

The focus of the information or galdegaia in whole texts (I)

Mixel Kaltzakorta Mentxaka

Abstract

As in his previous articles, the author intends to prove that one of Altube's laws, i.e., the one related to the galdegaia, is badly formulated (the galdegaia element must be placed in front of the verb, and linked to it). However, as opposed to his previous articles, the author will not discuss certain sentences independently, but he will examine some texts as a whole, all of them orally produced by speakers from the Spanish Basque Country. Thus the author will show that those speakers mainly use the galdegaia after the verb.

Keywords: focus, galdegaia, position of the focus, nucleus of the information, information complements

0. Foreword

In two previous articles published in issues numbers 10 and 11 of this same magazine, we studied the position occupied by the focus or galdegaia in introductory sentences taken from orally produced stories. In the first article, we looked at sentences from the book *Hamaika abere-ipuin*; and in the second paper, we discussed sentences from the book *Amattoren uzta*.

This time we intend to examine in another pair of articles whole texts rather than introductory sentences, both written and orally produced. In this first article, texts orally produced by speakers from the southern Basque Country will be analysed.

As happened with the previous articles, on this occasion too, we examine the position of the galdegaia, and we address other issues at the same time. These are the objectives of our study more in detail:

1. To show the position of the galdegaia both in main and subordinate clauses
2. To note what happens from the point of view of communication (whether the reading is easier or harder) after changing the position of, particularly, the galdegaia and the verb
3. Other issues

In the following, as mentioned above, we look at orally produced texts by southern Basque speakers both from the Basque Country and from Nafarroa (Navarre). The stories, published in books and magazines here and there, were transcribed by:

1. Nikolas Alzola Gerediaga
2. Labayru Icastegia
3. Jose Mari Satrustegi
4. Josemiel Barandiaran
5. Nils Holmer
6. Jose Manuel Etxebarria

We have translated the orally transmitted texts into standard Basque as best as we could, considering that there are still unsolved issues especially in the lexicon.

The article consists of two sections, as well as this introduction: in the first section we examine the transcribed texts in the order shown above, and in the second section we draw conclusions. At the end, as usual, we mention the bibliography.

1. Text analysis

We shall start with three texts from the book *Euskaraz, Irunen barrena* by Nikolas Alzola Gerediaga.

In this first example (same as in the rest), the verb is given between square brackets and the galdegaia in bold.

1.1.

1.1.1. Enondoko etxeko semea

Enondoko etxeko semea [joan zen] **Ameriketara**, Mexikora. Han [izan zuen] **suertea**, dirua egiteko. Urte aunitz pasatuta [etorri zen] Martin Urrutia **bere sorterrira**, Oronozera.

[Erran zion] bere lagunari **nahi zuela rekuerdo bat utzi bere sorterriari**, bi kolejio eginda; bat mutikoendako eta bertzea neskatoendako, ikas dezaten eskola, deus ere pagatu gabe. Eta bati paratuko ziotela bere izena deitzeko San Martin kolejioa eta neskatoena "Nuestra Señora del Carmen", bere emaztearen izenarekin. Hola [gelditu zen] herriko jendea **agitz kontent**. Ala bada herriak [eman zi(zki)on] **lurrak** kolejioak egiteko. Bera **Donostian** [bizi zen]. [Etortzen zen] **maiz** bere sorterrira kolejioak ikustera.

Baina nola bait zituen urte aunitz, [hil zen] don Martin **Suitzan** eta bai ere bere emaztea. Eta [ekarri zituzten] **Oronozko kanposantura**. **Han** [daukate]

bere panteona.

Eta bere seme bakarra, don Juan, **han** [dago] enterratua.

Euskaraz, Irunen barrena, 126, Nafarroa (Navarre): Oronoz-Mugaire.

In the starting sentence of the first paragraph, the focus follows the verb:

- Enondoko etxeko semea [joan zen ‘he went’] **Ameriketara** ‘to America’, Mexikora.

Nowadays it would be written placing the focus before the verb:

- Enondoko etxeko semea **Ameriketara** [joan zen], Mexikora.

The truth is that there is little difference between the original and that variant. Nevertheless, there is a writing trend going strong nowadays:

- Enondoko etxeko semea **Ameriketako Mexikora** [joan zen].

Unfortunately for the Basque language, similar cases can be found everywhere; and it seems that there is more than one Mexico and that one is in America.

In the second sentence, we believe that *suerte* is the focus, not *han* ‘there’:

- Han [izan zuen ‘he had’] **suerte** ‘luck’, dirua egiteko.

Same as in:

- Han **suerte** [izan zuen] dirua egiteko.

Nowadays it would be written using either of the following variants, especially the first one:

- Han dirua egiteko **suerte** [izan zuen].
- Han [izan zuen] dirua egiteko **suerte**.

Both of them result somewhat heavy, because *suerte* is placed after the clause *dirua egiteko* ‘to make money’. However, that is the most usual order these days. If in the place of *dirua egiteko*, we had a complement that was three or four times longer, such a lengthy and sausagey complement to the left of *suerte* would be hard to read.

In the next sentence, I am not certain whether the focus is *bere sorterrira* ‘to his home town’, marked in bold, or *urte aunitz pasatuta* ‘after many years were gone’. The sentence would nowadays be written in one of these ways:

- Martin Urrutia urte aunitz pasatuta **bere sorterrira** [etorri zen], Oronozera.
- Martin Urrutia urte aunitz pasatuta **Oronoz bere sorterrira** [etorri zen].

Three sentences have been examined in this first paragraph, and in all three the focus comes after the verb. However, in the subordinate clause *urte aunitz pasatuta* the focus (*urte aunitz*) precedes the verb.

Let’s discuss the second paragraph:

- [Erran zion ‘he told him’] bere lagunari **nahi zuela rekuerto bat utzi bere sorterriri** ‘that he wanted to leave a keepsake for his hometown’, bi kolejio eginda; bat mutikoendako eta bertzea neskatoendako, ikas dezaten eskola, deus ere pagatu gabe. Eta bati paratuko ziotela bere izena deitzeko San Martin kolejioa eta neskatoena “Nuestra Señora del Carmen”, bere emaztearen izenarekin. Hola [gelditu zen ‘they remained’] herriko jendea **agitz kontent** ‘well content’. Ala bada herriak [eman zi(zki)on ‘(the council) gave him’] **lurrak** ‘the land’ kolejioak egiteko. Bera **Donostian** ‘in Donostia (San Sebastian)’ [bizi zen ‘he lived’]. [Etorritzen zen ‘he used to come’] **maiz** ‘frequently’ bere sorterrira kolejioak ikustera.

The first sentence begins with the verb itself followed by the focus, that is, the *that*-clause. The verb can be moved to second position with practically no change:

- Bere lagunari [erran zion] **nahi zuela rekuerto bat utzi bere sorterriri**, bi kolejio eginda; bat mutikoendako eta bertzea neskatoendako, ikas dezaten eskola, deus ere pagatu gabe.

The sentence would be spoilt moving the galdegaia clause before the verb:

- **Bere sorterriri rekuerto bat utzi nahi zuela** [erran zion] bere lagunari, bi kolejio eginda; bat mutikoendako eta bertzea neskatoendako, ikas dezaten eskola, deus ere pagatu gabe.

After the *that*-clause comes the final subordinate clause (*bi kolejio eginda; bat mutikoendako eta bertzea neskatoendako, ikas dezaten eskola* ‘by building two schools; one for boys and the other for girls, for them to have an education’), the focus of which (*eskola* ‘an education’) follows the subordinate verb.

Let’s go on to the second sentence:

- Eta bati paratuko ziotela bere izena deitzeko San Martin kolejioa eta neskatoena “Nuestra Señora del Carmen”, bere emaztearen izenarekin.

As far as I can see, the verb of the *that*-clause (*paratuko ziotela* ‘that they would put’) precedes the focus (*bere izena* ‘his name’); and the same happens in the subordinate clause within the *that*-clause with the verb *deitzeko* ‘to call’ and the focus.

Here is the next sentence:

- Hola [gelditu zen] herriko jendea **agitz kontent**.

If I am not wrong, the focus is what is marked in bold, not *hola* ‘so’. Indeed, the original sentence and this other variant are parallel, are they not?

- Hola **agitz kontent** [gelditu zen] herriko jendea.

Moving the element that follows the verb before it, as it is often done these days, the sentence would be harder to read:

- Hola herriko jendea **agitz kontent** [gelditu zen].

In the next sentence of this second paragraph too, the galdegaia follows the verb, and thus the rule of the galdegaia, according to which the focus or galdegaia should be placed before the verb, is broken to pieces.

Let’s look at the next sentence:

- Ala bada herriak [eman zi(zki)on] **lurrak** kolejioak egiteko.

There the rule of the galdegaia fails again.

And finally, these are the last two sentences:

- Bera **Donostian** [bizi zen]. [Etorzen zen] **maiz** bere sorterrira kolejioak ikustera.

The first sentence follows the rule; in the second sentence, on the contrary, the rule is broken by placing the galdegaia after the verb.

This is the next paragraph:

- Baina nola bait zituen urte aunitz, [hil zen ‘he died’] don Martin **Suitzan** ‘in Switzerland’ eta bai ere bere emaztea. Eta [ekarri zituzten ‘they were brought’] **Oronozko kanposantura** ‘to the cemetery of Oronoz’. **Han** ‘there’ [daukate ‘they have’] bere panteona.

In the first two sentences, the galdegaia follows the verb, but in the third sentence it precedes it. At the beginning of the paragraph there is a subordinate clause, and in it the galdegaia (*urte aunitz* ‘many years’) comes after the verb (*zituen* ‘he had’). The whole paragraph would be written like this nowadays:

- Baina nola urte aunitz bait zituen, don Martin **Suitzan** [hil zen] eta bai ere bere emaztea. Eta **Oronozko kanposantura** [ekarri zituzten]. **Han** [daukate] bere panteona.

To conclude, in the last paragraph the focus is before the verb:

- Eta bere seme bakarra, don Juan, **han** ‘there’ [dago ‘he is’] enterratua.

1.1.2. Potea urrezkoa

Egun batean [joan zen] Alfonso Anizkua **Iruñera**

bere negoziotara.

Ondoko egunean etxera heldu zelarik, [harrapatu zuen] **pareja bat** autobusetan.

[Erran zioten] **ea nahi zuen pote bat urrezkoa**. Zazpi mila pezeta haren alde.

Alfonsok [erran zion] **ez zuela dirurik aski**, baina nahi bazuten esperatu bederatzit t’erdi(ra)ko etorriko zela diruarekin.

Alfonsok [hartu zuen] automobila **bost’erditan**.

[Etorri zen] **bere etxera**.

[Erran zion] andreari **suerte gogorra bazuela Iruñen**: zazpi mila pezetaren alde pote bat urrezkoa eman nahi ziotela.

Andreak [erran zion] **ez sinesteko**, gezurra izan zela.

[Etorri zen] **lasterka** karreterara zortzietako automobila hartzera, Iruñera joateko.

Han, ailegatu zelarik, han [zegoen] **pareja esperoan**. **Han** [egin zuten] beren kanbioa.

Alfonso bere pote urrezkoarekin Iruñeko kaleetan, ez ziren harek nahi orduko ailegatu atsaldeko laurak.

Automobila [hartu] eta [etorri zen] **etxera**.

Alfonsoren disgustoa! [Joan zen] **Elizondoko Ayuntamentora** eta han [erran zuen] **zer pasatu zitzaion**.

Ayuntamentuak [eman zuen] **parte**, baina **orduko** Iruñetik [joan ziren] hura engainatu zutenak.

[Gelditu zen] **zazpi mila pezeta gabe** eta harri kozkorrekin.

Euskaraz, Irunen barrena, 114-115, Nafarroa (Navarre): Oronoz-Mugaire.

In the first sentence, the focus comes after the verb; not immediately after but in second position after it:

- Egun batean [joan zen ‘he went’] Alfonso Anizkua **Iruñera** ‘to Iruña (Pamplona)’ bere negoziotara.

Moving the focus before the verb, as advised by the canons nowadays, the resulting variant is not as easy to read as the original sentence:

- Egun batean Alfonso Anizkua **Iruñera** [joan zen] bere negoziotara.

In the second sentence too, the focus follows the verb:

- Ondoko egunean etxera heldu zelarik, [harrapatu zuen ‘he met’] **pareja bat** ‘a couple’ autobusetan.

This is what the sentence would look like changing the position of the focus before the verb:

- Ondoko egunean etxera heldu zelarik, **pareja bat** [harrapatu zuen] autobusetan.

In the subordinate clause within this second sentence, the rule of the galdegaia is respected, because the galdegaia, *etxera* ‘home’, is in front of the verb.

This is the third paragraph:

- [Erran zioten ‘they told him’] **ea nahi zuen pote bat urrezkoa** ‘whether he wanted a jar made out of gold’. Zazpi mila pezeta haren alde.

Clearly the focus, that is, the nominal clause, comes after the verb. And within the nominal clause, there is a most interesting issue. The phrase *pote bat urrezkoa* is perfect as it is, because it does not answer the question *zelako pote bat?* ‘what kind of jar?’. In fact, the answer to that question would be *urrezko pote bat* ‘a gold jar’, whereas from the context we know that the question is *zer nahi?* ‘what did he want?’.

Let’s move on to the fourth paragraph:

- Alfontso [erran zion ‘he told them’] **ez zuela dirurik aski** ‘that he did not have enough money’, baina nahi bazuten esperatu bederatzit’erdi(ra)ko etorriko zela diruarekin.

The rule of the galdegaia is broken by placing the galdegaia, that is, the *that*-clause, after the verb. Besides, the practice nowadays is to place the verb immediately after the conjunction; in this case, *esperatu* ‘to wait’ should be placed immediately after *baina* ‘but’:

- (...) baina esperatu nahi bazuten bederatzit’erdi(ra)ko etorriko zela diruarekin.

The nominal clause within that sentence does not end with the subordinating affix *-ela*, even if that is what another of Altube’s rules states and what the trend is these days.

These are the next two paragraphs, the fifth and the sixth:

- Alfontso [hartu zuen ‘he took’] **automobila bost’erdi** ‘at half past five’.
- [Etorri zen ‘he came’] **bere etxera** ‘to his house’.

Notice that both focused phrases follow the verb.

Let’s go on to the next two paragraphs, the seventh and the eighth:

- [Erran zion ‘he told her’] andreak **suerte gogorra bazuela Iruñen** ‘that he was very lucky in Iruñea (Pamplona)’: zazpi mila pezeta eman pote bat urrezkoa eman nahi ziotela.

- Andreak [erran zion ‘she told him’] **ez sinesteko** ‘not to believe’, gezurra izan zela.

Both sentences contain two subordinate clauses, and both clauses follow the verb.

In the ninth sentence too, the focus comes after the verb:

- [Etorri zen ‘he came’] **lasterka** ‘quickly’ karreterara zortziretako automobila hartzera, Iruñera joateko.

These are the next two paragraphs, the tenth and the eleventh:

- Han, ailegatu zelarik, han [zegoen ‘it was’] **pareja esperoan** ‘waiting’. **Han** ‘there’ [egin zuten ‘they did’] beren kanbioa.
- Alfonso bere pote urrezkoarekin Iruñeko kaleetan, ez ziren harek nahi orduko ailegatu atsaldeko laurak.

We shall leave the second of those two paragraphs aside, because there the verb of the main clause is elliptic and the subordinate verb is in the negative form. The tenth paragraph contains two sentences, and in one of them the focus follows the verb, and in the other it precedes it. There is a subordinate clause too but without focus.

Let’s examine paragraphs numbers twelve and thirteen:

- **Automobila** ‘the car’ [hartu ‘he took’] eta [etorri zen ‘he came’] **etxera** ‘home’.
- Alfontso **disgustoa!** [Joan zen ‘he went’] **Elizondoko Ayuntamientora** ‘to Elizondo town hall’ eta han [erran zuen ‘he explained’] **zer pasatu zitzaion** ‘what had happened to him’.

In the first paragraph, we find two opposite practices: the first sentence follows the rule of the galdegaia; the second sentence, on the contrary, breaks the rule. Nevertheless, the people from Oronoz could easily have said:

- [Hartu] **automobila** eta **etxera** [etorri zen].

That is, we have changed the position of both focused phrases: the one that was before the verb has been placed after it, and the one that was after the verb has been moved to the front. We find both versions, the original and the variant, correct and appropriate, very familiar to our ears; some speakers will say it one way and others the other way. Note that this is so when the focus is short, though.

In the second of those paragraphs, as we can see, both focused elements follow the verb.

These are the last two paragraphs, numbers fourteen and fifteen:

- Ayuntamentuak [eman zuen ‘it gave’] **parte** ‘notice’, baina orduko **Iruñetik** ‘from Iruñea (Pamplona)’ [joan ziren ‘they went’] hura engainatu zutenak.
- [Gelditu zen ‘he was left’] **zazpi mila pezeta gabe** ‘without seven thousand pesetas’ eta harri kozkorrekin.

Let me just add that I am not certain whether those marked in bold are really the galdegaia elements.

1.1.3. Serrakuran sorginak saltoka eta saltoka

Gizon bat [heldu zen] **etxerat** eta [atera zitzaizkion] bidean **sorginak**, eta [sartu zuten] **alanbrez serratu zen batera**.

Eta **hantxe** [lotu zitzaizkion] zazpi sorgin dantzan.

Eta hantxe berak **nahi zuen bezainbat denbora** [eduki zuten] gizon hura.

Gero, serrakura hartatik [atera ziren] sorgin haiek, **saltoka eta saltoka**.

[Joan ziren] saltoka eta saltoka **uraren ezkinara**, eta **hantxe** [hasi ziren] denak bokata jotzen.

Gizon gixajoak sorginen eskutik eskapatu zenean **atsegina** [hartu zuen].

Euskaraz, Irunen barrena, 108, Bera.

Here is the text in two columns: on the left, the original; on the right, the way it would be written nowadays (with the focused elements to the left of the verb, adjoining it). We leave it to you, the reader, to compare one with the other.

Gizon bat [heldu zen] etxerat eta [atera zitzaizkion] bidean sorginak , eta [sartu zuten] alanbrez serratu zen batera .	Gizon bat etxerat [heldu zen] eta bidean sorginak [atera zitzaizkion], eta alanbrez serratu zen batera [sartu zuten].
Eta hantxe [lotu zitzaizkion] zazpi sorgin dantzan.	Eta hantxe [lotu zitzaizkion] zazpi sorgin dantzan.
Eta hantxe berak nahi zuen bezainbat denbora [eduki zuten] gizon hura.	Eta hantxe berak nahi zuen bezainbat denbora [eduki zuten] gizon hura.
Gero, serrakura hartatik [atera ziren] sorgin haiek, saltoka eta saltoka .	Gero, sorgin haiek serrakura hartatik saltoka eta saltoka [atera ziren].
[Joan ziren] saltoka eta saltoka uraren ezkinara , eta hantxe [hasi ziren] denak bokata jotzen.	Uraren ezkinara [joan ziren] saltoka eta saltoka, eta hantxe [hasi ziren] denak bokata jotzen.

Gizon gixajoak sorginen eskutik eskapatu zenean atsegina [hartu zuen].	Gizon gixajoak sorginen eskutik eskapatu zenean atsegina [hartu zuen].
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1.2.

In second place we have chosen texts reproduced not by a well-known person but by an institute, Labayru Ikastegia. The texts have been taken from the books *Euskal dialektologiarako testo eta ariketak* and *Joskera: Esaldi Bakuna. Ikasgaiak eta Ariketak*.

1.2.1. Peru eta Marija

Behin [bizi ziren] **Peru eta Marija**. Peruk [ei zeukan] **gatzezko etxea** eta Marijak [ei zeukan] **karamelozkoa**.

Behin batean [joan ei zen] Marija gatz pixka baten bila **Perugana**, jatekoa gozatzeko-edo; baina honek ez zion eman. Orduan Marijak esan zuen: <<[Ekarriko ahal dizu] **euri zaparrada handi bat!**>>. Euri zaparrada hori [etorri zan] eta Peruren etxea [urtu egin zen].

Gero Peru [joan zen] Marijagana **aterpe bila**. Baina honek esan zion: <<Zeuk ez nauzu [didazu] neuri gatzik eman eta orain [joan] **zeure bidetik**>>. Peruk ere **beste maldizio bat** [bota] eta Marijaren etxea [urtu egin zen].

Biak [joan ziren] **arbola gain batera**, Peruk ate handi bat daroala. Arbola azpira [joan ziren] **lapur batzuk** partilla egiten.

Marijari **txizasia (txiza larria)** [ailegatu zitzaion]; Marijak ezin zuen agoantatu eta egin ei zuen. Lapurrek esan ei zuten: <<Zeruko ur bedeinkatua!>>.

Gero Peru **kakasi (kaka larri)** [zen] eta egin ei zuen. Honek esan zuen: <<Zeruko ezti bedeinkatua!>>.

Peruk bere etxeko atea eroan zuen legez (zuenez) arbolara, hau (atea) [bota zuen] **honon** (arbolaren) gainetik. Bati **mihina** [erdibitu zion]. Hau [joan zen] herrira, <<**mirmela, mirmela...**>> **esaten (esanez)**; jendeak goardazibilak pentsatzen datozela, erretiratu ziren.

Peruk eta Marijak orduan [hartu ei zuten] **dirua**, eta haiek ondo izan baziren, gu hobeto izan gaitzela.

Euskal dialektologiarako testo eta ariketak, 145, Bizkaia (Biscay): Lekeitio.

We will not analyse paragraphs and sentences one by one. Out of the sixteen main sentences that can be found in the whole text, in twelve of them the focus follows the verb, and in five it precedes it.

Some notes:

- Euri zaparrada hori [etorri zan ‘it came’] eta Peruren etxea [**urtu** ‘melt’ egin zen ‘it did’].

In the above sentence from the second paragraph, the verb of the first clause has been marked, but not the focus. We believe that the focus is not the element that precedes the verb (*huri zaparrada hori* ‘that shower of rain’) but the affirmation of the verb itself. The second clause is joined to the first clause by means of a coordinating conjunction, and in it the verb itself is the focus (that is why it is in bold).

As for the position of the focus in the subordinate clauses from the text, here is a list (the focused elements in italics):

- *jatekoa* gozatzeko-edo
- Peruk ate *handi bat* daroala
- <<*mirmela, mirmela...*>> **esaten (esanez)**
- *goardazibilak* pentsatzen *datozela*
- *gu hobeto* izan gaitezela

The one before the last has a somewhat particular structure with the verb *pentsatzen* ‘thinking’ grafted on or interpolated in the *that*-clause (i.e., the focus). These would be variants of that original sentence:

- Jendeak pentsatzen *goardazibilak datozela*, erretiratu ziren.
- Jendeak *goardazibilak datozela* pentsatzen, erretiratu ziren.

In the original, though, the end of the *that*-clause within the subordinate clause comes after the verb of the subordinate clause.

Finally, there is another subordinate clause where the subordinating conjunction (*-en legez* ‘as’) attached to the subordinate verb is not in end position (*arbolara* ‘to the tree’ follows it):

- Peruk bere etxeko atea eroan zuen *legez (zuenez)* arbolara

1.2.2. Astoa, txakurra, katua eta oilarra

(1) [Egon zen] etxe batean **asto bat**, asto zaharra, ezertarako ere balio ez duen astoa. Eta esan zuten: <<Asto zaharra, ez du ezertarako ere balio-eta, hil egin beharko dugu, ea laster negua ere badator-eta, hil eta kito, [kendu] **enbarazutik**. Jan (e)ze(n) besterik ez du egiten-eta>>.

(2) Astoak [entzun zuen] **hori**. Eta esan zuten: <<Neu hil zeuek? Ez ba, eskapatu egingo dut ba!>>. Eta [eskapatu zuen] **handik**. Joan zen, joan eta joan, eta [topatu zuen] **txakurra**. Txakurrak esan zion: <<Nora zoaz?>> Eta besteak: <<Ba, ez dudala balio eta, etxean **laster hiltzeko kontua** [esan dute] eta [eskapatu egin dut] etxetik>>.

(3) <<Neu ere **horrelaxe** [noa]>>, esan zion

txakurrak. <<Bueno, ba aitzik (haatik?) [goaz] biok **elkarregaz**. Neu ere zaharra naizela eta, ez dudala zaunkarik ere egiten eta... banoa>>.

(4) [Badoaz] biak elkarregaz. Joan eta joan, [topatu dute] **katua**. Eta esan zion katuari: <<Zer ba? Zuri ere zer pasetan (pasatzen) zaizu ba?>>.

(5) <<Ba, ni ere ia orain sagurik ere ez dudala harrapatzen (harrapatzen) etxean, eta [esan didate] ba, **zaharra naizela**, eta beti **aurrean** [narabilte] eskobagaz jotzen, eta eskapatu dut!>>. <<Bueno, ba geu ere **horrelaxe** [goaz], [etorri] **geugaz**>>. [Juntatu ziren] **hiru**. [Joan ziren] **aurreago** eta [topatu zuten] **oilar bat**, oilarra kukurrukuka, eta esan zuten: <<Laster Gabonak ere badirela-eta, ia ez duela zerik, eta hil egin behar nautela neu [esaten didate] eta...>>. Ba, [plantatu ziren], **astoa azpian**, **astoaren gainean txakurra**, **txakurraren gainean katua**, eta **katuaren gainean oilarra**. [Joan ziren] eta gero **gaua** [ailegatu zen], eta ilundu zen eta, nora joan ere ez.

(6) Eta [ikusi zuten] urrunean hantxe **argitxo bat dagoea**. Eta esan zuten: <<Haraxe [joan behar dugu] gaua pasetako (pasatzeko), etxe hartaraxe; etxea edo ea zer dagoen ikusi behar dugu hantxe-eta>>. Joan ziren, [jo zuten] **atea**, eta **argi horregaz** [egon ziren] lapurrak, lapurretan eginda, euren diruak kontetan (kontatzen). Eta atea jo zutenean [pentsatu zuten] **badoazela goardazibilak-edo eurek topetan**, eta **eskapatzeari** [eman zioten]; eta besteak, **astoa-eta**, [sartu ziren] **barrura**, eta [plantatu ziren] **astoa kortan**, **txakurra ate ondoan**, **katua suaren ondotoxan**, eta **oilarra ere kortan**. [Plantatu ziren] **lo egiten**, epeletan daudela-eta, pozik! Eta lapurrak [joan ziren] **atzera**, ikusten ea zer izan zen haiek ikaratu zituena. Eta bat [sartu zen] **barrura** ilunean, argirik ixotu barik, eta [joan zen] **su ondora**, eta suari eragin zionean [pentsatu zuen] **txingerra dela**, eta [izan zen] **katuaren begia**. Eta katuak **erpeka** [ekin zion], **purrustada batzuk** [egin zizkion]; [hasi zen] lapurra **eskapan**, atera joaten, eta atean [hasi zitzaion] txakurra **zaunkaka**; [hasi zen] kortatik **eskapatutakoan**, eta kortan [hasten zaio] **astoa ostikoka**, eta gero irten zutenean kanpora haren poza. Eta gero oraindino [kukurrukuka egiten zion] oilarrak. [Joan zen] **besteengana** eta esan zion: <<Zer ikusi dut ba! Nik ez zekiat zer izan den hura! Batak haginkaka, besteak makilaka, besteak ostikoka, nik ezer ere ez diat ikusi baina txarto ibili nauk, txarto ere txarto. Hara ezin litekek joan>>.

(7) Eta gero **huraxe** [izan zen] eurentzako etxea, eta **eurek** [manejeten (manejatzen) ziren] hantxe.

Euskal dialektologiarako testo eta ariketak, 121-122, Bizkaia (Biscay): Nabarniz.

We shall look at the text paragraph by paragraph.

There is nothing special about the first paragraph (1) (the focus follows the verb two times out of two).

In the second paragraph (2), the focus comes before the verb only once:

- <<Ba, ez dudala balio eta, etxean **laster hiltzeko kontua** ‘something about killing me soon’ [esan dute ‘they have said’] (...)>>.

This structure is not much used nowadays in Basque. In Spanish it more or less means ‘*como que*’.

In the third paragraph (3), the focus precedes the verb only on one occasion out of two: namely, in the first sentence.

In the next paragraph (4), again the focus appears before the verb only once.

In the fifth (5) too, the focus follows the verb more times than it precedes it. There is also something worth mentioning in this paragraph about the *that*-clauses:

- <<Ba, ni ere ia orain sagurik ere ez dudala harrapetan (harrapatzen) etxean, eta [esan didate] ba, **zaharra naizela**, (...)>>.
- <<Laster Gabonak ere badirela-eta, ia ez duela zerik, eta hil egin behar nautela neu [esaten didate] eta (...)>>.

In the first case, the *that*-clause (*zaharra naizela* ‘*that I am old*’) comes after the main verb; in the second, however, it (*hil egin behar nautela* ‘*that they have to kill me*’) precedes it. In spoken Basque (contrary to what happens in the written form) *that*-clauses usually follow the verb. Going back to the examples above, why does the *that*-clause precede the verb in the second instance? I would say that it is because it links with the previously mentioned information; in other words, because the main verb is deletable: it may be deleted without any change.

In the sixth paragraph (6) too, the *galdegaia* follows the verb more times than it precedes it. Let’s look at the *that*-clauses in this paragraph now and how the speakers use them:

- [ikusi zuten ‘they saw’] urrunean hantxe **argitxo bat dagoela** ‘that there was a light’
- [pentsatu zuten ‘they thought’] **badoazela goardazibilak-edo eurek topetan** ‘that the Spanish civil guards were going to search for them’
- [pentsatu zuen ‘he thought’] **txingerra dela** ‘that it was embers’

In all three instances, the *that*-clause follows the verb, not as in the following variants, where it precedes it:

- urrunean hantxe **argitxo bat dagoela** [ikusi zuten]
- **goardazibilak-edo eurek topetan (ba)doazela** [pentsatu zuten]
- **txingerra dela** [pentsatu zuen]

And the originals (the first three) are always (apart from exceptions) easier to read than the variants (the last three).

Notice also something interesting about the following sentences:

- [Plantatu ziren ‘they lay down’] **lo egiten** ‘to sleep’
- [hasi zen ‘he began’] lapurra **eskapan** ‘to run away’
- eta atean [hasi zitzaion ‘he began’] txakurra **zaunkaka** ‘to bark’
- [hasi zen ‘he began’] kortatik **eskatutakoan**
- eta kortan [hasien zaio ‘begins’] astoa **ostikoka** ‘to kick’

In the first sentence, the focus is the subordinate verb; in the rest the focused elements are nouns, special nouns (verb forms in Spanish).

There are also two instances of subordinating affixes that are not in final position within the subordinate clause. The first clause is a subordinate *wh*-clause; the second one is a subordinate clause of time:

- Eta lapurrak [joan ziren] atzera, ikusten ea zer izan zen ‘what had been’ haiek ikaratu zituena.
- eta kortan [hasien zaio] astoa ostikoka, eta gero irten zuenean ‘when he came out’ kanpora haren poza.

In the last paragraph (7), the speaker uses the focus after the verb two times out of two.

1.2.3. Amerikara diruak irabazten

Gizon bat [joan zen] **Amerikara** diruak irabazten. Eta [topatu zuen] **lagun bat** berarena. Eta [egon ziren] **despeditu ezinik**. Eta lagunak [esan zion] **ematen zi(zki)ola hiru kontseju**. Lehenengo [esan zion] ba: **inoren gauzetan ez sartzeko**; bigarrena: atajutik ez joateko; hirugarrena: jakin barik gauza ez berotzeko. Despeditu ziren eta [joan zen] **etxe batera** eskatzen ostatua.

[Topatu zuen] **gizon argal bat** eta [ikaratu egin zen] eta irten zuenean etxe hartatik segitu egin zion eta [preguntatu egin zion] zer deritzon beraren bizimoduari. Eta lehenengoz [akordatu zen] **Amerikako lagunagaz**, eman zion kontsejoagaz, eta erantzun zion: <<Ez naiz inoren gauzetan ni sartzeko>>. Orduan gizon argalak kontestatu zion: <<Eskerrik asko>>. Gero [joan zen] **aurrera** beraren etxerantz eta [topatu zuen] **atajoea** eta [pentsatu zuen] **handik joatea**. Ikusi zuelako gizon bat joaten astoaren gainean. Baina **gehiago** [pentsatu] eta [joan zen] **beraren bidean**. Ailegatu zenean atajora [topatu zuen] **medikoa eta abadea**. Egin zion segitu eta topatu zuenean ia ilean, **astoaren gainean** [joan zen] gizona. Han [akordatu zen] **beraren lagunaren bigarren**

kontsejoagaz.

Joskera: *Esaldi Bakuna. Ikasgaiak eta Ariketak*, 203, Bizkaia (Biscay): Abadiño.

We shall look at the two paragraphs in the text.

In the first paragraph, the speaker places the focus after the verb six times out of six. There are other interesting issues to note in this paragraph. To start with, let's consider the following sentence:

- Eta [topatu zuen 'he met'] **lagun bat** 'a friend' berarena.

The speaker doesn't say:

- Eta [topatu zuen] *beraren* **lagun bat**.

In this kind of context, there is no need to put *beraren* 'of him' in front. Putting it in front, the information is processed a bit worse. And adding a new element, for instance, *Arranondoko* 'from Arranondo', would make the sentence even harder to read:

- Eta [topatu zuen] *Arranondoko* beraren **lagun bat**.

There is a second interesting fact worth mentioning:

- Eta lagunak [esan zion 'he told him'] **ematen zi(zki)ola hiru kontseju** 'that he would give him three pieces of advice'.

The focus, that is, the *that*-clause, follows the verb, and the verb of the subordinate clause and the subordinating affix are not in final position. Nowadays that sentence would be arranged this way:

- Eta lagunak **hiru kontseju ematen zi(zki)ola** [esan zion].

And a last note on this sentence:

- Despeditu ziren eta [joan zen 'he went'] **etxe batera** 'to a house' eskatzen ostatua.

There too the subordinate clause *eskatzen ostatua* 'to ask for lodging' comes after the main verb, and within it the focus (*ostatua* 'lodging') follows the subordinate verb (*eskatzen* 'to ask'). The subordinating affix (*-tzen*) is not in final position then.

Going on to the second paragraph, the focus follows the verb in eight sentences, and it precedes it only twice (in the last sentence it is not totally clear whether what is marked is the focus). Note also that the galdegaia element **handik joatea** 'to go that way' contains a non-finite verb form.

As for the subordinate clauses, here is a list of them in order of appearance:

- eta irten zuenean *etxe hartatik*
- **handik joatea**

- Ikusi zuelako gizon bat *joaten astoaren gainean*
- Ailegatu zenean *atajora*
- eta topatu zuenean *ia ilean*

The focused elements (in italics) follow the verb in all of them except in one. The third subordinate clause contains another subordinate clause (*joaten astoaren gainean* 'going on donkey') that nowadays would be formulated like this (with the focus in front of the verb):

- *astoaren gainean* joaten

Out of the five subordinate clauses, only in one is the subordinating affix in final position (*-tea*).

There is also another subordinate clause, an indirect question, worth commenting upon:

- eta [**preguntatu** 'ask' egin zion 'he did'] zer deritzon beraren bizimoduari

In it the subordinating affix is not in final position; besides, even if the focus is the main verb itself, in contemporary Basque the indirect question would be placed before the superordinate verb:

- eta beraren bizimoduari zer deritzon [**preguntatu** egin zion]

Finally, we wish to draw your attention to a really beautiful and functional structure:

- Eta lehenengoz [akordau zan 'he remembered'] **Amerikako lagunagaz** 'his friend from America', emon eutsan kontsejoagaz.

The Spanish translation would be this:

- Y se acordó por primera vez del consejo que le dió el amigo de América.

So the sentence is translated into Spanish using a relative clause, whereas the Basque speaker uses apposition. In nowadays Basque, and under the influence of Spanish, the sentence would look like this:

- Eta lehenengoz Amerikako lagunak eman zion kontsejoagaz [akordatu zen].

This variant results a little suffocating to read, and there is another alternative half-way between that and the original:

- Eta lehenengoz Amerikako lagunagaz [akordatu zen], eman zion kontsejoagaz.

1.3.

Thirdly, we have chosen a text transcribed by Jose Mari Satrustegi and compiled in the book *Euskal dialektologiarako testo eta ariketak*.

1.3.1.

Etxe batean [bizi ziren] **abuela bat, gizon bat, mutiki bat eta nesaki bat**. Egun batean gizona [joan zen] **sorora** eta abuela **labeko egiten** [hasi zen]. Eta [bialdu zuen] nesakia eta mutikia **basora** abarrak eske, esanaz: <<Lehenbiziko etortzen denari [emango diot] **opil puska handiena**>>. [Etorri zen] lehenbiziko **mutikia** eta etxera ailegatu zenean esan omen zion: <<Abuela, [zabal] **atea!**>>. Abuelak erantzun zion: <<[Pasa ezak], ba, **eskubiko eskua!**>>, eta [moztu zion] aizkorarekin **eskumuturra**. Eta berriz esan zion mutikiak: <<Abuela [zabal] **atea!**>>. Berriz esan zion abuelak: <<[Pasa ezak], ba, **ezkerreko eskua**>>, eta atzera [moztu zion] **beste eskua**. Gero, baita hankak ere; eta azkenean, **mutikiaren gorputza** [puskatu zuen] eta **pertz batean** [paratu zuen] egosten. [Etorri zen] nesakia **abarrarekin** eta galdetu zion abuelari: <<Non da nire anaia?>>. Abuelak esan zion: <<**Sorora** [joan da] bazkariarekin>>. Baina nesakiak [ikusi zuen] pertzean **zerbait bazegoela**, eta [esan zion] abuelari **hark hil duela bere anaia** eta pertzean daukala egosten. Eta abuelak esan zion orduan: <<Bai, **pertzean** [dago]. Baina esaten badiozu zuen aitari, **zeu** [egosi behar dizut (zaitut)] pertzean>>. **Eguerdi aldean** [etorri zen] gizona sorotik bazkaritara eta [galdetu zion] abuelari **ea non ze(ge)en bere semea**. Abuelak esan zion: <<**Basora** [joan da] abarretara>>, eta nesakiak, bildurrak, ez zuen hitzik atera. Bazkaltzean abuelak [atera zion] gizonari **bere semearen haragi egosia**, jateko; eta jaten zegoen bitartean, berak botatzen zituen hezurak **nesakiak** [bildu] eta **teilatura** [igo zituen] eta [paratu zituen] **mutikiaren forman**. Eta azkenekoa paratu zuenean, mutikia [hasi zen] **kantatzen**: <<Amonak [hil nau], **aitak** [jan nau], neure arrebak **hezur hutsetan** [piztu nau]!>>. Gizonak aditu zituenean kantaitak [galdegin zion] abuelari **ea zer pasatzen den teilatuan**. Eta harek erantzun zion: zer pasatu behar du! Txoriak **kantatzen** [daudela]! Baina gizona ez zen konforme eta [igo zen] **teilatura** eta **han** [ikusi zuen] bere semea, **berarekin** [hartu] eta [eraman zuen] **sukaldera**. Eta gero mutikiak bere arreba **urrez** [jantzi zuen] berari bizia salbatzeagatik. Eta egun batean ere abuela gaizto hura [hil zen] eta aita bi umeekin **ondo** [bizi izan zen].

Euskal dialektologiarako testo eta ariketak, 188, Nafarroa (Navarre): Urdian.

In the first sentence, the focus is an enumeration, and it follows the verb:

- Etxe batean [bizi ziren ‘they lived’] **abuela bat, gizon bat, mutiki bat eta nesaki bat** ‘a grandmother, a man, a boy and a girl’.

But moving the galdegaia in front of the verb, as the rule states, the sentence results hard to read:

- Etxe batean **abuela bat, gizon bat, mutiki bat eta nesaki bat** [bizi ziren].

The second sentence consists of two coordinated sentences; one follows the rule of the galdegaia, and the other fails to do so:

- Egun batean gizona [joan zen ‘he went’] **sorora** ‘to the field’ eta abuela **labeko egiten** ‘to light a fire to make dinner’ [hasi zen ‘she started’].

In the following three sentences, the focus comes after the verb:

- Eta [bialdu zuen ‘she sent’] nesakia eta mutikia **basora** ‘to the woods’ abarrak eske, esanaz: <<Lehenbiziko etortzen denari [emango diot] ‘I will give him/her’] **opil puska handiena** ‘the biggest piece of bread’>>. [Etorri zen ‘he came’] lehenbiziko **mutikia** ‘the boy’ eta etxera ailegatu zenean esan omen zion (...)

And moving the galdegaia phrases before the verb, the result is:

- Eta nesakia eta mutikia **basora** [bialdu zuen] abarrak eske, esanaz: <<Lehenbiziko etortzen denari **opil puska handiena** [emango diot] >>. Lehenbiziko **mutikia** [etorri zen] eta etxera ailegatu zenean esan omen zion (...)

In that way the reading gets slightly harder than before. There is also a subordinate clause of time (*etxera ailegatu zenean* ‘when he arrived home’), and in it the focus (*etxera* ‘home’) precedes the verb.

Here is the next passage:

- <<Abuela, [zabal ‘open’] **atea** ‘the door’!>>. Abuelak erantzun zion: <<[Pasa ezak ‘bring in’], ba, **eskubiko eskua** ‘the right hand’!>>, eta [moztu zion ‘she cut’] aizkorarekin **eskumuturra** ‘the wrist’. Eta berriz esan zion mutikiak: <<Abuela [zabal ‘open’] **atea** ‘the door’!>>. Berriz esan zion abuelak: <<[Pasa ezak ‘bring in’], ba, **ezkerreko eskua** ‘the left hand’>>, eta atzera [moztu zion ‘she cut’] **beste eskua** ‘the other hand’. Gero, baita hankak ere; eta azkenean, **mutikiaren gorputza** ‘his body’ [puskatu zuen ‘she cut it into pieces’] eta **pertz batean** ‘in a cauldron’ [paratu zuen ‘she put it’] egosten.

There are eight focused elements. The first six follow the verb; the last two, on the other hand, are before the verb, that is, in the conventional place.

Let’s go on to the next passage:

- [Etorri zen ‘she came’] nesakia **abarr(ar)ekin** ‘with the kindling’ eta galdetu zion abuelari: <<Non da nire anaia?>>. Abuelak esan zion: <<**Sorora** ‘to the field’ [joan da ‘he is gone’] bazkariarekin>>. Baina nesakiak [ikusi zuen ‘she saw’] pertzean **zerbait bazegoela** ‘that there was something’, eta [esan zion ‘she told her’] abuelari **hark hil duela bere anaia** ‘that she killed her brother’ eta pertzean daukala

egosten. Eta abuelak esan zion orduan: <<Bai, **pertzean** ‘in the cauldron’ [dago ‘he is’]. Baina esaten badiozu zuen aitari, **zeu** ‘you’ [egosi behar dizut (zaitut) ‘I shall boil’] **pertzean**.

The focused elements are noun phrases and subordinate clauses (*that*-clauses). Amongst the noun phrases, there is one that follows the verb (**abarr(ar)ekin**), and another three precede it (**sorora**, **pertzean** and **zeu**). Both focused *that*-clauses follow the verb:

- [ikusi zuen] **pertzean zerbait bazegoela**
- [esan zion] abuelari **hark hil duela bere anaia**

Like that the sentences are easier to read than with the *that*-clauses placed in front of the verb:

- **pertzean zerbait bazegoela** [ikusi zuen]
- abuelari **bere anaia hark hil duela** [esan zion]

In one of the *that*-clauses, the marker of subordination or subordinating affix (*-ela*) is not in final position; after it there is another element (**bere anaia** ‘her brother’).

There is also another *that*-clause in the passage above (*pertzean daukala egosten* ‘that she had him boiling in the cauldron’), and in it the subordinating affix is not in final position; there is another constituent after it (*egosten* ‘boiling’).

Finally, there is a conditional subordinate clause too (*esaten badiozu zuen aitari* ‘if you tell it to your father’) in which the focus (*zuen aitari* ‘to your father’) follows the verb.

Here is the next passage:

- **Eguerdi aldean** ‘at midday’ [etorri zen ‘he came’] gizona sorotik bazkaritara eta [galdetu zion ‘he asked her’] abuelari **ea non zegoen/zen bere semea** ‘where his son was’. Abuelak esan zion: <<Basora ‘to the woods’ [joan da ‘he is gone’] abarretara>>, eta nesakiak, bildurak, ez zuen hitzik atera. Bazkaltzean abuelak [atera zion ‘she served him’] gizonari **bere semearen haragi egosia** ‘his son’s boiled meat’, jateko; eta jaten zegoen bitartean, berak botatzen zituen hezurak **nesakiak** ‘the girl’ [bildu ‘collected’] eta **teilatura** ‘to the roof’ [igo zituen ‘she took them’] eta [paratu zituen ‘she arranged them’] **mutikiaren forman** ‘in the shape of the boy’.

There are three points worth mentioning:

One. The first sentence follows the rule of the galdegaia. However, the sentence could not be easier to read, because the rest of the constituents, apart from the focus, follow the verb. If those elements were placed in front, as is the custom nowadays, the sentence would be harder to read:

- Gizona sorotik bazkaritara **eguerdi aldean** [etorri zen].

Two. The indirect question follows the main verb. Moreover, the subordinating affix (*-en*) is not in final position. According to the established canons, the sentence would read:

- Eta abuelari **bere semea ea non zegoen/zen** [galdetu zion].

Three. In the following sentence, the focus is not in front of the verb, and it is not immediately after it either but in second position after it:

- Bazkaltzean abuelak [atera zion] gizonari **bere semearen haragi egosia**, jateko.

This is the next passage:

- Eta azkenekoa paratu zuenean, mutikia [hasi zen ‘he started’] **kantatzen** ‘to sing’: <<Amonak ‘grandmother’ [hil nau ‘she has killed me’], **aitak** ‘father’ [jan nau ‘he has eaten me’], neure arrebak **hezur hutsetan** ‘in bare bones’ [piztu nau ‘she has brought me to life’]!>>. Gizonak aditu zituenean kantaitak [galdegin zion ‘he asked her’] abuelari **ea zer pasatzen den teilatuan** ‘what was happening on the roof’. Eta harek erantzun zion: <<zer pasatu behar du! Txoriak **kantatzen** ‘singing’ [daudela ‘that they are’]!>>.

We would like to draw attention to two points.

In the first sentence, on the one hand, the focus, that is, the participle (**kantatzen**), follows the verb:

- Eta azkenekoa paratu zuenean, mutikia [hasi zen] **kantatzen**.

On the other hand, there is a sentence containing an indirect question which follows the verb, and in it the subordinating affix (*-en*) is not in final position:

- [galdegin zion] abuelari **ea zer pasatzen den teilatuan**

Needless to say, rearranging that sentence according to nowadays conventions would result in a sentence that would be harder to read.

Let’s analyse the last passage:

- Baina gizona ez zen konforme eta [igo zen ‘he got up’] **teilatura** ‘to the roof’ eta **han** ‘there’ [ikusi zuen ‘he saw’] bere semea, **berarekin** ‘with him’ [hartu ‘he got him’] eta [eraman zuen ‘he took him’] **sukaldera** ‘to the kitchen’. Eta gero mutikiak bere arrebak **urrez** ‘with gold’ [jantzi zuen ‘he dressed her’] berari bizia salbatzeagatik. Eta egun batean ere abuela gaizto hura [hil ‘die’ zen ‘she did’] eta aita bi umeeekin **ondo** ‘well’ [bizi izan z(ir)en ‘they lived’].

Sometimes the focus is in front of the verb, sometimes it comes after. But how easily are the

sentences read! Two notes: in the sentence before the last, we marked the verb itself (*hil*) as the focus (same as if it would say *hil egin zen*); and in the last sentence, we would never place the constituent *aita bi umeeekin* ‘the father with his two children’ after the verb at the end of a story.

Finally, we shall look at some subordinating affixes, those that are not in final position within the subordinate clause:

- Baina nesakiak [ikusi zuen] pertzean **zerbait bazegoela**, eta [esan zion] abuelari **hark hil duela bere anaia**.
- Baina esaten *badiozu* zuen aitari, **zeu** [egosi behar dizut (zaitut)] pertzean.
- **Eguerdi aldean** [etorri zen] gizona sorotik bazkaritara eta [galdetu zion] abuelari **ea non ze(go)en bere semea**.
- Gizonak aditu zituen *ean* kantaitak [galdegin zion] abuelari **ea zer pasatzen den teiltuan**.

As we can see, there are two indirect questions (-*en*), a *that*-clause (-*ela*), a time clause (-*enean*), and a conditional clause (*ba*-). Nowadays it is nearly a miracle to find sentences like those in Basque, that is, sentences without the subordinating affixes at the end.

1.4.

In fourth place we shall use a text by Josemiel Barandiaran from the book *Euskal dialektologiarako testo eta ariketak*:

1.4.1. Erraina eta amaginarreba

Erraina eta amaginarreba ez ziren konponketan (konpontzen), eta semea **bidaiari** [joan zen]; eta **kriadua** [zeukan] amaginarrebak eta [esan zion] **mendi batera erraina eroateko**.

Errainak **ume bi** [egin zituen]; eta **txakurtxo bat** [zeukan], eurek eta txakurrek [jarraitu zioten] **mendirira**.

Amaginarrebak [esan zion] kriaduari **ze eroateko errainaren esku biak eta bihotza**.

Kriaduak [kendu zizkion] **esku biak** errainari, eta **lepora** [lotu zizkion] ume biak, eta gero txakurrari **bihotza** [kendu zion].

Gure umeak **ura** [eskatu zion] amari: ama **ura** [gura dut] nik, ama.

[Bajatu zen] **errekara**, [sartu zuen] eskumako eskua **errekara** eta [atera zuen] **sano**. [Sartu zuen] **bigarrena** eta [atera zuen] **sano**.

Menditik aurrera zihoazen, [entzun zuen] zarata bat pago batean hiru kolpe emateko eskuekin.

Haiek hiru kolpeak eman eta [presentatu zen]

palazio eder bat.

[Joan ziren] **palaziora**. [Bizi ziren] palazioan: **ama alaba biekin**.

[Joan ziren] egun batean **hiru kazadore** ea ostaturik emango zien.

Baietz [esan zien].

Gero [eman zien] **afaria**.

Beste goizean, jagi zirenean, amak [esan zion] alaba bati esan ziola kazadore bati: aditu (entzun), eutsi (tori) ura eskuak garbitzeko, eta beste alabari: aditu (entzun), eutsi trapua eskuak sikatzeko.

Gizonak [esan zien] **ea zer zioen**.

Andreak [esan zion] **ze ea ez zen akordatu zelan joan zen bidaiari**. Eta [erantzun zion] ze **baietz**.

Eta [esan zion] **ze ea amak zer esan zien**.

Ba esan ziela erraina bialdu zuela mendira kriaduagaz, eta hilda bere eskuak eta bihotza agindu zuela eroateko.

Baina eroan zi(zki)ela bere eskuak eta txakurraren bihotza, erantzun zion andreak.

Palazioan [gelditu ziren] **gizona eta emaztea alaba biekin**.

Euskal dialektologiarako testo eta ariketak, 122-123, Araba (Álava): Etxaguen Zigoitia.

We will not examine the position of each focused element, but we will say that 75% of them do not follow the rule of the galdegaia.

There are also other interesting issues regarding nominal clauses. Two types can be distinguished:

- Non-finite clauses
- Finite clauses

These are the examples of the first type:

- eta [esan zion ‘she told him’] **mendi batera erraina eroateko** ‘to take her daughter-in-law to a mountain’
- Amaginarrebak [esan zion ‘she told him’] kriaduari **ze eroateko errainaren esku biak eta bihotza** ‘to take the two hands and the heart of her daughter-in-law to her’.
- (Ba esan ziela erraina bialdu zuela mendira kriaduagaz), eta hilda bere eskuak eta bihotza agindu zuela **eroateko** ‘she ordered to kill her and to take to her her hands and her heart’.

The nominal clauses above are *to*-infinitive clauses (-*tzeko*) and come after the main verb. In the first example, the subordinating affix is in final position; in the second, on the contrary, the marker of subordination

is not in final position. That second sentence would be given in one of these ways in standard Basque:

- Amaginarrebak kriaduari **errainaren esku biak eta bihotza eroateko** [esan zion].
- Amaginarrebak kriaduari [esan zion] **errainaren esku biak eta bihotza eroateko**.

The particle *ze*, which appears in the original sentences, has not been included in any of the two variants. The first variant is really hard to read, though this is how it would be given in writing. The style of the second variant is gaining adepts, and it is easy to read. However, it is the original that is the easiest to read.

In the third example, if we ignore for the moment what is in the parentheses (*Ba esan ziela erraina bialdu zuela mendira kriaduagaz* ‘that she had said that she had sent the daughter-in-law to the mountain with the servant’), it is unusual how the rest (*eta hilda bere eskuak eta bihotza agindu zuela eroateko*), that is, the information of the *to*-infinitive clause, is divided: a part of it before the verb and another part after it. This would be an alternative:

- eta hilda agindu zuela bere eskuak eta bihotza eroateko

Passing on to the finite nominal clauses, there are two examples of *that*-clauses:

- Beste goizean, jagi zirenean, amak [esan zion ‘she told her’] alaba bati **esan zio/la kazadore bati** ‘that she had told a hunter’
- Ba [esan ziela ‘that she had told them’] **erraina bialdu zuela mendira kriaduagaz** ‘that she had sent her daughter-in-law to the mountain with the servant’

The *that*-clause is after the verb in both examples, and the subordinating affix (*-ela*) is not in final position in either of the two clauses.

Amongst the finite nominal clauses in the text, there are also examples of indirect questions that are worth noting:

- [Joan ziren ‘they went’] egun batean **hiru kazadore** ‘three hunters’ ea ostaturik emango zien.
- Gizonak [esan zien ‘he asked them’] **ea zer zioen** ‘what she had said’.
- Andreak [esan zion ‘she told him’] **ze ea ez zen akordatu zelan joan zen bidaiari** ‘whether he did not remember how he went on a journey’.
- Eta [esan zion ‘she asked him’] **ze ea amak zer esan zien** ‘what had the mother told him’.

In all four of the examples above, the *wh*-interrogative clause follows the verb. There is more to say about the third sentence: it contains two nominal

clauses, the second of which does not end with the subordinating affix (*-en*).

Lastly, there is something else about the interesting issue on whether the focus should go to the left or to the right of the verb. Here are two examples with the same word as the focus, but in one it is placed before the verb and in the other after it:

- **Baietz** ‘yes’ [esan zien ‘she told them’].
- Eta [erantzun zion ‘he answered her’] **ze baietz** ‘yes’.

In everyday life, and for many of us, sentences like the following are more than usual:

- **Ezetz** [esan dizut].
- [Esan dizut] **ezetz**.

1.5.

In fifth place we shall look at orally produced texts gathered by Nils Holmer in the book *El idioma vasco hablado*.

Here is the first text:

1.5.1. Emakume irulea

Emakumeak [aritzen ziren] **iruten**. Eta egunero lamia [etortzen zitzaion] **tximiniatik beheti** eta beti galdetzen zion: [Ekarran] **gantx**, ekarran gantx! Eta [koleratu ziren] **haiek** eta egun batean [gelditu zen] **sukaldean** iruten gizona, besteak emakumeak goatzera (ohera) bidalita. Gizona [gelditu zen] sukaldean **bakarra** eta [paratu zuen] pañueloa **buruan** eta arropa ere bai emakumeak bezala eta [jarri zen] **prestatuta** zartagin bat urin irakiten. Eta lamia [etorri zen] **tximiniatik beheti** eta galdetu zion gizonari: <<Nor haiz hi?>>. Eta gizonak kontestatu zion: <<Neronek nere buru>>. Eta hark gizona zela ezagutu zuenean, [hasi zen] **tximinia goiti** eta orduan gizonak [tiratu zion] **zartagin urina** eta lamia [joan zen] **garrasika** tximinia goiti. Gero lagunak galdetu zioten: <<Zer egin duk?>>. <<Neronek nere buru, neronek nere buru!>>. Eta gehiago ez zen agertu.

Lamia, Sorgin eta Tartaroen Erresuma ezkutua, 63.

Unless we are mistaken, there are seven galdegaia elements, and all seven follow the verb. Two of them come not immediately but in second place after the verb:

- Gizona [gelditu zen ‘he stayed’] sukaldean **bakarra** ‘only him’
- eta [paratu zuen ‘he put’] pañueloa **buruan** ‘on his head’

Let’s examine now the position of the focus in the subordinate sentences. There are three:

- *besteak emakumeak goatzera(ohera) bidalita*
- *zartagina bat urin irakiten*
- *Eta hark gizona zela ezagutu zuenean*

In all three the focus precedes the verb. In the third clause, the *that*-clause (*gizona zela* ‘that it was a man’) is positioned before the superordinate verb. This is not usually the case in orally produced texts, in which the *that*-clause normally follows the verb. We shall see, then, why it is placed before the verb in that third clause. Looking at the thread of the story, the way the discourse goes on, we realize that the constituent *gizona zela* naturally follows the thread linking perfectly with the previous piece of information:

- *Eta lamia [etorri zen] tximiniatik beheti eta galdetu zion gizonari: <<Nor haiz hi?>>. Eta gizonak kontestatu zion: <<Neronek nere buru>>. Eta hark gizona zela ezagutu zuenean (...)*

There is no lack of continuity in the information from the previous context to the *that*-clause (*gizona zela*); there is no bad connection. The clause is better than good where it is, that is, in front of the verb.

1.5.2. Cuentos de Justiz

Espainiako erregea [etorri zen] egun batean **Jaizkibelko mendira** ehizara. Eta ehizan zebilela [egin zen] brumarekin **galdu**. Eta gero bueltaka zebilela, [gertatu zen] **etxe hori bilatzea**. Eta gero **etxe hortan** [gelditu zen]. Lo egiten **etxe horretan** [zegoen]. [Bizi zen] **neska gazte eder bat**. Eta [galdetu zuen] **nola esaten zen euskaraz << muy hermosa>>**, eta [esan zioten]: **Gutziz ederra**. Eta gero egun batzuek pasatuta gero erregeak [esan zion] **erregalo bat egingo ziola eta galdetzeko nahi zuen dina lur**. Eta **hura** [eman zion].

Euskal dialektologiarako testo eta ariketak, 205, Gipuzkoa (Guipúzcoa): Ondarrabia.

There are eight focused elements, and six of them follow the verb. We shall examine some of them.

In the first sentence, the focus is in second place after the verb:

- *Espainiako erregea [etorri zen ‘he came’] egun batean **Jaizkibelko mendira** ‘to Jaizkibel mountain’ ehizara.*

In the second sentence, the verb itself is the focus (*galdu* ‘to get lost’), and the order is not the usual one, which would be:

- *Eta ehizan zebilela brumarekin [galdu egin zen].*

There are three examples in which the focus is a subordinate clause, and all three subordinate clauses follow the verb:

- [gertatu zen ‘he happened’] **etxe hori bilatzea** ‘to find that house’
- *Eta [galdetu zuen ‘he asked’] nola **esaten zen euskaraz << muy hermosa>>** ‘how to say in Basque <<very beautiful>>’.*
- *erregeak [esan zion ‘he told him’] **erregalo bat egingo ziola eta galdetzeko nahi zuen dina lur** ‘that he would present him with a present and to ask for as much land as he wanted’*

In the third sentence, the second coordinated clause starts with a verb and the subordinating affix (*galdetzeko* ‘to ask for’). Moving the focused clauses to their conventional places, the result would be:

- **etxe hori bilatzea** [gertatu zen]
- *Eta **euskaraz << muy hermosa>> nola esaten zen** [galdetu zuen].*
- *erregeak **erregalo bat egingo ziola eta nahi zuen dina lur galdetzeko (eskatzeko)** [esan zion]*

The third variant results really tiring to read.

1.5.3. Begizko

Hiru gizonek [hartu] **mutikoa** eta hiruri [egin zuen(zion)] **eskapo**. Eta [jartzen zen] **bizkarrean** zutik. Gu [ginen] **mendian** orduan. Eta etxera etorri ginen denboran, mutiko hark [ikusi zuen] **katu estraino bat**, katu itsusi bat. **Hark** bakarrik [ikusten zuen] -ez zuen bertzek ikusten-. Bi urtean **egunero** [ikusten zuen] eta **hiltzera** [etorri zen].

Andre batek **gaizkina** [egin zion] eta [hura zen] **katua**. Andre hari paliza emanda, jota (aitak jo zuen), zatituta. **Ordutik** [sendatu zen] mutikoa. Orduan [eman zuen] **hitza** gehiago ez zuela egingo. Andrea [zen] **Nafarroakoa** (euskalduna). **Eskean** [ibiltzen zen].

Euskal dialektologiarako testo eta ariketak, 207, Gipuzkoa (Guipúzcoa): Oiartzun.

In most cases the focus follows the verb. And there is a very interesting sentence:

- *Orduan [eman zuen ‘she gave’] **hitza** ‘her word’ gehiago ez zuela egingo.*

In conventional Basque the sentence is not entirely orthodox. In fact, this is how it would be arranged nowadays:

- *Orduan **hitza** [eman zuen] gehiago ez zuela egingo.*

However, examples like the original, in which the noun *hitza* and the nominal clause *gehiago ez zuela egingo* ‘that she wouldn’t do it again’ come after the verb, can be found amongst the classics (the name of J. A. Mogel springs to mind). Sentences like that have been heard coming from the best speakers too.

1.6.

In sixth place we shall look at texts reproduced by Juan Manuel Etxeberria and found in a number of books.

This is the text that we shall discuss:

1.6.1. Jentilak eta kanpai hotsa

Supilaur-en, Gorbeian, Anboto Señoraren kobaren aurrean [egon ziren] **andre-gizon bi**, ardiak jagoten.

[Etorri zitzaion] **jentil bat** gizonagana, eta [esan zion] **beragaz, jentilagaz, joateko**. Eta **koba barrura** [eroan zuen]. Koba horretan azkeneraino ez da inor sartu. **Kandela** xituagaz sartuz gero, **kandela** amatetan denean, **arnasaren faltan** irten behar delako. Eta **erreka bat eta ikaragarrizko mahaia-eta** [ei daude] han barruan. Eta koba barruan jentilek esan zioten: <<Hire aitak honelako ikatzik egiten dik?>>. Eta gero esan zioten: <<Hartu ezak!>>. Eta hartu orduan [konturatu zen] pastorea, **hamaseiko eta ehun errealeko gorriak zirela**.

Eta esan zioten jentilek: <<[Hartu ezak] **gura dokan beste**, baina arin, ugazabak ixartu egin behar duk-eta...>>. [Hasi zen] orduan pastorea **kolkoa eta boltsak betetan ahalik eta arinen**, eta horretan dagoela [ixartu egin zen] ugazaba. Eta orduan **galapan** [hasi zen] eta deabrua bere atzean. Eta haitzik haitz, bide arloak egin eta gero, Orozkorantz, bidean **Olarteko kanpai-hotso** [entzun zuten]. Eta orduan jentila [geratu egin zen].

Pastorea [salbatu egin zen], ze jentilek ezin zuten pasatu aurrera kanpai-hotso entzun zen lekura. Eta pastorea salbatuta ikusi zuenean, jentilek **maldizioa** [bota zioten].

Eta **horrela** [jazo zen], gero pastore haren eta bere ostekoan artean egundo ez da faltatu ezbeharririk.

Idazkera ariketak, 111-112, Bizkaia (Biscay): Zeberio.

There are fifteen main sentences to analyse in the text, and in three of them the focus is the verb itself:

- (...) eta horretan dagoela [**ixartu** ‘wake up’ egin zen ‘he did’] ugazaba.
- Eta orduan jentila [**geratu** ‘stop’ egin zen ‘he did’].
- Pastorea [**salbatu** ‘safe’ egin zen ‘he was’].

Out of the other twelve, the focus follows the verb in six cases, and it precedes it in another six.

In the following four cases, the focus is a subordinate clause, and it follows the verb:

- (...) eta [esan zion ‘he told him’] **beragaz, jentilagaz, joateko** ‘to go with him, the heathen’.
- <<[Hartu ezak ‘take’] **gura dokan beste** ‘as much as you want’ (...)>>.
- Eta hartu orduan [konturatu zen ‘he realized’] pastorea, **hamaseiko eta ehun errealeko gorriak zirela** ‘that they were sixteen and a hundred reales gold coins’.
- [Hasi zen ‘he started’] orduan pastorea **kolkoa eta boltsak betetan ahalik eta arinen** ‘to fill up his chest and sacks as quickly as possible’.

In the fourth sentence, contrary to what happens in the other three, the focus of the subordinate clause (**ahalik eta arinen** ‘as quickly as possible’) follows the subordinate verb (*betetan* ‘to fill up’). This is how all four sentences should look like according to the rule of the galdegaia:

- **Beragaz, jentilagaz, joateko** [esan zion].
- **Gura dokan beste** [hartu ezak].
- Eta hartu orduan pastorea, **amaseiko eta ehun errealeko gorriak zirela** [konturatu zen].
- Orduan pastorea **kolkoa eta boltsak ahalik eta arinen betetan** [hasi zen].

And from a communicative point of view, there is a difference between the original sentences and those variants.

Let’s look now at the position occupied by the focus within the subordinate clauses when the subordinate clause itself is not the focused element of the main clause:

- *Kandela xituagaz* sartuz gero, *kandela* amatetan denean, *arnasaren faltan* irten behar delako.
- Eta haitzik haitz, *bide arloak* egin eta gero
- Eta pastorea *salbatuta* ikusi zuenean

As it can be seen, the focus (in italics) precedes the verb in the three instances.

Finally, there is something interesting about the introductory sentence:

- *Supilaur-en, Gorbeian, Anboto Señoraren kobaren aurrean* (...)

Nowadays in standard Basque, it would be written this way:

- *Gorbeiako Supilaur-en, Anboto Señoraren kobaren aurrean* (...)

However, in the original, the declension case used for the word *Gorbeia* is not the locative-genitive (*nongo* 'off/from where') but the inessive (*non* 'where').

2. Conclusions-recommendations

Now it is time to make a final balance on the features that have been found in orally produced stories by southern Basque speakers:

2.1.

The mentioned speakers place the verb early in the sentence; sometimes as early as it can be placed, that is, in first position:

- [Erran zion] bere lagunari nahi zuela rekuerto bat utzi bere sorterriari, bi kolejio eginda.
- [Etorri zitzaion] jentil bat gizonagana, eta [esan zion] beragaz, jentilagaz, joateko.
- [Erran zioten] ea nahi zuen pote bat urrezkoa.
- [Egon zen] etxe batean asto bat, asto zaharra, ezertarako ere balio ez duen astoa.

Using the verb like that results in texts that could not be easier to read. It seems as though the main worry is not the position of the focus; what is really important is to place the verb as early as possible in the sentence, and then the focus will be placed before or after the verb depending on the circumstances and whether it is short or long.

2.2.

The truth is that the speakers who produced those stories break the rule of the galdegaia (the focus or galdegaia must be placed to the left of the verb and adjoining it) in most cases. The rule is broken in 80% of the main sentences. Here are some examples:

- Baina nola baitzitu en urte aunitz, hil zen don Martin *Suitzan*.
- Alfontok hartu zuen automobila *bost'erditan*. Etorri zen *bere etxera*.
- Gizon bat heldu zen *etxerat* eta atera zitzaizkion bidean *sorginak*.

2.3.

In the case of the subordinate clauses, the results are different from those obtained with the independent clauses. Indeed, the rule of the galdegaia is barely broken in 50% of the subordinate clauses. The fact that the focused elements in subordinate clauses are usually not as large and complex as those in main sentences could help explain the figures. These are some examples where the focus follows the subordinate verb:

- Erran zioten ea nahi zuen *pote bat urrezkoa*.

- Eta lagunak esan zion ematen zi(zki)ola *hiru kontseju*.

2.4.

As for the position occupied by the subordinating affixes, there is another widely spread rule in standard Basque which states that the marker of subordination must be in final position within the subordinate clause. That rule is broken to pieces now and again by the producers of the stories examined in this paper. Here are some examples to show that:

- eta *preguntatu* egin zion zer *deritzon* beraren *bizimoduari*.
- Amaginarrebak esan zion *kriaduari* ze *eroateko* errainaren esku *biak* eta *bihotza*.

2.5.

Generally, nowadays the written form goes against the way some of our best speakers did (and do) order the elements within a sentence. We write under the influence of Spanish. For one thing, and as a recommendation, we would like to suggest that if placing the focus after the verb makes a sentence easier to understand, especially when the focus is long and complex, why not do it? By doing so we would kill two birds with one stone: we would keep our tradition while doing a favour to the reader. So be it.

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