, that is, they can be used independently, without any governed noun phrase at all either present or understood. Used that way, they correspond to various spatial adverbs or particles in English.

By way of illustration we now offer the paradigms of aurre and atze together with some English equivalents. The choice between them depends, of course, on the sentence in question. The first translation given corresponds to the case of an understood governed noun phrase, the others to that of independent use.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{aurrean:} & \quad \text{in front of X, in (the) front, up front, ahead, present} \\
\text{aurretik:} & \quad \text{away from X, away from here, before, beforehand, in advance.} \\
\text{aurreera:} & \quad \text{(to) in front of X, to the fore, forwards, ahead} \\
\text{aurrerantz:} & \quad \text{towards the front of X, forward, advancing.}
\end{align*}\]

In the meaning ‘beforehand’, ‘previously’ the indefinite instrumental aurrez also occurs.

As an answer to a knock on the door, Aurrera! is the situational equivalent of English Come in! (cf. Spanish Adelante!)

\[\begin{align*}
\text{atzean:} & \quad \text{behind X, at the back, in the rear, behind.} \\
\text{atzetik:} & \quad \text{from behind X, from the back, from the rear, behind.} \\
\text{atzera:} & \quad \text{(to) behind X, to the back, to the rear, backwards, back} \\
\text{atzeraantz:} & \quad \text{towards the back of X, backward, retreating}
\end{align*}\]

N.B. When backward means ‘in reverse’, it is usually rendered by the expression atzetik aurrera, literally ‘from back to front’.

Independently used atzera can serve to indicate a return to a previous state: atzera biheru ‘to turn back’, atzera bildu ‘to gather back’, atzera ekarri ‘to bring back’, atzera eman ‘to give back’, atzera erozi ‘to buy back’, atzera eskatu ‘to ask back’, atzera ikasi ‘to relearn’, atzera irabazi ‘to gain back’, atzera itzuli ‘to return back’, atzera izkutatu ‘to hide back’, atzera joan ‘to go back’, atzera saldu ‘to sell back’, atzera sartu ‘to enter back’.

A slightly different meaning of atzera show: atzera deitu ‘to call back’, atzera erantzun ‘to answer back’, atzera esan ‘to say back’, ‘to reply’. (Data from DGV III, 285-286)

Independent atzera is sometimes used to express mere reiteration, corresponding to again, anew or once more in English. In this meaning berriz or berriro are perhaps more common in Batua. Pleonastic atzera berriz also occurs.

Neither aurre nor atze is used in the northern dialects. These dialects make use instead of aitzin ‘frontside’ and gibel ‘liver’, ‘backside’, employed in very much the same way as aurre and atze:

\[\begin{align*}
gizonen aitzinean: & \quad \text{before (the) men} \\
beget(m) aitzinean: & \quad \text{before the eyes} \\
getla(ren) aitzinean: & \quad \text{before the war} \\
etxo(aren) gibelean: & \quad \text{behind the house} \\
Pulloren gibelean: & \quad \text{behind Pete}
\end{align*}\]

The allative forms are aitzina or aitzinera, gibela or gibelera. The latter two forms share all the meanings of atzera. In independent use aitzina is much more common than aitzinera.

Etymologically an inessive form (of aitzi, now sometimes used as a postposition meaning ‘against’), aitzin itself may occur instead of aitzinean:
before the winter
before going

Typical of the Biscayan dialect is the form ost e 'backside', 'behind', used as a syn-
onym of atze, equally common there. Thus:

ost e oster a:
(m) behind the house
mendi ost ean:
behind the mountain
nekearen ost ean:
after the effort, after the suffering
bask hol ost ean:
after lunch
etorri ost ean:
after coming

The allative oster a has every meaning of atzer a ('backwards, 'back', 'once more',
'again') and a few more in addition: 'besides' (when constructed with a preceding in-
strumental noun phrase), 'on the other hand', however'.

All forms mentioned above are employed and accepted in Euskara Batua.

Part Two: Other Location Nouns

We will now survey the remaining location nouns. Unless otherwise indicated, the
general system studied in Part One applies to these also.

An important spatial opposition is expressed by the word pair gai n 'upper part',
'top' and azpi 'lower part', 'bottom'. The latter term will be discussed first, as its use
is by far the simpler of the two.

Some typical uses of azpi are:

lur r a en azpi an:
under the earth, below (the) ground
eguzki a en azpi an:
under the sun
komunis ni a ren azpi an:
under communism
ehe azpi ti k:
from under the bed
bel a un azpir a ino:
down to below the knee

With inanimate noun phrases, there is an alternative phrasing which makes use
of a suffix -pe: lurpean 'under the earth', eguzkip ean 'under the sun', oinp ean 'under the
foot', 'underfoot', zeru zurbilpean 'under the pale sky', etc.

About azpi nothing more needs to be said here except that it shows the same type
of metaphorical use found for English under: legeen azp i an 'under the laws', zigorr a ren
azp i an 'under the punishment', aitzaki ederren azp i an 'under fine pretexts'.

Constructions based on gai n serve for 'on' as well as for 'over':

asto baten gai n a n:
on top of a donkey, on a donkey
liburuen gai n a n:
on top of the books, on the books, over the books
biriaren gai n a n:
over the city, above the city
bel a r gai n a n:
on the grass, over the grass
mahai gai n etik:
from (on) the table
J on e n burua ren gai n etik:
over Jonah's head

Like azpi, gai n is often employed in a non-spatial, metaphorical sense, correspond-
ing to English metaphorical uses of upon, over above. In such metaphorical uses, the

(9) Rather than a suffix, pe appears to be a location noun itself, judging from such examples as sain koaren justiziaren eta kolera zuenaren pean 'under God's justice and rightful wrath' (Lap. p. 275), Mitxelaren prome-
soren pean 'under Mitxelena's promise'. Its etymological connection with behe seems evident from Capanaga's
phrase Pencio Pilatosen poderon behe 'under the powers of Pontius Pilate' (Cap. 6).
uninflected form *gain* tends to occur, especially in formal style: *gizonaren gain* ‘upon (the) man’, ‘above (the) man’, ‘(hanging) over (the) man’.

In particular, uninflected *gain*, in construction with an animate noun phrase in the genitive, may express accountability¹⁰. This concept is to taken here in a rather broad sense, the several shades of meaning being covered by such English translations as *up to*, *on*, *at the expense of*, etc.: *alkatearen gain* ‘up to the mayor’, ‘on the mayor’. (E.g. task to be carried out, or, simply, drinks offered)

The inessive form *gainean* is often used to signal the topic of a verb of saying, i.e., *gainean* can serve as the equivalent of English *about*, a function for which the literary style prefers the instrumental case ending. Thus: *emakumearen gainean* ‘about the woman’ (*emakumeaz*); *ijito batzuen gainean* ‘about some gypsies’ (*ijito batzuez*); *Jesu-Kristoren gainean* ‘about Jesus Christ’ (*Jesu-Kristoz*).

There is also the option of using the instrumental of *buru* governing the dative, a construction originally meaning ‘facing’: *emakumeari buruz* ‘facing the woman’, ‘about the woman’, *Pellori buruz* ‘facing Pete’, ‘about Pete’.

When constructed with a preceding noun phrase in the inessive, the allative *gainera*, and also *gain* itself, acquires the meaning ‘in addition to ...’: *diruaz gainera* (or *diruaz gain*) ‘in addition to the money’: *Patxiz gainera* (or *Patxiz gain*) ‘in addition to Frank’. Used independently, *gainera* signifies ‘besides’.

Note finally the use of the instrumental in construction with the elative *gainetik* (or, again uninflected *gain*), as in *bost milaz gainetik* ‘over five thousand’, *oroz gain* ‘above all’, ‘especially’.

A third spatial opposition is that between *barren* ‘inside’, ‘interior’ (also ‘inner self’) and *kanpo* ‘outside’, ‘exterior’ (obviously borrowed from Spanish *campo* ‘field’). The declension of *barren* is regular, with the sole provision that before the endings -tik and -ra epenthetical *e* insertion may or may not occur: *barrendik* or *barrenetik*, *barrena* or *barrenera*; but always *barreneraino* and *barrenerantz*. Some examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inside the small room</th>
<th>Inside the church, within the church</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>gela txikiaren barrenean</em></td>
<td><em>eliz barrenean</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>zorri egun barrenean</em></td>
<td><em>leize baten barrenera</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(to) inside a cave</em></td>
<td><em>mabuka barrendik</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The allative *barrena* (or its northern variant *barna*, but not *barrenera*) following an inessive noun phrase serves to express the meaning ‘through’ or ‘throughout’. (Compare the phrases *kalean gora* ‘up the street’ and *kalean behera* ‘down the street’, constructions which the learner is assumed to be already familiar with.)

Some representative examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Through the world, throughout the world</th>
<th>Through the forest, throughout the forest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>munduan barrena</em></td>
<td><em>oikanean barrena</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>liburuan barrena</em></td>
<td><em>kaleatan barrena</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bezurrestan barrena</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(10) Cf. the delightfully idiomatic translation of Jn 8, 46 given in Jesu Kristoren Berri Ona: Zuetarik nork emanen du bekaturik ene gain? (p. 263). Literally in English: “Who among you will put any sin on me?”.

(11) Taken from MEIG III, 48. Cf. also: *Nafarro-Gipuzkoatan barrena* ‘through Navarra and Guipuzcoa’ (MEIG II, 105) and *aldirietan barrena* ‘through the environs’ (MEIG IX, 94).
In this construction the adverbs zebar 'across' or gaindi 'over' may substitute for barrera: Nafarroa osasun zebar 'through the whole of Navarra', artean zebar 'throughout the year', arteetan zebar 'through the years', etxean gaindi 'through the house', Zuberoan gaindi 'through Soule'.

Synonymous with barraren and barmek, barmen, barmok, barr taxa and barmua. Uninflected barmu can occur in time adverbials without the need for a preceding genitive: biru egun barru 'within three days'. The regular barmu egunen barruan is also used in the same meaning.

Barren's opposite kanpo displays a vastly different behaviour from that of the other location nouns treated so far. It does not follow the system set out in Part One, since it hardly ever governs the genitive case, but rather the elative or the instrumental. Moreover, the compound construction is not available for kanpo or its synonyms. The noun kanpo itself can remain uninflected, or else, take an ·inessive or allative ending. The allative case can occur even when no motion is implied. Thus, the phrase meaning 'outside the city' can be rendered in no less than seven ways, of which the first two appear to be, in Euskara Batua, the most common: birrikit kanpora, biririk kanp9an, biririk kanp03.

(12) The use of the genitive case is attested, however rare. Beginning with Leizarraga, it runs via Davoisin all the way down to Kerexeta: Esta deu gezonaren campesino... 'there is nothing from outside a man...' (Mk. 7, 15; Lk.), gezonaren kanpostik 'from outside a man' (Mk. 7, 15; Dv); Daviden hiriren kanpostik 'outside the city of David' (2 Cbr. 33, 14; Dv); ois orren kanp9an 'outside that veil' (Ex. 26, 35; Ker).

(13) Euskalerrittik kanpora 'outside the Basque Country' (MEIG I, 59); Bizkaitzatik kanpora 'outside Biscayc' (MEIG VII, 145; horitik kanpora ere 'even apart from that' (MEIG V, 133; VII, 153)); berritik kanpora 'outside the town' (Ipar. Agur Euskarriari, 1), (PasSant, 186), (Gen. 24, 11; Ur), (Lev. 14, 41; Ur), (Rev. 14, 20; IBk); Jerusalemaitik kanpora 'outside Jerusalem' (Lk. 13, 33; EAB, IBk, Lauab, Ker); biritik kanpora 'outside the city' (Rev. 14, 20; EAB); gorputzetik kanpora 'outside the body' (1 Cor. 6, 18; EAB). A study of the contexts (not included for the sake of brevity) would show that none of these examples involves motion, so that the elative ending -sitik and the allative ending -ra have no justification outside this construction.

(14) This constructions seems to be much older than the previous one. It occurs in Axular as well as in Pierre d'Urte and Tartas: Ezialkan kanpoan 'outside the Church' (Ax, 8); erosmatik kanpoan 'outside the kingdom' (Ax, 27); munduko egitekoetarik kanpoan 'outside the worldly concerns' (Ax, 149); sasmatik kanpoan 'outside the season' (Ax, 211); zentzesatik eta adimendatik kanpoan 'out of sense and reason' (Ax, 309); beren sensi one tik kanpoan 'out of his good sense' (Tk, Onsa, 17); bantit kanpoan 'out of that' (Tk, Onsa, 130); biritik kanpoan 'outside the city' (Gen. 24, 14; Ut); belotik kanpoan 'outside the veil' (Ex. 26, 35; Ut); egonekaitik kanpoan 'outside the camp' (Ex. 29, 14; Ut); atakit kanpoan 'outside the gate' (Heb. 13, 12; Ker), kanpetarik kanpoan 'outside the camp' (Ex. 29, 14; Dv); Jerusalemaitik kanpoan 'outside Jerusalem' (Neb. 13, 20; Dv); gorputzetik kanp0an 'outside the body' (1 Cor. 6, 18; Dv).

(15) This construction pertains to the northern dialects only. Although Kerexeta occasionally makes use of it in his Bible translation, it is not part of the Bascan colloquial: ezalatik kanpo 'outside the house' (Elzb, P9, 196: 'Nere etxea'); horent hirik kanpo 'outside their city' (Jzn., SBI, 113); karputalatik kanpo 'outside the camp' (Ex. 29, 14; B6b); birkitik kanpo 'outside the city' (Gen. 19, 17; Dv), (Lev. 14, 41; B6b); Jerusalemaitik kanpo 'outside Jerusalem' (Lk. 13, 33; Dv, J7BO); belotik kanpo 'outside the veil' (Ex. 26, 35; Dv); uholakatik kanpo 'outside the tents' (Heb. 13, 13; Dv); horren gorputzetik kanpo 'outside his body' (1 Cor. 6, 18; B6b); beren gorputzetik kanpo 'outside his body' (2 Cor. 12, 2; B6b); zabalategitik kanpo 'outside the camp' (Ex. 29, 14; Ker); uritik kanpo 'outside the city' (Num. 35, 3; Ker); Jerusalemaitik kanpo 'outside Jerusalem' (7 Kg, 23, 4; Ker), (Neb. 13, 20; Ker).
hiriak kanpoan\(^6\), hiriak kanpoan\(^7\), hiriak kanpoan\(^8\), hiriak kanpotik\(^9\).

The noun landa, commonly used in the meaning ‘field’, functions in the eastern dialects (and in Euskara Batua) as a location noun analogous to kanpo. Like the latter, it governs either the elative or the instrumental case. But in contrast to kanpo, landa shows a clear semantic differentiation between these two case frames. In its more concrete sense ‘outside’, landa always governs the elative, but when used in its less concrete sense ‘apart from’, ‘besides’, ‘except’, the instrumental case frame is required. Thus, hiriak landa(n)\(^10\) means ‘outside the city’, whereas hiriak landa(n)\(^11\) or hiriak landara\(^22\) must be translated apart from the city, besides the city or except (for) the city. In construction with an instrumental noun phrase, kanpo can also (but need not\(^23\)) assume this meaning:

(16) ordiaz kanpoa ‘outside the proper time’ (AA II, 121); sistemaz kanpoa ‘outside the system’ (MEIG vii, 136). The closely related meaning ‘apart from’ is already found in Oihenart: zure artatzez, zerbitueztez, et’ onbestez kanpoa ‘apart from loving you, serving you and taking care of you’ (O, Po, 13). See also: Etxaidez kanpoa ‘apart from Etxaide’ (MEIG ii, 50) and bere larreko aberastrain ugariez kanpoa oren ‘even apart from the abundant richness of its soil’ (MEIG i, 134).

(17) The oldest citation I have found for this construction is again from Oihenart: berriz kanpoa ‘outside the country’ (O, Po, 174). The other examples derive from Echenique and Duvoisin: tenpluz kanpoa ‘outside the temple’ (Rey, 11, 2; Eehn); ciodades kanpoa ‘outside the city’ (Rey, 14, 20; Eehn); Judioako mizez kanpoa ‘outside the borders of Judea’ (1 Mac. 15, 30; Dv) Jerusalemaz kanpoa ‘outside Jerusalem’ (2 Kg. 25, 3; Dv); ater kanpoa ‘outside the gate’ (Heb. 13, 12; Dv); hiriak kanpoa ‘outside the city’ (Lev. 14, 41; Dv), (Lev. 14, 45; Dv), (2 Cbr. 32, 3; Dv), (Jud. 7, 6; Dv), (Rey, 14, 20; Dv). It may be of some interest to note that Duvoisin renders extra urhem (0, 16) orduaz kanpora (0, 17) The oldest citation I have found for this construction is again from Oihenart: elizaz kanpopa (0, 18) and ber ekia aragaketa urpopa oren ‘even apart from the abundant richness of its soil’ (MEIG ii, 50).

(18) Hiriak kanpoa ‘outside the Church’ (Lap, p. 252); fidaxa eta erlijionaz kanpoa ‘outside faith and religion’ (Lap, p. 75); ater kanpoa ‘outside the gate’ (Act. 16, 13; Dv), (Heb. 13, 12; IBK); hiriak kanpoa ‘outside the city’ (Gen. 24, 11; Biblical); bidex kanpoa ‘outside the road’ (La p. 582), adines kanpoa ‘past the age’ (DRA vi, 2422, s.v. kanpo).

(19) Arrested in Leitxuraga: (nezkiru wakua du) portalaz campoiat ‘(he has suffered) outside the gate’ (Heb. 13, 12, L2).

(20) Eliza kanlakotik landa oren ‘even outside the Catholic Church’ (Kristau Bideak, 331); urtzik landan ‘out of the water’ (Erxameño, Azken elurra, 102); gorputzek xartiak landa ‘outside the body’ (I Cor. 6, 18; IBK); bemonikiz landa ‘out of here’ (EGLU-I, 442).

(21) The oldest example known dates from 1545; Jeyvaaz landan ‘apart from God’ (E, II 36). Although unattested in Azxular, this meaning of landa seems quite common in later “Navarro-labourdin” literature: hikari edo bortze combait arraioz ondz landan ‘except out of necessity or some other good reason’ (Dh, 54); beh­bata mortal bakkarraz landan ‘except for mortal sin alone’ (Dh, 415); aurez xa naztequezlanda ‘beside women and children’ (Mt. 15, 38; Eehn); apbezen lurratz landan ‘except for the land of the priests’ (Gen. 47, 22; Dv); xuta landan ‘except you’ (Gen. 39, 9; Dv), (1 Sam. 2, 2; Dv), (2 Sam. 7, 22; Dv); niaz landan ‘besides me’ (Is. 45, 5; Dv); hartza landa ‘besides him’ (Lk. 648); borretaz landa ‘apart from that’ (MEIG vii, 162).

(22) This construction seems to be found mainly in Navarra: Maria Jacungucaren Amas landara ‘apart from Mary, the Mother of God’ (ETZ, 37.4 (Analal); obetz landara ‘besides these’ (ETZ, 23, 332 (Orrio)); bizi­modu onaz landara ‘apart from a good way of life’ (LE, Urt. 298); niaz landara ‘besides me’ (Zeph. 2, 15; Dv); unatz landara ‘apart from this’ (Flr, 163); hiztarruartza landara ‘besides the foreword’ (MEIG iii, 59).

(23) See footnotes 16-19 for many examples of kanpo governing the instrumental case in a purely spatial context. On the other hand, it may well be that in the early 18th century Labourdin represented by Cialav (Bayonaco Diocesako Bi­garren Catichima, Bayonne, 1733) a sharp contrast did exist between kanpoa ‘outside’ governing the elative, and kanpoa ‘except for’ governing the instrumental case. The 6 instances of kanpoa I —with the much appreciated help of P. Aranguren’s vocabulary in Villasante’s edition seem—— to corroborate this: khbortik campoa ‘outside the choir’ (p. 38); Eliza burtaric campoa ‘outside that Church’ (p. 79); Eliptic campoa ‘outside the Church’ (p. 80); eta harren ofeniosteko okhastonetario campoan ipatsiko ‘and in order to be outside the position to offend him’ (p. 84); kombait katxa campoa ‘except for certain cases’ (p. 142); behbata mortal batez kanpoa ‘except for one mortal sin’ (p. 215).

Supposing this to be indeed the situation in older Labourdin, we must note that it never seems to have prevailed in Souletin —Oihenart’s counterexample berriz kanpoa ‘outside the country’ dates from before 1657—— and that it must have been lost by the middle of the 19th century, since hiriak kanpoa and hiriak kanpoa are clearly synonymous in Duvoisin’s Bible translation (cf. footnote 17).


Whenever a preceding elative noun phrase admits a temporal interpretation, *landan* (but not *kanpo*) carries the meaning ‘after’: *lanetik landa* ‘after work’.

The meaning ‘outside’ can also be conveyed by the location noun *ate* ‘door’, governing the elative or the instrumental. The traditional constructions are *elizatik atean* or *elizaz atetik* ‘outside the church’, but, propagated by Azkue’s famous dictionary (1905), *elizatik ate* and *elizaz ate* are also occasionally found in that meaning. Much more common than those, however, is an etymologically related postposition at governing only the elative case. It can be employed in contexts of motion as well as non-motion: *elizatik at (izan) ‘(to be) outside the church*, *elizatik at (bota) ‘(to throw) out of the church*, *etxetik at (bida) ‘(to send) out of the house*.

In independent use, *kanpo, landa* and *ate* must carry the case endings imposed by the context and can not be used bare: *kanpoan, landan, atean ‘outside*; *kanpotik, landatik, atetik ‘from outside*; *kanporaz, landaraz, avera ‘(to) outside*; *kanporantz, landarentz, aterantz ‘outward*; *kanporaino, landaraino, ateraino ‘all the way out*.

The location noun *alde* ‘side’ (amply provided with secondary senses: ‘difference’, ‘region’, ‘support’, and many others) occurs quite frequently in all varieties of

(24) Further examples are: *bekhatu mortal batez kanpoan ‘except for one mortal sin* (Cat. Lev., p. 215); *Igandex kanpo ‘except Sundays* (Hb, Ekh. 165); *mirakulus kanpo ‘except for a miracle* (Etxab, Berriz ere beretarik...); *beru lucrero aberastasun agerier kanpo ‘apart from the abundant richness of its soil* (MEIG I, 134); *bizkuntzaz kanpo ‘apart from the language* (MEIG V, 110); *Axularrez kanpo bide asko ‘many others besides Axular* (MEIG V, 55); *Jakite-lanen kanpo ere ‘even apart from works of erudition* (MEIG V, 40).

(25) In Tartas’ brilliant work *Onta hilzo bido*, *landan* has no meaning ‘besides’ ‘after’. To express ‘outside’ only *kanpoan is used bekhatutik kanpoan ‘out of sin’ (p. 52) and *bekhatutik kanpoan* (p. 58); more examples in footnote 14, which also serves for ‘except’; *mirakulus kanpoan ‘except for a miracle* (p. 73).

The occurrences of *Landan* are: *mentu bomotik landan ‘after this world* (p. 8), *obatik landan ‘after getting up* (p. 45); *batari landan ‘after them* (p. 67). Some later examples are: *pronotic landan ‘after the sermon* (Bp. 20); *Ezarrauristik landa ‘after Rosary* (A, EY III 265); *mezazik landa ‘after Mass* (LH, 648); *lanetik landa ‘after work* (Lr., 168); *eskolatik landa ‘after school* (Etxab, Berriz ere beretarik...); *elizatik landa ‘after church* (EGLU-I, 442).

(26) This is the construction found in Axular: *eguni zatotik ‘outside the truth* (Ax. 296); *bandi atehos ‘out of there* (Ax. 311). See Villasante, *Estudios*, p. 58.

(27) *Baxa atez abetik ‘outside that sandbank* (I NAV, 107); *uriae atei ‘outside the city* (Avo, 153); *Elizatik atez ‘outside the church* (A, Aro, 141). Data from *DGV*, III, p. 165.

(28) See Azkue, *Diccionario*, I, 95 and 466. All examples of this construction are modern: *uristatik ate ‘outside the cities* (A, Y, 1934, 6); *Ezuharrietatik (sic) ate ‘outside the Basque Country* (LdI, IL 40); *bidezatik ate ‘outside the road* (LdI, IL 76); *emendatik ate ‘out of here* (LdI, BB, 124); *nigandik ate ‘outside myself* (NEtx, LBB, 244).

(29) *urtzatik ate ‘hors concours* (LdI, IL 98) is the only example I know of.

(30) According to the information contained in the *DGV* (III, 165), the first occurrence of *at* is in a dictionary: E. Bera and I. Lopez-Mendizabal’s *Diccionario Vasco-Castellano* (1916) includes *at* with the example *Bilbaotik at biraldak dira asko ‘Many have been sent out of Bilbao*.

From there, *at* quickly became fashionable among Guipuzcoan Biscayan writers with puristic leanings, who wished to avoid the “foreign” word *kanpo*. As to its present status in Batua, its relative popularity as well as its novelty can be gauged from its use in *Kristau Bidea* (1975), where the word *at occurs no less than ten times,... each time with an explanatory footnote ‘at ‘kanpo: *hiristik at ‘outside the city* (p. 173); *tasunagaristik at ‘outside of the context* (p. 252); *bidezik at ‘outside the road* (p. 302); *elkartikutik at ‘outside the community* (p. 330); *Elizatik at ‘outside the Church* (p. 361, p. 429); *Eliza katolikotik at ‘outside the Catholic Church* (p. 410); *gure demora bonetatik at ‘outside this time of ours* (p. 495, p. 557); *Jainko erreinatik at ‘outside the kingdom of God* (p. 560).
Basque. It follows the system of Part One and typically serves to express lateral location (with respect to the referent of the governed noun phrase). Often, however, _alde_ indicates nothing more than proximity, or, by metaphoric extension, comparison. The inessive _aldean_, when used alone, can also mean ‘right near’, ‘close by’. A few examples must suffice:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basque</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ohearen aldean:</td>
<td>beside the bed, next to the bed, on comparison to the bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eliz aldean:</td>
<td>beside the church, next to the church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aitaren aldean:</td>
<td>beside mother, next to mother, in comparison to mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etxe aldean:</td>
<td>to the side of the house, towards the house</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Uninflected _alde_ functions as a postposition governing the genitive and translating ‘in favor of’, ‘for’, ‘pro’, ‘on behalf of’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basque</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ijiten alde:</td>
<td>in favor of the gypsies, on behalf of the gypsies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sozialismaren alde:</td>
<td>in favor of socialism, for socialism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alde ala kontra:</td>
<td>for or against</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The meaning of the nouns _saihets_ and _albo_, originally ‘side of the body’, has been extended to ‘side in general’. Correspondingly, they are used as location nouns with the exact meaning of _alde_: _neskaxaren saihetsan, neskaxaren alboan_ ‘beside the girl’, ‘next to the girl’, ‘in comparison to the girl’. Unlike _alde_, _saihets_ and _albo_ do not appear as postpositions, although the uninflected form _albo_ is occasionally used instead of _alboan_: _aitaren albo_ ‘at father’s side’, ‘next to father’.

The location noun _aldamen_ with the meaning ‘nearness’, ‘vicinity’ serves to translate the English preposition _near_. _Aldamen_ does not allow the compound construction and invariably governs the genitive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basque</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ekasearen aldamenan:</td>
<td>near the house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>astaaren aldamenura:</td>
<td>to near the donkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oso baten aldamenetik:</td>
<td>away from (near) a wolf</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The inessive form _aldamenan_ frequently occurs alone as an adverb meaning ‘near at hand’, ‘nearby’.

The location noun _ondo_ indicates contiguity: adjacency in space, or succession in time. Adjacency is often weakened to mere nearness:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basque</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eliz ondoan:</td>
<td>next to the church, near the church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sutondoan:</td>
<td>near the fire (irregular compound of <em>su</em> ‘fire’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amaren ondoan:</td>
<td>at mother’s side, near mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amonaren ondora:</td>
<td>to grandmother’s side, (to) near grandmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aitaren ondotik:</td>
<td>away from father’s side, away from father</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A context of motion actualizes the fundamental meaning of _ondo_, a location noun basically denoting the position of being next in line. In such a context, _ondoan_ and its motional variant _ondotik_ are to be translated into English as _behind_ or _after_: _aitaren ondotik_ ‘behind father’, _diruaren ondotik_ ‘after money’. Since time itself is conceived as forward motion, this explains why, in a temporal context, _ondoan_ and _ondotik_ acquire the meaning ‘after’.
LOCATION NOUNS IN STANDARD BASQUE

gerlaren ondoan: after the war
afal ondoan: after supper
bazkal ondoan: after lunch
bil ondoan: after dying

Aldamenean too can occur in a temporal context, but, lacking the fundamental meaning characteristic of *ondo*, it always retains its usual sense ‘near’: *mende-mugaren aldamenean* (MEIG vi, 48) ‘near the turn of the century’.

The location noun *inguru* (borrowed from the late Latin phrase *in gyrum* ‘in a circle’) means ‘circumference’, ‘periphery’, but also ‘vicinity’, and, in the plural, ‘surroundings’: *biriaren inguruak* ‘the outskirts of the city’. Constructions with *inguru* seem to correspond to all uses of the English preposition *around*:

gazteluaren inguruan: around the castle, in the vicinity of the castle
ibaiaren inguruan: to the vicinity of the river
euskarakaren inguruan: around Basque, about Basque
sorginen inguruan: around the witches, about the witches

Just like English *around*, *inguruan* (and also uninflected *inguru*) can mean ‘approximately’. In that meaning, there is never a genitive on the preceding noun phrase: *bostehun sorgin inguru(an)* ‘around five hundred witches’.

The location noun *arte* meaning ‘gap’, ‘crevice’, ‘interval’, ‘opportunity’ helps to express the concept ‘between’ or ‘among’. *Arte* follows the system explained in Part One in that it optionally governs the genitive. Some typical examples are:

templearen eta aldarearen artean: (Mt. 23, 35; Lz): between the temple and the altar
Gasteien eta Bilbo artean: between Vitoria and Bilbao
hiru ibairen artean: (to) between three rivers
ituen artez: from among the blind
zakurren artean: among the dogs, among dogs
zakur artean: among dogs
jende artean: among the people
eku artean: between the hands, in hand
malko artean: between tears, in tears, tearfully

In a temporal context, uninflected *arte* (or, less commonly, inessive *artean*) serves to express a time limit. Its translation depends on the character of the verb phrase in the clause: as long as in a stative context (including continuous or habitual action), *until* otherwise. Temporal *arte*, whether inflected or not, governs the nominative and never the genitive, characteristic of the spatial use of *arte*. The compound form, detectable by the absence of article, however, does occur when its conditions are met. *Arte* itself never governs the allative; examples such as *Baionara arte* ‘until Bayonne’, *beriozera arte* ‘until death’, *igandera arte* ‘until Sunday’ are readily explained as due to an intervening abstract verb of motion with the sense of *heldu* ‘to arrive’. Illustrations of the temporal use of *arte* and *artean* are:

(31) An interesting example is furthermore *suaren eta uraren artezik* ‘through between fire and water’, which is how León León translated the Latin expression *per ignem et aquam* in Kempis’ *De Imitatione Christi* (I, 22, 5).

The more advanced student will be able to appreciate also Aantxa Urritavizcaya’s exquisite phrase *kontu zure belarriaren eta nire bibiotzaren artean dagotzeko* ‘because the tale is between your ear and my heart’ (*Maitasunaren magalean*, 28).
menduaren azkena arte: until the end of the world
goizetik arrais artean: from the morning until the evening
1893garren urtea arte: until the year 1893
1893garren urte arte: until the year 1893
goiz artean: until the morning, during the morning
bazkaldetean: until lunch, during lunch

Note also the common phrases: noiz arte ‘until when’, atzo arte ‘until yesterday’,
gaur arte ‘until today’, orain arte ‘until now’, ordu arte ‘until then’. The following phrases are used as greetings: aurki arte ‘see you shortly’ (‘until shortly’), bibar arte ‘see you tomorrow’ (‘until tomorrow’), gero arte ‘see you later’ (‘until later’), later arte ‘see you soon’ (‘until soon’), sarri arte ‘see you soon’ (‘until soon’), urren arte ‘see you next time’ (‘until next time’).

The inessive artean can be used alone as an adverb of time meaning ‘still (at the time)’. The noun erdi with meaning ‘middle’ or ‘center’ as well as ‘half’ regularly functions as a location noun, witness the following examples:

egunaren erdian: in the middle of the day
biriaren erdian: in the middle of the city, in the center of the city
itsasaren erdian: in the middle of the sea
itsas erdian: in the middle of the sea
otoen erdian: into the midst of (the) wolves
lagunen erditik: from out of the midst of his fellows

The noun pare, meaning ‘pair’ and also ‘counterpart’ or ‘likeness’, can serve as a location noun referring to the ‘opposite side’:
eliza ederraren pare: across from the beautiful church
etxe parean: across from the house
ixitoen parean: across from the gypsies, in comparison to the gypsies

As we observe in the preceding example, parean, when constructed with the genitive, can also mean ‘in comparison to ...’. Furthermore, the uninflected form pare functions as a postposition meaning ‘like’, as in: zilar finaren pare da pilotaria (beginning of a song written by Etxahun Iruri) ‘a ballplayer is like pure silver’. Some other examples:

asto baten pare: like a donkey
ur garbiaren pare: like clean water (MEIG vii, 153)
deabruaren pare: like the devil

The location noun bazter means ‘corner’, ‘fringe’, ‘margin’, ‘edge’. Hence:
bidearen bazterean: on the shoulder of the road, at the edge of the road
itsas bazterrea: to the shore of the sea
munduaren bazterrera: to as far as the edge of the world

Almost synonymous to bazter is ertz ‘edge’, ‘hem’, ‘margin’, ‘shore’, ‘bank’. It too functions as a location noun:
gona gorriaren erzian: on the hem of the red skirt
ibai ham/iaren erlZera: to the bank of the big river
itsas ertzia: at the sea shore, at the coast

The noun begi has the same meanings as ertz, in addition to that of ‘mountain ridge’. Some examples are:
Obvious location nouns are *eskuin* ‘right side’, ‘right hand’ and *ezker* ‘left side’, ‘left hand’:

- *Jainkoaren eskuinean:* at the right hand of God
- *zubiaren ezkerrera:* to the left side the bridge
- *elizaren ezkerrean:* to the left of the church

While these definite forms are traditional and still in common use, the indefinite forms *eskuinetan* and *ezkerretan* are also quite frequent. In independent use, the indefinite forms seem to be preferred: *eskuinetara* (eskuinetan) ‘to the right’, *ezkerretara* (ezkerretan) ‘to the left. Note therefore: *zubitik ezkerretara* ‘from the bridge to the left’, rather than *zubitik ezkerrera*, which is, however, also possible.

It is not clear whether *buru* ‘head’ should be considered a location noun meaning ‘end’ in such expressions as the following:

- *bidearen buruan:* at the end of the road
- *hamar urteren buruan:* at the end of ten years
- *desboren bururaino:* to the end of time

Despite the existence of such seemingly inflected forms as *kontran* and *kontara*, *kontra* is usually thought of as a postposition governing the genitive, not as a location noun. Its meaning is ‘against’, in an oppositional as well as in a spatial sense:

- *apaizen kontra:* against (the) priests
- *hottaren kontra:* against the cold
- *barriren baten kontra:* against some stone (*Mt. 4,6; LauEb*)
- *bornaren kontra:* against the wall

In the spatial sense, *kontra* governs the dative in the northern dialects, a usage that may be carried over into Euskara Batua:

- *bornari kontra:* against the wall
- *amari kontra:* ‘(leaning) against mother’

In some expressions *kontra* governs the instrumental: *gogoz kontra* ‘against the will’ ‘reluctantly’.

**Appendix on *atzean* and *atzetik***

The abundant documentation in the *DGV* (III 268, s.v. *atzean*, III 275, s.v. *atzetik*) seems to indicate that from the 19th century on *atzean* and *atzetik* are interchangeable in practically all contexts, not just those of motion. In such a context, however, we observe that the same author may use both forms in the same work. Whether or not a difference in meaning is thus signalled remains unclear. In his first novel, *Aurremendiko lorea* (1898), Aguirre wrote “Riktrudisen atzean davilla-ta” (p. 28), but also “bere atzetik dakarz” (p. 46) and “eidaroa bere atzetik” (p. 77). Almost a century earlier,

(32) No mention is made of the well-known synonyms *eskubi* and *eskuma* in view of I. Sarasola’s explicit banishment of these terms from Euskara Batua. (See *HLEH*, 334, 335).

(33) I do not know whether *eskub* and *ezker* can now or could ever have been used in what I have called the compound construction, resulting in such expressions as *zubi ezkerrera* ‘to the left of the bridge’.
in his work Ongui iltzen laguntzeco itzgaiac completed in 1807, Joakin Lizarraga wrote "ta ibili misrien ta vanidadesen atzean" (p. 117v) but also "Naiduñac joän beraren atzetik" (p. 15r) and "joatco Christorin atetic Cerura" (p. 63v). For the contemporary Biscayan author Kerexeta there seems to be no difference in meaning between the two forms, since he translated "Et ivot post eos..." in Neh. 12, 32 as "arein atzean onexek yoiazan...", but "Venit fortior me post me" in Mk. 1, 7 as "Neure atzetik dator ni baino indartsuaga dana".

Granted that atzean and atzetik enjoy equal rights synchronically and are both fully acceptable in Euskara Batua, it is nonetheless true that, diachronically, atzean can be seen to have priority over atzetik even in contexts of motion. In such contexts, atzetik does not seem to be attested before the end of the 18th century, while atzean is attested from 1609 on: "dabil beti gure atzean" (Poesias premiadas en Pamplona en 1609, TAV 3.1.20. 124), "...partitu zen lagunen atzean" (Ber, Trat (1621), 112v), and "Iru erege Mago izar baten atzean" (Acto 376).

Furthermore, Bartoli's norm of lateral areas also favors atzean over atzetik. We know that in the Biscayan area atzean is at least common as atzetik, whereas in the Roncalese dialect only atzean is attested: "norbaitek nai badu xin ene atzian" (Mt. 16, 24; Hual).

A similar situation obtains in the northern dialects. Although Echenique, Bonaparte's Baztanese translator of Matthew's gospel, rendered the text "venite post me" of Mt. 4, 19 as "segui zazue nere guibeletic", the usual northern counterpart of atze in such context is ondo, not gibel. The fight is thus between inessive ondoan and elative ondotik. Let us briefly survey the evidence of some of the more extensive texts.

In Leizarraga's New Testament version, there seem to be no instances of ondotik, but quite a few of ondoan: "zatozte ene ondoan" (Mt. 4,19), "Baldin nehor ene ondoan eborri nabi bada," (Mt. 16, 24), "Eborrén da ni baino borthitzago dena ene ondoan" (Mk. 1, 7), "Zatozte ene ondoan" (Mk. 1, 17), "Baldin nehor ene ondoan eborri nabi bada" (Lk. 9, 23), "...eborrén da ene ondoan" (Acts 13, 25).

In Tartas' work Onsa hiltzec biidia (1966), only ondoan occurs: "berzeren emastiaren ondoan ibilli haitzen" (Ed. Eguzkitza, p. 38), "bere kapitainaren ondoan joanik" (Ib. p. 96), "Ene ondoan jin nabi denak" (Ib. p. 97).

Similarly, in Etcheberri's Manual Devotionezcoa I have found ondoan only: "ar-thatsuquiao ibill nadin gere ondoan" (Man II, 81). In his phrase "Semaari ondotik travaillutan iarraiquia" (Man II, 176), ondotik is used as an independent adverb meaning 'closely'.

The first instance of ondotik I know of in the meaning we are concerned with occurs in Axular's Guero, published in 1643: "abiatu cen berehala erbiaren ondotik 'after him' (Ax. 236) and zure ondotik 'after you' (Ax. 248) are, of course, less interesting. Apparently, Axular was able to use ondoan in the same type of context: "zazpi urthez baren ondoan eta zerbitzuan ibiltzea (Ax. 487) Later Labourdian authors generally prefer ondotik to ondoan. Thus Laplitz has "Eta abiatzen da Mahometanoaren ondotik (Laph, 31) and "...dabitza orai Inazioaren ondotik" (Laph. 112).

In Duvoisin's Labourdian translation of the Bible ondotik is much more frequent than ondoan. Duvoisin utilizes ondotik in all the passages cited from Leizarraga. Some
Further examples are: "jainko atzeen ondotik ibiliko..." (Dt. 6, 14), "hekien ondotik goan ziren" (Neh. 12, 32), "jure Jaintxon ondotik ez goateko" (Is. 59, 13), "jainko arroz ezagutu ez dituzuenen ondotik zailizate" (Jer. 7, 9), "ez goan jainko arrotzen ondotik" (Jer. 25, 6), "goaten bainzen bere galayen ondotik" (Os. 2, 13). There are, however, a few examples of ondoan: ... Jerusalemera itzuli ziren haren ondoan (Lk. 2, 45), Huna zure aita eta ni bibotzminkin ginabilzala zure ondoan (Lk. 2, 48).

A modern Labourdin gospel version, Jesu Kristoren Berri Ona (Ezkila, 1974) also uses ondotik to the exclusion of ondoan, employed in its temporal meaning only. See Mt. 4, 19; Mt. 16, 24; Mk. 1, 17; Mk. 1, 17; Lk. 9, 23; Acts 13, 25.

In modern Souletin, ondoan and ondotik coexist. The introduction of ondotik seems fairly recent. There are no traces of it yet in Topet-Etxahun’s poetry, where ondoan, on the contrary, appears several times, e.g.: "enin ebilten ez iburen ondun" (Bi ahizpak) and Aspaldian ebili biza dendariaren ondun" (Abardo eta Kanbilla), according to the text established by J. Haritschelhar in his monumental work L’oeuvre poétique de Pierre Topet-Etxaban.

In Euskara Barua, both ondoan and ondotik are freely used in this context: nor bere ebiziren ondoan ibili da (MEIG IV, 92), alde egingo du amaren etxetik, norabait, arlotzearen ondotik. (MEIG I, 164).

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NB. I have followed most scrupulously the abbreviations used in the DGV, with one exception: *Itun Berria, Elizend Arteko Biblia* has been abbreviated EAB instead of IBk, so as to distinguish it more clearly from *Itun Berria*, abbreviated IBk in the DGV.