

The surcompound perfective form in the Lapurdian Basque Bible

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Keywords: *Basque, Lapurdian, surcompound form.*

Abstract

In this paper, I describe the use of the surcompound perfective verb form found in the Bible translation in the Lapurdian dialect of Basque language and try to answer the question of what motivates its use. From the data I conclude that the surcompound form does not construe the relation denoted by the participle as scanned sequentially, and thus it focuses on the fact that the relation did hold in the past time. Because of the feature of focusing, the surcompound form is used for stating indefinite events, experiences, and emphasizing the contingency or the completion of events. The focusing feature also makes it unsuitable to utilize the surcompound form for telling a story from internal point of view, i.e. as if it is evolving in the current scene. Rather, it expresses the story being narrated from the external viewpoint, and therefore it indicates the change of scenes and distance between the scenes.

1. Introduction

This paper deals with the usage and meaning of the “surcompound form” of finite verbs in Basque¹. The surcompound form consists of a perfective participle, a particle *izan*, and a finite form of the auxiliary. There are some previous works which mention the form (Arotçarena 1976, Lafitte 1979, Shimomiya 1979, Oyharçabal 2003 and Haase 1994), but no unified model has so far been proposed to explain the various usage of the form. Here we will try to give an answer to the question of what encourages the use of the surcompound form, and what is the schematic meaning common to the variety of uses. I took the data from the Lapurdian Bible² translated from the The Vulgate by Jean Pierre Duvoisin, who was born in Ainhoa of Lapurdi in 1810 and died in 1891. This work was published first in London by Louis Lucien Bonaparte, who was a nephew of Napoleon and a specialist of Basque.

¹ Basque is spoken in the Basque country, the westernmost area of the Pyrenees, both in France and Spain. The Lapurdian dialect is used in Labourd which is in the French-side area. This dialect has the prestige in the French side, and has been written since 16th century. It is written in Latin alphabet as follows. Vowels: a, e, i, o, u. Consonants: p, t, tt [c], k, b, d, g, ph [p^h], th [t^h], kh [k^h], f, z [ʃ], s [s], ch [ʃ], h, tz [tʃ], ts [tʃ], tch [tʃ], r [r] (between vowels) and [r] (in other environments), rr [r], l, ll [ʎ], j/y [j]. Phonetic correspondence is from Lafitte (1979: 12-15) and Hualde (2003: 16-17).

² Duvoisin, Jean (1859-1865) *Bible Saindua, edo Testament Zahar eta Berria, Duvoisin kapitainak latinezko Bulgatatik lehembiziko aldiko Laphurdiko eskarara itzulia. Luis-Luziano Bonaparte printzeak argitara emana*. Londresen. [Reedition (1972) *Bible Saindua: versión euskerica de la Vulgata realizada por el capitán Duvoisin; prólogo a esta primera reedición facsímil, enriquecida con varios cientos de antiguos grabados bíblicos, por Lino de Aquesolo*. Bilbao: La Gran Enciclopedia Vasca.]

2. Overview of finite verbs in Basque

As well as other Basque dialects, most finite verbs in Duvoisin's text appear in the compound form, which consists of a participle or a root of the main verb and an auxiliary, as in the examples below^{3,4,5}. The participles are said to express the aspect, and classified into three types: perfective, imperfective, and future. The auxiliary indicates the tense (present and past) and mood (indicative, conditional, potential, subjunctive, and imperative), and conjugates according to the person and number (singular and plural) of the arguments (absolutive, ergative, and dative).

The three participles co-occur with the indicative forms of the auxiliary, and all of the six possible combinations (2 tenses by 3 participles) are attested in the text.

- (1) *Ikhus-i du deskantsu=a on=a de-la*
 see-PFV PRS.E3S rest=SG good=SG is-COMP
 "He saw rest that it was good (*vidit requiem quod esset bona*)" (49:15)
- (2) *Jainko=a-k ikhus-i zuen argi=a on=a ze-la*
 God=SG-ERG see-PFV PST.E3S light=SG good=SG was-COMP
 "God saw the light that it was good (*vidit Deus lucem quod esset bona*)" (1:4)
- (3) *Aita-k erran zioen: Ikhus-ten duzu zahar-tu naiz-ela*
 father-ERG say.PFV PST.E3S:D3S see-IPFV PRS.E2S get_old-PFV PRS.A1S-COMP
 "And his father said to him, Thou seest that I am old (*cui pater vides inquit quod senuerim*)" (27:2)
- (4) *Moise-k ikhus-ten zuen sasi=a su-ta-n ze-la*
 Moses-ERG see-IPFV PST.E3S bush=SG fire-PL-INES was-COMP
 "he [=Mose] saw that the bush was on fire (*videbat quod rubus arderet*)" (Ex 3:2)
- (5) *goan-en naiz, eta ikhusi-ko dut hil nadien baino lehen*
 go-FUT PRS.A1S and see-FUT PRS.E1S die SUB.PRS.A1S than before

³ A few verbs, such as *egon* "stay" or *goan* "go", may conjugate by itself and be finite form without an auxiliary. This type of verb form is called *simple form*, and it indicates that the event expressed by the verb is construed as imperfective.

⁴ In the following examples, I omitted some glosses. In Basque examples: all noun phrases without any gloss about case are absolutive; if a finite verb is without gloss of the agreement with the absolutive case, it agrees with 3rd person singular. In Latin examples: gender of noun phrase is not represented; all noun phrases without case gloss are nominative singular; all finite verbs without agreement gloss agree with 3rd person singular. In both language example, all finite verbs without gloss about mood are indicative.

⁵ The translations of the examples are cited from the Douay-Rheims Bible (online version URL: <http://www.drbo.org>), which was translated from The Vulgate, as well as the Duvoisin Bible. All the glosses are put by the author.

“I will go and see him before I die (*vadam et videbo illum antequam moriar*)” (45:28)

- (6) *Moise-k beraz zin egin zuen har-ekin egon-en ze-la*
Moses-ERG then oath make.PFV PST.E3S that-COM dwell-FUT PST-COMP

“And Moses swore that he would dwell with him (*iuravit ergo Moses quod habitaret cum eo*)” (Ex 2:21)

The first two forms containing a perfective participle can be further extended by adding a particle *izan* between the participle and the auxiliary.

- (7) *Jaun=a-k ikhus-i izan du ene aphalkuntz=a*
Lord=SG-ERG see-PFV IZAN PRS.E3S 1S.PG affliction=SG

“The Lord saw my affliction (*vidit Dominus humilitatem meam*)” (29:32)

This extended perfective forms are differently called in the literature, e.g. *temp surcomposé* (Lafitte 1979:386) or *remote perfective* (Oyharçabal 2003: 258), and we will call it *surcompound* from because it appears to be compounded with two auxiliaries, infinite and conjugated ones. Some grammars (Arotçarena 1976, Lafitte 1979, Shimomiya 1979, Oyharçabal 2003) mention it as well as Haase (1994), which discusses the Basque tense system. Surcompound and compound perfectives both express the perfective aspect, and Arotçarena and Shimomiya say that they are the same in meaning. Scrutinizing the text, however, we can find some usage peculiar to the surcompound form. The following features are pointed out in the literature.

- Remoteness/Distance (Lafitte 1979: 386, Oyharçabal 2003: 258, 265)
- Indefiniteness (Lafitte 1979: 386, Oyharçabal 2003: 258)
- Experience (Oyharçabal 2003: 258)
- Habitual past (Oyharçabal 2003: 258)
- Anteriority (Haase 1994: 282)
- Emphasis on completion (Oyharçabal 2003: 258)
- Contingency (Lafitte 1979: 387)

Out of 2512 finite verbs of the text, 117 examples appear in the surcompound past and 55 in the surcompound present. In the next section we will review what differs between the case wherein the verb is taking surcompound form and where it is in the compound form, both of which mean perfective aspect.

3. Difference between surcompound and compound perfective

Lafitte (1979) and Oyharçabal (2003) regard surcompound forms as an expression of

“remoteness”, but what they would like to say with the term is unclear. They seem to relate the concept to the fact that surcompound forms locate the event in the “indefinite past”.

3.1 Indefiniteness

According to the description of Navarro-Lapurcian grammar by Lafitte, surcompound forms situate the event in the *passé revolu*, i.e. remote, and indefinite past (Lafitte 1979: 386).

He shows this by the example (8).

- (8) *irakuru-tu izan nuen*
 read-PFV PST.E1S

“I have read it (*Je l’ai lu*)” (ibid.)

Oyharçabal (2003: 258) also says that the form indicates “some kind of remoteness, experience, and habitual past” (9-11).

- (9) *an diabru=a-k asko aldi-z tenta-tu izan zuan*
 there.INES devil=SG-ERG many time-INST tempt-PFV PST.E3S

“There the devil tempted him many times.” (ibid.)

- (10) *erraztasun on-etatik kalte andi=ak etorr-i izan dira*
 usefulness this-PL.ABL damage big=PL come-PFV IZAN PRS.A3P

“Great damages have come from these facilities.” (ibid.)

- (11) *berrogoi urte-z holaxet izkiria-tu ukan ditu (...) bere berri=ak*
 forty year-INST thus write-PFV UKAN PRS.A3P:E3S 3S.PG new=PL

“He wrote his news in this way during forty years.” (ibid.)

In (9) and (10), the events (my reading of something/bringing of a big damage) is located at an indefinite past, in that they are not interpreted as a specific occurrence of the situation, and that rather the sentence states simply that there was such events in the past. The examples (9) and (11) also indicate indefinite past, both of which are about several sporadic events happened at some time of the past: they are not about one specific event.

We do see in the Duvoisin Bible some instances of the surcompound form expressing not one-time occurrence but several events in the past, as in (12) and (13).

- (12) *Abram eta Nakor ezkon-du izan ziren*
 Abram and Nachor marry-PFV IZAN PST.A3P

“Abram and Nachor married wives (*duxerunt autem Abram et Nahor uxores*)” (11:29)

- (13) *hori-etarik barraya-tu izan da bazter oro-tan gizon iraulgi guzi=a*
 that-PL.ABL spread-PFV IZAN PRS earth whole-INES mankind all=SG

“from these was all mankind spread over the whole earth (*ab his disseminatum est omne*)”

hominum genus super universam terram)" (9:19)

The example (12) is following the sentences describing Thare's three sons Abram, Nachor and Aran. The youngest begot Lot and died at an early age, while the two elders got married.

The following example (14) represents the experiential use, and (15) exhibits the habitual use:

(14) *han-go gizon=ek erran ere darotate ez de-la toki har-tan*
there-LG man=PL.ERG say.PFV also PRS.E3P:D1S not PRS-COMP place that-INES

egundaino jarr-i izan neska tzarr-ik
ever sit-PFV IZAN harlot-PRT

"moreover, the men of that place said to me, that there never sat a harlot there (*homines loci illius dixerunt mihi numquam ibi sedisse scortum*)" (38:22)

(15) *Noe izan zen gizon zuzen eta perfet bat bere ondoko=en artean,*
Noe be.PFV PST man just and perfect one 3S.PGgeneration=PL.PG among

eta Jainko=a-rekin ibil-i izan zen
and God=SG-COM walk-PFV IZAN PST

"Noe was a just and perfect man in his generations, he walked with God (*Noe vir iustus atque perfectus fuit in generationibus suis cum Deo ambulavit*)" (6:9)

In (14), it does not negate a specific event but it negates the absence of such an event. As for (15), it does not say anything about Noe's particular action.

In addition to these instances of indefinite use, the next three examples show that surcompound form is used to indicate the remote past. Each one is in the present tense, and the viewpoint is at the time of speech far from the stated event.

(16) *Abraham zu-re aita-ri egin izan dioda-n zin=a-ri*
Abraham 2S-PG father-DAT make.PFV IZAN PRS.E1S:D3S-REL oath=SG-DAT

bere bide=a ema-ten dioda-la-rik
3S.PG way=SG give-IPFV PRS.E1S:D3S-COMP-CVB

"to fulfil the oath which I swore to Abraham thy father (*conplens iuramentum quod spopondi Abraham patri tuo*)" (26:3)

(17) *erran zioten: ni naiz Josep zuen anaya, Egipto-ra*
say.PFV PST.E3S:D3P 1S be.PRS.A1S Joseph 2P.PG brother Egypt-ALL

sal-du izan duzue-n=a
sell-PFV IZAN PRS.E2P-REL=SG

"he said: I am Joseph, your brother, whom you sold into Egypt (*ego sum ait Ioseph frater vester quem vendidistis in Aegypto*)" (45:4)

(18) *ene makhil=a-rekin iragan izan dut Jordan-eko ur hori*
 1S.PG staff=SG-COM pass.over.PFV IZAN PRS.E1S Jordan-LG water that

eta orai bihur-tzen naiz bi multzo-rekin
 and now return-IPFV PRS.A1S two company-COM

“With my staff I passed over this Jordan; and now I return with two companies (*in*

baculo meo transivi Iordanem istum et nunc cum duabus turmis regredior)” (32:10)

All the examples do indicate specific events, but have something common with the above use of the surcompound form, in that they are not contextualized in the sequence of events and indicate simply that there was such an event in the distant past. (16) is said by God to Isaak, to whose father God made an oath in 22:16-18, in which section Isaak was in his childhood. In (17), Joseph’s brothers sold him when he was young, and now he has become a man in Egypt. (18) is uttered to God by Isaak, contrasting his past and present.

Here we have seen surcompound forms used to express indefinite, non-specific events. They are available also to represent particular events, when it is not contextualized with a series of other events.

3.3 Anteriority (pluperfect usage)

As Haase (1994: 282) argues, verbs in the surcompound form appearing in subordinate clauses express events which occurred before the event indicated by the main clause. In the examples (19-22), the events in the surcompound form (the creation of the beasts, that of humans, the command to Abraham) are anterior to events in the main clause: each of them is mentioned in 1:24-25, 6:22, 1:27 and 17:10. We will designate as “pluperfect” the usage by which to indicate the events previous to another event. The pluperfect use is observed in the relative clause, as well as in the clauses introduced by *zeren* “for” and *bezala* “as”.

(19) a. *suge=a zen Jainko Jaun=a-k egin izan zituen lurr-eko*
 serpent=SG was God Lord=SG-ERG make.PFV IZAN PST.A3P:E3S earth-LG

abere guzi=ak baino maltzur-ago=a
 beast all=PL than subtle-CMP=SG

b. *serpens erat callidior cunctis animantibus terrae quae*
 serpent was subtle-CMP all.PL.ABL beast(N).PL.ABL earth.PG REL.N.PL.ABL

fecerat Dominus Deus
 make.PPRF Lord God

“the serpent was more subtle than any of the beasts of the earth which the Lord God had made” (3:1)

- (20) a. *Noe-k, arkh=a-ri egin izan zioe-n leiho=a ideki-rik*
 Noe-ERG ark=SG-DAT make.PFV IZAN PST.E3S:D3S-REL window=SG open-CVB
- b. *aperiens Noe fenestram arcae, quam fecerat*
 opening Noe window(F).ACC ark.GEN REL.F.ACC make.PPRF
- “Noe, opening the window of the ark which he had made” (8:6)
- (21) *urriki-tu zitzaioen zeren egin izan zuen gizon=a lurr-ean*
 repent-PFV PST.D3S for make-PFV IZAN PST.E3S man=SG earth-INES
- “It repented him that he had made man on the earth (*paenituit eum quod hominem fecisset in terra*)” (6:6)
- (22) *berhala ingurebaki zioten egun bere-an buztan moko-ko haragi=a*
 forthwith circumcise-PFV PST.E3S:D3P day same-INES foreskin-LG flesh=SG
- Jainko=a-k mana-tu izan zioen bezala*
 God=SG-ERG command-PFV IZAN PST.E3S:D3S as
- “he circumcised the flesh of their foreskin forthwith the very same day, as God had commanded him (*circumcidit carnem praeputii eorum statim in ipsa die sicut praeceperat ei Deus*)” (17:23)

In the Duvoisin Bible, almost all the pluperfect usages are the translation from *plusquamperfectum* verbs in the Vulgate. Surompound forms, however, do not perfectly correspond to the Latin *plusquamperfectum* in its meaning. While the latter really locates the event before a point in the past time (Ernout & Thomas 1964: 222f), it is not always translated into surcompound form. Compound forms are also attested as translations from the Vulgate *plusquamperfectum* in the Duvoisin Bible (23-25).

- (23) a. *eta Jainko=a-k ikhus-i zituen bera-k egin zitue-n guzi=ak*
 and God=SG-ERG see-PFV PST.A3P:E3S 3S-ERG make.PFV PST.A3P:E3S-REL all=PL
- b. *vidit=que Deus cuncta quae fecerat*
 see.PRF=and God all(N).PL.ACC REL.N.PL.ACC make.PPRF
- “And God saw all the things that he had made” (1:31)
- (24) a. *Jainko Jaun=a-k Adam-i khen-du zioe-n saihets hezurr-etik*
 God Lord=SG-ERG Adam-DAT take-PFV PST.E3S:D3S-REL rib bone-ABL
- egin zuen emazteki=a*
 make.PFV PST.E3S woman=SG
- b. *aedificavit Dominus Deus costam, quam tulerat de Adam,*
 build.PRF Lord God rib(F).ACC REL.F.ACC take.PPRF from Adam
- in mulierem*
 into woman.ACC
- “And the Lord God built the rib which he took from Adam into a woman” (2:22)

(25) a. *har-tu zituen burr=a eta esne=a eta errearaz-i zue-n aratche=a*
 take-PFV PST.A3P:E3S butter=SG and milk=SG and cook-PFV PST.E3S-REL calf=SG

b. *tulit quoque butyrum et lac, et vitulum quem coxerat*
 take.PRF also butter.ACC and milk.ACC and calf(M).ACC REL.M.ACC cook.PPRF

“He took also butter and milk, and the calf which he had boiled” (18:8)

Observing the difference between translations in the surcompound form and compound form, we can see that the event in the subordinate clause which is described in the surcompound form is mentioned in a preceding scene other than where the main-clause event occurs. For example, in (23) God had created the world and saw the result: although the creation did precede his seeing, it had been continued till that time. Similarly, the examples (24) and (25) describe events both of which had happened just before the event in the main clause (in 2:22 and 18:7, respectively). These are not distant from the time when the event in the main clause occurred.

In the above examples (19-22), the events expressed in the surcompound form are mentioned in a distant paragraph. We can find, however, a surcompound form describing the event stated in the immediately preceding sentence, as in (26).

(26) a. *Abraham-ek beraz, gau=a-z jaikirik [...] goan zen*
 Abraham-ERG so night=SG-INST rising_up go.PFV PST

Jainko=a-k mana-tu izan zioe-n lekhu-ra
 God=SG-ERG command-PFV PST.E3S:D3S-REL place-ALL

b. *igitur Abraham de nocte consurgens [...] abiit ad locum*
 so Abraham in night.ABL rising_up go.PRF to place(M).ACC

quem praeceperat ei Deus
 REL.M.ACC command.PPRF 3S.M.DAT God

“So Abraham rising up in the night, [...] he went his way to the place which God had commanded him” (22:3)

The command to Abraham by God referred to in (26) is stated in 22:2, so it could be argued that the event described in the subordinate clause of (26) is not distant from the event in the main clause. We may interpret the use of the surcompound form in this case as motivated by the adverb *beraz/igitur*, in that the adverb expresses the shift and discontinuity of scenes.

We can conclude that the surcompound form in the pluperfect usage indicates that the event is located in a preceding scene in the narrative, other than where the event in the main clause is stated.

3.4 Distance between the scenes

Lafitte (1979:387) points out that the surcompound form employed in time clauses marks the “simple moment”, and gives the following example.

- (27) *har-en hitz=a irakur-tu izan nuen-ean, ihardets-i nion*
 3S-PG word=SG read-PFV IZAN PST.E1S-when respond-PFV PST.E1S:D3S

“When I had read his word, I responded to him (*Quand j’avais eu lu son mot, je lui repondis.*)” (ibid.)

What Lafitte meant by the word *simple moment* is not very certain, but the similar examples are found in the Duvoisin Bible:

- (28) *Jakob beraz Bersabe-tik atheratu-rik ba-zihoan Haran-era. [11] eta hel-du*
 Jakob then Bersabee-ABL depart-CVB AFF-go.PST Haran-ALL and arrive-PFV
izan ze-nean toki bat-etara [...] han zaude-n harri-eta-rik har-tu zuen
 IZAN PST-when place one-ALL there lie.PST.A3P-REL stone-PL-ABL take-PFV PST.E3S

“But Jacob being departed from Bersabee, went on to Haran. [11.] And when he was come to a certain place [...] he took of the stones that lay there (*igitur egressus Iacob de Bersabee pergebat Haran [11.] cumque venisset ad quendam locum [...] tulit de lapidibus qui iacebant*)” (28:10-11)

- (29) *eman zioten kamelu guzi-ei. [21.] Sehi=a bizkitartean ichilik*
 give.PFV PST.E3S:D3P camel all-PL.DAT servent=SG meanwhile silently
zagoen begira [... 22.] kamelu=ek edan izan zute-nean, gizon horr-ek
 contemplate.PST camel=PL.ERG drink.PFV IZAN PST.E3P-when man that-ERG

eman ziotzan urrezko beharrietako=ak
 give.PFV PST.A3P:E3S:D3S golden earring=PL

“she gave [water] to all the camels. [21.] But he musing, beheld her with silence, [... 22.] And after that the camels had drunk, the man took out golden earrings (*haustam omnibus camelis dedit [21.] ille autem contemplantatur eam tacitus [... 22.] postquam ergo biberunt cameli protulit vir in aures aureas*)” (24:20-22)

- (30) *Thamarr-i berri=a ekharr-i zioten bere aitagarreba Thamnas-era*
 Thamar-DAT news=SG bring-PFV PST.E3P:D3P 3S.PG father.in.law Thamnas-ALL
igai-ten ze-la [... 14.] Bere alhargun soineko=ak utzirik, theristro=a
 come.up-IPFV PST-COMP 3S.PG widowhood garment=PL taking.off veil=SG
har-tu zuen: eta jaunkura gambiaturik, jarr-i zen Thamarr-era-ko[sic]
 take-PFV PST.E3S and dress.SG changing sit-PFV PST Thamar[Thamnas?]-ALL-ADN
bide junt-an [... 15.] Juda-k, hura ikhus-i izan zuen-ean, uste izan zuen
 crossroad-INES Juda-ERG that see-PFV IZAN PST.E3S-when think.PFV PST:E3S
neska galdu zembait ze-la
 harlot some be.PST-COMP

“And it was told Tamar that her father-in-law[=Juda] was come up to Thamnas [... 14.] And she put off the garments of her widowhood, and took a veil: and changing her dress, sat in the cross way [... 15.] When Juda saw her, he thought she was a harlot (*nuntiatumque est Tamar quod socer illius ascenderet in Thamnas [... 14.] quae depositis viduitatis vestibibus adsumpsit theristrum et mutato habitu sedit in bivio itineris [... 15.] quam cum vidisset ludns suspicatus est esse meretricem*)” (38:13-15)

All these examples are found when the scenes change. The events which occurred in the preceding text (the servant’s travel to Haran, watering the camels, and waiting for Juda) are bounded by the events described in the surcompound form and then a new scene evolves. It indicates that a certain time has passed since the preceding context and the scenes change. Lafitte’s “simple moment” seems to point to the distance between the two scenes.

When the time clause is not distant from its preceding event, the verb appears in the compound form as in (31).

- (31) *eta arinki pegarr=a beso-etara jautsirik eman zioen edatera*
and quickly pitcher=SG arm-PL.ALL letting.down give.PFV PST.E3S:D3S drink

[19.] *Eta edan zuen-ean, neskaxa-k erran zioen*
and drink.PFV PST-when girl.SG-ERG say.PFV PST.E3S:D3S

“And quickly she let down the pitcher upon her arm, and gave him drink. [19.] And when he had drunk, she said” (24:18-19)

Thus we can say that the surcompound form indicates the distance from the preceding scene. This function is also seen in the main clause:

- (32) *hau izorr=a gertha-tu zen, eta erdi zen Henok-ez: eta hiri*
this pregnant=SG become-PFV PST and give.birth.PFV PST Henoch-INST and city

bat egin izan zuen eta dei-thu Henok bere seme=a-ren izen-etik
one make-PFV IZAN PST.E3S and call-PFV Henoch 3S.PG son=SG-PG name-ABL

“she conceived, and brought forth Henoch: and he built a city, and called the name thereof by the name of his son Henoch (*quae concepit et peperit Enoch et aedificavit civitatem vocavitque nomen eius ex nomine filii sui Enoch*)” (4:17)

- (33) *har-en erreinu-ko buru izan zen Babilona eta bertze=ak ziren Arak,*
that-PG kingdom-LG beginning be.PFV PST Babylon and other=PL be.PST.A3P Arach

Akad eta Kalane, Senaar-eko lurr-ean. [11] *lur har-tarik athera izan*
Achad and Chalanne Senaar-LG land-INES land that-ABL came.forth.PFV IZAN

zen Asur, zein=a-k egin bait-zituen Ninibe eta hiri-ko plaz=ak
PST Assur REL=SG-ERG make.PFV REL-PST.A3P:E3S Ninive and city-LG street=PL

eta Kale
and Chale

“And the beginning of his kingdom was Babylon, and Arach, and Achad, and Chalanne in the land of Sennaar. [11] Out of that land came forth Assur, and built Ninive, and the streets of the city, and Chale (*fuit autem principium regni eius Babylon et Arach et Archad et Chalanne in terra Sennaar [11] de terra illa egressus est Assur et aedificavit Nineven et plateas civitatis et Chale*)” (10:10-11)

- (34) *Jakob ethorr-i zen beraz Luza-ra [... 7.] eta han egin zuen aldare bat [... 8.]*
Jacob come-PFV PST then Luza-ALL and here make.PFV PST.E3S altar one

muga bere-an hil izan zen Debora Errebeka-ren unhide=a
time same-INES die.PFV IZAN PST Debora Rebecca-PG nurse=SG

“And Jacob came to Luza [... 7.] And he built there an altar [... 8.] At the same time Debora, the nurse of Rebecca, died (*venit igitur Iacob Luzam [... 7.] aedificavitque ibi altare [... 8.] eodem tempore mortua est Debbora nutrix Rebeccae*)” (36:6-8)

In the examples above, a new character or thing is introduced (city, Assur and Debora), which implies that the scene is different from the preceding one. Moreover, because of the supposition that building the city in (32) would take a long time, readers can understand that the event is distant from Enoch’s birth.

The sentence (35) below is an example showing the distance expressed by a temporal adverbial phrase:

- (35) *Eta Enos-ez aitatu-z gero-ztik, Seth bizi izan zen zortzi ehun eta zazpi*
and Enos-INST be.father-CVB after-since Seth live.PFV PST eight hundred and seven

urthe, eta izan zituen seme=ak eta alabak [8.] eta Seth-en bizitze
year and have.PFV PST.E3S:A3P son=PL and daughter.PL and Seth-PG life

guzi=ak iraun zuen bederatzi ehun eta hamabi urthe, eta gero hil
all=PL continue-PFV PST.E3S nine hundred and twelve year and later die.PFV

izan zen
IZAN PST

“And Seth lived after he begot Enos, eight hundred and seven years, and begot sons and daughters. [8.] And all the days of Seth were nine hundred and twelve years, and he died. (*vixitque Seth postquam genuit Enos octingentis septem annis genuitque filios et filias [8.] et facti sunt omnes dies Seth nongentorum duodecim annorum et mortuus est*)” (5:7-8)

The following examples (36), too, denotes the temporal distance from the preceding context, by means of contextual inferences: Enos, just having been born, would not call the name of Lord, or handmaids would not bear children as soon as they are healed. With such reasoning, one can read some remoteness from the preceding paragraphs.

- (36) *Seth-en ganik ere sor-thu zen seme bat Enos dei-thu zuen=a: hau*
 Seth-ABL also be.born-PFV PST son one Enos call-PFV PST.E3S=SG this
hasi izan zen Jaun=a-ri dei egite-n
 begin IZAN PST Lord=SG-DAT call doing-INES

“But to Seth also was born a son, whom he called Enos: this man began to call upon the name of the Lord. (*sed et Seth natus est filius quem vocavit Enos iste coepit invocare nomen Domini*)” (4:23)

- (37) *Jainko=a-k senda-tu zuen Abimelek eta har-en emazte=a eta har-en*
 God=SG-ERG heal-PFV PST.E3S Abimelech and that-PG wife=SG and that-PG
neskato=ak, eta ama-tu izan ziren
 handmaid=PL and be.mother-PFV IZAN PST.A3P

“God healed Abimelech and his wife, and his handmaids, and they bore children (*sanavit Deus Abimelech et uxorem ancillasque eius et pepererunt*)” (20:17)

The example (38) is the first sentence of 50:22. Here in the new section, the surcompound form verb indicates that the new scene is evolving.

- (38) (Now Jacob being dead, Joseph’s brothers were afraid that he would requite them. But actually Joseph comforted them.)
eta Egipto-an egon izan zen bere aita-ren etxe-ko guzi=ekin
 and Egypt-INES dwell.PFV IZAN PST 3S.PG father.SG-PG house-LG all=PL.COM
eta bizi izan zen ehun eta hamar urthe
 and live.PFV PST hundred and ten year

“And he dwelt in Egypt with all his father’s house; and lived a hundred and ten years. (*et habitavit in Aegypto cum omni domo patris sui vixitque centum decem annis*)” (50:22)

As we have seen, we can say that the two of the surcompound form’s features the earlier literature pointed out, i.e. “anteriority” and “distance”, are utilized for a unitary purpose in the Duvoisin Bible, in that the surcompound form locates the event at another scene. It indicates an event in the preceding scene in the pluperfect usage, and another event in the new scene in the main-clause or temporal-clause use.

3.5 Emphasis on completion

Oyharçabal (2003: 258) states that the surcompound form emphasizes the completion of the event. He does not give an example, but the following sentences from the text seem to emphasize the completion.

- (39) *eta kampora-tu ziren-ean, Kain jauz-i zitzayoen Abel bere*
 and be.in.the.filed-PFV PST.A3P-when Cain rise.up-PFV PST.D3S Abel 3S.PG
anaya-ri, eta hil izan zuen
 brother.SG-DAT and slay.PFV IZAN PST.E3S

“And when they were in the field, Cain rose up against his brother Abel, and slew him.

(cumque essent in agro consurrexit Cain adversus Abel fratrem suum et interfecit eum)” (4:8)

- (40) *har-tu zuen fruitu har-tarik eta jan: eta eman zioen bere*
take-PFV PST.E3S fruit that-PL.ABL and eat.PFV and give.PFV PST.E3S:D3S 3S.PG

senharr=a-ri, zein=a-k ere jan izan bait-zuen
husband=SG-DAT REL=SG-ERG also eat.PFV IZAN REL-PST.E3S

“she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave to her husband, who did eat (*tulit de fructu illius et comedit deditque viro suo qui comedit*)” (3:6)

- (41) (Esau said to Isaac “Hast thou not reserved me also a blessing?”)
Isaak-ek ihardets-i zuen: ezarr-i izan dut zure jaun, eta bere anaya
Isaac-ERG answer-PFV PST.E3S put-PFV IZAN PRS.E1S 2S.PG lord and 3S.PG brother

guzi=ak azpiko-tu diozkat [...] *eta geroztik, ene seme=a, zer egin-en*
all=PL demote-PFV PRS.A3P:E1S:D3S and later 1S.PG son=SG, what do-FUT

dut gehiago zuretzat
PRS.E1S more 2S.BEN

“Isaac answered: I have appointed him thy lord, and have made all his brethren his servants [...] and after this, what shall I do more for thee, my son? (*respondit Isaac dominum tuum illum constitui et omnes fratres eius servituti illius subiugavi [...] tibi post haec fili mi ultra quid faciam*)” (27:37)

The actions in (39) and (40) did cause the fate of Cain or Adam to change greatly, and therefore it is natural that their completion is emphasized in the narrative. The example (41) is Isaac’s words to his son, Esau, for whom there remained no more blessing. In these instances, the surcompound form indicates that the event has completed irreversibly. Although it is not necessary to utilize the surcompound form for an expression of irreversible completion, as we can see in (41) where the compound form is also used, we may think that the surcompound form makes the implication clearer.

3.6 Contingency

As claimed by Lafitte (1979: 387), when the surcompound form does not indicate indefiniteness of the event, it may highlight its contingency:

- (42) *igande-an ikus-i izan dut*
Sunday-INES see-PFV IZAN PRS.E1S

“On Sunday, I saw him (incidentally).” (ibid.)

The following example from the Duvoisin Bible is about a specific event, and seems to express contingency.

(43) *heki-ek erosi-rik, osatu-ra goan gare-nean, ideki izan ditugu*
that-PL buy-CVB inn-ALL go.PFV PRS.A1P-when open.PFV IZAN PRS.A3P:E1P

gure zakhu=ak, eta diru=a atzeman dugu zakhu=en aho-an
1P.PG sack=PL and money=SG find.PFV PRS.E1P sack=PL.PG mouth-INES

“And when we had bought, and come to the inn, we opened our sacks, and found our money in the mouths of the sacks: (*quibus emptis cum venissemus ad diversorium aperuimus sacculos nostros et invenimus pecuniam in ore saccorum*)” (43:21)

The sentence (43) is uttered by Jacob’s sons, who came to Egypt in order to buy food. Opening their sacks, they found money by which they had just bought food. It would be incomprehensible to them, and that would make them to use the surcompound form.

As we have surveyed above, features of the surcompound form that the earlier literature has pointed out are found in the Duvoisin Bible. The surompound form is used for locating the event in the indefinite past, not in the plot of the story. In the pluperfect usage, it is put to use in order to talk about events which is situated in the preceding scene other than where the event in the main clause occurred. It also indicates the distance from the prior scene. Emphasis on the completion or the contingency of the event also can be seen. In the next section, we will propose a semantic model for the surcompound form, which can encompass all the uses above, and on the basis of the model, we will try to explain other usage which seems to be somewhat deviating.

4. Semantics of the surcompound form

The verb can be thought as representing complex relations scanned sequentially (Langacker 2002: 127f). A complex relation is a set of states which evolves on the time line. By “sequential scanning”, the language user construes complex relations as it is evolving as time flows by: on the other hand, s/he can scan it as a “summary”, capturing all the states which compose the complex relation.

4.1 Semantic model of the surcompound form

The compound perfective form consists of a perfective participle and an indicative finite auxiliary. The participle has lexical “complex relational” meaning, but it should be construed by summary scanning, in that it cannot stand alone as a predicate. Contrarily, the auxiliary has only an abstract relational meaning, but scanned sequentially. The auxiliary’s abstract relational meaning is filled by that of the participle, and they get a finite-verb meaning as a whole.

The meaning of the surcompound form is composed as the following: first, the composition of the perfective participle of the verb *izan* and a finite auxiliary means a perfective process which has no change of states, as in (44).

(44) *Jainko=a izan zen Ismael-ekin*
 God=SG be.PFV PST Ismael-COM

“God was with him (*fuit cum eo*)” (21:20)

As well as the case where *izan* has a verbal meaning, we think that *izan* in the surcompound form also has the function to construe the event as a perfective process which has no change of states. The relations do not change as time passes on.

The perfective participle in the surcompound form instantiates the schematic relation expressed by the composition of *izan* and the auxiliary. The participle itself does not contain in its meaning a sequentially scanned process (it means a summary-scanned process). Thus the surcompound form simply denotes that a certain kind of relation is located in the past, and does not construe the relation’s evolution on the time line.

As to this semantic model of the surcompound form, we can point out several features in comparison with the compound perfective form. Firstly, they are similar in that both indicate the type of relation referred to by the participle, as perfective process. For example, the compound form and surcompound form of the verb *egin* both represent that the relation type is “to make”, that the relation is construed as a process, and that the process is construed as perfective.

The difference is as follows. In the compound form, the relation referred to by the participle is combined with the auxiliary, while in the surcompound form, the participle has a mere role to instantiate the abstract relation expressed by *izan* and the auxiliary. For instance, the compound form of *egin* represents the relation between the creator and the creature, which is sequentially scanned from the start point of the creation to the end point. In the surcompound form, on the other hand, what is sequentially scanned is only the schematic relation between the arguments of the sentence, and the relation of “make”, that the participle expresses, undergoes a summary scanning. In other words, the compound form captures the temporal evolution of “making”, while the surcompound form does not.

That is to say, the compound form has the following two meanings: 1) the perfective relation is realized in the past. 2) the relation evolves as time flows by. Contrarily the surcompound form has the first meaning only.

4.2 Explanation on the variety of use

In terms of the features of the surcompound form in the preceding section, we can explain the variety of use we surveyed in section 3.

Arotçarena (1976) and Shimomiya (1979) take the view that the two forms are the same in meaning. This can be derived from the fact that they are almost identical except that they are different in the point whether the relation expressed by the participle is scanned sequentially or in summary fashion.

In order to express that a certain kind of relation occurred in the past, it is unnecessary to scan the relation sequentially, and it will be enough to say that the relation held for a certain period in the past. Stating an experience, too, need not scan the event sequentially, because what is in question here is whether the relation held in the past or not.

In that pluperfect usage, the event expressed in the surcompound form in the subordinate clause is distant from the event in the main clause, as we have seen above. When the narrator is telling the story as if the scene is evolving before him/her, preceding events in the same scene is sequentially scanned and thus can be stated in the compound perfective form. On the other hand, preceding events which are in another scene is not scanned by the current viewpoint, and therefore the events can be stated in the surcompound form, which does not include the sequential scanning of the relation in its meaning.

Similarly, when the narration is as if the scene is evolving now, the compound form used in such narrative can be interpreted as indicating the event which occurred in the same scene. By using the surcompound form, the speaker can express simply that the event is located in the past, implicating that a new scene will begin.

Thus, the function of the surcompound form as a marker of the change of scenes is performed by the fact that by the surcompound form one cannot narrate a story as if it is evolving, because the surcompound form does not scan the relation itself sequentially, i.e. as if it is progressing. That is why in the following example the surcompound form is not used.

(45) *lurr=ez bethe eta tapa-tu zituzten Abraham har-en aita-ren*
 earth=PL.INST fill.PFV and stop.up-PFV PST.A3P:E3P Abraham that-PG father-PG

sehi=ek zilha-tu zituzte-n putzu guzi=ak har-en dembora-n
 servant=PL.ERG dig-PFV PST.A3P:E3P-REL well all=PL that-PG time-INES

“[the Philistines s]topped up at that time all the wells, that the servants of his father

Abraham had digged, filling them up with earth: (*omnes puteos quos foderant servi patris illius Abraham illo tempore obstruxerunt implentes humo*)” (26:15)

In the example (45), the narrator is not expressing the Philistines’ action from an internal point of view, i.e. as if the action is evolving. Rather, it is expressed in the way by which to denote simply that the event occurred in the past. Thus, although the event in the main clause (stopping up the wells) and the event in the relative clause (digging the wells) are not in the same scene, the surcompound form is not used in the subordinate clause: the main clause is not stated from the internal viewpoint, and therefore it is not necessary to use the special form. In the following example, on the contrary, the narrator does use the surcompound form. This is because the event in the main clause (Isaac’s digging other wells) is apt to be interpreted as evolving in the scene.

(46) *berriz zilha-tu zituen Abraham bere aita-ren sehi=ek zilha-tu*
again dig-PFV PST.A3P:E3S Abraham 3S.PG father.SG-PG servant=PL.ERG dig-PFV

izan zituzte-n bertze putzu batzuek, eta gero, hura hil ondo-an,
IZAN PST.A3P:E3P-REL other well some and later, that die.PFV after-INES

Palesthindarr=ek tapa-tu izan zituzte-n=ak
Philistine=PL.ERG stopp.up-PFV IZAN PST.A3P:E3P-REL=PL

“And he digged again other wells, which the servants of his father, Abraham, had digged, and which, after his death, the Philistines had of old stopped up. (*rursum fodit alios puteos quos foderant servi patris sui Abraham et quos illo mortuo olim obstruxerant Philistin*)” (26:18)

As to the contingency and the completion of the event, the fact that the event did occur in the past is important than how the event evolved. Thus the sequential scanning of the relation is not required, rather it is enough to state simply that the event is located in the past. With the compound form this meaning is contained in its scope, but using the surcompound form makes it clearer and thus emphasizes the point.

5. Conclusion

We conclude that the surcompound form does not construe the relation denoted by the participle as scanned sequentially, and thus it focuses on the fact that the relation did hold in the past time. Because of the feature of focusing, the surcompound form is used for stating indefinite events, experiences, and emphasizing the contingency or the completion of events. The focusing feature also makes it unsuitable to utilize the surcompound form for telling a story from an internal point of view, i.e. as if it is evolving in the current scene.

Rather, it expresses the story is narrated from an external viewpoint, and therefore it indicates the change of scenes and the distance between the scenes.

Abbreviations

1: first person, 2: second person, 3: third person, A: absolutive argument, ABL: ablative case, ACC: accusative case, AFF: affirmative marker, ALL: allative case, BEN: benefactive case, COM: commitative case, COMP: complementizer, CMPR: comparative, D: dative argument, DAT: dative case, E: ergative argument, ERG: ergative case, F: feminine, FUT: future participle, GEN: Latin genitive, INES: inessive case, INST: instrumental case, IPFV: imperfective participle, LG: locative genitive, M: masculine, N: neuter, NEG: negative marker, PFV: perfective participle, P: plural, PG: possessive genitive, PL: plural, PPRF: Latin pluperfect, PRF: Latin perfect, PRS: Basque present, PST: Basque past, REL: relative marker, S: singular, SG: singular

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バスク語ラブルディ方言訳聖書における重複合形

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キーワード：バスク語、ラブルディ方言、重複合形

要旨

バスク語ラブルディ方言に翻訳された聖書の動詞重複合形の用法を記述し、その使用の理由・動機の説明を試みる。重複合形は不定の事態や経験を述べる場合や、偶然性・事態の完了を強調する場合に用いられる。また、重複合形は場面の変わり目や場面に隔たりのあるときに使われている。このような重複合形の用例から、この形式は動詞が指示する事態を順次発生するものとして捉えるのではなく、その事態が過去に起きたということ自体に力点を置いて述べるのであると考えられる。この性質のために物語を内部視点で語る場合、つまりあたかも目の前で展開するかのように語るときには重複合形は使われず、その使用は物語が外部視点で語られていることを表すことになり、結果として場面の変わり目や場面の隔たりを明示する機能を持つ。

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