BASQUE MANNER ADVERBS AND THEIR GENESIS*

Introduction

Manner adverbs can be loosely defined as those adverbs that characterize the way in which something is being done or happens. As such, they show a particular affinity to the verb of the clause; indeed, so much so, that it is a natural assumption that they, as far as syntactic surface structure is concerned, must be verb modifiers, as opposed to predicate (VP) modifiers or sentence modifiers. While it is true enough that some manner adverbs, such as *idealki* “ideally”, *nagusiki* “chiefly”, *normalki* “normally”, *orokorki* “generally”, often do not seem to be modifying any verb, but appear to be used almost like a type of sentence adverb, we nonetheless consider them manner adverbs, since in most cases they can be thought of as modifiers of a deleted performative or other abstract verb, so e.g. when *orokorki* means “generally speaking”.

Although there is some functional overlapping, on the whole, manner adverbs must be carefully distinguished from stative adverbs—often marked by the stative suffix -(r)ik, e.g. *bakarrik* “alone”, *bizirik* “alive”, *hilik* “dead”, *butzik* “empty”, *isilik* “silent”, *izorrik* “pregnant”, *osorik* “in its entirety”, *zabalik* “wide open”, *zatkik* “erect”; but also quite frequently without any suffix: *aike* “loose”, *begira* “watching”, *bila* “looking for”, *ibesi* “fleeing”, *prest* “ready”, *truk* “in exchange”, and many others. Perhaps stative adverbs are to be regarded as modifiers of the predicate phrase rather than of the verb. Indeed, the main characteristic that sets them apart from manner adverbs is that they typically function as predicates. They can be combined with aspectual verbs such as *egon*, *gelditu*, *ibili*, *ute*, in which event they constitute the main predicate of the clause, as in: *Pozjak al zande Egan-ekin? (MEIG I, 82) “Are you happy with Egan?”. Elsewhere they may figure as secondary predicates, qualifying

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1 At the very beginning, I wish to thank most warmly my many Basque friends and collaborators without whose generous help this essay would hardly have been possible. While reasons of space forestall my mentioning more than a few names, I particularly want to acknowledge with gratitude that data orally provided by the following scholars have been especially helpful: Arantzazu Elordieta, Mari-Pilar Lasarte, Beñat Oiharzabal, Felipe Yurramendi and Koldo Zuazo. Furthermore, I am much indebted to Joan W. Bresnan of Stanford University for her encouraging comments on a first draft of this article.

2 The need to distinguish at least those three types of adverbs, to wit, ad-V, ad-VP and ad-S, has been emphasized in recent years, notably by J. D. McCawley. See e.g. chapter 19 of his highly instructive synthesis of English syntax, published under the title of *The Syntactic Phenomena of English*. 

[ASJU Geh 43, 1998, 391-419]  
http://www.ehu.es/ojs/index.php/asju
either the subject or the object of the clause. We have a subject-related adverb in: *Biluzik irten aintzen amaren sabelastik, biluzik itzuliko naiz luraren sabelera.* (Job 1:21) “Naked I came out of my mother’s womb, naked I shall return to the womb of the earth”, as well as in: *Lurpean bikiz bibeto bago, horren eskuan biziring bairo.* (Amuriza, *Hil ala bizi*, 165) “You are better off dead below the ground than alive in his hand”. An object-related adverb occurs in: *Nik gazterik gordetzen dut bibotena* (Labayen, *TOE* II, 34) “I Keep my heart young” and in: *Oso zabalik antxkint dute gure etxeko ate.* (Basarri, *Kantari nazor*, 175) “They have found the door of our house wide open”.

J. C. Odriozola and I. Zabala, joint authors of an interesting article entitled “‘Adjektiboen’ eta ‘adberbioen’ artek muga zehatzik eza” (*ASJU* XXVIII-2), have latched onto this predicative behavior in order to claim that stative adverbs are not really adverbs at all, but adjectives. I would readily agree that the categorial status of these items is problematic, and that, whatever they are, they have to be carefully distinguished from manner adverbs. Yet, simply calling them adjectives seems in no way to solve the problem. For one thing, ascribing adjectival status to the secondary predicate fails to account for the connection of this predicate with the action denoted by the verb, in particular, for the fact that the state predicated on the relevant noun phrase needs to last only as long as the action does. And, perhaps even more to the point, why do these alleged adjectives never once occur attributively? We should not allow ourselves to be misled by forms like *esku-hutsik* “empty-handed” or *mahuka-hutsik* “in shirtsleeves”. Here *hutsik* is quite clearly not an attributive modifier of *esku* “hand” or *mahuka* “sleeve”; rather, the stative suffix *-(rjik* has been added to the compound adjectives *esku-huts* and *mahuka-huts*. In short, while I would very much like to learn of an adequate analysis of stative adverbs, I can see little or no advantage to treating them as mere adjectives.

Although I will claim in section 2c that some manner adverbs, in particular *ongi* “well” and *gaizki* “badly”, occurred as stative adverbs before they became manner adverbs, only the latter category will form the topic of my present investigation. My approach will be morphological in nature, with little attention to syntax and none to semantics. Future research, preferably to be pursued by scholars blessed with a native competence in the language, will have to fill these gaps.

One inference I would draw from the results of this article is that it is quite possible, even probable, that prehistoric Basque lacked a formal distinction between adjectives and adverbs. This, clearly, does not apply to the Basque tongue as we have known it for the last half millenium. Here, adjectives and manner adverbs constitute distinct categories, for although quite a few adjectives also appear as manner adverbs (see section 5), many others, including such frequent ones as *on* “good”, *txar* “bad”, *eder* “beautiful”, can do so only with the help of a derivational suffix. Interestingly, modern standard Basque accommodates no less than six such adverbializing suffixes: three monosyllabic *-ki, -ro* and *-to*, and bisyllabic *-kiro, -roki* and *-toro* (the last occurring with one stem only, namely *oso* “whole”).

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3 In this essay, attention will be confined to forms occurring in the modern standard language and their historical antecedents. This restriction dispenses me from commenting on the adverbializer *-(t)sia, found exclusively in the northern dialects, mainly in Low-Navarrese and Souletin. To my knowledge, it combines with one stem only: deriving *untza* “well” (or its phonetic variant *unta*) from the adjective *on* “good.”
It is my fascination with these suffixes, all strictly synonymous, but each having its own distributional restrictions, that has prompted me to undertake this article.

2. The adverbializer -ki

2a. The status of -ki in Batua

In Batua, any adjective semantically compatible with the noun era “manner” can be made into a manner adverb by combining it with the suffix -ki, sometimes subject to apocope in stems with three or more syllables. This happens in itsusi “grossly” based on the adjective itsusi “ugly”, but not, curiously enough, in nagusi “mainly” based on nagusi, an adjective meaning “principal” or a noun meaning “boss”.

In contrast to the adverbializer -ro analyzed in section 3, -ki is always added directly to the stem and never causes a change in the final vowel. Compare maiteki “lovingly” to its synonym maitaroe.

The shape of the suffix is invariably -ki, even when following / or n, with the sole exception of ongi “well”, derived from on “good”. (The rather special case of gaingiroki “superficially”, discussed in section 3a may be disregarded here.)

The following list displays commonly used adverbs where the ending -ki cannot be dropped if these are to function as manner adverbs. Examples of the optional use of -ki will be given in section 5.

It is worth noting, however, that several of the adjectives listed below (alai “cheerful”, apain “elegant”, barro “arrogant”, etc.) can act as stative adverbs, as defined in section 1 above.

The simplification of affricates before a plosive, as in laifoe and trakeski, accords with regular phonological practice and requires no further comment.

alai: merry, cheerful    alaiki: merrily, cheerfully
alfer: useless, lazy     alferki: fruitlessly, lazily
amoltsu: amiable, loving amoltsuki: amiably, lovingly
anker: cruel             ankerki: cruelly
apain: elegant           apainki: elegantly
ausart: daring, bold     ausarki: daringly, boldly, abundantly
baldan: rude, rough      baldanki: rudely, roughly
baldar: clumsy, ponderous baldarki: clumsily
berezi: special           berezik: specially
bero: warm                beroki: warmly
bortitz: firm, tough, harsh bortizki: firmly, forcibly, harshly

4 While absent from the modern language, the voicing of adverbial -ki after nasals is regular in Leizarraga’s New Testament translation, as was noted by Mitxelena (FHV, p. 353). The examples are: mingi “bitterly” (Mt. 26:75; Lk 22:62), ozengi “loudly” (occurring 23 times), xekengi “sparingly” and xuxengi “rightly”, with two occurrences of zekanki “sparingly”, both in 2 Cor. 9:6, as the only counter-example.

The voicing of adverbial -ki after / however, is nowhere attested, at least to my knowledge.
demokratiko: democratic
dolor: mean, vile
dorpe: heavy, harsh
der: beautiful
deme: female, gentle
epel: lukewarm
ergel: idiotic, foolish
ero: insane, crazy
eskuzabal: lavish
ezi: sweet
falsu: false
gazto: wicked, vicious
harro: proud, arrogant
hotz: cold, cool
ideal: ideal
itsu: blind
itsusi: ugly
latz: rough, harsh
leial: loyal
lizun: lewd
lotsagabe: shameless, brazen
maite: dear, beloved
nabarmen: notable, patent
nagi: lazy
nagusi: principal
normal: normal
on: good
oso: whole, complete
poli: pretty
prestu: honest, honorable
samin: bitter
samur: tender, sensitive
serios: earnest, serious
soil: bald, bare, mere
sutsu: fiery, ardent
trakets: clumsy
txar: bad
xehe: minute, small
zital: nasty, vile, mean
zuzen: straight
demokratikoki: democratically
dolorki: meanly, villainously
dorpeki: heavily, harshly
derki: beautifully, nicely, very well
deme: gently, patiently, slowly
epelki: half-heartedly
ergelki: foolishly, stupidly
ero: insignificantly, crazily
eskuzabalki: lavishly
ezti: sweet
falsuki: falsely
gaztoki: wickedly, viciously
harroki: proudly, arrogantly
hozki: coldly, coolly
idealki: ideally
itsuki: blindly
itsusuki: grossly, crudely, terribly
lazki: harshly, rudely
leialki: loyally
lizunki: lewdly
lotsagabeki: shamelessly, brazenly
maiteki: lovingly
nabarmenki: patently, ostentatiously
nagiki: lazily
nagusiki: mainly
normalki: normally
ongi: well
osoki: wholly, completely
poliki: prettily, nicely, slowly
prestuki: honorably, nobly
saminki: bitterly
samurki: tenderly
serioski: earnestly, seriously
soilki: merely, only
sutsuki: fervently, ardently
trakakeski: clumsily
txarki: badly
xeheki: minutely, in detail
ziralki: nastily, vilely, meanly
zuzenki: directly

Actually, the adverb txarki is little used. Its place is taken by gaizki, derived from
the adjective gaiz which, however, has changed its meaning from “bad” to “difficult”
(and also ‘tremendous’), so that we are faced here with a typical case of suppletion:
 txar “bad”, but gaizki “badly”.
In view of their adjectival nature, perfect participles too may be expected to give rise to manner adverbs in -\(\text{-ki}\). This has indeed happened;\(^5\) such adverbs, however, are attested only in the northern dialects. A small number of those have found their way into Batua:

- deliberatu: decided
- itsutu: blinded
- izendatu: named
- lehiatu: hurried
- markatu: marked
- nahasi: mixed, confused
- ohartu: noticed
- deliberatuki: deliberately
- itsutuki: blindly
- izendatuki: specifically
- lehiatuki: hurriedly
- markatuki: emphatically, markedly
- nahasiki: confusedly
- ohartuki: consciously

Examples with the suffix -\(\text{-ki}\) adverbializing nouns are extremely rare. Only four need mentioning:

- adiskide: friend
- anaia: brother
- gizon: man
- maisu: master
- adiskideki: in a friendly way, amicably
- anaiki: brotherly, fraternal
- gizonki: humanly, manly, bravely
- maisuki: masterly

Manner adverbs based on the instrumental case form of an adjective or even of a noun are more numerous:

- bidez: in right, rightfully
- dolorez: in sorrow, anxiously
- egiaz: in truth
- handiz: on a large scale
- laburrez: in short
- luzaz: for long
- mehatxuz: in threat
- ohorez: in honor
- zentzuz: in reason, with prudence
- bidezk: rightly, legitimately
- dolorezk: painfully, anxiously
- egiazk: truthfully, truly, really
- handizk: greatly, especially
- laburzk: briefly
- luzazk: for a long time
- mehatxuzk: threateningly
- ohorezk: nobly
- zentzuzk: judiciously, prudently

In laburrez, instrumental form of labur “short”, the e is epenthetic, and will elide before the suffix -\(\text{-ki}\). In dolorez and ohorez, instrumental forms of dolore “sorrow” and ohore “honor”, the e is organic, i.e. belongs to the stem, and, therefore, does not elide. Without -\(\text{-ki}\), the instrumental forms may describe either a state or a manner: zentzuz jokatu “to act with prudence”.

2b. Historical background of -\(\text{-ki}\)

Any observer of the northern dialects of Basque—Labourdin, Low Navarrese and Souletin—can scarcely fail to be struck by the extraordinary vitality of the adverbial suffix -\(\text{-ki}\). In these dialects, its capacity to form manner adverbs from adjectives, whether native or recently borrowed, appears totally unlimited. A fully productive suffix, -\(\text{-ki}\)

\(^5\) Examples already appear in Leizarraga’s New Testament translation of 1571: afukzionatuki “passionately” (Mk. 6.25, cf. \textit{DGVI}, 245), oboratuki “with honor” (1 Cor. 12.23), sainalatuki “particularly”.

The absence of this pattern from the southern dialects constitutes an additional argument for the lack of productivity of the suffix -\(\text{-ki}\) in these dialects.
fulfills the same function in northern Basque as the suffix spelled -ment does in French, or, for that matter, the suffix -men in Bearnaise, an Occitan dialect bordering on Basque.


The productivity of the adverbializer -ki in Etxepare’s dialect could not be more obvious. The suffix co-occurs with native stems: erboki, gaizkki, luzeki, etc.; but also, and even more frequently, with recent loans: debotki, pazientki, perfekzuki, prosperoki, publikki, singularki, etc. 6

For the middle of the seventeenth century, the same point can be made on the basis of a list compiled by L. Villasante (Villasante 1974: 97-99) which contains all the adverbs formed with -ki found in Aztural’s classic work Guero, dated 1643.

Of the 96 items listed there, more than a third is based on stems that were, at the time, more or less recently borrowed from either Latin or Romance. There is no need for us to go on and study the adverbial inventory of more recent northern authors, as no one familiar with their writings should doubt that such a scrutiny would lead to quite similar results.

Turning now to the present time, use of the adverbializer -ki still remains the standard way of forming adverbs from adjectives in the northern dialects, as demonstrated by recently created adverbs such as automatikoki “automatically”, demokratikoki “democratically”, kulturalki “culturally”, mekanikoki “mechanically”, politikoki “politically”, and many others of this type.

In the remaining dialects, however, matters were considerably different, at least until the last few decades.

In the Biscayan dialect, -ki does not exist at all as an adverbializer: ondoko, txartoko, ederto and galantoko substitute for ongi, gaizkki, ederkki and galankki. This is confirmed by

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6 In my attempt to gauge the productivity of the adverbializer -ki in the northern dialects, I have deliberately passed over Leizarraga’s works, however interesting they are from many points of view. Since they consist entirely of translations—overly literal at times—his vocabulary cannot be accepted without question as representative of the state of the language in his days.

If we do want to consider this evidence, however, a mere glance at Aresti’s word list “Lexico empleado por Leizarraga de Brisco” will suffice to reach a sweeping conclusion: under Leizarraga’s pen, any Romance adjective whatsoever may turn into a Basque adverb just by having the ending -qui added to it. Thus, we find: with ex: excellentiuki, excisquitiuki, expresquitiuki, exteriorkiuki, extraordinarquiqui; with in: indiferentiuki, indignequi, indignoqui, injustoqui, integreiqui, interiorquiqui; and furthermore: paisesquiqui, particularqui, patienqui, perfekzqui, perpetuqui, personalqui, prezioqui, principalqui, propioqui, publicoqui, realqui, religiosqui, rigorosqui, and so on, to a total of over 110 forms.
the Biscayan scholar K. Zuazo: “Of the options Basque has for forming adverbs, -ki and -to, Biscayan only makes use of the latter, although some relic of the former, such as gaizki, can be heard in the Biscayan-speaking areas of Guipuzcoa”. (My translation from page 29 of Zuazo 1989).

As A. Arejita implies, this assessment is as valid for the older stages of the dialect as it is today: “-ki, sufijo empleado exclusivamente en textos guipuzcoanos” (Arejita 1994: Chapter IV, 520). Yet, as noted by the DGV (VIII 208), the adverb gaizki is not altogether lacking in older Biscayan texts, starting with Bertsos bizkaitarrak of 1688: gaizki permitidu izan da (v. 28) “it has been wrongly permitted”. (Cf. Lakarra 1984: 121). Still, as such occurrences are scarce and entirely absent from the oldest texts, such as Refrancos y Sentencias (1596), Micoleta (1653) and Kapanaga (1656), we may well attribute them to Guipuzcoan influence, perhaps transmitted by means of sermons regularly preached in Biscaye by Guipuzcoan-speaking clerics.

With reference to the Guipuzcoan dialect, the situation is much less clear-cut. Here more than elsewhere, the influence of literary language has been quite significant during the last half century at least among the reading section of the population. Antedating the birth of Euskara Batua, this influence first emanated from the refined literary Guipuzcoan akin to Azkue’s “gipuzkera osotua” used by authors such as Lizardi, N. Ormaetxea (better known as Orixe), and also J. Etxaide and L. Villasante in their earlier works. Familiar as these writers were with classical Basque literature, which is mainly of northern provenance, they often show a marked predilection for northern usages. This tendency, coupled with the undeniable fact that -ki forms are handy to use, may make us suspect that these authors were innovative in their use of these adverbs, rather than reflective of the traditional usage of their native dialect.

With the arrival of Euskara Batua and its wealth of literature, lexical diffusion has increased even more. Indeed, considerable prestige seems to be attached to the use of northern idiom, often eagerly resorted to in the search for a more elevated prose.

All this forms the background for my definite impression that the adverbalizer -ki has been gaining ground in Guipuzcoan over the last decades, albeit much more so in the written than in the spoken form of the language. Therefore, if we wish to obtain a more realistic picture reflecting the traditional status of the adverbalizer -ki in Guipuzcoan, we should draw on older sources and examine the proportion in which -ki adverbs appear as against others, notably -ro adverbs (to be further studied in section 3).

To begin with one of the earliest works in the Guipuzcoan dialect, the book Christian-doctrin berri-eagorle (1785) published by friar J. A. Ubillos (1707-1789) contains quite a number of -ki adverbs: bereziki “especially”, egiazki “truly”, emeki “gently”, firmekei “firmly”, gaizki “badly”, gogorki “harshly”, humilki “humbly”, laburki “briefly”, obeki “better” (employed once only, versus four times obeto), ongi “well” (no occurrence of ondo), sanuki “saintly”. The number of -ro adverbs is much smaller: argiro “clearly”, berezkiro “especially”, berriro “again”, biziro “keenly”, firmekei “firmly”, luzaro “for a long time”. There also is one instance of the suffix -toro: osotoro “wholly”.

As we will soon see, the high proportion of -ki adverbs in Ubillos stands in marked contrast to the much lower proportion found in later Guipuzcoan authors, in particular, Gerriko, Iztueta and Lardizabal, where the adverbalizer -ki plays at
best a minor role. This patent divergence may be due to several factors whose relative weight is not easy to gauge. It might be a matter of chronology, in that more -ki forms were still extant at the beginning of the eighteenth century than at the end. Geography too may be important. The northern area of Guipuzcoa, Beterri, where Ubillos was born and lived, is more exposed to diffusion from the northern dialects than is the southern region, Goierri, the native area of the later authors. Then again, it might merely be a matter of cultural influence, friar Ubillos having read a good portion of the northern literature, and, in particular, Larregi's *Testamen gabarreko eta berriko historia* (1777), as has been suggested by L. Villasante (*HLV*, § 164).

Leaving this issue undecided, we will now turn to the evidence provided by the work of J. I. Gerriko, born in Segura in 1740, and living in that southernmost region of Guipuzcoa until his death in 1824. While this author only wrote one book, *Crístau doctriña guziaren espleitxioaren sataqera*, it was an inordinately long one, set in two volumes, totalling over a thousand densely printed pages. Possibly for that very reason, publication of the book, written around 1805, was delayed until 1858.

I have not hesitated in limiting my scrutiny to only the first of the two parts, since a corpus consisting of 473 dense pages can surely be expected to allow reliable inferences about the author's vocabulary.

Among the approximately 140,000 words of this text, the harvest reaped of -ki adverbs turned out to be most unrewarding. True, the translation equivalent of English badly is a -ki form: gaizki, but its antonym is ondo sometimes in diminutive form: ondotxo—with its comparative—obeto, never once obeki. The form ongi appears frozen only, as part of the lexical compounds ongi naya “benevolence” and ongi etoria “welcome”. Besides gaizki, one encounters ederki “beautifully”, galanki “copiously”, lazki “splendidly” (quite possibly borrowed from Kardaberaz, *Eusqueraren bem onac* (1761: Ch. 1), and, finally, one single occurrence of eskuarki “generally”, as part of the phrase sarri edo eskuarki (p. 455) “often or generally”, against which there are no less than 22 occurrences of the synonymous -ro adverb eskuarkiro. All in all, no more than five -ki adverbs could be collected.

We may notice that on the whole Gerriko is rather sparing in his use of morphologically derived adverbs. Time and again he has adopted other devices to express what might well have been expressed by a -ki or -ro adverb. He seems partial to postpositional phrases, preferring e.g. *humiltasunarekin* “with humility” to the adverb *humilkiro* “humbly”, which he uses only once (p. 383). Sometimes a diminutivized adjective will serve as an adverb, thus *laburtxo* at least three times, while the adverb *laburkiro* “briefly” appears only once (p. 374); sometimes an iterated adjective will be called upon: *zuzen-* *izpen* “directly”, while *zuzenkiro* never appears. He makes free with Spanish loans, not shrinking from the use of six-syllable words. Thus, he employs *libremente*, but also *infitammente*, and, particularly, *especialmente*, which occurs at least four times, with *berzekiro* appearing only once.

But when Gerriko does avail himself of an adverbializing suffix, his choice is generally -ro rather than -ki. Accordingly, while we found only five -ki adverbs used in part 1 of Gerriko’s work, more than twenty -ro adverbs can be detected there counting, of course, also the variant form -ko (see section 3a). The attested forms are: *andizkiro* “greatly”, *argiro* “clearly”, *astiro* “attentively”, *berzekiro* “particularly”,

We note that the form -kirot is used for adjectives ending in a consonant, but not, as a rule, for those ending in a vowel, unless the adjective is morphologically complex: miragarrikirot, lotsagabekirot, lotsa bagekiro, instead of plain miragarriro, lotsagabero and lotsabagero, despite the latter’s presence in Larramendi’s Diccionario trilingüe.

With regard to the status of the form -kirot, it is interesting to look at a much earlier author, also from the southern border regions, but this time from Navarra. I am referring of course to Juan de Beriain, author of two bilingual works, Doctrina christiana and Tratado de cómo se ha de oír misa, who in 1638 died in Uterga, about ten miles south-west of Pamplona. While Beriain makes use of -ki (bortikro “strongly”, gairikro “badly”, galainkro “handsomely”, obekiro “better”, ongikro “well”) as well as -ro (berirot “again”, dignorokro “worthily”, luzarokro “for a long time”), the only productive adverbializer is -kirot, this being the only form combining with recent loan words: espiritualkirot “spiritually”, falsokiro “falsely”, firmokiro “firmly”, kruekirot “cruelly”, liberalkirot “liberally”, partikularkirot “particularly”, principalkiro “mainly”, puntualkirot “punctually”, ziertokiro “certainly”.

To round off our survey of nineteenth century Guipuzcoan usage, we will apply ourselves to J. I. Iztueta’s book Guipuzcoako provinciaren condaira edo historia, written in the years 1842-1845, and published in 1847, two years after his death. I have to admit that it is not quite clear to me to what extent the vocabulary of this work is representative of early nineteenth-century Guipuzcoan. It is well-known that L. L. Bonaparte, prince and pioneer of Basque dialectology, took rather a dim view of the quality of Iztueta’s prose (see Villasante, HLV § 282). But, of course, Bonaparte’s reasons may have had very little to do with the topic at hand.

The interest of this underrated book for us lies in the fact that, for once, we have a text that is not dealing with matters of religion with the concomitant stock of standard phrases and idioms, but with a subject as wide and varied as the geography and history of Iztueta’s beloved native province. The author’s fascination with the world around him permeates his style of writing, and, in particular, can be expected to give rise to a greater assortment of manner adverbs than we are wont to find in the purely utilitarian works of his priestly contemporaries and predecessors. To a surprising extent this is just what our analysis reveals.

Thus, while Iztueta’s book is considerably shorter — there being much less print on a page— than Gerriko’s initial volume, there are easily twice as many morphologically derived adverbs in it: 57, as against 27 in Gerriko.7

Here too the -ki forms are in the minority: only 20 (or 23, if the three -roki forms argirokiro “clearly”, gaindkirokiro “eminently” and garbirokirokiro “neatly” are also counted).

7 Not included in this count are adverbs derived by means of the adverbializers -tora and -to. Of these, Iztueta made use of the following: gozotorot “delightfully”, obetorot “better”, ondotorot “well” and osotorot “wholly”. For these, see section 4.

The remaining majority consisting of the adverbs formed with the adverbializer -ro will not be enumerated at this point, but will be found listed in section 3b below. As the data given there will show, for Iztueta as for Beriain, not -ki but -kiro served as the productive native equivalent in southern Basque of the Spanish adverbializer -mente.

The data surveyed in this section can be summarized in the following conclusion: In the matter of forming manner adverbs from adjectives, the suffix -ki plays a major role in the northern dialects, where it is fully productive and has been so far at least half a millennium; it only plays a minor role in the southern dialects, where the suffix -ro is substantially more prominent.

2c. Etymology of -ki

Now let us delve a bit into etymology. Is it at all possible for us to discover from whence the adverbializer -ki hails? Embarking on this quest, one naturally turns to M. Agud and A. Tovar’s “Materiales para un diccionario etimológico de la lengua vasca”. Looking up the word gaizki “badly”, we are given the following information: “De gaitz con el sufijo adverbial -ki. Como señala Uhl. RIEV 3, 217 se usa mucho sustantivado, con el valor de ‘lo que está mal hecho, el mal’.” (ASJU XXV-3, 863).

Now, while it is, of course, well-known that the form gai?fei can be used as a noun meaning “evil”, this fact at first glance does not seem to assist us very much in our pursuit of the origin of the adverbializer -ki. With a little reflection, however, some insidious questions come to mind. What made Uhlenbeck and, apparently, everybody else so sure that in this case linguistic history started with an adverb shaped gaizki, which is then supposed to have nominalized at some point so as to produce the noun gaizki “evil”? Was Uhlenbeck perhaps relying on the sheer force of numbers that is, did he deem the adverbs to predate the nouns, just because there are so many more of them? And, from a more general perspective, are adverbs really that prone to turn into nouns? If they are, why did not also ergelki “stupidly” assume the meaning “stupidity”: “lo que está tontamente hecho, la tontería”? And, furthermore, why did only ongi and gaizki go on to produce such nouns, whereas their exact synonyms ondo and txartu never did?

Since these questions seem pertinent enough, we may be well-advised to discard Uhlenbeck’s proposal and cast around for a more suitable alternative. Fortunately, there happens to be a perfectly plausible explanation for the emergence of nouns like gaizki without requiring recourse to the homophonous adverb.

Let us consider the nominal suffix -ki, which, as is well-known, serves to express a separate part of a whole. It is a remarkably versatile suffix, combining with numbers: biki “one of a twin”; with names of trees or plants: expulki “piece of boxwood”; with names of animals: abonzki “piece of goat meat”; with various
nouns, producing culinary terms: *bizkarki* “shoulder cut”, *esneki* “dairy product”, *odolki* “black pudding”, *tripaki* “tripe dish”; and also some non-culinary ones: *gizaki* “human being”, *gauiflki* “object”, *liburuki* “volume of a book”, and many more.

Azkue’s appraisal “el sufijo goza de muy exuberante vida” (Azk. *Motj.* I, 106) is as valid today as it was then. Thus, Amuriza, in his novel *Hil ala bizi* (1983), was able to create the term *agoazlik* “flesh of a policeman” (p. 24). And in Soule one can hear phrases such as *arasi gorriki* “piece of red meat”, *asto zaharki* “piece of old-donkey-meat” and *xerri gazteki* “piece of young-pig-meat”, as a student of mine, Armand De Coene, has discovered in 1994.

Common to all dialects, the suffix -ki can be assumed to have had a long history in the language, and is therefore available for etymological purposes.

Now, since *on* and *gaitz* besides being adjectives, were also nouns, denoting the concepts of “good” and “evil”, we must allow the suffix -ki to apply to them, which gives us exactly the desired results: *ongi* “(piece of) goodness”, *gaizki* “(piece of) evil”.

As this suffix -ki only attaches to nouns, it will operate on just those adjectives that are simultaneously nouns. Hence, we obtain *beroki* “(piece of) warmth” (in its definite form *berokia* —spelled *Veroqui*— attested as a toponym since 1244, see *DGV* IV 814), and *gozoki*, often with expressive palatalization: *goxoki*, “a piece of sweet”, but not *ergelki* in the sense of “stupidity”, nor *itsuiki* in that of “blindness”.

Now that the nominal forms have been, as I believe, adequately accounted for, let us have another look at the corresponding adverbs. Unless we want to settle for accidental homonymy, our aim must be to turn Uhlenbeck’s proposal upside down, that is, we must show how the nouns *ongi* and *gaizki* could have developed into adverbs.

We will start from a well-known fact, namely, that bare nouns can appear as subject or object complements, even to the extent that they seem to become predicates when used in combination with aspectual verbs, such as *izan, egon, ibili, gelditu, uti*; and so on. Examples of this phenomenon are:

(1) a. Nor dago Obaban mediku? (Atxaga, *Obab.* 207)
Who is there in Obaba as a doctor?
(1) b. Bederatzi urte egon zen erretor(e) Irulegin. (Zerbitzari, *Azkaine*, 76)
He had stayed in Irulegi for nine years as a parish priest.
(1) c. Nor dago apaiz? (Irazusta, *Joanixio*, 67)
Who is there as a priest?
(1) d. Ni Olaberrian morroi egon nintzeane... (Uztapide, *LEG* 100)
When I was at Olaberria as a farmhand...

Now, when bare nouns are used in this way as secondary predicates, they tend to become indistinguishable from adverbs. This can be seen with utter clarity in the

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8 There appears to be one noteworthy exception: the noun *handiki* “magnate”, where nominal use of *handi* in the sense of “greatness” does not seem to be attested. This term, however, is confined to the southern dialect area, and first occurred in Larramendi’s *Corografia* (p. 152, cf. *DGV* II, 84). Could it be an analogical creation due to the fertile mind of that illustrious author?
case of the form gizonki. While the DGV (VIII 624-625) shows separate entries for the noun gizonki “man” on the one hand, and the homophonous adverb gizonki “as a man” (“como un hombre”) on the other, it is quite obvious that the examples listed under the latter can all be explained as containing occurrences of the noun gizonki used as a secondary predicate: Bere eritasuna gizonki darama. “He is taking his illness as a man.”

By the same token, the derived nouns ongi and gaizki must have been used in a similar way, and, one would expect, quite frequently so. Although we are dealing here with a very early development, some lines in Etxepare’s Linguae vasconum primitiae (1545) still seem to bear witness to it, as it is at times hard to tell whether a particular occurrence of ongi or gaizki is an adverb or a noun. Thus, ongi in line 17 of poem I does not seem to be a manner adverb: zeren Isinkoa egun oroz ongi ari baitzaigu, translated by L. Akesolo as “ya que Dios todos los días nos hace el bien” (“since God does good to us everyday”). Similarly, gaizki in line 33 of poem XII is clearly a predicate: Zurekila gaizki baniez nola biiJ nintzande? In Akesolo’s translation: “¿Cómo podria yo vivir estando a mal contigo?” (“How could I live if I am on bad terms with you?”).

Even today, ongi and gaizki, like the semantically comparable adverb ederki “beautifully”, can act as stative adverbs, on a par with bakarrik “alone”, biziriik “silent”, etc. As an answer to Aita vola dago? “How is father?”, we hear Ongi dago “He is well” or Gaizki dago “He is unwell” instead of the theoretically expected Onik dago or Txarrik dago. Or, quoting Iztueta, ez nengoke gaizki “I wouldn’t be badly off (Condaira, 132). Notice especially that the majority of -ki adverbs do not allow collocation with izan or egon: there is no *biiJki dago for “he is keen (or alive)”, nor is there *zorrozki dago for “it is sharp”.

What I am arguing here is that the case of ongi and gaizki perfectly parallels that of gizonki: their natural use as secondary—or even primary—predicates secures them adverbial status, first as stative adverbs describing a state of affairs, then also as manner adverbs.

Once this evolution was completed, these two adverbs—and perhaps a few others of similar origin—by dint of their frequent use became ready models for the formation of new adverbs. In this process, the linkage with the nouns ongi and gaizki was gradually loosened and replaced by that with the adjectives on and gaitz. In fact, since the adjective for “bad” was txar, the adjective gaitz meaning “difficult” may well be taken to be a back formation from the adverb gaizki “badly”. For the southern dialects, not much else needs to be said. There the evolution stopped after a mere handful of -ki adverbs had been created by analogy with ongi and gaizki, without the suffix -ki ever becoming a truly productive adverbalizer. Yet the -ki adverbs that had developed belonged to the everyday vocabulary, so that when new -ki adverbs originating in the northern dialects made their appearance through literature, they could be readily accepted as they conformed to a well-established pattern in the language.

With respect to the northern dialects, we have shown in section 2b that the suffix -ki became productive at an early date and remains so to the present day. If we now go on to ask what makes the north so different from the south in this connection, one major factor may well be Romance influence, in particular, the
much greater frequency of the suffix -ment in Gallo-Romance as against that of -mente in Hispano-Romance, where many alternatives to this suffix exist and are often preferred. Thus e.g. Spanish has con soltura, where French has couramment "fluently".

To put the contents of this section in a nutshell, I am suggesting that the adverbs ongi and gaizki predated all or most other adverbs of manner, and are ultimately derived from the nouns ongi “good” and gaizki “evil”, themselves instances of a well-known derivational pattern. These adverbs were eventually reanalyzed as derived from underlying adjectives, after which their sheer frequency allowed them to act as models for the creation of more adverbs.

Since the diachronic development sketched here was already fully accomplished prior to the period of the oldest texts, it cannot be documented by textual evidence, and is therefore not susceptible to rigorous proof. Strictly speaking then, what I have written can be put down to mere speculation. Yet, in matters of etymology perhaps more than elsewhere, a judicious amount of informed speculation is not to be despised, and I dare hope that quite a few readers will find the postulated genesis of the adverbializer -ki plausible, or, at least, plausible enough to warrant the space devoted to it in this section.

3. The adverbializer -ro

3a. The status of -ro in Batua

In the southern variant of the literary standard, the suffix -ro can be used as an alternative to -ki for the purpose of deriving adverbs from adjectives.

Of these two competing suffixes, -ki is by far the most frequent. In the material making up Sarasola’s 1977 corpus, the form biziki occurs 82 times as against biziro 9 times, garbiki 14 times as against garbio 11 times, osoki 49 times as against osoro 3 times.

Yet, the role of the -ro suffix in southern Batua is by no means marginal. It appears with considerable frequency and naturalness in Mitxelena’s writings, still considered by many as the true paragon of Batua style. Moreover, with certain adjectives the ending -ro is actually more frequent than -ki. Thus, Sarasola’s corpus contains 319 instances of berriro, but only 32 of berriki. Euphony too may play a part here. This corpus includes just two instances of argiki versus six of argiro. Even more dramatically, the adjective egoki “suitable” admits the adverb egokiro “suitably”, used by Mitxelena (MEIG II, 41), whereas *egokiki does not even exist at all.

The adverbializer -ro can be attached directly only to stems ending in a vowel. In Batua, adjectival stems ending in -e regularly change this vowel to a before adding -ro: from eme we get enaro, from luze, luzaro, from xehe, xeharo, etc. The corresponding vowel change is attested also for stems ending in o: there is gozaro from gozo and sendaro from sendo, but nowadays such forms are deemed dialectal rather than standard.

As to adjectives ending in a consonant, they also admit the adverbializer -ro, but require the presence of an intervening morpheme -ki, forestalling in this way the need for an epenthetic vowel insertion rule. Accordingly, from the adjective berdin “equal” we get berdinkiro “equally”; from epel “lukewarm”, epelkiro “halfheartedly”;


from *eskuzabal* “generous”, *eskuzabalkiro* “generously”; from *leun* “smooth”, *leunkiro* “smoothly”; from *samur* “tender”, *samurkiko* “tenderly”, and from *zikin* “dirty”, *zikinkiro* “dirtily”.

From a diachronic point of view there can be little doubt that the ending -kiro represents the adverbializer -ki followed by the suffix -ro. This suffix, therefore, could be added to adverbs as well as to adjectives, a fact for which additional evidence is provided by the examples betiro “eternally”, already used by Larramendi (S. Tomas 2), and sarriro “often”, derived from the adverbs beti “always” and sari “often”, respectively.

My decision to ignore this origin and treat -kiro synchronically as an allomorph of -ro rests on two observations. First, the suffix -kiro seems to have become divorced from -ki in that it occurs as a productive adverbializer precisely in areas where -ki is not productive. We saw a clear example of this in section 2b when discussing the South-Navarrese dialect of Juan de Beriain, but several varieties of Guipuzcoan would probably serve just as well. Second, it appears to be the case that if a local variety of Basque freely uses the adverbializer -ro, it also makes use of -kiro, obligatorily after consonants, but often also optionally after vowels. Thus we may find: enekiro “gently”, harrokiro “arrogantly”, osokiro “wholly”, etc.

Until quite recently, however, bisyllabic 10 adjectives ending in the vowel i were never followed by -kiro, most likely for the sake of euphony. The DGV reports no instances of *argikiro*, *astikiro*, *berrikiro*, *garbikiro*, one only of *biziukiro* dating from 1934 (J. M. Barandiaran, *ELG* 87), while examples of *bindiukiro* do not appear until 1927.

What we find instead are metathesized forms: argiroki, astiroki, berriroki, biziroki, garbiroki, handiroki. From such forms the adverbializer -roki was abstracted and occasionally extended to cases where the -kiro form was also available, as in maitaroki, used by J. Etxeberri from Sara (Lan Haut. 153), osoroki, used by Lizarraga from Elcano (Urt. 127), and a few other examples.

In modern usage, -roki adverbs are decidedly rare and apt to sound somewhat archaic, with one notable exception: gaingiroki “superficially”, quite current in Batua, in part on account of its occurrence in Axular’s classic Guero (Ch. XX, 189). I take this to be a -roki adverb based on the noun gaing, phonetic variant of gainki “upper part”.

As already hinted at the beginning of this section, even in Guipuzcoa, where it is most at home, use of -ro now tends to give way to that of -ki, judged, it would seem, to evoke greater literary prestige. Yet, the following adverbs formed with the -ro suffix are still readily accepted by southern speakers, and can be freely used in Batua, spoken as well as written:11

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9 Whether this state of affairs can be projected into the past is another matter. As shown in section 3b, in seventeenth century Labourdin the suffix -ro existed at least in relic forms, but I have found no evidence that the ending -kiro was ever in use there.

10 For stems of more than two syllables — or perhaps we should say for morphologically complex stems — this is not necessarily true, witness Gertiko’s use of the form minagerkiko “miraculously” (Gerniko 1858: 171).

11 I have limited the examples to instances of the -ro allomorph. As to the -kiro allomorph after consonants, it should be noted that the adjectives on “good” and gaitz “bad”, “difficult” have no -kiro forms, only -ki ones. As I am unaware of any further restrictions on -kiro forms, there was little point in listing any.
There are but few examples of the suffix -ro adverbializing nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>argi</td>
<td>clear, bright</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>berri</td>
<td>new</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bizi</td>
<td>living, keen, intense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>egoki</td>
<td>suitable, proper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eme</td>
<td>female, gentle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ezti</td>
<td>sweet, soft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garbi</td>
<td>clean, clear, pure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geldi</td>
<td>quiet, slack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gozo</td>
<td>delicious, sweet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guri</td>
<td>soft, tender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guzti</td>
<td>all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>handi</td>
<td>big, great</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luze</td>
<td>long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maite</td>
<td>beloved, dear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nagi</td>
<td>lazy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nagusi</td>
<td>principal, main</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naro</td>
<td>abundant, lavish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oso</td>
<td>whole, complete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sendo</td>
<td>firm, solid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ugaro</td>
<td>abundant, copious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zehe</td>
<td>minute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zintzo</td>
<td>dutiful, honest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>argiro</td>
<td>clearly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>berriro</td>
<td>again, newly, recently</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biziro</td>
<td>lively, keenly, intensely, highly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>egokiro</td>
<td>suitably, properly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emaro</td>
<td>gently, patiently, slowly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eztiro</td>
<td>sweetly, softly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garbiro</td>
<td>clearly, frankly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geldiro</td>
<td>quietly, slowly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gozoro</td>
<td>sweetly, pleasantly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guiro</td>
<td>softly, delicately</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guztiro</td>
<td>totally, in all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>handiro</td>
<td>on a grand scale, greatly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luzaro</td>
<td>at length, for a long time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maitaro</td>
<td>lovingly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nagiro</td>
<td>lazily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nagusiro</td>
<td>principally, mainly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naroro</td>
<td>abundantly, lavishly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>osoro</td>
<td>wholly, completely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sendoro</td>
<td>firmly, solidly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ugaro</td>
<td>abundantly, copiously</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zeharo</td>
<td>minutely, precisely, totally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zinzoro</td>
<td>dutifully, honestly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**3b. Historical background of -ro**

In its discussion of the adverb handiro, the *DGV* (II, 88) delivers the following assessment: “De modo general, -ro, conservado en restos en todas partes, tiene que ser más antiguo que -ki y -to” (“More in general, -ro, preserved in relics everywhere, must be older than -ki and -to”).

Regarding the latter half of this statement, I have some doubts. If my claim that -ro has -kiro as an allomorph was as true in the past as it is today, it is hard to see how it can antedate -ki, which, incidentally, also survives virtually everywhere, albeit not precisely in mere relics.

At any rate, the great antiquity of -ro as such is beyond dispute. Already in Landuchio’s *Diccionarium linguae cantabriacae* compiled in 1562 we read: “dulcemente beasiro eguna” (p. 110); “estrechamente estrechuan, esturo” (p. 124); “firmemente firmero” (p. 126); “llanura o llano llanoro ibiletas” (p. 147); “magnificamente andiro” (p. 149);

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12 As R. M. Azkue has pointed out, historically, astiro may very well derive from the now obsolete adjective asti “indolent”, “slow” (Azk. *Morf.* I, 241; II, 418).
"notablemente notablero" (p. 161); "nuebamente barriro" (p. 161); "posiblemente posiblero" (p. 174); "puramente garuiro" (p. 178).13

Even that is not the first attestation of this breed of adverb. This honor belongs to an occurrence of lealkiro "loyally" that appears in a document relating to a matrimonial trial held in 1536 in Belascoain, situated within the area of Southern High-Navarrese (cf. Satrustegi 1981).

Of course, the widespread diffusion of this suffix guarantees a yet more venerable age. Although at present the adverbializer -ro belongs exclusively to the southern dialects, in the past it may well have been common to all dialects without exception.

The DGV gives northern citations for at least the following adverbs: astiro, berriro, biziro, erero, eziro, gozoro, bandiro, bertsiro, luzaro. Curiously enough, there are even northern -ro adverbs alien to the south. In his book Debosino escuarrar of 1635, Jean de Haranburu from Sara combined the adverbializer -ro with perfect participles, as in deliberaturo "deliberately" and lehiaturo "speedily" exact parallels to deliberatuki and lehiatuki, forms thriving in Sara today.

Although these northern citations are mostly from the western part of Labourd, it cannot be maintained, as A. Arejita does, (Chapter IV, p. 522.) that the use of -ro "sea fundamentalmente occidental", is basically western. Such a characterization would leave out of account the whole province of Navarra, where, except for the northernmost region, -ro forms are quite common, albeit usually in competition with -ki forms. To take a typical example, in the works of Joaquin Lizarraga from Elcano (1748-1835), we find at least14 the following -ro adverbs: argiro "clearly", berriro "again", betiro "eternally", biziro "keenly", botxkiro "cheerfully", emekiro "gently", spekikiro "halfheartedly", errukiro "severely", etsukiro "strictly", espiritalkiro "spiritually", firnkiro "firmly", komunkiro "commonly", lotsagarriro "fearfully", luzaro "for a long time", miragarriro "admirably", osokiro "entirely", zikinxhrro "obscenely.

In the north-east of the Basque Country, -ro relics are exceedingly rare. True, in the Basque - French vocabulary Louis Geze appended to his Souletin grammar, we meet with luzaro "longuement" (p. 298); yet, looking under longuement in the subsequent French - Basque vocabulary, we only find luzaz. Furthermore, it is of course possible that emaro "slowly" found in the closely related Roncalese dialect was once part of Souletin as well, but are we really entitled to make this assumption, and could not emaro have reached Roncalese from the south rather than from the north?

Actually, the best proof that the Souletin dialect too once knew the adverbializer -ro was discovered by Mitxelena when he noticed that the typical Souletin form habaro meaning "more" must stem from a metathesis of hobaro,15 identical to the adverbial -ro form of the adjective hobar "better" (see FHV 161, note 12).

13 Page numbers refer to Agud and Mitxelena’s edition of Landuchio’s dictionary, not to the original manuscript.

14 My list has been compiled from P. Policarpo de Iraizoz “Vocabulario y fraseologia de Joaquin Lizarraga” (Iraizoz 1978-79), together with various other sources. This list is, therefore, unlikely to be even remotely exhaustive.

15 Although the adverb hobam is otherwise unattested, I omit the asterisk in view of the derived verb obarotu “to improve”, cited in the DRA (p. 3055).
There is therefore every reason to believe that the use of -ro to form adverbs was once common to all dialects of Basque.

The preponderance of -ro in the southern dialects has already been noted in section 2b, in reviewing the adverbial repertoires of Ubillos, Gerriko, Beriain and Iztueta. To these, we could have added Lardizabal, who uses morphologically marked adverbs most sparingly, but when he does make use of one, it is almost always a -ro form. In his major work Testamentu zarrco eta berrico condaira, published in 1855, I have encountered the following examples: argiro “clearly”, berriro “again”, betero “fully”, garbiro “distinctly”, gogorkiro “ruthlessly”, gozarro “pleasantly” (also gozoro), guriro “richly”, luzaro “for a long time”, maitaro “lovingly”, naroro “copiously”, oparo “abundantly”, osotoro “wholly”, santurro “devoutly”, zaro “in detail”, zorrozko “sharply”.


On the whole, the use of the allomorph -kiro is similar to that in Gerriko’s work. Besides following consonants, it appears after morphologically complex adjectives, such as bidebage, literally “way-less”, and lotsabage “shame-less”. But the adjectival suffix -gam no longer induces morphological complexity. Where Gerriko had miragarri-kiro, Iztueta employs plain ikusgarriro, lotsagarriro.

It is to be noted that the ending -kiro shows clear signs of productivity. It can substitute for the plain form -ro even after vowels, as was already the case in Larramendi’s Diccionario trilingüe (1745), and also in his later manuscript Diccionario vasco-castellano, in some respects considered more reliable: biurriro, biurrikiko “perversamente” (p. 182). Iztueta shows two examples of this: emekiko “gently” instead of emaro or emero, and estukiko “tightly” instead of esturo, both of these forms being already given in Larramendi’s Diccionario trilingüe. It is interesting too in this connection that, when Iztueta wanted to create an adverb from a noun, he used -kiro, not -ro, even if the noun ended in a vowel. We already met the adverb abezekiko “alphabetically”, derived from the noun abeze “alphabet”. Occurring four times in the book, this adverb was clearly Iztueta’s own coinage, which is why he included it in the explanatory vocabulary placed at the end of the volume.

As to the -roki ending, there are in Iztueta’s text only three adverbs incorporating it: argiroki “clearly” (27 occurrences), garbiroki (at least 8 occurrences) and gaindiko “eminently”, occurring but once (p. 51). The fact that their stems all end in the vowel i neatly confirms my hypothesis about the origin of the ending. The forms
*argikiro, *gaindikiro, *garbikiro, which the increasing productivity of -kiro leads us to expect, contain two unaccented high vowels in successive syllables, which, I gather, violates a phonological constraint of the western dialect area. Hence, metathesis was resorted to in order to break up the objectionable sequence by means of an intervening -ro.

By far the most important point to be made about Iztueta’s use of the -ro forms has been saved for the last. In his parlance, -ro forms can be used adjectivally as well as adverbially. There are examples for at least three adverbs: Egia garbio onen ezagun-garriztat (p. 27) “as evidence of this quite clear truth”; egia garbio onen argibide zazenak (p. 64) “straight documents of this quite clear truth”; egia garbio da... (p. 164) “... is a quite clear truth”; similarly with zierto: egia zierto an (p. II, V and 377) “this quite certain truth”; egia zierto onen sinistgarririk garbiena (p. 138) “for the belief in this quite certain truth”; egia zierto onen sinistgarririk garbiena (p. 211) “the clearest evidence for this quite certain truth”; and, finally, the partitive maitaranagorik (p. III) points to the adjectival status of maitaroago, and hence of maitaro, given that the linking morpheme -ko never combines with manner adverbs.

In my opinion, this remarkable usage cannot be held to be an innovation invented by Iztueta. It has to be an archaic feature of his native dialect continuing an old tradition, even though it had already disappeared long ago from other regions. Its only survival in modern Basque constitutes the adjectival use of oparo, which can mean either “lavish” or “lavishly”. With this one form, Iztueta’s usage is still entirely acceptable: beru ur jori oparoakin (Condairu, 121) “with its magnificent lavish water”. Mitxelena too has written: baren erbesteko urteak kontatzen dizkigu hizkuntza oparoan (MEIG III, 92) “he tells us the years of his exile in a lavish language”. Finally, the authoritative Euskal biztegi modernoa published in 1994 cites the phrase Gipuzkoako baso oparoetan “in the lavish woods of Guipuzcoa” (p. 859).

3c. Etymology of -ro

Let us recapitulate the properties of the adverbializer -ro, as seen in the earlier sections:

1. -ro co-occurs with adjectives as well as with adverbs. When combined with an adverb, the effect on the meaning is minimal: compare beti and betiro, sarrri and sarriro, gogorki and gogorkiro, osoki and osokiro.
2. When -ro is combined with an adjective, the result may again be an adjective —witness garbio, maitaro, zierto in Iztueta—or else, it may be an adverb.

Now, if, instead of Basque, we were dealing with French, those two properties would sound like a perfect characterization of the behavior of tout, an adverb meaning “all”.

This adverb can be used as an intensifier for adjectives: tout bête “quite dumb”, tout entier “absolutely whole”, tout facile “quite easy”, tout faux “quite false”, tout horrifié “quite horrified”, tout rouge “quite red”, tout seul “quite alone”. It can be used in the same meaning with adverbs as well: tout facilement “quite easily”, tout franchement “quite frankly”, tout particulièrement “most particularly”, tout simplement “quite simply”, tout sincèrement “quite sincerely”, tout spécialement “most specially”. And, what to us is most
important, *tout* also acts as an adverbializer, at least with certain adjectives: *tout court* "briefly", *tout doux* "gently", *tout entier* "entirely", *tout juste* "barely", *tout net* "clearly", *tout sec* "curtly", and so on. 16

Plainly, French *tout* corresponds to Basque *oro*. This quantifier, now restricted to the eastern dialects, was once common to the entire country. It was used even in Biscaye, as is apparent from its occurrence in the proverbs of the 1596 collection *Refranes y Sentencias* (nrs. 92, 170, 198, 223, 245, 256, 491, 533).

In view of the strikingly parallel development of *tout* in French, it seems most unlikely that the partial identity between the quantifier *oro* and the adverbializer -ro should be purely accidental. The phonetic development presents no problem, as the apheresis of *oro* is already well-documented in the case of time adverbials. In Iztueta’s book, as in the earlier Gerriko text, we still find the full forms *urtxe oro* (p. 171) “every year”, *egunoró* (p. 349) “daily”, *egunoroko* (p. 178) “daily”. But the reduced forms *egunero*, *urtro*, *illero*, *astero* are already attested in Añibarro’s *Voces bascongadas*, and *astero* ‘weekly’ appears in his *Lora sorta espirituala* (p. 165), published in 1803. In the same year, *egunero* turns up in J. A. Mogel’s *Confesino ona* (p. 34), where, as in all of Mogel’s work, *egunero* remains the most frequent form.

It is therefore in no way surprising that the suffix -ro should have the adverb *oro* as its source. In fact, Gerriko’s *zeoro* for modern *ze(h)aro* also pointed in this direction. And that *oparo* “abundantly” continues an older *opa oro* “all one could wish” seems altogether undeniable. Still, generally speaking, the path from quantifier to adverbializer is not as obvious as one might wish, which is why our French parallel comes in so handy.

It may be asked whether the meaning development of Basque *oro* from quantifier to adverbializer represents an autonomous process rooted in universal grammar, or whether the Romance model played a decisive role in this evolution. I am inclined to take the latter view, since the process is, in fact, far from universal. While all the Romance languages possess an equivalent of *tout*, only French and Occitan seem to use it as an intensifier, as in *tout simplement* or *tout court*. Bearnese, the Occitan dialect closest to the Basque Country, employs *tout juste*, *tout doux*, *tout hort*, glossed “justement, doucement, fortement” by the lexicographer Simin Palay (*DBGM*, 971). Castillian Spanish, on the other hand, entirely lacks expressions of this type. There is no *todo justo*, *todo dulce*, *todo fuerte*, nor is there *todo particularmente*.

It is therefore all the more intriguing that the distinguished linguistic historian R. Cierbide in his study of medieval Romance notarial documents originating from Navarra came across an occurrence of the phrase *tot integramente*. 17 Did Navarrese Romance, unlike Castillian, belong to the Gallo-Romance Sprachbund alluded to above, or did the phrase in question arise by imitation of a Basque model of the form *osoki oro*, forerunner of *osokiro*, so profusely used by the Navarrese author Joaquin Lizarraga from Elcano in the latter part of the eighteenth century? Given

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16 Most French grammars I have seen fail to make mention of this noteworthy fact. As so often, a laudable exception here is M. Grévisse’s extremely useful handbook *Le bon usage*. In the 11-th edition of 1980 a full paragraph is devoted to this use of *tout*: § 797 on page 410.

17 Oral communication from Professor R. Cierbide, March 12, 1996.
that up to well into the sixteenth century, Basque-Romance bilingualism was a fact of life in virtually the whole province of Navarra, this possibility can surely not be discounted a priori.

4. The adverbializer -to

4a. The adverbializer -to in Batua

Distributionally, the suffix -to is by far the most limited of all the adverbializers. Aside from the adverb ondo “well” (derived from on “good” via post-nasal voicing of the suffix -to), together with its irregular comparative hobeto, both used profusely in the southern variant of Batua, the suffix -to occurs as an adverbializer only in the Biscayan dialect, where it appears to have yielded less than twenty adverbs in all. Of these, a mere six seem to have survived in modern speech. Beyond the two items just mentioned, only ederto “nicely”, polito “handsomely”, txarto “badly” and zantarto or zatarto “hideously” can still be heard, and occasionally find their way into a Batua text, with the effect of lending it some local color: a Biscayan touch.

4b. Historical background of -to

Over the past two centuries -to adverbs have been dropping out of the language at a steady rate. The impoverishment is quite dramatic when the present inventory is compared to that of J. A. Mogel (1745-1804), but only one hundred years ago quite a few more adverbs were available to speakers of Biscayan than can be heard nowadays.

The prestigious lexicographer R. M. Azkue, himself a Biscayan born in 1864, will be our witness. When listing in his Morfologia vasca the -to adverbs familiar to him from the spoken language of his days, he cites those six we mentioned in section 4a together with four others: errazto “easily”, gaiztoto “wickedly”, galanto “smartly” and txaxtarto “meanly” (Azk. Morf. I, § 386, p. 242). In addition to those ten examples vouched for by his personal experience, Azkue also adduced two instances from Biscayan literature, explicitly noting that he had not heard those used by the people. Both of them stem from the works of J. A. Mogel: motelto “weakly” (Peru Ab. 207) and urtento “boldly” (Ip. 15, ms. Zabala, cf. Altzibar’s edition p. 207).

Dr. A. Arejita in chapter IV of his monumental study La obra de Juan Antonio Mogel: Parte I. Gramática descriptiva de la lengua has unearthed three additional examples from J. A. Mogel’s works: gogorto “harshly (Ip. 27, 52, 62; cf. Altzibar’s edition p. 94, 132, 155), okerto “wrongly” (Doct. Cr. 9; cf. Villasante’s edition, p. 100), otzanto “meekly” (Ip. 1; cf. Altzibar’s edition p. 45).

18 A phonetic variant obato also appears in the older Biscayan texts, so e.g. in J. J. Mogel’s Baserritar jakitunaren etxeo ibilbidea (p. 20, 150, 151, etc.), where, similarly, the form osaro “wholly” is used (p. 49, 76) instead of the more common oar. This form obato already appears in a letter from Juan de Zumarraga written in 1537. Cf. Tovar, Otte & Michelens 1981.

19 As a footnote by Mitxelena on page 96 of Villasante 1974 informs us, ondo and obato reach at least as far as the Navarrese town of Oyarzun.
As far as I am aware, the earliest attestation of this type of adverb is found in the celebrated lament over Dona Milia de Lastur, datable to the first half of the fifteenth century and transmitted to us by the famous Basque historian E. Garibay (1533-1599). There we read: laburto (line 14) "briefly" and gaxtoto (line 26) "wickedly" (cf. Mitxelena, TAV3.1.5).

Incidentally, the latter adverb also appears in some proverbs belonging to the Refranes y Sentencias of 1596, where we find it spelled in three different ways: gassoto (No. 301), guextoto (No. 341) and gaxtoto (No. 342).

The only further example of this kind of adverb that has come to my knowledge is adinondo, derived from adinon "middling", and cited by P. Mujika with the meaning "fairly", "indifferently". Cf. DCV, 1894, and DVC I, 48.

Such a meagre harvest -18 adverbs in all- will make us wonder whether the adverbializer -to was ever productive. Yet, it must have been so to some extent in the late eighteenth century, as will be shown by the form txarto "badly". This well-known adverb, which ended up replacing entirely its earlier synonyms gaistoto and deungaro, did not make its appearance until the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is found in Añizarro's manuscript of Gueroco Guero —still in combination with deungaro: deungaro ta txarto—and also in J. J. Mogel's Baserritarer jakiusuren etxeak eskoia first published in 1816, but not, as Dr. A. Arejita (1994: Chapter IV, p. 522) has noticed, in the works of J. A. Mogel, who uses only deungaro. Thus, it seems that txarto must have been derived from the adjective txar "bad" in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, which shows that the suffix -to was, at least at that time, a well-established adverbializer that could be extended to new forms.

4c. Etymology of -to

To uncover the origin of the adverbializer -to, we first need to resort to the earliest Basque dictionary in existence, to wit, N. Landuchio's Dictionarium linguae cantabricae dated 1562 and representing the speech of the city of Vitoria, capital of the southern province of Alava, as convincingly argued by Mitxelena in 1958 when the manuscript, at last, was printed. More fittingly described as a Spanish-Basque vocabulary, this work contains the only information we have about the Basque that was spoken in that southern capital, and is therefore immensely valuable to historical linguists. And, I would add, for the problem at hand its testimony happens to be invaluable. Not indeed that the vocabulary contains many examples of plain -to adverbs. In fact, it offers only three: gaistoto (p. 149) "badly", obato (p. 153) "better", ondo (p. 71) "well". What it does contain, however, are seven instances of an adverbial ending -toro: erraztoro (p. 125) "easily", galantoro (p. 128) "smartly", garbitoro (p. 145) "neatly", gaistotoro (p. 149) "badly", gogortoro (p. 110) "harshly", osforo (p. 128) "coolly", zurtoro (p. 119) "scantily".

Curiously enough, the only surviving adverb of this type osotoro "completely" fails to appear. As a translation of "enteramente", Landuchio gives osotxo, i.e. the stative

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20 As often in the course of this essay, I have modernized the spelling. As before, page numbers refer to Agud and Mitxelena's edition, not to the manuscript.
adverb *osorik*, derived from *oso* “whole” by means of the stative suffix -(r)ik. Let us head back now to *osotoro*, which will be our key form. Its etymology is so clear that it must have been obvious to all speakers of the language until far into the middle of the nineteenth century. Accordingly, when Larrañendi in the middle of the eighteenth century translated *perfecte adimplere* “to fulfill perfectly” by *oso ta oro betetzela* (S. Tomas 1) or when he wrote in the manuscript of his Basque-Castilian dictionary “*osoro, oso ta oro enteramente, del todo*”, he must, in all likelihood, have been using an etymological spelling for what is written *osotoro* by his slightly younger contemporary Ubillos (*Christau doctrin berri-scarlea*, p. 222) and by later writers such as J. B. Agirre, Iztueta and Lardizabal. There can be no doubt: *osotoro* represents *oso ta oro* “whole and all”.

Interestingly, exactly parallel formations exist in Dutch and German. A Dutch vernacular equivalent of “entirely” is *helenda*~ consisting of the adjective *heel* “whole” and the adverb *al* “all”, joined together by *ende*, the old form of the conjunction “and”. Compare also German *ganz und gar*, matched by Dutch *heegaar* “completely”.

In a similar vein, Iztueta’s *gozotoro* ‘sweetly’ must stem from *gozo ta oro* “sweet and all”, and likewise for all the examples found in Landuchio’s dictionary.

At this point a question may arise. Why is it that, while *oso* is an adjective, *oso ta oro* has suddenly turned into an adverb? The answer is not far to seek. *Oso*, of course, is not just an adjective, it can also be an adverb, even nowadays. Orixe translated the Latin adverb *penitus* “entirely” by *oso: Gogotik oso galdu baledi...* (si autem *penitus aboleatur ex animo ...*) “if it were entirely lost...” (*Aitorkiifinak*, 267). Likewise, Lizardi wrote: *Ta gauza batek amtzen nau oso...* “And one thing completely astonishes me...” (*Itz-laur(, 78). Further examples could easily be added by any native speaker of southern Basque.

Now, given that only constituents belonging to the same syntactic category can be conjoined, conjoining *oso* with the indubitable adverb *oro* will make it, and therefore the whole phrase, unambiguously into an adverb.

To extend this explanation to the other examples, we have to claim either that in older Basque all adjectives involved could act as adverbs (which I believe to be the case, cf. section 5), or else, that the suffix -*toro*, once born, got extended to adjectives not originally entitled to it.

Having explained the ending -*toro*, we return to the adverbializer -*to*. Since those two suffixes are functionally equivalent and partly identical in shape, they are most likely to be historically related. The question remains in what way. Azkue appears to hold the view that -*toro* is merely a sequence of -*to* and -*ro*, for he calls the suffix pleonastic (Azk. *Morf.* I, § 386, p. 242). Needless to say, after our analysis of -*toro* as consisting of (e)ta and *oro*, such a notion can no longer be accepted. Rather, we have to view -*toro* as a more ancient form, from which the suffix -*to* arose by phonetic contraction, in much the same way as the form *gizonan* resulted from the genitive *gizonaren* in many varieties of spoken Basque.

An intonational peculiarity provides an additional argument. Whereas Landuchio’s dictionary, as a rule, does not furnish accent marks, in Iztueta’s text *osotoro* and *gozotoro* always carry a final accent; likewise for *osotori* in Ubillos’s work. It is therefore quite interesting to note that the adverbializer -*to* in J. A. Mogel’s manuscripts virtually always bears an accent mark: *ederto*, *gogorto*, *moteto*, *otzanto*, a graphic detail
that undoubtedly represents a fact of pronunciation of the time, all the more telling
as word-final stress is far from common in Biscayan Basque. On my analysis, then,
the final stress on enclitic oro historically explains the final stress on the -to adverbs.

In osotoro, the semantic value of oro must have been perceived as long as the
word remained current in the spoken language, which explains why it never con­
tracted to *osoto.

The contracted form -to already existed in Landuchio’s data, for he cites gaistoto
as well as gaistotoro (p. 149) and also of course ondo and obato.

The fact that the uncontracted forms *ondoro and *obatoro are nowhere attested
does not tell against my analysis. Indeed, for such extremely common adverbs one
can expect the phonetic contraction to become obligatory at a very early date.
Notice, however, that even nowadays ondo still allows final stress, in contrast to its
synonym ongi, which is permitted initial stress only.

The case of ondo’s antonym txarto is quite different. As we saw in section 4b, this is
a more recent adverb, formed when the adverbializer had already taken the shape -to.

5. The adverbializer θ

Many adjectives allow a zero adverbializer, i.e. they are able to act as manner
adverbs themselves. No semantic characterization as to which adjectives behave in
this way is at present available. It can be noticed that all adjectives referring to
quantity seem to be included; witness eskas and urri, both meaning “scant” as well as
“scantily”, and their antonyms jori, naro, oparo and ugari, all meaning “abundant” as
well as “abundantly”. Yet, such generalizations are apt to be spurious, and the
property in question may well be purely lexically governed; the more so as there are
substantial differences between dialects, southern varieties accepting considerably
more adverbial adjectives than northern ones do.

That being so, from the point of view of the interdialectal standard, we may
speak of an optional use of the adverbializer -ki (or -ro, as the case may be) with
certain adjectives, with a tendency of the northern dialects to keep it and a prefer­
ence of the southern ones to drop it. Some adjectives, however, never take -ki,
although used as adverbs: bapo “splendid” (not used in the north), egoki “suitable”
(for reasons of euphony, but cf. egokirii), laster “fast”, where lasterki while found in
dictionaries is exceedingly rare, even in the north. Furthermore, there is zoli, used
for “keenly” as well as “keen”.

The most common adverbial adjectives used in Batua are listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>adjectives:</th>
<th>meaning:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alderbes:</td>
<td>wrong, backward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alfer:</td>
<td>idle, useless, lazy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apal:</td>
<td>low, humble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apropos:</td>
<td>appropriate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>argi:</td>
<td>clear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arin:</td>
<td>light, quick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>artez:</td>
<td>straight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>azkar:</td>
<td>vigorous, rapid, clever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bapo:</td>
<td>splendid</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>adverbial:</th>
<th>meaning:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alderbes(ki):</td>
<td>wrongly, the other way round</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alfer(ki):</td>
<td>in vain, idly, fruitlessly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apal(ki):</td>
<td>soft, softly, humbly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apropos(ki):</td>
<td>appropriately, intentionally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>argi(ki):</td>
<td>clearly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arin(ki):</td>
<td>lightly, quickly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>artez(ki):</td>
<td>straight, straight-forwardly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>azkar(ki):</td>
<td>vigorously, rapidly, fast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bapo:</td>
<td>splendidly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I would like to end this section with a diachronic comment. The great number of double-duty items among Basque manner adverbs makes pure adverbs such as *ederki*, *gaizki* and *ongi* look more like exceptions than like the rule. This situation makes us wonder whether in an older stage of the language perhaps all manner adverbs were double-duty items, so that older Basque lacked a formal distinction between adjectives and adverbs. The results of our earlier sections all point in the same direction. The various morphemes that characterize manner adverbs in historical Basque originally served other functions: -ki indicated the part-to-whole relationship, and *oro*, involved in both -ro and -to, was a quantifier, as it still is in

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21 This handy term, describing lexical items able to serve in two or more syntactic functions, was introduced by A. Zwicky in a recent paper (Zwicky 1995).

| berdin:   | equal       | berdin(ki): | equally |
| biguin:  | soft        | biguin(ki): | softly  |
| bikain:  | superb, magnificent | bikain(ki): | superbly, magnificently |
| bizi:    | alive, quick, strong  | bizi(ki):  | lively, quickly, strongly |
| bizkor:  | brisk, spry, quick | bizkor(ki): | briskly, quickly |
| dotore:  | fashionable, elegant | dotore(ki): | fashionably, elegantly |
| egoki:   | fitting, suitable | egoki(ro): | suitably, conveniently |
| eragabe: | irregular, moderate | eragabe(ki): | irregularly, immoderately |
| eroso:   | comfortable, easy | eroso(ki): | comfortably, easily |
| erraz:   | easy        | erraz(ki): | easily |
| garbi:   | clear       | garbi(ki): | frankly, clearly |
| garratz: | sour, stern, severe | garratz(ki): | sourly, sternly, severely |
| gogor:   | hard, rigid, rigorous | gogor(ki): | harshly, rigidly, rigorously |
| gozo:    | delicious, sweet | gozo(ki): | pleasantly, sweetly |
| jator:   | proper, authentic | jator(ki): | properly, correctly |
| labur:   | brief, short | labur(ki): | briefly |
| larri:   | big, grave, critical | larri(ki): | broadly, gravely, seriously |
| lasai:   | loose, carefree, calm | lasai(ki): | freely, tranquilly, calmly |
| laster:  | rapid, quick | laster: | rapidly, quickly, fast, soon |
| leun:    | smooth      | leun(ki): | smoothly |
| luze:    | long        | luze(ki): | at length |
| makur:   | crooked     | makur(ki): | crookedly, wrongly |
| motel:   | faltering   | motel(ki): | faltering |
| ozen:    | loud, resounding | ozen(ki): | loudly, resounding |
| sakon:   | deep, profound | sakon(ki): | deeply, profoundly |
| sendo:   | firm, solid | sendo(ki): | firmly, solidly, strongly |
| txukun:  | tidy, neat  | txukun(ki): | tidily, neatly |
| zalu:    | quick, agile | zalu(ki): | quickly, fast |
| zehatz:  | precise     | zehatz(ki): | precisely |
| zintzo:  | dutiful, decent | zintzo(ki): | dutifully, decently, civilly |
| zoli:    | keen, vigorous | zoli: | keenly, vigorously |
| zoro:    | foolish     | zoro(ki): | foolishly |
| zorrotz: | sharp, rigorous | zorrotz(ki): | sharply, strictly, rigorously |
| zuhur:   | cautious, wise | zuhur(ki): | cautiously, wisely |
Souletin and the neighbouring dialects. They only became adverbializers at a certain point in history. And if indeed, as I suggested, Romance influence also played a role in this process, this point may not be farther back than one single millennium or even less. This conclusion, needless to say, shares the fate of all historical reconstructions of never being absolutely certain. In our case, it is, after all, entirely possible that adverbs were distinguished from adjectives in older Basque by a feature impossible to reconstruct, say, a glottal stop soon lost.

6. Deictic manner adverbs

Whereas modern English has but a single deictic manner adverb so, Basque distinguishes here three degrees of deixis, corresponding to the three demonstrative pronouns:

- **Honela**, corresponding to: *era honetara* (or: *era honetan*) “in this way”
- **Horrela**, corresponding to: *era horretara* (or: *era horretan*) “in that way”
- **Hala**, corresponding to: *era barta* (or: *era bartan*) “in that (yon) way”

Some examples are:

(2)a. Honela ez goaz inora. (*HLEH* 516).
This way we are going nowhere.

(2)b. Horrela ez zoaz inora.
That way you are going nowhere.

(2)c. Hala ez doa inora.
That way he is going nowhere.

(3)a. Honela erantzungo diot: —Alde hemendik, deabru hori.
I will answer him this way: —Run off, you devil.

(3)b. Horrela bizi behar al dun, alaba? (N. Etxaniz, *LBB*, 49)
Daughter, do you have to live in that way?

First: this way, now that way, afterwards there is no knowing how.

(3)d. Hala dirudi.
So it seems.

In terms of synchronic morphology, these adverbs consist of the oblique stem of a singular demonstrative, followed by a special manner suffix -la, also found in bestela “otherwise” and nola “how”.

From a diachronic point of view, however, we remember that the suffix -la represents the original shape of the allative case ending, which later turned into -ra because of its invariable intervocalic occurrence. On that basis, it is natural to assume that a straightforward Basque equivalent of the French gloss “à la maniere de ceci/cela” was instrumental in creating these adverbs through deletion or non-
lexicalization of the head noun meaning “manner”: bonen ERA-la > *bomen + la > *bonella > bonela.

Our view that -la is an allative case ending rather than a derivational suffix finds some additional support in the observation that those deictic adverbs, unlike all other manner adverbs, can be turned into adnominals by means of the linking morpheme -ko, just as if they were postpositional phrases:

What kind of book? —This (that/yon) kind of book.

In the spoken language of most regions, this threefold system tends to give way to a twofold one, with the contracted form bola serving for both bonela and borrela. It must be mentioned, however, that the Basque Academy strongly opposes the use of bola in the standard language, except as part of the expression bala-bola (or its variants bola-bala, bola-bola) meaning “so-so”, i.e. “not very well”. The corresponding adnominal is also current: bala-bolako “mediocre”.

7. Syntax of manner adverbs

In principle, a manner adverb can occur anywhere in its clause, as long as it does not precede the topic of the sentence. But in an overwhelming majority of instances, a manner adverb, even when not particularly prominent from a pragmatic point of view, will be treated as the focus of its clause and occupy the corresponding position right in front of the verbal complex. Its syntactic behavior, therefore, is seen to confirm the claim made in section 1 that a manner adverb acts as a direct modifier of its verb in surface structure. The following examples, taken from modern texts, are quite typical:

He knew man and society very well.
(5)b. Oso zintzo portatu gara. (Atxaga, Obab. 355).
We have behaved very civilly.
(5)c. Ene bihotza azkar zeblen. (L. Haranburu, Itsasoak 113)
My heart was beating fast.
(5)d. Organuren notak ozenki hedatzen ziren katedralean. (Txillardegi, Exkixu 223).
The notes of the organ were expanding resoundingly through the cathedral.

In negative clauses, manner adverbs will usually function as quasifocus,22 standing in front of the verbal participle, if there is one:

I don’t remember very well.

22 For the concept of quasifocus, see my paper, de Rijk 1996 (in this volume).
(6b). Ez duzu oso erraz barkatzen. (Garate, Izurri berria, 29). 
You don’t forgive very easily.

It isn’t exactly one of Lizardi’s best (poems).

Focushood may be claimed by another constituent, in which case the manner adverb will usually be relegated to after the verb:

(7a). Zer egin dut zehatz? (Txillardegi, Laturia... 114). 
What have I done exactly?

(7b). Orain ikusten dut garbi. (Atxaga, Obab. 64). 
I clearly see it now.

(7c). Hizkuntzaren jabe da Etxaide, zeharo eta osoro. (MEIG II, 56). 
Etxaide has command of the language, fully and completely.

Or else, I will quickly come to you.

(7e). Eseri egin da haundikiro. (Garate, Hades 7). 
He majestically seated himself.

(7f). Izen horiek aitortzen dute, goraki eta ozenki, Euskal Herria dela Txillidaren Herria. (MEIG VIII, 59). 
It is those names that testify, loud and resoundingly, that the Basque Country is Txillida’s country.

In particular, direct quotes can serve as focus. Then too, the manner adverb will follow the verb:

(8a). —Eh, Sarasola, Luis— errepikatzen du ozenkiago ahotsak. (Urretabizkaia, Sat. 33). 
—Hey, Sarasola, Luis— repeats the voice more resoundingly.

(8b). —Nor da mintzo dena?— galdetu zuen berriro idazleak. (Sarrionandia, Nar. 39). 
—Who is it who is speaking?— asked again the writer.

A manner adverb can appear as an after-thought, especially when followed by phrases such as bederen, behinzat, behinik behin, all having the meaning “at least”:

(9). Otxoa de Arin ez da berebizikoa, baina nolazpait ere moldatzen da, tra­keski bederen. (MEIG V, 104). 
Otxoa de Arin is not tremendous, but somehow or other he manages, at least clumsily.

Finally, it is quite possible for a sentence to have no preverbal focus at all, despite the presence of a manner adverb:

(10). Gero, urteen buruan, gauzak lasaitu ziren astiro eta poliki. (MEIG VII, 37). 
Later on, as the years went by, things eased down slowly and gradually.
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