

LANGUAGE VARIATION, CONTACT, REVITALIZATION, AND TRANSLATION: A CORPUS APPROACH TO ALLOCUTIVE AGREEMENT IN BASQUE

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Abstract

Translation is widely known to have had a positive impact on the revitalization of the Basque language (Mendiguren Bereziartu, 1995), as it is one of the main means of creation, consolidation and spreading of the standard model of the language (Belmar, 2017).

This paper will analyse how issues surrounding the revitalization of a minoritized language—such as the tension between standardization and variation; or the pressures of language contact on notions of authenticity (see Wong, 1999)—may affect the use of expressive verbal forms said to be disappearing from the spoken language due to both contact with Spanish and pressure from the standard, register-neutral, language (Alberdi, 2018). A corpus study of the use of allocutive agreement in both original and translated works of literature will illustrate these issues in practice. The data, in fact, suggests that a planned effort may be in place to revitalize the use of allocutive markers.

Keywords: language revitalization; language standardization; minoritized language; translation; language planning; Basque.

VARIACIÓ, CONTACTE, REVITALITZACIÓ I TRADUCCIÓ DE LA LLENGUA: UN ESTUDI DE CORPUS DE L'ÚS DE LA CONCORDANÇA AL·LOCUTIVA EN BASC

Resum

És àmpliament conegut que la traducció ha tingut un impacte positiu en la revitalització de la llengua basca (Mendiguren Bereziartu, 1995), ja que és un dels mitjans principals de creació, consolidació i extensió del model estàndard de la llengua (Belmar, 2017). Aquest article analitza els problemes que envolten la revitalització d'una llengua minoritzada: com ara la tensió entre estandardització i variació; o bé les maneres en què la pressió del contacte lingüístic pot afectar l'ús de formes verbals expressives que estan desapareixent de la llengua parlada, ja sigui com a causa del contacte amb l'espanyol o per la pressió del registre estàndard (Alberdi, 2018). Un estudi de corpus de l'ús de la concordança al·locutiva en obres de literatura tant originals com traduïdes il·lustrarà aquestes qüestions a la pràctica. De fet, les dades suggereixen que hi pot haver un esforç planificat per revitalitzar l'ús de marcadors al·locutius.

Paraules clau: revitalització de la llengua; estandardització de la llengua; llengua minoritzada; traducció; planificació lingüística; basc.

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Introduction

Basque is an isolated language spoken in the traditional seven Basque provinces straddling the Pyrenees mountain chain on the border between France and Spain. It currently has about 800,000 speakers and it is used as a means of instruction in most schools in the Basque Autonomous Community (made up of the provinces of Araba, Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa), as well as in some public schools in Navarre/Nafarroa and some private schools, known as *ikastolak*, in Iparralde, the Northern Basque Country (the provinces of Lapurdi, Nafarroa Beherea and Zuberoa). In Spain, the language was made co-official alongside Spanish in the 1980s in the Basque Autonomous Community as well as in the northern part of Navarre. Especially in the Basque Autonomous Community a very ambitious revitalization program was put into place, including the creation of a Basque-language TV channel and the sponsorship of two translation projects that made all sorts of literature available in Basque: *Literatura Unibertsala* (translating works by renowned authors such as Shakespeare, Joyce, Saramago or Tolstoy) and *Pentsamenduaren Klasikoak* (translating works by Aristotle, Locke, Nietzsche or Foucault, among others) (López Gaseni, 2000; Mendiguren Bereziartu, 1995).

This titanic effort put into translation has had a significant influence on the Basque language (see Mendiguren Bereziartu, 1993, 1995; Torrealdai, 1997; Zabaleta, 2019). All literature reflects the existing discourse and linguistic practices in a given community, and translation—as a rewriting of an original text (Basnett & Lefevere, 1992: 1)—is a readily accessible tool minoritized communities can make use of to break certain power dynamics (Belmar, 2017: 37). It is no surprise, therefore, that translation plays a key role in the revitalization processes of minoritized languages, even when it is unplanned. Translators have long been thought of as main actors in processes of standardization all around the world, from bigger languages such as German—in which the translation of the Bible set the foundations upon which Standard German was developed (Belmar, 2017: 43)—to minoritized languages. Translation has even been described as “some sort of laboratory, where the most daring experiment with established rules and analyse the acceptance of these suggestions”, which in turn allows translators to “shape the standard model” and “spread it” (García Porres, 2002: 21, English translation from Belmar, 2017: 43). In the Basque context (see Zabaleta, 2019), for example, translation has long represented over 30% of all the books published (López Gaseni, 2000, 2008), and over 60% of all the content broadcast by the regional TV (Barambones, 2012), and it has been said to represent “the symbol of its [the language] modernization, both inspiring numerous works of lexical re-structuration and developing totally new registers and discourses” (Mendiguren Bereziartu, 1993: 107).

These processes of standardization, however, were more often than not linked to notions of language purism (Dorian, 1994), which often resulted in a clear divide between the linguistic models of originals and translations. On the one hand, writers were striving for *genuineness*, but the sociolinguistic situation was pushing for *standardization*, which was often at odds with the former. In fact, standardization is known for triggering dialectal levelling (see Castellanos, 2000; Lamuela, 1994) and the appearance of native speakers of the standard variety (see Ortega et al., 2015 on new speakers of Basque). In addition, the *native* speakers of this standard variety are often speakers who did not learn it at home, but rather at school (see Doerr, 2009 for a discussion on the label ‘native speaker’ in minoritized contexts), and whose exposure to the language is, therefore, limited to a very specific formal setting: language instruction.

This push for standardization often forgets language variation, particularly register variation. Minoritized languages have been prevented from developing an effective ‘monolingual’ register system (Belmar, 2017: 40). In fact, the *diglossia* (Ferguson, 1959) existing in these communities, maps onto registers in such a way that formal registers would just not work in the minoritized language. Revitalization processes, as a reaction, tend to focus on creating a standard model; a formal register that can be used instead of the dominant language (Belmar, 2017). However, this effort to achieve a formal register can potentially have disastrous effects for the familiar registers of the language. Barambones (2012) cites three main reasons why audiovisual translation into Basque is often criticized for a lack of credibility, namely: shortage of material, little variety of voices, and a scarcity of registers. The latter has been referred to as *linguistic disorientation* by Zabalbeascoa (2008), described as the context in which the linguistic features of a (translated) character orientate the audience towards a personal, ethnic, socioeconomic or cultural profile that does not match that of the character.

In addition to these issues surrounding the acceptability of the linguistic model in literature, minoritized languages undergoing processes of revitalization must also face another obstacle: simplification (see Alberdi, 2018). Any language that is being learned as a second language by a large number of people will unavoidably change. Those changes that had already started due to contact with the dominant language will be accelerated, and new changes will pop up. In cases in which these speakers make up a sizeable percentage of the total speaker population—such as new Basque speakers in the Basque Autonomous Community, who make up 60% of all the speakers aged between 16 and 24 (Ortega et al., 2015: 88)—these changes are not only unavoidable, but may even be desired so as to prevent the community from ‘splitting in two’ (see Hornsby, 2015; Woolard, 2016). The question presents itself, however: to what extent can simplification be accepted? ‘Easy Basque’, as many authors have labelled it, is aimed at facilitating the creation of new speakers while making the language more accessible to them. However, in the words of Anjel Lertxundi, a widely celebrated Basque author and translator:

“(…) we can weave carpets with these simplifications and then walk on them with false elegance. The discourse hidden behind what we call easy Basque, which can come across as fair from a sociolinguistic point of view, actually wants to impose expressive obstruction and blindness as the only officiant at the altar of literature,” (as cited in Torrealдай, 1997, English translation from Belmar, 2017: 46).

The issues presented above, among many others, point to the need for ideological clarification (Fishman, 2001: 17; see also Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer, 1998: 62–63) when establishing revitalization programs. From planning the scope of the programs, to the goals the community aims to achieve with each action, ideological clarification needs to include discussions on every possible effect and outcome of any revitalization effort, including a much needed debate on how much change the community is willing to accept in order to revitalize their language (see Dorian, 1994; Wong, 1999).

1 Allocutivity and modes of address in Basque

Like many other European languages, Basque uses different second-person pronouns depending on the relation between those speaking, what Comrie (1976) called referent honorifics. These are mainly encoded as clitics in the conjugated verb but can also appear as free pronouns (see Alberdi, 2018). In Southern Basque (that is, mainly, Central and Western Basque) a three-way distinction *hi* – *zu* – *berori* has largely been replaced by a two-way system *hi* – *zu*, and for some speakers this has been furthered simplified to just *zu*. In Eastern Basque, for the most part, a three-way distinction *hi* – *xu* – *zu* is still maintained (see Table 1).

Table 1. Modes of address in Basque (based on Alberdi, 2018)

	Singular	Plural
Familiar	Hi	Zuek
Intermediate	Xu (Eastern Basque)	
Neutral/Polite	Zu	
(Hyper-)Polite	Berori (Southern Basque)	Beroriek / Berok / Eurok

What makes these modes of address especially noteworthy in Basque is verbal allocutivity: a fully grammaticalized marker in the verb for the addressee of an utterance, when the addressee is not referred to in the utterance. The term ‘allocutive’ was first used in 1862 by Louis Lucien Bonaparte when describing the Basque phenomenon that is the main focus of this paper (Bonaparte, 1862: 19–21; see also Alberdi, 2018; Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina, 2003; Oyharçabal, 1993). The addressee, in these sentences, is not a participant in the action or event, rather a non-argumental addressee (Antonov, 2015: 2), and overt allocutive markers are “highly grammaticalized (...) unlike non-selected (or ethical) datives, which do not seem to show (...) constraint on their usage” (Antonov, 2015: 25).

In Antonov’s (2015) paper on a cross-linguistic perspective of verbal allocutivity, he identifies seven languages across the world that (may) feature such a phenomenon: Basque, Pumé, Nambikwara, Mandan, Beja, Korean and Japanese. Of these, Korean and Japanese are probably better analysed as languages with an honorific system (see Comrie, 1976; Gardner & Martin, 1952), completely different from the allocutive

markers found in Basque (even though both could be used to mark familiarity or politeness towards the addressee).

Basque speakers that use allocutive agreement use it as a strategy to express their relationship with the addressee. With the exception of *berori*, all the forms of address discussed above have grammaticalized allocutive markers: *-k* and *-n* for *hika* (examples 1–4), *-zu* for *zuka* (example 5) and *-xu/xü* for *xuka* (example 6). *Hika* is systematically marked if the speaker addresses their interlocutor with *hi*, whereas the other markers seem to be optional (Alberdi, 2018, 1986). Unless stated otherwise, these examples are taken from Oyharçabal (1993) and are mainly based on standard Souletin or Eastern Basque. The glosses are mine.

(1) *Hire arreba dük*

Hi-re	arreba	d-ü-k	
2S.FAM-GEN	sister.ABS	3S.ABS-AUX-2S.FAM.M.ALLOC	

‘She is your sister’ (talking to a man)

(2) *Pettek lan egin din*

Pette-k	lan	egi-n	d-i-n-Ø
Pette-ERG	work.ABS	do-PFV	3S.ABS-AUX-2S.FAM.F.ALLOC-3S.ERG

‘Peter has worked’ (talking to a woman)

(3) *Pette mintzatü zitak*

Pette	mintza-tü	Ø-zi-ta-k	
Pette.ABS	speak-PFV	3S.ABS-AUX-1S.DAT-2S.FAM.M.ALLOC	

‘Peter has spoken to me’ (talking to a man)

(4) *Emango zizkionagu* (from Adaskina & Grashchenkov, 2009)

Ema-n-go	z-i-zki-o-na-gu		
Give-PFV-NRLZ	3S.ABS-AUX-PLZ.ABS-3S.DAT-2S.FAM.F.ALLOC-1P.ERG		

‘We will give them to him/her’ (talking to a woman)

Finally, allocutive agreement can also be used optionally to mark other relations with the addressee, namely distant politeness (5) and intermediate respectfulness (6).

(5) *Pettek lan egin dizü*

Pette-k	lan	egi-n	d-i-zü-Ø
Pette-ERG	work.ABS	do-PFV	3S.ABS-AUX-2S.POL.ALLOC-3S.ERG

‘Pette has worked’ (polite / V)

(6) *Ni polita nauxu* (from Alberdi, 2018)

Ni	polita	na-u-xu	
1S.ABS	beautiful.ABS	1S.ABS-AUX-2S.INTM-ALLOC	

‘I am beautiful’ (with intermediate allocutive agreement)

According to Alberdi, allocutivity in Basque “stands out from its neighbors [the Romance languages] because through its modes of address, it allows its speakers to express respect, familiarity or trust towards an addressee without any need to make the addressee a referent” (Alberdi, 2018: 314). It is also different from the speech levels of languages such as Japanese and Korean in that pronouns of address and speech levels are autonomous to a certain degree in these languages (see Gardner & Martin, 1952), whereas in Basque, allocutive markers are identical to ergative and dative affixes (Alberdi, 2018). Therefore, Basque allocutive markers seem to share characteristics with both Comrie’s referent honorifics and addressee honorifics, probably originating as the former (see Comrie, 1976).

In fact, I argue that the Basque allocutive marker is likely to have developed from an overmarking of ethical datives that became grammaticalized in the language (see also Ariel et al., 2015 on the high likelihood of pronominal datives becoming arguments), since these affixes always occupy a pre-ergative position in the present tense forms of the verb (examples 21, 22, 25 and 26), a position generally occupied by dative affixes, and are equal in form (Table 2) (see also Adaskina & Grashchenkov, 2009, who have argued similarly). There is, nevertheless, no definitive evidence for this (see Eguren, 2000; Gómez & Sainz, 1995; Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina, 2003; Rebuschi, 1981; Zubiri & Zubiri, 2000, who have argued differently) and the current syntactic restrictions on allocutive markers clearly distinguish them from ethical datives (see Eguren, 2000). Nonetheless, this would explain the overlap we see between the speaker-addressee axis (honorific and allocutive systems) and the speaker-referent axis (T/V distinction) in politeness in Basque (see Alberdi, 2018; see also Comrie, 1976).

Table 2. Verbal morphemes for the different forms of address in present tense forms¹

Mode of address	Absolutive	Dative	Allocutive	Ergative
Hi (male)	h-	-k/-a-	-k/-a-	-k/-a-
Hi (female)	h-	-n/-na-	-n/-na	-n/-na-
Zu	z-	-zu-	-zu-	-zu/-zu-
Berori	d-	-o-	∅	∅
Xu	x-	-xu/-xü-	-xu/-xü-	-xu/-xü-

2 Research questions and hypotheses

By means of a corpus study, this paper aims to answer several questions, from both a structural and a sociolinguistic point of view. *Hika* is by far the most studied type of allocutive agreement in Basque, perhaps due to its systematic marking in the verb. According to Alberdi (2018), the male form (-k/-a-) is generally far more used than the female form (-n/-na-). Other types of allocutivity seem to be optional and are therefore hypothesized to be used less frequently. In addition, I put forward that an analogous form for plural allocutivity may have been created with the 2nd person plural suffix *-zue*.

The context in which allocutive agreement appears will also be contemplated. According to Antonov (2015), allocutive agreement in Basque is only possible in declarative sentences. Eguren (2000), however, argues that albeit extremely uncommon, this can occasionally also occur in interrogative sentences. Both authors, however, state that it is not possible in exclamative, imperative and dependent sentences (see also Alberdi, 2018; Oyharçabal, 1993), although Eguren (2000) suggests that 1st person plural imperative sentences may carry allocutivity by analogy. However, the imperative form is outside the scope of this paper.

In addition, this research also aims at shedding some light on the simplification (Lertxundi, as cited by Torreal dai, 1997) of Basque grammar as a by-product of the successful revitalization campaigns in the area. Alberdi (2018) concludes that there is a tendency towards simplification of modes of address in Basque due to three main contributing factors: the obsolescence of the third-person address form *berori* (that bore no allocutive marker); “the decline in the use of the familiar mode (especially the feminine form) in large areas and among speakers of almost all dialects; and the difficulty presented by allocutive modes of address for new speakers who have acquired Standard Basque at school” (Alberdi, 2018: 328) and who were not taught allocutive paradigms. Since translation has been said to be an essential tool for revitalization movements (Belmar, 2017), this study will distinguish between data collected from original literary works and data collected from translation. According to Barambones (2012), in fact, allocutive agreement is not used in translations. This has already been disproved (see, for instance, Muguruza & Bereziartua, 2019 on the sociolinguistic impact of the use of *hika* in the Basque dubbing of a Japanese cartoon), but the claim still remains that allocutivity is less common in translations. In addition, the standardization of the allocutive forms by the Euskaltzaindia (Academy of the Basque Language) makes me hypothesize that these standard forms, if any, are going to be more numerous than any more markedly oral forms (that is, for example, *nauk*

¹ In 1994, Euskaltzaindia (the Academy of the Basque language) codified allocutive verb forms in *euskara batua* (Standard Basque).

will be more common than *nuk*, see Table 4). Therefore, I put forward that the pressure for standardization may decrease the use of allocutivity in translations. In line with this, allocutive agreement is also hypothesized to be less common in more recent publications.

Finally, since allocutivity seems to be more alive in Central and Eastern Basque and men are said to use it much more than women (Alberdi, 2018, 1986; Echevarria, 2000, 2001; Haddican, 2005; Soziolinguistika Klusterrak, 2018), this research will also take this sociolinguistic information into account. If this variation translates into written language, I hypothesize that the variables Gender and Province of Birth will help us predict the use of allocutivity by an author/translator.

In other words, this study aims at documenting the types of allocutivity present in an online corpus of literary Basque, as well as establishing whether this feature has been fading away over the years and whether the pressure of standardization—particularly strong in translations (see Belmar, 2017)—has a negative effect on the use of allocutive forms. Furthermore, the sociolinguistic variables of gender and province of birth of the author/translator will be studied to see if the uses map on to what has been previously found for allocutivity in spoken language.

3 Methodology

Considering the oral nature of allocutivity, one would first think of an oral language corpus for this study. However, there are two main reasons why a literary corpus was used instead. Firstly, there seems to be no oral corpus of Basque containing speech in naturalistic settings and by speakers of different varieties, and which is completely transcribed and easily searchable. Annotated corpora of oral language exist, such as EDAK (*Euskara Dialektalaren Ahozko Korpusa* or Oral corpus of Basque dialects), but do not contain conversational data. Finally, literary data gives us the perfect opportunity to study the effects of standardization and language planning efforts on the use of allocutivity in ‘fake’ orality (Zabalbeascoa, 2008).

For the purpose of this paper, therefore, I used data from the online corpus *Ereduzko Prosa Gaur* (EPG; Exemplary Prose Today) (Sarasola et al., 2007) containing 287 books, and a total of 13.1 million words. Five of these books were discarded because of their metalinguistic nature: Koldo Zuazo’s *Euskara Batua*, a book on the Standard model for Basque, and *Euskararen sendabelarrak*, a book on Basque dialectology; Lourdes Oñederra’s *Fonetika Fonologia Hitzez Hitz*, a book on phonetics and phonology; Itziar Laka’s translation of Noam Chomsky’s *Syntactic Structures, Egitura sintaktikoak*; and Isabel Arrigain’s translation of Ferdinand de Saussure’s *Cours de linguistique générale, Hizkuntzalaritza orokorreko ikastaroa*. This resulted in a corpus of 282 books, only 278 of which included at least one of the verb forms researched in this study: 166 original literary works in Basque and 107 translations into Basque.

The EPG corpus was searched for instances of the 1st person singular of the Basque intransitive auxiliary verb ‘izan’ in the present indicative: *naiz* (see Table 3 for the paradigm). The possible allocutive forms for this item were also collected:² *nauk, nuk, naun, nun, nauzu, nuzu, nauxu* and *nuxu* (Table 4, based on Alberdi, 2018). Since these forms look identical to the transitive forms of the auxiliary (that is, the forms that encode an absolutive and an ergative argument, see Table 5), and the form *nun* is also identical to the Eastern Basque form for the interrogative pronoun *Non* ‘Where?’, each of these tokens (3,136 in total) was analysed to determine whether the sentence contained allocutive agreement. The allocutive forms were further analysed to determine whether the verb was functioning as an auxiliary or as the main verb in the sentence.

² Because of limitations with the search function of the corpus, affixed forms (such as *banauz, nauzenezan, nauzelako*, etc.) have not been included in this study.

Table 3. Intransitive auxiliary / copula (with Absolutive Argument)

Abs. gloss	ABS	root	PLZ.ABS
1S.ABS	<i>na-</i>	<i>-iz</i>	
2S.FAM.ABS	<i>ha-</i>	<i>-iz</i>	
2S.POL.ABS	<i>za-</i>	<i>-ra</i>	
2S.INTM.ABS	<i>xa-</i>	<i>-ra</i>	
3S.ABS	<i>d-</i>	<i>-a</i>	
1P.ABS	<i>ga-</i>	<i>-ra</i>	
2P.ABS	<i>za-</i>	<i>-re</i>	<i>-te</i>
3P.ABS	<i>di-</i>	<i>-ra</i>	

In addition, I also gathered all the occurrences of *nauzue* and *nuzue*, which I hypothesize could work as allocutive forms for plural addressees by analogy, based on the forms of the transitive auxiliary (Table 5). I collected 206 tokens of *nauzue*, which I analysed to code for allocutivity.

Table 4. Intransitive auxiliary / copula (with Absolutive Argument and Allocutive Agreement)

Abs. gloss	ABS	PLZ.ABS	root	ALLOC	All. Gloss
1S.ABS	<i>n(a)-</i>		<i>-u-</i>	<i>-k</i>	2S.FAM.M.ALLOC
3S.ABS	<i>d-</i>		<i>-u-</i>	<i>-n</i>	2S.FAM.F.ALLOC
1P.ABS	<i>g(a)-</i>	<i>-it-</i>	<i>-u-</i>	<i>-zu / -xu</i>	2S.POL/INTML.ALLOC
3P.ABS	<i>d-</i>	<i>-it-</i>	<i>-u-</i>	<i>-*zue</i>	*2P.ALLOC

Table 5. Transitive auxiliary (with Absolutive Argument and Ergative Agreement. No allocutivity)³

Abs. gloss	ABS	PLZ.ABS	root	PLZ.ABS	ERG	PLZ.ERG	Erg. Gloss
1S.ABS	<i>n(a)-</i>		<i>-u-</i>		<i>-t</i>		1S.ERG
2S.FAM.ABS	<i>h(a)-</i>		<i>-u-</i>		<i>-k/-n</i>		2S.FAM.ERG.M/F
2S.ABS	<i>z(a)-</i>	<i>-it-</i>	<i>-u-</i>		<i>-zu/xu</i>		2S.POL/INTM.ERG
3S.ABS	<i>d-</i>		<i>-u-</i>		<i>-∅</i>		3S.ERG
1P.ABS	<i>g(a)-</i>	<i>-it-</i>	<i>-u-</i>		<i>-gu</i>		1P.ERG
2P.ABS	<i>z(a)-</i>	<i>-it-</i>	<i>-u-</i>	<i>-zte-</i>	<i>-zue</i>		2P.ERG
3P.ABS	<i>d-</i>	<i>-it-</i>	<i>-u-</i>		<i>-∅</i>	<i>-(z)te</i>	3P.ERG

The sentences collected from the EPG corpus were entered in an Excel Spread Sheet and coded for form, auxiliary/main verb, allocutivity, type of allocutivity (-k, -n, -zu, -xu, -zue), book, original/translation, author/translator, gender of the author/translator, province of birth of the author/translator and year of publication of the book.

The quantitative data of this study was processed using R-studio. Since the data is not normally distributed, descriptive statistics and Welch's t-tests were performed to establish any possible differences between the use of allocutive agreement by female and male writers, as well as the difference between translations and original literary works. A linear regression was performed to establish whether allocutive agreement has been declining over the years, and finally, Welch's ANOVAs were used to determine whether the province of birth of each writer had an effect on their use of allocutive agreement, as well as to test whether there was an interaction between the province of birth and the gender of each writer. The provinces of origin established are: Araba, Bizkaia, Gipuzkoa (in the present-day Basque Autonomous Community, Spain), Nafarroa/Navarre (in Spain) and the three Basque-speaking provinces in France (Lapurdi, Nafarroa Beherea

³ Note that 1st person absolutive cannot co-occur with 1st person ergative and 2nd person absolutive cannot co-occur with 2nd person ergative.

and Zuberoa), which were grouped under the label Iparralde (Northern Basque country) due to the smaller number of occurrences. The alpha level set for these tests was 0.05.

4 Results and discussion

Allocutive agreement appeared in only 2,165 of the tokens collected (which makes up 12.52% of the data). This small percentage was to be expected, since allocutivity is mainly a trait of spoken language, and will therefore be more common in dialogs than in narratives. All four types of allocutivity described in Alberdi (2018) were found in the data, plus a plural form which I had hypothesized by analogy.

(7) *Ni nauk erregearen mezularia* (from the book *Eraztunen Jauna III* translation by Agustin Otsa, 2004, of *The Lord of the Rings III* by JRR Tolkien)

Ni	na-u-k	errege-aren	mezulari-a
1S.ABS	1S.ABS-be-2S.FAM.M.ALLOC	king-GEN	messenger-ABS

‘I am the messenger of the king’

In this example (7), *nauk* is the intransitive verb (the copula) with *hika*, familiar allocutive agreement (male interlocutor).

(8) *Sentitzen dinat, ez naun konturatu* (from the book *Euliak ez dira argazkietan azaltzen* by Joxemari Iturralde, 2000, original)

Senti-tzen	d-i-na-t ,	ez	na-u-n
feel-IPFV	3S.ABS-AUX-2S.FAM.F.ALLOC-1S.ERG	NEG	1S.ABS-AUX-2S.FAM.F.ALLOC

kontura-tu
realize-PFV
‘I am sorry, I didn’t realize’

In this example (8), *naun* is the familiar auxiliary with *hika*, informal allocutive agreement (female interlocutor). We can also see *dinat* functioning as a transitive auxiliary with the same type of familiar allocutive agreement.

(9) *Hemen nauzu, jauna* (from the book *Elizen arteko Biblia*, 2004, recent translation of the Bible)

Hemen	na-u-zu	jaun-a
here	1S.ABS-be-2S.POL.ALLOC	lord-ABS

‘Here I am, lord’

In this example (9), *nauzu* is the intransitive verb (copula) with *zuka*, formal/neutral singular allocutive agreement. A palatalized version, *nuxu*, can be observed in the following example (10). It is the intransitive verb (copula) with *xuka*, intermediate singular allocutive agreement with expressive palatalization.

(10) *Segur nuxu xure xahartasuna etxeke kontura doala zuzenka* (from the book *Zeruetako erresuma* by Itxaro Borda, 2005, original)

Segur	n-u-xu	xu-re	xahar-tasun-a	etxe-ko
sure.ABS	1S.ABS-be-2S.INTM.ALLOC	2S.INTM-GEN	EXP.old-quality-ABS	house-LOCGEN

kontu-ra	d-oa-la	zuzen-ka
bill-ALL	3S.ABS-go-COMP	straight-ADV

‘I am sure that your seniority goes directly to paying for the house’

In the following example (11), *nauzue* is functioning as the intransitive auxiliary with plural allocutive agreement. This form was not included in previous literature on allocutivity (see Adaskina & Grashchenkov,

2009; Alberdi, 1986, 2018; Antonov, 2015; Bonaparte, 1862; Echevarria, 2000, 2001; Eguren, 2000; Gómez & Sainz, 1995; Haddican, 2005; Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina, 2003; Oyharçabal, 1993; Rebuschi, 1981; Zubiri & Zubiri, 2000), and seems to be an innovation by analogy with the singular forms for the different modes of address.

(11) *Eta hantxe izango nauzue* (from the book *Putzu* by Txillardegui, 1991, original)

Eta	han-txe	iza-n-go	na-u-zue
and	DIST-exact	be-PFV-NRLZ	1S.ABS-AUX-2P.ALLOC

‘And I will be there’

Hika is by far the most common allocutive agreement (Figure 1 and Table 6), making up 76.25% of the allocutive forms in the sample. However, the masculine form (example 7) alone accounts for 61.90% of all the allocutive forms. This seems to confirm that feminine allocutive agreement (example 8), which makes up 17.35% of the allocutive forms in the sample, is far less common than the masculine form (Alberdi, 2018). It is, however, still more common than the other types of allocutive agreement, which was expected since allocutivity is required when the familiar mode of address *hi* is selected, whereas it is optional in other contexts. *Zuka* makes up 17% of the allocutive forms in the sample (example 9), a percentage very similar to that of the feminine forms of *hika*. *Xuka* (example 10), on the other hand, is very rare, making up only 0.22% of the sample. However, it must be emphasized that this is written language data, where the pressure for standardization is much higher than in spoken interactions. In this context, the mode of address *xu*, which is very markedly exclusive to Northern varieties (Alberdi, 2018; Bonaparte, 1862), could easily have been dropped in favour of the non-palatalized form *zu*, which is common in all varieties. Finally, I found a fifth type of allocutive agreement: a plural form (example 11), probably built by analogy with *zuka*, which represents 3.53% of the allocutive forms in the sample.

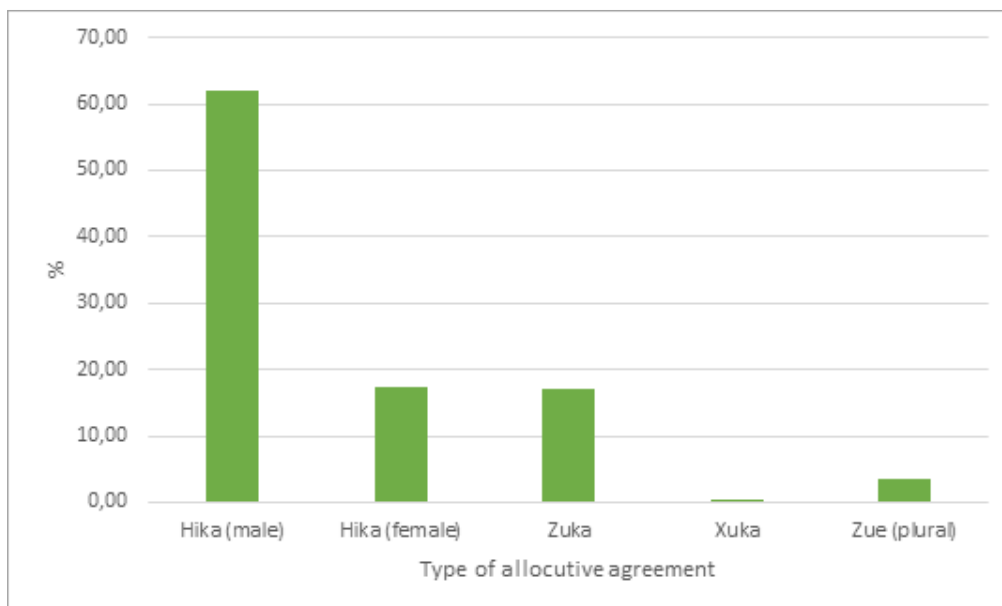


Figure 1. Proportion for each type of allocutive agreement as a percentage of the total number of allocutive forms found in the sample

Table 6. Distribution of the verbal forms collected in the books from the corpus

Form	Mean	SD	Min	Max
<i>Naiz (non-alloc)</i>	57.95	74.21	0	791
<i>Nauk</i>	5.03	9.1	0	54
<i>Nuk</i>	0.11	1.05	0	16
<i>Naun</i>	1.44	5.88	0	70
<i>Nun</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Nauzu</i>	1.39	6.57	0	102
<i>Nuzu</i>	0.02	0.21	0	3
<i>Nauxu</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Nuxu</i>	0.02	0.25	0	3
<i>Nauzue</i>	0.29	1.63	0	25
<i>Nuzue</i>	0	1.05	0	16
<i>Total (all forms combined)</i>	66.25	81.8	1	924

As for the contexts in which allocutive agreement takes place, in line with what has been claimed in previous literature (see Alberdi, 2018; Eguren, 2000; Oyharçabal, 1993; see also Antonov, 2015 for a typological cross-linguistic comparison) on Basque, allocutivity seems to be quite restricted to declarative sentences. In fact, the sample only contains one clear example (12) of allocutivity being used in a direct interrogative sentence.

(12) *Beraz gizagaldu baten ama nauk?* (from the book *Zeruetako erresuma* by Itxaro Borda, 2005, original)

Bera-z	gizagaldu	bat-en	ama	na-u-k?
This.EMP-INST	man.lost	one-GEN	mother.ABS	1s.ABS-be-2s.FAM.M.ALLOC

‘So, am I the mother of a degenerate?’

In this example, *nauk* is the intransitive verb (copula) with *hika*, familiar allocutive agreement (male interlocutor) in a direct interrogative sentence. It seems, however, that allocutive agreement is more widespread in structures involving tag questions with particles such as *ezta?*, *ala?*, *e?*, *ados?* and *konforme?* (examples 13–15). Allocutive agreement, however, can be found in questions that contain coordinated clauses (example 16).

(13) *Ona naun gaixotasunekin, ezta?* (from the book *Maitea* translation by Anton Garikano, 2003, of *Beloved* by Toni Morrison)

On-a	na-u-n	gaixo-tasun-ekin	ez-t-a?
good-ABS	1s.ABS-be-2s.FAM.F.ALLOC	bad-quality-COM.P	NEG-3s.ABS-be

‘I’m fine with the illnesses, right?’

(14) *Arraro samar egon naun lehenago, ezta? Ahulune bat izan dun, pasatu zaidan* (from the book *Bederatzietatik bederatzietara* translation by Anton Garikano, 2003, of *Zwischen neun und neun* by Leo Perutz)

Arraro samar	ego-n	na-u-n	lehenago	ez-t-a?
weird quite	stay-PFV	1s.ABS-AUX-2s.FAM.F.ALLOC	earlier	NEG-3s.ABS-be
Ahulune		bat	iza-n	d-u-n
moment.of.weakness		one.ABS	be-PFV	3s.ABS-AUX-2s.FAM.F.ALLOC
∅-zai-da-n				
				3s.ABS-AUX-1s.DAT-2s.FAM.F.ALLOC

‘I was being quite weird, right before? It was a moment of weakness, it is over now’

(15) *Lelotuena nauk, ala?* (from the book *Ugerra eta kedarra* by Sonia Gómez, 2003, original)

Lelo-tu-en-a	na-u-k	ala?
stupid-PFV-SUPL-ABS	1S.ABS-be-2S.FAM.M.ALLOC	or

‘I am the stupidest one, right?’

(16) *Eta zergatik lokartuko naiz, ez nauk-eta logale?* (from the book *Pedro Páramo* translation by Juan Garzia, 2001, of *Pedro Páramo* by Juan Rulfo)

Eta	zer-gatik	lokar-tu-ko	na-iz	ez
and	what-MOT	fall.asleep-PFV.NRLZ	1S.ABS-AUX	NEG

na-u-k-eta	logale
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1S.ABS-be-2S.FAM.M.ALLOC-ADV	sleepy
------------------------------	--------

‘And why would I fall asleep, since I am not sleepy?’

Even though this was not systematically researched in this study, from the data it can also be observed that allocutive agreement does not occur in dependent clauses (in line with claims by Eguren, 2000; see also Alberdi, 1986; Antonov, 2015; Oyharçabal, 1993). In these examples (17–19), we can see allocutive agreement (in the forms *nauzue*, *nauk*, *dun*, *dinat* and *naun*), while the dependent forms (*naizen*, *naizenean* and *datorrenean*) do not bear any allocutive morpheme.

(17) *Zuen artean bizi naizen atzerritarra nauzue* (from the book *Agindutako lurraren bila I* by Jose Antonio Mujika, 2002, original)

Zu-en	arte-an	bizi	na-iz-en	atzerritarr-a
2-GEN.P	POST-INE	live.PFV	1S.ABS-AUX-NMLZ	foreigner-ABS

na-u-zue

1S.ABS-be-2P.ALLOC

‘I am the foreigner that lives among you’

(18) *Hiltzen naizenean, erle bihurtuko nauk* (from the book *Urregilearen orduak* by Pako Aristi, 1998, original)

Hilt-zen	na-iz-en-ean	erle	bihur-tu-ko
die-IPFV	1S.ABS-AUX-NMLZ-INE	bee.ABS	turn-PFV-NRLZ

na-u-k

1S.ABS-AUX-2S.FAM.M.ALLOC

‘When I die, I will turn into a bee’

(19) *Ez kezkatu, oraintxe etorriko dun, espero dinat, datorrenean irtengo naun, horrela ez haiz bakarrik egongo, bale?* (from the book *Ugerra eta kedarra* by Sonia Gómez, 2003, original)

Ez	kezka-tu	orain-txe	etorr-i-ko	d-u-n	espero
NEG	worry-PFV	now-exact	come-PFV-NRLZ	3S.ABS-AUX-2S.FAM.F.ALLOC	hope

d-i-na-t,	d-atorr-en-ean	irte-n-go
3S.ABS-AUX-2S.FAM.F.ALLOC-1S.ERG	3S.ABS-come-NMLZ-INE	get.out-PFV-NRLZ

na-u-n,	horrela	ez	ha-iz	bakarrik	ego-n-go
1S.ABS-AUX-2S.FAM.F.ALLOC	this.way	NEG	2S.FAM.ABS-be	lonely	stay- PFV-NRLZ

bale?

ok

‘Don’t worry, I am coming, I hope, I will leave when he arrives, so you are not alone, ok?’

As for the sociolinguistic factors that were hypothesized to predict the use of allocutive agreement, none was significant. There was no significant difference between number of allocutive forms in original literary works and translations. On average, in fact, translations contained more instances of allocutive agreement ($M=10.01, SD=19.97$) than original literary works ($M=7.21, SD=10.78$) (Figure 2). This difference, however, was not statistically significant ($t(144.34)=-1.33; p = 0.18$).

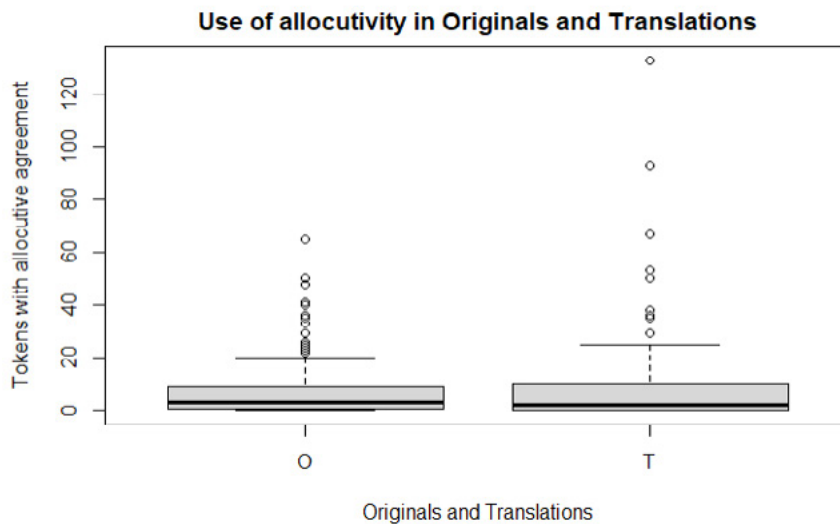


Figure 2. *Allocutive forms in original literary works and in translations*

Therefore, Barambones’ claim (2012) that allocutivity was not used in translations seems totally mistaken. In line with previous findings (such as Muguruza & Bereziartua, 2019), allocutivity has been proved to be present in translated works.

In line with this, a simple linear regression showed that there was no significant relation between the year of publication of the books and the number of tokens containing allocutive agreement ($F(1,270)=0.891, p=0.34$) with $R^2=-0.0004$.

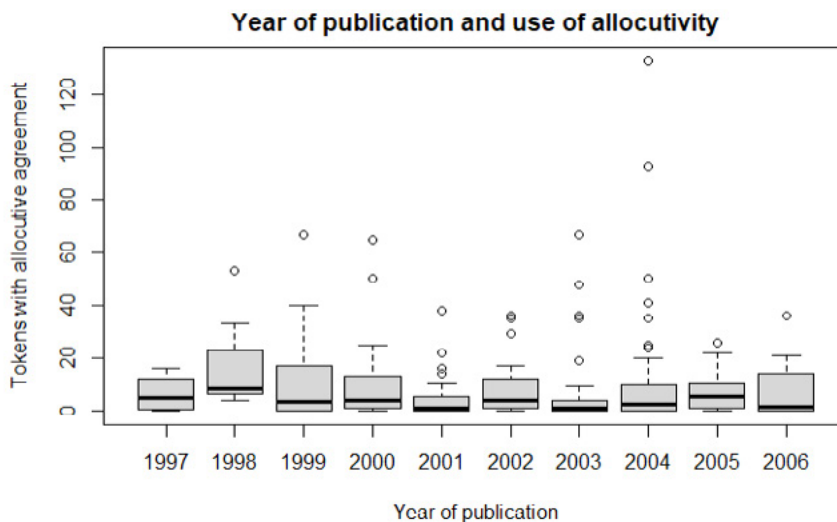


Figure 3. *Allocutive forms by year of book publication*

Similarly, I did not find the province of birth of the authors/translators and/or their gender to have any significant effect on the use of allocutive agreement (as one would expect based on Alberdi, 1986, 2018;

Echevarria, 2000, 2001; Haddican, 2005; Soziolinguistika Klusterrak, 2018). On average, male writers used allocutive agreement more often ($M=8.13$, $SD=13.43$) than female writers ($M=5.84$, $SD=9.33$) (Figure 4). This difference, however, was not statistically significant ($t(37.37)=-1.075$; $p = 0.28$).

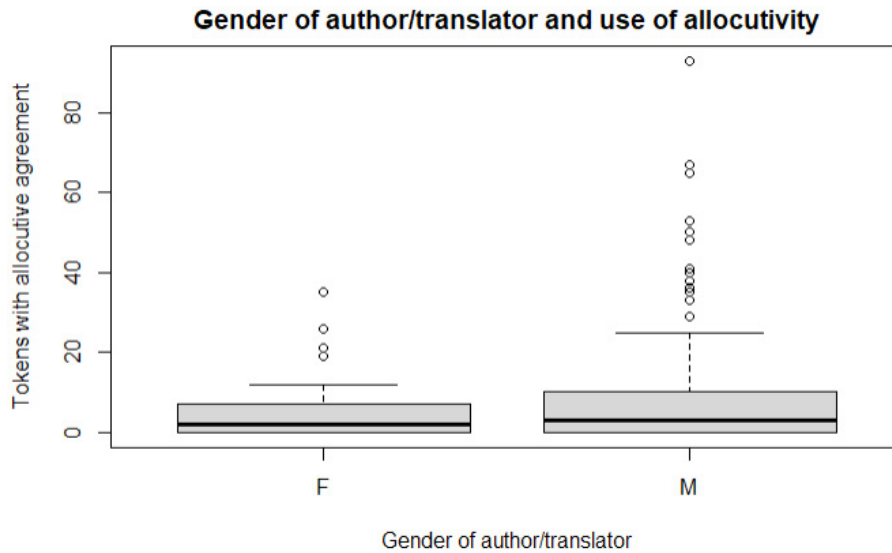


Figure 4. *Allocutive forms by gender of the author/translator*

A Welch's ANOVA was also calculated to see if there was any effect of the province of birth of the Basque author/translator on the use of allocutive agreement. On average, authors/translators from Araba used allocutive agreement more often ($M=17.3$, $SD=22.9$), followed by those from Gipuzkoa ($M=8.35$, $SD=13.64$), writers from Bizkaia ($M=5.63$, $SD=10.84$), from Iparralde ($M=5.45$, $SD=7.28$) and finally those from Nafarroa/Navarre ($M=5.24$, $SD=6.35$) (Figure 5). This, however, was not significant ($F(4, 263)=1.98$, $p=0.09$).

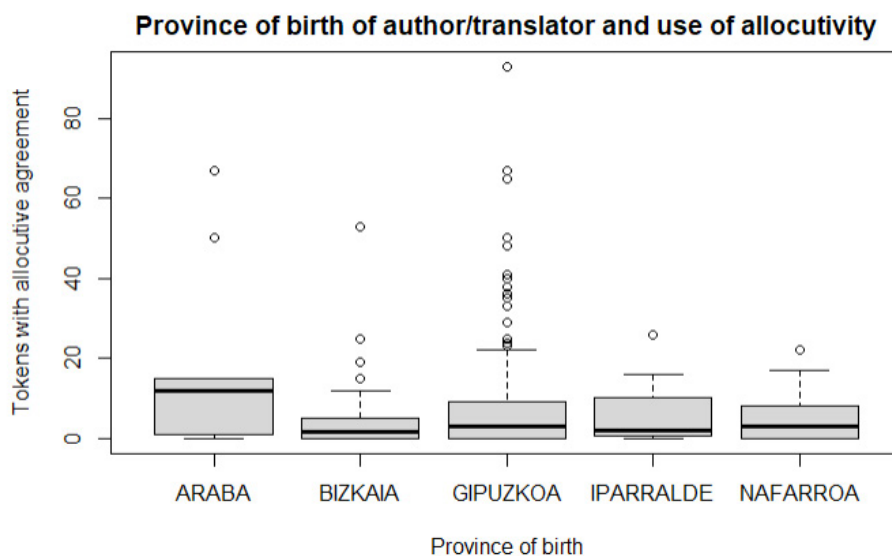


Figure 5. *Allocutive forms by province of birth of the author/translator*

In addition, no significant interaction was found between the gender of the author/translator and their province of birth in relation to their use of allocutive agreement ($F(8, 259)=1.04, p=0.4$).

Finally, an observation that can be drawn from the data used in this study is that familiar allocutive agreement seems particularly common in two very marked contexts: monologues (examples 20 and 21) and translations from African American Vernacular English (examples 22 and 23), with Anton Garikano's translation of Toni Morrison's *Beloved* being the book with the fourth highest percentage of allocutive forms in the corpus.

(20) “*Arrazoia din*” *pentsatu zuen Ellenek*, “*gogorregia naun neure buruarekin*” (from the book *Manhattan Transfer* translation by López de Arana, 1999, of *Manhattan Transfer* by John dos Passos)

“Arrazoi-a	d-i-n-Ø”	pentsa-tu	z-u-en	
reason-ABS	3S.ABS-have-2S.FAM.F.ALLOC-3S.ERG	think-PFV	3S.ERG-AUX-PST	
Ellen-ek	“gogorr-egi-a	na-u-n	neu-re	buru-arekin”
Ellen-ERG	strong-too-ABS	1S.ABS-be-2S.FAM.F.ALLOC	1S-GEN	head-COM.S

“‘He’s right,” thought Ellen, “I am too hard on myself”

(21) “*Itzuliko naun*” *pasatu zait burutik* (from the book *Italia bizitza hizpide* by Anjel Lertxundi, 2004, original)

“Itzuli-ko	na-u-n”	pasa-tu	Ø-zai-t
go.back-PFV-NRLZ	1S.ABS-AUX-2S.FAM.F.ALLOC	pass-PFV	3S.ABS-AUX-1S.DAT

buru-tik
head-ABL
“‘I will come back,” I thought.’

(22) *Zerbaiten zain dagoela, eta ez naun ni* (from the book *Maitea* translation by Anton Garikano, 2003, of *Beloved* by Toni Morrison)

Zerbait-en	zain	d-ago-ela	eta	ez
Something-GEN	wait.ADV	3S.ABS-be-COMP	and	NEG
na-u-n	ni			
1S.ABS-be-2S.FAM.F.ALLOC	1S.ABS			

‘He is waiting for something, and it’s not me’

(23) *Pozten naun hi ikustearekin* (from the book *Maitea* translation by Anton Garikano, 2003, of *Beloved* by Toni Morrison)

Poz-ten	na-u-n	hi	ikus-te-arekin
happy-IPFV	1S.ABS-AUX-2S.FAM.F.ALLOC	2S.FAM.ABS	see-NMLZ-COM

‘I am happy to see you’

Polite allocutive agreement, on the other hand, seems to be very common when talking to God (24) or when God is talking to somebody (25), with the plural form also used when God is addressing people (26). These appear in other contexts too, but of the 379 instances of allocutive *nauzu*, 102 are found in the Bible alone, and the same is true for 25 of the 80 instances of allocutive *nauzue*.

(24) “Nor bidaliko dut? Nor izango dugu mandatari?” *Nik erantzun nuen*: “Prest nauzu, bidali neu” (from the book *Elizen arteko Biblia*, 2004, recent translation of the Bible)

Nor	bidal-i-ko	d-u-t?	Nor	iza-n-go
who.ABS	send-PFV-NRLZ	3S.ABS-AUX-1S.ERG	who.ABS	be-PFV-NRLZ
d-u-gu	mandatari?	Ni-k	erantzu-n	n-u-en:
3S.ABS-AUX-1P.ALLOC? ⁴	messenger.ABS	1S-ERG	answer-PFV	1S.ERG-AUX-PST
“Prest na-u-zu,		bidal-i	neu”	
ready 1S.ABS-be-2S.POL.ALLOC		send-PFV	EMP.1S.ABS	

“Who will I send? Who will be (our) messenger?” I answered [the lord]: “I am ready, send me”

(25) *Jaunak dio*: “Itzuli niregana, herri fedegabe hori, neu bakarrik nauzu zeure nagusia eta” (from the book *Elizen arteko Biblia*, 2004, recent translation of the Bible)

Jaun-ak	d-io-∅	“Itzul-i	ni-regana,	herri	fede-gabe
lord-ERG	3S.ABS-say-3S.ERG	go.back-PFV	1S-ALL.AN	land	faith-without
hori,	neu	bakarrik	na-u-zu		zeu-re
MED.ABS	EMP.1S.ABS	lonely	1S.ABS-be-2.S.POL.ALLOC		EMP.2S-GEN
nagusi-a	eta				
master-ABS	and				

‘The Lord says: “Come back to me, people without faith, because I only am your master”’

(26) “*Neure herrizat hartuko zaituztet eta zeuen Jainko izango nauzue*” (from the book *Elizen arteko Biblia*, 2004, recent translation of the Bible)

Neu-re	herri-tzat	har-tu-ko	za-it-u-zte-t
EMP.1S-GEN	people-PROL.S	take-PFV-NRLZ	2S.ABS-PLZ.ABS-AUX-PLZ.ABS-1S.ERG
eta	zeu-en	Jainko	iza-n-go
and	EMP.2-GEN.PL	God.ABS	be-PFV-NRLZ
			1S.ABS-AUX-2P.ALLOC

‘I will take you as my people, and I will be your God’

A more in-depth study of the sociolinguistic characteristics of the characters—rather than the authors/translators—and the relationships portrayed in each of these books would be needed to shed more light on the distribution of types of allocutive agreement.

5 Conclusions

This corpus-approach to the study of allocutive agreement in Basque offered new insights to this phenomenon. Due to the nature of the data, written literary language, allocutivity was only present in a small percentage of the sample (12.52%), but this was enough to find several different types of allocutive agreement. The four types presented by Alberdi (2018) were found in this study, namely *hika* (both male and female), *zuka* and *xuka*. In addition, a plural allocutive marker *-zue* was also found in the sample. The plural allocutive marker *-zue* seems to be a fairly recent innovation, likely to have arisen by analogy with *zuka*. It was not included in previous studies on Basque allocutivity (see Adaskina & Grashchenkov, 2009; Alberdi, 1986, 2018; Antonov, 2015; Bonaparte, 1862; Echevarria, 2000, 2001; Eguren, 2000; Gómez & Sainz, 1995; Haddican, 2005; Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina, 2003; Oyharçabal, 1993; Rebuschi, 1981; Zubiri & Zubiri, 2000).

⁴ This could be an inclusive allocutive form based on the first person plural dative and ergative markers, but more research is needed to establish such a claim.

Table 7. Updated table of the verbal morphemes for the different forms of address in present tense forms

Mode of address	Absolutive	Dative	Allocutive	Ergative
Hi (male)	h-	-k/-a-	-k/-a-	-k/-a-
Hi (female)	h-	-n/-na-	-n/-na	-n/-na-
Zu	z-	-zu-	-zu-	-zu/-zu-
Berori	d-	-o-	∅	∅
Xu	x-	-xu/-xü-	-xu/-xü-	-xu/-xü-
Zuek (pl.)	z- + -PLZ.ABS	-zue-	-zue-	-zue-

The existence of the second person plural allocutive agreement (*-zue*) leads to the hypothesis that a similar process of analogy may have given rise to an inclusive allocutive marker *-gu* (‘we’), as seems to be the case in *dugu* (example 24). Since Basque verbs cannot take two 1st person morphemes at the same time, these types of allocutive marker could not take place with the forms under study in this paper. Therefore, I would suggest expanding the forms to be studied. In fact, I suggest focusing on the third person, which exhibits fewer restrictions in terms of morpheme combinations.

In addition, allocutive markers were found to be rare in interrogative sentences (as suggested in Eguren, 2000) albeit not impossible (as suggested in Antonov, 2015). It is, however, common in tag questions and it may appear in coordinated clauses inside a question in the secondary verb. Another restriction was observed regarding dependent forms, which seem to not carry allocutive agreement under any circumstance (as suggested in Alberdi, 2018; Antonov, 2015; Eguren, 2000; Oyharçabal, 1993). Nevertheless, these forms were not systematically studied in this paper, and further research should be done with varied data to determine whether allocutive markers may residually be used in dependent forms.

As for the sociolinguistic data that previous studies signalled as predictors of the use of allocutive agreement—namely Gender and Province of Birth (according to Alberdi, 1986, 2018; Echevarria, 2000, 2001; Haddican, 2005; Soziolinguistika Klusterrak, 2018)—none was significantly related to the presence of allocutivity in a particular book (Figures 4, 5 and 6). Furthermore, the difference between allocutive agreement in original literary works and translations into Basque (Table 7) was not found to be significant (as implied in Barambones, 2012) (Figure 2) and allocutivity seems to be present at a stable rate in books published in the last 20 years (Figure 3), contrary to what one might expect given Alberdi’s claims (2018) of extreme simplification.

However, one must be careful with these results and emphasize the nature of the data at hand: written literary language. These results do not map onto previous studies of allocutivity in spoken language, and they highlight the differences between oral and written language. The ‘fake’ orality (Zabalbeascoa, 2008) of literary dialogues provides us with a great corpus to study the effects of language planning and standardization on the use of allocutivity, but we cannot assume it reflects its conversational use. The data suggests that allocutivity in translations may be a planned effort to revitalize its use (as implied in Muguruza & Bereziartua, 2019), and more research on allocutivity in speech should be conducted to further understand its distribution and the simplification Alberdi (2018) refers to.

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Abbreviations

1 First person

2	Second person
3	Third person
ABL	Ablative
ABS	Absolutive
ADV	Adverb / Adverbial
ALL	Allative
ALLOC	Allocutive
AN	Animate
AUX	Auxiliary
COM	Comitative
COMP	Complementizer
DAT	Dative
DIST	Distal
EMP	Emphatic
ERG	Ergative
EXP	Expressive
F	Feminine gender
FAM	Familiar register
GEN	Genitive
INTM	Intermediate register
INE	Inessive
INST	Instrumental
IPFV	Imperfective aspect
LOCGEN	Locative genitive
M	Masculine gender
MED	Medial
MOT	Motivative
NEG	Negation
NMLZ	Nominalizer
NRLZ	Non-realized aspect
PFV	Perfective aspect
P	Plural
PLZ	Pluralizer
POL	Polite register
POST	Postposition
PROL	Prolative
PST	Past
S	Singular
T	Second person singular non-formal
V	Second person singular formal