

Linguistic Documentation and Basque Dialectology in the 19th Century: The work of L.-L. Bonaparte

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Introduction

Since the end of the nineteenth century, the historiography of Basque linguistics has given a predominant place to Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte. The nephew of Emperor Napoleon I, he was a promoter of Basque studies and the author (around 1870) of the first non-impressionistic classification of Basque dialects. This paper explores the figure and linguistic contributions of Bonaparte and, specifically, his documentation and classification of the dialects of Basque.

Although, in addition to Basque, Bonaparte studied the linguistic and dialectal diversity of Europe, the scarcity of references to him in linguistic historiography reveals that he is not a well-known figure outside the fields in which he worked more specifically. He is acknowledged as the founder of Basque dialectology (Michelena, *Sobre el pasado* 22), but his contribution extends far beyond this sphere, and must be seen as part of the European context, in a period of transition between pre-modern and modern dialectology.

It is commonly accepted that linguistics became a scientific discipline in the nineteenth century.² The uninterrupted development of Indo-European comparative and historical studies made it possible to go beyond the framework of description and philosophical debates about language, and to focus on the empirical study of languages. Under the leadership of the Germanists, linguists rationalized their aims and techniques, and developed a series of methodological criteria that allowed the reconstruction of the past and of the genetics of languages (Collinge, “The introduction” 1212).

Nineteenth-century comparative-historical studies of Indo-European languages thus enabled the development of modern linguistics, and the work of the Indo-Europeanists has been widely followed in the study of other languages. It was in this philological environment that linguists became aware of the existence of a minority language spoken in an area between Spain and France that did not fit into the Indo-European schema. It was Basque, and its perceived exoticism, which attracted many European researchers affected by the Romantic ideas of the time, derived from its linguistic isolation. The first and most famous of these was Wilhelm von Humboldt, and the most important for science was Bonaparte, but others also contributed to the study of Basque texts, grammar, and lexicon.³

This paper studies the work carried out by Bonaparte to document and classify Basque dialects. It is organized as follows: Section 2 outlines pre-Bonaparte Basque dialectology; Section 3 focuses on Bonaparte's life and linguistic interests; Section 4 is the core of the paper as it explains how Bonaparte entered the field of Basque Studies, what methods he employed, and it also presents his dialect classification(s); Section 5 describes Bonaparte's legacy; and Section 6 places his work in the European context.

Figure 1 provides a general map of Basque-speaking territories, to help readers visualize the districts and places mentioned in this paper.



Figure 1. The Basque Country.

Basque dialectology before Bonaparte

The first references reflecting awareness of Basque dialectal differences date back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to some of the first books printed in Basque (see some examples below). These comments are often repeated in the paratexts of old Basque books. Rather than systematic descriptions of Basque dialects, we find in these early texts a certain concern for the lack of a standard variety. Such linguistic notes and apologies are sometimes tinged with the sense of redundant rhetorical convention and should not always be interpreted literally.

The first commentary of this kind appears at the end of the sixteenth century in the protestant translation of the New Testament into Basque, carried out by Joanes Leizarraga (1571):

Gaineracoaz den becembatean, batbederac daqui
Heuscal Herrian quasi etche batetic bercera-ere
minçatzeco manerán cer differentiá eta diuersitatea den :
raçoin hunegatic sensu eguiazcotic aldaratu gabe,
lengoageaz den becembatean ahalic guehiena guciey adi
eraciteari iarrei qui içan gaitzaitza, eta ez choil edocein
leku iaquineco lengoage bereciri. (Leizarraga *Iesus
Christ* 8)⁴

[In addition, everyone knows that the way of speaking in the Basque Country varies from one house to another. For this reason, without departing from the true meaning, as far as language is concerned, we have tried to make ourselves understood by as many people as possible, and we have not used only the particular variety of any given place.]⁵

Esteve Mattered, the author of the first known writings on Christian doctrine to be produced in the French Basque Country, expressed in the dedication his concern for the linguistic model used in his book:

Gaiñeracoan, ba-daquit Euscal-Herrian anhitz moldez
minçatcen direla, eta nori bere herrico euscara çaicala
hoberenic eta ederrenic. Handic gogoac emaiten deraut

ene esquiribatceco molde haur etçaiela guztiei ongui idurituco. Baiña nahi dut iaquin deçaten halacoec nic hitzcunça hunetan daquidana Saran ikhassia dudala, eta hango euscara ongui erabiltcen ba-dut ez-naicela gaitz erraiteco, eta-ez arbuiatceco, ceren ez-pai-taquit nic hangoa baicen. Ordea ea Saraco euscara denz Euscal-Herrico hoberena eta garbiena, ez-naiz ni hartara sartcen, bat-bederac emanen du bere iduriric. Eta Saraco euscara hunetçaz content ez-tenac esquiriba beça bertce euscara hobeago batez eta hobequiago; ez-naiz ni hargatic bekhaiztuco, eta ez imbidios içanen. (*Doctrina* 14-15)

[I also know that people talk in different ways in the Basque Country, and everyone thinks that the Basque of their village is the best and the most beautiful. Because of that I suppose that not everyone will like my way of writing. But I would like them to know that it is in Sare where I have learnt all I know in this language, and if I use it well, I am not to be disapproved of or loathed, since I do not know anything else. Now, whether the Basque of Sare is the finest and purest, I will not deal with this matter, and everyone can have their opinion. And if someone is not pleased with this Basque of Sare, he is free to write in a better Basque and in a better way; I will not be angry or jealous because of that.]

Similar ideas appear in *Guero* by Pedro Agerre (known as “Axular”), an ascetic work traditionally considered the summit of Basque religious literature:

Badaquit halaber ecin heda naitequeyela euscaraco minçatce molde guztietara. Ceren anhitz moldez eta differentqui minçatcen baitira Euscal Herrian. Naffarroa garayan, Çuberoan, Lappurdin, Bizcayan, Guipuzcoan, Alaba-herrian eta bertce anhitz leccutan. Batac erraiten du *behatcea*, eta bertceac *so equitea*. Batac *haserretcea*,

eta bertceac *samurtcea*. Batac *ilquitcea*, bertceac *ialguita*. Batac *athea*, bertceac *bortha*. Batac *erraita*, bertceac *esatea*. Batac *iracurtcea*, bertceac *leitcea*. Batac *liscartcea*, bertceac *ahacartcea*. Batac *hauçoa*, bertceac *barridea*. Batac *aitonen semea*, bertceac *çalduna*. Finean bat bederac bere guisara, ançura eta moldera. Eztituzte euscaldun guztiec legueac eta azturac bat, eta ez euscarazco minçatcea ere, ceren erresumac baitituzte different. (Agerre, *Guero* 17)

[I also know that I cannot cover all the Basque varieties, because in the Basque Country people speak in very diverse and different ways. In Navarre, Zuberoa, Lapurdi, Biscay, Gipuzkoa, Alava and many other places. Some say *behatcea* and others *so eguita* "to look." Some *haserretcea* and others *samurtcea* "to get angry." Some *ilquitcea*, others *ialguita* "to go out." Some *athea*, others *bortha* "door." Some *erraita*, others *esatea* "to say." Some *iracurtcea*, others *leitcea* "to read." Some *liscartcea*, others *ahacartcea* "to argue." Some *hauçoa*, others *barridea* "neighbor(hood)." Some *aitonen semea*, others *çalduna* "gentleman." All in all, each in his own way, custom and manner. All Basques do not share laws and customs, nor ways of speaking, since they belong to different kingdoms].

In addition to these, before the nineteenth century, the writings on Basque dialects by two scholars are notable. The first is Arnaut Oihenart, and the second Manuel Larramendi.

Arnaut Oihenart (1592-1668)

Oihenart was a renowned historian in his time, and in his monumental *Notitia utriusque Vasconiae* [News on the two Vasconias] (1638) he devoted some chapters to Basque grammar. Although the objective of his studies was not dialectological, he differentiated four

varieties of Basque: the Aquitanian variety, spoken north of the Pyrenees, and three southern Pyrenean varieties: Navarrese, Guipuscoan-Alavese and Biscayan. In a later collection of proverbs and poems, when referring to the geographical origin of the lexicon used, Oihenart (67) implicitly differentiates the following dialectal (sub)varieties: Labourdin, Western Labourdin, Low-Navarrese, Souletin, Southern Souletin and High-Navarrese. According to Iñaki Camino (484), in Oihenart's works we find the first diatopic description of Basque. Moreover, Oihenart mentioned several specific dialectal features.

Manuel Larramendi (1690-1766)

Larramendi was a Jesuit priest, trained in Salamanca, confessor to Queen Mariana of Neoburg and an apologist of Basque. In this latter role he was the author of *De la antigüedad y universalidad del bascuence en España* [On the antiquity and universality of Basque in Spain] (1728), of *El imposible vencido* [The impossible, achieved] (1729), the first published Basque grammar, and of the first published Latin-Spanish-Basque dictionary: *Diccionario trilingüe* [Trilingual dictionary] (1745). Larramendi's works gave rise to what Joseba Lakarra (516) has called the *First Modern Basque* period of the language (1745-1896).

Luis ("Mendiburu eta Larramendi" 26) pointed out that Larramendi was a precursor of modern dialectology. There are two innovative aspects in Larramendi's work. First, there is a theoretical reflection on the concept of *dialect*, which he defined as a difference or distinct character of the same language, which is spoken in certain places (Larramendi, *El imposible* 12). Second, concerning methodology, he undertook fieldwork campaigns to collect data.

Even though Larramendi did not write any work focusing solely on the Basque dialects, his perception of dialectal differences is evident in all his books. In the grammar (Larramendi, *El imposible* 13), for example, he distinguished three dialects: Guipuscoan, Biscayan, and Navarrese-Labourdin. Additionally, he described the Basque from Álava as a mixed dialect. In the prologue to his dictionary, he also referred to

three dialects (Larramendi, *Diccionario* xxiv), but later (xxvii) differentiated the Basque of Navarre and Labourd, and mentioned dialectal features that differentiated the linguistic varieties spoken north of the Pyrenees. Moreover, he established the geographic limits of some of the dialects he names. His *Corografía o descripción general de la muy noble y muy leal provincial de Guipúzcoa* [Chorography or description of the very noble and very loyal province of Guipuscoa] took up in more detail the opinion of a more mature Larramendi. Specifically, he analyzed the main features of five varieties, although in this work he did not specify whether these varieties should be treated as dialects. They are Souletin and Labourdin to north of the Pyrenees, and Biscayan, Navarrese, and Guipuscoan to the south. He also highlighted sub-dialectal differences of central varieties.

The few authors who mention or deal with the dialects of Basque after Larramendi and before Bonaparte hardly add anything to the former's wide coverage of the subject.

The life and Interests of Louis-Lucien Bonaparte

Louis-Lucien Bonaparte was born in Worcestershire, England, on 1 January 1813. His father was Lucien Bonaparte (1775-1840), the brother of Emperor Napoleon I, and an assembly member and president of the Council of Five Hundred during the Revolution. Three years before the birth of Louis-Lucien, after embarking on a voyage from Italy to the United States, he was captured by the British and taken to England (Lucien Bonaparte, *Memoirs* 62). After the Battle of Waterloo, the family moved to Musignano (Italy), and Louis-Lucien completed his basic studies with the Jesuits in Urbino in 1824-1825. He was very passionate about the sciences, and he studied mineralogy and chemistry in Europe and the United States through the 1830s and 1840s. In 1832, he married his first wife, Maria Anna Cecchi, from whom he separated in 1850.

Throughout his life, Louis-Lucien Bonaparte held various public offices, and in 1851 his life and scientific career were radically changed

by the *coup d'état* of Napoleon III and the establishment of the Second French Empire (1852-1870). The status and pension granted him by Napoleon III favored Bonaparte's academic and intellectual career. His administrative positions did not force him to relinquish these studies; on the contrary, his new position and income enabled him to focus on what was to become his great passion: linguistics. He devoted himself to the study of European languages and dialects until the end of his days, and this work earned him an honorary doctorate at Oxford University. He studied numerous European languages and personally mastered English, French, Italian, Spanish and Basque (Lacombe 162; Pagola, *Luis-Luziano* 3).

The end of the Second French Empire in 1870 created problems for Bonaparte, as his pension was withdrawn, but he was helped by financial support from his cousin, the Empress Eugénie de Montijo. Later, the government of William Ewart Gladstone (1892-1894) awarded him a pension of £250 for his research on the English dialects of England. After the death of his first wife in 1891, he married Clementina Richard Grandmontagne *in articulo mortis*; he died on 3 November of that same year. His body rests in St. Mary's Catholic Cemetery, Kensal Green, in London.

Bonaparte's works: an overview

Having published works on chemistry, around 1843 Bonaparte turned to the study of European languages. He focused on the documentation and study of certain languages and dialects, on comparative linguistics, and on typology (Hamp 393).

Bonaparte's first linguistic work appeared in Florence in 1847 under the title *Specimen lexicæ comparativæ omnium linguarum europæarum* [Comparative lexicon sample of all European languages]. It is a comparative lexicon, offering 56 different words in 52 European languages grouped into six linguistic families: Basque (isolated), Finnish, Celtic, Greco-Latin, Germanic and Slavic. Bonaparte's interest in classifying European languages continued in later years. In 1857, he

published *Parabola de Seminatore LXXII linguis versa* [The parable of the sower translated into 72 languages], with additional data on 20 languages and dialects. In 1863, *Classification morphologique des langues européennes* [Morphological classification of the European languages] appeared, with data on 52 languages. In 1873, his *List of vowels and consonants* was printed. In 1881, Bonaparte’s fifth classification of European languages was published under the title *List of languages and dialects*. The work classifies 133 languages and dialects, and organizes its classification into six linguistic families.

The catalogues of Bonaparte’s linguistic work and bibliographic heritage (Section 5) allow us to sketch his career and to specify his main interests, which focused on European languages. The bibliography includes works on Basque, Uralic languages, and Indo-European languages, as shown in Table 1, extracted from Arana-Martija (“Bibliografia” 42).

Language	Publications	% of total works
Basque	68	31.05
Italian	50	22.83
English	43	19.63
Finnish	11	5.02
Multilingual	8	3.65
Portuguese	6	2.73
French	6	2.73
Neo-Latin	6	2.73
Cornish	4	1.82
Modern Frisian	3	1.36
Gascon	3	1.36
Others	11	5.09
	219	100

Table 1. Languages studied by Bonaparte.

Table 1 reflects well Bonaparte's interests and, in particular, his fondness for Basque, Italian, and English, to which languages he devoted more than 70% of his output, Basque being the language he studied most.⁶

Bonaparte's work on Basque: First contact

Bonaparte's knowledge of Basque must have come about not long after he became interested in linguistics. His first linguistics publication (1847) already gives prominence to Basque. According to José Villalonga (32), Bonaparte may have become interested in Basque after reading the works of Larramendi and Humboldt. In any case, Basque must have struck nineteenth-century linguists as exceptionally interesting, being the only isolated language alive in modern Europe.

Experts on Bonaparte point to the winter of 1855-1856 as a key date. This is when he met Antoine d'Abbadie, an explorer, astronomer and great promoter of Basque culture, in London. Bonaparte and d'Abbadie sketched out a plan for research into Basque: and in a letter to d'Abbadie of April 1856, Bonaparte expressed his intention to organise a linguistic expedition to the Basque Country (Villalonga 52-54).

Once he had undertaken research into Basque, Bonaparte devoted himself to it for the rest of his days. The most prominent result of his studious fascination with the language was the creation of modern Basque dialectology, i.e. the systematic study of Basque dialectal boundaries and divisions, based not on general impressions, but on specific linguistic features (Camino 490).

Methodological issues

Despite the large number of publications by Bonaparte on Basque dialectology, we lack any direct explanation of his methods of data collection and analysis. Thus, we must rely on the works themselves, and private correspondence, in order to reconstruct his career and discover his criteria.

Bonaparte used a combined method of data collection. On the one hand, he used translations of religious texts into local varieties, and

linguistic questionnaires. For that purpose, he established a network of collaborators. In doing so, he followed the trend of the time; he also resorted to contact through the mail. He went beyond distance research, however, and organized five exploratory trips to the Basque Country.

The following sub-sections look into Bonaparte's ways of working. First, I will deal with his fieldwork campaigns; second, I will present his network of collaborators; and third, I will show the specific criteria established by Bonaparte for the data collection.

Fieldwork

From the beginning, Bonaparte considered it necessary to know Basque *in situ*. As he had done when studying other European languages, in 1856 he decided to undertake a linguistic expedition, this time to the Basque Country. The correspondence collected by Villalonga (52-54) provides evidence of the detailed manner in which Bonaparte prepared for his first trip. In the spring of 1856, he asked Antoine d'Abbadie to organize the preparations for his arrival. He indicated that he intended to settle in San Sebastián for 6-8 weeks with his servants, and that he preferred to make his journey unnoticed, though he later abandoned the idea of moving about anonymously. Regarding his research, he asked d'Abbadie to find a few collaborators for his explorations. He also showed interest in obtaining Basque books and endorsed the need to establish a transcription/spelling system to be shared by his collaborators.

Bonaparte made five trips to the Basque Country, in 1856, 1857, 1866, 1867 and 1869,⁷ accompanied by his closest collaborators and a few servants. At least two types of trips can be distinguished: those made in 1856 and 1857, which allowed him to meet his main collaborators in person and to make data-collecting journeys, and the last three trips, that were characterized by intensive fieldwork in some specific areas.

The First Voyage (1856)

Bonaparte arrived in Bayonne on 19 July 1856. As agreed, Antoine d'Abbadie received him, accompanied by two future collaborators: Jean-

Pierre Duvoisin and Emmanuele Inchauspe, both French Basques. Bonaparte then left Bayonne for San Sebastián, where he visited the press and bookshop of Ignacio Ramon Baroja. There he acquired publications in Basque and made contact with informants from the territory (Arana-Martija, "Introducción" 36). On 17 July, Bonaparte's plans were cut short: the French emperor ordered his return to France after the uproar caused by the proclamation of Napoleon III's newborn son as a *native Biscayan*. Bonaparte settled in Saint-Jean-de-Luz and began to work intensively with Duvoisin and Inchauspe, from whom he commissioned some biblical translations. He also travelled around the central-western area of the Continental Basque Country. He stayed two days at the Château d'Echaux in Baïgorry, where he met three new collaborators: the Abbot Ibarnegaray and M. Salaberry (both Basque-French), and Bruno Echenique from Navarre.

When the ban on crossing the border was lifted, Bonaparte extended his linguistic excursion southwards. He visited several villages near the French-Spanish border and took part in the Floral Games (a poetry festival with a contest) organized in Urrugne on 7 September, where he addressed the public in Basque. In the meantime, he visited Álava with J. E. Udabe, a collaborator from Guipuscoa. In September, Bonaparte's explorations extended throughout the southern Basque Country: he visited Pamplona and the surrounding areas, the main valleys of Guipuscoa, and Bilbao and Marquina in Biscay. In the latter province, he met Juan Antonio Uriarte, another of his great collaborators. On his return, he also stopped at the Franciscan Convent in Zarauz, where he collected Basque books and manuscripts.

Bonaparte left for London on 29 September, though not without leaving some tasks completed or well underway. He took charge of the publication of *Vocabulaire de mots basques bas-navarrais* [Basque vocabulary of Low Navarre] by M. Salaberry and of *Noticia de las obras vascongadas que han salido a la luz después de las que cuenta el P. Larramendi* [News on Basque works that appeared after those mentioned by Larramendi] by J.M. Zavala. He also prepared for the

press the translations of the Gospel of St. Matthew into the Souletin and Low-Navarrese dialects made by Inchauspe and Salaberry, and he took some texts with him to publish in London. The most fruitful result of Bonaparte's first trip, however, was the establishment of relations with his main collaborators: Duvoisin, Inchauspe, Uriarte, and Echenique.

The Second Voyage (1857)

Bonaparte's second trip took only one month, in 1857. He arrived in Bayonne on 14 October and held a meeting on the Basque language. Though no minutes were kept, Villalonga and Riezu offer interesting information about it based on press clippings of the time. Bonaparte took advantage of the meeting to present six Basque works recently published by him in London: the religious texts translated by Udabe, Uriarte, and Echenique, and the translations of A.P. Iturriaga's *Diálogos*⁸ [Dialogues] into Biscayan by Uriarte, into Labourdin and French by Duvoisin, and into Souletin by Inchauspe. The meeting was also used to unify orthographic criteria for the translations (Arana-Martija, "Introducción" 37-38). On this second trip, Bonaparte also met another of his great collaborators: Claudio Otaegui, a schoolteacher from Guipuscoa.

Although Bonaparte's second voyage was shorter than the first, he covered a wider territory. He made five itineraries, accompanied first by Uriarte and then by Inchauspe: for the first, he visited the northwestern border area of Navarre; for the second, he set out from Pamplona to Bilbao, via Álava. His third trip involved a small incursion into the Nervion Valley, until he reached Llodio in the northwest of Álava. Bonaparte's fourth itinerary included visits to the center of Biscay and important towns in Guipuscoa. Finally, in his fifth tour, he focused on getting to know the central-eastern area of the Continental Basque Country. He returned on 12 November.

Bonaparte's second linguistic trip brought remarkable progress to his knowledge of Basque dialects: he continued to explore new areas, collected more data, and met new collaborators. He also became

interested in sub-dialectal divisions and in the linguistic varieties that were weaker and constituted the borderline areas of Basque. As an example of this, Villalonga (60) mentions the trip into the Nervion Valley and, in particular, his visit to Llodio.⁹ Mention should also be made of his journey between the Mixe region and his return to Bayonne via Bidache, Bardos, Briscous and Mouguerre, bordering the northern boundary of the Basque language.

After this journey, Bonaparte did not return to the Basque Country for eight years. By the end of this series of itineraries, however, his network of collaborators was working at full capacity. Over the following decades, Bonaparte published countless materials in both very short print runs (of 5, 12 or 50 copies) and large print runs (of 250 copies). Between 1857 and 1866, he published more than thirty translations into many varieties of Basque. Moreover, although he did not come to the Basque Country, he invited some collaborators to come and work with him in London.

The Third Voyage (1866)

In January 1866, eight years after his earlier trip, Bonaparte set foot on Basque soil again, and settled in Anglet (Labourd). His knowledge of Basque was now more profound than that acquired through the fieldwork and commissions that he had carried out years earlier. In 1866, he brought to the Basque Country an outline of a linguistic map, which he presented to his collaborators Uriarte, Echenique, Inchauspe, Duvoisin, and Otaegui. The goal was to gather additional data and explore unknown areas. After making considerable progress during the last years, Bonaparte wanted to achieve his main objective: to establish a classification of the dialects of Basque.

In 1866, he undertook two main journeys. During the first, accompanied by Echenique and Otaegui, he travelled along the boundaries between Navarre and Low Navarre, paying special attention to the Pyrenean valleys of Aescoa, Salazar and Roncal. In the second, he met two further collaborators: Prudencio Hualde Mayo and Mariano Mendigacha, from whom he commissioned some further translations.

During that journey, Bonaparte focused on collecting data from the Low Navarre, accompanied by Duvoisin and Inchauspe.

The Last Voyages (1867, 1869)

Bonaparte's last two voyages continued in the same vein as the preceding one. Rather than making general surveys, he focused on completing and verifying data from some specific areas (Arana-Martija, "Introducción" 40).

On 15 February 1867, he settled in Saint-Pierre-d'Irube (Labourd) and, from there, he moved to different localities in the French Basque Country: at least to Espelette, Hasparren, Hélette, Sare, Saint Palais, Tardets and Bastide (Pagola, *Dialektologiaren* 124). His aim was, as on the 1866 trip, to gather additional data for his dialect classification and for his work on Basque verbs. Apparently, Bonaparte had scheduled a second trip that same year; however, as Arana-Martija ("Introducción" 40) pointed out, his correspondence shows that the trip did not happen. Inchauspe welcomed the decision to abort this visit, in a letter dated 20 August 1867: "Vous avez bien fait de renoncer au voyage en Espagne, à cause du travail révolutionnaire qui se fait en ce moment dans ce pays" [You did well to renounce the Spanish trip, because of the current revolutionary work in this country] (Irigoyen 229). Apparently, in addition to the political turmoil in Spain, Bonaparte had health problems: Rodríguez (74), Villalonga (64), and Riezu (158) mention serious cerebral crises suffered in the winter of 1867-1868.

Bonaparte made his last journey in 1869, on the eve of the establishment of the Third French Republic and the loss of his main source of financing. He arrived in Saint-Jean-de-Luz on 21 January and remained there until 7 March. Due to the convulsive situation in Spain after the Revolution of 1868, he was unable to cross the French-Spanish border. He devoted his stay to completing data on Basque verbs, and once again became interested in the speech of the Pyrenean valleys of Navarre and that of areas close to Pamplona. To finish the data collection, he asked his informants to come to Saint-Jean-de-Luz.

Collaborators and informants

Research on Bonaparte's data collection has been unable to determine exactly how many collaborators he signed up. After all, his work spanned several decades, and currently, from time to time, the (re)discovery of material brings new names to light. The most up-to-date and specific list of Bonaparte's collaborators can be found in Camino (492-93). It establishes a classification that is in line with previous historiography. Two types of collaborators are distinguished.

First, there are the strategic collaborators: Basque speakers who knew the written tradition and the spoken dialect of one or more territories well. They were Bonaparte's main assistants and helped him to expand his network of collaborators and local informants. Together with Antoine d'Abbadie, they accompanied Bonaparte on his travels, coordinated the reference translations for each dialect and were responsible for finding local translators and informants for the study of sub-dialects and local varieties: such were Jean-Pierre Duvoisin, a customs agent from Labourd; Emmanuel Inchauspe, a priest from Soule (who held positions of responsibility within the Diocese of Bayonne); Bruno Echenique, a wealthy Navarrese; Juan Antonio Uriarte, a Franciscan priest from Biscay; and Claudio Otaegui, a teacher from Guipuscoa. At a later stage, Arturo Campión, a vascolologist from Navarre, and José Ignacio Arana, a historian from Guipuscoa, joined the list.

Second, Camino's list (492-93) shows the great deployment that Basque dialectal research required. There are a few not-so-well-known informants: Camino provides the names of 13 local informants. There are others whose contribution is more varied. He lists another 49 names; these people made translations into local Basque and gave Bonaparte access to the details of many local utterances.

Bonaparte's collaborators wove and coordinated a large network that included local people. In addition to the translations by Uriarte, Otaegui, Echenique, Duvoisin and Inchauspe, Bonaparte also used information from these local informants. For instance, in a letter sent on 24 August 1863 to Echenique, he asked him to find a priest or schoolteacher capable of translating in Navarre (Urquijo, "Continuación"

268). Likewise, in another letter (7 November 1864) he expressed his willingness to pay the corresponding fees to a teacher in Roncal Valley (Navarre) (Urquijo, "Continuación" 281).¹¹ Bonaparte was even willing to take an informant to London, if necessary, as he indicated to Echenique on 5 September 1865 (Urquijo, "Continuación" 289).

The need to obtain a reliable sample of folk speech led Bonaparte to broaden his sources of information beyond translations. In particular, he took care (during his travels or through his collaborators) to find rural and non-mobile informants (men, women, and children). This is what he told Echenique on 26 April 1862 after his second trip to the Basque Country:

Je me suis adressé dans deux voyages consécutifs non pas aux curés et aux gens qui ont cultivé leur basque, mais aux campagnards, surtout aux vieillards et aux vieilles femmes et même aux petites filles, qui mènent une vie sédentaire ; et j'ai toujours cherché à être bien informé de la patrie de la personne interrogée. (Urquijo, "Continuación" 246-47)

[In two consecutive voyages I did not seek out priests and people who have cultivated their Basque, but rather country-dwellers, especially old men and women and even little girls, who live a sedentary life; and I always sought to be well informed about the place of origin of the person interviewed.]

Thus, as regards the fieldwork, he resorted to some extent to what were later called *NORM* (Nonmobile, Older, Rural, and Male) informants (Chambers and Trudgill 29), although, as noted above, he also worked with women and children.

Specific criteria for data collection

Bonaparte did not explain what methodological criteria he used in his research; however, scrutiny of his correspondence and publications can reveal some of his ideas about this. In this section, I will present these where they concern his translation criteria and the distinction

between *folk* and literary language. For this purpose, I will limit myself, due to extracting some passages from the correspondence between Bonaparte and Echenique.

The quest for scientific truth runs through his works and was expressed by Bonaparte himself to his collaborators on more than one occasion. See, for example, the letter addressed to Echenique on 24 January 1865, in which he writes the following:

Je puis prouver scientifiquement toutes ces assertions, et grâce à qui? A vous et aux catéchismes. Ces assertions étonneront bien des Basques; mais je ne me préoccupe que de la méthode scientifique. Au reste dans le courant de l'année je compte faire paraître un petit traité de la division des dialectes, sous-dialectes et variétés du basque fondé sur l'appréciation scientifique du verbe en premier lieu et du vocabulaire en second lieu. (Urquijo "Continuación" 286)

[I can prove all these assertions scientifically, and thanks to whom? To you and the catechisms. These assertions will astonish many Basques, but I am only concerned with the scientific method. Moreover, in the course of the year I intend to publish a short treatise on the division of the dialects, sub-dialects, and varieties of Basque, based first on a scientific assessment of the verb, and second on the vocabulary.]

For his dialectological work, Bonaparte took care to gather reliable materials, i.e., translations that reflected the Basque used by common speakers. In the early correspondence he constantly insisted that his collaborators should not introduce interferences from other dialects or from written language. The following extracts, taken from several instructive letters sent to Echenique, illustrate this point:

Eviter comme un poison mortel pour le but que je me propose (la comparaison des dialectes basques-espagnols et basques-français), l'usage non seulement d'expressions, de

tournures, etc., labourdines, basse-navarraises ou souletins, mais même celles de Urdax et de Zugarramurdi, ou de Valcarlos. (22 July 1861)

[For the purpose I have in mind (the comparison of Spanish Basque and French Basque dialects), avoid like a deadly poison the use not only of expressions, turns of phrase, etc., from Labourdin, Low-Navarrese or Souletin, but even those from Urdax and Zugarramurdi or Valcarlos.]

L'orthographe devra être uniforme sans doute; mais il faudra en même temps que les mots soient écrits exactement comme on les prononce et que chaque dialecte reste indépendant et ne prenne rien au basque classique des livres; car mon objet est celui de faire voir en quoi consiste la différence, même de prononciation, entre le basque des livres et les patois populaires de l'*Euscalerria*. (2 January 1862)

[The spelling will undoubtedly have to be uniform, but, at the same time, the words will have to be written exactly as they are pronounced. Moreover, each dialect will have to remain independent and take nothing from the classical Basque of the books. My aim is to show what the difference is, even in pronunciation, between the Basque of the books and the popular dialects of the Basque Country.]

Les règles donc pour ces trois derniers dialectes sont tout-à-fait différentes. Il ne faut pas les traiter comme des langues cultivées, mais comme des patois. Eh bien ! Comment traite-t-on les patois ? En les écrivant tels qu'on les parle. Voilà le grand principe, le seul vrai pour les dialectes incultes que le vulgaire appelle patois. [...] J'en suis très content. Pourquoi ? Parce que c'est du *cizain* tel

qu'il est parlé, sans se préoccuper si certaines formes peuvent paraître incorrectes [c]. (9 February 1862)

[The rules for these last three dialects are quite different. They should not be treated as cultivated languages, but as patois. Well, then [...] How do you treat dialects? By writing them as they are spoken. That is the great principle, the only true one for the uncultivated dialects that the common people call *patois*. [...] I am very happy with it. Why should I be? Because it is Cizain as it is spoken, without worrying about whether certain forms might seem incorrect.]

Bonaparte's insistence on the need to transcribe or use the vulgar language responded to the need to characterize accurately each linguistic variety, without interference from other languages or dialects, or from what Bonaparte called "literary dialects," i.e., dialects with a certain standardized or printed tradition (Urquijo, "Cartas" 656-57). Four such literary dialects have been distinguished traditionally: the Labourdin and the Souletin dialects, built on the printed tradition in each of them from the seventeenth century; the Guipuscoan dialect, established from the eighteenth century under the influence of Larramendi; and the Biscayan dialect, created from the end of the eighteenth century, which had two models: one more localized and the other more generalized.

The differences between dialects naturally occurring in speech and literary dialects were very clear to Bonaparte: the latter did not exist in reality, were not spoken, and could only be found in printed books. As he indicated to Echenique in a letter sent on 22 August 1862, literary dialects were not popular Basque, but writers' Basque (Urquijo, "Continuación" 256). Even so, Bonaparte rejected tendencies toward linguistic *mélanges* wherever they occurred, including in the literary dialects. According to Camino (494), Bonaparte rejected supradialectal versions, too, considering them the result of the temptation of some writers to borrow terms or expressions from other dialects. In cases where he believed that the texts were not "dialectally clean," he introduced changes at his discretion, although they were not mentioned in his editions.

Bonaparte had various religious texts translated into the four literary dialects. However, among these commissions, his plan to publish the translation of the Bible into the main literary dialects of Basque stands out, and places his work to that extent, if no other, in the tradition of collections of translations from the Bible into different languages, a popular and early approach to comparing languages.¹¹ The objective could not be fully achieved, since the translations into the Biscayan and Souletin dialects were not prepared. However, two of his collaborators, Uriarte and Duvoisin, completed the translations into the Guipuscoan and Labourdin dialects, respectively. Uriarte's translation was only partially printed in 1859, while Duvoisin's translation was published in its entirety, under the title *Bible saindua*, between 1859 and 1865. It is the first complete translation of the Bible into Basque.

Before concluding this part, it is worth mentioning that Bonaparte gave more relevance to two of the literary dialects: Labourdin within the Basque-French tradition, and Guipuscoan within the Basque-Spanish tradition (Urquijo, "Continuación" 237-41). The reason for this is twofold. First, it fits well with Bonaparte's tendency to link language varieties to political-administrative divisions: in this case, he chose a literary dialect for each side of the French-Spanish border. Second, these are the dialects with the longest literary tradition, i.e., with the most books published and referenced by authors.

The Dialectal Classifications of Basque (1861-1869)

From 1861 onwards, Bonaparte moved from collecting and publishing linguistic materials to drawing dialectal divisions. He had been mentioning his aim to map the Basque dialectal divisions since 1862, and he worked on this throughout the decade. The task developed very gradually: at least four classifications can be distinguished between 1862 and 1869. Here I will focus on the evolution of his opinions concerning this task and analyze the definitive classification in more detail.

The first classification dates from 1861-1863. It is mentioned in the correspondence with Echenique and in *Langue basque et langues finnoises*

[The Basque language and Finnish languages] (1862). Following Pagola (*Dialektologiaren* 133), it is not a linguistic classification, but a general approach to the subject. At first, Bonaparte distinguished seven dialects (Central and literary Biscayan, Guipuscoan, High-Navarrese, Labourdin, Souletin and Low-Navarrese), and later six, when he reduced the two Biscayan dialects to one. In addition, he drew the geography of each, established sub-dialectal divisions and identified several difficult-to-classify isolects.¹²

Bonaparte's early perspective is impressionistic. Moreover, it is influenced by the geographical delimitation of his proposed linguistic territories (he seems to assign each territory a main dialect) and by the written tradition of the literary dialects.

Bonaparte maintained the division of six dialects in his second classification (1864-1865). By the middle of the decade, after having travelled twice to the Basque Country, he knew the language better. This provided him with more precise data and allowed him to correct and refine his previously over-generalising perspective. Among other things, he established dialectal boundaries in more detail, studied links between the language usages of different administrative territories and added survey points for the data collection.

At this time, in addition to identifying the main dialects, Bonaparte started to differentiate some subdialects and local usages (Yrizar 112). From then on, he maintained this scheme of dialectal hierarchy. His work on the classification of Navarrese speech is of particular interest because, in Bonaparte's view, Navarre did not have its own dialect covering the whole territory, and thus his earlier identification of dialects with geographical regions was shown to be misleading. In place of a unified dialect, subdialectal usages of other dialects (with the exception of Biscayan) could be found in different parts of this large area.

Bonaparte's third classification dates from 1866-1868, and was included in *Observations sur le Formulaire de Prône* [Observations on the *Formulaire de Prône*] (1866) and in the manuscript *Phonologie de la langue basque* [Phonology of the Basque language] (1868). The first work presents a five-dialect classification, based on verbal morphology (Section 4.3.3):

Ces cinq dialectes sont:

1. Le guipuscoan, c par *det*, *dezu* etc.
2. Le biscaïen, caractérisé par *dot*, *dozu* etc.
3. Le navarro-labourdin, caractérisé *dut*, *duzu*, etc.
4. Le bas-navarrais, caractérisé par *niz*, etc. –sans le traitement respectueux–.
5. Le navarro-souletin, caractérisé par le traitement respectueux.

(Bonaparte *Observations sur le formulaire* 7)

[The five dialects of Basque are:

1. The Guipuscoan, characterized by *det*, *dezu*, etc.
2. The Biscayan, characterized by *dot*, *dozu*, etc.
3. Le Navarrese-Labourdin, characterized by *dut*, *duzu*, etc.
4. Le Low-Navarrese, characterized by *niz*, etc. – without the respectful treatment–
5. Le Navarrese-Souletin, characterized by the respectful treatment.]

On the same page, Bonaparte reiterated his earlier assertion that Navarre lacked a dialect of its own and observed a similar situation in Álava, the dialectal usages within which he ascribed to Biscayan Basque.

The divisions proposed in his third classification show the influence of Bonaparte’s third trip to the Basque Country, especially as regards this work’s much more detailed subdialectal and local divisions (Pagola, *Dialektologiaren* 142; Yrizar 113-18).

The 1868 work *Phonologie* documents in detail the phenomena of vowel accommodation in hiatuses and specifies where each system is used (see Section 4.3.3). The work distinguishes three subdialects and five isolects within the Guipuscoan dialect, three subdialects and nine isolects within the Biscayan dialect, three subdialects and 16 isolects within the Navarrese-Labourdin dialect, three subdialects and two isolects within the Low Navarrese dialect, and five subdialects and four isolects within the Navarrese-Souletin dialect.

Bonaparte’s fourth dialectal classification is considered definitive. He published this, his most mature proposal, in *Le verbe basque en*

tableaux [The Basque verb in tables] (1869). After careful revision of drafts (Yrizar 116-18), Bonaparte's definitive proposal distinguished three major dialectal groups, eight dialects, 25 subdialects and 50 isolects (see Table 2).

GROUP A

Dialects	Sub-dialects	Isolects
Biscayan	Eastern	Marquina
	Western	Guernica Bermeo Plencia Arratia Orozco Arrigorriaga Ochandiano
	Guipuscoan	Vergara Léniz

GROUP B

Dialects	Sub-dialects	Isolects
Guipuscoan	Northern	Hernani Tolosa Azpeitia
	Southern	Cegama
	Navarrese	Burunda Echarri-Aranaz
Northern High- Navarrese	Ulzama	Lizaso
	Baztán	Elizondo
	Cinco Villas	Vera
	Araquil	Uharte-Araquil
	Araiz	Inza
	Guipuscoan	Irún
Southern	Pamplona	Egüés

High-Navarrese		Oláibar
		Arce
		Erro
		Burguete
	Ilzarbe	Puente la Reina
	Beyond Pamplona	Olza
		Cizur
		Gulina
Labourdin	Own	Sare
		Ainhua
		Saint-Jean-de-Luz
	Hybrid	Arcangues

GROUP C

Dialects	Sub-dialects	Isolects
Souletin	Own	Tardets
	Roncalese	Vidángoz
		Urzainqui
		Uztárroz
Eastern Low-Navarrese	Cize-Mixe	Cize
		Mixe
		Bardos
		Arberoue
	Adour	Brisous
		Urcuit
	Salazar	Salazar
Western Low-Navarrese	Baïgorri	Baïgorry
	Labourdin	Ustaritz
		Mendionde
	Aescoan	Aescoa

Table 2. The definitive classification.

Cartography

Bonaparte did not restrict himself to simply setting down his definitive classification in writing: as he had already done with the English dialects, he mapped their division. Specifically, he published two engraved lithograph maps, which are Bonaparte's best-known work in the field of Basque studies, as they reflect graphically and concisely his conclusions from 20 years of work.

The first map (Figure 2) shows the eight dialects of Basque, differentiated by colour.¹³

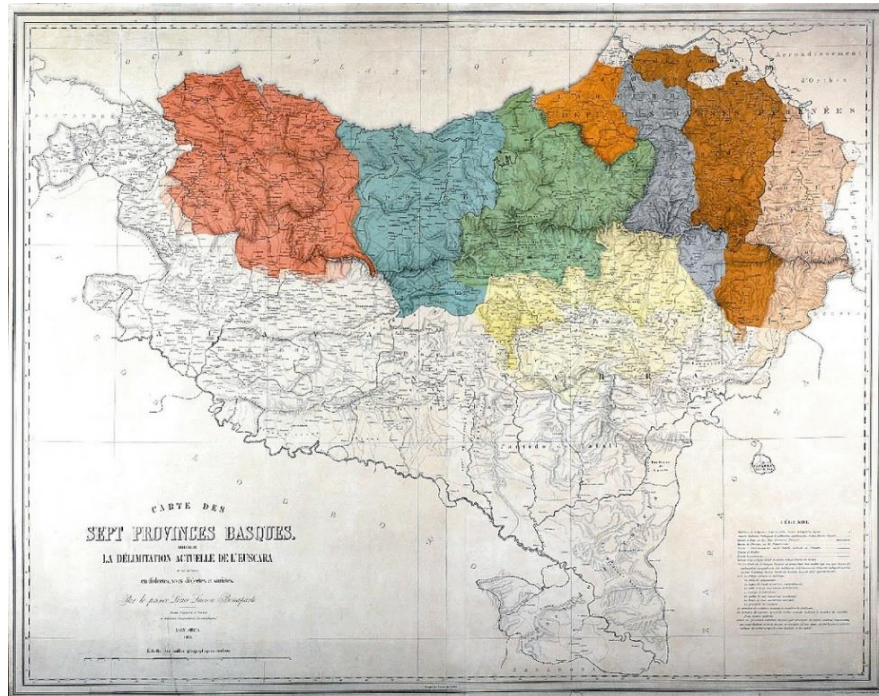


Figure 2. Map showing main dialects of Basque.

The second map (Figure 3) is more complex and explicit. It shows, in addition to the main dialects, the subdialects and the speeches of each.

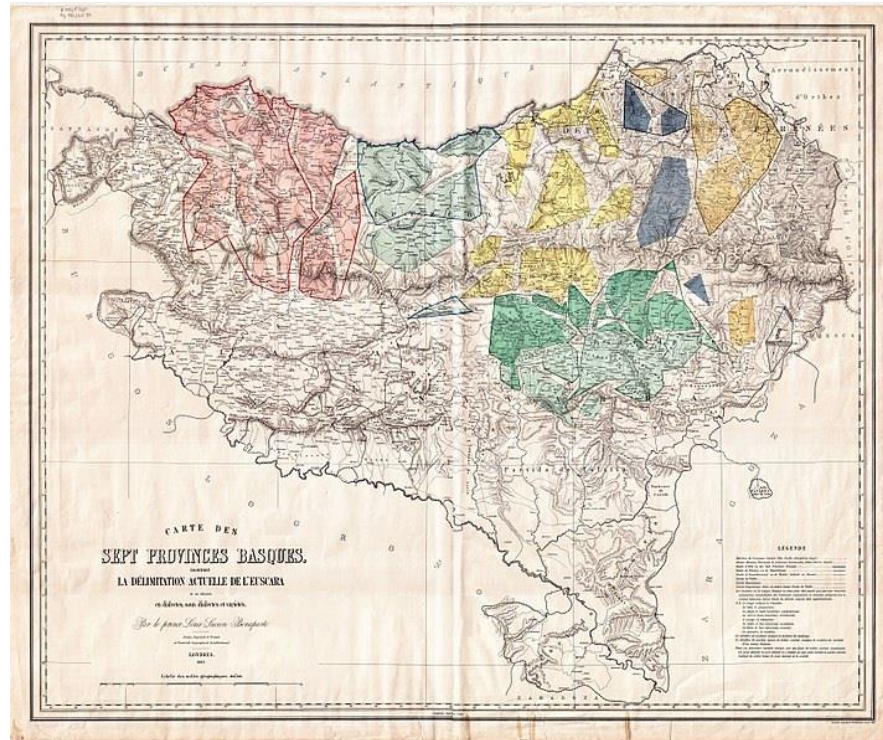


Figure 3. Map showing dialectal and sub-dialectal divisions.

Because Bonaparte was interested in the boundaries of the Basque language, he mapped, together with the lectal divisions, its limits and the state of each linguistic variety. For that purpose, he marked the varieties that were in better health (i.e., those which had more speakers and were transmitted intergenerationally) with a darker tone, and those which were in a worse situation (i.e. those which had fewer speakers and/or transmission problems), with a paler tone. Some of the variants marked in pale tones have, in fact, gradually disappeared over the last 150 years. This is the case of Llodio Basque in Álava and of Southern High-Navarrese, Roncalese, and Salazarian in Navarre. In his later work on Basque (after the mapping), Bonaparte participated in linguistic discussions (see Gómez 1989) and, above all, he studied in depth the borders between the variants of Navarre (see Bonaparte

Études; Observations sue le basque; “Observaciones”). Regarding his general dialectal classification of Basque, Yrizar (123) has drawn attention to two of Bonaparte’s major contributions: (a) the consideration of Roncalese as an almost independent dialect; and (b) the inclusion, after numerous doubts of some speeches from the north of Navarre in the Labourdin dialect.

Linguistic features

As happens when we want to clarify what methodological criteria Bonaparte applied or when we want to know what linguistic features he used in his characterization of the Basque dialects, we must resort to his correspondence and monographs. The following discussion of these points is indebted to Camino (§30.4), who has dealt with the subject in detail.

A review of Bonaparte’s texts shows that he used all linguistic domains to characterize and delimit the dialects of Basque. However, it seems that he gave more relevance to morphology, as he found it useful for the drawing of broad areas: dialects, and at most, subdialects. With regard to nominal morphology, he used the features that divide the whole of Basque speech into large areas. For instance, the markers of ergative plural (-ak and -ek) or the morphological expression of animacy with -gan or -(r)(en) baitan provide morphological isoglosses that divide the Basque Country into two areas with respect to these variables. Likewise, the markers of the comitative, the dative plural, or the allative allow us to divide Basque into three-to-four linguistic domains, as do the variants ha/hura/gura/kura of the third person singular demonstrative.

In his studies, however, Bonaparte gave more importance to the verb. As is the case with the nominal morphology, in the verbal morphology of that language there are also features that allow the researcher to establish relatively broad dialectal divisions. Bonaparte looked, among others, at the roots of auxiliary verbs, the use of various morphemes, and the forms of the main verbs.

Beyond the morphological domain, Bonaparte attached considerable importance to phonetics and phonology, especially at the beginning of his linguistic career, and with a view to establishing subdialectal and local

divisions. In addition to some features of greater extension (e.g., the use of nasal vowels and diphthongs in the east, the use or lack of aspiration, or the pronunciation of *j), Bonaparte paid attention to the phenomena arising from the accommodation of vowels in hiatus. These are, in general, multifocal phenomena covering relatively small territories and they served Bonaparte to distinguish between isolects. Figure 4 shows, as an example, a microfilmed page corresponding to the subdivision of the Guipuscoan dialect (Bonaparte, *Phonologie* 3).

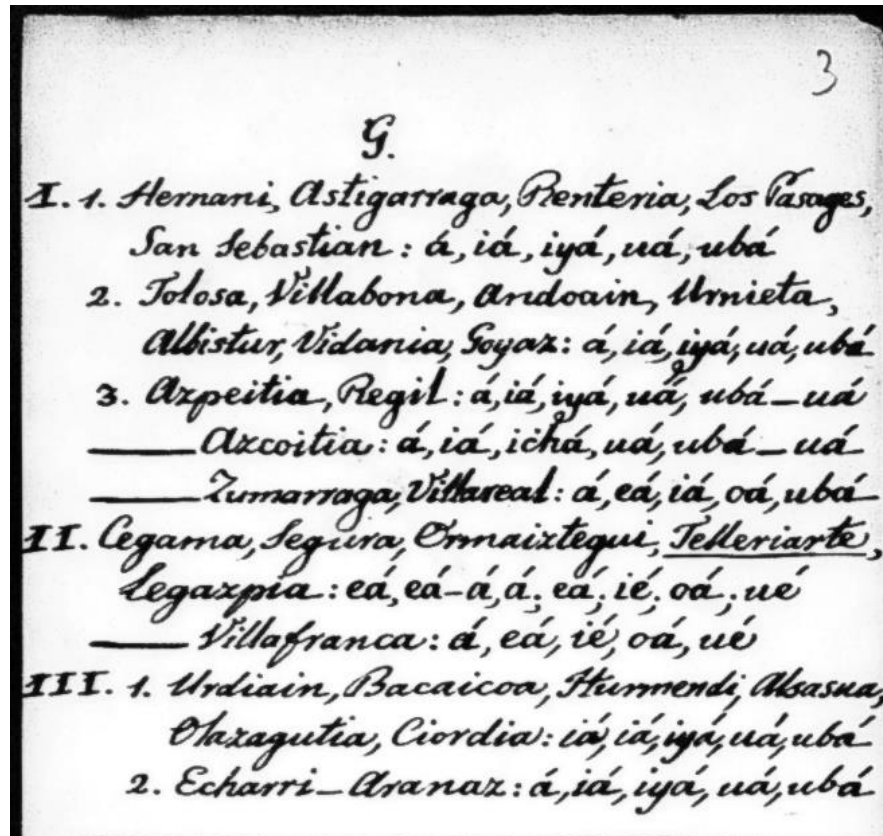


Figure 4. An extract from manuscript *Phonologie de la langue basque* [Phonology of Basque language] (1868).

Bonaparte also researched the syntactic and lexical features of Basque dialects. As regards syntax, again especially important for him were those features that made it possible to delimit large areas, e.g., the genitivisation of the direct object, relative structures, or subordinating conjunctions. The lexicon was also taken into account in the classificatory work, though it is not so frequently specified in Bonaparte's materials. The case of the term *alacran* is a good example of the exhaustiveness with which he worked: he was surprised that this noun was used in the Basque Country, because it apparently signified the scorpion, a species that he did not expect to find in the Basque Country. After failing to clarify which animal was being referred to, he asked his collaborator Echenique to send him a specimen of the insect to England, so that he could confirm the correspondence with his own eyes.

Bonaparte's legacy

To talk about the value of Bonaparte's work, I will first present an overview of his material legacy. Then, I will deal with the success of his dialect classification.

The material legacy

Bonaparte's material legacy consists of a very large collection of manuscripts and books. As often acknowledged (Michelena, *Sobre el pasado* 14-15; Heredia 116), one of Bonaparte's greatest contributions is the corpus he collected.

After his death in 1891, his widow Clementina Richard Grandmontagne handled Bonaparte's legacy. Victor Collins catalogued the collection (*Attempt, A Catalogue*), and Grandmontagne decided to sell it. The 14,000 printed volumes that made up the library at that time (there had been 25,000 volumes before, according to Arana-Martija, "Introducción" 43) were bought by H. S. Nichols in 1896 and resold by him to the Newberry Library in Chicago in 1901. They remain there. The Basque councils of Biscay, Guipuscoa, and Navarre bought the manuscripts in 1904.

Pagola (*Bonaparte ondareko*) edited the Bonaparte manuscript corpus in the 1990s. In addition to translations of religious texts, it contains other linguistic material (songs, poems, proverbs, letters, lexical lists, etc.), as well as manuscripts by writers from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Regarding dialectal translations, the edited corpus contains 224 translations: 28 local and 13 literary texts for the Biscayan dialect, 17 local and 40 literary texts for Guipuscoan, 5 local and 21 literary texts for Labourdin, 3 local and 2 literary texts for Northern High-Navarrese, 13 local texts for Southern High-Navarrese, 8 local texts for Aescoan, 12 for Salazarian, 8 for Roncalese, 21 for Souletin, 18 for Eastern Low-Navarrese and 15 for Western Low-Navarrese.

As for the works Bonaparte authored and edited, a wide selection was published in four volumes by the Royal Academy of the Basque Language in 1991, on the first centenary of his death, under the title *Opera Omnia Vasconice* [Complete Basque works], in facsimile format.

Reception

Basque dialectology has welcomed Bonaparte's work. As Michelena (*Sobre el pasado* 22) points out, Bonaparte was both the precursor and the culmination of Basque dialectology. The wide use of his classification certifies it: it was the standard classification used by Bascologists until the end of the twentieth century. Moreover, Bonaparte attracted the interest of nineteenth-century Basque and foreign linguists to the study of Basque (Camino 501).

The main criticism of Bonaparte's work refers to his view of the limits and uniformity of dialects. Thus, Menéndez-Pidal (45) criticized his "archaic unitary concept of dialects"; Michelena (*Sobre el pasado* 15) noted in his works a lack of abstraction and theoretical contribution to linguistics; Pagola (*Dialektologiaren* 158) criticized his methodology for an absence of explanations about his classificatory criteria, as well as the excessive importance given to literary dialects. Camino (499) emphasized the relativity of Bonaparte's dialectal classification and, again, pointed out the lack of theorization about dialect boundaries.

Bonaparte's classification has been labelled as "comfortable" and "reasonable" (Michelena, *Sobre el pasado* 15), and it must have appealed to those interested in Basque dialectology since all the corrections proposed until the 1990s have been relatively small. Thus, at the beginning of the century, Azkue (vi-xxvii) considered Roncalese not as a sub-dialect of Souletin, but as an independent dialect. Moreover, he combined the two varieties in both High and Low Navarre into one dialect. Later, Michelena (*N. Landucci; Fonética; Sobre el pasado*) treated the varieties of Aescoa and Salazar as independent dialects. Additionally, he defended the existence of an independent dialect in Álava, though it was almost completely lost before the nineteenth century.

Thus, Bonaparte's classification was in force until the twenty-first century. As indicated by Zuazo ("Euskalkiak, gaur" 191), both Bonaparte's map and his perspective on Basque dialects were the main references for work on these dialects until recently. The linguistic situation has changed since the late nineteenth century, and some Basque dialectologists have more recently perceived the need to revise the classification. As a result, Zuazo ("Euskalkiak, gaur") presented a new classification, on which he has been working to the present day (see Zuazo, *Euskalkiak, Standard Basque and its dialects*). Zuazo differentiates the Western, Central, Navarrese-Labourdin, High-Navarrese and Souletin dialects. Furthermore, he overcomes the model of rigid linguistic boundaries that Bonaparte was working with and introduces more recently developed concepts such as speech *continua* and *transitional speech*. Zuazo's proposals for changes to Bonaparte's dialectological writings are the only ones to achieve a broad consensus among Bascolologists.

Remarks

Modern dialectology developed under the influence of the comparative-historical trends of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and at least two periods must be distinguished, i.e. before and

after 1876, a linguistic *annus mirabilis* according to Hoenigswald (1978). Some decades before, during the Romantic period, the influence of the ideas of Herder, von Kleist, and Humboldt, among others, led to an introspective turn, or to the impulse to study and (re)valorize the linguistic-cultural heritage of each nation. The goal of studying the popular linguistic-cultural tradition was to fully understand the *Volkgeist* and to reaffirm the individual character of each nation's language (Robins 155). The Romantic impulse was reasserted in the immediate post-Napoleonic era, and the controlled rationality of the Age of Enlightenment was replaced by enthusiastic freethinking (Collinge, "The introduction" 1212). These trends sanctified the popular, and stimulated the collection of all kinds of linguistic-literary materials, especially in the rural sphere, which was perceived (from the Romantic perspective) as the best repository of tradition, threatened by the processes of urbanization and industrialization (Boberg et al. 6). All this resulted, of course, in an explosion of data (Koerner and Asher 199). The dialectology of the period has been labelled as *pre-modern* and *folkloric* (Desmet, Lawers and Swiggers 19-22).

Characteristics of *pre-modern* dialectology include: (a) the production of multiple atomistic and descriptive studies; (b) methodological asystematicity due to the lack of common standard criteria; (c) problems related to data collection, usually carried out by amateurs (clergymen, schoolteachers, and similar) and at a distance, through surveys and translations ordered by mail. See a general perspective of that period in Pop (xxx-xxxvii).

From a theoretical and methodological point of view, little progress was made until the end of the century. The idea of the impossibility of drawing abrupt linguistic boundaries must be mentioned: Coquebert de Montbret noticed it in 1821 (Pop xxxi), and Schuchardt and the language geographers later refuted it; it took a long time before this idea was generalized.

The situation changed notably after 1870. The new epoch saw amateur and impressionistic research into linguistic varieties and brought

more systematic study of dialects and the extensive use and detailed analysis of cartography. The origins of this more systematic dialectology are often ascribed to the studies of Ascoli (“Saggi”; “Paul Meyer”; “Schizzi”; “L’Italia”) and Wenker (*Sprachatlas*), and its most prominent results materialized in the form of linguistic atlases (Boberg et al. 6; Engler; Iordan). The most influential of dialect atlases to be produced in this era was the *Atlas Linguistique de la France* (Gilliéron and Edmont, 1897-1900), which became a model for other atlases and the interpretation of the maps.

Bonaparte’s work falls between the two periods—roughly earlier and later nineteenth century, as described above—both chronologically and methodologically. He worked on linguistics between 1840 and 1891, and investigated Basque between c.1855 and c.1891, although the main results of his investigations were published around 1870.

Reading Bonaparte’s correspondence and studies reveals his knowledge and use of methods and conceptions common in pre-modern dialectology. Among others, the following stand out: the systematic use of translations of religious texts, the use of local priests and teachers as informants, and the use of surveys by mail. In addition, his taxidermist’s zeal also reveals the influence of the natural sciences on his linguistic work, in accordance with the trends of the time (see Robins 184; Collinge, “History” 199; Morpurgo 86). The lack of theoretical reflection on dialectal boundaries mentioned above also fits well with the pre-modern perspective.

Bonaparte’s work also shows certain innovative aspects. The fieldwork carried out *in situ* with the aim of collecting and contrasting data directly from the mouths of illiterate informants is worth mentioning. Overcoming the atomistic perspective and the ambition to offer an exhaustive and at the same time complete classification of all the dialectal varieties of Basque must be underlined too. On the technical level, we cannot overlook the importance (because of its earliness) given by the prince to cartography, i.e., to displaying the proposed linguistic divisions on maps (see Lameli). Because of that, even though he did not

publish a linguistic atlas, he was a precursor of linguistic cartography.

In short, we find in Bonaparte a complex figure which conforms with and must be understood in the context of the evolution of linguistics in the nineteenth century and, in particular, in the period immediately preceding the creation of modern dialectology. Bonaparte shows adherence to the trends of previous decades, together with methodological and technical innovations that would fully develop in later decades.

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Notes

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² See Auroux; Auroux and Koerner; Koerner and Asher; Morpurgo; Swiggers.

³ Basque was also documented and studied by Humboldt (*Berichtigungen; Prüfung*), Darrigol (*Dissertation*), Michel (*Proverbes basques; Le Pays Basque*), Sanpere i Miquel (*R. Micoleta*), Dodgson (*Capanagaren; Verbi; Modo breve; Le verbe Basque; Bibliographie*), Luchaire (*Les origins; Études*), Léluse (*Dissertation; Grammaire*), Vinson (*Coup d'œil; Le verbe basque; La science; Le basque; Les basques; Essai*), Ribary (*Essai*), Stempf (*Textes*), Schuchardt (*Romano-baskisches; Baskische Studien; I. Leizarraga's baskische Bucher*), Broca (*Sur l'origine*), and Van Eys (*Essai; Dictionnaire; Le verbe; Étude; Grammaire comparé; Outlines; Proverbes*).

⁴ Leizarraga's statement has been interpreted literally by some authors (see Intxausti); however, thanks to the work of Mounole and Lakarra, we know that Leizarraga's statement also has tinges of discursive *cliché*. In particular, Mounole and Lakarra have found parallels in sixteenth-century Protestant authors such as Luther (see Burke and Bovelles).

⁵ English translations provided in square brackets are by the author of this paper.

⁶ On Bonaparte's dialectological studies of English and Italian, see Viereck and Lupinu.

⁷ Some authors such as Villalonga, Riezu and Irigaray mention six trips. However, as Arana-Martija has shown, Bonaparte only made five.

⁸ It is the work *Diálogos vasco-castellanos para las escuelas de primeras letras de Guipúzcoa* [Basque-Spanish dialogues for the first letter schools of Guipuscoa], prepared in Spanish and Guipuscoan by A. P. Iturriaga and first published in 1842.

⁹ As a sign of Bonaparte's interest in the Basque language of Llodio, he had a catechism translated into it. The translation was done by Uriarte and was published by Bonaparte in London in 1858.

¹⁰ Bonaparte established a fee for each translation and gave his collaborators gifts. References to such payments and gifts can be found in various letters (see Urquijo, "Cartas" 274, 281, 284, 287).

¹¹ See the monograph by Pop, which lists dozens of works from the pre-modern dialectology period.

¹² I use the term isolect in the sense established by Crystal (255), i.e., "to refer to a linguistic variety (or lect) which differs minimally from another variety (i.e., a single isogloss, whether of a regional or a social kind, differentiates them." In the case of Bonaparte's classification, these are linguistic varieties of small geographical extension: those spoken in nuclei, valleys, or at most, counties.

¹³ Although the map indicates 1863 as the date of publication, it must have been published years later, around 1870, as the dialect divisions shown correspond to the 1869 perspective or later.

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