

Año L. urtea

126 - 2018

Uztaila-abendua

Julio-diciembre



FONTES LINGVÆ VASCONVM STVDIA ET DOCUMENTA

SEPARATA

A tale of two reciprocal anaphors in Basque: preliminaries

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Euskarazko anafora elkarkari biren kontakizuna: hastapenak

Historia de dos anáforas recíprocas vascas: preliminares

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This article is dedicated to Jon Ortiz de Urbina; I just hope it gets close to the high standards to which he has accustomed us over the years. I am grateful to M. Huarte for her help with the manuscript and to two anonymous reviewers for their generous comments; remaining errors are only mine.

Submission: 16/03/2018. Provisional acceptance: 06/06/2018. Final acceptance: 16/07/2018.

ABSTRACT

This article provides a typological perspective of Basque reciprocal expressions and reviews previous accounts of the difference between the Basque reciprocal anaphors *elkar* and *bata bestea* ‘each other, one another’. Moreover, it presents abundant data drawn from the Basque literary tradition to show that Rebuschi’s (1988, 1989) first account is in fact correct and that the predictions made by his later (1993) account regarding the distribution of *bata bestea* are not fulfilled. The overview of the usage patterns for *bata bestea* throughout the Basque literary tradition also confirms a high degree of homogeneity across dialects and periods. The article closes introducing further syntactic and interpretive differences between the two reciprocal anaphors, which should set the basis for a future account.

Keywords: reciprocals; binding; syntax; Basque texts.

LABURPENA

Artikuluak, euskal egitura elkarkarien azterketa tipologikoa egin ondoren, *elkar* eta *bata bestea* izenordain elkarkariez aurretik emandako azterbideak berrikusten ditu. Euskal testuetatik ateratako adibide ugariaren bidez artikuluak frogatzen du Rebuschiren hasierako azterbidea zuzena dela eta haren bigarren azterbideak (Rebuschi 1993) *bata bestea* elkarkariarentzat egiten dituen predikzioak ez direla euskal testuetan betetzen. Euskal testuetako testigantzak arakatzek erakusten du, halaber, *bata bestea*-ren erabileran ez dagoela ezberdintasun mamizkorik euskalki eta aroetan barrena. Artikuluak amaieran *elkar* eta *bata bestea* elkarkariez lehenago deskribatu gabeko alde sintaktiko eta interpretatibo gehiagoren berri ematen du, etorkizunean azterbide oso bat garatzen laguntzeko asmoz.

Gako hitzak: elkarkariak; uztardura; sintaxia; euskal testuak.

RESUMEN

Tras realizar un acercamiento tipológico a las construcciones recíprocas del euskera, el artículo revisa los análisis anteriores de las diferencias entre las anáforas recíprocas *elkar* y *bata bestea* ‘uno otro’. Se presentan abundantes datos de la tradición literaria vasca que demuestran que la propuesta inicial de Rebuschi sobre la distribución de *bata bestea* es correcta, y que las predicciones realizadas por su ulterior análisis no son adecuadas. La revisión de los patrones y variaciones de uso de dicha anáfora revela, además, un alto grado de homogeneidad en lo referente a los dialectos, así como en lo tocante a la historia de la lengua. El artículo finaliza presentando nuevas diferencias entre las dos anáforas, las cuales deberían servir como base para un estudio posterior más pormenorizado.

Palabras clave: anáfora recíproca; ligamiento; sintaxis; textos vascos.

1. INTRODUCTION. 2. BASICS ABOUT BASQUE RECIPROCALLS. 3. BASQUE RECIPROCALLS FROM A TYPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE. 4. PREVIOUS TREATMENTS OF *BATA BESTEA*. 4.1. Grammarians other than Rebuschi. 4.2. Rebuschi's account of the distinction between *elkar* and *bata bestea*. 5. REBUSCHI'S DILEMMA'S RESOLUTION: *BATA BESTEA* IN THE BASQUE LITERARY TRADITION. 5.1. The anaphor *bata bestea*: when and how it is found. 5.2. When an ergative subject binds the anaphor: distribution of *batak bestea* vs *bata bestea*. 5.3. On Rebuschi's (1993) unfulfilled predictions. 6. NOTES FOR FURTHER STUDY. 6.1. Subject reciprocal anaphors? 6.2. Singular and plural antecedents. 6.3. Symmetric and alignment predicates. 6.4. Group reading. 7. CONCLUSIONS. 8. REFERENCES.

1. INTRODUCTION¹

This article is very modest in scope: after reviewing the linguistic literature on both reciprocal Basque anaphors *elkar* and *bata bestea*, it presents abundant evidence to show that the characterization of *bata bestea* depicted in Rebuschi (1988, 1989) is correct and defies the predictions made by his later account (Rebuschi, 1993). The evidence is drawn from literary texts of all periods and constitutes by itself an interesting body of data, due to the apparent variation across periods and dialects in the forms of the bipartite anaphor *bata bestea*. The variation is apparent because, as suggested in Urrutia, Goitia and Artiagoitia (2013), there is in fact more unity and uniformity in the use of *bata bestea* than a superficial look might make one suspect. The confirmation that the difference between *bata bestea* and *elkar* reduces to the fact that the latter needs to be bound in the smallest domain available whereas the former only needs to be bound by the first c-commanding subject, far from being a

1. I use the following abbreviations throughout the article: ABS = absolutive, ACC = accusative, ART = article, AUX = auxiliary, COMP = complementizer, DAT = dative, DGV = Diccionario General Vasco = Mitxelena & Sarasola 1987-2011, DP = determiner phrase, EGLA = Euskaltzaindia 1993, ERG = ergative, GEN = genitive, HEE = Hualde, Elordieta & Elordieta 1994, INST = instrumental, LIT = literally, LOC = locative, NBD = Narrow Binding Domain, NOM = nominative, PART = partitive determiner, PST = past tense, POST = postposition, PL = plural, PRES = present tense, RECP = reciprocal, REF = reflexive, SB = standard Basque, SG = singular, WBD = Wide Binding Domain. The Basque examples are glossed following the Leipzig glossing rules; where rendered irrelevant for the point under discussion, morpheme-by-morpheme glosses have been simplified or omitted. As usual, old examples are cited with modern orthography and stating the page number of the first edition; examples from the Bible follow the usual citation format.

result in itself, simply poses the question of why these differences should arise in the first place.

In a minimalist context, where binding theory as such is no longer taken as a separate module of grammar but hopefully reducible to other more basic operations such as movement (*cfr.* Hornstein, 2001), or Agree (*cfr.* Reuland, 2011; Picallo, 2015), the remarks I make here can only be taken as preliminary and should simply help lay the basis for a future account.

The article is structured as follows: section 2 presents a simple description of the different ways Basque has to express reciprocal constructions; section 3 focuses on the typological characterization of the main two reciprocal anaphors, viz. *bata bestea* and *elkar*; section 4 reviews the previous treatments of *bata bestea* in the literature with special attention to Rebuschi's work; section 5 provides the body of data to confirm Rebuschi's original treatment of *bata bestea* (as opposed to his last treatment in Rebuschi, 1993) and shows, on broader terms, how the use and shape of the anaphor has evolved in the Basque language. Section 6, in turn, makes a few comments on the syntactic and semantic characterization of *bata bestea*; section 7 summarizes the conclusions of the article. In the remainder of the article I assume Zuazo's (2014) division of Basque present-day dialects into Western (W), Central (C), Navarrese, Navarro-Labourdin (NL) and Souletin (S); however, as it is well-known, this state of affairs may not reflect the situation in previous stages of the language, where Labourdin and Low Navarrese were considered separate dialects; therefore, for the 19th century and previous written texts, I thus use the term *Navarro-Labourdin* implying 'Low Navarrese and/or Labourdin' dialects.

2. BASICS ABOUT BASQUE RECIPROCAL

The definition of reciprocity is beyond the scope of this article, but let us assume, for the sake of simplicity, the intuitive idea that reciprocal constructions are those which are conventional or typical for the expression of mutual situations such that «with two or more participants (A, B, ...) in which for at least two of the participants A and B, the relation between A and B is the same as the relation between B and A» (Haspelmath, 2007, p. 2088). Once we clarify this, and putting aside the different kinds of reciprocity or the type of inherently reciprocal/symmetrical predicates, it can safely be said that Basque has three typical reciprocal constructions: the two realized with the reciprocal anaphors *elkar* and *bata bestea* respectively, and the detransitivization strategy found with some verbs. I start with the latter.

Reciprocal constructions via detransitivization consist of treating a bivalent verb as monovalent, in pretty much the same strategy used for reflexivization (Ortiz de Urbina, 1989, p. 188ff):

- (1) a. Jone-k eta Miren-ek Ane ezagutzen dute
 Jone-ERG and Miren-ERG Ane know AUX
 'Jone and Miren know Ane'

- b. Jone-k eta Miren-ek elkar ezagutzen dute
 Jone-ERG and Miren-ERG *elkar* know AUX
 'Jone and Miren know each other, one another'
- c. Jone eta Miren ezagutzen dira
 Jone and Miren know AUX
 'Jone and Miren know each other' & 'Jone and Miren know themselves'
- d. % Jone eta Miren elkar ezagutzen dira
 Jone and Miren *elkar* know AUX
 'Jone and Miren know each other'
- e. Jone-k eta Miren-ek beren buru-a ezagutzen dute.
 Jone-ERG and Miren-ERG their head-ART know AUX
 'Jone and Miren know themselves'

A verb like *ezagutu* 'know' usually takes an ergative experiencer argument and an absolutive argument together with the transitive auxiliary **edun* 'have'; the absolutive argument can be the pronominal anaphor *elkar* (cfr. 1b); the detransitivization strategy removes one argument, and the verb simply gets one (conjoined or plural) DP marked absolutive and the intransitive auxiliary *izan* 'be'. This is exactly the same strategy used for reflexivization; hence, (1c) -due to its plural subject- is in fact ambiguous between a reciprocal and a reflexive reading, equivalent to (1e) with the reflexive anaphor *beren burua* 'themselves' (literally 'their head') as the absolutive object. For some speakers, there exists also the possibility of combining the detransitivization strategy with the presence of the reciprocal anaphor *elkar* (cfr. 1d).

This detransitivization process is generally mentioned in Basque grammars; see in particular Euskaltzaindia (1985, p. 111; 1987, p. 55; 1993, p. 213), Ortiz de Urbina (1989), Etxepare (2003, p. 381ff), Artiagoitia (2003, p. 617), De Rijk (2008, p. 281). However, Etxepare (2003) is, to my mind, the only author who tries to pinpoint the limits of the strategy. The mixed strategy (=1d) is expressly mentioned in the Basque General Dictionary and in Hualde, Elordieta and Elordieta (1994, p. 196).

With respect to *elkar* and *bata bestea*, both are taken to be reciprocal pronouns or, in the case of the second, expressions. *Elkar*, the etymology of which is generally taken to be **hark har* 'that.ERG that' after Mitxelena (1977, p. 69), who credits Uhlenbeck (1928, p. 168) for the proposal, is a simple underived word synchronically and does not have any number morphology yet it usually takes a plural antecedent; it can be case marked with absolutive, dative, genitive or appear as a complement to any adposition. Crucially, it cannot be case-marked ergative, which is generally taken as indication that it cannot be in subject position (cfr. Salaburu, 1986a, p. 363, 370):

- (2) a. Jone-k eta Miren-ek elkarr-i esku-a eman diote
 Jone-ERG and Miren-ERG *elkar*-DAT hand-ART give AUX
 'Jone and Miren shook hands with each other'
- b. Jone eta Miren elkarr-en etsai bihurtu dira
 Jone and Miren *elkar*-GEN enemy become AUX
 'Jone and Miren became each other's enemy'

- c. Jone eta Miren elkarr-ekin haserretu eta elkarr-ez gaizki esaka hasi dira
 Jone and Miren *elkar*-with get angry and *elkar*-INST badly saying start AUX
 'Jone and Mary got angry at each other and started talking badly about one another'
- d. *Elkarr-ek Jon eta Miren maite ditu
elkar-ERG Jon and Miren love AUX
 '*Each other love Jon and Miren'
 (Salaburu, 1986a, p. 363)²

The reciprocal expression *bata bestea* has received much less attention in the Basque tradition, as we will see in section 4; it is a two-member anaphor consisting of the numeral *bat* 'one', generally followed by the article, and the word for 'other', either *beste* (Western, Central and Souletin Basque, some varieties of Navarro-Labourdin) or *bertze* (Navarrese, varieties of Navarro-Labourdin and some writers of Souletin) followed by the article. For convenience, I cite the anaphor under the name *bata bestea*. The numeral part shows two kinds of variation: one has to do with whether the article is used or not, but most Basque writers have used the variant with article; the second kind of variation has to do with whether the numeral bears ergative case or not when the antecedent is a subject bearing ergative case; again most writers use the variant showing ergative case. I summarize the four options here:

- (3) a. Jone-k eta Miren-ek bat-a-k beste-a ezagutzen dute.
 Jone-ERG and Miren-ERG one-ART-ERG other-ART know AUX
- b. Jone-k eta Miren-ek bat-ek beste-a ezagutzen dute.
 Jone-ERG and Miren-ERG one-ERG other-ART know AUX
 (less common than a)
- c. Jone-k eta Miren-ek bat-a beste-a ezagutzen dute. (less than a)
 Jone-ERG and Miren-ERG one-ART other-ART know AUX
- d. Jone-k eta Miren-ek bat beste-a ezagutzen dute. (far less than b)
 Jone-ERG and Miren-ERG one other-ART know AUX
 'Jone and Miren know one another'

Just like with *elkar*, *bata bestea* may bear any case marking on the second member of the anaphor but hardly any example is generally found in the literary tradition with ergative case, *i. e.* with *bata bestea* in the subject position of a transitive clause (*cfr.* Urrutia, Goitia & Artiagoitia, 2013); however, Hualde, Elordieta and Elordieta (1994, p. 177) provide an example with ergative case on *bestea* for Lekeitio Basque (=4d):

2 There is, however, an isolated, well-known, example by Hiriart-Urruty: *Ohoinak eta bertze gaizki-egileak behar baititugu elgarrek elgarren lurretarik urrundu* 'Because we ought to move away *ourselves* thieves and other wrong-doers from each other's lands' (J. Hiriart-Urruty, *Zezenak Errepublikan*, 87, 1972 [1897]).

- (4) a. Jone-k eta Miren-ek bat-a-k beste-a-ri esku-a eman diote.
 Jone-ERG and Miren-ERG one-ART-ERG other-ART-DAT hand-ART give AUX
 'Jone and Miren shook hands with each other'
- b. Jone eta Miren bat-a beste-a-ren etsai bihurtu dira
 Jone and Miren one-ART other-ART- GEN enemy become AUX
 'Jone and Miren became each other's enemy'
- c. Jone eta Miren bat-a beste-a-rekin haserretu eta bat-a beste-a-z
 Jone and Miren one-ART other-ART-with get angry and one-ART other-ART-INST
 hasi dira gaizki esaka
 start AUX badly saying
 'Jone and Mary got angry at each other and started talking badly about one another'
- d. ês-takiže bat-a-bestí-a-k ser égingo dabe-n
 NEG-know one-ART-other-ART-ERG what do AUX-COMP
 'They do not know what each other will do'

In Lekeitio Basque, the anaphor *bata bestea* has become a grammaticalized invariant anaphor and, hence, the first member of the anaphor never gets ergative case.

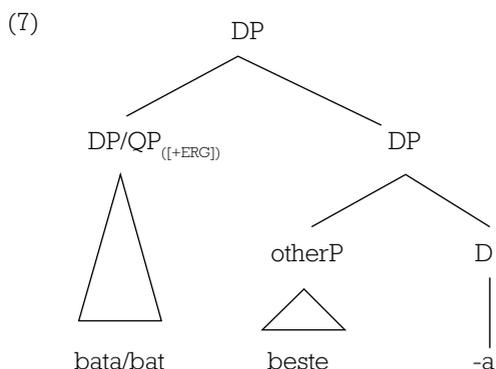
Leaving the discussion of further differences between *elkar* and *bata bestea* for subsequent sections, one offhand and obvious difference between *elkar* and *bata bestea* is the morphosyntactic composition of both: *elkar* is a simple word and as such it may take place in compounds and derived words like the following:

- (5) a. derived words: *elkargo* 'association', *elkartasun* 'solidarity', *elkartu* 'get together, unite'
- b. compound words: *elkarbizitza* 'cohabitation, living together' (< *elkar* + *bizitza* 'life, living'), *elkarrizketa* 'conversation' (< *elkar* + *hizketa* 'conversation'), *elkarlan* 'teamwork, collaboration' (< *elkar* + *lan* 'work')

Ocasionally, *elkar* is used to translate the Romance prefix *inter-* in newly coined compounds like *elkarrekintza* 'interaction', attested in Euskaltzaindia (2016), or *elkar-mendekotasun* 'interdependence' (Sarasola, 2008-2018). In most cases, *elkar* does not give rise to verbal compounds but Sarasola's (2008-2018) dictionary lists a half dozen of them: *elkarbanatu* 'divide', *elkargurutzatu* 'cross each other', *elkarjosi* 'sew together', *elkarlotu* 'tie together', *elkarreragin* 'affect each other', *elkartrukatu* 'interchange'. All of this evidence suggests that *elkar* is both a head and a phrase:

- (6) [[elkar]_D]_{DP}

Bata bestea, on the other hand, is composed by what appears to be a sequence of two noun phrases or, rather, two DPs: [Q-D] + [beste-D]. Depending on whether or not the first member of the anaphor appears with the article, the first phrase would appear to be a single QP. Thus, we may think of the following syntactic representation:



I leave the status of *beste* open; although generally regarded as a pronoun or a determiner, it is also a sort of quantifier in comparative structures: *nahi duzun beste diru* ‘as much money as you want’. In any case, *bata bestea* is totally excluded from derivation and compounds:

- (8) a. *bata-bestea-tasun, *bata-bestea-tu
 b. *bata-bestea-lan

This squares well with the idea that a bipartite (and juxtaposed) noun phrase will not be available to further morphological operations.

Having outlined the very basics of Basque reciprocals³ let us take a look at them from a typological perspective.

3. BASQUE RECIPROCALLS FROM A TYPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

In this section, I go over Köning and Kokutani’s (2006) and Evans’s (2008) typological classification of reciprocal expressions and, additionally, I briefly review the work of two generative syntacticians on reciprocals, Everaert (2000, 2005, 2008) and Siloni (2012).

König and Kokutani (2006) develop a preliminary typology of reciprocal constructions based on Faltz’s (1985) typology of reflexives. They draw a distinction between verbal strategies on the one hand and nominal strategies on the other. Verbal strategies are further subdivided into synthetic and compound strategies:

- (9) Ali na Fatuma wa-na-pend-an-a (Swahili)
 Ali and Fatuma 3PL-PRES-love-RECIP-final vowel
 ‘Ali and Fatuma like each other’

³ See also HEE (1994, p. 178) and Artiagoitia (2003, p. 618), who mention the combination of the quantifier *bakoitza* ‘each’ and *beste* + noun.

- (10) Tamen da-lai-da-qù (Mandarin)
 3PL beat-come-beat-go
 'They beat each other'
 (König and Kokutani, 2006, p. 276)

Nominal strategies are also subdivided into pronominal and quantificational:

- (11) Seit-dem meiden sich die beiden Professoren (German)
 since-then avoid REFL/RECIP ART two professors
 'The two professors have avoided each other since then'
- (12) John and Peter hate each other (English)
 (König and Kokutani, 2006, p. 276)

The authors make it clear that languages often use more than one strategy: for example, Romance languages and German combine both nominal strategies (pronominal and quantificational), Japanese has both a compound verbal strategy and a quantificational one. Although they mention that there are languages where reflexive structures are similar to reciprocal structures (*e. g.* German *sich* and Romance *se/si* and the like, analyzed as pronominal strategies), no room is left for detransitivization processes of the Basque type in section 2.

König and Kokutani (2006, p. 278) mention Basque *elkar* as a verbal marker that gives rise to a compound kind of verbal reciprocal. The example provided suggests something else, though:

- (13) Soldadu-ek elkar-Ø hil zuten
 soldiers-ERG.PL meet/each.other-ABS kill AUX
 'The soldiers killed each other'

That is to say, the authors claim that *elkar* may come from the verb *elkartu* 'meet, come together', in which case *elkar hil* would be some kind of compound verb (just like we see *elkar* in words like *elkarrizketa* or *elkartasun*); note, however, that they still render *elkar* as NP marked absolutive⁴. Even if we accepted that *elkar* may give rise to compound verbs, it is by all means clear that *elkar* is a DP subject to topicalization (14a) or focalization (14b); it can be case-marked with dative or can be a complement to other postpositions (14c):

- (14) a. Elkar, soldadu-ek hil zuten
elkar soldier-ERG.PL kill AUX
 'Each other, the soldiers killed'

⁴ They acknowledge in a footnote that it is not all that clear whether the marker derives from the verb or the other way around. Nonetheless, they stick to their position that examples like (13) are of the compound type.

- b. ELKAR hil zuten soldaduek
'It's each other that the soldiers killed'
- c. Elkarr-i esku-a eman diote, elkarr-ekin afaldu dute
elkar-DAT hand-ART give AUX *elkar*-with dine AUX
'They shook hands with each other, they had dinner together'

Thus, if anything, *elkar* would be an example of a pronominal strategy in König and Kokutani's (2006) typology of reciprocal expressions. *Bata bestea* would side with the quantificational strategy.

In the refined typology of reciprocal constructions developed by Evans (2008), the author makes a difference between single clause strategies and those based on multiple clauses; regarding the first group, he even makes a distinction between NP-marking or argument-marking strategies, verb-marking strategies, conjunct strategies, and adverbial or modifier strategies. Here is an example of each:

- (15) Multiple clause strategy: Yidiny
bama:-l n̄aŋaŋ bun ɕa:-ŋ / ŋayu bama ɕaybar bun ɕa:-ŋ
person-ERG 1SG.ACC hit-PST 1SG.ERG man.ACC in.return hit-PST
'The person hit me and I hit him in return' (= The person and I hit each other)
- (16) NP-marking strategy: Welsh
Naethon nhw gerdded yn syth heibio i'w gilydd
AUX.3PL.PST 3PL walk in straight past to 3PL.RECP
'They walked straight past each other'
- (17) Verbal strategy: Kayardild
a. Bil-da miila-tha bilwan-ji
3PL-NOM delouse-ACTL 3PL-OBJ
'They delouse them'
- b. Bil-da miila-thu-th
3PL-NOM delouse-RECP-ACTL
'They delouse each other'
- (18) Conjoint strategy:
John and Mary kissed
- (19) Adverbial strategy: Mandarin
Tamen huxiang gongji
they RECP attack
'They attacked each other' (lit: 'mutually')
- (all examples from Evans, 2008, p. 52, 68, 73, 78, 81)

The NP-marking strategy is further subdivided into the type of marking that is available crosslinguistically; Evans (2008) mentions bipartite quantifiers or NPs, reciprocal nominals, reciprocal pronouns (both free or bound), reciprocal marking on a single NP, or reciprocal marking on two NPs. Interestingly, Evans (2008, p. 54) mentions *elkar* as a good example of a reciprocal nominal displaying «noun-like morphology and trigger[ing] third person singular agreement on the verb, but which do not mark the reciprocal nominal for possession» (unlike in Welsh, for example). His main source

is Saltarelli (1988). Given that the etymology of *elkar* and related variants is **hark-har* (Mitxelena, 1977), «a combination of the ergative and the absolutive of the distal demonstrative *har-*» (Trask, 1997, p. 197), Evans concludes that *elkar* is a good case of «an original binomial anaphor that fused into a single nominal root over time». Thus, the head-like behavior of *elkar* would be a result of its grammaticalization as a single reciprocal nominal (not a pronoun in Evans's terms, given that it lacks person/number morphology).

Evans (2008) does not mention *bata bestea* in the explanation of bipartite quantifiers, but the definition squares well with it: the type, «exemplified by English *each other* and its (rough) equivalents», is usually made up of an initial element meaning either 'each', 'one' or 'other', plus a second 'alterity' or equivalence expression meaning 'other' or 'some such' (Evans, 2008, p. 46). He then goes on to state that equivalents to English *each other/one another* are found in many European languages, «possibly as a result of widespread calquing into these languages from bible translations» (p. 47). Evans mentions Russian, French, Italian, Spanish, Greek and Finnish among the languages having a bipartite NP anaphor of the *each other* type. He also asserts that there are related issues to the morphosyntax of the bipartite NPs that may give rise to a further subdivision of the type: there is the question of whether the two members may have a different case marking, the possibility of gender/number inflection depending on the participant group, the degree of cohesion or independence of the two NPs, which may result into a single form (e. g. Dutch *elkaar*, generally considered a reciprocal pronoun altogether).

As the reader can easily check, the makeup of *bata bestea* fits the structure perfectly: the first part is the word *bat*, sometimes with article and sometimes without, bearing ergative case if the antecedent is so marked and the second is *beste* 'other' with the article inflected for the relevant case. Furthermore, as I will show in section 4.1, the bipartite NP has undergone grammaticalization and become a single word in some varieties of Basque, in which case the ergative case may be missing in the first part of the anaphor; finally, it can be safely said that Leizarraga's translation of the New Testament (1571) is the first systematic use of *bata bestea* (the variant *bata berzea* with more than 30 examples). To sum up, with respect to Evans's typological approach, the reciprocal anaphors *elkar* and *bata bestea* are quite prototypical of the argument marking strategy attested crosslinguistically, with the suggestion that the second anaphor possibly arose across Europe influenced by the translation of the Bible. As we will see in section 5, the history and distribution of *bata bestea* seems to back up, at least not to disconfirm, that suggestion.

In the generative tradition, there has been a tendency to group reflexive and reciprocal expressions together. However, even though the existence of local versus long-distance reflexives seems quite robust (e. g. Dutch *zich* and *zichself*), the existence of long-distance reciprocals is at best questionable (Everaert, 2000, 2005, 2008). Reflexives vary between local and long-distance reflexives but no such distinction is apparent for reciprocals with a few problematic languages like Urdu/Hindi, Marathi, Hausa, the last two of which seem to admit long distance reciprocal binding in

non-finite clauses⁵. In any event, Everaert (2008) stresses that a close attention should be paid to the morphological makeup of the reciprocals crosslinguistically before the issue is settled. This article is a step in that direction.

Another generative work that mentions a suggestive classification of reciprocal structures is Siloni (2012), who argues that, in addition to periphrastic reciprocal constructions and lexical reciprocal verbs, there is a third type, namely structures that express reciprocity as a result of a syntactic process, a type instantiated by Romance and some Slavic languages. Siloni, who works in a lexicalist framework that distinguishes between lexical and syntactic reciprocalization, argues that syntactic reciprocal verbs have a series of properties that set them aside from lexical reciprocal verbs (the latter are truly symmetrical but the syntactic counterparts are not; productivity vs lack thereof; the availability vs unavailability of reciprocal ECM verbs; whether the verb allows the so-called discontinuous construction, only possible for the syntactically constructed reciprocal verbs; the possible derivation of reciprocal event nominals *versus* lack of them in syntactic reciprocal verbs, and so on). As far I can see, both *elkar* and *bata bestea* qualify as periphrastic reciprocal constructions for Siloni and it remains to be determined whether the detransitivization strategy mentioned in section 2 should be considered lexical or syntactic, on a par with the Romance *se*-reciprocalization⁶.

Once we have provided a crosslinguistic and typological context to understand the nature of the two Basque reciprocal anaphors *bata bestea* and *elkar*, I now turn to the different analyses of *bata bestea* in comparison to *elkar*.

4. PREVIOUS TREATMENTS OF BATA BESTEA

In this section, I review the previous approaches to the anaphor *bata bestea* throughout Basque grammar in section 4.1; given the importance of Rebuschi's work, I review these in a separate section 4.2. As it will become clear, there is some discrepancy as to what

5 In principle neither *elkar* nor *bata bestea* qualify for long distance reciprocals in this sense:

(i) *Miren-ek eta Jone-k ni-ri utzi didate [elkarr-entzat / bat-a-k beste-a-rentzat lan egiten]
Miren-ERG and Jone-ERG I-DAT let AUX *elkar*-for one-ART-ERG other-ART-for work doing
'*Miren and Jon let me work for each other'

This was already pointed out by Rebuschi (1993).

6 If I understand Siloni's account correctly, the Basque reciprocalization strategy by detransitivization appears to be lexical on some counts: first it is lexically restricted to certain verbs (Etxepare, 2003); second, in examples like this:

(i) Jone eta Miren bost biderrez muxukatu dira
Jone and Miren five times kiss AUX
'Jone and Miren kissed five times'

the only possible interpretation is that there were five acts of mutual kissing, not that they each kissed the other five times with the possibility of ten actions of kissing (*cfr. Jean et Marie se sont embrassés cinq fois*, where both interpretations are available according to Siloni). However, it is true that other features suggest just the opposite: *e. g.* the lack of a discontinuous construction. I leave this issue for future research.

the exact distribution of *bata bestea* is in complement position. I will tackle this problem in section 5.

4.1. Grammarians other than Rebuschi

Most Basque grammars have paid little or no attention to the existence of two reciprocal anaphors. As far as I know, in traditional grammars prior to the 20th century only the pronoun *elkar* (or any of its variants) is mentioned; this is the case, for example, of Gèze (1873) and Ithurry (1895). Once in the 20th century, neither Azkue (1923), nor Txillardegui (1978), nor Goenaga (1980), nor Salaburu in his series of articles on binding theory (Salaburu, 1985, 1986a, 1986b), nor Saltarelli (1988) devote a single line to *bata bestea*, even though their description of *elkar* is fairly accurate and detailed. Lafitte (1962) is one of the few that draws the attention to the fact that there exists another reciprocal anaphor besides *elgar* (*i. e.* the variant of *elkar* for the dialects he describes): «La reciprocité est plus lourdement traduite par *bata... bertzea*, l'un... l'autre; *batzuek... bertzeak*, les uns... les autres» (Lafitte, 1962, p. 95):

- (20) Bat-a-k bertze-a laguntzen dute
 one-ART-ERG other-ART help AUX
 'They help one another'
- (21) Batzu-ek bertze-ri eman zuten esku
 some-ERG.PL other-DAT give AUX hand
 'Some shook hands with the others'

In this article I will not deal with (21) where we find an alleged plural version of *bata bestea*; instead, I simply focus on reciprocal expressions like *bata(k) bestea* or *bertzea*, a bipartite anaphor in Evans's terms.

Villasante (1980, p. 158-9) is one of the few authors that mentions the coexistence of two reciprocal anaphors in Basque in passing, but he gives no examples with *bata bestea* and implies that the two anaphors are equivalent. Leaving Rebuschi aside for the time being, Euskaltzaindia (1985, 1993) is one of the few attempts to clarify matters between the two anaphors: Euskaltzaindia (1985, p. 64) specifies that the genitive form of *bata bestea* is preferred over the one of *elkar* in the case of simple nouns like *oh* 'bed' and stresses that in general *bata bestea* can be used on a par with *elkar*. A similar point is made in Euskaltzaindia (1993, p. 69): the genitive form of the anaphor *bata bestea* will prevail over that of *elkar* as possessor of a common noun; other than that, the two anaphors are regarded as equivalent:

- (22) a. Peru-k eta Miren-ek {bat-a-k beste-a-ren, *elkar-ren} etxe-a
 Peru-ERG and Miren-ERG one-ART-ERG other-ART-GEN *elkar*-GEN house-ART
 erre dute
 burn AUX
 'Peru and Miren burned each other's house'
 (EGLA, p. 69)

- b. Bi oilarr-ek elkar hil zuten = Bi oilarr-ek bat-a-k beste-a hil
 two cock-ERG.PL *elkar* kill AUX two cock-ERG.PL one-ART-ERG other-ART kill
 zuten
 AUX
 'The two cocks killed each other / one another'
 (ECLA, p. 69)

So, it would seem that the distribution of *bata bestea* is in fact wider than that of *elkar*⁷.

In the Basque General Dictionary (1987-2011), there are a few notes on the reciprocal anaphor *bata bestea* under the entry of *bat* 'one', which can be summarized as follows:

- a. this anaphor is taken as a synonym of *elkar*, and it is presented with two variants, *batak bestea* / *bata bestea* and *batek bestea* / *bat bestea*, in competition with each other depending on the presence of the definite article in the first part of the anaphor; the anaphor bears ergative case in both cases if the antecedent is a subject marked ergative;
- b. the dictionary suggests that the sequence of the numeral *bat* followed by the word *beste* has a syntactic unity as an anaphor, inasmuch as the correlative interpretations where they designate two separate DPs are left out of the definition: «se incluyen las construcciones *batak bestea ikusi*, *batak besteari eman*... (equivalentes a *elkar*, *elkarri*), con un sujeto plural, no, obviamente, las del tipo *batak bestea ikusi du*, *batak besteari eman dio*»;
- c. it is mentioned that the reciprocal anaphor *batak bestea* is scarcely used in all dialects. It is not clear whether this refers to the overall use of the anaphor or to the anaphor bearing ergative case. In view of the great amount of examples with *elkar* and its variants across all dialects, it seems that the first one is the intended meaning.

Artiagoitia (2003) is a description of Basque reciprocal expressions and it has a separate section on *bata bestea*. The section contains a short morphological description of the anaphor, as well as a few remarks on its distribution and interpretation. With respect to interpretative nuances, Artiagoitia (2003) remarks that some restrictions on the use of *bata bestea* are purely semantic, not syntactic. Thus, the following contrast is more apparent than real:

⁷ However, the DGV states that older Northern writers and, presently, Southern writers have a few examples with *elkarren* as true possessor or subject inside noun phrases:

- (i) Bi lagun-ek *alkarr-en* arnasa nabari [zuten]
 two friend-PL.ERG *elkar*-GEN breath.ART sense AUX
 'The two friends felt each other's breath'
 (Anabitarte, *Poli*, 1958, 105)

The same point is made by De Rijk (2008, p. 370), who claims that there are two uses (systems) of *elkar*: for some speakers (the *broad* system) it is an exact equivalent of *bata bestea* in distributional terms; for others, *elkarren* is excluded as a true possessor (the *narrow* system).

- (23) {elkarr-ekin, *bat-a beste-a-rekin} joango gara
 elkar-with one-ART other-ART-with go AUX
 'We shall go {together, *with each other}'
 (adapted from HEE, 1994, p. 177)

Though it seems rather bad to use *bata bestea* due to the lack of reciprocal or symmetrical interpretation of the predicate at hand, Artiagoitia holds that there is no restriction on using *bata bestea* with the committative, provided a clear reciprocal interpretation is available:

- (24) Gu bat-a beste-a-rekin haserretu gara
 we one-ART other-ART-with get angry AUX
 'We got angry with each other'

Artiagoitia (2003) also mentions that, unlike *elkar*, *bata bestea* occasionally permits long-clausal binding within an embedded subject, but not otherwise; this was originally suggested by HEE (1994) for Lekeitio Basque:

- (25) a. Epi-k eta Blas-ek uste dute bat-a beste-a-ren jostailu-ak polit-ak
 Epi-ERG and Blas-ERG think AUX one-ART other-ART-GEN toy-ART pretty-ART
 dir-ela
 are-that
 'Ernie and Bert think that each other's toys are fun'
 (Artiagoitia, 2003, p. 613)
- b. *Fernandez-ek eta Clemente-k Alaves-ek bat-a-k beste-a-ren
 Fernandez-ERG and Clemente-ERG Alaves-ERG one-ART-ERG other-ART-GEN
 talde-a-ri irabaziko dio-la iragarri dute.
 team-ART-DAT win AUX-that announce AUX
 'Luis Fernandez and Clemente announced that Alaves would beat each other's team'
 (Artiagoitia, 2000, p. 293)

Finally, De Rijk (2008) also mentions both reciprocal anaphors separately and terms them synthetic and analytic respectively; he further assumes that they are for most part equivalent. In his description De Rijk reiterates the idea that the possessive form of *elkar* is restricted to relational and location nouns for most speakers, even though some speakers seem to tolerate it with other nouns. As a corollary, De Rijk draws a distinction between the two variants of *bata bestea*, depending on whether the first element of the anaphor bears ergative case or not (when bound by an ergative subject):

- (26) a. Guraso-ek bat-a beste-a maite dute
 parents-ERG.PL one-ART other-ART love AUX
- b. Guraso-ek bat-a-k beste-a maite dute
 parents-ERG.PL one-ART-ERG other-ART love AUX
 'parents love one another'
 (De Rijk, 2008, p. 371)

He terms the second variant of the anaphor *pseudo-reciprocal*, implying that the variant without case-marking on the first member is the true, lexicalized, reciprocal anaphor. This description also paves the way to look into a possible syntactic variation in the use of this anaphor.

In short, what grammarians have said about *elkar* and *bata bestea* can be summarized as follows:

- a. *bata bestea* is a two-phrase or bipartite reciprocal anaphor with a plural antecedent;
- b. most grammars assert that *elkar* and *bata bestea* can be used in a similar way;
- c. *bata bestea* has a wider distribution than *elkar* in that the latter is excluded from cross-clausal binding and in that it is also excluded for many speakers from the true possessor's position (*cfr.* footnote 7);
- d. for interpretive or semantic reasons yet to be spelled out, both anaphors cannot co-occur in certain contexts and, in those cases, either one or the other is used;
- e. *bata bestea* has a form marked ergative on the first part of the anaphor when bound by an ergative subject but the use of this variant is apparently not universal;
- f. there is some variation in the configuration of the first part of *bata bestea*, given that it sometimes appears with the article and sometimes it does not.

4.2. Rebuschi's account of the distinction between *elkar* and *bata bestea*

Rebuschi takes all the credit for having studied thoroughly the different distribution patterns of Basque anaphors (both reflexive and reciprocal) with special attention to the Navarro-Labourdin dialect in a series of articles (Rebuschi, 1988, 1989, 1992, 1993). In the first two he departs from Chomsky's (1981, 1986) classical version of Binding Theory, according to which both types of anaphors (reflexives like *bere burua* and reciprocals like *elkar*) must obey Principle A:

- (27) Principle A: anaphors must be bound in their local domain

In the eighties, binding entailed coindexing and c-commanding by the antecedent; the reference of the anaphor was supposed to be provided by a local c-commanding antecedent. The notion of local domain captured the idea that antecedent and anaphor must be at a certain distance, the same sentence in the regular case. Let us take the following two examples:

- (28) a. Gu-re_i lagun-ek_j elkar-i_{*i/j} sekretu-a kontatu diote
 we-GEN friend-ERG.PL *elkar*-DAT secret-ART tell AUX
 'Our friends told the secret to each other'
- b. Jokalari-ek_i ondo dakite [presidente-a-k eta entrenatzaile-a-k]_j
 player-ERG.PL well know president-ART-ERG and coach-ART-ERG
 elkar-ekin_{*i/j} afaldu dute-la.
elkar-with dine AUX-that
 'The players know well that the president and the coach had dinner together
 (lit: with one another)'

In (28a), *elkar* takes reference from the subject *gure lagunek* and not from the possessive *gure*; *i. e.*, interpreting reciprocity in a loose way, the sentence means something like «friends related to us have told a secret to each other», and not «*friends related to us have spread a secret among all of us». This is a direct consequence of the subject's c-commanding *elkar*, a relation which does not obtain for *gure*. In (28b) we understand that the reference of *elkarrekin* depends on the president and the coach, the sentence cannot mean that each one of the players know the president and the coach had dinner with some other player; in other words, *elkar* cannot pick the main subject as its antecedent, it is bound to pick its antecedent clause-internally.

Rebuschi (1988, 1989) criticizes Chomsky's rigid definition of local domain and defends that two domains must be differentiated for each pronominal or anaphoric expression:

- (29) *Narrow Binding Domain (NBD)*
A given XP is a rigid binding domain for a given expression if it contains that expression and a subject
- (30) *Wide Binding Domain (WBD)*
A given XP is a wide binding domain for a given expression if it contains that expression and a c-commanding subject

Each pronoun may have separate binding conditions for the two domains; in fact, Rebuschi relies on this to account for the difference between *elkar* and *bata bestea* reported in the previous section⁸:

- (31) a. *Peio-k eta Miren-ek [*elkar-ren* ohe-eta-n] egin dute lo
Peio-ERG and Miren-ERG *elkar*-GEN bed-PL-LOC do AUX sleep
'Peio and Miren slept in each other's beds'
- b. Peio-k eta Miren-ek [*bat-a beste-a-ren* ohe-a-n] egin dute lo
one-ART other-ART-GEN bed-SG-LOC do AUX sleep
'Peio and Miren slept in each other's bed'
(examples from Rebuschi, 1988, p. 235)

In these examples, assuming that the possessor is some kind of subject, the bracketed constituent counts as the NBD, given that it contains the anaphor under scrutiny and a subject (the anaphor itself), but it would be the entire sentence the one that counts as the WBD, given that one must get up to IP/TP to get a subject which c-commands the anaphor (*i. e.* the matrix subject *Peio and Miren*). Therefore, the different distribution of the two reciprocal anaphors can be accounted for in the following way:

8 Rebuschi always reports his data using the ergative-less variant of *bata bestea*; *i. e.* the grammaticalized version, not the pseudo-reciprocal in De Rijk's (2008) terms.

- (32) a. *Elkar* must be bound in its NBD and in its WBD
 b. *Bata bestea* must be bound in its WBD (not necessarily so in its NBD)
 (adapted from Rebuschi, 1988, p. 237)

In example (31a), *elkar* is bound in its NBD but not in its WBD, as it should; *bata bestea* in (31b), on the other hand, is bound in its NBD and free in its WBD, and nothing hinges on this given that it must be bound only in the narrower domain. The direct consequence of (32) is that *elkar* is limited to object positions and cannot show up in subject positions; *bata bestea*, however, does not have that limitation and can show up both in object and subject positions. Therefore, we expect the two reciprocal anaphors to co-occur in many (generally object) positions:

- (33) Haiek {elkarr-i / bat-a beste-a-ri} diru-a ematen diote
 they.ERG *elkar*-DAT one-ART other-ART-DAT money-ART give AUX
 'They give money to each other'
 (Rebuschi, 1989, p. 128)

Here the dative is presumably an argument of the ditransitive verb *eman*⁹, and the sentence is both the WBD and the NBD.

Rebuschi (1993) changes the approach to the difference between the two reciprocals and, based on the difference between the reflexive anaphors *bere burua* and *bere*, he ends up proposing that *elkar* must be bound in its NBD and *bata bestea* must be free precisely in the same domain:

- (34) a. *Elkar* must be bound in both the NBD and the WBD
 b. *Bata bestea* must be free in the NBD and bound in its WBD
 (Rebuschi, 1993, p. 136)

In the new approach, the definition of binding domain follows Koster (1985, 1987) without the need of mentioning the notion of subject in both cases:

- (35) *Narrow Binding Domain (NBD)*
 A given XP is a rigid binding domain for a given expression if it contains that expression and its governor
- (36) *Wide Binding Domain (WBD)*
 A given XP is a rigid binding domain for a given expression if it contains that expression, its governor, and a subject distinct from the nominal expression
 (adapted from Rebuschi, 1993, p. 136)

⁹ The relation dative-verbal projections may be mediated by *applicative* heads; see Ormazabal and Romero (2010) and Oyharçabal (2010) for two different views.

The concept of governor is not used any more in generative syntax, but we could tentatively say that the closest V, Adj, N or Postposition containing the pronoun would count as governor.

The crucial point here is that this re-definition of binding domains has the effect of changing the predictions on the distribution of the two reciprocal anaphors: in fact, if Rebuschi (1993) is right, the asymmetrical distribution of both should extend to more contexts, given that they have contradictory binding characteristics for the smaller NBD. Here are Rebuschi's own data:

- (37) a. Gu- k_i *elkar*_i ikusi dugu
we-ERG *elkar* see AUX
b. *Gu- k_i *bat-a* *bertze-a*_i ikusi dugu
we-ERG one-ART other-ART see AUX
'We saw one another'
- (38) a. Peio-k eta Miren-ek_i {*bat-a* *bertze-a-ren*_i / **elkar-ren*_i} liburu-ak
Peio-ERG and Miren-ERG one-ART other-ART-GEN *elkar*-GEN book-ART.PL
irakurri dituzte
read AUX
'Peio and Miren read each other's books'
b. Peio eta Miren_i {*elkar-ren*_i / ??*bat-a bertze-a-ren*_i} *lagun-ak* dira
Peio and Miren *elkar*-GEN one-ART other-ART-GEN friend-ART.PL are
'Peio and Miren are each other's friends'
(all examples from Rebuschi, 1993, p. 122)

Contrary to his (*i. e.* Rebuschi, 1988, 1989) previous claims, now it is predicted that *bata bestea* (but not *elkar*) will be excluded from the object position of verbs. That will be so whether we take VP or TP as the relevant NBD. For the second pair of examples he foresees a complementary distribution similar to that of his previous account: in (38a) the bracketed DP [*X-en liburuak*] counts as the NBD and there *elkar* is not bound but *bata bestea* is free, as required. These genitives are in principle not complements, but some kind of possessors, and the noun or the determiner would count as their governor. In any case, the explanation of this minimal pair remains practically the same as in (Rebuschi, 1988, 1989). However, regarding example (38b), Rebuschi assumes that is a predicate nominal with a PRO subject inside:

- (38b') Peio eta Miren_i [_{PRO}_i {*elkarren*_i / ??*bata bertzearen*_i} *lagunak*] dira

This way, the bracketed structure becomes the NBD and *elkar* must be bound there (which is the case) but *bata bestea* must be free, contrary to fact; hence the second reciprocal gives rise to an ungrammatical sentence. In short, Rebuschi's new account predicts that the reciprocal anaphor *bata bestea* will now be excluded from the object position of both verbs and nouns.

Without getting into too much detail, the refinement of the account makes two clear predictions:

1. *bata bestea* will not appear in the complement position of verbs;
2. *bata bestea* will not appear in the complement position of relational nouns¹⁰.

5. REBUSCHI'S DILEMMA'S RESOLUTION: *BATA BESTEA* IN THE BASQUE LITERARY TRADITION

Having summarized the behavior of the reciprocal anaphor *bata bestea*, we will discuss how, in which syntactic environments, and with which morphological shape this reciprocal anaphor shows up in the literary tradition in the following sections 5.1. and 5.2; section 5.3 will discuss to what extent Rebuschi's expectations are fulfilled for the Navarro-Labourdin dialect and for other dialects. I leave the study of further differences between *elkar* and *bata bestea* for section 6.

5.1. The anaphor *bata bestea*: when and how it is found

As the Basque General Dictionary explains, there are two traditions when it comes to this bipartite reciprocal anaphor. On the one hand, some writers use the definite form of the numeral *bat* and this gives rise to the forms *bata(k) bestea*, *bata(k) bertzea*, depending on which variant of the word for alterity is used (*beste-a* or *bertze-a*); in the case of the latter, the article is always used. Tables 1.1 and 1.2 provide the relevant summary for each of the variants, distinguishing two periods (16th-18th and 19th-20th).

10 There are in fact further complications, as Rebuschi (1993) is forced to make contradictory assumptions regarding all the cases where *elkar* and *bata bestea* do in fact co-occur (*e. g.* in dative complements and inside locative phrases within perception complements). See Urrutia, Goitia and Artiagoitia (2013) on this.

Table 1.1. Writers' usage of *bata bestea*, 16th-18th centuries

Century	Writer	Dialect	<i>bata ber(t)zea</i>	<i>bata bestea</i>
16 th	Etxepare	NL	x	
	Leizarraga	NL	x	
17 th	Aranbillaga	NL	x	
	Argainaratz	NL	x	
	Axular	NL	x	
	Belapeire	S		x
	Beriain	N	x	
	Etxeberri Dorre	NL	x	
	Etxeberri of Ziburu	NL	x	
	Gazteluzar	NL	x	
	Haranburu	NL	x	
	Materia	NL	x	
	Pouvreau	NL	x	
	Tartas	S	x	
18 th	Egiategi	S	x	
	Etxeberri of Sara	NL	x	
	Haraneder	NL	x	
	Kardaberaz	C		x
	Larramendi	C		x
	Larregi	NL	x	
	Maister	S		x
	Mendiburu	N		x
	Mihura	NL	x	
	Otxoa de Arin	C		x
	Ubillos	C		x
	Xurio	NL	x	

Here is a typical example from Mirande with ergative case-marking for the first member of the anaphor:

- (39) Arrats-ez, lane-tik ateratze-a-n, *bat-a-k* *beste-a* igurikitzen zuten
 afternoon-INST work-from leave-ART-LOC one-ART-ERG other-ART await AUX
 'In the afternoon, upon getting out of work, they awaited each other'
 (Mirande, *Idazlan Hautatuak*, 1970, p. 146)

Table 1.2. Writers' usage of *bata bestea*, 19th-20th centuries

Century	Writer	Dialect	<i>bata ber(t)zea</i>	<i>bata bestea</i>
19 th	Agirre, Tx.	W		x
	Alzaga	C		x
	Añibarro	W		x
	Arana, J.I.	C		x
	Arbelbide	NL	x	
	Astarloa	W		x
	Azkue, E.	W		x
	Duhalde	NL	x	
	Duvoisin	NL	x	
	Frai Bartolome	W		x
	Gerriko	C		x
	Goyhetche	NL	x	
	Iturriaga	C		x
	Iturzaeta	W		x
	Iztueta	C		x
	Laphitz	NL	x	
	Lardizabal	C		x
	Legaz	N	x	
	Lizarraga	N	x	
	Mogel, J. A.	W		x
Uriarte	W, C		x	
Zavala, J. M.	W		x	
20 th	Agirre, Tx.	W, C		x
	Agirre, T.	C		x
	Anabitarte	C		x
	Arrese Beitia	W		x
	Atxaga, M.	C		x
	Berrondo	C		x
	Dihartze	NL	x	x
	Eguzkitza, J.B.	W		x
	Enbeita, B.	W		x
	Enbeita, K.	W		x
	Erkiaga	W, C		x
	Etxaniz	C		x
	Etxeita	W		x

Century	Writer	Dialect	<i>bata ber(t)zea</i>	<i>bata bestea</i>
20 th	Goikoetxea <i>Gaztelu</i>	C		x
	Inza	C, N		x
	Irazusta	C		x
	Kirikiño	W		x
	Lizardi	C		x
	Mirande	SB		x
	Mitxelena, K.	C, SB		x
	Mujika, P.	C		x
	Munita	C		x
	Orixe	C		x
	Otxolua	W		x
	Salaberria	C		x
	Txirrita	C		x
	Ugalde	C		x
	Urruzuno	C		x
	Uztapide	C		x
Villasante	C		x	

Far fewer writers, on the other hand, use the bare numeral *bat* without the article, and this gives rise to the forms *bat(ek) bestea* and *bat(ek) bertzea*, with the word ‘other’ (whether *bertze* or *beste*) always displaying the article. Etienne Salaberry is a good example of this tendency:

- (40) Ba-dira hiru solas gizon euskaldun-a-z. Ez dute *bate-k bertze-a*
 BA-are three conversation man Basque-ART-INST NEG AUX one-ERG other-ART
 ordaintzen bainan *bat-ek bertze-a* lauzkatzen
 pay but one-ERG other-ART complement
 ‘There are three conversations on the Basque man. They do not cancel
 each other, but they complement each other’
 (Salaberry, *Ene sinestea*, 1978, p. 118)

Table 2 summarizes the practice by authors who use these article-less variants; the first occurrences are sporadic during the 17th and 18th century.

Table 2. Writers' usage of *bat bestea* & *bat ber(z)ea*

Century	Writer	<i>bat ber(t)zea</i>		<i>bat bestea</i>		Dialect
		Systematic	Sporadic	Systematic	Sporadic	
17 th	Tartas		1 example			S
18 th	Egiategi		1 example			S
	Haraneder		1 example			NL
	Mendiburu				1 example	N
19 th	Arxu			x		S
	Duhalde		1 example			NL
	Etxagarai			x		C
	Etxamendi <i>Bordel</i>			x		NL
	Hiribarren	x				NL
	Joanategi	x				NL
	Laphitz	x				NL
	Zavala			x		W
20 th	Barbier	x				NL
	Elissalde	x				NL
	Elissanburu, J. B.	x				NL
	Elissanburu, M.	x				NL
	Etxamendi, M.			x		NL
	Etxepare, J.	x				NL
	Etxepare Landerretxe	x				NL
	Hiriart-Urruty	x				NL
	Larzabal	x				NL
	Mattin Treku	x		x		NL
	Mitxelena, S.				x	C
	Narbaitz			x		NL
	Orixe				x	C
	Oxobi		x			NL
	Uztapide				x	C
Xalbador	x				NL	

According to Urrutia, Goitia and Artiagoitia (2013), there is no record of a single author using *bat bestea/bertzea* in a systematic way up to Laphitz and Hiribarren, both 19th century writers of the Navarro-Labourdin dialect. Thus Etxepare, Leizarraga, Axular, Etxeberri of Ziburu, Pouvreau, Tartas, Egiategi, Etxeberri of Sara, Kardaberaz, Mendiburu, Añibarro, Duvoisin, Lardizabal, J. A. Mogel, all of them prefer the

articled variant *bat-a* as the first member of the quantificational anaphor. It seems that the generalization of *bat bertzea* or *bat bestea* is relatively new and it is confined to the French Basque Country. On the Spanish side, there are a few examples here and there (S. Mitxelena, Orixe, Uztapide) but not a systematic use.

Putting aside the issue of the presence *versus* absence of the article in the first member of the bipartite anaphor, it is remarkable that the use of this anaphor is fairly well attested in all kind of authors and dialects from the 16th century on. As expected, the anaphor is generally bound by a plural DP. Here is a couple of examples by Leizarraga:

- (41) a. Bada, ene anaieak, biltzen zaretenean iatera *batak berzea* iguriki ezazue
(Leizarraga, 1571, 1 Co 11, 33)
'Well, my brothers, when you gather to eat, you should await for each other'
- b. Haur da ene manamendua, *batak berzea* maite duzuen, nik maite ukhan zaituztedan bezala (Leizarraga, 1571, Jn 15, 12)
'This is my commandment, that you love each other as I have loved you all'

In these examples anaphor *batak berzea* occurs in object position and bound by a silent *pro* 'you all', identified by, or recoverably from, the agreement morphology of the finite verb. Similarly, the anaphor may appear as a dative complement:

- (42) Manamendu berri bat emaiten drauzuet, *bat-a-k berze-a-ri*
commandment new one give AUX one-ART-ERG other-ART-DAT
on daritzozue-n
good love-that
'I give you a new command, that you love one another'
(Leizarraga, 1571, Jn 13, 34)

It can also appear as object to postpositions as well, again bound by the main subject:

- (43) Baldin-eta elkar ausikiten eta iresten ba-duzue: begirauzue *bat-a*
if-and *elkar* bite and swallow if-AUX watch one-ART
berze-a-z konsumi e-tzaitezte-n
other-ART-INST consume NEG-AUX-COMP
'If you bite and devour each other, watch out that you are not consumed by one another'
(Leizarraga, 1571, Ga 5, 15)

Finally, we find *bata bestea* in its genitive form, as a true possessor or subject of a common noun (=44a), and also as a complement to a location noun (=44b) or to a relational noun (=44c); I provide some examples by Leizarraga again:

- (44) a. Iainkoak...manatzen gaituela elkar onhets dezagun, afekziona onez eta hipokrisia gabe, *batak berzearen* ona prokura dezagun (Leizarraga, *Othoitza ecclesiastikoen forma eta catechisma*, 1571, 61)

- 'God demands that we love one another, with affection and without hypocrisy, that we seek each other's well-being'
- b. Eta hek has zitezen tristetzen: eta hari erraiten *bata berzearen* ondoan, Ni naiz? (Leizarraga, 1571, Mk 19, 3)
'And they started being upset and saying to him one after another, am I the one?'
- c. Halaber gazteak, zareten zaharren suiet, eta guziak zareten *bata berzearen* suiet (Leizarraga, 1571, 1 P 5, 5)
'You the younger, submit yourselves to the elder, and all of you clothe yourselves with humility toward one another'

In all the three examples, the main subjects (*guk* 'we', *hek* 'they' and *zuek guziak* 'you all') are the ones that bind the anaphor. We can regard Leizarraga as the paradigmatic user of *bata bestea* in that he provides abundant examples. Nevertheless, from Leizarraga on, there are many examples of the use of *bata bestea*, across the centuries. I have arranged the examples according to syntactic position¹¹.

a. *Batak bestea* in object position:

- (45) a. Ikusazu nola *bat-a-k* *bertze-a* mesprezatzten dute-n eta
see how one-ART-ERG other-ART despise AUX-COMP and
ez-tute-n *elkhar* maite itxura falso-z eta *gezur-mainaz* baizen
NEG-AUX-COM *elkar* love appearance false-INST and lie-form but
'See how they despise one another and they do not love each other but with
false appearance and lies'
(Pouvreau, *San Frances de Sales Genevaco ipizpicuaren Philotea*, 1664, 67)
- b. Ar zazue ongi *bat-a-k* *beste-a*
take AUX well one-ART-ERG other-ART
'Let you all treat one another well'
(Mendiburu, *Mendibururen Idazlan Argitaragabeak I*, 1982 [1740-1767], p. 205)
- c. ... eta etsai-ek *bat-a-k* *bertze-a* sarraskitzen zuten
and enemy-ERG.PL one-ART-ERG other-ART massacre AUX
'... and enemies massacred one another'
(Duvoisin, *Bible Saindua*, 1859-1865, Ep 7, 22)
- d. Mutil bi-ok, aspalditxoan, ezin zuten *bat-a-k* *beste-a* ikusi
boy two-ART.ERG lately can.NEG AUX one-ART-ERG other-ART see
'Lately, the two boys could not bear each other'
(Agirre, *Garoa*, 1912, p. 272)

b. *Bata(k) bestea* in dative object position:

- (46) a. Eta halatan guzti-ak *bat-a* *bertze-a-ri* zerraitza-la kondenatu ziren
and so all-ART.PL one-ART other-ART-DAT follow-that condemn AUX

11 The literature in Western and Central Basque is scarce for the 16th-17th centuries and there is no single example of *bata bestea* in it, except for Landucci's dictionary: *bata vesteaquin* concertadu ('concordar uno con otro').

'And so all were condemned (as they were) following one another'

(Axular, *Gero*, 1643, 166)

- b. Ordean *bat-a-k berte-a-ri* ematen ziñotzote-n adiskidetasun-a-ren
 however one-ART-ERG other-ART-DAT give AUX-COMP friendship-ART-GEN
 señal-ek intres ver-a zuten, Jinko-a-ren loria-ren intres-a
 signal-ERG.PL interest same-ART had, god-ART-GEN glory-GEN interest-ART
 'However, the signals of friendship that you gave to each other had the same
 interest, the interest of the Lord's glory'
 (Mihura, *Andredena Mariaren Imitacionea Jesus-Christoren Imitacionearen
 gañean moldatua*, 1778, 67)
- c. Mundu-a-n enbidia / *bat-a-k beste-a-ri* / izaten oi diogu /
 world-SG-LOC envy one-ART-ERG other-ART-DAT have PART AUX
 txit maiz edo beti
 very often or always
 'In this world, very often or always, we feel envy toward one another'
 (Iturriaga, *Fábulas y otras composiciones en verso vascongado*, 1842, 72)
- d. bizkarr-a itzultzen dute, jalgitze-a-rekin, *bat-ek berte-a-ri*
 back-ART turn AUX exit-ART-with one-ERG other-ART-DAT
 'Upon getting out, they turn their backs on each other'
 (Jean Etxepare, *Buruxkak*, 1910, 170)

c. *Bata bestea* as complement to adpositions:

- (47) a. Aitzitik ba-dirudi, ezen berte hitzkuntza, eta linguaia
 on the contrary BA-seem that other language and speech
 guzti-ak *bat-a berte-a-rekin* nahasi-ak dire-la
 all-ART.PL one-ART other-ART-with mix-ART.PL are-that
 'On the contrary, it seems that all other speeches and languages are mixed
 up with one another'
 (Etxeberri of Sara, *Obras vascongadas del doctor labortano Joannes d'Etche-
 berri (1712)*, 1908 [1712-1718], 93)
- b. Ikhusten duk, Pello, ... Sara-k eta Zugarramurdi-k amodio guti behar
 see AUX Pello Sare-ERG and Zugarramurdi-ERG love little must
 zute-la izan *bat-ek berte-a-rentzat*
 AUX-that have one-ERG other-ART-for
 'You can see, Pello, ... that Sare and Zugarramurdi must have had little love
 for each other'
 (Elissanburu, *Piarres Adame*, 1889, 73)
- c. ...ez omen ditugu fonetika eta grafia, adibide-z, *bat-a beste-tik*
 NEG PRT AUX phonetics and ortograpy example-INST one-ART other-from
 edo *bat-a beste-a-rengandik* bereizten.
 or one-ART other-ART-from distinguish
 'We apparently do not distinguish phonetics and orthography from each other
 or apart from one another'
 (Mitxelena, *Mitxelenaren Euskarazko Idazlan Guztiak VII*, 1988, 171)

d. *Bata bestea* in the genitive:

Here I repeat the three positions mentioned before, that is: true possessor or subject genitive (=48b), complement to a location noun or an adposition, (=48a-d) and complement to a relational noun (=48c). It is true, however, that after Leizarraga the most usual occurrence is the second option:

- (48) a. Adin guzti-ak elkharr-i darraitza: iragaitea eta hiltzea guzti-a da bat,
age all-ART.PL *elkar*-DAT follow passing and dying all-ART is one
bat-a bertze-a-ren ondo-a-n dohazi
one-ART other-ART-GEN next-ART-LOC go
'All ages follow each other: passing and dying are one, they go one after the other'
(Axular, *Gero*, 1643, 41)
- b. ... nun nahi bei-tü ikhas dezagü-n, *bat-a-k bestia-a-ren*
where want COMP-AUX learn AUX-COM one-ART-ERG other-ART-GEN
karg-en egarten
burden-GEN.PL bearing
'So he wishes that we learn how to bear each other's burdens'
(Maister, *Jesu-Kristen imitacionia*, 1757, 40)
- c. Iñazio-ren lagun-ek ez zakiten oraino *bat-ek bertzi-a-ren* berry
Iñazio-GEN friend-ERG.PL NEG knew yet one-ERG other-ART-GEN new
'Iñazio's friends did not have yet any news of each other'
(Laphitz, *Bi saindu hescualdunen bizia*, 1867, 137)
- d. Trefl-a egiten da harbi ondo-a-n; ongi heldu dire *bat-a*
trefoil-ART do AUX turnip next-ART-LOC well come AUX one-ART
bertze-a-ren ondo-tik
other-ART-GEN next-from
'Trefoil grows next to turnip; they come one after the other'
(Duvoisin, *Laborantzako Liburua*, 1858, 95)

The most typical location nouns and adpositions with which *bata bestea* shows up are *ondo* 'next' and *kontra* 'against', even though *pare* 'on a par with', *leku* 'place', *gain* 'top', *alde* 'for', and *atze* 'back' also fairly frequent.

5.2. When an ergative subject binds the anaphor: distribution of *batak bestea* vs *bata bestea*

Some explanation is in order regarding the use of *bata bestea* and *batak bestea*. According to Urrutia, Goitia and Artiagoitia (2013), the use of *bata bestea* without ergative marking in contexts where the ergative marking seemed perfect is not attested until fairly recently.

First of all, the *classical* usage is easy to describe: we find the variant *batak bestea* with ergative case marking on the numeral when the antecedent itself is case marked

with ergative and the variant *bata bestea* shows up when the antecedent is an absolutive subject. Again, Leizarraga is a good reference¹²:

- (49) a. Orduan diszipulu-ek *bat-a-k berze-a-ganat* behatzen zuten
 then disciple-ERG.PL one-ART-ERG other-ART-to look AUX
 ‘Then the disciples looked at each other’
 (Leizarraga, 1571, Jn 13, 22)
- b. Gogo bat-ez *bat-a berze-a-gana* afekzionatu-ak zarete-larik
 will one-INST one-ART other-ART-to affectionate-ART AUX-COMP
 ‘Live in harmony with one another’
 (Leizarraga, 1571, Rom 12, 16)

The plural DP *diszipuluek* ‘the disciples’ binds the anaphor *batak berzea* and, since the antecedent bears ergative case, so does the (first member of the) anaphor; in the second example, on the other hand, since the subject *zuek* bears absolutive case, we find a plain *bata berzea* without ergative on *bata*.

Table 3. Three patterns for the distinction *batak bestea* / *bata bestea*

Century	Writer	Classical Use		Mixed Use		Ergativeless <i>bata bestea</i>	
			<i>Dialect</i>		<i>Dialect</i>		<i>Dialect</i>
17 th	Argaiñaratz	x	NL				
	Axular	x	NL				
	Belapeire	x	S				
	Etxeberri Dorre					x	NL
	Etxeberri of Ziburu	x	NL				
	Haranburu	x	NL				
	Pouvreau	x	NL				
18 th	Egiategi			x	S		
	Etxeberri of Sara	x	NL				
	Haraneder	x	NL				
	Kardaberaz	x	C				
	Larramendi	x	C				
	Maister	x	S				
	Mendiburu	x	N				

12 There is however one example that does not match the pattern:

- (i) Ezen guziek *bata berzearen* ondoan profetiza ahal dezakezue, guziek ikas dezatenzat, eta guziak konsola ditezenzat (Leizarraga, 1 Co 14, 31)

‘For all of you can prophesy one after another so that everyone may learn and get console’

The antecedent is the plural ergative *guziek*; hence one would expect *batak berzearen*.

Century	Writer	Classical Use		Mixed Use		Ergativeless <i>bata bestea</i>	
			<i>Dialect</i>		<i>Dialect</i>		<i>Dialect</i>
19 th	Astarloa			x	W		
	Azkue, E.					x	W
	Duhalde	x	NL				
	Duvoisin	x	NL				
	Frai Bartolome			x	W		
	Iturriaga			x	C		
	Iturzaeta					x	W
	Iztueta	x	C				
	Laphitz	x	NL				
	Lardizabal	x	C				
	Mogel, J. A.			x	W		
20 th	Agirre, Tx.	x	W, C				
	Barbier	x	NL				
	Enbeita, K.					x	W
	Etxepare Landerretxe	x	NL				
	Etxepare, J.	x	NL				
	Goikoetxea, J. I. <i>Gaztelu</i>					x	C
	Hiriart-Urruty	x	NL				
	Kirikiño			x	W		
	Mirande			x	SB		
	Mitxelena	x	SB				
	Orixe			x	C		
	Txirrita					x	C
	Villasante					x	C
Xalbador			x	NL			

A close scrutiny of the Basque literary tradition reveals three patterns of use: the authors, a vast majority, who basically follow Leizarraga's tendency; those who alternate the ergative-less variant and the one with ergative in contexts which would require a consistent use; and, thirdly, the authors that systematically avoid the use of the pseudo-anaphor, to put it in De Rijk's terms. Table 3 is a comprehensive summary of each writer's pattern.

As representatives of the second, mixed-up, pattern we can cite Egiategi and Mirande. Even though for most part he sticks to Leizarraga's classical usage, Egiategi (1785) has a good example where the barrier between the two variants appears blurred:

- (50) a. *ben*a *Jinko*-a-k *nahi* *ükhen* *ba*-dü, *bat*-a-k *bertzi*-a-ri *zerbützü*
 but god-ART-ERG want have if-AUX one-ART-ERG other-ART-DAT service
egin *genezan*
 do AUX
 'But if God wanted that we did service to each other'
 (J. Egiategi, *Lehen liburua edo filosofo Huskaldunaren Ekheia*, 1785, 167)
- b. *bat*-a *berzi*-a-ri *zor* *dügü*-netan
 one-ART other-ART- DAT debt have-COMP
 'on the occasions that we owe something to each other'
 (J. Egiategi, *Lehen liburua edo filosofo Huskaldunaren Ekheia*, 1785, 265)

Unless something is missing, an ergative case marked *pro* corresponding to the first person plural *guk* would be the antecedent of *bata ber(t)zia* in both cases, yet we only see the ergative case marking on *bata* in the first one. In Mirande's *Haur Besoetakoa* we also find both the ergatively case-marked and the ergative-less case marked versions of *bata bestea* in contexts where the antecedent bears ergative case:

- (51) a. *bi*-ek *bat*-a *beste*-a-ri *oro* *salatu* *ondoren*,... *zentzu* *bat*
 two-ERG.PL one-ART other-ART-DAT all reveal after sense one
egunero *bete*-ago *eta* *oso*-ago-a *hartzen* *zuten* *ele*-ok
 daily fill-more and entire-more-ART take AUX word-ART.PL
 'After the two revealed all to one another... words got a more complete and
 total sense every day'
 (Mirande, *Haur Besoetakoa*, 1970, 73)
- b. *Baina* *bat*-a-k *beste*-a *areago* *ez* *ezagutu*-rik *ere*, *bat*-a
 but one-ART-ERG other-ART more NEG know-POST even one-ART
beste-a-*renganako* *irrika* *lauso* *bat*, *ordu*an *ere* *inor*-k *ez*
 other-ART-towards desire blurred one then even anybody-ERG NEG
ulertu-a, *geldituko* *zaigu* *beti*
 understand-ART remain AUX always
 'But even without knowing one another any further, there will always remain a
 blurred desire, one that nobody will then understand'
 (Mirande, *Haur Besoetakoa*, 1970, 93)

My interpretation of the facts is that in [*batak bestea areago ezagaturik ere*] the subject is a silent pronominal (*i. e.* PRO) equivalent to *guk* 'we-ERG' and that the anaphor *batak bestea* is in object position; thus, it turns out that Mirande pattern is contradictory. Other authors which display a similar behaviour are Astarloa, Frai Bartolome, J. A. Mogel, Iturriaga, Kirikiño, Orixe and Xalbador, the first three from the 19th century and the latter four from the 20th century.

Let us turn now to the authors that systematically use the *true* anaphor *bata bestea* without case marking on the first member *bata* even the antecedent is an ergative subject: Iturzaeta and Juan Ignacio Goikoetxea *Gaztelu* are representatives of these pattern:

- (52) alan kristinau guzti-ak *bat-a beste-a-ri* lagunduten deutse, eta alan
 so Christian all-ART.PL one-ART other-ART-DAT help AUX and so
 batzu-en egite on-ak dira beste-n mesede-rako
 some-GEN action good-ART are other-GEN benefit-for
 'All Christians help each other this way, and so the good actions by some are
 to the benefit of others'
 (Iturzaeta, *Aita Gaspar Asteteren ikasbide kristinaukorraren azalduera labu-
 rrak*, 1899, 164)
- (53) Baña bi jokabide-ok, *bat-a beste-a-ri* buru eman edo eragotzi,
 but two behavior-ART.PL one-ART other-ART-DAT head give or impede
 bearrean alkarr-en lagun eta osagarri ditezke euskal-kultura-ri
 instead *elkar*-GEN friend and complement AUX Basque-culture-DAT
 buruz
 towards
 'But these two behaviors, instead of disturbing or damaging each other, may
 be each other's ally and complement with respect to Basque culture'
 (J. I. Goikoetxea, *Gaztelu, Musika Ixila*, 1963, 5)

It should be pointed out that these authors are quite modern, either from the end of the 19th century or from the 20th century; one could add Eusebio Azkue, Txirrita, Kepa Enbeita and Villasante (in the book *Kristau fedearen sustraiak. I. Jainkoa* at least) to the list, again the three belonging to the same period (late 19th century-20th century)¹³. It is also worth bearing in mind that the Navarro-Labourdin data reported by Rebuschi in all his articles on the subject always refer to the ergative-less variant *bata bestea* as the dominant in spoken Basque; HEE describe the same situation for Lekeitio Basque¹⁴.

Nonetheless, despite the impression one might get, many of the 19th and 20th century writers such as Duvoisin, Iztueta, Laphitz, Lardizabal, Txomin Agirre, Barbier, Jean Etxepare, Hiriart-Urruty, Etxeita, Jean Etxepare Landerretxe or Mitxelena keep on using the classical pattern and case-marking the first member *bata* of the anaphor with ergative if the antecedent is an ergative DP; the same is true of previous authors such as Argaiñaratz, Axular, Belapeire, Etxeberri of Ziburu, Haranburu, Pouvreau, Duhalde, Egiategi, Etxeberri of Sara, Haraneder, Larramendi, Kardaberaz, Maister, Mendiburu. A comprehensive study of the usage in both the 20th and 21st centuries would shed more light on this variation. For the time being, one can simply say that, with the apparently random exception of Etxeberri Dorre (1677), it is not until the

13 Piarres Etxeberri Dorre's *Itxasoko Nabigazionekoa* (1677) is an isolated, single, case of an ergative-less variant in the only potential example attested. Hence, he too could be added to the list.

14 And the same seems to be true for Mallabia (K. Zuazo, p. c.) and Forua & Gernika (I. Arteatx, p. c.).

1800s that we start seeing a weakening of the ergative marking on *batak bestea* when the antecedent is an ergative subject¹⁵.

5.3. On Rebuschi's (1993) unfulfilled predictions

A look into the Basque literary tradition allows one to additionally check the predictions made by Rebuschi (1993), with some surprising results. As I said in section 4.2, in his analysis of today's Navarro-Labourdin Basque, Rebuschi's (1993) renewed account predicts that the anaphor *bata bestea* will be excluded from two syntactic contexts: from the object position of verbs and the object position of a relational noun¹⁶. The examples already given above in (41, 42, 49a) show that the prediction is not fulfilled for Leizarraga's texts.

However, these examples need not match the present situation in Navarro-Labourdin Basque; as a matter of fact, Rebuschi himself (1993, p. 122) remarks in a footnote that examples of *bata bestea* in the verb's object position can be found and that his account is limited to the present day situation. The point is that this type of example is in fact wide spread along the Basque literary tradition, both in Navarro-Labourdin Basque and outside that dialect. Below I provide two additional examples:

- (54) erbi-ek ez zuten gehiago *bat-ek beste-a* koskatu
 hare-ERG.PL NEG AUX more one-ERG other-ART bite
 'The hares did not bite each other any more'
 (J. Barbier, *Supazter chokoan*, 1924, p. 31)
- (55) *Bat-ek bertze-a* lagundu beharko dugu, esker txarr-ik erakutsi gabe
 one-ERG other-ART help have AUX thank bad-PART show without
 'We shall have to help each other, without showing any ingratitude'
 (J. Etxepare Landerretxe, *Mendekoste Gereziak*, 1962, p. 76)

15 A superficial look at the Contemporary Reference Prose corpus reveals that the tendency for distinguishing *batak bestea* and *bata bestea* is still operative in the 21st century, with a majority of writers sticking to the distinction:

- (i) a. antropofagia apur batekin besarkatu dugu *batak bestea* (J. Sarrionandia, *Lagun izoztua*, 424, 2001)
 'We hugged one another with a little anthropofagy'
 b. *Batek bertzea* laguntzen dute, osatzen dute, eta enetako egiten da hola... (M. Oxandabartz, *Ez da musik*, 2006, p. 119)
 'They help, complement, one another, and in my opinion it is done so...'

But, occasionally, some writers turn to the ergative-less variant:

- (ii) Bitartean, *bata bestea* tristatzen dute (J. Renard-I. Otegi, *Axenario*, 2006, p. 88)
 'Meanwhile, they sadden one another'

16 There is, in fact, a third context, namely *bata bestea* in locational phrases with perception verbs bound by the absolutive argument that agrees with the verb:

- (i) Haiek_i sugeak_j bata bertze-a-ren_{i/??j} ondoan ikusi dituzte (Rebuschi, 1993, p. 122)
 they snakes one-ART other-ART-GEN near see AUX
 'They_i saw snakes_j near each other_{i/??j}'

According to Urrutia, Goitia and Artiagoitia (2013) most speakers do not agree with the judgements provided by Rebuschi.

Rebuschi's first prediction has a secondary tie related to the so called TO-GEN structure (Heath, 1972): if *bata bestea* cannot be an object to a verb, it will hardly show up as a genitive in nominalizations that permit the alternation between absolutive and genitive cases. But this prediction is not borne out either:

- (56) a. Oro *bat bertze-a-ren* haztatzen eta beldurr-ez, elgarr-en herabe
all one other-ART-GEN touching and fear-INST elkar-GEN shy
ginauden.
were
'We all were shy of each other, afraid of and checking up one another'
(J. Etxepare, *Buruxkak*, 1910, p. 131)
- b. Jende maiti-a-k, eman daugute / orai suiet bat berri-a, / *bat*
people-dear-ART-ERG give AUX now topic one new-ART one
bertzi-a-ren kitzika-tzeko / oraintxe da tenoria
other-ART-GEN excite-to now is time-ART
'Dear friends, they have given us a new topic, to tease one another, it is now
the right time'
(Xalbador, *Ezin bertzean*, 1969, p. 88)

Etxepare's example is significant because the anaphor is both a complement to a nominalized verb and to the relational noun *beldur* 'fear' (bearing the instrumental adposition). Regarding this latter syntactic context, that of complement of a relational noun, the examples are scarcer, but some can be provided:

- (57) Baño, batez ere, Joanes ta Malentxo ziran alkar artuak eta *bat-a*
but above all Joanes and Malentxo were *elkar* take-ART and one-ART
beste-a-ren maitale andi-ak
other-ART-GEN lover big-ART.PL
'But, above all, Joanes and Malen got along well and were big lovers of one
another'
(Águirre, *Garoa*, 1912, p. 136)

These are examples by authors from the Spanish side of the border, but there also some from Navarro-Labourdin writers, too:

- (58) ez dute beraz deus ikus-teko-rik elgarr-ekin eskuara-k eta
NEG have thus anything see-to-PART *elkar*-with Basque-ERG and
iberotarr-a-k; ez dira *bat bertze-a-ren* seme, ez haurride, ez ahide.
Iberian-ART-ERG NEG are one other-ART-GEN son, NEG relative NEG relative
'Basque and Iberian do not have anything to do; they are neither son of one
another, nor relative, close or distant'
(Saint-Pierre Anxuberro, J., *Gure Herria*, 1921, I, p. 657)

In view of all these examples, we can conclude (a) that the proposal made by Rebuschi (1993) predicts a slightly different distribution for *bata bestea*, a prediction which is not confirmed by the data; and (b) that this anaphor can in fact appear in complement

position of both verbs and nouns. This, in turn, simply means that the account developed in Rebuschi (1988, 1989) is more appropriate. We summarize it below:

(59) Reciprocal anaphors in (Navarro-Labourdin) Basque

Anaphor	Narrow Binding Domain	Wide Binding Domain
<i>elkar</i>	bound	bound
<i>bata bestea</i>	bound or free	bound

In principle, the NBD and WBD would be defined as (35-36) above; for those speakers (*cfr.* footnote 7) who allow *elkar* in the subject position inside a noun phrase (*i. e.* as a true possessor genitive), then the condition for *elkar* should be re-formulated. Finally, although more research is needed, in principle all dialects pattern with Navarro-Labourdin with respect to the use of *bata bestea*.

6. NOTES FOR FURTHER STUDY

In this section I make a few remarks on the differences between *bata bestea* and *elkar* that should lay the basis for a future account. These remarks have to do with the possibility of finding *bata bestea* but not *elkar* in finite subject position, the possibility of *elkar*'s having a singular binder, the different distribution of the two anaphors with symmetric predicates, and the different interpretation both anaphors give rise to.

6.1. Subject reciprocal anaphors?

One interesting property of *bata bestea* is that it can surface as coda in comparative clauses. Here are some 20th century examples from Northern writers:

- (60) a. Heia handi bat-ean etzan-ak ikusi zituen zazpi behor, *bat bertze-a* bezen
stable big one-LOC lie-ART.PL see AUX seven mare one other-ART as
ederr-ak
beautiful-ART
'He saw seven mares lying on a big stable, as beautiful as one another'
(J. Barbier, *Légendes du Pays Basque*, 1931, p. 128)
- b. Jainko-a-k bi mirakuilu, *bat bertze-a* bezen ohartgarri-ak, egin
god-ART-ERG two miracle one other-ART as remarkable-ART.PL do
zituen Gedeon-en bixta-n
AUX Gedeon-GEN sight-LOC
'God made two miracles, as remarkable as one another, at the sight of Gedeon'
(J. Elissalde «Zerbitzari», *Ichtorio Saindua. Testament Zaharra. Jesu-Christo. Eliza*, 1943, p. 46)
- c. Andrea eta biak, / haurr-a-rekin hiru, / *bat bertzi-a* bezen trixte /
wife-ART and two-ART.PL child-ART-with three one other-ART as sad

orai girare gu
 now are we
 'My wife and I, three with the child, are now as sad as one another'
 (Mattin Treku, *Ahal dena*, 1971, p. 52).

The interesting point is that *elkar* is ungrammatical in this kind of sentences as substituting *bata bertzea* for *elkar* in an example like (60a) clearly shows:

- (61) *Zazpi behor ikusi zituen, *elkar* bezain ederr-ak
 seven mare see AUX *elkar* as beautiful-ART.PL
 'He saw seven mares, as beautiful as each other'

Although little research has been conducted on Basque comparative structures (*cfr.* Sáez, 1989; Goenaga, 2012), it is generally assumed that the coda part of comparatives hide a full sentential structure:

- (62) Ikusi zituen zazpi behor, zureak (ederrak diren) bezain ederrak
 'He saw seven mares, as beautiful as yours (are beautiful)'

If so, then one must assume that sentences like the ones above in (60) hide a full clausal structure where the anaphor is in finite subject position:

- (63) Ikusi zituen zazpi behor, *bat bertze-a dir-en* bezain ederr-ak
 see AUX seven mare one other-ART are-COMP as beautiful-ART.PL
 'He saw seven mares, as beautiful as one another are' (*cfr.* 60a & 62)

The idea that *bata bestea* can be a finite clause subject is potentially confirmed by these two examples, although the judgements need further confirmation:

- (64) Alaere, Fray Luisen odaren eskupe osoa ez datza aapalditzat «lira» dulakoan, atalkin auetzaz olertitza nola osatzen dunean, *bata besteak* guziarekin duten ar-emanetan baizik
 'The power of Fray Luis's ode does not lie in that he uses the lira as strophe, or in how he composes poetry with these ingredients, but in the relationship that one another have with everything'
 (J. I. Goikoetxea Gaztelu, *Musika ixilla*, 1963, p. 64).
- (65) ês-takiže bat-a-bestí-a-k ser égingo dabe-n (=4b)
 NEG-know one-ART-other-ART-ERG what do AUX-COMP
 'They do not know what each other will do'

Depending on the interpretation, Goikoetxea's example is amenable, perhaps, to an analysis where the discourse antecedent of the anaphor *bata bestea* is split between two separate (singular) noun phrases (poetry and lira); note, besides, that the anaphor has plural agreement with the finite verb, contrary to what we see in the Lekeitio Basque example.

In any case, binding of the subject anaphor *bata bestea* by a subject that it is not the one immediately c-commanding it is discarded, as we saw in example (25b).

6.2. Singular and plural antecedents

A second difference between *bata bestea* and *elkar* has to do with the latter's possibility of having a singular (though collective and/or semantically plural) antecedent:

- (66) a. Herri-eta-n jende-a-k elkar ezagutzen du
village-PL-LOC people-ART-ERG *elkar* know AUX
'In the villages, people know each other'
(*Argia*, 2001)¹⁷
- b. Matrimoniyo ondo artu-ba-k / alkarr-i asko zor diyo
marriage well take-ART-ERG *elkar*-DAT much debt AUX
'A married couple that gets along well owes each other a lot'
(P. Elizegi, *Errota, Pello Errotak jarritako bertsoak*, 1963, p. 136)

In the same contexts, the speakers consulted reject the use of *bata bestea*:

- (67) a. *Herrietan jendeak *batak bestea* ezagutzen du
b. *Matrimonio ondo hartuak *batak besteari* asko zor dio

Given the makeup of *bata bestea* (a bipartite anaphor with two noun phrases with explicit number marking), this is hardly a surprise. The possibility of finding *elkar* in impersonal sentences with arbitrary PRO may be related to its ability to have a singular binder; no such possibility exists for *bata bestea*:

- (68) a. Ai, maita-tzeko, alkar ezautu / bear da len-ago.
love-to *elkar* know have AUX first-more
'To love, it is first necessary to know each other'
(L. Jauregi Jautarkol, *Biozkadak*, 1929, p. 72)
- b. *Maitatzeko, *batak bestea* ezagutu behar da lehenago
'To love, it is first necessary to know each other'

6.3. Symmetric and alignment predicates

As explained in Bosque (1985), reciprocity often is related to bidirectional predicates, which sometimes have nothing to do with syntactical strategies of reciprocalization. For example, *John and Mary love each other*, with a true reciprocal pronoun, is equivalent to a bidirectional relationship such that «John loves Mary and Mary loves John»; but a similar bidirectional relationship can be established in the case of

17 Retrieved from: <http://www.argia.eus/argia-astekaria/1811/sindikalistak-irabazitako-borroketatik-ikasi-behar-du>

John and Mary are teammates (John is Mary's teammate and Mary is John's teammate) without a reciprocalization strategy being involved. In other words, semantic bidirectionality need not be related to syntactic reciprocity. And, of course, the situation can also be reversed: there might be syntactically reciprocal constructions that are not strictly related to semantic reciprocity. This may well help us understand another interpretive difference between *elkar* and *bata bestea*. In the case of predicates that denote a linear arrangement or alignment in terms of time or location, *bata bestea* is used but *elkar* is out. For example in the case of matryoshka boxes, dolls are arranged so that they are one inside the other, but this is hardly ever a symmetric relation (if A doll is inside the B doll, then the B doll cannot be inside the A doll). In cases like this, *elkar* is ungrammatical but *bata bestea* is precisely the anaphor required:

- (69) a. *bat-a beste-a-ren barru-a-n egoten dira kutxa horiek, eta bat*
 one-ART other-ART-GEN inside-ART-LOC be AUX box those and one
zabaltzen duzu eta konturatzen zara oraindik ere barru-a-n beste bat
 open AUX and realize AUX yet even inside-ART-LOC other bat
dago-ela
 is-that
 'Those boxes are inside one another, and you open one and you realize
 there is yet another one inside'
 (J. M. Barrie / J. Gabiria, *Peter Pan*, 2004, p. 25)
- b. * ... *elkarr-en* barruan egoten dira kutxa horiek
- c. *Messi-k lau gol-ak {bat-a(-k) beste-a-ren / *elkarr-en} {atzetik,*
 Messi-ERG four goal-ART.PL one-ART(-ERG) other-ART-GEN *elkar*-GEN behind
ondoren} sartu ditu
 after introduce AUX
 'Messi scored the four goals one {after, behind} another'

In other words, given that the locational or temporal arrangement of dolls and goals cannot accept a symmetric (or bidirectional) reading, only *bata bestea* can be used here.

6.4. Group reading

Although the differences and the judgements are rather subtle, it seems that both anaphors give rise to interpretations that need not coincide. This is particularly true in the following example with the anaphors as complement to the comitative adposition *-ekin*:

- (70) a. *Bost irakasleok elkarrekin eztabaidatu dugu proposamena*
 'The five teachers discussed the proposal {together / with each other}'
- b. *Bost irakasleok bata bestearekin eztabaidatu dugu proposamena*
 'The five teachers discussed the proposal with one another'

The first sentence is compatible with a situation where the group of five teachers have discussed the proposal in a single, group, discussion; this is in fact the most salient reading, although it is not the only one available (it might well be the case that several

discussions have taken place so that the five teachers have taken part after all); for the (b) sentence, the group reading is impossible and more than one discussion has necessarily taken place.

A similar situation obtains when the anaphors are in argument position:

- (71) a. Bost irakasleok *elkar* besarkatu dugu
 'The five teachers hugged each other'
 b. Bost irakasleok *batak bestea* besarkatu dugu
 'The five teachers hugged each other'

Sentence (71a) is compatible with a groupal hug and there is no need (although it is certainly a possibility) to have a sequence of mutual hugs between two people; the second sentence, on the other hand, only has this second reading (with more mutual hugs). In this regard, then, the reciprocity invoked by *elkar* is weaker than that displayed by *bata bestea*.

It is of course tempting to relate these interpretive differences between the two anaphors to their different morphological makeup: a bipartite noun phrase with an quantifier member in the case of *bata bestea* (and the first member even bearing the same case marking as the subject) and a morphological simple form in the case of *elkar* (synchronously at least). For anaphors like the latter, a raising analysis has been proposed in the literature (Belletti, 1982; Heim, Lasnik & May, 1991) which capitalize on the quantifier nature of the anaphor and, thus, propose that the quantifier *each/one* (*bata* in Basque) raises to the matrix subject at LF. Although the raising analysis as conceived by Heim, Lasnik and May is probably on the wrong track (*cfr.* Dalrymple, Mchombo & Peters, 1994), some aspects of it seem worth pursuing.

7. CONCLUSIONS

This article has revised the morphosyntactic makeup of the two most usual reciprocal anaphors in Basque, *viz.* *bata bestea* and *elkar*; the first one is a bipartite quantificational anaphor (similar to English *one another* or *each other*) and the other is a single reciprocal nominal (originally also a bipartite consisting of the two distal demonstratives); Evans's (2008, p. 47) suggestion that bipartite quantificational anaphors of the *each other / one another* type proliferated in Europe due to biblical translations is certainly compatible with the Basque data on *bata bestea*, the first systematic use of which corresponds to Leizarraga's (1571) work, a translation of the New Testament.

I have shown that the bipartite anaphor *bata bestea* is attested from the 16th century texts on across all dialects and periods, and that the alleged restriction of *bata bestea* not to appear in complement position to nouns or verbs defended by Rebuschi (1993) is not confirmed by the data. Instead, it seems that Rebuschi's (1988, 1989) first account of the distribution of *elkar* and *bata bestea* is on the right track: for the majority

of speakers, the former is a narrower reciprocal anaphor in the sense that it has to be bound in the domain of the first available subject. The latter, on the other hand, is a wider reciprocal anaphor given that it only has to be bound in the domain of a c-commanding subject; hence, it can itself be a subject.

The research has also revealed that article-less variant of *bata bestea* (i. e. *bat bestealbertzea*) is a fairly recent phenomenon (from the 19th century on) circumscribed to authors to Navarro-Labourdin or Souletin dialects. The distinction between *batak bestea* and *bata bestea* starts blurring in the case of some authors towards the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th, but most writers keep the distinction whenever the binder is an ergative subject. Finally, I have sketched a few further differences between the two anaphors in section 6; analyzing these differences should pave the way to a proper and thorough analysis of the two anaphors in the future.

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