

# **Etymological Dictionary of Basque**

**R. L. Trask**

edited for web publication by  
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### {Editor's preface

R. L. (Larry) Trask died in March 2004 at the age of 59, leaving unfinished his *Etymological Dictionary of Basque*. In 2000 he had been awarded a Major Research Fellowship by the Leverhulme Trust to support this project, to which he devoted much of his time between October 2001 and his death. As a colleague of Trask's for nearly twenty-five years, now in retirement, I agreed, with the encouragement of other colleagues and of his widow, Jan Lock, to prepare and edit his unfinished typescript for web publication.

What is offered here is in no sense a completion of Trask's project, a task for which I am not qualified. Rather my aim is limited to making available to the world of scholarship, in as useful a form as possible, the results that he had achieved, as a tribute to the memory of a distinguished Vasconist and a long-standing friend.

Trask's own presentation of the objectives of the *Etymological Dictionary of Basque* can be seen best in section 1 (General introduction) and section 13 (The structure of entries). It is clear that his aim was to provide a single-volume work, in English, of value to scholars such as comparativists, who may not have been Vasconists. It might also be seen as a companion volume to his *History of Basque* (1997), now with a special focus on the history of the Basque lexicon.

It is likely that the list of items with dictionary entries is in large measure complete. There are a certain number of lexemes that are cross-referred to in *The Dictionary* or mentioned in sections 1-14 (Guide to the dictionary) but are missing from the list of entries as Trask left it. I have included these in the section 'Morphemes cross-referred to but not listed in *The Dictionary*' on page 425.

Section 13 explains the indentation structure of the dictionary entries, with head words aligned left, and derivatives and compounds indented below the relevant head words. Derivatives of derivatives have a further indent. In the editing process it was necessary to reconstruct this indentation pattern which had been lost in the transfer of the text between different word-processing and operating systems. For the most part, this structure could be recovered by observing deviations from strict alphabetical order, and, of course, from the sense of the etymological information itself, though in some cases it was necessary to add missing glosses and make guesses about the etymological relationships Trask understood.

Trask considerably helped the editor's task by indicating with \*\* or \*\*\*\* gaps where he intended to add information. These asterisked gaps are of the following kinds: glosses to dictionary entries, localization of dialect forms, Latin names for flora and fauna, cross-references to other entries, references to sources, references to the phonological changes, morphological and word-formation rules, and phonological treatment of loan words that are discussed in sections 6-8 and 10, and etymological discussions. There are also some evident gaps in sections 6-8 and 10 of the Guide to the dictionary where I have done no more here than supply, as Trask had himself done in several cases, a few references to Michelena's works where the missing points are discussed.

I have dealt with the asterisked gaps in the following way. I have attempted to supply a gloss or glosses for most of the words mentioned, in order to make evident the semantic relationships Trask had in mind. The glosses supplied editorially, between { } as with all other editorial material, are derived in the first place from Michelena

(1961a/1977a) which is one of Trask's major sources, and secondly from Azkue (1905) and Aulestia (1989). In a few cases, the sense of a word is so specialized that the source reference is probably more use than an English gloss; and in a few cases, such as of homonyms, one cannot tell which sense Trask intended to discuss. Only occasionally have I attempted to supply missing dialect localization for the various forms of an entry, especially where the information is mentioned in Michelena (1961a/1977a), or where it helps to make sense of the entry as a whole. After Michelena, the source used is Azkue (1905). The gaps in the scientific Latin terminology for flora and fauna remain as they stood, as do the planned indices of these elements. This kind of information is available in Michelena & Sarasola (1989–). I have supplied all missing cross-references; where the item is not in fact to be found I add '{not in *The Dictionary*}'. As for the references to the work of other scholars, I have managed to trace nearly all of them, I hope accurately. Arbelaz (1978) was very useful in the case of Michelena's works, though there remain some 'Michelena (\*\*\*\*)' that I have not been able to identify. Some 40 entries contain a reference to 'MT entry' as a source. Despite help from various Vasconists, for which I am grateful, I have not so far been able to identify 'MT'. A considerable number of items have been added to the Bibliography, in which I have also attempted to supply the titles of articles when these were not already included, and missing details of editors and publishers. Some gaps remain. The references in *The Dictionary* to the phonological, morphological, and word-formation rules listed in sections 6-8 and 10 have been added where absent. Not being a Vasconist, I have not attempted to go beyond my expertise in filling in gaps in the etymological discussions. Thus, a considerable number of entries remain without etymology. Occasionally I have supplied a detail or an observation relating to a Romance etymon or comparandum that Trask mentions. The contents list makes clear that Trask would have supplied an alphabetical index of Basque words and English glosses. Since the electronic text here made available will be searchable, such an index does not now seem necessary.

As mentioned previously, I have added (425), a list of morphemes cross-referred to but absent from *The Dictionary* itself. There is no doubt that Trask would have incorporated these, with etymological discussion, in *The Dictionary* if he had been able to complete it. To the section The native lexicon I have added items listed in *The Dictionary* where the discussion makes clear that Trask regarded them as native. I have compiled a Supplementary native lexicon consisting of other words mentioned as 'pre-Basque' in sections 4-5 or described in *The Dictionary* as 'OUO' ('of unknown origin') and which therefore also seem likely to be 'native and ancient' (see section 9). No entries have been added to the Subject index, but I have endeavoured to fill out the entries already there with items from *The Dictionary* where the indexed term occurs.

Typographical errors and errors in alphabetical order have been silently corrected. Short editorial deletions are marked with ~~striketrough~~. Editorial additions (including elements moved from elsewhere in the text) are enclosed in braces { }. Elements to be suppressed (for example, because of duplication), or combined with other entries, are indicated with {[ ] at the beginning and [ ] ... } at the end. This somewhat inelegant device is needed because Trask uses brackets [ ] for other purposes: for numbering different sense of homonyms, for references, particularly '[FHV]' = Michelena (1977a), and for notes to himself concerning matters needing further attention. A certain number of editorial modifications have been made to resolve internal

inconsistencies, when I give preference to that form or relationship where Trask offers the best supporting evidence.

I hope Trask's *Etymological Dictionary of Basque*, though incomplete, will be found useful and that its web publication will encourage others to follow Trask in the investigation of the history and structure of the Basque lexicon.

Max W. Wheeler  
Falmer, February 2008}

## Guide to the dictionary

### 1. General introduction

#### 1a. The language and its external history

Basque is spoken today by about 660,000 people at the western end of the Pyrenees, along the Bay of Biscay. The Basque-speaking region extends for about 160 kilometres from east to west, and for about 50 kilometres from north to south. It now excludes the cities of Bilbao (Basque *Bilbo*), Bayonne (*Baiona*) and Pamplona (*Iruñea*), all formerly Basque-speaking, but it includes the city of San Sebastián (*Donostia*). South of the Pyrenees, this region covers most of the Spanish province of Vizcaya (Basque *Bizkaia*), all of the province of Guipúzcoa (*Gipuzkoa*), the northern part of Navarra (*Nafarroa*), and a small northern corner of Alava (*Araba*). To the north, it covers most of the historical French territory of Labourd (*Lapurdi*), all of Basse-Navarre (*Nafarroa Beherea*), and all of Soule (*Zuberoa*); these territories lost their separate existence after the French Revolution, when they were combined with non-Basque-speaking Béarn into a new department now called Pyrenées-Atlantiques. The number of speakers on the French side was estimated at 80,000 in 1991, but is declining rapidly, and is now perhaps closer to 50,000. In the south, speaker numbers are remaining stable for the present.

History in this part of the world begins with the Roman conquest of Spain and Gaul in the first century BC and the first century AD. The Romans reported the presence of a number of named peoples occupying the area of the historical Basque Country. North of the Pyrenees, they found the entire southwest of Gaul, from the Garonne to the Pyrenees, occupied by a non-Celtic people who they called the *Aquitani*, or Aquitanians, with several sub-tribes. By good luck, we possess about 400 Aquitanian personal names and about 70 divine names embedded in brief Latin texts, most of them votive or funerary, and in most cases the sex of the name-bearer is noted.

The phonological structure of Aquitanian, so far as we can recover this from the slightly defective Roman orthography, is remarkably similar to the phonology reconstructed independently for the Pre-Basque of around 2000 years ago by Luis Michelena (Michelena 1961a) (Michelena did not use the Aquitanian materials in his reconstruction). Moreover, there are quite a few recurrent morphs in the Aquitanian names which can be readily identified with known Basque words. Examples include the female name *NESKATO* (Basque *neskato* ‘girl’), the female name *ANDERE* (*andere* ‘lady’), the male element *CISSON-* (*gizon* ‘man’), the male element *OSSO-* ~ *OXS-* (*otso* ‘wolf’), the male element *HERAUS-* (*herauts* ‘boar’), the second element *-CORRI* (*gorri* ‘red’), the second element *-BERRI* (*berri* ‘new’), and the second element *-BELEX* (*beltz* ‘black’), though there are many others. Just such personal names are known to have been used in Basque in the early medieval period. Moreover, the patterns of formation and the order of elements are identical to what we find in Basque. Accordingly, since the publication of Michelena (1954\*\*{a}), summarizing this evidence, it has been generally accepted that Aquitanian represents an ancestral form of Basque.

South of the Pyrenees, evidence for Basque speech in Roman times is confined to only three inscriptions, all of them found in eastern Navarra. One of these, the famous Lerga stele, contains the striking male name *VMME SAHAR*, which is clearly Basque *ume* ‘child’ plus *zahar* ‘old’. These inscriptions were found in territory assigned by the Romans to a people

they called the *Vascones* (singular *Vasco*), and it is this name which is the source of Spanish *vasco*, French *basque* and English *Basque*. The rest of the historical Basque Country was divided by the Romans among the *Varduli*, the *Verones*, the *Caristii* and the *Autrigones*. There is no record of Basque speech in any of this territory, and the numerous personal names that are recorded here are beyond question Indo-European and probably Celtic. Since the western part of the modern Basque Country retains a number of toponyms which are non-Basque, probably Indo-European and very likely Celtic, we may wonder whether Basque was already spoken in its historical region at this time, or whether it spread westward only after the collapse of Roman power in the west.

However, toponymic evidence shows that Basque was spoken at some point as far east in the Pyrenees as the Valley of Aran, in territory which has in historical times been occupied by Spanish, Catalan and Occitan. Indeed, the very name *Aran* appears to continue Basque *(h)aran* ‘valley’.

### 1b. Documentation and texts

Apart from the Aquitanian materials, the earliest written evidence of Basque appears to be a set of lead tablets, dating from the Roman period, pertaining to a medicinal spring in Roussillon, in which the local nymphs are invoked with the word *NESCAS* or *NISCAS*, which appears to represent Basque *neska* ‘girl’ (recorded in the Aquitanian texts as its diminutive *NESCATO*) (Corominas 1975).

Otherwise, the earliest records of Basque are personal names recorded in early medieval manuscripts and inscriptions, first in Latin, later in Spanish. The single earliest such name is *Momus*, a Latinized form of *Mome*, a name no longer in use but well attested in medieval Bizkaia; this occurs in a Latin inscription in the celebrated (apparently pre-Christian) cemetery of Argiñeta in Elorrio (Bizkaia), usually dated to 883.

The earliest known connected phrases are the well-known Emilian Glosses, two phrases added to a Latin manuscript found at the monastery of San Millán in the Rioja; the manuscript is usually dated to around 950, though some scholars prefer a slightly later date. These phrases, *jzioqui dugu* and *guc ajutu-ezdugu*, are obscure in sense, but they contain the auxiliary verb-form *dugu* ‘we have (it)’, the negative *ez* ‘not’, and probably an odd variant of *guk*, the ergative of the pronoun *gu* ‘we’. The remaining items appear to be the participles of verbs, but are not certainly interpretable.

From the tenth century we begin to find documents recording Basque personal names and place names in some numbers. Most of these are recordings of bequests, tithes or donations, or the founding charters of religious establishments. The earliest of these come from Alava, the Rioja and Burgos, areas from which Basque was soon to disappear, and most are also preserved at the monastery of San Millán. The document called the *Reja de San Millán*, dated to 1025, lists a large number of Basque toponyms in Alava, most of them in remarkably archaic forms.

The earliest known glossary of Basque is a list of a dozen words recorded by the French pilgrim Aimery Picaud in the 12th century. Practically all of these words are instantly recognizable, though see **ortzi** in the dictionary for a curious case.

From the early 12th century on we find an increasing number of Latin and Romance texts containing Basque personal names, place names, words and phrases. These include the *fueros* (the charters granted by the Crown to provinces, cities and towns) and many other legal documents of various kinds, as well as a few personal letters.

The 13th-century Castilian poet Gonzalo de Berceo, who was raised in the Ebro valley, included a number of Basque words in his poems.

The earliest known connected text longer than a couple of words is a magical charm discovered in 1957 in the cathedral of Pamplona and usually dated to the 14th century.

At the end of the 15th century, the German pilgrim Arnold von Harff recorded another brief glossary; his transcriptions are garbled but mostly interpretable. In the early 16th century, the Italian humanist Lucius Marineus Siculus published an account of his travels in Spain; this contained a list of several dozen Basque words collected from an unidentified source but clearly western in form.

From the 16th century on, we find a growing number of brief Basque texts: songs, poems, prayers, epitaphs, personal letters. The songs and poems are particularly important, because they record political events that took place during the 14th and 15th centuries, and they must have been composed centuries earlier than our records of them.

All of the material discussed above is catalogued in M. (1964\*\*{b}).

By far the longest text preserved from the period before publication began is a lengthy personal letter written in 1537 by the first Bishop of Mexico to his brother; see Otte (1979) and Michelena, Tovar and Otte (1981).

The first printed book in Basque was a collection of poems published in 1545 by the French Basque Beñat Etxepare (whose name is spelled also in several other ways).

In 1562, the Italian diplomat Niccolò Landucci compiled the earliest known Basque dictionary; since he was stationed in Vitoria (*Gasteiz*), the chief city of Alava, we assume that the highly distinctive variety of Basque which he recorded was the local Basque of Alava, which disappeared before linguistic work on Basque began in the 19th century.

In 1571, the French Basque Ioannes Leizarraga published a Basque translation of the New Testament. The closing years of the 16th century saw a few more publications in Basque, mostly religious and mostly minor. The first Basque book published in the south was the *Refranes y Sentencias*, a collection of proverbs published in Pamplona in 1596. These proverbs are written in a uniquely archaic version of the Bizkaian dialect, and this text represents our single most archaic Basque text of any size. Around the same time the historian Esteban de Garibay compiled two more collections of proverbs, also in Bizkaian, but these were not published until centuries after his death.

From the early 17th century on, publications in Basque became slowly more numerous and more varied; though most continued to be religious texts, there were also some practical handbooks and miscellaneous works. The works of the 17th-century French Basque Arnaut Oihenart, the first layman to write in Basque, are particularly important, since he wrote on a variety of topics, and thus provided us with a richer vocabulary than can be found in the religious texts.

The 18th century saw the engaging figure of Padre Manuel Larramendi, who published the first grammar of Basque and a remarkable dictionary; unfortunately, Larramendi's dictionary contains a large number of neologisms of his own devising, which are not identified as such, thus creating headaches for etymologists ever since. The first literary works (apart from Etxepare) began to appear in the early 19th century. The end of the Carlist Wars in Spain in 1876 brought about a flowering of in Basque culture and language, the *Berpizkundea*, or Basque Renaissance; since then publication in and on Basque has been continuous and



copious, though it was badly interrupted by the Spanish Civil war and the subsequent Fascist oppression in the south.

### 1c. Historical work

No historical work worth mentioning was done on Basque before the late 1880s, when the German linguist Hugo Schuchardt began his historical studies of the language. A brilliant but exasperating scholar, Schuchardt is better known as a Romanist, as a pioneer in creole studies, and as an opponent of the Neogrammarians, but he created Basque historical linguistics almost single-handedly. In his first publication on Basque, he concluded that no Basque word beginning with /p/ can possibly be ancient in the language – a conclusion which has stood up. His etymological work was highly variable: some of his etymological proposals are accepted today, some are taken seriously but regarded as not established, and some are dismissed as untenable. Schuchardt also attempted to demonstrate the Basque nature of Iberian, but this project was a disaster: the Iberian script had not yet been deciphered, and his readings were grievously in error; moreover, he failed to distinguish the texts written in the Celtic language Celtiberian from those in Iberian, leading to absurdities. It is now accepted that the uninterpretable Iberian texts represent a language which is not discoverably related to Basque.

In the first half of the 20th century, Schuchardt's lead was followed by the great Basque linguist R. M. de Azkue, by the Dutch scholars W. van Eys and the two Uhlenbecks, by the French linguists Henri Gavel and Georges Lacombe, by the Basque linguist Pierre Lhande (although the dictionary bearing his name was largely compiled by a group of younger scholars), and by a number of other figures. All of these workers were chiefly interested in descriptive work, but all of them at times essayed etymological proposals, and again these proposals are very much a mixed bag – though van Eys's proposals are almost always forgettable, since the Dutchman played fast and loose with such trivia as voiceless plosives.

All of this work suffered from two serious shortcomings: a word-by-word approach which failed to recognize the Neogrammarian contribution, and a lack of acquaintance with the ideas of structural linguistics, which produced a habit of dealing with absolute sounds, rather than with phonological systems.

These intolerable shortcomings were rectified by the appearance on the scene in 1949 of the greatest scholar the Basque language has ever seen: Luis Michelena (in Basque, *Koldo Mitxelena*). To his unsurpassed knowledge of the language, Michelena added complete familiarity with Neogrammarian thinking and with structuralist ideas.

In the 1950s, Michelena undertook a complete reconstruction of the Pre-Basque of about 2000 years ago. To achieve this, he relied upon internal reconstruction, taking advantage of the many alternations visible in the lexicon, as well as comparative data drawn from the several divergent dialects, the Basque forms of words borrowed from Latin and Romance, and scrutiny of the medieval and early modern texts. Michelena published a brief summary of his reconstruction in 1957, and a complete account in his magisterial 1961 book *Fonética histórica vasca*. In spite of a few quibbles over some of the details, this reconstruction has not been challenged, and it is accepted by all Vasconists today as valid.

Continuing to work until his death in 1987, Michelena produced a huge body of historical work on Basque, including a larger number of excellent etymologies than has ever been put forward by any other specialist. Michelena's contribution will be quickly recognized by any reader of this dictionary, since his proposals appear on almost every page. It was also

Michelena who finally demonstrated, in 1954, that the ancient and sparsely recorded Aquitanian language was an ancestral form of Basque. This idea had in fact been put forward in the 1870s by the French historian Achille Luchaire, but it had languished in obscurity before Michelena's work, while most scholars pursued the ultimately fruitless goal of trying to establish the better-recorded Iberian as an ancestor or relative of Basque.

Also making important contributions to the subject from the late 1940s onward were three Spanish linguists: Antonio Tovar, Juan Corominas and Manuel Agud. The Catalan Corominas made especially important contributions to unravelling the prehistories of words shared between Basque and Romance.

In 1988, Tovar and Agud began the publication, in fascicles, of what was meant to be the first serious etymological dictionary of Basque (an earlier effort, Löpelmann 1968, is best passed over in silence). But Tovar's death interrupted the work, and as a result the dictionary ceased publication in 1995 after covering only *A-orloi*. It is far from clear that this work will ever be completed. In any case, it is quite different in nature from the present book: it omits words for which the editors could find no useful discussion in the literature; it omits bound morphemes; it omits compounds and derivatives whose formation the editors consider obvious to specialists; it provides no phonological or morphological background for a non-specialist reader; it has little to say about the numerous expressive formations; it devotes an enormous amount of space to reporting pointless resemblances between Basque words and miscellaneous look-alikes in implausible languages; and it provides thin coverage of work done since the early 1960s – though its coverage of earlier work is magisterial.

This more recent work is of some consequence. Michelena's younger contemporary, the late philologist Alfonso Irigoyen, produced a large number of superb etymological proposals, many of them for ordinary words, though his main emphasis was on proper names, not covered in this dictionary. Further important contributions to Basque prehistory have been made by the Basque linguists Joaquín Gorrochategui, Henrike Knörr, Joseba Lakarra, J. I. Hualde, Ricardo Gómez, Koldo Sainz, Jabier Alberdi, María Teresa Echenique and Gontzal Aldai, by the Dutch linguist Rudolf de Rijk, by the French linguist Georges Rebuschi, and by the Americans William H. Jacobsen, Jr., and R. L. Trask, among others too numerous to mention.

Today Basque historical linguistics is flourishing. Even though many younger Basque linguists have been seduced into following the Chomskyan theoretical programme, and even though a number of others have chosen to pursue descriptive, dialectological or sociolinguistic work, there remains a secure core of philologists and historical linguists.

The state of play is as follows. The phonological history of the language during the last 2000 years or so is immensely well understood, except for the ancient word-accent, which remains a lively topic of investigation, and except to some extent for the aspiration, whose origins are only partly understood. The phonotactics and the morpheme-structure rules of the early language are tolerably well understood, though more work remains to be done. A hard core of some hundreds of seemingly native and ancient Basque words of unknown origin has been identified; these are marked in this dictionary as 'OUO'. Earlier patterns of word-formation are clearly understood. Alongside the thousands of utterly transparent compounds and derivatives, we have identified many more whose origins are superficially opaque but still recoverable. Almost all of the vast number of borrowings from Latin and Romance have been identified as such, and for most of these (not all) a specific source has been found. We have securely identified a tiny number of borrowings from Celtic and from Arabic, but other cases of possible borrowings from Celtic remain controversial. We have something interesting to say about the origins of most of the bound morphemes occurring in word-

formation, and about the origins of more than half of the bound morphemes occurring in nominal and verbal inflection. We know a good deal about the prehistory of non-finite verb-forms, and a more modest amount about the prehistory of finite forms. The origins of most case-suffixes are opaque, though we can say something about the markers of the local cases and of the comitative. However, the prehistory of the morphology is still in many respects a closed book, though progress continues to be made, and almost nothing can be recovered of the syntax before the historical period. Most of the many expressive formations have been identified as such; surprisingly little work has so far been done on these, but this dictionary attempts (for the first time, I think) to organize these items into groups united by common patterns of formation, so far as this can be done.

### **1d. The modern language**

Basque is an SOV language with almost all of the familiar typological features of such languages. The unmarked order {of phrasal constituents in a transitive clause} is S{subject-}O{bject-}V{erb}, but the order of phrases is in practice rather free, and varying orders are used for thematic purposes – for example, a focused element must immediately precede the verb. However, the order of elements within phrases is rigid.

Basque is head-final, and every modifier, regardless of size, complexity or internal structure, must precede its head – with the exception of lexical adjectives, which follow their heads. Some determiners precede head nouns within noun phrases, while others follow. Genitives, finite and non-finite relative clauses, and syntactically complex adjectivals all precede head nouns. In a periphrastic verb-form, the non-finite lexical verb precedes the finite auxiliary, and a modal auxiliary precedes a primary auxiliary. Adverbial subordinate clauses and complement clauses may precede or follow their main clauses, though a complement clause attached to a head noun must precede that noun. In comparisons, the order is standard–pivot–comparative. The language is strictly postpositional, and most (not all) postpositions are case-inflected nouns.

The language is predominantly dependent-marking. For example, in a possessive phrase, only the possessor NP carries a marker of possession (the genitive case), and, in a postpositional phrase, only the NP which is the object of the postposition carries a marker (a governed case-suffix) showing the link. But argument NPs are double-marked: an argument NP carries a case-suffix, and the finite verb also agrees with it in a way that displays its grammatical role.

Basque has no grammatical gender or noun classification, except that southern varieties have recently acquired a tiny amount of sex-based gender marking from Spanish. Bare nouns cannot be inflected at all, but noun phrases are highly inflected. There is a rich case system for noun phrases, consisting of about a dozen case-suffixes with both grammatical and semantic functions. With just one exception, all noun phrases are inflected identically. The exception is animate noun phrases, which in most varieties form their local cases (only) somewhat differently from inanimate noun phrases.

Every noun phrase must contain a determiner. Most determiners are grammatically indefinite, and noun phrases containing these cannot be grammatically marked for number. Four determiners are definite: the three demonstratives and the so-called definite article, which is historically derived from the distal demonstrative. The definite determiners obligatorily mark number, singular or plural. Basque has no trace of a dual.

The language is strongly agglutinating and overwhelmingly suffixing, though a handful of fossilized inflectional prefixes occur, mostly in the verbal morphology. But most verb-forms are periphrastic: all verbs have periphrastic forms, and most verbs have only periphrastic forms. Only a handful of verbs have any synthetic (non-periphrastic) forms: about a dozen in the modern spoken language, though 16th-century texts show about sixty verbs with synthetic forms. A few of these verbs are used as finite auxiliaries in constructing periphrastic forms, and some of these now have no other function in the language.

Basque morphology is entirely ergative: both case-marking on noun phrases and agreement within finite verb-forms are exclusively ergative. Ergative morphology is used with all types and combinations of noun phrases, in all tenses, aspects and moods, in main and subordinate clauses, and in finite and non-finite clauses. There is no split.

\*\*\*\*\*

The segmental phonemes of modern Basque are as follows. Most varieties have the five vowels /a e i o u/. Most also have the six diphthongs /ai ei oi ui au eu/; these are not distinct from the corresponding vowel sequences, but they count as single syllables for all phonological purposes. The recently extinct Roncalese dialect had contrastive nasalized versions of all five vowels. The Zuberoan dialect adds a sixth vowel, front rounded /y/, notated <ü>, and it also has contrastive nasalized versions of all six, though nasalized /õ/ is absent from some varieties. Nasalized diphthongs /ãu ëu ãi õi/ also occur in R, but not in Z. Nasalized vowels are notated in this dictionary with a tilde: <ã>.

All varieties have the voiceless plosives /p t k/, unaspirated. Eastern varieties add a palatal plosive /c/, notated <tt>, while western varieties have phonetic [ç] only as an allophone of /t/ after /i/. Northern varieties also have aspirated plosives /p<sup>h</sup> t<sup>h</sup> k<sup>h</sup>/, notated <ph th kh> in the traditional northern orthography, retained in this dictionary for citing northern forms.

All varieties have voiced plosives /b d g/, though these are realized phonetically as voiced approximants in most positions. A few varieties add the extremely rare voiced palatal plosive /j/, notated as <dd>.

All varieties have the nasals /m n ɲ/, the last notated <ñ>.

All varieties historically have a voiceless lamino-alveolar sibilant, notated <z>, a voiceless apico-alveolar sibilant, notated <s>, and a voiceless palato-alveolar fricative /ʃ/, notated <x>. They also have the three corresponding voiceless affricates, notated <tz>, <ts> and <tx>. In recent centuries, many western varieties have lost the laminal/apical contrast, though this is retained in writing. Most varieties have a fricative /f/, though a few Gipuzkoan varieties lack this. B has a voiced laminal affricate, notated <dz>, in one or two expressive words, such as *dzast!* ‘bang!’, and Z has a voiced apical affricate, notated <ds>, in a handful of loans from Bearnese, such as *edsénplü* ‘example’.

Northern varieties have a phonemic aspiration /h/.

All varieties have two laterals, /l/ and /ʎ/, the second notated <ll>. All historically have two alveolar rhotics, a tap /r/ (notated <r> between vowels) and a trill /r̄/ (notated <rr> between vowels but <r> elsewhere). In many northern varieties, however, one or both of these rhotics have become a uvular /ʀ/; this development is ignored in the dictionary.

Finally, Basque has the extraordinary diaphone [j]. According to region, this has six different phonetic realizations: a {palatal} glide [j], a voiced {palatal} plosive [ɟ] (merging with the rare /j/), a voiced {palato-alveolar} affricate [dʒ], a voiced {palato-alveolar} fricative [ʒ], a voiceless {palato-alveolar} fricative [ç] (merging with the existing /ʃ/), and a voiceless

{uvular} fricative [χ]. In this dictionary, following established practice, [j] is notated <j> except when it is {realized as} [ʃ], when it is notated <x>.

The word-accent varies enormously according to region. Many western regions have a pitch accent. In these varieties, word-forms are divided into two groups: accented and unaccented. An accented form has a sharp drop in pitch at some point in the word, while an unaccented form does not. Most other regions have a stress accent, with prominent stress on one syllable of each word-form. For both types of accent, the details vary substantially from one region to another. On the whole, the stress accent has been gaining ground in the historical period at the expense of the pitch accent. The stress accent in Zuberoan and Roncalese is sometimes etymologically important, and it is then marked with an acute accent: <á>.

Word-initial rhotics are prohibited. Initial affricates are strongly disfavoured, except that many varieties prefer /tʃ/ to /ʃ/ initially. Otherwise, a word can begin with any consonant, vowel or diphthong. Initial clusters are limited to two consonants and are entirely confined to loans from Romance and to expressive formations. Any consonant can occur word-medially, especially intervocalically, though [j] is vanishingly rare here. There are quite a few medial clusters, though three-consonant clusters are rare. A word-form can end in any vowel or diphthong or in one of the consonants <t k z s tz ts l r n>. There are only a handful of final clusters, always of two consonants.

In the middle of the 19th century, Bonaparte classified Basque into eight regional dialects. At the beginning of the 20th century, Azkue reorganized Bonaparte's system into seven dialects. In the 1950s, Michelena further reorganized the system into nine dialects: Bizkaian (B), Gipuzkoan (G), High Navarrese (HN), Aezkoan (A), Salazarese (S), Roncalese (R), Lapurdian (L), Low Navarrese (LN) and Zuberoan (Z), plus the extinct and sparsely recorded Southern (Sout) dialect of Alava. Though Basque dialectologists have recently proposed a sweeping reorganization of this traditional system, Michelena's system is used in this dictionary because almost all of the information in the literature on the regional occurrence of forms is classified within this framework.

## 2. The phonemes of Pre-Basque

The name *Pre-Basque* is given here to the earliest stage of the language for which significant information can be obtained. This is the period when Basque first began borrowing words from Latin, and so it must represent a time of about 2000 years ago. The phonemes of Pre-Basque were magisterially reconstructed by Luis Michelena (1961a). The reconstructed segments are as follows, where the symbols are chosen to reflect the most usual continuations of the segments in the modern language, and should not be taken as phonetically precise. The consonants fall into two groups, called *fortis* and *lenis* by Michelena.

fortis:      **(p) t k tz ts N L R**

lenis:        **b d g z s n l r**

vowels:     **i e a o u**

The consonant **\*p** was at best rare, and its existence is not certain. The segments **\*tz** and **\*z** were lamino-alveolar friction consonants, while **\*ts** and **\*s** were apico-alveolar friction consonants, as in the modern language. So far as we can judge, the two consonant series were distinguished phonetically as follows. First, the fortis were long, while the lenes were short. (The liquid **\*R** was probably a trill, like its modern descendant **rr**, while **\*r** was probably a tap, like its modern descendant **r**.) Second, the five fortis obstruents were completely occluded, while the five lenes were often incompletely occluded – always so for the friction consonants. Third, the segments **\*p \*t \*k** were usually voiceless, while **\*b \*d \*g** were usually voiced. Fourth, the segments **\*p \*t \*k** could bear the aspiration, while **\*b \*d \*g** could not.

Note that no **\*m** can be reconstructed for Pre-Basque. The modern **m** was introduced into the language by the phonological changes P\*\*{2}, P\*\*{3} and P\*\*{7}, described in section 6. Early borrowings also often contained **m**; see especially L\*\*{6} in section \*\*\*{10}. The modern consonants **f** and **j** were also absent from Pre-Basque; their origins are given in section {6: P72, P36}.

The aspiration was undoubtedly present in Pre-Basque, but it seems to have been a non-phonemic suprasegmental feature; see section 3.

The modern palatal and palatal-alveolar consonants **tt**, **dd**, **tx**, **x**, **ñ** and **ll** were probably present in Pre-Basque, but these never occurred in ordinary lexical items: instead, they occurred only in expressive variants of these items. See section {11}.

The modern diphthongs **ai**, **ei**, **oi**, **au** and **eu** were very likely present in Pre-Basque, but they were not distinct from the corresponding vowel sequences. They differed from other vowel sequences only in that they could constitute single syllabic nuclei for such purposes as aspiration assignment. The rare modern diphthong **ui** was probably absent: this diphthong seems to have developed since Pre-Basque. Other vowel sequences, if these occurred at all, seemingly could not form single syllabic nuclei.

There were extensive neutralizations of fortis/lenis consonant pairs. The fortis and lenis members of each pair contrasted only word-medially, and mostly only intervocalically. Word-initially, only lenis consonants occurred, and only six of them: **\*b \*d \*z \*s \*l \*n**. Word-finally, only fortis consonants occurred, and only five of them in lexical items (**\*tz \*ts**

**\*L \*R \*N**), though two more, **\*k** and **\*t**, were perhaps possible in inflected forms. See Section 4 below for more information.

### 3. The aspiration

The prehistory of the Basque aspiration is largely a mystery. In the Aquitanian texts, the letter H is very frequent, and we may suppose that the aspiration was correspondingly frequent in Pre-Basque. As explained under P\*\*{29} in Section \*\*{6}, the aspiration was lost from the central varieties of Basque too early to be recorded; it survived in the western varieties of Bizkaia and Araba long enough to be abundantly recorded in the early medieval period, but disappeared before the first texts in the 16th century; and it still survives today in the northern (French) varieties, except that it has very recently been lost from ordinary speech along the coast of Lapurdi. Among those northern varieties, the aspiration is decidedly more frequent in the Zuberoan dialect than in the others. In particular, the aspiration generally occurs in Z on every monosyllable which can bear it, excepting only *ar* ‘male’; this may be a conservative feature but is more likely a Z innovation.

In the modern varieties retaining the aspiration, the position of the aspiration is very strange: it is neither predictable nor contrastive. Some words are pronounced with an aspiration, while other words are not. We cannot predict which words will contain the aspiration, or even, in general, in which position it will occur if it *is* present. Yet there are few minimal pairs, and pronouncing a word with the “wrong” value of the aspiration usually gives only a less usual pronunciation of the word, or sometimes a non-word, but not a different word. Moreover, quite a few words can be pronounced either with or without the aspiration, or with the aspiration in either of two different positions, without harm.

In the historical period, the aspiration in the northern dialects is generally subject to several constraints, as follows:

- (1) There can be no more than one aspiration per word. This is true even in a compound both of whose members bear the aspiration in isolation. For example, the compound of *hil* ‘dead’ and *herri* ‘inhabited place’ may be either *hilerri* or *ilherri* ‘cemetery’, but never *\*hilherri*.
- (2) The aspiration cannot occur later than the onset of the second syllable. (A tiny handful of exceptions, with an aspirated plosive in the third syllable, is reported for Z; it is hard to know what to make of these cases.)
- (3) The aspiration can only occur on a syllable with one of certain onsets. Word-initially, it can occur only if the word otherwise begins with any vowel or diphthong or with a voiceless plosive /p t k/. At the onset of the second syllable, it can occur only on a syllable which otherwise begins with any vowel or diphthong, with one of /p t k/ not preceded by a sibilant, or with any liquid or nasal *except* /m/. In no circumstances can the aspiration ever follow any voiced plosive, any fricative or affricate, /m/, or any plosive preceded by a sibilant.
- (4) If both the first two syllables begin with voiceless plosives which might in principle bear the aspiration, then the aspiration, if present at all, will fall on the first. In other words, the structures *kheke* and *keke* are permitted, while *kekhe* is not found, and *khekhe* is of course prohibited. However, words like *ikhatz* ‘charcoal’ and *ikhusi* ‘see’ are commonplace.



Examples from northern dialects:

<i>ari</i> progressive particle (but also <i>hari</i> in places)	<i>alhaba</i> ‘daughter’ (but <i>alaba</i> in places)
<i>hari</i> ‘thread, fibre’	<i>urrhe</i> or <i>urre</i> ‘gold’
<i>ahari</i> ‘sheep, ram’	<i>behar</i> ‘need, necessity’
<i>zahar</i> ‘old’	<i>inhurri</i> ‘ant’
<i>harri</i> ‘stone’	<i>erhi</i> ‘finger’
<i>haran</i> ‘valley’	<i>eri</i> ‘ill, illness’
<i>arhan</i> or <i>aran</i> ‘plum’	<i>herri</i> ‘inhabited place’
<i>piper</i> or <i>phiper</i> or <i>pipher</i> ‘pepper’	<i>kholko</i> or <i>kolko</i> or <i>golkho</i> or <i>golko</i> ‘bosom’ (as hiding place)
<i>thu</i> ‘spit’	<i>hilerri</i> or <i>ilherri</i> ‘cemetery’ (from <i>hil</i> ‘dead’ + <i>herri</i> ‘inhabited place’)
<i>khorotz</i> or <i>korotz</i> ‘dung’	
<i>khe</i> or <i>ke</i> ‘smoke’	
<i>ethorri</i> or <i>etorri</i> ‘come’	

There is just one circumstance in which the presence of the aspiration is predictable: in a lexical item of at least two syllables, the aspiration always separates two otherwise adjacent vowels which cannot form one of the six recognized diphthongs. Examples: *behar* ‘need’, *bihar* ‘tomorrow’, *behor* ‘mare’, *zahar* ‘old’, *zuhur* ‘prudent’, *bahe* ‘sieve’ (though *bae* is sparsely recorded for this one), *ihes* ‘flight’, *ihintz* ‘dew’, *liho* ‘flax’, *aho* ‘mouth’, *ohe* ‘bed’. The sole exception is the highly anomalous verb *joan* ‘go’, whose extremely irregular imperfective participle *johan* merely adds to the anomaly, but perhaps it is relevant that the first form descends from *\*eoan*, with three syllables. Between vowels which can form a diphthong, the aspiration is unpredictable: *sehi* ‘servant’ but *sei* ‘six’; *lohi* ‘mud’ but *goi* ‘high place’; *xahu* ‘clean’ but *gau* ‘night’.

The constraints given above are not always obeyed in the Aquitanian and medieval written forms. \*\*\*\*\*

In his publications, Luis Michelena developed the view that the Basque aspiration is largely of suprasegmental origin, possibly having something to do with the location of the word-accent in some ancient form of the language. This account is supported by the observation that words borrowed from Latin and early Romance frequently bear an aspiration representing nothing in the source language. Examples: \*\*\*\*\*.

However, Michelena left open the possibility that certain instances of the aspiration, particularly in word-initial position, might constitute reflexes of lost earlier consonants, most likely *\*/p t k/*. He noted the interesting point that an element *TALSCO-* occurs in male names in the northern part of the Aquitanian region, while an element *HALSCO-* is similarly found in the southern part. This at least suggests that one or more of word-initial *\*/p t k/* might have been recently lenited to [h] in the southern varieties of Aquitanian ancestral to Basque. But, of course, this evidence is too slender to permit any firm conclusions.

See Lafon (1948), Michelena (1951a) and Michelena (1961a: ch. 11).

#### 4. Phonotactics and morpheme structure in Pre-Basque

The following account applies to all lexical items except verbs. Verbal roots in Pre-Basque were morphologically different from all other items, and they are described in Section 5 below.

Native and monomorphemic Pre-Basque lexical items were overwhelmingly disyllabic, though we can reconstruct about fifty which were monosyllabic, some of them grammatical items like pronouns, and also a few which were trisyllabic. We begin with the disyllabic items.

A disyllabic lexical item had the general structure  $(C_1)V(C_2)\{.\}(C_3)V(C_4)$ . Any vowel or diphthong could appear in either nuclear position, but we can reconstruct no item with two diphthongs. All the consonants were optional, but, when  $C_2$  and  $C_3$  were both absent, the aspiration [h] was obliged to separate the two vocalic nuclei. There were severe restrictions on the consonants which could appear in each position, and these restrictions were made more severe by the existence of the neutralizations described above.

Only six consonants could appear in the  $C_1$  position: **\*b \*g \*z \*s \*l \*n**. The first three were frequent, the next two less frequent, and the last rather uncommon. In something like fifty per cent of lexical items, the  $C_1$  position was empty, though in some of these cases the aspiration [h] occurred initially.

In the  $C_4$  position, the only possibilities were probably **\*tz \*ts \*R \*N \*L**. But note that the historical language possesses a handful of items with final tapped /ɾ/; possibly Pre-Basque also allowed final **\*r**, but it seems more likely that it did not, and that the word-final tapped /ɾ/ of the modern language is a later development. In this dictionary, for simplicity, word-final **\*R \*N \*L** are represented as **\*r \*n \*l** unless there is some reason to do otherwise. Again, the  $C_4$  position was frequently empty.

When  $C_2$  was absent, then  $C_3$  could be any one of the sixteen reconstructed consonants, though **\*p** was at best rare, as observed above.

When  $C_2$  and  $C_3$  were both present, producing a cluster, there were severe constraints. Only the following patterns can be safely reconstructed, and examples of some of the permitted individual clusters appear to be wanting:

one of **\*r \*n \*l** plus one of **\*p \*t \*k \*b \*d \*g \*z \*s \*tz \*ts**  
 {[+sonorant][−sonorant]}

one of **\*z \*s** plus one of **\*p \*t \*k**  
 {[sibilant, +continuant][−continuant, −delayed release, −sonorant]}

Here the symbols **\*r \*n \*l** represent the neutralizations of the sonorant pairs in syllable-final positions, and **\*p \*t \*k** in the second group represent the neutralizations of the plosive pairs after a voiceless sibilant. Given the heavy neutralizations of Pre-Basque, the retention of the fricative/affricate contrast in the first group seems surprising, but there is good evidence for this, at least after **\*r**. [MORE: FHV 362-363]

The existence in the historical language of such words as *ernai* ‘awake, alert’ and *erle* ‘bee’ suggests that a very few other clusters may have been possible in Pre-Basque, but these other clusters are so rare that I hesitate to assign them to Pre-Basque. These clusters may have arisen by phonological developments such as syncope, as is commonly thought to be the case in one or two other odd cases, such as modern *esne* ‘milk’.

It is barely possible that Pre-Basque permitted a handful of word-final clusters, perhaps at least *\*-rtz*, *\*-ltz* and *\*-ntz*. The evidence for these is considered below.

Below are some examples of disyllabic Pre-Basque lexical items.

First, with no consonants:

*\*a[h]o* ‘mouth’; *\*o[h]e* ‘bed’; *\*o[h]i* ‘custom’

With C<sub>1</sub> only:

*\*na[h]i* ‘desire’; *\*be[h]i* ‘cow’

With C<sub>3</sub> only:

*\*ate* ‘door’; *\*oso* ‘whole, complete’; *\*[h]ori* ‘yellow’; *\*ogi* ‘bread’; *\*[h]aRo* ‘proud’; *\*oLo* ‘oats’; *\*otso* ‘wolf’; *\*atzo* ‘yesterday’; *\*uRe* ‘gold’; *\*[h]aRi* ‘stone’; *\*[h]obe* ‘better’; *\*euri* ‘rain’; *\*euLi* ‘fly’; *\*etse* ‘house’ {In *The Dictionary harro* ‘proud’ is treated as derived from *har* ‘worm’.

With C<sub>4</sub> only:

*\*e[h]un* ‘100’; *\*ei[h]ar* ‘dried up’; *\*oi[h]an* ‘forest’

With C<sub>1</sub> and C<sub>3</sub> only:

*\*bide* ‘road’; *\*zoRi* ‘louse’; *\*gali* ‘wheat’; *\*suge* ‘snake’; *\*zuzi* ‘torch’; *\*lepo* ‘neck’; *\*lotsa* ‘shame, fear’; *\*buru* ‘head’; *\*beso* ‘arm’; *\*begi* ‘eye’; *\*sagu* ‘mouse’; *\*bini* ‘tongue’; *\*baRe* ‘laughter’; *\*bare* ‘slug’; *\*bete* ‘full’; *\*luze* ‘long’

With C<sub>1</sub> and C<sub>4</sub> only:

*\*be[h]or* ‘mare’; *\*be[h]ar* ‘need, necessity’; *\*za[h]ar* ‘old’; *\*le[h]er* {[2]} ‘pine’; *\*bi[h]otz* ‘heart’; *\*bi[h]ar* ‘tomorrow’; *\*be[h]in* ‘once’

With C<sub>2</sub> and C<sub>3</sub> only:

*\*aste* ‘week’; *\*arte* ‘interval’; *\*[h]andi* ‘big’; *\*azpi* ‘space below’; *\*urzo* ‘pigeon’; *\*erbi* ‘hare’; *\*argi* ‘light, bright’; *\*eltze* ‘cooking pot’; *\*esku* ‘hand’; *\*unbe* ‘child’; *\*ardi* ‘sheep’; *\*urte* ‘year’; *\*urde* ‘pig’; *\*alte* ‘side’; *\*ortzi* ‘sky’; *\*[h]ertze* ‘intestine’

With C<sub>3</sub> and C<sub>4</sub> only:

*\*azal* ‘skin, bark’; *\*[h]agin* ‘yew’; *\*eder* ‘beautiful’; *\*ibar* ‘valley’; *\*izen* ‘name’; *\*izar* ‘star’; *\*itzal* ‘shade, shadow’; *\*odol* ‘blood’; *\*egun* ‘day’; *\*aker* ‘ram {billy goat}’; *\*[h]aran* ‘valley’; *\*aran* ‘plum’

With C<sub>1</sub>, C<sub>2</sub> and C<sub>3</sub> only:

*\*garbi* ‘clean’; *\*barda* ‘last night’; *\*neska* ‘girl’; *\*golde* ‘plough’; *\*gazte* ‘young’; *\*zortzi* ‘eight’; *\*zaldi* ‘horse’; *\*senbe* ‘son’; *\*burki* ‘birch’; *\*zazpi* ‘seven’; *\*giltza* ‘key’

With C<sub>1</sub>, C<sub>3</sub> and C<sub>4</sub> only:

*\*sagar* ‘apple’; *\*bizar* ‘beard’; *\*bigun* ‘soft’; *\*zabal* ‘wide’; *\*banats* ‘grapes’; *\*guren* ‘edge’; *\*lizun* ‘mildew’; *\*leizar* ‘ash tree’; *\*sudur* ‘nose’; *\*zakur* ‘dog’; *\*gizon* ‘man’

With C<sub>2</sub>, C<sub>3</sub> and C<sub>4</sub> only:

\***indar** ‘force’; \***astun** ‘heavy’; \***urdin** ‘green, blue’; \***ergel** ‘stupid’; \***ezker** ‘left (hand)’; \***izter** ‘thigh’; \***ezpain** ‘lip’

With all four C positions filled:

\***bazter** ‘edge’; \***bizkar** ‘back’; \***gordin** ‘raw’ {treated as bimorphemic in *The Dictionary*: see \***gorr-**} ; \***laster** ‘fast’; \***beldur** ‘fear’; \***zintzur** ‘throat’

Monosyllabic items conform to the restrictions for C<sub>1</sub> and C<sub>4</sub> given above, though initial \***b** is curiously rare here. Examples:

\***ni** ‘I’; \***gu** ‘we’; \***[h]i** ‘you’ (sg.); \***zu** ‘you’ (pl.); **su** ‘fire’; \***laur** ‘four’; \***[h]aur** ‘child’; \***gatz** ‘salt’; \***[h]itz** ‘word’; \***[h]uts** ‘empty’; \***gain** ‘top’; \***bits** ‘spume’; \***zotz** ‘stick’; \***sats** ‘ordure’; \***gau** ‘night’; \***nor** ‘who?’; \***zer** ‘what?’; \***ur** ‘water’; \***[h]ur** ‘hazelnut’; \***ui** ‘pitch’; \***sei** ‘six’; \***gaitz** ‘bad’; \***on** ‘good’; \***zur** ‘wood’; \***ar** ‘male’; \***oin** ‘foot’; \***[h]otz** ‘cold’; \***[h]ots** ‘cry, shout’; \***bel** ‘dark’; \***bil** ‘round’

Trisyllabic items are like disyllabic ones with an extra vowel added at the end. In general, only a single consonant can occur between the second and third vowels, and that consonant cannot be a plosive. In a few cases, {the nature of} this last consonant has been lost beyond recovery, though its former presence can still be detected. Examples:

\***ardano** ‘wine’; \***gatzane** ‘cheese’; \***aRaNo** ‘eagle’; \***itsaso** ‘sea’; \***ituRi** ‘spring, fountain’; \***anari** ‘ram’; \***aiNala** ‘swallow’; \***[h]iguni** ‘disgust’, \***burdina** ‘iron’, \***buztaRi** ‘yoke’; \***eztaRi** ‘throat’; \***beraRi** ‘ear’; \***[h]odeCi** ‘cloud’; \***iz{e}Ci** ‘fir’

There are almost no certain examples of trisyllables ending in a consonant, but one likely case is \***enazur** ‘bone’. Two possible exceptions to these constraints are *ipurdi* ‘buttocks’ and *izerdi* ‘sweat’, but these are perhaps bimorphemic in origin, if now opaque. Also problematic is *gorosti* ‘holly’, but there are good reasons for suspecting this of being either non-native or bimorphemic. There are quite a few trisyllabic adjectives ending in /i/, such as *itsusi* ‘ugly’ and *egarri* ‘thirsty’, but these are probably bimorphemic, containing the adjective-forming suffix **-i**.

Perhaps the only candidates for four syllables are the common *goroldio* ‘moss’ and the purely Bizkaian *arerio* ‘enemy’. But the first of these is suspect for several reasons, while the second is too limited in distribution to be safely assigned to Pre-Basque.

Finally, there remain a few items, all monosyllabic, which have final clusters in the historical language: *beltz* ‘black’, (*h*)*artz* ‘bear’, *gantz* ‘fat, lard’, *bortz* ‘five’, *ertz* ‘edge’, and perhaps a few others. It is not clear how we should regard these. For *beltz*, there is good evidence that we should reconstruct \**beletz*, and anyway the word is surely bimorphemic. For (*h*)*artz*, a possible IE source has been much discussed. For the others, we must take seriously the possibility that a vowel has been lost, most likely a final /a/ by the process given as M\*\*{4} in Section 8. Note, for example, that the word for ‘alder’ is well recorded both as (*h*)*altza* and as (*h*)*altz*, with the second form undoubtedly resulting from such vowel loss.

## 5. The structure of verbs in Pre-Basque

In Pre-Basque, verbal roots were sharply distinguished from all other roots. A verbal root was not a free form, and it could never stand alone. A verbal root was always accompanied by at least one prefix, and in most forms by at least one suffix.

The majority of verbal roots which can be securely assigned to Pre-Basque were monosyllabic, though a modest number were disyllabic. The most frequent structure for a verbal root was -CVC-, though a fair number of roots had other structures. Verbal roots were not subject to the morpheme-structure constraints described in Section 4, and a verbal root could begin or end with virtually any consonant in the language – though reconstructible roots with initial *\*l* or *\*n* are at best very rare, perhaps because these consonants have not survived in intervocalic position; see P\*\*{22} and P\*\*{1} in section 6. Here are a few examples, but note that, for reasons explained below, it is difficult to distinguish *\*N* from *\*n* in root-final position, and also *\*L* from *\*l*.

First, roots with -CVC- structures:

<i>*-ban-</i> ‘give’	<i>*-kas-</i> ‘learn, study’
<i>*-be{N}-</i> ‘put’	<i>*-kus-</i> ‘see’
<i>*-bil-</i> ‘be in motion’	<i>*-ror-</i> ‘fall down’
<i>*-dan-</i> ‘drink’	<i>*-ros-</i> ‘buy’
<i>*-dun-</i> ‘have’	<i>*-Run-</i> ‘lay (eggs)’
<i>*-gin-</i> ‘do, make’	<i>*-sur-</i> ‘pour out’
<i>*-gon-</i> ‘wait, stay’	<i>*-toR-</i> ‘come’
<i>*-gos-</i> ‘boil, cook’	<i>*-tzaun-</i> ‘lie down’ (vocalism uncertain)
<i>*-gotz-</i> ‘throw’	<i>*-zaR-</i> ‘put’
<i>*-kaR-</i> ‘bring’	

And some roots with other structures:

<i>*-an-</i> ‘eat’	<i>*-izan-</i> ‘be’
<i>*-augin-</i> ‘come’	<i>*-oa{n}-</i> or <i>*-oCa{n}-</i> ‘go’
<i>*-au{{t}}s-</i> ‘go down’, {‘fall’}	<i>*-os-</i> ‘sew’
<i>*-auz-</i> ‘jump’	<i>*-utz-</i> ‘leave’
<i>*-ba-</i> ‘cut’	

As a general rule, it appears that every ancient verbal root bore a rigidly fixed transitivity, either intransitive or transitive. But later developments, mostly localized, have at times disturbed this pattern, allowing a verbal root to appear with the “wrong” transitivity.

It seems highly likely that, at some ancient stage, a dative object could be added to the diathesis of any verb, transitive or intransitive, by incorporating into the forms of that verb an additional morph, a “dative flag”, whose function was to mark the additional presence of a dative object. This pattern is still clearly visible in some verbs, but later developments have, on the whole, obscured this ancient pattern greatly. See M\*\*{15} for discussion of this.

Every non-finite form of a verb bore the prefix *\*e-*. This prefix is of unknown function, though Trask (1990) suggests that its function was to nominalize the verbal root, producing a verbal noun. The simplest possible free form of a verb consisted of this prefix attached to the root, producing the form called the “radical infinitive” or “radical” by Basque grammarians. This form survives in speech down to the present day in northern varieties, where it has a variety of syntactic functions, including serving as the object of a postposition and serving as the non-finite part of a non-indicative periphrastic form. In southern varieties, the radical is now, apart from a few fossilized expressions, confined to elevated styles, and its syntactic functions have been taken over by the perfective participle. The radical also functions everywhere as the stem of a verb in word-formation; in this position it behaves like any other lexical item, and it can be followed by word-forming suffixes or by other lexical items in compounds. This was (and is) the only way for an ancient verbal root to appear inside a non-verbal lexical item.

The prefix *\*e-* has developed variously in the historical period, yielding any of *e-*, *i-*, *j-* or zero, according to the phonological nature of the following material, as described in \*\*\*\*{section 6: P36}.

The next simplest form is the perfective participle, which consists of the “radical” followed by the suffix *-i*, which in origin is probably the same ancient suffix *-i* which forms adjectives from nouns. The perfective participle is the syntactically central form of a verb in all varieties throughout the historical period: it is the most frequent form, and the one with the greatest number of functions, even in northern varieties retaining the radical. Almost all native speakers take the perfective participle as the citation form of a verb, and the same choice is usual in linguistic and lexicographical work, including this dictionary – though note that a few eastern speakers prefer the radical as the citation form. Accordingly, the reconstructed form of an ancient verb is cited in this book in the form *\*e-Root-i*.

Certain ancient verbs exhibit peculiarities in their forms. These are mainly the verbs whose participles end in /n/ or in /o/; for discussion of these, see M{11} and M{12} in section \*\*{8}.

No other non-finite forms can be confidently reconstructed for Pre-Basque. In the historical language, the perfective participle gives rise, by suffixation, to a large number of further non-finite forms of varying functions, but these formations, all of which are transparent, may be of no great age.

In the historical language, there is a future participle, formed variously by suffixing either **-ko** or **-en** (both of obvious origin; see the dictionary) to the perfective participle, but the regional variation in the choice of suffix (in the west only **-ko**; in the east only **-en**; in the centre **-ko** after a vowel but **-en** after a consonant) points to recent formations.

The other vastly important non-finite form in the historical language is the gerund, which is formed by adding a suffix to the radical (the stem), and which retains the verbal syntax of its source verb. But there are several reasons for supposing that the gerund is a recent creation in the language: (1) the very substantial regional variation in the choice of suffix for this purpose (western **-te**; west-central **-keta**; far eastern **-ta**; otherwise **-tze** and **-te** in complementary distribution according to various phonological and morphological criteria); (2) the transparent origins of these suffixes as noun-forming suffixes of known functions; (3) the observation that these suffixes can also be added to verb-stems to produce ordinary verbal nouns with no verbal properties; (4) the observation that, in northern dialects, the gerund retains, in certain circumstances, the nominal property of taking its logical object in the

genitive, rather than in the usual object case, the absolutive. We may surmise, with Trask (1990), that these new gerunds have largely taken over the functions of the ancient radical.

Like the perfective participle, the gerund too can take any of a large number of transparent further suffixes to produce a number of other non-finite forms of varying functions. Particularly important among these is the imperfective participle, which is obtained by suffixing the locative case-ending **-n** to the gerund.

Let us apply the label *prefixing verbs* to these ancient verbs bearing the prefix **\*e-** in their non-finite forms. But we must now recognize two further classes of prefixing verbs which appear to depart from the canonical pattern *\*e-Root-i* in their perfective participles. The first group consists of those verbs whose participles end in *-n*, while the second group consists of verbs whose participles end in *-o*. Both groups appear to be verbs which once conformed to the canonical pattern but whose forms have been disturbed by phonological changes followed by some analogical reorganization; see \*\*\*\*{section 8: M11, M12} for discussion of these cases.

Basque verbs exhibit two kinds of inflected finite forms: synthetic and periphrastic. A synthetic form is one word-form, consisting of the verbal root plus a number of prefixes and suffixes marking tense, mood and agreement. A periphrastic form is two word-forms: a non-finite form of the lexical verb, marked at most for aspect, and a finite auxiliary carrying all other marking. Only the prefixing verbs ever exhibit any synthetic forms, and not all of them are attested in such forms. Of the several hundred prefixing verbs, only about sixty are recorded in our earliest texts, from the 16th and 17th centuries, with any synthetic forms at all. Some of these verbs present rather full synthetic paradigms, but most are recorded with only a limited number of synthetic forms, most often the present and past indicative. Since the 16th century, the number of verbs with synthetic forms in use has been declining steadily, and today only about a dozen verbs have synthetic forms which are still in everyday use, though the Basque Language Academy recognizes synthetic forms of another two dozen or so verbs for literary use. All Basque verbs have periphrastic forms, and most verbs have *only* periphrastic forms. It is impossible to guess whether, at some very ancient stage of the language, every verb could be inflected synthetically.

In modern Basque, the finite auxiliary-forms for intransitive verbs are provided by **izan** ‘be’ in the indicative forms and by the defective and now otherwise non-existent verb **\*edin** in the non-indicative forms. For transitive verbs, the auxiliary forms are provided by the defective verb **\*edun** ‘have’ for indicative forms, and by the defective and otherwise non-existent verb **\*ezan** for non-indicative forms in most dialects, but by **egin** ‘do’ in the Bizkaian dialect. However, our earliest texts show a greater variety of auxiliary verbs, and it appears that the modern use represents a selection from what was earlier a larger number of possible auxiliary verbs, perhaps with distinctions of function now lost.

There are only four possibilities for the non-finite element in a periphrastic form: the three participles (perfective, imperfective, future) in indicative forms, and the radical (typically replaced in speech by the perfective participle in southern varieties) in non-indicative forms.

In Pre-Basque, it was also possible to derive the perfective participle of a verb from a nominal or adjectival stem by adding to it the perfective-participle-forming suffix **-i**; an example is *hauts* ‘dust, powder’, *hautsi* ‘shatter, break’. Such formations are well recorded but not especially numerous.

For many centuries, however, the native participle-forming suffix **-i** has been wholly unproductive, and its verb-forming function has been taken over by a new suffix **-tu**, borrowed from Latin. It appears that Basque borrowed verbs from Latin in the form of their

participles, with the usual Latin ending *-tum*, and that the morph **-tu** thus obtained supplanted the native suffix. For many centuries now, all new verbs entering the language from whatever source have formed their participles only with **-tu**. This applies both to verbs borrowed from Latin and Romance and to verbs created within the language from non-verbal stems. Verbs in **-tu** *never* exhibit any synthetic forms at all. But note that native verbs in **-i** have occasionally been transferred to the **-tu** class, as explained in {section 8} M\*\*{14}.



## 6. Phonological changes

The information presented here is taken chiefly from Michelena (1961a; 2nd ed. 1977a), with supplementary material as appropriate from many other sources. On the whole, the phonology of Basque during the last 2000 years has been rather more conservative than that of its Romance neighbours. Basque toponyms and personal names recorded as far back as the Roman period are not dramatically different from their modern forms, and loan words taken from Latin are more conservative in form in modern Basque than in Romance.

[NOTE that a following /h/ never prevents a C from being intervocalic: FHV 223 fn]

### P1. Intervocalic /n/ loss (Michelena's Law)

In the early medieval period, intervocalic \*/n/ was categorically lost, except when this loss was blocked by the competing P2. The medieval evidence suggests that this loss was complete by the beginning of the 11th century. The loss was normally blocked by a clear morpheme boundary, so that, for example, *gizon* 'man' + *-a* article yields *gizona* 'the man', and no such forms as \**gizoa* are recorded. However, in B we occasionally find /n/ loss even at a morpheme boundary. Loss of /n/ left behind nasalization on the adjoining vowels. The nasalization later developed in several different ways.

**P1.1. Loss.** Nasality was simply lost. So, for example, \**zunur* yields *zuhur*, *zuur*, *zur* 'prudent' in most varieties. In central varieties, nasality was lost too early to be recorded. Nasality survived in B until the 16th century, when it is expressly noted by two writers, but was lost soon after. In Z and R, loss is only sporadic, and the nasal vowels usually survive today, especially in R, which preserves more nasal vowels than Z (though R itself has recently gone extinct).

**P1.2. Retention.** The nasal vowels have generally (though not invariably) survived to the present day in R and Z. So, for example, \**zunur* yields Z *zũhũr*, R *zũr* 'prudent'.

**P1.3. Reinterpretation I.** The nasality is reinterpreted as a *following* /n/. For example, Latin *granum*, borrowed as \**garanu*, developing to \**garãũ*, yields modern *garaun* alongside *garau*.

**P1.4. Reinterpretation II.** In B, the sequence \*/inV/ developed first to a sequence of nasal vowels, as usual, but this sequence was then reinterpreted as /iñV/. The first stage is well recorded in the earliest B literature, while the second is the norm during the last couple of centuries. For example, original \**burdina* 'iron' gives old B *burdĩã* but modern B *burdiña*, {cf. P2}.

**P1.5. Feature shift.** Very sporadically, nasality is transferred to a preceding /d/ or /t/, converting it to /n/. For example, \**ardano* 'wine', developing to \**ardãõ*, \**ardõ*, yields L LN *arno*, and \**gatzane* 'cheese', developing to \**gatzãẽ*, yields L LN Z R *gazna*.

### P2. Assimilation of /n/

P1 was competing with another change, which sometimes won out. Intervocalic \*/n/ was sporadically assimilated to a preceding high vowel: to /ñ/ after /i/, to /m/ after /u/. The

first was very frequent, the second uncommon. For example, Latin *pinum* ‘pine’ was borrowed as *\*pinu*, which developed to *piñu*, and Latin *cunam* ‘cradle’ was borrowed as *\*kuna*, which yields modern *kuma* in some varieties, alongside *kua*. This development, where it occurred, protected the nasal from loss by P1.

### P3. /nb/ reduction

The cluster *\*nb/* is usually reduced to */m/*. For example, *\*senbe* yields common *seme* ‘son’, and *\*unbe* yields common *ume* ‘child’.

### P4. Final /n/ loss

{[FHV chap. 7]}

### P5. Fortition of /m/

[FHV 276]

### P6. Plosive voicing after sonorants

At some time in the medieval period, plosives were voiced when immediately preceded by */l/* or */n/* (but not */r/*). This voicing never applied at all in Z or R, but it is categorical elsewhere, except that it occasionally fails to happen in B. For example, *alte* ‘side’, preserved in Z and R, is elsewhere *alde*. And Latin *incudem* ‘anvil’, borrowed as *\*inkude*, is today *ingude* in most varieties. This voicing seems to have persisted somewhat later in L LN than elsewhere: compare common *elkar* ~ *alkar* ‘each other’ with L LN *elgar*, and southern *zanko* ‘leg’, from Romance, with L LN *zango*. M. (1961a: 354) suggests that this voicing sometimes fails in the specific configuration *\*/lk/*, but it is possible that his examples are simply words that entered the language too late to participate.

This voicing is not triggered by */n/* resulting from P1.3 [FHV 360-361]

Ref. to local voicing after */r/*: [FHV 355].

[generalization of voiceless variants of certain suffixes: FHV 353; ref. to Azkue]

### P7. /b/ nasalization

Original *\*b/* has almost invariably changed to */m/* in the configuration *\*bVn/*, by a process of nasal assimilation. This process clearly preceded P1. For example, original *\*banats* ‘grapes’ has developed to *\*manats* and then to *mahats*; original *\*bini* ‘tongue’ has developed *\*mini* > *mihi* (and other variants); and Latin *sabanum* ‘covering’, borrowed as *\*sabanu*, appears today as *zamau* in some varieties. In rare cases, mainly in loan words, *\*b/* developed to */m/* even in the absence of a conditioning nasal, as in *\*zubel* ‘holm oak’ > B *zumel*.

### P8. Plosive voicing fluctuation

The consonant */b/* sporadically devoices to */p/* or to */f/*, especially in a second syllable, occasionally word-initially. For example, common *ebaki* ‘cut’, with suffix *-ki*, has a

variant *epai*, without the suffix, and common *barre* ‘smile’ has variants *parre* and *farre*. The circumstances of this devoicing are not understood. [REWRITE: FHV 231]

### P9. Initial /b/ loss

Initial \*/b/ was almost always lost before a following /o/, and occasionally before a following /u/. For example, Latin *buccella* was borrowed as *\*bokeLa*, yielding modern *okela* ‘morsel’, ‘meat’, and native *buztarri* ‘yoke’ appears widely as *uztarri*. This change seems to have been persistent: Romance *forma* is still recorded in the 17th century as *borma* ‘wall’, ‘ice’, but the modern form is (*h*)orma in both senses. In native words, this lost initial \*/b/ is often unrecoverable.

### P10. /g/-/b/ fluctuation

Particularly next to the rounded vowel /u/, though not only here, there is sometimes regional fluctuation between /g/ and /b/. For example, common *gurdi* ‘cart’ appears in parts of B and HN as *burdi*, and common *guraso* ‘parent’ appears in L and HN as *buraso*. In rare cases, /d/ may also participate in this: common *agor* ‘barren’, localized L *ador*.

### P11. Plosive voicing assimilation

When the first syllable begins with a voiced plosive, and the second syllable begins with a voiceless plosive (or occasionally a voiceless affricate), then leftward voicing assimilation may apply sporadically and regionally. For example, common *gurpil* ‘wheel’ appears in G as *kurpil*, eastern *goipe* ‘grease, oil’ appears in B and G as *koipe*, common *girten* ‘handle’ appears in B and parts of G as *kirten*, and common *bitxi* ‘ornament’ appears in many varieties as *pitxi*. Leftward assimilation to a voiced plosive is not well attested, but a possible example is common *kedarra* ‘soot’, local B *gedarra*.

### P12. Place dissimilation

When a word contains two plosive or nasal consonants with the same place of articulation, then sporadically but frequently one of them is dissimilated to a different place of articulation. For example, *aitatu* ‘mention’ is *aipatu* in many varieties, and the loan word *mobitu* ‘move’ is *mugitu* in many varieties.

### P13. Place assimilation

Far more rarely than we find the last process, we see assimilation of place. For example, *paradis* ‘paradise’ is L *parabisu*, and common *guz(t)i* ‘all’ is localized B *duzti*.

### P14. Initial velar loss or gain

Very sporadically, an initial /k/ or /g/ is either lost or added. For example, Latin *cūnam* ‘cradle’ appears as *ua* in some varieties, and Castilian *acero* ‘steel’ is borrowed as both *altzairu* and *galtzairu* (with other developments).

**P15. Plosive–sibilant fluctuation**

FHV 296-297

**P16. Intervocalic plosive loss**

{[FHV 226-227]}

**P17. /d/ ~ /r/ fluctuation**

Between vowels, there is sporadic fluctuation between /d/ and the tapped /r/. For example, common *edan* ‘drink’ and *huri* ‘rain’ appear in places as *eran* and as *huri*, and the verb meaning ‘seem’, ‘resemble’ appears as both *irudi* and *iduri* in various parts of the country. Michelena (1961a: 227) reports that historical /d/ shifts to /r/ between vowels almost regularly in certain varieties of B G HN. In Z, earlier /r/ becomes /d/ quite consistently after a diphthong, as in *atxeidü* ‘steel’, from earlier *atxeirü*.

**P18. Apical assimilation I**

The laminal sibilant /z/ sporadically changes to the apical /s/ before a following consonant, especially before /t/. Example: \*\*\*

**P19. Apical assimilation II**

The cluster /rz/, with laminal /z/, often develops to apical /s/, and the cluster /rtz/ often develops to /st/. This change is most frequent in the west, where it nearly always occurs, and least frequent in the east, where it rarely occurs. It is favoured by the presence of another /s/ in the word. For example, in some eastern varieties, in which the abstract-noun-forming suffix is usually *-(t)arzun*, we find *-(t)asun* in words containing /s/, such as *osahun* ‘wholeness, health’, from *oso* ‘whole’. Special cases aside, original /rtz/ survives in Z R S and in the Mixe variety of LN, but becomes /s/ elsewhere (M. 1961a: 362). For the second change, M. (1961a: 367) proposes the pathway *\*/rtz/ > \*/rzt/ > \*/rst/ > /st/*.

**P20. Dissimilatory sibilant loss**

[FHV 291]

**P21. Sibilant merger**

In the west, laminal /z/ and apical /s/ have merged as the apical, and laminal /tz/ and apical /ts/ have merged as the laminal. From the textual evidence of spelling confusion, this merger began in B in the 17th century, and it has been slowly spreading eastward. In recent years, the merger has gone to completion in almost all of Bizkaia, in western Gipuzkoa, and in some urban areas of central Gipuzkoa. Recently, however, there has been an educational campaign to restore the lost contrasts, and western speakers who do not natively have the contrasts now often attempt to produce them. This merger has generally been ignored in western writing, and it is ignored in this dictionary, except that we should be aware that some western forms recorded with the “wrong” sibilant are probably only spelling errors resulting from the merger.

**P22. Rhotacism {of \*/l/}**

In the early medieval period, intervocalic \*/l/ shifted categorically to /r/, merging unconditionally in this position with inherited \*/r/, except in Z, in which this change did not happen. For example, Latin *colum* ‘distaff’ was borrowed as \**golu*, which yields modern *goru* ‘distaff’. This change means that modern intervocalic /r/ is often of indeterminate origin. Thus *garo* ‘fern’ might be from \**garo* or from \**galo*. [FHV 314]

**P23. Lenition of fortes**

The inherited fortes \*/N/ and \*/L/, which had contrasted with lenis \*/n/ and \*/l/ only between vowels, no longer contrasted with these after P1 and P{22}, and they therefore became lenis, merging with the instances of \*/n/ and \*/l/ surviving in other positions. For example, Latin *castellum* ‘castle’ and *annōnam* ‘provisions’, borrowed as \**gazteLu* and \**aNona*, appear today as *gaztelu* and *anoa*. In medieval toponyms, the graphs <nn> and <ll> are frequent for modern <n> and <l>: see M. (1961a: chs. 15, 16).

**P24. Rhotic dissimilation**

In the sequence /rVrr/, the first (tapped) rhotic is unstable, and commonly dissimilates to /l/, /d/ or zero; if zero, P{35.1} may apply to break up the hiatus. For example, original \**berarri* ‘ear’ appears today as all of *belarri*, *bedarri*, *biarri* and *begarri*. Much less frequently, any rhotic may dissimilate to /l/ or be lost if the word contains any second rhotic, as in the widespread *adore* ‘ardour’, from earlier *ardore*.

**P25. Sporadic /r/ loss**

Intervocalic /r/ is sporadically lost in all varieties. This loss is especially frequent in inflectional endings, as when dative singular *-ari* is pronounced *-ai*, but it can also occur in lexical items, especially those with a grammatical function, as when the common aspectual verb *ari izan* ‘be engaged in’ is pronounced *ai izan*. Such variants are given in the dictionary when they have found literary use. [PREVIOUS] [ASS{ADD} LOSS OF FINAL /-r/, AS IN LAUR]

**P26. Zuberoan /r/ loss**

In Z, intervocalic tapped /r/ is lost, at least in ordinary speech, though it may be variably retained in careful speech. For example, common *buru* ‘head’ is Z *bü(r)ü*. A following /h/ does not prevent the loss: for example, earlier *érhi* ‘finger’ is modern *éhi*. In this dictionary, the lost /r/ is indicated as shown, with a parenthesized (*r*).

**P27. Uvularization**

In L LN, the two rhotics /r/ and /rr/ have been undergoing uvularization for some time now; the resulting sound is typically a voiced uvular fricative, decidedly “scrapier” than the standard French /r/, but rather more similar to the typical southern French pronunciation of /r/. This development appears to be very recent, since d’Urte’s description of L pronunciation in the early 18th century presents only the historical coronal articulations of both phonemes. The facts are quite various: in some varieties,

only the trill is uvularized; in others, chiefly or only the tap; in still others, both. In at least some varieties, there is fluctuation between coronal and uvular versions of a single word. According to variety, then, such pairs as *hura* ‘that one’ and *hurra* ‘the nut’ may or may not become homophones. This development is never represented in writing, and it is ignored in this dictionary.

### **P28. Vocalization of /l/**

In a tiny handful of cases, syllable-final /l/ has seemingly developed to /u/. [FHV 311].

### **P29. Aspiration loss**

We may be confident that the aspiration was pervasive in Pre-Basque, as it clearly is in the Aq. names. In the central dialects, G, HN and the Pyrenean varieties, the aspiration was lost so early that there is no record of it. In the west, the aspiration is abundantly recorded in Bizkaia and Alava in toponyms and personal names in the medieval period, but it had vanished by the 16th century, the time of our first texts in these varieties. In the north, the aspiration survives down to the present day, except that it has very recently been lost from colloquial speech along the coast of Lapurdi, where the aspiration was still regularly written in the 17th century. The aspiration is clearly more frequent in Z than in L and LN; it may be that Z has simply retained more of the inherited aspirations than the other northern varieties, but equally it may be that Z has extended the aspiration to words which formerly lacked it. We cannot tell. This change is not expressly noted in individual entries.

### **P30. Automatic palatalization**

In B, and to some extent in G Z R, the coronal consonants /z s tz ts t l n/ are automatically palatalized to /x x tx tx tt ll ñ/, respectively, in the configuration \*/iCV/ (and sometimes also in word-final \*/iC/). In order to save space, this palatalization is not overtly represented in this dictionary. So, for example, *mila* ‘1000’ should be read as representing *milla* in these dialects. If the preceding /i/ is part of a diphthong, it often disappears, as in the development of *noiz* ‘when?’ to B *nox*, and of (*h*)*aize* ‘wind’ to B *axe*. In R, word-initial \*/in-/ frequently develops to /ñ-/.

There is good reason to believe that such palatalization was once general in the language, but that it has been lost in central dialects; see P\*\*{32}.

### **P31. Spontaneous palatalization of /n/**

[FHV 306-307]

### **P32. Depalatalization**

In L LN A, and in parts of HN, all palatal consonants other than those arising from expressive palatalization (see P\*\*{section 8: M9}) were depalatalized at some point. For example, *piñu* ‘pine’, arising by P\*\*{30} from Latin *pinum*, appears today as *pinu* or *pino* in these varieties, and the Gascon word *grigne* ‘preoccupation’, ‘passion’, borrowed as *grina*, is today *grina* in these varieties (but still *grina* elsewhere). [FHV 184, 195, 521]

**P33. Cluster reduction** [first of three]

{[FHV 367-368] loss of sonorant from [sonorant][sibilant][plosive] clusters}

**P34. Sporadic /n/ or /l/ insertion**

Very occasionally, an unetymological /n/ or /l/ is inserted before a plosive or a sibilant. For example, common *ikatz* ‘charcoal’ has a variant *inkatz*, and Castilian *acero* ‘steel’ appears in some varieties as *altzairu* or as *galtzairu*.

**P35. Treatment of hiatus**

Hiatus is strongly disfavoured, and there are several strategies for dealing with it when it arises. Hiatus arises extensively in nominal and verbal inflection, not treated here, but also from the loss of an intervocalic consonant (especially /n/), and at morpheme boundaries in word-formation.

**P35.1. Consonant insertion.** A consonant is inserted between the vowels. The dialects retaining the aspiration use /h/ for this purpose where /h/ can legally appear (between the first two syllables). Otherwise, the favoured consonant is /g/, though we sometimes find /b/ instead next to a rounded vowel, and occasionally /d/ or /r/. For example, northern *bihar* ‘tomorrow’ and *aho* ‘mouth’ appear in some western varieties as *bigar* and *ago*; original *\*anate* ‘duck’, from Latin *anatem*, became *\*aate* by P1, and appears today as *ahate* in the north but as *agate* in some western varieties. Castilian *suerte* ‘luck’ is borrowed into some varieties as *suberte*.

**P35.2. /i/ insertion.** Occasionally a hiatus is resolved by the insertion of /i/. This solution is more usual in inflection, and is very rare in lexical items. For example, *da* ‘is’ plus the L LN question particle *-a* produces archaic *daia?* ‘is it’, modern *dea*, and the noun-forming suffix *-tza* plus the article *-a* occasionally appears as *-tzaia*. This process feeds P\*\*{55}.

**P35.3. Vowel loss.** One of the two vowels may be lost: usually the first one, occasionally the second one. For example, original *\*ukaondo* ‘elbow’ appears today as both *ukondo* and *ukando*, and original *\*daen* ‘which is’ yields western *dan*, eastern *den* ‘all’. {And see W14 below.}

**P35.4. Vowel dissimilation.** Sometimes the hiatus is retained, but the first vowel dissimilates in height from the second. For example, *behar* ‘necessity’ appears as *biar* in some western varieties. This process is frequent when the article *-a* is added to a stem, as in *bide* ‘road’, *bidia* ‘the road’; see M\*\*{6} in \*\*{section 8} for some consequences. However, the rare stem-final sequence /-aa/ develops in B to /-ae/, as in *\*eLana* > *\*elaa* > *elae* ‘swallow’ (bird).

**P35.5. Vowel coalescence.** If the vowels in hiatus are identical, they commonly coalesce into a single vowel. For example, *\*zunur* ‘prudent’ became *\*zuur* in some varieties, coalescing to modern *zur*.

**P35.6. Diphthong formation.** Certain vowel sequences may form diphthongs. Most obviously, such sequences as /au/ and /ai/ immediately form diphthongs when they arise: for example, northern *ahuntz* ‘goat’ and *nahi* ‘desire’ appear as *auntz* and *nai* in the varieties which have lost the aspiration. Moreover, /ae/ and /ao/ may be converted to the diphthongs /ai/ and /au/, respectively. For example, (*h*)*aren*, genitive of *\*har*

‘that’, was reduced to *(h)æn* (attested), modern *(h)ain* ‘so (much)’. Less obviously, /e/ often becomes /ei/, as in *zeren*, genitive of *zer* ‘what?’, reduced to *\*zeen*, modern *zein* ‘which?’.

Sequences of three vowels are treated variously, but in a sequence of the form /ViV/ it is usually the last vowel which is lost. For example, *jaioterri* ‘homeland’ is *jaiterri* in places.

### P36. Treatment of initial /e/ in participles

Word-initially, the vowel /e/, which occurred in all ancient non-finite verb-forms as the prefix *\*e-*, has developed variously according to the nature of the following segments.

**P36.1. Loss.** Before a following high vowel /i/ or /u/, /e/ is lost: *\*eizani* > *izan* ‘be’; *eutzi* (attested) > *utzi* ‘leave’.

**P36.2. Glide formation.** Before a following non-high vowel /a/ or /o/, /e/ becomes a glide /j/: *\*eaRi* > *jarri* ‘sit down’; *\*eosi* > *josi* ‘sew’. This process feeds P\*\*{56}. There is no certain case of /e/ before /e/, but a possible instance is the verb *jalgi* ~ *elki* ‘go out’, which perhaps results from *\*eelki*, with glide formation in one form but coalescence of the two /e/s in the other (M. \*\*\*\* {1977a: 515}).

**P36.3. Raising.** When the /e/ is followed by a consonant followed by a high vowel /i/ or /u/, and a third syllable exists, /e/ is raised to /i/: *ebili* (attested) > *ibili* ‘be in motion’; *ekusi* (attested) > *ikusi* ‘see’. This is part of the more general process P\*\*{37}.

In all other circumstances, /e/ remains unchanged: *ekarri* ‘bring’, *egosi* ‘cook’, *\*egini* > *egin* ‘do, make’.

### P37. Raising of first-syllable /e/

In the first syllable of a word of three or more syllables, /e/ is frequently raised to /i/ if the second syllable contains a high vowel /i/ or /u/ separated by a consonant. For example, common *eguzki* ‘sun’ is *iguzki* in some varieties, and the word for ‘onion’, borrowed from Lat. *cepulla(m)*, has everywhere /i/ in the first syllable: *tipula*, *gipula*, etc. This process is pervasive in verbs: see P\*\*{36.3}.

### P38. Syncope

Syncope occurs occasionally in all varieties. For example, common *andere* ‘lady’ appears as *andre* in some varieties. Syncope is pervasive in the Pyrenean dialects (R S A). Here it even occurs in disyllables, so that, for example, common *zara* ‘you are’ appears as *zra*, producing an initial cluster otherwise unknown in the language. {Cf. P64.}

### P39. Metathesis of /oi/

Metathesis is frequent but unsystematic, and in general no rules can be given. But an exception occurs in A, S and part of HN, in which word-final /-oi/, from earlier *\*/-one/* by P1, consistently metathesizes to /-io/. For example, common *arratoi* ‘rat’, from Lat. *ratone(m)*, is *arratio* in these varieties.



**P40. Loss of final vowels**

Word-final /a/ or /e/ is very occasionally lost, with consequent devoicing of any now-final plosive. For example *barda* ‘last night’, preserved in the east, has become *bart* in the west. And the first-singular ergative verb-agreement suffix *-da* becomes *-t* everywhere (except in R) when word-final.

**P41. Initial vowel loss**

Very sporadically, a word-initial vowel is lost in some varieties. For example, common *etorri* ‘come’ appears as *torri* in some local varieties. These local forms are not usually included in the dictionary, but exceptions are made in one or two cases where this process appears to be involved in otherwise problematic etymologies, as in common *ke* ‘smoke’, alongside regional *eke*.

**P42. Vowel loss after /rr/**

In a polysyllabic loan word containing a prothetic vowel followed by the trill /rr/, a following vowel is often lost. For example, Lat. *renegare* ‘renounce’ appears as *ernegatu* id.

{[] **P43. Bizkaian vowel harmony** {} Duplicates P64.}

**P44. Bizkaian /a/-raising** [aa > ea, possibly ia]**P45. {Diphthongization of /a/} /a/ diphthongization**

Very frequently, /a/ in the first syllable of a polysyllabic word diphthongizes to /ai/ before a following coronal cluster. For example, Rom. *santo* ‘holy’, borrowed as *\*santu*, is today everywhere *saindu* ‘holy’, ‘saint’, and *laster* ‘fast’, which predominates in the early texts, is today more usually *laister*. This development seems to have been persistent. [DUPLICATE {= P50}]

**P46. Diphthong reduction I**

Sporadically but frequently, the diphthong /au/ develops to /ai/ or to /a/ when the next syllable contains /u/, and the diphthong /ai/ is sometimes reduced to /a/ when the next syllable contains /u/ or /i/. For example, For example, Latin *caucu(m)* ‘wooden bowl’ appears as *kaiku* ‘wooden cup’, and *itaundu* ‘ask’, from *itaun*, is *itandu* in some varieties.

At some stage, diphthongs lost their second elements before a following cluster. This led to alternations in the forms of certain words, and, as a result, the original diphthong was sometimes restored. For example, \*\*\*\*\* [+ RESTORATION] [FHV 95]

**P47. Diphthong reduction II**

Sporadically, the diphthong /ei/ is reduced to /i/. This change is almost categorical in word-initial position. For example, *leizar* ‘ash tree’ is more commonly *lizar*, and *eihar* ‘dried up’ appears much more widely as *ihar* ~ *igar*. {cf. P37}

**P48. Diphthong nucleus raising**

The two diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ develop sporadically to /ei/ and /eu/, respectively, particularly in word-final position. For example, common *jai* ‘festival’ is *jei* in some varieties, and *gaun* ‘spider’s web’ appears in parts of B as *geun*. In a few cases, the change may be in the other direction: for example, there is evidence that *gei* ‘material’ is more conservative than the more widespread *gai*.

{ } **P49. Diphthong dissimilation** [au] > [ai] before /u/ [DUPLICATES P{4}6] { }

**{ } P50. Diphthongization of /a/**

Sporadically but frequently, the vowel /a/ in the first syllable of a polysyllabic word diphthongizes to /ai/, especially when followed by a coronal cluster. For example, earlier \**santu* ‘holy’, ‘saint’ is usually *saindu* today, and *laster* ‘fast’, which predominates in the early texts, is today more commonly *laister*. This development seems to have been persistent. [DUPLICATE {=P45}] { } P50 in *The Dictionary* changed to P45.}

**P51. Bizkaian /ai/ reduction**

In a final syllable, even in a monosyllable, the diphthong /ai/ is reduced to /a/ in B when followed by /n/. Examples: common *gain* ‘top’, *ezpain* ‘lip’, B *gan*, *ezpan*. Less frequently, /ui/ is reduced to /u/, as in common *biguin* ‘soft’, B *bigun*. [ADD -oin > -uin > -un: FHV 507, 488]

**P52. Roncalese diphthongization**

R exhibits a curious diphthongization in certain words. For example, common *diru* ‘money’ and *zeru* ‘sky’ appear in R as *deuri* and *zeuru*, respectively.

**P53. Vowel fortition**

The rounded vowels /o/ and /u/ are frequently strengthened to [w], the details depending on the variety. This phonetic fact is not represented in this dictionary. However, in B G, this [w] is, when intervocalic, strengthened further to an allophone of /b/, and this is often represented in writing. For example, B G *ao* ‘mouth’ and *gau* ‘night’ combine with the article *-a* to produce *aba* ‘the mouth’ and *gaba* ‘the night’. These combining forms are noted in the dictionary.

**P54. Glide insertion I**

In B, G and the Pyrenean varieties, a glide is inserted between a high vowel and a following non-high vowel. For example, *egia* ‘truth’ and the loanword *suerte* ‘luck’ are often pronounced *egi[j]a* and *su[w]erte*, respectively. These pronunciations are not overtly represented in this dictionary, but they often feed P\*\*{55}.

**P55. Glide strengthening I**

Glides resulting from P\*\*{53, P54} frequently undergo strengthening, [j] to any of [j̥], [ʒ] or [dʒ], and [w] to [β], an allophone of /b/. These pronunciations are regularly represented in the traditional spelling of the varieties {in which this occurs}, such as *egiya* for *egia* ‘truth’ and *suberte* for *suerte* ‘luck’. Such spellings are recorded in this dictionary only when they might render the identities of words obscure.

**P56. Glide strengthening II**

Word-initial /j/, usually resulting from P\*\*{36.2}, undergoes some kind of strengthening in almost all varieties. Depending on variety, the result may be any of [j̥], [dʒ], [ʒ], [ʃ] or [χ], with the last development, typical of G, apparently borrowed from Castilian. So, words like *jan* ‘eat’ and *jaun* ‘lord’ exhibit a wide variety of quite different local pronunciations, but this dictionary follows the usual convention in Basque work of writing <j> In all cases, except where /j/ is [ʃ], when <x> is written.

**P57. Glide strengthening III** [eu] > [eb]    *euli* > *ebli*    *euri* > *ebri***P58. Glide insertion II**    *zuek* > *zuiek***P59. Bizkaian /e/ lowering**

In B, /e/ is often lowered to /a/ before a following trilled rhotic. So, common *berri* ‘new’ and *gerri* ‘waist’ appear in B as *barri* and *garri*. In one case, this also happens before /l/: common *beltz* ‘black’, B *baltz*. Though typical of B, this lowering is found sporadically in other varieties, above all in the widespread *bardin* ‘same’ for common *berdin*, from the stem *ber-* ‘same, self’. The lowering never occurs in word-initial position: such words as *(h)erri* ‘country’ and *erdi* ‘half’ never undergo lowering.

**P60. High-vowel lowering**

Very sporadically, /i u/ are lowered to /e o/ before a following sequence /rC/ or, less commonly, /lC/. For example, *irten* ‘go out’ is G *erten*, and common *bi(h)urtu* ‘twist’ is B *biortu*, while *beldur* ‘fear’ is western *bildur*. {S.v. **beldur** Trask decides *beldur* is the original form, with **bildur** by vowel height assimilation.}

**P61. Raising of /e/ before /n/**

Sporadically, /e/ is raised to /i/ before /n/. For example, earlier \*(h)arena ‘sand’, from Latin *arena(m)*, became Z \**harina*, leading to modern Z *hariña*, and earlier \**enor* ‘anybody’ developed to \**inor* in many varieties, leading to modern *iñor*.

**P62. Raising of /e/ before a palatal**

Sporadically, /e/ is raised to /i/ before a following palatal consonant. For example, common *etxe* ‘house’ is *itxe* in places, and common (h)*ertsi* ‘squeeze’ and *eutzi* ‘leave’, developing to \**etxi* in B, have become modern B *itxi*. Very rarely this raising occurs before an ordinary sibilant, perhaps by mediation of a palatalized form, as in *pisu* ‘weight’, from Cast. *peso*.

**P63. Lowering of /e/ in trisyllables** {(dissimilation)}

Sporadically, the vowel /e/ is lowered to /a/ in the second syllable of a trisyllable which contains /i/ in the first and third syllables. For example, common *igeri* ‘swimming’ has a variant *igari*. {Cf. P64}

**P64. Bizkaian vowel harmony**

In B, and also in a small area of HN, /a/ is raised to /e/ when the preceding syllable contains a high vowel /i/ or /u/. This change mainly affects inflected forms, but occasionally it shows up in a lexical item, as in *iteun* ‘confession’ for *itaun*. {Cf. P63.}

**P65. Bizkaian /i/-backing** {(backness dissimilation)}

In many cases, word-initial /i/ appears in B as /u/. This process appears to be confined to disyllables in which the second vowel is /i/ or /e/. Examples: common *ile* ‘hair’, *igel* ‘frog’, (h)*iri* ‘town’, regional B *ule*, *ugel*, *uri*. The reason is unknown.

**P66. Fronting of /u/ before labials** {(labial dissimilation)}

Sporadically, /u/ is fronted to /i/ before a labial consonant. For example, common *umore* ‘humour’ is G *imore*, and common *ubi* ‘ford’ is *ibi* in places.

**P67. Fronting of /u/ before a vowel**

Sporadically, /u/ is fronted to /i/ before a vowel. For example, *egubakoitz* ‘Friday’, ‘Saturday’ becomes *eguakoitz* in some varieties, developing to *egiakoitz*. In Z and R, this process is pervasive with word-final /u/, where it has apparently proceeded via P\*\*{69}. When the article *-a* or another vowel-initial suffix is added, the original sequence /-ua/ develops to Z /-üia/ > /-üa/ or /-ia/, R /-uia/ > /-ia/. Reanalysis can then produce a free form with final /-i/ for original /-u/.

**P68. Fluctuation between /i/ and /u/**

Sporadically, we find regional variation between /i/ and /u/ in a variety of positions. In many cases, but not in all, it is clear that /u/ is conservative. For example, common *mut(h)il* ‘boy’ is Z R *imit(h)il*, and common *zubi* ‘bridge’ is localized R *zibi*. {Cf. P66.}

**P69. Zuberoan fronting of /u/**

In Z, and in some eastern varieties of LN, /u/ is fronted to /ü/ (phonetic [ʏ]) in all circumstances except before a following tapped /r/, before apical /s/, or before a cluster /rt/ or /rd/. (Note that a following trilled /rr/ or a sibilant /ts z tz/ does not prevent the change.) Examples: common *gu* ‘we’ but Z *gü*; *guri* ‘to us’ and Z *gu(r)i*; *hirur* ‘three’ (with a tap) and Z *hirur*; *hur* ‘nut’ (with a trill) and Z *hür*; *guzi* ‘all’ and Z *güzi*; *urr(h)e* ‘gold’ and Z *ürhe*; *urde* ‘pig’ and Z *urde*; *huts* ‘empty’ and Z *hüts*; *burk(h)i* ‘birch’ and Z *bürkhi*. In eastern LN, the fronting is also blocked by a following /k/ or /nk/, and in places also by a following /g/ or /n/.

However, this regular pattern is disturbed by complex mutual assimilations among /i/, /ü/ and /u/. Examples: common *irun* ‘weave’, but Z *ürün* for regular *\*irün*; common *iduri* ‘seem’ but Z *üdürü* for regular *\*iduri*; and so on {P70}.

In Z, as part of the same process, the diphthongs /au/ and /eu/ develop to /ai/ and /ei/ or /ü/, respectively: common *gauza* ‘thing’, Z *gaiza*; common *leun* ‘smooth’, Z *leñ* (via *\*lein*); common *euskal-* ‘Basque’, Z *üskal-*. This change happens everywhere except before one of /r/, /rr/, /s/ or /ts/.

In R, the diphthongs /au/ and /eu/ change to /ai/ and /ei/, respectively, as in R *gai* ‘night’, *gaiza* ‘thing’, *ein* ‘100’ for common *gau*, *gauza*, *e(h)un*.

These changes affect only ancient instances of /au/; instances of /au/ developed more recently from other sources, such as *\*/aCo/*, do not undergo the change.

See Lafon (1962a, 1962b) for discussion; Lafon sees this fronting as resulting from contact with Bearnese.

**P70. Zuberoan and Roncalese high-vowel assimilation [see above]**

In Z and R, there is assimilation among high vowels. In Z /i/ is rounded to /ü/ in a word also containing /ü/ (from P\*\*{69}), while in R /i/ is rounded and backed to /u/ in a word also containing /u/. For example, common *il(h)un* ‘dark’ is Z *ülhün* (via *\*ilhün*), R *ulun*, while common *irun* ‘spin’ is Z *ürün* (via *\*irün*), R *urun*.

**P71. Zuberoan raising of /o/**

In Z, the vowel /o/, including nasalized /õ/, is raised to /u/ in circumstances which are hard to define. This raising always occurs before syllable-final /n/, but otherwise its occurrence seems erratic. For example, common *gizon* ‘man’ appears in Z as *gizun*. This raising follows P\*\*{69}, the fronting of /u/. M. (1961a: 55) suggests that this raising may have been borrowed from Bearnese. A similar raising occurs far more rarely and sporadically in L and LN, as in L LN *untzi* ‘container’ for common *ontzi*. M. (1961a: 56) suggests that confusion of /o/ and /u/ before syllable-final /n/ may have been an ancient feature of the language.

**P72. Irregular coalescence**

Certain sequences may give rise to irregular coalescences. For example, *auhari* ‘dinner’ has become *afari* in many varieties (/uh/ {[wh]} > /f/); common *joan* ‘go’, which is [xwan] in G and some B varieties, has become *fan* in places ([xw] > /f/); and the same word, which is [jwan] in L LN, has become *gan* in places ([jw] > /g/).

**P73. Zuberoan stress shift**

In Z (and apparently also in R, though the facts are less clear here), the inherited word-accent was at some stage replaced by an invariable stress on the penultimate syllable. This shift clearly happened before certain vowel sequences in the last two syllables underwent coalescence. So, for example, common *gizon* ‘man’ is Z *gízun*, while its definite form *gizona* ‘the man’ is Z *gizúna*. Common *neska* ‘girl’ is Z *néska*, while its definite form *neska* is Z *neská*, with final stress, reflecting an earlier form *\*neská-a*. Because of this, a Z form with final stress often points to a lost consonant, as in Z *izéi* ‘fir tree’, which must continue an earlier *\*izeCi*, with an unidentified consonant.

## 7. Rules applying in word-formation

The rules given below represent phonological processes which are typical of older formations, both compounding and suffixation. These rules are often not respected in more recent formations. For example, *ur* ‘water’ has the regular combining form *u-* in older formations, like *uhalde* ‘waterside’, but often *ur-* in more recent formations, like *urtxakur* ‘otter’. But even recent formations may occasionally show the older combining form, by analogy. And some words have clearly undergone re-formation. For example, *ardo* ‘wine’, whose older combining form is *ardan-*, yields both *ardandegi* ‘tavern’ and *ardotegi*, with the same meaning, the second being a re-formation. Examples of hiatus arising in word-formation are handled by the processes described in P\*\*{35} above. The principal source of information in this section is Michelena (1961a). {Trask (1997: 183–192) gives a somewhat fuller account of these phenomena.}

### W1. Trisyllabic final-vowel loss

If the first element is three or more syllables long, and ends in a vowel, that vowel is lost. For example, *itsaso* ‘sea’ has the combining form *itsas-*, as in *itsasalde* ‘seaside’ (*alde* ‘side’) and *itsasgizon* ‘sailor’ (*gizon* ‘man’), and *iturri* ‘spring, fountain’ has the combining form *iturr-*, as in *iturburu* ‘fountainhead’ (*buru* ‘head’).

### W2. Disyllabic final-vowel changes

If the first element is two syllables long, and ends in a vowel, that vowel is treated as follows.

**W2.1. /i/ loss.** A final /i/ is lost, except after /b/, when it remains. For example, *harri* ‘stone’ has the combining form *har(r)-*, as in *hargin* ‘stonecutter’ (*-gin* ‘maker’) and *harbel* ‘slate’ (*\*bel* ‘dark’). But *zubi* ‘bridge’ has the combining form *zubi-*, as in *zubiburu* ‘bridgehead’ (*buru* ‘head’). A handful of items, including *hiri* ‘town’ and *hegi* ‘hill’, are consistent exceptions to this rule.

**W2.2. Non-high vowel neutralization.** Final /a/, /e/ and /o/ are all neutralized as /a/. For example, *aza* ‘cabbage’ has the combining form *aza-*, as in *azalore* ‘cauliflower’ (*lore* ‘flower’); *lore* ‘flower’ has the combining form *lora-*, as in *loratu* ‘bloom, blossom’ (*-tu* verb-forming suffix); *asto* ‘donkey’ has the combining form *asta-*, as in *astakeria* ‘foolishness, stupidity’ (*-keria* noun-forming suffix of vices).

**W2.3. Variable treatment of /u/. Final /u/ behaves variably.** It may remain unchanged, it may be lowered to /a/, or it may be lost. On the whole, loss is most frequent in the east, while lowering is most frequent in the west. For example, *buru* ‘head’ has combining forms *buru-* and *bur-*, as in *buruko* ‘cap’ and *burko* ‘pillow’ (*-ko* noun-forming suffix), while *katu* ‘cat’ has combining form *kata-*, as in *katakume* ‘kitten’ (*-kume* ‘offspring’). M. (1961a: 128, note 5) suggests that lowering to /a/ results from Romance influence, with pairs like *kantu* ‘song’, combining form *kanta-* deriving from Rom. *canto*, *canta-*. The item *sagu* ‘mouse’ is unusual: it shows loss of /u/ in all old formations in all dialects.

**W3. Final-plosive neutralization**

If, by W1 or W2 or otherwise, a plosive is final in the first element, this plosive becomes /t/. For example, *begi* ‘eye’ has combining form *bet-*, as in *betile* ‘eyelash’ (*ile* ‘hair’) and *betazal* ‘eyelid’ (*azal* ‘skin’). The labial plosives /b p/ never occur in this position, and so never undergo this process. [+ h]

**W4. Plosive-cluster reduction**

If, by the preceding rules or otherwise, a plosive cluster arises, then the second plosive becomes voiceless and the first drops. For example, *begi* ‘eye’, combining form *bet-* by W2.1 and W3, combines with *buru* ‘head’ to yield *bepuru* ‘eyebrow’, and with *gain* ‘top’ to yield *bekain* ‘eyebrow’. And *errege* ‘king’, combining form *erret-* by W1 and W3, combines with *bide* ‘road’ to yield *errepide* ‘highway’. See also L\*\*\*{?}.

It is clear that this process proceeded historically in stages, as follows. First, the first plosive changed uniformly to /t/. Second, this /t/ then devoiced the second plosive, if it was voiced. Third, the /t/ dropped. For example, the word *errepide* ‘highway’, just cited, is recorded in \*\*\*\*{the *Fuero General de Navarra*} as *erret bide*.

**W5. Treatment of final /h/**

[FHV 222] {When, as a result of W2.1 /h/ in the first element is final, it becomes /t/ just like a plosive (W3), with cluster reduction as in W4: *behi* ‘cow’, combining form *bet-*, combines with *gorotz* ‘dung’ to give *bekorotz* ‘cow dung’; *zohi* ‘turf, clod’ combines with *berri* ‘new’ to give *zoperri* ‘recently worked plot’.

**W6. Affricate formation**

If, by any process, /t/ stands before a fricative at a morpheme boundary, the two segments coalesce into the corresponding affricate. For example, *ardi* ‘sheep’ plus \*-*zani* ‘guardian’, via \**art-zãĩ*, yields *artzai(n)* ‘shepherd’.

**W7. Plosive-sonorant cluster reduction**

If a plosive comes to stand before a sonorant, the plosive is lost. For example, the verbal prefix *-bait-* (several functions) combines with the finite forms *naiz* and *luke* to produce *bainaiz* and *bailuke*, and *bat* ‘one’ combines with distributive *-na(n)* to yield *bana(n)* ‘one apiece’.

**W8. Treatment of sibilant-sibilant clusters**

[FHV 351]

**W9. Sibilant-sonorant cluster reduction**

*eluke*, *enaiz*, etc; not many others; [FHV 351]



**W10. Final /n/ alternations**

A final /n/ in the first element changes to /r/ or is lost. On the whole, change to /r/ is usual before a vowel, and loss before a consonant, but there are exceptions. For example, *egun* ‘day’ has combining forms *egur-* and *egu-*, as in *eguraldi* ‘weather’ (*aldi* ‘time’), *eguzki* ‘sun’ (-*zki* noun-forming suffix), and *eguerdi* ‘noon’ (*erdi* ‘middle’). [ADD nasal clusters: FHV 355 fn, *nonnahi*] [FHV 355 fn for /nm/]

**W11. Final /r/ loss**

If a first element ends in /r/ (whether tapped or trilled in the historical language), that /r/ is lost in word-formation. For example, *ur* ‘water’, *zur* ‘wood’ (both with taps), *izter* ‘thigh’ and *adar* ‘branch’ have the combining forms *u-*, *zu-*, *izte-* and *ada-*, respectively: *ubil* ‘whirlpool’ (*\*bil* ‘round’), *zubi* ‘bridge’ (*bide* ‘way’), *iztegi* ‘groin’ (-*egi* ‘place’), *adabegi* ‘knot’ (*begi* ‘eye’).

**W12. Rule inversion**

By P\*\*{22}, intervocalic \*/l/ changed to /r/, but, by W1 and W2, the vowel following the \*/l/ was often lost in word-formation before P\*\*{22} occurred. This produced alternations like *gari* ‘wheat’ (from *\*gali*), *galburu* ‘head of wheat’. Original \*/r/ did not alternate. But, in many cases, the alternation has been reinterpreted, with the secondary /r/ taken as underlying and the original /l/ still appearing in word-formation taken as resulting from a rule. In effect, P\*\*{22} has been inverted. This can be seen in cases like eastern *zamari* ‘horse’, borrowed from Latin *sagmarium* ‘pack-horse’, with original /r/, whose combining form is now *zamal-*, as in *zamaldun* ‘horseman’.

**W13. Haplology**

Haplology is pervasive. Whenever word-formation produces two consecutive syllables which are identical or similar, one of them is lost. For example, *sagar* ‘apple’ plus *ardo* ‘wine’ “should” yield *\*sagar-ardo*, but the form is *sagardo*, and *uko* ‘forearm’ plus *garai* ‘high’ “should” yield *\*ukagarai*, but the form is *ukarai*.

**W14. Hiatus resolution**

If for any reason two vowels come together at a morpheme boundary, then there is a powerful tendency to eliminate the hiatus. Most commonly, this is done simply by losing one of the vowels, most often the first one. For example, the compound of *uko* ‘forearm’ (combining form *uka-*) and *ondo* ‘bottom’ was originally *ukaondo*, recorded in one early text, but today the word is *ukondo* in most varieties, though a few western varieties have *ukando*. On the whole, B preserves the hiatus longer than other varieties. However, if the first element is monosyllabic, then the varieties retaining the aspiration commonly insert /h/ to break up the hiatus, as in *gauherdi* ‘midnight’, from *gau* ‘night’ plus *erdi* ‘middle’. [ALSO W13] {Cf. P35.3.}

**W15. Neutralization {of affricate–fricative contrast}**

The ordinary neutralization processes of the language apply in word-formation. In particular, only a fricative /z/ or /s/ can occur before a following consonant, and not an affricate, while only an affricate /tz/ or /ts/ can occur in most varieties after another consonant, and not a fricative. Moreover, only a voiceless plosive can follow a (voiceless) sibilant. So, for example, *hitz* ‘word’ plus *-dun* ‘having’ yields *hiztun* ‘eloquent’, with neutralization of the sibilant to the fricative and devoicing of the plosive after a sibilant. Note that the orthography does not always represent this devoicing: for example, *itsaso* ‘sea’ plus *gizon* ‘man’ yields *itsaskizon* ‘sailor’, which is customarily written *itsasgizon*. These predictable neutralizations are not expressly noted in the entries.

**W16. Sibilant harmony**

A Basque lexical item may contain only laminal sibilants (/z tz/) or only apical sibilants (/s ts/). When, by word-formation or borrowing, both orders of sibilant arise in a single word, the laminal assimilates to the apical. For example, *zin* ‘truth’ combines with *-etsi* ‘consider’ to yield archaic *zinetsi*, modern *sinetsi* ‘believe’, and Castilian *francés* ‘French’, originally borrowed as *frantzés*, is today usually *frantses*. [SEE FHV 282, 284 fn]

**W17. /a/-addition**

A few monosyllabic nouns occasionally exhibit a mysterious final /a/ in their combining forms. For example, *ke* ‘smoke’ shows a combining form *kea-* in *keatu* ‘smoke (meat)’ (*-tu* verb-forming suffix), and *or* ‘dog’ shows a combining form *ora-* in *orakume* ‘puppy’ (*-kume* ‘offspring’). The origin of this is unknown in general, though in a few cases there is evidence that this extra /a/ continues an earlier vowel: for example, *ke* ‘smoke’ has a sparsely recorded B variant *kee*, whose combining form would regularly be *kea-*.

**W18. Plosive insertion**

Not infrequently, when two vowels come together at a morpheme boundary in word-formation, a plosive is inserted; this may be either /t/ or /k/. For example, *su* ‘fire’ combines with *alde* ‘side’ to yield *sukalde* ‘kitchen’ and with *ondo* ‘side’ to yield *sutondo* ‘fireside, hearth’. The origin of this is not known. The /t/ might result from generalization of the result of W3. But all of this is doubtless bound up somehow with the phenomenon discussed under M\*\*{2}.. [SEE ALSO FHV 249, 250]

**W19. Final-element reduction**

In word-formation, a final element may undergo various irregular reductions. Most obviously, /h/ cannot survive in a third or later syllable, and must drop. But other intervocalic consonants may also drop, and the resulting vowel sequences may be reduced in one way or another. Lastly, medial vowels may occasionally be lost. Such a reduced form is occasionally generalized to the free form. Examples: *gabe* ‘without’ is often *-ge* as a final element; *bahe* ‘sieve’ becomes *-bae* or *-be*; *bide* ‘road’ may become *-bi*; *biga* ‘two’, formerly postposed, becomes first *bia* and then *bi* as a free form; *beltz* ‘black’, always postposed, appears to derive from earlier *\*beletz*.

**W20. Aspiration**

If both members of a compound contain the aspiration, then one aspiration must drop. For example, *hil* ‘dead’ plus *herri* ‘inhabited place’ can yield either *hilerri* or *ilherri* ‘cemetery’, but never *\*hilherri*.

More generally, compounds and derivatives need not respect the aspiration of source words. For example, *neke* ‘tired’ plus *-tu* verb-forming suffix yields *nekhatu* ‘get tired’.

## 8. Some morphological observations and problems

Collected here are some morphological and word-class observations and some morphological puzzles which show up in several words.

### M1. Pyrenean initial velars

Words with initial /h/ in the dialects retaining the aspiration consistently have initial zero in the remaining dialects. The same is largely true of the several demonstrative stems, all of which have initial /h/ in the aspirating dialects, but the three Pyrenean dialects (R S A) frequently have instead initial /g/ or /k/ in these stems, and only here. For example, \*\*\*\*

### M2. Fluctuating plosives

A number of word-forming suffixes exist in two forms: one with initial /t/ or /k/, the other with no initial consonant. Examples include *-tar* / *-ar* ethnonymic, *-keta* / *-eta* activity, and *-kume* / *-ume* ‘offspring’. In addition, some suffixes with initial voiceless plosives appear to be cognate with independent lexical items lacking the plosives: *-koi* ‘fond of’, *ohi* ‘custom’. The reason for these alternations is not known. Some of these may once have contained initial voiced plosives which have dropped after a vowel and devoiced after a consonant, producing the observed variants. For example, *-tar* / *-ar* may derive from *\*-dar*.

### M3. Extraction of suffixes

{\*\*\*\* See the entries under *extraction of suffixes* in the Subject index.}

### M4. Loss of final /a/

This is not a phonological change, but an analogical one. The Basque article is *-a* (singular), *-ak* (plural): *gizon* ‘man’, *gizona* ‘the man’, *gizonak* ‘the men’. When this suffix is attached to a word ending in /a/, then, in all varieties but B and Z, the two vowels simply coalesce: *neska* ‘girl’, *neska* ‘the girl’, *neskak* ‘the girls’. This has often led to uncertainty about whether a given word does or does not end in /a/, and hence a final /a/ has sometimes been analogically removed. For example, *gorotza* ‘dung’, whose definite form is also *gorotza*, has been re-formed to *gorotz* in some varieties, and *katea* ‘chain’, from Lat. *catena(m)*, is *kate* in some varieties.

### M5. Bizkaian final /e/ lowering

This is not a phonological change, but an analogical one. In B, the addition of the article *-a* to a word ending in /a/ causes the first /a/ to raise to /e/, by P34: hence, with *neska* ‘girl’, the definite form is *neskea*, rather than common *neska*. The alternation between definite *neskea* and indefinite *neska* has, in B, often been extended to words originally ending in /e/. So, for example, common *lore* ‘flower’ and *ote* ‘gorse’, definite forms *lorea* and *otea*, appear as *lora* and *ota*.

**M6. Final stem-vowel fluctuation**

Process P\*\*{35.4} merges stem-final /e/ with /i/ and /o/ with /u/, as in *bide* ‘road’, *bidia* ‘the road’. As a result, the form occurring before the suffix is sometimes generalized, and we find fluctuation like that in *eize* ~ *izi* ‘hunting’.

**M7. Loss of affixes before -ko**

Loss of loc, com before -ko

**M8. Extraction of forms with final /e/**

The local case-suffixes, such as locative *-an* (from earlier *\*-Can*), ablative *-tik* and allative *-ra*, all require the insertion of the unmarked vowel /e/ when they are added to consonant-final stems. For example, *(h)aran* ‘valley’ has locative *(h)aranean*, ablative *(h)aranetik* and allative *(h)aranera*. When the noun in question is a spatial noun whose local forms function as postpositions, then quite frequently a new form of the noun is extracted with a final /e/ attached, and where necessary with a new meaning. For example, *(h)atz* ‘track, trace, trail’ forms postpositions like *atzean* ‘behind’, and from these forms a new base form *atze* ‘back’ has been extracted.

In northern varieties, the frequent occurrence of toponyms in the local forms has led to the addition of a final /e/ to every single toponym which formerly ended in a consonant, as in *Miarritze* ‘Biarritz’ and *Urepele* (from *ur* ‘water’ and *epel* ‘tepid’).

**M9. Expressive palatalization**

\*\*\*\*

In which intrinsically connected with smallness, expressive palatalization is practically universal. For example, earlier *tipi* ~ *tiki* ‘small’ is now seldom found outside elevated styles, and the palatalized forms *tīpi*, *txipi*, *txiki* are the only ones found in ordinary speech.

Personal names: [FHV 189]

Rare process: addition of initial sibilant: [FHV 292]

Important stuff: [FHV 191]

**M10. Replacement of base forms by diminutives**

As explained in M9, Basque forms an expressive or diminutive variant of a lexical item by palatalization. Not infrequently, this diminutive displaces the original as the unmarked form of the word. In such a case, the original may remain as a more formal variant; it may be specialized to another meaning; or it may disappear. For example, *guti* ‘not much, not any’ is usually replaced as the ordinary form by its diminutive *gutti* or *gutxi*, while *guti* remains in the language as a formal or elevated counterpart of the same meaning. And original *zakur* ‘dog’ has been everywhere displaced as the ordinary word by its diminutive *(t)xakur*, while *zakur* is either specialized to ‘big dog’ (in most of the country) or lost altogether (in B).

**M11. Verbs in -n**

Most ancient verbs built on verbal roots have a perfective participle (citation form) of the structure *e-Root-i*, where the prefix *e-* is of unknown function but appears in all non-finite forms of ancient verbs, and the suffix *-i* marks the perfective participle. Examples: *etorri* ‘come’, *ikusi* ‘see’. But quite a number of verbs are exceptional. Their participle has the form *e-Root[-n]*, in which the suffix *-i* is absent and the root ends in an *-n* which sometimes behaves like part of the root and sometimes not. Examples: *joan* ‘go’, *egin* ‘do, make’. As a rule, the /n/ remains in the perfective participle and in the radical, but it disappears in the synthetic finite forms (where these exist), and in word-formation when a suffix or a following lexical item is added. Trask (1990) proposes that these were once verbs of ordinary form whose roots happened to end in /n/, and that the loss of intervocalic /n/ by P1 produced anomalous forms which then underwent analogical reorganization. This analysis is supported by the observation that the participles of the two verbs *eman* ‘give’ and *igan* ‘go up’ are each recorded once in the early texts as *emai* and as *ikai*.

**M12. Verbs in -o**

There are also a number of ancient verbs whose citation forms end in *-o*, such as *jo* ‘hit’, *ito* ‘drown’ and *ero* ‘kill’. These verbs exhibit a number of peculiarities, some of them shared with the verbs in *-n*, and indeed there are verbs variably belonging to both groups, such as *igan* ~ *igo* ‘go up’. It seems likely that the verbs in *-o* are historically verbs in *-n* which have undergone further complex developments, but the history of these verbs cannot at present be recovered.

**M13. Exceptional stems with an extra /i/**

{\*\*\*\*}

**M14. Shift from the /-i/ class to the /-tu/ class**

In a number of cases, verbs have been shifted from the **-i** class to the **-tu** class. Examples: old *sarri*, modern *sartu* ‘enter’, ‘insert’ (from an unknown stem); old *aberatsi*, modern *aberastu* ‘get rich’, ‘enrich’ (from *aberats* ‘rich’); \*\*\*\*. This process can also affect the unusual verbs in *-n* and in *-o* described in the next two sections: old (and still current) *jarion* ~ *jarion* ‘flow’, regional variant *jariatu*.

When this shift happens, sometimes the old participle remains fossilized in the language as an adjective. Examples: *ezagutu* ‘be acquainted with’ (verb), *ezagun* ‘familiar, well-known’ (adjective and old participle); \*\*\*\*

**M15. The dative flags**

There is a good deal of evidence for the former existence of two suffixes, of the forms **-ki** and **-ts-**, occurring in both finite and non-finite forms of verbs. The function of each suffix was to increase the valency of a verb by adding a dative object to its diathesis. When **-ki** is added, the participial suffix **-i** is suppressed; when **-ts-** is added, this is followed by the usual **-i** in the participle. There is a modest amount of evidence from old B that **-ki** was once added to intransitive verbs and **-ts-** to transitive verbs, but this

distinction is not generally observed. Examples: \*\*\*\*. We cannot tell whether these elements arose in finite forms by the incorporation of non-verbal elements and were then extended analogically to non-finite forms, or whether they arose first in non-finite forms; the first seems more likely.

The problem of pairs like *ikasi* / *irakatsi*: see FHV 289 fn. Three solutions: ancient alternation; addition of /ts/ dative flag; generalization of word-final variant.

### M16. Fossilized compound verbs

A compound verb consists of two parts, a simple lexical verb and a second element which is most often a bare noun, sometimes a bare adjective, occasionally a suffixed noun. Basque forms compound verbs freely, and has clearly done so for a long time. But the patterns used have varied over the centuries – in particular, the choice of lexical verb to provide the verbal element. In the historical language, **egin** ‘do’ is by far the most frequent choice, though we also find compounds involving **eman** ‘give’, **\*edun** ‘have’, **izan** ‘be’, and the item **-etsi** ‘consider’, now specialized as a suffix-like item but in origin clearly the independent verb **etsi**, today with multiple senses.

But other verbs were possible in the distant past, and the language retains a number of ancient fossilized compound verbs whose formation is often obscure. These things behave today like single lexical verbs, but they are distinguished from other verbs in several respects: (1) unusual length; (2) unusual phonological forms; (3) enormous regional variation in form. These verbs are entered normally in the dictionary, together with our best guess as to the etymology, if we have one. Examples include **eguriki** ‘wait for’, **itxadon** ‘wait for’, **eskaini** ‘offer’, **jaurtiki** ‘throw’, **ihardetsi** ‘resist’, **ihardun** \*\*\*\*{‘spend time, be busy’, not in *The Dictionary*, but see **iharduki** under **\*ihar**}, **jardun** \*\*\*\*{‘be busy with’}, \*\*\*\*.

### M17. Nouns and adjectives

In the historical period, adjectives are sharply distinguished from nouns, and a stem can be shifted from one class to the other only by the use of a suitable word-forming suffix, which normally adds semantic value. Examples: *mendi* ‘mountain’, *menditsu* ‘mountainous’; *labur* ‘short’, *laburtasun* ‘shortness’. The existence of the clearly ancient adjective-forming suffix **-i**, as in *gatz* ‘salt’, *gazi* ‘salty’, appears to suggest that the noun/adjective distinction is ancient.

However, there exist some two dozen seemingly ancient items which can function indifferently as nouns or as adjectives. Examples: *gose* ‘hunger’ or ‘hungry’; *ilun* ‘darkness’ or ‘dark’; *hotz* ‘cold’ (noun) or ‘cold’ (adjective); *gizen* ‘fat’ (noun) or ‘fat’ (adjective). This observation has led some specialists to suggest that, at some very ancient stage, the language did not systematically distinguish nouns and adjectives. [FHV 512]

### M18. Sex-marking

Generally speaking, Basque has no grammatical gender. Sex-marking is severely limited; when present, it is handled lexically (*behi* ‘cow’, *zezen* ‘bull’), by compounding with *eme* ‘female’ and *ar* ‘male’ (*katu* ‘cat’, *katar* ‘tomcat’), or by affixation (*jainko* ‘god’, *jainkosa* ‘goddess’). But the Spanish Basque varieties have recently imported a limited amount of sex- or gender-marking from Spanish, as in the adjective *majo* ‘nice’, borrowed together

with its female form *maja*; the second form is applied only to females, while the first is used in all other circumstances. Very sporadically, this sex-marking has been carried over into native words. For example, B G *gixajo* ‘poor fellow’ has acquired a female form *gixaja* ‘poor woman’, by analogy with the Romance gender-marking.

### M19. Motion verbs

As a rule, Basque verbs of motion incorporate path but not manner. Alongside the fundamental verbs of deictic motion, *joan* ‘go’ and *etorri* and *jaugin* ‘come’, there are many verbs like *igan* ‘go up’, *jautsi* ‘go down’, *irten* and *atera* ‘go out’ and *sartu* ‘go in’, and there is a dedicated verb of undirected motion, *ibili* ‘be in motion’. But there are practically no lexical verbs corresponding to English verbs like ‘walk’, ‘ride’, ‘swim’ and ‘crawl’. Apart from one or two borrowed verbs, like *kurritu* ‘run’, the exceptions are compound verbs constructed with the light verb *egin* ‘do’ plus an adverbial of manner, such as *hegaz egin* ‘fly’, from *hegaz* ‘on wing’ (from *hega* ‘wing’). Otherwise, manner of motion must be expressed by combining a suitable motion verb with an adverbial, such as *oinez* ‘on foot’ or *zaldika* ‘on horseback’. So, where English has ‘He walked down’, Basque has *Oinez jautsi zen*, literally ‘He descended on foot’.

### M20. Absence of certain consonants from the morphology

Certain consonants – those which were absent or marginal in Pre-Basque – play little or no part in Basque morphology.

The consonant /m/, absent from Pre-Basque, plays no role at all in the inflectional morphology, and no role in word-formation except in the noun-forming suffix *-men* ~ *-mendu*, borrowed from Lat. *-mentum*. A partial exception is the expressive syllable *ma-*, apparently created precisely because the rarity of /m/ in the language conferred upon it a special expressive value.

The consonant /p/, very rare or even absent in Pre-Basque, has no morphological role except occasionally as a conditioned variant of /b/ or of /m/, as in the suffix *-pe* ‘under’, from *behe*, and in the variant *-pen* of the suffix *-men* just mentioned. It is wholly absent from the inflectional morphology.

The consonant /j/, absent from Pre-Basque, has no morphological role, apart from its marginal role as one reflex of the ancient and fossilized prefix *\*e-* in non-finite verb-forms.

The consonant /h/, present in Pre-Basque but apparently non-phonemic, has no morphological role except that, in the varieties retaining the aspiration, the absolutive agreement prefix in finite verbs is *h-* for the second-person singular pronoun *hi*.

The several palatal consonants, of uncertain status in Pre-Basque but assuredly not present in ordinary lexical items, continue to have practically no morphological role apart from their use in constructing expressive and diminutive forms. Perhaps the sole exception is the intensive suffix *-xe* {not in *The Dictionary*}.

Finally, the consonant /f/, absent from Pre-Basque, has no morphological role.

Every other modern consonant has a more or less prominent role in the morphology, though the apical sibilants /s/ and /ts/ are less frequent than the others.



### 9. The sources of the Basque lexicon.

Many hundreds of morphologically simple Basque words appear to be clearly native and ancient. These are the words which cannot be sensibly related to words in any neighbouring languages and which have phonological forms consistent with our reconstruction of the Pre-Basque of some 2000 years ago. This group includes nouns like *buru* ‘head’, adjectives like *handi* ‘big’, numerals like *zazpi* ‘seven’, grammatical words like *edo* ‘or’ and *ni* ‘I’, and verbs like *etorri* ‘come’. Not all of these words are necessarily 2000 or more years old in the language, but all of them are strong candidates for such age.

This native lexicon includes pronouns and most grammatical words, numerals, many body-part names, most basic adjectives (including some colour terms), a sizeable number of names of wild and domesticated plants and animals (though quite a few such names are borrowed), almost all words for weather and natural phenomena like the sun and the moon, most names of geographical features, some tool names, a few names of metals, names of familiar materials like wood and stone, most kinship terms, all the words like ‘man’ and ‘girl’, a scattering of agricultural and pastoral terms, and the great majority of basic verbs.

Unsurprisingly absent from the native lexicon are words pertaining to law and administration, to religion, to education, to literature, and to commerce. More surprisingly absent are nautical terms: in spite of the long seafaring traditions of the Basques, there is perhaps not a single nautical term which is native. There are also very few native words pertaining to social organization or to cooking, and there are almost no native words for weapons.

In addition, there are thousands of compounds and derived words constructed from native elements. Some of these are surely or even unquestionably very ancient, while others have been coined during the last 2000 years, and of course still more are being coined today. To some extent, we can distinguish older from newer formations by their phonological forms, but we cannot do this unfailingly.

But Basque has been in intense contact with a number of identifiable neighbouring languages for well over 2000 years, and these languages have had an immense effect on its lexicon. (There must have been earlier neighbours, of course, but about these we know nothing.)

During much of the first millennium BC, Basque was largely surrounded by Celtic languages. These languages have bequeathed a sizeable number of certain or probable toponyms, but almost no ordinary words. We are confident that *arrau(n)* ‘oar’ and *mando* ‘mule’ are of Celtic origin, and cases of varying degrees of persuasiveness have been made for *maite* ‘beloved’, *adar* ‘horn’, *andere* ‘lady’ and *hartz* ‘bear’, among others, but on the whole the absence of Celtic words in Basque is striking, given the centuries of contact.

Around 2000 years ago, the Romans conquered the Basque-speaking region, and the impact of Latin on the Basque lexicon was as enormous as the Celtic influence had been slight. Latin words began passing into Basque from a very early date, to judge by the highly conservative forms of Basque words like *errege* ‘king’ and *gerezi* ‘cherry’.

As spoken Latin developed into Proto-Romance, further borrowings into Basque exhibit Romance developments in pronunciation, as in *zeru* ‘sky’ (from earlier *\*zelu*), and in semantics, as in *abere* ‘large domesticated animal’ (from a Romance development of Latin *habēre* ‘have’).

After the collapse of Roman power in the west, the Basques found themselves in contact with speakers of two Germanic languages, Frankish and Visigothic. But there exists no single clear instance of a Germanic loan directly into Basque, without Romance mediation. To be

sure, though, Basque relations with Franks and Visigoths were uniformly hostile, and anyway it is far from clear that the Franks, and more especially the Visigoths, continued to speak their Germanic languages for any great length of time after settling in France and Spain. In any case, Basque words of undoubted Germanic origin, like *hanka* ‘haunch’, have all entered the language directly from Romance.

In contrast, the Arab conquest of most of Spain produced a handful of Basque words of Arabic origin. Some of these, like *azoka* ‘market’<sup>1</sup> and *gutun* ‘letter’ (epistle) (and other senses) are not attested in Romance, and may have entered Basque directly. Others, like *azenario* ‘carrot’, are shared with Romance, and may or may not have entered via Romance.

With the eventual break-up of spoken Latin into a number of divergent local varieties, Basque found itself in contact with the following: the ~~Gascon~~ and Bearnese {and other Gascon} varieties of Occitan to the north, Aragonese (particularly its Navarrese sub-variety) to the east, Castilian to the south, and Asturian to the west. But the ensuing flood of Romance words into Basque was rather unevenly distributed: Gascon, {or specifically} Bearnese, and Castilian contributed huge numbers of words, Aragonese a much smaller number, and Asturian perhaps none at all. (This generalization is based on the clear cases, but of course there are many Romance words in Basque whose precise source cannot be identified with confidence.)

Before the French Revolution, Basque was scarcely in contact with French, and early borrowings from French are rare to non-existent. Since the Revolution, borrowings from French have become steadily more numerous, and the modern French Basque varieties contain many hundreds of French words, but hardly any of these have penetrated south of the Pyrenees. In the south, of course, the steadily growing prominence of Castilian has meant that practically all newer borrowings are taken from this variety.

There appears to be no other language which has contributed directly to the Basque lexicon. Words originating in other languages, such as *antxo* ‘anchovy’, of Italian origin, and the recent *gay* ‘gay’ (homosexual), of English origin, have entered via one of the neighbouring Romance varieties. A rare exception, though, appears to be the word *porlan* ‘cement’, from English *Portland*; this word is unrecorded in Spanish and appears to be a direct borrowing.<sup>2</sup>

Naturally, Basque writers have never hesitated to coin neologisms whenever they saw fit to do so, and those neologisms which have found a place in the language are entered normally in the dictionary. But there are two large groups of proposed neologisms which require special attention.

In 1745, the Basque grammarian Larramendi published one of the first Basque dictionaries, but one with a curious feature. Whenever Larramendi found no native Basque equivalent for a Spanish word, he invented one, with no clue to the reader that he was doing so. Some of these neologisms were constructed according to the ordinary patterns of the language, like *sudur-hauts* ‘nose-powder’, for ‘snuff’, while others seem to have been coined out of thin air, like *godaria* ‘chocolate’. Though some of Larramendi’s inventions were occasionally picked up and used by later writers of puristic bent, hardly any of them have found a secure place in the language, and his coinages are accordingly omitted from this dictionary.

A second large-scale intervention was made in the 1890s by the Basque nationalist Sabino Arana, who proposed a large number of neologisms, all but a few of them intended to

<sup>1</sup> {NB however OCast. *azogue* (1279), Old Cat. *açoc* (1315).}

<sup>2</sup> {Though it is not in the *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española*, *porlan* ‘concrete’ is, in fact, attested in Spanish since 1942 (Camilo José Cela, *La familia de Pascual Duarte*). Spanish *Porlan* ‘(the isle of) Portland’ is attested since 1449.}

replace everyday Basque words of non-native origin. Arana was a purist, but one with a shaky command of the language. Some of his coinages, like *eratorri* ‘derive’, were technically correct in form, but many more, like his *ingi* ‘paper’, *gotzain* ‘bishop’ and *gaztedi* ‘youth’, were ghastly things doing violence to the ordinary rules of the language. A few of his creations have found a secure place in the language, though not always in the form or in the sense that he proposed, and these are entered normally here. A few others maintain a ghostly existence on the margins of the language, used self-consciously by a few enthusiasts but by nobody else. And the rest are no more than museum pieces. These others are not entered in the dictionary.

## 10. Phonological treatment of loan words.

Basque began borrowing words from Latin very early, and the forms it borrowed were in most respects the classical Latin forms, except that there is no trace in Basque of Latin /h/ (probably lost from popular Latin speech by the first century BC) or of Latin word-final /m/ (probably also lost early, or at least reduced to nasalization of the preceding vowel).

Thanks especially to the medieval data, we can often distinguish the forms of early borrowings from later ones. For example, Latin *fagum* ‘beech’ appears today as both *bago* and *pago*, but the medieval toponymy shows only *bago*, apparently confirming that this was the form borrowed early, while *pago* is a later development. See M. (1961a: *passim*).

Naturally, the strategies used in assigning phonological forms to borrowed words have changed over the centuries, as the phonology of Basque has gradually been assimilated to that of its Romance neighbours.

### L1. Latin plosives

Latin word-medial /p t k/ are borrowed as /p t k/, and word-final /t/, when borrowed at all, is borrowed as /t/. Latin medial /b d g/ are usually borrowed as /b d g/, but see \*\*\* and \*\*\* for complications. Medial /d/ may appear as /r/, by P\*\*{17}. The Latin medial clusters /pp tt kk/ are borrowed as /p t k/, and the rare medial clusters /bb dd gg/ are also borrowed as /p t k/, presumably because of their duration.

Latin word-initial /p t k/ are usually borrowed as /b d g/, since Pre-Basque had no other initial plosives. Initial /b d g/ are also borrowed as /b d g/.

Borrowed /p t k/ are subject to aspiration in the aspirating varieties, by the usual rules (see \*\*\*{section 3}).

### L2. Romance plosives

As a rule, Rom. /p t k b d g/ are borrowed as /p t k b d g/ in all positions, but there are many exceptions word-initially, and it must be said that the voicing of Romance plosives is not consistently respected in this position. Original /d/ may appear between vowels as /r/, by P\*\*{17}.

Rom. /p t k/ are subject to aspiration in the aspirating varieties, by the usual rules (see \*\*\*{section 3}).

### L3. Labials

In line with P\*\*{7-10}, there are complications in the borrowing of Latin and Romance labials. Almost any Latin or Romance labial may on occasion be borrowed as almost any Basque labial. See also \*\*\*.

**L3.1. /w/, /f/ and /v/.** All of Lat. /w/ (orthographic <v>), Lat. and Rom. /f/ and Rom. /v/ are usually borrowed as /b/ (occasionally as /p/ for /f/), but there are complications introduced by \*\*\*. [ALSO as /f/, zero]

**L4. Sibilants**

Latin /s/ is usually borrowed as laminal /z/, except word-finally, where it usually appears as /tz/. This suggests that Latin /s/ was laminal ; see M. (\*\*\*\*{1961a: 280–281}). But there are a very few exceptions, in which Lat. /s/ appears as apical /s/, such as *soka* ‘rope’, from *sōcam* id.

The Cast. and Occ. apical /s/ is usually borrowed as apical /s/, or as /ts/ word-finally. Fr. laminal /s/ is borrowed as /z/.

Very rarely in early borrowings, but commonly in recent ones, a final sibilant is borrowed as /z/, as in *arroz* ‘rice’, from Cast. *arroz* id.

**L5. Liquids**

Latin and Romance liquids are usually retained. Thus original /ʎ (<ll>) r rr/ are borrowed as /ʎ (<ll>) r rr/. But, in early borrowings, intervocalic /l/ appears today as /r/, by P\*\*{22}, while /r/ between vowels may appear as /d/, by P\*\*{17}.

**L6. Nasals**

Latin and Romance /m n ɲ/ are usually borrowed as /m n ɲ/, but the borrowing of /m/ is subject to the complications of \*\*\*{?L7}, and that of /ɲ/ to P\*\*{32}. In rare cases, /m/ is borrowed as /nb/ as in [FHV 360], apparently by hypercorrection for the cases in which Rom. /nb/ has become Basque /m/ by P\*\*{3}.

**L7. Resolution of /mn/**

The Latin and Romance cluster /mn/ is always reduced in Basque, but the result may be either /m/ or /n/. Examples: Lat. *autumnum* ‘autumn’ > Bq. *autono* ‘September’, while Gasc. *hemne* ‘female’ > Bq. *eme* ‘female’. So far, it has not proved possible to tie either outcome to any particular times or places.

**L8. Plosive-liquid cluster elimination** [FHV 347 ff.]

loss of plosive

insertion of echo vowel

lenition of plosive

**L9. Lambdacism**

Occasionally, at least in loan words, an initial /d/, /t/ or /n/ appears as /l/. For example, Fr. *danger* appears as *lanjer* in some varieties, Lat. *thēcam* ‘~~pod~~’ as *leka* ‘pod’ in some varieties, and Cast. *naranja* ‘orange’ as *laranja* in many varieties.

**L10. Vowels**

Latin short /i e a o u/ are borrowed as /i e a o u/. Latin long /ī ē ā ō ū/ are also borrowed as /i e a o u/. Basque therefore preserves the quality of Latin vowels, but ignores quantity.

Lat. /au/ is borrowed as /au/. There is no trace in Basque of Lat. /ae/ or /oe/, which always appear as /e/, as in *\*baLena* ‘whale’ (> modern *balea*) from Lat. *ballaenam*.

The Latin sequence /-iu(m)/ is always reduced in Basque, usually to /-i/, occasionally to /-u/. For example, *mercātārium* ‘merchant’ is borrowed as *merkatari*.

Romance /i a u/ are borrowed as /i a u/. Rom. /e/ and /ɛ/ are both borrowed as /e/, and Rom. /o/ and /ɔ/ are both borrowed as /o/. But there is an exception for Romance word-final /o/, which is commonly borrowed as /u/. This perhaps arises because the medieval Basques noted many cases in which their own word-final /u/ (taken from Lat. /u/) corresponded to Rom. /o/, as in Bq. *liburu* ‘book’ (from Lat. *librum*) beside Cast. *libro*, and concluded that /u/ was the appropriate rendering of Romance final /o/. Rom. /y/ is usually borrowed as /u/.

The Romance diphthongs /ie/ and /ue/ are usually borrowed as /e/, as in *leku* ‘place’, from some Romance development of Lat. *locum* of the approximate form *\*lueco*. Other Romance diphthongs are usually retained.

### L11. Prothetic vowel

Basque has never tolerated word-initial rhotics. In loan words of all periods, a borrowed word containing an initial rhotic in the source language acquires a prothetic vowel, usually /e/ (the unmarked vowel in Basque), occasionally /a/ when the following vowel is /a/ or /o/. Examples: Lat. *regem* ‘king’ > *errege*; Lat. *rosam* ‘rose’ > *arrosa*; Lat. *Roma* ‘Rome’ > *Erroma*.

Basque has also never tolerated word-initial clusters of the form /sC-/. When such a word is borrowed, it acquires a prothetic vowel, almost always /e/, though this /e/ may develop to /i/ by other processes. Examples: Lat. *stupam* ‘oakum’ > *iztupa*; Lat. *spatham* ‘sword’ > *ezpata*. Since the same process applied in all of western Romance, it is not always easy to tell whether the direct source of a Basque word is Latin or Romance

### L12. Aspiration

Basque introduces the aspiration into loan words without regard for its presence or absence in the source. For example, we have *hira* ‘anger’ from Lat. or Rom. *ira*, *hauzu* ~ *haizu* ‘permitted’ from Lat. *ausus*, *hezkabia* ‘ringworm’ from Lat. *scabies*, *phike* ‘pitch’ from Lat. *picem*, and so on. As a rule, in a borrowing from Latin, the aspiration occurs, if at all, only on the syllable which was stressed in Latin, though there exist a couple of exceptions. [FHV 218]

### L13. Treatment of thematic vowels in verbs [see FHV 495 for an idiosyncrasy of Capanaga’s]

### L14. First-syllable loss [FHV 157]

## 12. Ghost words

Vasconists have at times inferred the former existence in Basque of words or affixes which are nowhere recorded as such but for which they have thought they could present good evidence for a former existence. Some of these proposals, such as those for *\*bel* ‘dark’, *\*bil* ‘round’, and *\*har* ‘that’ are so well supported that their former existence is not in doubt, and these are entered normally in the dictionary. Others, such as *\*ez-* ‘tree’ and *\*-ar* collective suffix, are far from secure but are sufficiently intriguing to merit inclusion in the dictionary, with suitable cautions. Still others, such as *\*margo* ‘colour’ and *\*lagi* ‘law’, are certainly or almost certainly errors, but these ghost words have nevertheless entered the language to at least some extent, and so they must be included in the dictionary with explanations of their dubious origins.

But there remain a few proposals which have been widely accepted by my predecessors and colleagues as plausible, but for which I judge the supporting evidence to be wholly inadequate. In my view, these proposals are no more than phantasms. Nevertheless, since some of these items have been widely discussed, not least by hopeful comparativists, who often seem to find them more beguiling than real Basque words and affixes, I provide below a list of these items, together with my reasons for dismissing them.

In addition, I include here a number of non-existent forms which have somehow crept into the literature but which have been identified as ghost words by my predecessors.

**\*adarnatu** ‘lop, prune, trim’.

I follow M. (\*\*\*\*{1970a: 139} Arb) in rejecting this hapax cited by A. (1905) from ~~Araquil~~ {Araquistain}. This is very likely a typo for intended **adarratu** (*q.v. s. v. adar*). {**adarratu** not in *The Dictionary*.}

**\*afantua** ‘wall’.

Given in the *Supplement* to Larramendi, 436, this is a misreading of **asentua**, written with a long S (M. \*\*\*\*{1970a: 105} Arb).

**\*ageru** An error in Lh. for intended **aieru**.

**\*akoipezerrea** ‘tortilla’.

In ~~Araquil~~ {Araquistain}. A misreading of *a coipez errea* ‘fried in oil’, with Rom. *a* + **koipe** ‘oil’ + *-z* instrl./advbl. + **erre** ‘burn’ + *-a* article.

**\*anigua** (Arbelaz) \*\*\*\*{M. 1970a: 140, misreading of *añegua* in Araquistain.}

**\*arnari** ‘fruit’.

A misreading by Azkue of the R ending *-arnari*, for standard *-arenari* ‘to the one of which’ (M. \*\*\*\*{, 1958d; 1970a: 45} Arb).

**\*aroldea** \*\*\*\*{M. 1970a: 140} (Arb)

**\*atangala** ‘frog’. A blunder in ~~Araquil~~ {Araquistain}. (M. \*\*\*\*{1970a: 141} Arb).

**\*axorbe** ‘insect’.

Another one of ~~Araquil~~ {Araquistain}’s, non-existent {words} according to M. (1970{a: 141} \*\*\*\*)

**\*b(e)-** body-part prefix

Uhlenbeck (19227), noticing that a number of body-part names, often especially names of paired body parts, begin with a morph *be-* or *bi-* or at least *b-*, proposed the former existence in Basque of a supposed body-part prefix *\*be-*, now fossilized within certain body-part names. He suggested a possible connection with **bi** ‘two’, though the observations that this word derives from (attested) **biga**, and that this item was anciently postposed (not preposed) are not obviously helpful. Michelena (\*\*\*\*{1958a}) took this proposal seriously, but preferred to see a possible origin in **ber-** ‘self’, ‘same’, the stem used to construct reflexives, supposing that the alleged prefix might represent a fossilized marker of inalienable possession, roughly ‘one’s own’. Indeed, few Vasconists have seen fit to query the reality of this prefix.

However, the evidence for the reality of this former prefix is slender indeed – so slender, I suggest, that its existence cannot plausibly be defended. Here is a list of *all* the body-part names which begin, or formerly began, with /b/, omitting obvious compounds and derivatives, but including marginal words: **bare** ‘spleen’, **begi** ‘eye’, **belar** ‘forehead’, **belaun** ‘knee’, **\*berarri** ‘ear’, **beso** ‘arm’, **\*bini** ‘tongue’, **bizar** ‘beard’, **bizkar** ‘back’, **birika** (formerly **biri**) ‘lung’, **bihotz** ‘heart’, **bular** ‘chest’, and **buru** ‘head’, to which we might conceivably add **behazun** (and variants) ‘bile’ (almost certainly not monomorphemic) and **buztan** ‘tail’. Observe that only a few of these denote paired body parts, and that not all of them exhibit *be-* or *bi-*.

In contrast, among native and possibly monomorphemic body-part names which do not start with /b/, we have the words for ‘blood’, ‘body’, ‘bone’, ‘(female) breast’, ‘buttocks’, ‘finger’, ‘foot’, ‘forearm’, ‘hair’, ‘hand’, ‘heel’, ‘intestines’, ‘kidney’, ‘lip’, ‘liver’, ‘mouth’, ‘neck’, ‘nose’, ‘palm’, ‘pancreas’, ‘penis’, ‘stomach’, ‘thigh’, ‘throat’, ‘tooth’, ‘vulva’, and ‘waist’. There is no recorded native word for ‘cheek’, ‘chin’ or ‘leg’, and all other body-part names are transparently bimorphemic or borrowed.

The question, then, is whether a collection of scarcely more than a dozen body-part names with initial /b/, in the face of more than twice as many lacking initial /b/, constitutes good evidence for the putative prefix. And I believe that it does not.

The problem is that word-initial /b/ is *extremely* frequent in the native lexicon anyway. Only six consonants could begin lexical items in Pre-Basque – *\*b g z s l n/* – and, of these, /b/ and /g/ are by far the most frequent in the surviving vocabulary, even though the two phonological processes P\*\*{7} and P\*\*{9} have removed a significant number of word-initial /b/s that were formerly present. If we look at *any* section of the native lexicon, we find /b/-initial words in profusion. For example, four of the first ten numeral-names begin with /b/, and initial /b/ is inordinately frequent among the grammatical words of the language: **baina(n)** ‘but’, **baino** ‘than’, **bezala** ‘like, as’, **bezain** ‘as...as’, **bai** ‘yes’, **ba-** ‘if’, **ba** verbal clitic, **ber-** reflexive stem, **bait-** verbal prefix, and others. Among common native adjectives and adverbs we find **baldar** ‘clumsy’, **baratz** ‘careful’, **barda** ‘last night’, **bare** ‘calm’, **behin** ‘once’, **beltz** ‘black’, **ben** ‘serious’, **berandu** ‘late’, **berdin** ‘same’, **berezi** ‘special’, **bero** ‘hot’, **berri** ‘new’, **bertze** ‘other’, **bete** ‘full’, **beti** ‘always’, **bigun** ‘soft’, **bihar** ‘tomorrow’, **bihurri** ‘crooked’, **biluzi** ‘naked’, and **bizi** ‘alive’, among others, not to mention the reconstructed **\*bel** ‘dark’, **\*bera** ‘soft’, and **\*bil** ‘round’, plus numerous derived adjectives like **bakar** ‘solitary’, **bakoitz** ‘unique’, and **bizkor** ‘energetic’.

Everywhere we look, the story is the same: numerous native lexical items with initial /b/. This being so, any case for the supposed body-part prefix would have to show that initial



/b/ is significantly more frequent among body-part names than it is elsewhere in the native lexicon. No such demonstration has been attempted, and I do not believe it is possible. Basque has a number of body-part names with initial /b/, not because there is a fossilized prefix in these words, but merely because initial /b/ is so frequent in the language generally. No other explanation is called for.

Finally, we might note that no one has ever proposed a “body-part prefix /b-/” for English, and yet English has at least as many body-part names with initial /b/ as has Basque – even though English permits many more word-initial consonants. Compare the following list with the Basque list above: *back, belly, bile, bladder, blood, body, bollocks, bone, bosom, brain, breast, brow, and buttocks*, at least.

The case for the alleged “body-part prefix \*be-” looks unsustainable to me.

**\*eka** or **\*ika** ‘one’

Extracted from **hamaika** ‘eleven’ (old B **amaeka**), built on **hamar** ‘ten’ with an opaque second element. See the entry for **hamaika** (under **hamar**) for discussion of possible etymologies. An ancient word for ‘one’ cannot be sensibly extracted.

**\*igali** ‘fruit’

Recorded only in Larramendi’s dictionary and in those who have taken it from there. Undoubtedly one of Larramendi’s creations (M. \*\*\*\* {1958d}).<sup>3</sup>

**\*iz** ‘water’

Azkue (1905, \*\*\*\*), following a suggestion of the writer Mogel, argued for the former existence of this item on the basis of the words **izerdi** ‘sweat’ (possibly **erdi** ‘half’), **izurde** ‘dolphin’ (**urde** ‘pig’), \*\*\*\* {**izotz** ‘frost, ice’, **izokin** ‘salmon’}, and the place names *Izpazter* (**bazter** ‘edge’) and *Izaro*, both denoting places by the sea. But this putative stem was demolished by Michelena (1961a: 116 *fn.* 13), who showed that most of these items had other and better etymologies. For example, **izurde** ‘dolphin’, found only in B and G, and marginally in old L, stands alongside L **gizaurde**, which is transparently a compound of **gizon** ‘man’ (regular combining form **giza-**) and **urde**. The unusual loss of initial /g/ is paralleled by the toponym recorded early as *Giçairudiaga* but modern *Izurdiaga*. Accordingly, there is no case for the reality of the putative \*iz. {See also Trask 1997: 328.}

**\*mameana** ‘inexcusable’

An error in Larramendi’s *Suplemento* 337. The intended form is *maemana*, from *R&S* 307; this is a version of the verb-form *\*ba-eman-a* (M. \*\*\*\* {1970a: 95}).

**\*na** ‘anybody’

A simple blunder. A. (1905) observed the following entry in Fita’s dictionary:

alguno, na, *ihor* N

He mistakenly took Fita’s abbreviation of the Spanish feminine form *alguna* as a Basque gloss of *alguno* (M. \*\*\*\* {1970a: 146}).

<sup>3</sup> {Michelena *loc. cit.* actually says this word is attested neither in Larramendi nor in Azkue, and that he (Michelena) is unable to document it.}

**\*orraiturria** ‘water or spring’.

An error in Fita for intended *oraiturria*, representing *ura-iturria*, with **ur** ‘water’ and **iturri** ‘spring’, both with the article attached (M. \*\*\*\*{1970a: 147).

**\*-tzi** *num.*

Extracted from *zortzi* ‘eight’ and *bederatzi* ‘nine’ and assigned some numerical meaning. Indefensible, since we can clearly reconstruct *\*bederatzu* for ‘nine’, with common *bederatzi* resulting from contamination from *zortzi*, which is unanalysable.

### 13. The Structure of entries

The headwords are entered in the dictionary in alphabetical order. As is usual in Basque linguistic work, the letter <h> is ignored in the alphabetical ordering; so, for example, **ahabia** precedes **aba**, and **ehun** occurs between **euli** and **euri**. The letter <ñ> follows <n> in the alphabetical order.

Wherever possible, the headword is an attested form, but occasionally this is not possible, and the headword is a reconstructed form, marked by an asterisk. These reconstructed forms sometimes contain the reconstructed consonants \***L**, \***N** and \***R**; these are treated exactly like the ordinary consonants /l/, /n/ and /r/ for alphabetical purposes. So, for example, the reconstructed item \***iLe** is entered as though it were **ile**.

For an item which is not a verb, the headword is normally the bare free form of the item, with no affixes. When two or more words appear to be derived from a common but unrecorded stem, the reconstructed stem serves as the headword. For a verb, as is usual in Basque linguistic work, the headword is the perfective participle, the usual citation form of a Basque verb. For a defective verb for which no perfective participle is recorded, the reconstructed participle is used, if possible: an example is \***edun** ‘have’. Where no participle can be reconstructed, the bare root is entered, as with **-io-** ‘say’.

In most cases, a word is recorded in two or more variant forms. The variant selected as the headword in such a case is the one which matches the modern standard orthography, if the word has a modern standard written form. Otherwise, the most widespread form is chosen, if there clearly is one. If there is not, the form selected as the headword is the one which appears to be most conservative in form, if such a choice is possible. When all of this fails, the choice of headword is arbitrary. But all variant forms are entered in the Basque index near the end of the dictionary, and a reader looking for a particular form is advised to consult this index, which will refer him to the appropriate headword.<sup>4</sup>

The orthographic conventions for presenting entries are those used in Luis Michelena’s publications and in most philological work since. The conventions of the modern standard orthography are used as far as they will go to represent the pronunciations. The aspiration is written as <h> wherever it occurs. Nasalized vowels are marked with a tilde, as in <ã>. The Zuberoan front rounded vowel is written <ü>. The prominent stress accent of Zuberoan and Roncalese is marked with an acute accent whenever its position is known with certainty, as in *bürhézur* ‘skull’; the absence of such an accent in a Z or R form means that the position of the accent is not certainly known. The voiced sibilants corresponding to voiceless /z/ and /s/ are not overtly marked, since the voicing here appears never to be of any historical interest. The exceedingly rare voiced affricates corresponding to /tz/ and /ts/, however, are written <dz> and <ds>. The glide [j] is written <y> whenever it occurs in a form in a variety in which the historical /j/ has developed to some other sound.

The intervocalic tap /r/ is consistently written in the earliest Zuberoan texts, but has disappeared from Zuberoan speech within the last couple of centuries. Relevant Z forms are therefore given with the <r> presented in parentheses, as in *bü(r)ü* ‘head’, showing that the earlier Z form was *bürü*, while the modern one is *büü*. Since the tap was also lost before /h/, I likewise write *é(r)ho* ‘kill’, representing earlier *érho* but modern *ého*. In contrast, a Z spelling like *ürhe* ‘gold’ shows the presence of a trill which has never been lost.

<sup>4</sup> {These indices were not compiled, but the whole electronic text of *Etymological Dictionary of Basque* is searchable.}

Forms from older texts using obsolete orthographies are automatically converted into the orthography used here whenever this can be done with complete confidence, as in most cases it can. But a form which is a hapax or close to it, and whose orthography is ambiguous or doubtful, is left in its original spelling, with annotations as appropriate.

Bound morphemes are entered normally, with hyphens as appropriate. Where necessary, a free form precedes a bound morpheme of identical form, and a prefix precedes a suffix.

When two or more identical headwords of differing origin are entered, these are given numbers in square brackets. Where possible, a more widespread item precedes less widespread one. So, for example, the widespread **ardi** [1] ‘sheep’ precedes the localized **ardi** [2] ‘flea’. When this criterion is useless, the order is arbitrary. So, for example, **-ki** [1] AdvFS precedes **-ki** [2] dative flag, which precedes **-ki** [3] NFS.

Each variant form is followed by an indication of the dialects within which that form is recorded. As explained in section \*\*{1}, the dialects recognized here are the ten conventional ones recognized by Luis Michelena in his writings and by most others since, including the long-extinct Southern and the recently extinct Roncalese. Note that the mention of a given dialect means only that the form is recorded *somewhere* within that dialect area, and not necessarily in every local variety of that dialect. The notation “Old” before a dialect label means that the form is recorded in early texts from that dialect but has not been in use for a long time. The notation “(c.)” (“common”) means that the form appears to be recorded throughout the language, while a notation of the type “(c. exc. B)” means that the form is recorded everywhere except in the named dialect(s). The notation “(?)” in this position means that the form is recorded only in one or more sources which fail to provide a provenance; this most typically happens with a hapax which is found only in an old dictionary. A hapax is marked “[hapax]”.

A part-of-speech label usually follows the dialect information, but this label precedes when the meaning of the item is quite different in the several dialects. The abbreviations for the parts of speech are listed in section 14; these are mostly obvious. But note that *adjvl.* is used for a peculiarity of Basque: a class of syntactically complex adjective-like modifiers which precede their head nouns (ordinary lexical adjectives follow their nouns). Determiners are labelled according to whether they are preposed or postposed to their heads within noun phrases. Postpositions are labelled for the case they govern. When a word exists as more than one part of speech, the noun use is usually given first, unless there is some good reason to prefer another order.

Verbs require special attention. A verb is labelled ‘intransitive’ or ‘transitive’, as appropriate. A verb which is syntactically intransitive but which requires transitive morphology is marked “*vitm.*” Obligatory or optional dative arguments are marked with a “*d*”. Thus, *vi.* marks a simple intransitive verb; *vt.* a simple transitive one; *vid.* an intransitive verb with an obligatory dative argument; *vt(d).* a transitive verb with an optional dative argument; and *vitm(d).* an intransitive verb which takes transitive morphology and an optional dative argument. A copular verb, always with intransitive morphology, is marked *vcop.*

A complement-taking verb is marked *vic.* if it takes intransitive morphology, and *vtc.* if it takes transitive morphology. The nature of the complement required is given in following square brackets: thus, “[+ Ger]” means that the verb takes a gerund VP, while “[+ **-la**]” means that it takes a complement clause with the complementizer **-la**, and so on.

Under each part of speech, the recorded meanings are listed. Sometimes it is clear that some meanings are central and original, while others result from semantic transfer; in such cases, the later meanings are marked “TS”, for “transferred sense(s)”. If a transferred sense belongs

to a different part of speech, this is noted. Names of animals or plants are marked “(zool.)” or “(bot.)”, and Latin names are provided wherever possible.

Many words show distinctive forms when they occur as first elements in word-formation (either compounding or suffixation). For each such word, the special form is listed as its “CF” (“combining form”). Note that these combining forms are typical of medieval formations, but that they often fail to be used in more recent formations, where the free form of the word is used instead.

For a verb, the main part of the entry is followed by the stem of that verb (the form which is obtained in most cases by removing the suffix of the perfective participle, and which functions as its combining form in word-formation). For a verb containing the ancient prefix \*e-, the root is also given; this is obtained by the further removal of the prefix, and it represents the verbal morpheme in its bare form. The root is also the form which appears in the synthetic (non-periphrastic finite) forms of that verb, if it has any. A verb for which any synthetic forms are recorded at all is labelled “Synth.”. See section \*\*{5} for an account of the peculiarities of certain classes of verbs.

When a date of first attestation is available, this is usually given at the end of the head entry. However, when different dates are available for the several variant forms or senses of an entry, these dates immediately follow the relevant forms or senses. When no date appears, this usually means that the word is first recorded only in the 20th century, most usually in Azkue’s 1905 dictionary. When a word is first recorded in Larramendi’s 1745 dictionary, which contains many unidentified neologisms, or in that book’s 1746 supplement, the date of the second attestation is also given. When a word is first recorded in the medieval period, the medieval date is followed by the date of first attestation in the later connected texts.

If a word has any diminutive (“expressive”) forms, as described in section \*\*{this section is absent from Trask’s typescript, but see M9 in section 8, and m- in *The Dictionary*}, these are listed at the end of the head entry, together with any necessary comments.

The head entry is followed by the information on the etymology of the item. Given first in most cases, where relevant, is an explanation of forms in terms of the phonological changes listed in section \*\*{6}; an annotation like “by P7” means that rule 7 in section \*\*{6} has applied. A few of the most frequent changes are so obvious that they are not expressly mentioned in the entries; these are noted in section \*\*{1d}. In the case of a loan word, the developments listed in section \*\*{10} are expressly noted, and an annotation like “by L4” means that process 4 listed in section \*\*{10} has applied. For a verb containing the prefix \*e-, the structure of the verb is displayed in the form Prefix-Root-Suffix: for example, **ikusi** ‘see’ is shown as \*e-kus-i. At some convenient point, the combining form is explained, if necessary; so, for example, “CF by W6” means that process 6 in section \*\*{7} explains the combining form. The frequent notation “OUO” (“of unknown origin”) means that the origin of a form is entirely unknown; such an item is usually a strong candidate for native and ancient status in the language.

In the cases in which we can tell, nouns borrowed from Latin were usually borrowed in the accusative singular, and adjectives were usually borrowed in the accusative singular masculine. Accordingly, the policy here is to cite every Latin etymon in this form unless the Latin source is plainly some other form. A handful of nouns were taken from a Latin nominative, vocative or genitive case-form; a few nouns were taken from Latin plurals; and one or two adjectives were taken from a feminine form. These forms are cited and identified where necessary.

Under each main entry are entered, indented, the compounds and derivatives of that item, in alphabetical order. The structure of each such sub-entry follows that of a main entry, in most respects. The additional material present in each such formation is given with a preceding plus sign: thus, for example, “+ **berri** ‘new’” means that we are looking at a compound whose second element is the cited word, while one of the form “+ **-tsu** AFS” means that we are looking at a derivative containing the adjective-forming suffix **-tsu**. If the additional item cited is not listed in its alphabetical place in the dictionary, a cross-reference is supplied: so, for example, “+ **-tasun** abstract NFS (see **-tar**)” means that the suffix **-tasun** is listed in the dictionary under the headword **-tar**, of which it is a derivative.

As a rule, each compound or derivative is listed under its first element. But there are two exceptions. First, words containing prefixes are listed under their second elements; for example, **berrogei** ‘forty’, which contains the prefix **berr-** ‘twice’, is entered under **hogei** ‘twenty’. Second, Basque has a few nouns which occur frequently as first elements in compounds with specialized senses, and formations containing these are also listed under their second elements. For example, **otso** ‘wolf’ often means ‘wild’ as a first element, and so **otsokume** ‘wolf cub’ is listed under **otso**, but **otsolizar** ‘mountain ash’ is entered under **leizar** ‘ash tree’.<sup>5</sup> The elements treated in this way are **baso** ‘woods’ (but ‘wild’), **otso** ‘wolf’ (but ‘wild’), **larre** ‘pasture’ (but ‘wild’)<sup>6</sup>, and **sasi** ‘blackberry bush’ (but ‘pseudo-’). \*\*\*

There are some etymologists whose work is cited so frequently that I have abbreviated their names. These are as follows: “M.” is Luis Michelena; “A.” is R. M. de Azkue; “Lh.” is Pierre Lhande (1926); “C.” is Juan Corominas; “CP” is Corominas and Pascual (1980); “ML” is Meyer-Lübke (1935); and “AT” is Agud and Tovar (1988–95), {Sch. is Hugo Schuchardt}. Names of other scholars are given in full.

Expressive formations call for special comment. Those which are derived from ordinary lexical items are simply listed normally under their source words. But most such words have been coined out of thin air. Many of these are constructed according to identifiable patterns, and these items are grouped together in the dictionary under suitable headings. The headwords for these groups are **m-**, **m-reduplications**, **panp-**, **pot-**, and **t/k reduplications**. \*\*\* The remaining expressive formations, those which fall into no pattern, are entered normally as headwords.

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<sup>5</sup> {Actually **otsolizar** is s.v. **otso**.}

<sup>6</sup> {No words with **larre** as first element are listed in *The Dictionary*.}

**14. List of abbreviations and symbols**

(The symbol # represents a number.)

A	Aezkoan dialect of Basque
A.	R. M. de Azkue
<i>a.</i>	adjective
Abl.	ablative case (‘from’, ‘away from’, ‘out of’)
Abs.	absolute case (intransitive subject, direct object, vocative)
acc.	accusative case (of Latin)
<i>adjvl.</i>	preposed adjectival modifier
<i>adv.</i>	adverb
advbl.	adverbial
AdvFS	adverb-forming suffix
AFS	adjective-forming suffix
All.	allative case (‘to’, motion)
<i>anat.</i>	anatomical
app.	apparently
approx.	approximate(ly)
Aq.	Aquitanian (ancestral form of Basque, sparsely recorded in Roman times)
Arag.	Aragonese
{Arb	Arbelaiz (1978)}
arch.	archaic
Ast.	Asturian
AT	Agud and Tovar (1988–95)
{Aul.	Aulestia (1989)}
{Ax	Axular; see Villasante (1973)}
{Az.	Azkue (1905)}
B	Bizkaian (Vizcayan) dialect of Basque
Bearn.	Bearnese dialect of {(Gascon)} Occitan
<i>bot.</i>	botanical name
Bq.	Basque
C.	Juan Corominas {= Joan Coromines}
<i>c.</i>	common (to all dialects)
<i>ca.</i>	approximately

Cast.	Castilian Spanish
Cat.	Catalan
cent.	century
<i>c. exc.</i>	common to all dialects except the following
<i>cf.</i>	compare
CF	combining form (form assumed when standing as a first element in word-formation)
Com.	comitative case ('with', accompaniment)
<i>conj.</i>	conjunction
CP	Corominas and Pascual (1980–91)
Dat.	dative case (indirect object, ethical dative, some idiosyncratic objects)
<i>det.</i>	determiner
CS	case-suffix
Dest.	destinative case ('for' an object)
dimin.	diminutive
{Duv.	Jean Duvoisin, manuscript dictionary}
EB	<i>euskara batua</i> (Unified Basque, standard Basque)
Eng.	English
Erg.	ergative case (subject of transitive verb)
esp.	especially
fn.	footnote
Fr.	French
G	Gipuzkoan (Guipuzcoan) dialect of Basque
Gasc.	Gascon dialect of Occitan
Gen.	genitive case (possessor, object of many postpositions)
Gk.	Greek
H.	recorded in Harriet's 19th-cent. dictionary, provenance not given
Hb.	recorded in Hiribarren's 19th-cent. dictionary, provenance not given
HN	High Navarrese (Alta Navarra) dialect of Basque
Ib.	Iberian (ancient language of eastern Spain, apparently unrelated to Basque)
id.	with the same meaning
IE	Indo-European
ImpfP	imperfective participle
instr.	instrumental ('by means of', 'with' (as instrument), miscellaneous uses)
<i>intj.</i>	interjection
L	Lapurdian (Labourdin) dialect of Basque



L#	loan-word process number # in section 10
Lat.	Latin
Lh.	Lhande (1926).
lit.	literally
<i>lit.</i>	literary use only
LLat.	Late Latin
LN	Low Navarrese (Bas-Navarrais) dialect of Basque
Loc.	locative case ('in', 'on', 'at' (rest), also 'into' (motion))
M.	Luis Michelena
M#	morphological statement number # in section 8
med.	medieval
ML	Meyer-Lübke (1935)
mod.	modern
Múg.	Múgica's ****?(1981) dictionary
neol.	neologism
<i>n.</i>	noun
neg.	negative
NFS	noun-forming suffix
Nor	unspecified northern varieties (L LN Z)
NP	noun phrase
NPI	negative polarity item
<i>num.</i>	cardinal numeral
OCast.	Old Castilian
Occ.	Occitan
orig.	originally
OUO	of unknown origin
<i>p.</i>	postposition
P#	phonological rule number # in section 6
part.	partitive (part of a whole, direct object of negated verb, adverbial uses)
<i>p.c.</i>	personal communication
pcple.	participle
PerfP	perfective participle
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
<i>pl.</i>	plural
<i>pl. tm.</i>	<i>plurale tantum</i> (plural form only)

Port.	Portuguese
<i>pron.</i>	pronoun
prp.	preposed (to a following head)
<i>prt.</i>	particle (grammatical word not readily assignable to any word-class)
psp.	postposed (to a preceding head)
<i>q.v.</i>	which you should consult
R	Roncalese dialect of Basque (extinct in the late 20th cent.)
Rom.	Romance
RS	relational suffix forming preposed adjectivals
<i>R&amp;S</i>	<i>Refranes y Sentencias</i> , a 1596 collection of proverbs in archaic B
S	Salazarese (Salacenco) dialect of Basque
Sard.	Sardinian
Sch.	Hugo Schuchardt
<i>s.o.</i>	someone
Sout	Southern (Alavese) dialect of Basque (long extinct, but recorded in 1562)
<i>sp.</i>	species
S.P.	Sylvain Pouvreau's unpublished 17th-century dictionary of L
spec.	specifically
Subj.	subjunctive
<i>s.v.</i>	under the word
<i>s.vv.</i>	under the words
Synth.	synthetic (non-periphrastic) forms of this verb are recorded
TS	transferred sense(s)
ult.	ultimately
v.	verb
<i>vcop.</i>	copular verb
VFS	verb-forming suffix
<i>vi.</i>	intransitive verb
<i>vic.</i>	complement-taking verb with intransitive morphology
<i>vid.</i>	intransitive verb taking a dative object
<i>vitm.</i>	intransitive verb taking transitive morphology
<i>vitmd.</i>	intransitive verb taking transitive morphology and a dative object
<i>vitm(d).</i>	intransitive verb taking transitive morphology and an optional dative object
<i>vt.</i>	transitive verb
<i>vtc.</i>	complement-taking verb with transitive morphology

W#	word-formation rule # in section 7
Z	Zuberoan (Souletin) dialect of Basque
<i>zool.</i>	zoological name
+	contains
?	doubtful or unknown
>	gives rise to
<	is descended from

## ITEMS TO BE SORTED:

**-kide** etc. {see **-kide**}

**-zain** ‘guardian’ etc. {see **zain** [1]}

**-ki**, **-to** suffixes {see **-ki** [1], [2], [3]; **-to** [1], [2]}

**-egi**, **-tegi**, etc. {see **hegi**}

**gai**, **-gai** {see **gai**}

**-eta**, **-keta** {see **-eta** toponymic suffix; **-keta** is not in *The Dictionary*}

**-ari**, **-kari** meal suffix {see **-ari** [2]}

**-rean** or **-ean**? {see **-rean**}

## The Dictionary

As is usual in Basque linguistic work, the letter *h* is ignored in the alphabetical order.

### -a [1] (c.) Allative CS: ‘to’ (motion)

This CS exists everywhere alongside the more widely used **-ra**. It is found in three circumstances. First, it occurs with place names: *Zarautz* town name, *Zarautza* ‘to Zarautz’. Second, it occurs with the demonstrative stems: *hona*, *huna* ‘hither’, *horra* ‘thither’, *hara* ‘thither’, from the three oblique demonstrative stems *hon-*, *horr-*, *har-* (see **hau**, **hori** {[1]}, \***har**). Third, it occurs after the element **-gan**, both in the western animate allatives like *gizona(ren)gana* ‘to the man’ and in the northern postposition *gana* ‘next to’, as in L LN *gizonaren gana* ‘next to the man’ (speaking of movement to this position). In L LN, it can optionally take a following **-t**, just like **-ra**: *hunat* ‘hither’, *gizonaren ganat* ‘next to the man’. After a vowel, we find only *-ra*, but we usually cannot tell whether this represents **-ra** or whether it represents **-a** with the usual phonological **-r-** inserted: *Bilbo* ‘Bilbao’, *Bilbora* ‘to Bilbao’; L LN *gizonaren baithara* ‘to the man’ (see **baitha-**). In the north, by M8, there are no place names ending in a consonant, and so we find only allative *-ra* with toponyms here. The use of **-a** in place names suggests that it may be older than **-ra**.

### -a [2] (L LN) Yes-no question particle.

This particle is suffixed to a synthetic finite verb-form, where it induces certain vowel changes. Examples: *Manex dator* ‘Manex is coming’, *Manex datorra?* ‘Is Manex coming?’; *Ingelesa da* ‘S/he’s English’, *Ingelesa dea?* ‘Is s/he English?’; *Ibanek ikusi du* ‘Iban has seen it’, *Ibanek ikusi duia?* ‘Has Iban seen it?’ This particle is normally accompanied by *falling* intonation. OUO, and not recorded in any other variety.

### -a [3] (L LN) Suffix in finite verb-forms.

This suffix is found in L and LN in certain synthetic finite verb-forms, immediately following the verbal root but preceding any agreement suffixes or tense suffixes. Examples: *nabila* ‘I’m going’, *dabila* ‘s/he’s going’, *zabilan* ‘s/he was going’, for common *nabil*, *dabil*, *zebilen*, from **ibili** ‘be in motion’; *dakarrat* ‘I’m bringing it’, *dakarra* ‘s/he’s bringing it’, *zakarran* ‘s/he was bringing it’, for common *dakart*, *dakar*, *zekarren*, from **ekarri** ‘bring’. Other verbs exhibiting this suffix include **erasi** ‘chatter’ and **ikusi** ‘see’, at least. But not all verbs exhibit it: for example, **etorri** ‘come’ forms *nator* ‘I’m coming’ and *dator* ‘s/he’s coming’, as in other varieties, and not \**natorra* or \**datorra*. This suffix is not recorded outside L and LN. Its origin is unknown, though it may conceivably result from analogy with finite forms like *darama* ‘s/he is taking it away’ and *dauka* ‘s/he holds it’, in which the final *-a* is part of the verbal root.

**ahabia** (Z) (19th cent.), **āhābe** (Z), **ahabi** (?), **abi** (B G HN R) (1746), **afi** (B), **arabi** (B) (1802), **gabi** (B), **kabi** (AT), **aabale** (Múg.) *n.* ‘bilberry, whortleberry’ (*bot.*) (*Vaccinium myrtillus*).

From \**anabi(a)*, OUO, by P1 (M \*\*\*\* {1950d: 467f.; 1953e: 572; 1961a: 300 and fn. 4}). The \**arobi* occurring in Mogel’s *Peru Abarka* is a typo for *arabi*. The original

form is retained as *anabia* in Riojan Spanish. What appears to be the same word is widely recorded in nearby Rom. varieties, esp. in the Pyrenees; see AT (*s.v.* *āhābe*) for a list. No one knows whether the word is Bq. or Rom. in origin.

**ahaide** (L LN), **aide** (B G HN) *n.* ‘relative’. 1545.

O.U.O., but surely contains **-ide** ‘fellow’ (see **kide**) (M. 1961a: 245). Vinson (\*\*\*\* {?1908} R {*evue de*} L {*inguistique et de*} Ph {*ilologie*} C {*omparée*} 41: 92 ff.) proposes that the first element is **anaia** ‘brother’, by P1; this is rejected by Bähr (1935), but taken seriously by M. (1961a: 306 fn. 12), who notes the parallelism with Old Cast. *cormano* ‘relative’ from \**co-hermano* ‘co-brother’. Possibly contains the hypothetical \***ana-** {[1]}. Bähr (*ibid.*) proposes **aho** ‘mouth’ as the first element, and hence ‘mouth-companion’, but no one has taken this seriously, for lack of parallels.

**ahaidego(a)** (L LN), **ahaikoa** (old L) (1643), **ahakoa** (old LN) (1571), **ahaiko** (L) (1855), **aiko** (\*\*) (1783) *n.* ‘relationship, kinship’, ‘relative’. + **-goa** collective NFS. Common variants from \**ahaide-goa* > \**ahaid-goa* (by W\*\* {1}) > \**ahait-goa* (by W\*\* {3}) > \**ahait-koa* > *ahaikoa* (by {W}\*\* {4}) (M. 1977a: 487). Loss of final /a/ by M4. Leizarraga’s **ahakoa** is probably a hapax and may be an error.

**aide nagusi** (old B G) *n.* ‘clan chief’. *Ca.* 1600. + **nagusi** ‘principal’.

**ahakar** (L), **akar** (HN S), **ākar** (R), **aaka** (Múg.) *n.* ‘quarrel, dispute’. 1643.

The R form leads M. (\*\*\*\* *BAP* 6: {1950b:}499) to propose \**anakar*, O.U.O., by P1. But AT (*s.v.*) prefer a derivative of **aho** ‘mouth’, and see the R nasalization as secondary; they cite in support an adverbial *ahakan* ‘arguing’ from S.P. See **aharra**.

**ahakartu** (old L), **ahakatu** (S.P.) *v.* [diathesis unrecorded] ‘dispute, argue’. + **-tu** VFS.

**ahal** (L LN Z), **aal** (B), **al** (B G HN R S) *n.* ‘power, ability’. 1571.

O.U.O., but probably from \**anal*, by P1, if the proposed derivative below is correct. (M. \*\*\*\* {1961a: 214, 411 fn. 7}). M. (\*\*\*\* *BAP* 6 {1950b}: 452) presents a summary of the regional distribution of variants.

**ahal bezanbat** (old L) *det.* ‘as much as possible’. + **bezainbat** (see \*\*\*\* {\***bez(a)-**}).

**ahalez** (old L) *adv.* ‘as far as possible’. + **-z** instr./advbl.

**ahalke** (L LN) (1571), **āhálke** (Z), **aalke** (HN), **ālke** (R), **álke** (R), **alke** (HN LN S), **ahatge** (L LN) (1657) *n.* ‘shame’, ‘shyness, timidity, modesty’. + **-ge** ‘without’ (see **gabe**) (M. \*\*\*\* *BAP* 6 {1950b}: 457, 1961a: 354). This etymology is not certain, but it is widely accepted, and it provides the evidence for \**anal* above.

**ahatge-gabe** (old LN), **ahalkegabe** (\*\*) *a.* ‘insolent’. 1630. + **gabe** ‘without’. An interesting example of a second occurrence of the same final item. [FHV 412 fn.]

**ahalkeizun** (old L old LN), **ahatgeizun** (old LN) *n.* ‘infamy’. 1545. + **-kizun** NFS.

**al** (G) Yes-no question particle. 1761?, late 19th cent. By some unidentifiable process of grammaticalization.

**alba-** (old L old LN) ‘if perhaps’, ‘if possibly’. 1545. Expresses a remoter condition than **ba-** alone. + **ba-** ‘if’ (M. 1961 {a}: 214).

**albait-** (old LN), **albeit-** (old LN) Verbal prefix expressing a kind of imperative which is subordinate to a condition, called the “prescriptive” by Lafon (1944{3}). 1545. + **-bait** (M. 1961 {a}: 214). [FHV 214, 214 fn., 411 fn.]

**albait** (B G HN) \*\*\*\* {adv. ‘as .. as possible’ Aul.}

**ahantzi** (L LN) (1571), **ahanzi** (old LN), **aantzi** (HN), **antzi** (HN), **ahatzi** (LN Z), **ahatze** (LN), **āhātze** (Z), **ahanze** (old LN), **ātze** (R), **átze** (R), **antzitu** (B), **anztu** (old B, R&S 156), **aaztu** (B G HN), **aztu** (B G HN Sout) (1562), **atzendu** (Múg.) vid. ‘forget’.

From *\*anatz* (OUO), or possibly *\*anantzi*, or just possibly *\*ena(n)tzi*, by P1 (Uhlenbeck \*\*\*\* {1947}; M. \*\*\*\* {1950b: 449; 1961a: 303}). Forms in **-tu** by transfer of the verb from the **-i** class to the **-tu** class (M14); the variant **antzitu** interestingly carries both participial suffixes. The mysterious last form not recorded outside Múg. This is a rare dative-subject verb: that which is forgotten is absolutive, while he who forgets is dative. In practice, however, its diathesis varies greatly, depending on both region and construction. Often, he who forgets is absolutive, while that which is forgotten is instrumental or comitative. Esp. in northern varieties, and esp. in imperatives, it may function as a simple transitive: he who forgets is ergative, while that which is forgotten is absolutive.

**ahantz-arazi** (old L \*\*) \*\* ‘make (someone) forget’. + **-erazi** causative.

**ahanzkor** (\*\* old LN), **āhāzkór** (Z) a. ‘forgetful’. \*\*\*\* + **-kor** ‘tending to’.

**ahatzehi(n)** (Z) a. ‘easy to forget’. + **ehi** [1] ‘easy’.

**ahazgaitz** (Z) a. ‘hard to forget’. + **gaitz** ‘difficult’.

**\*erahatzi** (old LN) vt. ‘make (someone) forget’. Synth. \*\*\*\* Not recorded as such, but required to provide the finite form *derahatza* ‘he makes him forget’, recorded once in Oihenart.

[MORE IN Lh.]

**ahardi** (L LN Z), **āhārdi** (Z), **aardi** (B HN), **ardi** (G HN) n. ‘sow’ (female pig), TS ‘wooden screw in a wine-press’. 1571.

OUO. Often postposed to **urde** ‘pig’ as an adjective. The G variant **ardi** has sometimes been confused with **ardi** [1] ‘sheep’, but M. (1961a: 110 fn. 2) reports a difference in word-accent. A personal name *Belasco Ahardia* in Villabáscones around 950.

**ahari** (L LN) (13th cent., 1636), **āhā(r)i** (Z), **aari** (B HN), **ari** (B G S) (1596), **ári** (R), **adari** (B) n. ‘ram’ (male sheep), (L LN Z) also ‘sheep’ (in general). CF **a(h)al-**.

From *\*anari*, OUO, by P1 (M. \*\*\*\* {1961a: 303}), or conceivably from *\*anali*, by P\*\* {22}. CF by W\*\* {1} or W\*\* {12}. A connection with Lat. *ariēs* id. is out of the question. AT suggest a link with **ar** ‘male’. See **ardi** [1].

**aalzain** (HN) n. ‘shepherd of rams’. \*\*\*\* + **-zain** ‘guardian’ (see **zain** {[1]}).

**ahariki** (L LN), **āhārki** (Z), **aariki** (B), **ariki** (B G HN), **ahalki** [neologism] n. ‘mutton’. Ca. 1760. + **-ki** [3] NFS.

**ahartzartz** (Z), **ahartzatz** (S.P.), **ahazartz** (Z), **ahazatz** (LN), **ahazartz** (L) \*\*\*\* [AT] ‘ram’ \*\*\*\* + **-zartz** ‘male’?

**aharra** (L LN Z) *n.* ‘quarrel, dispute’. 1657.

OUO. M. (\*\*\*\*{1950b: 457}) believes that this is the same word as **ahakar** id., but, if so, the relation in form is wholly obscure. Lh. sees this as a derivative of **aho** ‘mouth’ with an opaque second element. Attempts at deriving it from Occ. words like Bearn. *ahaa* {i.e. *ahà* = Occ. *afar*} are unconvincing, since these words have unhelpful meanings like ‘affair’ and ‘process’ (AT *s.v.* *ahakar*).

**arrats** (HN) *n.* ‘quarrel’. + **hats** ‘anger’ (AT *s.v.* *aharra*). [CHECK: not in Lh.]

**aasa** (B) *n.* ‘a two-handled plane used by coopers’.

Corominas, cited in AT (*s.v.*), sees this as an Arabism, from an Arabic ‘*asa* ‘axe handle’ (and other senses).

**ahate** (L LN), **āhāte** (Z), **agate** (B), **arate** (B), **arata** (B), **areta** (B), **aate** (B G HN S), **ate** (B G HN), **ata** (B G), **ataa** (G) *n.* ‘duck’ (*zool.*) (*Anatidae*), (B) also ‘goose’. 1657.

From Lat. *anatem* id., by P1 (Uhlenbeck \*\*\*\* *Bask. Stud.* {1891:}198; M. 1961a: 300). Variants by P35, M5.

**ahats** (S.P. H. old L) *a.* ‘filthy, obscene’. 17th cent.

OUO.

**ahaskeri(a)** (L) *n.* ‘filth’, ‘clumsiness’. + **-keria** NFS of vices.

**aba** (B), **abaa** (old B), **abai** (B), **abe** (B), **abao** (B), **abau** (B) *n.* ‘honeycomb’. 1596.

From Lat. *favum* id., plus an unidentified second element (M. \*\*\*\*{1955c: 290}).

**abaiko** (B) *n.* ‘honeycomb’. + **-ko** NFS.

**abaraska** (G) (1745, 1842), **aberaska** (1905) *n.* ‘honeycomb’. Second element obscure; possibly **oraska** ‘mixture’ {(not in *The Dictionary*)}. Second form possibly contaminated by **abere** ‘animal’.

**abatorrazi** (LN R S), **abatorraze** (S) \*\*\*\*{*n.* ‘honeycomb’} [AT]

**abauts** (B), **abarauts** (B) *n.* ‘honeycomb stripped of honey’. + **huts** ‘empty’.

**ababor** (?) *n.* ‘port side (of a ship)’. 1677.

From Cast. *a babor* ‘to port’.

**abade** (*c.*) *n.* ‘abbot’, (B G) ‘priest’. 1562. [Ax] \*\*\*\* CF **abat-**.

From Old Cast. *\*abade* ‘abbot’. [AT] It is clear that an earlier borrowing *\*apate* must once have existed, taken directly from med. Lat. *abbātem*, by L\*\*{1}, since this is recorded in toponyms like *Apatamonasterio* (Bizkaia) and *Aphat-Ospital* (Nafarroa Beherea). The historical **abade** is therefore a re-borrowing.

**abatei** (B), **abateri** (B) *n.* ‘tolling of the bell to summon a clergyman to a burial’. 1905. + **dei** ‘call’ (see **deitu**) (M. 1961a: 345). The development is *\*abade-dei* > *\*abad-dei* (by W\*\*{1}) > *abatei* (by W\*\*{4}). The second form is peculiar.

**abatetxe** (B) *n.* ‘parish priest’s house, presbytery’. 1897. + **etxe** ‘house’.



**abadiñau** (B) *n.* ‘kind of chestnut’.

OUO.

**abadote** (HN L), **abadota** (HN L) *n.* ‘wasp’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*) 17th cent. [AT]

OUO. Sch. (\*\*\*\* *ZRPh* 36 {1912}: 34) proposes **habe** [2] ‘horsefly’ + **tuta** ‘trumpet’, noting that Bearn. *tute* ‘trumpet’ has a derivative *tutane* ‘hornet’. Doubtful.

**abagadaune** (B), **abagadune** (B), **abagune** (B G), **abadune** (B), **abagaldidi** (B) *n.* ‘propitious occasion’ (1800), ‘interval’ (1898).

The second elements are clearly **une** ‘interval’ {(see **gune**)} and **aldi** ‘occasion’. The first element, apparently *\*abagada-*, is unidentifiable, but it hardly looks like native Bq., and it must be borrowed from some unknown Rom. source (M. \*\*\*\* {1964a: 99}). {Possibly Occ. *vegada*, glossed ‘circumstance, conjuncture, occasion’ in Palay (1980); and/or Old Cast. *vegada* ‘time, occasion’}. The western variant **abogadu** of **abokatu** ‘lawyer, advocate’ is phonologically acceptable but semantically mysterious.

**abail** (B G), **abaila** (B), **habaila** (LN), **habel** (LN), **abill** (B), **habal** (L LN Z), **abrailla** (B), **afrail** (HN), **aibel** (B), **aiule** (B), **angaila** (G), **obal** (HN), **ufrail** (HN), **ubal** (G HN) \*\*\*\* [many variants] [AT] *n.* ‘sling, slingshot, (child’s) catapult’. \*\*\*\* [AT] 1643.

Obscure. The word does not look native, and it bears a resemblance to Lat. *fundibulum* id., but the Lat. word cannot be a straightforward source.

**abaildu** (B G HN) *vi.* \*\*\*\* {‘tire’}, **abaindu** (HN) \*\*\*\* **ebaindu** (\*\*) [AT]

**abakondo** [1] (B), **abakando** (B G) *n.* ‘lobster’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*) \*\*\*\*

From \*\*\*\* [AT]

**abakondo** [2] (B) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘tree knot’ Az.} [AT]

**abalaio** (B), **abario** (B), **abalu** (G) *n.* ‘a certain marine fish’. \*\*\*\* [AT]

**abantail** (\*\* {old L}) *n.* [Ax]

**abar** *n.* (c.) ‘branch’ (of a tree), ‘branches’ (collectively), (HN) ‘bare branch without leaves’, TS ‘branch’ (of anything), (B HN R) ‘sticks of firewood’, (B G) ‘residue, remains’. 1746, 1905.

OUO. There are many questions about this word. It is scarcely recorded before the 20th cent., and yet it is found almost everywhere, and it gives rise to many certain or possible derivatives. It is not clear whether the ‘residue’ sense represents the same word, but most commentators think it does, and a transfer from something like ‘lopped-off branches’ to ‘residue’ does not seem implausible.

A further difficulty is the absence or rarity of the expected CF *\*aba-*, by W11. And the partial synonymy with **adar** ‘horn’, ‘branch’ also clouds matters.

Uhlenbeck (\*\*\*\* {1891: 200}) proposes an original *\*kabar* on the basis of **xixkabar** ‘twigs for burning’, but this is dismissed with good reason by AT (*s.v. abar*). More

interesting is the suggestion that the word is derived from **habe** ‘tree’ with the hypothetical collective suffix **\*-ar** (Uhlenbeck \*\*\*\* {1909: 7}; Trombetti \*\*\*\* {1925: 127}; López Mendizábal \*\*\*\*; M. \*\*\*\* {1967f: 608}).

AT (*s.v.*) note the apparent presence of the same word in Rom.: Santander *abarra* ‘long slender branch’, Navarrese and Santander *abarra* ‘kind of oak’, ‘woody shrub’, Gascon (Gers) *auàrro* ‘small bits of firewood’.

**abarka** (B Sout G HN LN R) *n.* ‘rustic sandal’, in historical times of rawhide with soles of rope. 11th cent., 1562. Probably + **-ka** [\*\*] NFS {(not in *The Dictionary*)}. This etymology, first proposed by Astarloa (\*\*\*\* {1803: 292}), has been endorsed by most commentators, and AT (*s.v.*) consider it to be substantially supported by evidence. Indeed, Astarloa defines the word as “especie de calzado que se componía de ramitas de árbol” [“a kind of sandal made from small branches”], which may reflect the practice of his day. Van Eys’s proposal that the second element is **-gai** ‘material’ (see **gai**) is properly dismissed by AT. The word occurs first in the name of the 11th-cent. king of Navarra *Sancho Abarca*, the epithet presumably reflecting his humble origins; this epithet is repeated in the title of Mogel’s 1802 novel *Peru Abarka*, whose title character is a rustic but shrewd countryman presented as “Professor of Basque language at the University of the Countryside”. The semantic basis is presumably the long-standing European practice of making sandals from bast, the fibrous inner layer of tree-bark (phloem), a practice which is documented by AT. AT report that the same word is widespread and fairly ancient in the Iberian Peninsula, and recorded also north of the Pyrenees: Hispano-Arabic *pargha* ~ *bargha* ‘sandals’, sg. *parghat* (mod. Arabic and Berber *bálgha* ‘slipper, shoe’), Mozarabic probable *\*parca*, Portuguese *alparca* ‘sandal’, an apparent Old Cast. *alparga* ‘sandal’, Arag. and SE Spain *albarca* id., Valencia *abarca* {*avarca*}, Bearn. *abarque* id. Cast. *alpargata* id. derives from the same ult. source via Arabic. This is thus apparently a rare case of a Bq. word borrowed widely. The Bq. word is absent north of the Pyrenees, where **espartin** is used.

**abatitu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* ??? [FHV 399] [AT]

**abatx** (\*\*), **apatx** (B G \*\*) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘dish, bowl’} [FHV 233]

**habe** [1] (\*\*), **abe** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘beam, pillar, support’ Aul.}  
{OUO.}

**habe** [2] (LN Z) *n.* ‘horsefly’ (*zool.*) (*Tabanidae*). 1664.  
OUO.

**abendu** (B G HN S), **abendo** (HN L LN), **abéntü** (Z) *n.* ‘December’, **abendu** (LN R), **abentu** (LN), **abéntu** (R) ‘November’. 1501.

From Lat. *adventum* ‘approach, advent’ (M. 1961a: 131), apparently in the Christian sense of the four weeks before Christmas. In R and in part of LN the name is used indifferently for December and November.

**abenitu** (\*\*{old L}) [Ax]

**abenikoa** (\*\*{old L}) *n.* ‘agreement’. \*\*\*\* [Ax] [FHV 345 fn.] From *\*abenitu-goia* (M. \*\*\*\* *BAP* 17 {1961b}: 359).

**abere** (*c.*), **abre** (old L S) *n.* ‘large animal’, ‘domesticated animal’, (G) ‘equine’, (HN) ‘bovine’. CF **abel-**. 1562.

From some Rom. development of Lat. *habēre* ‘have’. The semantic development is Rom., not Bq.: the word is widely attested in Ibero-Romance with meanings like ‘domesticated animal’, ‘cattle’, ‘bovine animal’ (CP *s.vv.* *haber*, *ganar*). CF by W12.

**abelburu** (?) (1905), **abelbürü** (Z), **abereburu** (1858) *n.* ‘head of cattle’. + **buru** ‘head’.

**abeletxe** (B G HN) (1746), **aberetxe** (B G L) (1897) *n.* ‘sheepfold’. + **etxe** ‘house’.

**abelgorri** (B G HN Z R) *n.* ‘bovine’, ‘cattle’. 1847. + **gorri** ‘red’ {(see\***gorr-**)}.

**abeltegi** (L LN), **aberetegi** (L LN Z) *n.* ‘stable’, ‘animal quarters’. 1759. + **-tegi** ‘place’ {(see **hegi**)}.

**aberats** (*c. exc.* S), **abrats** (S) ‘rich’. 1571. Final element obscure, but the development of ‘wealth’ from ‘cattle’ is a familiar one among pastoral peoples: *cf.* Lat. *pecūnia* ‘property, wealth, riches’, from *pecus* ‘cattle’, ‘domesticated animals’. A toponym *Haberasturi* in Alava 1025.

**aberastasun** (\*\*) *n.* ‘wealth, riches’. \*\*\*\*. + **-tasun** NFS (see **-tar**).

**aberatsi** (old LN) *vi.* ‘get rich’ (1657), **aberastu** (*c.*) *vi.* ‘get rich’, *vt.* ‘enrich’ (1562). First form + **-i** [1] VFS, second form + **-tu** VFS. The verb has been transferred from the **-i** class to the **-tu** class (M\*\*{14}).

**abratsale** (old LN) *a.* ‘making rich’. [FHV 351]

**aberekeria** (*c.*) *n.* ‘bestiality’, ‘brutal behaviour’. 1664. + **-keria** NFS of vices.

**\*abarresku** \*\*\*\* [hapax] 1746.

Larramendi’s *Supplement* 587 cites *abarescu*, but M. (\*\*\*\*{1970a: 122}) interprets this as a typo for the form entered here, and proposes Cast. *a berrisco* ‘all together, without distinction’.

**habia** (Z), **abia** (B) (1596), **abi** (B), **kabi** (G HN), **afia** (Sout) (1562), **kabia** (\*\* G), **kafia** (HN L LN), **aapi** (G) *n.* ‘nest’.

From *\*kabia*, from Lat. *caveam* ‘enclosure, cage’ (M. 1961a: 51, 219). Variants by P14, P8, M4. The last form is curious. M. (1961a: 251) suggests that initial /k/ was restored under Rom. influence.

**abiatsu** (\*\*{old L}) [Ax] {*vi.* ‘be ready to, start’ Aul.}

**abiadura** (\*\*{old L}) [Ax] {*n.* ‘start’}

**\*abixeta**, **\*aixubeta** (\*\*) *n.* ‘stiffness’. \*\*\*\*

Inferred by M. (\*\*\*\*{1970a: 139}) as the intended reading of the erroneous *\*abireta*, *\*airubeta* in Araquil and A. (1905). From Cast. *agujeta* id. or a related Rom. form.

**habuiñ** (L), **habuina** (S.P.), **hagun(a)** (LN), **águn** (R) *n.* ‘spittle, dribble, slobber’. (\*\*)  
\*\*\*\* [FHV 150, 150 fn.]

From Occ. *baviin* {i.e. *bavum*} id. (Sch. \*\*\*\* {1906a: 30} Arb). M. (\*\*\*\* {1961a: 150}) proposes an intermediate form *\*babune*, with P1.

**aburdiko** (1803), **aurdiko** (1745), **ardiko** (1580) (B) *n.* ‘(large) pillow’.

This appears to contain **bururdi** ‘pillow’, ‘duvet’ (see **buru**) and **-ko**. M. (\*\*\*\* *BAP* 20 {1964e}: 26) proposes that the first element is *oa-*, the CF of **ohe** ‘bed’: hence *\*o(h)a-bururdi-ko*.

**adalko** (R), **alko** (R), **anko** (R), **oko** (HN A S) *n.* ‘\*\*\*\* {‘bunch, cluster (of fruit)’ Az.} [FHV 340] [MOVE?] {See **golko** [2].}

**adar** (*c.*) *n.* ‘horn’ (of an animal) (1545), ‘horn’ (musical instrument) (1562), ‘(drinking) horn’ (1692), ‘branch’ (of a tree) (1571). CF **ada-**. Dimin. **addar** (R) ‘devil’.

OUO. CF by W\*\* {11}. It is not clear that the last sense represents the same word; see **abar** ‘branch’. Many people have proposed a link with Old Irish *adarc* id. (modern *adharc*), which has no IE etymology. Most Vasconists have seen the Bq. word as a loan from Celtic, even though the word is not recorded in Celtic outside Irish. But Buck (1949) sees the Irish word as borrowed from Bq., a position which requires some fancy footwork to account for the final /k/ in Irish.

**adabegi** (B G) (1905), **adarbegi** (1912) *n.* ‘knot (in a tree)’ + **begi** ‘eye’.

**adaki** (B G HN LN) *n.* ‘branch’, ‘firewood’. \*\*\*\* + **-ki** {[3]} NFS.

**adardun** (LN?) *n.* ‘cuckold’. 18th cent. + **-dun** ‘who has’ (see **\*edun**).

**adar egin** (LN Z?) *vitm.* ‘commit adultery’. 18th cent. + **egin** ‘do’.

**adar ezarri** (Z) [diathesis unrecorded] ‘commit adultery’. 19th cent. + **ezarri** ‘put’.

**adegi** (B) *n.* ‘temple’ (of the head) (*anat.*). 1653. Probably from *\*ada-egi*, + **-egi** NFS ‘place’ (see {**h**} **egi**) (M. 1961a: 338 fn. 18).

**adondo** (old B) *n.* ‘forehead’ (of an animal). 1657. + **ondo** [1] ‘beside’ (M. 1961a: 338).

**adin** (\*\* {old L}) *n.* ‘age’, ‘contemporary’ \*\*\*\* [Ax] (B) ‘understanding’, ‘judgement’ {*cf.* **adi** *s.v.* **aditu**}

\*\*\*\* An element *-ADIN(N)-* occurs in the Aq. female name *DANNADINNIS* (gen.). [Sarasola thinks two words]

**adiskide** (\*\*), **aixkire** (G) *n.* ‘friend’ \*\*\*\* From *\*adinez-kide*, *-z* instrl./advbl. + **-kide** ‘fellow’ (Lafon \*\*\*\* {1935, 1936} *RIEV* 26: 651; 27: 625), by P1, P\*\* {?} [FHV 122, 368]

**-aginian** (B) ‘on the point of’ [FHV 534]

**adinon** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* *a.* \*\*\*\* {‘middling, ordinary’ Az.} [FHV 352 fn.]

**adiuntza** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘occasion, opportunity’ Az.} [FHV 352 fn.]

**aiutu** (B), **aiotu** (B), **adiutu** (old B) \*\*\*\* {*a.* ‘fitting, appropriate’ Az.} [FHV 352 fn. {13}, 561]

**adio** (\*\*{old L}) *n.* [Ax]

**aditu** (\*\*), **aittu** (B G) *vt.* ‘hear, listen’, TS ‘understand’. \*\*\*\*. Stem **adi-**.

From Lat. *audītum*, part. of *audīre* ‘hear’ (M. 1961a: 95), with irregular reduction of the diphthong.

**adi** (\*\*) *n.* ‘attention’, ‘intention’, ‘intelligence’. \*\*\*\*

**adierazi** (\*\*), **adirazi** (HN) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘interpret’ Az.}

**adimendu** (\*\*{old L}) [Ax] {*n.* ‘power of reason, intelligence’ Aul.}

**adore** (B), **ardore** (old G) *n.* ‘vital force’. \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *ardōrem* ‘burning’ (Castro Guisasola 1944: 61; M. \*\*\*\* {1957a: 21} Arb)

**adreilu** (\*\*), \*\*\*\*, **adrillu** (B L), **adrallu** (B L), **adarallu** (L), **ardillu** (old L) \*\*\*\*  
[Sarasola] *n.* ‘brick’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *ladrillo* id., with loss of initial /l/ perhaps by dissimilation (M. 1961a: 323). Old L form by metathesis.

**ahetz** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘lees, dregs, sediment’ (of wine) [FHV 211 fn.]

From some Rom. reflex of Lat. *fae{cem}* id., probably from Gasc. *ahèts* id. (Rohlf s \*\*\*\* {1935 §} 185, p. 40 {2nd ed. §242, p. 80}; M. 1961a: 211 fn. 16).

**afari** (B G L LN) (1545), **apari** (B G), **aphari** (L), **abari** (old HN S) (13th cent., 1415), **auhari** (LN), **aihá(r)i** (Z), **aigári** (R) *n.* ‘dinner’. CF **afal-**, **aihal-**, etc.

The conservative form is *\*au[h]ari* or *\*au[h]ali* (M. 1961a: 221). Variants by P72, P8, P35, P69. CF by W1 and possibly W12. The word surely contains the meal suffix **-ari** [2]. The first element may well be **gau** ‘night’, with loss of /g/ by P\*\* {14} (M. 1961a: 246 fn. 38). M. (1957c) rejects Schuchardt’s proposal of a Lat. *\*apparium*. The variant **abari**, today only S, occurs in the *Fuero General* of Navarra, and in a Navarrese text from the early 15th cent.: & *jaunatiçula abarion* (= *eta Jaunak dizula abari on* ‘May God give you a good dinner’) (M. 1977a: 526). {Cf. **apario**}

**afaldu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘have dinner or supper’ Aul.}

**bariaku** (B), **barieku** (B), **bariku** (B) *n.* ‘Friday’. 1653. M. (1977a: 504) proposes *\*abari-ba(ga)ko-egun* ‘day without dinner’, + **baga** ‘without’ (see **gabe**) + **-ko** + **egun** ‘day’.

**-aga** (c.) Toponymic suffix.

OUO. This suffix is extremely common in toponyms and in surnames, where it appears to mean ‘place (of)’, but it is not recorded in any ordinary lexical items, and there is no reason to suppose that it ever occurred there. Sometimes the preceding elements are transparent: *Iturriaga* (*iturri* ‘spring’), *Mendiaga* (*mendi* ‘mountain’), *Arrigorriaga* (*harri gorri* ‘red stone’). Sometimes they are opaque: *Nabutxaga*, *Altzaga*. The suggestion that the suffix means ‘abundance (of)’ cannot be supported by any evidence, and the proposed link with the absolutive plural suffix *-ak* (see **\*har**) is fanciful. This

suffix shares with **-eta** the property that the phonological changes typical of word-formation, those collected in § \*\*{7}, never occur with it (M. 1977a: 528). See M. (1973\*\*{a: 36}), *s. v.* [FHV 238, 238 fn.]

**agaraz** (Sout), **agaratz** (S.P.), **agraz** (S.P.) \*\*\*\*{*n.* ‘sour grape’} [FHV 158]

**agian** (\*\*{old L}) *adv.* {‘maybe’, *int.* ‘I wish’ Az.} [Ax]

**hagin** [1] (\*\*), **agin** (\*\*) *n.* ‘molar tooth’. \*\*\*\*

OUO.

**agika** (old B, *R&S* 270) *adv.* ‘with one’s teeth’. 1596. + **-ka** AdvFS.

**hagin** [2], \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘yew’ (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*). \*\*\*\*

OUO.

**agindu** (\*\*) {*vt.* ‘order’ Aul.}

**agintari** (\*\*{old L}) *n.* ‘chief’. [Ax]

**agiraka** (B), **agidaka** (B) \*\*\*\*{*n.* ‘reprimand’ Aul.} [FHV 228]

\*\*\*\* Second form by hypercorrection of P\*\*{17}.

**agiri**, **agertu** etc. [FHV 62] [Ax] **agertu** (old LN), **agértü** (Z), **agirtu** (\*\*) {*vi.* ‘appear’ Aul.} [FHV 475]

\*\*\*\* [Arbelaiz **ager-**: WORK] M. (\*\*\*\*{1973a: 37f.}) rejects Gorostiaga’s suggestion of Lat. *agger* ‘pile, heap’ (nom.) as semantically intolerable; it is also phonologically bad, since Lat. <gg> should yield a Bq. <k> by L\*\*{1}.

**agerri** (\*\*) *n.* ‘presence’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 62]

**desagertu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*{*vi.* ‘disappear’ Aul.}

**-ago** (*c.*) Comparative suffix. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* R and old B exhibit a striking construction: the object of *baino* or *baizen* ‘than’ stands in the genitive (M. 1977a: 525).

**agor** (*c.*), **ador** (L) *a.* ‘barren’, ‘sterile’, ‘exhausted’, ‘dried up’. 1627. TS *n.* (B G) (1761) ‘September’, TS *n.* (*ca.* 1760) ‘drought’, TS *n.* (17th cent.) ‘fasting, going without food’.

OUO. L variant by P10. The word is applied to land which does not produce crops, to springs which have ceased to flow, and to women or female animals that fail to produce young. It does not mean ‘dry’ (‘not wet’), and the several sources that give this meaning are in error.

**agorril** (HN L LN R) *n.* ‘August’. \*\*\*\* + **-il** ‘month’ (see **\*iLe**).

**agortu** (B G HN L LN Z R) *vi.* ‘dry up’, ‘become exhausted’, ‘run out’, *vt.* ‘dry up’, ‘exhaust’. 1571. + **-tu** VFS.

**agot** (\*\*), **agote** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘member of an ethnic group of unknown origin who settled in Navarre’ Aul.} [FHV 252]

From Fr. *cagot* id. or a related Rom. form (M. 1961a: 251).

**aguazil(l)** (G) *n.* ‘constable, bailiff’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *alguacil* id., with dissimilatory loss. {*Aguazil* ~ *aguacil* is widely attested in Cast. from the *Poema de Mio Cid* (1207) onwards.}

**agudo** (\*\*), **audó** (G), **aguro** (G) \*\*\*\* {*a.* ‘quick, diligent’ Aul.} [FHV 228]

**hagun** (\*\*), **agun** (\*\*), **habuin** (\*\*), **haboin** (L), **gahün** (Z) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘foam, froth’ Aul.}

**agur** (\*\*) {*n.* ‘greeting’ Aul.}

**agur egin** (\*\* {old L}) [Ax]

**agurtu** (\*\*), **gurtu** (\*\*), **gurthu** (old LN) \*\*\*\* various senses

**agure** (\*\*) (1627), **agura** (old B) (1596) *n.* ‘old man’.

Probably from \**agule*, by P\*\* {22}, P\*\* {10}, from Lat. *avule*, voc. of *avulum* ‘grandfather’ (M. \*\*\*\*) {? Corominas 1972: 326-329}. B form by M\*\* {5}. Addressing an old man as ‘grandpa’ is a common practice.

**aguretu** (\*\*) (1745, 1803), **aguratu** (\*\*) (1653) *vi.* ‘grow old’, *vt.* ‘age’. + **-tu** VFS.

**ai-** (\*\*), **ei-** (old B) \*\*\*\* votive suffix {prefix} [FHV 104]

**-aia** (c.) NFS.

From Rom., probably from some development of Lat. *-aticum*. See **-aje**.

**aihen** (L LN Z), **aïen** (G HN \*\*) {*n.* ‘branch of the grapevine’ Aul.}

**aiher** (\*\*\*\* {old L}), **áiher** (Z) [Ax] same word? {‘inclination’, ‘resentment’ Az.} [FHV 215]

**aieru** (\*\*), **paieru** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘conjecture, assumption’, ‘sign’ Aul.} [Ax] [FHV 211 fn., 252] [Arb **ageru**], **paxeilu** \*\*\*\* [Arb]

**aiezka** (R), **aïenez** (R) **aiez oiez** (S) \*\*\*\* {‘groaning’ Az.} [FHV 175]

**-ain** Toponymic suffix. {M. 1973a: 18}

[MITX 73]

{[] **ainhara** (L), **ainhera** (LN), **añhá(r)a** (Z), **añhera** (LN Z), **añera** (LN), **enara** (B Sout G HN L), **enada** (S.P.), **inara** (HN), **iñara** (HN), **inhara** (L LN), **iñare** (HN A), **añari** (R S), **kiñuri** (S), **elae** (B), **elai** (B G) *n.* ‘swallow’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*); but in places ‘swift’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*). [BUT SEE NOW FHV 534 ON *kinuri*]

From *\*aiNala*, OUO, by P22, P23. Last two variants from a remarkable metathesized form *\*eLane* (M. \*\*\*\* {1961a: 326}), by P1, P23. S form by P\*\* {14}. [FHV 326]

**txenara** (G) *n.* ‘swallow’ (*zool.*). \*\*\*\* Possibly a dimin. of the above, by M\*\* {9}, but M. (1977a: 511) suggests a compound whose first element is **etxe** ‘house’, with exceptional loss of the initial vowel. {} Entry overlaps with **enara**. Moved and combined there.}

**aingeru** (B G HN L LN), **angeru** (B Sout), **aingiru** (old HN old L A), **ainguru** (LN R), **aingú(r)ü** (Z), **aingeri** (HN), **aingru** (R S) *n.* ‘angel’. 1545.

From *\*angelu*, by P22 and P45, from late Lat. *angelum* ‘angel’. The form of the word points clearly to an early borrowing, before the 5th century, which is curious, since the Basques remained resolutely pagan until the 10th century, at least. M. (1961a: 159 fn. 8), citing Lafon, dismisses the *añgeru* of Oihenart as a curiosity.

**aingura** (G HN old L \*\*), **angura** (old LN) *n.* ‘anchor’. \*\*\*\*

**aintzi** (\*\*), \*\*\*\*

**aintzigar** (B G) (\*\*\*\*), **antziar** (?) (1897), **antzigar** (B G) (1905), **antsigar** (B G) (\*\*\*\*), **intziar** (G) (1745, 1855), **antzier** (Múg.) (1958), **intzigar** (Múg.) (1958) *n.* ‘frost’, spec. ‘faint, almost imperceptible coating of frost on leaves’, also (B) ‘crust of ice’.

Obscure and much discussed. The first element might be *intz* ‘dew’ (see **ihintz**) (M. \*\*\*\* {1955c: 289}), and the second might be *igar* ‘dry’ (see **eihar**). In fact, *intz igar* is perfect B G for ‘dry dew’, which fits the sense admirably, but the variant **intzigar** is rare and recorded only very late; it might be a folk-etymology. Possibly related to the **aintzi** cluster. The word has no early attestations; see **izotz**.

**aintzin** (L LN), **ainzin** (LN), **aitzin** (HN L LN Z), **aitzine** (Z), **antzin** (R), **altzin** (LN S) *n.* ‘front’, ‘space in front’ (1545), TS *adv.* ‘forward’ (*ca.* 1660). [MUCH MORE: FHV 339]

Probably from Rom. M. (\*\*\*\* {1954b: 145}) cites an Old Cast. *anzas*, not found in CP, and an Old Fr. *ains*. {Old Cast. *anzas* glossing Lat. *prius* occurs in *Glosas emilianenses* and *Glosas silenses*; Old Occ. *ans* and *anceis* ‘before’. But all these are temporal in sense.} [ATTENTION] This spatial noun is found precisely in the regions in which the synonymous western word **aurre** is absent but **ahur** ‘palm of the hand’ is present; see **\*aur**.

**aitzinean** (\*\*), **aitziní(a)n** (Z), \*\*\*\* **antzinian** (R), **aitzinean** (A), **al(t)zinean** (S) {*p.* ‘in front of’}

**aitzin-gibel** (\*\* {old L}) *n.* [Ax]

**aintzira** (\*\* {G HN L}) *n.* ‘lake’ \*\*\*\*



**haiotz** (old L), **aihotz** (Z) \*\*\* *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘billhook’} [FHV 215, 508]

**aire** (\*\*), **aide** (G) *n.* ‘air’. \*\*\*\* CF **aira-**.

**airatu** (\*\* {old L}) [Ax] x 2

**aireager** (R) *n.* ‘place exposed to the wind’ [Arb **ager-**]

**peko-áide** (Z), **peko-aire** (R) *n.* ‘south wind’ (lit., ‘air from below’). + **behe** ‘below’ + **-ko**.

**aísa** (Z) *a.* ‘easy’, *adv.* ‘easily’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 280]

**aise** {(old L)} \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘ease’} [Ax]

**aita** (*c.*), **aite** (old B), **aitxa** (B), **atta** (G) [hapax] *n.* ‘father’. 15th cent.

Of nursery origin. It is conceivable that Aq. *ATTA-*, as in the male personal name *ATTACONIS* Gen., represents this item, perhaps with subsequent expressive palatalization, by M9, to *\*atta*, and then depalatalization, by P32, to *aita* (Holmer (1950) \*\*\*\* { : 404}) [FHV 218 fn.]. Second form by P43. In medieval Cast., the word is often cited as a personal name *Eita* {from 938 *CORDE*}.

**aipatu** (\*\*), **aiphatu** (\*\*), **aiphátü** (Z) **aitatu** (\*\*), **aifatu** (HN), **attatu** (G) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘mention’, *vi.* ‘become a father’ Aul.} [FHV 258]

**aipamen** (\*\*), **aiphamen** (\*\*) *n.* ‘mention’. \*\*\*\* + **-men** NFS {(see **-mendu**)}.

**aitabitxi** (B L LN) *n.* ‘godfather’ + **-bitxi** ‘god-’ (see **bitxi**). {M. 1969c: 121f.}

**aitaborze** (S) *n.* ‘godfather’, ‘uncle’. + \*\*\*\* {-**borze**} (see **\*berr-**). {M. 1969c: 121f.}

**aitaginarreba** (\*\*), **aitagiarreba** (G) *n.* ‘father-in-law’. \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\* {See **ginharreba**.}

**aitagutxi** (\*\*), **aitautxi** (\*\* {HN}), **aitaatxi** (\*\*), **aitatxi** (\*\*) *n.* ‘godfather’. \*\*\*\* + **-gutxi** \*\*\*\* (see **gutxi**). [CHECK SENSES] {M. 1969c: 121f.}

**aitajéin** (R), **aitajín** (R) *n.* ‘father’ (as vocative). + **jaun** ‘lord’. \*\*\*\*

**aitamak** (*c.*) *n. pl.* ‘parents’. \*\*\*. + **ama** ‘mother’ + **-ak** *det. pl.* (see **\*har**).

**aitatasun** (\*\*) *n.* ‘fatherhood, paternity’. \*\*\*\*. + **-tasun** NFS (see **-tar**).

**aittelume** (\*\*), **aittenum** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* From *\*aita-onen ume* ‘child of good fathers’, + **on** ‘good’ + **-en** {[1]} Gen. + **ume** ‘child’ (M. \*\*\*\* *BAP* 24 {1968a}: 14).

**aiton** (\*\*) *n.* ‘grandfather’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 149]

**aitonen seme** (B G L), **aitoren seme** (L LN Z) *n.* ‘hidalgo’, ‘gentleman’. Lit., ‘son of good fathers’, + **on** ‘good’ + **-en** {[1]} Gen + **seme** ‘son’. Second form by dissimilation. The second form looks as if it might be *\*Aitoren seme* ‘son of Aitor’, where *Aitor* is a name, and so the 19th-cent. Romantic writer Augustin Chaho extracted this previously non-existent name and created the myth of Aitor, the shepherd who was supposedly the father of the Basques. As a result, *Aitor* is now a common male given name. Note: the *\*aitorren seme* of A. (1905) is an error. [FHV 149]: MORE] {M. 1968a: 14}

**aitor-alaba** (\*\*) *n.* ‘noblewoman’. \*\*\*\* + **alaba** ‘daughter’, by analogy.

**aitor** [1] (\*\*), **aithor** (\*\*) *n.* ‘confession’ \*\*\*\* [FHV 92]

**aitortu** (\*\*), **aithortu** (\*\*), **aithortü** (Z), **autortu** (B) {*vt.* ‘acknowledge, grant’} [FHV 92]

**aitor** [2] (G HN), **jator** (G) *a.* ‘fertile’ (of land). \*\*\*\* [FHV 178, 517] [Arbelaiz; two words?] {M. 1968a: 17 n. 37}

**ahitu** (\*\* old L) [Ax], **aitu** (\*\*), **attu** (G) \*\*\*\* *vi.* ‘run out’, ‘become exhausted’. \*\*\*\*  
**akaitu** (HN R S) ‘tired’, **akhitu** (L LN) \*\*\*\* [FHV 234, 528] [MAYBE TWO VERBS?] [Arbelaiz]

**haitz** (L LN), **aitz** (G HN L LN Z), **atx** (B L) *n.* ‘crag’, ‘stone’. 1187, *ca.* 1620.

OUO. B form by P30. By far the most widespread sense for this word is ‘crag’, and this is also the sense it has in the numerous toponyms and surnames containing it. In contrast, the sense of ‘stone’ is only sparsely recorded in LN, but this sense is also prominent in the compounds containing the word. The possibility that **\*(h)aitz-** {*v. infra*} is the same item suggests a reconstruction *\*anetz*, by P1, but this is far from certain.

**atxarrano** (B), **txerrano** (B) *n.* ‘a certain bird of prey, larger than a kite’ \*\*\*\* (*zool.*) [species unidentified] [FHV 157-158] + **arrano** ‘eagle’.

**(h)aitzarte**, (B) **atxarte** *n.* ‘pass between two crags’. *Ca.* 1800. + **arte** {[1]} ‘between’.

**(h)aitzulo** *n.* ‘cave’. *Ca.* 1760. + **zulo** ‘hole’.

**(h)aitzurdin**, (B) **atxurdin** *n.* ‘marble’. + **urdin** ‘blue’ (see **ur**).

**haizatu** (L LN) *vt.* ‘throw stones at, stone’, TS ‘frighten (birds)’. + **-tu** VFS; *-a-* by W\*\*{17}.

**haizkatu** (L LN) *vt.* ‘throw stones at, stone’, TS ‘frighten (birds)’. + **-ka** adverbial + **-tu** VFS.

**\*(h)aitz-** Hypothetical stem possibly underlying certain tool-names.

OUO. Very many have wanted to see this as **haitz** ‘stone’, and hence as representing a time when the Basques had a Neolithic culture and made their tools from stone. This is possible, but far from certain. First, why should a tool-name be based on the name of the material it is made from? Second, are stone shears and stone pincers really plausible? Some of the forms suggest a possible reconstruction *\*anetz*, by P1. Note that **haizkora** ‘axe’ does not appear to belong to this group.

**haitzur** (L LN Z), **aitzur** (G HN L LN S Z), **háitzür** (Z), **atxur** (B), **haintzur** (L LN) *n.* ‘mattock’ (a kind of short-handled heavy hoe). B form by P30. Final element obscure.

**aitzurtu** (old LN \*\*) \*\*\*\* {? *l. aitzurtu vt.* ‘dig’ Az.}

**aitzo** (R), **ainzto** (R HN) *n.* ‘knife’. Final element obscure. {Monomorphemic < **\*anezto**? See § The native lexicon.}

**haiztur** (L LN Z), **aiztur** (HN LN R), **(h)aixtur** (L LN Z; usually in pl.), **aizter** (R), **aizter** (R) *n.* ‘large shears’, **aiztur** (R) ‘pincers, pliers’. Final element obscure, as is the R distinction in form and sense.

**aizterko** (R) *n.* ‘small shears’. + **-ko** dimin. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

{{**aiutu** (B) \*\*\*\* {*a.* ‘suitable, fit’} [Arb] {M. 1961a: 352 fn. 13} }} Duplicate, see under **adin**.}

**aizatu** (\*\*), **aizátü** (Z) \*\*\*\* [may need work]

**haize** (\*\*), **aize** (\*\* old LN), **áize** (Z), **axe** (B Sout) *n.* ‘wind’. \*\*\*\*

OUO. Last form by P\*\* {30}. \*\*\*\* See **aire**.

**bengo axe** (Sout) *n.* ‘north wind’ (lit., ‘wind from below’). \*\*\*\* [FHV 267 fn.]

**peko-aize** (R) *n.* ‘south wind’ (lit., ‘wind from below’). + **behe** ‘below’ + **-ko**.

**aizina** (old LN R), **aizína** (Z), **aizna** (S) \*\*\*\* [FHV 163, 280]

From Bearn. *aysine* {Occ. *aisina*} ‘facility’, ‘favourable occasion’ (M. \*\*\*\* {1958d: 6} Arb)

**haizkora** (L LN Z), **aizkora** (B G HN R), **axkora** (R Z Sout), **(h)aixkora** (Z), **aizkola** (Z), **axkola** (Z), **haskora** (Z) *n.* ‘axe’. CF **(h)aizkol-**. 1562.

From *\*azkola*, by P22, P45, from Lat. *asciolam* ‘hatchet’ (Gorostiaga 1958 {[EUSKERa III]}: \*\*\*\* {61}). CF by W1. Contrary to popular belief, this word does not appear to be connected to the other Bq. tool-names in **(h)ai(t)z-**. [FHV 319 fn.]

**haixkolta** (LN), **aixkolta** (Z) *n.* ‘hatchet’. + an otherwise unknown dimin. suffix.

**(h)aizkolari** *n.* ‘woodchopper’, ‘lumberjack’. + **-lari** professional NFS (see **-ari** {[1]}).

**aizkolbegi** (HN Z), **aizkorabegi** (L LN R), **aizkolbegite** (Z) *n.* ‘hole in an axehead for the handle’. + **begi** ‘eye’ (+ **-te** {[1]} NFS).

**aizkorol** (G) *n.* ‘wooden plank cut and trimmed with an axe’. 1847. + **ohol** ‘plank’.

**azkoltxo** (Sout) *n.* ‘adze’. 1562. + **-txo** dimin. (see **-to** {[1]}).

**ahizpa** (L LN), **aizpa** (G HN), **ahĩzpa** (Z), **aĩzpa** (R), **aizta** (B) *n.* ‘sister (of a woman)’. 1571.

From *\*anizpa*, OUO, by P1. Possibly contains the hypothetical **\*ana-** {[1]}, and certainly contains **-ba** kinship suffix. B form by irregular assimilation.

{{**haizu** (L LN), **háizü** (Z) {(h)auzu (HN LN)} *a.* ‘licit, permitted’. \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *ausus sum* \*\*\*\* (M. \*\*\*\* {1961a: 91; 1974b: 190} Arb)

**haizu izan** (\*\*), **háizü izan** (Z) \*\*\*\* {*vi.* ‘dare’} [REORGANIZE? BACK-FORMATION?] {} Partly duplicates **hauzu**. Moved there.}

**-aje** (*c.*) NFS.

From Rom. *-aje*, *-age*, ult. from Lat. *-aticum*.

**akabatu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* ‘finish’ \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* See also **akhabo** [Arb].

**akabantxa** (R) *n.* ‘end’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 287]

**akain** (\*\*), **akañ(a)** (G), **lakain** (L) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘tick’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*) \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* Cf. Gasc. *lagagno* {Occ. *laganha*} id., and see CP *s.v.* *legaña*. [see MT entry]

**akal** (HN) *a.* ‘empty’ (of a chestnut). \*\*\*\*

M. (1961a: 272) suggests that **mokol** (under **m-**) and **koskol** ~ **oskol** might be expressive variants of this word.

**sokal** (LN) *n.* ‘chestnut burr’. App. an expressive variant of unusual form (M. 1961a: 273).

**akats** (B G) *n.* ‘cut, nick, notch, scratch’ (1745, 1847), \*\*\*\* TS ‘defect’ (1855) \*\*\*

**makatz** (G) *n.* ‘nick, scratch’. App. + **ma-** expressive syllable with an anomalous sibilant (M. 1961a: 272). See **makets** (under **m-**).

**aker** (B G HN), **akher** (L LN), **ákher** (Z) *n.* ‘billygoat, male goat’. 1074, 1571.

OUO. Aq. *AHER BELSTE* is the name of a god, and many have seen the first element as representing **aker**, but M. (\*\*\*\* {1954a: 415}) rejects this on phonological grounds: how could Bq. /k/ show up in Aq. as /h/? But Gorrochategui (\*\*\*\* {?1984}) is nevertheless sympathetic to this reading, and M. (1961a: 256) also takes a more sympathetic view.

**akelarre** (B G HN), **akhelarre** (L) *n.* ‘gathering of witches’. 1686. + **larre** ‘pasture, meadow’. A much discussed word. *Akelarre* is also the name of a plain in Navarra, between Urdax and Zugarramurdi, and A. (1905) suggests that the plain was popularly regarded as a gathering place for witches, and that its name became transferred to the gathering. Popular imagination has seen the *akelarre* as a black Sabbath of the familiar kind; many apologists have seen it as a remnant of the ancient Basque pagan religion; clerical writers (like Azkue) have tried to play down the whole thing as a trivial modern fantasy born of superstition. Nobody really knows what the *akelarre* involved, or even if anything ever happened at all – though the Basque belief in witches is well documented, in spite of the outraged efforts of the Church at stamping it out.

**akitrai** (G) *n.* ‘tar’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *alquitrán* id.

**akula** (G) *n.* ‘garfish’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*) \*\*\*\*

From Rom.; cf. Cast. *aguja* id. {Occ. *agulha*}

**akullu** (B G HN R S), **akulu** (B LN), **akhulo** (L), **akilu** (L), **akillo** (B), **akhúllü** (Z), **gakulu** (LN) *n.* ‘goad’. \*\*\*\*

From some rom. reflex of Lat. *aculeum* id. (M. 1961a: 196), probably from Arag. (M. \*\*\*\* {1964a: 110} Arb). Last form by P\*\* {14}.

**akullada** (Sout) *n.* ‘blow with a goad’. + \*\*\*\*

**\*al-** ‘side’?. Hypothetical stem seemingly underlying **albo**, **alde** and **alme**.

**albo** (B G HN) *n.* ‘side, flank’ (1596), (B) ‘rib’ (*anat.*) (1656). App. built on **\*al-**. Second element opaque.

**alboreango**, **alborengo**, **alboriengo**, **alboringo** (B) *n.* ‘pneumonia’. \*\*\*\* + **-rean** Abl CS + **-ko** NFS (M. 1961a: 120).

**alde** (\*\* Z), **halde** (old LN), **alte** (R), **álthe** (Z) *n.* ‘side’, TS ‘region, area’, TS \*\*\*\*, TS *p.* [+ Gen.] ‘in favour of’, on behalf of’. 15th cent. CF **alda-**. App. built on **\*al-**. Second element opaque. CF by W2.2. See also **talde** {‘group’ (not in *The Dictionary*)}.

**aldaka** (\*\*), **altaka** (R), **alteka** (R) \*\*\*\* [FHV 354]

**aldapa** (\*\*), **altapa** (R) \*\*\*\* ‘slope’. [FHV 354]

**aldaratu** (\*\*) *vi.* \*\*\*\*, *vt.* \*\*\*\* [many senses] \*\*\*\*

**aldats** (B G) *n.* ‘slope’. \*\*\*\* The variant *\*aldatz* cited by A. (1905) is an error (M. \*\*\*\* {1973a: 43} Arb).

**aldatu** (B G HN L LN), **althátü** (Z), **altatu** (R) *vi.*, *vt.* ‘change’, (B) *vt.* ‘transplant’, \*\*\*\* {**althátü** (Z) *vi.* ‘get dolled up, make one’s toilet’, *vt.* (Z) ‘adorn’}. Stem **alda-**. + **-tu** VFS. {And see below **áltatu**.}

**aldakor** (B G LN R) *a.* ‘changeable’, ‘inconstant’, ‘capricious’. 1745, 1749. + **-kor** AFS ‘tending to’.

**aldakuntza** (B HN) *n.* ‘change’. 1828. + **-kuntza** NFS (see {\*}-**kun**).

**aldiri** (\*\*) *n.*, **aldiriak** (old LN) *n. pl.* ‘outskirts, suburbs, vicinity’. \*\*\*\* + **-iri** NFS (M. 1961a: 116). [BUT SEE FHV 533]

**alteskú** (R) *adv.* ‘to the right’. + **esku** ‘right hand’. [FHV 149, 419 fn.]

**alme** (L) *n.* ‘flank (of an animal)’, ‘flank steak’ (cut of meat), ‘loin’ (of pork). App. built on **\*al-**. Perhaps + **mehe** ‘slender’.

**ala** [1] (*c.*), **ála** (Z) *conj.* ‘or’ (typically exclusive). 1545.

OUO, but presumably from *\*aLa*, by P23. Postposed in examples like *Nun ibili zara? Lapurretan ala?* ‘Where have you been? Among thieves, or what?’ See **edo**.

**ala...ala** (*c.*) ‘either..or’. 1571.

**alabainan** (\*\*), **alabaiña** (\*\*), \*\* *prt.* ‘however, nevertheless’, ‘in fact, indeed, of course’. \*\*\*\* + **bainan** ‘but’ {(see **\*bain-**)}

**ala** [2] (c.) *prt.* Introductory particle used in oaths, as in *Ala jainkoa!* ‘By God!’. 1545.

Probably from old Cast. *a la*, which had the same use, as in *A la he!* ‘By the faith!’ (M. \*\*\*\* *BAP* 11 {1955c}: 291), or from a related Rom. form. But M. (1977a: 525) takes seriously the idea that this item may be merely **hala** ‘thus’ (see \***har-**). See **alafede**.

**ala** [3] *prt.* \*\*\*\* [FHV 585]

**ala** [4] (\*\*), **alha** (\*\*), **álha** (Z) \*\*\*\* ‘grazing’ [FHV 207, 320]

**alagune** (\*\*), another sense \*\*\*\* Az., **alaune** (old B, *R&S* 152) ‘sheepfold’.

**alaba** (c. exc. Z), **alhaba** (L LN), **alhába** (Z), **alába** (R) *n.* ‘daughter’. 1545.

OUO, but contains **-ba** kinship suffix. The spelling *allaba* is frequent in some L writers of the 17th cent., but is of unknown significance. An app. dimin. \**alabato*, with **-to** [\*\*{1}] dimin., in a med. personal name *Allauato Ortiz* in Navarra, 1080 (M. 1977a: 550).

**al(h)ababitxi** (L), **alabitxi** (L), **alabixi** (L) *n.* ‘goddaughter’. 17th cent. Short forms by P\*\*{W13}. + **-bitxi** ‘god-’ (see **bi{tx}i**).

**alabaizun** (L), **alhabaizun** (Z), **alabaxün** (Z), **alabaxun** (R) *n.* ‘daughter-in-law’. 1657. + **-(k)izun** NFS. \*\*\*\*

**alaba-orde**, **alaba-ordeko** (B G) *n.* ‘daughter-in-law’. 19th cent. + **orde** ‘substitute’ (+ **-ko** NFS).

**alabaso**, **alhabaso** (Z) *n.* ‘granddaughter’. + **-so** kinship suffix.

**alabatxo** (LN) *n.* ‘small daughter’. 1571. + **-txo** dimin. (see **-to** {[1]}).

**alafede** (\*\*) *intj.* ‘By faith!’ \*\*\*\*

This could be constructed from **ala** [2] + **fede** ‘faith’. Equally, it might be borrowed intact from Rom.: cf. Cast. *a la he!* (M. \*\*\*\* *BAP* 11 {1955c}: 291).

**alaga** (\*\*) *n.* ‘bread wheat’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. \*\*\*\* {*álaga*} [Arb] {M. 1950a: 194.}

**alai** *a.* (old G HN) ‘vigorous, spirited, passionate’ (1745), (G HN L) ‘merry, happy, gay’ (1808).

Possibly from some Rom. source akin to Lat. ~~*alacris*~~ {*alacer*, acc. *alacrem*} ‘brisk, eager, happy’ and its adverbial derivative *alacere*. CP suggests that a Rom. reflex akin to old Fr. *aleigre* was borrowed as **alaikiro** (attested; see below), and that the adjective **alai** was then back-formed from this by removal of the adverbial suffix, though AT regard this as suspect. M. (\*\*\*\* *BAP* 10 {1954e}: 375) proposes instead a direct borrowing from Cast. *alhaja* ‘treasure, gem’, as \**alaia*, with loss of the final vowel by M4. The first is better semantically, the second phonologically.

**alaiki** (1852), **alaikiro** (1870) (G HN) *adv.* ‘happily, merrily’. + **-ki** [1] AdvFS (+ **-ro** AdvFS {not in *The Dictionary*}).

**alargun** (\*\*), **alhargun** (\*\* old LN), **alhárgün** (Z), **alargún** (R), **elhargun** (old LN) \*\*\*\* *n.*  
‘widow, widower’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 562: proposed etymology] [FHV 570]

**alarguntsa** (\*\*), \*\*\*\*, **alhargüntsa** (Z) \*\*\*\* ‘widow’. \*\*\*\* + **-sa** female NFS.

**alharte** (\*\*), **alhartze** (\*\*), \*\*\*\* [+ many] [Az.] [Lh.] \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\*

**alayo(a)** [hapax] (?) *a.* ‘similar’. \*\*\*\*

An item of uncertain reality. M. (\*\*\*\* {1970a: 123} Arb) notes that it might be a typo for **(h)alako** ‘of that kind’ (see \***har**). If real, it might consist of **hala** ‘thus’ (see \***har**) and the participle of **jo** ‘hit’ (M. *ibid.*).

**alberdau** (old B, R&S 482) [hapax] \*\*\*\* {‘merry, joyous’} [FHV 509]

**aldare** (\*\*), **althá(r)e** (Z), **altare** (R), **altara** (B) *n.* ‘altar’. \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *altāre* id., by P\*\* {6}. B form by M\*\* {5}.

**aldi** (\*\*), **aldia** (old G old L) *n.* ‘time, occasion’. \*\*\*\*

OUO. The second form is puzzling. [FHV 500]

**aldra** (B), **alra** (B) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘group’} [FHV 367] [derivative?]

**ale** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘grain, seed’}

{OUO.}

**aletegi** (\*\*) *n.* ‘granary’. \*\*\*\* + **-tegi** ‘place’ (see \*\*\*\* {**hegi**}).

**alor** (\*\*), **álhor** (Z) \*\*\*\* {‘field’}

**alfer** (\*\*), **alper** (\*\*), **afer** (A), **arpel** (B), **auher** (LN), **áuhér** (Z), **aurér** (R), **auger** (S),  
**aguer** (S), **auer** (S), **aufer** (S) \*\*\*\* *a.* ‘lazy, idle, good-for-nothing’, ‘barren, sterile’,  
\*\*\*\*. \*\*\*\* [FHV 94, 221]

OUO. Following a suggestion of Schuchardt’s, ML (§ 4002) identifies this word with Occ. *aufo*, *aufié* ‘idleness’, ‘idler’, derived from Arabic *halfa* ‘esparto grass’. But CP (*s.v.* *alfalfa*) attack this proposal savagely, arguing that the evidence is overwhelmingly against it. They go on to consider another eight possibilities, all of which they regard as unconvincing. Perhaps the most interesting of these is proposal (e). This depends upon the western variant **arpel**, upon the widespread sense of ‘barren’ attached to the word, and upon the claim, presented here as fact, that the word in this sense is most typically applied to ewes. They therefore propose that \**arpel* is the conservative form, with common *alper* etc. resulting from metathesis, and that ‘barren’ is the conservative sense. In fact, they propose \**ardi-berri*, with **berri** ‘new’, but this is scarcely likely. Much better is \**ardi-bel*, with \***bel** ‘dark’, which would yield *arpel* regularly: \**ardi-bel* > \**ard-bel* (by W2.1) > \**art-bel* (by W3) > \**artpel* (by W4) > *arpel*. In this interpretation, the common application of the word to idle people would be a metaphor comparable to English ‘black sheep’ and Cast. *oveja negra*.

**alferrik** (\*\*), **alperrik** (\*\*), \*\*\*\*, **ailperrik** (G) *adv.* ‘in vain, uselessly’. \*\*\*\* + **-ik**  
AdvFS. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**alperkeria** (old B) *n.* ‘idleness’. 1596. + **-keria** NFS of vices.

**algara** (\*\*) *n.* ‘loud laugh, guffaw’. \*\*\*\* [Arb] {M. 1954e: 375}

**alkabuz** (\*\*), **alkhabuz** (\*\*) *n.* ‘arquebus’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 314 fn.]

**alkandora** (\*\*) *n.* ‘shirt’. \*\*\*\*

**alkate** (\*\*) *n.* ‘mayor’. \*\*\*\* [DATE: FHV 360]

{**ālkatu** See **āltatu**.}

**alkixella** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘bench’} [Arb] {M. 1970a: 140}

**allauda** (old L), **llaudeta** (Z) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘lark’ (*zool.*) [FHV 93, 183]

**almute** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {‘*almud*, a certain dry measure’} [FHV 134 fn.]

**alphore** (LN Z), **alphó(r)** (Z), **alfore** (LN) *n.* ‘heat given off by the ground’ [FHV 253],  
**bafore** (G) *n.* ‘steamboat’ \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *vapōrem* ‘steam, vapour’, with intrusive /l/ and dissimilatory loss of the expected initial \*/b/ (M. \*\*\*\* {19}56{a}: 317; 1961a: 253).

**alprageta** (G) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘*espadrille*’} [FHV 367]

**alproja** (G) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘*saddlebag, pannier*’} [FHV 367]

**halsarrak** (old LN) *n. pl.* ‘entrails, bowels’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 365]

**āltatu** (R), **althatü** (Z) *vi.* ‘get dolled up, make one’s toilet’, *vt.* (Z) ‘adorn’. \*\*\*\* Stem **alta-**.

\*\*\*\* M. (\*\*\*\* {1954b: 129} Arb) argues that both the form and the sense {for the R word} are erroneous, and that the correct form is *ālkatu* ‘change one’s clothes’.  
{Actually, M. *loc. cit.* [1988 reprint] says “En Azk. [*Particularidades del dialecto roncalés*] hay sin duda que corregir *āltatu*, separarse» [sic] en *ālkatu*, pues segun sus propias indicaciones el primero significa «mudar(se)».” That is, M. says that Azkue’s gloss “«separarse»” ‘come apart, leave’ does not properly belong to *āltatu*, whose sense is given elsewhere by Azkue as «mudar(se)» ‘change’ but rather to *ālkatu*. Trask’s **althatü** (Z) here duplicates the item already mentioned under **aldatu** (see \***al-**), to which should be added the R form **āltatu** (or **altatu**, if the nasality properly belongs only to **ālkatu**). The intended entry that belongs here is thus: **ālkatu** (R) *vi.* ‘come apart, leave’.)}



**altxatu** (\*\*), **ailtxatu** (old L \*\*), **altxa** (\*\*) [FHV 115] \*\*\*\* {vt. ‘raise’} [Ax]

\*\*\*\* Axular’s graphy *ailchatu* seems to represent a perceived *alltxatu* (M. 1977a; 523).

{[] **altxeter** (?) *n.* ‘doctor, physician’.

From Lat. *archiater* id. (nom.) (M. \*\*\*\* {1974b: 201f.} Arb). M. does not cite a source for this word, which he merely labels ‘old’. [REWRITE: FHV {339}] {} Duplicates **atxeter**. M. does not mention the form **altxeter**, nor does Az., though Arbelaz (1978: 28) has **altxeter** as his entry.}

**haltza** (L LN Z), **altza** (B G HN), **altz** (B G HN L LN S), **haltz** (Z), **saltza** (S.P.) *n.* ‘alder’ (*bot.*) (*Alnus glutinosa*) 1643.

Short variants by M4. OUO. Last form curious. Many have seen this as connected somehow to the IE word represented by Lat. *alnus*, Proto-Germanic *\*aliza*, and others, but the details are obscure.

**alu** (B G HN L), **ale** (Z) *n.* ‘vulva’, TS *n.* ‘jerk, twit, bloody thing’, TS *a.* ‘stupid, damned, bloody’, TS (L) (hapax) *n.* ‘sea anemone, actinia’ (*zool.*) (order *Actiniaria*). 1562. Polite alteration (*a.*) **alix(a)** (1916).

Apparently from *\*aLu*, OUO, by P23. The Z variant is mysterious. Some sources gloss the word as ‘vagina’, but this sense is not well supported by the data. In its anatomical sense, the status of the word varies: it is regarded as very coarse by some but as perfectly respectable by others. As a term of abuse, it may be freely used by anyone, even by a young woman.

**ama** (*c.*) *n.* ‘mother’. 15th c.

Of nursery origin. There is no trace of it in the Aq. texts.

**ama handi** (L) *n.* ‘grandmother’. Possibly calqued on Fr. *grand’mère*.

**amabargo** (old B) *n.* \*\*\*\* [Az.], TS (B) ‘slattern’. \*\*\*\* **bargo** ‘young pig’.

**ama besoetako** (B G) *n.* \*\*\*\*

**amabisaba** (G) *n.* ‘great-grandmother’ \*\*\*\* M. (\*\*\*\* {1969c: 121} Arb) proposes *\*ama-bir-asaba*, + **berr-** ‘again’ (see **bihur**) + **asaba** ‘ancestor’, and he rejects Sch.’s suggestion of a hypothetical Rom. *\*bisava*.

**amabitxi** (B HN L), {[] **amabutxi** (\*\*), {} Moved to **amagutxi**}, **amaatxi** (LN), **amatxi** (\*\*), **amitxi** (L) *n. n.* ‘godmother’ {+ **-bitxi** (see **bitxi**)}.

**amaborze** (S) *n.* ‘godmother’, ‘grandmother’ \*\*\*\* + **-borze** \*\*\*\* (see **\*berr-**).

**amagiñarreba** (B G HN L Z), **ama-giharreba** (Z), **amagiarreba** (G R), **amaiarreba** (L), **amaierrea** (LN), **amamiarreba** (HN), **amiarreba** (HN) *n.* ‘mother-in-law’. \*\*\*\* + **-ginarreba** (see \*\*\*\* {**ginharreba**}).

**amago** (old Z) [hapax?] *n.* ‘motherhood’. \*\*\*\* + **-goa** NFS.

**amagoïn** (old B G HN) *n.* ‘grandmother’. \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\*

**amagutxi** (HN) {, **amabutxi** (\*\*)} *n.* ‘godmother’. \*\*\*\* + **gutxi** ‘small’ (see **guti**).

**amaidin** (G), **amaindin** (G), **amaidi** (HN) *n.* ‘godmother’. \*\*\*\*

**amaizun** (L LN R), **amaixun** (Z R), **amaxun** (R), **amizun** (LN), **amaizuma** (LN) \*\*\*\*  
 ‘stepmother’ (LN form also ‘stepfather’ !) \*\*\* + **-kizun** \*\*\*\* {NFS} Last form by  
 P\*\*{2}.

**amako** (B) *n.* ‘doting mother, mother who spoils her children’, ‘young lady who is very  
 fat’. \*\*\*\* + **-ko** NFS, prob. with dimin. sense.

**amakotzar** (B) *n.* According to A. (1905, *s.v. amako*), something like ‘big little  
 mother’ or ‘big little girl’. + **-tzar** augmentative (see **zahar**). The word is unusual  
 in containing both dimin. and augmentative suffixes.

**amakoi** (R) *n.* ‘child strongly attached to its mother’, ‘mama’s boy’. + **-koi** ‘fond of’ (see  
**ohi**).

**amakunde** (R) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘godmothers’ day’ [Az.]

**amama** (B) *n.* ‘grandmother’. \*\*\*\* + a second occurrence of **ama**. The word is not  
 restricted to a maternal grandmother.

**amanagusi** (old B) *n.* ‘grandmother’. \*\*\*\* + **nagusi** ‘principal’.

**amaorde** (B G), **amorde** (B G) *n.* ‘stepmother’. \*\*\*\* + **orde** ‘substitute’.

**amaso** *n.* (L LN) ‘grandmother’, (Z) ‘great-grandmother’. 1571. + **-so** kinship suffix.

**amatar** (B L) *n.* ‘child resembling its mother’. \*\*\*\* + **-tar**. {?Not = **-tar** ethnonymic  
 suffix.}

**amatxi** (L LN), **amitxi** (L) *n.* ‘grandmother’. *Ca.* 1924. + **-txi** dimin. suffix. {Not in *The  
 Dictionary*.} Commonly used without the article, like a proper name.

**amatxo** (HN) *n.* ‘grandmother’. \*\*\*\* + **-txo** dimin. (see **-to** [\*\*{1}]).

**amatu** (*c.*) *vi.* ‘become a mother’, ‘give birth’. 1777. + **-tu** VFS. A literary word.

**amazorro** (G HN) *n.* ‘child strongly attached to its mother’, ‘mama’s boy’. \*\*\*\* + **zorro**  
 ‘sack’.

**amazulo** (B), **amazillo** (L LN Z) *n.* ‘child strongly attached to its mother’, ‘mama’s  
 boy’, **amazulo** (B G HN) ‘homebody’, ‘man who seldom leaves his house’. \*\*\*\* +  
**zulo** ‘hole’.

**amiña** *n.* (G S R) ‘grandmother’, (S R) ‘very old woman’. \*\*\*\*

**amon** (G HN) *n.* ‘grandmother’. \*\*\*\* + **on** ‘good’.

**-ama** Toponymic suffix. [MITX 73] {M. 1973a: 44.}

**amamerua** (?) [hapax] *n.* ‘constable’. \*\*\*\* {M. 1970a: 58}

A hapax of unknown provenance and uncertain reality, cited by Iztueta (\*\*\*\* {n.d.:  
 228}).

**hamar** (L LN Z), **amar** (elsewhere) *num.* ‘ten’. CF **(h)ama-**. 1537.

OUO. We should probably reconstruct \*[h]anbar, by P3. CF by W11. M.  
 (\*\*\*\* {1972g: 80f.} Arb) rejects the proposal of Tovar to take **amai** ‘end’ (see below) as  
 basic and to derive **hamar** from it.

**hamabi** {*num.* ‘twelve’}

**amaitu** (B) *vt.* ‘finish’. \*\*\*\* + **-tu** VFS, with dissimilatory loss of /b/ (M. \*\*\*\* {1972g: 82} Arb; 1977a: 496).

**amai** (B) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘end’ Aul.} By back-formation. {M. 1972g: 80}

**hamabortz** (\*\*), **hamaborz** (old L old LN) \*\*\*\*, **amorz** (old L old LN) \*\*\*\* {*num.* ‘fifteen’}

**hamaika** (EB), **amaika** (B Sout G HN L), **amaka** (B), **hameka** (L LN), **ameka** (B HN), **haméka** (Z), **améka** (R), **hameika** (L), **hamaka** (old LN), **amaeka** (old B) \*\*\*  
\*\*\* {*num.* ‘eleven’} From \*(h)ama-eka, with an obscure second element (M. 1961a: 117). \*\*\*\* [FHV 496]

**hamahiru** (\*\*), **amairu** (\*\*), **amirur** (HN) *num.* {‘thirteen’}

**hamalau** {*num.* ‘fourteen’}

**amalauzaku** (G) *n.* ‘bogyman’, mythical creature invoked to frighten children. \*\*\*\*

**hamarren** (\*\*), **amarren** (\*\*) *n.* ‘tenth’, ‘tithe’. \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\* [FHV 391]

**hamasei** {*num.* ‘sixteen’}

**hamazazpi** {*num.* ‘seventeen’}

**hemeretzi** {*num.* ‘nineteen’} \*\*\*\* {+ **bederatzi**} with dissimilatory loss of /b/ and reduction.

**hemezortzi** {*num.* ‘eighteen’}

**amatu** (old B G) *vt.* ‘love’. 1596.

From Cast. *amar* id. The word is elevated and chiefly confined to religious senses.

**amerikano**, **-u** (c.?) *n.* ‘a Basque who has returned from the New World to retire in the Basque Country’. \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\*

**amets** (G HN LZ R), **ames** (B) *n.* ‘dream’. 1545.

\*\*\*\*

**amets egin** (\*\*) *vitm.* ‘dream’ (‘about’ = Comit.).

**ametz** (\*\*) *n.* ‘gall-oak’ (*bot.*) (*Quercus tozza* or *Q. pyrenaica*) 17th cent.

OUO. We should probably reconstruct \**anbetz*, by P\*\*{3}. A toponym *Hamezaga* in Alava 1025. [More in MT entry]

**amildu** (\*\*), **anbildu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* [FHV 358]

\*\*\*\* The \**amildu* of the *Supplement* to Larramendi is an error (M. \*\*\*\* {1970a: 140} Arb).

**amilla** (B G) *n.* ‘overcoat’, ‘waistcoat, (US) vest’

From Cast. *almilla* ‘bodice’, with dissimilatory loss of /l/ (M. 1961a: 339).

**amilotx** (B G) *n.* ‘bluetit’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*) \*\*\*\*

**txamilotx** (B) *n.* ‘tit’. \*\*\*\* Possibly a dimin. of the above, by M\*\*{9}, but M. (1977a: 511) suggests a compound whose first member is **etxe** ‘house’, with exceptional loss of the initial vowel.

**amizione** (H.) *n.* ‘ambition’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 357]

**amodio** (B G HN L LN), **amudio** (old B), **amorio** (G Z) *n.* ‘love’. \*\*\*\*

**amore** (B G L LN Z) *n.* ‘love’, TS (LN Z) ‘mistress’, ‘(female) lover’. CF **amol-**. 1536.

From Lat. *amōrem* id. CF by W1, W12. [SPECIAL SENSE WITH **-gatic**] [FHV 120]

**amoltsu** (\*\*), **amolsu** (\*\*), **amultsu** (\*\*) *a.* ‘affectionate’, ‘lovable’. \*\*\*\* + **-tsu** AFS.

**amorratu** *vi.* (G HN) ‘be furious, rage’, *a.* (B LN) ‘furious’. \*\*\*\* Stem **amorra-**.

Obscure. Possibly from Lat. *abhorrēre* ‘abhor’ (M. \*\*\*\* *BAP* 20: 337{?}).

**amorratio** (B G Duv.) *n.* ‘rage, fury’. \*\*\*\* + **-zio** NFS.

**amu** (\*\*) *n.* ‘hook’. \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *hāmum* id.

**amuarraín** (B), **hamuarraín** (S.P.), **amurraín** (B G L), **amurrai** (G L), **amorraí** (G HN), **amorra(i)ñ** (B), **amarrain** (LN Z) *n.* ‘trout’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*) {+ **arraín** *q.v.*} [FHV 122]

**-an** (*c.*) Loc. CS.

\*\*\*\* From *\*-Can*, probably *\*-gan*. Old B, and even later B, often shows forms like *ellexaan* ‘in the church’ (the *Viva Jesús* catechism) and *guisaan* ‘in the manner’ (Mogel) (M. 1961a: 112–113).

**\*ana-** [1], **\*aNā-** Hypothetical stem in kinship terms.

There are several kinship terms which certainly or probably contain an initial sequence of the form *\*ana-* or *\*aNā-*. Among these are **ahizpa** ‘sister of a woman’ {*q.v.*} (from *\*anizpa*), **anaia** ‘brother of a man’ {*q.v.*} (from something like *\*aNā(n)e-*) and **ahaide** ‘relative’ {*q.v.*} (possibly from *\*anai-*). The reality of this stem is far from secure, and the required fluctuation in form is troubling, but M. (\*\*\*\* {1977a: 583-584}) proposes an original *\*ana-* with “expressive strengthening” to *\*aNā-* in some cases. [FHV 583-584]

**\*ana-** {[2]}, **\*ano-** [MITX 73: 46, 357] {M. 1973a: 45, 112.}

**-ana**, **-ano** Toponymic suffixes. [MITX 73] {M. 1973a: 45-46.}

**anaia** (B Sout L) (1104, 1562), **anaie** (B LN) (1157, 1571), **anáie** (Z), **anaje** (B) ([<j> = [χ]), **anaxe** (LN R), **anae** (B), **anai** (B G L LN Z) *n.* (B) ‘brother of a man’, (*c. exc.* B) ‘brother’.

OUO, but contains **-ba** kinship suffix {??}. Possibly contains the hypothetical stem **\*ana-** {[1]} ~ **\*aNā-**. It is not clear whether the Sout def. form *anaya* represents **anaia** or **anai**. The conservative form is clearly something like *\*aNāea*, which may descend from *\*aNānea*, by P1. Loss of final /a/ in some forms by M\*\* {4}. In the 11th and 12th centuries, the word was written with <nn>: *mea annaia senior Enneco Sangiz* (1104), *Dominici Annaye, Iohannis Annaye* (1223) (M. 1961a: 306). Ib. exhibits an element *ANAI-*, of unknown meaning.

**anaiatasun** (B) (1627), **anaietasun** (old LN) (1571), **anaetasun** (G) (*ca.* 1808), **anaitasun** (B G HN) (1853), **anaitarzun** (L LN Z), **anaietarzun** (LN Z) *n.* ‘brotherhood’. + **-tasun** abstract NFS (see **-tar**).

**-anda** (\*\*) Diminutive or female suffix. [FHV 258]

**andere** (LN R) (1085, 1545), **andé(r)e** (Z), **andre** (G HN L LN Z) (12th cent., 1545), **anre** (HN) *n.* ‘lady’ ‘young lady’, TS (HN G LN Z) ‘doll’ (1802), TS (Z) ‘queen bee’, TS (Z) ‘concubine’, **andra** (B Sout) (15th cent.), **anra** (B), **andera** (old B) (1596) ‘lady’, TS ‘woman’, TS ‘doll’. Dimin. **anddere** (G HN) ‘doll’. (A. 1905 reports that part of LN distinguishes **andre** ‘lady’ from **andere** ‘young lady’.)

OUO, and much discussed. Short variants by syncope {P38}; B variants by M5. The sense of ‘lady’ predominates in the earliest texts, and is regarded by probably all specialists as the original sense. The word is recorded in Aq. as the female name *ANDERE* and as the element *ANDERE-* in other female names (M. \*\*\*\* {1961a: 161 fn. 14, 356}). Many have proposed a link with the Celtic word represented by Old Irish *ander* ‘young woman’; see Vendryes (\*\*\*\* {1959: s.v.}). But Gorrochategui (\*\*\*\* {1984: 129ff.}) makes a fascinating proposal. He notes the existence in Aq. of male personal names built on a stem *ANDOS(S)-*, alongside the female names in *ANDERE-*. He further notes the presence in Bq. of the apparent suffix **-(d)ots**, occurring in animal names, on occasion in names of male animals, as in \*\*\*\*. Then he proposes an Aq. stem *\*and-*, which he suggests as the source of a word *\*andots* ‘lord’, with the male suffix, and of **andere**, with an otherwise unknown female suffix. This is consistent with the observation that the historical word for ‘lord’, **jaun**, not only is absent from our Aq. texts but looks like the participle of a verb pressed into service as a noun; see **jaun** for discussion.

**anderauren** (LN old Z), **andrauren** (old B) *n.* ‘lady of the house’, ‘young lady of good family’, ‘serving girl, maid’. 1657. + **guren** ‘favourite’ (see **gura**), by P16 (M. 1961a: 116). A good deal of confusion surrounds this word. It famously occurs in Oihenart’s proverb 173: *Urruneko neskak anderauren hots* ‘Serving girls from far away are said to be ladies’. A number of scholars have taken Oihenart’s form as a typo, and “corrected” it to *\*anderaurren*, as though the second element were **aurren** ‘first, principal’ (see **ahur**), by an apparent folk etymology. Further, A. (1905) mistakenly takes this *anderauren* as containing the genitive case-suffix **-en** {[1]} (with inserted /r/ by P\*\* {35.1}), and extracts an erroneous *\*anderau*, which he glosses as ‘lady’. AT dismiss the putative *anderaurren* as a fiction, yet Lh. cites the word *only* in this form, attributing it not only to Oihenart (wrongly) but to other writers as well.

**andereder** (LN), **anddereder** (L), **anderejer** (Z), **andderejer** (Z), **armindderi** (A) *n.* ‘weasel’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*). + **eder** ‘beautiful’. Cf. Fr. *belette*, Port. Gal. *doninha*, *donicella*, all id. (M. \*\*\*\* {Michelena & Agud 1968: 80} Arb).

**andereño** *n.* ‘unmarried woman’ (used as a title) (1852), TS ‘female schoolteacher’ (1922). + **-ño** dimin. (see **-no**).

**andregai** (G HN L LN), **andregai** (L), **anderegai**, **anderegei** *n.* ‘heiress’, ‘daughter who will inherit her parents’ house’ (17th cent.), ‘fiancée’ (1664). + **-gai** ‘destined for’ (see **gai**).

**handi** (L LN), **hándi** (Z), **andi** (B G HN), **ándi** (R), **haundi** (L LN), **aundi** (B) *a.* ‘big, large’ ‘tall’, TS ‘great’, TS ‘chief, principal’, TS ‘lots of’, TS ‘strange, surprising’. 1262, 15th cent.

OUO. Cannot contain **-ti** [\*\*{1}] AFS, because, by P6, this would predict \*(*h*)anti in Z and R. Unlikely to contain **-i** [\*\*{1}] AFS, since \**and-* looks an impossible stem. The forms in /au/ are mysterious. There are three proposals: (1) an original /au/ has been widely reduced to /a/ because of the following cluster (by P46); (2) an original /a/ has been expanded to /au/ by a misapplication of P46; (3) the forms in /au/ are augmentative forms of unique formation. M. (1961a: 96; 1977a: 488) points out that (*h*)andi predominates so completely in the medieval and early texts that (*h*)aundi is probably nowhere recorded before 1700, and perhaps not even before the 19th century. The surname or sobriquet *Andia* is well recorded in the med. period. A. (1905) reports that, in the B of his day, **aundi** was an augmentative form of **andi**, though this is not so today. M. (\*\*\*\* {1954a: 437} Arb) notes a possible link with the *ANDOSS-* of Aq. male names like *ANDOSSUS*, but see **andere** for another proposal.

**handi-mandi** (L), **haundi-mandi** (L) *n.* ‘big shot’, ‘pompous, self-important person’, *a.* ‘pompous’, ‘self-important’. Commonly used as pl. **ha(u)ndimandiak**. 1759. An **m-reduplication**.

**handirasun** (old LN) *n.* ‘greatness’. \*\*\*\* + **-tasun** NFS (see **-tar**).

**hantu** (\*\*), **antu** (\*\*) *vt.* ‘blow up, inflate, enlarge, swell’. \*\*\*\* + **-tu** VFS. [FHV 423]

**hantura** (\*\*), **antura** (\*\*) *n.* ‘swelling’. \*\*\*\*

**hantuste** (\*\*), **antuste** (\*\*) *n.* ‘arrogance’. \*\*\*\* + **uste** ‘opinion’ {(see **etsi**)}.

**andur** (old B) \*\*\*\* {*a.* ‘low’} [FHV 563]

**angelu** (Sout), **angulu** (B) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘garret’, ‘landing’ Az.}

From Lat. *angellum* \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘small angle’} (M. 1961a: 160 fn. 9).

**angio** (B), **angia** (B), **angi** (B) *n.* ‘pasture, meadow’. Dimin. **xangio** (LN).

\*\*\*\* A toponym *Angiozar* in Gipuzkoa.

**hanka** (L LN Z) *n.* ‘haunch’, TS (L) ‘leg’, **anka** TS (R) ‘ham’, TS (B Sout G HN) ‘leg’, ‘foot’, ‘paw’. 1562.

From Rom. (probably Occ.) *anca* ‘haunch’, ultimately from Gmc. (probably Frankish) \**hanka* ‘haunch’. This word is widespread in Romance: Occ. Cat. Cast. It. *anca*, old and

modern Fr. *hanche*, all ‘haunch’ but with TSs like ‘ham’, ‘leg’. The absence of P6 points to a rather late borrowing.

**ano(a)** (G HN \*\*), **anho** (L LN), **anhúa** (Z) *n.* ‘provisions’ (for a shepherd or a traveller), ‘rations’, ‘share’, ‘food for animals’. 17th cent.

From \**aNona*, by P1, P23, from Lat. *annōnam* ‘provisions’ (M. 1961a: 305). Short variant by M4. (SEE ARBELAIZ)

**ansia** (\*\*), **ansi** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘care, importance’} [FHV 500]

**antzar** (B Sout G), **antzara** (G HN L), **antzare** (S), **antzera** (LN Z), **anzara** (L), **ansara** (L), **anzarea** (HN), *n.* ‘goose’ (*zool.*), TS **anzera** (LN Z) ‘duck’ (*zool.*) 1397, 1562.

From Lat. *anserem* id. [FHV 335]

**anu** (HN), **auga** (LN) *n.* ‘weakness’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 491-492]

OUO. Little recorded as an independent word, but frequent in derivatives. The original form is not easy to determine, but probably something like \**auNo* (M. 1961a: 307).

**anu egin** (\*\*), **anhu egin** (old L), **ano egin** (\*\*), **auno egin** (B) *vitm.* \*\*\*\* {‘faint, be weak’, **aun egin** (G HN) ‘be unable to carry a load’. + **egin** ‘do’.

**aunatu** (G HN), **anotu** (HN), **unhatu** (L LN), **oñatu** (old B, R&S 365) \*\*\*\*, **unhatü** (Z), **augatu** (LN) \*\*\*\* {‘be tired, be weary’} + **-tu** VFS. [FHV {103,} 307 fn., 492]

**eñhe** (Z) *a.* ‘tired{, fatigued}’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 307]

{**eñhatü** (Z) \*\*\*\* {*v.* ‘get tired’} [FHV 222] (from \**aun-*, \**eun-*)}

[SORT THIS MESS OUT] M. (1977a: 492) proposes a source in {late} Lat. *caumare* \*\*\*\*

**añharba** (LN), **añhárba** (Z) *n.* ‘spider’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*). \*\*\*\*

**añegu** (A), **añagu** (S), **añai** (R) *n.* ‘rye’ (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*) \*\*\*\*

**aho** (L LN Z), **ao** (B G HN R), **ago** (B G HN R Z) *n.* ‘mouth’. CF **aha-** (L LN Z), **ao-** (\*\*), **ab-** (B G). 11th–12th cent., 1562.

From \**a*{*h*}*o*, OUO. Last variant by P35.1. First CF by W2.2, last by P55.

**ahaire** (L LN Z), **ahaide** (Z) *n.* ‘melody, tune’, ‘song’. 1627. + **aire** ‘air, melody’ (M. \*\*\*\* {1955c: 286}). Second form by P17. M. (\*\*\*\* *BAP* 6 {1950b}: 447) takes seriously the idea that the word is taken straight from Rom. *aire*, with “vowel doubling” or with contamination from **aho**, but M. (\*\*\*\* *BAP* 11 {1955c}: 286) rejects this, as do AT.

**ahalusain** (S.P.) [hapax]; corrected by AT to \***ahaluzain** *n.* ‘yawn’. The second element is probably **luze** ‘long’, which is why AT alter the form. The last element is obscure; AT suggest **egin** ‘make’.

**ahamen** (old L), **aamen** (\*\*), **aomen** (HN R), **amen** (HN) *n.* ‘mouthful’. + **-men** NFS {(see **-mendu**)} (Sch. BuR 26). {= Schuchardt 1906a: 26.}

**ahamihikatu** (L) *vi.* ‘murmur’. + **mihi** ‘tongue’ + **-ka** AdvFS + **-tu** VFS.

**ahape** (\*\*) {*adv.* ‘whispering’} etc.

**ahapaldi** (\*\*) *n.* ‘injury’, ‘couplet’. \*\*\*\*. **aldi** ‘occasion’.

**aharai** (L) ‘song of happiness’, ‘mockery, ridicule’. \*\*\*\*

**ahatara** (L), **ahatra** (L), **ahartara** (L), **aharta** (L), **aháta** (Z), **auta** (R), **aotara** (L LN)  
*n.* ‘mouthful’. \*\*\*\* Second element obscure.

**ahazabal** (old L \*\*) *n.* ‘blabbermouth’. 1643. + **zabal** ‘wide’.

**abets** *n.* ‘voice’. *ca.* 1896. Aranist neologism; + **eresi** ‘dirge, song’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**ahogain** (\*\*) *n.* ‘palate’ (*anat.*). \*\*\*\* + **gain** ‘top’.

**ahoganga** (\*\*) *n.* ‘palate’ (*anat.*) \*\*\*\* + **ganga** ‘vault’.

**ahogozo** (L LN Z), **aogozo** (G), \***ahagozo** (LN) *n.* ‘saliva’. \*\*\*\* + **gozo** ‘juice’. The LN form is cited in error by S.P. as \**ahagozi*.

**ahosabai** (LN Z S), **aosabai** (B R), **aasabai** (L), **aosapai** (B G HN), **ausapai** (G),  
**ausabai** (R), **agosabai** (HN S A), **agosapai** (G), **abosabai** (Múg.), **aosagailla** (HN) *n.*  
‘palate’ (*anat.*). *Ca.* 1780. + **sabai** ‘ceiling’. Last variant mysterious.

**ahots** (EB), **aots** (B) (1891), **abots** (B G) (1745, 1896) *n.* ‘lip-smacking’, TS ‘voice’. +  
**hots** ‘noise, cry’. Neologism in second sense.

**ahoskatu** *vt.* ‘pronounce’. 1944. + **-katu** VFS (see **-ka**). Neologism.

**ahozeru** (\*\*) *n.* ‘palate’ (*anat.*). \*\*\*\* + **zeru** ‘sky’.

**ahoz-pez** (old L \*\*) *adv.* ‘face down’. \*\*\*\*. \*\*\*\*

**ahotz** (\*\*), **áhotz** (Z), **aotz** (\*\*), **agotz** (S \*\*), **autz** (R), **alkotz** (G HN), **algotz** (B) \*\*\*\* *n.*  
\*\*\*\* {‘chaff’ Aul.} [FHV 94, 340]

**apaindu** (B Sout G HN), **aphaindu** (L LN), **aphaindü** (Z) *vi.* ‘prepare (oneself), get ready’,  
‘get dolled up’, *vt.* ‘prepare’, ‘adorn’. 1562.

From Cast. *apañar* ‘prepare’ (M. \*\*\*\* {1974b: 204} Arb), by P32.

**apain** (B G L), **aphain** (L LN Z) *n.* ‘ornament’ (1745, 1804), *a.* ‘elegant’ (*ca.* 1860). By  
back-formation.

**apainduri** (\*\*) \*\*\* {*n.* ‘ornament, elegance’} [FHV 132]

**apaiz** (G HN), **apez** (G HN LN), **ápez** (R), **aphez** (L LN), **aphéz** (Z), **apaiez** (old G Sout) *n.*  
‘priest’. 1562.

Apparently from Lat. *abbās* ‘abbot’ (M. 1961a: 229), by L1, a rare case of a Lat. noun  
borrowed in the nominative. Final /z/ instead of /tz/ is unexpected and puzzling. The  
Lat. acc. *abbātem* is frequent in toponyms, as in *Apatamonasterio*; see M. (1961a: 229).  
See also **aphatía**, **iphizpiku**.

**apaizgai** (G), **aphezgei** (L LN Z) *n.* ‘seminary student’. 1785. + **-gai** ‘destined for’ (see  
**gai**).



**apaizgo** (HN), **apezgo**, **aphezgoa** (L LN Z), **aphezkoa** *n.* ‘priesthood’. 1627. + **-goa** collective NFS.

**apaiztegi** (G) *n.* ‘rectory’. 1265, 1745. + **-tegi** ‘place’ {(see **hegi**)}.

**apaiztu** (G), **apheztu** (L LN Z) *vi.* ‘become a priest’, *vt.* ‘ordain’. 1745, 1782. + **-tu** VFS.

**apaiztxori** (HN) *n.* ‘peewit’, ‘lapwing’ (*zool.*) + **txori** ‘bird’ (see **zori**).

**apaizurren** (old G) *n.* ‘deacon’. 1745, 1785. + **hurren** ‘next, nearest’.

**apetxaun** (HN), **apetxona** (S) \*\*\* ‘señor priest’ \*\*\*\*

**apal** (B HN), **ápal** (R), **aphal** (L LN), **áphal** (Z) *a.* ‘low’ (1063, *ca.* 1660), TS ‘humble’ (1712), (HN LN) *adv.* ‘down’.

Uncertain. Schuchardt (1899) and Bouda (\*\*\*\* *EJ* 4 {1950}: 52) suggest Lat. *ad vallem* ‘to the valley’, parallel to Fr. and old Occ. *aval*, Cat. *avall* ‘down’. From this the likely sequence \*/db/ in a Bq. borrowing would yield /p/ by W4. This proposal is cautiously noted with approval by M. (1961a: 229), but it is far from certain, and a native origin cannot be ruled out.

**ap(h)aldu** (*c.*) *vt.* ‘lower’, ‘abase, humble’. 1657. + **-tu** VFS.

**ap(h)alkeri(a)** (\*\*) *n.* ‘servility’, ‘false humility’. + **-keria** NFS of vices.

**aphalkuntza** (L) *n.* ‘humiliation’. + **-kuntza** NFS of action (see **\*-kun**).

**aphaltar** (LN) *n.* ‘lowlander’. + **-tar** ethnonymic suffix.

**aparaxu** (\*\*) *n.* ‘toolkit, set of tools’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 517]

From some Rom. source akin to Cast. *aparejo* ‘gear, equipment’ (M. 1977a: 517).

**apario** (R), **apáirü** (Z), **apáidü** (Z) *n.* ‘meal’. \*\*\*\* [combine? {with **afari**}]

From Lat. {\*} *apparium* \*\*\*\* (M. \*\*\*\* {1957a: 18} Arb).

**hapataka** (Z) \*\*\*\* ‘gallop(ing)’ ? Expressive.

**aphatía** (Z) *n.* ‘abbey’, ‘castle’. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* See Cast. *abadía*. (Arb) {M. 1957c: 125}

**apeio** (R) *n.* ‘plough’. \*\*\*\*

Probably from Cast. *apero* ‘ploughing team’, ‘farm implement’, or a related Rom. word (M. \*\*\*\* {1953b: 143} Arb).

**apendu** (old G) *vi.* ‘avenge oneself’. \*\*\*\*

M. (\*\*\*\* {1951b: 579f. n. 5}) diffidently suggests Lat. *appendere* ‘weigh out’.

**apika** (G), **apike** (G R) *prt.* ‘maybe, perhaps’. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* The *\*apuca* of the second *Supp.* to Larramendi is an error (M. \*\*\*\* {1970a: 140} Arb).

**apiriko** (L), **aperiko** (L) *n.* ‘atrium’, ‘portico’. \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *apricum* ‘exposed to the sun’ (M. 1961a: 158)

**apiril** (G L Z), **aphiril** (L LN Z), **apiribil** (G), **april** (B G old LN), **april** (R) *n.* ‘April’. 1501.

From Lat. *aprilem* id. The expected final /e/ has been lost, doubtless on the analogy of all the other month names ending in *-il* representing *\*iLe* ‘month’ (Knörr 2000{1}). The third form is curious.

**apo** (\*\*), **apho** (\*\*), **ápho** (Z), **afo** (LN), **zapo** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘toad’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*)

From Cast. *sapo* id. \*\*\*\* Common form perhaps by the mishearing of Cast. *los sapos* as *\*los apos* (M. 1961a: 292).

**afo armatu** (LN) *n.* ‘turtle’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*). + **armatu** ‘armoured’ (see **arma**).

**aponnto** {*l. apontto*} (G) *n.* ‘toadstool’, **amonto** (\*\*) ‘a certain dark-coloured mushroom’, **amoroto** (\*\*) ‘a kind of red mushroom’, **anboto** (G) ‘a certain mushroom’ \*\*\*\* + **onddo** ‘mushroom’ (Wasson 1956: {?6}11; M. \*\*\*\* *BAP* 23 {1967d}: 116; M. 1961a: 118).

**sapelaitz** (B G), **sapelatz** (B G), **aphalatz** (LN) [different birds] [Arb] \*\*\*\*

**apoñu** (B) *n.* ‘humidity’, ‘storm’, **afonu** (B) ‘odour’. \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *favonium* ‘west wind’ (M. \*\*\*\* {1974b: 201 n. 94} Arb).

**apostolu** (\*\*), **apostru** (\*\*), **aprostu** (ol B) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘apostle’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 160 fn. 69, 399]

**apukadu** (old B) *vi.* ‘happen, occur’. \*\*\*\* Stem **apuka-**.

OUO. Clearly borrowed, from its form, but no source is known. {M. 1964a: 140.}

**apur** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘crumb’ Aul.}

**apurtu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*v.* ‘crumble’ Az.}

**aphúrxe** (Z) \*\*\*\* [FHV 290]

**\*har** (*c.*), **a** (B) *det., pron.* ‘that’ (distal), ‘that one’ (distal). Sg. stem **(h)ar-**. Pl. stem **(h)ai(e)-**. Postposed.

OUO. The absolutive sg. form **\*har** survives in B as **a**; elsewhere, it has been supplanted by the suppletive form **hura**. All varieties retain the oblique sg. stem and the pl. stem. See **hau**, **hori** [1]. [FHV 331]

**-a** (sg.), **-ak** (pl.) (*c.*) *det.* (definite) article. By phonological reduction of absolutive sg. **\*har** and absolutive pl. **hai(e)k**. The oblique sg. stem is **-ar-**; the oblique pl. stem is **-e-**. Old B, and even later B, often shows pl. forms like *errekaak* ‘the streams’ (R&S

214) and *gauzaak* ‘the things’ (Mogel) (M. 1961a: 112). Though commonly called the ‘definite article’, this determiner is of broader application than a true definite article. [FHV 238, 238 fn.]

**hain** (L LN Z), **ain** (\*\*), **aen** (old B) *prt.* ‘so’, ‘that’ (in forms like ‘so big’, ‘that big’). 15th cent. From *haren*, Gen. sg., from stem **har-** plus Gen. **-en** {[1]}, with phonological reduction (Gavel \*\*\*\* {1929: 194 n. 3}, M. 1961a: 66). See also **\*bez(a)-**.

**hainbat** (\*\*), **ainbat** (\*\*), **hanbat** (\*\*), **anbat** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* ‘so much, so many’ \*\*\*

**halan** (\*\*), **hala** (\*\*), **hála** (Z) \*\*\*\* *adv.* ‘thus’, ‘in that way’. \*\*\*\* See **ala** [2].

**alegia** (\*\*) *prt.* ‘certainly’, \*\*\*\* + **egia** ‘truth’ (M. 1977a: 525).

**han** (\*\*), **an** (\*\*) *adv.* ‘(over) there’. \*\*\*\*

**anartean** (\*\*), **han artean** (\*\* {old LN}), **anhartian** (\*\*), **anarteraiño** (\*\* {old L}), **anarteraiño** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {‘meanwhile’ Aul.} [FHV 525]

**ararteko** (\*\*), **anarteko** (\*\*) *n.* ‘mediator’. + **arte** {[1]} ‘interval’ (probably reduced from *artean* ‘between’ {(cf. **arte** [1])}, + **-an** Loc. {CS}) + **-ko** (M. 1961a: 317 fn. 10). Second form by dissimilation. [BUT FHV 525 seems to disagree]

**are** (\*\*) *prt.* ‘even’, as in ‘even bigger’. \*\*\*\* + **-e** Gen. (M. 1977a: 503 {, 525}). The literal sense is ‘bigger than that’.

**arean** (B Sout) *adv.* ‘from there’, TS ‘any’. 1562. + **-rean** Abl CS (M. 1961a: 120).

[FORM?] [FHV 525] The TS is illustrated by *B Arean ez dau* ‘He doesn’t have any’, lit. ‘He doesn’t have from there’ (M. 1977a: 525).

**arik** (\*\*) *adv.* ‘from there’. \*\*\*\* + **-ik** Abl. CS.

**arrezkero** (G) *adv.* ‘since then’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 331]

**asostian** (B) *adv.* ‘after that’. From *\*az-ostean*, + **-z** instrl. + **ostean** ‘after’ (see **oste** {[2]}), by P\*\* {W16} (M. 1961a: 283).

**elkar** (G HN L LN) (1571), **elkhar** (L LN), **alkar** (B G R) (1537), **álkhar** (Z), **álgar** (Z), **elgar** (LN Z) (1545), **arkal** (\*\*) *pron.* ‘each other, one another’. Probably from *\*hark-har*, erg. and abs. of **\*har** (Uhlenbeck \*\*\*\* 1928 *RIEV* 19: 168; M. 1961a: 69), with dissimilation of the first rhotic (P24). Last variant by P6. The unexpected /g/ in some Z forms points to diffusion, by P\*\* {6} (M. 1961a: 230 fn. 10).

**elkarrekin** (\*\*) *adv.* ‘together’. \*\*\*\*. + **-ekin** Com. CS (see \*\*\*\* {-kide}).

**har** (L LN), **hār** (Z), **ar** (\*\*), **aar** (old B, *R&S* 400 \*\*), **ār** (R) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘worm’ \*\*\*\*

From *\*anar*, by P1 {, O.U.O.} (M. \*\*\*\* {1950b:, 451; 1954b: 147} Arb).

**harjo** (\*\*), **arjo** (\*\*), **artxo** (HN), **arxo** (R) *a.* ‘worm-eaten’, **harro** (\*\*), **arro** (\*\*) *a.* ‘\*\*\*\* proud’ \*\*\*\* [FHV 175, 175 fn. {15}, 234 fn. {19}]

**armin** (B) (B), **arbin** (B) *n.* ‘predicament’, *a.* ‘restless’, **har miñak** (L) *n. pl.* ‘sorrow’, ‘remorse, regret’. + **min** ‘pain’ (M. 1961a: 276).

**\*-ar** Hypothetical NFS with a collective sense.

Its reality is not certain, but, as first pointed out by \*\*\*\*\*, Bq. has many nouns ending in a morph *-ar* which denote things commonly encountered in bunches, rather than individually, and in fact M. (\*\*\*\*{1958a}) describes this **\*-ar** as “well documented”. Examples include **abar** ‘branch’, **belar** ‘grass’, **hondar** ‘sand’, ‘residue’, **ilar** ‘pea’, **izar** ‘star’, **negar** ‘tears’, **sagar** ‘apple’, and possibly **adar** ‘horn’, **ohar** ‘advice, warning’, **zatar** ‘rag’ and **bizar** ‘beard’ (if this originally meant ‘whiskers’). The numeral-name **hamar** ‘ten’ may also be relevant. Against this, it must be noted that Bq. has many nouns in *-ar* for which a collective reading is, at best, difficult: **behar** ‘necessity’, **bihar** ‘tomorrow’, **ibar** ‘valley’, **indar** ‘force’, **leizar** ‘ash tree’, **zilar** ‘silver’, \*\*\*\*\* {On *-ar* in tree and plant names see M. 1973a: 60.}

**ar** (\*\* Z) \*\*\*\* {a.} ‘male’

\*\*\*\* {OUO.} AT suggest a link with **ahari** ‘ram’.

**arrezko** (\*\*) *adjvl.* ‘male’. \*\*\*\* + **-zko** (see \*\*\*\* {-z Instrumental/adverbial suffix}).

**-ara** \*\*\*\* ‘heat (of an animal)’.

[Az.] \*\*\*\* Not recorded as an independent word.

**haragi** (\*\*), **aragi** (\*\*), **a(r)ági** (Z) *n.* ‘meat’. \*\*\*\*

**haragikoi** (\*\*), **a(r)akhói** (Z) *a.* \*\*\*\* ‘fond of meat, carnivorous’, TS ‘fond of sensual pleasures’, ‘lascivious’, TS (Z) *n.* ‘dog’. \*\*\*\* + **-koi** ‘fond of’ {(see **ohi**)}.

**arakin** (\*\*) *n.* ‘butcher’. \*\*\*\* + **-gin** ‘maker’ (see **egin**) (M. 1961a: 423).

**aratsu** (old LN) \*\*\*\* {‘fleshy’ Az.} [FHV 560]

**aragorri** (\*\*), **ahago** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* [messy] [AT]

**arai** (Sout) *n.* ‘mastiff’. 1562.

From some Rom. form akin to Cast. *alano* id., by P\*\* {22}.

**arhamenta** (Z), **ahamenda-(belhar)** (LN Z) *n.* Sense disputed: A. (1905) and Múg. give ‘absinthe, wormwood’ (*bot.*) (*Artemisia absinthium*), while Lh. and Daranatz give ‘mint’.

The second element can hardly be other than Rom. *menta* ‘mint’. The first is less obvious, but Lh. proposes **arhan** ‘plum’ (see **aran**), and this is endorsed by AT (*s.v.* *ahamenda*): the sense of ‘plum-mint’ is to be taken as ‘wild mint’. Corominas, cited in AT, suggests a development from Rom. *absenta* ‘absinthe’, as follows: *\*absenta* > *\*asbenta* > *\*asmenta* > *\*ar(a)menta*. But this ingenuity appears misplaced.

**haran** (\*\*), **aran** (\*\*) \*\*\* *n.* ‘valley’. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* {OUO.} A CF (*h*)*ara-* in the surname *Araluce* (**luze** ‘long’) (M. 1977a: 562).

**aran** (\*\*), **arhan** (\*\*), **á(r)han** (Z) *n.* ‘plum’. \*\*\*\*

OUO. There have been attempts to relate this to the Rom. word represented by Arag. *arañón* and to the Celtic word represented by Irish *áirne* and Welsh *airin*, but M. (\*\*\*\* {1964a: 140 and n. 133, n. 134} Arb) points out that the Rom. forms require an original *\*agraniō* (CP *s.v.* *arándano*), while the Celtic ones require *\*agrinja*. See **arhamenta**.

**basaran** (\*\*) *n.* ‘sloe’. \*\*\*\* + **bas-** ‘wild’ (see **baso**).

**patxaran** (\*\*) *n.* ‘pacharan’, a liqueur made from anisette flavoured with sloes. An alteration of the preceding. {? Cf. **paitar**, **pattar** ‘alcoholic liquor’.

**á(r)hatü** (Z), inferred from stem **a(r)ha-**. *vt.* ‘rake’.

Obscure. M. (1961a: 211) diffidently suggests Lat. *arāre* ‘till, plough’.

**arau** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘rule, norm’, ‘association’. [FHV 94, 119]

OUO. M. (\*\*\*\* BAP 10 {1954e}: 375) suggests a Rom. origin in some form along the lines of *\*alau*, by P\*\* {22}.

**arbazta** (\*\* {G B}), **garbasta** (\*\*), **karbaza** (\*\*), **arba** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘rafter’, ‘branch’} [FHV 251 fn. {46}] [Sarasola] [Arb]

**arbiatu** (L LN), **arbiatü** (Z) \*\*\*\* *vt.* ‘despise, scorn’. \*\*\*\*

From some Rom. reflex of Lat. *repudiāre* ‘reject’ (M. 1961a: 164).

**ardi** [1] (*c.*) *n.* (southern varieties) ‘sheep’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*), (L LN Z) ‘ewe’. CF **art-** 1545.

OUO. CF by W2.1, W3. In the south, this is the generic word for ‘sheep’, and **ahari** is only ‘ram’; in the north, it means specifically ‘ewe’, while **ahari** is both ‘sheep’ and ‘ram’.

**altxirri** (B G HN), **altxirra** (HN) *n.* ‘sheep droppings’. + **zirri** [2] ‘dung’ (M. \*\*\*\* {1968g: 482} Arb), with dissimilation of the rhotic.

**arkume** (B G HN) *n.* ‘lamb’, esp. one that is still being suckled. *Ca.* 1620. + **-kume** ‘offspring’ (see **ume**) (M. 1961a: 246).

**arpiga** (B), **arpigae** (B), **arpigai** (B), **arpigera** (B), **arpiento** (B) *n.* ‘one-year-old ewe which has not given birth’. + **bigae** ‘two-year-old heifer’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 146, 345]

**arpin** (old LN) *n.* ‘plantain’ (*bot.*) (*Plantago maior*). 17th cent. + *\*bini* ‘tongue’ (see **mihi**), by W\*\* {2.1, 3, 4}: literally, ‘sheep-tongue’ (M. 1961a: 276). Cf. ancient Greek *arnóglisson* ‘plantain’, lit. ‘lamb-tongue’.

**artalde** (\*\*), **arthálde** (Z) *n.* ‘flock of sheep’. \*\*\*\* + **talde** ‘group’ \*\*\*\* {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**artegi** (B G HN L LN R) (1571), **artei** (Sout) (1562), **arthégi** (Z) *n.* ‘sheep pen’. + **-tegi** ‘place’ \*\*\*\* {(see **hegi**)}.

**artile** (L LN R), **arthile** (L LN), **artille** (G HN L LN), **artillhe** (Z), **artule** (B) *n.* ‘wool’, ‘fleece’, TS ‘yarn’. 1802. + **ile** (and variants) ‘hair’.

**artizkuma** (G) *n.* ‘place for milking ewes’. \*\*\*\* + **jeitz-** {root of **jeitzi**} ‘milk’ + **-gune** ‘place’ (see \*\*\*\* {**gune**}), by P\*\* {2} (M. 1961a: 304 fn. 9).

**artxaun** (HN) *n.* ‘shepherd’. \*\*\*\* + **jaun** ‘lord’. [FHV 174]

**artzain** (B L LN Z) (1545), **artzāi** (old B), **artzáñ** (Z), **artzai** (G HN) (1183), **arzai** (Sout) (1562), **artzái** (R), **artzaī** (R) *n.* ‘shepherd’. CF **artzan-**. + **-zain** ‘guardian’ (see **zain** {[1]}). CF by W1. [FHV 290]

**artzango** (LN), **artzaingo** (HN L LN S Z) *n.* ‘sheepherding’. \*\*\*\*. + **-goa** NFS.

**artzantza** (G), **artzaintza** (B G HN) *n.* ‘sheepherding’. 1745, *ca.* 1760. + **-tza** NFS.

**azuri** (B) *n.* ‘newborn lamb’. + **zuri** ‘white’. The development is probably \**ardi-zuri* > \**ard-zuri* (by W2.1) > \**art-zuri* (by W3) > \**atzuri* > *azuri*.

**axuri** (\*\*) *n.* ‘young lamb’. [MT entry]

**ardi** [2] (\*\*) *n.* ‘flea’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*).

\*\*\*\* See **kukuso**.

**arkakuso** (G), **ardikuso** (G) *n.* ‘flea’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*) \*\*\*\* + **kukuso** ‘flea’ (M. 1961a: 345). A curious blend of eastern and western words for ‘flea’.

**ardít** (Z) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘ardite (coin)’} [FHV 207, 345]

**hardit** (\*\* old LN) {*a.* ‘daring’}, **hardít** (Z) \*\*\*\* {*a.* ‘healthy’} [FHV 207]

**ardo** (G HN S A), **ardao** (B Sout), **ardau** (B), **ardão** (old B), **arno** (L LN), **ano** (LN), **ardú** (Z), **ardáũ** (R) *n.* ‘wine’. CF **ardan-**. 1498, 1545.

From \**ardano*, OUO, by P1, P\*\* {35.3} (Altube \*\*\*\* {1923: 518ff.}, M. 1961a: 151). CF by W1. The form *ardum* is recorded by Aimery Picaud in the 12th cent. for an unknown variety; this probably represents [ardũ]. The curious phrase *ardan bustia* ‘wet wine’ occurs in the magical charm found in a manuscript in the cathedral of Pamplona, usually dated to the 14th century and published in Gifford and Michelena (1958) and in M. (1964\*\* {b}: 57–59); this is surely to be interpreted as a compound containing the CF. Landucci (1562) {in Agud & Michelena (1958)} does not list the independent word for Sout, but cites *ardaoan bodegu[ea]*, glossed as ‘bodega de vino’, with an apparent genitive *-an* (< *-aren*), pointing to \**ardao* for Sout. The CF **ardan-** is recorded in surnames as early as the 1{3}th cent., for example *Sancho Ardanburu* in 1283, and the toponym *Ardanui*, apparently ‘vineyard’, is recorded in Ribagorza (C. \*\*\*\* {1994 s.v.}).

As an independent word, this means ‘wine’ in almost all citations, though a few early texts have it in the sense of ‘any fermented beverage’ (Agud \*\*\*\* {1983}, Sarasola 1996). It occurs as the final element in compounds denoting a range of alcoholic beverages, though A. (1905)’s proposal of ‘any kind of beverage’ seems unjustifiable. See **gari**, **sagar**, **mahats** for examples of such compounds.

Many scholars have wanted to see a possible link with Albanian *ardhi* ‘wine’ and with Armenian *ort*, frequently glossed as ‘wine’ in the comparative literature but in fact meaning ‘vineyard’. These comparisons, which would apparently require the Bq. word to be a compound, are questionable. [FHV 127]

**ardanbera** (G) *n.* ‘finest variety of a beverage, esp. cider’. + **bera** ‘soft’.

**ardanberri** (\*\*) *n.* ‘new wine’. \*\*\*\* + **berri** ‘new’ (see \***berr-**). [FHV 499]

**ardandegi** *n.* (B G old L) ‘wine cellar’, (B) ‘tavern, inn’, (G) ‘communal wine store’,  
**ardantegi** (B) ‘larder, pantry’, **arnotegi** (old L) ‘larder, cellar’. 1643. + **-tegi** ‘place’  
 {(see **hegi**)}. Last variant by re-formation.

**ardandu**, **arnotu** *vi., vt.* ‘ferment’. + **-tu** VFS.

**ardanetxe** (B) *n.* ‘tavern, inn’. 1802. + **etxe** ‘house’.

**ardangela** *n.* (B) ‘wine cellar beneath the stairs’, (B G HN) ‘larder, pantry’. + **gela**  
 ‘room’.

**ardankoi** (B old L), **ardaukoi** (R), **ardūkhói** (Z) *a.* ‘excessively fond of wine’. 1643.  
 Also **ardanoi** (Z) ‘drunk’. + **-koi** AFS ‘fond of’ {(see **ohi**)}.

**ardanoi** (Z) *n.* ‘drunkard’. Probably + **ohe** ‘bed’.

**ardantz**a (LN R), **ardantze** (G old L old Z?), **ardanza** (HN) *n.* ‘vineyard’. 1164, 1627.  
 + **-tza** NFS.

**ardantzale**, **ardanzale** (B HN), **ardoze** (G), **arozale** (L LN), **ardaozale** (B) *n.*  
 ‘drunkard’. 17th cent. + **-zale** ‘fond of’ {not in *The Dictionary*}. Last three variants  
 are re-formations.

**ardaomindu** (B) *vi.* ‘go black and blue’ (of the skin). + **min** ‘pain’ + **-tu** VFS.

**ardausopatu** (R) *vi.* ‘go black and blue’ (of the skin). + **sopa** ‘soup’ (see **zopa**) + **-tu**  
 VFS.

**ardogin**, **ardogile** *n.* ‘winemaker’. 1816. + **-gin**, **-gile** ‘maker’ (see **egin**).

**arozun** (old L) *a.* ‘looking for wine’. Hapax in Axular 1643. + **-zun** ‘in search of’.  
 {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**hardo** (\*\* L), **kardo** (HN L) *n.* ‘tinder’. \*\*\*\* Dimin. **harddo** (L), **karddo** (L) ‘tinder’.

From Lat. *cardu(u)m* ‘thistle’ (M. 1961a: 251). It appears that thistles were once  
 commonly used as tinder.

**ardagai** (G), **ardai** (LN Z), **erdai** (B), **kardakai** (HN) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘tinder’. \*\*\*\* + **gai**  
 ‘material’.

**ardura** (B G HN L) *n.* ‘care, attention’, ‘diligence’. [more senses] \*\*\*\*

From Old Cast. *ardura* ‘anguish, anxiety, discomfort’ (M. \*\*\*\* *BAP* 9 {1953d}: 569).

**harea** (L \*\*), **area** (\*\*), **are** (\*\*), **ha(r)íña** (Z), **āria** (R), **ária** (R), **aréa** (R), **āre** (R) *n.*  
 ‘sand’. \*\*\*\* CF (**h**)**aren-**.

From Lat. (*h*)*arēnam* id., by P1 (M. 1961a: 300). CF by W\*\* {1}.

**arerio** (B) *n.* ‘enemy’. 1596.

OUO, and a word of very strange form. See **etsai**.

{[]} **arestian** (\*\*), **araxtian** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* *adv.* ‘a short time ago’, ‘just now’. \*\*\*\*

M. (\*\*\*\* {1957a: 21; Agud & Michelena 1958: 42} Arb) proposes Lat. *hōra est jam* ‘the hour is now’. {} Combined with **ora(i)xtean** (see **orast**).}

**arezta** (HN L LN), **aresta** (HN), **ahasta** (L), **abrasta** (L), **ahazta** (LN), **alasta** (LN), **harezta** (LN), (?) **arazka** (Z), **arazta** (Z), **harazta** (Z), **ahetz** (Z), **aazta** (Z), **aletza** (HN G?), **alesta** (G?). ‘waste material, esp. from processing flax’. 1746, 1783.

From a Rom. \**aresta*, from Lat. *aristam* ‘top of an ear’, ‘beard of corn’ (M. \*\*\*\* {1961g: 357}). {Old Occ. *aresta*, but in senses similar to Latin.} M. (\*\*\*\* *BAP* 17 {1961g}: 357) is not sure that the Z form {**arazka**} cited is real.

**arestabar** (G), **abastar** (G), **aaztar** (G) *n.* ‘waste material from processing flax or wool’. + **abar** ‘residue’ (M. \*\*\*\*). {AT}

**argi** (c.), **árgi** (Z) *n.* ‘light’, *a.* ‘bright’. 1545. CF **art-**.

OUO. CF by W2.1, W3. Many have proposed a link with the PIE root \**arg-* or \**h<sub>2</sub>erg-* ‘shine, bright’, but no suitable source for the Bq. word is attested in any IE language known to have been in contact with Bq.

**argitaratu** (\*\*) *vt.* ‘publish’. 1747. + **-ta-** {not in *The Dictionary*} + **-ra** All. CS + **-tu** VFS. A neologistic variant *argitaldu* is recorded in 1897.

{[]} **arthatsean** (old LN) \*\*\*\* {‘dawn’} [FHV 237] {} Moved below, reflecting M.’s etymology.}

**artizar** (\*\* old LN) *n.* ‘morning star’. \*\*\*\* + **izar** ‘star’ (M. 1961a: 237).

**arthatsean** (old LN) \*\*\*\* {‘dawn’. + *hatse* ‘beginning’. (M. 1961a: 237).}

**ari** (\*\*), **á(r)i** (Z) \*\*\*\* {*vi.* ‘be occupied’ Aul.}

{OUO.}

**ari izan** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*vi.* ‘be occupied’ Aul.}

**aritu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*vi.* ‘be busy with’ Aul.}

**artze** (\*\*) *n.* ‘state of being busy’. \*\*\*\* + **-tze** NFS (see **-tza**). [FHV 126]

**hari** (\*\*), **há(r)i** (Z), **ari** (\*\*) *n.* ‘thread’ \*\*\*\*

**-ari** [1], **-kari**, **-lari** (c.) Professional NFS.

From Lat. *-ārium* id. (M. 1961a: 135), by L10. It appears that Bq. borrowed enough Lat. pairs like **merkatu** ‘market’ (from Lat. *mercātum*) and **merkatari** ‘merchant’ (from Lat. *mercātārium*) that **-ari** was extracted and pressed into service as a Basque suffix.

Second form by W\*\* {18}. Third variant unusual. Even though Bq. surnames are seldom derived from professions, there exists a handful of surnames with this suffix, like *Dendaria*, from **dendari** ‘shopkeeper’, ‘tailor’, from **denda** ‘shop’, ‘tailor’s shop’ (M. 1973\*\* {a: 53}).

**-ari** [2] {}, **-kari** NFS} meal suffix [CF **-al**] [possibly move to **-kari**: FHV 221]



**arima** (B HN L Z), **anima** (G) *n.* ‘soul’. 15th cent.

From Lat. *animam* id., with the common form possibly via *\*alima*, by dissimilation and P22 (M. 1961a: 317 fn. 10), or perhaps by direct dissimilation. {cf. Occ. *arma*, Cast. *alma*}

**amezkilla** (G), **aimezkilla** (G) *n.* ‘ringing of a church bell to announce the death throes of a sufferer’. + **ezkila** ‘bell’ (M. \*\*\*\* {1962a: 56} Arb).

**arin** (\*\*), **arhin** (\*\*), **á(r)hin** (Z) *a.* ‘light’. \*\*\*\*

**arhizki** (old LN) *adv.* ‘lightly’. 1545. + **-z** advbl. + **-ki** [\*\* {1}] AdvFS.

**haritz** (\*\*), **aritz** (\*\*), **há(r)itx** (Z), **areitz** (G), **araitz** (G HN), **aretx** (old B Sout R) *n.* ‘oak’ (*bot.*) \*\*\*\*

{OUO.}

**arlinga** (G) *n.* [fogonadura] \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *carlinga* ‘cockpit, cabin’, by P\*\* {14} (M. \*\*\*\* {1967f: 606} Arb; M. credits Grieria).

**arlo** (B G \*\*) \*\*\*\* {*n.* task, matter’} [FHV 366]

**arlote** (\*\*), **arlot** (\*\*) *n.* ‘vagabond’, \*\*\*\* [FHV 366]

**arma** (\*\*), **harma** (\*\*) *n.* ‘weapon’. \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *arma* ‘weapons’.

**harmadura** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*

**harmatu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*vti.* ‘arm’}

**armiarma** (G HN) (1745, 1749), **armiarmo** (L), **armierma** (?) (17th cent.), **armarma** (G HN L), **armirmau** (?) (1783), **miarma** (?) (*ca.* 1800), **armarabilla** (G), **armarmio** (LN), **armamoi** (HN), **amiamo** (LN), **armirimao** (G), **amauma** (HN), **amama** (G HN), **amalma** (HN), **abaraun** (\*\*), **amaraun** (\*\*), **amalaun** (\*\*), **amañ** (\*\*), **abañ** (Z) *n.* ‘spider’ (*zool.*) (order *Araneae*). [Az.: also ‘web’ in places] [AT] [CHECK: I think I’ve put in some words for ‘web’ only]

Of expressive origin. Lat. *arāneam* id- {‘spider’s web’, ‘spider’} is too remote in form to provide a source.

**arnegatu** (B G HN L LN), **arnegatü** (Z), **ernegatu** (G HN) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘curse’} [FHV 164]

From Lat. *renegāre* \*\*\* or a Rom. reflex of this (M. 1961a: 164). The syncope might be Rom.: cf. Gasc. *arnegà* id.

**aro** [1] (\*\*), **haro** (\*\*), **há(r)o** (Z) *n.* ‘time?’, ‘weather’ \*\*\*\*

**aro** [2] (old B), **haro** (LN) *n.* ‘circle, ring’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *aro* ‘ring’ (M. \*\*\*\* {1959c: 525} Arb).

**haro** (L) *n.* ‘lighthouse’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *faro* id.

**arra** (Sout G HN), **arraa** (B) *n.* ‘palm’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 129 fn.] [Arb]

M. (1961a: 129) proposes Arabic *raħa* \*\*\*\* {‘palm of the hand’}.

**arragoa** (\*\*) *n.* ‘crucible’. \*\*\*\*

M. (\*\*\*\* {1956f: 371; 1973a: 55} Arb) proposes Cast. *fragua* ‘forge’, or at least some reflex of Lat. *fabricam* ‘workshop’.

**arrain** (HN L LN \*\*), **arrai** (old B Sout G HN A S), ‘fish’, \*\*\* **arrañ** (Z), **arrai** (A S), **arrañ** (R), **arraí** (R) ‘trout’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*) CF **arran-**.

From \**aRani*, OUO, by P1 (M. 1961a: 414). CF by W\*\* {1}. The word is recorded as *araign* in Picaud. \*\*\*\* suggests that the word might be an old verbal participle in -i [\*\* {1}] {VFS (see -i [1] AFS).} See also **ehiza**. [ARB]

**arrandegi** (\*\*) *n.* ‘fishmonger’s, fish shop’. \*\*\*\* + **-tegi** ‘place’ (see \*\*\*\* {**hegi**}) (M. \*\*\*\* {1949b: 200} Arb).

**arrantzale** (\*\*) *n.* ‘fisherman’. \*\*\*\* + **-zale** ‘fond of’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**arraio** (\*\*), **erraxo** (R) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘lightning, thunderbolt’} [FHV 184 fn.]

**arrano** (c.?) *n.* ‘eagle’, esp. the golden eagle (*zool.*) (*Aquila chrysaetos*) (1056, 1571), also applied in places to various vultures, TS *pvt.* euphemism for **arraio** (ca. 1805).

From \**aRaNo*, OUO, by P23. The proposed link with Hittite *hara(n)-* id. is too remote and vague to be impressive.

**arrano gorri** *n.* ‘bearded vulture’ (*zool.*) (*Gypaeus barbatus*). 1923. + **gorri** ‘red’ {(see\***gorr-**)}.

**arranokume** *n.* ‘eaglet’. 1803. + **-kume** ‘offspring’ {(see **ume**)}.

**arrantza** (G) *n.* ‘braying’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 385]

**harrapatu** (\*\*), **arrapatu** (\*\*), **arpatu** (HN) \*\*\*\* {‘seize, catch’ Aul.} [FHV 164]

From Rom. (perhaps Arag.) *arrapar* \*\*\*\* (M. 1961a: 209). [Arb]

{[] **arrastalo** (G HN), **arrastelu** (LN R S) \*\*\*\* *n.* {‘rake’} [FHV 155] {} Combined with **arratzelu**.}

**arratoi** (\*\*), **arratoin** (\*\* old L), **arrotoin** (\*\*), **arrathú** (Z), **arratoĩ** (R), **arratói** (R), **arratio** (\*\*), **garrathoiñ** (LN) *n.* ‘rat’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*) \*\*\*\* [FHV 148]

\*\*\*\* Last form by P\*\*{14}.

**arrats** (\*\*), **arts** (A S), **aats** (L), **ats** (L) *n.* ‘evening’, ‘night’. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* {OUO.} Possibly from **arre** ‘grey’ (M. \*\*\*\*) {? Campión, 1899: 316. AT}. The last two forms cannot be regularly derived from **arrats**, and may point to an unrecorded variant *\*arats*.

**arratsalde** (\*\*), **artsalde** (A S), **atsalde** (B HN L) *n.* ‘afternoon’. \*\*\*\* + **alde** ‘side’ {(see *\*al-*)}.

**atsaldaskari** (old L) *n.* ‘mid-afternoon meal’, ‘snack’. + **-kari** meal suffix {(see **-ari** [2])}. \*\*\*\* [FHV 513]

**askari** (\*\* {LN R}) *n.* ‘afternoon snack’, {**haskari** (LN), **askari** (LN Z) *n.* ‘lunch’}. CF **askal-** by W\*\*{12}. \*\*\*\* ≠ **-kari** meal suffix (M. \*\*\*\* Arb). Clearly contains the meal suffix **-ari** [2]. The first element may be **arrats** ‘grey’ (M. 1961a: 246 fn. 38).

**askaldu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*v.* ‘have lunch’, ‘have tea’}

**astiri** (old L) *n.* ‘nightfall’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 513]

**arraultza** (\*\*), **arraultze** (\*\*), **arrautza** (B G HN), **arrautze** (B G HN), **arráutze** (Z), **arraunza** (Sout), **arrauntza** (B), **arroitze** (A), **arrol(t)ze** (HN LN S), **arrultze** (LN), **arrantza** (G) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘egg’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 94]

\*\*\*\* It has been suggested that this is a derivative of **errun** ‘lay (eggs)’; M. (1977a: 490) attributes the idea to Bouda.

**arraun** (G HN), **arrau** L LN Z R) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘oar’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 152]

From *\*arranu* or *\*arrano*, taken IE and probably from Celtic: *cf.* Old Irish *ram(e)* id. (M. \*\*\*\* {1957c: 156 n. 68} Arb; M. credits Nils Holmer).

**arrausi** (B G HN S A), **aharrausi** (\*\*), **ãhãrrausi** (Z), **aharroisi** (LN), **arrausi** (B), **agorrosin** (B), **arrause** (old HN), **arrausin** (B G HN), **arrauzi** (B), **arreusi** (B), **arrosin** (B LN), **arrosi** (LN), **arrosoin** (HN), **harrosin** (L LN Z), **arrosinka** (G), **errausin** (HN L), **errosin** (old B), **arroste** (HN), **arrosti** (LN) \*\*\*\* [Az.] *n.* ‘yawn’. \*\*\*\*

Obscure. The first element might be **aho** ‘mouth’, a suggestion attributed to van Eys by AT (*s.v.* *aarrausi*). The second is probably **hautsi** ‘break’ (M. 1961a: 289) (see **hauts**). [FHV 96]

**arraza** (\*\*) *n.* ‘race’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 155]

**arrazoin** (HN L LN), **arrazoi** (G HN), **errazoi** (G HN), **errazoẽ** (old B), **errazue** (old B), **errazoi** (Sout), **arrazoĩ** (R), **arrazú** (Z) *n.* \*\*\*\*

From *\*arrazone*, by P1, from some Rom. reflex of Lat. *ratiōnem* id. \*\*\*\* [FHV 155]

**arraztelu** (L LN S), **arraztalu** (HN) {**arrastalo** (G HN), **arrastelu** (LN R S)}, {**garrasztulu** (\*\*), **arrastélü** (Z) \*\*\*\*} *n.* ‘rake’. \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *rastellum* id.; see CP *s.v.* *rastro*. [FHV 155] {[FHV 79]}

**arre** (\*\*) *a.* ‘grey’.

\*\*\*\* {OUO.}

**arriba** (*c.*) *n.* ‘sister of a man’. 1537.

OUO, but contains **-ba** kinship suffix. M. (\*\*\*\* {1961a: 310 n. 20 + AT}) diffidently suggests a derivative of **ar** ‘male’; see **neba**. See also **ahizpa**.

**arriba-erdi** (B G), **arreberdi** (B G) *n.* ‘half-sister’ (of a man). + **erdi** ‘half’.

**arriba-orde** (B G), **arreborde** (B G) *n.* ‘stepsister’. + **orde** ‘replacement’.

**arrenkura** (\*\*), **arrenkú(r)a** (Z) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘affliction’, ‘complaint’ Aul.}

**arres** (LN Z R S) *n.* ‘wool-bearing animal’, ‘sheep’. \*\*\*\*

**arresdún** (R) \*\*\*\* {*a.* ‘flock-owning’} [FHV 396 fn.]

**arreta** (B G), **artha** (L LN Z) *n.* ‘care, attention’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 165]

**harri** (L LN), **hárri** (Z), **arri** (B Sout G HN A S R) *n.* ‘stone’. CF (**h**)**arr-**. \*\*\*\*.

OUO. Many, such as M. (1961a: 219), have seen this as representing the pre-IE stem *\*karr-* ‘rock’ which is attested in Rom. and possibly in Celtic, but the identification is not certain. See \*\*\*\*. CF by W2.1. [FHV 251 fn.]

**harbel** (\*\*), **arbel** (B \*\*) *n.* ‘slate’. \*\*\*\*. + **\*bel** ‘dark’ (M. 1961a: 63).

**hardi** (old LN) *n.* ‘stony place’. \*\*\*\* + **-di** NFS.

**har kantoin** (old LN) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘cornerstone’} [FHV 125]

**harlauza** (\*\*), **arlauza** (\*\*) *n.* ‘slab’. \*\*\*\* {+ **lauza**.} [FHV 366]

**harpe** (\*\*), **kharbe** (LN), **karbe** (S) *n.* ‘cave, cavern, grotto’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 251]

**arralasta** (G) *n.* ‘piece of smoothed stone’. \*\*\*\* + **lasta** ‘ballast’ (M. \*\*\*\* {1953d: 567} Arb), with assimilation.

**arraska** (B G HN) *n.* ‘stone manger’, ‘basin, sink’. \*\*\*\* + **aska** ‘manger’ {‘crib’} (M. \*\*\*\* {1955d: 459} Arb).

(**h**)**arritu** (*c.*) *vi.* ‘turn to stone’, *vt.* ‘petrify’, TS *vi.* ‘be surprised’, *vt.* ‘surprise’. 1545 (in TS). + **-tu** VFS. The expected *\*hartu* (by W2.1) is perhaps blocked by the existence of **hartu** ‘take’.

**harroin** (L), **arroin** (B) *n.* ‘stone column’, ‘footstone’. \*\*\*\* + **oin** ‘foot’.

**harxede** (S.P.) *n.* ‘pile of stones’. \*\*\*\* + **xede** ‘limit’.

**harxilo** (Z) *n.* ‘grotto’. + **xilo** ‘hole’ (see **zulo**). [other forms?] \*\*\*\*

**arrisku** (B G HN), **irrisku** (L LN), {**errisku** (\*\*), } *n.* ‘danger’, ‘risk’. \*\*\*\* [FHV {66,}155]

**arroda** (\*\*) *n.* ‘wheel’. \*\*\*\* {(See **errota**.)}[see MT entry]

**arroil** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘gorge’, ‘excavation’} [Arb] [funny business here] {M. 1973a: 57.}

**arroitu** (HN R), \*\*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘noise’} [FHV 156]

**harroka** (Z), **arroka** (old LN) *n.* ‘rock’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *roca* id. {or Occ. *ròca*.} The /h/ perhaps by contamination from **harri** ‘stone’ (M. 1961a: 209 fn. 10).

**arrosa** (\*\*), **larrosa** (B \*\*) *n.* ‘rose’. \*\*\*\*

**arroz** (\*\*) *n.* ‘rice’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *arroz* id. See **erris**.

**arruga** (B) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘market’, ‘(market) square’ Az.} [FHV 156]

**arrunt** (\*\*), **arront** (\*\*) *a.* ‘common’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 235: loan]

\*\*\*\*

**arrontkide** (\*\*), **arronkide** (old LN) *n.* ‘comrade’. \*\*\*\* + **-kide** ‘fellow’ (see \*\*\*\*\*). [FHV 367]

**arruta** (L) *n.* ‘route’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *ruta* id. {or Gasc., Fr. *route*.}

**arte** (\*\*) [1], **erte** (HN) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘space, interval’, *prep.* ‘until’, ‘between’ Aul.} [FHV 70]

\*\*\*\* {OUO.} Gavel (\*\*\*\* {1920: 77} Arb) proposes an original *\*aurte*, which might be built upon *\*aur* ‘front’, but there is little direct support for this, apart perhaps from the surname *Recaurte* (M. \*\*\*\* {1973a: 58} Arb).

**artega** (B \*\*) *a.* ‘restless’. \*\*\*\* + **-ga** ‘without’ (see **gabe**).

**tarte** (G L \*\*) *n.* ‘space between’ \*\*\*\*

**arte** [2] (\*\*) *n.* ‘ilex, holm oak’. \*\*\*\* CF **arta-**.

OUO. CF by W\*\* {2.2}.

**artazī** (R) *n.* ‘ilex acorn’. \*\*\*\* + **zi** ‘acorn’.

**arto** (B G HN), **artho** (L LN Z) *n.* (formerly) ‘millet’ (*bot.*) (*Setaria italica*), (today) ‘maize’ (*bot.*) (*Zea mays*). CF **arta-**. 1562.

CF by W2.2. OUO. The word is well attested as ‘millet’ in the early literature, but, with the displacement of millet by maize as a staple cereal in the 16th–17th centuries, the name was transferred to the somewhat similar-looking maize.

**artatxiki** (B G) *n.* ‘millet’. 1745, 1847. + **txiki** ‘small’ (see **tipi**).

**hartu** (\*\*), **artu** (\*\*), **hártü** (Z) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘take’}

{Root \**har-*, OUO.}

**hartz** (L LN Z), **artz** (B Sout G HN S) *n.* ‘bear’ (*zool.*) (*Ursus*). 1330, 1562.

OUO. Possibly attested as Aq. *HARS-* in male names like *HARSUS* (M. 1961a: 219). Scholars from Schuchardt onward have tried to see this as a loan from Celtic, but the probable Celtic nom. \**artos* should have yielded \*(*h*)*artotz*, not the observed form.

**artz eme** (Sout) *n.* ‘she-bear’. 1562. + **eme** ‘female’.

**artzaiera** {(G)} \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘reception, admission’} [Arb]

**harzara** (\*\*), **harzá(r)a** (Z), **arza** (\*\*), **artsa** (\*\*), **arsa** (\*\*), **astra** (R) *adv.* ‘again’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 162, 162 fn., 364]

**has** (L LN Z) *a.* ‘bare, uncovered’. 1657.

OUO.

**asaba** *n.* (B G) ‘ancestor’ (1761), (old B HN) ‘grandparent’ (1596), (HN) ‘great-grandparent’.

OUO, but contains **-ba** kinship suffix.

**asago** (B) *a.* ‘far, distant’. \*\*\*\* [Arb]

**ase** (\*\*) *vi.* ‘be satisfied’, *vt.* ‘satisfy, sate’. 1562.

OUO.

**asete(a)** (Sout) *n.* ‘plenty’. 1562. Probably + **-te** {[1]} NFS, though M. (\*\*\*\* {Agud & Michelena 1958: 36ff.} Arb) oddly prefers **-eta** (see \*\*\*\*).

**aski** (\*\*) \*\*\* ‘enough’. \*\*\*\*

**asko** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\* {*a., adv.* ‘many’, ‘much’.}

**asentsio** (B G), **asensio** (old G?), **asentsio-belar** (\*\*), **asentsio-bedar** (\*\*) *n.* ‘wormwood’ (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*) \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *absinthium* id., with unusual assimilation of the /t/; sometimes reinforced by **belar** {[1]} ‘plant’ (M. 1961a: 283).

**hasi** (\*\*), **asi** (\*\*) *vi.* ‘start, begin’ (‘on’ = Loc. CS), *vic.* [+ Imperf.Part.]

\*\*\*\*

**hasiera** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘beginning’. \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\*

**hatsarre** (old LN \*\*) *n.* ‘beginning’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 351] + **-zarre** \*\*\*\* {(NFS).}

**asikun(a)** (B), **asikuren** (B), **asikor** (B), **asikontxo** (G) *n.* ‘glanders, goitre’. \*\*\*\*

M. (\*\*\*\* {1957a: 22} Arb) sees the first element as **hazi** ‘grow’, by P\*\* {21}.

**aska** (\*\*), **arska** (\*\*) *n.* ‘crib’ \*\*\*\* [FHV 368] [Arb] [AT]

{[] **askari** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘lunch, tea’} CF **askal-**.

Clearly contains the meal suffix **-ari** [2]. The first element may be **arrats** ‘grey’ (M. 1961a: 246 fn. 38). CF by W\*\* {12}.

**askaldu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {} Partly duplicates **askari** under **arrats**. Moved there.}

**askatu** (B G HN), **eskatu** (B HN) \*\*\*\* ‘let go of, loose, untie’, TS ‘free, liberate’, **lazkatu** (G) \*\*\*\* ‘loosen, slacken’ \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *\*lascāre* ‘untie’ (M. 1961a: 324). [FHV 551: important] [Arb]

**aske** (\*\*) *a.* ‘free’. \*\*\*\*

**asmo** (\*\*), **asmu** (\*\*) *n.* ‘idea’. \*\*\*\* CF **asma-**. [FHV 350]

From Old Cast. *asmo* id., ult. from Lat. \*\*\*\* {*aestimāre* ‘assess, reckon’, see CP *s.v. estimar*} CF by W\*\* {2.2}.

**asmatu** (\*\*), **asmau** (\*\*) *vt.* ‘think of’. \*\*\*\* + **-tu** VFS.

**aspaldi** (\*\* Z R) *n.* ‘a long time ago’. \*\*\*\*

First element obscure. The second is **aldi** ‘time’ (M. 1961a: 356).

**aste** (c.), **áste** (Z) *n.* ‘week’. CF **asta-**{?? see below **astearte**}. 1545.

CF by W2.2. OUO. May contain **-te** {[1]} NFS of duration. A connection with **hasi** ‘begin’ has often been suggested but cannot be supported.

**astagaitz** (L), **astegaitz** (Z) *n.* ‘menstruation, period’. 1857. + **gaitz** ‘bad’.

**astearte** (\*\*) *n.* ‘Tuesday’. 1636. + **arte** [1] ‘interval, between’. Together with **astelehen** and **asteazken** (below), this name has often been taken as meaning that the Basques once recognized a three-day week, but such an arrangement seems inconvenient and implausible. Moreover, the absence of the expected combining form *\*asta-*, the absence of any resolution of the hiatus (P\*\* {35}) and the apparent retention in the second of the aspiration in an illegal position (P\*\*){§3} all indicate strongly that all three words are late formations, though of wholly obscure motivation.

**asteazken** (\*\*) *n.* ‘Wednesday’. 1621. + **azken** ‘last’. See **astearte** (above) for comments.

**astebete** (\*\*) *n.* ‘week’. \*\*\*\* + **bete** ‘full’. [FHV 412]

**astelehen** (\*\*), **astelen** (\*\*) *n.* ‘Monday’. + **lehen** ‘first’. See **astearte** (above) for comments.

**astigar** (\*\*), **aztigar** (\*\*), **gazitigar** (\*\*), **txastegi** (S) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘maple’ (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*). \*\*\*\* [FHV 253]

The second element is probably **ihar** ‘maple’. The first might be \*\*\*\* (Arb). {M. 1973a: 60.}

**astin** (\*\*) *a.* \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\* {‘spongy, soft’}

Obscure. M. (1977a: 487) proposes **hauts** ‘powder’ + **-din** ‘resembling’ (see **\*edin**).

**astindu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘inflate’, ‘shake’}

**asto** (*c.*), **arsto** (R old Z?) *n.* ‘donkey, ass’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*). CF **asta-**. 1562. [FHV 368]

OUO. CF by W2.2. A derivation from Cast. *asno* id. would be without parallel, and would leave the R form unexplained. A. (\*\*\*\* {*Euskera* 1: 5}) proposes **hartz** ‘bear’ + **-to** {[1]} dimin. This is semantically odd but phonologically perfect: *\*arzto* > *arsto* (by P18) > *asto* (by P{19}). Possibly represented by Aq. *ASTO-*. (Arb)

**asteme** (Sout \*\*) *n.* ‘female donkey’. 1562. + **eme** ‘female’.

**asto-ume** (\*\* old LN) *n.* ‘young donkey’. + **-kume** ‘offspring’ (see **ume**).

**astun** (\*\*) *a.* ‘heavy’. \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\*

{OUO.}

**asturu** (\*\* old LN), **astru** (\*\*) *n.* ‘luck, fortune’. \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *astrum* ‘star’ (M. 1961a: 158).

**asturugaitz** (old LN \*\*) *a.* ‘unlucky, unfortunate’. \*\*\*\* + **gaitz** ‘bad’.

**asturutsu** (old LN \*\*) *a.* ‘lucky, fortunate’. \*\*\*\* + **-tsu** AFS.

**asturuz** (old LN) *adv.* ‘by chance’. \*\*\*\* + **-z** advbl./instrl.

**hasuin** (\*\*), **asuin** (\*\*), **asuñ** (\*\*), **asun** (B {G LN}), **ásün** (Z) *n.* ‘nettle’ (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*). [FHV 140 fn.]

**atal** (\*\*) *n.* ‘segment, portion, fragment’. \*\*\*\*

**atapa** (B), **atape** (B) *n.* ‘covering of moss or [argoma] placed over a pile of wood to be converted into charcoal’. \*\*\*\*

Probably from old Cast. *atapar* ‘cover’ (mod. *tapar*) (M. \*\*\*\* {1953c: 482; 1961g: 357} Arb).



**ate** (\*\*) *n.* ‘door’. \*\*\*\* TS *p.* ‘outside, except for’. CF **ata-**.

OUO. CF by W2.2. The CF *Ata-* is abundantly recorded in toponyms in Navarra and Alava from the 11th cent. (M. 1961a: 126).

**at** (\*\*) *p.* [+ Abl.] ‘outside, except for’. \*\*\*\* 1916.

**ataarte** (old B, *R&S* 238) *n.* ‘doorway’. 1596. + **arte** {[1]} ‘interval’.

**ataoste** (old B, *R&S* 222) *n.* \*\*\* [FHV 118]

**atari** (B G HN S) *n.* ‘\*\*\*\* {‘doorway’} + **-iri** \*\*\*\* {NFS} [FHV 91]

**atera** (\*\*), **atara** (B), **etara** (B), **atra** (HN A) \*\*\*\* {*vti.* ‘take out’, ‘go out’}

**athe** (Z) *n.* ‘pile’. \*\*\*\*

**ateri** (\*\*), **athé(r)i** (Z), \*\*\*\*, **aterri** (B) *n.* ‘fine weather’, ‘refuge’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 61, 335]  
[SEE AT]

**aterbe** (G L), **atherbe** (L LN Z), **aterpe** (B G HN), **atarbe** (old HN) *n.* ‘refuge’.  
[AZKUE] [FHV 61] [A MESS; SEE AT]

**atertu** (\*\*), **athertu** (\*\*) *vi.* ‘clear up’ (of weather). \*\*\*\*

**atizatu** (R), **atxezatu** (R) *v.* [diathesis unknown] ‘take communion’. \*\*\*\*

OUO, but certainly not native (M. \*\*\*\* {1964a: 99; 1965c: 119 n3} Arb).

**atomau** (B) *v.* [diathesis unknown] ‘dare’. \*\*\*\* [Arb]

**atorra** (B G HN L LN), **athorra** (L LN Z) ‘shirt’, ‘blouse’. 15th cent.

From Arab. *ad-durrā‘a* ‘kind of wool shirt’, by L1 (M. 1961a: 229). Old Cast. *adorra* ‘shirt’ derives from the same source, but cannot be the direct source of the Bq. word, since a borrowing from Cast. would have produced \**adorra*. In the north, the word is usually applied to a man’s shirt; in the south, to a woman’s blouse. [Arb]

**hats** (\*\*), **ats** (\*\*) *n.* ‘breath’. \*\*\*\* {‘anger’}

**arnasa** (B G), **asnasa** (G HN), **asnase** (G HN) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘breath’} [FHV 294]

**haserre** (\*\*), **aserre** (\*\*) *n.* ‘anger’, \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\* + **erre** ‘burn’ (M. \*\*\*\* {1953a: 140} Arb; 1961a: 289). M. dismisses Lafon’s objections as phonologically indefensible.

**hatsalbo** (Z) *a.* ‘winded, out of breath’. Second element opaque: **albo** ‘side’ (see \***al-**) makes no sense and is not recorded in the east.

**atseden** (\*\*), **hatseden** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘rest’} [Az.] [Arb] {M. *BAP* 9: 141.}

**atsekabe** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘affliction, grief’} + **gabe** ‘without’ (M. 1977a: 584). The development is \**atsede-gabe* (by W\*\* {10}) > \**atsed-gabe* (by W\*\* {1}) > \**atset-gabe* (by W\*\* {3}) > \**atsetkabe* (by W\*\* {4}) > *atsekabe*.

**atsegin** (\*\*) *n.* ‘pleasure’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 210]

**atsegindasun** (old L) *n.* \*\*\*\* [FHV 353]

**atso** (\*\*) *n.* ‘old woman’. \*\*\*\*

OUO.

**atsotitz** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘proverb’ Az.}

**atsólbü** (Z) *n.* ‘prayer for the dead’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. \*\*\*\* [FHV 346]

**atsülütóki** (Z) *adv.* ‘at all costs’. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* [FHV 346]

**hatu** (L LN), **hátu** (Z), **atu** (R) *n.* ‘baggage, belongings, effects’ \*\*\*\*

From Rom.: *cf.* Cast. *hato*, Port. *fato* ‘bundle’ (M. \*\*\*\* *BAP* 7 {1951a}: 545; 1961a: 214).

**atun** (\*\*), **áthün** (Z) *n.* ‘tuna’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*). \*\*\*\*

**atxaki(a)** (B Sout L) (1562), **atxaiki(a)** (Sout) (1562) [CHECK], **atxeki** (Z), **atxekia** (HN), **aitzaki(a)** (G HN L) (1627), **aitzeki** (Z) *n.* ‘pretext, excuse’.

From ~~Old~~ Cast. *achaque* id. (M. \*\*\*\* {1961a: 184}). Last two forms by back-formation: reversal of the apparent expressive palatalization, M\*\* {9}. Sources are variable in recognizing the final /a/ or not.

**atxeter** (old Z) *n.* ‘doctor, physician’. \*\*\*\*

From \**artxeter*, by P\*\* {24}, from Lat. *archiater* id. (M. 1961a: 339 {; 1974b: 201}).

**atxiki** (\*\* L LN), {**atxeki** (R),} **etxeki** (L LN), **etxéki** (Z) \*\*\*\* {*vi.* ‘stick, adhere’} Synth. [FHV 286]

\*\*\*\*

**eratzeki** (\*\* Z) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘cause to adhere’}

**hatz** [1] (L LN Z), **atz** (B Sout S R) *n.* (L LN Z S R) ‘paw’ (of an animal), (B) ‘finger’, ‘thumb’, (L LN Z) ‘footprint’ (of an animal or a person), (L LN Z?) ‘track, trail’, ‘trace, vestige’. 1562.

OUO. The original sense is app. ‘paw’, with the development ‘paw’ > ‘finger’ on one hand and ‘paw’ > ‘footprint’ > ‘track’ > ‘vestige’ on the other. See the further developments below.

**atzamar** (B) *n.* ‘finger’, **atzapar** (\*\*), **aztapar** (\*\*), **haztapar** (\*\*) *n.* ‘claw’ (of a bird), ‘paw’ (of an animal) \*\*\*\*. This word commonly occurs in the pl. as **atzamarrak** etc., and most scholars have followed the 18th-cent. writer Mogel in seeing this as \**hatz-hamarrak* ‘the ten fingers’, with **hamar** ‘ten’. The problem is the order: the numeral **hamar** always precedes its head noun, and the order required here is anomalous. [Arb] {M. 1961a: 276 and fn. 29.}

**atzean** (B G HN?) *p.* [+ Gen.] ‘behind’. + **-an** Loc. {CS.}

**atzera** (B G HN) *adv.* ‘backward, to the rear’, TS (B G HN) ‘again’. + **-ra** All. {CS.}  
[FHV 162, 162 fn.: IMPORTANT] {(Cf. **harzara** ‘again’.)}

**atzeraingo** (Sout) \*\*\*\* {*a.* ‘last’} [FHV 118]

**atzetik** (B G HN?) *p.* [+ Gen.] ‘from behind’, ‘from the rear (of)’. + **-tik** Abl.

**atze** (B Sout G HN) *n.* ‘rear’, ‘space behind’, TS (B) ‘result, consequence’. 1562. By extraction from the preceding, by M\*\*{8} (M. 1961a: 133; \*\*\*\*{1971f: 248} Arb). See **gibel** (under \***gi-**).

**atzimur** (B G), **atximur** (B G), **itximur** (B G), **imurtxi** (B) *n.* ‘small amount, pinch’.  
\*\*\*\* + **zimur** ‘wrinkle, crease’ (M. 1961a: 291 fn. 18).

**azkazal** (\*\*), **ezkazal** (HN) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘hoof’ Az.}

{**azkordin** (\*\*) {‘chilblain’ Aul.} [FHV 54]}

**azterren** (B), **aztarna** (G) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘trace, vestige’ [FHV 165]

**behatz** (\*\*{LN Z}) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘finger’, (L LN S Z) *n.* ‘thumb’, (L) *n.* ‘nail’, **beatz** (B) *n.* ‘toe’, (G HN) *n.* ‘finger’, (G HN Z) *n.* ‘thumb’, (L) *n.* ‘nail’ Az.} [put here?]

{See also **azken**.}

**hatz** [2] (Z), **az** (B) *n.* ‘lineage, breed, race’. \*\*\*\*

OUO.

**hazi** (\*\*), **azi** (\*\*) *vt.* \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\* {‘raise, bring up’ Aul.} (M. 1961a: 289). {(See **hazi** ‘grow’.)}

**hazaro** (\*\*), **azaro** (\*\*) *n.* ‘November’. \*\*\*\* (M. 1977a: 526).

**hazil** (\*\*), **azil** (\*\*) *n.* ‘November’. \*\*\*\*

**azkar** (\*\*), **hazkar** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* *a.* ‘sturdy, vigorous’. [FHV 71]

**azkor** (B L R) \*\*\*\* {*a.* ‘fast growing’ Aul.} [FHV 71]

**azkura** (\*\*), **azkure** (G) \*\*\*\* [FHV 115] {? two words here: **azkure** belonging s.v. **hatz** [3]}

**hatz** [3] (L LN Z \*\*) *n.* ‘itch’. \*\*\*\*

**-atz**, **-ats** Toponymic suffix. [MITX 73] {M. 1973a: 62.}

**atze** (*c.*) *n.* ‘stranger, outsider’, ‘one outside the family’. 1627.

OUO.

**atzerri** (B G old LN old Z) *n.* ‘foreign country’, ‘foreign people’. 1596. + **herri** ‘country’.

**hatzeman** (\*\*), **atzeman** (\*\*), **hatzaman** (\*\*), **atzaman** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘catch’} [under **hatz**?  
{[1]}]

{[]} **atzera** (G HN) *adv.* ‘again’. \*\*\*\* [see Arb] {Duplicate, see under **hatz** [1]}

**atzo** (\*\*) *ad., n.* ‘yesterday’. \*\*\*\*

OUO. [rel. to *atz* ‘back’? {i.e. **hatz** [1]}]

**hau** (L LN Z), **haur** (LN Z), **au** (B G HN), **gau** (A HN), **kaur** (R), **kau** (S R) *det., pron.* ‘this’, ‘this one’. Oblique sg. stem (**h**)**on-**. Pl. stem (**h**)**au(e)-**, except in B, which has generalized **on(e)-**. Abs. pl. **hauk** (\*\*), **hauek** (\*\*), **auék** (\*\*), **abek** (G), **oek** (G HN), **onek** (B), **gebek** (A), \*\*\*\* Forms with velars by M\*\*{P14}. 16th cent. See **hori** [1], **\*har**, **hura**. [FHV 56, 70!]

OUO. The conservative form is (*h*)*aur*, with the (tapped) final /r/ generally lost by P25. This /r/ might conceivably represent the hypothetical formative \*-r. The sg. stem appears to be suppletive. M. (1961a: 384 fn. 10), attributing the point to Altube, derives the pl. forms like B **onek** from earlier *\*oneek*.

-**au** (\*\* HN) *det.* \*\*\*\* [FHV 247 fn.]

**hemen** (L LN), **emen** (B G HN), **amen** (G), **heben** (old LN), **hében** (Z), **eben** (old B Sout), **keben** (S), **kében** (R), **geben** (A), **gen** (A), **kemen** (LN R) *adv.* ‘here’. 1545. From *\*hauen*, consisting of **hau** plus -**n** {[1]} locative (M. 1961a: 70). Common vocalism by P48; the /b/ by P57; common /m/ by P7.

**hoin** (L LN), **oin** (G HN) *det., prt.* ‘so’, ‘so much’ (as in ‘so big [that]’). From *\*(h)onen*, + Gen. -**en** {[1]}, by P1 (M. 1961a: 66).

**hola**, **honela** \*\*\*\* *adv.* ‘thus, in this way’. \*\*\*\* A remarkable *honla* in Belapeyre (M. 1961a: 470).

**hona** (\*\*), **ona** (\*\*) *adv.* ‘hither, (to) here’. \*\*\*\* + -**a** All CS.

**oneren** (Sout) *adv.* ‘from here’. 1562. + -**rean** Abl CS (M. 1961a: 120).

-**or** (old LN \*\*), -**ok** (\*\*) *det.* proximate article sg. and pl., as in *gazteor* ‘this young person’, *gizonok* ‘you men’ (etc.). \*\*\*\* By reduction of **haur**, **hau(e)k**. [FHV 213 fn.]

**aube** (B) *n.* ‘mother-in-law’.

OUO. A. (1905; *s.v.*) suggests an earlier *\*auba*, by P64, in which case the word contains -**ba** kinship suffix.

**auburo** (G) *adv.* ‘at once, quickly’.

From Cast. *agudo* ‘sharp, lively’, by P10 (M. 1961a: 259).

**auhen** (L LN), **auen** (G L) *n.* ‘lament’. \*\*\*\*

{[]} **auher** (LN), **áuher** (Z), **auer** (S) *a.* ‘lazy’. \*\*\*\* {} Duplicate; see **alfer** }

**augadera** (\*\*), **auga** (\*\*), **augatze** (Z) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘wild osier’} [Arb]

{[]} **auger** (S), **aguer** (S) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘lazy person’} [FHV 177] {} Duplicate; see **alfer** }

**auka** (B) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘lichen’} [Arb] {M. 1956f: 370.}

**áuka** (R) *n.* ‘goose’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*) [FHV 94]

**ahul** (L LN), **áhül** (Z), **aul** (B G HN L Sout), **abol** (G), **arol** (B G) *a.* ‘weak, feeble’; B **arol** also ‘spongy, porous’. 1562. Dimin. **txaul** (B) ‘feeble’.

From old Cast. *ávol* \*\*\*\* {*a.* ‘low, bad’} (M. 1961a: 94, 221). {Or from Old Occ. *avol* ~ *aul*.}

**aultu** (R) \*\*\*\* ‘weaken, enfeeble’. \*\*\*\* + **-tu** VFS.

**aulki** (B G), **alki** (LN), **alkhi** (L LN), **aurki** (B), **arki** (LN) *n.* ‘chair’, (old B, LN) also ‘bench’. 15th c.

Obscure. By P\*\*{6}, /lk/ should not survive, and it seems probable that the peripheral forms with /r/ are conservative, while the central forms with /l/ are innovations. AT (*s.v.*), citing Corominas, suggest that the word is identical in origin to **aurki** ‘right away’ (see **\*aur**); this view requires an enormous amount of semantic work, but a derivation from **\*aur** ‘front’ is perhaps not unreasonable. The final element might easily be **-ki** [3] concrete NFS.

**ahuntz** (\*\*), **auntz** (\*\*), **ahüntz** (Z), **aintz** (R) *n.* ‘goat’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*) \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* [from **\*anu-**]{OUO.} The surname *Anuncibay* appears to continue the conservative form (M. \*\*\*\*{1950b: 454; 1961a: 115f} Arb).

**aguña** (S), **auña** (S), **ahuña** (LN), **ahüñe** (Z), **añe** (R), **aume** (B), **ama** (B) *n.* [FHV 88, 492] \*\*\*\* {‘kid’ Az.} B forms by P\*\*{P2}, M\*\*{?}. [from **\*anu-**; see refs in MT]

**aintzañ** (R) *n.* ‘goatherd’. + **-zain** ‘guard’ (see **zain** {[1]}).

**auntxume** (Sout HN), **antxume** (B G) *n.* ‘baby goat’, ‘kid’. + **ume** ‘child’.

**\*aur** *n.* ‘front’. Reconstructed source of the items below (M. \*\*\*\*{1961a: 133}). The literature often derives these items directly from **aurre**, listed below, but in most cases there seems no objection to deriving them instead directly from **\*aur**.

{OUO.}

**ahur** (L LN), **ahür** (Z), **agur** (R) *n.* ‘palm (of the hand)’. [FHV 221] [Arb] [‘fist’?] {M. 1971f: 249f.}

**ahurtara** (\*\*) *n.* ‘handful’. \*\*\*\* [Arb] {M. 1970a: 118.}

**aurka** (L) *n.* ‘front’, ‘vicinity’ (1571), (B G) *p.* [+ Gen] ‘against’ (1916). App. + **-ka** AdvFS. The noun occurs only as a postposition bearing a local case suffix and governed by a genitive or a *-ko* phrase. The sense of ‘against’ is a neologism, now widespread.

**aurkaz** (S.P. Duv.) (17th c.), **aurkez** (B) (1745) *p.* [+ Gen.] ‘in front of, facing’, ‘against’, *adv.* ‘face to face’. + **-z** instrl./advbl.

**aurkeztu** (B G) *vi.* ‘appear, turn up’, ‘introduce oneself’ (1745, 1847), *vt.* ‘present, introduce’ (1847). + **-tu** VFS.

**aurkaz aurk** (old LN) \*\*\*\* [FHV 237]

**aurki** (\*\*), **aurkhi** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*adv.* ‘soon’, ‘close’, ‘undoubtedly’ Aul.} [FHV 95, 314 fn.]

**aurkitu** (B HN LN), **arkitu** (G), **aurkindu** (HN), **aurkendu** (HN) *vt.* ‘find’ (by accident), ‘stumble across’ (early 15th c.), ‘find’ (what one is looking for) (1783), **aurkhitu** (L) *vt.* ‘present’. + **-tu** VFS. The HN forms, from the writer Beriain, contain an extra element of uncertain nature: \**aurki-en-tu*.

**aurkientza** (old L), **aurkintze** (LN R S), **aurkhintza** (L) *n.* ‘region, district, place’ (1621), **arkuntza** (B) ‘occasion’ (1792). + **-tza** NFS, again with the extra element *-en*.

**aurpegi** (B G HN LN R) (1596), **ahurpegi** (Z), **arpegi** (B G Sout) (1562), **harpegi** (S.P.), **aorpegi** (HN), **ahorpegi** (old LN), **arpei** (1516), **aurtegi** (\*\*) *n.* ‘face’ (*anat.*), TS ‘face’ (of an object), TS ‘form’, TS (R) ‘bags under the eyes’. + **begi** ‘eye’, with unexpected devoicing. The formation is morphologically and semantically unusual. Since ‘mouth-eye’ is a very common formation for ‘face’ in the world’s languages, it is conceivable that the first element might have originally been **aho** ‘mouth’, and that the attested forms represent some kind of contamination or reanalysis, but there exists no evidence for such an account. [FHV 95 fn.] [MUCH MORE: FHV 490] [FHV 535] [Arb]

**aurrean** (B G) *p.* [+ Gen.] ‘in front of’. + **-an** Loc. {CS.}

**aurrera** (B G), **abrera** (HN) *adv.* ‘forward, ahead’. + **-ra** All. {CS.}

**aurretik** (B G) *p.* [+ Gen.] ‘from the front of’, ‘ahead of’. + **-tik** Abl.

**aurre** (B G) *n.* ‘front’. By reanalysis of the preceding items by M\*\*{8}; see M\*\*{?}.  
See **aintzin**.

**haur** (\*\* Z), **aur** (\*\* R) *n.* ‘child’.

\*\*\*\* {OUO.}

**haurhabe** (S.P.) *n.* ‘tutor’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 82 fn.]

**haurride** (\*\* old LN), **aurride** (\*\* old LN), **aurhíde** (Z) *n.* ‘full brother or sister, sibling’. \*\*\*\* + **-ide** (see \*\*\*\*{-kide}).

**haurzain** (??), **haurzáñ** (Z) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘babysitter’, ‘nurse’ Aul., Az.}

**aurba** (Sout G) *n.* ‘great-grandfather or \*\*\*\* {ancestor}’ [FHV 488] [FIRST ELEMENT?] [Arb]

OUO, but contains **-ba** kinship suffix.

**arbaso** (L) *n.* ‘great-grandparent’, ‘ancestor’. \*\*\*\* + **-so** kinship suffix.

**aurrede** (L LN) *n.* \*\*\*\* [Arb] [see also **augadera**]

From Gasc. {(Bayonne)} *aubredé* \*\*\*\* (Lh. s.v.).

**aurri** [DUBIOUS: Arb] {M. 1958e; 1959c.}

**ausart** (\*\*), **ausarta** (\*\*), **absarta** (old HN) \*\*\*\* {*a.* ‘brave, bold’ Az.} [FHV 90, 235: loan] {Occ. *ausard* ‘bold, daring’.}

**ausarki** (HN \*\*) *adv.* \*\*\*\* {‘boldly’} [FHV 367]

**ausartgoa** (old LN) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘daring’} [FHV 367]

**ausartu** (\*\*), **ausártü** (Z), **ausartatu** (old L), **azartu** *vi.* ‘dare’ \*\*\*\* [Lh; look carefully] [more in Arb under *azartu*] {M. 1970a: 65.}

**ausiki** (G L LN \*\*), **autsiki** (old L), **asiki** (L), **esugi** (old B, R&S 372), **isugi** (Sout), **usiki** (G old Z), **utsiki** (old G), **usigi** (B), **usúki** (Z), **isuki** (Z), **usuki** (Z), **üsüki** (Z) *vt.* ‘bite’. 1571. \*\* *n.* \*\*\*\* 1627.

OUO. The huge regional variation in form points to a fossilized compound verb, but the components are unrecoverable. AT (*s.v.*) report that Corominas proposed a derivation from **hautsi** ‘break’ (see **hauts**), but this seems unlikely.

**auskalo** (B G?) *intj.* ‘let’s see!’.

From Cast. *a buscarlo* id.

**auso** (LN S) *n.* ‘snowstorm, blizzard’, **ausadoki** (A) \*\*\*\*, **usin** (R) \*\*\*\*, **lauso** (HN) \*\*\*\*, (B G HN), **lausoro** (G) \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\* [FHV 323]

\*\*\*\* From Lat. *lapsum* ‘falling’ (M. 1977a: 493). [CHECK *lauso*: same word?] [FHV 550: MORE] {M. 1961a: 101 fn. 21. See also **lauso**.}

**hauspo** (\*\*), **auspo** (\*\*), **hausko** (\*\*), **ausko** (\*\*), **aspo** (B G) \*\*\*\* {‘bellows’ Aul.} [FHV 92]

\*\*\*\* M. (1977a: 535), attributing the idea to Azkue, suggests that the variants in *-ko* may represent a dimin. in **-ko**. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**hautatu** (\*\*), **autatu** (\*\*), **haitátü** (Z) *vt.* ‘choose’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 209] [Arb]

**hauteman** (\*\*), **auteman** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* **ateman** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {‘observe’, ‘investigate’ Az., ‘choose’ Aul.} [FHV 487, 529] \*\*\*\* M. (1977a: 529) suggests that the form **hauteman**, as opposed to \**autheman*, points to a recent formation.

**autono** (B) *n.* ‘September’.

From Lat. *autumnum* ‘autumn’, or from an early Rom. reflex of this, by L7 (M. 1961a: 93).

**hauts** (\*\* Z), **auts** (\*\* R) *n.* ‘dust, powder’, ‘ash’ \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* {OUO.}

**hautsi** (\*\*), **autsi** (\*\*), **ausi** (B G), **háutse** (Z), **áutse** (R) *vt.* ‘break, shatter’. \*\*\*\* + **-i** [\*\*{1}] VFS {(see **-i** [1] AFS).} [SEE FHV 289]

**hauskór** (Z) *a.* ‘fragile’. \*\*\*\* + **-kor** ‘tending to’.

**hautsaille** (old L) *n.* ‘one who breaks’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 351]

**ahutz** (\*\*), **autz** (\*\*), **pautza** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘cheek’ Aul.} [FHV 211 fn.] [Arb]

**auzo** (\*\* old LN), **hauzo** (L \*\*), **áizo** (Z). Also R stem *aiz(a)-*. \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘neighbour’, ‘neighbourhood’ Aul.}

**auzetxe** (HN) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘town hall’} [FHV 157 fn.]

**auztore** (old LN \*\*) *n.* ‘goshawk’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*) \*\*\*\*

From some Rom, form akin to Old Occ. *austor* id. (M. 1961a: 96 fn. 13).

**hauzu** (LN), **auzu** (HN), **haizu** (LN), **háizü** (Z) \*\*\*\* {*v.* ‘be permitted, dare’ M.} [FHV 91] [Arb]

{{(h)auzu (HN LN)} **haizu** (L LN), **háizü** (Z) *a.* ‘licit, permitted’. \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *ausus sum* \*\*\*\* (M. \*\*\*\* {1961a: 91; 1974b: 190}) Arb)

**haizu izan** (\*\*), **háizü izan** (Z) \*\*\*\* {*vi.* ‘dare’} [REORGANIZE? BACK-FORMATION?]

**háxe** (Z) *n.* ‘sheaf, bundle’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *haz* id. \*\*\*\* {or rather Gasc. *hash* id.}

**axola** (B HN LR S), **axól** (Z), **ajola** (\*\* G), **ajol** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘care’ Aul.} [FHV 132, 500]

{[] **axuri** (\*\*) *n.* ‘young lamb’. [MT entry] [] Moved to **azuri** (see **ardi** [1]).}

**azaga** (?) [hapax] \*\*\*\* {‘outcome, end’ Az.} [Arb] {M. 1964a: 129.}

**azai** (Z), **akai** (old L) *n.* ‘woodcock’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*) \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *acceiam* \*\*\*\* {‘snipe’} or from a Rom. continuation of this (M \*\*\*\* {1950a: 194} Arb).

**azal** (\*\*), **kaxal** (R) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘skin’, ‘bark’, \*\*\*\* Dimin. (H.) **axal** ‘crust’. \*\*\*\* [MT entry] {OUO.}

**azantz** (HN LN Z) *n.* ‘noise’. 1571.

OUO.

**azao** (B G HN L), **azau** (B), **azáu** (Z) *n.* \*\*\*\*, **alzau** (LN) ‘sheaf, bundle, bunch, handful’ [FHV 340] Dimin. **azauto** (old LN).

{[] **azaro** (\*\*) *n.* ‘November’. \*\*\*\* + \*\*\*\* (M. 1977a: 526). [] Duplicate; see **hatz** [2].}



**azefrae** (old B), **azefrai** (Sout) *n.* ‘saffron’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *azafrán* id.

**azenario** (G HN) (1905), **azanario** (?) (1860), **azenori(a)** (LN) (1867), **azanaio** (?) (1907), **azenaio** (?) (1905), **zainhori** (S.P., H.) (17th cent.), **zaiñori** (?) *n.* ‘carrot’ (*bot.*) (*Daucus carota*).

From Hispano-Arabic *as-safunāriya* id., OUO, or more likely from some Rom. borrowing of this, such as Old Cast. *çahanoria* (mod. *zanahoria*). The last two variants show a clear folk etymology, as though from **zain** [\*\*{2}] ‘root’ + **hori** {[2]} ‘yellow’, with the /a/ analysed as the Bq. article.

**azeri** (B G HN L LN Z), **hazeri** (L LN), **haze(r)i** (Z), **azari** (B G HN), **azeari** (old B S.P.), **azebari** (old B), **azagari** (B), **azegari** (B), ‘fox’; dimin. **axeri** (B L R), **axé(r)i** (Z), **exé(r)i** (Z), **axari** ‘fox’. 1562.

From \**azenari*, by P1, P35, from the attested Lat. personal name *Asenarius* (M. 1949a, 1956a). A Rom. personal name *Acenari* is recorded from 972 {*Azenari* 921 *CORDE*}, and a Bq. personal name *Aceari* (occasionally *Azari*) from the 11th cent.; the Bq. forms yield patronymics *Aceariz* and *Azariz*, with **-iz** patronymic. The use of personal names to denote ‘fox’ is well attested in Gallo-Romance and Ibero-Romance. See **luki**.

**azeri-belar** *n.* ‘a certain straw-producing plant’ (*bot.*) (*Alopecurus pratensis*). 1905. + **belar** {[1]} ‘grass’.

**azeribuztan** *n.* ‘foxtail’ (*bot.*) (*Equisetum hiemale*). 1745. + **buztan** ‘tail’.

**azeri dantza** *n.* ‘a certain lively folk-dance’. 1745. + **dantza** ‘dance’ {(see **dantzatu**)}.

**azerikeria** *n.* ‘slyness, cunning’. 1745. + **-keria** NFS of vices.

**azerikume**, **azeari ume** *n.* ‘fox cub’. 1167 (*Azeari ume*, personal name), 1749. + **-kume** ‘offspring’ (see **ume**).

**azeritegi** *n.* ‘foxhole’. Late 19th cent. + **-tegi** ‘place’ {(see **hegi**)}.

**hazi** (\*\*), **azi** (\*\*) *n.* ‘seed’, \*\*\*\*, *vi.* ‘grow’. \*\*\*\* [MT entry] {(See **hazi vt.** ‘raise’ under **hatz**)}

\*\*\*\* See also **asikun(a)**.

**azienda** (*c.*), **azinda** (HN) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘livestock’ Aul.}

**azieta** (\*\*), **zieta** (\*\*), **zita** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* [FHV 281]

From Fr. *assiette* id.

{[} **azkar** (\*\*) *a.* ‘sturdy, vigorous’. \*\*\*\* {] Duplicate. See under **hatz** [2].}

**azken** (\*\*), **azkan** (B R), **azkein** (G) \*\*\*\* {*a.* ‘last’, *n.* ‘end’ Aul.} [2nd by assim] [FHV 159]

\*\*\*\* {OUO.} Possibly a superl. of **atze** \*\*\*\* {see **hatz** [1].} [FHV 219]

**azkoin** (L LN), **azkoĩ** (R), **askoĩ** (R), **azkon** (HN L LN A), **hazkon** (LN), **azkuin** (L), **azkuñ** (Z), **aizkon** (HN), **aizkona** (HN), **aixkon** (HN), **aixkona** (HN), **axkon** (S), **harzkú** (Z), **azku** (Z), **hazkú** (Z), **askú** (Z), **hazkü** (H.), **azkona** (HN L), **arsko** (Z), **azkonar** (B G HN), **azkunar** (B), **azkonarro** (old L), **azkenarro** (L), **azkanarro** (L), **askanarro** (hapax), **akomarra** (hapax) *n.* ‘badger’ (*zool.*) 1745, *ca.* 1755.

OUO. Most of the variants can be traced back to an original *\*azkone*, by P1 (M. \*\*\*\* {1949a: 486}). This might be borrowed from {late} Lat. *taxōnem* id. (M. \*\*\*\* {1964a: 193}). The treatment of Lat. /ks/ is highly variable in Bq., and *zk* is not an implausible rendering, though there is no clear parallel for this. Loss of the initial /t/ would be unusual, but see P14. It is also possible that the word is native and derived from **hartz** ‘bear’ with an unidentifiable second element. The final *-ar* or *-arro* found in some variants appears to be an addition, probably of expressive origin, though **ar** ‘male’ perhaps cannot be entirely ruled out.

{[]}**azkordin** (\*\*) {‘chilblain’ Aul.} [FHV 54] {} Moved to **hatz** [1] ‘paw’.

**azmantar** (G), **azmantal** (B), **azmandar** (G), **azpantar** (B G), **azpandar** (G), **aspantar** (\*\*)  
*n.* ‘gaiter, legging’. Usually *n. pl.* **azmantarrak** etc. \*\*\*\*

The second element is **mantar** ‘gaiter’. The first is obscure. The word **hatz** {[1]} ‘paw’ is phonologically perfect, but this word is not commonly applied to the human leg or foot.

**azpi** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘thigh’, ‘space below’, *p.* ‘below’}; many other senses in Az.}

**aztal** (\*\*) *n.* ‘claw, talon’. \*\*\*\* [rel to **hatz** {[1]}?]

**azti** (G HN L LN Z), **aztu** (B), **azturu** (B), **aiztu** (B), **aaztru** (B), **aaztu** (B), **asdru** (B: *sic*), **aaztube** (B) *n.* ‘fortune-teller, soothsayer’ – in places, specifically female (1213, 1545), ‘witch’ (1775).

Puzzling. The common /-i/ is hard to reconcile with B /-u/. Castro Guisasola (\*\*\*\* {1944} 235) and Gorrochategui {?l. Gorostiaga (1982: 121)} (\*\*\*\* *FLV* 39: 121) see this as taken from Lat. *astrum* ‘star’, with semantic shift, but there are large obstacles.

**ba-** (c.) Verbal prefix ‘if’. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* {OUO.}

**baldin** (\*\*{(c.) (1545)}), **bardin** (B), **balin** (\*\*) {(1545)}, **barin** (HN) *prt.* ‘if’. \*\*\*\*  
[FHV 314 fn., 356, 584] [MOVE to \***edin**?]

**balinba** (\*\*), **balima** (\*\*) *prt.* ‘\*\*\*\* {‘would that’ (desiderative)} [FHV 356-357]

**-ba** (c.) Kinship suffix.

Of unknown function. Occurs in many kinship terms for close kin, attached to unknown stems: see **ahizpa**, **alaba**, **arreba**, **asaba**, **aube**, **aurba**, **iloba**, **izeba**, **neba**, **osaba**, and also **ugazaba** (under **ugatz**). The final *\*-be* of **ume** ‘child’ (< *\*unbe*) and **seme** ‘son’ (< *\*senbe*) might be a variant. Because of **ugazaba**, AT (*s.v.* *-aba*) take the suffix to be *\*-aba*, but the evidence is against this.

**aba** *n.* ‘father’. 1891. Aranist neologism, constructed by a fanciful interpretation of the preceding, esp. in **asaba** ‘ancestor’, ‘grandparent’. Not in use today, though some of its derivatives are.

**aberri** *n.* ‘fatherland’. CF **aberr-**. 1896. + **herri** ‘country’. CF by W1.

**aberkide** *n.* ‘compatriot’. 1896. + **-kide** ‘fellow’.

**abertzale** *n.* ‘patriot’, narrowed sense ‘Basque nationalist’, *a.* ‘patriotic’, ‘nationalist’. 1896. + **-zale** ‘fond of’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**abertzalekeria** *n.* ‘jingoism, chauvinism’. 1916. + **-keria** NFS of vices.

**abizen** *n.* ‘surname’. Dimin. **abixen**. 1895. + **izen** ‘name’.

**baba** (c.), **aba** (R) *n.* ‘broad bean’. 13th cent.; 1562.

From Lat. *fabam* ‘bean’, by L3. See **baberruna**, **indaba** (under **Indiak**).

**babazuza** (L LN), **abazuza** (B G HN), **baazuza** (L) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘hail’. \*\*\*\*

**baberruna** (\*\*), **baberrun** (\*\*{G, HN}), **baberruma** (\*\*{G, HN}) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘(white) bean’ Aul.}

**bahe** (L LN), **báhe** (Z), **bae** (B Sout G R S), **bai** (G \*\*), **bage** (HN) *n.* ‘sieve’. \*\*\*\*

From *\*bane*, by P1, from a Rom. form akin to \*\*\*{Occ.} *van*, from Lat. *vannum* id. {‘winnowing basket’} (M. 1961a: 135,414). Commonly reduced to *-be* as a second element, by W\*\*{19}, in the eastern dialects; see examples under **gari**, **olo** and **ondo** [1].

**bago** (\*\*), **pago** (\*\*), **phago** (\*\*), **fago** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘beech’ (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*) \*\*\*\*\*

From Lat. *fāgum* id., by L3 (M. 1961a: 51). The form **bago** predominates in the med. texts (M. 1961a: 265).

**pagauso** (B), **paguso** (B), **baguso** (Sout) *n.* ‘wood pigeon’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*) {+ **uso**}

**pagaxi** (HN) *n.* ‘beechnut’. \*\*\*\* From *\*baga-zi*, + **zi** ‘acorn’ (M. 1961a: 297); the original is preserved as metathesized *gazabi* in the Spanish of Alava.

**bai** (\*\*) *prt.* ‘yes’. \*\*\*\*

**baietz** (\*\*) *prt.* ‘(that) yes’. \*\*\*\* + **-etz**.

**baimendu** (\*\*) (1643), **baimen** (\*\*) (1733) *n.* ‘permission’. + **-mendu**, **-men** NFS.

**baimendu** (\*\*) *vtd.* ‘give permission, permit’. \*\*\*\* + **-tu** VFS.

**baita** (\*\*) \*\*\* ‘also’ \*\*\* + **eta** ‘and’ (M. 1961a: 123). Etxepare has *bayetare*, with **ere** ‘also’.

**baizen** (LN), **baxen** (B) \*\*\*\* + **ez** ‘not’ + **-n** \*\*\*\* (Lafon 1957–58; M. 1961a: 123).  
{**baizen** (does it exist?), **baxen** (old B, *R&S* 281) [hapax?] *prt.* ‘than’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 525]}

**baizik** (\*\*), **baizi** (\*\*), **bezik** (\*\*), **bezi** (\*\*), {**beizi** (old LN),} **baiezi** (old LN) \*\*\*\* + **ez** ‘not’ + **-ik** advbl. {Not in *The Dictionary*.} (M. 1961a: {104,} 123)

**baxona** (S) *intj.* ‘yes sir’ \*\*\*\*

\***bain-** Hypothetical stem possibly underlying the following items.

It is far from clear whether we are looking at two distinct formations or only at variants of a single formation, and scholarly opinion varies on this point. For example, C. prefers to see two forms, while AT prefer to recognize just one. [NOTE the B use of *baizen*: AT]

**bainan** (\*\*), **baina** (\*\* old LN), **béna** (Z), **baña** (G HN), **bañan** (G HN), **bana** (old LN), **baea** (old B), **baia** (old B R A S) \*\*\*\* {*prt.* ‘but’, ‘though’} [FHV 200 fn.]

**baino** (\*\* old LN), **baño** (B G HN \*\*), **béno** (Z), **bano** (old B old LN), **beino** (R A), **beño** (S), **bino** (R), **baindo** (G HN) \*\*\*\* {*prt.* ‘than’} [FHV 184 fn., 360]

**bainu** (\*\*), **baño** (\*\*), **mañu** (\*\* HN), **máñü** (Z), **mainu** (L LN), **mainhu** (\*\*) *n.* ‘bath’, ‘bathtub’. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*, **main(h)atu** (L LN), **mañhátü** (Z), **bainatu** (R) \*\*\*\* ‘take a bath’. + **-tu** VFS.

**bait-** (\*\*) Verbal prefix \*\*\*\* {‘because’ Aul.}

**-bait** (c.), **-beit** (\*\*) Indef. suffix. This suffixed is attached to a question word to derive an indefinite, as in **nor** ‘who?’ and **norbait** ‘somebody’, **non** ‘where?’ and **nonbait** ‘somewhere’. See **no-** and **ze-** for examples.

**baita** (\*\*) *prt.* \*\*\*\* {‘also, even’ Aul.} + **da** ‘it is’, finite form of **izan** ‘be’ (M. 1961a: 345).  
{?Belongs *s.v.* **bait-**.}

**baithan** (\*\*), **beithan** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*p.* ‘inside’ Aul.}

**bahitu** (\*\*), **baitu** (\*\*) \*\*\* {*vt.* ‘pledge, pawn’} [FHV 143]

\*\*\*\*

**bahi** (L LN Z), **bai** old B Sout G HN) *n.* ‘pledge’. \*\*\*\* By back-formation (M. 1961a: 143 {and} fn. {9}).

{[]} **baizen** (does it exist? {Yes, A. 1905 with citations.}), **baxen** (old B, R&S 281) [hapax?] *prt.* ‘than’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 525] {} Duplicate, see under **bai** ‘yes’. Combined there.}

{[]} **baizik** (\*\*), **beizi** (old LN \*\*) \*\*\* *prt.* [COMBINE WITH **baino**?] {} Duplicate, see under **bai** ‘yes’.

**baka(i)llao** (G L), **bakaillau** (?), **bakailau** (L), **bakallau** (B S.P.), **bakallo** (G HN), **bakaillo** (HN), **bakalau** (L Z), **bakalaa** (L Z), **makaillao** (B), **makallao** (L LN), **makallau** (L? LN?), **maka(i)llo** (B) *n.* ‘cod’ (*zool.*) (*Gadus morhua*). 1653.

Probably from old Cast. *bacallao* id. (mod. *bacalao*). The Cast. word is of unknown and much-discussed origin. A Bq. origin has been proposed, but is highly implausible: the word does not look like a native Bq. word, and anyway CP report (*s.v. bacalao*) that the word is recorded in the Low Countries centuries earlier than anywhere in the Iberian Peninsula. It is conceivable that the Basques, who in the Middle Ages had strong trading links with the Low Countries, might have brought the word back to Spain, but the linguistic forms are more consistent with a Cast. loan into Bq.

**bakant** (\*\*), **bakan** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {, **bekan** (\*\*old LN), **békhan** (Z) *a.* ‘rare’, *adv.* ‘seldom’} [FHV 477] {M. 1961a: 70, 477.}

**bakatu** (old LN) (1657), **pakatu** (R), **phakátü** (Z), **pagatu** (*c.*), **phagatu** (?), **pagau** (B) (1545) *vt(d).* ‘pay’.

First forms from unrecorded Lat. *\*pācāre* id., the ancestor of Cast. *pagar* and of Fr. *payer*, by L1. Remaining forms re-borrowed from that word’s Cast. continuation *pagar*.

**bake** (B HN L LN S R) (1545), **báke** (Z), **pake** (G R) (1713), **fake** (HN) (*ca.* 1620) *n.* ‘peace’, TS (G) *a.* ‘peaceful’.

From Lat. *pācem* id., by L1 (M. 1961a: 51), though P11 may have played a part.

**bakeoso** (B) (1653), **bakeso** (B) (1656) *a.* ‘peaceful’. + **-oso** AFS (see **-os**).

**baketsu** (B G L) (1749), **paketsu** (G) (1766) *a.* ‘peaceful’. + **-tsu** ‘full of’ (see **-zu** [\*]).

{[]} **baldin** (*c.*) (1545), **balin** (\*\*) (1545) *prt.* ‘if’. {} Duplicate, see **ba-** }

\*\*\*\*

**balea** (*c.?*) (1627), **bale** (B G HN L LN), **balei** (B G HN), **balena** (old LN) (1571) *n.* ‘whale’ (*zool.*). CF **balen-**.

From *\*baLena*, by P1, P23, from Lat. *ballaenam* id. (M. 1961a: 320). Last form perhaps re-borrowed from, or contaminated by, Rom. CF by W1.

**balenodeiak** (B G) *n. pl.* ‘clouds’. \*\*\*\* + **hodei** ‘cloud’.

**balezari** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘crossbowman’} [FHV 135]

**bapo** (B G) (1886), **buapo** (1762), **goapo**, **guapo** (1802) *a.* ‘handsome’, ‘lovely’, ‘excellent’, ‘splendid’.

From Cast. *guapo* ‘handsome’, ‘pretty’, with variable treatment of the alien [gw-] cluster. Only the first form is in use today.

**barandalla** (LN), **ba(r)anthálla** (Z) *n.* ‘February’. 1657.

From Lat. *parentālia* ‘festival for dead relatives’ (Gorostiaga \*\*\*\* {1958}). [FHV 216] {M. 1974b: 202 and n. 96.}

**baratu** (\*\* {HN LN L R Z}) \*\*\*\* {v. ‘stop’} [FHV 246 fn., 533]

**barazkari** (\*\*), **bazkari** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘lunch’. \*\*\*\* CF **barazkal-**, **bazkal-**. [-(k)ari] meal suffix: FHV 221, 246 fn., 533] M. (1957c) rejects Schuchardt’s proposal of a Lat. *\*pascuārium*. CF by W\*\* {12}. [MAY NEED WORK]

**barazkaldu** (\*\*), **bazkaldu** (\*\*), **bazkáltü** (Z), **bazkaltu** (R) \*\*\*\* {v. ‘have lunch’}

**baratze** (\*\* R), **bartze** (R) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘garden’}

**barau** (B G), **baraaur** (L LN Z R), **bareu** (old B Sout), **baru** (B HN), **barur** (L LN Z R) [tapped /r/] *n.* ‘fast’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 336]

**barurtü** (Z), **barutu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {v. ‘fast’} [A {Z}] \*\*\*\* + -tu VFS.

**barda** (L LN Z R), **bart** (B Sout G HN) *adv.* ‘last night’. 1562.

OUO. Second variant by P40. Oihenart curiously writes the word as *bard*.

**berdantza** (\*\*), **berdantzat** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* ‘the night before last’ [FHV 132]

{[]} **barau** (B G), **baraaur** (L LN Z R), **bareu** (old B Sout), **baru** (B HN) *n.* ‘fast’ \*\*\*\*

{[]} This item now moved up, replacing these four forms, given unlocalized, with **baraaur** as the first item.}

**bare** [1] (B G HN L), **barhe** (Z) *n.* ‘slug’ (*zool.*) (*Limax*, *Arion*, etc.) 1596.

OUO.

**barraskillo** (B), **marraskillo** (B), **marrakurrillo** (G), **barakurkullo** (G HN), **barakurkullu** (G HN), **bare kurkullu** (S.P.), **marikurkullu** (old L) *n.* ‘snail’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*). \*\*\*\* [see MT entry]

**barauts** (B G L), **báhüts** (Z) *n.* ‘drivel {*l.* dribble}, slobber’. \*\*\*\*

**barhanka** (Z) \*\*\*\* {‘slug’ Az.} [FHV 329 fn.]

**bare** [2] (\*\*), **nare** (\*\*) *a.* ‘calm, peaceful’ (often esp. of the sea). \*\*\*\*

**bare** [3] (\*\*), **barhe** (\*\*), **are** (B) *n.* ‘spleen’ (*anat.*) \*\*\*\* [= [1]?]

**bargo** (B G L LN) *n.* ‘shoat’, ‘young male pig’ (3–6 months). 1847.

OUO. The word resembles half-a-dozen ‘pig’ words in western European languages, but cannot be plausibly related to any of them.

**barkatu** (\*\*), **barkhatu** (\*\*), **parkatu** (B R S \*\*), **pharkatu** (\*\*), \*\*\*\*, **pharkátü** (Z) *vt.* ‘forgive, excuse, pardon’. \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *parcere* id. (M. 1961a: 239).

**barkakizun** (\*\*), **barkhakizun** (\*\*) *a.* ‘which must be pardoned’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 245]

\***barra**- Stem of unknown sense app. appearing in the following formations.

**barrabil** (*c.*) *n.* ‘testicle’. *Ca.* 1692. + \***bil** ‘round’.

**barrasaket** *n.* (L) ‘sterile cow or ewe’, (G HN) ‘hermaphrodite’. Second element opaque.

**barratta** (LN) *n.* ‘man with only one testicle’. Second element opaque.

**barret** (Duv.) *a.* ‘sterile’. Opaque.

**barre** (B Sout S), **parre** (B G), **farre** (G HN), **barra** (LN R), **parra** (G), **farra** (G HN L) *n.* ‘smile’, ‘laughter’. 1562.

OUO, but very likely imitative. Variant initials by P8. The several attempts at deriving this from Arab. *fārah* ‘be happy’, or a related word, are dismissed by most specialists. CP consider Cast. *farra* ‘noisy celebration’ to be an independent imitative formation, though they regard Cast. *parranda* id. as possibly borrowed from Bq.

**barregarri** (\*\*), \*\*\*\*, **farragarri** (old G) *a.* \*\*\*\* ‘ridiculous’.

**barregéi** (R) *a.* ‘ridiculous’. \*\*\*\* + **-gei** (see **gai**).

**barru** (B Sout G) *n.* ‘interior’. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* {OUO.}

**barren** (B G HN LN) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘bottom’, *n.*, *p.*, ‘inside’ M. 1973a: 66.}

**barreanean** \*\*\*\* **barnean** \*\*\*\* {*adv.* ‘inside’}

**barne** (HN L LN R), **barné** (Z) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘interior’} [FHV 133]

**barruti** (\*\*) *n.* ‘interior, inside’ ‘enclosure’ \*\*\*\* + **-ti** [3].

**bartz** (\*\*) *n.* ‘nit’. \*\*\*\* [see MT entry]

{[] **barur** (L LN Z R) [tapped /r/], **baru** (B HN) *n.* \*\*\*\*

**barurtü** (Z), **barutu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* [Az.] \*\*\*\* + **-tu** VFS.

{] This item now moved up, combined with **barau**.}

**baso** (B G HN old Z) *n.* ‘woods’, ‘wilderness’, ‘mountains’. CF **bas-**. 1284, 1562.

OUO. CF by W2.2. As Sarasola (1996 *s.v.*) points out, the defining characteristic of the *baso* is not so much that it has trees but that it is uninhabited and devoid of farmland: hence ‘wilderness’ appears to be the central sense, even though this has become the usual western word for ‘woods’, alongside eastern **oihan** (**baso** is sparsely recorded in the east but has died out there). It is merely that, in the Basque Country, which lacks sandy or rocky deserts, wilderness is always wooded, apart from a few bare rocky mountaintops. The CF **bas-** has become a pseudo-prefix meaning ‘wild’. \*\*\*\*\*

**Basajaun** (\*\*) *n.* ‘the Old Man of the Woods’, a figure of folklore, generally depicted as a wild and dangerous hairy man or man-like creature living in the woods and threatening passers-by. 1847. + **jaun** ‘gentleman’. The late attestation does not support any great antiquity for the figure. In some accounts, *Basajaun* is given a mate, **Basandrea**, + **andere** ‘lady’.

**basati** (B L), **basoti** (old G?) *a.* ‘savage’, ‘wild’. 1745, 1808. + **-ti** {[1]} AFS.

**baserri** (B G), **basarri** (B), **basaerri** (old B) [hapax] *n.* ‘sparsely inhabited area far from town’ (17th cent.), TS ‘farmhouse’ (1745, 1760). + **herri** ‘inhabited place’. B form by P\*\*{59}. Today this is the usual western word for a Basque farmhouse; see eastern **borda**.

**bat** (*c.*) *num* (psp.) ‘one’; TS *det.* ‘a certain’, ‘a, an’. 15th cent.

From *\*badV*, probably *\*bade* (M. 1961a: 134), OUO, by P40. In conservative varieties, the determiner retains the sense of ‘a certain’, but in most varieties it has become an indefinite article. It is not clear to what extent this is an internal development and to what extent it results from the influence of Rom.

**bakan** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*\* [FHV 70, 70 fn.] {But see **bakant**; M. proposes a Romance origin.}

**bakar** (B G HN L), **bakhar** (L LN Z) *a.* ‘unique’, ‘lone, alone’, TS ‘pure, unmixed’. 15th cent. Final element obscure, but apparently *\*-gar* or *\*-kar*.

**bakardade** (G), **bakartade** (B G HN), **bakardare** (G) *n.* ‘solitude’. 1745, 1800. + **-dade** NFS.

**bakarrik** (\*\*) *adv.* ‘alone, by oneself’ (15th cent.), TS *prt.* ‘only’ (1653). + **-ik** ~~instr~~/advbl. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**bakarti** (B R) *a.* ‘misanthropic, antisocial’. + **-ti** {[1]} AFS.

**bakoitz** (G L), **bakhoitz** (L Z), **bakotx** (B R), **bakhotx** (L LN) *det.* ‘each one, each’, **bakhoitz**, **bakhotx** (L LN Z) *a.* ‘unique’, **bakotx** (Sout) *n.* ‘ace’ (at cards). *Ca.* 1561. + **-koitz** AFS {(not in *The Dictionary*)}. Variants with *tx* by P\*\*{30}.

**bakotxi** (LN), **bakhotxi** (Z) *a.* ‘odd’ (not even, of a number). \*\*\*\*\* [Lh.]

**ban** (\*\*), **banan** (\*\*) *det.* ‘one each, one apiece’, **banan-banan** *adv.* ‘one by one, one at a time’. \*\*\*\*\*

**batasun** (B HN L LN), **batarzun** (\*\*) *n.* ‘unity’, ‘unification’. 1571. + **-tasun** abstract NFS (see **-tar**).

**bat bedera** (\*\*), **bapedra** (HN) \*\*\*\*\* {*pron.* ‘each one’; see **bedera** below} [FHV 345, 399]



**batera** (c.) *adv.* ‘together’. 1653. + **-ra** allative.

**bateratu** (\*\*) *vi.* ‘unite’, *vt.* ‘unite, unify’. 1782. + **-tu** VFS.

**bat ere**, **batere**, **batre** (HN G L old LNZ R), **bapere** (B), **bape** (B) *prt.* ‘even’ (in negative contexts: ‘not even’). 1545. + **ere** ~ **bere** ‘also’.

**batez beste** (B G Z), **batez bertze** (L LN) *adv.* ‘on the average’, ‘on the whole’, ‘all in all’. 1808. + **-z** instr./advbl. + **bertze** ‘other’.

**batik bat**, **batipat** *adv.* ‘especially, particularly’. 1760. + **-ik** instr./advbl. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**batori** (old LN) *pron.* ‘the one’. + **hori** {[1]} ‘that’. [FHV 213 fn.]

**batsu** (G) *a.* ‘almost the same’. + **-tsu** AFS.

**batu** (B G) *vi.*, *vt.* ‘gather, collect’, **batu** (R), **bathu** (LN S), **batü** (Z) *vt.* ‘meet, encounter’, (c.) *vi.* ‘unite’, *vt.* ‘unite, unify’. Stem **bat-**. 1545. + **-tu** VFS.

**batxo** (1803), **batto** (1867), **batxu** (B) (1905), **batño** (1858), *det.* ‘just one’; ‘even one’ (in negative contexts). + **-txo**, **-tto**, **-txu**, **-ño** dimin. (see **-to** [1], **-no**).

**batze** (Z) *n.* ‘gathering’, ‘get-together’, ‘reception’. + **-tze** NFS (see **-tza**).

**batzaldi** (L LN Z) *n.* ‘contest, competition’. + **aldi** ‘time’.

**batzar** (B), **batzarre** (G L LN Z), **batzarren** (Z LN) *n.* ‘assembly, meeting’ (especially one called to discuss matters and reach decisions); TS ‘group of people assembled at such a meeting’. 1545. Final element obscure. {[FHV 351]}

**batzoki** *n.* ‘meeting place of the Basque Nationalist Party’. 1894. Aranist neologism, of irregular formation. + **-oki** ‘place’ (see **-toki**).

{[} **batzarre** (\*\*), **batzar** (\*\*) *n.* ‘get-together’, ‘assembly, council’. \*\*\*\* + **-zarre** \*\*\*\*. [FHV 351] {] Duplicate of **batzar**, see **batze** above.}

**batzu** (L LN Z), **batzuk** (B HN R), **batzuek** (HN G) *det.* ‘some, several’. 1545. + **-zu** indefinite plural {(see **-tsu**)} (+ **-k** [1] plural).

**batzutan** (HN G L), **batzuetan** (B G HN L) *adv.* ‘sometimes’. 1571. + **-ta-** indefinite {not in *The Dictionary*} + **-n** {[1]} locative {CS.}

**bedera** (L LN Z R) *det.* ‘one each, one apiece’, (L LN Z) ‘each one, each’. Final element obscure; possibly **-ra** allative or **era** ‘way, manner’.

**bederatzi** (B G HN L LN), **bedratzi** (HN LN A S), **bederatzu** (R), **bedrátzu** (R), **bede(r)átzü** (Z) *num.* ‘nine’. 1562. The common form points to *\*bederatzi*; the R Z forms to *\*bederatzu*. There are two views. One, the form is *\*bederatzu*, with common **-tzi** resulting from contamination by the preceding **zortzi** ‘eight’ in counting (M. \*\*\*\*). Two, the form is *\*bederatzi*, and the R Z form results from reanalysis, by P67, of the forms in which final /u/ is fronted to /i/ before a vowel-initial suffix (M. \*\*\*\*). I prefer the first, since this word is more frequent in isolation than with suffixes. The final element is unidentifiable; we may perhaps surmise something along the lines of ‘one left’.

**bataiatu** (\*\*), **bateiatu** (\*\* A), **batheiatü** (Z), **bateatu** (S), **batixatu** (R) *vt.* ‘baptize’. \*\*\*\*.

**bathi** (L LN Z) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘resolution, resignation’ M.} Lh. [FHV 208]

**baxera** (L LN Z), **bagera** (L), **bajera** (B G HN) *n.* ‘crockery, dishes’. 1643.

From Gasc. *bachère* id. (M. \*\*\*\* {1955c: 286; 1957c: 120}).

**baziña** (old B) *n.* ‘font’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 147]

**baztanga** [1] (G) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘smallpox’ Aul.} [Az.] \*\*\*\*  
\*\*\*\*

**baztanga-pikatu** (G?) *a.* ‘pock-marked’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 528]

{**baztanga** [2] (HN, B, L) *n. zool.* (a fish similar to a ray or skate) Aul.}

**bazter** (\*\*), **baztar** (\*\*) *n.* {‘corner, edge’ Aul.}

\*\*\*\* {OUO.}

**baztertu** (\*\*) *vt.* {‘corner, exclude’ Aul.} \*\*\*\* + **-tu** VFS.

**be-** (or possibly **b-**) (*c.*) Third-person imperative (optative) prefix in finite verb-forms.

OUO. Still frequent in the early literature, this prefix is now fossilized in a handful of forms, as in *bedi* ‘let him..’, ‘let it..’, the third-singular intransitive auxiliary from \***edin**, and *bego* ‘let him be’, from **egon** ‘be (in a state)’, mainly in the expression *Goian bego* ‘R.I.P.’, lit. ‘may he be on high’. See **da-** and **le-**.

**behar** (\*\*), **bear** (\*\*), \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘need, necessity’. \*\*\*\*

OUO.

**be(h)ar \*edun** (\*\*) *vt.* ‘need’, *vtc.* [+ PerfPart] ‘have to, must’. \*\*\*\* + \***edun** ‘have’.

**bear-leku** (\*\*), **bialeku** (B) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘work’} [FHV 366]

**behartu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* *vtd.* ‘compel, oblige’. \*\*\*\* + **-tu** VFS.

**ezbehar** (\*\*) *a.* ‘unfortunate, unlucky’. \*\*\*\* + **ez-** ‘not’ (see **ez**).

**behatu** (\*\*), **beatu** (\*\* R S) \*\*\*\* {*v.* ‘look’, ‘listen’ Az.}

\*\*\*\* Possibly related to **belarri** ‘ear’.

{[] **behatz** (\*\*) *n.* ‘toe’. \*\*\*\* [] Duplicate, see under **hatz**.}

**behatzun** (\*\*), \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘bile, gall’. \*\*\*\* [see MT entry] See **bedamin**.

**beaza** (Sout) *n.* ‘threat’. 1562.

From Cast. *amenaza* id., by L\*\* {3, ?14} and P1 (M. 1961a: 268).

**bedamin** (\*\*) *n.* ‘bile, gall’. \*\*\*\* See **behatzun**.

**bedezī** (Z) *n.* ‘physician, doctor’. \*\*\*\*

From \*\*\*\* {Gasc. *medecī* < Fr. *médecin*}, by L\*\* {3}.

**bedoi** (Z), **pedoi** (LN) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘billhook’} [FHV 508]

From some development, undoubtedly Gasc. {sc. *bedoüy*, Palay (1980)}, of {late} Lat. *vidubium* \*\*\*\* {id., ML §9320} (M. 1977a: 508). [CHECK V LENGTH {Done.}] M. rejects Schuchardt’s proposal of Cast. *podón* ‘billhook’ on phonological grounds.

**behe** (LN?), **bee** (B), **be** (B G) *n.* ‘bottom’, \*\*\*\* CH **be(h)e-**, **bea-**, **be-**, **behei-**. 1196, 1643.

OUO. The form **behe** is virtually unrecorded as an independent noun, though Sarasola (1996 *s.v.*) cites a solitary example from an unidentified religious text. However, all varieties exhibit numerous derivatives of this word. The last CF, found in several derivatives in L and LN, is puzzling, as is the absence of the expected CF \**beha-*, by W2.2. In parts of G, the def. form of **be** is *beia*, reflecting earlier *bee* (M. 1961a: 110). A toponym *Olabe(h)e çahar* in Elorrio (Bizkaia) in 1053.

**-be**, **-pe** \*\*\*\* {‘under’}

**pe** (Z R S) *n.* ‘bottom’. \*\*\*\* By generalization of the suffix (M. 1961a: 254).

**beatu** (\*\*) *vt.* ‘bury’. \*\*\*\* + **-tu** VFS. [FHV 110]

**beheiti** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*adv.* ‘below’} + **-ti** [3].

**beeko** (B), \*\*\*\* *adjvl.* \*\*\*\* {‘lower’}

**behera** (\*\*), **beera** (\*\*), **bera** (\*\*) *adv.* ‘down’, *p.* [+ Loc.] ‘down’. + **-ra** All. CS.

**behere** (\*\*) *a.* ‘lower’. \*\*\*\*

**begi** (*c.*) *n.* ‘eye’ (*anat.*). CF **bet-**, **beta-**. 1080, 1545.

OUO. First CF by W2.1, W3. The rare second CF is irregular and puzzling. See also **bigira**.

**begiluze** (B L R) *a.* ‘envious’, **begiluze** (L), **begiluz** (R) ‘curious’. \*\*\*\* + **luze** ‘long’.

Last form by W\*\* {19?}. The form \**begiluz* must once have been more widespread, to account for the existence of Alavese Spanish *biguilúz* and Navarrese Spanish *birilúz*, both ‘curious, nosy, meddlesome’ (M. 1961a: 411).

**beginini** (B G Z R), **begininiko** (L) *n.* ‘pupil of the eye’. + **nini** ‘child, pupil’ {(not in *The Dictionary*, but see **ñiñika**)} (+ **-ko** NFS).

**begipe** (G Z R) *n.* ‘bag(s) under the eyes’. \*\*\*\* + **-pe** ‘under’ (see **behe**).

**begira** (\*\*), **bigira** (\*\*), \*\*\*\* {*int.* ‘look!’, *adv.* ‘watching’} {Moved up.}

**begiratu** (\*\*), **beiratu** (\*\*), **beitu** (G \*\*) {*v.* ‘look at’, ‘look after’ Aul.} {Moved up.}

**begirune** (\*\*), **begiraune** (\*\*) *n.* {‘respect’} [FHV 116] {Moved up.}

**begitarte** (B G HN R), **begitharte** (L LN), **begithárte** (Z), **betarte** (?), **bertaite** (LN) *n.* ‘face’. 1545. + **arte** {[1]} ‘between’; /t/ by W18. M. (1961a: 417) suggests that the anomalous aspiration in some variants points to a recent formation, incompletely compounded.

- begite** *n.* (B) ‘buttonhole’, ‘(ornamental) bow’, (Z R) ‘link of a chain’, **gibita** (B), **gibizta** (B), **txibita** (G), **txibista** (G), **txibistin** (G), **txibistillo** (G), **tximistillo** (G), **txibistun** (G) ‘(ornamental) bow’. + **-te** NFS (??) \*\*\*\* [FHV 188]
- begizta** (\*\*), **gibizta** (B) *n.* ‘(ornamental) bow’. \*\*\*\*
- bekain** (L LN G HN B), **bekhain** (\*\*), **bekan** (B), **betagain** (G HN) *n.* ‘eyebrow’. 1746. + **gain** ‘top’ (M. 1961a: 345–346). B form by P51.
- bekhaizteria** (old LN) *n.* \*\*\*\* [FHV 258]. + **-keria** NFS of vices, with dissimilation.
- bekar** (B), **makar** (G HN) *n.* ‘rheum’. \*\*\*\*. M. (\*\*\*\* {1961a: 242 n. 33}) sees the odd second form as resulting from plosive dissimilation, but it is simpler to see this as an instance of the insertion of the expressive syllable **ma-**. [FHV 70]
- bekarai** (old G) *n.* ‘eyebrow’. + **garai** ‘high’ {(see \***gara-**)}.
- bepelar** (HN A) *n.* ‘eyelash’, ‘eyebrow’. \*\*\*\* + **belar** [2] ‘front’.
- bepuru** (HN), **bephuru** (LN), **bepü(r)ü** (Z) *n.* ‘eyebrow’. 1627. + **buru** ‘head’.
- betagin** (B G), **latagin** (B HN), **letagin** (\*\*) ‘eyetooth, canine tooth’. \*\*\*\* The forms with /l/ perhaps by an assimilated form \**detagin* followed by L\*\*{9} (M. 1961a: 256). The unexpected <aa> of the old B hapax *lataaguina* is dismissed by M. (1961a: 112) as a mere orthographic flourish without justification. \*\*\*\*
- betalasto** (Duv.) *n.* ‘eyelashes’. \*\*\*\*
- betargi** (B G) *a.* ‘lively’. \*\*\*\* + **argi** ‘bright’.
- betarro** (Z R) *n.* ‘stye’. \*\*\*\*
- betarte** (old B) *n.* ‘countenance, face’. \*\*\*\*
- betatxo** (G) *n.* ‘stye’. \*\*\*\*
- betaurreko** (B) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘spectacles’}
- betazain** (L) *n.* ‘interior membrane of the eyelid’. \*\*\*\* + **zain** \*\*\*\* {**betzain** (LN R) *n.* ‘ocular nerve’, ‘inner membrane of the eyelid’. \*\*\*\* + **zain** [2] ‘nerve’.
- betazal** (B G HN L LN R), **bethazal** (L) *n.* ‘eyelid’, (LN R) ‘cataract’ (of the eye). 1562. + **azal** ‘skin’.
- betazpi** (B G) *n.* ‘bag(s) under the eyes’. \*\*\*\* + **azpi** ‘under’ (\*\*\*\*).
- beteraztun** (HN) *n.* ‘eyebrow’. \*\*\*\* + **eraztun** ‘ring’. \*\*\*\*
- beteri** (B L LN), **betheri** (L LN) *n.* ‘eye ailment’, ‘rheumy eyes’. + **eri** {[1]} ‘sickness’.
- betheriatsu** (old L) *a.* \*\*\*\* [NOTE CF!!], **beteritsu** (B L Z) *n.* \*\*\*\*
- betterre** (B HN) *a.* ‘with irritated eyes’. 1745, 1893. + **erre** ‘burn’.
- betertz** (G) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘corner of the eye’}
- betexkel** (G) \*\*\*\* {*a.* ‘moist-eyed’ Az.}
- betezkel** (B) *a.* ‘cross-eyed’. \*\*\*\*
- betezpal** (L LN Z), **betespal** (LN) *n.* ‘eyelid’. 17th cent.+ **ezpal** ‘chip’. Second form by P18.
- betikara** (B) *n.* ‘constant blinking of the eyes’. \*\*\*\* + **ikara** ‘trembling’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**betile** (*c.*), **betule** (B) *n.* ‘eyelash’. 17th cent. + **ile** ‘hair’.

**betilun** (B G LN) *n.* ‘sadness’, *a.* ‘sad’. *Ca.* 1760 (as *begi illun*). + **ilun** ‘dark’.

**betondo** (B G L LN), **bethondo** (L LN Z), **begi-ondo** (L LN Z R) *n.* ‘area around the eyes, esp. just above the eyebrows’, ‘eyebrow’, TS (B G) ‘frown, scowl’. 1745, *ca.* 1850. + **ondo** [1] ‘side’.

**betsein** (B) *n.* ‘pupil of the eye’. 1746. + **sein** ‘child’.

{ } **betzain** (LN R) *n.* ‘ocular nerve’, ‘inner membrane of the eyelid’. \*\*\*\* + **zain** [2] ‘nerve’. { } Moved up to **betazain**.

**betzulo** (B) *n.* ‘eye socket’. Late 19th cent. + **zulo** ‘hole’.

**behi** (L LN), **béhi** (Z), **bei** (G HN A S R), **pei** (HN) *n.* ‘cow’ (*zool.*) CF **bet-**. 1562.

OUO. The peculiar last variant is confined to a single village. CF by W2.1, W5. Lhande (1926, *s.v.*) suggests a possible link with **behor** ‘mare’; this cannot be evaluated. A toponym *Betolhazaha* in Alava 1025.

**beilegi** (B), **beillegi** (B) *a.* ‘bright yellow, orange-yellow’. 1653. Second element obscure. AT suggest **ile** ‘hair’ plus an unidentified suffix.

**bekorotz** (\*\*), **pekorotz** (\*\*) *n.* ‘cow dung’. \*\*\*\*. + **gorotz** ‘dung’.

**betesegi** (\*\*) *n.* ‘cow which has a two-year-old calf’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 237]

**betzain** (B old LN) *n.* ‘cowherd’. \*\*\*\* + **-zain** ‘guardian’ (see **zain** {[1]}).

**behin** (L LN Z), **bein** (B G HN S R) *adv.* ‘once’ (‘on one occasion’), ‘once’ (‘formerly’, ‘once upon a time’). 15th cent. \*\*\*\*\*

OUO.

**beinik-bein** (\*\*), **beñipein** (G HN), **biñipin** (G HN), \*\*\*\* *adv.* ‘at least’. \*\*\*\*

**behintzat** (\*\*), **beintzat** (\*\*), **bentzait** (HN) \*\*\*\* {*adv.* ‘at least’} [FHV 178]

**beinke** (B) *prt.* ‘although, even though’.

From Cast. *bien que* id. (M. 1961a: 178).

**beira** (L LN) *n.* ‘glass’ (material). \*\*\*\* loan Lh. many variants {Occ. *veire*.}

**bekatu** (\*\*), **bekhatu** (\*\*), **pekatu** (\*\* G), **bekhátü** (Z) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘sin’. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* From Lat. *peccātum* id.

**bekatari** (old B \*\*) *n.* ‘sinner’. \*\*\*\* M. (1961a: 239 fn. 29) notes that old B consistently has **pekatu** but **bekatari**.

**ekhatore** (\*\*) *n.* ‘sinner’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 470]

**beko** (\*\*), **bekho** (\*\*) {point’, ‘beak’ Aul.} [FHV 82, 82 fn.: consider] [MT entry]

\*\*\*\* See **moko** (under **m-**).

**bekoki** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘forehead’ Aul.} [MT entry]

**\*bel** or **\*beL** (*c.*) *a.* ? ‘dark’.

OUO. This item is nowhere recorded as an independent word, but its former existence is assured by its many derivatives, as both a first and a second element. For examples of its use as a second element, see **harri**, **goi**, **orri**, **ur**, \*\*\*\*\*.

**belatz** (\*\*), **belátz** (Z) *n.* ‘sparrowhawk’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*). \*\*\*\*

**bele** (\*\*), **béle** (Z), **bela** (B) *n.* ‘crow’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*)

**beltz** (*c.* exc. B), **baltz** (B) *a.* ‘black’. 1072, 1545. + an obscure second element. Very likely contracted by W19 from earlier *\*beletz*, represented by Aq. *BELEX*, *BELES(S)*-etc. (M. 1961a: 416). B form by P59. The item is very frequent in medieval personal names, and even seemingly occurs as a name on its own, as in *Don Belcho de Yrurre* (Lacarra \*\*\*\*\*{1930}; see **-o** [\*{2}]). We have *Nunno Balza* in Alava in 984, and *Nunno Balza de Seroiana* in 1022. The word occurs uniquely as *faltz* in the celebrated passage in *uilla Nunnofalzahuri* ‘in the town of Nuño the Black’ (Alava, 1078), where *huri* ‘town’ (see **hiri**) duplicates Lat. *uilla*. Ib. *-BELES* (and several variants) is of unknown sense but may represent the same item.

**beltzil** (L?) [hapax?] *n.* ‘January’. \*\*\*\* + **-il** ‘month’ (see **\*iLe**). The order of elements here is strange; see **ilbeltz** id. (under **\*iLe**).

**beltzuri** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘frown’ Aul.} [FHV 290]

**belztu** (\*\*), **beztu** (G) *vt.* ‘blacken’. \*\*\*\* + **-tu** VFS.

**belar** [1] (\*\*), **belhar** (old LN \*\*), **berar** (old B Sout), **bedar** (B \*\*) *n.* ‘grass’, ‘plant, herb’.  
\*\*\*\* {OUO.}

**belahazi** (L LN), **belazi** (L LN), **belarrazi** (R) *n.* ‘grass seed’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 338]

**belagai** (HN), **belai** (HN) *n.* ‘fenced-off pasture, meadow’. \*\*\*\*

**belhagile** (Z), **beragin** (R) *n.* ‘witch’. \*\*\*\* + **-gile**, **-gin** ‘maker’ (see **egin**).

**belategi** (\*\*) ‘meadow’, \*\*\*\* {+**tegi** ‘place’ (see **hegi**)} [FHV 338]

**belar** [2] (Sout old LN Z S), \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘forehead’, **belaar** (B) \*\*\*\* [FHV 372] \*\*\*\*

**belarri** (B G HN L), **belaarri** (\*\*), **beharri** (L LN Z), **begarri** (HN S), **bearri** (HN LN S R), **biarri** (HN), **biárri** (R) *n.* ‘ear’ (*anat.*) 1562.

OUO. The conservative form is probably *\*berarri*, with the attested variants by P24, P35 (M. 1961a: 339). [FHV 589: ‘to hear?’]

**belaun** (B G HN), **belhaun** (L LN), **bélhañ** (Z), **belháñ** (Z), **belaiñ** (Z), **beláin** (R), **beléin** (R) *n.* ‘knee’ (*anat.*) (1562), TS (B G HN old L) ‘(individual) generation’ (1643), TS (B G HN R S) ‘degree of kinship’. CF **belaun-**.

OUO. Z R forms by P69. CF by W10.

**belaingorri** (R) *a., adv.* ‘stark naked’. + **gorri** ‘red’ {(see **\*gorr-**)}.

**belaunaldi** (\*\*) *n.* ‘(individual) generation’. \*\*\*\* + **aldi** ‘time’.

**belaurikatu** (\*\*), **belhaurikatu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*\* {*v.* ‘kneel’} [FHV 309]

**beldur** (G HN L LN R) (1545), **béldür** (Z), **bildur** (B G Sout) (13th cent, 1415), **billur** (\*\*), **ilddur** (B) *n.* ‘fear’. [FHV 356]

OUO. The east/west contrast in form is long established: the personification *Don Bildur* ‘Mr Fear’ appears in the work of the 13th-cent. Castilian poet Berceo, and *bildurra* ‘fear’ is recorded in Alavese Spanish. Second form probably by vowel-height assimilation- [REWRITE: RULE {i.e. P60, where *beldur* is derived from *bildur*, an example of lowering of [i] to [e] before /lC/.}]

**bildura** (R) *n.* ‘nervous trembling’. Surely the same word, but with curious features: western /i/ in place of eastern /e/, and a tapped /r/ in place of the trilled /rr/ of the base word.

**belena** (B S), **melena** (?) *n.* (S) ‘space between houses’, (B) ‘latrine’.

From some Rom. source akin to Fr. *venelle* ‘alley’ (M. \*\*\*\* {1956f: 368}) {NB Old Navarrese *venela* 1237}, with metathesis.

**beleta** (HN), **pleta** (HN) *n.* ‘Swiss chard’ (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*) [FHV 347]

**benedikatu** (\*\*), **bedeinkatu** (\*\*), **bedeikatu** (\*\*) *vt.* ‘bless’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 304]

**beno** (B) *intj.* ‘okay’, ‘fine’.

From Cast. *bueno* ‘good’, used as an *intj.*, with reduction of the alien /bw-/ cluster.

**benüsér** (Z) *n.* ‘cabinetmaker, carpenter’. \*\*\*\*

From \*\*\*\* {Gasc. *menusèr*} , by L\*\* {6, nasal dissimilation}.

**behor** (L LN), **beor** (B Sout G HN S R), **bóhor** (Z), **beur** (R) *n.* ‘mare’. 13th cent., 1562. CF **be(h)o-**.

OUO. CF by W\*\* {11}. Lh. (*s.v.*) suggests a possible link with **behi** ‘cow’; this cannot be evaluated. Oddly, no Bq. word for ‘stallion’ is attested.

**beozai** (Sout) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘mare-keeper’} [FHV 338]

**bohúllü** (Z) *n.* ‘horsefly’. \*\*\*\* + **euli** ‘fly’.

**ber-** ‘same’, ‘self’. Intensive/reflexive stem underlying the formations below.

**bera** (\*\*), **bé(r)a** (Z) {‘the same’ + **-a** (see **\*har**).}

**berau** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {‘this same’ + **hau**.}

**berber** (\*\*) *a.* ‘same, very same’. Reduplicated. \*\*\*\*\*

**berdin** (G HN L LN R) (1627), **bardin** (B L LN R) (1545), **bárdin** (Z), **berdi** (old LN) [hapax] *a.* ‘same’, ‘smooth’, TS *prt* (B) ‘since, as’, (G) ‘nevertheless’. + **-din** AFS (see **\*edin**). The second sense is puzzling, as is the widespread appearance of the second form, apparently by P59, outside B.

**berdindu** (\*\*), **bardíntü** (Z) \*\*\*\* {*vti.* ‘level, equal’ Aul.}

**bere** (\*\*), **bé(r)e** (Z) {‘his/her/its own’ Aul.}

**be(r)hañ** (Z) *prt.* ‘however, nevertheless’, **beregainki** (L) *adv.* ‘especially’. \*\*\*\* + **gain** ‘top’ (+ **-ki** {[1]} AdvFS) (M. 1961a: 222).

**beredin** (G HN), **berein** (B) *det.* [preposed] ‘lots of, many, much’. \*\*\*\* + **-din** AFS (see **\*edin**) (M. 1961a: 475). [CHECK THIS]

**berez** (\*\*), **be(r)héz** (Z) *adv.* ‘separately’ \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\*

**berezi** (\*\*), **berhezi** (\*\* old LN), **be(r)hézi** (Z) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘separate’ Az.} + **-i** {(see **-i** } [\*\*{1}] {AFS} [FHV 83 fn., 159, 517]

**berori** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {‘that same’ + **hori** [1].}

**bera** (\*\*) *a.* ‘soft’. \*\*\*\*

**berandu** (B G HN \*\*), **berant** (L LN R), **bé(r)ant** (Z), **belu** (B) \*\*\*\* ‘late’ \*\* CF **berant-**. \*\*\*\* CF by W1, W3. The B form is mysterious.

**berantarbi** (B G) *n.* ‘late turnip’. \*\*\*\* + **arbi** ‘turnip’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**berantarto** (G) *n.* ‘late maize’. \*\*\*\* + **arto** ‘maize’.

**beran(t)kor** (\*\*) *a.* ‘late’. \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\* [FHV 367]

**berde** (c.), **perde** (LN), **pherde** (old LN), **ferde** (LN) *a.* ‘green’. CF **berda-**. 14th cent.

From Cast. *verde* or a related Rom. word. Variants by P8. CF by W2.2. See **musker** {(under **m-** expressive)}, **orlegi** (under **hori** [\*{2}]), **urdin**.

**berekatu** (\*\*), **ferekatu** (HN L), \*\*\*\*, **frikatu** (Sout) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘rub’, ‘stroke’} [FHV 348]

**bereter** (\*\*), **better** (L LN), **belaterra** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘priest’} [FHV 158, 334]

**berme** (old HN) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘bail’, ‘guarantor’} [FHV 265]

**berna** (B G HN \*\*) *n.* ‘leg’ (*anat.*) \*\*\*\*

**bernatzaki** (\*\*), **bernazaki** (\*\*), **bermatzaki** (L) *n.* ‘shin, tibia’ (*anat.*). + **-zaki**.

**bero** (c.) *a.* ‘hot, warm’, *n.* ‘heat’. 1213, 1545. Dimin. (Z R) **béll**, (S) **bello**.

OUO. Could be from *\*bero* or from *\*belo*, by P22. But an imitative origin cannot be ruled out, since items of the approximate form *ber(ber)* are frequent in languages as onomatopoeias for the sound of boiling, and these often acquire transferred senses like ‘burn’, ‘hot’, ‘fire’ and ‘cook’. In places, the dimin. has displaced the original as the ordinary word, by M\*\*{10}.

**\*berr-** Hypothetical stem possibly underlying the following items.

**berri** (c. exc. B Sout), **barri** (B Sout) *a.* ‘new’. CF **berr-**. 1061, 15th cent. Possibly + **-i** AFS. B form by P59. CF by W2.1. The *R&S* has seven examples of **barri** against two of **berri**. In B, the free form is **barri**, but we often find *-berri* as a second element.



**bertze** (\*\*) (1545), **berze** (LN), **beze** (LN) **beste** (\*\* LN), **béste** (Z R) (15th cent.) *adjvl.* ‘other’. {Fourth and fifth} form{s} by P19. Final element unknown.

**bestalde** (\*\*) *prt.* ‘on the other hand’. \*\*\*\* + **alde** ‘side’ {(see \*al-)}.

**-borze** (S) ‘god-’ \*\*\*\*

**berretu** (\*\*), **berratu** (\*\*), **berrhetu** (old LN) *vt.* ‘increase, augment’. \*\*\*\* [FIX THIS]

**berro** (L), **berho** (Z) *n.* ‘field which has been sown’. \*\*\*\*

**bertso** (\*\*) *n.* ‘verse’, \*\*\*\*

**bertsolari** (\*\*) *n.* ‘bard’. \*\*\*\* + **-lari** professional NFS (see **-ari** [1]).

**bertute** (\*\*), **berthute** (old LN \*\*), **birtute** (\*\*), **berthúte** (Z) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘virtue’. \*\*\*\*

**bertz** (HN LN Z R) *n.* ‘cauldron’ \*\*\*\*

**bertzoin** (HN \*\*), **bertzuin** (HN \*\*), [AZKUE; several], **bertzun** (G), **perzun** (G), **bartzun** (B), **barzuin** (Sout) ‘**badil** {fire shovel}’ + **oin** ‘foot’ (M. 1977a: 507).

**berun** (c.), **beraun** (B) *n.* ‘lead’ (metal) (Pb). \*\*\*\*

**besigu** (\*\*), **bixigu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘red bream’ (*zool.*)} [FHV 78]

**beso** (c.) *n.* ‘arm’ (*anat.*) (1545), TS ‘cubit’ (1571), TS ‘foreleg (of an animal)’ (1803). CF **besa-**.

OUO. CF by W2.2.

**besape** (\*\*), **besápe** (Z) *n.* ‘armpit’ (*anat.*). \*\*\*\* + **-pe** (\*\*\*\* {see **behe**}).

**besaurre** *n.* ‘forearm’. 1989. + **aurre** ‘front’ (see \***aur**). See **uko** [\*\* {1}].

**bete** (\*\*) *a.* ‘full’, TS (\*\*) *vt.* ‘fill’.

\*\*\*\* {OUO.}

**betheginzarre** (\*\*) *n.* ‘perfection’. \*\*\*\* + **egin** ‘do’ + **-zarre** \*\*\*\* {(NFS)}. [FHV 351]

**beti** (c. exc. Z), **bethi** (L LN Z) *adv.* ‘always’ (‘at all times’; see derivatives below for the other senses of English ‘always’). 1545.

OUO.

**betidanik** (\*\*) *adv.* ‘(since) always’. 1571. + **-danik** Abl. with adverbs.

**betiko** [1] (\*\*) *adjvl.* ‘eternal, everlasting’. 1596. + **-ko**.

**betiko** [2] (\*\*) *adv.* ‘for ever’, ‘(for) always’. 16th cent. + **-ko** Dest. \*\*\* with adverbs.

\***bez(a)**- Hypothetical stem, of unknown sense, possibly underlying the following items.

**bezain** (*c.*), **bezin** (G HN), **baizen** (\*\*), **baxen** (B), **bekain** (\*\*), **bikain** (\*\*), **bikin** (R) *prt.* ‘as...as’. 1545. + **hain** ‘so much’, ‘that much’ (see \***har**). [FHV 105, 178, 297] [A MESS: SORT] [MORE: FHV 544]

**bezainbat** (\*\*), **bezanbat** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* ‘as much as, as many as’ \*\*\*\*

**bezala**, **bezela** (*c.*), **bekala** (\*\*), **bikala** (\*\*) *p.* [+ any] ‘like, as’. 1545. Possibly + **-la** completive.

**bezatu** (B G), **bezau** (B), **zebatu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*\* {*v.* ‘train, accustom’} [FHV 297]

\*\*\*\*\* {From Cast. *avezar*/Occ. *avesar* ‘accustom’, Gasc. *besat* ‘accustomed’.} Last form by metathesis.

**bézino** (R) *n.* ‘neighbour’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *vecino* id.

**ezinotxe** (R) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘town hall’} [FHV 157 fn.]

**bi** (*c.*) (1545), **biga** (L LN) (1545), **bida** (HN LN S) (1759), **bia** (old L) (17th c.) *num.* (psp. or prp.; see below) ‘two’.

OUO. It is clear that **biga** is the conservative form, with **bida** by P10 and the other forms by reduction. Lafon (1959{b}) and M. (1961a) attribute the reduction to W19, since this numeral was anciently postposed: it is sporadically postposed in early eastern texts (Lafon 1959{b}), and still postposed today in B, though in other varieties today it is preposed. In L and LN today, **biga** is the form used in counting and when the word constitutes a noun phrase all by itself, while **bi** is used as part of a larger noun phrase; all other varieties have generalized **bi** to all contexts. See **-garren**. [FHV 413 fn.]

**biaka** (Z), **biakin** (Z), **biaxkin** (Z), **biraxkin** (Z), **bibiro** (HN), **bibitxi** (L), **bikarro** (B; also Castilian of Alava), **biratx** (R), **biratxo** (R), **birazkako** (LN), **biritx** (L LN), **biritxi** (L LN), **birki** (L), **biroki** (G) *n.* ‘twin(s)’. All of these numerous local forms are built upon **bi**, with various extensions, mostly unidentifiable but sometimes containing recognizable elements, such as **bitxi**; some of them apparently contain a reduplication of **bi**. See also **biki** and **bizki** below. It appears that words for ‘twin(s)’ have been unstable and frequently re-formed, though always on the base **bi**.

**bika** (*c.*) *adv.* ‘in twos’, ‘in pairs’. + **-ka** AdvFS.

**biki** (B) *n.* ‘pair of twins’, ‘twin’, TS *a.* ‘twin’. 1745, 1808. + **-ki** [3] NFS. The usual sense is ‘twin’, though a few early attestations seem to require ‘pair of twins’. {Cf. **bizki** below.}

**bikoitz** (B G) (1905), **bikotx** (B L) (*c.* 1808) *a.* ‘double’. + **-koitz** AFS {(not in *The Dictionary*)}. Second form by P30. One source cites an L variant *bikotz*, which is probably an error, and a second reports the sense ‘twin(s)’ for L, a sense not substantiated elsewhere.

**bikonde** (B G) *a.* ‘double’. Final element opaque. Uhlenbeck (\*\*\*\*{1909}) suggests a derivative of **bikun** (below) with a further unknown suffix.

**bikor** (G) *a.* ‘double’. 1905 + **-kor** AFS.

**bikun** (old LN) *n.* ‘pair’, *a.* ‘double’. 1627. + **-kun** AFS.

**bikhundu** (old L) *vt.* ‘double’. 1859. + **-tu** VFS, by P\*\*{P6}.

**birde** (HN LN) \*\*\*\* ‘second’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 341]

**birixi** (\*\*) [Lh.] \*\*\*\* ‘even’ (not odd, of a number) [Lh.]

**bitan** (B G HN R), **bietan** (L LN Z) *adv.* ‘twice’. 1571. + **-ta-** {not in *The Dictionary*} + **-n** {[1]} Locative {CS.}.

**bitarte** (B G HN), **bitharte** (LN) *n.* ‘interval’, ‘space between’, TS ‘intermediary’, TS ‘mediation’, ‘influence’, ‘support’, TS ‘juncture’. 1643. + **-tarte** (see **arte** [1]).

**bitartean** (*c.*) *p.* [+ Gen.] ‘between’. 1571. + **-an** Locative.

**bitarteko** (\*\*) *n.* ‘mediator’. \*\*\*\*

**bitartez** (B G HN) *p.* [+ Gen.] ‘by means of’. *Ca.* 1701. + **-z** instr./advbl.

**bizki** (G HN), **bixki** (G) *n.* ‘twin(s)’. + **-zki** NFS (see **-ki** [3]). {*Cf.* **biki** above.}

**bizkitartean** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*adv.* ‘meanwhile’} [FHV 534] From *\*bizpitartean*, by dissimilation, from *\*biez bitartean* \*\*\*\* {‘in the interval of the two’} (M. 1977a: 534).

**bizpahiru** (Z), **bizpahirur** (L LN Z), **bizpur** (S), **bizpor** (R) *det.* ‘two or three’ ‘a few’. 1785. From *\*bi ez bada hirur* ‘two if not three’, + **ez** ‘not’ + **ba-** ‘if’ + *da* ‘it is’ (finite form of **izan** ‘be’) + **hiru(r)** ‘three’ (A. 1905).

**bizpalaur** (Z) *det.* ‘a few’, ‘several’. From *\*bi ez bada laur* ‘two if not four’, as in the preceding, + **lau(r)** ‘four’.

**biaje** (*c.*?) (1545), **bidaje** (*c.*?) (1571) *n.* ‘journey, trip’.

From Cast. *viaje* id. or a related Rom. form. Second form by contamination from **bide** ‘road’. See also **biaia** (under **bide** [1]).

**biao**, **biago**, **bidago**, **bigao**, **bixao** (B) *n.* ‘siesta’, ‘mid-day nap’. 1596.

M. (1964a: {100; 1974b: 196}) derives this specifically B word from Lat. *meridiānum* ‘pertaining to the middle of the day’, or from some Rom. development of this. The phonological reduction is unusually extensive, but M. proposes the following approximate development, some of which may have occurred in Rom. before the word was borrowed: *meridianum* > *\*meidiano* > *\*meyano* > *\*miano* > *\*mião* (by P1) > *\*bião* > *biao*, with the variants deriving from P35 and P54, P55. The semantic development is Rom., not Bq. Reflexes of the Lat. word occur widely in Rom. with similar senses: Sardinian *meriacru* ‘shady place where cattle gather during the heat of the day’, Santander *mediaju* id., old Occ. *meliana* ‘noon’, ‘siesta’, and others.

**biao-leku** (B) *n.* ‘shady place where cattle gather during the heat of the day’. + **leku** ‘place’.

**bihar** (L LN Z), **biar** (B Sout G LN R), **bigar** (G), **bixar** (B) *adv.* ‘yesterday {tomorrow}’. 1562.

OUO. The severely localized third form by P35.1. Last form by P54, P55.

**biharamun** (\*\*), **biaramun** (\*\*), **bihámen** (Z) *n.* ‘next day’. \*\*\*\* + **egun** ‘day’ (M. 1961a: 335). M. proposes \**bi(h)aregun* > \**bi(h)arebun* (by P\*\*{10}) > \**bi(h)aremun* (by P\*\*{7}).

{[] **bidaia** (\*\*), **pi(d)aia** (LN) *n.* \*\*\*\* [FHV 240] {} Duplicates **bidaia** *s.v.* **bide**.}

{[] **bidaide** (\*\*) *n.* ‘travelling companion’. \*\*\*\* + **-ide** ‘fellow’ (see \*\*\*\*{-**kide**}). [FHV 245] {} Duplicates **bidaide** *s.v.* **bide**.}

**bidali** (1809) (G HN LN Z), **biali** (HN) (1783), **birali** (HN) *vt.* ‘send’, **bidali** (LN S) ‘find’, ‘get hold of, obtain’.

Probably from Cast. *enviar* ‘send’, with loss of the prefix (L14), irregular treatment of /r/, and folk-etymology from **bide** ‘road’ in the common form (Schuchardt \*\*\*\*{1906a: 26}). If so, a late example of the use of **-i** {(see **-i**) [\*\*{1}] {AFS} in a borrowed verb.

**bidaldu** (B HN L) (15th cent.), **bialdu** (B) (1785), **bealdu** (B), **bildu** (B), **biraldu** (B G), **bigaldu** (G) *vt.* ‘send’. By transfer to the **-tu** class (M\*\*{14}).

**bide** (c.), **bire** (G) *n.* ‘road’, ‘way’. 1090, 14th cent. TS (G HN L LN) *pvt.* ‘apparently’, ‘probably’, ‘undoubtedly’ (1545). CF **bida-**.

O.U.O. CF by W2.2. The often-proposed derivation from Lat. *viam* id. appears indefensible. As a final element in word-formation, it often has the sense ‘means’, as in **ogibide** ‘job’ (**ogi** ‘bread’). In this position, it is occasionally reduced to **-bi**, by W\*\*{19}; see examples under **zur**, **ur** and **orbide**.

The modal use has occasioned some speculation. In a document of \*\*\*\*, we find a single instance of **bide** used as deontic ‘must’, in *bide dela* ‘as one must’, and in a document of \*\*\*\* we find a single instance of **bide** used as epistemic ‘must’, in *eratu ni bide naiz* ‘I must have gone crazy’. Together with **bide izan** ‘be proper’ (below), all this suggests a semantic development along the following lines: ‘way’ > ‘(proper) way (of doing something)’ > deontic ‘must’ > epistemic ‘must’ > ‘undoubtedly’ (I am indebted to Alexis Manaster Ramer (*p.c.*) for suggesting this).

**bidagin** (B) (ca. 1760), **bidagile** (ca. 1760), **bidegile** (1958) *n.* ‘road-builder’, **bidagin** (B) ‘courier’. + **-gin**, **-gile** ‘maker’ (see **egin**).

**bidagintza** (B) ‘road maintenance’, ‘courier’s job’. + **-tza** NFS.

**bidagi** *n.* (G) ‘good time for a journey’, (HN) ‘journey, trip’, ‘state of the road’. + **giro** ‘temperature’.

**bidagurutze** (HN), **bide-khurutze** (LN), **bidekurtze** (B) *n.* ‘crossroads’. + **gurutze** ‘cross’.

**bidaia** (L) (1852), **biaia** (L) (1627), **piaia** (L) (1635), {**pi(d)aia** (LN)} *n.* ‘journey’. + **-aia** NFS. See also **biaje**. {[FHV 240]}

**bidaide** (old LN) *n.* ‘fellow traveller’. 1657. + **-kide** ‘fellow’ (see \*\*\*\*). {[FHV 245]}

**bidaldi** (B G HN) *n.* ‘walk, stroll’, ‘long walk’. 1745, 1802. + **aldi** ‘occasion’.

**bidari** [1] *n.* (B) ‘fare’ (for travel), ‘provisions’ (for a trip). \*\*\*\*. + **-ari** [2] or [3]. {No **-ari** [3] in *EFD*.}

**bidari** [2] *n.* (R) ‘traveller’, (B) ‘guide’. \*\*\*\*. + **-ari** [1] NFS of profession.

**bidarte** (B) *n.* ‘crossroads’. + **arte** {[1]} ‘interval’.

**bidean** (old B) *p.* [+ Gen.] ‘in place of’, ‘instead of’. 1596. + **-an** Loc. CS.

**bidegabe** (G L LN Z) *n.* ‘injustice, wrong’ (1545), *adv.* ‘unjustly’ (1545), *a.* ‘unjust’ (1761). + **gabe** ‘without’.

**bide izan** (L) *vi.* ‘be permitted’, ‘be licit’. + **izan** ‘be’, with obscure semantics.

**bide-ondo** (L) *n.* ‘fatigue’ (from travelling). + **ondo** [\*\*{1}] ‘after’.

**bider** (old B Sout G HN L), **bidar** (B) *n.* functioning as *adv.* ‘time, occasion’ (= Cast. *vez*, Fr. *fois*), as in *hiru bider* ‘three times’. 1562. Variant by P59. Cannot be used with **bat** ‘one’; ‘once’ is **behin**. Second element obscure, but M. (1961a: 62 fn.) notes several semantic parallels for such a formation in Celtic, Gothic and Catalan. See **aldi**.

**bideratu** *vt.* (B G) ‘direct, guide’, (B) ‘obtain, procure’. 1745, 1763. + **-ra** All. CS + **-tu** VFS.

**bidez** (B G HN) *p.* [+ Gen.] ‘by means of’. \*\*\*\*. + **-z** instrl./advbl.

**bidezain** (B LN R), **bidezai** (G) *n.* ‘road worker’. + **zain** ‘guardian’.

**bidezko** *adjvl.* (c.) ‘just, equitable’ (1571), (B) ‘legitimate’, *n.* (B) ‘traveller’ (on foot), ‘passer-by’ (ca. 1760). + **-zko** (see **-z**).

**bidezorro** *n.* (old B) ‘satchel’, ‘travelling bag’, (HN) ‘keen walker’. + **zorro** ‘bag’.

**bigae** (B), **biga** (G), **miga** (HN LN) *n.* ‘two-year-old heifer’. CF **bigan-**. 1571. Dimin. (G) **miatxo**.

From *\*bigana*, by P\*\*{1} {P7}, from Lat. {\*} *bimānam*, app. ‘two-year-old heifer’, app. with contamination from **bi(ga)** ‘two’ (M. 1961a: 145). ~~Note: this Lat. word, app. a derivative of *bīmus* ‘two years old’, I can find in no Lat. dictionary, but M. cites it without asterisk or comment. [MORE: FHV 508] {M. 1974b: 201 n. 94.} {\**Bimana* has an asterisk in M. 1977a: 508, and in M. 1974b: 201, at least according to Trask’s English version (fn. 77).}~~

**bigantxa** (B G HN LN Z R), **bigaintxa** (old G), **migatsa** (L) *n.* ‘ten-month-old heifer’. 1745, ca. 1800. + **-txa** dimin. (see \*\*\*\*) {Not in *The Dictionary*}. The old G variant probably represents the intermediate form *\*bigāe* for the base word.

{[] **bigira** (\*\*), **begira** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*

{[] **begiratu** (\*\*), **beiratu** (\*\*), **beitu** (G \*\*)

{[] **begirune** (\*\*), **begiraune** (\*\*) *n.* [FHV 116] {} All moved s.v. **begi**}

**biguin** (G L) (1745, ca. 1760), **biguiñ** (G), **biguñ** (G), **bigun** (B G LN) (1596), **bihun** (LN) *a.* ‘soft’, ‘gentle’.

OUO. The first variant appears to be the conservative form, but LN **bihun** (according to AT also **biun**, not elsewhere confirmed) is difficult. Lh. cites **bihun** only in the sense of ‘compassionate’, not elsewhere confirmed. Lh. proposes an etymology from *\*bihotz on*

‘good heart’, but this seems implausible. A nominal sense of ‘force, vigour’, ‘courage’ is ~~given in~~ {attributed to} Oihenart (\*\*\*\*), but its reality is doubted by many specialists. If the sense is real, it must represent a distinct word.

**bigundu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*vti.* ‘soften, mitigate’}

**bihi** (\*\*), **bigi** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {‘grain’} CF **bit-**.

\*\*\*\* {OUO.}

**bikain** (\*\*), **pikain** (\*\* old L old LN) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘best bit’, ‘tithe’} [FHV 217-218, 218 fn.] {M. 1957a: 20.}

**bikor** (\*\*), **bikhor** (\*\*), **pikor** (G HN), **mikor** (HN R S) *n.* ‘(individual) grain’. \*\*\*\*

**bike** (HN L) (*ca.* 1620), **bikhe** (L LN), **pike** (*c.*) (1745, 1757), **phike** (\*\*), **phíke** (Z) *n.* ‘pitch’ (tar-like substance).

From Lat. *picem* id. (M. 1961a: 51, 219). See **ui**.

**\*bil** or **\*biL** (*c.*) *a.* ? ‘round’.

OUO. This item is nowhere recorded as an independent word, but its former existence is certain because of the item’s frequent presence as a second element in compounds. See examples under **gurdi**, **uko** [1], **ur**, \*\*\*\*.

**biribil** (\*\*), **borobil** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*a.* ‘round’ Aul.}

**biribilgatu** (old LN) \*\*\*\* [FHV 353]

**bilhaka** (old Z) *n.* ‘hatred, enmity’ ?, ‘quarrel, argument’ ? \*\*\*\*

OUO. The sense of this rare and obsolete word is extracted as far as possible from its context.

**bilhakatu** (old L \*\*) *vt.* ‘ruin, destroy’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 521]

{[]} **bilarrauzi** (old LN), **bilharrozi** (LN), **bilarrozi** (S), **bilarruzi** (HN), **bilortxe** (A) \*\*\*\* ‘calf’ [FHV 96] {} Duplicate, combined under **bular**. }

**bilatu** (\*\* Sout S), **billatu** (old B \*\* HN), **bilhátü** (Z), **biletu** (\*\*) [FHV 521] \*\*\*\* *vi.* ‘turn into’, *vt.* ‘look for, seek’. \*\*\*\*

M. (1961a: 200 fn. 36) proposes Cast. *pillar* ‘catch’. But M. (1977a: 521) withdraws this and prefers a Rom. source akin to old Galician *filhar* \*\*\*\*.

**bila** (\*\*), **billa** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* *adv.* \*\*\*\* {‘in search of’ Az.}

**bilakatu** (\*\*), **bilhakatu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* *v.* ‘turn into’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 521]

**bilaun** (\*\*), **bilau** (\*\*), **billaun** (\*\*), **billau** (\*\* {HN, B, G}) \*\*\*\* *n.* {‘villain’, ‘traitor’}

\*\*\*\* {From Cast. *villano*.} The expected Z form would be *\*biláñ*, which is not documented (M. 1961a: 152).

**bildu** (\*\*) *vi.* ‘assemble’ (1571), *vt.* ‘collect, gather’ (1545). Stem **bil-**. \*\*\*\*

OUO. The stem is apparently non-verbal. Attempts at linking it to \***bil** ‘round’ are not so far persuasive, though the idea perhaps cannot be ruled out. [MT]

**billur** (\*\*), **bilhur** (\*\*), **búllhür** (Z), **bulur** (R) {*n.* ‘tether made of twigs’} [FHV 79; Azkue] [move?] [see FHV 481-482 for comments and a proposed etymology] [AND FHV 521]

**bilo** (\*\* old LN R S A), **bilho** (LN), **bílho** (Z), \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘(a single) hair’. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* **billuzi** (old LN) \*\*\*\* *a.* ‘naked, nude’. \*\*\*\*

**biluzi** etc. \*\*\*\* [FHV 80 fn.] {Same item as preceding. also *v.* ‘strip naked’ Az.}

{[**bintza** (\*\*), **pintza** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* ‘membrane’. \*\*\*\* [MT entry] [ ] Duplicate, see **mintz**.}

**bihotz** (L LN Z), **biotz** (B G HN R) *n.* ‘heart’ (*anat.*), TS ‘central part’, TS ‘ardour, enthusiasm, determination’. 1545.

OUO, but possibly recorded as Aq. *BIHOXUS*.

**bihotz-beltz** (Z) *n.* ‘cruelty’. + **beltz** ‘black’ {(see \***bel**)}

**bi(h)otz-bera**, **bi(h)ozbera** (*c.*) *a.* ‘kind-hearted’, ‘merciful’. 1617. + **bera** ‘soft’.

**biotz-eri** (R) *n.* ‘middle finger’. + **eri** {[2]} ‘finger’.

**biotz-erre** (B G HN) *n.* ‘heartburn’. 1897. + **erre** ‘burn’.

**bihotz-gabe**, **bihozgabe** (*c.*) *a.* ‘cowardly’ (1657), ‘heartless’ (1858). + **gabe** ‘without’.

**bihotz-gutun** (L?) *n.* ‘religious object worn around the neck’. + **gutun** ‘talisman’.

**biotz-igarra** (HN) *n.* ‘henbane’ (*bot.*) (*Hyoscyamus niger*). Final element obscure.

**biotz on!** (G) *intj.* expression of encouragement. + **on** ‘good’.

**biozkanpo** (R LN) *a.* ‘of poor quality’, ‘disagreeable’. + **kanpo** ‘outside’.

**bihozmin** (L LN Z) *n.* ‘sorrow’, (R) *n.* ‘palpitation of the heart’, (B R LN) *n.* ‘epilepsy’. 1750. + **min** ‘pain’.

**bihotzun** (L LN Z), **bioztun** (B G R) *a.* ‘valiant’. *Ca.* 1660. + **-dun** ‘having’ (see \***edun**).

**bipildu** (\*\* HN), **biphildu** (L LN), **thipiltü** (Z) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘pluck’, ‘pull out (hair)’} [FHV 64] [MT entry *pipil*]

From Lat. *dēpilāre* (Gavel \*\*\*\* {1920: 429}; M. 1961a: 258) \*\*\*\*

**bipil** (\*\*), \*\*\*\* **thípil** (Z) *a.* ‘nude, naked’, \*\*\*\*

**birao** (\*\* {B G}), \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘curse’} [FHV 74, 119]

**biri** (\*\*), **birika** (\*\*) *n.* ‘lung’. \*\*\*\*

**Birjina** (\*\*), **Birjiña** (\*\*) *n.* ‘Virgin’. \*\*\*\*

**biru** (HN S R), **piru** (HN LN S), **phiru** (LN {HN}), **firu** (B {LN}), **iru** (B) *n.* ‘thread, fibre’.  
[FHV 264]

From Lat. *fīlum* id., by L3, P22 (M. \*\*\*\* {1951b: 578:}).

**bits** (\*\*) *n.* ‘spume, foam’. \*\*\*\*

{OUO.}

**bitxi** (B R), **pitxi** (B G HN) *n.* ‘jewel, ornament, pretty little thing’, (B) ‘pearl’, (HN) ‘pair’,  
*a.* (B G L) ‘pretty’, (L LN) ‘original, unusual, striking’, ‘extravagant’, ‘graceful’,  
‘singular’, ‘funny’. Nursery word in some senses. 15th cent. (*n.*), 1858 (*a.*)

OUO, but possibly a palatalized form of **bizi** ‘alive’ (M. \*\*\*\*). Variant **pitxi** perhaps by P11. Very likely a nursery word in origin, but some modern senses are no longer nursery words. This item serves very commonly as a stem in expressive formations.

-**bitxi** (B L) Suffix meaning ‘god-’ in kinship terms, as in **aitabitxi** ‘godfather’. Possibly calqued on Rom. formations like Fr. *beau-père* ‘godfather’.

**bitxilore**, **pitxilore**, **bitxilora** *n.* ‘daisy’, ‘camomile’ (*bot.*) (*Bellis* et al.) 1745. + **lore** ‘flower’.

**bitxilote** (B), **pitxilote** (B), **pitxilota** (B), **pitxoleta** (B), **pitxeleta** (B), **mitxeleta** (B G),  
**mitxelot** (B), **mitxilote** (B), **mitxoleta** (B?), **tximilot** (B), **tximeleta** (B G),  
{**tximirrika**, **tximirrita** (G)} *n.* ‘butterfly’ (*zool.*) (order *Lepidoptera*) + an arbitrary expressive continuation, with various unsystematic alterations (as usually in expressive formations), and sometimes metathesis. Only **mitxeleta** (1745) is recorded before the 20th cent. and the now predominant form **tximeleta** is nowhere recorded before 1912. M. (1977a: 520) prefers to see the forms containing /m/ as derived from the personal name *Mixel* ‘Mike’ and hence as unrelated to the other variants; this is quite possible.

**pitxikula** (G) *n.* ‘caprices, whims’, ‘extravagances in dress or in eating’.

{**tximirrika**, **tximirrita** (G) *n.* ‘butterfly’ (*zool.*) (order *Lepidoptera*). } Moved up under **bitxilote**.

**bihur** (EB), **biur** *n.* (B G HN), **bühür** (Z), **bior** (B \*\*), **mur** (R) ‘\*\*\*\*’, (B) ‘fold in a rope’,  
*a.* (B L LN R) ‘twisted’, TS (B) ‘perverse’.

OUO. The expected northern variant *\*bihur* is not attested for this word, though the CF **bihurr-** is common in the north. [NEEDS WORK] [FHV 62-63]

**berr-**, **birr-**, **biorr-** (Sout) \*\*\*\* {prefix ‘re-’, ‘again’, ‘twice’} [FHV 122, 411]

**bihurri** (L LN Z), **biurri** (B G HN S R) *a.* ‘twisted’, ‘tangled’. \*\*\*\* + -i [\*\*{1}] AFS.

**bihurtu** (\*\*), \*\*\*\*, **murtu** (R) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘convert, return’} [FHV 537]



**bixtika** (L LN) (1692), **bixiga** (Sout) (1562), **pixika** (HN), **pisika** (HN), **puxika** (B) (18th cent.), **puxiga** (old B), **bisiga** (HN) *n.* ‘bladder’ (*anat.*), ‘boil’ (on the skin). [IMPORTANT: FHV 78]

From Late Lat. *vessīcam* ‘bladder’ (M. \*\*\*\* {1961a: 78}), variant of classical *vēsīcam*. The rounded vowel of the B variant has Rom. parallels, as in Arag. *vo(i)xiga*, *vuixiga* (CP *s.v.* *vejiga*). See CP for a survey of Rom. forms of this widespread word.

**bizar** (*c.*) *n.* ‘beard’, TS ‘beard’ (of certain fish and certain cereals), TS (LN R) ‘chin’, TS (L) ‘edge of a knife’. 15th cent.

OUO. Conceivably contains *\*-ar*, hypothetical collective suffix. The word is not related to Cast. *bizarro* ‘gallant, brave’ or to Fr. and English *bizarre*. The origin of these words in Bq. **bizar** was suggested by the Basque writer Baltasar de Etxabe in 1607; this was later picked up by Friedrich Di, who popularized this etymology, which as a result is presented as gospel in a number of reference works. But more recent investigation has demonstrated beyond dispute that the Spanish, French and English words are borrowed from Italian, in which the word occurs earlier by centuries than anywhere else (it even occurs in Dante); see CP (*s.v.* *bizarro*) for the details.

**bizardun** (*c.*) *n., a.* ‘bearded (person)’. 1562. + **-dun** ‘having’ (see **\*edun**).

**pixar** (G) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘strand, wisp’} [FHV 241]

**bizi** (*c.*) *a.* ‘alive, living’, *n.* ‘life’, TS *a.* ‘lively’, ‘mobile, moving’, ‘running’ (of water). CF **biz-**. 1545.

OUO. If the more frequent adjectival sense is original, may perhaps contain **-i** [\*\* {1}] AFS. CF by W2.1. See **bitxi**.

**bizi-alargun** (B G L R) *n.* ‘divorced or separated couple’. Sources differ as to which sense is usual. 1855. + **alargun** ‘widow(er)’.

**bizibehar** (old LN) *n.* ‘necessities of life’. 1571. + **behar** ‘necessity’.

**bizibete** (\*\*) *a.* ‘active, vigorous’. \*\*\*\* + **bete** ‘full’. [FHV 422]

**bizibide** *n.* (B LN R) (1745, 1785 ‘job, profession’, **bizipide** (HN L LN Z) (1880) ‘trade, profession’, ‘pay, wages’. + **bide** ‘way’.

**bizi \*edun** (L LN) *vt.* ‘give life to’, ‘keep alive’. 1545. + **\*edun** ‘have’.

**bizi izan** (*c.*) *vi.* ‘live’ (‘be alive’), ‘live’ (‘reside, dwell’). 1545.

**bizarazi** (old L) (1636), **bizi erazi** (old LN) (1571) *vt.* ‘keep alive’, ‘make more alive’. + **-erazi** causative.

**bizikai** (B old LN), **bizigai** (?) (1924), **bizigei** (?) (1888) *n.* ‘food, nourishment’. + **gai** ‘material’.

**biziki** (HN L LN Z R) *adv.* ‘in a lively manner, vivaciously’, TS *deg.* ‘enormously, very, really’. 1571. + **-ki** [\*\* {1}] AdvFS.

**bizikide** (old B HN) (1596), **bizikida** (?) (1741) *n.* ‘spouse’. + **-kide** ‘fellow’.

**bizilagun** (B G HN) *n.* ‘spouse’ (1657), ‘member of one’s household’ (1808), ‘inhabitant’ (1905). + **lagun** ‘companion’.

**bizitza** (*c.*) *n.* ‘life’. 1596. + **-tza** NFS.

**bizkor** (B G HN L LN R) *a.* ‘agile, nimble’, ‘active, vigorous’. 1745. + **-kor** AFS.

**bizkorrean** (G) *adv.* ‘in the nude’. + **-an** Loc. {CS.} Motivation obscure.

**bizkortxa** (B) *a.* ‘active’, ‘restless’, ‘fussy’. + **-txa** {dimin. Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**biztanle** (EB) *n.* ‘inhabitant’. 1745, 1847. A neologism coined by Larramendi in his 1745 dictionary, of opaque formation, though the final syllable must be intended to represent **-le**, agentive NFS. The word is not recorded before Larramendi, and it is not recorded again until the works of the writer Iztueta, who was a formidable user of Larramendi’s neologisms. It is absent from Azkue’s 1905 dictionary and from Lhande’s 1926 dictionary, and it hardly occurs anywhere before the 20th cent. Taking the word to be popular, Corominas (\*\*\*\* {AT *s.v.*}) proposes a derivation from Cast. *habitante* id., along the lines of *\*abitante* > *\*bitante* > *\*biztanle*, with two folk-etymologies, but the historical record makes this piece of ingenuity unnecessary.

**biztu** (B HN LN R) (1571), **piztu** (G HN LN L) (1545), **phiztü** (Z) *vt.* ‘light, kindle, ignite’, ‘revive, resuscitate’, ‘conceive’ (a child), TS ‘arouse, excite’ (sexually), ‘make (a penis) erect’, *vi.* ‘germinate’ (of plants), ‘turn sour, go off’ (of fermented drinks). + **-tu** VFS. Second form by P\*\* {11}.

**bizkar** (*c.*) *n.* ‘back’ (of a human or an animal) (*anat.*), ‘high place in mountains, esp. a high plain’. 1571.

OUO. Commonly thought to be the source of the province name *Bizkaia*.

**boka-** (\*\*), **mokado** (G HN), **kopa(d)u** (B) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘mouthful’} [FHV 260]

**bolu** (B) *n.* ‘mill’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 123]

From Lat. *molinum* id., \*\*\*\* A CF *Borin-* appears in toponyms, such as *Borinivar* in medieval Alava, mod. *Bolivar*. [FHV 314]

**bonet** (LN), **bunet** (Z) *n.* ‘hat, cap’ (1657), ‘beret’ (*ca.* 1760).

From some Rom. development of med. Lat. *abonnem* ‘cap’, akin to Fr. *bonnet* ‘bonnet’. Z form by P71. Mod. Cast. Cat. Port. *boina* ‘beret’ is widely thought to derive from an unrecorded Bq. development of this Rom. word; CP (*s.v.*) propose an old Cast. or Arag. *\*boñe*, leading to a Basque *\*boina*, by P\*\* {32}, borrowed into Rom. and then lost in Bq. Cp also note that several Basque writers conclude that the beret was not widely worn in the Spanish Basque Country until the time of the First Carlist War, in the 1830s. See also **kapela**.

**borda** *n.* (old L old LN) ‘shepherd’s hut’, (B G LN R) ‘sheepfold’, ‘corral’, ‘stable’, TS (L LN Z) ‘farmhouse’. 1571.

From Occ. {*borde*}, *bòrda* ‘hut’, ‘covered sheepfold’, ‘stable’, also ‘farmhouse’ in places (Unamuno \*\*\*\* {1893: 142}), a word variously suspected of being of Germanic or Celtic origin, and widespread in Gallo-Romance (and also in Ibero-Romance, perhaps by diffusion). In the 17th and 18th centuries, growing population forced the French Basques to convert high pastures into new farms; the existing shepherd’s huts served as the nuclei of new farmhouses, and the name was transferred.

**bordalde** (L), **bordalte** (Z) *n.* ‘tenant farm’. 1873. + **alde** ‘side’ {(see *\*al-*)}.

**bordari** (HN G L) *n.* ‘tenant’. CF **bordal-**. 17th cent. + **-ari** {[1]} professional NFS. CF by W\*\*{12}.

**bordaltu** (R) *vi.* ‘get married’. + **-tu** VFS. Cf. Cast. *casarse* ‘get married’, from *casa* ‘house’.

**bordal-berri** (R) *a.* ‘newlywed’. + **berri** ‘new’ {see \***berr**}.

**bordalgei** (R) *n.* ‘fiancé’. + **-gai** ‘destined for’ (see **gai**).

**bordarigo(a)** (L?) *n.* ‘tenancy of a farm’. + **-goa** collective NFS.

**borondate** (B G HN L LN S), **bo(r)ontháte** (Z), **borontate** (R), **boruntate** (old Z), **borundate** (old Z) *n.* ‘will, desire’. 16th cent.

From Lat. *voluntātem* id, by P22 (M. 1961a: 216).

**boronde** (LN S \*\*), **borónte** (Z R) *n.* ‘forehead’ (*anat.*) \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *frontem* id., by \*\*\*\* (M. 1961a: 353).

**bortitz** (\*\*), **borthitz** (\*\*), **portitz** (\*\*) *a.* ‘strong’. \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *fortis* id. (nom.).

**bortu** (LN R), **bortü** (Z), **portu** (HN LN), **mortu** (HN L), **maurtu** (old B; hapax) *n.* ‘desert’, in pl. (**bortuak** etc.) ‘Pyrenees’.

From Lat. *portum* ‘harbour’, ‘haven’, developing in Pyrenean Rom. into ‘mountain pass’ (A. 1905; M. 1961a: 96 fn. 13). The curious last form perhaps by contamination from **mauru** ‘Moor’ (see **mairu**).

**bortxa** (HN L LN Z) *n.* ‘force, violence’. \*\*\*\*

{Occ. *fòrça*.}

**bortxatu** (\*\*) *vt.* ‘rape’. \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\* + **-tu** VFS.

**bortz** (\*\*), **bost** (\*\*) *num.* ‘five’. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*{OUO.}

**bostarrika** (\*\*), **uztarrika** (G HN) *adv.* ‘game!’ (in mus), **amastarrika** (S), **amaxarri** (S) *n.* ‘children’s game played with five pebbles’. \*\*\*\* + **harri** ‘stone’ + **-ka** AdvFS. The second item is preceded by Rom. *a* and has undergone vocalic assimilation and P\*\*{7} (M. \*\*\*\* *BAP* 20 {1964f}: 307–311). The /z/ of the second form is mysterious, and queried by M. (1977a: 531).

**bota** (\*\*) *vt.* ‘throw’. \*\*\*\*

{Occ. *botar* id.}

**boteila** (L LN), **botoila** (L LN), **botella** (G \*\*), **botilla** (\*\*) *n.* ‘bottle’. \*\*\*\*

**botere (\*\*), bothere (\*\*)** \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘power’. \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *poterem* id. [CHECK] {*l.* \**potere* analogical form of infinitive *posse* ‘to be able’, > Sp. Occ. *poder*.}

**botz** \*\*\*\* {*l.* **bótz** (Z) ‘satisfied, happy’} [FHV 55] {*Cf.* **poz** ‘happiness’.}

**boz (\*\*), bótz (Z)** *n.* ‘voice’ \*\*\*\* [FHV 55, 289]

**branka (\*\*{B G HN L})** \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘prow’} [FHV 348]

**brasil** (Sout) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘coal dust’} [FHV 496]

**bular (B \*\*), bulhar (\*\*), búlhar (Z), buler** (old B) [hapax], **búrar (R), búdar (R)** *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘chest’} {M. 1961a: 315.} [more stuff FHV 471]

\*\*\*\* {From \**burar* O.U.O.}

**bilarrauzi** (old LN \*\*) *n.* ‘calf’, **bilharrozi** (LN) ‘male calf a few months old’, **bilortxe** (A) ‘one-year-old calf’, **billaruzi** (HN) ‘young bullock’, **bilorrazi** (HN) ‘beginner, tyro’. \*\*\*\* + **erauzi** \*\*\*\* (see **jauzi**) (M. 1977a: 481). {[FHV 96]}

**burdina** (L LN), **burdiña** (B HN), **burdīa** (old B), **burdin** (??), **bürdün** (Z), **bürdüña** (Z), **burriña** (HN), **burnia** (old B Sout), **burni** (G), **burduña** (R), **burruña** (R), **burña** (R S) *n.* ‘iron’. CF **burdin-**. 1562.

From \**burdina*, O.U.O, by P\*\*{1}, P\*\*{1.4} and P\*\*{?} (M. 1961a: 197). Z forms by P70.

**burruntzali** (G) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘ladle’} [FHV 357 fn.]

**burduntzi** (B G), **burruntzi** (B G) *n.* ‘spit’. \*\*\*\* + **zihi** ‘pin’. [FHV 357 fn., 413]

**burgu** (Hb), **bürgü** (Z) *n.* ‘hamlet’. From Cast. *burgo* id., by L\*\*{10.} (AT).

{[] **burki** (\*\*), **urki** (\*\*), **turki** (\*\*) *n.* ‘birch’ (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*) \*\*\*\* {} Duplicate, see under **urki**.}

**burla** (\*\*) *n.* ‘joke’. 1562. [FHV 366]

From Cast. *burla* id.

**buro** (L), **burho** (\*\*), **burhau** (Z) *n.* ‘curse, oath, blasphemy’. \*\*\*\*

**burtzi** (old B) [hapax] *n.* ‘spike, lance, spear’. \*\*\*\*

**buru** (*c. exc.* Z), **bũ(r)ü** (Z) *n.* ‘head’ (*anat.*). CF **bur-**. 1042, 1545.

O.U.O. CF by W2.3. Very common as a final element in compounds, with TS like ‘chief’, ‘leader’, ‘on top’, ‘round thing’.

- burbuñoka** (R) *adv.* ‘with one’s head trembling’. Contains **-ka** AdvFS, but the second element is obscure.
- bur-hezur** (old LN \*\*), **bürhézür** (Z) *n.* ‘skull’. 1571. + **hezur** ‘bone’.
- burgain** (HN Z) *n.* ‘skull’, ‘mountaintop, summit’. + **gain** ‘top’.
- burgoi** (LN R), **urgoi** (L LN S), **argoi** (G) *a.* ‘arrogant, haughty’. \*\*\*\* + **goi** ‘high’ (M. 1961: 252). [REWRITE: SEE AZKUE *urgoi*; also AT]
- bü(r)ialatü** (Z) *vt.* ‘inspire’. + **-la** All CS + **-tu** VFS (Lh).
- bü(r)iazpi** (Z) *n.* [hapax] ‘presumption, supposition’. + **azpi** ‘below’.
- burko** (B) *n.* ‘pillow’. 1632. + **-ko**.
- buruhas** (L LN), **bürhás** (Z) *a.* ‘bareheaded’. 1749. + **has** ‘bare’ (AT).
- buru eman** (G), **buru emon** (B), **bü(r)ü eman** (Z) *vitm.* ‘confront’, ‘resist’. + **eman** ‘give’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}
- buruil** (HN L Z), **burula** (old LN) (1647) *n.* ‘September’. \*\*\*\* + **il** ‘month’ (see \***hiLe**). Motivation unknown. There are four proposals. 1. ‘prohibition of winter’ (Schuchardt \*\*\*\*); generally rejected as indefensible. 2. ‘first month of the year’, implying that the ancient Basque calendar began with September (\*\*\*\* {Vinson 1910: 32}; endorsed by Caro Baroja \*\*\*\* {1973: 82}). 3. ‘last month of the year’ (\*\*\*\* {Campión 1931: 323}). 4. ‘month when ears (in Basque, ‘heads’) of grain are ripe and prominent’ (Lh). M. (*Word* 15 {1959c}: 526 \*\*\*\*) notes the parallel of Sardinian *kapudánnu* ‘September’. C. (\*\*\*\*) {CP}, following von Wartburg (\*\*\*\* {FEW 1, 645}), notes Arag. *boira* ~ *guaira* ‘fog’, and hints at a folk etymology.
- buruille** (B) *n.* ‘linen of ordinary quality’. \*\*\*\*
- buru-iope** (Duv. Hb.) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘headache’, ‘presumption’}
- buruiska** (?) *n.* ‘little head’. \*\*\*\*
- buruka** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘ear (of wheat)’}
- buruki** (?) *n.* ‘meat from the head of an animal’. + **-ki** [3] NFS.
- bürülats** (LN) *n.* \*\*\*\* {AT}
- burumoztu** *vt.* (B G L) ‘decapitate’, (B G R) ‘cut one’s hair’. + **moztu** ‘cut’ (see **motz**).
- burumuin** (LN), \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘brin(s)’. \*\*\*\* + **muin** ‘marrow’.
- bururde** (S) *n.* ‘summit’. \*\*\*\*
- bururdi** *n.* (L) ‘pillow’, (B LN) ‘bolster’, (B G HN L LN Z S) ‘eiderdown’. 1571. Second element opaque. M. (\*\*\*\* *BAP* 20 {1964e}: 26) suggests **erdi** ‘middle, half’, which is not appealing. [much more AT]
- bururki** (L) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘pillow’}
- burusi** (B G LN), \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘blanket’}
- burutxa** (B) *n.* [see AT *buruxa*]
- buru-xahal** (LN) *n.* ‘tadpole’. \*\*\*\*
- buruxi** (B), \*\*\*\* [LOTS] {AT}

**buruz** (B G) *adv.* ‘word for word, literally, verbatim, by heart’ (1802), (LN Z S) *adv.* ‘judiciously, prudently’ (1853), (L LN Z) *p.* [+ Dat] or [+ All] ‘looking at, facing’, ‘toward’, ‘against’ (*ca.* 1800), (HN L LN Z S) *p.* [+ Dat] ‘addressing, speaking to’, (B G) *p.* [+ Dat] ‘about, concerning’ (*ca.* 1850), (R) *p.* [+ Instrl] ‘after’. + **-z** Instrl.

**buruzagi** (L LN R HN), **bü(r)üzági** (Z), **búrzegi** (R), **bústegi** (R) *n.* ‘chief, leader’. 1167 (as ‘chief shepherd’), 1617. Second element obscure, but possibly **-zain** ‘guardian’ (see **zain** [1]).

**buruzagisa** (old Z) *n.* ‘female chief’, ‘schoolmistress’. + **-sa** female NFS.

**burzoro** (old LN \*\*) *a.* ‘crazy’. \*\*\*\* + **zoro** ‘crazy’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**burúllo** (R), **brúllo** (R) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘cream cheese’} [FHV 161 fn. {13}]

**bürzüntz** (Z), **buzuntz** (R), **müsúnts** (Z) *n.* ‘trembling aspen’ (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*). \*\*\*\*

**busti** (*c.*), **musti** (HN), **busta** (LN Z) *n.* ‘moisture’ (1666), *a.* ‘wet, moist’ (14th cent., 1562).

From Lat. *musteum*, originally ‘fresh’ but later ‘moist’, or from one or more Rom. reflexes of this, such as Occ. *musti*, by L\*\*{6}. Last variant puzzling. [FHV 53: verb?, 500]

**buztan** (*c. exc.* Sout Z) (1571), **búztan** (Z), **buztain** (Sout) (13th cent., 1562) *n.* ‘tail’ (of an animal or a bird), TS (B G) ‘penis’.

O.U.O. M. (1961a: 141) sees the curious Sout form as the result of expressive palatalization, in spite of the existence of a med. personal name *Pero Buztayna*.

**buztarri** (B LN Z R), **uztarri** (G HN L LN Z R), *n.* ‘yoke’. (other senses) TS (B) ‘rainbow’. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* The geographical distribution points to **buztarri** as the conservative form, with the central form by P\*\*{9} (M. 1977a: 532).

**uztargi** (G HN), **uzterku** (B), **uzterpu** (B), **uztrauku** (B?), **uztai** (G), **uztadar** (HN) *n.* ‘rainbow’. Various + **argi** ‘light’, + **adar** ‘horn’, with obscure phonological developments. {Some of these forms are also cited under **ortzarku** (see **ortzi**); blends of two separate words?}

**buztin** (G HN L LN Z), **buztiña** (B), **büztin** (Z), **buztun** (R) *n.* ‘clay’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 80]

**buztindoi** (S), **buztindui** (?), **buztundoi** (R) *n.* ‘place with deposits of clay’. + \*\*\*\*

**buztin gorri** (B) *n.* ‘red ochre’. + **gorri** ‘red’ {(see\***gorr-**)}

**d-** (or possibly **da-**) (*c.*) Present-tense prefix in finite verb-forms, as in *dator* ‘he/she/it is coming’ and *du* ‘he/she/it has’. Now fossilized.

OUO. It is likely, though not certain, that the prefix is **d-** rather than **da-**, since we find **d-** alone in forms like \*\*\*\*{*diraki* ‘boils’}, and **-a-** alone in forms like *nator* ‘I’m coming’. De Rijk (\*\*\*\*{1992}) makes an interesting case for an origin in an ancient morpheme *\*da-* meaning ‘the present moment’, but a difficulty is that no Pre-Basque lexical stem ever begins with /d/. This prefix occurs only in present-tense verb-forms which have no first- or second-person agreement prefix. Consequently, it was long taken (wrongly) as a third-person agreement marker, in spite of the obvious difficulties that it appears only in present-tense forms and that it appears even when no third-person absolutive NP is present in the sentence at any level of representation, as in *diraki* ‘boils’ (intransitive with transitive morphology; the subject stands in the ergative case, which is agreed with by a suffix, not by a prefix). See {Oregi Aranburu} (\*\*\*\*{1974}) and Trask (\*\*\*\*{1977}) for the demonstration that this is a present-tense ~~su~~{pre}fix. {Also Trask 1997: 218-226.}

**d-** Initial element in surnames.

From Rom. *de* ‘of’. Esp. in the French Basque Country, this element is often fused to Bq. surnames, producing variants like Duarte (common Uharte, Ugarte) and Daguerre (common Agerre, Agirre). The very first Basque writer, whose name was Etxepare, signed himself Dechepare.

**-da-**, **-t** (*c.*) first-singular agreement suffix in finite verb-forms.

The original form is *\*-da*. This is reduced to *-t* when word-final, by P40, but remains as *-da-* when another suffix follows, producing alternations like *dut* ‘I have it’ (from *\*duda*), but relative form *dudan* ‘which I have’, with relative suffix **-n**. A few varieties of B have reanalysed the alternation, producing forms like *dot* ‘I have it’, relative form *doten*. OUO, but clearly not related to **ni** ‘I, me’, which provides the agreement prefix **n-**. Possibly a remnant of an ancient stem-alternation in the pronoun? Compare **\*-ga**.

**-da** Suffix in surnames.

This suffix occurs in a few surnames, like *Larrinda* and *Legarda*. It is of unknown origin and significance. M. (\*\*\*\*{1973a: 78}) wonders whether *Legarda* might represent a variant of *Legarreta*, with the familiar suffix **-eta**, with Rom. mediation.

**-dade**, **-tate**, **-date**, **-dare** (*c.*) abstract NFS. From Lat. *-tātem* or from its Old Cast. continuation *-dade*. Since the predominantly eastern **-tate** seems to appear only in forms borrowed wholesale from Lat. in literary works, it is likely that **-dade** represents the earliest form to be borrowed as a functioning suffix.

**daguenil** or **dagenil** (old B) [hapax] 1596, **dagonil** (1897) *n.* ‘August’.

OUO. It is not clear whether the *daguenil* of the text is meant to represent **daguenil** or **dagenil**. The final element is surely **il** ‘month’ (see **\*iLe**). M. (\*\*\*\*{1970b: 90 n. 49}) suggests two possibilities. First, it may be *\*uda-go[i]-en-il* ‘month of highest summer’, from **uda** ‘summer’ + **goi** ‘high’ + **-en** {[1]} superl. + **il**. Second, it may be *\*dagoen-il* ‘the month which is’, ‘the current month’, from *dagoen* ‘which is’, from *dago* ‘it is’,

finite form of **egon** ‘be’, + **-n** [\*\*{3}] relative. The first makes more sense, but M. protests against the unusual loss of initial /u/ and suggests that the gloss ‘August’ may be a misinterpretation of a half-understood proverb. The last form is an Aranist neologism.

**dailu** (LN R Z), **dallu** (?), **daila** (LN Z), **dalla** (LN Z), **dalü** (Z), **dalü** (LN), **dali** (?), **tallu** (S) *n.* ‘scythe’. 1666.

From various Rom. reflexes of Lat. *daculum* id. Some variants descend from a Proto-Rom. \**dailo* ~ *daŕo* {cf. Gasc. *dalh* ‘scythe blade’, ‘scythe’ Palay (1980)}, others from {Gasc.} Bearn. *dalha*.

**damu** (B G HN L LN Z R) *n.* ‘regret, contrition,’ (1545), ‘injury, damage’ (1643), ‘slur’ (1775), ‘pity’, ‘envy, jealousy’, ‘ill humour’, ‘prejudice’, *a.* ‘regrettable, deplorable’, ‘touchy, easily offended’.

From Lat. *damnum* ‘hurt, harm, damage, injury’, by L7 (M. 1961a: 348).

**dantzatu** (*c. exc.* Z), **dantzátü** (Z) *vi.* (traditionally), *vitm.* (often today in B G) ‘dance’. Stem **dantza-**. 1571.

From a Rom. source akin to Old Fr. *dancier* (modern *danser*), {Occ. *dançar*,} Cast. *danzar* (borrowed from Old Fr.) id., ult. OUO. Throughout most of the historical period, strictly *vi.*, but in recent times commonly *vitm.* in B G, by assimilation to other verbs of this semantic class, including the verb **dantza egin** (below).

**dantza** (*c.*), **lantza** (R) *n.* ‘dance’. 1545. Probably by back-formation from the above, but conceivably from a Rom. form akin to Fr. *danse* id. R form by L9.

**dantza egin** (B Sout G) *vitm.* ‘dance’. 1562. + **egin** ‘do’.

**daraturu** (\*\*), **daratulu** (\*\*), **taratulu** (\*\*), **daratelu** (L), **deatulu** (LN), **da(r)atürü** (Z), **datü(r)ü** (Z), **daatu(r)i** (Z), **deatu(r)i** (Z), **garatulu** (R), **laratro** (B) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘drill’.  
\*\*\*\*

From LLat. *taratrum* id., ult. of Celtic origin.

**dardo** (\*\*) *n.* ‘spear, dart’. \*\*\*\* CF **darda-**.

From Cast. *dardo* id. CF by W\*\*{2.2}. [FHV 126, 324 fn.]

**dardai** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\*, **nardai** (B G) \*\*\*\*, **lardai** (HN L LN) \*\*\*\* {‘wagon pole’} [FHV 324 fn., 552]

**lardaka** (HN), **erdoka** (B G) *n.* \*\*\*\* [FHV 552]

**dastatu** (L LN), **ddastatu** (L LN), **jastatu** (HN LN), **téstatu** (R), **txestatu** (R), **txastatu** (HN), **txestatu** (S R), **txestátü** (Z) *vt.* ‘taste, sample, try’. 1545.

From the unrecorded late Lat. \**tastāre*, the source of {Occ. *tastar*}, Old Fr. *taster* ‘taste’, thought to derive from Lat. *taxāre* ‘appraise’ (M. 1961a: 187). The palatalization of the initial /d/ is unusual.

**deabru** (\*\*), **débrü** (Z), **débru** (R){, **deurru** (LN)} *n.* ‘devil’. \*\*\*\* {AT}



**debeku** (G HN LN S) (1636), **debetu** (old LN) (1571) *n.* ‘prohibition’.

Probably from Old Cast. *deviedo* ‘prohibited’, ult. from Lat. *vetāre* ‘prohibit, veto’ (M. \*\*\*\* {1974b: 201 n. 90}). Common form by P12.

**debekatu** (G HN L LN) (1643), **debekau** (B), **debetatu** (old LN), **debetatü** (Z) (1571), **bedeka(tu)** (B) *vt.* ‘prohibit’. + **-tu** VFS. B form by metathesis.

**deblauki** (old LN) *adv.* ‘resolutely, with determination’. \*\*\*\*

From \*\*\*\* {Rom. *de plano* +-**ki**.} (M. 1961a: 347). {*Cf.* **plaun**, **lau** [2].}

**deinhu** (old L), **jeinhu** (old L) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘skill’} [FHV 519]

**deithoratu** (L), **deithoratü** (Z) *vt., vitm.* ‘mourn’, ‘offer condolences’. 1643.

From Rom. An Old Bearn. verb *deytorar* ‘mourn’ (mod. *deitoura*) is cited by Mistral (\*\*\*\* {1879}), and an Old Bearn. derived noun *deytoradores* ‘mourners’ is cited from 1414 by Lespy and Raymond (1887). This must be the direct source of the Bq. verb (M. \*\*\*\* {1970a: 126 n. 60}). {It is possible that Mistral constructed the infinitive lemma “*deitoura* (rom. *deytorar*)” exclusively from the 1414 example of the noun *deytoradores* that he also cites.}

**deithora** (L LN Z), **deithore** (L LN Z) *n.* ‘lamentation’. 1571. Probably back-formed from the verb, since no such noun is attested in Occ.

**deitu** (B G L LN), **deittu** (B G), **deithu** (LN), **déithü** (Z), **geitu** (B) *vt. or vid.* ‘call’; TS ‘name’. Stem **dei-**. 1571.

From some Rom. development of Lat. *dictum* ‘said’, of the approximate form \*[deico] (M. 1961a: 104). B form by dissimilation.

**dei** (*c.*) *n.* ‘call’. 1562. By back-formation (removal of **-tu** VFS).

**deiardar** (\*\*), **deardar** (B Sout G HN), **deihadar** (L), **dehadar** (L), **gedar** (B) \*\*\*\* ‘cry, shout, clamour’. \*\*\*\* + **adar** ‘horn’ (M. 1961a: 176).

**dei egin** (*c.*) *vitmd.* ‘call, summon’. 17th cent. + **egin** ‘do’.

**dei eman** (arch.) *vitmd.* ‘call, summon’. + **eman** ‘give’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**deiez** (R S \*\*) *adv.* ‘calling’. \*\*\*\*. + **-z** instr./advbl.

**deithatu** (LN) *vt.* ‘call, name’, *a.* ‘renowned, celebrated’. Stem **deitha-**. + **-tatu** VFS (see **-ta**). {Rather: **-ta-** {not in *The Dictionary*} + **-tu** VFS.}

**deitura** *n.* ‘by-name’, ‘sobriquet’ (1775), TS ‘surname’ (1831). + **-tura** NFS. {Not in *The Dictionary*, but see **-dura**.}

**dekuma** (R A), **tekuma** (S), **dexema** (old LN), **dexuma** (old L) *n.* ‘tithe’. 1869. [CHECK: FHV 239, 421]

Second variant probably by P11. From Lat. *decimam* id., or, perhaps more likely, from an unrecorded variant *\*decumam* (M. \*\*\*\* {1974b: 189}). {The variant *decumam* is classical Latin; see Glare 1982.} *Cf.* Sardinian *dékuma*, *déguma*, Welsh *degwn*.

**denbora** (G HN L LN R A), **denbó(r)a** (Z), **denpora** (B), **ténpra** (R), **tenbra** (S) *n.* ‘time’ (in the general sense of ‘duration’), TS ‘weather’. 1545.

From Lat. *tempora*, pl. of *tempus* ‘time’ (the use of the pl. as a sg. was already common in classical Lat.) (M. 1961a: 353). R form by P38. The unexpected {, by P\*\*{6}} /b/ in the Z form points to diffusion (M. 1961a: 230 fn. 10). The sense of ‘weather’ is uncommon and largely confined to Navarra and the north; it is perhaps calqued on the Rom. use of ‘time’ for ‘weather’. The archaic form of the word points to an early borrowing, but M. (\*\*\*\*{1974b: 193, 201}) and others argue that the word is nevertheless probably borrowed from ecclesiastical Lat. in the Middle Ages. See **aldi**, **eguraldi** (under **egun**).

**denda** [1] (B G L LN) (1627), **tenda** (old LN) (1571) *n.* ‘shop, store’ (B G L LN), ‘tailor’s shop’ (old LN).

From late Lat. *tenda*{*m*} ‘shop’, by L1, or from some Rom. development of this. The eastern specialization to ‘tailor’s shop’ is interesting.

**denda** [2] (\*\*) *n.* ‘tent’. 1627.

From late Lat. *tenta*{*m*} *id.*, by L1, P6, or from a Rom. development of this.

**dermio** (HN) *n.* \*\*\*\*{end, limit} [FHV 239, 546]

**derrigor** (B G) *adv.* ‘necessarily’, ‘forcibly’. *Ca.* 1920.

From Cast. *de rigor* ‘necessarily’.

**derrigorrez** (B G) *adv.* ‘necessarily’. + **-z** instr./advbl.

**derrigortu** (B G) *vtd.* ‘compel, oblige’. 1959. + **-tu** VFS.

**des-** (*c.*) ‘dis-’, word-forming prefix expressing separation, reversal or negation.

From Rom *des-* *id.*, ult. from Lat. *dis-*. In spite of the general absence of prefixes in Bq., this one is recorded steadily in texts from 1562 on, and there are dozens of formations containing it. Some of these have been borrowed intact from Rom., but others have been coined within Basque, like **desberdin** ‘different’ from **berdin** ‘same’ (see **ber-**).

**deskana** (G) *n.* \*\*\*\*{‘faint’} [FHV 231]

**destaña** (B), **erdeiñu** (old LN \*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\*{‘scorn, disdain’} [FHV 231, 294]

\*\*\*\*{From Occ. *desdenh*, Cast. *desdén*.} With variable treatment of the alien /sd/ cluster.

{[} **deurru** (LN) \*\*\*\*{‘devil’} ????? [FHV 332 fn.] [move?] {] Moved to **deabru** AT.}

**deus** (L LN B G R), **jeus** (L LN), **deüs** (Z), **dieus** (R), **daus** (A) *pron.* ‘anything’ (in negatives and questions: NPI) (1545), TS (L LN) ‘thing’ (1627).

Obviously borrowed, but the source has been much discussed. By far the most persuasive proposal is that of M. (1977a: 519), who sees the source as Lat. *genus* ‘kind’, by P1. The Bq. forms suggest that the word was borrowed at a stage when the Rom. palatalization had produced something like \*[g<sup>j</sup>enus], with the alien palatalized velar rendered variously into Bq.

**deusdún** (R) *a.* ‘well off, well-to-do’. \*\*\*\*\* + **-dun** ‘having’.

**deus ez** or **deusez** (L LN) *pron.* ‘nothing’. 1751. + **ez** ‘not’.

**deuseztatu** (\*\*) *vt.* ‘destroy’, ‘annihilate’. 1785. + **-ta-** {not in *The Dictionary*} + **-tu** VFS.

**deztatu** (G L), **eztatu** (\*\*) *n.* ‘a certain measure of land’ \*\*\*\*\* [FHV 252]

**-di** (\*\*), **-doi** (\*\*), **-dui** (\*\*), **-dei** (B) Collective NFS usually added to plant names, as in **elordi** ‘hawthorn grove’, from **elorri** ‘hawthorn’, and **arantzadi** ‘cluster of thorn bushes’, from **arantza** ‘thorn’.

OUO. The conservative longer variants are confined to peripheral varieties, east and west, while the contracted form is usual in the central area. The contraction is confirmed by the place name (in Navarra) cited as *Ezpelduia* in 1056 and 1093, but modern *Ezpeldia* (**ezpel** ‘box tree’; see \***ez-**). This suffix is frequent in toponyms and in surnames, where it must be distinguished from variants of **-ti** [\*\*{3}] and of **-tegi** {(see **hegi**)}. In a few surnames, the first element does not appear to be a plant name, as in *Berridi* (**berri** ‘new’) and *Guridi* (first element unknown). [FHV 107-108]

M. (1961a: 257–258) proposes that this suffix is in origin the same morpheme as the noun **lohi** ‘body’, and takes this as evidence that an original word-initial \*/d/ changed to /l/ at some early stage of the language.

This suffix was much favoured by the Basque nationalist Sabino Arana, who used it promiscuously as an all-purpose noun-forming suffix in his neologisms. Among his many coinages are **ludi** ‘world’ (**lur** ‘earth’), **gaztedi** ‘young people’ (**gazte** ‘young’), **Euskadi** ‘the Basque Country’ (**euskara** ‘Basque language’), and **Euskaltzaindia** ‘Basque Language Academy’ (**euskara** + **-zain** ‘guardian’; see **zain** [\*\*{1}]).

**digante** (L LN) *n.* ‘giant’. \*\*\*\*\*

From Cast. *gigante* id., with unusual treatment of the initial consonant.

**diru** (c. exc. Z R), **dihá(r)ü** (Z), **dihauru** (LN), **deiru** (R), **déuri** (R) *n.* ‘money’. 1562.

From Lat. *dēnārium* ‘denarius’, by P1 and P35. First R form by P52; second perhaps by metathesis (M. 1961a: 100). The semantic shift is Rom.: cf. Cast. *dinero* ‘money’.

**dirualdi** *n.* ‘time for payment’ (e.g., in a game or after a bet). 1745. + **aldi** ‘time’.

**dirubide** *n.* ‘way of earning money’. 1858. + **bide** ‘way’.

**dirudun** (B G HN L LN) *a.* ‘rich’. 1653. + **-dun** ‘having’ (see \***edun**).

**dirugile**, **dirukin** (H.) *n.* ‘coiner of money’. + **-gile**, **-gin** ‘maker’ (see **egin**).

**dirugose** (Hb.) *a.* ‘avaricious’. + **gose** ‘hungry’.

**diruketa** *n.* ‘wealth’. 1852. + **-keta** NFS {not in *The Dictionary*}.

**dirukoi** *a.* ‘avaricious’. 1852. + **-koi** AFS ‘fond of’ {(see **ohi**)}.

**dirukoitasun** *n.* ‘avarice’. + **-tasun** abstract NFS (see **-tar**).

**dirutegi** *n.* ‘place for keeping money’, ‘cashbox’, ‘treasury’. 1745. + **-tegi** ‘place’ {(see **hegi**)}.

**dirutsu** *a.* ‘rich’. *Ca.* 1760. + **-tsu** AFS ‘full of’.

**dirutu** *vt.* ‘exchange for money, cash in, sell’ (17th cent.), *vi* ‘get rich’ (1886). + **-tu** VFS.

**dirutza**, **dirutze** *n.* ‘sum of money’, ‘wealth’ (1775), TS ‘capital’ (*ca.* 1930). + **-tza** NFS.

**diruzain** *n.* ‘treasurer’. 1715. + **-zain** ‘guardian’ {(see **zain** [1])}.

**diruzaintza**, **diruzaitza**, **diruzaigo** *n.* ‘office of treasurer’. 1916. + **-tza**, **-goa** NFS.

**diruzale** *a.* ‘avaricious’. 17th cent. + **-zale** AFS ‘fond of’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**diruzalekeria** *n.* ‘avarice’. 1932. + **-keria** NFS of vices.

**diruzaletasun** *n.* ‘avarice’. 1899. + **-tasun** abstract NFS (see **-tar**).

**diruzaletu** *vi.* ‘become avaricious’, *vt.* ‘make avaricious’. 1800. + **-tu** VFS.

**duhulate** (old LN), **dihūlate** (Z), **dühūlate** (Z) *n.* ‘pile of money’. \*\*\*\* + **athe** ‘pile’ (M. 1961a: 128).

**ditare** (HN) (1562), **dithare** (L LN Z), **ditara** (B), **titare** (B G S), **tutare** (R) (1745, 1886) *n.* ‘thimble’.

From *\*ditale*, by P22, from some Rom. development of Lat. *digitālem* ‘for the finger’; *cf.* Cast. *dedal* id., Ast. *didal* id., etc. *Third* form by M5; last form by P11. [LONG V? {Done.}]

**-do** (*c.*) NFS.

Rare, and of uncertain meaning, but possibly something like ‘bad thing’. See examples under **ezker** and **mokor** (under **m-**).

**doe** (B Sout old G) (1562), **dōe** (old B), **due** (old B), **doha** (L LN Z), **doa** (B G HN), *n.* ‘gift’ (talent), ‘grace, favour’, ‘destiny, fate’, ‘luck’. CF **doha-**, **don-**.

From *\*done*, by P1, from Rom. *done* ‘gift’ (M. \*\*\*\* {1974b: 191}). Second CF by ~~W~~\*\* {P1.3}.

**dohain** (LN Z) (1571), **doain** (S), **doháñ** (Z), **doai** (B G HN) \*\*\*\* [FHV 147]

**dohakabe** \*\*\*\* {*a.* ‘unfortunate’ AT} [combine with *donga?*]

**dohakaitz** \*\*\*\* {*a.* ‘unfortunate’}

**dohatsu** \*\*\*\* ‘lucky’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 147]

**donga** (B), **deunga** (B) *a.* ‘bad’. \*\*\*\* + **-ga** ‘without’ (see **gabe**) (A. 1905 *s.v.*; M. 1961a: 412).

**doi** \*\*\*\*\* {‘so much’} [FHV 107]

**doilor**, **doillor**, **dollor** (B Sout G L), **dolor** (L) *n.* ‘evil’, ‘ruin’, ‘grief, sorrow’, ‘fear’, *a.* ‘vile, treacherous, evil’. 1562. Perhaps also (B) **doillior**, **dolior** *n.* ‘person given to worrying’.

O.U.O., but, from its form, assuredly a borrowing (M. \*\*\*\*\* {1964a: 99}). The obvious choice of Rom. *dolore* ‘pain’ is made difficult by the presence in Bq. of **dolore** ‘pain’.

**doinu** (\*\*), **doñu** (G HN), **tonu** (old LN) \*\*\*\*\* *n.* ‘tune, melody’. \*\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*\* Probably influenced in form by **soinu** ‘music’ (M. 1961a: 307–308).

**dolamen** (\*\* HN) *n.* [Az.] \*\*\*\*\* {‘lament, sorrow’ AT}

**dolare** (HN L) (1321, 17th cent.), **dolhare** (Har.), **dolhara** (Har.), **dolara** (B G) (1596), **tolare** (G) (1083, 1745, 1808), **tolara** (B) (1802) *n.* ‘wine-press’.

From some Rom. reflex of Lat. *torcularē* id., of the approx. form *\*tor(c)lare* (M. \*\*\*\*\* {1955c: 290}). M. dismisses Lat. *dolarium* ‘wine-cellar’, suggested by Rohlf (\*\*\*\*\* {1933: 340}).

**domeka** (B Sout), **domeeka** (old B) [hapax] *n.* ‘Sunday’. 1562.

From Lat. (*diem*) *dominicam* ‘(day) of the Lord’, by P1 (M. \*\*\*\*\* {1956c: 340}). The second form is recorded only in the 17th-cent. B catechism known as the *Viva Jesús*, where it occurs in the pl. form *Domeecaac* ‘the Sundays’. The personal name *Domeca* is common in Navarra from the 12th cent., always with a single <e> (M. 1961a: 112). See **igande**, under **igan**.

**dominu** (H.) *n.* ‘reliquary’, **domiña**, **domiñu** (?) *n.* ‘medal’.

From Old Cast. *nómina* ‘reliquaries on which are written the names of saints’, from Lat. *nōmina* ‘names’ (M. \*\*\*\*\* {1959c: 527}), with irregular denasalization of initial /n/ by dissimilation.

**done** (c.) *n.* ‘saint’, *a.* ‘holy’. 1596 (but earlier as an element in toponyms).

From some Rom. development of Lat. *domine*, voc. of *dominus* ‘lord’, of the approximate form *\*domne*, by L7 (M. \*\*\*\*\* {1961a: 348}). Common as a first element in habitation names, as in *Donostia* ‘San Sebastián’ and *Donibane* ‘St.-Jean’. Cf. **deun**, under **deunga**. {Not in *The Dictionary*.} \*\*\*\*\* [FIX THIS: doe]

**dorpe** (\*\*), **thórpe** (Z) \*\*\*\*\* [FHV 218] *a.* ‘awkward, clumsy’. \*\*\*\*\*

From Cast. *torpe* id.

**dorre** (HN L LN S) (1202, 1571), **torre** (B G LN R) (15th cent.), **thorre** (Z) *n.* ‘tower’.

From Rom. *torre* id. (M. \*\*\*\*\* {1956g: 93f.}).

**torre-etxe** (1918), **dorretxe** (1977) *n.* ‘fortified house’, of the kind built during the clan warfare of the 15th cent. + **etxe** ‘house’. One or two of these still stand.

**dotore** (B G) *a.* ‘elegant’, (R) *n.* ‘doctor, physician’. \*\*\*\*[FHV 134]

**dragatz** (B), **tragatz** (B G), **tragaza** (HN old L) *n.* ‘knife for cutting up gorse’.

From some Rom. source akin to Cast. *tragacete* \*\*\*\* (AT *s.v.*).

**dündü** (Z) *a.* ‘cloudy, gloomy, dark’ (of the sky), **dundu** (R) ‘blue’.

Expressive. The Z sense is probably conservative.

**-dura** (\*\*), **-duria** (\*\*), **-duri** (\*\*) NFS [FHV 132]

**durduri** (G HN), **urduri** (B G HN?) *a.* ‘restless, nervous’, ‘lively, energetic, audacious’. 15th c.

OUO. Possibly contains **-i** [\*\*{1}] AFS. Looks like a reduplication, perhaps of an expressive stem. Second form by irregular loss of initial plosive.

**-duru**, **-duri** Suffix in surnames. {M. 1973a: 79.}

[MITX 73 191]

**e-** [1] (c.) Prefix in non-finite verb-forms.

OUO. This prefix occurs in all non-finite forms of all ancient verbs built on verbal roots. It is still present in hundreds of ancient verbs today, though it has sometimes developed to /i/, /j/ or zero, by P36. Examples: **ekarri** ‘bring’ (< *e-karr-i*), **ikusi** ‘see’ (< *\*e-kus-i*), **josi** ‘sew’ (< *\*e-os-i*), **utzi** ‘leave’ (< *\*e-utz-i*). Since this is the only affix attached to the verbal root in the morphologically simplest form of an ancient verb, the so-called radical (*ekar*, *ikus*, *jos* and *utz* in our examples), since the radical is identical to the stem of such a verb, and since both the radical and the stem of a verb exhibit nominal properties, Trask (1990) concludes that this **e-** must have served to derive verbal nouns from verbal roots. In any case, the very presence of a grammatical prefix is surprising in Bq., which is generally exclusively suffixing. Even if Trask’s account of the function of this prefix is correct, its origin is still a great mystery.

**e-** [2] (c.) Prefix deriving indefinites from interrogatives.

OUO. This prefix is attached to any of a range of interrogative items to derive the corresponding indefinites with meanings corresponding to English items in ‘any-’, when these are negative polarity items. For example, **zer** ‘what?’ yields **ezer** ‘anything’, and **nor** ‘who?’ yields *\*enor*, historical **iñor** (and other variants) ‘anybody’. Nothing is known about its origin, and the presence of a grammatical prefix is again very surprising in a language that generally lacks prefixes. See **no-** and **ze-** for the forms containing **e-**.

**-e** {[1]} (c.) Genitive CS. \*\*\*\* [entry for B **-e** = **-te**?]

\*\*\*\* This **-e** is possibly attested in the med. documents. In 1125 we find *Lope Jaun Ortire semea* ‘the son of Lope Orti’, and in 1110 we find *Orcire çorita*, a name which in 1284 is written *Orçiren çorita* (M. 1977a: 504–505). But these might be only abbreviated graphies for **-en**.

{**-e** [2] (B) = **-te** Plural marker in verbs.}**-e-** (c.) Phonological vowel with no morphological value.

In Bq., /e/ is the unmarked vowel, and, in both word-formation and inflection, a vowel /e/ is automatically inserted to break up any impermissible consonant clusters which arise. This process is so regular and frequent that the inserted /e/ is not expressly identified in the numerous formations containing it in this dictionary.

**eausi** (LN), **ēháūsi** (Z), **erauntsi** (LN Z), **eusi** (old B), **aausi** (B), **ausi** (B), **auxi** (B?), **adausi** (old LN), **iāunsi** (R), **ñausi** (R), **xausi** (R?), **aunsi** (R), **dausi** (S) *n.* ‘barking’ (of a dog). \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* Looks like an old verb. Lh. suggests a variant **erausi**. Possibly related to **erausi** ‘murmur, gossip’? The nasalization in the Z R forms points to an original *\*ena-*, by P1. AT (*s.v. aausi*) and Corominas (cited *ibid.*) suggest a link with **saunka** ‘braying’, but there seems little reason to see anything other than certain or possible onomatopoeia in both words.

**\*eba-** \*\*\*\* {Root **-ba-**.}

\*\*\*\* *Apellidos* 329 {M. 1973a: 106. M. discusses a suffix **-eban** ‘place where X is cut’ and proposes the root **\*eba-** lying behind this suffix and the verb **ebaki**.}; [FHV 275]

**ebaki** (\*\*), **ebagi** (B), **ebáki** (Z) \*\*\*\* *vt.* ‘cut’ \*\*\*\* Stem **epai-** ‘cut’ [FHV 231] [FHV 233 fn] M. (1977a; 527) takes the 14th-cent. toponym *Euagui* in Navarra as evidence that western **ebagi** formerly occurred as far east as Estella.

**epail** (B G), **efail** (?) *n.* ‘March’. \*\*\*\* + **-il** ‘month’ (see **\*iLe**). Second form from Caro Baroja (1973: 76).

**epaille** (G), **epailla** (B), **epaile** (LN Z), **phaile** (LN) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘cutter’ \*\*\*\* {+ **-le** NFS.}

**epaitza** (S.P.) *n.* ‘reaping, harvest’. + **-tza** NFS.

**erabaki** (\*\*) {*vt.* ‘decide’ Aul.}

**ebatsi** (\*\*) *vt.* ‘steal’, *vtd.* ‘rob’ \*\*\*\* [FHV 159]

**ephaskoa** (old L) *n.* ‘theft, robbery’. \*\*\*\*

{[] **epai** (B) *a.* ‘cut’, ‘cut off’. \*\*\*\* {} Move under **ebaki** ?}

**epaixka** (old LN) *adv.* ‘stealthily, on the sly’. \*\*\*\*

**ebatzi** (B) *vt.* ‘resolve, settle’. \*\*\*\* [*ebatsi*?]

**edan** (c.), **eran** (B G R) *vt.* ‘drink’ (1562), TS (L LN) *n.* ‘drinking’, ‘beverage’ (1571). Stem **eda[n]-**, Root **-da[n]-**.

O.U.O. Second form by P17. No synthetic forms of this verb are recorded in the literature, and the finite form *dadat* ‘I drink (it)’, found in a poem by the 20th-cent. poet Lizardi, is strictly a neologism. [look at FHV 250]

**edari** (\*\*), **edaari** (old B) *n.* ‘beverage’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 113]

**edateko** (\*\*), **edaateko** (old B) \*\*\*\*

**hede** [1] (\*\*) \*\*\*\* ‘strap’. \*\*\*\*

**hede** [2] (\*\*) \*\*\*\*, **ede** (HN) *n.* ‘tanner’s pit’, \*\*\*\* [SORT SENSES: Az.]

O.U.O, but *probably* from Rom. M. (\*\*\*\* {1953c: 482}) diffidently notes Logudorese *keia* (and variants) ‘pit’, and cites L\*\*{?: loss of initial dorsal stops.}.

**edeki** (\*\*), **edegi** (old B), **ideki** (\*\*) *vt.* ‘remove, take away’. [FHV 82 fn{. 19}] [this will take some sorting] {*Cf.* **idoki** ‘remove’.}

\*\*\*\* M. (1961a: 229) concludes that this verb has become much confused with **ireki** ‘open’.

**etekin** (G) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘usefulness’} [FHV 231]



**eder** (*c.*), **éder** (*Z*) *a.* ‘beautiful’. 15th cent. Dimin. **edder**, **ejer**, **eijer**, **éjer** ‘beautiful’, ‘pretty’.

OUO.

**edertu** (\*\*), **edértü** (*Z*) \*\*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘beautify’}

\***edin** (*c.*) *vi.* ‘become’. Stem \***edi[n]-**, root \***-di[n]-**. Synth.

No non-finite forms of this verb are recorded, and it is attested only as an auxiliary serving to form the non-indicative forms of intr. verbs, suppletive to **izan** ‘be’ in the indicative forms. The sense of ‘become’ has been suggested, but this is a guess.

[REWRITE]

**-din** (*c.*) AFS. ‘resembling’?. Probably in origin a finite form + **-n** {[3]} Rel: something like ‘which resembles’, comparable to **-dun** ‘having’, from \***edun**. This suffix is long unproductive, but it appears in a number of formations, in which the sense typically appears to be ‘resembling’. See examples under **ber-**, \***gorr-**, \*\*\*\*\* {**lohi**, **urdin**, **astin**}.

**edo** (*c.*), **ero** (*B*) *conj.* ‘or’ (typically inclusive). 1571.

OUO. M. (\*\*\*\*\*{1964a: 129f.}) quite properly dismisses the similarity to Old High German *eddo* ‘or’ as a chance coincidence. Postposed in examples like *aita edo* ‘Father or someone of the sort’. [FHV 420 fn] See **ala** [1].

**edoski** (\*\*), **egoski** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘suck (milk)’} [FHV 260]

**eradoski** (\*\*), **eredoski** (old LN) \*\*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘suckle’}

**edsamen** (*Z*) *n.* ‘examination’.

From Cast. *examen* id. [BUT FHV 347] {The realization of Latin <x> as [dz] in this and the two following words implies transmission via Occitan, which is reasonable for *Z*.}

**edsaminatü** (*Z*) *vt.* ‘examine’. From Cast. *examinar* id. [BUT FHV 347]

**edsénplü** (*Z*) *n.* ‘example’.

From Old Cast. \*\*\*\*\*. [BUT FHV 347]

\***edun** (*c.*), **eun** (*Sout*). Also a verbal noun *eute-* in old B (Betolaza, Capanaga). *vt.* (defective) ‘have’, also tr. aux. Stem \***edu[n]-**, root **-du[n]-**. Synth.

OUO. No non-finite forms of this verb are recorded, these being provided suppletively in the historical period by **ukan** (below) or **izan** ‘be’. A gerund *edutea* is a hapax in an inscription of \*\*\*\*\*{18th-century Vizcaya} (Irigoyen \*\*\*\*\*{1971}), but this may be a form of **eduki** (below). But the verb still has a full set of finite forms in all varieties. In the east, this is still the ordinary lexical verb for ‘have’. In the west, this use is now elevated, and lexical ‘have’ is usually rendered by **eduki** (below). In all varieties, this is the auxiliary used with all transitive verbs, and with VITM verbs (see \*\*\*\*\*), in the indicative forms, while irrealis forms are provided suppletively with \***ezan** (most varieties) or **egin** ‘do’ (*B*). [REWRITE: See Mitx essay on Landucci in Knörr {Michelena 1998}]

**-dun** (c. exc. Z), **ḏün** (Z), **-dún** (R) NFS ‘one who has’, ‘one which has’, AFS ‘who has’, ‘which has’, ‘having’. Reduced form of *duen* ‘who/which has’, from *du* ‘has’ (finite form) + **-n** {[3]} relative.

**eduki** (\*\* old LN), **iduki** (G HN L old LN S), **edugi** (old B), **iruki** (G?), **iuki** (G)  
\*\*\*\* {vt. ‘have, hold’} Also an impf. part. *ituten* in old B (R&S 375). [FHV 231]

**eutsi** {(\*\*) vt. ‘maintain, hold’}

**ukan** (\*\*), **ukhan** (\*\*), **úkhen** (Z), **ukhen** (old LN), **ékun** (R). {vt. ‘have’} And Sout verbal noun *eukaite*. [FHV 84]

**ukhantsu** (\*\*), **ukansu** (old LN) a. ‘rich’. \*\*\*\* + **-tsu** AFS.

**hegal** (L LN Z) (1571), **egal** (HN L R), **ega** (B G HN L LN), **hega** (L LN), **ego** (B G HN) (1596) n. ‘wing’, TS (B HN) ‘edge’ (of a roof or a table, for example), TS (L LN Z) ‘hem’ (of a garment), TS (B L LN Z) ‘brim’ (of a hat), TS (B G L LN Z HN) ‘fin’ (of a fish), TS (B) ‘plank suspended on the windward side of a fishing boat to prevent capsizing’, TS (B) ‘flank, loin’ (part of an animal or a cut of meat), TS ‘one of the blades of a windmill’, TS ‘one slope of a mountain’, TS ‘secondary height on the side of a mountain’, TS ‘direction, compass point’, TS (L LN) ‘page’. CF (**h**)**egal-** (for the first two forms), (**h**)**ega-** (for the last three).

OUO. The variation in form exhibited is unique to this word, and it may be that the variants in /l/ contain a second morpheme (M. \*\*\*\* {1953d: 567}). The TS are mostly obvious, but note in particular the apparent development ‘wing’ > ‘edge’ > ‘hem’.

**hegala hautsi** (LN Z) ‘lose one’s virginity’. + **hautsi** ‘break’.

**egan** (B G), **hegan** (EB) adv. ‘flying’. 1745 (as *egaan*), 1747. + **-n** {[1]} locative {CS}: lit., ‘on wing’. The 1745 variant is curious.

**egatz** (B G LN), **egats** (G HN L LN Z) n. ‘long feathers’ (on a bird), ‘fin(s)’, ‘quill pen’. Apparently + **hatz** ‘finger’ (Campión \*\*\*\* {1900, 1902}), though the second variant is curious.

**hegazkin** n. ‘airplane’. 1911 (as *egazki*). Aranist neologism, with arbitrary suffix. The word is widely used.

**egazti** (B G), **egaztin** (HN L LN), **erazki** (HN), **hegaxti** (Z), **hegasti** (LN), **hegastina** (LN) n. ‘bird’. 1571. The nature of the suffix is obscure. M. (1961a: 259) suggests **-ki** [\*\* {3}] NFS, with dissimilation of /k/ to /t/ in most variants.

**hegastiño** (LN) n. ‘little bird’. + **-ño** dimin. (see **-no**).

**egazabal**, **egatxabal** (G) n. ‘lark’ (*zool.*) (*Alauda arvensis*). 1891. + **zabal** ‘wide’.

**magal** (R LN) n. ‘wing’, TS (B R) ‘hem’ (of a garment), TS (B G R) ‘lap’, TS (B) ‘protection, refuge’, TS (B G) ‘flank’ (cut of meat), *pl. tm.* (G) **magalak** ‘skirts’ (of a garment). 1591. + **ma-** expressive syllable. The sense development ‘wing’ > ‘edge’ > ‘hem’ > ‘lap’ > ‘refuge’ is straightforward, and largely paralleled by Cast. *regazo* ‘lap’, from old Cast. *regazar* ‘tuck up one’s skirts’. It is curious that no variant *\*mago* appears to be recorded, only **magal** being found even in the varieties in which the base word is **ega** or **ego**.

**egari** (LN Z R), **egarri** (\*\* old LN) *vt.* ‘carry’, ‘support’, ‘put up with, endure, suffer’, (Z) ‘use’, (Z) ‘confirm’, (R) [diathesis unrecorded] ‘walk, go’. Stem **egar-**. Root **-gar-**.  
\*\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* Possibly also the strange *eguarria* of old B (*R&S* 481).

**egarri** (*c.*) *n.* ‘thirst’, *a.* ‘thirsty’. 1545 (*a.*), 1610 (*n.*). CF **egarr-**.

OUO. If the adjectival use is original, may contain **-i** [1] AFS. CF by W1.

**egarbera** (B) \*\*\*\* {*a.* ‘thirsty’} [FHV 127]

**egarti** (HN) *n.* \*\*\*\* {*a.* ‘thirsty’} [FHV 127]

**egartsu** (HN L LN S) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘raging thirst’} [FHV 127]

**hegi** (\*\*), **hégi** (Z), **egi** (\*\*) \*\*\* *n.* ‘edge, border’ [other senses] \*\*\*\* [FHV 64] [COMBINE WITH **-tegi**? {Not in *The Dictionary*, but Trask has already placed **tegi** here. See M. 1949b.}]

\*\*\*\* A toponym *Eguiluz* in Alava, + **luze** ‘long’, by **W**\*\* {rule reversal of M8?}.

**hegigo(a)** {‘hatred’} [FHV 64]

**higitu** (\*\* {*c.*}) ‘move’ [FHV 64]

**tegi** (\*\*) *n.* ‘place’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 250]

**egia** (*c.*) *n.* ‘truth’. 16th cent.

OUO. The hiatus /ia/ is unusual, and may point to a lost consonant: \**egiCa*, possibly \**egina*, by P1. But there is no evidence for such a form.

**egiaz** (*c.*) *adv.* ‘truly, in truth’, ‘really’. 1545. + **-z** instr./advbl.

**egiazko** (*c.*) *adjvl.* ‘true’, ‘genuine’. 1545. + **-ko**.

**egileor** (B G HN), **egillor** (B G), **eillor** (B G), **ellor** (B G) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘hut, cabin, shack’. \*\*\*\*

The second element is **lehor** ‘dry’ (M. 1961a: 197). The first is obscure. It cannot be **egin** ‘make’ directly, since such a formation would be impossible, but it might be a derivative of this verb.

**egin** (*c.*), **égin** (Z) *vt.* ‘do, make’. Stem **egi[n]-**. Root **-gi[n]-**. Synth. *Ca.* 1393.

Probably from \**e-gin-i* or \**e-giN-i*. This common verb serves in B as the auxiliary for non-indicative periphrastic forms of transitive verbs, alongside the \***ezan** of other varieties. It is also exceedingly common as the verbal element of compound verbs: **barre** ‘laughter’, **barre egin** ‘laugh’. Such compound verbs are usually *vitm*.

**egidamu** (B), {**egitamu** (B), **eitemo** (B)}, **egiluma** (B), **egieramon** (B), **egiaamon** (B) *n.* {‘form, structure, arrangement’}, **egiramu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* [FHV 507]

**egile** (*c.*) *n.* ‘doer, maker, creator’. 1571. + **-le** agent NFS.

**eginahal** (L LN Z), **eginal** (R) *n.* ‘as much as possible’. Usually pl. **ahaleginak**. *Ca.* 1627. + **ahal** ‘ability’. Cf. **ahalegin**, under **ahal**. [OOPS!] {**ahalegin** not in *The Dictionary*.}

**eginarazi** (N) *vtd.* ‘make (somebody) do’. 1571. + **-arazi** causative (see **-erazi**).

**eginkizun** (c.) *n.* ‘task’, TS ‘future’. 1651. + **-kizun** NFS (see **-ki** [2]).

**egirai** (old L) *n.* Of unknown meaning. \*\*\*\* [FHV 506–507]

{[] **egiramu** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* [FHV 507] [combine with above?] [] Combined with **egidamu**.}

**egite** (\*\*), **eite** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\*, ‘deed’, ‘resemblance’ \*\*\*\* [FHV 105]

{[] **egitamu** (B), **eitemo** (B) *n.* ‘form, structure, arrangement’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 507] [] Combined with **egidamu**.}

**itaune** (\*\*), **itaun** (\*\*) {*n.* ‘question’ Az.}, **itun** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘agreement’, ‘advice’ Aul.} + **-une** (see \*\*\*\* {**gune**}) (M. 1977a: 489). The development is \**egite*- > \**egita*- (by an odd application of W\*\*{2.2}) > \**eita*- > *ita*-.

**itaundu** (B Sout), **iteundu** (old B), **itandu** (B G) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘ask’}

**egitura** (\*\*), **egittura** (G) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘structure’. \*\*\*\*

**egiune** (B) *n.* ‘contract’. \*\*\*\* + **-une** (see \*\*\*\* {**gune**}).

**ek(h)ai** (old L old LN), **ekhei** (LN), **ekhéi** (Z) *n.* ‘material (for making something)’, ‘task’, ‘material cause’. 1643. From \**egi-gai*, by W2.1, W4. + **gai** ‘material’ (M. 1961a: 103).

**eragin** (c.) *vtd.* ‘make (somebody) do’. TS *vt.* ‘bring about, produce’, ‘construct, build’. 1571. + **-ra**- causative. Also serves to construct the causative of compound verbs with **egin**: **barre egin** ‘laugh’, **barre eragin** ‘make (somebody) laugh’.

**-gin** (c.) NFS ‘who does, who makes’, ‘doer, maker’. + **-n** [3] relative, apparently attached to an obscure finite form.

**-gile** (c.) NFS ‘who does, who makes’, ‘doer, maker’. + **-le** agent NFS.

**hego** (L LN Z), **ego** (B G HN), **egoe** (B G), **egoi** (B G) *n.* ‘south’ (1627), **hegoa** (L LN Z), **egoa** (B G HN LN) *n.* ‘south wind’, ‘south’ (1571).

OUO, and much discussed. The form (**h**)**ego** could perfectly well be native, but the forms with an additional vowel look less native, and the word is widely suspected of being borrowed. A Rom. source is not obvious, but perhaps the most interesting suggestion is that of \*\*\*\* {Schuchardt 1906a: 54}, who propose{s} Occ. *eigau*, Bearn. *agau* ‘south wind bringing rain’, from Lat. *aquālem* ‘watery’. Certainly the Bq. names of the compass points are not in general ancient, and common **mendebal** ‘west’ is unquestionably derived from a Rom. name of a wind, while native **ipar** ‘north’ is also possibly derived from the name of a wind, so the etymology proposed here is plausible in principle. And it may be interesting that our earliest texts use the word only for ‘south wind’, though this could be an accident of recording. As for the odd-looking source in a word meaning ‘watery’, it is true that the south wind is wet in the Pyrenees, and indeed the Basques have a proverb: *Hegoak hegala urean du* ‘The south wind has a wing in the water.’ The frequently proposed link with **egun** ‘day’ is supported by no evidence, and looks unlikely.

**ego-aize** (B) *n.* ‘south wind’. + **haize** ‘wind’.

**hegoalde** (L LN Z), **egoalde** (B G HN), **egoialde** (old G) (1745, 1847), **egoa-alde** (old G) (1842) *n.* ‘south’, ‘southern part of a region’, today commonly the southern (Spanish) Basque Country. + **alde** ‘side’ {(see \***al-**)}.

**egoaxuri** (Z) *n.* ‘wind from the southeast’. + **xuri** ‘white’ (see **zuri**).

**egon** (\*\*) *vi.* ‘wait, stay, remain’, TS ‘be (in a place or in a condition)’. \*\*\*\* Stem **ego[n]-**. Root **-go[n]-**.

\*\*\*\* {OUO.}

**egoki** (\*\*), **egogi** (B) [CHECK] *vid.* \*\*\*\* {‘suit, fit’ Aul.}, **egoki** (\*\*), **egogi** (old B) *a.* ‘suitable, appropriate’, ‘adequate’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 527]

**egosi** (c.) *vt.* ‘boil, cook’, (B R) ‘digest’, TS (B S) *vi.* ‘be eaten away’. Stem **egos-**. Root **-gos-**. *Ca.* 1570.

OUO.

**egosari** (B), **ekosari** (B), **egoskari** (B G HN) *n.* ‘bean’, ‘pulse’, ‘vegetable’. + **-ari** [\*\*]. {? Not **-ari** [1] or **-ari** [2].} Second form by P8.

**txegosi** (G HN?) *vt.* ‘digest’. 1745, 1842. Apparently a dimin. of the preceding, by M\*\* {9}. An unusual formation.

**egotzi** (\*\* {c.}) \*\*\*\* *vt.* ‘throw’. [FHV 159]

{OUO.}

\*\*\*\* Also a verbal noun *ekoiztera* ‘to abort’ in old L. [FHV 232]

**ekoizte** (old LN) *n.* ‘fruit, product’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 232]

**egun** (c. exc. Z), **égün** (Z) *n.* ‘day’, (L LN Z HN G old B) *adv.* ‘today’, **egu** (A) *adv.* ‘today’. CF **egur-**, **egu-**. 14th c.

OUO. CF by W10. Often reduced to *-en* or *-un*, by W19, when a final element in a compound. The sense of ‘today’ survives in the east; in the west, this sense has been taken over by **gaur**, originally ‘tonight’ (see **gau**). A uniquely contrasts **egun** ‘day’ with **egu** ‘today’. Knörr (1990, 2001) suggests an original noun \**egu*, with the final /n/ resulting from incorporation of **-n** {[1]} locative {CS}. Barandiarán (1972) suggests an original sense of ‘sun’, ‘light’, which is possible but beyond checking. See also **eguriki**. [FHV 138 fn]

**eguargi** (G \*\*) *n.* ‘daylight’. \*\*\*\* + **argi** ‘light’.

**eguarte** (B G), **eberte** (B) *n.* ‘afternoon’, (G) also ‘late morning’. \*\*\*\* + **arte** {[1]} ‘interval’.

**eguazten** (B), **eguasten** (Sout) *n.* ‘Wednesday’. \*\*\*\* + **azken** ‘last’, with dissimilation (M. 1961a: 258). *Cf.* **asteazken**, under **aste**.

**egubakoitz** (B L), **egubakot{x}** (B), **egiakoitz** (old LN), **ebiakoitz** (LN), **irakoitz** (LN Z) \*\*\* *n.* (B) ‘Friday’, (L LN Z) ‘Saturday’. 1746, 1761. + **bakoitz** ‘unique’ (see **bat**). [FHV 121]

**eguberri** (*c. exc.* B), **egubarri** (B), **eguerri** (G HN L LN), **eguarri** (G) *n.* ‘Christmas’. 1571. + **berri** ‘new’ (see \***berr-**). Knörr (2001) suggests that the word might once have meant ‘winter solstice’.

**eguen** (B) (1653), **eguun** (B), **eguaun** (B Sout) (1562) *n.* ‘Thursday’. + a second occurrence of **egun**. We may surmise \**egu-egun* ‘day-day’, or \**eguren-egun* ‘day’s day’, + **-en** {[1]} Gen. (M. \*\*\*\* {1961a: 92, 309; 1971b: 584}). The motivation is obscure.

**eguerdi** (\*\*), **eguardi** (G \*\*), **egüerdi** (Z), **eguérdi** (R) *n.* ‘noon’. \*\*\*\*

**egundaino** (\*\*), **egundaño** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*adv.* ‘ever’}

**egundañotikako** (old L old LN) *adjvl.* \*\*\*\* {‘since always’} [FHV 237]

**eguraldi** (B G HN LN) *n.* ‘weather’ (in LN sometimes specifically ‘good weather’). 1545. + **aldi** ‘time’.

**eguras** (B G) *n.* ‘airing’??? \*\*\*\* [FHV 309]

**egurastu** (B G) *vt.* ‘air (out), ventilate’. \*\*\*\* + **-tu** VFS.

**eguzari** (\*\* {B Sout}), **eguzeri** (\*\*) *n.* ‘fiesta’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 309]

**eguzki** (B G HN L), **iguzki** (G HN L S Z R), **egúzki** (R), **iduzki** (HN), **iruzki** (G HN A), **iuzki** (HN \*\*), **egúzku** (R) *n.* ‘sun’. 1545. + **-zki** NFS (see **-z**). Variants by P37, P10, P17, M6.

**ekaitz** (*c.*), **ekhaitz** (L LN Z), **ekatx** (B L), **nekaitz** (LN), **nekatx** (R) *n.* ‘storm’. 1596. From \**egu-gaitz*, by W2.3, W4 (M. 1961a: 310). + **gaitz** ‘bad’. Forms with /n/ perhaps by contamination from **negu** ‘winter’ (*ibid.*).

**ekaizte** (B G HN L LN) *n.* ‘long rainy spell’, ‘unusually long storm’. 1897. + **-te** {[1]} NFS of duration.

**ekhi** (Z LN), **eki** (LN R), ? **iki** (R) *n.* ‘sun’, TS (Z) ‘sunflower’. 1571. From \**egu-ki*, by W2.3, W4 (M. 1961a: 65). + **-ki** [\*\* {3}] NFS. The form **iki**, cited by A. (1905) as R, is of doubtful reality: M. (1961a: 65 fn. 12) believes it has been extracted in error from the compound **ikialte**.

**ekain** (EB), **ekhain** (LN), **ekhaiñ** (Z), **ekein** (LN), **ekhaina** (L) *n.* ‘June’. 1793. Also ‘summer solstice’ (1956) [hapax]. + **gain** ‘top’ (Lh.).

**ekialde** (S \*\*), **ikialte** (R) *n.* ‘sunny spot’ \*\*\*\* + **alde** ‘side’ {(see \***al-**)}

**ek(h)i-begi** (Z LN) *n.* ‘sunny place’. + **begi** ‘eye’.

**ekhi-jalk(h)igi** (Z) *n.* ‘east’, ‘rising sun’. + **jalki** ‘appearance’ (see **jalgi**) + **-gu** NFS of location. {Not in *The Dictionary*, but cf. **gune?**}

**egur** (*c.*) *n.* ‘firewood’, TS (B G) ‘wood’, TS (LN) *a.* ‘shabby’, ‘ponderous, clumsy’. 1571. OUO.

**egurrikatz** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘charcoal’. + **ikatz**} [FHV 584]

**eguriki** (LN), **egu(r)uki** (Z), **egü(r)üki** (Z), **iguriki** (L LN), **iguruki** (L old LN), **eurki** (R), **orki** (R) *vitmd.* (formerly), *vt.* (today) ‘wait for, hope for, expect’. Stem **eguri-** (and variants). 1571.

Fossilized compound verb. Best guess is **egun** ‘day’ + **eduki** ‘hold’ (see **\*edun**) (M. 1977a: 482, but ref to earlier publ), which would account for the earlier diathesis.

Variants with initial /i/ by P37. R variants by P38.

**igurikatu** (L), **igurikitu** (?) *vt.* ‘wait for, hope for, expect’. By transfer to the **-tu** class (M\*\*{14}).

**ei** (B) *pvt.* ‘they say’, ‘I hear’. 15th cent.

OUO. See **omen**.

**ehi** [1] (Z) *a.* ‘easy’. \*\*\*\*

**ehar** (L LN) (1571), **éihar** (Z), **ihar** (L LN Z) (1627), **éxar** (R), **ear** (HN S), **igar** (B G HN) *a.* ‘dried up, wilted, dead’ (of plants), ‘withered’ (of body parts), TS (L LN Z) ‘enfeebled, emaciated’.

OUO. The conservative form is **\*ei[h]ar**, with variants by P47, P35.1, P54, P55. This word cannot be sensibly related to any of **agor**, **idor**, **lehor**.

**ihartu** (L), **iñertu** (HN) \*\*\*\* *vt.* ‘dry’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 521: that HN form is mysterious; check it] {Michelena 1961a: 521, where palatal sonorants are at issue, gives **iñertu** for Lecároz (HN). Azkue (1905) gives **iñartu** for Baztán (HN).}

**ehiza** (\*\*) (1621), **ihize** (\*\*), **ihizi** (L LN) (1627), **ihize** (Z), **iize** (R), **ize** (R), **eizi** (HN) (*ca.* 1620), **izi** (HN), **eize** (G HN S), **eiza** (B G HN), **eiz** (old B) (1596) *n.* ‘hunting’, ‘(a) hunt’, in places also ‘(piece of) game’.

From **\*enizV** or perhaps **\*inizV**, OUO, by P1 (M. 1961a: 105, 115). M. (1961a: 130) suggests that the word might be an old verbal participle in **-i** [\*\*{see **-i** [1]}]. See also **arrain**.

**ekarri** (\*\*), **ekharri** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘bring’. Synth.}

{OUO.}

**erakarri** (\*\*), **erakharri** (\*\*), **e(r)akharri** (Z), \*\*\*\*, **erekharri** (old LN) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘attract’, ‘bring’, ‘cause’ Aul.} + **-ra-** causative. The anomalous aspiration by contamination from **ekharri** (M. 1961a: fn. 23).

{[} **ekhortu** (old LN Z), **egórdi** (R) ~~*n.* ‘sweeping’~~. \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘sweep’}

OUO. [FHV 233] {M. 1972g: 88ff.} {] Partly duplicates **igortzi**.}

**heldu** (\*\*), **eldu** (\*\*), **heltü** (Z) \*\*\* *vi.* ‘arrive’, ‘ripen, mature’. \*\*\*\* Stem **(h)el-**.

OUO.

**ele** (\*\*), **elhe** (old LN \*\*), **élhe** (Z) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘word’ \*\*\*\* CF **ela-**.

**eliza** (*c.*), **elíza** (*Z*), **eleiza** (*B* old *G*), **elexa** (*B* *Sout*), **eleja** (*B*), **el(e)iz** (*B*) *n.* ‘church’ (building or institution), *TS* ‘congregation’. *CF* **eliz-**. 12th cent.; 1545.

From Lat. *ecclēsiā* id. ~~Third~~ {Fourth} form by P30. Last form by M4. *CF* by W1.

**elizari** (*A*) *n.* ‘portico of a church’. + **-iri** \*\*\*\* {NFS} [FHV 91]

**eliza-txori** (*L Z*), **eliza-xori** (*L LN Z*), **elitzxori** (*B*) *n.* ‘sparrow’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*). 1635. + **(t)xori** ‘bird’ (see **zori**).

**elkor** (*B G*), **elkhor** (*L*) \*\*\*\* messy. [FHV 272, 361 fn]; *Arbelaiz* \*\*\*\* {1978: 57}

[FHV 361 fn: **two** etymologies] {M. 1970b: 72}

**malkor** (*G HN L*) *a.* ‘barren’, [other senses] \*\*\*\* + **ma-** expressive syllable (M. 1961a: 272). {Duplicated unde **m-**.}

**elorri** (\*\*), **elhorri** (\*\*), **elhórri** (*Z*) *n.* ‘hawthorn’ (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*) 1562. *CF* **el(h)orr-**.

*OUO*. *CF* by W1. Toponyms *Elhorriaga* and *Elhorzahea* in Alava, 1025. The toponym *Elgorriaga* in the Baztán valley appears to represent a unique variant of the word (M. 1961a: 224).

**elordi** (\*\*), **elordui** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘place full of thorn bushes’ *Aul.*} [FHV 127]

**eltze** (\*\*) *n.* ‘cooking pot’. \*\*\*\*

{*OUO.*}

**elur** (*G HN L LN R*), **elhur** (*L LN*), **élhür** (*Z*), **erur** (*B Sout*), **edur** (*B*) *n.* ‘snow’. 1562.

*OUO*. The conservative form is probably \**erur*, by P24 (M. \*\*\*\* {1961a: 315}).

**elhur-auso** (\*\*), **elhauso** (\*\*) *n.* ‘avalanche’. \*\*\*\* + **auso** ‘blizzard’ (M. 1977a: 493)

**eme** (*c.*) *n., a.* ‘female’ (1562), *TS a.* ‘soft, gentle’ (1545). *CF* **ema-**.

*CF* by W2.2. From Gasc. *hemne* ‘female’ {*recte* ‘woman, wife’}, or a related Occ. form, from Lat. *fēminam* ‘woman’, by L7. The word occurs frequently as a final element in the names of female animals: *asto* ‘donkey’, *asteme* ‘female donkey’.

**emagaldu** (*c.*) *n.* ‘whore, prostitute’. 1859. + **galdu** ‘lost’.

**emagale** (*L? G?*) *a.* ‘sensuous’, ‘luxury-loving’, ‘lascivious, lewd’. 1745. + **-gale** ‘wanting’. {Not in *The Dictionary*, but *cf.* **galdu**.}

**emagin** (*B G HN L LN Z R*), **emegin** (*LN*) *n.* ‘midwife’. 1630. + **-gin** ‘who does’ (see **egin**).

**emagintsa** (*LN*) *n.* ‘midwife’. + **-sa** female NFS.

**emagintza** (*B G*) *n.* ‘midwifery’, ‘confinement, labour’. 1808. + **-tza** NFS.

**emagizon** (*L?*) *n.* ‘effeminate man’, *a.* ‘effeminate’. 1859. + **gizon** ‘man’.

**emajauzi** (*G? H.*) *vi.* ‘fornicate’. 1745. + **jauzi** ‘jump’.

**emakoi** (*L*) *n.* ‘libertine’, ‘womanizer’, ‘skirt-chaser’, *a.* ‘lascivious’. 1643. + **-koi** ‘fond of’ {(see **ohi**)}.



**emakoitasun** (L) *n.* ‘skirt-chasing’, ‘lasciviousness’. 1617. + **-tasun** abstract NFS (see **-tar**).

**emakume** (*c.*) *n.* ‘woman’ (*c.* exc. S), ‘girl’ (S). 1627. + **-kume** ‘offspring’ (see **ume**) (M. 1950d: 468). The original sense must have been ‘girl’, preserved in S. The word has no early attestations, the earlier word for ‘woman’ being **emazte** (see below), and it is not common before the 18th cent, since when it has been the usual word for ‘woman’. See also **andere**.

**emakumezale** (L) *n.* ‘womanizer’, ‘skirt-chaser’, ‘libertine’. 1715. + **-zale** ‘fond of’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**emakumezko** (*c.*) *adjvl.* ‘female’. 1808. + **-zko** (see **-z**).

**emakuntza** (LN) *n.* ‘vulva’. 1905. + **-kuntza** NFS (see **\*-kun**).

**emakutsu** *n.* ‘prostitution’, ‘sex for sale’. 20th cent. + **kutsu** ‘contamination’.

**emalege** (often *pl.* **emalegeak**) (*c.*) *n.* ‘menstruation’. 17th cent. + **lege** ‘law’.

**emamintz**, **emapintza** *n.* ‘hymen, maidenhead’. Late 19th cent. + **mintz** ‘membrane’.

**emaro** (LN R) *adv.* ‘slowly, a little bit at a time’. 1905. + **-ro** AdvFS. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**emasabel** (B G Sout) *n.* ‘womb’. 1562. + **sabel** ‘belly’.

**ematoro** (G L) *n.* ‘whore, prostitute’. 1745. + expressive extension.

**ematorotegi** (G?) *n.* ‘brothel, whorehouse’. 1745. + **-tegi** ‘place’ {(see **hegi**)}.

**ematu** (HN LN) *vi.* ‘calm down’, *vt.* ‘calm, pacify’. 1545. + **-tu** VFS.

**ematutu** (*c.*) *n.* ‘vagina’. 20th cent. + **tutu** ‘tube’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**ematxot** (Z) *n.* ‘whore, prostitute’. Final element obscure, probably expressive.

**ematzar**, **ematzar** (LN R) *n.* ‘woman of bad reputation’, ‘tart’. 1858. + **tzar** ‘bad’, **txar** ‘naughty’ (see **zahar**).

**emazain** (?) *n.* ‘pimp’. 20th cent. + **-zain** ‘guardian’ {(see **zain** [1])}.

**emazakil**, **emaxakil** (*c.*) *n.* ‘clitoris’. 20th cent. + **zakil** ‘penis’.

**emazte** (*c.*) *n.* ‘woman’ (earlier and S), ‘wife’ (modern exc. S). 1189, 1536. Probably from **\*ema-gazte**, + **gazte** ‘young’, by P16, P35.5 (Schuchardt 1906a: 9). This is the usual word for ‘woman’ before the 18th cent., since when it has been specialized as ‘wife’ and displaced as ‘woman’ by **emakume**. The original sense was probably ‘girl’ (unattested).

**emaztegai** (G HN L LN), **emaztegei** (B Z R) *n.* ‘fiancée’. 17th cent. + **-gai** ‘destined for’ (see **gai**).

**emazteki** (L LN Z HN) *n.* ‘woman’. 1643. + **-ki** [3] NFS.

**emaxteki** (L) *n.* ‘homosexual man’. 18th cent. Dimin. of preceding.

**emazteorde**, **emaztorde** (LN) *n.* ‘mistress, concubine’. 1905. + **orde** ‘substitute’.

**emazteordekeria** (?) *n.* ‘concubinage’, ‘state of being a kept woman’. + **-keria** NFS of vices.

**emazteto** (?) *n.* ‘whore, prostitute’ (20th cent.?), (Z) ‘virago’, ‘domineering woman’. 1926. + **-to** {[1]} dimin.

**emaztetto** (L LN Z) *n.* ‘petite woman’. 1926. **-tto** dimin. (see **-to** {[1]}).

**emazte-uridin** (R) *n.* ‘whore, prostitute’. 20th cent. + **uridin** ‘blue’

**emazurtz** (HN LN) *n.* ‘orphan’ (archaic), TS (old L) *a.* ‘posthumous’. 1617. + **zurtz** ‘orphan’. Oddly, this word is not confined to girls.

**emekeria** (?) *n.* ‘homosexuality’. 20th cent. + **-keria** NFS of vices.

**emeki** (L Z), **emekiro** (G) *adv.* ‘gently’, ‘slowly, a little bit at a time’. 1571. + **-ki** {[1]} AdvFS (+ **-ro** AdvFS {not in *The Dictionary*}).

**eme oparo** (?) *n.* ‘whore, prostitute’. 20th cent.? + **oparo** ‘abundant’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**emetasun** (*c.*) ‘smoothness’, (G) ‘sweetness of character’, ‘patience’ (1571), ‘femininity’ (1930). + **-tasun** abstract NFS (see **-tar**).

**emetu** (B) *vi.* ‘become effeminate’, (B L LN) *vt.* ‘calm, pacify’. 1818. + **-tu** VFS.

**emezko** *adjvl.* ‘female’. 20th cent.? + **-zko** (see **-z**).

**en-** Pronominal stem ‘I, me’. Base of the forms below.

OUO. Presumably connected somehow with **ni** ‘I, me’, but the formal relation is wholly opaque. This must represent a remnant of some very ancient state of affairs in the pronominal system, perhaps a stem-alternation.

**ene** (*c.*) *pron.* ‘my’, TS *intj.* ‘Oh, my!’. 15th cent. + **-e** {[1]} Gen. *Obs.* today as possessive pronoun exc. in northern varieties, where it survives; other varieties now use it only as the *intj.*

**eni** (old B Z) *pron.* Dat. ‘to me’. + **-i** [\*\*{2}] Dat.

**-en** [1] [GEN, SUPERL] [FHV 117]

\*\*\*\* M. (1961a: 390 fn. 19) reports that Campion’s respondent from Vera de Bidasoa provided the form *otsúbkin*, ‘de los lobos’, which M. interprets as *\*otsoaken*, with Gen. **-en** remarkably attached directly to Abs. pl. *otsoak*.

**-on** [PROX GEN] [FHV 120]

**-en** [2] Suffix in surnames.

[MITX 73] {M. 1973a: 83}

**enara** (B Sout G HN {L}) (1562), **enada** (B G HN L {S.P.}) (1660), **enere** (HN), **ainhara** (L Z) (1859), **ainhara** (L), **ainhera** (LN), **inhara** (L LN) (1657), **añhá(r)a** (Z), **añhé(r)a** (Z), **añ(h)era** (LN), **inhade** (L), **ernara** (B), **inara** (HN), **iñara** (HN), **iñare** ({HN} A), **iñar** (R S), **aiñari** (S), **aiñara** (LN), **añari** (R {S}), **alñari** (R), **kiñuri** (S), **kinuri** (S), , **mañari** (R); [BUT SEE NOW FHV 534 ON *kinuri*]  
**enabera** (B HN), **egabera** (B HN), **egabela** (B HN);  
**elae** (old B) (1596), **elai** (B) (1745, *ca.* 1808), **alae** (B), **alai** (B G) *n.* ‘swallow’ (*zool.*) (*Hirundo rustica*) (in R and elsewhere, ‘swift’ (*zool.*) (*Apus apus*).

OUO. M. (1961a: 326) proposes that the common forms derive from *\*eNala*, by P\*\*{22} and P\*\*{23}, while the B forms {*elae*, etc.} result from *\*eLana*, by P\*\*{1.1}

and P\*\* {35.4}. {From original **ainhara** entry:} Last {four} variants from a remarkable metathesized form *\*eLane* (M. \*\*\*\* {1961a: 326}), by P1, P23. S form by P\*\* {14.} These forms are related by a double metathesis: metathesis of nasal and liquid, and metathesis of the fortis/lenis contrast. This is undoubtedly correct, though perhaps the original forms should rather be *\*aiNala* and *\*aiLana*.

**txenada** (G), **txenara** (G), *n.* ‘swallow’ (*zool.*). \*\*\*\* Possibly a dimin. of the above, by M\*\* {9}, but M. (1977a: 511) suggests a compound whose first element is **etxe** ‘house’, with exceptional loss of the initial vowel.

**aiñari zuri** (R) *n.* ‘swallow’. + **zuri** ‘white’.

**enbor** (B G HN) (1897), **enpor** (B) (1912), **anpor** (B), **onbor** (B HN L) (1858), **onpor** (B?), **konbor** (L), **zonbor** (Nor), **zunpur** (Nor), **zenbor** (Hb.) *n.* ‘tree trunk’, in places also ‘tree stump’. TS (G) ‘dead tree’, (HN) ‘stump of a vine’, (G L) ‘trunk of the body’ (*anat.*) (literary only), (B) ‘clumsy oaf’, (H.) *a.* ‘drunk’, *n.* ‘drunkard’, (B) ‘big lie, whopper’.

A mysterious word. Although it and its derivatives are frequent in the modern language, and although the considerable variation points to a word of some age, there is no trace of the word before 1858. We may cautiously suppose that the cluster /np/ is original, with common /nb/ by P\*\* {6}. M. (1961a: 296) concludes that initial /k/ is original, with initial /z/ resulting from back-formation from an unrecorded diminutive of the approx. form *\*txonbor*. Common initial zero would then result from P\*\* {14}. Initial /k/ shows a word of no antiquity, very likely of expressive origin.

**endelega** (\*\* L LN) \*\*\*\* **enthelegü** (Z), **endelgu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*\* *n.* ‘intelligence, understanding’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 353] [BACK-FORMED? REVERSE?]

**endelgamendu** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘understanding’} [FHV 353]

**endelgatu** (LN), **enthelegátü** (Z), **entelegatu** (R) \*\*\*\* ‘understand’. \*\*\*\* + **-tu** VFS. From Lat. *intellegere* \*\*\*\* {id.} (M. 1961a: 353).

**enoiatu** (HN), **enhoiatu** (\*\*), **enoitu** (HN), **enuxatu** (R) \*\*\*\* {vt. ‘annoy’} [FHV 177, 307 fn, 547]

**enhoiu** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘bother’} [FHV 547]

**enphatxu** (LN), **ephantxü** (Z) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘hindrance’} [FHV 553]

**enpatxatu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {v. ‘hinder’} [FHV 553]

**entzun** (\*\*) *vt.* ‘hear’. \*\*\*\* Synth. \*\*\*\*

The B writer Mogel uses synthetic forms containing <aa>, like *daantzut* ‘I hear it’. [FHV 114 fn, 157 fn]

**erantzun** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {vt. ‘answer’}

**mantxut** (LN) *intj.* ‘What’s up?’. From the finite form *badantzut* ‘I hear’ (M. 1961a: 268).

{[} **eñhatü** (Z) \*\*\*\* {v. ‘get tired’} [FHV 222] (from *\*aun-*, *\*eun-*) {[} Moved to under **anu.**}

**eho** [1] (LN), **ého** (Z), **eo** (Sout G HN S), **eio** (B {R}), **io** (B), **igo** (B G HN) *vt.* ‘grind’. 1545?, 1562, 1571. Stem **ehai-**. [also ‘weave’? -- FHV 176]

OUO. Stem by M\*\* {?12, ?13}.

**eihera** (L old LN Z), **eihara** (LN), **eiara** (LN S) *n.* ‘mill’. 1571. Second element obscure (M. \*\*\*\* {1958g: 476}).

**ehortzi** (L LN Z), **egortzi** (HN), **ehortze** (Z), **eortzi** (HN L), **ohortzi** (LN), **ohortze** (old LN), **ortzi** (HN S), **örtzi** (R) *vt.* ‘bury, inter’. Stem **e(h)ortz-**. Root **-(h)ortz-**. 1564.

Probably from \**e-nortz-i*, OUO, by P1 (M. \*\*\*\* {1950d: 473}), in which case the forms with initial /o/ derive from contamination by **ohore** ‘honour’. But M. (\*\*\*\* {1961a: 83 fn. 22}) takes seriously the idea that the word is a derivative of **ohore**, in which case initial /e/ must result from assimilation to the common verbal pattern *e-Root-i*, and the element *-tz-* is inexplicable. [FHV 83 fn]

**ehórsle** (Z) *n.* \*\*\*\* + **-le** Agent NFS.

**ehórste** (Z) *n.* \*\*\*\* + **-te** {[1]} NFS.

**epe** (\*\*), **ephe** (\*\*) *n.* ‘term’ \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\*

**epel** (B G HN), **ephel** (L LN Z) *a.* ‘tepid, lukewarm’, TS (B G L R) ‘feeble’, ‘insubstantial, inconsequential’. 1571. Dimin. **txepel** (B G HN) *a.* ‘insipid’, ‘cowardly, pusillanimous’, TS (HN) *n.* ‘empty chestnut’. 1905.

OUO. M. (\*\*\*\* {1951b: 581}) diffidently considers a possible source in Lat. *tepidum* ‘tepid’, with unusual developments. Dimin. by M9.

**epeldu** (\*\*? {c.}), **epildu** (old B) \*\*\*\* {*vti.* ‘warm’, ‘be warm’ Aul.}

**eper** (B G HN R), **epher** (L LN Z) *n.* ‘partridge’ (*zool.*) (*Perdix* and *Alectoris* sp.) *Ca.* 1620.

**era** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘manner’}

{-era NFS.}

**-kara** (\*\*), **-ara** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {Adverb-forming suffix.} [FHV 245, 245 fn, 247: IMP]

**erantsi** (\*\*), **eraatsi** (B), **eranzi** (Sout), **erantzi** (B) [hapax] \*\*\*\* {*vti.* ‘add’, ‘stick’} [FHV 285] {See **iratsi**; same item?}

**erausi** (\*\*), **erasi** (\*\*), **edasi** (old LN) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘murmur’, ‘gossip’ [Ax]} [FHV 229]

**herauts** {, **herautx** (LN S)} \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘boar’}

{OUO.}

**-erazi** (G HN Z), **-arazi** (G L LN S R), **-erazo** (B), **-arazo** (B HN) {Causative suffix.}

OUO. In the historical period, this is the productive causative affix for all verbs, replacing earlier **-ra-** in that function. Examples: *egin* ‘do’, *eginerazi* ‘cause to do’; *etorri* ‘come’, *etorrerazi* ‘cause to come’. As a rule, the causative of an intransitive verb

is a simple transitive, while the causative of a transitive verb is a ditransitive verb with a dative object representing the person caused to do something. This was surely once an independent verb, but it not recorded as such. Not infrequently, this suffix is added to a non-verbal stem. Examples: \*\*\*\*. Very likely the source verb *\*erazi* is itself a causative in **-ra-** from a lost simple verb. Variants with initial /a/ probably by W2.2; variants with final /o/ probably by M12.

**herbal** (\*\*), **erbal** (\*\*), **elbar** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*a.* ‘weak’, ‘sick’, ‘crippled’} [FHV 340]

**erbi** (*c.*), **érbi** (*Z*) *n.* ‘hare’ (*zool.*) (*Lepus*). 1643.

OUO.

**erdara** (B G HN L LN Z R), **erdera** (B G) *n.* ‘foreign language’, ‘language other than Basque’. 1300, 1562. CF **erdal-**.

OUO. CF by W1, W\*\*{12}. This word is everywhere applied to the local Romance speech: Occitan, Spanish or French. The second element is **-ara** ~ **-era** ‘way, manner’ (see **era**). One proposal for the first element is **erdi** ‘half’ (\*\*\*\* {M. 1968c: 196}), thus something like ‘half language’, but this item’s CF is normally **ert-**. Another is **erdu** ‘come’, thus something like ‘language of the newcomers’, but this strictly B form appears to be only a late and secondary local development of common **heldu** ‘arrive’.

**erdaldun** *n., a.* ‘(person) unable to speak Basque’. 1630. + **-dun** ‘having’ (see **\*edun**).

**erdalkeria** *n.* ‘feature of another language carried into Basque, when this is strongly stigmatized. 1907. + **-keria** NFS of vices.

**erdarakada** (1953), **erderakada** (1897) *n.* ‘word or other linguistic feature of another language used in Basque, especially one which is frowned upon’. + **-kada** NFS \*\*\*\* {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**erdi** (*c.*), **érdi** (*Z*) ‘middle, centre’, ‘half’. 15th cent. CF **ert-**.

OUO. CF by W\*\*{2.1}, W\*\*{3}.

**erdietsi** (HN L), **ardietsi** (HN L LN Z), **ardiretsi** (\*\*), **erdetsi** (HN), **erdetxi** (HN), **erditsi** (HN), **jardiretsi** (\*\*{LN S}), {**jardetsi** (LN Z S)}, **xardietsi** (S), **jadietsi** (B), **jaretsi** (B), **jadetsi** (L), **jaritsi** (B), **jaditxi** (B), **jaitxi** (B), **eretsi** (B), **iritsi** (G), **iritxi** (G) *vt.* ‘reach, achieve, accomplish’. 1571. + **-etsi** ‘consider’ (see **etsi**), with the usual irregular developments in old compound verbs (M. 1961a: 122). [FHV 341, 557: IMPORTANT RETHINK] [Arb] {M. 1968a: 19 fn. 39 separates out the western forms without *-d-* and relates them to a stem **\*jar-**, *q.v.*}

**ardiatsaille** (old L) *n.* ‘one who accomplishes’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 351]

**erbinude** (B G) (1745, 1858), **erbiñure** (G) (1847), **erbi-unide** (HN), **ergunide** (\*\*), **erbindori** (Duv.) *n.* ‘weasel’ (*zool.*) (*Mustela nivalis*). + **unide** ~ **inude** ‘wetnurse’ (M. 1977a: 483), though the last variant (a hapax) is puzzling. One of several playful names for the creature, and perhaps a rough calque on Cast. *comadreja* id. The /b/ probably by dissimilation, though perhaps also by contamination from **erbi** ‘hare’. The med. *Sansa Erdinuriz* is perhaps an early record of the word (M. 1977a: 483). [FHV 534]

**erditu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* [birth] {*vti.* ‘give birth’} [FHV 557]

**erkide** (\*\*), **erhide** (\*\*) {*n.*} ‘participant’. [FHV 128 fn, 345]

**hertu** (old LN), **hértü** (Z) *vt.* ‘reduce, diminish’. + **-tu** VFS. This etymology, proposed by Lh., is not certain, but it looks plausible.

**ertze** (\*\*{old LN}) *n.* \*\*\*\*{‘giving birth’} [FHV 126]

**herdoilla** (old LN), **herdoil** (L), **erdoil** (HN L LN Z R), **erdólla** (Z), **erdoi** (G HN), **ordei** (B Sout), **ordoi** (G) *n.* ‘rust’ (on iron) (1571), ‘rust’ (on plants) (1842).

From some Rom. source akin to Gasc. *arroudilho* id., though this Gasc. form cannot be the direct source (M. \*\*\*\*{1984: 84}). [~~BU~~FHV 84 fn]

**ere** (*c. exc.* B), **bere** (B) *prt.* ‘also’, ‘even’. \*\*\*\*

The B form is surely conservative. M. (1961a: 253) suggests a link with **bere** ‘his/her own’ (see **ber-**).

**erein** (\*\*), **erain** (\*\*), **ere(i)ñ** (B), **é(r)eñ** (Z) *vt.* ‘sow’. \*\*\*\*

**erearo** (HN L), **ereiario** (old B old LN), **ereillero** (HN) *n.* ‘June’ (but old B ‘season for sowing’). \*\*\*\* [FHV 176 fn]

**heren** (\*\*), **eren** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*a.*} ‘third’. \*\*\*\*

**herenegun** (\*\*), **erenegun** (\*\*), **erenegu** (HN A), **arain egun** (Sout) \*\*\*\* ‘the day before yesterday’. \*\*\*\* + **egun** ‘day’. [FHV 118]

**ergel** (\*\*), **elger** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* *a.* ‘stupid, idiotic’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 340]

{OUO.}

**eri** [1] (\*\*) \*\*\*\* *a.* ‘sick, ill’ \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘sickness’}

{OUO.}

**eri** [2] (\*\* old LN), **erhi** (\*\*), **é(r)hi** (Z) *n.* ‘finger’ (*anat.*) \*\*\*\* CF **ert-**.

OUO. \*\*\*\* The CF is anomalous, and appears to result from overgeneralization of W\*\*{3} (M. 1961a: 224).

**eraztun** (\*\*), **e(r)házquez** (Z), **eraztún** (R), **ereztún** (R), **erraztun** (G), **errezton** (old L), **eleztun** (B G) *n.* ‘ring’ (for the finger). \*\*\*\* [FHV 331, 570]

**erkhain** (\*\* old LN) *n.* ‘fingertip’. \*\*\*\* + **gain** ‘top’.

**eriden** (\*\* old LN), **ediren** (\*\*{LN L}), **erden** (R S), **edí(r)en** (Z) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘find’} [FHV 85]

\*\*\*\*

**eritheitze** (old LN) *n.* ‘invention’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 231]

**erika** (B) *n.* ‘heather’ (*bot.*) (*Calluna vulgaris*). 1905.

From Lat. *erīcam* id., of Greek origin. The appearance of this word in vernacular Bq. is astonishing: the word was, by all accounts, rare and elevated in Lat., and it is scarcely recorded in Rom. Yet A. (1905) reports the Bq. word as in everyday use just a few miles from his birthplace.

**eritzi** (\*\*{G}), **iritzi** (\*\*{G L}), **eretxi** (B) \*\*\*\* ‘be called’ ? Synth.

**erle** (c.) *n.* ‘bee’. 1562. CF **erla-**.

OUO. \*\*\*\* CF by W\*\*{2.2}. In med. Navarra, the sobriquet *Erlea* is well recorded, and *erle* is frequent as a first element in toponyms (M. 1977a: 562).

**erlakofoin** (\*\*) *n.* ‘beehive’. \*\*\*\* + **kofoin** \*\*\*\* [FHV 501]

**erlasaski** (\*\*) *n.* ‘beehive’. \*\*\*\* + **saski** ‘basket’.

**erlategi** (\*\*) *n.* ‘beehive’. \*\*\*\* + **-tegi** ‘place’ {(see **hegi**)}.

**erlauntza** (\*\*{B}), **erlauntz** (\*\*{B}), **erlautz** (\*\*{B}) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘beehive’. \*\*\*\* + **ontzi** ‘container’ (M. 1977a: 501), with unexpected loss of /i/.

**erlijio** (\*\*), **relijiyo** (G) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘religion’. \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\*

**erlikia** (\*\*), **relikiya** (G) \*\*\*\* *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘relic’ Aul.} [FHV 332 fn]

**erloju** (B Sout G) (1562), **arlója** (Z), **erreloia** (B) (1665), **erloi** (Hb.), **orloi** (H.), **relojo** (G) *n.* ‘clock, watch’, TS (B) ‘time of day’.

From Rom. reflexes of Lat. *hōrologium* ‘clock’, such as Cast. *reloj* (M. \*\*\*\* {?}). {AT}

**ermain** (B), **ermaiño** (B) *n.* ‘physical defect’. \*\*\*\*

Obscure. Probably related somehow to **orbain** ‘mark’ (M. 1977a: 507).

**ermitaun** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘hermit’} [FHV 152]

**ernari** (\*\*c.) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘pregnant animal’} [FHV 366]

**ero** [1], **erho** (old LN \*\*) *a.* ‘crazy’, (\*\*) ‘stupid, foolish’ \*\*\*\* [FHV 526]

M. (1977a: 526) proposes that this is merely a specialization of the participle of **ero** [2], literally ‘killed’. M. draws attention to Italian *matto* ‘crazy’, related to Cast. *matar* ‘kill’. But the parallel is not strong: CP (*s.v. matar*) cite Lat. *mattus* ‘stupid’ as the ult. source, and derive an unrecorded Lat. verb *\*mattāre* from this. Moreover, the Cast. verb meant only ‘wound’ in the med. period. {Error here. Old Cast. *matar* meant ‘kill’ as well as ‘strike’ from the earliest texts.}

**erasun** (old B \*\*) *n.* ‘craziness’ \*\*\*\* + **-tasun** abstract NFS (see **-tar**).

**ero** [2] (old B), **é(r)ho** (Z) *vt.* ‘kill’. CF **er(h)a-**, **erai-**. 1596.

OUO. CF by W2.2, M13. It appears that this was the earlier word for ‘kill’, now displaced except in Z by **hil**. M. (1961a: 213 fn. 23) suggests that this might be a causative in **-ra-** of **jo** ‘hit’ or of **eho** ‘grind’.

**eraile** (*c.*), **erhaile** (Z), **eralle** (old B) *n.* ‘killer’. + **-le** agent NFS. This word is not related to **hil** ‘kill’.

**erori** (\*\*) *vi.* ‘fall, fall down’. \*\*\*\* Stem **eror-**. Root **-ror-**.

OUO.

**erorkor** (\*\* old LN), **erorkór** (\*\*) [FHV 401] *a.* \*\*\*\* + **-kor** ‘tending to’.

**errabia** (G HN L), **arrabia** (G) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘fury’} [FHV 155]

**errai** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {**errái** (Z)} [FHV 144] ‘innards’

**errain** [1] (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {**erráñ** (Z)} [FHV 144-145] ‘kidney’

\*\*\*\* Possibly from *\*arrene*, by P1 and metathesis, from Lat *rēnem* ‘kidney’ (M. 1961a: 145).

**erreñazur** (B) *n.* ‘sacrum’. \*\*\*\* + **azur** ‘bone’ (see **hezur**).

**errain** [2] (G), **erran** (B), **erren** (\*\* old LN) \*\*\*\* ‘daughter-in-law’. \*\*\*\* [Sarasola]

OUO. The conservative form is *\*errain* (M. 1977a: 507).

**erraldoi** (B G) *n.* ‘giant’. \*\*\*\*

From *\*errol dai*, by metathesis, from *\*errol dane*, by P1, from *Roldán*, the name of a legendary giant (M. 1961a: 84, \*\*\*\* {1965c: 118}).

**herrátü** (Z) \*\*\*\* {*v.* ‘wander’} [FHV 209]

**erratz** (*c. exc.* Z), **ehátz** (Z), **erhatz** (Z) [hapax] *n.* ‘broom’ (*bot.*) (*Cytisus scoparius*, *Ruscus aculeatus*, etc.), in places ‘laburnum’ (*bot.*) (*Laburnum*), TS (B G LN) ‘small broom’ (implement), TS (L) ‘fisherman’s creel’, TS (B) ‘suspended rack or shelf for hanging cheese’. 1150, 1745, 1808.

OUO. [FHV 234: MUCH MORE]

\*\*\*\* The {first} Z form is irregular, though the expected {second} Z form is recorded once by Gèze (M. 1961a: 329 fn. 4).

**erraz** (B G HN L LN), **errax** (old LN \*\*), **errez** (B G), **errex** (B G) *a.* ‘easy’. \*\*\*\*

From OCast. *rahez* ~ *rehez* (and other variants) *id.* (M. 1961a: 117); see also ML (§ 7013). The word is of Arabic origin.



**erre** (*c.*), **erra** (old LN) *vi.*, *vt.* ‘burn’, TS ‘fry’, TS ‘smoke (tobacco)’. CF **erra-**. 15th cent., 1545.

OUO. CF by W2.2. This item has a highly anomalous form for a verb, and it very likely originated as another part of speech – perhaps as an adjective meaning ‘burnt’, which sense its participle still has, of course.

**errauts** (\*\*), **errhauts** (old LN), **erháuts** (Z), **erráuts** (R) *n.* ‘ash’, \*\*\*\* {‘dust’. + **hauts**} [FHV 94, 329]

**erre-**, **arra-** \*\*\*\* [= Rom. *re-*]

**erreal** [1] (\*\*) *n.* ‘real’ (Spanish coin). \*\*\*\*

**elbiko** (old B G) *n.* ‘peseta’ (Spanish coin). + **bi** ‘two’ + **-ko** (M. 1961a: 366).

**errede** (R) *n.* ‘net’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 155]

**errefaua** (old B) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘radish’} [FHV 152]

**errege** (*c.*) *n.* ‘king’. CF **erret-**. 12th cent., 1545.

From Lat. *rēgem* by L11 (M. 1961a: 51). CF by W1, W3. In referring to the current king, often used without the article, as though it were a proper name.

**errepide** (\*\*), **erregebide** (\*\*), **erret bide** (old HN, *Fuero General de Navarra*) *n.* ‘highway’ \*\*\*\* + **bide** ‘road’.

**erretate** (old LN) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘kingship’} [FHV 127]

**erretatu** (old LN) *n.* ‘kingdom’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 127]

**erregela** (\*\*) *n.* ‘rule’ \*\*\*\* [FHV 158, 347]

**erregina** (L LN) (1545), **erregia** (Sout HN) (1364, 1562), **erregiña** (B G HN), **erregiña** (Z) *n.* ‘queen’. In referring to the current queen, often used without the article, as though it were a proper name.

From Lat. *rēgīnam* id., by P1.

**erregu** (G HN R) *n.* ‘request’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *ruego* id., by \*\*\*\* {L10, L11}

**erreinu** (G), **erre(i)ñu** (\*\*) *n.* ‘kingdom’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *reino* id.

**erreka** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘ravine’, ‘river bed’, ‘stream’ Az.}

From \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\* A toponym *Erreka* is recorded in 1093 [FHV 155]

**errekaitu** (\*\*), **errekeitu** (\*\*) *n.* ‘provisions, food’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 91, 489]

From Rom.: *cf.* Cast. *recaudo*, *recado* \*\*\*\* {id.} (M. 1977a: 489).

**erremedio** (\*\*) *n.* ‘remedy’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 155]

**erremestia** (Z) \*\*\*\* {v. ‘thank’} [FHV 365]

**erremusiña** (L) *n.* ‘alms’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *limosna* id., with curious treatment. M. (1961a: 332 fn. 9) suggests that the word has somehow attracted the element **erre-**. {Perhaps directly from Lat. *eleemosyna*. Cf. **liborna**.}

**erresiñol** (\*\*) (1848), **erresiñul** (\*\*) (1780), **errexinol** (\*\*) (1853), **errexioñol** (\*\*) (1924), **erroxiñol** (\*\*) (1664) [MORE: AT], **urretxindor** (B) (1897). *n.* ‘nightingale’ (*zool.*) (*Luscinia megarhynchos*).

From Rom., prob. from Occ. *rossignol* {Mistral orthography *roussignol*, IEO *rossinhòl*} id. (Unamuno {1893} *ZRPh* 17: 146). B form by folk etymology, as though from **urre** ‘gold’ + **txindor** ‘robin’.

{(}er{)} **resuma** (\*\* {old LN}) *n.* ‘kingdom, realm’. \*\*\*\*

{[] **erretatu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* [FHV 332] [not sure what this is] {} Duplicates **erretatu** under **errege**.}

**erreten** (B G) *n.* ‘irrigation ditch’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 332]

From Cast. *retén* ‘reserve, store’.

**erretore** (\*\*), **erretor** (L), **errotor** (L), **ertor** (L LN) *n.* ‘parish priest’. \*\*\*\*

**erretxin** (B G HN), **arrotxina** (L), **arroxin** (L), **arrusina** (L), **errazia** (R) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘resin’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 155]

**errezatu** (\*\*) *vi.* ‘pray’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 390 fn]

From Cast. *rezar* id.

**herri** (\*\*), **erri** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘people’, ‘town, inhabited place’, ‘country’} CF (**h**)**err-**.

OUO. CF *by* W2.1.

**erbeste** (B G) *n.* ‘foreign country’. \*\*\*\* + **beste** ‘other’ (see **\*berr-**).

**ergoien** (B) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘village’} [FHV 125]

**herratze** (old LN) *n.* ‘foreign country’. \*\*\*\* + **atze** ‘stranger’.

**erribera** (G \*\*), **erbera** (B), **erbere** (HN) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘shore’, ‘lowland’} [FHV 164]

**errierte** (B G), **errielta** (old B), **errieta** (G HN), **errita** (G HN) *n.* ‘feud, vendetta’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *reyerta* ‘quarrel’ (M. 1961a: 123), with dissimilation.

**errio** (\*\*), **irrio** (G HN) *n.* ‘river’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *río* id., by L11, P37.

**erripa** (B) \*\*\*\* {‘sloping ground’}

From Lat. *rīpam* \*\*\*\* (M. 1961a: 155). [FHV 155-156]

**erris** (\*\*), **irris** (\*\*) \*\*\* *n.* ‘rice’. \*\*\*\*

From Fr. *ris* \*\*\*\* See **arroz**.

{**errisku** (\*\*), **arrisku** (\*\*), **irrisku** (L) *n.* ‘risk, danger’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 66] {} Duplicate, see **arrisku**.}

**erro** (\*\*) *n.* ‘root’. \*\*\*\* CF **erra-**.

OUO. CF by W\*\* {2.2}.

**errape** (\*\*), **rapé** (R) ‘udder’. + **-pe** {‘under’} (\*\*\*\* {see **behe**}). M. (1961a: 332) suggests that the R form results from hypercorrection.

**erroi** (\*\* {c.} R), **erroĩ** (R), **erroñ** (\*\* {R}) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘crow’ (*zool.*) (*Corvus* \*\*\*\*) 1596. [FHV 149]

**erroka** (HN S) *n.* ‘distaff’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 332]

Cast. *rueca* {or Gasc. *ròca*}

**erromeria** (\*\*) *n.* ‘pilgrimage’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *romería* id.

**erropa** (\*\*), **arropa** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘article of clothing’. \*\*\*\*

**errota** (\*\*) *n.* ‘mill’, ‘wheel’. \*\*\*\* See **arroda**.

**erru** [1] (B) *n.* ‘guilt, blame, fault’, ‘difficulty’. 1596.

Probably from Cast. *yerro* ‘mistake, error’ (M. 1961a: 61).

{**erru** [2]} ?

**erruda** (B G R), **arruda** (L) \*\*\* *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘rue’ (*bot.*)} [FHV 156]

**errun** (\*\*), **érrün** (Z), **erron** (\*\*) *vt.* ‘lay (eggs)’. \*\*\*\*

{OUO.}

**erskon** (old LN) *n.* \*\*\*\*\* [FHV 368]

**erskondu** (\*\*{old LN}) \*\*\*\*\* [FHV 368]

**hertsi** (L LN Z) (1545), **ertsi** (L LN Z HN), **hersi** (LN Z), **hetsi** (L LN), **hesi** (L LN Z), **ertxi** (HN), **itsi** (old B Sout) (1653), **itxi** (B G) (1656), **etxi** (?) (1610) *vt.* ‘squeeze, compress, tighten’, ‘narrow’, ‘close’, *vi.* (L LN Z) ‘approach’, TS (Z) *vi.* ‘cling, stick’, *a.* (not B G) ‘tight, narrow’ (1571), TS (LN Z) ‘tenacious’. Stem **(h)e(r)(t)s-**.

OUO. The conservative form is *\*(h)ertsi*, apparently containing a non-verbal root. The B G form has apparently developed by two routes: *\*ertsi* > *\*ertxi* (by P\*\*{?}) > *etxi* > *itxi* (by P\*\*{62}) and *\*ertsi* > *\*etsi* > *itsi* > *itxi*. It is not clear whether the participle of a verb has been pressed into service as an adjective, or whether an original adjective has been pressed into service as the participle of a verb. But the apparently non-verbal nature of the stem favours the second. Leizarraga has **ertsi** verb but **hersi** adjective; Axular has **hertsi** for both. [FHV 563]

**herstu** (L) *vi.* ‘arrive’, **erstu** (R) *vt.* ‘squeeze, compress’, **estu** (B G Sout HN) (1562) *a.* ‘squeezed, compressed’, ‘restricted’, ‘narrow’, ‘rigorous, severe’, ‘tight’, TS ‘nervous, anxious, worried’, *adv.* ‘tightly’, TS ‘anxiously’. By transfer of the verb to the **-tu** class (M14). In this case, unusually, the adjective has also been shifted in form. [FHV 368]

**estu(r)asun** (B G) *n.* ‘predicament’. \*\*\*\*\* + **-tasun** NFS (see **-tar**).

**estutu** (\*\*{G HN}) \*\*\*\*\*{*v.* ‘press’} [FHV 563]

**ertz** (\*\*), **eretz** (LN), **é(r)etz** (Z) *n.* \*\*\*\*\*{‘side’, ‘edge’} [FHV 162, 416]

OUO. The common contracted form perhaps by W\*\*{19}, from the word’s frequent occurrence as a final element in compounds like *itsasertz* ‘seacoast’.

**hertze** (\*\*), **ertze** (\*\*), **herze** (\*\*), **erze** (\*\*), **este** (\*\*), **érxe** (Z R) \*\*\*\*\* *n.* ‘intestine’. \*\*\*\*\* [FHV 364]

{[}érxe (Z) \*\*\*\*\* [FHV 330] {]} Duplicate, see **hertze** .}

**esamina** (\*\*{B}) \*\*\*\*\* ‘examination’. \*\*\*\*\* [FHV 146]

**esan** (\*\* Sout), **erran** (\*\*), **érran** (Z) \*\*\*\*\*{*vt.*} ‘say’ \*\*\*\*\* Synth.

\*\*\*\*\* The variation in form exhibited here is unique to this word, and the origin is mysterious. A plausible guess is two resolutions of a unique cluster, perhaps *\*esran* (*\*ersan* would not work), which in turn might represent the syncope of a longer form along the lines of *\*eser(r)an*. Southern (Landucci 1562) has only **esan** for the verb, as is usual in western varieties, but remarkably gives **mezarrale** for ‘priest’ – lit. ‘mass-sayer’, with the other variant of the word, and this even though the same source gives *meza esan* for ‘say mass’. The imperfective participle is L LN *erraiten*, Z *erráiten*, but HN LN also show the contracted form *erten* (M. 1961a: 398).

**erraizun** (\*\* old L) *n.* ‘reproach, censure’. \*\*\*\* + **-kizun** NFS.

**eseri** (\*\* G S), \*\*\*\*, **xaseri** (R), **jasarri** (B), **jesarri** (B) \*\*\*\* ‘sit down’, (S) ‘put’, \*\*\*\*.  
\*\*\*\* [FHV {168,} 295 fn]

**esfonja** (G) *n.* ‘sponge’, ‘type of sweet’.

From Cast. *esponja* ‘sponge’.

**eskarpia** (Sout), **eskarpiña** (old B) *n.* ‘slipper’.

From Cast. *escarpín* id.

**eskatu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {Two verbs **eskatu** in Az.: ‘ask’ and ‘set loose’.}

**eskaari** (old B) *n.* ‘petition’. \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\* [FHV 113]

**eskegi** (B), **esegi** (B), **exegi** (B Sout), **isegi** (G HN) *vt.* ‘hang, put up’. \*\*\*\*

OUO. [FHV 350] Possibly related to **atxeki** ‘stick’ (M. 1961a: 350). {(See **atxiki**.)}

**eskeki** (old B, *R&S* 197) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘bunch of hanging fruit’} [FHV 350]

**esker** (\*\*), **eskar** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘thanks’} [FHV 62]

**eskerga** (old B, *R&S* 250) *a.* ‘difficult’. 1596. + **-ga** ‘without’ (see **gabe**); the word is literally ‘thankless’ (M. 1961a: 412). [FHV 62]

**eskindantzák** (Z) *n. pl.* ‘sore throat’. \*\*\*\*

From Bearn. *esquinances* id. (M. 1961a: 339).

**eskolaun** (\*\*), **eskolau** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘schoolchild’} [FHV 152]

**eskondu** (old B, *R&S* 457) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘reach’} [FHV 368]

**eskribaun** (B), **eskibraun** (B) *n.* ‘clerk’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *escribano* id. \*\*\*\* [FHV 509]

**eskribitu** (old LN) (1545), **eskribidu** (B) (1537), **eskribatu** (B G HN L) (1545) *vt.* ‘write’.

Stem **eskribi-**, **eskriba-**.

From Cast. *escribir* id; last variant by L13. See **izkiribatu**, **iraatsi**.

**esku** (*c. exc.* Z), **eskü** (Z) *n.* ‘hand’ (*anat.*), TS (R) ‘right hand’. 15th cent.

OUO.

**eskaini** (L LN), **eska(i)ñi** (G HN L), **eskeiñi** (G), **eskini** (B G) *vt., vtd.* ‘offer’, (L LN) ‘threaten’. 1627. Fossilized compound verb. The first element is surely **esku**; the second is obscure but may be **ipini** ‘put’ (M. 1961a: 69).

**eskaindu** (LN S), **eskindu** (B G), **eskentü** (Z) *vt.*, *vtd.* (L LN S) ‘offer’, **eskaindu** *vtd.* (B) ‘ask for’. 1676. + **-tu** VFS, by transfer to the **-tu** class (M14).

**eskui** (G HN A S), **eskuin** (HN L LN), **eskoin** (old LN), **eskoi** (B HN), **eskoī** (R), **eskun** (?), **eskúñ** (Z), **eskui** (old HN), **eskubi** (Sout G HN A S), **eskuma** (B), **eskoa** (B) *n.* ‘right hand’. 1545. Most variants from \**eskune*, by P1 (M. \*\*\*\* {1961a: 149}). The second element is obscure, but might be **on** ‘good’; M. (\*\*\*\* {*ib.*}) notes the similarity to the Bq. name of the village called in Fr. *Bonloc*, which is *Lekhuine*, app. from \**Leku-on* ‘good place’.

**eskuarki** (G) (*ca.* 1805) *adv.* ‘commonly’, **eskierki** (L Z) (1657), **eskuiarki** (old LN) (1545) *adv.* ‘certainly, undoubtedly, apparently’. + **har-** ‘take’ (see **hartu**) + **-ki** {[1]} AdvFS (M. 1977a: 496–497).

**eskuarrai** (\*\*{B}), **eskuarre** (\*\*{B}) *n.* ‘palm of the hand’. \*\*\*\* + **arra** ‘palm’ (M. 1961a: 129).

**eskubarne** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* ‘palm of the hand’. \*\*\*\*

{[] **eskuin** (\*\* HN), **eskuñ** (HN), **eskui** (\*\*), **eskoi** (A S) \*\*\*\* ‘right hand’. [FHV 149 x 2] {} Duplicates **eskui** above.}

**esku-ojal** (G) *n.* ‘towel’. + **oihal** ‘cloth’.

**eskuren** (old G) \*\*\*\* [FHV 120, 496] + **-rean** Abl CS. [CHECK ENTRY HERE]

**eskuzeñu** (R) *n.* ‘manual gesture’. + **zeinu** \*\*\*\* {[1] ‘signal’}.

**esnatu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\*, **esenatu** (HN), **ernatu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*vti.* ‘wake’} [FHV 294, 352, 366, 512] [MOVE TO **er-?**] [ALSO **ernai**] {SORT} [FHV 561: IMPORTANT] [SORT!!]

**esne** (\*\* HN), **ezne** (old B Sout old LN R S \*\*), **ezné** (Z), **esene** (HN) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘milk’} Lafon (1959\*\* {a: 109 ff.})

\*\*\*\* [FHV 163-164 + 2 fn] M. (1961a: 282) concludes that laminal /z/ is original. [FHV 511-512] See **zenbera**.

**espara** (\*\*), **ezpara** (\*\*), **espare** (LN Z) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘gadfly’}

\*\*\*\* [FHV 253]

**espensari** (L) *n.* \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘butler’} [FHV 253]

**espero** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘hope’ Aul.}

\*\*\*\*

**espa(r)ántxa** (Z) *n.* ‘hope’. \*\*\*\* [other forms?] \*\*\*\*

**esportzatu** (\*\* {old LN}) \*\*\*\* {*v.* ‘comfort’} [FHV 264, 350]

**esportzu** (\*\* {old LN}) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘solace, comfort’} [FHV 264]

**estali** (\*\*) *vt.* ‘cover’. \*\*\*\* \*\* [FHV 319-320]

\*\*\*\* {[]} See also **estalpe**. {} included below.}

**estaldu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘cover’}

**estalgune** (S.P.) *n.* {‘cover’} [FHV 305 fn, 319]

**estalki** (\*\*), **estalg**i (\*\* {old B old LN}) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘cover’} [FHV 319, 353]

**estari** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* [FHV 319]

**estalpe** (\*\*){, **estalbe** (\*\*)} *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘shelter’} , **estaup**e (Z) ‘partition’? [FHV 311]

Seemingly formed from **estali** ‘cover’ + **-pe** ‘under’ (see **behe**), but in fact probably from Cast. *estable* \*\*\*\*, with metathesis and folk-etymology (M. \*\*\*\* {1957a: 14ff.}).

{M. in fact mentions Old Cast. *establia* ‘stable’ as the source of Bq. **establia**, **estalbi(a)** ‘stable’ for which later **estalbe**, **estalpe** are folk-etymologized forms.}

**estomak** (\*\* old LN), **estumák** (Z), **estomake** (R), **estomaka** (S) *n.* ‘stomach’ (*anat.*). \*\*\*\*

**estrata** (\*\*), **estarta** (B) *n.* ‘road’. \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *strātam* id., with metathesis in the second form.

**eta**, **ta** (*c.*) *conj.* ‘and’. 15th cent.

Reduced form especially (but not only) after a vowel. OUO. A derivation from Lat. *et* ‘and’ has often been proposed, and is possible, especially since SOV languages often lack a word for ‘and’ and borrow one. A link with **-eta** looks improbable. Postposed in examples like *aita (e)ta* ‘Father and the rest’. [FHV 420 fn]

**-ta** (B G HN) Adverbial suffix attached to perfective participles, as in *ikus*i ‘seen’, *ikus*ita ‘having (been) seen’. Often reinforced by **gero** ‘later’: *ikus*ita *gero*. The unreduced form *ikus*i *eta* *gero* is well attested and still in use.

**-tako**

**-eta** (*c.*) \*\*\*\* {NFS. Toponymic suffix.} [Add toponyms, [Mitx 73 {M. 1973a}: 235, 373]

Consider moving to **-keta** {not in *The Dictionary*} for consistency: think about this problem.] [FHV 247-248] This suffix shares with **-aga** the property that the phonological changes typical of word-formation, those collected in § \*\*\* {7}, never occur with it (M. 1977a: 528).

**etorri** (B G HN L), **ethorri** (L) *vi.* ‘come’. 1539. Synth. Stem **etorr-**. Root **-torr-**.

OUO. See also **jaugin**.

**datorren** (\*\*) *adjvl.* ‘next’ (as in *datorren astean* ‘next week’). From *dator* ‘it is coming’ (finite form) + **-n** [\*\* {3}] Rel.

**eratorri** (EB) *vt.* ‘derive’. 1891. + **-ra-** Causative. An Aranist neologism, remarkably coined with the otherwise dead affix **-ra-**.

**ethorberri** (L LN Z), **etorparri** (B) *a.* ‘recently arrived’. + **berri** ‘new’ (see **\*berr-**).

**et(h)orbide** (B G Z) *n.* ‘origin’. + **bide** ‘way’.

**ethorbü(r)ü** (Z) *n.* ‘beginning’ + **buru** ‘head’.

**etorkizun** (\*\*), **ethorkizun** (\*\*) *n.* ‘future’. \*\*\*\* + **-kizun** NFS.

**etsai** (G HN L LN R), **etsái** (Z) *n.* ‘enemy’. 1545.

OUO.

**etsi** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {‘consider’} \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* Clearly from *\*eutsi*, by P\*\* {35.4}, given the forms below (M. 1977a: 493).

**esetsi** (B G) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘attack’ Aul.} + **ez** ‘not’. (M. 1961a: 283).

{[]-etsi ‘consider’. \*\*\*\* {} DUPLICATES **etsi**.}

**uste** (*c.*), **úste** (Z) *n.* ‘opinion’, ‘belief’. 1545. + **-te** {[1]} NFS (M. 1977a: 492).

**uste** **\*edun** (*c.*) *vtc.* [+ **-la**] ‘opine, think, believe’ (1545), ‘hope’ (*ca.* 1800). + **\*edun** ‘have’.

**etxe** (*c.*), **etse** (B Sout R), **etze** (B), **itxe** (G HN) *n.* ‘house’, ‘household’, TS ‘building’. CF **etxa-**. 12th cent., 14th cent.

OUO. CF by W2.2. The conservative form is app. **etse**, with common **etxe** by expressive palatalization (M\*\* {9}). B **etze** is either a back-formation or a written error from P21. HN **itxe** by P62. The CF **etxa-** is abundantly recorded in toponyms, even outside the Basque Country (M. 1961a: 127).

**etsajaun** (old B Sout) *n.* ‘goblin, imp’. \*\*\*\* + **jaun** ‘lord’. [COMBINE {sc. with next}]

**etxahun** (\*\*), **etxagun** (B), \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘master of the house’. \*\*\*\*

**etxaguntza** (B), **etsagun(t)za** (old B, *R&S* 58) \*\*\*\* {‘private house, house one owns’} [FHV 176]

**etx’iri** (old LN) [hapax] *n.* ‘vicinity of a house’. \*\*\*\* + **-iri** NFS. The odd orthography is presumably meant to represent a contraction of a longer form like *\*etxairi*.

**etxola** (L LN Z), **etxol** (G HN), **itxola** (HN) *n.* 1630. ‘hut, cabin’. Probably from *\*etxaxola*, by reduction, + **txabola** ‘hut’ (M. \*\*\*\* {1969c: 125 n. 32}). M. prefers this to a cross between **etxe** and **txabola**, and to the seemingly obvious compound of **etxe** with **ola** ‘place’. Last form by M4. [MUCH MORE: FHV 476]

**-etz** (\*\*) [as in *baietz*]

**etzan** (*c.*), **etzin** (G HN R), **etzun** (B), **etxun** (B) \*\*\*\* *vi.* ‘lie down’. Synth. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* {OUO.}

**eratzan** (B HN old L), **eratzin** (HN), **eratzon** (HN), **eratzó** (B) *vt.* ‘put to bed’. \*\*\*\* [Ax]

**etzauntza** (\*\*), **etzantza** (\*\*), **etzautza** (\*\*), **etzauntze** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘resting place’ Aul.} [Az.] \*\*\*\*



**etzi** (\*\*)*n., adv.* ‘the day after tomorrow’.

\*\*\*\* {OUO.}

**etzidamu** (\*\*), **etziridamu** (\*\*), **etzilimo** (B), **etziluma** (old B, *R&S* 410)*n., adv.* ‘the day after the day after tomorrow’. \*\*\*\* + **biharamun** ‘the next day’ (see **bihar**) (M. 1977a: 504).

**etzikaramu** (B), **etzikaramon** (B)*n., adv.* ‘three days after tomorrow’. \*\*\*\* M. (1977a: 504) proposes \**etzirik*, + **-ik** Abl. CS (or \**etziko*, + **-ko**) + **herenegun** ‘third day’ (see **heren**).

**euli** (B Sout G) (1562), **eulli** (S old B, *R&S* 123, 298), **uli** (HN L LN) (1571), **üli** (LN Z), **ülli** (Z), **ülü** (Z), **üllü** (Z), **éllu** (R), **auli** (A), **elbi** (G)*n.* ‘fly’ (insect) (*zool.*) (*Musca*), TS (B G) ‘coward’.

OUO. Presumably from \**euLi*, by P\*\* {23, and *cf.* P36.1 *eu-* > *u-*}. Short variants by P47. The forms with /ll/ are presumably diminutives in origin. {Last} G form by metathesis from \**ebli*, by P\*\* {57}.

**eltxo** (B G HN A), **éltxo** (Z), **eltzo** (L LN), **elzo** (LN S), **eltxe** (R), **ulitxa** (HN L LN)*n.* ‘mosquito’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*). + various dimin. suffixes.

**uluzu** (old LN)*a.* ‘fly-infested’. \*\*\*\*. + **-zu** AFS (see **-tsu**).

**eultze** (G HN), **eultzi** (HN S), **aultzi** (A), **ultzi** (\*\*), **ulzi** (\*\*), **eltzu** (R)*n.* \*\*\*\* {‘heap of unthreshed corn’}

**eulzitu** (HN), **ulzitu** (LN), **eltzu(ka)tu** (R) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘thresh’}

**ehun** [1] (L LN), **éhün** (Z), **eun** (B Sout G HN), **egun** (B G HN S), **ein** (R)*num.* ‘100’. 1562.

OUO, but possibly from \**enun*, by P1. Fourth form by P35.1. Uhlenbeck (\*\*\*\* {1910: 70}) suggests a Gothic \**ain hund* id. (phonetic [enhund]), which is phonologically excellent, but there exists no known instance of a Bq. word taken directly from Gothic or from any other Germanic language without Rom. mediation, and anyway I am told by Rémy Viredaz (*p.c.*) that the putative Gothic item is not attested. Moreover, it seems unlikely that the Basques would have borrowed such a word from Gothic but not from Lat., when **mila** ‘1000’ was taken from Lat. Anyway, relations between Basques and Visigoths were uniformly hostile, and it is not even clear that the Visigoths continued to speak Gothic for any length of time in Spain. Probably native. [FHV 56 fn] {M. 1950b: 455; 1964a: 129f.}

**berrehun** (L LN Z), **berreun** (\*\*), **berregun** (LN)*num.* ‘200’. 1571. + **berr-** ‘twice’ (see **bihur**).

**ehun** [2] [VERB] [FHV 56 fn] {‘weave’}

**huri** (*c.*), **eü(r)i** (Z), **uri** (HN L LN), **ebri** (LN Z), **ebi** (G), **ébi** (Z), **eudi** (G)*n.* ‘rain’. 1562. CF **eul-**.

From \**huri*, OUO. Variants by P47, P57. CF by W\*\* {2.1, W12}. Attempts at linking this to **ur** ‘water’ fail for lack of a parallel for any such formation.

**eulantz** (B)*n.* ‘fine rain’. \*\*\*\* + \*\*\*\*

**eulbera** (B) *n.* ‘beneficial rain’. \*\*\*\* + **bera** ‘soft’.

**euria(a) egin** (*c.*) *vitm.* ‘rain’. + **egin** ‘do’.

**euritako** (B G LN) *n.* ‘umbrella’. + **-ta-** indefinite {not in *The Dictionary*} plus **-ko** NFS.

**eurite** (*c.*) *n.* ‘rainy spell’. + **-te** {[1]} NFS of duration.

**euritsu** (*c.*) *a.* ‘rainy’. + **-tsu** AFS ‘full of’.

**euritu** (LN) *vi.* ‘rain’. + **-tu** VFS.

There are many local words for ‘drizzle’, consisting of **euria** plus some expressive formation: **euria-landur** (B), **euria-langar** (G), **euria-memel** (B), **euria-zarama** (B), **euria-zirin** (B), and doubtless others. See also **zirimiri** {under **m-reduplication**}.

Locutions for ‘it’s raining’:

**euria da** ‘rain is’ (*da* ‘is’, from **izan** ‘be’).

**euria dihardu** (B) ‘rain is busy’ (*dihardu* ‘is busy’, from **ihardun** ‘be busy’ {not in *The Dictionary*, but see **iharduki**, **jardun** under **\*ihar-**}).

**euria egiten ari da** ‘it is making rain’ (**egin** ‘make’ plus **ari izan** ‘be busy at’; see **ari**).

**euria egiten du** ‘it makes rain’ (**egin** ‘make’).

**euskara** (HN), **heuskara** (old LN), **eskuara** (L LN), **euskera** (B G), **eskara** (HN), **eskera** (Sout), **uskara** (HN A S), **uskára** (R), **uskera** (B), **üská(r)a** (Z), **üská** (Z) *n.* ‘Basque language’. CF **euskal-** (B G HN), **eskual-** (L LN), **heuskal-** (old LN). 1545.

L LN form by an unusual (and recent) metathesis; B G form by an unusual vowel change. Very likely from *\*euskala*, given the CF. CF by W1. Much debated. The ending is almost certainly *-(k)era*, *-(k)ara* ‘way, manner’ (see **era**). The obscure first element has long been thought to represent the name of the *Ausci*, an Aquitanian tribe identified by the Romans, by P48: hence ‘to speak *euskara*’ would be ‘to speak in the manner of the Ausci’. But Irigoyen (1977, 1990b) argues instead for a lost verb *\*enautsi* ‘say’, by P1, containing the dative-marker **-ts-**, in support of which he adduces a variant *enusquera*, used by two 16th-century B writers: hence ‘way of saying’. See **-io-**.

**Euskadi** *n.* ‘The Basque Country’ (conceived as a political unit), today the official name of the territory administered by the Basque Autonomous Government. Neologism coined by Sabino Arana, who spelled it *Euzkadi*, the official spelling of the short-lived Basque government during the Spanish Civil War. + **-di** NFS.

**euskalari** (*c.*) *n.* ‘linguist who works on Basque, Vasconist’. 1918 (but 1872 as *euskeralari*). + **-lari** professional NFS (see **-ari** [\*\*{1}]).

**euskaldun** (B G HN), **eskualdun** (L LN), **heuskaldun** (old LN), \*\*\*\* (Z), **uskaldún** (R) *n.* ‘Basque-speaker’, *a.* ‘Basque-speaking’. 1545. + **-dun** AFS NFS ‘having’, ‘who has’ (see **\*edun**).

**euskaldun berri** *n.* ‘person who has learned Basque as a second language’. + **berri** ‘new’ {(see **\*berr**)} (*neol.*)

**euskaldundu** *vi.* ‘learn Basque’, ‘become a Basque-speaker’, *vt.* ‘turn (s.o.) into a Basque-speaker’. Stem **euskaldun-**. 1897. + **-tu** VFS, by P8.

**euskaldun zahar** *n.* 'native speaker of Basque'. + **zahar** 'old' (*neol.*)

**Euskal Herri(a)** (EB), **Euskal Erri(a)** (B G HN), **Eskual Herri(a)** (L LN), **Heuskal-Herri(a)** (old LN) 'the Basque Country', the territory which is historically and ethnically Basque, usually conceived as the Spanish provinces of Vizcaya, Guipúzcoa, Alava and Navarra, plus the former French provinces of Labourd, Basse Navarre and Soule – roughly the territory which is known to have been Basque-speaking in the Middle Ages. + **herri** 'country, people', plus **-a** article (see **\*har-**).

**euskalki** *n.* 'dialect of Basque'. Neologism (1920; as *euskelgi* 1897). + **-ki** [\*\*{3}] NFS.

**euskaltzain** *n.* 'member of the Basque Language Academy'. 1920. + **-zain** 'guardian' {(see **zain** [1])}.

**euskaltzainburu** *n.* 'President of the Basque Language Academy'. 1967. + **buru** 'head'.

**Euskaltzaindi(a)** *n.* '(the) Basque Language Academy'. 1920. + **-di** NFS.

**euskaltzale** (1845), **euskarazale** (1872) *n., a.* '(one who is) devoted to the Basque language'. + **-zale** 'fond of'. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**euskarakada** (1977), **euskerakada** (1922) *n.* 'word or other linguistic feature of Basque used in speaking another language, Vasconism'. + **-kada** NFS. \*\*\*\* {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**euskaratu** *vt.* 'translate into Basque'. Stem **euskara-**. 1802; 1751 as *euskararatu*, with additional **-ra** allative. + **-tu** VFS.

**eusko-** CF 'Basque'. Neologism coined by Sabino Arana, who spelled it *euzko-*; a capriciously altered form of the CF **euskal-**. Today **eusko-** is much favoured as a CF meaning '(ethnically, historically or politically) Basque', as opposed to **euskal-** 'Basque-speaking', 'in the Basque language'. It is official in certain formations, such as *Eusko Jaurlaritz*a 'the Basque Government'.

**euskotar** (*c.*) *n., a.* 'ethnic Basque'. 1909 (but 1897 as *euzkotar*). + **-tar** ethnonymic. Aranist neologism. This word is now commonly applied to a person of Basque ancestry born in the Basque Country, whether Basque-speaking or not.

**euzk-** Variant spelling used by the Basque nationalist Sabino Arana in the late 19th century for both traditional words and neologisms: *euzkera*, *euzkeldun*, *Euzkadi*, *euzko*, etc. From a fanciful relation with *eguzkiko* 'of the sun' (see **egun**). All of his neologisms are today respelled with *eusk-*.

**ez** (*c.*), **ze** (old B) *prt.* 'not', 'no'.

\*\*\*\* The old B variant **ze** is used only with imperatives and subjunctives. M. (1961a: 422) proposes an earlier *\*eze*, with differential syllable loss depending upon the accentuation of the following material.

**etxauna** (B HN S), **ezkauna** (A) *intj.* 'no sir'. \*\*\*\*

**ez-** {negative prefix}

**ezbai** (*c.*) *n.* 'doubt', 'uncertainty, indecision, hesitancy'. \*\*\*\* + **bai** 'yes'.

**ezetz** (\*\*) *prt.* '(that) no'. \*\*\*\* + **-etz**.

**ezin** (\*\*), **ézin** (Z) *a.* ‘impossible’. \*\*\*\* Second element obscure, but possibly **egin** ‘do’, which is often reduced to *ein* or *in* in speech.

**ezin** \***edun** (\*\*) *vtc.* ‘cannot’, ‘be unable (to)’. \*\*\*\*

**ezta** (\*\*), **ezeta** (old LN) \*\*\*\* ‘nor’. \*\*\*\* + **eta** ‘and’ (M. 1961a: 123).

\***ez-** *n.?* ‘tree’? Apparent stem of several tree-names, not recorded as an independent word.

OUO. This might conceivably be a reduced form of (**h**)**aritz** ‘tree, oak’, but the general instability of Bq. words for ‘tree’ may indicate a word now otherwise lost.

**ezki** (*c.*), **ezku** (B) *n.* ‘poplar’, ‘black poplar’, ‘linden, lime tree’, ‘basswood’ (*bot.*) 1745, 1847. The precise designation of this name varies considerably from place to place. Final element obscure; possibly **-ki** [3] NFS?.

**ezkur** (B G HN LN), **ezkür** (Z), **hezkur** (L) *n.* ‘acorn’, also applied to certain other tree-fruits, such as the beechnut, **ezkur** (old B) ‘tree’. 1596. Final element obscure. The old B sense of ‘tree’ (in a proverb) is striking.

**ezpel** (*c.*) *n.* ‘box tree’. 1745, 1847 (but recorded much earlier in the toponym *Ezpeleta*). + **\*bel** ‘dark’.

**ezabatu** (\*\*) ‘delete, erase’, (S) ‘forget’ \*\*\*\* [FHV 266]

From Lat. *\*effaciāre* id. (M. 1961a: 266), with metathesis. {Or rather from Occ. *esfaçar* ‘delete, erase’.}

**ezagun** (often contracted to **ezaun**) (*c.*) *a.* ‘familiar’, ‘well-known’, ‘obvious’, TS *n.* ‘acquaintance’ (person). 1562. [REWRITE]

The Z form is presumably ?**ezagün**, by P69, but I cannot find this documented. It seems clear that this is the participle of an old verb, which has been fossilized as an adjective by M14, and that the verb has been shifted to the **-tu** class. See **ezagutu** below. [FHV 157 fn]

**ezagutu** (\*\*), **ezagütü** (Z) *vt.* ‘know (a person or a place)’, ‘be familiar with, be acquainted with’ (in the imperfective), ‘meet, become acquainted with, become familiar with’ (in the perfective). Stem **ezagu-**. 1545. It seems clear that the verb was originally **\*ezagun**, with root **-zagu[n]-**, and that the verb has been transferred to the **-tu** class by M14, leaving the old participle **ezagun** isolated as an adjective – though deverbal derivatives commonly show the stem **ezagun-**, not **ezagu-**.

**ezagutza** (L LN), **ezagutze** (LN Z) *n.* ‘acquaintance’ (abstract), ‘familiarity’, TS ‘recognition’, ‘gratitude’. 1545. + **-tza**, **-tze** abstract NFS.

**ezain** (B) (1653), **ezāi** (old B) (1596), **ezaiñ** (B) *a.* ‘ugly’. \*\*\*\*

\***ezan** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* *vt.* \*\*\*\* {See **\*edin**, **egun**.}

**ezarri** (\*\*), **ezari** (\*\*), **isari** (R) \*\*\*\* *vt.* ‘put’. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* {OUO.} Bouda (\*\*\*\* {cited by Lafon (1944{3}: II, 153)}) suggests that this is an altered **-ra-** causative of **jarri** ‘\*\*\*\* {put}’, ‘sit down’. If so, the existence of the second **-ra-** causative below is without parallel. [FHV 295]

**erazarri** (\*\* {LN S}), **erezarri** (old LN) \*\*\*\* {*v.* ‘admonish’, ‘assail’}

**heze** (L LN Z), **eze** (B G HN LN R) *a.* ‘fresh, moist, green’, TS (B HN L) ‘lascivious, sensual’. \*\*\*\* [MT entry]

**hezi** (\*\*), **hézi** (Z), **zezi** (\*\* {G}) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘tame’} [FHV 207, 292]

**ézi** (Z) *prt.* \*\*\*\* {‘as’} [FHV 207]

**hezkabia** (Z) *n.* ‘ringworm’. \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *scabiēs* ‘mange’ (M. 1961a: 209). The /h/ perhaps by contamination from **hatz** [2] ‘itch’ (M. 1961a: 209 fn. 10).

**ezker** (*c.*), **ezkér** (R), **ixkér** (Z) *n.* ‘left (hand)’. \*\*\*\*

{OUO.}

**ezkila** (\*\*), **ezkilla** (\*\*), **izkilla** (\*\*), **eskla** (S), **ískla** (R) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘bell’} [FHV 66, 368: loan]

**ezko** (\*\*) *n.* ‘wax’. \*\*\*\*

{OUO.}

**ezkondu** (\*\*), **ezküntü** (Z) \*\*\*\* {*vti.* ‘marry’}

**ezkutari** (\*\*) {*n.* ‘squire, page’} [FHV 66, 135]

**ezkutu** (\*\* {B G}), {**izkutu** (\*\* {G})} \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘hiding place’, *a.* ‘secret’} [FHV 66]

\*\*\*\*

**ezkutatu** (\*\* {B G}), {**izkutatu** (\*\* {G})} {*vti.* ‘hide’} [FHV 66]

\*\*\*\*

**ezpain** (\*\*), **ezpañ** (\*\*), **ézpañ** (Z), **ezpan** (B), **ezpéin** (R) *n.* ‘lip’ (*anat.*) \*\*\*\*

{OUO.} B form by P\*\* {51}. Landucci oddly gives the Sout sense as *beço* ‘kiss’. {Not so oddly: *beço* is not *beso*. Cast. “*bezo* 1. m. Labio grueso. 2. m. labio (|| reborde exterior de la boca)” *DRAE* 2001, attested as *beço* 1255.}

**ezpal** (Sout G HN L LN Z R) (1562), **ozpal** (B), **ozpel** (B), **zozpal** (old B; R&S 483) (1596), **zozpel** (B) *n.* ‘chip of wood, splinter’.

Uncertain. Hubschmid (\*\*\*\*1963: 24, 1965: 30-50) suggests Lat. \**cuspellum* ‘small point’, dimin. of *cuspem* ‘point’ and ancestral to Fr. *copeau* ‘wood shaving’, and M. (\*\*\*\*1977a: 533) approves of this. But M. (1961a: 291) suggests a derivative of **zotz** ‘stick’, with loss of the first sibilant by P20. [FHV 533]

**ezpata** (\*\*) *n.* ‘sword’. \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *spatham* id.

**eztai** (B G HN L), **eztei** (G HN L LN), **eztēi** (Z R) *n.* ‘wedding’. \*\*\*\* [MUCH MORE FHV 494]

**eztegu** (B) *n.* ‘wedding’. \*\*\*\* Probably + **egun** ‘day’ (M. 1961a: 103).

**eztainu** (EB), **eztañu** (R S), **ezteinu** (A), **estainu** (\*\*), **estañu** (\*\*), **estáñü** (Z) *n.* ‘tin’. *Ca.* 1620.

From Cast. *estaño* or a related Rom. form, ultimately from Lat. *stannum*. The presence of the palatalized nasal, plus the absence of a variant \**eztanu*, points clearly to a loan from Rom., not from Lat. But the absence of any Pre-Basque word for ‘tin’ seems unlikely, and we may suspect that the Rom. loan has displaced either an earlier loan from Lat., or a native word, or both.

**eztañu-belar** (HN) *n.* ‘foxtail, horsetail’ (*bot.*) (*Equisetum hiemale*). 1888. + **belar** ‘grass’. According to A. (1905), so called from the former practice of using it to scrub tin tableware.

**eztarri** (B G HN R) *n.* ‘throat’. 1571.

OUO. See **zintzur**.

**ezten** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*, **izten** (G) ‘awl’. \*\*\*\*

**ezti** (\*\*) *n.* ‘honey’, \*\*\*\* *a.* ‘sweet’.

\*\*\*\* {OUO.}

**basa-ezti** (old LN), **bazezti** (old LN) *n.* ‘wild honey’. \*\*\*\* + **basa-** ‘wild’ (see **baso**).

**eztul** (*c. exc.* Z), **eztül** (Z), **heztul** (L) *n.* ‘cough’. 1664.

OUO.

**eztul egin**, **eztül egin** *vitm.* ‘cough’. 1749. + **egin** ‘do’.

**eztulka** (\*\*), **eztulga** (old B) *adv.* ‘coughing’. + **-ka** AdvFS.

**hezur** (L LN Z), **ezur** (G HN L LN), **ézür** (Z), **ẽzur** (R), **azur** (B) *n.* ‘bone’ (*anat.*). 1643. CF **(h)ezu-**. Dimin. **hexur**.

From *\*enazur*, or possibly *\*anezur*, OÜO, by P1, P35.3 (M. \*\*\*\* {1961a: 119 fn. 16}).  
CF by W\*\*{11}. [FHV 119 fn, 210 fn]

**hezueri** (\*\*), **ezueri** (\*\*) *n.* ‘gout’. \*\*\*\* + **eri** ‘sickness’.

**ezurmaxurrak** (HN) *n. pl.* ‘leftovers, scraps’ (of meat and bones). An **m-reduplication**.

**fabore** (\*\*), **fagore** (L) *n.* ‘favour’. \*\*\*\*

**faisai** (Sout) *n.* ‘pheasant’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*) \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *faisán* id.

**faltsu** (\*\*), **falso** (\*\*), **paltsu** (\*\*), **paltso** (\*\*) *a.* ‘false’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 263]

**faratila** (HN) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘latch’} [FHV 266]

From Cast. *tara{b}illa* id., with metathesis.

**faun** (\*\*), **fau** (\*\*) *a.* \*\*\*\* {‘spongy, soft’ Aul.} [FHV 266]

**fede** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘faith’. \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *fedem* id. {*Recte* from proto-Romance *\*fede*, from Lat. *fidem*.} Interestingly, variants in /p-/ are little recorded, though the prologue of the unpublished dictionary of Fr. Bartolomé de Santa Teresa consistently writes *pede*, and Añibarro wrote in 1800 that *pede* was frequent in Bizkaian (M. 1961a: 263–264).

**felderako** (S.P.) *n.* \*\*\*\* ‘greyhound’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 266]

**feria** (\*\*), **peria** (\*\*), **hái(r)a** (Z), **héida** (Z) *n.* ‘fair’, ‘holiday, festival’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 263]

**fasta** (\*\*), **pesta** (\*\*), **besta** (\*\*) *n.* ‘festival’ \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\* [FHV 263]

\*\*\*\* An unrecorded earlier borrowing *\*bezta* is suggested by M. (1977a: 494) to account for **eztai** (*q.v.*).

**phestamu** (L) *n.* ‘festival of joy’. \*\*\*\* M. (1977a: 504) suggests **egun** ‘day’ as the second element.

**fidatu** (\*\*), **fiyatu** (G) \*\*\*\* {*vi.* ‘trust’}

{[] **fidel** (\*\*), **fiel** (\*\*), {} **piel** (old B) *a.* \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\* [FHV 263] {Actually M. only mentions *piel*, glossed by Az. as ‘mayor’ (from Cast. *fiel* ‘official’).}

**fier** (\*\*), **pier** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*a.* ‘strong, proud’} [FHV 334]

**fin** (\*\*), **pin** (old B) *n.* ‘end’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 263]

**fite** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*adv.* ‘at once’} [FHV 266]

**fóltsü** (Z) *n.* ‘pulse’ (of the body) [FHV 266]

From Cast. *pulso* id., by L\*\* {3}.



**frantses** (L \*\*) **frantzés** (Z) \*\*\*\* *n., a.* ‘French’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. {Occ.} *francés* id.; first form by P\*\* {W16}. Cf. *Frantzia* ‘France’ everywhere.

**freu** (Sout) *n.* ‘brake’. 1562.

From Cast. *freno* id., by P1. \*\*\*\*

**frijitu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*, **prexitu** (HN), **prejitu** (G) \*\*\*\* *vt.* ‘fry’. \*\*\*\*

**frogatu** (L \*\*), **porogatu** (\*\*), **phorogatu** (old LN \*\*), **borogatu** (old LN) \*\*\*\* *vt.* ‘prove’.  
\*\*\*\*

From Cast. *probar* id. or a related Rom. word {old Occ. *proar, provar*}, by \*\*\*\* {L3, P12, L8}.

**fruitu** (\*\*), **pruitu** (\*\*), **pruttu** (G) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘fruit’. \*\*\*\*

**-ga-, -k** (*c.*) Second-person singular male agreement suffix in finite verb-forms. \*\*\*\*

**gahatu** (\*\*) *vt.* ‘catch, get’. \*\*\*\* Stem **gaha-**.

**gahamu** (\*\* LN) *n.* ‘fishhook’. \*\*\*\* + **amu** ‘hook’.

**gabe** (\*\*), **bage** (B)?, **baga** (B), **barik** (B) \*\*\*\* {*p.* ‘without’}

\*\*\*\* {OUO.} Since the reduced form below is **-ga** etc. in B as elsewhere, it is safe to conclude that **gabe** is the conservative form, and that B **bage** etc. results from metathesis.

**-ga, -ge, -ka, -ke** \*\*\*\*

**gabi** (B G HN) *n.* ‘sledgehammer’. 1596.

OUO.

**gabigun** (G?) *n.* ‘handle of a sledgehammer’. \*\*\*\* + **igoin** ‘handle’ (M. 1961a: 140).  
[BUT FHV 534] [NEEDS SORTING: *igoin*]

**gabirai** (\*\* Sout) *n.* ‘sparrowhawk’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*) \*\*\*\* App. dimin. **txabirai** (old G) [hapax] (1619) (M. 1977a: 544).

From Cast. *gavilán* id., by P\*\* {22, P4?}.

**gai** (G HN L LN), **gei** (B R Z) *n.* ‘material, matter’. TS (old B) ‘thing’, TS ‘topic, subject’, TS *a.* ‘suitable, fit, worthy’, TS ‘unmarried, ready for marriage’. 1643.

OUO. Second form by P48, unless this is the conservative form, as suggested by the stem **gehi-** below (M. 1961a: 104). M. (1961a: 413) suggests that this noun has been extracted from the suffix below.

**-gai, -gei** NFS ‘material for’, ‘person or thing suitable or destined for’, AFS ‘suitable for, destined for’. [NOTE Z R use like *-garri*]

(-)**gaitik** (B), (-)**gatik** (\*\*), (-)**gati** (Sout old LN), **-gatika** (old LN) *p.* [+ Gen.], reanalysed in places as a CS ‘because of’. + **-tik** Abl. CS or + **-ti** \*\*\*\* {[2] Abl. CS}

**gehi-, gei-** Specialization of the above, serving as the stem of the following formations.

**gehiago** (\*\*), **geiago** (\*\*), **geixa(g)o** (B), **geago** (S), **deago** (S), **geao** (Sout) \*\*\*\*

**gehiegi** \*\*\*\*

**gehien** (\*\*), **geien** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* ‘most’, (LN Z R) *a.* ‘principal, premier, first-born’ \*\*\*\*

**gain** (*c. exc.* Z), **gan** (B), {**gane** (B),} **gañ** (Z) *n.* ‘top’. 15th cent. \*\*\*\*

OUO. [FHV 141] B form by P51. This is a spatial noun serving to form spatial postpositions.

**gaindi** (\*\*), **gáinti** (Z) \*\*\*\* [FHV 236] + **-ti** [3].

**gainean** (\*\*), **gainian** (\*\* LN R), **gañan** (HN LN S), **gáñan** (Z) *p.* [+ Gen] ‘on top of’.  
\*\*\*\*. + **-an** Loc

**gaineandu** (old LN), **gaiendu** (HN LN), **gallendu** (G) *vt.* ‘surpass’. \*\*\*\* + **-tu** VFS.  
An unusual case of a word-forming suffix following an inflectional suffix. [FHV 176 fn]

[BACK-FORMATION?]

**gainera** (\*\*) *adv.* ‘moreover’, ‘in addition’. \*\*\*\* + **-ra** All. {CS.}

{[] **gane** (B) \*\*\*\* [FHV 133] {} Variant of **gain**. Added there.}

**ginbárna** (R) *adv.* ‘downward’. + \*\*\*\* [FHV 67]

**kinber** (S), **khinber** (Z), **binper** (LN), **girbin** (HN) *n.* ‘back, other side’ (of a cloth).  
\*\*\*\* + **behere** ‘lower’ (or possibly **behera** ‘down’) (see **behe**), with assorted irregular developments, including metathesis (M. 1961a: 412 fn. 9). R **gimursi**, **girmuzi** id. M. (*ibid.*) sees as a cross of this word with **inpersu**.

**gaitz** (G HN), **gatx** (B L LN Z) *n.* ‘bad thing’, ‘source of grief’, ‘illness’, *a.* ‘bad’, ‘difficult’, ‘enormous’. 1545.

Second form by P\*\*{30}. OUO. Senses ‘difficult’ and ‘enormous’ are possibly TS from the suffixal use below. [FHV 563: in toponyms]

**-gaitz** AFS ‘bad’, ‘difficult’, ‘enormous’.

**gaizki** (*c.* exc. B), **geizki** (\*\*) *adv.* ‘badly’. + **-ki** [\*\*{1}] AdvFS.

**gaizto** (*c.*), **gaxto** (B), **gexto** (B) *a.* ‘naughty’. The suffix looks like **-to** {[1]} dimin., but M. (1961a: 259) notes the medieval personal name *Gayzco*, and proposes **-ko**, with dissimilation.

**gaizo** (\*\*), **gaiso** (?) (1745, 1896), **gaixo** (*c.*) (1545), **gaxo** (G?), **gajo** (G HN) *a.* ‘poor, unfortunate’, (B G) ‘ill, sick’, (B G) *n.* ‘illness’. [SORT THIS]

**gako** *n.* (L), **gakho** (L LN Z) ‘key’, TS (L) ‘keystone’, **kako** (B G HN R) (1745, 1802), **kháko** (Z) ‘hook’, (B) ‘two-pronged mattock’, (B) ‘pole’, ‘hanger’, (R) ‘secondary branches’, (LN) ‘rustic ladder’, **krako** (L LN) (1890), **kraka** (L) (1857) ‘hook’, TS *a.* ‘aquiline’ (of a nose).

OUO, possibly expressive. Attempts at linking this to the widespread word represented by Cast. *gancho* ‘hook’ are unpersuasive; see CP (*s.v.* *gancho*) for an account. [MT entry]

**mako** (G HN L) (1627), **maku** (?) (14th cent.) *n.* ‘hook’, ‘prong’, ‘pitchfork’. + **ma-** expressive syllable.

{[] **galai** (G) *n.* ‘gallant’, ‘ladies’ man’, ‘suitor’. \*\*\*\* {} Combined with following entry.}

From Cast. *galán* id.

**galant** (\*\*{*c.*}) \*\*\*\* {*a.* ‘elegant’}, **galai** (\*\*{B} G) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘gallant’, ‘ladies’ man’, ‘suitor’} [FHV 477]

\*\*\*\* {**galant** from Occ., Fr. *galant* id.; **galai** from Cast. *galán*, itself from Fr. *galant*.}

**galanki** (G) *adv.* ‘in abundance’. \*\*\*\* + **-ki** [\*\*{1}] AdvFS.

**galanto** (B) *adv.* ‘in abundance’. \*\*\*\* + **-to** [\*\*{2}] AdvFS.

**galde** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘question’. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* {From \**galte*, OUO.}

**galdegin** (\*\*), **galtegin** (R) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘ask’.} + **egin** ‘do’.

**galdera** (\*\*), **galdeera** (old G) *n.* ‘question’. \*\*\*\* + **-era** \*\*\*\* {NFS. See **era**.}

**galdetu** (\*\*), **galdatu** (\*\*), **galthátü** (Z) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘ask’. \*\*\*\* + **-tu** VFS.

**gáltho** (Z) *n.* ‘request’. \*\*\*\*

**galdor** (\*\*), **galdurru** (\*\*), **galdur** (\*\*), **galddur** (G), **galluru** (B), **gallur** (B) *n.* ‘roof ridge’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 357]

**galdu** (*c. exc.* Z), **gáldü** (Z), **galtu** (R) *vi.* ‘get lost’, TS ‘disappear, vanish’, *vt.* ‘lose’. Stem **gal-**. 15th cent.

OUO. The stem is probably non-verbal in origin. The unexpected /d/ in the Z form points to diffusion, by P\*\*{6} (M. 1961a: 230 fn. 10).

**galera** (\*\*) *n.* ‘loss’. \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\* + **-era** \*\*\*\* {NFS. See **era**.}

**galte** *n.* (Sout R) ‘loss’ (1562), **kalte** (B G HN L LN), **kalta** (old B, *R&S* 510 [hapax]) ‘harm, damage, injury’ (1571), (L LN) ‘loss’. + **-te** [1] NFS. The common variant in /k/ is puzzling; perhaps by P11. [FHV 218]

**kalte(a)k hartu** (old L) ‘injured’, lit. ‘taken by injury’. + **hartu** ‘taken’.

**galkatu** (\*\*), **galkhatu** (\*\* old LN), **kalkatu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\* {(Various senses in Az. and Aul., not obviously related to one another.)} [FHV 354]

**galtzairu** (G HN L), **kaltzairu** (B), **altzairu** (\*\*), **alzairu** (\*\*), **alzeiru** (\*\*), **altzeiru** (G \*\*), **atxairu** (R S), **atxeiru** (R), **atxéirü** (Z), **atxéidü** (Z) *n.* ‘steel’. \*\*\*\* [consider moving?]

From Cast. *acero* id. \*\*\*\*

**galtzak** (\*\*) *n. pl.* ‘trousers’ \*\*\*\* **gáltza** (Z) ‘stocking’. \*\*\*\*

**galtzerdi** (\*\*), **kaltzerdi** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘stocking’} [FHV 117]

**galtzar** *n.* ‘lap’ (old L old LN), ‘chest, breast’ (L LN), ‘arm’ (B G HN L) (archaic), ‘side of the body from the armpit to the hip’ (L LN), TS ‘armful’, TS ‘breast’ (fig.) 1630.

OUO. The range of senses of this chiefly northern word is startling. The earliest recorded sense is ‘lap’, suggesting a possible link with **altzo** ‘lap’ {not in *The Dictionary*}. A shift from ‘chest’ to ‘side of the body’ to ‘arm’ does not seem unreasonable, but ‘lap’ to ‘chest’ is harder to understand.

**gamelu** (\*\*), **kamelu** (\*\*), **gamellu** (Sout) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘camel’. \*\*\*\*

**-gan** \*\*\*\* {Loc. CS.} See also **-an**. {“ both in the western animate allatives like *gizona(ren)gana* ‘to the man’ and in the northern postposition *gana* ‘next to’, as in L

LN *gizonaren gana* ‘next to the man’ (speaking of movement to this position). In L LN, it can optionally take a following **-t**, just like **-ra**: *hunat* ‘hither’, *gizonaren ganat* ‘next to the man’.” Cited from **-a** [1].}

**-ganat** (\*\*), **-ganát** (Z)

**ganbara** (B G HN L LN Z), **ganbera** (Z), **kanbara** (H.), **khanbara** (H.), **khanbera** (Z) *n.* ‘room’, ‘storage room’, ‘loft, attic’. 1617. Also **ganbra** (R) ‘alcove’.

From some Rom. development of Lat. *cameram* ‘chamber’, of the approx. form *\*cambra* {Occ. *cambra*}, by L\*\*{8}; cf. Fr. *chambre* ‘room’ (M. 1961a: 360). [FHV 360: more]

**ganbela** (\*\*) *n.* ‘trough, manger’. \*\*\*\*

From \*\*\*\* [FHV 360: Cast. *gamella*]

**\*ganbo**, **\*kanbo** *n.* ? ‘hot spring, spa’ ?

Not recorded as an independent word, but seemingly reconstructible. There is a town in Lapurdi called *Kanbo* (Fr. *Cambo-les-Bains*), which has a celebrated hot spring. And there are several surnames containing this element, including *Kanboa* ~ *Ganboa* (Cast. *Camboa* ~ *Gamboa*), *Ganbarte* (Fr. *Gambart*) and *Kanboberry* (Fr. *Camboberry*), among others. The variants with initial /k/ point clearly to a loan word, but no good Rom. source exists. M. (1973\*\*{a: 91-92}) diffidently suggests either Lat. *campus* ‘field’ or a Celtic *\*cambos* ‘curve’, attested in Gaulish toponyms like *Cambodunum* and *Camboritum*, and ancestral to Irish, Breton *camm*, Welsh, Cornish *cam* ‘curve’. CP (*s.v.* *cama* II) note a document of 1211 from Buñuel with the startling graphy *in cambo novo* for Lat. *in campo novo* ‘in the new field’, and cautiously suggest interference from the Celtic word. All these suggestions imply that the name of *Kanbo* was given for other reasons, and that the sense of ‘hot spring’ arose from the presence in *Kanbo* of such a spring.

**ganbour** (HN) *n.* ‘sulphurous water’. + **ur** ‘water’.

**ganga** (L LN S.P.) *n.* ‘vault’ (19th c.?), TS ‘sky, heavens’ (*lit.*), TS (L) ‘palate’ (*anat.*) (1664), TS ‘*la cahuette*’ (see below), TS ‘cupola’ (1925).

From Rom. *canga*, of various senses (CP *s.v.* *canga*). CP derive the word from a Celtic source meaning ‘curved’. The word occurs widely in the Iberian Peninsula with a startling variety of senses: ‘yoke’, ‘yoking of two animals’, ‘collar for an animal’, ‘handbarrow’, ‘type of plough’ and ‘narrow mountain pass’, at least.

The sense of ‘palate’ is the earliest recorded, though this is unquestionably secondary. Both Duvoisin and Azkue state expressly that ‘palate’ is more usually the compound **ahoganga** ‘mouth-vault’ (see under **aho**, and see also there the numerous compounds of the same type for ‘palate’), and they therefore imply that **ganga** alone for ‘palate’ is no more than an occasional reduction.

The 17th-c. lexicographer Pouvreau provides a mysterious entry: *Ganga eroria la cahuette. Ganga erori zait*. The first phrase is ‘fallen *ganga*’, glossed with the unidentifiable French word *cahuette*. The second example is a sentence: ‘My *ganga* has fallen down.’ It seems impossible to make any sense of this. Azkue (1905) takes *cahuette* as an error for *cahute* ‘hut, shack’, and so glosses *ganga*, but according to

Pouvreau a *cahnette*, whatever it is, is not a *ganga* but a fallen *ganga*. The writer J. B. Archu took *cahnette* instead as an error for *luette* ‘uvula’, which seems indefensible.

**ganibet** (\*\*), **gaminta** (S) *n.* ‘(table) knife’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 163] {Occ. *ganivet* id.}

**ganora** (B) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘skill’}, **kanore** (old L), **khanore** (old L) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘basis’} [FHV 561]

**gantz** (\*\*) *n.* ‘fat, lard’. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

**gan(t)xi(n)gor** (HN L LN Z), **txantxigor** (\*\*) *n.* ‘pork crackling’. + **txigor** ‘toasted’ {(not in *The Dictionary*)} (M. 1961a: 188). [FHV 351]

**gazkeza** (HN) *n.* ‘unmelted butter’. \*\*\*\* + **geza** ‘insipid’ (M. 1961a: 368).

**gapirio** (\*\* old LN), **kapirio** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* ‘beam, rafter’ [FHV 348]

**gar** (B HN LN Z R) (1545), **kar** (LN), **khar** (L LN) (1617) *n.* ‘flame’, TS ‘fervour, zeal’, TS ‘heat, rut’ (of a female animal), TS ‘anxiety’.

OUO. The *variants* with /k/ are utterly mysterious. One possibility is that a devoiced variant *\*-kar* of **gar**, arising regularly when this word is the second element of a compound, or a devoiced variant *\*kar-*, arising by P11 when a voiceless obstruent follows in word-formation, might have been extended to the independent word, but evidence to support this suggestion is at best sparse. See also **lama**.

**garmendi** *n.* ‘volcano’. 1857. + **mendi** ‘mountain’. The word is chiefly literary, rather than popular. This is hardly surprising: there have been no active volcanoes anywhere near the Basque Country since modern humans settled the area. But seemingly contradicting the neologistic nature of the word is the widespread presence of a surname *Garmendia* since the medieval period. M. (1973\*\* {a: 92} : *s.v.* *gar*) considers the possibility that this might represent only a syncopated form of another surname, *Garramendia*, not related to **gar**, but also notes the parallelism offered by another surname, *Sumendiaga* (see **sumendi**, under **su**).

**gartu** (*c.*) *vi.* ‘burst into flame’, TS ‘become zealous’, *vt.* ‘set alight’. Apparently + **-tu** VFS. But Charenc {e}y (\*\*\*\*) notes a hapax *gahar(tu)* ‘burst into flame’, which must derive from **gar** + **hartu** ‘take’: lit., ‘take flame’. Perhaps the modern verb derives from both sources. Oddly, the expected northern variant *\*k(h)artu* is not reported in any of my sources, all of which report only **gartu** even in the varieties having **k(h)ar** for the noun – even though the development of **gartu** to *\*k(h)artu* not only would be unremarkable, by P11, but would provide an obvious source for the form **k(h)ar**.

\***gara** *n.*? Hypothetical stem, meaning something like ‘height’, ‘high place’, not attested as an independent word, but present in several derivatives. In some cases, it appears to denote something like ‘head’ or ‘skull’. It sometimes shows the irregular combining form **gar-**. This element is frequent in surnames, such as *Garate* and *Azkarate*, and it is possibly present in several opaque toponyms, like *Bergara* in Gipuzkoa. The reconstructed form should perhaps be *\*gala*, by P22. M. (1973 {a}; *s.v.*) notes that the town in Alava today called *Virgala* in Spanish appears as *Birgara* in the *Reja de San*

*Millán* in 1025, showing the same Bq.-Rom. correspondence as Cast. *Alava*, Bq. *Araba*.

**garai** (*c.*), **gara** (B) *a.* ‘high’, *n.* ‘height’. 1571. + **-i** {[1]} AFS. B form perhaps by an unusual application of P51. The nominal use is largely confined to the literary language, and probably represents a nominalization of the adjective.

**garate** (Z) *n.* ‘mountain pass’. + **ate** ‘door’. Though not found outside Z in the historical period, this word is the obvious source of the common Spanish Basque surname *Garate*. M. (1973{a}; *s.v. gara*) notes the following passage from the Bizkaian writer Iturriza in 1418: “...é seyendo garate desde el bado de Vzabal fasta Arguenaen, ...é con el dicho apeamiento, é garate, é todo la ganancia...” ‘and being *garate* from the ford of Uzabal as far as Arguenaen,...and with the said boundaries, and *garate*, and all the earnings...’ All this suggests that **garate** was once widespread in the language, since Z and B represent the eastern and western extremities of the language. But M. (1973{a}; *s.v. gar*) notes that **garate** might derive directly from **garai** (above), rather than directly from \***gara**.

**garaun**, **karaun**, **garun**, **garuin**, **garoiñ** (B) *n.* ‘brain(s). Usually pl. 1653. + **un** ‘pith, marrow’ (see **muin**). [Azkue] [FHV 150-151, 151 fn]

**gargaite** (L LN) *n.* ‘summit’. Final element uncertain, but probably *igaite*, the verbal noun or gerund in **-te** {[2]} of the verb **igan** ‘go up, ascend’: lit., then, something like ‘elevation-ascent’.

**garkola** (LN), **garkhora** (L S) *n.* ‘nape’, ‘back of the neck’. Uncertain, but probably + Cast. *cola* ‘tail’, or a related Rom. form.

**garkotze**, **garkotz**, **garkhotxe** (Z) *n.* ‘nape’, ‘back of the neck’. Late 19th cent. + **khotxe** ‘hollow’.

**garmazu** (H.) *n.* ‘hair (of the head)’, ‘mane (of a horse)’. Final element obscure.

**garondo**, **garaondo** (LN), **garhondo** (old LN), **garando** (\*\*), **garrondo** (B HN R) *n.* ‘nape’, ‘back of the neck’. + **ondo** [1] ‘bottom’. [FHV 331]

**garaizuma** (\*\*), **garizuma** (\*\*), **gorexima** (R), **go(r)oxíma** (Z), **go(r)ozema** (Z), **go(r)oxüma** (Z) \*\*\*\*\* *n.* ‘Lent’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 78, 168]

**garaun** (B), **garau** (B), **karaun** (B), **krau** (old B Sout) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘grain’, \*\*\*\* CF **garan-**. [FHV 152, 348]

From \**garanu*, by P1, from Lat. *grānum* id. CF by W\*\*{1, P1.3}.

**garandu** (B) \*\*\*\* {vt. ‘take seeds out’} [FHV 301]

**garangorri** (B) *n.* ‘fruit of the arbutus (strawberry tree)’. + **gorri** ‘red’ {(see\***gorr-**)}.

**garazia** (\*\*), **gerazia** (Sout) *n.* ‘grace’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 158]

**garba** (B G HN), **kharba** (LN), **barga** (Z), **darga** (R), **garga** (R) \*\*\*\* {*n.* (implement for beating flax, hemp)} [FHV 535]

**garbatu** (B G HN), **kharbatu** (LN), **bargatü** (Z) \*\*\*\* {vt. ‘dress (hemp)’, ‘card (wool)’} [FHV 535]

**garbai** (B) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘repentance’} [FHV 535]

**garbaitu** (B) \*\*\*\* {*vi.* ‘repent’} [FHV 535]

**garbi** (*c.*) *a.* ‘clean’, TS ‘pure’, TS ‘free of sin’, TS ‘chaste’ (of a woman). 1537.

OUO.

**garbitasun** (*c. exc. Z*), **garbitarzüin** (*Z*) *n.* ‘cleanliness’, ‘purity’, ‘chastity, virginity’ (of a woman). 1617. + **-tasun** abstract NFS (see **-tar**).

**gari** (B G HN L) *n.* ‘wheat’ (*bot.*) (*Triticum aestivum*). CF **gal-**. 12th cent., 1596.

From \**gali*, OUO, by P22. CF by W2.1. See **ogi**.

**galbae** (B old G HN), **galbai** (G \*\*) [FHV 118], **galbe** (R), **galbahe** (EB) *n.* ‘fine sieve’. 1596. + **bahe** ‘sieve’.

**galbera** (B) *n.* ‘wheat *sp.*’. + **bera** ‘soft’.

**galburu** (\*\*) *n.* ‘ear of corn’. \*\*\*\* + **buru** ‘head’.

**galsoro** (G HN) *n.* ‘field of wheat’. + **soro** ‘field’ {(see **sorho**)}.

**galtzuri** (B?), **galzuri** (B), **galtxuri** (HN) *n.* ‘wheat *sp.*’. 1745, 1858. + **zuri** ‘white’.

**garagar** (*c.*) *n.* ‘barley’ (*bot.*) (*Hordeum distichon*). 1562. Apparently a reduplication of **gari**, though both the semantics and the phonology are puzzling.

**garagardo** (1896), **garardo** (1896), **gararno** (1745), **garardao** (*ca.* 1800) *n.* ‘beer’. + **ardo** (and variants) ‘wine’, ‘fermented beverage’. Apparently a Larramendian neologism, but now widespread in the south.

**garilar** (R) *n.* [arvejana] \*\*\*\* + **ilar** ‘legume’.

**garitxa** (\*\*), **garitx** (\*\*), **garitxo** (\*\*), **garijo** (B), **gari** (B), **kalitx(a)** (HN LN) *n.* ‘wart, verruca’. \*\*\*\* {M. 1961a: 314.}

**garo** (G) *n.* ‘fern’ (*bot.*) \*\*\*\* CF **gara-**.

\*\*\*\* {OUO.} CF by W2.2.

**gareban**, **garaman**, **garamen** (G) *n.* ‘place where fern is cut’. \*\*\*\* The second element is a form of **ebaki** ‘cut’ (M. 1961a: 275; 1973 {a: 106} § 329); it appears to be an otherwise unattested participle \**eban*. {See \***eba-**.}

**garrantzi** (1902), **garransi** (1745) *n.* ‘value, importance, interest’.

Larramendian neologism, later picked up by the Basque nationalists in an altered form.

**garrantzitsu** *a.* ‘important’. 1932. + **-tsu** AFS ‘full of’.

**garratz** (\*\*) *a.* ‘rough’, \*\*\*\* {‘sour’ Aul.}, *ni.* \*\*\*\* [FHV 512]

{[] **garrasztulu** (\*\*), **arrastélü** (Z) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘rake’} [FHV 79] [] Partly duplicates **arrasztelu**. Combined there.}



**-garren (\*\*), -gérren (Z) \*\*\*\*** ordinal suffix [2nd by assim]

**garro** (HN L) *n.* ‘tentacle’ (of an octopus *etc.*). 1905.

OUO.

**gatz** (*c.*) *n.* ‘salt’. 15th cent.

OUO.

**gatzaga** (B G) *n.* ‘salt mine’. 1745. + **-aga** NFS of place.

**gatzagi** (B G L LN Z R) *n.* ‘rennet’, ‘curd’. Final element obscure.

**gatzandel, gatzadel** (B G) *n.* ‘salt deposit’. + **-andel** NFS. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**gatzarri** *n.* (*c.*) ‘rock salt’, (G) ‘underground salt deposit’, (B LN) ‘a certain white stone found in limestone deposits’, (R) ‘a certain rough whitish stone used to rub the tongues of sick animals’, (?) ‘salt lick’ (for animals). 1842. + **harri** ‘stone’.

**gatzartu** (B G HN L) *n.* ‘dried and salted meat’. 1746. + **ihartu** ‘dried’ {(see **eihar**)}.

**gatzatu** (B Z R) *vi., vt.* ‘curdle’ (1571); *vt.* ‘salt’ (1745, 1928); *vi.* ‘become pregnant’, *vt.* ‘become pregnant with’. + **-tu** VFS, by W17.

**gatzatu** (B) *n.* ‘sweet dessert made from rennet’. *Ca.* 1800.

**gatzemaile** ‘person who prepares meals in a foundry’. *Ca.* 1802. + **emaile** ‘donor’ (see **eman** {not in *The Dictionary*}); lit., ‘salt-giver’.

**gatzil** (R), **gatzhil** (LN Z) *a.* ‘insipid’. 1905. + **hil** ‘dead’.

**gatzontzi** *n.* ‘salt-cellar’. 1657. + **ontzi** ‘container’.

**gatzotz** *a.* ‘unsalted, insipid’. *Ca.* 1840. + **hotz** ‘cold’.

**gatzotzu** (Z), **gatzotzi** *vi.* ‘lose its flavour’, ‘lose its sparkle’. 1856. + **-tu** VFS, + **-i** [1] VFS {see **-i** [1] AFS}. The second form is a rare example of a denominal verb formed with **-i**.

**gatzozpin** *n.* ‘salad prepared with salt, vinegar and oil’. 1816. + **ozpin** ‘vinegar’.

**gatzu** *n.* ‘saltpetre’. 1745. Larramendian neologism of obscure formation, used only occasionally and now probably obsolete.

**gatzun, gasun** *n.* ‘brine’ (especially for preserving food). 1860. Final element obscure.

**gazgabe, gazbage** (B), **gazbaga** (B), *a.* ‘unsalted’, TS ‘insipid’. *Ca.* 1750. + **gabe** ‘without’.

**gazgabeko, gazbako** (B) *advl.* ‘unsalted, insipid’. 1802. + **-ko** RS.

**gazi** (*c.*) *a.* ‘salty’. 15th cent. + **-i** [1] AFS.

**gaziantz, gaziantx** (B G) *a.* ‘slightly oversalted’. + **-antz** AFS ‘-ish’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**gazi-belar** (G) *n.* ‘sorrel’ (*bot.*) + **belar** ‘grass’.

**gazigarri** *n.* ‘appetizer’. *Ca.* 1820. + **-garri** NFS. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**gaziki** [1] *adv.* ‘in a salty manner’. 17th cent. + **-ki** [1] AdvFS.

**gaziki** [2] *n.* ‘salted food’. 1888. + **-ki** [3] NFS.

**gazitasun** *n.* ‘saltiness’. *Ca.* 1760. + **-tasun** abstract NFS (see **-tar**).

**gazitegi** *n.* ‘vessel for keeping salt in a house’. 1881. + **-tegi** ‘place’ {(see **hegi**)}.

**gazitu** (*c.*), **gatzitu** (B) *vi.* ‘become salty’, *vt.* ‘salt’ (food in the pot or at the table, or dried food for storage). Stem **gazi-**. 1571. + **-tu** VFS. B form by contamination from **gatz** ‘salt’.

**gazitzaille** *n.* ‘person who salts’ (dried food for storage). Late 19th cent. + **-tzaile** agent NFS (see **-tza**).

**gazkaragar** (HN) *n.* ‘hail’. + **garagar** ‘barley’ (see **gari**): lit. ‘salt-barley’.

**gatzari** (LN S Z) *n.* ‘salt-seller’. + **-kari** professional NFS (see **-ari** {[1]}).

**gatzun** *a.* ‘salty’ (of food), TS ‘salty’ (as of language or stories). 1745, 1837. + **-dun** ‘having’ (see **\*edun**).

**gazur** (\*\*), **gatzur** (\*\*), **gaxúr** (Z R) *n.* ‘whey’. 1745. + **ur** ‘water’. M. (1961a: 334) remarks that the R form has the “strange” /r/ of *dur* ‘I have it’.

**gau** (*c. exc.* Z R), **gai** (Z R) *n.* ‘night’. 15th c. CF sometimes **gab-** before a vowel in B G. OUO. Z R form by P69. See also **afari**.

**gaihaldi** (Z) *n.* ‘(period of one) night’. + **aldi** ‘time’.

**gau bele** *n.* ‘nightjar’, ‘goatsucker’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*) 1924. + **bele** ‘crow’ {(see **\*bel-**)}.

**gauerdi** (\*\*), **gauherdi** (old LN), **gaihérdi** (Z) *n.* ‘midnight’. \*\*\*\* + **erdi** ‘middle’.

**gau-iñara** (HN), **gau-inhara** (S.P.), **ma(i)ñari** (R) *n.* ‘bat’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*). + variants of **ainhara** ‘swallow, swift’ {(see **enara**)}; the development of the last form is *\*gai-añari* > *\*bai-añari* > *maiñari* (M. 1961a: 268).

**gaur** (\*\* Z R) *adv.* (\*\*\*\*) ‘tonight’, TS (\*\*\*\*) ‘today’. \*\*\*\* + **haur** ‘this’ (see **hau**) (M. 1961a: 336).

**gargero** (HN), **gargio** (L), **gargeroz** (R) *adv.* ‘from now on’. + **gero** ‘later’ (+ **-z** instr./advbl.) (M. 1961a: 95).

**gauza** (*c. exc.* Z R), **gáiza** (Z R) *n.* ‘thing’. 1545.

From Lat. *causam* ‘cause’ (M. 1961a: 93). The semantic change is Rom., not Bq.: *cf.* {Occ. *causa*}, Cast. *cosa*, Fr. *chose*, etc., all ‘thing’.

**gauza izan** \*\*\*\* *vi.* ‘be suitable, be just the thing’. 1745, 1763. + **izan** ‘be’.

**-gaz** (B) Com. CS, *pl.* **-kaz** \*\*\*\* [FHV 346]

**gaztai** (B), **gaztaē** (old B) (1596), **gazta** (Sout G HN S) (15th cent.), **gázta** (R), **gázta** (R), **gasta** (R) (1591), **gazna** (HN L LN R), **gazná** (Z) *n.* ‘cheese’. CF **gazan-**.

From *\*gaztana*, OUO, by P1, P35.3, P18 (M. 1961a: 145). CF by W1.

**gazanbera** *n.* (LN) ‘curd’, (B G) ‘fromage frais’, (HN A R) ‘soft cheese resembling cottage cheese’. 1745, 1802. + **bera** ‘soft’. [FHV 164 fn]

**gazanur** (B) *n.* ‘whey’. \*\*\*\* + **ur** ‘water’.

**gaztanzuku** (R) *n.* ‘soup made with cheese’. \*\*\*\* + **zuku** ‘soup’.

**gaztaina** (\*\*), **gaztaña** (\*\*), **kastaña** (B Sout) *n.* ‘chestnut’. \*\*\*\*

**gazte** (\*\*) *a.* ‘young’, *n.* ‘youth, young person’. \*\*\*\* CF **gazta-**  
OUO. \*\*\*\*

**gazarasun** (old L) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘youth’. \*\*\*\* + **-tasun** NFS (see **-tar**).

**gaztelu** (\*\*), **gaztélü** (Z), **gaztulu** (?) *n.* ‘castle’. \*\*\*\*

**geben-** (old B) \*\*\*\* {*v.* ‘forbid’} [FHV 266 fn]

**gedexa** (HN), **gedeja** (HN) *n.* ‘plait, braid’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 227]

**gela** (\*\*) *n.* ‘room’. \*\*\*\*

From \**geLa*, by P\*\* {23}, from Lat. *cellam* ‘chamber’ (M. 1961a: 239).

**gelhá(r)i** (Z) *n.* ‘maidservant, governess’. \*\*\*\* AT

From Lat. *cellārium* \*\*\*\* (M. 1961a: 210).

**geldi** (\*\*), **guldi** (HN) \*\*\*\* *a.* ‘quiet, tranquil’. \*\*\*\*

**gelditu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*vti.* ‘remain, stop’ Aul.}

{[] **geñhatu** (\*\*), **geñhatü** (Z) *vtt.* ‘save’, other senses {]. Partly duplicates **jeinhatu**.  
Combined there.}

**geratu** (B Sout G HN) \*\*\*\* {*vi.* ‘stop, stay’}

From Cast. *quedar* \*\*\*\* {id.} [FHV 259]

**gereta** (HN L), **keleta** (R) *n.* ‘rustic gate’. \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *clētam* id. (M. 1961a: 312), by L\*\* {8}, P\*\* {22}.

**gerezi** (G HN LN Z R), **keriza** (B G), **kereiza** (HN), **kerexa** (B Sout HN), **gerexa** (HN) *n.*  
‘cherry’ (*bot.*) 1664.

From LLat. *ceresiam* id. (M. 1961a: 239). [CHECK V LENGTH {Done.}]

**gernu** (HN L LN), **garnu** (B) *n.* ‘urine’. 1643.

OUO, and difficult. B form by P59. The cluster /rn/ is unusual in a native word. Even with P14, Cast. *orina* id. does not look a plausible source, while German *Harn* id. is out of the question. Probably native, with an unrecoverable phonological history.

**garnur** (L) ‘urine’. App. + **ur** ‘water’, though the form of the stem is puzzling, and the reality of this word (attested only in the 19th-cent. Romantic writer Chaho) must be doubted.

**gero** (c.) *adv.* ‘later’ (1545), TS *n.* ‘future’ (1643), TS *prt.* ‘really!’, ‘I can tell you!’, postposed to an utterance (ca. 1800).

OUO. Possibly contains **-ro** AdvFS {not in *The Dictionary*} (M. 1961a: 413 fn. 12); this seems preferable to the suggestion of Oregui (1950) of **aro** ‘age’. The nominal use is strictly literary. See also **-z gero** (under **-z**) and **(e)ta gero** (under **eta**).

**geroago** *adv.* ‘later’. 1656. + **-ago** comparative. Pleonasm.

**gero eta ...-ago** ‘...-er and ...-er’, as in *gero eta handiagoa* ‘bigger and bigger’. + **eta** ‘and’ + **-ago** comparative.

**gerra** (\*\*), **gerla** (\*\*) *n.* ‘war’. \*\*\*\*

**gerri** (B Sout G L LN Z), **garri** (B) *n.* ‘waist’ (*anat.*). 1621.

OUO. Second form by P59.

**gerriak** (\*\*) [FHV 144] EH? {Apparently plural of **gerri**.}

**gerruntzeak** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {‘waist, hips’ Az.} [FHV 144] EH?

**gertu** (B \*\*), **gerthu** (\*\*) *a.* ‘certain’, ‘ready, prepared’ \*\*\*\* CF **gerta-**.

From Lat. *certum* \*\*\*\* {‘certain’} (M. 1961a: 51).

**gertatu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*vi.* ‘happen’ Az.}}

**gesal** (\*\*), **kresal** (B) *n.* ‘sea water’, ‘salt water’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 349]

The word is frequent in toponyms, and a toponym *Kessalla* in Alava, 1025.

**getaria** (G?) *n.* ‘watchtower from which smoke signals are sent’. 1745.

From Gasc. *guetari* ‘watchtower’, ‘watchman’ (Gavel \*\*\*\* {The ref. “*RIEV* 15 (1924) 544n.” given in M. 1973a: 53 and AT *s.v.* is incorrect.}). This sparsely attested word has nothing to do with **ke** ‘smoke’.

**geza** (\*\*), **gaza** (B) *a.* ‘tasteless, insipid’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 70] [*gatz?*]

**gezatu** (\*\* old LN) \*\*\*\* {*vti.* ‘desalinate’, ‘lose flavour’}

**gezi** (\*\*) *n.* ‘dart’. \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *gaesum* ~ *gēsum* ‘Gaulish javelin’ (M. 1961a: 104, 239).

**gezur** (\*\*), **gizur** (B), **guzur** (B) *n.* ‘lie, falsehood’. [FHV 68]

\*\*\*\*\* {OUO.}

\***gi-** *n.?* ‘meat’? Hypothetical stem app. underlying the following (M. \*\*\*\*).

{**ginharre** (LN Z), **giharre** (Z) {?*l. gīharre*}, **g{īa}rre** (R), **gihar** (?), **giharra** (?),  
{**giarra** (B G HN), **gigarra** (B)} **giñar** (G{? HN L}) *n.* ‘lean meat’, TS (B G) **giarre**  
‘rancour, bitterness’, TS ‘muscle’, *a.* ‘slender, spare’. 1643. Opaque, but the G R  
forms point to \**ginarre*. {M. 1950b: 456}

**gibel** (*c.*), **bigel** (HN) *n.* ‘liver’ (1562), TS (L LN Z HN) ‘(space) behind’ (1545). + \***bel**  
‘dark’. Second form by metathesis.

[COMPOUND{S}: FHV 144-145] [FHV 241]

**gizen** (*c.*), **gizen** (Z) *n.* ‘fat’, *a.* ‘fat’, TS (L LN Z R) *n.* ‘fertile land’. 1562. Second  
element obscure.

**gidatu** (\*\*), **giyatu** (G) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘guide’}

From {Old}Cast. Occ. *guidar* id. (M. 1961a: 226).

**gider** (\*\*), **kider** (\*\*) *n.* ‘handle’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 508]

{OUO.}

**girtain** (L), **girthain** (\*\*), **girten** (\*\*), **kirten** (B G), **kirtain** (HN), **kerten** (G) \*\*\*\* *n.*  
‘handle’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 62, 296] + **oin** ‘foot’ (M. 1977a: 508). See **igoin**, **zirtoin**.

**gilbor** (B G HN), **bilgor** (\*\*), **bilgorra** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘lard’} [FHV 260]

**giltza** (old B G HN), **giltz** (\*\*) *n.* ‘key’. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* {OUO.}

**giltzatu** (*c. exc.* Z), **giltzatü** (Z) *vt.* ‘lock’. \*\*\*\*

**giltzurrun** (\*\*), **gultzurdin** (G), **gultzurdun** (G), **gultzurin** (G), **gultzurrun** (B),  
**gültzürrün** (Z), **kuntzurrun** (B), **beltzurin** (R), **beltzarrün** (R), **beltzurrun** (R),  
**geltzurin** (G L), **giltzurdin** (\*\*), **giltzurin** (\*\*), \*\*\*\* [FHV 75] ‘kidney’ (*anat.*)

**ginharreba** (old LN), **giñarraba** (B), *n.* ‘father-in-law’. 1571.

OUO, but appears to contain **arreba** ‘sister of a man’, which is mysterious. Sarasola  
(1996; *s.v. ginarreba*) reports that the word is also attested as ‘mother-in-law’.

-**ginarreba** (*c.*), -**giarreba** (G) ‘-in-law’, in kinship terms; see examples under **aita**,  
**ama**. It is far from clear what has happened here, and it may be that the noun cited  
here as the headword represents merely an extraction of the suffix. If so, then the first  
element might be -**gin** ‘who makes’ (see **egin**), and the force of **amaginarreba**  
‘mother-in-law’ would apparently be ‘sister who makes mother’.

**giputz**, **kiputz** (B) *n., a.* ‘Gipuzkoan’. 15th cent. Dimin. **giputx**, **kiputx**.

OUO. Second form by P11. The word looks like a back-formation from the province  
name, but M. (\*\*\*\* {?1969b: 28}) suggests that the province name itself may consist of  
**giputz** + -**goa** collective NFS.

**giro** (\*\*\*) *n.* ‘atmosphere, ambience’.

\*\*\*\* {OUO.}

**gisu** (L LN), **khisu** (L LN Z) *n.* ‘lime’. 1627.

From Lat. *gypsum* id. The rendering of Lat. /s/ with the apical /s/ is unusual.

{[] **gizen** (c.) \*\*\*\*, **gizen** (Z) [] Duplicate, see under \*gi-.}

**gizon** (c. exc. Z), **gixon** (B G), **gizon** (Z LN). *n.* ‘man’, ‘person’. CF **giza-**. 15th cent. Dimin. **gixon** (B HN LN S).

OUO. Second form by P30. Last form by P71. CF by W10, W2.2; this is the only word in the language which undergoes both these processes. Probably attested in Aq. as *CISON-* in male names. [CHECK THIS {See e.g. M. 1961a: 50}]

**gizagaiso** (c.), **gizagaizo** (ca. 1800), **gizagaixo** (1842), **gizagaixo** (ca. 1808), **gizagaxo** (\*\*), **gixaxo** (?), **gizagajo** (G) (1761), **gizajo** (B) (1847), **gixajo** (B G), **gizaixo** (B G), **gizarajo** (G) *n.* ‘poor fellow’. + **gaiso** ‘unfortunate’ (*q.v.* for the /j/), often with reduction.

**gixaja** (B G) *n.* ‘poor woman’. By M18, replacement of final /o/ by a Rom.-style female /a/.

**gizagaldu** (?) *n.* ‘dissipated man’. 1840. + **galdu** ‘lost’.

**gizaki** *n.* (B HN LN R) ‘human race’, (R) ‘human being, person’, (HN) ‘male, man’, (G) ‘sex’ (male or female). 1759. + **-ki** [\*\*{3}] NFS.

**gizakoi** (old L) *a.* ‘fond of men, man-chasing’ (of a woman). 1643. + **-koi** ‘fond of’ {(see **ohi**)}.

**gizakume** *n.* (B G HN) ‘man’, (L) ‘person, human being’, (LN R) ‘male child’. 1627. + **-kume** ‘child’ (see **ume**).

**gizaurde** (L), **izurde** (B G), **izurda** (B) *n.* ‘dolphin’ (*zool.*) (*Delphinus*). 1627. + **urde** ‘pig’. Loss of /g/ perhaps by P14. Last form by M5. [FHV 116 fn]

**gizerhaile** (old LN) *n.* ‘murderer’. \*\*\*\* + **eraile** ‘killer’ (see **ero** [\*\*{2}]).

**gizotso** (LN) *n.* ‘goblin, elf’, **gigotso** (L) ‘unsociable or semi-savage man’. \*\*\*\* + **otso** ‘wolf’. Second form by a curious alteration.

**-goa**, **-go**, **-oa** (c. exc. Z), **-gúa** (Z) Collective NFS.

OUO. The form **-(g)oa** predominates in older formations, while **-go**, apparently by M\*\*{4}, predominates in more recent formations. The unusual hiatus suggests a lost consonant, and hence \*-goCa. It is possible that this suffix is present in the three province names *Gipuzkoa*, *Nafarroa* and *Zuberoa* (M. \*\*\*\*{?1969b: 28}), and perhaps also in a few habitation names, like *Ondarroa* (**ondar** ‘sand’; the town has a sandy beach).

**godalet** (Z), **godale** (Z) *n.* ‘drinking glass, wine glass’. Ca. 1840.

From Fr. *gobelet* id.

**gogo** (*c.*) *n.* ‘mind’, ‘memory’, ‘soul’, ‘spirit’, TS ‘desire, appetite’, TS ‘intention’, ‘will’. CF **goga-**. 1545.

OUO. Possibly a reduplication. CF by W2.2.

**gogaide** (\*\*) *n.* ‘co-religionary’, ‘like-minded thinker’. \*\*\*\* + **-ide** ‘fellow’ (see \*\*\*\*{-kide}). [FHV 245]

**gogabera** (old LN \*\*) *n.* ‘merciful’. \*\*\*\* + **bera** ‘soft’.

**gogaide** (old LN) *n.* ‘co-religionary’. \*\*\*\* + **-kide** \*\*\*\* {‘fellow’}

**gogamen** (B) *n.* ‘thought, idea’. \*\*\*\* + **-men** NFS {(see **-mendu**)}

**gogoanbehar** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘suspicion’} [FHV 120]

**gogotsu** (\*\*), **gogatsu** (old LN) *a.* \*\*\*\* {‘eager’} [FHV 126] [Az.]

**gogor** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*a.* ‘hard’ Aul.}

**goi** (*c.*) *n.* ‘high place’, ‘height, elevation’ (15th cent.), (L LN Z) *a.* ‘high’ (1729).

OUO.

**goialde** (B) *n.* ‘upper part, top’. 1847. + **alde** ‘side’ {(see **\*al-**)}

**goiartu** (B R) *vt.* ‘defeat, vanquish, overcome’. 1745, 1802. + **hartu** ‘take’.

**goibel** (G HN L LN), **hobiel** (LN), **obiel** (S), **hobil** (LN) *n.* ‘darkness, gloom’ (of the sky) (1627), *a.* ‘dark, gloomy’ (of the sky) (1664), *n.* (HN A) ‘cloud’, TS (G L LN) *a.* ‘sad’. + **\*bel** ‘dark’. [FHV 178]

**goibeldu** (G HN L LN R) *vi.*, *vitm.* ‘darken’ (of the sky), TS *vt.* ‘depress, lower’ (spirits *etc.*). + **-tu** VFS.

**goibelki** *adv.* ‘darkly, gloomily’. + **-ki** [\*\*{1}] AdvFS.

**goien** (\*\* R), **goihen** (\*\*) [FHV 220] \*\*\* ‘highest’. \*\*\*\*

**goiherri** (L LN Z), **goierri** (B G HN) *n.* ‘high country’, ‘highland’. 1842. + **herri** ‘country’.

**goiko** (*c.*) *adjvl.* ‘high’ (1627), TS *n.* ‘God’ (1897), (R) *n.* ‘moon’ (1905). + **-ko**.

**goiti** [1] (LN S Z R) *adv.* ‘up, upward’. 1545. + **-ti** {[2]} Abl. CS (*q.v.* for the sense).

**goiti** [2] (LN Z R) *n.* ‘residue, remains, refuse’. 1627. + **-ti** [3] NFS. [FHV 236] [CHECK]

**goitu** (\*\*), **góithü** (Z) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘overcome’ Az.}

**gora** (*c.*), **goira** (B) *adv.* ‘up, upward’ (15th cent.), *a.* (L LN) ‘high’ (15th cent.), TS (B G) *pvt.* ‘up with...’, ‘long live...’. + **-ra** All. CS, with irregular reduction of the diphthong from frequent use. The adjectival function must be of later origin.

**goithatu** (\*\* old L) \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\* {*a.* ‘prudent’} [FHV 531]

From Lat. *cōgitāre* ‘consider, ponder’ (M. 1977a: 531).

**goiz** (\*\*), **gox** (B Sout R) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘morning’, *adv.* ‘early’. \*\*\*\*

**golardo** (L) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘reward’} [FHV 168]

**golhare** (Z) \*\*\*\*, **gollare** (R) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘spoon’. \*\*\*\* Lh.

**golde** (*c.*) *n.* ‘plough’, TS ‘area of land which can be ploughed in one day’. CF **golda-**. 1562.

OUO. CF by W2.2. M. (\*\*\*\*{1961a: 230 fn. 10}) proposes as a source Lat. *culter* ‘ploughshare’, but this is awkward: by P\*\*{L1}, this should have yielded at best \**golte* in Z and R, but these varieties too have only **golde**, and the Lat. source therefore requires an unusual diffusion of the common form into Z R. The word is very likely native. According to the archaeologists, ploughs first appeared in or near the Basque Country around 2000 BC.

**goldatu** (B G), **goldeatu** (G Hb.), **goldetu** *vt.* ‘plough’. 1745, 1855. + **-tu** VFS.

**goldatz** (HN) *n.* ‘furrow made by a plough’. 1934. + **hatz** {[1]} ‘track’.

**goldelari** (G L), **goldalari** (B G HN), **goldari** (L?) *n.* ‘ploughman’. 1643. + **-ari** {[1]} professional NFS.

**golko** [1] (\*\*), **golkho** (\*\*), **kolko** (\*\*), **kholko** (\*\*), {**golgo** (R)} *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘chest’, ‘bosom’} [FHV 354] [MT entry]

**golko** [2] (\*\*) \*\*\*\* [and many other forms {**golkho**, **gokho** (L LN), **molko**, **molkho** (L LN), **mólkho** (Z), **mulk(h)o** (\*\*)}] *n.* ‘bunch, cluster’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 272]

\*\*\*\* M. (1961a: 272) suggests that southern **malko** ‘tear(s)’ may also belong here. {See also **adalko**.}

**golko** [3] (\*\*) *n.* ‘gulf, bay’. \*\*\*\* [same as 1?]

**gomitatu** (\*\*) *vt.* ‘invite’, \*\*\*\* [FHV 561]

**gomitu** (\*\*) *n.* ‘invitation’, \*\*\* [FHV 561]

**gomutadu** (B) \*\*\*\* {*v.* ‘remember’} [FHV 562] {M. 1965c: 118 and n. 3; 1969c: 117 n. 8; 1974b: 208f.}

**gonga** (HN), **gonka** (R), **unga** (LN), **onka** (Z), **gongari** (S) *n.* ‘a certain measure of grain, about 28 litres’ (= Cast. *robo*).

From Lat. *concham* ‘bivalve shellfish’ (M. 1961a: 55). Such shells were used as vessels.

**gontza** (LN) (1746, 1885), **ontza** (G HN L), **guntz** (LN Z), **kontza** (HN L) (1745), **gonde** (L) (1627) *n.* ‘hinge’.

From Old Cast. *gonce* id. (mod. *gozne*), or a related Rom form, ult. from late Lat. *gomphum* ‘nail, pin’, of Greek origin (M. \*\*\*\*{1955c: 293}).

**gor** (\*\*) *a.* \*\*\*\* {‘hard’, ‘deaf’}

\*\*\*\*



**gortasun** (\*\*), **gortharzun** (old LN) *n.* ‘deafness’ \*\*\*\* [FHV 417, 549]

**gortu** (\*\*), **górthü** (Z) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘deafen’}

**gorde** (*c.*) *vt.* ‘keep’, ‘preserve’, ‘save’. 1545. CF **gorda-**.

From Cast. *guardar* id., with unusual developments (M. \*\*\*\* {1961a: 168}). CF by W2.2.

**gordatu** (\*\*) {*vt.* ‘keep’}

**gorde-leku** (\*\*) {*n.* ‘treasury, store’} [FHV 56 fn]

{[] **gordin** (*c.*), **górdin** (Z) *a.* ‘raw’, ‘sturdy, robust’, TS (Z) ‘merciless, cruel’ {, ‘obscene’ Aul.}. 1562. Possibly the hypothetical \***gorr-** + **-din** AFS (see \***edin**). {} Moved to \***gorr-**.}

**gori** (\*\*) *a.* ‘fiery, flaming, incandescent’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 549]

**goritu** (\*\*), **gortu** (\*\*), **gortü** (Z) \*\*\*\* [FHV 549] [Lh.] {Different words here? For Z, M. and Az. give only the verb root **gort** with the sense ‘inflamm’.}

**gorthasun** (old LN), **gortharzun** (old LN) *n.* ‘ardor’, \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\* [FHV 549]

**goroldio**, **oroldio**, **oroldi** (G HN L) *n.* ‘moss’ (*bot.*) 1643.

OUO, but conceivably connected with **gorosti** ‘holly’. The form of the word is highly anomalous, especially with that final /io/. Variants by P14.

**gorosti** (\*\*) *n.* ‘holly’ (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*) \*\*\*\*

**gorotz** (*c.*) (1571), **korotz** (B Sout HN L LN) (1562), **khorotz** (LN Z), **korotza** (?) *n.* ‘dung’ (esp. of cows), ‘manure’.

OUO. The sparsely recorded variant **korotza** is probably conservative, with the common forms lacking the final /a/ by M4. The widespread fluctuation in the voicing of the initial plosive (variants in /g/ and /k/ are found side by side in many areas) points clearly to a loan word, by L2. CP (*s.v. corozza*) suggest a borrowing of Old Cast. *croça* ([krotsa]) ‘dun-coloured rustic cap or cloak’, from Lat. *croceam* ‘saffron-coloured’, from *crocum* ‘saffron’, by L8.2. CP draw attention to the former rustic practice of covering haystacks with a yellowish mixture of cow dung and hay to keep them dry, and propose that the word developed in Bq. from ‘dung used to cover a haystack’ to ‘dung’ in general. This proposal is very plausible, and phonologically perfect, and there exists no other plausible proposal. CP go on to suggest that Cast. *coroza* ‘conical cap’ and Old Cast. *corocha* ‘type of long coat’ may derive from the same source, perhaps via Bq. mediation to account for the unexpected forms.

**gorotzil** (Z) *n.* ‘November’. + **-il** ‘month’ (see \***iLe**). 1780. M. (\*\*\*\* {1959c: 526}) notes the similarity in formation to Sard. *kapudánni* ‘September’. {??}

**gorputz** (B G HN L), **gorphutz** (LN), **gorphitz** (LN Z), **gorpitz** (old Z), **korputz** (G S), **kórpitz** (R), **khórpitz** (Z) *n.* ‘body’ (1545), TS ‘corpse’ (1858). TS found only in predicate position. Also (B) **gorpu** ‘corpse’ (*ca.* 1800). See also **soin**.

From Lat. *corpus* ‘body’ (M. 1961a: 51). The last form is puzzling, but may result from a cross between *gorputz* and Cast. *cuervo*, or from a re-borrowing of Old Cast. *\*corpo*.

**gorputzaldi** (B G HN L LN R) *n.* ‘general state of the body’, ‘how one feels’. 1816. + **aldi** ‘time’.

**gorputzez izan** (old L) *vi.* ‘fornicate’. 1643. + **-z** instr./advbl. + **izan** ‘be’.

**gorpuzgabe** *a.* ‘having no body’, ‘disembodied’, ‘non-corporeal’. 1571. + **gabe** ‘without’.

**gorpuztu** *vi.* ‘assume a bodily form’, *vt.* ‘assume as one’s bodily form’. 1803. + **-tu** VFS.

**\*gorr-** Hypothetical stem underlying **gordin** and **gorri**: perhaps something like ‘flesh’ (A. \*\*\*\*, but A.’s additional example of **gorputz** ‘body’ is an error).

**gordin** (*c.*), **górdin** (Z) *a.* ‘raw’, ‘sturdy, robust’, TS (Z) ‘merciless, cruel’ {, ‘obscene’ Aul.}. 1562. Possibly the hypothetical **\*gorr-** + **-din** AFS (see **\*edin**).

**gorri** (*c.*), **górri** (Z) *a.* ‘red’, TS ‘stark’, ‘bare, naked, nude’. 15th cent. Possibly the hypothetical **\*gorr-** + **-i** [\*\*{1}] AFS.

**gorrhats** (old LN), **gór hats** (Z), **górhall** (Z) *a.* ‘reddish’. [FHV 223, 329]

**gorribeltz** (LN) *a.* ‘dark red’, ‘copper-coloured’. + **beltz** ‘black’ {(see **\*bel**)}.

**gorrimin** (HN L LN Z R) *n.* ‘scarlet fever’. + **min** ‘pain’.

**gorringo** (\*\*), **korrinko** (Sout) *n.* ‘yolk of an egg’. \*\*\*\*

**gorroto** (B G HN) *n.* ‘hatred’. Early 15th cent.

From OCast. *corroto* id., by L2, ult. from Lat. *corruptum* \*\*\*. The OCast. form is a hapax in Berceo, and CP (*s.v.* *corroto*) suggest a Galicianism. {There are, in fact, six 13th-century examples of Cast. *corroto* in *CORDE*.}

**gorroto \*edun** *vt.* ‘hate’. 1656. + **\*edun** ‘have’.

**gorta** (B), **korta** (B) *n.* ‘stable, pen, corral’ (for animals), ‘public square’. 1745.

From some Rom. form akin to Cast. *corte* ‘stable, corral’ and Fr. ~~*cort*~~ ‘court’ {Gasc. *court* ‘(sheep)fold’} from Lat. *cohortem* ‘corral’, {[]} ‘group of people’. {} ‘farmyard’.}

**gortaits** (B), **kortaits** (B G) *n.* ‘dung, manure’. *Ca.* 1800. + **sits** ‘dung’ (see **sats**), by P\*\*{20} (M. 1977a: 543). The word occurs in written B as *gortaitz* ~ *kortaitz*, and is so cited in A. (1905) and elsewhere, but these forms perhaps reflect only the confusion caused by P21.

**goru** (\*\*) *n.* ‘distaff’. \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *colum* id., by P22 (M. 1961a: 51). {*Cf.* **kulu**.}

**gose** (*c.*) *n.* ‘hunger’, *a.* ‘hungry’. CF **gosa-**. 1545.

OUO. CF by W2.2.

**gosari** (\*\*), **gosaari** (old B) *n.* ‘breakfast’. CF **gosal-**. 1619. + **-ari** {[2]} NFS of meals. CF by W1.

**gosaldu** (B G L), **gosaltu** (H.) *vtm.* (B G), *vi.* (L) ‘eat breakfast’. 1596. + **-tu** VFS.

**gosalondo** (B G L) *n.* ‘(time) after breakfast’. 17th cent. + **ondo** {[1]} ‘after’.

**gosete** (*c.*) *n.* ‘famine, time of hunger’. 1571. + **-te** {[1]} NFS of duration.

**gozo** (\*\*) *a.* ‘sweet’, TS ‘delicious’. \*\*\*\* Dimin. **goxo**.

OUO. In some areas, the dimin. has replaced the original as the unmarked form, by M\*\*{10}.

**greü** (Z) *n.* ‘repugnance, disgust’. \*\*\*\*

From Bearn. *grèu* id. (Lh.; M. 1961a: 99).

**gréügàrri** (Z) *a.* ‘repugnant’. + **-garri** AFS. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**gréüthü** (Z) *vt.* ‘disgust’. + **-tu** VFS.

**grina** (\*\*), **grña** (\*\*), **krina** (\*\*) *n.* ‘preoccupation’, ‘passion’. \*\*\*\*

From \*\*\*\* *grña* id. {*l.* Gasc. *grigne* Palay (1980), Foix (2003) ‘inimitié, ressentiment’}

**gu** (*c. exc.* Z), **gü** (Z) *pron.* ‘we, us’. 9th cent.

OUO. Old B shows a rare variant *guck*, with a pleonastic plural **-k**, probably by analogy with **zuek** ‘you’ (pl.) (see **zu**) {(M. 1977a: 489)}. [ESSAY ON CASE FORMS] By P69, Z has Abs. *gü* but Gen. *gu(r)e* and Dat. *gu(r)i*.

**g-** (*c.*) first-plural agreement prefix in finite verb-forms. Presumably by incorporation of a cliticized pronoun.

**geu** (B) (1596), **guhaur** (LN) (1545), **guhauk** (LN), **guaurek** (LN), **guhaurk** (old LN), **guhonek** (L), **geurok** (B), **gerok** (old L) (1635) *pron.* ‘we ourselves’ (intensive). + **hau(r)** ‘this’, sometimes in its oblique singular form *hon-* or in a plural form like *hauk*. The last two forms contain **-ok** proximate plural {(see **hau**)}. [FHV 93]

**-gu** (*c.*) first-plural agreement suffix in finite verb-forms. Presumably by incorporation of a cliticized pronoun.

{[} **guck** (B) *pron.* ‘we, us’. By analogy with **zuek** ‘you’ (pl.) (see **zu**) (M. 1977a: 489).  
{] Duplicates point made s.v. **gu**}}

**gure** (*c.*) ‘our’. + **-e** {[1]} genitive.

**guraso** (*c.*), **guratso** (HN), **buraso** (HN L), **burhaso** (Z), **buratso** (HN) *n.* ‘parent’. 1571. + **-so** kinship suffix. HN L Z form by P\*\*{10}, or possibly contaminated by **buru** ‘head’. [BUT FHV 223 fn]

[INTENSIVES, REFLEXIVE]

**gudu** (old B HN LN) *n.* ‘combat’. 1571.

OUO. The word means ‘combat’, and not ‘war’, as sometimes asserted. Attempts at seeing this as a loan from some Gothic or other continental Germanic word cognate with Old English *guth*, OHG *gund-*, ON *gunnr* ‘war, battle’ are dismissed by M. (\*\*\*\* {1973c: 152}, \*\*\*\* {Michelena & Hoz 1974: 22 n. 1}), on the ground that all the relevant Germanic languages have an /n/ in the word, and that loss of /n/ before /d/ is unknown in Bq. Several people have pointed to an Ib. stem as a possible cognate, but the defective Ib. script does not allow us to determine whether that stem is *\*gudu-*, *\*gutu-*, *\*kudu-* or *\*kutu-*, and in any case its meaning is unknown.

**gudari** (c.), **gudalari** (old L) *n.* ‘soldier’. 1715. + **-ari** {[1]} professional NFS. The word was applied to the Basque soldiers in the Spanish Civil War, since when it has commonly meant ‘Basque soldier’.

**gune** (\*\*), \*\*\*, **gúne** (Z) ‘place’, \*\*\*\*, **une** (\*\*{B G HN}) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘moment’, ‘interval’} [LOTS OF WORK] [FHV 305 fn] { M. 1961a: 305 fn. 11}

{-gune, -une NFS.}

\*\*\*\* As a final element in toponyms and surnames, frequently appears as *-gue* ~ *-kue* [FHV 305 fn] [MT entry]

**gúnian** (R) *adv.* ‘then’. + **-an** Loc. {CS.}

**gura** (B G HN L LN) *n.* ‘desire’. 1562. See **nahi**.

From *\*gula*, by P22, from Lat. *gulam* ‘appetite’ (M. 1961a: 239).

**gura \*edun** *vt.* ‘want’, *vtc.* [+ PerfP] ‘want (to)’. 16th cent. + **\*edun** ‘have’.

**guren** (B) *a.* ‘favourite’. + **-en** [\*\*{1}] superlative.

**guraizeak** (G HN), **guraizak** (G HN), **piruxeak** (HN), **purexak** (HN), **purtxak** (HN) *n. pl.* ‘shears’. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* Variation by P\*\*{8, 10}. So great is the variation in form that M. (1977a: 535) concludes that Lat. *tō(n)sōriās* id. or one of its Rom. continuations cannot be ruled out as the source. [CHECK LATIN {Done.}]

**gurdi** (B G HN L), **burdi** (B HN) *n.* ‘cart, wagon’. CF **gurt-** 1562.

OUO. Second form by P10. CF by W2.1, W3.

**burdetz** (B) *n.* ‘axle of a cart’. Second element obscure, but perhaps a reduced form of **ardatz** ‘axle’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**burtigun** (B) *n.* ‘shaft’ (of a cart). \*\*\*\* + **igoin** ‘handle’ (M. 1961a: 140). [BUT SEE FHV 534] [SORT THIS *igoin*]

**gurpegi** *n.* (G) ‘hole in a cartwheel for the axle’, (R) ‘crupper’ (for a mule). + **begi** ‘eye’, by P\*\*{W2.1, W4}. The R sense is mysterious.

**gurpil** (\*\* G), **kurpil** (B G), **burpil** (B?) *n.* ‘cartwheel’, ‘wheel’. 1745. + **\*bil** ‘round’. Second form by P11.

**gursarta** (B) *n.* ‘pole linking a cart to a draught animal’. + **sarta** ‘pole’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**gurtaga** (B) *n.* ‘pole linking a cart to a draught animal’. + **haga** ‘pole’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**gurtardatz** (B G) *n.* ‘axle of a cart’. + **ardatz** ‘axle’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**gurtede** (B G HN), **burtede** (\*\*), **urtede** (HN) *n.* ‘straps connecting a cart to a draught animal’. + **hede** [1] ‘strap’.

**gurtesi** (G) *n.* ‘sideboard on a cart for carrying bulk materials’. + **hesi** ‘fence’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**gurtetxe** (HN) *n.* ‘floor of a cart’. + **etxe** ‘house’.

**guren** (\*\*) *n.* ‘edge’.

\*\*\*\* {OUO.}

{[} **gureso**, **guresa** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* [FHV 560] {These seem from M. (1977a: 560) to be Spanish words (*grueso*, *grueso*) with Basque phonological interference.}

**gureto** (\*\*), **kuleto** (\*\*), **kuletro** (\*\*), **kurinto** (\*\*) *n.* ‘species of mushroom’. \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *bōlētum* (M. 1961a: 260). \*\*\*\*

**gurin** (\*\*{G HN}) {, **gurhi** (Z)} *n.* ‘butter’, **urin** (\*\*{HN L LN}), **úr(r)in** (Z), **úrín** (R), **urín** (R) **guri** (\*\*{B LN S}), **gurhi** (Z), *n.* ‘fat, grease’, {**guri** (c.)} *a.* \*\*\*\* {‘robust’, ‘soft, tender’} [FHV 512] \*\*\*\*

**gurtu** (\*\*), **gurthu** (\*\*), **kurtu** (HN) \*\*\*\* ‘kneel’, ‘bow’, ‘revere’. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* See **makur** (under **m-**).

**gurutze** (L) (1217, 1617), **gurutz** (G HN L), **kurutze** (B G LN S) (1545), **krutze** (old LN) (1571), **khurutze** (LN), **khü(r)útxe** (Z), **krutxe** (R), **kurze** (B) *n.* ‘cross’.

From some Rom. development of Lat. *crucem* id., of the approx. form \*[krutse], by L8.2. \*\*\*\* Last form by metathesis.

{[} **gusu** (L \*\*) \*\*\* *n.* ‘cousin’. [FHV 123] {] Duplicate, see under **kusu**.}

**guti** (c. exc. Z) (1562), **gúti** (Z) *a.* ‘small’ (medieval and 16th cent.); TS (c.) *det.* ‘few, little, not many, not much’. Dimin. **gutti** (L LN), **gutxi** (Sout G HN) (1537), **gitxi** (B).

OUO. Since the word was originally an adjective, it may contain **-ti** [\*\*{1}] AFS. The sobriquet or surname *Gutia* ‘the Small’ is frequent in the Middle Ages, esp. in Navarra. And the final element *-guchia* is not uncommon in toponyms.

**gutiago** etc. (c.) *det., pron.* ‘less’, ‘fewer’. 1571. + **-ago** comparative. Some writers have pressed this word into service to provide a comparative of inferiority, otherwise non-existent in Bq., as in *gutiago ederra* ‘less beautiful’, but this use, though now by no means rare, is widely disliked.

**-gutxi** \*\*\*\* {‘god-’} (in kinship terms)

**gutizia** (\*\*), **guthizia** (\*\*), **kutizi** (G HN), **güdizia** (Z) *n.* ‘desire, craving’. \*\*\*\*

From OCast. *cobdiçia* \*\*\*\* {‘desire, greed’} (M. 1961a: 65, 229).

**gutun** (\*\*), **guthun** (\*\* {old LN}), **butun** (\*\*) *n.* ‘letter’ (‘epistle’),  
\*\*\*\* {‘talisman’}, {**kut(t)un** *n.* ‘amulet’} \*\*\*\*

From Arabic *kutub* ‘books’, with exceptional treatment of the intolerable final /b/ (M. \*\*\*\* {1971h: 287; 1973a: 117}. {Cf. *REW* 4796a.} {Third} form by P10.

**guzti** (B G old L) (15th cent.), **duzti** (B), **guzi** (G HN L LN S), **gúzi** (Z) (1545) *a.* ‘all’.

OUO. The variation in form exhibited by this item is unique. We may be looking at two different formations: an unidentifiable stem \**guz-* + **-ti** {[1]} AFS or **-i** [1] AFS. B form by assimilation.

**hi** (L LN Z), **i** (B G HN A S), **yi** (R) *pron.* ‘you’ (marked sg.). 1545.

OUO. It is clear that this was once the only second-singular pronoun in the language, but its function has in the historical period been almost wholly usurped by the formerly plural **zu** (*q.v.*). Today **hi** is confined to an extraordinarily limited range of functions. Though details vary somewhat from place to place, the general rules are roughly as follows. This pronoun is obligatory (1) between siblings, and (2) between close friends of the same sex and roughly the same age who grow up together. It is usual (3) in teasing or abusing people or animals. It is optional, but not especially usual, (4) in addressing children, one’s own or someone else’s, and (5) in certain styles of writing. It is never used in addressing an adult of the opposite sex, except a sibling (not even a lover or a spouse); it is never used in addressing animals (except when abusing them); it is never used in addressing a significantly older person (not even a parent); it is never used in addressing a person of markedly superior status; and it is never used in addressing God. In Bq., it is not usual to change from **zu** to **hi** for any reason at all. Hence it is possible to find a 70-year-old man who addresses his 55-year-old neighbour as **hi** but receives **zu** in return, because long ago a 20-year-old man chose to address his five-year-old neighbour with **hi**. [ESSAY ON CASE FORMS]

**h-** (L LN Z), zero (elsewhere) Absolutive agreement prefix in finite verbs with **hi**.

Presumably by incorporation of the free pronoun. In fact, even the varieties retaining the aspiration have agreement prefix zero in certain circumstances, at least variably.

See also **\*-ga**, **-na**.

[INTENSIVE FORMS], **iháũ** (Z) [FHV 102], **euror** (old LN) [FHV 210] From *\*hi-haur* or *\*hi-hor* (M. 1961a 210 fn. 12). The unexpected nasalization in the Z form by contamination from first-singular **niháũ** (M. 1961a: 299 fn. 1).

**heure** (\*\*), **eure** (\*\* old LN), **yore** (R), **ore** (old Z), **ere** (\*\* {G}) \*\*\*\* {‘your’ (marked sg.)} [FHV 100]

(**h**)**ika** (*c.*) *adv.* ‘using the pronoun *hi*’, TS *n.* ‘use of the pronoun *hi*’. + **-ka** AdvFS. The shift of adverbs in **-ka** to nouns is a common process.

(**h**)**iketa** (*c.*) *n.* ‘use of the pronoun *hi*’. + **-keta** NFS of activity {not in *The Dictionary*}.

(**h**)**ire** (*c.*), **hí(r)e** (Z) ‘your’ (marked sg.) Genitive of **hi**. + **-e** [1] genitive.

[INTENSIVES, REFLEXIVE]

**-i** [1] (*c.*) AFS.

Long unproductive and fossilized, this suffix is still clearly visible in a few cases: **gatz** ‘salt’, **gazi** ‘salty’. Its presence is almost as clear in other cases: **\*gara** ‘elevation’, **garai** ‘high’. It is probably also present in many other adjectives whose stems are no longer identifiable: **gorri** ‘red’, **berri** ‘new’, **itsusi** ‘ugly’, **egarri** ‘thirsty’, and others.

**-i** (*c.*) Suffix forming perfective participles of verbs. This is the suffix which derives perfective participles of ancient verbs built on verbal roots, as in **ikusi** ‘see’, **ibili** ‘be in motion’, **etorri** ‘come’ and **egosi** ‘cook’. It was formerly also used to derive the perfective participles of verbs from nouns and adjectives: **hautsi** ‘break, shatter’ (**hauts** ‘powder, dust’), **aberatsi** ‘get rich, enrich’ (**aberats** ‘rich’). In this function it has been entirely displaced by the suffix **-tu**, borrowed from Latin. In spite of the doubts of Lafon (1943), there seems no reason not to conclude that the participle-forming suffix and the adjective-forming suffix have the same origin.

**-i** [2] (*c.*) Dative case-suffix. [FHV 501]

OUO. A dative case-ending *-NI* appears to be attested in Aq. (M. \*\*\*\*).

**-ér** (Z) Dative plural case-suffix. From *\*-eri*, with vowel loss, from common *-ei*, with an unusual insertion of /r/.

**ia** (B), **ya** (G), **iya** (G), **ja** (L LN Z) *prt.* ‘already’ (1545), TS ‘almost’ (1800), TS (L LN) *intj.* ‘enough!’. [FHV 167-168; separate? - Sarasola] [R **xa** ‘already’]

From Lat. *jam* ‘already’, or from that word’s Cast. reflex *ya* (M. \*\*\*\* {1957a: 21; Michelena & Agud 1958: 42}). But pronounced as two syllables in some varieties.

**jadanik** (\*\*) *prt.* ‘already’. 1617. + **-danik** (see **-dan**).

**jagoiti** (\*\*)

**ihar** (\*\*) *n.* ‘maple’ (*bot.*) (*Acer hispanicum*). \*\*\*\*

OUO. See **astigar**.

**\*ihar-** or **\*ihard-** Stem occurring as a first element in compound verbs.

OUO, and of opaque sense. From *\*inar(d)-*, by P1.

**ihardetsi** (L LN), **ihārdetsi** (Z), **ñardetsi** (R) **\*inhardetsi** (old LN; inferred from the derivative below) *vitmd.* ‘resist, oppose’, ‘defend oneself, make excuses’, ‘answer, reply’, **jardetsi** (LN Z S) *vt.* ‘obtain, get’. Stem **ihardets-**, **jardets-**. TS *n.* **ihardetsi** (L LN Z), **ihardetsi** (Z), **jardetsi** (HN) ‘response, reply’. 1571. App. + **-etsi** ‘consider’ (see **etsi**) (M. 1977a: 547).

**iharduki** (\*\*), **ihardoki** (\*\*), **jardoki** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘dispute, discuss’, ‘be busy with’ Aul.}. App. + **eduki** ‘hold’ (M. 1977a: 547).

**jardun** (B G HN), **iñardun** (old B) (1596), **jardu** (B). \*\*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘be busy with’} Synth. App. + **\*edun** ‘have’ (M. 1977a: 547).

**iharrausi** (\*\*), **ihārrāusi** (Z), **iharrosi** (\*\*), **iñarrausi** (G), **iñaurrasi** (G), **iarrosi** (\*\*), **iñardausi** (B), **iardausi** (B), **irardausi** (B), **ligurdausi** (B), **iñarro(t)si** (HN), **inharrosi** (LN), **il(I)arrosi** (HN A) *vt.* ‘shake’. \*\*\*\* App. + **hautsi** ‘break’ (see **hauts**) (M. 1961a: 316). [FHV 96, 289, 340]

**ihaurri** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* et many al. *v.* [diathesis?] ‘spread out, lay out’, ‘lay out an animal’s bed’, **i(r)aurri** (Z) *vt.* ‘spill, scatter, knock over’. [FHV 316 big stuff] [Sarasola] [Lhande], **iñaurri** (HN) *n.* ‘bed for an animal’, **ilaurri** (R) *n.* ‘common heather, plant used as fodder and for making an animal’s bed’. {For R form, *cf.* **ilharre**.}

**ihaurki** (S.P.) *n.* ‘bedding used as fertilizer’, **iraurgi** (LN S) ‘plant remains used as animal bedding and later as fertilizer’. \*\*\*\* {**iraurkhei** (Z), **iaurgéi** (Z) *n.* ‘plant matter used as bedding’ \*\*\*\* }

**iraur bedar** (B) *n.* ‘sedge’ (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*). \*\*\*\* + **bedar** ‘grass’ (see **belar**).

{[] **iraurkhei** (Z), **iaurgéi** (Z) *n.* ‘plant matter used as bedding’ \*\*\*\* } [Moved up.]



**ihaute** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* et many al \*\*\*\* {**iñauteri** (G \*\*), \*\*\*\* [many variants: *ihau-*] *n.* ‘Carnival’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 546: IMPORTANT] } [FHV 97]

**iaz** (HN L LN S) (1536), **ihaz** (?), **jaz** (L), **igaz** (B G HN) (1596), **igez** (B), **ijaz** (B), **ijez** (B), **iez** (B), **xaz** (S R) *adv.* ‘last year’.

OUO, but possibly contains **-z** advbl. Variants with /g/ by P35.1.

**igalenean** (B), **igelenean** (B) *adv.* ‘last year’. + **lehen** ‘first’ + **-an** Loc (M. 1961a: 351).

**ibar** (B G L LN) *n.* ‘valley’, ‘fertile low-lying land between mountains’, **ibar** (Z) ‘broad grassy plain’. 1077, 1596. CF **iba-**.

OUO. Possibly contains **\*-ar** (M. \*\*\*\* {1958a: 38f.}). CF by W\*\* {11}. This is the usual western word for ‘valley’, but A. (1905) and Sarasola (1996) report it as meaning more specifically ‘fertile low-lying land between mountains’, equivalent to Cast. *vega*, and somewhat distinct therefore from **haran** (*q.v.*). Indeed, the Cast. word is OUO, and CP (*s.v.*) propose a derivation from a pre-Roman *\*(i)baika*, a derivative of this Bq. word. A link with **barru** (and variants) ‘interior’ has often been proposed but is phonologically and morphologically difficult. See also **ipar**.

**ibai** (B G HN L LN Z), **hibai** (L LN) *n.* ‘river’. 1533. + **\*-i** [\*\*] NFS {Not in *The Dictionary*.} (M. \*\*\*\* {1958a: 38ff.; 1972g: 81}). See **uhaitz** (under **ur**).

**ibili** (B G HN L LN) (1627), **ebili** (old B Z R) (1545), **ebli** (S) *vi.* ‘be in motion’ \*\*\*\*. Stem **ibil-**; root **-bil-**. Synth.

From *\*e-bil-i*, OUO; common form by P36.3. This is the Bq. verb of undirected motion, with no good English equivalent. Like any motion verb, it can take an adverbial of manner to express movement of a particular kind, as in *igeri ibili* ‘be swimming’, with *igeri* ‘swimming’ (*adv.*), or as in *oinez ibili* ‘walk’, with *oinez* ‘on foot’. It cannot be sensibly related to **\*bil** ‘round’, a non-verbal stem or to **bildu** ‘collect, gather’.

**erabili** (*c.*) *vt.* ‘put into motion’, TS ‘use’, TS (L) ‘cultivate’. Synth. 1545. + **-ra-** causative.

**ibiltaun** (B), **ibiltau** (B), **ibildaun** (L?) *n.* ‘restless person’, ‘person who goes here and there’. 1741. From *\*ibilte-dun*, + **-te** {[1]} NFS + **-dun** ‘who has’ (see **\*edun**); the development is *\*ibiltedun* > *\*ibiltadun*, by W\*\* {?P16} > *ibiltaun* (M. 1977a: 506; M. credits A. Zatarain with the idea); last variant by P\*\* {6}.

**idi** (*c.*) *n.* ‘ox’. CF **it-**. 1562.

OUO. CF by W2.2, W3. An Aq. divine name *IDIATTE* is recorded but is wholly opaque.

**idibegi** (Hb.), *n.* ‘camomile’ (*bot.*) (*Anacyclus clavatus*). 1715. + **begi** ‘eye’.

**itaurleri** (B), **itulari** (G) *n.* ‘oxherd, drover’. \*\*\*\*. + **aurre** ‘front’ (see **\*aur**) + **-lari** NFS (see **-ari** [\*\* {1}]) (M. 1961a: 97).

**itaurreko** (B) *n.* ‘oxherd, drover’. \*\*\*\*. + **aurre** ‘front’ (see **\*aur**) + **-ko** NFS.

**itegi** (LN) *n.* ‘stable’. + **-tegi** ‘place’ {(see **hegi**)}.

**iteuli** (B), **txeuli** (B) *n.* ‘horsefly’. (*zool.*) \*\*\*\* + **euli** ‘fly’.

**itohoin** (L LN) *n.* ‘the Plough’, ‘the Big Dipper’ (asterism), lit. ‘ox thief’. + **ohoin** ‘thief’.

**itzain** (B HN L LN), **itzai** (Sout G), **itzáñ** (Z) *n.* ‘oxherd’, ‘drover’. + **-zain** ‘guard’ (see **zain** {[1]}).

**idoi** *n.* (HN) ‘pool, puddle’, **hidoi** (Har.) ‘mud’, **idói** (R) ‘bog, marsh’. 17th cent. (but 1027 as R toponym *Idoia*).

OUO, but, by the R form, clearly from *\*idoCi*, with a lost consonant (M. \*\*\*\*{1961a: 397}).

**idoki** (\*\*) *vt.* ‘remove, extract’. [FHV 82 fn] [this will take some sorting] {Cf. **edeki** ‘remove’.}

\*\*\*\* An impf. part. *itoiten* in old LN [FHV 231]. [MT entry *itoi*]

**iradoki** (\*\*), **eradoki** (\*\*), **e(r)adóki** (Z) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘cause to leave’}

**idun** (B Sout) (1562), **irun** (B) *n.* ‘neck’, ‘pole connecting a draught animal to a plough or a cart’, **igun** (B) ‘pole connecting a draught animal to a plough or a cart’. [earlier senses FHV 507]

OUO. It is not clear whether we are looking at one or two words here, though AT believe these are one word. See **lepo**, **sama**. {[REWRITE.]} M. (1977a: 508) proposes *\*edun* ‘have’+ **oin** ‘foot’, somewhat comparable to Lat. *capulus* ‘handle’ from *capere* ‘grasp’, but this looks implausible: there is no parallel in Basque for such a formation. See **igoin**.

**ihes** (L LN Z), **ies** (B HN S), **iñes** (old B), **ies** (old B R), **ihés** (Z), **iges** (B G HN), **igas** (HN) *n.* ‘flight, fleeing’. 1545.

From *\*ines*, OUO, by P1, P35.1 (M. \*\*\*\*{1961a: 304}). The final fricative is unusual.

**ihes egin** (\*\*), **ies egin** (\*\*), **iges egin** (\*\*) *vitm.* ‘flee’. 1571. + **egin** ‘do’.

**ihesi** [1] (L LN), **iesi** (\*\*), **igesi** (B G HN), **igasi** (HN) *adv.* ‘fleeing’, *n.* ‘flight’. 1571. Perhaps + **-i** [\*\*{1}] AFS.

**ihesi** [2] (\*\*) (*ca.* 1800), **iesi** (\*\*), **igesi** (\*\*) (1804), **inesi** (G?) (1745), **ihetsi** (?) (1780) *vi.* ‘flee’. + **-i** [\*\*{see -i [1] AFS}] VFS.

**ihestu** (L) *vi.* ‘flee’. By transfer to the **-tu** class, M14.

**ifernu** (\*\*), **iférnü** (Z), **inpernu** (\*\*{B G HN}), **eburni** (R), **iburni** (R) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘hell’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 263]

**igan** (B HN LN R) (1545), **igañ** (Z), **ikan** (S.P.), **ikhan** (LN), **ien** (HN), **igon** (B), **igo** (B G Sout) (1562), **io** (B G), **io** (B) *vi.* or *vitm.* ‘go up, ascend, climb’. CF **igai-**, **iga[n]-**, **igo-**. [IKAI]

Probably from *\*e-gan-i*, OUO, by M11, M12. Variants with /k/ by PP8. First CF by M13. The verb is historically a simple intransitive, and still so in the east. In the west it

is recorded with transitive morphology from 1853, and this use is now normal there. A complement is usually allative, occasionally locative.

**igande** (G HN L LN), **igánte** (Z R) *n.* ‘Sunday’. 1545. + **-te** {[1]} NFS (M. \*\*\*\* {1971b: 586 n.12}). Though phonologically perfect, this etymology is semantically odd, and it is not certain, but it seems likely. The original sense was app. ‘ascension (day)’. Cf. Russian *voskresén’e* ‘Sunday’, originally ‘resurrection’. See **domeka**.

**ikai** (old LN) *n.* ‘ascent’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 232]

**ikaitza** (S.P.) *n.* ‘(action of) climbing’. + **-tza** NFS.

**iragan** (L LN Z) (1545), **igaran** (L LN Z), **iragon** (L), **irago** (B), **igaro** (B G) (15th cent.) *vi.*, *vt.* ‘pass, pass over, cross’, ‘carry across’. + **-ra-** causative, with various semantic shifts and with frequent metatheses.

**igel** (G HN L LN Z R), **igal** (LN), **ugel** (B), **iel** (old L), **ingel** (old G), **negel** (HN), **negal** (HN), **legen** (HN) *n.* ‘frog’ (*zool.*), TS (Z) ‘locust’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*). 1571.

OUO. B form by P65. Old G form by P34. The HN forms are curious, as is the TS in Z. It is conceivable that the initial /n/ is original but lost in most varieties. Possibly related somehow to **igeri** ‘swimming’, but the relationship, if any, is obscure.

**ugaraxo** (old B) *n.* ‘frog’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*) [FHV 73, 73 fn]

**igeltsu** (B G L Z), **ieltsu** (\*\*), **yelso** (Sout) *n.* ‘gypsum’, ‘plaster’. 17th cent.

From some Rom. form akin to Leonese Asturian *yelso* id., Santander Burgos Rioja *yelsu* id., ult. from Lat. *gypsum* (M. 1961a: 168; see CP *s.v.* *yeso*). The /g/ by P35.1. See also **gisu**. [FHV 340]

**igeri** (\*\*), **uger** [trilled /r/] (B) [FHV 68] \*\*\*\* {*adv.* ‘swimming’, *n.* ‘swimming’ Aul.}

**igerri** (G HN), **igarri** (B G) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘guess, ascertain, realize’ Aul.} [FHV 69]

**iragarri** (\*\*) {*vt.* ‘notify’, ‘predict’ Aul.} [FHV 69]

**igitai** (B G HN L LN), **egitai** (B G HN S) (1596), **egitái** (R), **igitei** (old LN) (1571), **egitei** (B G), **igitei** (B L), **igitéi** (Z), **igatéi** (Z), **igiti** (B HN), **iriti** (B), **itai** (G HN) *n.* ‘sickle’. TS **igita** (HN), **egita** (R) ‘reaping, harvest’, but commonly only in local expressions like *igitara* ‘(go) to the reaping’, *igitan* ‘in reaping’.

OUO, but clearly bimorphemic. The R form points to *\*egitaCi*, with a lost consonant (M. \*\*\*\* {1981a: 397}). Possibly contains **gai** ‘material’ as a final element (M. 1961a: 104). Variants with /i-/ by P37. Last main form by contraction.

**igoin** (R), **igúñ** (Z), **huguin** (S.P.), **hugun** (S.P.) *n.* ‘handle’ (of a tool, in Z other than a knife). \*\*\*\*

Probably a compound whose second element is **oin** ‘foot’ (M. 1961a: 140). See **girtain** {under **gider**}. [IS THIS A DUPLICATE?] [B **irun**] [see **idun**] [FHV 507-508] [SORT!]

**igorri** (HN L LN Z), **egorri** (L LN Z) *vt.* ‘send’. Synth. 1545. Stem **igorrr-**; Root **-gorrr-**.

OUO. The second form must be conservative. A single synthetic form occurs in a poem by Oihenart, but M. (1961a: 480) concludes that this form is an artificial creation, required to get a rhyme, and not a popular form. See **bidali** (under **bide**), **irten**.

**igortzi** (\*\*), **iyortzi** (G) \*\*\*\*, **igordi** (B), \*\*\*\*, **egórdi** (R), {**ekhortu** (old LN Z),} **ekhortü** (old Z) *vt.* ‘sweep’ LOTS MORE [FHV 69, 190, 477, 527-528] SORT  
{OUO. [FHV 233] } {M. 1972g: 88ff.}

**igortziri** (\*\*), **igorziri** (\*\*) *n.* ‘thunder’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 583] {*Cf.* **ortziri** ‘thunder’ (see **ortzi**).}

**higuin** (\*\*) (1627), **iguin** (\*\*), **iguiñ** (\*\*), **iguñ** (\*\*), **iguñ** (old B) (1596), **igui** (G), **higun** (LN), **hügü** (Z) *n.* ‘disgust, repugnance’.

From \*(h)iguni, OUO, by P1 (M. \*\*\*\* {1961a: 150}). [FHV 150, 150 fn]

**igurain** (HN), **igurai** (G? HN), **iguri** (L?) *n.* ‘forester’, ‘guard, sentinel’. 1233, 1746.

The second form is a hapax. OUO. A connection with **eguriki** seems doubtful. Possibly **egur** ‘firewood’ + **-zain** ‘guardian’ (see **zain** [\*\*{1}]). [SORT] Unusual loss of the sibilant, as in **urdain** (see **urde**).

**igurika** (L LN Z) *adv.* ‘on the alert’, ‘watching (for)’, ‘waiting’. + **-ka** AdvFS.

**igurikatu**, **idurikatu** (L LN) *vt.* ‘wait for, await’. 1745, 1848. + **-tu** VFS. Second form by P\*\*{12} or by contamination from **iduri** ‘seem’.

**igurtzi** (\*\*) [Az.] \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘rub’ }

**igurtziri** (Z) \*\*\*\* [FHV 290] \*\*\*\*

**ihi** (L LN), **ihī** (Z), **ii** (B G), **i** (B Sout HN), **zii** (B), **zi** (B) *n.* ‘reed, rush’ (*bot.*) (*Juncus*). 1562.

From \*ini, OUO, by P1 (M. \*\*\*\* {1950b: 449}). Last two forms curious.

**ihintz** (L), **ihitz** (LN), **intz** (G HN R S), **ihītz** (Z), **euntz** (B), **iñontz** (B), **iruntz** (B), **irauntz** (B), **iun(t)z** (Sout) *n.* ‘dew’ (1630), TS ‘drop’ (1777).

M. (\*\*\*\* {1950b: 449; 1961a: 305}) proposes \*initz, OUO, by P1, though the B Sout variants seem to complicate things somewhat.

**iunztadu** (Sout) *a.* ‘dewy’. \*\*\*\*

**ijeztu** (B), **ijetzi** (old B) \*\*\*\* *vt.* ‘roll (iron) to reduce its thickness’. \*\*\*\* Stem **ije(t)z-**.

\*\*\*\* First form by transfer to the **-tu** class (M\*\*{14}).

**igela** (G HN), **iyele** (G), **yele** (G), **igela** (old B) *n.* ‘foundry worker who rolls iron’. \*\*\*\* + **-le** Agent NFS, by P\*\*{W9}.

**ijito** (G) (1597?), **ijto** (old L) [hapax] (1643), **zito** (S R), **xito** (R S) *n.* ‘Gypsy’. \*\*\*\*.

From Cast. *Egypto* ‘Egypt’ or a related Rom. form (M. \*\*\*\* {1955c: 293}). The second form is possibly a typo.

**-ik** \*\*\*\* \*\* Abl Part {CS.} [often extended to **-ika(n)**: FHV 237]

**-ika, -aka, -eka** Toponymic suffixes.

[MITX 73] {M. 1973a: 42, 81, 103-4.}

**ikasi** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* *vt.* ‘learn’, ‘study’. \*\*\*\* Stem **ikas-**. Root **-kas-**. \*\*\*\*

OUO.

**irakatsi** (\*\*), \*\*\*\* **e(r)akátsi** (Z) *vtd.* ‘teach’. \*\*\*\* + **-ra-** causative. [FHV 289 fn]

**ikatz** (B HN LN R) (1571), **ikhatz** (L LN), **inkatz** (B Sout) (1562), **ínkhatz** (Z) *n.* ‘charcoal’.

OUO. Variants with /n/ perhaps by P34. However, the peripheral distribution of these forms suggests conservatism, and M. (1961a: 340), following a suggestion by Meyer-Lübke, therefore suggests an original *\*enikatz* or *\*inikatz*, with syncope.

**ikaztobi** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* [FHV 250 fn, 364] A toponym *Incastobi* in Alava (M. 1977a: 557)

**ikertu** (\*\*), **ikhertu** (\*\*), **ikhértü** (Z), **ikhartu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘investigate’ Aul.} [FHV 61]

**ikusi** (B G HN LN), **ikhusi** (L LN), **ikhúsi** (Z), **ekusi** (B G R), **ekosi** (B), **ukusi** (B), **inkusi** (old LN) *vt.* ‘see’. Stem **ikus-**. Root **-kus-**. Synth. 1545.

From *\*e-kus-i*, OUO, by P36.3. Last variant perhaps by P34.

**erakutsi** (\*\*), **irakutsi** (\*\*), **i(r)akútsi** (Z), **eratsuki** (R) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘show’} [FHV 52 fn, 289 fn] R form by metathesis.

**erakusle** (\*\*) *n.* ‘tutor, teacher’. + **-le** agent NFS. [Ax]

**erakuspen** (\*\*) *n.* ‘teaching, instruction’. + **-pen** NFS (see **-men {du}**). [Ax]

**ikuzi** (\*\*), **ikhuzi** (\*\*), **ekuzi** (R \*\*), **ükhüzi** (Z), **ukuzi** (B) \*\*\*\* ‘wash’

**ikuzka** (old B), **ukuzka** (old B) *a.* ‘dirty’. + **-ga** ‘without’ (see **gabe**).

**ikuzkatasun** (old B) *n.* ‘filth’. \*\*\*\* + **-tasun** NFS (see **-tar**).

**ikuzkatu** (old B) *vt.* ‘make dirty, dirty’. \*\*\*\* + **-tu** VFS. [FHV 482]

**hil** (L LN Z), **il** (B G HN LN R) *n.* ‘death’, *a.* ‘dead’, TS *vi.* ‘die’, TS *vt.* ‘kill’. 15th cent.

OUO. The wholly non-verbal form of the word shows that the verbal uses are secondary. No other word for ‘die’ is recorded, but see **erho** for ‘kill’.

**il-aginian** (B) *adv.* ‘on the point of death’. \*\*\*\* + **-aginian** ‘on the point of’ (see **adin**).

**ilhaur** \*\*\*\*, **ilaur** (LN), **ilhor** (L LN) *n.* ‘abortion’. [FHV 97, 212] { + **(h)aur** ‘child’ }

**ilaurtu** (LN), **ilhortu** (L LN) *vt.* ‘abort’. + **-tu** VFS.

**hilerri** (\*\*), **ilerri** (\*\*), **ilherri** (\*\*), **ilhériri** (Z) *n.* ‘cemetery’. \*\*\*\* + **herri** ‘inhabited place’.

**hilkizun** (\*\* old L) *a.* ‘mortal’. \*\*\*\* + **-kizun** AFS.

**ilhots** (old LN) *n.* ‘lament, dirge, elegy’. + **hots** ‘sound’.

{**hílotz** (Z) *a.* ‘stone dead’. + **hotz** ‘cold’.}

**híltzèñü** (Z) *n.* ‘funeral bell’. + **zèñü** ‘bell’ {(see **zeinu** [2])} (M. 1961a: 290).

**ilar** (L LN), **ilhar** (Z), **illar** ({G} HN L LN), **irar** (B Sout), **idar** (B) *n.* (L LN Z) ‘any leguminous plant, esp. an edible one’ (1692), ‘any edible bean or pea, sometimes esp. the haricot bean’, ({B G} L) ‘type of vetch’, (B G) ‘pea’ (*bot.*) (*Pisum sativum*) (1745, 1847). [CHECK PLACES {Checked in Az.}]

OUO. The conservative form is hard to determine; perhaps *\*irar*, by P24.

**irar baltz** (Sout) *n.* ‘rosemary’ (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*)

**ilharre** (\*\* Z), **hilarre** (S.P.), **ilhar** (\*\*), **elhar** (\*\*), **illar** (B HN), **gillar** (\*\*), **ilharrazki** (\*\*), **iñarra** (B G), **giñarra** (B), **gindarra** (B), **kiñar** (B) *n.* ‘heather’ (*bot.*) (*Erica*). Dimin. (G) **txillar** ‘heather’. [TOPONYMS FHV 316]

\*\*\*\*

**ilaun** (\*\*), **ilhaun** (\*\*), **ilhañ** (Z), **ilain** (R) *n.* ‘piece of ash’. \*\*\*\*

**hildo** (L LN Z), **ildo** (HN Z R), **illo** (\*\*) *n.* ‘furrow’, TS ‘path’. 1643.

OUO. [FHV 356]

**ildautsi** (LN Z) *v.* [diathesis unrecorded] ‘plough (the land)’. + **hautsi** ‘break’ (see **hauts**).

**ildoerreka** (HN R), **ilderreka** LN Z S), **hilterreka** (Z) *n.* ‘furrow’. + **erreka** ‘ravine’.

**ile** (\*\* R S), **ille** (\*\* old LN), **ilhe** (\*\*), **ílhe** (Z), **elle** (HN) ‘wool’, **eile** (A) ‘wool’, **ule** (B Sout), **ulle** (B) \*\*\*\* [*eile* by depal] [ref: FHV 74 fn]

{From *\*iLe*, OUO.}

**ilari** (L R S) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘wool selvage?’} [FHV 74]

**\*iLe** (*c.*) *n.* ‘moon’, ‘month’. Cf **(h)ila-**, **(h)il-**.

OUO. First CF by W2.2. This is the approximate form of the reconstruction, though the details are uncertain (M. \*\*\*\* {1961a: 411}). The item is not attested as an independent word, but is frequent in compounds. For ‘moon’, all varieties have the compound **hilargi** (below) or another word (\*\*\*\*). For ‘month’, all varieties have **hilabete** (below). As a final element, the item usually appears as **-il**; see the month names in the English index. According to M. (1961a: 412), this variant has been extracted to serve as an independent word **il** in places, but I can find no confirmation of this, though M. cites a curious form *illi* from a manuscript of Oñate. This word cannot plausibly be related to **hil** ‘dead’.

**hilabete** (L LN Z), **hilebete** (old LN), **hilebethe** (old LN), **ilabete** (LN R), **illabete** (B G HN L), **illebete** (B G), **illhabethe** (old L) *n.* ‘month’. 1545. + **bete** ‘full’. The original sense must have been ‘full moon’. See **ilbete** below. The anomalous {second,} third {and sixth} form{s} either by analogy with the free forms or because the compound was not yet firmly bound.

**hilargi** (L LN Z), **ilhargi** (L LN Z), **ilargi** (HN L LN A S), **illargi** (B G), **illergi** (HN), **irargi** (B Sout HN), **idargi** (B) *n.* ‘moon’. 1545. + **argi** ‘light’. The original sense must have been ‘moonlight’. Last two forms by P\*\*{?}, P\*\*{17}.

**iretargi** (B) *n.* ‘moon’. + a second instance of **argi**. The development is *\*irargi-argi* > *\*irart-argi* by W1, W3 > *\*iratargi* by dissimilatory loss of the second /r/ > *iretargi* by vowel-height assimilation (M. 1977a: 556).

**ilaski** (S) *n.* ‘moon’. Second element obscure. The sibilant is wrong for some kind of parallel with **eguzki** ‘sun’ (see **egun**). Note: the *\*ilazki* of A. (1905) is an error.

**ilbeltz** (G HN), **ilbaltz** (B?) *n.* ‘January’. 1746. + **beltz** ‘black’ (see **\*bel**). Second form not in A. (1905) but cited in Caro Baroja (1973: 76). See **urtarril** (under **urte**).

**ilberri** (G HN L S R), **hilberri** (L), **ilbarri** (B) *n.* ‘new moon’. 1745, *ca.* 1800. + **berri** ‘new’ {(see **\*berr-**)}.

**ilbete** (B), **hilbete** (L) *n.* ‘full moon’. 1745, 1905. + **bete** ‘full’. Preserved or re-created; see **hilabete** above.

**ilen** (B Sout) *n.* ‘Monday’. 1562. Probably + **egun** ‘day’, with reduction, calqued on Lat. *lunae dies* id. See **astelehen** (under **aste**).

{[] **hílhutz** (Z) *a.* ‘stone dead’. + **hotz** ‘cold’. {} Moved to **hil**.}

**ilinti** (\*\*), **ilindi** (\*\*), **iliti** (\*\*), **ileti** (\*\*), **itxindi** (L LN), **itxendi** (LN) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘firebrand’.  
\*\*\*\* dimin. (B) **itxindi** [FHV 520] [MT entry]

\*\*\*\*

**-illa** Suffix in surnames. [MITX 73] {M. 1973a: 105.}

**ilhantza** (old LN S.P.), **ilhaintxa** (S.P.), **ülhántx** (Z) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘kite’ (*zool.*)} [FHV 74 fn]  
{Dimin of **ilhain** (Z) id., not in *The Dictionary*.}

**iloba** (\*\*), **illoba** (\*\*), **lloba** (B Sout), **llóba** (Z R), **lioba** (S), **iloa** (\*\*), **eiloba** (A) \*\*\*\*  
 ‘niece, nephew’, ‘grandchild’ \*\*\*\*

OUO, but contains **-ba** kinship suffix. \*\*\*\*

**arrallóba** (Z) *n.* ‘grandchild’. \* \*\*\*

**birloba** (\*\*), **billoba** (B) ‘grandchild’ \*\*\*\* + **bir**{r}- ‘twice’ (see **bihur**).

**ilobaso** (old LN \*\*) *n.* ‘grandchild’. \*\*\*\*

**llobaide** (Sout) *n.* ‘first cousin’. + **-ide** \*\*\*\* {see **-kide** ‘fellow’}

{[] **iltze** (G), **itze** (HN L LN R S), **ítze** (Z), **ilze** (Sout), **ultze** (B), **untze** (B) *n.* ‘nail’. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* The /l/ perhaps by contamination from **giltza** ‘key’ (M. 1961a: 74 fn. 3).

**itzatu** (old LN \*\*) *vt.* ‘nail’. {} Partly duplicates **itze**. Moved there.}

**ilun** (HN A S), **illun** (B G HN), **ilhun** (L LN), **ulún** (R), **úlhün** (Z), **iluñ** (Sout) *n.* ‘darkness’,  
 TS (HN LN S) ‘night’, (B G HN L LN) *a.* ‘dark’, TS ‘obscure’, TS ‘depressed,  
 discouraged, sad’. 1545.

OUO, but apparently from \**iLun*, by P23. Possibly identical to Aq. *ILUN(N)*-, but we would have expected orthographic *LL*, though in fact *LL* is virtually non-existent in Aq., perhaps merely by orthographic convention. An element *-ILDUN*, *(-)ILLUN*, of unknown meaning, is frequent in Ib., and M. (1961a: 359) takes seriously the idea that this might be the same word. Bonaparte (cited in A. 1905; *s.v. illun*) proposes a source in \**iLe* ‘moon’, and this is considered not implausible by M. (\*\*\*\* {1954a: 438f.}). The palatal nasal in the Sout form is mysterious. [ADD FHV 358]

**ilundu** (\*\*), **ihundu** (\*\* old LN), **iluindu** (Sout) *vi.* ‘get dark’. 1562. + **-tu** VFS.

**imajina** (\*\*), **imajiña** (\*\*) *n.* ‘image’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 146]

**imiña** (B), **imia** (G), **ipiña** (G) *n.* ‘a certain measure of grain’, about 0.4 bushel.

From Lat. *hēmīnam* ‘a certain measure of grain’, by P1, P37 (M. 1961a: 64, 276).

**imillauren** (B), **imillaun** (B) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘a certain measure of grain’. + **lauren** ‘quarter’ (see **lau** [1]).} [FHV 366]

**imintxa** (B), **imitxa** (?), **tximitxa** (\*\*), **ximitx** (\*\*), **imutxa** (\*\*), **tximutxa** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* [FHV 78, 291] *n.* ‘bedbug’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*). \*\*\*\*

**imintzione** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘invention’} [FHV 357]

**imutu** (\*\*), **imitu** (\*\*) *n.* ‘funnel’. \*\*\*\*

From Late Lat. *imbūtum* id.

**indar** (c.), **iñddar** (B), **iñdder** (B) *n.* ‘strength, force, power’, TS (B G) ‘violence’. 1545.

OUO.

**indartsu** (\*\*), **indarzu** (LN) *a.* ‘strong, powerful’. \*\*\*\* + **-tsu** AFS.



**Indiak** (*c.*) *n. pl.* ‘the Indies’ (in practice, ‘America’). Place name serving as a first element; stem **indi-**.

**indaba** (B), **inddaba** (B), **indiaba** (\*\*), **indibaba** (\*\*) ‘haricot bean’, ‘kidney bean’.  
\*\*\*\* + **baba** ‘bean’.

**indioilar** (L), **indiollar** (B G HN) *n.* ‘turkey’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*). \*\*\*\* + **oilar** ‘chicken’ (see **oilo**). [MORE IN Az.]

**indirar** (B) *n.* ‘kidney bean’. \*\*\*\* + **irar** ‘legume’ (see **ilar**).

**indiano** (*c.*) *n.* ‘a Basque who has returned rich from the New World to retire in the Basque Country’. \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\*

**induria** (L) *n.* \*\*\*\* [FHV 519]

From Cast. *injuria* \*\*\*\*

**ingude** (HN L), **ingudio** (Duv.) [hapax], **ungide** (LN), **yungude** (B), **yungure** (B) *n.* ‘anvil’.  
1643. Also **ünkhüde** (Z) ‘kitchen block’. Dimin. **txingure** (G HN), **txingura** (B), **xinguri** (HN) ‘anvil’.

From Lat. *incūdem* id. (M. \*\*\*\* {1974b: 188}). LN form by metathesis; other variant forms puzzling. Dimin. by M9, P17, M5.

**inguma** *n.* (HN L old LN) ‘succubus’ (1664), (HN) ‘useless person, idler’, (G) ‘butterfly’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*) (1745, 1808).

App. from an unrecorded med. Lat. *\*incuba*, a feminine form of *incubus*, by L\*\* {3}.

**inguru** (*c.*), **ingiru** (B Sout), **üngü(r)ü** (Z), **ingü(r)ü** (Z), **unguru** (R) *n.* ‘neighbourhood, surroundings, vicinity’, *adv.* ‘around, about’. 1571 (both functions).

From Lat. *in gyru* ‘in a circle’, ‘on the circuit’ (M. \*\*\*\* {1961a: 79-80; 1974b: 194 n. 55}). This is a spatial noun giving rise to postpositions.

**inguruan** (\*\*) *p.* [+ Gen] ‘around, in the vicinity of, near’. \*\*\*\*. + **-an** Loc. {CS.}  
[FHV 80]

**inpersu** (old LN), **inpensu** (old LN), **inprentzu** (old L) \*\*\*\* [FHV 361]

From Lat. *inversum* ‘upside-down’, with unusual development. M. (1961a: 361) suggests that this word was taken as an expressive formation. See **kinber** (under **gain**).

**insensu** (L), **intsentsu** (L), **intséntsü** (Z) *n.* ‘incense’. \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\*

**intxaur** (\*\*), **intsaur** (\*\*), **untxaur** (B), **unsaur** (Sout), **insaur** (old B) (1596), **untxaur** (B) [hapax], **intzáur** (Z), **hel(t)zaur** (L LN), **el(t)zaur** (HN), **giltza(g)ur** (HN LN S), **etxabur** (A), **itzagur** (R) \*\*\*\* {‘walnut’} \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* Surely contains **hur** ‘hazelnut’, but the first element is opaque. M. (1977a: 480) diffidently suggests **itze** ‘nail’. A personal name *Domicu Insauspeeco* in Navarra in 1147, and toponyms *Ysahurr Chipia* (1321) and *Ylçaurr Chipiburua* (1397).

**intzáurtze** (Z) *n.* ‘walnut tree’ (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*). \*\*\*\* + **-tze** NFS {(see **-tza**)}.

**intsausti** (\*\*), **insausti** (\*\*) *n.* ‘walnut tree’. + **-di** NFS \*\*\*\* [FHV 286]

**intxixu** (HN) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘imp, goblin’} [FHV 67-68] \*\*\*\*

{[] **intzigar** (\*\*), \*\*\*\* {} Duplicat, see **aintzigar**.}

**intzura** (?), **lintzura** (G) *n.* ‘swampy or muddy place’. 1745, 1905.

From Lat. *insulam* ‘island’, by P\*\* {22} (M. \*\*\*\* {1973a: 99}). The /l/ is unexpected.

**inurri** (\*\*), **inhurri** (\*\*), **üñhúrri** (Z), \*\*\*\* **txingurri** (\*\*), \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘ant’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*)

\*\*\*\* M. (1961a: 191) reports that an otherwise unrecorded form *Zingurri* is used as a nickname in G; this perhaps derives from **txingurri** by back-formation (M\*\* {?}).

**iñatazi** (old B), **linatasi** (\*\*), **atats** (HN) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘hail’} [FHV 323] [MOVE?]

**iñausi** (B G) *vt.* ‘lop, prune, trim’. \*\*\*\*

{[] **iñauteri** (G \*\*), \*\*\*\* [many variants: *ihau-*] *n.* ‘Carnival’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 546: IMPORTANT] {} Moved and combined with **ihaute**.}

{[] **iñude** (B G), **unide** (\*\*), **unhide** (\*\*), **enhúde** (Z) *n.* ‘wetnurse’. \*\*\*\* CF **iñut-**.

OUO, but we may be confident that **unide** is the conservative form and that it contains -**kide** ‘fellow’ attached to an unknown stem (M. \*\*\*\* {1969c: 129}). Western variant by metathesis. CF by W1, W3.

**iñutu** (B) *vt.* ‘put (a child) with a wetnurse’. \*\*\*\* + **-tu** VFS. {} Partly duplicated at **unide**. Combined there.}

**-io-** (G HN L), **-iño-** (B) *vt., vtd., vtc.* [+ **-la**] ‘say’. 1545. Synth.

The root of a defective verb with no non-finite forms. In modern work, **esan** ~ **erran** ‘say’ is often taken as its citation form, but this is an entirely different verb. Irigoyen (1977, 1990b) proposes a stem *\*enau-*, by P1, whose dative-marked form *\*enautsi*, with **-ts-**, he sees as the source of **euskara** ‘Basque language’.

**ipar** (B G HN LN R), **iphar** (L LN Z), **ifar** (B G HN) *n.* ‘north’, ‘north wind’, (B G HN L) (particularly among fishermen) ‘east’, ‘east wind’. 1627.

Obscure. M. (\*\*\*\* {1961a: 267 n.11}) suggests a variant of **ibar** ‘valley’, by P8, resulting from a combination along the lines of *\*ibar-haize* ‘valley wind’ > ‘north wind’ (+ **haize** ‘wind’), parallel to Rom. formations like Fr. *vent d’aval*.

**iparralde** (B G) *n.* ‘northern region, north’, in modern times spec. the northern (French) Basque Country. 1745, 1848. + **alde** ‘side’ {(see **\*al-**)}.

**ipini**, **ipiñi** (B G HN) (1713), **ibini** (old B) (1596), **ibeni** (old L) (1617), **ifini** (Sout old B) (1562), **ifiñi** (B HN), **ifeñi** (old G) (1610), **ifeni** (old G) (1713), **ifeini** (old L), **imiñi** (B LN S) (1653), **imeni** (old LN) (1545). Plus a verbal noun **imeite-** in old LN (Etxepare). *vt.* ‘put’. Stem **ipin-** (and variants); root **-pin-** (and variants). Synth.

OUO. The original form is probably *\*e-beN-i*, though this is far from certain, and one variant suggests an even earlier *\*e-baiN-i*. Variants by P36.3 and vowel-height assimilation. Since the 18th c. in the north, and since the 19th c. in HN, the word has dropped out of use in favour of **ezarri**. [MORE: ACAD]

**iphizpiku** (old L old LN), **ipiztiko** (old G), **epistiko** (Sout), **aphezpiku** (L LN), **aphezküpü** (Z) *n.* ‘bishop’. 1562, 1571.

From Lat. *episcopum*, with various consonant alterations (M. 1961a: 64). In spite of its archaic aspect, M. (\*\*\*\* {1974b: 201} Arb) sees the word as a medieval loan. Last two variants by contamination from **aphez** ‘priest’ (see **apaiz**).

**ipuin** (B G) (1745, 1785), **ipoin** (B G), **ipui** (?) (*ca.* 1740), **ipoi** (\*\*), **upuin** (B), **upoin** (B), **upin** (B) *n.* ‘story, tale’. [FHV 76, 150]

OUO. At first glance, the B variants in *u-* look like examples of P\*\* {65, for **upin**}, but M. (1961a: 76) takes seriously the idea that these forms are conservative, with variants in *i-* by P\*\* {66}.

**ipurdi** (B G HN LN S), **iphurdi** (L) (1613), **ipirdi** (old B) (1596), **epurdi** (HN), **eperdi** (B), **purdi** (HN LN) *n.* ‘buttocks, arse’ (*anat.*). CF **ipurt-**, **ipur-**. \*\*\*\*

OUO. The conservative form is probably *\*epurdi*, with the common forms by P37. Probably bimorphemic in origin. CF by W1, W3.

**iphurbegi** (H.) *n.* ‘anus’. + **begi** ‘eye’.

**ipurbeltz** (G) *n.* ‘black-arse’ (a common insult). + **beltz** ‘black’ {(see **\*bel**)}.

**ip(h)urdiko** (B G L LN) *n.* ‘smack on the arse’. + **-ko** NFS.

**ipurkankar** (G) *n.* ‘hindquarter, rump’. \*\*\*\* + **kankar** \*\*\*\* {(see **zangar** under **zanko**)} [FHV 367]

**ipurñauska** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*adv.* ‘skipping, romping’} [FHV 367]

**ipurterre** (G) *a.* ‘impatient, restless’, ‘ill-tempered’. + **erre** ‘burnt’.

**ipurtzulo** (G), **iphurtzilo** (Duv.), **ipurzilo** (LN S), **ipurtxulo** (?) *n.* ‘anus’. 19th cent. + **zulo** ‘hole’. Probably much older than its late attestations suggest.

**ipuru** (G) (1745, 1905), **epuru** (G) (1930), **unpuru** (R), **ünpü(r)ü** (Z) *n.* ‘juniper’ (*bot.*) (*Juniperus*).

From Lat. *jūniperum* id. (M. \*\*\*\* {1954b: 131}). R Z forms by P70. See **orre**.

**hira** (old LN Z \*\*) *n.* ‘anger’. \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *īram* or Rom. *ira* id.

**ira** (\*\*) *n.* ‘fern’.

\*\*\*\* {OUO.}

**iradallu** (\*\*) *n.* ‘\*\*\*\* {sickle for cutting ferns}’ [FHV 561]. + **dallu** ‘scythe’ {(see **dallu**)}.

**irasail** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘place where ferns grow’} [FHV 561]

**iratze** (\*\*) *n.* ‘fern’. + **-tze** NFS (see **-tza**). [FHV 561]

**iraleku** (L) *n.* ‘place where fern grows’. + **leku** ‘place’, by P\*\* {loss of sibilants before sonorants} (M. 1961a: 351). [FHV 561 queries this account {and suggests the more obvious **ira** + **leku**.}]

**iraatsi, eratsi** (old B) *vt.* ‘write’. 1802.

OUO. This appears to be a **-ra-** causative of a simpler verb, but there is no attestation of such a verb, nor any other attestation of this one outside of its two occurrences in Mogel’s *Peru Abarka*. See **izkiri**{**b**}**atu, eskribitu**.

**idatzi** *vt.* ‘write’. Stem **ida(t)z-**. Also formerly written *iratsi, iratzi*. Aranist neologism: arbitrary alteration of the preceding. 1894 (*iratsi*), 1902 (**idatzi**).

**irabazi** (*c.*), **idabazi** (HN LN), **erabazi** (old G), **irapazi** (old B, *R&S* 155) *vt.* ‘earn’ (money), ‘gain’ (an advantage), ‘win’ (a competition) (all 1545), ‘defeat’ (an opponent) (1643), TS ‘deserve, merit’, TS (LN) ‘satisfy’. Stem **irabaz-**. Root **-rabaz-**. TS (*c.*) *n.* ‘gain, profit’ (1571), TS (*c.?*) ‘merit’, TS (B HN) ‘property’.

This looks like a **-ra-** causative, but no source verb is recorded, unless we take seriously **ebatzi** ‘resolve, settle’. The *R&S* has just one example of **irapazi** against four of **irabazi**. But old Z (*Onsa*) has derivatives *irapaizteco* and *irapaizliac*, against participle *irabacia*.

**irabazle** (\*\*) *n.* ‘winner, victor’. 1745, *ca.* 1800. + **-le** Agent NFS.

**iraitzi** (old LN \*\*), **ireitzi** (old LN \*\*) \*\*\*\* {*v.* ‘throw’} [FHV 104]

**hiraka** (old LN \*\*) *n.* ‘rheum’. \*\*\*\*

From Arag. *biraka* id. or a related Rom. form (M. 1961a: 209).

**irakin** (\*\*), \*\*\*\*, **iraakin** (old B), **erakin** (old LN), **he(r)áki** (Z) *vitm.* ‘boil’. Synth. \*\*\*\*

The <aa> is retained in the synthetic forms used by the B writer Mogel, as in *diraaquit* ‘it boils’ (M. 1961: 114). This is almost certainly a **-ra-** causative of a lost simpler verb, and it must have undergone a shift in meaning while retaining its transitive morphology.

**irakurri** (*c.*), **i(r)akurri** (Z) *vt.* ‘read’. Stem **irakurr-**. Root **-rakurr-**. 15th cent.

OUO. The form looks for all the world like an old causative in **-ra-** of a simpler verb of the approximate form *\*ikurri*, but no such verb is recorded, and it is far from obvious what it might have meant: for what sense of V might ‘cause to V’ yield ‘read’? [FHV 52 fn, 523]

**ikurrin** (*c.*) *n.* (originally) ‘flag’, (today) ‘Basque flag’. 1897. Aranist neologism, arrived at as follows. From **irakurri**, Arana extracted the hypothetical source verb *\*ikurri*, and assigned to this the arbitrary meaning ‘signify’, on the ground that reading a text is causing it to mean something. From this he extracted a stem *\*ikurr-*, to which he added a suffix *\*-in* of his own devising. He intended the word to denote ‘flag’ in general, replacing the Cast. loan *bandera* in this function, but it quickly came to be applied specifically to the Basque flag, itself designed by Arana and originally intended only as the flag of Bizkaia. Outside Bq. the flag is commonly known by the name *ikurriña*, with the Bq. article attached and the usual B G palatalization of coronals after /i/ applied.

**iratsi** (HN), **iraatsi** (B) \*\*\*\* ‘stick, adhere’. \*\*\*\* {See **erantsi**; same item?}

\*\*\*\* Possibly a **-ra-** causative of **itsatsi** ‘stick’, via something like *\*iratsatsi*, by P\*\* {W13} (M. 1961a: 293).

**irauli** (\*\*), **iruli** (B G), **iralli** (Z) ‘turn’ \*\*\*\* \*\*

OUO. The Z form from *\*iraili*, by P\*\* {69} (M. 1961a: 97).

**iraun** (\*\*), **i(r)añ** (Z), **irain** (R), **irín** (R) *vitm.* ‘last, endure’. 1545.

OUO. This looks like a causative in **-ra-** of a simpler verb, possibly **egon** ‘wait, stay, remain’: hence *\*e-ra-gon*. The Z accentuation points in any case to a lost consonant, by P\*\* {73}, and hence to something like *\*eraCun* (M. 1961a: 151 fn 20).

**irazi** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* ‘strain, filter’. \*\*\*\*

**ireki** (G LN), **iriki** (B G LN R), **edeki** (L LN), **ideki** (HN L LN S), **idéki** (Z), **idiki** (G R), **iregi** (Sout), **irigi** (old B) *vt.* ‘open’. Stem **ireki-** (and variants), also **irek-** (and variants). 1545.

OUO. Probably from *\*e-re-ki* or *\*e-de-ki* (can’t tell which, though forms with /r/ predominate in the early texts), with **-ki** [2], or, given the alternative stem, possibly from *\*e-rek-i* or *\*e-dek-i*. There seems to be no way of deciding. [REWRITE: FHV 82 fn. {19}] [much sorting] M. (1961a: 229) concludes that this verb has become much confused with **edeki** ‘remove’.

**iretsi** (G HNL LN Z), **irentsi** (G HN \*\*), **iruntsi** (B), **irauntsi** (old B) [hapax] \*\*\*\* {‘swallow, devour’} [FHV 90]

**hiri** (L LN), **hí(r)i** (Z), **iri** (HN S R), **uri** (B G) *n.* ‘town’. 1545 (but see below).

From *\*ili*, OUO, by P22. Last form by P65. The Romans reported a town called *Iliberris* in south-central Spain, and this name looks remarkably like a Bq. formation meaning ‘new town’ (**berri** ‘new’). But there is no other evidence for Bq. speech so far south, and we must suppose either coincidence or an undocumented settlement in this area by Basque emigrants. A second *Iliberris* (modern *Elna*) is recorded in \*\*\* {Rosselló (Pyrénées-Orientales) (Coromines 1995 *s.v.* *Elna*)}, which was almost certainly Basque-speaking until \*\*\*\* {The claim that Rosselló was ever Basque speaking is not supported by evidence other than this and a handful of other placenames. A reasonable density of

place names with good Basque etymologies is found as far east as Cerdanya, but no further.} The form (*h*)*uri* is well recorded from the 11th cent. onward in the toponymy of Alava and the Rioja, while *iri* is equally well recorded from the 11th cent. in Navarra.

**-iri, -ari** NFS app. meaning ‘near’.

OUO. The form **-iri**, which appears to be original, is generally found only in toponyms and surnames, as in *Mugairi* (*muga* ‘boundary’), *Mendiri* (*mendi* ‘mountain’) and *Zubiri(a)* (*zubi* ‘bridge’), though see **aldiri** (under **\*al-**) for a possible exception. The variant **-ari**, which occurs in lexical items, such as **atari** ‘doorway’ from **ate** ‘door’, seems to have arisen by reduction of the sequence **\*-a-iri** when the base ended in /a/ (M. \*\*\*\* {1961a: 533}). [FHV 533]

**irin** (c. exc. B) (1562, 1571), **urun** (B Sout) (1562, 1596), **írin** (R), **í(r)in** (Z) *n.* ‘flour’.

OUO. Sout oddly has both forms. Second form perhaps by P65 followed by vowel assimilation, or perhaps both forms by assimilation of an original *\*urin* or *\*irun*. M. (1961a: 81) dismisses Lat. *farīnam* id. as a phonologically impossible source.

**birrin** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* + **birr-** ‘twice’ (see **bihur**) (M. \*\*\*\* {1961a: 122, 411}).

**irla** (L LN) (1677), **isla** (B? G?) (ca. 1500) *n.* ‘island’.

From Cast. *isla* id.; first form with alteration of the alien cluster.

**iro** (B G) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘tinder from the interior of a tree’} [Az.]

**-iro-** \*\*\*\* Aux root

**irri** (\*\*) *n.* ‘laughter, smile’.

\*\*\*\* {OUO.}

**irri egin** (\*\*) *vitm.* ‘laugh, smile’. \*\*\*\* + **egin** ‘do’.

**errigéi** (Z) *a.* ‘ridiculous’. \*\*\*\* + **-gei** (see **gai**).

**irten** (Sout G) (1562), **urten** (B) (1596), **erten** (G) *vi.* (in G), *vitm.* (in B) ‘go out’.

OUO, and much discussed. The oddly varying vocalism suggests an original diphthong, perhaps *\*eurten* (M. 1961a: 75), though note P65. Attributing the idea to Nils Holmer, M. (1977a: 479–480, \*\*\*\* {1972g: 90ff.}) considers the possibility that this verb derives from a verbal noun of eastern **igorri** ~ **egorri** ‘send’, with which it is geographically in complementary distribution. A verbal noun *\*igorten* ~ *\*egorten* of ordinary formation might, by P16, produce the required form *\*iurten* ~ *\*eurten*, but there are difficulties. First, the tense and aspect are wrong: *igorten du* ‘he sends it’ is present and imperfective, while *irten da* ~ *urten dau* ‘he has gone out’ is perfective (B *dau* = common *du*). Second, **igorri** is transitive and requires a transitive auxiliary, while **irten** is intransitive and takes an intransitive auxiliary; true, **urten** takes a transitive auxiliary in B and in G of Goierri, but this is widely thought to result from Rom. influence. M. diffidently suggests a possible “missing link” in a hypothetical reflexive *\*bere burua urten dau* ‘he has sent himself out’.

**irun** (\*\*), **ürün** (Z), **urun** (R) *vt.* ‘spin’. \*\*\*\*

**hirur** (L LN old Z) [tapped /r/], **irur** (S A), **irur** (R), **íror** (R), **iru** (B G HN), **hiru** (LN EB), **hí(r)u** (Z), **idu** (B) *num.* ‘three’. 14th cent.

OUO. Final /r/ lost by P25. Last form by hypercorrection of P\*\*{17}.

**isats** [1] (*c.*), **itsats** (L HN), **jats** (L LN), **iats** (LN), **gisats** (B) *n.* ‘broom’ (*bot.*) (*Cytisus scoparius*), ‘broom’ (implement), (L LN Z) also ‘sorghum’. 1643.

OUO. Third and fourth forms from **isats** by P20. B form puzzling and possibly conservative, by P14.

**isil** (\*\*), **ixil** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* ‘silent’. \*\*\*\*

**isilik** (\*\*), **ixilik** (\*\*), **ixilika** (old LN) *adv.* ‘in silence’. + **-ik** \*\*\*\* {advbl suffix. Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**ispillu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘mirror’} [FHV 66]

**istant** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘instant’. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

**istant-batean** (\*\*), **ixtanpatean** (G HN) *adv.* ‘in an instant’. \*\*\*\*

**istribor** (?) *n.* ‘starboard side (on a ship)’. 1677.

From Cast. *estribor* id.

**isuri** (B G HN L LN Z), **ixuri** (\*\*), **usuri** (R), **esuro** (old B, *R&S* 353, 420) *vt.* ‘pour, pour out’, TS *vitm.* ‘ejaculate’. Stem **isur-**. Root **-sur-**. 1571.

From \**e-sur-i*, OUO, by P36.3. Contrary to what is reported in some sources, the verb does not mean ‘flow’, and it is not intr.

**-it-** (*c.*) Abs. pl. affix in finite verb-forms.

OUO. This affix appears solely in the verbs \***edun** ‘have’ and **-iro-**, and it remarkably appears to precede the root: *dut* ‘I have it’ (< \**da-du-da*), *ditut* ‘I have them’ (< ? \**da-it-du-da*).

**itain** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* ‘tick’. \*\*\*\* [MT entry] [maybe amalgamate? {*sc.* with **akain**}]

{[] **itaixur** (\*\*), **itaxur** (\*\*), **utaxúr** (R) \*\*\*\* [Azkue] [] Moved to **ito-**.}

**ito** (B G HN Sout), **itto** (B G), **itho** (L LN), **ítho** (Z) *vi.* ‘drown’, ‘suffocate’, *vt.* ‘drown’, ‘strangle, suffocate’. Stem \*\*\*\*. Root ?. 1562.

OUO. This item seems to have a complex history, probably involving M12.

**irato** (\*\* {old B *R&S*}) {*v.* ‘drown’}

**ito-** words for ‘gutter’: sort out. \*\*\*\* **ittotti** (G) ‘gutter’ \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* { **itaixur** (\*\*), **itaxur** (\*\*), **utaxúr** (R) \*\*\*\* [Azkue] } {*n.* ‘exterior gutter, drainpipe’. But the forms Az. gives are **itaitz** (L), **itaitzur** (L), **itaizur** (G HN), **ithaizur** Ax., in addition to the R form.}

**itoitz** (\*\*), \*\*\*\*, **zitoitz** (L LN) *n.* ‘eavestrough’. \*\*\*\*

**itoi** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* ‘drop’. \*\*\*\* [MT entry] {Belongs with **ito-**?}

**itsaso** (*c.*) *n.* ‘sea’, **itxaso** (\*\*). 1562. CF **itsas-**. Dimin. **itxaso** (1545).

OUO. CF by W1.

[DERIVATIVES: FHV 127-128]

**itsasertz** (\*\*) *n.* ‘seacoast’. \*\*\*\* + **ertz** ‘edge’.

**itsatsi** (\*\*), **itsasi** (\*\*), **itxatxi** (\*\*), **itxaatsi** (old B) ‘stick, adhere’ \*\*\*\* [FHV 114]

\*\*\*\* See also **iratsi**.

**itxatxeki** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*v.* ‘stick’} [Ax] {Blend of **itsatsi** and **atxeki** id.??}

**itsu** (B HN L LN S), **itxu** (G), **utsi** (R) *a.* ‘blind’, **útsü** (Z) *vi.* ‘go blind’. 1545.

OUO. The conservative form is *itsu*, with the G form by P30, the Z form by P70 and the R form by M6 from an assimilated *\*utsu* (M. 1961a). The development of this word into a verb in Z is unusual. Some derivatives point to a Z adjective *\*utsu*, but no such form appears to be recorded.

**itsumutsuka**, **itsumustuan** (B G HN LN) *adv.* ‘groping one’s way’, ‘unexpectedly’. An **m-reduplication**, + **-ka** AdvFS or + **-an** Loc. {CS.}

**ütsüeria** (old Z) *n.* ‘blindness’. \*\*\*\* + **-keria** NFS of vices. [FHV 496]

**itsusi** (\*\*), **itxusi** (\*\*), **itxúsi** (Z), **utsuts** (R) *a.* ‘ugly’.

\*\*\*\* {OUO.}

**iturri** (B G HN L S R), **ithurri** (L LN), **üthúrri** (Z), **uturri** (R) *n.* ‘spring’, ‘fountain’. CF **iturr-**. 1571.

OUO. CF by W1.

**iturbegi** (\*\*), **ithurbegi** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘spring’} [FHV 127]

**iturburu** (B G L), **ithurburu** (L LN) *n.* ‘fountainhead’, ‘source of a spring’, TS ‘source’, ‘origin’. 1545. + **buru** ‘head’.



**itxadon** (B G), **itxaron** (B G), **itxedan** (HN), **itxedon** (B G), **itxedon** (B G), **itxodon** (G), **itxogon** (G), **etxedon** (old HN), **itxoin** (B G), **itxon** (B G), **itxoon** (G), **itxoron** (G), **itxain** (B), **itxaran** (B), **itxaun** (B) *vitmd.* ‘wait for, expect, hope for’. 1621.

Fossilized compound verb. Best guess is **hitz** ‘word’ + **\*edun** ‘have’ (M. \*\*\*\* {1968d: 1433}). The variant *\*itxaro* cited in some dictionaries appears to be a misunderstanding of the compound verb **itxaro** **\*edun** cited below. See also **eguriki**.

**itxura** (c. exc. Z), **ützü(r)a** (Z) *n.* ‘form, figure’, ‘appearance, aspect’. 1571.

From Cast. *hechura* id. (M. 1961a: 67).

**hitz** (L LN Z), **itz** (G HN L LN) *n.* ‘word’. 1545.

OUO. The only recorded sense is ‘word’, though the word might once have had a more general meaning, like ‘speech’ or ‘language’. See also **berba** {‘word’, not in *The Dictionary*}, **ele**, and see **itxadon**.

**(h)itzaldi** (H. G) *n.* ‘sermon’, ‘lecture’, ‘turn to speak’. 1745, 1761. + **aldi** ‘time’.

**(h)itzaurre** (G) *n.* ‘foreword, preface’. 1745, 1785. + **aurre** ‘front’ (see **\*aur**).

**(h)itz egin** (L LN Z HN G) *vitm.* ‘speak’. 1622. + **egin** ‘do’.

**(h)itz eman** (L LN Z R HN G) *vitmd.* ‘promise’. 1630. + **eman** ‘give’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**(h)itzez (h)itz** (L LN Z G) *adv.* ‘word for word’, ‘literally’. + **-z** instr./advbl.

**hitzontzi** (L LN Z), **hitzuntzi** (L LN Z), **itzontzi** (G) *a.* ‘garrulous, loquacious, talkative’. 17th cent. + **ontzi** ‘vessel’.

**hizka** (L LN Z) *adv.* ‘arguing’, ‘using harsh words’. 1889. + **-ka** AdvFS.

**hizka-mizka** (L LN) *adv.* ‘gossiping’, ‘arguing’ (1913), TS *n.* ‘argument, dispute’ (1945). An **m-reduplication**.

**(h)izketa** (G L LN) *n.* ‘speech, speaking’, ‘conversation’. 1643. + **-keta** NFS {not in *The Dictionary*}.

**izkune, izkuna** (B) *n.* ‘cliché, conventional phrase’, ‘character, nature’, ‘custom’, ‘example’, ‘language’. 1800. + **-gune** ‘interval’ (see **gune**). Second form by M5.

**(h)izkuntza** (G HN L LN Z) *n.* ‘language’. 1617. + **-kuntza** NFS (see **\*-kun**).

**hizkuntzalari** *n.* ‘linguist’ (practitioner of linguistics). 1922. + **-lari** professional NFS (see **-ari** {[1]}).

**hizkuntzalaritza** *n.* ‘linguistics’. 1977. + **-tza** NFS.

**hizmizti** (L) *n.* ‘chatterbox’. \*\*\*\* An **m-reduplication**, + **-ti** \*\*\*\* {?[1] AFS} (Ax.) {Is the Ax. example, in Az. *s.v. hizmizti* an *a.* rather than a *n.*?}

**(h)izpide** (Hb. G) *n.* ‘correct or rational position in a discussion’, ‘topic of conversation’, ‘conversation’, ‘discussion’, ‘argument’, ‘opportunity to speak’. *Ca.* 1760. + **bide** ‘way’.

**(h)iztegi** (B G HN L LN Z) *n.* ‘dictionary’. 17th cent. + **-tegi** ‘place’ {(see **hegi**}).

**(h)iztun** (G L LN) *n.* ‘orator, good speaker’, ‘speaker’ (of a language), *a.* ‘eloquent’, ‘garrulous, loquacious’. 1643. + **-dun** ‘having’ (see **\*edun**).

**-itz, -iz** Toponymic suffix, also found in surnames, which are probably derived from toponyms. Examples: *Aboitz, Berriz, Gautegez, Mandaluniz, Oloriz*.

OUO, and much discussed. To begin with, it is highly likely that we are looking at more than one distinct suffix here (M. 1973 {a}: 108–110). At least the following proposals are on the table. (1) This is a plural suffix *\*-itz*, also present in **hanitz** ‘many, much’ (Lafon 1943 I: 530). (2) This is the familiar collective suffix **-tza** (Gárate \*\*\*\* {1931}: 446–447). (3) This is a Lat. genitive in *-ici*, representing an ending *-icus* used in personal names (Caro Baroja \*\*\*\* {1945}: 102–106). (4) This is the Cast. patronymic suffix *-ez* (Arana \*\*\*\* {1897}). (5) This is the Lat. ablative plural ending *-is* (Gorostiaga \*\*\*\* {1975}: 3, 66). Possibly also involved here is the patronymic suffix **-iz**. As M. (1973 {a}: 109) remarks, all of this is very obscure.

**itzal** \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘shade, shadow’. \*\*\*\*

{OUO.}

**itzali** \*\*\*\* {*v.* ‘extinguish, obscure’}

**itzarri** (B G L) *vi.* ‘wake up’. \*\*\*\*

**iratzarri** (B G HN L LN Z), **idatzarri** (HN) *vt.* ‘wake up, rouse’. \*\*\*\* + **-ra-** causative. [MORE]

**itze** (HN L LN R S), **ítze** (Z), **iltze** (G), **ilze** (Sout), **ultze** (B), **untze** (B) *n.* ‘nail’. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* The /l/ perhaps by contamination from **giltza** ‘key’ (M. 1961a: 74 fn. 3).

**it{s}asi** (G) *n.* ‘cracking or chapping of the hands’, **itzasi** (G), **itzautzi** (G) ‘crack’. + **hautsi** ‘broken’ (M. 1961a: 283), by P\*\* {W16}.

**itzatu** (old LN \*\*) *vt.* ‘nail’.

**itzego** (Sout) *vt.* ‘ride’ (an animal). 1562. Stem **itzegai-**.

\*\*\*\* [FHV 249]

**itzegaitabere** (Sout) *n.* ‘mount’ (animal which is ridden). 1562. + **abere** ‘animal’.

**itzungi** (B), **itzaungi** (Sout) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘extinguish’} [FHV 97, 97 fn]

**itzuli** (\*\*), **ützüli** (Z), **utzuli** (R) \*\*\*\* {*v.* ‘turn’, ‘return’}

**itzuri** (\*\*) {*vi.*} ‘escape’, ‘flee’ \*\*\*\*

**-iz, -itz** Medieval patronymic suffix, ‘son of’, found in numerous patronymics, such as *Ortiz* ‘son of *Orti* (= *Fortún*)’, \*\*\*\* Long dead except where fossilized in surnames, such as *Ortiz*, and in toponyms, such as (perhaps) *Biarritz*, if Irigoyen (1990a: 71) is correct in seeing this name (*Bearriz* 1170, *Beiarritz* 1261) as a patronymic built on a personal name *\*Beiar* ~ *Biar* (only the second form is directly attested).

M. (\*\*\*\*) sees this as probably continuing the Lat. genitive suffix *-is*, and rejects the suggestion, made by many, that it is identical to the Cast. patronymic suffix *-ez*, as in

*Sánchez and López.* But nothing is certain, and in any case it is difficult to disentangle this suffix from the one or more other suffixes gathered here under the entry **-itz**.

**izai** (HN L R A), **izei** (HN S), **izéi** (R Z) *n.* ‘fir’ (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*) (also ‘black poplar’ in places). 1746, 1858.

OUO. The element is common in toponyms, which point to **izei** as the older variant, the earliest record being *Içiçuloa* (1307), modern *Izeixiloa* in Salazar. But there are several toponyms, like *Eceiza*, which, if they contain the same element, suggest a still earlier *\*ezei*. In any case, Z and R have *izéi*, with final stress, pointing clearly to a lost consonant, by P73, and hence to *\*izeCi* or *\*ezeCi* (M. 1958a: 216, 1961a: 396).

**izan** (*c.*), **ízan** (Z), **ixan** (B), **izen** (old B) [hapax] *vcop.* ‘be’. Synth. 14th cent.

OUO. The verb is extremely irregular, and appears to exhibit suppletive stems. A plausible guess for the participle is *\*e-izan-i*, by P36\*\*{.1}. Second form by P43. Some local varieties of L G HN have moved it to the **-tu** class as *izatu* or *izandu*, by M14. It is used everywhere as the auxiliary in the indicative periphrastic forms of intransitive verbs. It also appears as the verbal element in a few intransitive compound verbs; see **ari**, **bizi**, **laket**, \*\*\*

**balizko** (old B) (1596), **balizkako** (old LN) (1741) *adjvl.* ‘hypothetical’. From *balitz* ‘if it were’, finite form, + **-ko**; second form + **-ka** AdvFS. An unusual case of a **-ko** derivative of a finite form.

**delako** (\*\*), \*\*\*\*{*a.* ‘so-called’ Aul.}

**den** (L LN Z R HN G), **dan** (B G) *pron., det.* ‘all’. 1761. From *\*da-en*, by P35.3, from *da* ‘is’, finite form, + **-n** [3] relative: hence ‘which is’.

**dena**, **dana** (*c.*) *pron.* ‘everything’. 1761. + **-a** article (see **\*har**).

**dena dela**, **dena den** (*c.*) *adv.* ‘anyway’, ‘in any case’. 1800 + *da* ‘is’ (finite form of **izan** ‘be’) + **-la** or **-n** [2] complementizer. {i.e. **-n** [3] Relative.}

**denak**, **danak** (*c.*) *pron.* ‘everybody, everyone’. + **-ak** pl. article (see **\*har**).

**zen** (L LN Z R HN), **zan** (B G HN) *a.* ‘late’, ‘deceased’. 1858. From *zen ~ zen* ‘was’, finite form, + **-n** [3] relative: hence ‘who was’.

**izar** (*c.*) *n.* ‘star’. 1545.

OUO. Possibly contains **\*-ar**, hypothetical collective suffix.

**izarrihitz** (\*\*) *n.* ‘dew’. \*\*\*\* + **ihitz** ‘frost’. [FHV 482]

**\*ize-** Hypothetical stem of the following items. Like all kinship terms, both of these occur frequently without the article, as though they were proper names.

**izeba** (G HN LN S Z), **izaba** (L LN Z), **izea** (LN), **izo**a (HN L LN) *n.* ‘aunt’. 1657. + **-ba** kinship suffix. Loss of /b/ in some forms by P16. Second form by contamination from **osaba** ‘uncle’. The /o/ of the last form by rounding from the lost /b/ (M. \*\*\*\*{1969c: 118 n. 11}).

**izeko** (B G) *n.* ‘aunt’. Dimin. **itxeko**. 1596. + **-ko** NFS. M. (\*\*\*\*{1969c: 120 n. 18}) suggests a reduction of *\*izeba-ko*. The *\*izko* of Arbelaiz (1978) is a typo.

**izeki** (\*\*), **ixeki** (old LN), **exeki** (old B; *R&S* 399) *vid.* \*\*\*\* {‘burn’} Synth. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* {From \**e-ze-ki*, root \**-ze-*, O.U.O.} This verb has an unusual diathesis: that which burns is dative, while the absolutive slot is empty, or sometimes filled by the redundant *su* ‘fire’. As a rule, this verb and its causative never exhibit an affricate, being thus distinguished from **atxiki** ‘stick’, but the 17th-century Lapurdian writer Etxeberri of Ziburu regularly writes an affricate: *berceari su datcheca* ‘the other one burns’, *suffre iratchaqui* ‘burnt sulphur’ (M. 1961a: 286–287).

{**irazeki** (G),} **iraixeki** (\*\* {old LN}), **iraxeki** (\*\*), **eraxeki** (\*\* {old LN}){, **eratzeki** (L)}, **eraxegi** (old B), **iraxegi** (old B), **iratzaki** (old L) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘ignite’}

**izen** (c.), **izen** (Z), **uzen** (B) *n.* ‘name’. TS (c.) ‘reputation’, TS (L LN) ‘little bit’, ‘(a) taste’. 1545.

O.U.O. B form by P65. With reference to a person, the word commonly means ‘given name’, though in L LN Z it often means ‘surname’.

**izelonbreak** (G HN) *n. pl.* ‘first name and surname’. By dissimilation from \**izen-nombreak*, + Cast. *nombre* ‘name’.

**izengilatuki** (old LN) \*\*\*\* [FHV 353, 561: etymology]

**izerdi** (\*\*), **izardi** (B) *n.* ‘sweat’.

\*\*\*\* {O.U.O.}

**izerleka** (old LN \*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘sticky sweat’} [FHV 367]

**izki** (B) *n.* ‘little bit’, ‘trace, vestige’, ‘pretext’, ‘hope’. Probably expressive.

**izki-mizki** *n.* (B HN) ‘gossip, tittle-tattle’, (B) ‘titbit’, (G) ‘an early-ripening apple’, *adv.* (B HN R) ‘going hither and thither looking for news’, (R) ‘having fallen out’, ‘on bad terms’. An **m-reduplication**. A. (1905) sees this as a derivative of **hitz** ‘word’, but this seems unlikely, since this word is not recorded in B.

**izkilinba** (\*\*), **iskilinba** (\*\*) *n.* ‘pin’ \*\*\*\* [FHV 66]

**izkina** (\*\*), etc. {*n.* ‘corner’} [FHV 66]

**izkiribatu** (L), **izkiribatü** (Z), **izkribatü** (Z), **izkiriatu** (L LN), **eskiribatu** (old L) *vt.* ‘write’. 1696.

From Lat. *scribere* id., by L8.2, L11. See **eskribitu**, **iraatsi**.

{**izkutu** (\*\* {G}) \*\*\*\* [FHV 66]

**izkutatu** (\*\* {G}) \*\*\*\* [FHV 66] {} Moved to **ezkutu**.}

**izokin** (B HN L LN) (17th cent.), **izoki** (G) (1745, 1847) *n.* ‘salmon’ (*zool.*) (*Salmo salar*).

From some LLat. development of Lat. *esox* id. of the approx. form \**esocina* (M. \*\*\*\* {1964a: 144; 1968g: 485}). M. dismisses the often-suggested Celtic origin as unnecessary.

**izorra** (c.), **izor** (\*\*) *a.* ‘pregnant’. 1562.

OUO. Second form by M4. The word is little used today, as are its derivatives.

**izorro** (R) *n.* ‘root’. \*\*\*\*

**izotz** (c.) *n.* ‘frost’, ‘ice’, (R) ‘dew’, (L R) ‘mist’, TS *a.* (S.P.) ‘impotent’ (of a man). 1562.

OUO. The word surely contains **hotz** ‘cold’; the first element might be **ihintz** ‘dew’ (M. 1961a: 411; attributed to a long series of unnamed earlier workers). [discussion of sense FHV 482]

**izotzil** (HN S) *n.* ‘January’. \*\*\*\* + **-il** ‘month’ (see **\*iLe**).

**izpiliku** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘lavender’} [FHV 66]

**izpiritu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘spirit’} [FHV 66]

**izpizatu** or **izpitzatu** (can’t tell which; original is *yzpiça-*) (old B) [hapax] *vt.* ‘renounce, repudiate, disown’. 1596.

From some Rom. reflex of Lat. *despicere* ‘look down on’ (M. \*\*\*\* {1970a: 120}).

**izter** (B L S), **iztar** (B G), **ixter** (old LN) *n.* ‘thigh’ (*anat.*). 1627. CF **izte-**, **izta-**.

OUO. CF by W\*\* {11}, W\*\* {2.2}. See also **izterbegi**.

**istape** (\*\*), **ixtape** (\*\*), **istarpe** (\*\*), **iztape** (\*\*), **iztarpe** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*

**iztapeka** (LN) [MORE] *adv.* ‘astride’. \*\*\*\* + **-pe** \*\*\*\* {‘under’ (see **behe**)} + **-ka** AdvFS.

**iztarte** (\*\*), **istarte** (\*\*), **ixtarte** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\*

**iztazain** (LN R S), **ixtezáñ** (Z) ‘back of the knee’ (*anat.*). \*\*\*\*

**iztegi** (old B), **iztei** (B), **iztai** (B), **istai** (B), **istei** (?) *n.* ‘groin’ (*anat.*). 1905. + **-egi** ‘place’ (see {**h**}**egi**).

**izterrondo** (L) *n.* ‘groin’ (*anat.*). + **ondo** ‘side’.

**izterbegi** (old LN \*\*), **ixterbégi** (Z) *n.* ‘enemy’. \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\* + **begi** ‘eye’. [FHV 62, 338, 476]

**iztupa** (old LN), **istupa** (old LN), **eztupa** (\*\*), **üztüpa** (Z), **uztupa** (R) *n.* ‘oakum’. 1643.

From Lat. *stuppam* id., by L11, P37 (M. \*\*\*\* {1974b: 188}). [MAYBE MOVE THIS?]

**izu** (B G \*\*), **izi** (\*\*), **uzu** (B) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘trembling’; ‘panic, fright’ Aul.} [FHV 80]

\*\*\*\* {OUO.}

**iziapen** (old LN \*\*) *n.* ‘fright’. \*\*\*\* + **-tzapen** NFS (see **-tza**), by P\*\* {20} (M. 1961a: 293).

**izior** (\*\* old LN) *a.* ‘timid’. \*\*\*\* + **-kor** AFS.

**izitu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*vti.* ‘frighten’, ‘be frightened’ Aul.}

**izugarri** (\*\*), **izigarri** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*a.* ‘terrifying’, ‘terrible’}

**jaboi** (B G HN), **jaboe** (B), **xaboī** (R), **xabói** (R), **xabon** (LN S), **saboi** (L LN), **xabú** (Z), **saboín** (L LN Z), **salboin** (L LN) *n.* ‘soap’. *Ca.* 1640.

From Rom. reflexes of Lat. *sāpōnem* id., often by P1; probably borrowed more than once. The last variant, the earliest recorded, is curious. [CHECK V LENGTH {Done.}]

**jagon** (B), **jabon** (B) *vt.* ‘guard, protect’. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* Second form by P10.

**jai** (B G HN L), **jei** (Z), **xei** (R S A) *n.* ‘festival’, (L) ‘religious feast day’. 1596.

Uncertain. With its initial /j/, the word looks nothing like a native noun, and M. (\*\*\*\* {1955c: 293}) proposes a borrowing from Occ. *jai* ‘happy’, ‘enjoyment’, noted by CP with approval. Variants by P48, P56.

**jai alai** *n.* ‘pelota’, ‘jai alai’, the Basque national game, a member of the squash family, esp. the form of it played with a long wicker basket strapped to each player’s hand and called *cesta punta* in Cast. Late 19th cent. + **alai** ‘merry’. A neologism proposed by the Romantic writer Serafin Baroja as an alternative to the established name **pilota**. Curiously, this name has been little used in Bq., though it has passed into Spanish and English.

**jaialdi** *n.* ‘festival’ (as a public occasion), ‘musical or dance performance’. 1894. + **aldi** ‘occasion’.

**Jaiberri** *n.* ‘Corpus Christi’. 1918. + **berri** ‘new’ {(see \***berr**)}.

**jaidura** (L) *n.* ‘inclination, propensity’. 1627. + **-dura** NFS.

**jai egin** *vitm.* ‘take a day off’. + **egin** ‘do’.

**jaiegun** (B G HN L), **jeiegün** (Z) *n.* ‘holiday’. 1621. + **egun** ‘day’.

**jaiera** (G) *n.* ‘inclination’, ‘devotion’ (esp. to religious matters). 1745, 1747. + **era** ‘manner’.

**jaietxe** (B) *n.* ‘holiday cottage’, (EB) ‘recreation hall’. + **etxe** ‘house’.

**jaioso** (H.) *n.* ‘holiday’. + **oso** ‘whole’.

**jeihanditan** (Z) *adv.* ‘in full regalia’, ‘in full fig’. + **handi** ‘big’ + **-ta-** {not in *The Dictionary*} + **-n** {[1]} locative {CS.}

**jeigei** (old LN), **jaigai** (G) *n.* ‘day before a holiday’, ‘holiday eve’. 1657. + **-gai** ‘suitable for’ (see **gai**).

**jaiki** (\*\*), **jáiki** (Z), **jeiki** (\*\*), **jéiki** (Z), **jaigi** (\*\*), **jaki** (\*\*), **jeki** (\*\*), **jagi** (B Sout), **jegi** (\*\*), **xági** (R) \*\*\*\* [FHV 91] *vi.* ‘arise, get up’

**eraiki** (G L Z), **eraki** (G), **eregi** (B Sout), **erigi** (old B, *R&S* 79) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘set up, build’ Aul.}

**jainko** (*c.*), **jeinko** (old LN), **jinko** (HN LN S Z) *n.* ‘God’, ‘god’. 1545.

OUO. Many have seen this as an irregular contraction of **Jaungoikoa** ‘God’ (see **jaun**); if so, it is certainly very irregular indeed. Others have tried to see it as an ancient Bq.

word for ‘god’, but the cluster /nk/, by P6, points clearly to a late entry into the language, at least in this form. The popular derivation of English *by jingo!* from this word cannot be sustained; see the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

**jainkoaizun** (L Z R) *n.* ‘false god’, ‘idol’. 1657. + **aizun** ‘false’ (see **-kizun**).

**jainkoetsi** *vt.* ‘regard as a god’, ‘deify’, ‘worship’. 1749. + **-etsi** ‘consider’ (see **etsi**).

**jankoilo** (G), **jinkollo** (?) *n.* ‘butterfly’ (*zool.*) (order *Lepidoptera*) (Hb. ‘large butterfly’). 1842. + **oilo** ‘hen’.

**jainkojale** (L) *n.* ‘one who adheres to the forms of religion but not to the spirit’. + **jale** ‘eater’, from **jan** ‘eat’ + **-le** agent NFS: lit., ‘god-eater’.

**jainkorde** (old L) *n.* ‘idol’. + {-} **orde** ‘substitute’ {(see **orde** ‘compensation’)}.

**jainkosa** *n.* ‘goddess’. 1664. Literary, not popular. + **-sa** female NFS.

**jainkotu** *vi.* ‘become a god’, *vt.* ‘deify’. 17th cent. + **-tu** VFS.

**jaio** (\*\*) *vi.* ‘be born’. \*\*\*\* Stem **jaia-**, or sometimes **jaiat-** in old L old LN, reduced to **jait-** in old HN. [FHV 249 fn]

**jaiakera** (old B) *n.* ‘birth’. \*\*\*\* + **-kera** \*\*\*\* {Not in *The Dictionary*, but see **era**.}

**jaiat etxe** (old L) *n.* ‘house in which one is born’. \*\*\*\* + **etxe** ‘house’.

**jaiatza** (old B) *n.* ‘birth’. \*\*\*\* + **-tza** NFS.

**jaiotegun** (\*\*), **jaitegun** (HN), **jaiat egun** (old LN) *n.* ‘day of birth’. \*\*\*\* + **egun** ‘day’.  
\*\*\*\*

**jaioterri** (\*\*), **jaiterri** (HN), **jaiat herri** (old LN), **jait-erri** (old HN) *n.* ‘fatherland’.  
\*\*\*\* + **herri** ‘country’. \*\*\*

**jaiparri** (old B) *a.* ‘newborn’. \*\*\*\* + **berri** ‘new’ (see **\*berr-**). [FHV 249 fn]

**jaitzi** (Z), **jeitzi** (\*\*), **deitzi** (HN L LN) *vt.* ‘milk’ (a cow). \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* Last form by reversal of palatalization, M\*\* [FHV 184]

**jaka** (G \*\*) *n.* ‘jacket’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 194]

**jakin** (c.), **jákin** (Z) *vt.* ‘know (a fact)’ (in the imperfective), ‘find out’ (in the perfective), TS  
*n.* (S Z) ‘knowledge’. Stem **jaki[n]-**. Root **-aki[n]-**. Synth. 1545. See **ezagutu**, under **ezagun**.

From *\*e-akin-i*, OÜO (M. 1961a: 408). This trisyllabic origin is probably the reason that this word is nowhere recorded with an aspirated /k/. Lafitte (\*\*\*\* {1944: 280}) suggests a derivation from **jan** ‘eat’, somewhat parallel to the development of Lat. *sapere* ‘taste’ into Rom. verbs meaning ‘know’.

**etxakin** (Z R) ‘I/we don’t know’, lit. ‘not to know’. \*\*\*\* + **ez** ‘not’.

**jakinduri** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* [FHV 132]

**jakintsu** (\*\*), **jakintsun** (L) *a.* ‘knowledgeable’, ‘wise’. \*\*\*\* + **-tsu** AFS. L form by an extraordinary spread of nasality.



**jalgi** (LN), **jalki** (G HN), **jálkhi** (Z), **jaulki** (\*\*), **elki** (S), **élkhi** (Z), **ilki** (L LN S), **ilkhi** (L LN), **érkin** (R) *vi.* ‘go out’, *vt.* ‘take out’. \*\*\*\*. [FHV 361]

OUO. Quite possibly from \**e-elki*, with variable treatment of the unusual initial /ee/: mutual dissimilation or coalescence (M. 1977a: 515). [FHV 63 fn. 7: IMPORTANT]

**ilkitbide** (\*\* old LN) *n.* ‘outcome, result’. \*\*\*\* + **bide** ‘way’. [FHV 249]

**jalgite** (\*\*) *n.* ‘sunrise’, ‘diarrhoea’. \*\*\*\* {+ **te** [1] NFS} [FHV 515]

**jan** (c.), **jaan** (\*\*), **xan** (R) *vt.* ‘eat’ (1545), TS *n.* ‘food’ (1617). Stem **ja[n]-**, **jai-**. Root **-a[n]-**.

OUO. Last CF by M13.

**jaki** (\*\*), **jaaki** (old B) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘food’}

**janari** (\*\*), **janhari** (\*\* old LN Z) *n.* {‘food’}

**jateko** (\*\*), **jaateko** (old B) *n.* ‘food’. \*\*\*\*. + **-te** {[1]} NFS + **-ko**.

**jatordu** (Sout \*\*) *n.* ‘meal’. 1562. + **ordu** ‘hour’. [add FHV 250 fn]

**jatoste** (B) *n.* ‘time after eating’, ‘afternoon’. \*\*\*\* + **oste** {[2]} ‘after’.

**jantzi** (B G LN R), **jauntzi** (HN L LN Z), **jáuntsi** (Z) \*\*\* \*\* ‘get dressed’ [FHV 285]

**erantzi** (B G), **erauntzi** (HN LN S), **erontzi** (B Sout) \*\*\*\*\* {‘undress’} [FHV 98]

DERIVS: [FHV 285]

**\*jar-** First element in compound verbs; of unknown significance.

**jaramon** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*v.* ‘take notice’} [FHV 557]

**jaregin** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*\* {*v.* ‘free’} [FHV 557]

**jaretsi** {(B), **jaritsi** (B), **jaditxi** (B), **jaitxi** (B), **eretsi** (B), **iritsi** (G), **iritxi** (G) *vt.* ‘reach, achieve, accomplish’} \*\*\*\* [take from *erdietsi* {Done.}] [FHV 557]

**jarri** (\*\*), **xarri** (A \*\*), **xasi** (R) \*\*\*\* ‘put’, ‘sit down’ \*\*\*\* [FHV 295] [SORT THESE sit AND put WORDS {i.e. **eseri**, **ezarri**}]

\*\*\*\* The last form perhaps contaminated by R **xaseri** ‘sit down’ (see **eseri**) (M. 1961a: 295).

**jasan** (HN L LN), **jaso** (\*\*), **jason** (B), **jauso** (old B) \*\*\*\* [FHV 92], **jésan** (Z) ‘borrow’ \*\*\*\* [FHV 515]

**jaugin** (LN) (1545), **jin** (L LN Z R) (1545), **xin** (R S), **jen** (L) *vi.* ‘come’. Stem **jaugi[n]-**; Root **-augi[n]-**. Synth. \*\*\*\*

OUO. Second form by irregular contraction, since /j/ never otherwise precedes /i/ in native words.

**daugin** (old L) *adjuv.* ‘next’ (as in ‘next week’). From a finite form, approximately \**daugi* ‘it is coming’, + **-n** {[3]} relative. [FHV 516]

**jauki** (\*\* old LN), **jáuki** (Z) \*\*\*\* *vt.* ‘attack’. \*\*\*\*

**jaulki** (G) \*\*\*\* {*vi.* ‘fall’}

**eraulki** (G), **eralki** (B G), **eralgi** (B G) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘sift’} [FHV 89-90]

**jaun** (*c.*), **xaun** (S), **jain** (LN Z R), **jein** (R), **jin** (Z R) *n.* ‘lord’, TS ‘gentleman’, ‘sir’, ‘mister’. CF **jaur-**. 14th cent.

OUO. Variants by P56, P69, P48, P47. CF by W10. The word has a strange form for a noun, and it is very likely the participle of a lost verb, meaning something like ‘exalted’. See the discussion under **andere** ‘lady’.

**jabe** (\*\*), **jaube** (old B, *R&S* 54, 286 \*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘owner’ Aul.}

**jaundone** (G), **jaundoni** (L), **jondone** (L), **jondoni** (LN), **jondane** (Z), **jandone** (old B) *n.* ‘Saint’, in the name of a male saint, as in *Jaundone Johane* ‘Saint John’. 1596. + **done** ‘saint’.

**Jaungoiko** (B Sout G HN), **Jaingoiko** (?), **Jangoiko** (?), **Jangeiko** (?), **Juangeiku** (R) *n.* ‘God’. *Ca.* 1500, 1562. Always takes the article: *Jaungoikoa*. + *goiko* ‘who is on high’, from **goi** ‘high place’ + **-an** Loc. {CS.} + **-ko**, with the regular suppression of **-an** before **-ko**. The unusual order of elements suggests a calque on a Rom. formation; we might have expected \**Goikojaun*. See **jainko**.

**jauregi** (*c.*) *n.* ‘palace’, ‘castle’. 1571. + **-tegi** ‘place’ \*\*\*\* {(see **hegi**)}.

**jauretsi** (old LN Z) *vt.* ‘pay homage to’, ‘adore’. 1657. + **-etsi** ‘consider’ (see **etsi**).

**jaur-gehien** (old LN) *n.* ‘sovereign’. \*\*\*\* + **gehien** ‘most’ (see **gai**).

**jaurgoa** (old LN) *n.* ‘empire’. \*\*\*\* + **-goa** NFS.

**jaurtiki** (G HN) (19th cent.), **jaurdiki** (?), **jaurtigi** (B) (1802), **jaurti** (B) (1818), **jaurtin** (B), **aurdiki** (L LN) (1571), **aurthiki** (L LN) (1571), **aurtiki** (G), **aurdigi** (L LN) (1571), **artiki** (G L), **arthiki** (L), **urthiki** (Z), **urthúki** (Z), **ithuki** (Z), **eurteki** (G HN), **urtigi** (old B), also **jaurtu** (B), **jaurt egin** (B) *vt.* ‘throw’.

Leizarraga has impf. part. *aurthite-* and *aurthiquite-*. Fossilized compound verb of opaque formation. Possibly original \**eau-* (M. 1961a: 102). Last two variants re-formed, with **-tu** VFS and **egin** ‘do’.

**jautsi** (\*\*), **jaitsi** (\*\* old LN), **jatsi** (old B Sout), **jeutsi** (\*\*), **deutsi** (LN), **jausi** (\*\*), **sauntsi** (\*\*), **sautsi** (\*\*), **jatxi** (G HN), **jetxi** (G HN), **xatxi** (R) \*\*\*\* different meanings: go down, fall [FHV 94]

\*\*\*\* {From \**e-au(t)s-i*, root \**-au(t)s-*, OUO.} Form with /d/ by reversal of palatalization, M\*\* {9} [FHV 184]

**erautsi** (\*\*), {**erauntsi**}, **eriatsi** (\*\*), caus **e(r)áitxi** (Z) [FHV 94 fn]

**jauzi** (\*\*), **jáuzi** (Z), **xauzi** (R), **zauzi** (R) \*\*\*\* \*\* ‘jump’

{OUO.}

**erauzi** (\*\*), **e(r)áuzi** (Z) causative [many senses]

**jeinhatu** (old L) {*vt.* care for'}, **geñhátü** (Z) {, **geñhatu** (\*\*)} *vt.* \*\*\*\* {‘accumulate’, ‘save’} [FHV 519]

From Gasc. *ganhá* \*\*\*\* {‘gain’, ‘earn’} (M. 1977a: 519).

**jela** (G HN) *n.* ‘ice’ \*\*\*\* [FHV 194]

**jende** (\*\* G HN), **jente** (B \*\*), **jénte** (Z), **génte** (R) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘people’. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* plurality

**jendalde** (old LN \*\*) *n.* ‘crowd, multitude’. \*\*\*\* + **talde** ‘group’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**jentil** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {‘Gentile’} [FHV 230]

**jera** (B), **txera** (B), **jira** (old B) \*\*\*\* {‘welcome’} [FHV 71, 174]

**jaramon** (B) *vt.* ‘pay attention to’, \*\*\*\* TS *n.* ‘attention’ \*\*\*\* [FHV 71, 174]

**etxaramon** (B) *vt.* ‘pay no attention to, ignore’. \*\*\*\* + **ez** ‘not’.

**jaramon egin** (B) *vt.* ‘pay attention to’. \*\*\*\*

{}} **jesan** (Z) *vt.* ‘borrow’. \*\*\*\* {} Duplicate, see **jasan**.}

{[]} **jesarri** (B), **jasarri** (B) \*\*\*\* {*vi.* ‘sit’ Aul.} [FHV 168] {} Duplicate, see **eseri**.}

**jipoi** (G), \*\*\*\*, **jipon** (HN) ‘jacket’ \*\*\* [FHV 194]

**jo** (*c.*), **xo** (R) *vt.* ‘hit, strike, beat’ \*\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

**joera** (\*\*), **fuera** (HN) *n.* ‘inclination’. \*\*\*\*

**joka** (\*\*), **jokha** (\*\*) *adv.* ‘hitting’. \*\*\*\*

**jokhatu** (LN) [diathesis unrecorded] ‘copulate (with)’ (of a male) (M. 1977a: 583 says this verb is used specifically of birds). \*\*\*\* + **-tu** VFS.

**joan** (*c.*), **fan** (B G HN R S A), **fuan** (B), **gan** (L HN), **goan** (HN L), **joan** ([xwan]) (R), **xoan** ([ʃwan]) (R) *vi.* ‘go’, ‘go away’, *vid.* ‘go away from’, ‘leave’, *vt.* (L LN) ‘take away’. Stem **joa[n]-**, also (L LN) **joai-**. Root **-oa[n]-**. 15th cent.

From \**e-oan-i*, OUO. This is an /n/-verb; see M11. Variants by coalescence: /f/ from /χw/, /g/ from /ʃw/ (P72). For the second stem, see M13. The exceptional form of the root suggests a lost consonant, and hence \**e-oCan-i*, but there is no evidence. The occurrence of *joan*, in place of the regular \**johan*, in L LN is extraordinary. Even more extraordinary is the existence of the L LN imperfective participle *johan*, alongside the regular *joaiten*, producing a phonological and morphological contrast without parallel in the language. This is the Bq. verb of directed motion, and, like all motion verbs, it takes

accompanying adverbials to express the manner of motion. In most varieties, it is strictly intransitive, but in L LN it has acquired a transitive use as ‘take away’, a sense more usually rendered by its causative **eraman** (see below).

**eraman** (G HN LN S R) (1545), **e(r)áman** (Z), **ereman** (G HN L LN) (1785), **erman** (S), **eroan** (B Z) (16th cent.), **eramo** (\*\*) *vt.* ‘take away’, ‘carry off’. TS ‘suffer, undergo’. TS *vitmd.* ‘overcome, defeat, conquer’. + **-ra-** causative. Original *\*e-ra-oan* yields B Z **eroan** by P35.3; the common form as follows: *\*e-ra-oan* > *\*era[w]an* (by P53) > *\*eraban* (by P55) > *eraman* (by P7) (M. 1961a: 119, 177).

**joare** (HN LN Z R), **joale** (\*\*), **fare** (G A), **gare** (HN L) *n.* ‘bell’. \*\*\*\* CF **joal-** etc. A [\*\*\*\* bustaliza] named *Ioal eguieta* is recorded in Roncesvalles in 1284 (M. 1961a: 317).

\*\*\*\*

**falko** (A) *n.* ‘little bell’. \*\*\*\* + **-ko** dimin. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**galdun** (\*\*) *n.* ‘bellwether’. \*\*\*\* + **-dun** ‘having’ (see **\*edun**).

**juálte** (Z) *n.* ‘collar holding an animal’s bell’. \*\*\*\*

**joko** (\*\*), **joku** (\*\*), **jókü** (Z) *n.* ‘game’. \*\*\*\*

**jokatu** (\*\*), **jokhátü** (Z) \*\*\*\*

**jornada** (\*\*), **jornaa** (\*\*), **jorrada** (\*\*{HN}), **jorraa** (HN) *n.* \*\*\*\* [FHV 366-367]

**josi** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* ‘sew’. \*\*\*\*

{(< *\*e-os-i*), OUO.}

**jostatu** (\*\*), **dostatu** (old LN) \*\*\*\* {.v ‘play’} [FHV 184]

From old Occ. *jostar* \*\*\*\* {‘joust’} [FHV 184] [second by reversal of palatalization]

**jostailu** (\*\*), **jostallu** (G) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘toy, plaything’. \*\*\*\*

**tosta** (R) *n.* ‘diversion’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 184]

**judu** (\*\*), **judegu** (B) *n.* ‘Jew’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 100]

**justuri** (B), **fusturi** (B) *n.* ‘thunderclap’. \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\* [FHV 173] {Cf. **igortziri** ‘thunder’.}

**-k** [1] (c.) absolutive plural suffix.

OUO. Generally, speaking, this suffix occurs only in the absolutive case, and only in the several demonstrative stems (plus the plural article **-ak**, itself derived from the absolutive plural of the distal demonstrative **\*har**). It is also often added pleonastically to the indefinite plural suffix **-zu**.

Since all oblique forms of the demonstrative stems exhibit an apparent plural marker of the form **-e-**, it has often been proposed that this **-k** derives from **\*-g**, that the phonological vowel **-e-** was therefore automatically inserted before a following case-suffix, and that this **\*-g-**, being often intervocalic, consequently dropped, leaving the **-e-** as the sole marker of plurality. This is plausible, but not certain.

**-k** [2] (c.) ergative CS. 9th cent. [in the Emilian Glosses].

OUO. Since no other suffix can ever follow this one, there is no possibility of recovering an earlier form. Attempts at linking it to **-ki** [**\*\*{1}**] or to **-ka**, both AdvFS, are unpersuasive and unsubstantiated. [FHV 117]

**-ka** (c.) AdvFS.

OUO. Forms adverbs from nominals, as in *zaldika* ‘on horseback’, from *zaldi* ‘horse’, and in *harrika* ‘(while) throwing stones’, from *harri* ‘stone’. [FHV 237: possibly source of /k/ in **-tik**]

**kabale** (L LN), **kabále** (Z), **kabala** (LN), **kabal** (L LN Z) *n.* ‘(any) domestic animal’. 1666.

From some Rom. descendant of Lat. *capitālem* ‘chief, principal’ (M. **\*\*\*\*** {1968a: 7}); *cf.* old Arag. *cabdal*, *capdal* ‘capital, fund’, Gasc. *cabale* ‘mare’. {But the last is Occ. *cavala* < Lat. *caballum* with *-a* feminine gender suffix. M. says that Gasc. *cabale* is *not* cognate with Bq. *kabale*.}

**kable** (**\*\***) **\*\*\*\*** {‘cable’} [FHV 348]

**kabra** (B), **kraba** (G HN), **krabarroka** (G HN) *n.* ‘a certain spiny red fish’ (*zool.*) **\*\*\*\*** [FHV 348]

**kai** (**\*\***) *n.* ‘wharf, quay’. **\*\*\*\***

**kamingañ** (G) *n.* ‘sea wall of a wharf’. + **mingain** ‘tongue’ (see **mihi**) (M. 1961a: 91).

**kaiku** (B G HN L) *n.* ‘wooden mug with a handle’. 17th cent.

From *\*kauku*, by P{46}, from Lat. *caucum* ‘wooden bowl’ (M. 1961a: 91).

**kain** (B) **\*\*\*\*** {‘fog, vapour’} [FHV 141 fn]

**kaiola** *n.* (B G HN L LN Z), **kaloï** (Z) ‘cage’, (B) ‘nest’, (?) ‘jail, prison’. 1745, 1804.

From Bearn. *cayole* ‘cage’, ult. from LLat. *\*caveolam* ‘small enclosed place’ (Lh.). See also **txabola**.

**kalamu** (HN \*\*), **khalámü** (Z), **kallamu** (B) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘hemp’ [FHV 183 fn]

**kamaña** (\*\*), **amaña** (G) *n.* \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘bunk’ [FHV 251-252]

**kamarra** (\*\*), **amarra** (G) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘crab’ [FHV 252]

**kamelu** (\*\* old LN), **kamélü** (Z), **ganbelu** (B) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘camel’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*). \*\*\*\*

**kamiño** (B G), **kamio** (G HN) *n.* ‘road’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *camino* id., by P1. There is a surname *Camio* ~ *Gamio*.

**kana** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘cane’. \*\*\*\*

**kanabera** (\*\* old LN), **kanabé(r)a** (Z) \*\*\*\* *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘cane’} {[FHV 217]}

**kandela** (HN \*\*), **kandera** (LN), **kandra** (R S), **khandé(r)a** (Z) \*\*\* *n.* ‘candle’. \*\*\*\*  
{[FHV 160-161, 217]}

**kankano** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘large fruit stone’ Az. [MT entry]

**kanpai** (\*\*), **kanpae** (\*\*), **kanpa** (B) *n.* ‘bell’. \*\*\*\* CF **kanpan-**.

\*\*\*\* CF by W\*\* {1, P1.3}.

**kanpanburu** (B) *n.* \*\*\*\* + **buru** ‘head’. [FHV 301]

**kanpantorre** (B G) *n.* ‘bell tower, belfry’. \*\*\*\* + **torre** ‘tower’ {(see **dorre**)}.

**kanpantxu** (B) *n.* ‘small bell’. \*\*\*\* + **-txu** dimin. (see **-to** {[1]}).

**kanpo** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘outside’ Aul.}

**kantitu** (\*\*), **tankitu** (HN) *vt.* \*\*\*\* {‘disturb’} [FHV 260]

\*\*\*\* Second form by metathesis.

**kantoin** (\*\* old LN), **kantú** (Z) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘corner’} [FHV 217]

**kantu** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘song’ Aul.}

**kantatu** (*c. exc.* Z), **kantatü** (Z) *vt.* or *vitm.* ‘sing’. 1545. Formally + **-tu** VFS, but in practice from Cast. *cantar* or a related Rom. form.

**kantxoñ** (R) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘song’} [FHV 287]

**kapela** *n.* (B G) (15th cent.), **gapelu** (LN) ‘hat’, **kapelu** (HN L) (1640) ‘hat’, ‘beret’. Dimin. **txapel** (1621), **xapel** (*ca.* 1620) (L LN Z R) ‘hat’, (B G HN) ‘beret’. [FHV 191]

From med. Lat. *cappellam* ‘cloak’, later ‘hat, cap’ (M. \*\*\*\* {1974b: 193}). It is interesting that that most famous Basque artefact, the beret, should have a Rom. name; see **bonet**.

**txapeldun** (1916), **xapeldun** (1858) ‘one who wears a hat’, ‘middle-class person’ (1858), ‘champion’ (1916). The second sense from the custom of awarding a beret to the winner of a competition. + **-dun** ‘who has’ (see **\*edun**).

**txapelketa** (\*\*) *n.* ‘contest, competition, championship’. 1937. + **-keta** NFS of activity {not in *The Dictionary*}; see **txapeldun** above.

**kapellau** (old B Sout) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘priest’} [FHV 152]

**kapitae** (old B), **kapitai** (Sout old G), **kapitañ** (old Z) *n.* ‘captain’. \*\*\*\*

**kaprestu** (L) *n.* ‘halter’. \*\*\*\*

From Lat. \*\*\*\* {*capistrum*}, with metathesis. [Cast. *cabestro*] [FHV 369]

{[]} **karats** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* [MT entry] {} ?Duplicate, see under **keru** }

**kardu** (\*\*), **kardo** (\*\*), **khardo** (\*\*), **karlo** (L) *n.* [various -- sort] \*\*\*\* {‘tinder’, ‘thistle’ Az.} [FHV 366]

**kardabera** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘thistle’ Az.}

**kare** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* ‘lime’ \*\*\*\*

From *\*kale*, by P\*\*, from Old Cast. *\*cale* (mod. *cal*) id. [Corominas s.v.]

**karobi** (G), **karabi** (\*\*), **karaubi** (B) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘lime kiln’} [FHV 118] {+ **hobi** ‘pit’}

**karena** (G) *n.* ‘dwarf’. [FHV 227]

**kaden-txarri** (old B) \*\*\*\* [FHV 227]

**karrika** (\*\*), **kharrika** (old LN), **kharrika** (Z) *n.* ‘street’. \*\*\*\*

**karroin** (L LN R), **karroñ** (R), **kharroin** (LN) *n.* ‘ice’. 1657.

From *\*karrone*, by P1 (M. 1961a: 199). \*\*\*\* [FHV 482]

**kási** (Z) *prt.* ‘almost’. \*\*\*\* [other forms?]

**kasko** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* [MT entry]

**katabut** (\*\*{A HN R}), **katabuta** (\*\*{A HN R}), **gathabute** (\*\*{L}) \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* From Cast. *ataúd* id. (M. 1961a: 252).

**Katalin** (B G HN L) *n.* ‘Catherine’ (proper name). The source of several formations.

**katalingorri** *n.* (HN LN L) ‘ladybird’ (*zool.*) (*Coccinella septempunctata*), (B) ‘brandy’, often especially ‘fruit brandy’. + **gorri** ‘red’ {(see\***gorr-**)}.

**katea** (\*\* old G), **kate** (G \*\*), **gatea** (Sout), **gathea** (\*\*), **gathe** (L), **gate** (\*\*), **khatiña** (Z) *n.* ‘chain’. \*\*\*\* CF **katen-**.

From Lat. *catēnam* id., by P1 (M. \*\*\*\* {1961a: 67}). CF by W\*\* {1, P1.3}. M. (1961a: 212 fn. 19) dismisses the hapax *cathiña* of Leizarraga as an error, with its anomalous aspiration.

**katenbegi** (B) *n.* ‘link of a chain’. \*\*\*\* + **begi** ‘eye’.

**katenbiur** (B) *n.* \*\*\*\* [FHV 301]

**katentxu** (B) *n.* ‘small chain’. \*\*\*\* + **-txu** dimin. (see **-to** [\*\*{1}]).

**katibu** (\*\*), **katigu** (B G) *n.* ‘captive’ \*\*\*\* [FHV 259]

**katu** (c. exc. Z) (1562), **gatu** (LN) (1657), **gathu** (H.), **gathü** (Z) *n.* ‘cat’ (*zool.*) (*Felis catus*). CF **kata-**.

From Lat. *catum*, or more probably from that word’s popular variant *cattum* id. The absence of a northern variant \**khatu* is curious. CF by W2.3.

**katagorri** (G HN) *n.* ‘squirrel’ (*zool.*) (*Sciurus*). + **gorri** ‘red’ {(see\***gorr-**)}. The name is not confined to the red squirrel.

**katakume** (B) *n.* ‘kitten’. + **-kume** ‘offspring’ (see **ume**).

**katakux(a)** (B) (1905), **gataguxa** (G?) (1746) *n.* ‘marten’ (*zool.*) (*Martes martes*). Second element obscure; B **guxa** ‘cot’ is possible but semantically mysterious.

**katamalo**, **katamalu** (B G) *n.* ‘mask’, ‘person in disguise’. App. + Cast. *malo* ‘bad’.

**katanarru** (\*\*{B}) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘catskin’ Aul.}

**katapurtxintx** (\*\*), **katajoxintxa** (\*\*), **katakuxantxa** (\*\*) *n.* ‘squirrel’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*). The first continuation is **burtxintx** ‘squirrel’ (see **urtxintx**). The others are obscure, though perhaps only altered versions of the first. [FHV 293]

**kausitu** (\*\* R), **khausitu** (\*\*) *vt.* ‘find’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 93-94, 423 fn]

**ke** (B Sout G HN S R), **khe** (L LN Z), **kee** (B), **kei** (R), **ki** (G HN), **ge** (old G, H.), **eke** (B HN A LN S R), **ike** (L) *n.* ‘smoke’. 1562. [SEE EUSK for TS] CF **ke-**, **kea-**.

OUO, and very mysterious. This is virtually the only native and ancient lexical item beginning with /k/, and we may suspect a complex history. Very likely the widespread variant **eke** is conservative, and most varieties have undergone an irregular loss of the initial vowel. Such loss, while not normal, is certainly more appealing than the arbitrary addition of an initial /e/ in the two-syllable forms. Note that the definite form is often



*keia* in B G R, even though the free word is commonly reported as **ke** – though M. (1961a: 156) cites the base form in these varieties as **kee**. Surprisingly, M. (1961a: 255) sees **kee** as the conservative form, taking the view that initial /k/ was lost in general at some ancestral stage of the language but preserved in this word because of its supposedly “expressive” character. But this account is not persuasive, and it fails to explain the variants **eke**, **ike**. [REWRITE: EUSK] The CF **kea-** perhaps continues the variant **kee**, by W\*\*{2.2}. Perhaps we need to reconstruct an earlier *\*ekee*.

**gedarre** (\*\*), \*\*\*\*\* *n.* ‘soot’. \*\*\*\* M. (1961a: 255 fn. 50) is satisfied that the first element here is **ke**.

**keatu** (B), **ketu** (B), **khetu** (S.P.), **keetu** (B G), **keitu** (HN), **kiatu** (?) *vt.* ‘smoke’ (meat, cheese, etc.). \*\*\*\* + **tu** VFS.

**keztu** (\*\*), **keztatu** (\*\*) *vt.* \*\*\*\* {‘smoke’}

**kehélla** (Z) *n.* ‘rustic song’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 213] {NB M.’s gloss *cancilla rústica* is rather ‘rustic gate’.

**keinu** (\*\*), **kheinu** (L LN), **keñu** (B G HN), **khéñü** (Z), **kiñu** (B G) *n.* ‘wink’, ‘sign’. \*\*\*\*  
\*\*\*\* [FHV 196]

**kendu** (B G HN L LN), **khendu** (LN), **khéntü** (Z), **gendu** (HN S), **gentu** (R), **ekendu** (HN LN A) *vi.* ‘remove oneself, leave, get out of the way’, *vt.* or *vid.* ‘remove, take away, depose, abolish’, ‘subtract’, *vt.* ‘annul’, ‘exclude’, ‘charge, get’ (money, in exchange for something). Stem **k(h)en-**, **gen-**, **eken-** 1545.

OUO, but apparently from a non-verbal stem. Common **k(h)endu**, with its initial /k/, is anomalous, and the variant **ekendu** is perhaps conservative, with loss of initial /e/ in most varieties. Alternatively, the Pyrenean forms with initial /g/ are possibly conservative, with /k/ perhaps then resulting from the application of P11 to original **gentu**. [FHV 156-157]

**-keria** (c.), **-keri** (B G), **-eria** (sporadic) NFS of vices.

Second form by M4. This suffix coexists with common **-tarzun** ~ **-tasun** ‘-ness’ (see **-tar**), but it is always preferred in deriving names for qualities seen as morally wrong or bad. When the stem is morally neutral, we get two derivatives: **handi** ‘great’; **handitasun** ‘greatness’; **handikeria** ‘boastfulness’, ‘conceit’. When the stem is morally bad, we get only a form in **-keria**: **lizun** ‘lewd, lascivious’; **lizunkeria** ‘lewdness, lasciviousness, depravity, filth’. Added to the name of a creature, the suffix derives the name of a bad quality associated with that creature: **oilo** ‘hen’, **oilokeria** ‘cowardice’.

There are two views. It was first proposed by Humboldt that this is the same element as **eri** ‘illness’ {*cf.* **eri** [1] ‘ill’}, by M\*\*{2}; this is semantically good, but it suffers from the observation that the expected variant *\*eria* is nowhere recorded for the noun. M. (1961a: 247) and Múgica (1978; *s.v.*) argue instead for a Rom. origin, noting that the common Cast. noun-forming suffix *-eria* sometimes gives rise to similar formations, as in Cast. *porquería* ‘filth, rubbish’, from *puerco* ‘pig’. This suffers from the observation that the variant **-eria** is rare and found only sporadically in a pejorative sense; anyway, Rom. *-eria* also occurs in Bq. as a seemingly distinct suffix (see **-eria** {not in *The Dictionary*}). Múgica also claims a variant *\*-teria*, but his sole example of *umeteria*,

glossed as ‘childishness’, appears to be an error, since A. (1905) gives this word only as meaning ‘group of children’, and the word for ‘childishness’ is normally the expected **umekeri(a)** (see **ume**).

**kermen** (B) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘timber’ skill’}, **kirmen** (B) \*\*\*\* {*a.* ‘faithful, loyal’} [FHV 62]

**keru** (G HN LN S), **khino** (\*\*), **kino** (\*\*), **khíño** (Z), **kio** (R) *n.* ‘odour’, ‘stench’. \*\*\*\*  
[FHV 67, 240] \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* M. (1961a: 255, 67) proposes an original \**keno*, OUO {by P1, P35.1.}

**kerats** (\*\* {G HN}), {**karats** (BN R), **khá(r)ats** (Z), **kirats** (B HN L R), **khirets** (HN LN)} \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘stench’} [FHV 67]

**-ki** [1] (*c. exc. B*) AdvFS forming adverbs of manner from adjectives. Examples: **ederki** ‘beautifully’ (**eder** ‘beautiful’); **ongi** ‘well’ (**on** ‘good’).

OUO. See also **-to** [2].

**-ki-** [2], **-k-**, **-i-** (*c.*) Dative flags: cluster of suffixes occurring in finite verb-forms, immediately after the verbal root and preceding a dative agreement-marker. Examples, all preceding *-o*, marker of third-singular dative: G *dizkio* ‘s/he has them to him/her’, B *jako* ‘it is to him/her’, G *zaió* ‘it is to him/her’.

OUO. It is not clear how many different suffixes are represented here, but both **-ki-** and **-i-** can readily be derived from an original \**-gi-*, with loss of the /g/ between vowels and devoicing of /g/ after a sibilant, followed by some redistribution of the resulting variants, an interpretation possibly favoured by the following entry. But **-k-** is harder to account for in this way. Azkue (1905) notes an apparent tendency in old B for **-ki-** to be used with intransitive verbs, while transitive verbs use **-ts-** for the same purpose. Old B may thus preserve remnants of an ancient functional distinction already lost in the earliest texts in other varieties. We might conceivably see these flags as resulting from the incorporation into the verb of either an ancient preposition or an ancient independent verb, but neither proposal sits well with the historical nature of Bq. as a head-final and exclusively postpositional language.

**-ki** (*c. exc. B*), **-gi** (B). Suffix apparently added to a verb-stem in order to allow the addition of a dative argument to the diathesis of that verb. There are some rather clear examples of this: **egon** ‘be (in a state)’ (a simple intransitive verb), **egoki** ‘fit, suit, correspond to’ (an intransitive verb taking a dative complement). Others can be readily reconstructed: \***edun** ‘have’ (a simple transitive verb), **eduki** ‘grasp, hold on to’ (a simple transitive verb today, but in early texts it takes its object in the dative). It is noteworthy that many verbs which apparently contain this suffix but which have no known simple verbs as sources take dative objects, such as the archaic **izeki** ‘burn’. Still other verbs taking dative objects appear both with and without **-ki**, such as **jarrai(n)** ~ **jarraiki** ‘follow’. The proposal here is that this suffix has been extracted from the dative flag discussed above: for example, **egon** acquired finite forms like *dagokio* ‘it corresponds to him/her/it’, from which a new lexical verb **egoki** was extracted by reanalysis. If so, the B variant **-gi** for this suffix would support the proposal in the last paragraph that the dative flag derives from \**-gi-*. The absence of a dative object with certain verbs in **-ki**, such as **ebaki** (B **ebagi**) ‘cut’, may be

explained by noting the existence of an attested variant **epai**, lacking the suffix, and assuming that the diathesis of the suffixed form changed from dative to simple transitive before the time of our earliest texts, parallel to the change in diathesis observed for **eduki** within the texts.

**-ki** [3] (*c.*) NFS forming concrete nouns. \*\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* This suffix also forms names of meats, as in *txahal* ‘calf’, *txahalki* ‘veal’. AT constantly interpret **-ki** in this function as a reduced form of **haragi** ‘meat’, which I consider indefensible.

**-kide**, **-ide** (*c.*) NFS ‘fellow’, ‘mate’. Variation by M2.

**ide** (B) *n.* ‘fellow’, ‘equal’. 15th cent. By extraction of the suffix, M\*\*{3}.

**kide** (*c.*), **khide** (L LN Z) *n.* ‘fellow’, ‘colleague’, ‘companion’, (G HN LN Z) ‘contemporary’, ‘coeval’, (B) ‘size, volume’, ‘class’. 1571. By extraction of the suffix, M\*\*{3}.

**ekila** (\*\*) Com. CS. \*\*\*\*\*

**-ekin** (*c.*), **-eki** (\*\*), **-ekiñ** (\*\*), **-ekien** (\*\*) Com. CS. The source is a postpositional phrase of the form *\*-e(n) kide(a)n* ‘in the company of’; this consists of the Gen. **-e** [\*\*{1}] (or conceivably Gen **-en** [\*\*{1}]) + **kide** (possibly + *-a* article) + **-n** {[1]} Loc. CS (M. 1961a: 122, 413). See **-gaz**. [FHV 346]

**kideko** (\*\*), **kireko** (G) *n.* ‘contemporary’. + **-ko** NFS.

**kilker** (\*\*), **kirkil** (\*\*), **kirkir** (\*\*), **zirzill** (old B) *n.* ‘cricket’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*). \*\*\*\*\* [FHV 296]

**kima** (G), **kuma** (HN), **khuma** (LN) *n.* ‘mane’ (of a horse), {‘horsehair’}, **zima** (G) ‘shock of hair’. \*\*\*\*\* Dimin. **txima** (B G) ‘shock of hair’, **xima** (LN) ‘sprouts, shoots’. [FHV 296]

**-kin** [\*\*] (L LN Z R) AFS ‘fond of’.

Forms adjectives from nouns. OUO. Possibly a development of one of the other suffixes of this form.

{[}] **khiño** (\*\*) *n.* ‘stench, stink’. \*\*\*\*\* [FHV 240]

\*\*\*\* M. (1961a: 255) proposes an original *\*keno*, OUO. {[}] Moved and combined with **keru**. }

**kirikiño** (B G), **kirikio** (B G) *n.* ‘hedgehog’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*). \*\*\*\*\*

From Lat. *ēricium* id. (M. 1961a: 252), app. to introduce reduplication. [possibly to be combined with **triku**?] [FHV 497] [BUT FHV 534 WITHDRAWS THIS {derivation from *ēricium*}: IMPORTANT] {See M. 1971f: 259ff.}

{[] **kirisailu** (\*\* old LN), \*\*\*\* **girisellu** (old HN) *n.* ‘oil lamp’. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* M. (1961a: 239) notes that an original voiced initial plosive seems to have given way to a voiceless one. {} Partly duplicates **kriseilu**. Moved there.}

{[] **kirten** (B G), **kirtain** (HN), **kerten** (G) \*\*\*\* [FHV 62] {} Partly duplicates **girten** (see **gider**). Combined there.}

**kiskail** (HN L LN) *a.* ‘overcooked, burnt, toasted’. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

**kiska(i)li** (\*\*), **kiska(i)ldu** (\*\*), **zizka(i)ldu** (old LN S.P.), **xixka(i)ldu** (LN S), **suskuldu** (old B) \*\*\*\* ‘overcook, burn, toast’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 296]

**kito** (\*\*), **kitto** (B G) \*\*\*\* {*a.* ‘finished, quit(s)’}

**-kizun, -izun** (*c.*) NFS, AFS.

Fluctuation in form by M2. This suffix forms mainly nouns, esp. but not only from verbs, with a variety of mostly abstract senses, centring around ‘activity’. However, in L LN Z, it can be added to kinship terms to denote ‘step-’, as *alabaizun* ‘stepdaughter’, from *alaba* ‘daughter’. It also forms adjectives, mainly from verbs, usually in the sense of ‘-able’. The suffix is clearly compound in origin. The first element is presumably one of the suffixes **-ki** cited above, but we can’t tell which. The final element is {\*}-**zun**.

**-aizun** (L LN Z R) AFS ‘false’. Extracted in error from formations like *alabaizun* ‘stepdaughter’ (M. 1961a: 250 fn. 43).

**aizun** (L) *a.* ‘false’. By extraction of the suffix (M\*\*{3}).

**-ko** (*c.*) Syntactic suffix; also NFS.

OUO. This suffix is of enormous and central importance in Bq. syntax, and it also plays a role in word-formation. Syntactically, it can be added to virtually any adverbial, regardless of structure, to form a preposed adjectival modifier. Except in Z and R, it is voiced to **-go** after /n/ or /l/ by P6. In this function, the suffix is fully productive, and such modifiers can be created at will. In the historical period, a locative ending **-n** or **-an** is suppressed before **-ko**, as is the /n/ of comitative **-ekin** (see **kide**), which is in fact the locative **-n** in origin. Examples: *atzo* ‘yesterday’, *atzoko egunkaria* ‘yesterday’s newspaper’; *zirt edo zart* ‘decisively’, *zirt-edo-zarteko gizona* ‘a decisive man’; *Bilbon* ‘in Bilbao’, *Bilboko kaleak* ‘the streets of Bilbao’; *etxean* ‘in the house’, *etxeko teilatua* ‘the roof of the house’; *mendira* ‘to the mountain’, *mendirako bidea* ‘the road to the mountain’; *mendietan* ‘in the mountains’, *mendietako haitzuloak* ‘the caves in the mountains’; *non* ‘where?’, *nongo jendea* ‘the people from where?’; *gurekin* ‘with us’, *gurekiko neskak* ‘the girls (who are/were) with us’; *izarra agertu zitzaientean* ‘when the star appeared to them’, *izarra agertu zitzaienteko garaian* ‘at the time when the star appeared to them’. But the \*\*\*\* {15th-century text in M. (1964b: §3.1.7, 32} exhibits the unique form *barruangoak* ‘those inside’, from *barruan* ‘inside’, locative of *barru* ‘interior’, with no suppression of the locative ending; the historical language requires *barrukoak* here. [ADD FHV 505–506: *hetangoak* etc.]

In a second function, **-ko** can be added to an N-bar, a nominal expression lacking a determiner, to create a preposed adjectival modifier. The N-bar must be at least two words long, and there are obscure semantic constraints. Examples: *beso eder* ‘beautiful arm’, *beso ederreko pilotaria* ‘a jai-alai player with a great arm’; *bihotz on* ‘good heart’, *bihotz oneko neska* ‘a girl with a good heart’. In certain cases the indefinite **-ta-** {(not in *The Dictionary*)} must be inserted: *hiru urte* ‘three years’, *hiru urtetako umea* ‘a three-year-old child’. These cases differ from the preceding in that they have no adverbial source. In this function the suffix is also productive.

In a third function, **-ko** serves as a noun-forming suffix with various functions. Again the indefinite **-ta-** {(not in *The Dictionary*)} is sometimes required. A common function is ‘pertaining to’, ‘found at or near’. Examples: *gerri* ‘waist’, *gerriko* ‘belt’, ‘sash’; *buru* ‘head’, *buruko* or *burko* ‘cap’, ‘pillow’; *belarri* ‘ear’, *belarritako* ‘earring’. Another function is ‘blow (to)’. Example: *ipurdi* ‘buttocks’, *ipurdiko* ‘smack on the buttocks’. A third function, quite rare, is diminutive. Example: *mando* ‘mule’, *mandako* ‘little mule’. In this function the suffix is now only weakly productive at best.

The suffix has further functions when it follows certain other suffixes, notably the gerund suffixes **-tze** (see **-tza**) and **-te** {[2]}, the allative ending **-ra**, and the instr. ending **-z**; see those entries. See also the use of **-ko** as a future marker below. When **-ko** follows a suppressed locative ending, the resulting form appears to contain no suffix other than **-ko**, and such forms have traditionally been counted by Basque grammarians as constituting an additional and distinct nominal case-suffix, the “locative genitive”, but this analysis is historically wrong, and probably not synchronically advisable.

The Aq. suffix **-C(C)O** possibly represents this Bq. suffix.

Tovar (\*\*\*\*, \*\*\*\*, \*\*\*\* {1954}) argues that Bq. **-ko** must share a common origin with PIE **\*-ko**, a suffix with various functions, the most important of which was the formation of lexical adjectives from nouns, as in Greek *physikós* ‘natural’ from *phýsis* ‘nature’ and in Latin *civicus* ‘civic’ from *civis* ‘city’. But this proposal faces huge difficulties. First, the functions of PIE **\*-ko** are not very similar to those of Bq. **-ko**. Second, the suffix **\*-ko** is of PIE date, and it is almost impossible to see how an early form of Bq. could have been in intense contact with PIE.

**-ko** (c. exc. Z R) Future. In all but the eastern varieties, **-ko** is added to the perfective participle of a verb to derive the future (prospective) participle. In B and G, this is the only suffix so used, while in L and LN it exists alongside **-en**, which is used exclusively in the east. In these central varieties, **-ko** is used after a vowel and **-en** after a consonant. So from *ikusi* ‘see’ (perfective) the future participle is *ikusiko* in the west and the centre, but *ikusiren* in the east, while from *egin* ‘do’ the future participle is *egingo* in the west but *eginen* in the centre and the east. This regional variation suggests that the future participle must be a rather late formation.

**kobla** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {n. ‘sung verse’}

**koblakari** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*

**kobratu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {vt. ‘collect (money)’}

**kobretxe** (R) n. \*\*\*\*\* {‘town hall’} [FHV 157 fn]

**kodaña** (B), **koraña** (B), **kodeña** (old LN) *n.* ‘scythe’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *guadaña* id.

**kofoin** (\*\*), **khogáñ** (Z) \*\*\*\* {**kofau** (old L [Ax]), **khobañ** (Z)} *n.* ‘beehive’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 152, 259, 414]

**kokot** (\*\*) *n.* ‘nape of the neck’. \*\*\*\* [MT entry]

**kokotz** (\*\*), **okotz** (\*\*) *n.* ‘chin’ (*anat.*) \*\*\*\*

{**kolko** (\*\* G), \*\*\*\* *n.* \*\*\*\*} ‘chest’, ‘bosom’ Aul. Duplicates **golko** [1].}

{**koloka** (L), **kolka** (\*\*), **kloka** (\*\*), **loka** (\*\*)} *n.* ‘broody hen’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *chueca* id. {or Occ. *cloca*}, by \*\*\*\* {L8}. {} Duplicates **loka**.)

**koloma** (\*\*) *n.* ‘column, pillar, post’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 560]

**kolore** (c.) *n.* ‘colour’. 1562.

From Rom. \**colore* id.

**khólte** (Z) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘stake’} [FHV 212]

**komeni** (\*\*), **konbeni** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*vi.* ‘be convenient, suit’} [FHV 357]

**komentu** (\*\*), **konbentu** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘convent’} [FHV 357]

**konfesatu** (\*\*), **kofesatu** (\*\*), **kobesatu** (\*\*), **kobesátü** (Z) *vt.* ‘confess’. \*\*\*\*

**kontent** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*

**kontra** (c.) *p.* [+ Gen.] ‘against’. 1545.

From Cast. *contra* id., or from a related Rom. form: a rare instance of a preposition borrowed as a postposition.

**kontu** (\*\* old LN), **khúntü** (Z) *n.* ‘attention, care’. \*\*\*\*

**kopor** *n.* (G HN), **gopor** (L LN), **gophor** (LN), **khopor** (Z), **opor** (G HN L LN), **ophor** (?) ‘bowl, basin’ (sometimes esp. ‘earthenware bowl’) (but ‘cup’ in Z). 1571.

Uncertain. M. (\*\*\*\* {1951b: 577}) diffidently suggests a derivative of late Lat. *cuppam* ‘cup’, with an opaque second element.

**-kor** (\*\*), **-or** (\*\*) AFS ‘tending to’.

\*\*\*\*

**korapilo, korapillo** (B G HN), **orapilo, orapillo** (B G LN S R), **orapin** (Sout), **moropil** (B), **poronpil** (B) *n.* ‘knot’, TS ‘problem’, TS ‘remorse, regret’. 1627.

\*\*\*\* [FHV 251, 259]

**kornadu** (\*\*), **korradu** (HN) *n.* \*\*\*\* [FHV 366]

**koroa** (\*\*), **khoroa** (\*\*), **khoro** (\*\*), **koroē** (old B), **koro** (\*\*), **koroi** (\*\*), **koroia** (\*\*) \*\* *n.* ‘crown’. \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *corōnam* id., by P1 (M. 1961a: 300).

**korrale** (L), **korle** (S) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘sheepfold’} [FHV 165]

**korronka** (B G), **korronga** (old LN), **zorronka** (R), **zurrunda** (\*\*), **zurrunga** (\*\*) *n.* ‘snore’, **korroka** (HN L LN) ‘death rattle’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 297]

{[] **kósino** (R), **kosíno** (R) *n.* ‘first cousin’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 395] {} Moved to **kusu**.}

**koska** (\*\*), **kozka** (\*\*), **kúzka** (Z) \*\*\*\* ‘blow’

**koskol** (HN) *n.* ‘chestnut burr’, **oskol** (B) *n.* ‘shell’, *a.* ‘empty’ (of a chestnut). \*\*\*\*

M. (1961a: 272) suggests that these might be expressive variants of **akal** ‘empty’.

**kotxiña** (old B) *n.* ‘pillow’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 147]

**kriseilu** (\*\*), **krisallu** (\*\*), **krisellu** (\*\*), **kruselu** (\*\*), **girisellu** (old HN), **giriselu** (old HN), **kirisailu** (old LN), **kurzellu** (B) *n.* ‘oil lamp’. [FHV 158, 348]

\*\*\*\* M. (1961a: 239) notes that an original voiced initial plosive seems to have given way to a voiceless one.

**kristau** (\*\* {G L HN}), **khi(r)istí** (Z) \*\*\*\*\* {**kristiñau** (B), **kristiau** (Sout), **kristio** (A HN Z), **giristino** (L LN), **kristiái** (R)} \*\*\*\* ‘Christian’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 153]

**kukuso** (G HN L LN), **kükúso** (Z) *n.* ‘flea’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*\*). \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* See **ardi** [2].

**kulu** (\*\*), **khulu** (\*\*) etc. **kühüllü** (Z) *n.* ‘distaff’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 78, 242 fn]

\*\*\*\* The *curhullu* of Gèze appears to be a hypercorrection (M. 1961a: 330). {*Cf.* **goru**.}

**kuma** [1] (B G HN) (1638), **khúña** (Z), **kuia** (G), **guia** (Sout), **kuba** (HN) (1746), **kui** (G), **ua** (S) (1562), **guia** (Sout) (1562) *n.* ‘cradle’. [CHECK DATES]

From Lat. *cūnam* id., or from that word’s Rom. reflex *cuna* (M. 1961a: 197). Common form by P2. Variants by P1, P31, P35.2, P14.

{[] **kuma** [2] (\*\*), **khuma** (\*\*) *n.* ‘mane’, ‘horsehair’. \*\*\*\* [MT entry] {} Duplicate, see **kima**.}

**\*-kun** Unattested but hypothetical word-forming suffix apparently present in the following two items.

**-kunde** (*c.*) NFS forming abstract nouns with a variety of senses, mainly acts, conditions and states, from both nouns and verbs. The second element cannot be **-te** {[1]} NFS of duration, since this analysis wrongly predicts *\*-kunte* for Z and R, where P6 has never applied, yet these varieties also have **-kunde**.

**-kuntza** (*c.*) NFS forming nouns denoting acts or actions, mainly from verbs but also from nouns. The second element is **-tza** NFS.

**künkúño** (Z) *n.* ‘tree weighed down with fruit’. \*\*\*\* [Lh.]

**kurel** (Sout) *a.* ‘cruel’. 1562.

From Cast. *cruel* id., with metathesis (M. 1961a: 348).

**kurilloe** (B), **kurloe** (B), **gurrigoi** (HN), **burrigoi** (G), **garraio** (L), **karrajo** (L), **kurroe** (old L old G?) *n.* ‘sparrow’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*) (1802).

From Cast. *gorrión* id (M. \*\*\*\* {1955c: 293}), itself OUO. Variants in **-goi** by P35.1. Variant with initial /b/ by P10. First {two} variants possibly contaminated by **kurlo** [1] ‘crane’. An ultimate origin in Bq. **gorri** ‘red’ is proposed by Schuchardt (\*\*\*\* {1906b}) but considered dubious by CP; see CP (*s.v.* *gorrión*) for an essay.

{[] **kurlo** [1] (\*\*), **khúrlo** (Z) *n.* ‘crane’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*) \*\*\*\* {} Combined with **kurrillo**.}

**kurrika** (\*\*), **korrika** (\*\*), **orrika** (\*\*), **porrika** (\*\*) *n.*, usually *n. pl.* **kurrikak** etc. ‘pincers’, ‘tongs’. \*\*\*\*

M. (1977a: 535) prefers Lat. *forfices* \*\*\*\* {‘tongs, pincers’} to Lat. *forcipes* ‘tongs, pincers’. [CHECK LATIN {Done.}]

**kurrillo** (B G), **kurlo** (B), **khurlo**, **khúrlo** (Z) *n.* ‘crane’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*) \*\*\*\* [MT entry]

\*\*\*\*

**khurlo-belhar** (Z) *n.* ‘geranium’ (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*) \*\*\*\*

{[] **kurzellu** (B) *n.* ‘oil lamp’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 348] {} Moved to **kriseilu**.}

**kusu** (L LN), **kusi** (L LN), **kusin** (old L), **gusu** (L LN) *n.* ‘cousin’ **kósino** (R), **kosíno** (R) *n.* ‘first cousin’. 1627. [FHV 395]

{First four forms} from Rom. *\*cusinu*, by P1 (M. \*\*\*\* {1961: 123}). Fourth form perhaps by extraction from the compound **lehengusu** (see **lehen**), where /g/ appears by P6. The expected female form *\*kusina* ~ *\*gusina* is not recorded as an independent word but occurs in the compound **lehengusiña** (see **lehen**).



**-kute** [MITX 73] {M. (1973a: s.v.)}

**kutsu** (B G HN L), **kotsu** (LN), **khotsu** (LN), **kozu** (R S), **khózü** (Z) ‘contagion’, ‘contamination’. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* The variation in form possibly reflects the two forms of the AFS **-tsu** (*-tsu* and earlier *-zu*) (M. 1961a: 286). [FHV 543: MORE]

**kutsadura** (\*\*) *n.* ‘pollution, contamination’. \*\*\*\*

**kutsatu** (\*\*), **khotsatu** (old LN) \*\*\*\*

**kutxa** (\*\*), **utxa** (B), **hütxa** (Z) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘chest’. \*\*\*\*

{[]} **kühüllü** (Z) *n.* ‘distaff’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 242 fn]

\*\*\*\* The *curhullu* of Gèze appears to be a hypercorrection (M. 1961a: 330). {} Moved to **kulu**.}

**-la** [1] (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {?Complementizer suffix.}

\*\*\*\*

**-lako** (c.), **-laso** (old B), **-lasoko** (B) \*\*\*\* [FHV 297 fn]

**-la** [2], **-lan** (c.) AdvFS

This suffix forms adverbs of manner from demonstrative and interrogative stems. OUO. Nobody has proposed a common origin with **-la** [1], for lack of a detectable semantic connection. But Gavel (*RIEV* 12: 211 \*\*\*\* {1920: 211}) suggests a possible link with the variant **-la** of the All. CS **-ra**. The origin of the nasal in the longer variant is unknown.

**lahar** (L LN Z) (1643), **laar** (B G HN L), **lagar** (HN), **lapar** (B LN R) (1745, 1852), **kapar** (B Z) (1657), **khapar** (\*\*), **gapar** (LN) (1657), *n.* ‘blackberry, bramble’ (*bot.*) (*Rubus fruticosus*), (LN Z) **sapar** ‘thicket, scrub’. Dimin. **ñar** (R S) ‘bramble’, ‘thistle’. [FHV 296, 324: LOTS MORE]

OUO. Third form by P35.1, but otherwise the variation in form is mysterious. However, it seems likely that the forms with /p/ represent a distinct word, perhaps a back-formation from **txapar** (below), and that **lapar** is a cross between the two words.

**txapar** (R) *n.* ‘kermes oak, evergreen oak’ (*bot.*) (*Quercus coccifera*), ‘scrub, brush, undergrowth’, **txaparro** (S) ‘scrub of evergreen oak or holm oak’. App. a dimin. of the above. [SEE CP; COMPLICATED]

**labain** (\*\*), **laban** (B) *a.* ‘slippery’. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

**labaindu** (Sout \*\*) *v.* [diathesis unrecorded] ‘slip’. 1562.

{[] **labana** (G HN), **labaña** (B G HN), **nabéla** (Z), **nabla** (S), **ñabla** (R) *n.* ‘knife’. \*\*\*\* {}  
Duplicates **nabéla**. Combined there.}

**labe** (G HN L LN Z R), **laba** (B Sout?) *n.* ‘oven’, ‘furnace’. 1562.

OUO. B form by M5. It is not clear whether Sout *labea*, with the article, represents **labe** or **laba**.

**labur** (\*\*) *a.* ‘short’. \*\*\*\* Dimin. **llabur** (HN R S), **llábür** (Z), **txabur** (B)

\*\*\*\* {OUO.}

**labu(r)a(r)ísa** (Z) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘female peasant’} [FHV 290]

**lagun** *n.* (c. exc. Z), **lágün** (Z) ‘companion’, (B G HN L R) ‘person, individual’. 1545.

OUO.

**lagun-abar** (B G HN) *a.* ‘common, commonplace, usual, ordinary’. App. + **abar** ‘branch’, though the semantics is odd.

**lagundu** (*c. exc. Z R*) (formerly) *vid.*, (today) *vt.* or *vtd.* ‘help, aid, assist’, ‘accompany’, ‘sympathize with’, (G) ‘consent to’, (B) *vi.* ‘establish good relations’. 1571. The expected Z and R forms would be *\*lagüntü* and *\*laguntu*, respectively, but these forms are not recorded.

**lagun \*edun** (B? G?) *vt.* ‘help, aid, assist’. + **\*edun** ‘have’.

**lagun egin** (B? G?) *vtd.* ‘help, aid, assist’, ‘accompany’. + **egin** ‘do’.

**lagungarri** (H.) *a.* ‘able to accompany or to help’, ‘suitable for accompanying or for helping’. + **-garri** AFS. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**lagungin** (B) *a.* ‘pleasant, nice’. + **-gin** ‘which makes’ (see **egin**).

**lagüngo** (Z), **lagungo** (R), **lagungu** (R) *n.* ‘society, company’ (organized body), TS ‘aid, assistance’. + **-goa** collective NFS.

**lagun izan** (B G HN) *vid.* ‘help, aid, assist’. + **izan** ‘be’. Now little used.

**lagunkide** *n.* (B HN) ‘companion’, (B) ‘ordinary and undistinguished worker’. + **-kide** ‘fellow’

**lagunkin** (L LN), **lagunkoi** (L LN) *a.* ‘sociable’. + **-kin** [\*\*] AFS ‘fond of’, + **-koi** AFS ‘fond of’ {(see **ohi**)}.

**laguntari** *n.* (B HN L) ‘helper, assistant’, (L) ‘companion’, ‘protector’. + **-tari** professional NFS (see **-ari** [\*\*{1}]). {But **-tari** is not mentioned under **-ari** [1].}

**laguntza** (*c.*), **laguntze** (G HN L LN), **laguntxa** (LN) *n.* ‘help, aid, assistance’ (1571), (B) ‘gathering, crowd’ (1802). + **-tza** NFS.

**laguntsu** (G) *a.* ‘well-attended’ (of an event). + **-tsu** AFS.

**laia** (\*\*), **laixa** (B) \*\*\* *n.* ‘laia’ (a certain agricultural tool, a large two-pronged fork) \*\*\*\*

**laido** (HN L LN) *n.* ‘affront, dishonour’. \*\*\*\*

From Old Cast. *laido* ‘ignominious, ungainly’ (M. 1961a: 104).

**laino** (L), **lano** (HN), **lanho** (L LN), **lanhú** (Z), **laño** (G HN S A), **llano** (A), **año** (old B) *n.* ‘fog, mist’. \*\*\*\* {?cf. **kain**}

**laiotz** (G) *a.* ‘shady’, *n.* ‘shady place’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 307 fn]

**laka** (B G HN LN S R), **lakha** (Z) *n.* ‘fee paid to a miller for grinding grain’ (1745, 1802), ‘a certain measure of grain’, about 2.5 litres (Cast. *almud*) (1777).

OUO. \*\*\*\*.

**laket** (L LN Z R HB), **lakhet** (L LN Z) *a.* ‘pleasant’. 1571 (in compound verbs), 1895 (as independent word).

From Lat. *placet* ‘it is pleasing’, by L8.1, a unique instance of the borrowing of a finite verb-form (M. 1961a: 347).

**lakeleku** (L LN) *n.* ‘nice place’. + **leku** ‘place’.

**lak(h)et izan** (L LN Z) *vid.* ‘be pleasing (to)’, (functionally) ‘like’. 1571. This is the usual way of expressing ‘like’ in these varieties.

**lak(h)etu** (HN) *vid.* ‘be pleasing (to)’, (L LN Z R) *vi.* ‘amuse oneself’, (L LN) *vi.* ‘get used to’, (B) *vid.* ‘permit, allow’, (B) *vt.* ‘grant, confer’. 1636. + **-tu** VFS.

**lakio** (\*\*{B BN Z}), **lakirio** (\*\*{B}) \*\*\*\*{‘hunting net’ Az.}

From Lat. *laqueum* \*\*\*\*{‘snare, trap’} (M. 1961a: 287 fn. 14).

**lako** (\*\* old LN), \*\*\*\*, **láko** (Z) *n.* ‘winepress’. \*\*\*\* [Latin] {M. (1961a: 218).}

**laku** (\*\*), **laku** (\*\* Z) *n.* ‘lake’. \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *lacum* id. (M. 1961a: 51).

**lama** [1] (B G L LN Z), **lanba** (L), **lanbo** (L) *n.* ‘flame’, TS ‘ardor, zeal’, TS (B) ‘glare’ (of reflected sunlight). 1686.

From Lat. *flammam*, by L8.1. The curious L variants may result from an unusual resolution of Lat. /mm/, or from a hypercorrect reversal of P3. Unlike its native synonym **gar** (*q.v.*), this word has given rise to no derivatives, and it never appears in toponyms or surnames.

**lama** [2] (B G) *n.* ‘piece of iron for reinforcing a cartwheel’. \*\*\*\*

Perhaps from Lat. *lām(i)nam* ‘thin slice {sheet of metal}’ (M. 1961a: 348 fn. 7).

**lan** (*c.*) *n.* ‘work’. 1545.

OUO.

**lanbide** (L LN Z) *n.* ‘vocation, profession, occupation’, ‘job’. 1830. + **bide** ‘way’

**landu** (B G), **lantu** (\*\*), **lánthü** (Z) *vt.* ‘work’ (stone, land, etc.). 1571. + **-tu** VFS.

**lan egin** (*c.*) *vitm.* ‘work’. + **egin** ‘do’.

**lanegun** *n.* ‘working day’, ‘weekday’. *Ca.* 1760. + **egun** ‘day’.

**langabe** *a.* ‘unemployed’. 1926. + **gabe** ‘without’.

**langabezia** *n.* ‘unemployment’. *Ca.* 1982. + **-zia** NFS. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**langela** *n.* ‘workroom, workshop’. 1918. + **gela** ‘room’.

**langile** (*c.*), **langin** (B G) *n.* ‘worker, workman’. 1571 (**langile**), 1596 (**langin**). + **-gile**, **-gin** ‘who does’ (see **egin**).

**langiletasun** *n.* ‘labour movement’. 1884. + **-tasun** abstract NFS (see **-tar**).

**langilezain**, **langilezai** *n.* ‘supervisor, overseer’. 1745, 1918. + **-zain** ‘guardian’ {(see **zain** [1])}. {see **zain** [1]}.

**langintza** (B G HN) *n.* ‘job, employment’. 1802. + **-tza** NFS.

**lankide** (*c.*) *n.* ‘workmate’. 1657. + **kide** ‘fellow’.

**lanpetu** *a.* ‘overworked’. 1929. + **-pe** ‘under’ (see **behe**) + **-tu** VFS.

**lantegi** *n.* ‘workplace’, ‘factory’. 1745, 1759. + **-tegi** ‘place’ {(see **hegi**)}.

**lanabes** (L B), **lanabas** (L), **lanibes** (H.) *n.* ‘tools, toolkit’. 1627. Obscure. The word does not look native, and attempts at relating it to **lan** ‘work’ are unconvincing. Most likely, it derives from the Romance ‘knife’ word represented by Castilian *navaja* ‘knife’, ultimately from Latin *novaculam* via an unrecorded variant *\*navacula*. A possible source is the Old Bearnese cognate *naves* ‘(large) knife’, a back-formation obtained by removing the diminutive suffix. This is a hapax recorded in the *Judyats de la Cort de Morlaas*, one of the texts of the Fors of Béarn, though ML (\*\*\*) (§5965) and CP (*s.v. navaja*) record the word as *nabes*. A hypothetical plural *\*las naves* would be a phonologically perfect source for the Bq. word, with incorporation of the Rom. article, and its plural nature could account for the collective sense of the Bq. word. {See **nabéla** and variants.}

**landa** (\*\*) *n.* ‘field, piece of land’, sometimes esp. one which is arable, \*\*\*\* TS *p.* [+ Abs, Part, Instr] ‘except, outside’. 1545.

From \*\*\*\* {Occ. *landa*, Cast. *landa*}, ult. from Celtic *\*landa* ‘heath’.

**landatu** (\*\*) *vt.* ‘plant’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 347]

**bir-landatu** (old L) [Ax] [FHV 366] \*\*\*\*

**langa** (B G) *n.* ‘crossbeam’, ‘bar’ (on a window), ‘rustic gate’. \*\*\*\*

From. \*\*\*\* {Lat.} *planca* \*\*\*\* {‘board’} (M. 1961a: 347).

**lanjer** (\*\*) *n.* ‘danger’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 534]

**lañeza** (G) \*\*\*\* {‘bad upbringing, spoiling’} [FHV 200] {M. seems to mean that **lañeza** is derived from **laño**, or perhaps rather that both Cast. *llano* and its derivative *llaneza* suffer metathesis of palatalization in Bq. borrowings.}

**laño** (L LN) *a.* \*\*\*\* {‘frank, amiable’}

From Cast. *llano* \*\*\*\* {‘plain, frank’}, with metathesis of palatalization (M. 1961a: 200).

**lapiri** (Z), **llapĩ** (Z), **llapei** (Z), **lleproĩ** (R) *n.* ‘rabbit’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*) \*\*\*\* {Occ., Fr. *lapin* id.}

**lapur** (B G HN L), **laphur** (L), {**napur** (old G)} *n.* ‘thief’, TS {**napur**} (L) ‘animal which strays onto someone else’s land’. 1596. Dimin. **ñaphur** (L LN), **ñápür** (Z), **ñapur** (R) ‘animal which strays onto someone else’s land’, ‘man who chases his neighbour’s wife’, *a.* ‘greedy’, ‘fond (of)’. See **ohoin**. [MORE: FHV 324, 551]

OUO. The dimin. is unusual in form.

**lar** [1] (B Sout) *a., adv.* ‘too’, ‘too much’. 1562.

OUO.

**larregi** (B) *a., adv.* ‘too’, ‘too much’. 1656. + **-egi** excessive {not in *The Dictionary*} (pleonasm).

**lardería** (L LN Z) *n.* ‘fear’.

From Rom. *ladre* \*\*\*\*, with metathesis (M. 1977a: 511). {It is not clear what Rom. word M. had in mind here. There seems to be nothing of that form, or of the *ladrería* that he mentions, in Cast., and Occ. *ladre* means ‘leprous’ or ‘mean’.

**larderiatu** (L) *vt.* ‘threaten, intimidate’. \*\*\*\* + **-tu** VFS.

**larrain** (\*\*), **larrin** (B) \*\*\*\* ‘~~small square~~’ {‘threshing floor’}. [FHV 165, 165 fn, 195]  
Dimin. **larrne** (R).

**larraindu** (\*\*), **larrindu** (B Sout) \*\*\* [FHV 105]

**larre** (Sout G HN L LN Z), **larra** (B) *n.* ‘pasture’, (LN) ‘heather’ (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*), (Duv.) ‘uncultivated land, wasteland’. 13th cent., 1562. CF **larra-**

OUO. B form by M5. CF by W2.2. As a first element in compounds, often means ‘wild’.

**larrauti** (LN), **larrautte** (LN), \*\*\*, **larrhote** (Z) *n.* ‘grasshopper, locust’ [FHV 118] \*\*\* + **oti** ‘locust’ (M. 1961a: 417–418).

**larri** (\*\*) *a.* \*\*\*\* {‘large’, ‘anxious, urgent’ Aul.}

**larru** (G HN L LN R) (1545), **lárriü** (Z), **narru** (B Sout) (1562) *n.* ‘hide, skin, pelt’ (of an animal), ‘skin’ (of a person). CF **larr-**.

OUO. The last variant is curious; M. (\*\*\*\* {1961a: 325}) suggests that it may have arisen by some phonological development when the word served as the second element in compounds. But M. rejects Uhlenbeck’s proposed *\*rarru*. CF by W2.3.

**larhárgi** (Z) *a.* ‘clear-skinned’. \*\*\*\* + **argi** ‘bright’.

**larléñ** (Z) *a.* ‘fine-skinned’. \*\*\*\* + **leñ** ‘smooth’ (see **leun**).

**larrua jo** (G) *vitm.* ‘copulate, have sex’. + **-a det.** + **jo** ‘hit’.

**larru-gorrian** (G) *adv.* ‘stark naked’. 1761. + **gorri** ‘red’ {(see **\*gorr-**)} + **-an** Loc. {CS.}

**lar-xuri** (old LN \*\*) *a.* ‘white-skinned’. \*\*\*\* + **xuri** ‘white’ (see **zuri**).

**laru** (B) *a.* ‘pale yellow’. \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *clārum* ‘clear, bright’, by L\*\* {8.1} (M. 1961a: 347).

**larunbat** (G HN L LN), **laurenbat** (old B G), **larranbate** (old LN \*\*) \*\*\* *n.* ‘Saturday’. \*\*\*\*

[FHV 95, 491, 501] Many have seen this as **laurden** ‘quarter’ (see **lau** [1]) + **bat** ‘one’, since Saturday completes the week, and a week is roughly one quarter of a month. But M. \*\*\*\* {(1971b),} (1977a: 491) cautiously suggests a derivative of **lagun** ‘companion’,

perhaps \**lagunen bate* ‘gathering of companions’, + **-en** {[1]} Gen. + a verbal noun from **batu** ‘get together’ (see **bat**). Cf. **neskanegun** (under **neska**).

**lasa** (\*\*), **lasai** (G HN) *a.* \*\*\*\*{‘calm, relaxed’, ‘wide, comfortable’}, **nasai** (B L LN), **násai** (Z) ‘wide, ample’, **nasái** (R) *n.* ‘woman’s blouse’. [FHV 324, {397,} 552: MORE] [Azkue]

\*\*\*\*{OUO.} M. (1961a: 325) doubts that this word can be connected with \*\*\*\*{*laxo*}, of clear Rom. origin, and he notes that the presence of initial /n/ in the west and in the east suggests that this is the conservative form.

**lasta** (G) *n.* ‘ballast’. \*\*\*\*

From Rom.; cf. Cast. *lastre* id.

**lastaira** (HN LN), **lastra** (R) \*\*\*\*{‘straw mattress’ Aul.} [FHV 161]

**laster** (*c.*), **laister** (G L LN), **laixter** (L LN), **laxter** (\*\*) *n.* ‘speed’, ‘race’, TS ‘current (of water or of air)’, *a.* ‘quick, fast, speedy’, TS ‘active, hard-working, industrious’, *adv.* ‘quickly, fast’, ‘soon’. 1562.

OUO. The form **laster** is the only one recorded before 1700; second form by P45, or perhaps by P\*\*{32} from the dimin. form **laxter**.

**latz** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*{*a.* ‘rough, harsh’ Aul.}

OUO.

**laztu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*{*vi.* (of hair) ‘stand on end’, *vt.* ‘make (hair) stand on end’ Aul.}

**lau** [1] (*c.*), **laur** [tapped /r/] (L LN) *num.* ‘four’. 15th cent.

OUO. The form **laur** is original, since all varieties have *laur-* with vowel-initial suffixes, as in *laurak* ‘all four’. Common form by P25. Top. *Laureiereta*, Navarra 1174. Possibly recorded in Aq. *LAURCO* and *LAURINA*.

**lauburu** (*c.*) *n.* ‘Basque swastika’ (a traditional good-luck symbol resembling four commas joined at their points). 1745, 1818. + **buru** ‘head’. In the past, the word was sometimes strangely applied to the Christian cross. But attempts at linking it to Lat. *labarum* ‘banner of Constantine’ are absurd.

**lauetan-hogei** (LN Z), **lauetan-ogei** (HN) *num.* ‘eighty’. + **-ta-** {not in *The Dictionary*} + **-n** {[1]} Loc. {CS} + **hogei** ‘20’.

**lauka** (Z) *adv.* ‘crawling on hands and knees’. + **-ka** AdvFS.

**laukatu** (LN Z) *v.* [diathesis unrecorded] ‘crawl on hands and knees’, TS ‘help, assist’. + **-tu** VFS.

**lauren** (\*\*), **laurden** (\*\*), **laun** (B) \*\*\* *n.* ‘quarter’ \*\*\*\* [FHV 340-341] The form **laurden** perhaps by contamination from **birden** ‘second’ (see **bi**) (M. 1961a: 341). [FHV 557: IMPORTANT RETHINK]

**laurdenegun** (\*\* R), **laurdenegu** (HN) \*\*\*\* ‘three days ago’. \*\*\*\* + **egun** ‘day’.

**laureun** (\*\*), **lareun** (B G HN), **lauren** (\*\*) *num.* ‘400’ \*\*\*\* [FHV {95,} 516]

**laurogei** (\*\*), **larogei** (B G HN) \*\*\*\* *num.* ‘eighty’. \*\*\*\*

**lau** [2] (B L Sout), **laun** (old B), **leun** (B), **leu** (B) *n.* ‘plain’, TS ‘plane’, *a.* ‘flat’, TS ‘plain, featureless, unremarkable’. 1562.

From \**lanu*, by P1, from Lat. *plānum* ‘flat, plain’, by L8.1 (M. 1961a: 101). Last form by P48. [CONSIDER **leun**] See **plaun**. The B writer Micoleta has **lau** but ablative **launti** ‘via the plain’.

**laudatu** (L \*\*) , **laidátü** (Z) \*\*\*\* *vt.* ‘praise’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 93]

**laudorio** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘praise’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 211]

**lausengu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘flattery’} [FHV 101, 211]

**lausku** *a.* (\*\*) ‘crosseyed’, **lüzko** {(Z)} ‘short-sighted’. \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *luscum* \*\*\*\* {‘one-eyed’} (M. 1961a: 96 fn. 13)

**lauso** (\*\*{G HN L}) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘film in the eye, cataract’, ‘bran’, ‘squall’}, **leuso** (\*\*{B}) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘mist’}, **keuso** (\*\*{B}) \*\*\* {*n.* ‘film in the eye’, ‘chaff, fluff’}, **geuso** (\*\*{B}) \*\*\* {*n.* ‘chaff’} [FHV 101 + fn: much more] {See also **auso** ‘snowstorm’.}

**laustro** (LN) *n.* \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\* {‘shelter under the eaves’}

From Lat. *claustrum* ‘barrier’, by L\*\* {8.1} (M. 1961a: 347).

**lauza** (S) \*\*\*\* {‘flagstone’} [FHV 93]

**lauzatu** (old B) \*\*\*\* {‘roof’} [FHV 93]

**laxo** (\*\*), {**lazo** (L LN)} \*\*\*\* {*a.* ‘loose’} [FHV 325]

**laxatu** (\*\*), \*\*\*\*, **lazatu** (Sout HN) \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\* {*v.* ‘loosen, untie’}. Last form by reversal of palatalization, M\*\* {9} [FHV 184, 325]

**-le** (*c.*), **-ile** (L LN B) NFS forming agent nouns from *i*-class and *n*-class verbs of any transitivity, though it is far more frequent with transitive verbs, and may once have been confined to these. Examples: *erosi* ‘buy’, stem *eros-*, *erosle* ‘buyer’; *eman* ‘give’, *emale* ~ *emaile* ‘donor’, *joan* ‘go’, *joaile* ‘traveller’.

OUO. Trask (1990) proposes that the variant **-ile** derives from reanalysis: after \**emani* ‘give’, for example, stem *eman-*, developed regularly to *emai* (attested), this *emai-* was taken as a stem, and the addition of *-le* yielded the observed **emaile**, then reanalysed as *ema-* + *-ile*. See also **-tzaile** (under **-tza**), **-te** [1].



**lehen** (L LN), **léhen** (Z), **leen** (old B), **lein** (R), **le(i)ñ** (B), **len** (B G HN L), **\*lenen** (B?), **\*lelen** (B?) *adjvl.* ‘first’, *adv* ‘before, formerly’. 15th cent.

O.U.O. Possibly contains **-en** {[1]} genitive CS. The last two forms, apparently attested only in suffixed forms, are extended by **-en**, possibly superlative, and the last shows an assimilation/dissimilation.

**lehenengo** (\*\*), **lenengo** (\*\*), **lenaingo** (Sout), **lenaengo** (old B) \*\*\*\* [FHV 117-118]  
**lehengusu** (\*\*)

**leher** [1] (L LN Z) *n.* \*\*\*\* {?’explosion’} \*\*\*\* [Lh.]

\*\*\*\*

**lehertu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {v*ti.* ‘explode’ Aul.}

**leher** [2] (Z), **ler** (S R) *n.* ‘pine tree’ (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*). 1905.

O.U.O. This eastern word perhaps represents the native word for ‘pine’, displaced in most varieties by the loan **pinu**. See **lerden**.

**lkerko** (R) *n.* ‘small pine’. + **-ko** NFS.

**lega** (G HN), **lera** (G HN L S), **lia** (LN), **liá{k}** (Z), **liña** (LN) *n.* ‘sledge’. \*\*\*\*

From *\*lena*, by P1, from \*\*\*\* [FHV 414 fn: borrowed] [FHV 67]

**legamiña** (\*\* G), **legamia** (\*\* G), **lamiña** (\*\*), **lemamia** (L) *n.* \*\*\*\* ‘yeast’ [FHV 146, 258]

**legatz** (G HN L), **lebatz** (B) *n.* ‘hake’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*) \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*\* Second form by P10.

**lege** (\*\*) *n.* ‘law’. \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *lēgem* id. (M. 1961a: 51).

**lagi** \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘law’. See Az. *s.v.* }

**lei** (B) *n.* ‘ice’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 176-177] [see notes in A.]

**lehia** (\*\*), **leia** (\*\*) *n.* ‘haste, hurry’, other senses \*\*\*\*

**leial** (c.) *a.* ‘loyal, faithful’. 1545.

From Cast. *leal* id.

**leialki** (\*\*) (1571), **leialkiro** (\*\*) (1745, 1847) *adv.* ‘loyally, faithfully’. + **-ki** [\*\*{1}] AdvFS (+ **-ro** AdvFS {not in *The Dictionary*}).

**leialtasun** (\*\*) *n.* ‘loyalty’. 1686. + **-tasun** NFS (see **-tar**).

**leialtate** (\*\*) (1571), **leialdate** (\*\*0 (1545), **leialtade** (\*\*) (1803) *n.* ‘loyalty’. + **-dade** NFS.

**leinu** (\*\* old LN) \*\*\*\* ‘tribe’ [FHV 115, 222]

**leiho** (L LN), **leio** (\*\*), **léiho** (Z), **léxo** (R), **lego** (S), **leo** (S) *n.* ‘window’.

\*\*\*\* {OUO.}

**leizar** (*c.*), **lizar** (B G HN L) (1627), **leixar** (L LN Z), **lexar** (B Z) (14th cent.) *n.* ‘ash tree’ (*bot.*) (*Fraxinus*).

OUO, but *leizar* appears to be the more conservative form.

**lizardi** (B G HN L) *n.* ‘ash grove’. 1745, 1842. + **-di** ‘grove’.

**leize** (\*\* {old LN}), **leze** (\*\*), **lexe** (B), **lexa** (B) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘chasm’ Aul.} [FHV 159, 159 fn]

**leka** (\*\*), **théka** (Z) *n.* ‘pod’ (of a vegetable). \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *thēcam* ‘sheath’ {better ‘case, box’}, by L\*\* {9} (M. 1961a: 257).

**lekabiur** (HN) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘stick for shelling beans’}, **nekabiur** (B G), **nekabiurkai** (B G) \*\*\*\* [FHV 552]

**lekoa** (\*\* old LN) *n.* ‘league’ (unit of distance). \*\*\*\* [Latin]

{From Lat. *leuga* id. See CP *s.v.* *legua*; and M. 1956f: 367.}

**leku** (B G HN R), **lekhū** (L LN), **lekhü** (Z) *n.* ‘place’. 1545.

From some Rom. reflex of Lat. *locum*, of the approximate form \**lueco*. [FHV 167]

**lekhū egin** (L LN Z) *vitm.* ‘make room’. + **egin** ‘make’.

**leku eman/emon** (B) *vitmd.* ‘give consent’. + **eman** ‘give’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**lekuko**, **lekhuko** (L LN) *n.* ‘witness’. 1617. + **-ko** NFS.

**lekukotasun** (L LN) *n.* ‘testimony’. 1643. + **-tasun** abstract NFS (see **-tar**).

**lek(h)uratu** (*c.*) *vi.* ‘arrive at a place’. 1897. + **-ra** allative + **-tu** VFS.

**leñhū(r)ü** (Z) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘ray, brightness’} [FHV 222]

**lehoi** (EB), **leoi** (B Sout? G HN), **legoi** (G), **leoe** (B G HN), **lehoin** (L LN), **leoin** (?), **lehoñ** (old L), **lehú** (Z), **lehuñ** (Z), **leon** (HN R S A) *n.* ‘lion’ (*zool.*) (*Panthera leo*). CF **le(h)on-**. 1562.

From \**leone*, by P1, from Lat. *leōnem* id. Z forms by P71. The standard form **lehoi** is occasionally cited as L LN, but I find no evidence to substantiate this. The Sout form is recorded only as the definite **leoya**, which might represent either **leoi** or **leoe**.

**lehor** (L), **leihor** (L LN Z), **leior** (\*\*), **leor** (Sout), **legor** (B G), **ligor** (\*\*), **lior** (\*\*) *a.* ‘dry’ (but ‘sterile’ in Sout), TS *n.* ‘land’ (as opposed to sea), ‘dry land’. 1562. [FHV {197,} 475]

OUO. Last form by P\*\* {35.4}.

**lepo** (G HN R Sout), **lepho** (L LN Z) *n.* ‘neck’, **lepo** (B) *n.* ‘shoulder’. 1562.

OUO. The divergent B sense is curious. See **idun**, **sama**.

{|} **lera** [1] (\*\*), **lega** (\*\*), etc. [FHV 67] \*\*\*\* ‘kind of rustic sledge’. {} Duplicates **lega**. }

**lerde** (\*\*), **elder** (\*\*), **helder** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘drivel {*l.* dribble}, slime’ ?? [FHV 340]

**lerden** (c.) *a.* ‘straight’, ‘slender’. 1627; **zerden** (B G) *a.* ‘straight’, ‘erect’, ‘slender’, **derden** (R) *a.* ‘idle, negligent’.

Obscure. It is not clear that all three are the same word. M. (\*\*\*\* {1970b: 69}) suggests that the final *-den* is a variant of the common AFS **-din** ‘resembling’ (see \***edin**). If so, then **leher** ‘pine tree’ looks plausible for the first element, though the absence of a variant \**leherden* is troubling. However, M. diffidently suggests instead dissimilation of an original \**den-den*, of obscure formation.

**lerro** (\*\*) *n.* ‘line, row’. \*\*\*\*

**lertxun** (B G HN) *n.* ‘quaking aspen’ (*bot.*) (*Populus tremula*), (HN L) ‘crane’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*), TS (B) ‘misanthrope’. 1847. \*\*\*\*\*

**leun** (\*\*), **legun** (\*\*), **leñ** (Z) *a.* ‘smooth, polished’. \*\*\*\*

OUO. The surname or sobriquet *Leuna* is recorded in Navarra from the 13th cent. CP (*s.v.* \*\*\*\* *leme*, *tenue*) propose an origin in Occ. *teun(e)* \*\*\*\* {‘thin, slim’}, by L\*\* {9}. [FHV 372] [BUT CONSIDER: MIGHT BE SAME WORD AS **lau(n)** ‘flat’]

**léinthü** (Z) *vt.* ‘polish’. \*\*\*\* + **-tu** VFS. [other forms?]

{|} **leze** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* [Az.] {} Duplicates **leize**. }

**libera** (\*\*) *n.* ‘pound’ (£), ‘French franc’. \*\*\*\*

**libersio** (\*\*) *n.* ‘diversion’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 534]

**libertitu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*v.* ‘enjoy oneself’} [FHV 534]

**liborna** (R) *n.* ‘alms’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *limosna* id., with alteration of the awkward /sn/ cluster and nasal dissimilation (M. 1961a: 339). {*Cf.* **erremusiña**.}

**liburu** (c. exc. Z R), **lübú(r)ü** (Z), **librü** (Z), **libru** (R) *n.* ‘book’. 14th cent.

From Lat. *librum* id., or from some Rom. descendant of this, by L8.2.

**lilluratu** (\*\*), **llilluratu** (\*\*), **luluratu** (old LN) \*\*\*\* {*v.* ‘dazzle, fascinate’} [FHV 80]

**limur** (\*\*), **linbur** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*a.* ‘slippery’} [FHV 358]

**liho** (\*\*), **lū** (R), **lī** (Z) *n.* ‘flax’ \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *linum* id., by P1 (M. 1961a: 51). M. (1961a: 123) suggests that the Z form may be taken directly from Bearn.

**lipizta** (LN) *n.* ‘dispute’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *disputa* id., by L\*\*{9} and metathesis (M. 1961a: 297).

**lixu** (HN S) *n.* ‘lye, bleach’. \*\*\*\*

**lixuede** (HN) *n.* ‘lye, bleach’. \*\*\*\* + **ede** \*\*\*\* (see **hede** {[2?]}).

**lizifrina** (\*\*) *n.* ‘discipline’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 534]

**lizifru** (G?), *n.* ‘~~enclosure, stable, pen~~ {manger, feeding trough}’, **trisipu** (G) \*\*\*\* {‘manger’ from Lat. *praesepem* id.} [FHV 258, 534]

**lizun** (B G HN) *n.* ‘mould, mildew’, *a.* ‘filthy’, TS ‘lewd, lascivious, depraved, obscene’. 17th cent.

OUO.

**lizunarazi** (L) *vt.* ‘corrupt’, ‘prostitute’ (a person). 19th cent. + **-erazi** causative.

**lizundu** (\*\*), **luzindu** (HN) *vi.* ‘become mouldy’, ‘mildew’, TS ‘go to the bad’, ‘become lascivious’, ‘become immoral’, *vt.* ‘make mouldy’. 1617. + **-tu** VFS. Second form by metathesis.

**lizunkeria** (B G HN L LN) *n.* ‘filth’, ‘lewdness, lasciviousness, depravity, obscenity, pornography’. *Ca.* 1640. + **-keria** NFS of vices.

**lizunki** (G HN L LN) *adv.* ‘dishonestly’. 1664. + **-ki** {[1]} AdvFS.

**lizunkhoi** (L) *a.* ‘shameless, lewd’. 1749. + **-koi** AFS ‘fond of’ {(see **ohi**)}. The aspiration is anomalous, if real, but may be purely orthographic.

**lizunsunda** (B) *n.* ‘musty odour of a house long closed up’. 1905. + **sunda** ‘stench’.

**lizuntasun** (B G HN L LN) *n.* ‘filth, depravity’. 1617. + **-tasun** abstract NFS (see **-tar**).

**lizuntsu** *a.* ‘mouldy’. 1958. + **-tsu** AFS ‘full of’.

**lizun-usai** (HN), **lizun-uxain** (G) *n.* ‘mouldy smell’. + **usain** ‘odour’.

**lizunzale** (H.) *a.* ‘shameless’. + **-zale** AFS ‘fond of’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**lláp{h}ar** (Z) *n.* ‘rheum’. \*\*\*\* {Az. has **llapar**, M. (1961a: 195) has **lláphar**.}

**llollu** (R S) *n.* ‘darnel’ (*bot.*) (*Lolium*).

From some Rom. reflex of Lat. *lolium* id.

**lo** (*c.*) *n.* ‘sleep’. TS *adv.* ‘asleep’. 1545.

OUO.

**loak hartu** (L) (1635), **lohakartu** (L) (1643), **loakhartu** (L) (*ca.* 1660), **lokartu** (B G HN LN S), **lokhartu** (LN Z) *vi.* ‘fall asleep’, ‘become sleepy’. + **-a** article (see **\*har**) + **-k** {[2]} ergative + **hartu** ‘take’: lit., ‘be taken by sleep’.

**loaldi** (*c.*) *n.* ‘sleep’, ‘nap’. 1802. + **aldi** ‘time’.

**loarazi** (L), **loerazi** (Z B?) *vtd.* ‘put to sleep’. 1696. + **-erazi** causative. An unusual formation, with **-erazi** suffixed to a noun.

**lo-belar** (G L LN R), **lo-bedar** (B) *n.* ‘opium poppy’. 1745, 1852. + **belar** ‘grass’.

**lo egin** (*c.*) *vitm.* ‘sleep’. + **egin** ‘do’.

**lo eragin** *vtd.* ‘put to sleep’. + **eragin** causative of **egin**.

**lo egon** (B G) *vi.* ‘be asleep’. + **egon** ‘be (in a state)’.

**loerdi** (LN) *a.* ‘half asleep’, ‘sleepy’. + **erdi** ‘half’.

**logale** (B G HN L LN Z R) *n.* ‘sleepiness’, *a.* ‘sleepy’. 1571. + **-gale** ‘desirous’. {Not in *The Dictionary*, but *cf.* **galdu**.}

**logela** (*c.*) *n.* ‘bedroom’. 1902. + **gela** ‘room’.

**logose** (HN L Z) *a.* ‘wanting to sleep’. + **gose** ‘hungry’.

**logura** (B G HN L) *n.* ‘sleepiness’, *a.* ‘sleepy’. 1745, *ca.* 1760. + **gura** ‘desire’.

**loill** (\*\*), also L def. form **llolla** *n.* ‘January’. \*\*\*\* + **-il** ‘month’ (see **\*iLe**).

**lo kuluxka** (L LN) *n.* ‘nap’. + **kuluxka** ‘nap’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.} \*\*\*\*

**lolo** (B G L R) *n.* ‘sleep’ (nursery word), **lolo** (LN) (usually *n. pl.* **loloak**), **olo** (HN L) (usually *n. pl.* **oloak**) ‘temple’ (of the head) (*anat.*). By reduplication; last form by dissimilation (M. 1961a: 323 fn. 21); *cf.* German *Schläfe* ‘temple’, from *Schlaf* ‘sleep’.

**lotan** (*c.*) *adv.* ‘asleep’. + **-ta-** {not in *The Dictionary*} + **-n** {[1]} locative {CS.}

**loti** (*c.*) *a.* ‘sleepy, drowsy’, TS *n.* ‘sleepyhead’. 1636. + **-ti** [\*\*{1}] AFS.

**loben** (old B, R&S 429) \*\*\*\* {‘cornado’ (old Spanish coin)} [FHV 551]

From Cast. (*cornado*) *novén* \*\*\*\* {lit. ‘horned ninth’} (M. 1977a: 551).

**lodi** (*c.*), **lori** (G) *a.* ‘thick’, ‘fat (of a person)’, TS ‘low, deep (of a voice)’, TS *adv.* ‘abundantly’. 1562.

OUO. Unlikely to contain **-i** [\*\*{1}] AFS, because the stem would be implausible.

**loditu** (\*\*), **lodittu** (G) \*\*\*\* {*vti.* ‘thicken’, ‘fatten’ Aul.}

**lohi** (\*\*), **loi** (\*\*), **logi** (HN) *n.* ‘mud’. \*\*\*\* formerly ‘body’. \*\*\*\* CF **lot-**. [FHV 206, 323] {[FHV 108 fn.]}

\*\*\*\* Possibly present in Aq. *LOHITTON*. See **-di**.

**lokorotz** (\*\*) *n.* ‘filth’. \*\*\*\* + **gorotz** ‘dung’ (M. 1961a: 346). [FHV 346]

**lotin** (B) \*\*\*\* \*\* {*n.* ‘damp earth’. + **-din** AFS (see \***edin**).} [FHV 475]

**lotu** (\*\*), **lothu** (\*\*), **lóthü** (Z) *vt.* ‘tie (up), bind’. \*\*\*\* Stem **lot-**. + **-tu** VFS (M. 1961a: 423). {Here and 1961a: 128 fn 26, M. explicitly connects this verb with *lohi* ‘body’, ‘mud’, but the sense connection is not evident.}

**lokarri** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘cord, lace, tie’ Aul.}

**loka** (B G L Z R), **koloka** (HN L), **kolka** (G HN), **kloka** (HN) *n.* ‘broody hen’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *clueca* id. {or Occ. *cloca*}, by \*\*\*\* {L8.1, L8.2}. [FHV 347]

**lor** (\*\*) *n.* ‘log which is dragged’. \*\*\*\*

**lorratz** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘track, trace, footprint’ Aul. + **hatz**} [MT entry]

**loragiño** (B) *n.* ‘oregano’ (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*) \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *orégano* id. M. (1961a: 324) suggests contamination from **lore** ‘flower’.

**lore** (G HN L LN Z R), **lora** (B Sout), **flore** (Sout old LN) *n.* ‘flower’. CF **lora-**. 1562.

From Lat. *flōrem* id., by L8.1 (M. 1961a: 51). B form by M5. Last form by re-borrowing or by contamination from Rom. CF by W2.2. [FHV 347 fn]

**lorail** (B?) *n.* ‘May’. \*\*\*\* + **-il** ‘month’ (see \***iLe**). The motivation is perhaps the Roman festival of *Floralia*, which began on 27 April (Caro Baroja 1973: 77; attributed to Meyer-Lübke). Cf. Romanian *florai* {*florar*} ‘May’.

**loria** (\*\*) *n.* ‘glory’. \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *glōriam* or Rom. *gloria* id., by L\*\*{8.1}.

**lortu** (B) *vt.* ‘achieve, accomplish’, ‘get, obtain, acquire’. Stem **lor-**. Ca. 1800.

OUO, though the stem is presumably non-verbal.

**lotsa** *n.* (B G Sout) ‘shame’, ‘disgrace, dishonour’, ‘modesty’ (1562), (L LN Z R) ‘nervousness, apprehension, fear’ (1657), (B) ‘respect, deference’.

OUO. \*\*\*\*.

**lotsari** (B), **lotsaariak** (\*\*) *n. pl.* ‘genitals, pudenda’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 113]

**lotsaritu** (B) *vi.* ‘strip oneself naked’. + **-tu** VFS.

**lotsati** (\*\*) *a.* ‘ashamed’, ‘timid’. \*\*\*\* + **-ti** [1] AFS.

**lotsatu** (\*\* old LN), \*\*\*\* {*vti.* ‘embarrass’, ‘be embarrassed’}

**lotsor** (\*\* Z) ‘timid’. \*\*\*\* + **-kor** AFS. [FHV 118, 245]

{[] **lotu** (\*\*), **lothu** (\*\*), **lóthü** (Z) \*\*\*\* Stem **lot-**. \*\*\*\* {} Duplicates **lotu** (see **lohi**). Combined there.}

{[] **lohi** \*\*\*\* [FHV 108 fn] [eh?] {} Duplicates **lohi**.}

**loxindau** (\*\*), **loxentxatu** (\*\*), **lorinjau** (B) \*\*\*\* {v. ‘flatter’} [FHV 293] {Cf. **lausengu**. Probably belong together.}

**lukainka** (B G HN L R) (1653), **lūkháinka** (Z), **lūkhañka** (Z), **lukaika** (L LN) (1804), **lukarika** (Sout LN) (1562) ‘a certain type of long pork sausage’ (= Cast. *longaniza*).

From Lat. *lucānicam* id. (M. 1961a: 82 fn. 21). The development is \**lukanika* > \**lukāika* > *lukainka*, *lukaika*, last three forms by P1. The usual plosive voicing of P6 is not induced by the secondary /n/.

**luki** (B) *n.* ‘fox’ (*zool.*) (*Vulpes vulpes*), TS *a.* ‘cunning, astute’. 1596.

From the Lat. personal name *Lūcius* (M. \*\*\*\* {1956a: 314f.}). Words for ‘fox’ are commonly taken from personal names in this part of the world. See **azeri**.

**lukuru** (HN L LN) \*\*\*\*\* ‘interest’ \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *lucrum* ‘profit’, by L\*\* {8.2} (M. 1961a: 51), by L8.2.

**luma** (*c. exc.* Z), **lūma** (Z) *n.* ‘feather’, ‘pen’ \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *plūmam* id. (M. 1961a: 51), by L8.1.

**lumero** (G HN) *n.* ‘number’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *número* id, with nasal dissimilation.

**lunbratu** (old G) *vt.* \*\*\*\* {‘name’} [FHV 340 fn]

**lupia** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘sea bass’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*)

From the same Rom. source as Cast. *lubina* id., probably \**lupina* by P1 (see CP s.vv. *lobo*, *róballo*).

**lupu** (Sout) [hapax] *n.* ‘wolf’ (*zool.*) (*Canis lupus*). 1562.

From Lat. *lupum* id. All other varieties have only native **otso**, and the presence of this word in Sout, in a form pointing to a direct borrowing from Lat., is curious.

**lur** (*c.*) *n.* ‘earth’. TS \*\*\*\*. CF **lu-**. 14th cent.

OUO. CF by W11.

**luharbil** (S.P.) *n.* ‘clod’. \*\*\*\*

**luhartz** (L) (17th cent.), **luartz** (G L), **lugartz** (B G HN), **luhertz** (L) (1886) *n.* ‘mole cricket’ (*zool.*) (*Gryllotalpa gryllotalpa*). + **hartz** ‘bear’. Third form by P35.1. A. (1905) gives the sense of ‘scorpion’, but this is not supported by other sources.

**lubizi** (G) *n.* ‘landslide’. \*\*\*\* + **bizi** ‘living’.

**ludi** *n.* ‘world’. 1896. Aranist neologism, now little used. + **-di** NFS.

**luebaki** (G HN) \*\*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘trench’} [FHV 122]

**lühidorrez** (Z) *adv.* ‘by land’. \*\*\*\* + **idor** ‘dry’ {not in *The Dictionary*} + **-z** instrl./advbl. (M. 1961a: 338).

**lupe** (\*\*), **luphe** (\*\* old LN) {*n.* ??} ‘lowland’ {?? glosses in M., Az., Aul. are rather ‘cellar, tunnel, cavern’} \*\*\*\* { [FHV 262, 337]

**lupil** (L) *n.* ‘heap of earth’. + **\*bil** ‘round’.

**lurbel** (R), **norbel** (HN), **lurmen** (B G), **lurbeltz** (S) *n.* ‘place free of snow’. \*\*\*\* + **\*bel** ‘dark’ or its derivative *beltz* ‘black’. The B G form by P\*\* {7} from a dissimilated form *\*lurben* (M. 1961a: 339).

**lur jo** *vitm.* ‘collapse’, ‘fail’. + **jo** ‘hit’.

**lurralde** *n.* ‘region, area, territory’. 1901. + **alde** ‘side’ {(see **\*al-**)}.

**lurrikara**, **lurrikhara** (L LN Z), **luikhara** (L LN Z) *n.* ‘earthquake’. 1745, 1761 (but a verbal noun *lur ikharatze* in 1571). + **ikara** ‘trembling’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**lursagar**, **lutsagar**, **lusagar** (L LN) *n.* ‘potato’. + **sagar** ‘apple’. Calque on Fr. *pomme de terre*.

**lurta** (Z R S), **lirta** (R) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘landslide’} [FHV 81]

**lurtar** (\*\*) (1745, 1821), **lurtiar** (\*\*) (1858), **lutar** (LN) *a.* ‘earthly’, ‘land-dwelling’, ‘terrestrial’. + **-tar** AFS.

**lütho** (Z) \*\*\*\* {*a.* ‘deep’}, **lito** (R) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘deep place’} {+ **ito** ‘suffocate’} [FHV 81, 81 fn]

**lurrin** (G), **lurrin** (B), **lurruñ** (Sout), **urrin** (G HN L LN) *n.* {‘odour’,} ‘steam, vapour’, **úrriñ** (Z) ‘odour’ \*\*\*\* [SEE AZKUE]

\*\*\*\* M. (1961a: 142 fn. 6) rejects a link between this word and **usain** ‘odour’, favoured by Lafon{, and suggests a proto-form *\*lurruin*..}

**luze** (*c. exc.* Z), **lúze** (Z), **lúze** (R) *a.* ‘long’. CF **luza-**. 1571.

OUO. CF by W2.2. As a final element, often reduced to *-luz* by W\*\* {19}; see examples under **mihi**, **hegi** and **begi**.

**luzabide** (B G LN R) *n.* ‘postponement, delay, prolongation’. *Ca.* 1760. + **bide** ‘way’.

**luzagarri** (B G) *n.* ‘delay’, ‘extension’, *a.* ‘dilatatory, causing delay’. 1627. + **-garri** AFS, NFS. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**luzakeria** (R Z) *n.* ‘delay’, ‘tardiness’, ‘delinquency’ (of a person’s behaviour). 1757. + **-keria** NFS of vices.



**m-** A cover entry for a class of expressive formations. Among the numerous expressive formations in Bq., there exists a rather distinctive subset, with conspicuous phonological and semantic characteristics. Phonologically, the canonical form is two syllables, beginning with /m/, followed by one of /a o u/, followed by a velar or coronal plosive, followed by any vowel (though /i/ is rare), followed by a liquid. Semantically, the word is usually an adjective denoting a moral or physical defect, or sometimes a noun, often denoting some kind of hump, bump or projection. Canonical examples include **makur** ‘twisted’, **motel** ‘insipid’, **makar** ‘scrawny’, **moker** ‘hard’, and **mukur** ‘clumsy’. Often another consonant precedes the medial plosive, as in **mozkor** ‘drunk’, **malgor** ‘numb’, **margul** ‘faded’, and **mazkor** ‘empty’. Some words exhibit variation in form, like **mutur** ~ **mustur** ‘extremity, snout’. Quite a few words depart from this canonical pattern in one respect or another, and it is not always clear whether a given word should be included in this group or merely regarded as an expressive formation adhering to no particular pattern.

It is quite possible that some of the words in *ma-* may represent originally expressive variants of ordinary lexical items in which the expressive syllable **ma-** has replaced the original first syllable, but, when the original word is not recorded, we cannot tell this.

With only a handful of exceptions, each of these words is confined to a small area, and few are recorded before the 20th century. A list of these formations is gathered here for convenience; in all likelihood, there exist many others which have not so far been recorded. [SEE FHV 275-276]

**magalo** (LN) *a.* ‘weak’.

**maiskar** (G) *a.* ‘vile, despicable’.

**makal** (B G HN), *a.* ‘weak’, ‘ill’, **mekel** (B) ‘weak’.

**makar** (B) *a.* ‘skinny’, ‘scrawny’.

**maker** (old B) *a.* ‘counterfeit’, ‘fake’, (HN?) *a.* ‘surly, disagreeable, rude’.

**maket** (B) *n.* ‘heavy club’.

**makets** (G) *n.* ‘deformed or defective thing’. M. (1961a: 272) suggests that this may be a **ma-** derivative of **akats** ‘nick, scratch’. {Cf. **markets** below.}

**maketx** (L G) *a.* ‘vile, despicable’.

**makur** (B G HN), **makhur** (L LN) *a.* ‘crooked, twisted, bent, curved’, TS ‘false’ (often esp. of a of a voice or manner), ‘mistaken, erroneous, wrong’, TS (old LN) ‘knock-kneed’, TS (G HN) ‘mischievous’, ‘villainous’, TS (L HN B) ‘perverse’, TS (L LN HN) *n.* ‘adversity, obstacle’, TS (L HN) *n.* ‘disagreement’, ‘discord’. 1571. One of the most widespread of these words, and the earliest one attested. M. (1961a: 271–272) suggests that this is a **ma-** derivative of the stem represented by the verb **gurtu** ‘kneel, bow, revere’.

**makurtu** (\*\*), **makhurtu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*vti.* ‘bend, incline’} [FHV 272]

**malato** (B) *a.* ‘sickly, ailing’.

**malats** (B) *a.* ‘robust’, ‘fertile’ (of land), TS *n.* ‘charming person’.

**malder** (HN) *a.* ‘impoverished, destitute’.

**males** (LN) *a.* ‘treacherous’.

- malet** (L HN) *a.* ‘loose, limp, slack’.
- malgor** (LN Z) *a.* ‘numb’, ‘stiff’, TS (LN) *n.* ‘hollow tree’.
- malgu** (L) *a.* ‘soft, spongy, flabby’, ‘effeminate’, (G) ‘smooth’.
- malino, mali** (LN S) *a.* ‘weak, feeble’.
- malkar** (G HN), **malkhar** (L), **maldar** (H.) *n.* ‘steep, rugged, barren terrain’. Last variant possibly contaminated by **malda** ‘slope’.
- malkatx** (G) *a.* ‘rugged, rough’.
- malkor** (HN G L) *a.* ‘sterile, barren’, (G HN) *n.* ‘precipice, cliff’, (HN) *n.* ‘boulder’, (HN) *n.* ‘hump, bump’. {See **malkor** ‘barren’ under **elkor**.}
- malmutz** (B HN), **marmotz** (G) *a.* ‘pudgy, spongy, flabby’, (B) (also **malmoz**) ‘sly, shifty, deceitful’.
- maloka** (B HN L) *a.* ‘dried out and powdery inside’ (of a tree), TS (B) *n.* ‘illness, indisposition’.
- malputz** (Z) *a.* ‘pudgy, spongy, flabby’.
- malso** (G LN) *a.* ‘mild, meek’.
- maltxor** (G) *a.* ‘sterile, barren’.
- maltzur** (B G HN L) *a.* ‘sly, shifty, deceitful’.
- malutz** (B) *a.* ‘chubby, plump’, ‘fertile’ (of land).
- mandil** (HN) *a.* ‘lazy, good-for-nothing and spendthrift’. Possibly doesn’t belong here, since it departs from the usual pattern in form.
- mangel** (L?) *a.* ‘crippled, maimed’. Hapax. Bears a striking resemblance to **maingu** ‘crippled’, but cannot be derived from this in any known way. Perhaps an assimilation of the last word to the usual expressive pattern.
- mangelo** (G) *a.* ‘clumsy’.
- mankarro** (L) *n.* ‘very steep terrain’.
- mantxar** (G) *n.* ‘slowpoke, straggler’.
- mantzar** (G) *n.* ‘lazy and slatternly woman’.
- mantzarda** (B) *n.* ‘lazy and slatternly woman’. Possibly plus an otherwise unknown female suffix (A. 1905), or perhaps a Romance-style female form of the following item.
- mantzardo** (B) *n.* ‘insignificant man, milktoast’. + **-do** {NFS}?
- mantzur** (HN G) *a.* ‘greedy, avaricious, miserly’, (G) ‘unsociable’.
- manzin** (B) *n.* ‘nonentity, inconsequential person’.
- maratz** (B) *a.* ‘hard-working, diligent’.
- maraz** (B) *a.* ‘crumpled’, ‘spoiled’.
- mardo** (LN Z R) *a.* ‘soft, smooth’, (B LN Z R) ‘robust, sturdy’.
- mardul** (G B) *a.* ‘substantial, robust, sturdy’.

- margul** (B) *a.* ‘faded, washed out, colourless’. 1905. The attempt of A. (1905) to derive this from the dubious **margo** cannot be sustained: there is no evidence for any such suffix as the required *\*-ul*, and the word has an ordinary form and sense for an expressive.
- markets** (L), **makets** (L LN HN), **markits** (LN), **markhitx** (LN S) *a.* ‘defective, deformed, imperfect’; ‘dull (in sound)’, ‘clonking’ (as of a counterfeit coin).
- markol** (G) *n.* ‘type of large chestnut with a very hard shell’.
- maskal** (B G) *a.* ‘spoiled, ruined’, ‘weak, feeble’, *n.* ‘mud collected on the bottom edges of clothes’. {*Cf.* **mazkal**.}
- maskar** (B G HN) *a.* ‘drooping, weak, impaired, in decline, deteriorating’.
- maskelu** (B) *a.* ‘clumsy’. {*Cf.* **mazkelo**.}
- maskin** (HN) *a.* ‘tearful, snivelling’, *n.* ‘crybaby’.
- maskor** (L G?), **maxkor**, **maxkur** (L) *n.* ‘shell’ (of a shellfish).
- maskulo** *n.* (G) *n.* ‘heat blisters’, ‘bubbles’ (of water or soap), **maskullu**, **maspulo** (G) ‘blisters’, (G HN) *n.* ‘bubbles’ (of water or soap), **maskur** (L? LN?) ‘callus’, **maskuri** (L LN) ‘swelling’ (on the skin, produced by a prick or a bee-sting), **maskurio** (L) ‘pimple’. {*Cf.* **mazkulu**.}
- matxar** *a.* (B) ‘vile, despicable’, (B) ‘shrunken, shrivelled’, (L) ‘thick-lipped’, ‘scowling, grumpy’, (L) ‘deformed, defective’, *n.* (B) ‘corncob’, (B) ‘chestnut containing no meat’.
- matzer** (L) *a.* ‘deformed, defective’.
- maxkur** (R) *n.* ‘badly made bread’.
- mazal** (B), **martzal** (B), **masal** (B), **marzal** (LN) *a.* ‘honest, of good character, noble’.
- mazkal**, **maskal** (G HN) *a.* ‘enfeebled’, ‘deformed’, ‘downcast’. {*Cf.* **maskal**.}
- mazkar** (G) *n.* ‘gnarled tree’, *a.* ‘pock-marked’.
- mazkara** (B) *a.* ‘insolent, brazen, shameless’.
- mazkaro** (Z) *a.* ‘piebald, brindled’, (R) ‘blackened, stained’, (Z?) ‘dirty’.
- mazkelo** (B) *a.* ‘clumsy, ungainly’. {*Cf.* **maskelu**.}
- mazkor** (L) *a.* ‘empty’ (of a nut).
- mazkulu** (G), **mazkuri** (L LN HN), **mazkurio** (L) *n.* ‘swelling on the skin produced by an insect bite’. {*Cf.* **maskulo**.}
- mazo** (B) *a.* ‘clumsy’, ‘chubby, plump’, *n.* ‘club for breaking up sod’.
- memel** (B) *a.* ‘insignificant’.
- mirrin** (B G) *a.* ‘feeble, stunted’.
- mogarra** (G) *n.* ‘upper (branching) part of a tree trunk’.
- moker** (HN) *a.* ‘hard’ (of earth, bread or people).
- mokil** (B), **sokil** (B G), **soki** (B G) *n.* ‘clod’. \*\*\*\*
- moko** (HN G), **mokho** (L LN Z), **mosko** (LN Z) *n.* ‘beak, bill’ (of a bird), (G HN L LN) *n.* ‘point, extremity’, (L) *n.* ‘tiny amount’. 1571. CP consider that this item might be

related to a messy complex of somewhat similar Rom. words; this is possible, but it cannot be demonstrated. M. (\*\*\*\* {1961a: 82}) suggests that it is an expressive form of **beko** ‘forehead’.

**moko-belar** *n.* ‘geranium’ (*bot.*)

**mokodun** (*c.*) *a.* ‘pointed, pointy’. + **-dun** ‘having’ (see **\*edun**).

**mokoka** (*c.*) *adv.* ‘pecking each other’ (of birds), TS (HN G L) ‘quarrelling, scrapping’, ‘scolding’, TS (G HN L LN Z) *n.* ‘reprimand, reproach, scolding’. {+ **-ka** AdvFS.}

**mokokaldi** (HN G L LN Z) *n.* ‘dispute’. + **aldi** ‘time’; /k/ by P\*\*\*\* {W18}.

**mokokari** (*c.*) *n.* ‘squabbling bird’, TS (L LN HN) *n.* ‘one who reprimands’, TS (HN G L) *n., a.* ‘quarrelsome (person)’, ‘rowdy’. {+ **ari** [1] NFS.}

**mokhoz mokho** (L LN) *adv.* ‘face to face’. + **-z** instr./advbl.

**moko-zorrotz** (LN HN) *a.* ‘irascible, of bad character’. + **zorrotz** ‘sharp’.

**moko-zuri** (L LN) *n.* ‘person who refuses to eat any but the finest food’. + **zuri** ‘white’.

**mokol** (B) *n.* ‘shell’ (of a nut or an egg), ‘thing which is spongy, flabby or rotten’. M. (1961a: 272) suggests that this might be an expressive variant of **akal** ‘empty’ (of a nut).

**mokor** *n.* (B) ‘tree trunk’, ‘main branches of a tree’, (B G) ‘buttock’, **mokhor** (L LN Z) ‘clod, lump of earth’ (1745, 1853), ‘breadcrust’, *a.* (L LN) ‘sullen, grim, belligerent’ (1853), (L) ‘perverse’. \*\*\*\* One of the most widespread and earliest attested of these words, and one of the few with numerous derivatives, though we may be looking at more than one formation. Possibly related to **okor** ‘slice’ (M. 1961a: 273). See **moskor** below, and see **hordi**.

**mokordo, mokhordo** (*c.*) *n.* ‘turd’. 1745, *ca.* 1880. + **-do** NFS (?)

**mokorka** (B) *adv.* ‘smacking on the arse’. + **-ka** AdvFS.

**mokorkada** (B) *n.* ‘smack on the arse’. + **-kada** NFS. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**mokhorkeria** (L?) *n.* ‘brutality’. + **-keria** NFS of vices.

**mokhorki** (L?) *adv.* ‘brutally’. + **-ki** {[1]} AdvFS.

**mokhorraldi** (L LN) *n.* ‘flash of ill humour’. + **aldi** ‘time’.

**mokhortasun** (L?) *n.* ‘coarseness of character’. + **-tasun** abstract NFS (see **-tar**).

**mokhortsu** (L?) *a.* ‘full of clods’. + **-tsu** AFS ‘full of’.

**mokortu, mokhortu** (LN) *vt.* ‘intimidate, cow’, *vi.* ‘go numb’, ‘clump together’ (of earth), (LN) *a.* ‘antisocial, wild’, (R Z) *a.* ‘pudgy, chubby’. + **-tu** VFS.

**sokor** (B G) *n.* ‘clod’. App. an unusual expressive variant (M. 1961a: 273).

**mokoru** (G) *n.* ‘height, summit’.

**mokote** (HN) *a.* ‘antisocial, wild’.

**mollko** (R) *n.* ‘crest’ (of a bird).

**morgil** (B) *n.* ‘growth on the skin’, ‘jumble, tangle’.

**morkil** (B) *n.* ‘tangle of thread’, ‘broken vessel’, *a.* ‘clumsy’.

**morko** .....

.....

**moskor** (\*\* {B G HN}) \*\*\*\* {‘tree trunk’} [FHV 272] Possibly a variant of **mokor** (above).

**motel** (\*\*), **mothel** (\*\*) *a.* ‘insipid, lifeless’ \*\*\*\* See **total** (under **t/k reduplications**).

**mukul** (B) *a.* ‘timid, shy’.

**musker** (\*\*), **süsker** (Z) *n.* ‘lizard’, TS *a.* ‘green’. \*\*\*\*

**muker** (B G HN) *a.* \*\*\*\* {‘hard’, ‘aloof’} [FHV 275]

**murritz** (HN L LN S) *a.* \*\*\*\* M. (1961a: 276) suggests a connection with **urri** [1] ‘rare’.

**mutur** (\*\*), **muthur** (\*\*), **mustur** (B) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘snout, tip’}

**m-reduplication** Bq. makes frequent use of a process called here *m-reduplication*. In this, an item is reduplicated, with /m/ replacing its initial consonant (if any) in the second occurrence. The reduplicated item may be either an ordinary lexical item of the language, or an expressive formation having no existence outside the reduplication. Those of the first type are listed in the dictionary under their source words: see, for example, **handi-mandi** (under **handi**), **hizka-mizka** (under **hitz**), **zokhota-mokhota** (under **zoko**), **zomorro-mamorro** (under **zomorro**), and **ikusi-mikusi** (under **ikusi**). The others are gathered here for convenience. Note that, instead of /m/, we occasionally find /b/ or /p/ instead. We include a few words which depart slightly from the canonical pattern. Few of these words are recorded before the 20th century.

**aiko-maiko** (B) *n.* ‘pretext, excuse’, ‘indecision’, *a.* ‘indecisive, irresolute’.

**karramarro** (B HN) *n.* ‘crab’ (*zool.*)

**mara-mara** (\*\*) *adv.* ‘gently, smoothly’ (as of snowfall). \*\*\*\*

**marmario** (\*\*), **marmar** (\*\*), **murmuria** (\*\*), **murmur** *n.* ‘murmur, rustle’. \*\*\*\*

**txintaminta** (Z) *adv.* ‘whispering’.

**txirimiri** (LN) *n.* ‘large number of children’ (in a family), (G) *n.* ‘trifles, trivia’.

**tximist** (\*\*), **txist-mist** (\*\*), **txismista** (LN), **tximista** (B G), **xixmixta** (L), **ximixt(a)** (L LN HN), **zimizta** (L LN Z), **xistmist** (old LN) *n.* ‘lightning’, ‘lightning flash’, (G?) ‘hail’. 1745, 1785.

\***txoromoro** (B) *a.* ‘cheerful with drink’. Only recorded in its verbal derivative **txoromorotu** ‘become cheerful with drink’, + **-tu** VFS.

**txorroporro** (B) *n.* ‘informality’.

**tzitzi-pitzi** (L) *adv.* ‘looking for news’.

**tzutzu-putzu** (LN) *n.* ‘gossip, tittle-tattle’.

**zarramarra** (B) *n.* ‘residue, remains’.

**zarraparra**, **zarramar** (B G) *n.* ‘tumult’.

**zirimiri** *n.* (B LN) ‘drizzle’, (B) ‘trifle’.

**zurruburru** (L LN) *n.* ‘confusion’, ‘disagreement’.

**zurrumurru** (B G) *n.* ‘rumour’.

**zurrupurru** (B) *n.* ‘snore’. [move to **zurru** {‘snore’, not in *The Dictionary*}]

**ma-** (c.) Expressive syllable?

Bq. has a number of words with two variant forms, of which the second shows a syllable *ma-* in place of the other first syllable, whatever that may be: **hegal** ‘wing’, **magal**; **gako** ‘hook’, **mako**; **udare** ~ **udari** ‘pear’, **madari**. There is usually no semantic difference between the two forms. We may surmise that this *ma-* was once used to construct expressive variants of words, but that this process died out, and that the surviving instances of it lost their expressive force. It seems likely that some of the numerous words in *ma-* which have no etymologies represent fossilized instances of this process in which the original form has been lost. [SEE FHV 271-272]

**mahain** (L LN Z) (1571), **mahai** (LN) (1617), **mahi** (LN), **mai** (B Sout G HN S R) (1562) *n.* ‘table’.

From something like *\*manai*, by P1, from *\*banai*, OUO, by P7, though the precise form is uncertain, and something like *\*banane* would also be possible.

**mahanga** (L LN), **mahanka** (Z), **mauka** (c.), **mahuka** (Z), **mahunga** (L LN), **mainka** (L R) *n.* ‘sleeve’. 1562.

From Lat. *manicam* id., by P1 (M. \*\*\*\* {1950b: 447, 454; 1974b: 189}).

**mahats** (L LN), **máhats** (Z), **maats** (B S), **mats** (B G HN R LN) *n.* ‘grapes’. 1562.

From *\*manats*, by P\*\* {7}, from *\*banats*, OUO, by P\*\* {1.1} (M. \*\*\*\* {1950a:}).

**mahasti** (L LN Z), **maasti** (B HN), **masti** (B G HN) *n.* ‘vineyard’. + **-di** NFS of place.

**maatsadar** (HN L), **mahatsaien** (L) *n.* ‘vine shoot’. + **adar** ‘horn’, + **aihen** ‘shoot’.

**mahatsardo**, **matsardo**, **matsardau**, **mahatsarno**, **mahatsano** (old LN) *n.* ‘wine’.

1800. + **ardo** ‘wine’. [SORT PROVENANCE] [FHV 367]

**ma(h)ats-lapa** (HN L) *n.* ‘residue of grapes after pressing’. + **lapa** ‘residue’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**ma(h)atsondo** (HN L LN) *n.* ‘grapevine’. 17th cent. + **-ondo** {[2]} ‘tree’.

{[]} **madarikatu** (\*\*), **maradikatu** (\*\*) *vt.* ‘damn, condemn’. \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *maledicere* ‘speak ill of’ (M. 1961a: 312). Common form by metathesis. {}  
Duplicates **maradikatu**.}

**\*madina** *n.* ?

Unrecorded as a free form, and present only in a handful of surnames, like *Madinabeitia* (apparently ‘from the low part of the *madina*’) and *Madinagoitia* (‘from the high part of the *madina*’). Arabic *madina* ‘city’ is tempting, and has been proposed, but there is no

parallel for the presence of an Arabic word in surnames, and there is no confirming evidence (M. \*\*\*\* {1973a: 124}).

**maestru** (\*\*), **maistru** (\*\*) *n.* ‘teacher’. [FHV 390]

From Cast. *maestro* id.

**magina** (L) (1571), **magiña** (Z), **magi(a)** (G?) (1745, 1761), **bagiña** (old B) *n.* ‘sheath’, ‘pod’, **magina** (LN) ‘vagina’, TS (Z) ‘virago’. CF **magin-**.

From Lat. *vāgīnam* ‘sheath’, by L3, P1, M4 (M. 1961a: 268). CF by W1.

**magintxa** (LN), **maginx**a (LN Z), **magitxa** (LN Z), **magutxa** (LN Z R) *n.* ‘pod’, TS (Z) ‘brazen woman’. 1571. + **-txa** dimin. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**maiastru** (LN), **maiesturu** (\*\*), **maiaštü(r)ü** (Z), **maiastru** (L LN), **maisturu** (L), **maistü(r)ü** (Z) *n.* ‘carpenter’.

From Lat. *magistrum* ‘master’ (Lh.; M. \*\*\*\* {1973a: 125}). Cf. old Logudorese *maistru de aschia* ‘carpenter’ (M. \*\*\*\* {1961a: 211, 368}). See **maizter**.

**maiatz** (*c.*), **maihat** (old L), **maetz** (S) *n.* ‘May’, TS (Z) ‘may tree’ (hawthorn) (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*). 1501, 1571. See **lor{a}il** {‘May’ under **lora**.}

\*\*\*\*.

**arramaiatz** (Z) *n.* ‘June’. \*\*\*\*

**maiatz-andere** (L) *n.* ‘May Queen’. + **andere** ‘lady’.

**maiatz-bazko** (L), **maiatz-pazko** (B HN), **maiatzeko-bazko** (R) *n.* ‘Pentecost, Whitsun’. (+ **-ko**) + **bazko** ‘Easter’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**maiatz-belar** (HN L) *n.* ‘first grass cutting of the season’. + **belar** ‘grass’.

**maiatz-berri** (L) *n.* ‘June’. + **berri** ‘new’ {(see **\*berr**)}.

**maiatz-haritz** (Hb.) *n.* ‘may tree’ (hawthorn) (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*) \*\*\*\*

**maiatz-len** (G R), **maialen** (B) *n.* ‘first of May’, ‘May Day’. + **lehen** ‘first’.

**ma(i)llebatu** (LN) (1571), **mailegatu** (L LN) (17th cent.), **mailegatü** (Z), **mailetatu** (L LN), **maileatü** (Z), **palagadu** (old B) (1596) *vt.* ‘borrow’. [+ FHV 258]

From {{}} Old {{}} Cast. *manlevar* id. or a related Rom. form (M. \*\*\*\* {1961a: 258}).

**mailegu** (L LN), **mailegü** (Z), **mailebu** (Har.), **maileba** (old G) (1745) *n.* ‘borrowing, loan’. Possibly from the sparsely recorded Rom. noun *manlieva* id. {i.e. Cast. *manlieva* several 13th- and 14th-century attestations on *CORDE*}; otherwise by back-formation.

**mailu** (L LN), **mailü** (Z), **ma(i)llu** (B Sout G HN LN S Z) *n.* ‘hammer’. 1562.

From Rom.; probably from Arag. (M. \*\*\*\* {1964a: 110}).

**maindira** (G) (*ca.* 1760), **mandira** (G), **maindire** (G HN) (1745, 1802), **maindre** (HN) (1621), **maindere** (HN), **mantre** (R), **mandre** (S) *n.* ‘sheet’ (for a bed).

From Lat. *mantēle* ~ *manfile* ‘{hand} towel’ {, ‘tablecloth’} (M. 1961a: 160 {; 1974b: 191}), by P6, P22.

**maingu** (HN L LN S), **maingi** (G HN), **mainku** (R), **maki** (G), **txáinkü** (Z), **txainkuru** (HN) *a.* ‘lame’, **mangu** (B G) ‘numb’. 1571.

From Lat. *mancum* ‘crippled’ (Lh.; M. 1961a: 160, 188), by P{45}. Forms in *tx-* by M\*\*{?9}.

**maira** (\*\*) *n.* ‘trough’. \*\*\*\*

**mairakondar** (G), **mairaondar** (HN L) *n.* \*\*\*\* [FHV 248] \*\*\*\*

**mairu** (HN L LN old Z S) (1617), **mauru** (old B HN) (1621), **maru** (G) *n.* ‘Moor’, *a.* ‘Moorish’, **mairiak** (?) *n. pl.* ‘certain mythological beings of antiquity and power’. {(M. 1957a: 19; 1973a: 127).}

From Lat. *Maurum* id. (M. 1961a: 91); common vocalism by P{46}.

**maite** (*c.*), **moite** (R) *n.* ‘love’, *a.* ‘beloved’, TS *n.* ‘beloved, sweetheart’. 1545. Cf **maita-**.

OUO, but unlikely to be native. The adjectival sense is far more frequent at all periods. Specialists have long suspected a source in the Celtic word represented by Old Irish *maith* ‘good’ (< \**mati-*), possibly by palatalization and then depalatalization (by P32) of the /t/ (Holmer 1950 \*\*\*\* FHV 218 fn]). M. (\*\*\*\* {1964a: 145 and fn. 152}) notes a parallel between the verb **maite** \***edun** (below) and the Old Irish construction in *is maith less* ‘he likes it’ (lit., ‘he considers it good’). M. (1977a: 526) suggests, on the basis of certain fixed expressions, that ‘good’ was the original sense of the Bq. word. CF by W2.2.

**maiz** [1] (B G HN L LN), **maes** (B) *adv.* ‘often, frequently’, (B) *a.* ‘faded, withered’. 1571.

From Lat. *magis* ‘more’ (M. 1961a: 268, 289). The adjectival sense is mysterious.

\***maiz** [2] *n.* ‘maize, sweet corn’.

From Cast. *maíz* id. Apparently not recorded as an independent word, but present in several compounds and derivatives. See **arto**.

**mailasto** (HN), **ma(i)llasto** (B), **ma(i)llasko** (B) *n.* ‘dried cornstalks’ (of maize). + **lasto** ‘hay’, by P\*\*{W9} (M. 1961a: 351).

**maizter** (1745, 1847) (old G H.), **maister** (G HN LN) (*ca.* 1760), **maistar** (B), **maiztar** (G) (but a compound **unamaizter** from a HN document of 1167; see **unai**) *n.* ‘master’ (1167 ‘master shepherd’), ‘landlord, owner’. \*\*\*\*\*

From Lat. *magister* ‘master’ (nom.) (M. 1961a: 62). Variant forms by P18, M5. See **maiastru**.



**majo** (G) *n.* ‘gallant’ (*ca.* 1880), *adv.* ‘well’, **majo**, **maja** (B G) *a.* ‘nice’ (20th cent.)

From Cast. *majo* ‘nice’. The word is popular, not literary, and it is interesting that the nominal and adverbial uses are recorded earlier than the adjectival use, even though the Cast. word is an adjective. For the use of the adjectival forms, see M\*\*\*.

**makaka-orroe** (B), **makakarrao** (B), **makakorro** (G) *n.* ‘bleat’. Imitative, + **orroe** ‘animal noise’.

**makhíña** (Z), **maki(a)** (S), **makhia** (?), **makhiba** (?), *n.* ‘wooden manger for pigs’.

From Lat. *baccīnum* ‘basin’ (M. \*\*\*\* {1974b: 188}). [FHV 268]

**makila** (*c.*), **makilla** (B G), **makhila** (L), **makhilla** (L LN Z) *n.* ‘stick’, ‘walking stick’. 1562. CF **mak(h)il-**.

From Lat. *bacilla*, pl. of *bacillum* ‘rod’ (M. 1961a: 51). CF by W1.

**maku** [hapax] (old HN) *n.* Late 14th cent.

This word, of unknown meaning, is recorded solely in the phrase *macu onac* ‘good makus’ in the magical charm found in a manuscript in the cathedral of Pamplona and published in Gifford and Michelena (1958) and in M. (1964\*\* {b}: 57–59). In medieval Navarra, *Maku* was a common surname or epithet.

**makulo** (B G S) *n.* ‘staff, stick, prop, crutch’.

From Cast. *báculo* id., by L\*\* {3}.

**malko** (\*\*) *n.* ‘tear(s)’. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* M. (1961a: 272) suggests that this word may belong to the cluster of northern forms collected under **golko** {[2]}.

**malma** (B G R) *n.* ‘mallow’ (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*). \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *malva* id., by L\*\* {3}.

**mama** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\*

**mami** (\*\*), **mamia** (\*\*), **mamin** (B) *n.* ‘meat’, ‘soft part’ (of bread, etc.). \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* B form by an extraordinary spread of nasality.

**mando** (*c.*) *n.* ‘mule’, (L LN) *a.* ‘barren, infertile, sterile’ (chiefly of women and female animals). CF **manda-**. 1591. Dimin. **manddo** (\*\*), **maño** (\*\*). **mana** (B) ‘barren, infertile, sterile’ (chiefly of female animals). 1905.

Directly from IE, possibly from Celtic. A stem *\*mand-*, *\*mann-* is widely attested in IE languages with senses ranging over ‘mule’, ‘sterile’, ‘kind of horse’, ‘small animal’, and almost all authorities agree that the Bq. words are derived from this stem, probably via Celtic or Latino-Romance mediation. The form *\*mand-* is often thought to be

specifically Celtic, e.g. by Gorostiaga (1982). Of the same origin are thought to be Lat. *mannus* ‘type of small Gallic horse’, Bearn. Gasc. *mano* ‘barren woman’, old Cast. *mañero* ‘sterile’, and many other words. The B **mana** is thought to derive from late Lat. \**manna* ‘barren’ (of a woman or a female animal, usually in the feminine). For discussion, see AT *s.vv.*, ML 5307a, CP *s.v. mañero*. The original stem is OÜO, and commonly labelled ‘pre-Roman’ or ‘Iberian’ by Romanists.

**mandabelar, mandobelar** (HN Z) *n.* ‘knapweed’ (*bot.*) (thistle-like plant, fam. *Centaureae*). 1905. + **belar** ‘grass’.

**mandako** (B G HN), **mandoko** (HN), **mandoka** (L?) *n.* ‘little mule’. 1653. + **-ko, -ka** dimin. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**mandategi, mandotegi** (B G HN LN) *n.* ‘stable for mules’. 1782. + **-tegi** ‘place’ {(see **hegi**)}.

**mandazain, mandazai, mandozain, mandoin** (*c.*), **mandazāi** (old B) *n.* ‘muleteer’. 1652. + **-zain** ‘guardian’ (see **zain** {[1]}). Fourth variant irregular.

**mando-perrexil** (HN) *n.* ‘herb Robert’ (*bot.*) (*Geranium robertianum*). 1905. + **perrexil** ‘parsley’ {(see **perexil**)}.

**mandotu** (HN L LN) *vi.* ‘become hard’, ‘go numb’. 1853. + **-tu** VFS.

**mangedera** (old LN), **majadera** (G) *n.* ‘manger’. \*\*\*\*

**mantar** (G) *n.* ‘gaiter, legging’ [many other meanings] \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *manta* id., with a second element, \*\*\*\*.

**manteliña** (G HN), **mantellina** (old G?), **mantelina** (old LN) *n.* [varying senses] [FHV 522]

From Cast. *mantellina* \*\*\*\* {‘mantilla’}, with metathesis of palatalization in the first form and depalatalization in the second.

**manu** (\*\*), **mánü** (Z) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘order, command’. \*\*\*\* CF **mana-**.

**manatu** (L LN), **manhátü** (Z), **manhetü** (Z) *vt.* ‘command, order’. [Lh. says Bearnese]

**maradikatu** (L LN Z) (1545), **madarikatu** (B Sout G HN L LN S) (1562) *vt.* ‘damn’, *a.* ‘damned’.

From Lat. *maledīcere* id., by P22 (M. \*\*\*\*{1961a: 312}); second form by metathesis.

**marbalo** (\*\*), **marmarrao** (\*\*), **mamu** (\*\*), **mozorro** (\*\*), **momorro** (\*\*), **momoxo** (\*\*)  
\*\*\*\* *n.* ‘creepy-crawly’. [SORT]

**margo** *n.* ‘colour’, TS ‘paint, pigment’. CF **margo-**. *ca.* 1800 (see below); 1891.

A word of doubtful reality. It was reported by the early 19th-century Spanish polymath Hervás y Panduro, but it appears in no Bq. text or dictionary before the 1890s, when the word was picked up from Hervás by the Basque nationalists. Since then it has become common and has given rise to several derivatives. Curiously, I am told by a native speaker that **margo** is used in one area to denote the coloured mark placed on a sheep to

identify its owner, but there is no documentary record of such a use. See **margul**, under **m-**.

**margodun** *a.* ‘coloured’. + **-dun** ‘having’ (see **\*edun**).

**margolari** *n.* ‘painter’. + **-lari** professional NFS (see **-ari** {[1]}).

**margotu** *vt.* ‘paint’. + **-tu** VFS.

**Mari** [1] The name of a semi-divine figure of folklore, an austere and awe-inspiring woman, associated with certain places, such as the mountain Anboto, who requires certain types of behaviour and punishes those who fall short. The figure is of unknown antiquity but is decidedly non-Christian, though the name can hardly be native Bq. and probably represents an accretion from the Christian Virgin.

**Mari** [2], **Maria** (*c.*) *n.* ‘Mary’ (proper name).

From Rom. *María, Marie*. This serves as the first element in a number of formations.

**mari(a)bide(e)tako** (G?) *n.* ‘whore, prostitute (esp. streetwalker)’. + **bide** ‘road’ + **-eta** + **-ko** NFS.

**maria-gonagorri** (G HN) *n.* ‘ladybird’. + **gona** ‘skirt’ {(not in *The Dictionary*)} + **gorri** ‘red’ {(see **\*gorr-**)}.

**maria-gora** (B) *n.* ‘type of large shellfish’. + **gora** ‘up’ (see **goi**).

**mariatalako** (B) *n.* ‘starfish’ (*zool.*) Probably an alteration of **\*mariataleko**, + **atal** ‘segment’ + **-ko** NFS.

**maribandera** (B?) *n.* ‘hussy’, ‘shameless woman’. + **bandera** ‘flag’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**maribarna** (R) *n.* ‘black pudding’, TS ‘paunch, pot belly’. + **barna** ‘deep’. {Not in *The Dictionary*, but *cf.* under **barru?**}

**maribero** (B) *n.* ‘man-chaser’. + **bero** ‘hot’.

**mariburduntzi** (B) *n.* ‘dragonfly’. (*zool.*) + **burduntzi** ‘metal spit’.

**mari-erdiko** (B) *n.* ‘cabin boys on half-rations or half-pay’. + **erdi** ‘half’ + **-ko** NFS.

**marigordin** (B) *n.* ‘whore, prostitute’. + **gordin** ‘indecent’ {(see **\*gorr-**)}.

**marigorri** (B LN), **marigorringo** (B) *n.* ‘ladybird’ (*zool.*) + **gorri** ‘red’ {(see **\*gorr-**)}; second version with **-ko** NFS.

**marikaka** (B) *n.* ‘type of seagull which vomits on other gulls’ (*zool.*) + **kaka** ‘shit’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**marikorkoila**, **marikurkuilu** (L) *n.* ‘snail’. + an expressive element related to Cast. *caracól* ‘snail’. See also **bare** [1].

**marimaisu** (B) *n.* ‘(female) know-it-all’. + **mais** ‘schoolteacher’. {Not in *The Dictionary*; *cf.* **maestru**.}

**mari-matraka** (B G) *n.* ‘loud and disputatious woman’. + **matraka** ‘altercation’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**mari-mondronga** (B) *n.* ‘man-chaser’. + expressive extension (?).

- mari-motraillu** (G B) *n.* ‘mannish woman, butch woman’. + **motraillu** ‘mortar’ (grinding vessel). {Not in *The Dictionary*.}
- marimutil**, **marimutiko** (L LN) *n.* ‘tomboy’, (Z) ‘young woman of doubtful morals’. + **mutil**, **mutiko** ‘boy’. Calque on Fr. *marie-garçon*.
- mari-orratz** (B) *n.* ‘dragonfly’ (*zool.*). + **orratz** ‘needle’.
- maripanpalona** (L LN) *n.* ‘butterfly’ (*zool.*) (order *Lepidoptera*). + expressive continuation (see **panp-**).
- maripoliza**, **maripulisa** (L LN) *n.* ‘certain type of man’s jacket’. + Fr. *police* ‘police’.
- maripurtzil** (H.) *n.* ‘slattern’. + **purtzil** ‘disgusting’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}
- mariskira** (H.) *n.* ‘shrimp, prawn’. Final element obscure, but perhaps related to Cast. *quisquilla* ‘shrimp’.
- marisorgin** (old B) (hapax) *n.* ‘butterfly’ (*zool.*) (order *Lepidoptera*). + **sorgin** ‘witch’.
- maritxu** (B) *n.* ‘male homosexual’, ‘effeminate man’. + **-txu** dimin. (see **-to** {[1]}).
- maritxukeria** (B) *n.* ‘effeminate behaviour’. + **-keria** NFS of vices.
- mariurdin** (L LN) *n.* ‘slattern’. + **urdin** ‘blue’.
- marizikin** (L LN) *n.* ‘slattern’. + **zikin** ‘dirty’.

**marka** (old B) *n.* ‘ship’. 1596.

From Cast. *barca* id., by L\*\*{3}.

**marra** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\*{‘line, stripe’ Aul.} [FHV 269]

App. from Rom. *barra* (M. 1961a: 269).

**marraska** (\*\*), **marraka** (\*\*) *n.* ‘bleat’. Expressive.

**marroi** (B G) *a.* ‘brown’. 1977.

From Cast. *marrón* id., by L\*\*{?}; treatment of final [n] by analogy with e.g. **arratoi** corresponding to Cast. *ratón*.}

**marru** (G), **maurre** (S) *n.* ‘roar, bellow’. Imitative.

**marrubi** (G), **marrobi** (old L), **marubi** (HN L), **maguri** (HN), **maidubi** (HN), **ma(i)llugai** (B), **ma(i)llugi** (B), **ma(i)lluki** (B G), **malubi** (HN S), **maulubi** (A), **ma(i)llubi** (?), **margu** (R) (but a pl. **margiuak**), **maurgi** (S), **mauri** (HN) *n.* ‘strawberry’ (*bot.*) (*Fragaria vesca*). 17th cent. TS (G) **marrubi** ‘female breast’ (usually in *pl.*).

Apparently from Lat. *marrubium* ‘hoarhound’, even though the two plants are not similar. [MT entry]

**Martin** (*c.*) *n.* ‘Martin’ (proper name). Dimin. **Matxin**. In B G, the dimin. is commonly used in calling to a ram.

From Rom. This name serves as a base in the formations below.

**martin-arrantzale** (G) *n.* ‘kingfisher’ (*zool.*) + **arrantzale** ‘fisherman’ (see **arrain**).

**matxinada** (B G L) *n.* ‘rebellion, insurrection’. *Ca.* 1800. + **-ada** NFS. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**matxingorri** (B) *n.* ‘ladybird’ (*zool.*) + **gorri** ‘red’ {(see\***gorr-**)}.

**matxinsalto** (B G HN), **matxinsaltari** (B), **matxinsaltalari** (G), **matxinsaltulari** (B) *n.* ‘grasshopper’ (*zool.*) + **salto** ‘jump’ {(not in *The Dictionary*)} (+ **-ari** {[1]} NFS).

**matxinsukalde** (B G), **matxinsuzale** (B G) *n.* ‘person who sits constantly in front of the hearth’, ‘homebody, person who rarely leaves home’. + **sukalde** ‘hearth’ (see **su**); + **su** ‘fire’ + **-zale** ‘fond of’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**matxita** (G) *n.* ‘butterfly’ (*zool.*) (order *Lepidoptera*). + an arbitrary expressive extension.

**martitzen** (B Sout) *n.* ‘Tuesday’. 1562.

The first element is Lat. *Martis* ‘of Mars’. The second is probably **egun** ‘day’ (M. 1977a: 491; M. here rejects his own earlier suggestion of **-en** {[1]} Gen.). The whole is half borrowed from, and half calqued on, Lat. *Martis dies* ‘day of Mars’.

**martoopil**, **martopil** (G) *n.* ‘presents given to a woman who has just given birth’.

M. (1961a: 269) suggests Cast. *parto* ‘birth’, by L\*\*{3}, + **opil** ‘small cake’ (see **ogi**).

**martxo** (G HN L LN Z R), **marti** (B) *n.* ‘March’. 1501.

From some Rom. reflex of Lat. *Martium* id. B form directly by L\*\*{10}.

**maru** (B) *n.* \*\*\*\*{‘post’ Az.}

From Lat. *pālum* ‘post, pole’, by L3, P22 (M. 1961a: 269). {Cf. **paru** ‘pole’.}

**maruaga** (B) *n.* \*\*\*\*. + **haga** ‘pole’ {Not in *The Dictionary*.} (M. 1961a: 269).

**marhüka** (Z), **marhünka** (Z) *n.* ‘wart’. \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *verrucam* id.

**masusta** (B G), **masustra** (B G), **marzuza** (R), **marzoza** (S), **martosa** (S), **masúsa** (Z), **matsuts** (A) *n.* ‘bramble’, ‘blackberry bush’ (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*) \*\*\*\* [FHV 284]

**mataza** (\*\*), **mathaza** (\*\*), **mataxa** (\*\*), **mathaxa** (\*\*) *n.* ‘hank, skein’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 225]

From some Rom. source akin to Cast. *madeja* id; cf. Bearn. *matàcho*, *matàssso*, *madàssso* (M. 1961a: 268).

**matoĩ** (\*\*{R}), {**matóĩ** (R), **matio** (S)} \*\*\*\*{*n.* ‘curds’} [FHV 148]

{From Navarrese *matón* id.}

**matxite** (G HN \*\*), **martxite** (\*\*) *n.* ‘machete’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 68]

{[] **mahuka** (\*\*), **mauka** (\*\*), **mahunga** (\*\*) *n.* ‘sleeve’. \*\*\*\* {} Duplicates **mahanga**.}

**maustin** (Sout) *n.* ‘mastiff’. 1562.

From Rom.: *cf.* old Arag. *maustín*, *mostín*, Cast. *mastín* (M. 1977a: 488).

**mazela** (G HN L LN), **masa(i)lla** (G), **masail** (old G), **maxela** (S Z R), **matra(i)lla** (B L), **matel** (HN L LN), **matela** (LN S), **mathela** (LN Z) *n.* ‘cheek’ (*anat.*), **mathela** (Z), **matela** (S R) *n.* ‘large cheek’ (contrasting here with **mazela** ~ **maxela** ‘cheek’), **matrailla** (L) *n.* ‘jaw’ (*anat.*). 1745, 1785.

From Lat. *maxillam* ‘jaw’, or perhaps better from its Rom. reflex *\*maxella*, with variable treatment of the alien /ks/. The semantic shift is Rom.: *cf.* Cast. *mejilla* ‘cheek’. See M. (1961a: 188 fn. 21) for a discussion of the phonological history.

**mea** (B G L), **me** (HN) *n.* ‘mineral’. 1627.

Obscure. We may suppose an earlier *\*mena*, by P1, which may derive either from Cast. *mena* ‘ore’ or from Lat. *vēnam* ‘vein (of ore)’, the second either directly by L3 or indirectly via *\*bena*, by P7. M. (1977a: 546) prefers the Lat. source. Last form by M4.

**meatze** (\*\*) *n.* ‘mineral’. \*\*\*\*

**mehatxu** (\*\*), **meatxu** (\*\*), **mehátxü** (Z) *n.* ‘threat’ \*\*\*\* [FHV 287]

**mehatzatu** (\*\*), **meatxatu** (\*\*) *vt.* ‘threaten’. \*\*\*\*

**mediku** (old LN \*\*), **midiku** (L), **miriku** (\*\* L) *n.* ‘doctor, physician’. \*\*\*\*

From \*\*\*\* {Lat. *medicum*}. Variants by P37, P17.

**mehe** (L LN), **mēhē** (Z), **mee** (B HN), **me** (B G HN S R), **be** (Sout) *a.* ‘thin, slender’, ‘shallow’ (of water), TS (HN) ‘short of resources’. CF **me(h)a-**. 1627.

From *\*mene*, by P1, from *\*bene*, OUO, by P7 (M. 1961a: 146, 269). Landucci remarkably gives a def. form *vea*, representing a variant *\*be*, though a second hand has corrected this to *mea*. CF by W2.2. Commonly reduced to *-me* or occasionally *-pe* as a final element, by W\*\* {19}; for examples see **zur**, **\*al-** and **ogi**.

**mehar** (\*\*), **mear** (\*\*), **berar** (B) *a.* \*\*\*\* {‘tight, narrow’}

**meatu** (\*\*) \*\*\* {*v.* ‘become thin, make thin’} [FHV 110]

**men** \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘power, capacity’ Aul.}

**mende** (HN L LN), **mente** (Z R) *n.* (HN L LN Z) ‘century’, (L? Z R) ‘time’, (Z R) ‘life’. 1571.

OUO. Lat. *mentem* ‘mind’ is phonologically perfect but semantically bizarre (M. \*\*\*\* {1965c: 118}), and we may suppose a native *\*bente*, by P6 and P7, possibly containing **-te** {[1]} NFS of duration attached to an unknown stem. M. (\*\*\*\* {1984b: 200}) takes seriously the idea that **mende** ‘dominion’ is the same word in origin; see **men**.

**mendebal** (B G HN L), **mendeal** (L) *n.* ‘west wind’, TS (B G L) ‘west’. 1643. From some Rom. form akin to Fr. *vent d’aval* ‘valley wind’, by P7 (M. \*\*\*\*{?}) {AT}. {Gasc. Bayonne *ben de bau* ‘west wind’ Palay (1980), though Gasc. *bau* is not cognate with *val* ‘valley’ .}

**mendealxori** (L) *n.* ‘phalarope’ (*sp.*) (zool.). + **xori** ‘bird’ (see **zori**).

**mendebalde** *n.* ‘west’. 1977. + **alde** ‘side’ {(see \***al-**)}, by W13.

**mendekatu** (HN L LN R), **mendekatü** (Z), **bendekatu** (?) *vi.* ‘avenge oneself’, (HN) ‘get what one deserves’, *vt.* ‘take vengeance on’, ‘earn’. 1545.

From Lat. *vindicāre* ‘claim as one’s own’, ‘take vengeance on’ (M. 1961a: 268), possibly via P7.

**Mendekoste** (\*\*) *n.* ‘Pentecost’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 268]

**mendi** (*c.*) *n.* ‘mountain’. 1545.

OUO. Probably from \**bendi*, by P7. The word cannot be related to Lat. *montem* id. in any orderly manner. As a final element, it appears uniquely as *-pendi* in the name *casa de Auzpendi* (for *Auzmendi*) (M. 1977a: 539).

**mendu** (B G), **mentu** (\*\*), **enphéltü** (Z) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘graft’} [FHV 157]

**-mendu** (\*\*), **-mentu** (R), **-méntü** (Z), **-men** (\*\*), **-pen** (\*\*) NFS \*\*\*\* [FHV 271 fn, 346, 360]

From Lat. *-mentum* (M. 1961a: 353). A variant *-ben* is recorded nowhere except in **nabarben**, a variant of **nabarmen** (see **nabar**) (M. 1961a: 277).

**meniak** (old B) *n. pl.* ‘respite’. \*\*\*\*

Probably ult. from Lat. *veniam* ‘indulgence, remission’ (M. 1961a: 268), by L\*\*{3, P7}, though the details are obscure.

**merkatu** (*c. exc. Z*), **merkhatu** (L LN), **merkhátü** (Z) *n.* ‘market’. 1571.

From Latin *mercātum* id.

**merkatari** (B G HN L LN R) *n.* ‘merchant’. CF **merkatal-**. 1562. From Lat. *mercātārium* id., but now formally + **-ari** {[1]} professional NFS. This is one of the loans which led to the introduction of the NFS **-ari** into Bq. CF by W12.

**merkatalgoa** (L LN Z HN) *n.* ‘commerce’. 1571. + **-goa** collective NFS.

**merke** (*c.*), **mérke** (Z) *a.* ‘inexpensive, cheap’. 1591. Generally thought to be from Lat. *mercem* ‘merchandise’ (M. 1961a: 268). The semantics is odd, though French *bon marché* ‘cheap’, literally ‘good deal’, may offer a parallel. A back-formation cannot be ruled out.

**merk(h)atu** (*c. exc. Z*), **merkátü** (Z) *vt.* ‘reduce in price’. \*\*\*\* + **-tu** VFS. Z distinguishes *merkátü* ‘reduce in price’ from *merkhátü* ‘market’.

**mertxika** (G HN L LN) (1853), **merxika** (?) (1864) *n.* ‘apricot’ (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*) (in places, ‘peach’), **muxika** (B G HN) (1745, 1847), **muxilka** (G) *n.* ‘peach’ (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*).

From med. Lat. *persicam* ‘peach’, from earlier Lat. *malum Persicum* id. (M. 1961a: 78).

**mesede** (B G Sout L), **mertxede** (\*\*) *n.* ‘grace’, ‘favour’. 1562.

From Cast. *merced* id., or possibly from an unrecorded Old Cast. \**mercede*, by P19.

**mesedez** (B G) *prt.* ‘please’. + **-z** instr./advbl, probably calqued on Cast. *por favor*.

**meta** (\*\*), **méta** (Z) *n.* ‘pile’, (Z) ‘hayrick’ \*\*\*\* \*

From Lat. *mēta* {*m*} \*\*\*\* {‘cone’} (M. 1961a: 268).

**meza** (\*\*) *n.* ‘mass’ (religious service). \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

**mezarrale** (Sout) *n.* ‘priest’. 1562. + **erran** ‘say’ (see **esan**) + **-le** Agent NFS: lit’, ‘mass-sayer’.

**mezpera** (\*\* Z) *n.* ‘eve’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 269]

**meztidura** (\*\*) *n.* ‘shroud’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 270]

From Cast. *vestidura* ‘clothing’, by L\*\*{3}.

**mezu** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘message’} [FHV 281]

**mihi** (L LN), **mīhī** (Z), **mī** (R), **mīi** (old B), **mī** (old B), **mii** (G), **mi** (HN R), **min** (B G) *n.* ‘tongue’. CF **min-**. 1571.

From \**mini*, by P1, from \**bini*, OUO, by P7 (M. 1961a: 269). CF by W2.1. As a final element in word-formation, it appears as *-bin* ~ *-pin*; see **ardi** [1], **ortzi**. See also **milika** {*adv.* ‘tasting’, *n.* ‘licking’ (not in *The Dictionary*)}. M. (1961a: 200) reports that western varieties of B distinguish *miña* ‘the tongue’ from *mina* ‘the pain’.

**miaztu** (B G), **miztu** (B G), **miazkatu** (B G), **mizkatu** (B G) *vt.* ‘lick’. \*\*\*\* (+ *-a* article) + **-z** instrl./advbl. (+ **-ka** AdvFS) + **-tu** VFS.

**mihiluze** (L LN), **mihilúz** (Z), **milúz** (R), **minluze** (B) *a.* ‘indiscreet, gossipy’. + **luze** ‘long’. Z R forms by W\*\*{19}.

**mingain** (G) ‘tongue’, TS ‘clapper’, TS ‘bolt’ (of a lock). 1671. + **gain** ‘top’.

**mingaingaito** (G) *a.* ‘gossipy’. + **gaito** ‘naughty’ (see **gaitz**).

**mingainluze** (G) *a.* ‘indiscreet, gossipy’. + **luze** ‘long’.

**mingainzikin** (G) *a.* ‘back-biting, speaking badly of others’. + **zikin** ‘dirty’.

**mingainzorrotz** (G) *a.* ‘sharp-tongued’. + **zorrotz** ‘sharp’.

**mingainzuri** (G) *a.* ‘sycophantic’. + **zuri** ‘white’.

**mingatu** (Z) *vt.* ‘pronounce’. Stem **minga-**. Second element obscure. + **-tu** VFS.



**mingapen** (Z) *n.* ‘pronunciation’. + **-pen** NFS (see **-men**{**du**}).

**mingor** (B) *n.* ‘snipe’ (*zool.*) 1802. + **gor** ‘hard’.

**minondo** (B LN) *n.* ‘base of the tongue’. \*\*\*\* + **ondo** [1] ‘bottom’.

**mintzo** (L LN Z R HN) *n.* ‘word, speech, conversation’. CF **mintza-**. 1635. + apparent NFS **\*-tzo**, not otherwise attested. CF by P2.2.

**mintzaira** (L LN Z S), **mintzara** (L LN), **mintzaera** (HN), **mintzo-era** (L LN Z) *n.* ‘way of speaking’, ‘speech’, ‘language’. 1643. + **era** ‘way’. Last variant by re-formation.

**mintzaldi** (L LN Z) *n.* ‘speech, conversation’. + **aldi** ‘time’.

**mintzatu** (L LN R HN G) *vi.* or *vitm.* ‘speak’. 1545. + **-tu** VFS. Always a simple intr. verb in the early texts (?)

**mintzo izan** (L LN Z) *vi.* ‘speak’. + **izan** ‘be’ (as aux.)

**mintzura** (LN) ‘discourse, speech’, (G) ‘voice’. *Ca.* 1800. From *\*mintza-dura*, by contraction, + **-dura** NFS.

**minzorrotz** (B) *a.* ‘sharp-tongued’. + **zorrotz** ‘sharp’.

**mizto** (B G) *n.* ‘sting’ (of a bee), ‘bite’ (of a snake). + **-zto** dimin. [(see \*\*\*\*)]. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**mihimen** (LN Z), **mimen** (B LN R), **maimen** (B) *n.* ‘osier willow’ (*bot.*) (*Salix viminalis*). 1782.

From Lat. *vīmen* id., by L3 or P7. The extraordinary “doubling” of the vowel in the first variant perhaps results from contamination by **mihī** ‘tongue’ (M. \*\*\*\* {1950b: 447}). Last variant unexplained.

**mihise** (L LN Z), **miisa** (G), **miesa** (B) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘fabric, tissue’. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

**mihistoihalez** (old LN) \*\*\*\* [FHV 250 fn]

**mika** (B G), **phika** (Z) *n.* ‘magpie’ (*zool.*) (*Pica pica*). 1596.

From Lat. *pīcam* id., by L3 (M. 1961a: 51).

**mila** (\*\* Sout Z S), **milla** (\*\* HN R), **mile** (\*\*) [FHV 521] \*\*\*\* *num.* ‘1000’ \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *mīlia* (M. 1961a: 200), \*\*\*\*

**mimitx(a)** (S.P.) [hapax] *n.* ‘weasel’ (*zool.*) (*Mustela nivalis*).

Expressive. M. (\*\*\*\* {Michelena & Agud 1968: 81}) suggests a reduplication of *mitx*, a word used to call a cat.

**min** [1] (\*\*) *n.* ‘pain’. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* {From *\*bin*, O.U.O.}

**minbera** (\*\*), **minbere** (G) \*\*\*\* {*a.* ‘painful’, ‘sensitive’}

**minbizi** (G HN L R S) *n.* ‘cancer’, (L) ‘ulcer’. 1745, 1758. + **bizi** living’.

**mindu** (\*\*), **mintu** (\*\*), **mínthü** (Z) \*\*\*\*\* ‘go sour, go off’ \*\*\*\*\* + **-tu** VFS.

**mingi** (old LN) *adv.* \*\*\*\* {‘bitterly’} [FHV 353]

**min** [2] (B \*\*), **muin** (B G), \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘seed’, ‘cutting’ \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

**mintegi** (\*\*), **muintegi** (G), **muntegi** (old B), **mindegi** (\*\*) *n.* ‘nursery, seedbed, hothouse, greenhouse’, TS ‘seminar’. \*\*\*\* *R&S* 207 has the def. form *ninteguia*, which may be a typo. {+ **tegi** ‘place’ (see **hegi**)}

**minatze** (Z) \*\*\*\* [FHV 290]

**mintz** (B G HN LN R), **mintza** (H.), {**bintza** (\*\*)}, **pintza** (LN), **phintza**, **pintz**, **pinz** *n.* ‘membrane’, TS ‘hymen’, TS ‘skin’. 1802. {[MT entry]}

From Rom., probably from Arag. *binça* ‘membrane’, by L3, P7 and M4.

**mintzurratu** (\*\*) *vi.* ‘lose one’s virginity’ (of a woman), *vt.* ‘deflower’ (a woman). Stem **mintzurra-**. + **urratu** ‘tear, break’.

**mintzuradura** *n.* ‘deflowering’ (of a woman). + **-dura** NFS.

**mintzuraketa** *n.* ‘deflowering’ (of a woman). + **-keta** NFS {not in *The Dictionary*}.

**mira** (\*\*) *n.* ‘admiration’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 268]

**mirakulu** (L LN), **mirakullu** (G HN L), **mi(r)akúllü** (Z), **mirakuru** (old B Sout) *n.* ‘miracle’. \*\*\*\*[FHV 183]

**miru** (*c. exc.* Z), **mirü** (Z) *n.* ‘kite’ (*zool.*) (*Milvus migrans*). 1562.

From \**milu*, by P22, from Lat. *mīluum* id. (M. 1961a: 312).

**miserak** (L) *n. pl.* \*\*\*\* {‘spectacles’} [FHV 269]

**mistrío** (\*\*) *n.* ‘mystery’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 368]

**Mitzel** ‘Mike’, male personal name, dimin. of *Mikel* ‘Michael’. See **bitxilote** (under **bitxi**) for a possible derivative.

**mizpira** (\*\*), **mesmeru** (B) *n.* ‘medlar’ (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*) \*\*\*\*

From Cast. {*níspera*,} *níspero* id. \*\*\*\*

**molde** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*, **múlde** (Z) ‘manner’ \*\*\*\*

**morla** (G HN) *n.* ‘tassel’.

From Cast. *borla* id., by L\*\* {3}.

**morroin** (HN LN), **morruñ** (Z), **morraña** (R S) *n.* ‘borage’ (*bot.*) (*Borago officinalis*). \*\*\*\*

From Rom. (Cast. *borraja* {; Arag. *borraina*}). \*\*\*\*

**morrolla** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {**morroill** (L HN), **morroil** (B G L), **morrollo** (B), **barróll**, **barrolla** (Z)} [FHV 83, 269] [many more forms {supplied from M.}] \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘lock’}

**mortaldasun** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* [FHV 353]

**mota** (G HN L LN), **mueta** (B), **moeta** (old B G) *n.* ‘kind, sort’, TS (L LN Z HN) ‘breed, race’. 1571.

From Lat. *monētam* ‘coin’, by P1 (M. 1961a: 120). The semantic shift is Rom., not Bq.: Cast. *moneda* is used for ‘kind’ by the 12th-cent. Castilian poet Berceo (see CP *s.v.* *moneda*). The absence of a northern variant *\*moheta* is curious.

**moto** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* [MT entry]

**motz** [1] (\*\*), **mutz** (Z) *a.* ‘short’, TS (B) ‘ugly’, TS (?) ‘bare’. 1627.

From some Rom. source akin to Cast. *mocho* ‘blunt’, ‘short’, ult. from an unrecorded Lat *\*mutium* ‘blunted’ (M. \*\*\*\* {1950a: 195}).

**motz(a)** [2] *n.* ‘vulva’, ‘female genitals’, **motzak** *n. pl.* ‘male genitals’. 19th cent.

Sources disagree on the form. Widespread but little recorded, because of its generally obscene status. Possibly a TS of **motz** [1]; otherwise of expressive origin.

**mutxurdin** (B L LN Z), **motz urdin** (S.P.), **mutz urdin** (S.P.) *n.* ‘old maid’. 1848. + **urdin** ‘grey’ (M. 1961a: 65).

**moخال** (B G) *n.* ‘foal, colt’ (horse of either sex under one year). 1808.

From Cast. *bozal* ‘raw’, ‘untamed’ (M. \*\*\*\* {1958c: 7}), by L3.

**mu** (*c.*) ‘moo’ (cow noise). Imitative.

**muga** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘boundary’}

**mugarri** (\*\* old LN) *n.* ‘boundary marker’. \*\*\*\* + **harri** ‘stone’. {M. 1961a: 416-7.}

**mugitu** (G HN L LN), **mubítü** (Z), **mobitu** (old LN R), **mogitu** (HN S), **mobidu** (Sout) \*\*\*\* {*v.* ‘move’ Aul.}

**muin** (LN), **muñ** (G HN L), **mun** (G HN L), **muña** (S), **fuiñ** (L), **huiñ** (L), **hun** (LN), **hün** (Z), **un** (B LN R), **gun** (B), **uña** (Sout) *n.* ‘pith, marrow, medulla, inner part’, ‘whitish material inside a horn’, TS ‘brain’. 1617.

OUO. The word is applied to the pith of plants, to the marrow of human and animal bones, and to a variety of other internal substances. Very frequently more specific meanings are obtained by compounding, as in *bizkarmuin* ‘spinal cord’ (**bizkar** ‘back’), *bur(u)muin* ‘brain(s)’ (**buru** ‘head’) and *garun* ‘brain(s)’ (**\*gara** ‘head’). An original *\*bune* would account for most variants, by P7, P1 and P9, but this would produce an expected *\*(b)uhe* in the north. Schuchardt (\*\*\*\* {1906a: 51}) proposes Lat. *fūnem* ‘rope’, which is possible. S remarkably contrasts **muña** ‘pith, marrow’ with **unak** ‘brains’. [FHV 150-151, 151 fn]

**muino** (\*\*), **muno** (G \*\*), **munho** (LN), **muño** (G HN), **mono** (S), **monho** (LN) *n.* ‘hill’, **muna** (B), **mun** (B) \*\*\*\* [FHV 307, 307 fn]

**muki** (\*\*), **muku** (\*\*) *n.* ‘mucus’. \*\*\*\*

**mukizu** (\*\*) *a.* ‘full of mucus’. \*\*\*\* + **-zu**, older form of **-tsu** AFS.

**mukurru** (\*\* old LN) {*n.* ‘abundance’ Aul.}, **mukuru** (\*\*), **gonburu** (B), **bonburu** (B) \*\*\*\* *n.* {‘top, limit’} [FHV 218, 331, 332 fn]

From Lat. *cumulum* \*\*\*\* {‘heap, top’} (M. 1961a: 218).

**mulo** (L), **mulho** (\*\*), *n.* ‘stack’, **mollo** (B) \*\*\*\* [FHV 307 fn] [MT entry]

**multzo** (L LN) (1571), **multzu** (HN L S) (1643) *n.* ‘group, bunch’, ‘pile’. Dimin. **multxo**.

OUO, but unlikely to be native. Bouda (\*\*\*\* {cited in M. 1950a}) proposes Lat. *multum* ‘many’, but this looks phonologically impossible. {M. 1950a: 199f.}

**mun** (B), **muin** (Sout G), **muñ** (G) *n.* ‘kiss’ (according to A. 1905, in B, not on the face). \*\*\*\*

**mun egin**, **muin egin** *vitmd.* ‘kiss’. \*\*\*\* + **egin** ‘do’.

**mundu** (c. exc. Z), **mündü** (Z) *n.* ‘world’. 1545.

From Lat. *mundum* or Cast. *mun*do id. The word gives rise to few derivatives, and most of those are literary.

**murru** (LN), **mürrü** (Z), **murralla** (\*\* old LN old Z), **morroll** (old L) *n.* ‘wall’ \*\*\*\* [FHV 331] [more in FHV 332 fn]

\*\*\*\* From Rom. In Navarra, an item *mur*u is frequent in toponyms: \*\*\*\* [FHV 331-332]

**murtxatu** (LN), **murtxatü** (Z) \*\*\*\* {*v.* ‘suck’, ‘taste’} [AZKUE]

Obscure. Perhaps ult. from Lat. *mors-*, *mordēre* ‘bite’ (M. 19{77}a: 473). See **muxkau**.

**mus** (\*\*) *n.* ‘mus’, a certain card game. \*\*\*\*

**mustela** (B), **musterle** (B) *n.* ‘weasel’ (*zool.*) (*Mustela nivalis*).

From Lat. *mustēlam* id., but not directly, since we should have had \**muztera* or \**mustera*, by P22. M. (\*\*\*\* {Michelena & Agud 1968: 76f.}) proposes an unrecorded Lat. variant \**mustella*, with replacement of the ending by the more frequent *-ella*. {The variant *mustella* is included in Glare 1982: s.v.} The strange second form perhaps by contamination from **erle** ‘bee’.

**musu** (\*\*), **musin** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* [MT entry] {? Different words in Az. *musu* ‘face, kiss on the face’, *musin* ‘mould (on bread)’.

**muthatu** (old LN) (1545), **mudatu** (\*\*) (1610), **mudadu** (Sout) (old B 1562) *vt.* ‘change’.

From Lat. *mūtāre* id. and its Cast. reflex *mudar*: borrowed more than once.

**mutil** (*c. exc.* Z), **muthil** (L LN), **müt(h)il** (Z), **m{i}thil** (Z), **mítíl** (R) *n.* ‘boy’, TS (B G HN) ‘apprentice’, TS (L LN Z) ‘worker, artisan’, TS (HN L LN Z R) ‘servant’, TS (L LN Z) ‘(mechanical) support’. 1562, but a variant **motil**, of unknown provenance, in the 15th cent.

From Lat. *putillum* ‘little boy’ {or rather *a.* ‘tiny’ (Glare 1982)}, by L3 and unusual loss of the final vowel (M. \*\*\*\* {1961a: 323, though the Lat. source is not mentioned there}).

**mutilko** (\*\*), **muthilko** (\*\*), **mutiko** (\*\*), **putiko** (\*\*) *n.* ‘boy’, (HN) ‘servant’. + **-ko** dimin. suffix. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**mutiri** (\*\*), **muthiri** (\*\*), **mithí(r)i** (Z) \*\*\*\* {‘insolent’ Aul.} [FHV 77]

**mutu** (\*\* old LN), **mútü** (Z) *a.* ‘mute’ \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *mūtum* id. (M. 1961a: 51).

**muxkau** (B) \*\*\*\* {*v.* ‘suck’} [FHV 473] {(See **murtxatu**.)}

**-n** [1] (*c.*) Locative CS: ‘in, on, at’. Also ‘among’ with animate NPs: *lapurretan* ‘among thieves’.

**-n** [2] Past-tense suffix.

[FHV 137: reduced to zero]

**-n** [3] Relative and subjunctive suffix.

[FHV 137: reduced to zero]

**-na-** [1], **-n** (*c.*) Second-person singular female agreement suffix in finite verb-forms. \*\*\*\*

**-na** [2] (\*\*), **-ná** (Z), **-nan** (\*\*) Distributive suffix. \*\*\*\*

**nabar** [1] (\*\*) \*\*\*\* [FHV 182] \*\*\*\* Dimin. **ñabar** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*, **ñábar** (Z R) ‘grey’  
\*\*\*\* {‘multicoloured’ Aul.}

\*\*\*\*

**nabarreri** (G \*\*), **nafarreri** (G HN) *n.* ‘smallpox, pockmarks’. [FHV 266]

**nábar** [2] (Z) *n.* [FHV 195] \*\*\*\* {‘ploughshare’}

\*\*\*\*

**nabarmen** (\*\*), **nabarben** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* [FHV 259] {*a.* ‘manifest’; not evidently related to either **nabar** [1] or [2], though M. (1973a: 132) suggests a derivation of *nabari* ‘manifest’ from **nabar** [1].)}

**nabaza** (B) *n.* ‘fodder’.

OUO, and recorded only in the village of Angiozar. M. (\*\*\*\* {1964g: 486}) diffidently suggests Cast. *nabiza* ‘turnip greens’. {See also **nabo**.}

**nabéla** (Z), **nabla** (S), **ñábla** (R), **labana** (G HN), **labaña** (B G HN) *n.* ‘penknife’. \*\*\*\*\*  
[FHV 398, 552] [check senses {Variously ‘knife’, ‘pocket knife’ Az.}]

**nabo** (\*\*) *n.* ‘turnip’ (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*) \*\*\*\* Dimin. **ñábo**.

\*\*\*\*

**nafar** (\*\*), **napar** (\*\*) *n., a.* ‘Navarrese’. \*\*\*\*

**nagi** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* *a.* ‘lazy’. \*\*\*\*

**nagusi** (B G HN L LN Z) (16th cent.), **nabusi** (LN) (1571), **nausi** (L \*\*) *n.* ‘master of the house’, ‘boss’, ‘proprietor, owner’, ‘master’, ‘teacher’, *a.* ‘chief, principal’, TS (B) *a.* ‘eldest’ (of siblings).

OUO. Second variant by P10. If the adjectival sense is original, may contain **-i** [\*\*{1}] AFS.

**nahi** (L LN Z), **nai** (B G HN L R) *n.* ‘desire’. 1545.

OUO. See **gura**.

**-nahi** ‘any...you like’, ‘any...at all’. Suffixed to interrogatives, as in **nor** ‘who?’, **nornahi** ‘anybody you like’. Possibly a calque on Rom. formations like Cast. *-quiera* in forms like *quienquiera* ‘anybody you like’, from *quien* ‘who?’ + *quiera* ‘want’.

**na(h)iago \*edun** (old B, R&S 40 L LN Z G HN) *vt., vtc.* [+ PerfPætt] ‘prefer’. + **-ago** comparative + **\*edun** ‘have’.

**na(h)i \*edun** (L LN Z G HN) *vt., vtc.* [+ PerfP] ‘want’. 1545. + **\*edun** ‘have’.

**na(h)ikeria** (HN LN Z R) *n.* ‘lust, (unhealthy) passion’. 1757. + **-keria** NFS of vices.

**naiko** (B G HN), **nahiko** (EB) *adjvl.* 1868. ‘enough’. + **-ko** RS.

**na(h)iz** (old B, R&S G HN L LN Z) *prt.* ‘although’, (G HN) *adv.* ‘deliberately, voluntarily’. 1643. + **-z** instr./advbl (M. 1961a: 116).

**narea** (old B) [hapax] *n.* ‘lineage’. 1596.

OUO. Conceivably from Cast. *ralea* ‘kind, sort’, by P22, with exceptional treatment of initial /r/, but M. (\*\*\*\*{1965c: 119}) points out that there is no parallel for such a phonological development. Also difficult are the late attestation of the Cast. word (1325), and the fact that its earliest sense was ‘prey’, ‘capture (of prey)’. {Two 1250 examples in *CORDE*.} The *\*nerea* of Arbelaiz (1978) is a typo. [FHV 552]

{[} **nasai** (\*\*) [many senses -- all one word?] **násai** (Z) ‘wide, ample’, **násai** (R) ‘woman’s blouse’ \*\*\*\* [FHV 397] {] Partly duplicates **lasa**. Combined there.}

**nazkatu** (\*\*), **lazkatu** (HN) \*\*\*\* {*vti.* ‘disgust, be disgusted’} [FHV 552]

**neba** (B) *n.* ‘brother of a woman’. 1745, *ca.* 1800.

OUO, but contains **-ba** kinship suffix. Bähr (\*\*\*\*{1935: 12f.}) suggests a derivative of **anaia** ‘brother of a man’, while M. (\*\*\*\*{1961a: 310 fn. 20}) suggests instead a derivative of **eme** ‘female’; see **arreba**. In the historical period, B is alone among the dialects in possessing a word for ‘brother of a woman’ contrasting with **anaia** ‘brother of a man’; all other varieties use **anaia** in both senses. [FHV 310 fn]

**nebarrebak** (B) *n. pl.* ‘brothers and sisters’. + **arreba** ‘sister of a man’ + **-ak** *det. pl.* (see **\*har**).

**negar** (\*\*), **nigar** (\*\*) *n.* ‘tears’.

\*\*\*\* {OUO.}

**negar egin** (\*\*), **nigar egin** (\*\*) *vitm.* ‘weep, cry’. \*\*\*\* + **egin** ‘do’.

**negu** (*c. exc. Z*), **negü** (*Z*) *n.* ‘winter’. 1562.

OUO.

**neke** (\*\* old LN), **néke** (*Z*) *n.* ‘work’, ‘fatigue’ \*\*\*\*

**nekatu** (\*\*), **nekhatu** (\*\* old LN) \*\*\*\*\* {*v.* ‘tire’} [FHV 51, 409 fn]

**neska** (*c.*) *n.* ‘girl’, TS ‘unmarried young woman’, TS (LN) ‘serving girl’, TS ‘fallen woman’, TS ‘iron bar in a fireplace from which a cooking pot is suspended’. 1562.  
Dimin. **nexka** (L LN).

OUO, but see **neskato** below.

**neska galdu** (L LN Z) *n.* ‘fallen woman’, *vitm.* ‘engage in debauchery’. + **galdu** ‘lost’, ‘lose’.

**neskakoi** (L LN Z) *n.* ‘womanizer, skirt-chaser’. + **-koi** AFS ‘fond of’ {(see **ohi**)}.

**neskama** (H.) *n.* ‘unmarried mother’. + **ama** ‘mother’.

**neskame** (L) *n.* ‘serving girl’. Apparently + **eme** ‘female’.

**neskaso** (LN) *n.* ‘(female) virgin’. Apparently + **-so** kinship suffix, but the motivation is obscure.

**neskatilla** (B Z) *n.* ‘girl’, TS (LN) ‘badly behaved girl’. 1656. + **-tilla** dimin. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**neskato** (old HN L LN), **neskáto** (*Z*), **néskato** (*R*) *n.* ‘little girl’, TS (*R*) ‘old maid’, TS (G HN LN Z) ‘serving girl’, TS (HN LN R?) ‘girl’; dimin. (HN) **nexkatto** ‘little girl’. 1571. App. recorded as the Aq. female name *NESCATO*. + **-to** {[1]} dimin. Dimin. **nexkato**.

**neskato zahar** (L) *n.* ‘old maid’. + **zahar** ‘old’.

**neskatxa** (HN G L LN) *n.* ‘girl’, ‘young lady’. 1571. + **-txa** dimin. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**neskatzar** (HN LN Z) *n.* ‘tart’, ‘whore, prostitute’. + **-tzar** ‘bad’ (see **zahar**).

**neskazar** (B G HN) *n.* ‘old maid’. *Ca.* 1880. + **zahar** ‘old’.

**neskanegun** (LN R), **neskanegün** (*Z*), **neskenegün** (old Z) *n.* ‘Saturday’. + **-en** {[1]} genitive plural + **egun** ‘day’. The first form is literally ‘girls’ day’, and the motivation is unknown. Among the suggestions are *\*Neskaren egun* ‘day of the Virgin’, for which no motivation seems to exist, and an alteration of *\*azken egun* ‘last day’.

**neskuts** *n.* ‘(female) virgin’. 1897. + **huts** ‘empty’.

**netxale** (LN) *n.* ‘young mule, around six months old’. \*\*\*\*

App. from Cast. *lechal* ‘suckling’ (M. 1977a: 551).

**neurri** (\*\*), **negurri** (\*\*), **leurri** (HN), **lebri** (HN), **horri** (LN) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘measure’ \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* [FHV 551]

**neurtu** (\*\* old LN) \*\*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘measure’ Aul.}



**ni** (*c.*) *pron.* ‘I, me’. 15th cent.

OUO. [ESSAY ON CASE FORMS]

**n-** (*c.*) First-sg. agreement prefix in finite verb-forms. Presumably by incorporation of the free pronoun. See **-da**.

**nihaur** (LN Z) (1545), **nihau** (LN), **niháũ** (Z), **niaur** (S), **nerau** (G), **neuror** (old LN), **neu** (B LN Z) (1745, 1802), **neur** (1643, as Erg. *neurk*), **ñaur** (R) *pron.* ‘I myself’. + **hau(r)** ‘this’ (see **hau**). G form perhaps directly from **ner** ‘my’ (see below). Last forms by contraction.

**neure** (*c.*?), **ñore** (R), **nore** (S R) *pron.* ‘my own’, TS ‘my’. 1545. + **-e** [\*\*{1}] Gen.

**ner** (G HN L LN Z R), **nore** (old Z R S), **ñore** (R), **nure** (old Z), **nire** (*c.*) *pron.* ‘my’. \*\*\*\*. By reduction. Last form by analogy with **ni** (M. \*\*\*\*{?}). See **ene**, under **en-**.

**nerabe** (HN LN S) (1627), **neabe** (R), **nerrabe** (L), **norhabe** (LN) (1657), **nidabe** (HN), **nidebe** (HN), **nirabe** (HN) **mirabe** (old B G) (1596) *n.* ‘child’, ‘servant’, *a.* ‘young’. + **habe** {[1]} ‘support’ (M. 1961a: 82 fn. 19). This etymology is not certain, but it looks plausible; see Bähr (1935) for other possibilities. M. (1977a: 482) also considers **jabe** ‘owner’ as a second element, but dismisses this as semantically intolerable. [FHV 82 fn]

**nereganatu**, **nireganatu** (\*\*) *vt.* ‘take to myself’, ‘appropriate’. \*\*\*\*. + {-} **gan** + **-a** {[1]} All. {CS} + **-tu** VFS. Requires a first-sg. subject.

**noharroin** (old L) *n.* \*\*\*\* ‘beggar’. 1643. + **harroin** ‘support’ (see **harri**) (M. 1977a: 482).

**neurdin** (\*\*{B}) [FHV 61] {‘since, as’. Cf. **berdin**.}

**neure burua**, **ner** **burua** (*c.*) NP serving as *pron.* ‘myself’. + **buru** ‘head’ + **-a** *det.* (see \***har**). Like all reflexives in Bq., this one cannot serve as a subject, and therefore it cannot stand in the Erg. case.

**no-** (*c.*) interrogative stem.

OUO. This is one of the two interrogative stems, the other being **ze-**. Raised to **nu-** in Z by P71, and more widely in **nun**.

**noiz** (*c.* exc. B Z), **nox** (B Sout), **nuiz** (Z), **noz** (B), **nos** (B) *adv.* ‘when?’ 1545. {First} B form by P\*\*{30}. Second element obscure. Possibly contains **-z** instrl./advbl., but this does not explain the /i/. [SECOND SENSE A]

**edonoiz** (L LN) \*\*\*\* {+ **edo-** indef. (see **edo**).}

**ñoiz** (B G HN) (*ca.* 1740), **inox** (old B \*\*) (1596), **ñoiz** (\*\*) (*ca.* 1638), **nehoiz** (L LN), **neoiz** (HN), **nihhoiz** (L), **nioiz** (HN), **ñoiz** (R) *adv.* ‘ever’ (in negatives and questions: NPI). From \**enoiz*, + **e-** [2] indefinite, by P1, P61, P2. Initial *n-* in some forms by analogical addition of the *n-* of *noiz* (M. \*\*\*\*).

**ñoiz ez** etc. (*c.*) ‘never’. + **ez** ‘not’.

**noiz arte** (\*\*), **noiz arteo** (\*\*), **noiz artio** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* Often written as a single word: **noizarte** etc.

**noizaz geroz** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*

**noizbait** (\*\*), **noizbeit** (L), **noizpait** (LN), **nosbait** (B) *adv.* ‘some time’. \*\*\*\*. + **-bait** indef. (see **bait-**).

**noizbaiko** (\*\*), **noizbaisteko** (Z), **noizbaiteko** (S), **noizbeiteko** (L), **noizpaiko** (L LN), **nuzpaiko** (Z) \*\*\*\*

**noizbaikotu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*

**noizdanik** (\*\*), **nozdanik** (old B) \*\*\*\*

**noizdino** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*

**noizean behin** (\*\*), **noizean bein** (\*\*), **nozean bein** (B), **noizbeinka** (\*\*) *adv.* ‘once in a while’. \*\*\*\*. (+ **-an** Loc. {CS}) + **behin** ‘once’ (+ **-ka** AdvFS). Possibly calqued on Cast. *de vez en cuando*.

**noiz edo noiz** (\*\*), **noz edo noz** (B), **nos edo nos** (B), **noz edo nozko baten** (B), **nos edo nosko baten** (B), **noz edo arren** (B), **noz edo bein** (B), \*\*\*\*

**noizetik noiz** (LN), **noizetik noizera** (L), **noizik noiz** (B), **noizik noizera** (B) \*\*\*\*

**noiz-ezkero** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {**nozezker** (old B) \*\*\*\* }

**noizik bein** (\*\*), **noizik beñean** (B) \*\*\*\*

**noizko** (c.), **nozko** (B) *adjvl.* \*\*\*\*

**noiznahi** (\*\*), **noiznai** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*

**noiznaiko** (HN B?) \*\*\*\*

**noiz nola** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {**nuiz nula** (Z) \*\*\*\* }

**noiztanka** (\*\*), **noiztenka** (\*\*), **noiztinka** (\*\*), **noizeanka** (S) \*\*\*\* {**nuiztenka** (Z) \*\*\*\* }

**noiztarik as** (R) \*\*\*\*

**noiztsu** (HN) \*\*\*\*

**noiztaril nuiztara** (Z) \*\*\*\*

**nuizere** (Z) \*\*\*\*

**nola** (G HN L LN R), **núla** (Z), **nulaz** (Z) *adv.* ‘how?’ 1545. + **-la** [2]. Last form + **-z** instrl./advbl.

**iñola** (G), **nehola** (LN), **neola** (HN), **nihola** (L), **niola** (HN) *adv.* ‘anyhow’, ‘in any way’ (in negatives and questions: NPI). \*\*\*\*. From \**enola*, + **e-** [2] indefinite.

**iñola ez** etc. (c.) ‘in no way’, ‘not at all’. + **ez** ‘not’.

**nolabait** (G HN L LN R) *adv.* ‘somehow’. \*\*\*\*. + **-bait** indef. (see **bait-**).

**nola hel** (LN), **nola gerta** (HN) \*\*\*\*

**nola ere** (G) [hapax?] \*\*\*\*

**nolako** (G HN L LN R) *adjvl.* ‘what kind of?’. 1545. + **-ko**.

**nolakoabait** (G HN L LN) \*\*\*\*

**nolakoa dan** \*\*\*\*

**nolakoa nai** \*\*\*\*

- nolakoxe** (L LN R) \*\*\*\*
- nolakotu** (L LN) \*\*\*\*
- nolanai** (G HN LN R) \*\*\*\*
- nolaxe** (LN R) \*\*\*\*
- nolaxeko** \*\*\*\*
- nolatan** (G L LN) \*\*\*\*
- nolatsu** \*\*\*\*
- nolaz** \*\*\*\*
- nolazbait** (\*\*), **nolazpait** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*
- nolerebait** (G) \*\*\*\*
- nula hala** (Z) \*\*\*\*
- nulaerebait** (Z) \*\*\*\*
- non** (B G HN L R), **nun** (B G LN Z) *adv.* ‘where?’ 1545. + **-n** [\*\*{1}] Loc. {CS.}  
[MORE: A]
- edonon** (\*\*) {+ **edo-** indef. (see **edo**).}
- iñon** (B G HN \*\*), **eun** (R), **ñon** (R), **ehonere** (old LN) ‘anywhere’ (in negatives and questions: NPI) \*\*\*\* From \**enon*, +**e-** [2] indefinite. Some forms reinforced by **ere** ‘even’, often leading to contracted forms like Z **ihuné**.
- iñon ez** etc. (c.) ‘nowhere’. + **ez** ‘not’.
- nonago** (S) \*\*\*\*
- nonbait** (\*\*), **nunbait** (B) *adv.* ‘somewhere’, TS ‘probably’, **nunbeit** (LN) ‘more or less’, **nunebeita** (Z) ‘probably’.. \*\*\*\*. + **-bait** indef. (see **bait-**).
- nonda** (B) \*\*\*\*
- nondik** (\*\*), **nundik** (\*\*), **nontik** (old LN old Z), **norik** (B) *adv.* ‘where from?’, ‘whence?’ 1545. + **-tik** Abl.
- non edo non** (HN LN S), **nun edo nun** (B LN S) \*\*\*\*
- non ez** (L) \*\*\*\*
- nongura** (B) \*\*\*\*
- non-nai** [LOTS MORE], **nunnai** (B), **nunnahi-beita** (Z) \*\*\*\*
- nontsu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*
- nonziela** (S) \*\*\*\*
- nundi edi andi** (B), **nundi edo nundi** (old B) \*\*\*\*
- nundik nora** (B) \*\*\*\*
- nunti** (Z) *adv.* ‘where from?’, ‘whence?’ + **-ti** [\*\*{2}] Abl. {CS.}
- nun-ze-barri** (B) \*\*\*\*

**nor** (*c. exc. Z*), **nur** (*Z*) *pron.* ‘who?’. Sometimes reduced to **no** in B and G, by P25, and very commonly reduced to **no-** in B G before a consonant-initial suffix, as in *nok* for ergative *nork*. Late 15th cent. Possibly contains hypothetical **\*-r** absolutive.

**edonor** (B L) *pron.* ‘anybody at all’. 1745, 1816. {+ **edo-** indef. (see **edo**).}

**iñor** (B G HN) (*ca.* 1740), **ior** (old HN S) (1626), **ẽur** (R), **eur** (R), **ĩhur** (Z), **nehor** (L LN) (1571), **ehor** (old LN), **nihor** (L), **nior** (HN), **ñor** (R), **ñeur** (R), **yor** (A) ‘anyone’, ‘anybody’ (in negatives and questions: NPI). From *\*enor*, + **e-** [2] indefinite, by P1, P61, P2 (M. 1961a: 67). Initial *n-* in some forms by analogical addition of the *n-* of *nor* (M. \*\*\*\*). Often reinforced by **ere** ‘even’, sometimes leading to contracted forms like Z **ĩhũé**.

**iñor ez** etc. (*c.*) *pron.* ‘nobody, no one’. + **ez** ‘not’.

**iñor gutxi** (B G) *pron.* ‘hardly anybody’. + **gutxi** ‘few’ (see **guti**).

**norbait** (*c.*), **norbeit** (L), **nurbait** (*Z*) *pron.* ‘somebody, someone’. 1545. + **-bait** indefinite (see **bait-**). Today this word inflects like any other NP, for example with Erg. *norbaitek*, but, in the 16th cent., we find forms like *norkbait*, with the CS preceding **-bait**, reflecting the late addition of this element.

**norbaitzuek** (G) \*\*\*\*

**norbera** (B G R), **nobera** (B), **nopera** (B LN), **nurbera** (Z) \*\*\*\*

**norberagandu** (B G) \*\*\*\*

**nor edo nor** (B G HN L), **noonor** (B) *pron.* ‘somebody, someone’. 1802. + **edo** ‘or’.

**nornahi** (L LN), **nornai** (HN R), **nurnahi** (*Z*) *pron.* ‘anybody you like, anybody at all’. 1665 (but *nor nahi den* in 1643). + **-nahi** ‘any...at all’ (see **nahi** ‘desire’). Also longer forms *nor ere nahi* (+ **ere** ‘also’), *nornahi den* (+ **den** ‘all’; see **izan**). Possibly calqued on Rom. formations like Cast. *quienquiera*.

**nortzuk** (B G) *pron.* \*\*\*\*

**nur-ere** (*Z*) \*\*\*\*

**nora** (*c. exc. Z*), **nura** (*Z*), **norat** (HN) *adv.* ‘whither?’, ‘where (to)?’ 1571. + **-ra** All. {CS.}

**edonora** (B) \*\*\*\* {+ **edo-** indef. (see **edo**).}

**iñora** (\*\*) ‘(to) anywhere’ (in negatives and questions: NPI) \*\*\*\* From *\*enora*, + **e-** [2] indefinite.

**norabait** (B G HN LN), **norapait** (HN LN Z) \*\*\*\*

**noradino** (L), **noragiño** (B), **noraino** (L), **noraiño** (B G HN) \*\*\*\*

**noraez** (\*\*), **norez** (B) \*\*\*\*

**noraezean** (B), **norezean** (B) \*\*\*\*

**noraezeko** (B) \*\*\*\*

**noranahi** (\*\*), **noranai** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*

**noraxe** (R) \*\*\*\*

**norontz** (G) \*\*\*\* [surely other forms?]

**-no** (c.) Dimin. suffix. [MITX 73: 461, 470] [Lh.] Dimin. **-ño**. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* See **-to** [1].

**no** (c.) *intj.* word using in calling to a woman; also (HN L LN Z R) in calling to a female domestic animal. It can represent a simple ‘Hey!’, or it can mean more specifically ‘Take this!’.

**ño, ñotto** (R) *a.* ‘small’, ‘tiny’. \*\*\*\*

**norrondo** (S.P.) [hapax] *n.* ‘an unidentified species of tree’.

Surely contains **ondo** [\*\*{2}] \*\*\*\*, but the first element is opaque.

**noski** *prt.* (G HN) ‘of course, undoubtedly’, (B L?) ‘perhaps, maybe’. \*\*\*\*

**nothatu** (\*\*) *vt.* ‘mark, stain’. \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *notāre* ‘mark’, ‘censure’ (M. 1977a: 524).

**notha** (\*\*) *n.* ‘stain, spot’, ‘defect’. \*\*\*\* By back-formation.

**ñaflatu** (old G?) [hapax] \*\*\*\* ‘eat enthusiastically’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 552-553]

**ñaño** (\*\*) *n.* ‘dwarf’. \*\*\*\* [Rom]

**ñau** (L LN) *intj.* ‘meow’.

Imitative.

**ñika** (Z) *n.* ‘wink’. \*\*\*\*

**ñiñika** (HN L), **ñiñiko** (HN L) *n.* ‘pupil’ (of the eye). \*\*\*\*

**ñirñir** (LN Z) [tapped /r/] *n.* ‘sparkle’, *adv.* ‘sparkling’.

Expressive.

**ñirñir egin** (LN Z) *vitm.* ‘sparkle’. + **egin** ‘do’.

**ñirñirka** *adv.* ‘sparkling’. + **-ka** AdvFS.

**-o** [1] (c.) Third-singular Dat. agreement marker in finite verb-forms.

OUO. M. (\*\*\*\*) proposes a derivation from *hon-*, the oblique sg. stem of the proximal demonstrative **hau** ‘this’, which is plausible. See also **-a** [\*\*] and **-e** [\*\*] for evidence in support of this proposal. {Neither in *The Dictionary*.}

**-ote** (L LN) Third-plural Dat. agreement suffix in finite verb-forms. + **-te** {[3]} pl. {Not in *The Dictionary*.} Other varieties use **-e** [\*\*{2}] {pl.}. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**-o** [2] (B LN) Apparent suffix of obscure function found in a few words and names, including **nabaro** ‘public’, ‘notorious’ (see **\*nabar-**), an apparent **\*beltxo** in the med. personal name *don Belcho de Yurre* (**beltz** ‘black’), the surnames *Garaio(a)* (**garai** ‘high’); see **\*gara**, *Zabalo* (**zabal** ‘wide’) and *Chourio (Txurio)* (**txuri**, dimin. of **zuri** ‘white’), and perhaps the B toponyms *Berrio* (**berri** ‘new’) and *Elorrio* (**elorri** ‘hawthorn’). It is not always easy to distinguish this item from the toponymic suffix **-o** [3], and it may be the same item as the toponymic suffix **-io** (M. \*\*\*\* {1973a: 133-135}).

**-o** [3] (\*\*) {Toponymic suffix.}

**-oa** Toponymic suffix. [MITX 73: 489 {1973a: 138-9}]

**hobe** (L LN Z), **obe** (B G HN LN R), **oba** (B) *a.* ‘better’. CF **(h)oba-**. 1545.

Irregular comparative of **on** ‘good’, the only irregular comparative in the language.

OUO. CF by W2.2. Not directly recorded in Sout, but its presence there may be inferred from the existence of the adverb **obato** below.

**habo(r)o** (Z), **aboro** (S), **oboro** (LN), **hoboro** (old L), **obro** (R) *prt.* ‘moreover’. From **\*hobaro** ‘more’, + **-ro** AdvFS {not in *The Dictionary*}, with various vowel assimilations and metatheses (M. 1961a: 161 fn. 12).

**obaasun** (old B) *n.* ‘improvement’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 113]

**hobeki** (L LN Z), **obeki** (G HN) *adv.* ‘better’. 1571. + **-ki** [\*\*{1}] AdvFS.

**obeto** (B G), **obato** (Sout), **hobeto** (EB) *adv.* ‘better’. *Ca.* 1740.. + **-to** {[2]} AdvFS.

**hobetu** (L LN) (1621), **hobetü** (Z), **obetu** (B G HN), **obatu** (B) (1537) *vi., vt.* ‘improve’. + **-tu** VFS.

**obeditu** (L LN) *vt.* (earlier), *vitmd.* (later) ‘obey’. 1545.

From Lat. *oboedire* id. (Lh., M. \*\*\*\* {1974b: 193}). B Sout **obedezidu** (1562), **obedezitu** (1800) derives from Cast. *obedecer* id.

**hoben** (L LN) (1617), **oben** (B G HN S R), **hogen** (L LN) (1545), **ogen** (B LN), **ogén** (R), **ógen** (Z) *n.* ‘injury’, ‘offence’, ‘deception’, ‘guilt, blame, fault’.

The source is Lat. *offendere* ‘make a mistake’, ‘give offence’, ‘suffer damage’ (M. \*\*\*\* {1974b: 204}), by \*\*{L}3, P10, but the details are obscure. Possibly back-formed from the verb below. [SEE ALSO FHV 266 fn]

**obendu** (B G) (1802) *vi.* ‘lean’, ‘bend’, ‘yield’, ‘become warped or perverted’, *vt.* ‘bend’, ‘warp’, *vi.* (G) ‘become damaged’, ‘get hurt’, **ogendu** (Sout) (1562) *vi.* ‘bend, stoop’, *vt.* ‘bend, twist’. + **-tu** VFS, unless borrowed directly from Lat. *offendere* (see above).

**ogendant** (Z) \*\*\*\* {‘guilty’} [FHV 537]

**oberenda** (Z), **oberta** (Z) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘offering’} [FHV 266]

From Cast. *ofrenda* id. {The second form rather from Occ. *ofërta*, Cast. *oferta* id.}

**hobi** (L LN Z), **obi** (B G HN) *n.* ‘cavity’, ‘pit’, ‘hole in the ground’ (sometimes esp. for a grave), ‘ditch’. 15th cent.

From Lat. *fovea* {*m*} ‘pit’ (ML *REW* 3463; M. \*\*\*\* {1961a: 133}), by L3. Cf. Gasc. *hobi*, Cat. *obi*. {But Cat. *obi* ‘trough, basin’ cannot be from *fovea* but must be < Lat. *albeum* ~ *alveum*; see *DECLC s.v.*}

**obitxiu** (S.P.) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘prayer for the dead’} [FHV 266]

\*\*\*\*

**obitxiatu** (S.P.) \*\*\*\* [FHV 266]

**obrada** (LN), **obradatze** (LN) *n.* ‘species of willow’ (*bot.*).

From some Rom. form akin to Gasc. *aubredé* id. (M. \*\*\*\* {1958e: 405}). Second form by addition of **-tze** {NFS} (see **-tza**).

**obu** (B) *n.* ‘circle’, ‘iron ring’.

Probably from Cast. *huevo* ‘egg’ (M. \*\*\*\* {1961d: 17 fn. 25}). The *\*obo* of A. (1905) is an error.

**hodei** (LN), **hodéi** (Z), **odei** (B Sout G HN L LN S R), **odéi** (Z R), **odai** (B G), **hedoi** (L LN Z), **edoi** (B HN L LN), **odoi** (B S), **oroi** (G), **orai** (G), **orei** (B HN), **hode** (old L), **ore** (HN), **otei** (Sout) *n.* ‘cloud’ \*\*\*\*. 1562.

OUO. The most conservative of the attested forms is (*h*)*odei*, with the variants by P17 and vowel metathesis or assimilation. The Sout form **otei** is mysterious, but note that Landucci gives **odei** for ‘cloud’ and a derivative **oteiak** only for ‘cloudy’ – if not a typo, perhaps by P8. The final stress in Z points clearly, by P73, to a lost consonant, and hence to \*(*h*)*odeCi*, or more likely \*(*h*)*odeCe*, since the article **-a** is not raised to **-e** in this word in the west (M. \*\*\*\* {1961a: 397 fn. 28}). This consonant cannot be identified; \*/n/ is possible by P1, but not supported by evidence. [MUCH MORE: FHV 397 fn]

**odia**, **odi** *n.* (B G) ‘gutter’, (HN old LN Z) ‘gully, ravine’, (HN S) ‘wooden cradle’. 1657.

Doubtful. M. (\*\*\*\* {1973a: 135}) diffidently suggests a derivative of Lat. *fodere* ‘dig’, possibly *fodīna* \*\*\*\* {‘mine’}.

**odol** (*c.*) *n.* ‘blood’.

\*\*\*\* {OUO.}

**odoleste** (B Sout), **odoloste** (B G) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘black pudding’} [FHV 83]

**ohe** (L LN), **óhe** (Z), **oe** (B Sout old G HN), **oi** (B G R), **hoe** (L? LN?), **obe** (HN), **ofe** (LN), **oge** (B G L) *n.* ‘bed’. CF **o(h)a-**. 1537.

OUO. CF by W2.2. Variants by P35.1. The hapax spelling *oghe* in old L by Dasconaguerre is either an error or an Italian-style spelling. Commonly reduced to *-oi*, by W\*\*{19}, as a final element in word-formation. See **aburdi**.

**ohaide** (old LN) (1657), **oakide** (old G), **ohekide** (?), **ohaideko** (LN?) *n.* ‘bedmate, ‘sexual partner’ (to whom one is not married), sometimes esp. ‘concubine, mistress’. + **-kide** ‘fellow’ (+ **-ko**).

**ohaidego** (LN) ‘concubinage’, ‘living in sin’. + **-goa** NFS.

**ohatze** (LN), **oatze** (HN? A S) *n.* ‘bed’ (in part of LN strictly ‘bed for an animal’, and A. 1905 *s.v.* cites from Salaberry the meaning ‘pallet’, ‘rude bed’), (L) **ohatze** ‘nest’, TS (*c.*) ‘act of going to bed’, TS (?) ‘layer’. 15th cent.?, 1571. + **-tze** NFS (see **-tza**).

**oatzestalki** (old HN) *n.* ‘bed cover’. + **estalki** ‘cover’ (see **estali**). (The source, Araquistain, has *\*oatzestalguia*, a typo for *oatzestalquia*, repeated in A. 1905.) {According to Arbelaiz *s.v.* the typo is Azkue’s and Araquistain gives *oatzestalquia*.}

**oazal** (B Sout G HN) *n.* ‘bedspread’, ‘blanket(s)’. 1562. + **azal** ‘skin’ (M. \*\*\*\* {1964e: 26}).

**oelagun** (G?) *n.* ‘concubine’. + **lagun** ‘companion’.

**ogárt** (R), **guart** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {‘notice’} [FHV {423, }586]

**hoge** (LN), **hóge** (Z), **ogei** (B G HN), **ógei** (R), **ogéi** (R), **hogoi** (L LN), **ogoi** (L) *num.* ‘twenty’. 1571 (1537 in compounds).

OUO. Last two forms by an irregular vowel assimilation. Attempts at linking this to the Brythonic Celtic word represented by Welsh *ugain* (Middle Welsh *ugeint*), Cornish *ugens* ~ *ugans*, Breton *ugent* are dismissed by M. (\*\*\*\* {1952: 550; 1964a: 137}) as untenable: the Celtic forms must derive from *\*wikantī*, and the resemblance is only to the modern forms.

**berrogei** (*c. exc.* L), **berrogoi** (L LN), **biorrogei** (Sout) *num.* ‘forty’. \*\*\*\*. + **berr-** ‘twice’ (see **bihur**).

**ogi** (*c.*), **obi** (B HN) *n.* ‘bread’, (HN L LN Z) ‘wheat’. CF **ot-**. 12th cent, 14th cent.

OUO. CF by W2.1, W3. Variant by P10.

**ogigaztae** (B), **ogigaztai** (B) *n.* ‘weasel’ (*zool.*) (*Mustela nivalis*). 1745, 1804. + **gaztai** ‘cheese’. Calqued on Cast. *paniquesa* id. (M. \*\*\*\* {Michelena & Agud 1968: 204}).

**okin** (old B Sout G HN LN R), **okhin** (LN Z) *n.* ‘baker’. 1562. + **-gin** ‘maker’ (see **egin**) (M. 1961a: 237).



**ok(h)insa** (LN S) *n.* ‘female baker’. + **-sa** female.

**okuntza** (\*\*) *n.* ‘sown field’. \*\*\*\* + **-kuntza** NFS {(see **\*-kun**).} (M. 1977a: 533).

**ope** (old B G) *n.* ‘type of slender cake’. 1745, 1808. + *\*bene* ‘slender’ (see **mehe**) (M. 1961a: 276).

**opeil** (old B) [hapax], **ope** (old B {R&S}) [hapax] ‘April’. 1596. + **-il** ‘month’ (see **\*iLe**). Both A. (1905) and M. (\*\*\*\*{1964a: 113f. and fn. 86}) suggest that the form **ope** must be an error.

**opil** (B G HN S), **ophil** (L LN) *n.* ‘maize cake’, ‘wheat cake’, ‘small bread roll’. 13th cent., 1591. + **\*bil** ‘round’ (M. \*\*\*\*{1955c: 284}).

**otondo** (old B, R&S 534) *n.* ‘crust of bread’. 1596. + **ondo** {[2]} ‘bottom’ (M. 1961a: 237).

**ot orde** (old B) ‘in exchange for bread’. + **orde** ‘exchange’.

**otordu** (HN \*\*) *n.* ‘meal’. + **ordu** ‘hour’.

**otron** (S) *n.* ‘meal’. + **oren** ‘hour’. The development is *\*ot-oren* > *\*otoron* (by vowel assimilation) > **otron** (by P38).

**othorenza** (old LN), **othoranza** (old LN), **otrontze** (HN){, **ot(h)orontze** (HN LN, L Z), **otoruntza** (G HN), **otrunta** (L)} \*\*\*\*{‘food’, ‘meal’ Az.} [FHV 83, 162] {M. 1967c: 169}

**otsein** (B) *n.* ‘servant’. + **sein** ‘child’ (M. \*\*\*\*{1961a: 346}).

**otzara** (B) *n.* ‘breadbasket’, ‘basket’. + **zara** ‘basket’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**ohi** (L LN Z), **oi** (B G) *n.*? ‘custom, habit’, *adv.*? ‘usually, customarily’. 1545.

OUO. This item is not really attested as an independent lexical item except in elliptical forms like *ohi baino tristeagoa* ‘sadder than usual’, but it occurs in the compounds and derivatives below.

**-koi** (\*\*), **-khoi** (\*\*), **-khói** (Z), **-oi** (\*\*), **-ói** (Z) AFS. ‘tending to’, ‘fond of’. By M2. [FHV 250 fn, 414]

**koi** (S.P. \*\*) *a.* ‘desirous (of)’, **khoi** (Z) ‘fond of’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 250 fn, 415 fn]

**o(h)i \*edun** *vtc.* [+ various], **o(h)i izan** *vic.* [+ various] \*\*\*\*\*{‘be accustomed to’, ‘do/be usually’}

**ohitu** (\*\*), **oitu** (\*\*), **oittu** (B G) \*\*\*\*{*vti.* ‘be used to, get used to’ Aul.}

**ohitura** (\*\*), **oitura** (\*\*), **oittura** (B G) \*\*\*\* ‘custom, habit’.

**oihal** (\*\*), **óihal** (Z), **oial** (old B \*\*), **oxal** (R) \*\*\*\*{*n.* ‘cloth’ Aul.}

**oihan** (L LN), **óihan** (Z), **oian** (G HN) *n.* ‘forest, woods’, (old B) **oian** ‘desert’, (old HN) **oian** ‘mountain’. CF **oi(h)ar-**. 1545.

OUO. CF by W10. The evidence suggests that the word was once general in the language, and that it originally meant something like ‘wilderness’, ‘desert’, but today it is confined to the east, where it has become the usual word for ‘forest’. See **baso**.

**oiher** (L LN) *a.* ‘crooked, twisted, winding’, ‘slanting’, TS ‘unjust’, TS ‘sinister, dangerous’, TS *n.* ‘sheltered piece of land’. 1636.

OUO. Possibly related somehow to the synonymous **oker** {[1]}, though M. (1977a: 528) categorically rejects any such link. It is not clear that the last sense represents the same word.

**oiheski** (LN), **oeski** (S), {**oiezki** (A)}, **oxezki** (R) *n.* ‘shady place’. + **-zki** NFS (see **-z**) (M. \*\*\*\* {1961a: 1745}).

{[} **oiheski** (LN) \*\*), **oeski** (S), **oiezki** (A), **oxezki** (R) \*\*\*\* [FHV 175]{ } Largely duplicates previous entry.}

**oilo** (B HN L LN A) (1571), **ollo** (*c.*), **óllo** (Z R) (1562) *n.* ‘hen’ (*zool.*). CF **oila-**, **olla-**.

From Cast. *pollo* ‘chicken’, or a related Rom. form (\*\*\*\*). The development was probably \**bollo* > *ollo* (by P9) > *oilo* (by P32). CF by W2.2. [FHV 320 fn]

**oilaki**, **ollaki** (*c.*) *n.* ‘chicken’ (as meat). 17th cent. + **-ki** {[3]} NFS.

**oilanda** (LN), **ollanda** (B G HN LN), **ollanta** (Z R) *n.* ‘pullet’, {**ollánta** (Z) *n.* ‘chick’}. 1562. + **-anda** NFS. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**ollandaki** (*c.*) *n.* ‘chicken’ (as meat). + **-ki** {[3]} NFS.

**oilar** (L LN A) (1571), **ollar** (*c.*) (1562), **ollár** (Z R), **ollaar** (old B) *n.* ‘cock, rooster’. + **ar** ‘male’.

**oilarite** (old LN) (1571), **ollarite** (S), **ol(i)larrite** (S.P.) (17th cent.), **ollareta** (HN) *n.* ‘dawn’. + *jaite* ‘(a) strike’, consisting of **jo** ‘hit’ + **-te** {[1]} NFS (M. 1961a: 68); *cf.* Lat. *gallicinium*, ML § 3658.

**oilaritza** (Har.) (1749), **oilariza** (?) (1895) *n.* ‘dawn’. + **-tza** NFS.

**oilasko**, **ollasko** (*c.*) *n.* ‘young chicken’, ‘chicken’. 1562. + **-sko** dimin.

**oilo-busti** (L LN Z R) *n.* ‘coward’. + **busti** ‘wet’.

**oilokeri(a)**, **ollokeri(a)** (*c.*) *n.* ‘cowardice’. + **-keria** NFS of vices.

{[} **ollanda** (\*\*), **ollánta** (Z) *n.* ‘chick’. + **-anda** \*\*\*\* ] Largely duplicates **oilanda** above.}

**ollategi** (HN LN), **ollatei** (Sout), **oilotegi** (\*\*), **ollalategi** (Z?), **ollauteigi** (Z) *n.* ‘henhouse’. 1562. + **-tegi** ‘place’ {(see **hegi**).} (M. \*\*\*\* {1949b: 200}). \*\*\*\*

**olloarri** (B), **ollari** (B) *n.* ‘pebbles swallowed by chickens’. + **harri** ‘stone’.

**oin** (*c.* exc Z), **hoin** (\*\*), **huñ** (LN Z), **oñ** (B), **uin** (S) *n.* ‘foot’ (*anat.*), TS ‘foot’ (unit of length), TS ‘foot, base’ (of a mountain or a tree). 15th cent. CF **or-**, **ort-**.

OUO. Variants by P71. First CF by W11; second [FHV 250]. Since no native word for ‘leg’ can be reconstructed, this word may once have meant also ‘leg’. See **zanko**, **hanka**.

**oñatz** (B G) *n.* ‘footprint’. \*\*\*\* + **hatz** ‘footprint’.

**orbide** (\*\*), **hoinbide** (\*\*), **oinbide** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘path’} [FHV 352] {*Cf.* **orbide** ‘gallop’.}

**orkhei** (LN Z), **orkhe** (LN), **orkhoi** (L), **orkoi** (HN L) *n.* ‘shoemaker’s last’. 1643. +  
-**gei** ‘material’ (see **gai**) (M. 1961a: 106). Variants by vowel assimilation.

**orpheko** (Z) *n.* ‘pedal’. \*\*\*\* + **-pe** ‘under’ (see **behe**) + **-ko**.

**ortuts** (\*\*), **orthuts** (\*\*) *a.* ‘barefoot’. \*\*\*\* + **huts** ‘bare’.

**urtuxi** (R S), **urtustu** (L LN) \*\*\*\* {*v.* ‘take shoes off’}

**oinaztarri** (\*\*), **oñetzitu** (B), **oñezitu** (B), **oñaztu** (B), **oñeztu** (B), **oñaztura** (G HN),  
**oñeztura** (\*\*), **oñaztar** (\*\*), **oñazkar** (\*\*), **oinaztura** (A), **iñaztura** (R), **ñaztura**  
(R), **iñhāzi** (Z), **inhazü** (Z), **irastu** (B Sout), **irestu** (\*\*) *n.* ‘lightning’, ‘flash of  
lightning’, ‘meteor shower’. \*\*\*\* [Sarasola] \*\*\*\*

Obscure, but probably a compound. The first element might be **oin** ‘foot’, though the  
sense is puzzling. Some forms contain **-dura** NFS. [FHV 302] [FHV 547: MORE] A  
toponym *Iñastuaga* in Alava (M. 1977a: 547).

**oihu** (\*\*), **oiu** (\*\*), **óihü** (Z), **oju** (G) \*\*\* *n.* ‘shout’. \*\*\*\*

**okaila** (B G) or **okallea** (B G) (sources differ), **okaila** (EB) *n.* ‘a certain disease of sheep  
akin to goitre’. 1847.

M. (\*\*\*\* {1964a: 113}) derives this from a Lat. *fōcālem* {(a kind of scarf)}, a derivative  
of Lat. \**faux* ‘throat’ (recorded only as abl. *fauce* {and plural *fauces*}), and surviving in  
Sardinian {(*focale, fogale, -i* ‘a disease of pigs’)} and in some Italian dialects, as in  
Venetian *fogada*.

**okela** (B L Z), **okhela** (L), **okheli** (L) *n.* (L Z) ‘morsel’ (of food), ‘piece’ (of meat, cheese,  
etc.), (B L) ‘meat’. 1596.

From \**bokela*, by P9, P23, from Lat. *buccellam* ‘mouthful’ (M. 1977a: 531; 1965c:  
111). Note: the \**ok(h)eia* of Arbelaiz (1978) is a typo.

**okelu** (Sout) *n.*, **okellu** (B G?), **okolo** (B), **okolu** (B), **oko(i)llu** (B) ‘corner’, **okolu** (G LN),  
**okholü** (LN Z), **okullu** (G), **ukukku** (G?), **ikullu** (G?) ‘yard’ (of a house). Also many  
local senses, such as ‘stable’ (for animals) (widespread), ‘hallway’ (B), ‘particular  
part of an oven’ (B). 1562. [ADD FHV 482]

From med. Lat. *locellum* ‘small place’, dimin. of *locum* ‘place’ (in preference to Lat.  
*loculum*) (M. \*\*\*\* {1969b: 28f.}, \*\*\*\* {1973a: 168; 1977a: 482}), with dissimilatory  
loss of the initial /l/. [FHV 83 fn]

**okendu** *n.* (old B G), **ukendu** (G), **ünküntü** (Z) ‘unguent’, **okendu** (L) ‘perfume’, **okendu**  
(HN) ‘material which is grafted’. 1763.

From Lat. *unguentum* ‘unguent’, with unusual treatment of the cluster /ng/ (M.  
\*\*\*\* {1957c: 128; 1961a: 229}).

**oker** [1] (\*\*), **okher** (\*\*), **ókher** (Z) \*\*\*\* *a.* ‘twisted, crooked’. \*\*\*\* Possibly related to the  
synonymous **oiher**, though M. (1977a: 528) rejects any such link. [FHV 234] A  
toponym *Okerhuri* in Alava in 1025.

**oker** [2] \*\*\*\*, **óker** (Z) *n.* ‘belch’. \*\*\*\*

{[] **hóki** (Z) *n.* ‘stool’, TS ‘normal state’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 526] {} Partly duplicated under **-toki**.  
Transferred there.}

{[] **-oki** NFS ‘place’. [MITX 73] {} Duplicated under **-toki**.}

**okor** (G) *n.* ‘slice’. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* Possibly related to **sokor** ‘clod’, ‘crust’ (under **m-**) (M. 1961a: 273).

**ola** (B G HN), **olha** (LN) *n.* ‘forge’, ‘foundry’ (1537), TS ‘factory’ (1905), **ola** (L) ‘wooden cabin’, ‘small building in the remote countryside’, **ólha** (Z) ‘shepherd’s hut’.

From \**oLa*, OUO, by P23. Lh. proposes Lat. *aulam* ‘yard, court, palace’, but this is impossible by P22. The word is a common element in toponyms and surnames, where it frequently means only ‘place where something is done’, or even just ‘place’.

{[] **olabe** (R) *n.* [FHV 118] {} Duplicated under **olo**.}

{[] **olabior** (HN), **olabeor** (R S), **olabeur** (R) *n.* ‘darnel’ (*bot.*) (*Lolium temulentum*). + **bi{h}ur** ‘twisted’ [SORT] (M. 1961a: 120). {} Moved to **olo**.}

**olagarro** (B G) *n.* ‘octopus’ (*zool.*) (*Octopus*). 1745, 1808.

Obscure. The second element appears to be **garro** ‘tentacle’. For the first, M. (\*\*\*\* {1953c: 481}) very diffidently suggests *ora-*, the stem of the verb **oratu** ‘grasp’ {not in *The Dictionary*}, with rhotic dissimilation.

**olata** (B Sout G HN) *n.* ‘bread offered in church to a deceased person’, (B G HN) ‘small bread roll for children’. 1562.

From Lat. *oblāta* ‘offering’ (A. 1905; M. \*\*\*\* {1974b: 192}). But the presence of /l/, rather than /r/, shows by P22 that the cluster /bl/ must have been originally borrowed as something more complex than /l/, unless the word was borrowed late from Church Lat.

**olio** (G HN L LN), **olío** (Z), **orio** (B Sout R S) *n.* ‘oil’. \*\*\*\*

**olo** (\*\*), **olho** (\*\*), **orlo** (B) *n.* ‘oats’ (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*) [FHV 366]

\*\*\*\* {From \**oLo*, OUO.}

**olabae** (S), **olabai** (S), **olabe** (R) *n.* ‘sieve’. \*\*\*\* + **bahe** ‘sieve’.

**olabior** (HN), **olabeor** (R S), **olabeur** (R) *n.* ‘darnel’ (*bot.*) (*Lolium temulentum*). + **bi{h}ur** ‘twisted’ [SORT] (M. 1961a: 120).

**hólla** (Z) *n.* ‘leaf’. \*\*\*\*

From Bearn. \*\*\*\* {*hoélhe* Palay (1980)} (M. 1961a: 219).

**ollera** (G?) *n.* ‘bottle for oil’.

From Cast. *oliera* ‘bottle for holy oil’ (M. \*\*\*\* {1970a: 58}). The *\*oillerea* of A. (1905) is an error.

**omen** (HN L LN) *n.* ‘reputation’, ‘fame, renown’. 1627. TS **omen** (G HN L), **emen** (G), **emon** (R) *prt.* ‘reportedly’, ‘they say’, ‘I hear’. 17th cent.

OUO. Lh. suggests Lat. *ōmen* ‘omen’, but the semantics is not good. G variant of the particle perhaps by vowel assimilation. If the word is native, we may reconstruct *\*oben*, by P\*\* {7}.

**on** (*c. exc.* Z), **hon** (old LN), **hun** (Z) *a.* ‘good’. 13th cent., 1415.

OUO. Z form by P71. An original *\*bon* is possible, by P9, and is perhaps supported by the occurrence of *-BON(N)-* in Aq. This has led several linguists to suggest a borrowing from Lat. *bonum* ‘good’, but there are serious problems with this: the loss of the second Lat. vowel would be irregular, its presence in Aq. would require an astoundingly early borrowing, and the Lat. word itself is late in that language. The form *on* is abundantly recorded in the *Fuero General de Navarra*, and *Ona* ‘the Good’ is a frequent medieval sobriquet or surname, esp. in Navarra. This is the only adjective in the language that compares irregularly; see **hobe**. [SEE FHV 56 FOR A LIST OF DERIVS]

**oasun** (old B), **ogasun** (old B) *n.* ‘goods, property’. 1596. From *\*onasun*, + **-tasun** NFS (see **-tar**), by P1, P35.1 (M. \*\*\*\* {1956c: 342; 1957c: 150 fn. 56}). P1 here applies across a morpheme boundary. [FHV 245: MUCH MORE]

**onak** (*c.*) *n. pl.* ‘goods’. + **-ak** pl. article (see **\*har**).

**onaldi** (L LN) *n.* ‘good mood’. + **aldi** ‘time’.

**onartu** (G HN), **onhartu** (L LN Z) *vt.* ‘approve of, agree to, accept’. 1741. + **hartu** ‘take’.

**onbehar** (L) *n.* ‘want, poverty, indigence, misery’, *a.* ‘needy, poor, indigent, miserable’. 1571. + **behar** ‘need’.

**ondo** (B) *adv.* ‘well’. 15th cent. + **-to** {[2]} AdvFS.

**ondo ibili** (B) *intj.* ‘goodbye’ (esp. to someone who is leaving). + **ibili** ‘fare’.

**ondo lo egin** (B) *intj.* ‘good night’ (to someone retiring). + **lo egin** ‘sleep’ (see **lo**).

**ondu** (B G HN), **ontu** (R), **onthu** (old LN), **húntü** (Z) *vi.* ‘improve’, ‘get better’ (in health), TS ‘ripen’, *vt.* ‘improve’, TS ‘cure’ (meat or cheese), TS ‘manure’ (land). 1643. + **-tu** VFS. Z form by P70.

**on egin** (*c.*) *vitmd.* ‘benefit, profit’. TS **onegin** (B) *n.* ‘profit, benefit’. + **egin** ‘do’.

**onen** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*, **onaen** (old B) {*a.* ‘best’} [FHV 118]

**oneritzi** (L), **onheritzi** (L LN), **oneretxi** (old B), **oneritxi** (B) *vt.* ‘love’, ‘approve of’. TS (old B) *n.* ‘love’, TS (old B) *n.* ‘lover’, ‘enthusiast’. + **-eritzi** ‘consider’ (see **eritzi**).

**onherizte** (old LN) *n.* ‘love’. + **-te** {[1]} NFS.

**onherran** (old LN) *vt.* ‘bless’. \*\*\*\* + **erran** ‘say’.

**onetsi** (HN L LN), **honetsi** (old LN) *vt.* ‘love’. 1545. + **-etsi** ‘consider’ (see **etsi**).

**ongailu** (HN L), \*\*\*\*\*, **hunkállü** (Z) *n.* ‘condiment’. \*\*\*\*\*

**ongaitzak** (L LN) *n. pl.* ‘ups and downs’, ‘pros and cons’, ‘virtues and vices’. 1635. + **gaitz** ‘bad’ + **-ak** *pl. article* (see **\*har**).

**ongarri** (*c.*), **ungarri** (old LN) *n.* ‘manure, fertilizer’, (B G HN) ‘condiment’, **hongarri** (old LN) *a.* ‘agreeable’. + **-garri** NFS, AFS. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**ongi** (HN G L LN), **hongi** (old LN), **ungi** (L LN), **onki** (R), **hunki** (Z) *adv.* ‘well’, TS ‘in good condition’, ‘in good health’. 1415. + **-ki** {[1]} AdvFS.

**ongi et(h)orri** (*c. exc. B*) *intj.* ‘welcome’. + **etorri** ‘come’.

**ongisko**, **ongixko** (L LN) *adv.* ‘rather well, fairly well’, TS ‘in rather good measure’. + **-sko** *dimin.*

**ongose** *n.* (old LN) ‘avarice’, (H.) ‘miser’, (L) ‘gourmet’. + **gose** ‘hunger, hungry’.

**on-on** (L LN) *n.* ‘bonbon, sweet’. From *on-on*, ‘very good’, reduplicated intensive form. Probably calqued on Fr. *bonbon*.

**ontsa** (LN), **onsa** (LN old Z), **unsa** (LN), **úntsa** (Z) *adv.* ‘well’. 1545. + the AdvFS **-sa** [2], unique to this word.

**ontzat (h)artu** (*c.*) *vt.* ‘approve of, accept, agree to’. + **-tzat** *essive* + **hartu** ‘take’.

**ontze** (Sout) *n.* ‘friendship’. 1562. + **-tze** NFS (see **-tza**).

**húнки** (Z) *n.* ‘benefit’. + **-ki** [\*\*{3}] NFS.

**-oña**, **-oño** Toponymic suffixes. [MITX 73: 492] {M. 1973a: 140}

**onddo** (B G HN) (1905), **ónddo** (Z), **ondo** (1664), **onjo** (1928), **hondo**, **honddo** (L) (1905), **konddo** (L), **ontto** (1745, 1966), **ondio**, **oindo**, **honjo**, **ondio**, **ontio**, **onio**, **onto** (1745, 1847), **fongo**, **fungo** (R) *n.* ‘mushroom’, ‘fungus’.

From one or more Rom. reflexes of Lat. *fungum* ‘fungus’, akin to Cast. *hongo*, often with expressive palatalization (M. \*\*\*\*\*{1961a: 54 fn. 10}).

**ondo** [1] (*c.*), **hondo** (L) *n.* ‘bottom’, ‘space below’, TS ‘side’, ‘space beside’, TS ‘tree’ (only in compounds), TS (L) ‘tree trunk’, TS ‘foot of a tree’, TS ‘time after’ (only in postpositions), TS (HN LN) ‘consequence, effect’, TS ‘residue’, TS (HN L LN) ‘ex-’, ‘former’. 1571.

From Cast. *hondo* ‘bottom’, or from *\*bondo*, by P9, from Rom. *\*fondo*, by L3, from Lat. *fundum* ‘bottom’. This is a spatial noun, and it occurs in some very frequent postpositions. It is also very frequently the final element in compounds, such as **ukondo** ‘elbow’, from **uko** ‘forearm’. Such compounds can take the RS **-ko** to render ‘post-’: *gerra-ondoko* ‘post-war’ (*gerra* ‘war’). The sense of ‘tree’ occurs only in compounds whose first element denotes the fruit of the tree: *sagar* ‘apple’, *sagarrondo* ‘apple tree’. Eastern varieties use it in compounds to mean ‘ex-’: *alkate* ‘mayor’, *alkateondo* ‘ex-mayor’. See also **ohi**.

**ondar** (*c.*), **hondar** (L LN Z), **úndar** (Z) *n.* ‘residue, remains’, ‘sand’, (L LN Z) ‘bottom, deep

part, depths' (as of the sea), TS (B G) 'beach', TS (L) *a.* 'persistent' (as of pain). 1617. App. + hypothetical **\*-ar** collective NFS (M. \*\*\*\* {1973a: 139}). This word is perhaps the strongest piece of evidence for the reality of this suffix. [FHV 56]

**kondarrak** (G) *n. pl.* 'remains, residue'. \*\*\*\* [FHV 248] \*\*\*\*

**ondarbe** (R) *n.* 'sieve'. \*\*\*\* + **bahe** 'sieve'. [FHV 118]

**hondarreko** (L) *adjvl.* 'which has passed', as in *hondarreko astea* 'last week'. + **-ko**.

**(h)ondarmondarrak** (L R S) *n. pl.* 'residue'. An **m-reduplication**.

**ondoan** (*c.*) *p.* [+ Gen.] 'beside'. + **-a** article (see **\*har**) + **-n** {[1]} locative {CS.}: lit., 'at the side (of)'.

**ondoko** (*c.*) *adjvl.* 'near, close, next to', TS 'following, next', TS *n.* 'successor, heir, descendant'. + **-ko** RS.

**ondora** (*c.*) *p.* 'to the side of', 'toward'. + **-ra** allative.

**(h)ondoratu** (*c.*) *vi.* 'go to the bottom', 'sink' (often esp. of a ship), *vt.* 'send to the bottom', 'sink' (often esp. of a ship), *vi., vt.* 'approach'. + **-tu** VFS.

**ondoren** (*c.*), **ondore** (\*\*) [FHV 138] *p.* 'after', TS *n.* 'consequence, outcome, aftermath, repercussion'. + **-rean** Abl CS (M. 1961a: 119–120).

**ondorio** (L LN Z HN) (1775), **ondore** (G L LN R) (1627) *n.* 'consequence, outcome, aftermath, repercussion'. Final element(s) obscure. The second form might be a reduced form of **ondoren** (above)

**ondotik** (*c.*) *p.* 'from under', 'under'; 'from behind', 'behind', 'following', *adv.* (L LN Z) 'immediately'. + **-tik** ablative.

**ondo** [2] \*\*\*\* (tree trunk etc)

**ondra** (\*\*) *n.* 'honour'. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

**ondradu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*a.* 'honourable'} [FHV 366]

**onil** (B G HN), **honil** (L LN), **unil** (S.P.), **unhil** (S.P.), **umil** (L) *n.* 'funnel'. 1802. Dimin. **txonil** (B).

From Cast. *fonil* {or Occ. *fonilh*} id. (M. \*\*\*\* {1961a: 189}), perhaps via *\*bonil*, by P9. The ult. source is Late Lat. *\*fundiculum*, from *infundere* 'pour (a liquid into a container)' (CP *s.v.* *fundir*). Dimin. by M9. Last form {(**umil**)} by P\*\* {2}.

**ontz** (G \*\*), **hontz** (S.P.), **hüntz** (Z) \*\*\* 'owl'

**ontza** (\*\*), **úntza** (Z) *n.* 'ounce'. \*\*\*\*

**ontzi** (\*\*), **untzi** (\*\*), **úntzi** (Z) *n.* 'container, vessel'.

\*\*\*\* {OUO.}

**ohoin** (L LN) (1545), **ooin** (HN), **ũhũñ** (Z), **uuñ** (old B) (1596), **oñ** (Sout) (1562) *n.* ‘thief’.

From *\*onoin*, OOU, by P1 (M. \*\*\*\* {1950b: 460; 1961a: 140, 303}). The Sout form is extracted from a def. form *oña*, and should perhaps be **oin**. The old B form is written *uhun* or *huhuñ*, but the <h>es here are purely orthographic. See **lapur**.

**ohorgoa** (H. \*\*) *n.* ‘theft, robbery’. \*\*\*\* + **-goa** NFS.

**ostu** (B Sout G) (1562), **onstu** (old B) (1656), **oostu** (B) *vt.* ‘steal’, *vtd.* ‘rob’. + obscure second element + **-tu** VFS (M. \*\*\*\* {1961a: 140, 303}).

**ohol** (L LN Z) (1643), **ohola** (old L) (1636), **ogol** (HN), **ol** (G HN S), **õl** (R) *n.* ‘board, plank’.

From *\*onol(a)*, OOU, by P1 (M. \*\*\*\* {1950b: 461; 1954b: 147; 1961a: 303}). HN form by P35.1.

**ohore** (L LN), **oore** (HN), **ore** (R), **ũhũ(r)e** (Z) *n.* ‘honour’, **õre** (R) *n.* ‘funeral honours’. CF **o(h)ora-** 1545.

From *\*onore*, by P1, from Lat. *honōrem* id. (M. 1961a: 300). The R split is interesting. CF by an unusual application of W2.2. See also **ehortzi**.

**ohoragarri** (L), **ooragarri** (HN) *a.* ‘honourable, possessing honour’, ‘conferring honour, admirable’. 1686. + **-garri** AFS. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**ohoratu** (L), **ooratu** (HN) *vt.* ‘honour’. 1545. + **-tu** VFS.

**oputz** (R), **opus** (R?) *n.* ‘effort’, **ophütz** (Z) ‘result’. \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *opus* ‘work’ (M. 1961a: 288).

**or** (old B L LN Z), **hor** (LN), **ho(r)** (Z) *n.* ‘dog’. CF usually **ora-**, occasionally **o-**. 1562.

OOU. The variant *\*ora* cited by A. (1905) appears to be an error. CF by W17, W11. Largely displaced by **zakur**.

**ozar** (L Z) *n.* ‘(big) dog’ (17th cent.), TS *a.* ‘insolent’, ‘cynical’, ‘pompous’ (1664). + **zahar** ‘old’ (M. \*\*\*\* {1964a: 95; 1968g: 487}).

**ozargizon** (S.P.) *n.* ‘dog-man’. + **gizon** ‘man’.

**ozar izar** (L) *n.* ‘scorching heat’, ‘heat wave’. 17th cent. + **izar** ‘star’.

**orain** (B Sout G HN L LN Z), **orai** (G HN L LN Z R), **oin** (B G) *adv.* ‘now’. 1571.

From Lat. *hōram* ‘hour’ plus the Loc. in **-n** of some demonstrative or other item which is no longer recognizable (M. \*\*\*\* {1971b: 591 fn. 38; 1972f: 309 fn. 17}): lit. ‘at the hour’ or ‘at this hour’, a common way of expressing ‘now’ in the world’s languages. The second variant is probably derived by back-formation from the derivatives below in which the stem **orai-** results from the regular loss of Loc. **-n** before certain endings. Last form by contraction.

**orast** (Sout) *adv.* ‘now’, ‘at present’. 1562. From Lat. *hōra est* ‘it is the hour’ (M. \*\*\*\* {1957a: 21; Agud & Michelena 1958b: 42}). The derivative below suggests that the word was formerly widespread. The *\*ozatz* of A. (1905) is an error.



**ora(i)xtean** (L LN) (17th cent.), **arestian** (B G HN) (1745, *ca.* 1755), **araistian** (?) (17th cent.), {**araxtian** (\*\*)}, **oroxtian** (LN), **oxtian** (LN), **oxtixan** (LN), **oxtixotan** (LN), **orextian** (H.) *adv.* ‘a short time ago’, ‘recently’. {[+ **-an** Loc. CS.]} {M. (\*\*\*\* {1957a: 21; Agud & Michelena 1958: 42} Arb) proposes Lat. *hōra est jam* ‘the hour is now’.} Lh. (*s.v.* *oroxtian*) suggests an alternative origin in \**orai-ostean*, from **orain** ‘now’ + **ostean** ‘behind’ (see **oste**{[2]}), but this otherwise plausible suggestion suffers from the problem that **oste** is not recorded in the northern dialects.

**aresti** (B G HN), **areisti** (B G HN) *n.* ‘moment’, **oraxte** (S) *n.* ‘very recent past’.  
Back-formation, by removal of Loc. **-an**.

**orbain** (\*\*), **orban** (B), **orbeñ** (Z) *n.* ‘mark, scar’. \*\*\*\*

Obscure. Probably related somehow to **ermain** ‘defect’ (M. 1977a: 507).

**orbide** (\*\*{oldB}), **orbi** (\*\*{old LN}) *n.* \*\*\*\*{‘gallop’} [FHV 412 fn]

Clearly contains **bide** ‘way’, by W\*\*{19}, though the first element is obscure. {See **orbide** under **oin**. Are these the same word?}

**orde** {*n.* ‘compensation, replacement, substitute, exchange’

**-orde** NFS ‘step-’, ‘vice-’, ‘substitute’}

**ordea** [1] \*\*\*\* prt. {‘but, however’ Aul.}

**ordea** [2] (\*\*) *n.* ‘(religious) order’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 146]

**hordi** (\*\*), **ordi** (\*\*), **órdi** (Z) *a.* ‘drunk’. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* **ordi mokor** (R) ‘blind drunk’. + **mokor** expressive (see **m-**).

**ordu** (*c. exc.* Z), **ordü** (Z) *n.* ‘hour’, ‘time’ (of the clock), ‘time’ (at which something happens), (B) ‘time’ (in general, ‘duration’), (Z) ‘occasion’, ‘circumstance’. *Ca.* 1500.

O.U.O. Since the hour is a Roman invention, we may suppose either that the word is borrowed or that a native word has been loan-shifted in sense. Schuchardt (\*\*\*\*{1922}) suggests an origin in the Lat. nom. *ordō* ‘order, series’, with the sense of Lat. *hōram* ‘hour’, but few have found this appealing. Several have wanted to relate the word to **oren** ‘hour’ and to **orain** ‘now’, both of which likely derive from Lat. *hōram*, but the formal obstacles are formidable. A. (1905: *s.v.*) appears to report that the word is attested in the Baztan (HN) in the sense of ‘clock’, a report not confirmed elsewhere. The same source notes that Bonaparte reports the word as having in R the “strange” /r/, the one otherwise derived from \*/t/.

**orduan** (*c. exc.* Z), **ordüan** (Z), **orduen** (old B) [hapax] *adv.* ‘then’, (B G HN L)

‘therefore, consequently, then’. 1545. + **-an** Loc. {CS.} Last form by P43. Lit., ‘at the hour’, a common way of forming adverbs meaning ‘then’ or ‘now’ in the world’s languages.

**ore** (\*\*), **orhe** (old LN \*\*), **ó(r)he** (Z), **õre** (R), **orre** (G A) \*\*\*\* ‘dough’ [FHV 83, 331] [Azkue]

\*\*\*\*

**oramai** (\*\*), \*\*\*\*, **olamai** (R) *n.* ‘{kneading} trough....’ \*\*\*\*

**orantza** (G HN L R S), **orrantz** (G) *n.* ‘yeast’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 331]

**orein** (\*\* Sout), **ore(i)ñ** (B), **oreñ** (Z), **oren** (LN) *n.* ‘deer’ (*zool.*) (*Cervus elaphus*). 1562. OUO.

**oren** (L LN R), **ó(r)en** (Z), **oron** (HN S), **oon** (LN) *n.* ‘hour’ (1545), TS (L LN) ‘clock’, ‘watch’ (1715).

Probably somehow from Lat. *hōram* id. (Schuchardt \*\*\*\*{1922}). M. (\*\*\*\*{1957a: 20}) suggests a genitive origin, with Gen. **-en** {[1]}, in a locution like *Zer oren da?* ‘What time is it?’, comparable to Lat. *Quota hōrārum est?*

**orga** (HN L LN), **orgá** (Z), *n.*, usually **orgak** *pl. tm.* ‘cart, wagon’. 1643. CF **organ-**.

From \**organa*, OUO, by P1 (M. \*\*\*\*{1961a: 145, 396}). Gavel (\*\*\*\*{1958}) suggests Lat. *organa*, pl. of *organum* ‘instrument’, esp. ‘musical instrument’. This is phonologically perfect but semantically awkward, though at least it helps to explain the common use of the Bq. word in the pl. CF by W1. [FHV 146 fn] {The semantics is satisfactory from base sense of *organum* ‘mechanical device’}.

**organhága** (Z) *n.* ‘pole used to hold hay or the like on a wagon’. \*\*\*\* + **haga** ‘pole’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**organbide** (Z) *n.* ‘cartpath’. \*\*\*\* + **bide** ‘road’.

**organtsábel** (Z) *n.* \*\*\*\* + **sabel** ‘belly’. [FHV 301]

**hori** [1], **kori** (R S), **go(r)i** (HN A) \*\*\*\* Abs. pl. **horiek** (\*\*), **oriek** (\*\*), **oiek** (G \*\*), **orrek** (\*\*?) - FHV 384 fn] M. 1961a: 384 fn. 10), attributing the point to Altube, derives the pl. forms like **orrek** from earlier \**orreek*. DEMONSTRATIVE {‘that’ (proximal)} [SEE FHV 247]

{OUO.}

**hor** (\*\*), **or** (\*\*), **kor** (R S), **gor** (A) \*\*\*\* *adv.* ‘(just) there’. \*\*\*\*

**orreren** (Sout) ‘from there’. 1562. + **-rean** Abl CS (M. 1961a: 120).

**hortik** (\*\*), **ortik** (\*\*), **ordik** (old HN) {‘from there’} [FHV 355]

**ori** (\*\* R) *pron.* ‘you’. The R pron. is **ori** even though the det. is **kori**.

**-ori** (old LN \*\*) *det.* \*\*\*\* [FHV 213 fn. {21}]

**hori** [2] (L LN), **ho(r)i** (Z), **ori** (\*\*) *a.* ‘yellow’. 1562. Dimin. (Z) **hólli**.

OUO. Possibly contains **-i** [1] AFS. A. (1905) suggests a stem **or** ‘dog’, in which case the original sense would have been ‘tawny’. [FHV 182]

**orlegi** *a.* ‘green’. 1897. Aranist neologism, whose second element is taken from **beilegi** ‘bright yellow’ (see **behi**).

**horitz** (L LN Z), **oritz** (B G HN), **oreitz** (B G), **oratz** (B), **olitz** (LN) *n.* ‘colostrum’ (secretion from nipples).

OUO. Schuchardt (\*\*\*\* ~~H-Dekl~~ {1908:} 5) proposes a Lat. *\*colestrum*, variant of classical *colostrum* id.; this is not impossible but not appealing.

**horma** (L LN), **orma** (B G HN L LN Z), **borma** (old LN) *n.* ‘ice’ (all but B) (1643) (in old LN, ‘thin coating of ice’), ‘crust of ice’ (L LN), TS (L LN) ‘bitter cold’, ‘wall’ (B L) (1656), ‘shoemaker’s last’ (L H.)

From Rom. *forma*, from Lat. *formam* ‘form’ (M. 1961a: 51). Most of the semantic developments are Rom., not Bq.: the Rom. word acquired various senses pertaining to outlining, and most of the Bq. senses are well attested in Rom. See, e.g., Cast. *horma* ‘form’, ‘drystone wall’, Fr. *forme* ‘form’, ‘shoemaker’s last’. Apparently *forma* was borrowed by L3 as *borma*, the form found in the 17th-cent. writer Oihenart for both ‘thin coating of ice’ and ‘wall’, while common (*h*)orma results from P9. The earlier sense of ‘thin coating of ice’ has been generalized to ‘ice’. [FHV 482]

**horma-haize** (L), **orma-aize** (HN) *n.* ‘icy wind’. + **haize** ‘wind’.

**ornitu** (\*\*), **hornitu** (\*\*) *vt.* ‘furnish, provide’. \*\*\*\*

**oro** (old B HN L LN Z R) *det.* ‘all’. 1545.

OUO, and today confined to the eastern dialects. This item exhibits unusual behaviour for a determiner: it follows a full NP containing the plural of the ordinary determiner *-ak* (see **\*har**), and any case-marking on that NP is repeated on **oro**. Examples: *mendiak oro* ‘all the mountains’; *mendietan orotan* ‘on all the mountains’.

**-ero** (\*\*) AdvFS ‘every’. Forms adverbs from nouns of time, like *egunero* ‘every day’ from *egun* ‘day’. \*\*\*\*

**orobat** (G HN L LN Z R) *adv., prt.* ‘in exactly the same way’, ‘equally’, (HN LN) *prt.* ‘moreover’, (HN S.P.) *a.* ‘of no importance’. 1627. + **bat** ‘one’.

**orobatsu** (HN L) *a.* ‘about the same’. 1643. + **-tsu** AFS.

**oroit** (HN), **orhoit** (L LN Z), **orhit** (Z) *n.* ‘memory’. 1571.

The final /t/ points to an Occ. origin. Noting the A derivative below, M. (\*\*\*\* {1961a: 106, 211 fn. 13}) proposes an earlier *\*oreit*, by vowel assimilation, from an unrecorded Gasc. *\*coréit*, the regular outcome in that variety of Lat. *collectum* ‘gathered together’, by P14.

**oroipen** (G HN L LN) *n.* ‘(a particular) memory’, ‘recollection’. 1745, *ca.* 1760. + **-men** NFS (see **-mendu**) (M. 1961a: 346).

**oroit izan** (G HN), **orhoit izan** (L LN) *vi.* [+ Instrl.] ‘remember’. 1571. + **izan** ‘be’.

**oroitu** (G HN) (1564), **orhoitu** (L LN), **oreitu** (A), **orhitu** (old LN) (1545), **orhitü** (Z), **oritu** (S) *vi.* [+ Instrl.] ‘remember’. Stem **or(h)oit-** etc. + **-tu** VFS.

**orots** (L LN Z R) *a.* ‘male’ (of an animal). 17th cent.

OUO, but clearly connected to **-(d)ots** ‘male’. See **ordots** (under **urde**).

**orratz** (\*\*), **orraatz** (B), **orrátz** (Z R) *n.* ‘needle’. \*\*\*\*

**orrazi** (B Sout G) (1562), **orraise** (HN Z R S) (1627) *n.* ‘comb’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 130 fn; 289]

**orre** (LN) *n.* ‘juniper’ (*bot.*) (*Juniperus*). 1859. CF **orra-**.

OUO. CF by W2.2. Localized and recorded late, but probably ancient. The word famously occurs in the toponym *Orreaga*, the Bq. name of the celebrated pass of Roncesvalles (Roncesvaux), where the Basques ambushed and annihilated the rearguard of a Frankish army in 778. Generally displaced by the loanword **ipuru**.

**orradi** (HN) *n.* ‘juniper grove’, **orredi** (old L) *n.* ‘bunch of juniper’. + **-di** collective NFS.

**horri** (L), **orri** (B Sout L) *n.* ‘leaf’, **orri** (G HN) ‘large leaf’. TS \*\*\*\* {‘page’}. 1562. CF **(h)orr-**.

OUO. CF by W\*\* {2.1}.

**horbel** (\*\*), **orbel** (B \*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* + \***bel** ‘dark’ (M. 1961a: 63).

**hosto** (L LN Z), **osto** (G HN S R), **orsto** (old LN), **horsto** (\*\*), **ostro** (HN) *n.* ‘leaf’.

1643. In G HN this is specialized to ‘small leaf’, with **orri** (above) for ‘large leaf’. + **-zto** dimin. {Not in *The Dictionary*.} \*\*\* The fifth form shows an unusual metathesis.

**orroe** (\*\*), **orro** (\*\*), \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘roar’, ‘noise made by an animal’. \*\*\*\*

**ortu** (B Sout) *n.* ‘kitchen garden, vegetable garden’. 1562.

From Lat. *hortum* id.

**hartz** (L LN Z), **ortz** (B Sout G HN L LN R) *n.* ‘incisor tooth’ (*anat.*) (1562), TS ‘tooth’ (of a saw *etc.*) (1596).

OUO. Bq. distinguishes this word from **hagin** [\*\*{1}] ‘molar tooth’, and it commonly uses the compound **hartz-haginak** (below) for ‘teeth’. There is no generic word for ‘tooth’, though **hartz** is sometimes so used, and always in the TS.

**ozki** (G HN L), **oski** (G) *n.* ‘having one’s teeth on edge’. + **-ki** [\*\*{3}] NFS, by P33, P18 (M. \*\*\*\* {1955a: 273 fn.2}).

**ortzi** *n.* (L?) ‘sky’, (LN) ‘thunder’, ‘storm’, (LN) ‘storm cloud, thundercloud’, (L LN) ‘daylight’, ‘brightness of the sky’, ‘starlight’, (old Z) ‘atmosphere’, **hortzi** (L LN) ‘lightning’, **ortze** (Z) ‘storm’, **orze** (old Z) (sense obscure), **osti** (B G) ‘thunderclap’, ‘storm’, *a.* ‘cloudy’, **ozti** (L G B?) ‘thunderstorm’, **hartz**, **holtz** (H.) ‘cloud’, ‘sky’, **orz** (old LN S) ‘cloud’. CF **or(t)z-**, **ost-**, **oz-**. A form *urzi* (12th cent.; see below); a variant *orze ca.* 1650 (provenance unknown); otherwise 1859.

Original form probably \**ortzi*, OUO, since \**ortze* would not account for the CF (M. 1961a: 130). B form by P33. CF by W2.1. A puzzling word, the object of much

discussion. Apart from one medieval and one 17th-century attestation, the independent word is not recorded before the 19th century, yet its numerous derivatives, some of them recorded early, point to an ancient word. The first attestation is that of the 12th-century French pilgrim Aimery Picaud, who, in a brief but otherwise accurate glossary, cites *Urçia* (apparently with the article **-a** attached) as the word for ‘God’. This has led many writers to conjure up a pagan Basque sky-god with the name *\*Ortzi* or *\*Urtzi*, but there is no other evidence for a deity of this name – apart perhaps from the day-names; see below – and M. (1964a: 51) suggests that Picaud, when requesting the Bq. word for ‘God’, may have pointed to the sky, and that the Basques, mistaking his intention, may have given him their word for ‘sky’. [FHV 130: MORE]

The original sense is hard to determine, since, both as an independent word and in its numerous derivatives, the word exhibits all of the meanings ‘sky’, ‘cloud’, ‘storm’ and ‘thunder’. The sense of ‘sky’ is attested for the independent word only in a single proverb recorded in the 19th century.

**ortzadar** (HN), **hortzadar** (L LN), **orzadar** (HN LN Z), **orziadar** (LN), **ozadar** (L Z), **holtzadar** (L LN), **ol(t)zadar** (HN), **ostádar** (Z), **otsadar** (A), **ortzeder** (?) *n.* ‘rainbow’, TS (HN) ‘frown’, ‘scowl’. 1571. + **adar** ‘horn’. Last variant apparently contaminated by **eder** ‘beautiful’.

**ortzaizki**, **hortzazki**, **orzaizki** (LN) *n.* ‘brightness of the sky or of the stars’, ‘moonlight’. Final element obscure.

**ortzantz** (L LN), **orzantz** (Z LN), **ozantz(a)** (Z) *n.* ‘thunder’, ‘storm’. + **azantz** ‘noise’ (M. 1961a: 293; credited to Sauguis), with dissimilatory loss of the medial sibilant by P\*\* {W13}.

**ortzargi** (L LN Z), **ostargi** (B G HN L), **orzargi** (R), **ozargi** (R Z), **oztargi** (G B HN) *n.* ‘dawn’, ‘daylight’, **oztargi** (B) *n.* ‘sunbeam’. + **argi** ‘light’.

**ostargitu** (L) *vi.* ‘clear up’ (of the sky). + **-tu** VFS.

**ortzegun** (L LN HN), **orzegun** (L LN), **ostegun** (G HN LN), **ostégün** (Z), **ostégun** (R), **orzégun** (R) *n.* ‘Thursday’. 1617. + **egun** ‘day’. This word, which looks so much like a calque of Lat. *Jovis dies* ‘Thursday’ (lit., ‘day of Jupiter’), possibly provides some support for the idea, discussed above, that the first element might once have been the name of a sky-god or a thunder-god. But a calque along the lines of ‘thunder-day’ also appears plausible. However, M. (1972f: 307) points out that a derivation from **bortz** ~ **bost** ‘five’ + **egun** ‘day’ would be formally perfect, by P9, and semantically acceptable if the days of the week are counted from Sunday. See also **ortzirale**, below, and see **eguen** (under **egun**).

**ortzegun/ostegun gizen** (L LN HN G) *n.* ‘Thursday before Mardi Gras’. + **gizen** ‘fat’ {(see \***gi-**)}. Calque on Fr. *jeudi gras*, Cast. *jueves gordo*.

**ostegun aizaro** (HN old B) *n.* ‘Maundy Thursday’. + **aizaro** ‘Maundy Thursday’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**ostegunkari** (L LN) *n.* ‘person who works or travels on Thursday’. + **-kari** professional NFS (see **-ari** [1]).

**ortzeko** (L) *adjvl.* ‘celestial, heavenly’. + **-ko** RS.

**ortzikara** (L) *n.* ‘stormy weather’. + **-kara** NFS. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**ortzirale** (L LN), **ortzilare** (L LN R), **orzirale** (L), **orzilare** (HN LN R), **ostirale** (LN), **osti(r)ále** (Z), **ostrále** (R), **orziláre** (R), **ostiral** (G) *n.* ‘Friday’. 1622. Final element obscure. See also **barikua** {~ **bariaku** under **afari**.}

**ortzirale** (etc.) **saindu** *n.* ‘Good Friday’. + **saindu** ‘holy’.

**ostiralekari** (LN) *n.* ‘person who works or travels on Friday’. + **-kari** professional NFS (see **-ari** [1]).

**ortziri** (L LN Z) *n.* ‘thunder’. Final element obscure. {**-iri** NFS? Cf. **igortziri** ‘thunder’.}

**ortzitsu** (L) *a.* ‘stormy’. + **-tsu** AFS ‘full of’.

**ortzitu**, **hortzitu** (L LN) *vi.* ‘thunder’, ‘be stormy’. + **-tu** VFS.

**ortzi zuria!** (L) *intj.* ‘bloody hell!’ + **zuri** ‘white’ + **-a** article (see **\*har**). I have never seen this phrase documented, but I have heard it myself. It appears to be literally ‘white sky’ or perhaps ‘white thunder’.

**ortzondo** (Z LN), **orzondo** (LN R) *n.* ‘dawn, daybreak’. + **ondo** [1] ‘side’.

**ortzoski**, **orzoski** (old LN), **orzaizki** (S), **orzozki** (S.P.), **orzezki** (old Z) *n.* ‘calm air, clear air’. 17th cent. Final element obscure.

**orzgarbi** (L LN Z), **ozkarbi** (B G), **oskarbi** (B G) *n.* ‘clear sky’. + **garbi** ‘clean’.

**ozkarbi-une** (B) *n.* ‘brief periods of sun peeping through the clouds’. + **une** ‘interval’ {(see **gune**)}.

**orzgorri** (LN), **horzgorri** (LN), **ozkorri** (B) *n.* ‘reddish cloud’, ‘red sky’, **ozkorri** (Z) ‘dawn’, ‘dusk, twilight’. + **gorri** ‘red’ {(see **\*gorr-**)}.

{[] **orzondo** (LN R) *n.* ‘dawn’. + **ondo** [1] ‘side’.} Duplicates **ortzondo** above.}

**ostarku**, **oztarku**, **ostriku**, **oztriku**, **ustarku**, **ustruku**, **uztrauku**, **uzterpu**, **sustruku** (B) *n.* ‘rainbow’. + **arku** ‘arc’ {(not in *The Dictionary*)}, with irregular developments. {Some of these forms are also cited at **uztargi** (see **buztarri**); blends of two separate words?}

**ostarte**, **oztarte** (B G) *n.* ‘brief periods of sun peeping through the clouds’. + **arte** {[1]} ‘interval’.

**ostrallaka** (HN G), **ostralika** (G), **ostreilaka** (G), **oztralika** (HN G), **oztrellaka** (G) *n.* ‘rainbow’. Final element obscure.

**ostil**, **oztil** (G) *n.* ‘rainbow’. Final element obscure; **\*iLe** ‘moon’ is phonologically good but semantically curious.

**ostots** (Z HN), **oztots** (HN G), **ortots** (HN), **otsots** (A) *n.* ‘thunder’. + **hots** ‘noise’ (M. 1961a: 293).

**oztosari** (HN) *a.* ‘thundering’. + **-ari** [\*\*]? {Not **-ari** [1] or **-ari** [2]. Cf. **ortziri** above.}

**oztosketa** (HN) *n.* ‘rumbling of thunder’. + **-keta** NFS {not in *The Dictionary*}.

**ostroi**, **oztroi** (B) *n.* ‘thunder’. Obscure.

**ozkar** (B), **ozkarri** (G) *n.* ‘thunder’. Obscure.

**ozme** (LN) *n.* ‘lightning bolt, thunderbolt’. + **mehe** ‘slender’, by W19.

**ozpin** (L LN), **orzpin** (L LN), **ozmin** (G? HN?), **ozme** (S), **ozpirin** (L), **ozpriñ** (L) ‘lightning bolt’, ‘thunderbolt’, ‘thunder’. 17th cent. + *\*bini* ‘tongue’ (see **mihi**) (M. 1961a: 276, 350). Last two variants puzzling; possibly *\*-bini* > *\*-bĩ* > *\*-bĩrĩ* > *-birin*, or possibly by an unusual metathesis, as preferred by M. (1961a: 368).

**ozpinarri** (HN G), **ozminarri** (HN), **ozmiarri** (HN), **oxmearri** (S) *n.* ‘thunder’. App.+ **harri** ‘stone’, with puzzling semantics (M. 1961a: 276).

**oztrontz** (B) *n.* ‘beam of light’. Obscure.

**oru** (B G) (1847), **orue** (G) (1745, 1955), **orube** (B G) (1824) *n.* ‘building site’, ‘place where a house is to be built’, TS ‘perimeter of a house, including its attached land’.

Probably from Lat. *forum* ‘open space’ (M. \*\*\*\*{1973a: 143}), either directly by L3, or indirectly via *\*boru*, by P9. Extension obscure; possibly **-be** ‘under’ (see **behe**).

**-os, -oso** AFS.

**osaba** (*c.*), **oseba** (LN Z), **osea** (LN Z) *n.* ‘uncle’, TS (LN Z) ‘stepfather’. \*\*\*\*.

OUO, but contains **-ba** kinship suffix. Last two forms by contamination from **izeba** ‘aunt’. Loss of /b/ by P16.

**osin** (*c.*), **hausin** (\*\*), **ausin** (\*\*), **hasuin** (\*\*), **asuin** (\*\*) (1657) *n.* ‘deep place in a river or in the sea’, ‘(water) well’, TS (G) ‘sea’, TS (G) ‘eddy, whirlpool’ (in a river), TS (B) ‘bedpan’, TS (B) ‘urine’, TS (S) ‘winter wind bringing snow’, **hosin** (L) (1643) ‘abyss’. [FHV 107]

OUO. Possibly from *\*sosin*, by P20. M. (\*\*\*\*{1955a: 143}) notes a merely formal parallel with Ib. *SOSIN*, of unknown meaning, but points out that, in plausible correspondences, Bq. /s/ corresponds to Ib. *ś*, not to Ib. *s*. Uniquely, \*\*\*\*{Juan de Tartas, *Onsa hilceco bidia*, Orthez, 1666} consistently writes *ocin* (= *ozin*), but M. (1961a: 286 fn. 12) takes this form as resulting from the constant association {on the same page} in this book with the synonymous **leze** {<*lece*>}.

{[] **oskol** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* [MT entry] []} Duplicates part of entry under **koskol**.)

**oso** (*c.*) *a.* ‘whole, complete’, TS ‘healthy’, TS *deg.* ‘very’. 1545. CF **osa-**

OUO. CF by W2.2.

**osagarri** (\*\*), **osagárri** (Z R) (Z R ‘good health’) [senses] \*\*\* + **-garri** \*\*\* {Not in *The Dictionary*.} [FHV 126]

**osagile** (EB), **osagille** (B), **osagilla** (B) *n.* ‘physician, doctor’. 1745, 1800. + **-gile** ‘who does’ (see **egin**). Last form by M5.

**osasan** (B Sout G HN L LN S) (1562) *n.* ‘good health’, **osotasun** (*c.*) (17th cent.) *n.* ‘wholeness, completeness’. + **-tasun** NFS (see **-tar**). S has **osasan** by \*\*\*{P19}, even though the NFS is normally **-(t)arzun** in this variety (M. 1961a: 284).

**osatu** (\*\*) (B) ‘cure’, (\*\*) ‘complete’ ‘castrate’? + **-tu** VFS [FHV 126]

**osoro** (B), **oso-osoro** (B) *deg.* ‘wholly, entirely’. + **-ro** AdvFS. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

{[] **ospe** (\*\*), **hospe** (Old LN) *n.* ‘fame, renown, reputation’. \*\*\*\* {} Duplicate of **ospe** under **hots**.}

**ospel** (B G HN), **uspel** (L LN), **suspel** (HN), ~~**nospel**~~ (HN) *n.* ‘shady place, dark place’, (L LN) other senses. \*\*\*\* [FHV 310]

Surely contains **\*bel** ‘dark’, though the first element is obscure.

**mospel** (G HN), **nospel** (HN) *n.* ‘shady place’, ‘chilblain’. Expressive variant of unusual formation; second form by dissimilation (M. 1961a: 272).

**ostalérsa** (Z) \*\*\*\* {‘landlady, female boarding-house keeper’} [FHV 290]

**oste** [1] (HN? L LN Z) (15th cent.), **ozte** (old L) (1627) *n.* ‘host, army’, ‘crowd, multitude’.

From Lat. *hostem* ‘host’ (M. \*\*\*\* {1974b: 188}). Common form by P18.

{**oztera** \*\*\*\* [FHV 249]

**ozterate** (old HN) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘tax equivalent to war service’} [FHV 249]}

**oste** [2] (B G) *n.* ‘part behind’, ‘rear part’, TS [in compounds] ‘aftermath, consequence’, TS ‘contrary part’, TS ‘hangover’. 1596.

From Lat. *post* (M. 1961a: 251), probably via **\*bost-**, by P9. Final /e/ extracted from the *p.* below, by M8. Frequent as a final element in compounds like **afaloste** ‘period after dinner’ (see **afari**).

**ostean** (B) *p.* [+ Gen.] ‘behind’, ‘after’.

**ostiko** *n.* (c.) ‘heel’ (*anat.*), (B G HN L? LN R) ‘buttress’, (old B Sout G HN LN) ‘kick’. 1562.

From **\*bostiko**, by P9, from Lat. *posticum* {*a.*} ‘behind’ (M. 1961a: 251).

**ote** [1] (G HN), **othe** (L LN Z), **ota** (B) *n.* ‘gorse, furze’ (*bot.*) (*Ulex europaeus*). 17th cent. CF **ota-**.

OUO. B form by M5. CF by W2.2.

**ote** [2] (\*\*), **othe** (\*\*), **ete** (B) *prt.* \*\*\*\* {‘maybe’ Aul.}

**oti** (G? old B), **othi** (LN) *n.* ‘locust’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*) Dimin. (LN) **otte** ‘locust’.

**otoi** (HN S L R), **othoi** (L LN Z) *intj.* ‘I beg you!’ (1545), **otoi** (S R), **othoi** (L LN Z) *n.* ‘request, supplication’ (1545). [FHV 106]

Obscure. M. (\*\*\*\* {1967b: 32}) suggests a derivative of Lat. *vōtum* ‘pledge’; see **otu**.

**otoi egin** (R) *vtl.* ‘request, ask for’. + **egin** ‘do’.

**othoiez** (LN Z) *adv.* ‘begging’, ‘praying’. + **-z** instrl./advbl.



**othoigü** (Z) *n.* ‘oratory, chapel’. + **-gu** NFS of place. {Not in *The Dictionary*, but cf. **gune?**}

**otoikatu** (R) *v.* [diathesis unrecorded] ‘ask for, request’, ‘pray’. + **-ka** AdvFS + **-tu** VFS.

**otoitu** (S R), **othoitü** (Z) *vt.* (but sometimes *vi.* in R) ‘ask for, request’, ‘pray’. 1545. + **-tu** VFS.

**otoitz** (HN), **othoitz** (L LN), **othoitze** (Z) *n.* ‘request, supplication’. 1545. + **-tze** NFS, with irregular vowel loss.

**otoitz egin** (HN), **othoitz egin** (L LN), **othoitze egin** (LN Z) *vitm.* ‘pray’. + **egin** ‘do’.

**otoizka** (HN), **othoizka** (L LN) *adv.* ‘praying’. + **-ka** AdvFS.

**othoizle** (Z) *n.* ‘supplicant’. 17th cent. + **-le** Agent NFS.

**otoizte** (HN? old B) *n.* ‘rogation’, ‘period of public prayers after a calamity’. + **-te** {[1]} NFS of duration.

**othoiztegi** (S.P.) *n.* ‘oratory, chapel’. + **-tegi** ‘place’ {(see **hegi**)}.

**otoiztu** (HN L), **othoiztu** (L LN) *vt.* ‘pray’, *vtc.* [+ Subj.] ‘pray for, beg for’. 1545?, 1571. Stem **ot(h)oi(t)z-**. + **-tu** VFS.

**hots** (\*\*) *n.* ‘noise’, ‘cry, shout’. \*\*\*\*

OUO.

**ospe** (\*\*), **hospe** (old LN) \*\*\* *n.* ‘fame {, renown, reputation}’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 215]

**otso** (*c. exc.* Sout), **ótso** (Z) *n.* ‘wolf’ (*zool.*) (*Canis lupus*). 1545. CF **otsa-**.

OUO. CF by W2.2. Probably recorded as Aq. *OXSON-*, *OSSON-* in male personal names (M. \*\*\*\* {1954a: 434; 1961a: 50; 1964b: 17, 19}). As a first element in names of plants, often means ‘wild’. See **lupu**.

**otsail** (old B G HN L S R), **otsaile** (?), **otsil** (B G HN? L LN Z R) *n.* ‘February’. \*\*\*\*. + **-il** ‘month’ (see **\*iLe**). The motivation is unknown. Second variant cited by Caro Baroja (1973: 76).

**otsalizar** (G) *n.* ‘rowan, mountain ash’ (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*). \*\*\*\*. + **lizar** ‘ash’ (see **leizar**).

**otsaporru** (G R) *n.* ‘wild leek’ (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*). + **porru** ‘leek’.

**otsaputs** {(L)} \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘puffball’ (*bot.*)}.

**otserri** (old LN old Z) *n.* ‘wolf country’. \*\*\*\* + **herri** ‘country’. [FHV 417]

**otso-gizon** (S.P.) *n.* ‘werewolf’. \*\*\*\* + **gizon** ‘man’.

{**otsokume** *n.* ‘wolf cub’. + **-kume** ‘offspring’ (see **ume**). }

**otu** *vid.* (old B old LN) ‘request, ask for, beg for’ (1596), TS ‘occur to’, ‘come to mind’ (*ca.* 1800). Stem **otu-**.

From Lat. *vōtum* ‘vow, pledge, promise’, *pcple.* of *vovēre* ‘pledge’, ‘desire, wish for’ (M. 1977a: 531), possibly via *\*botu*, by P9. {Cf. **otoi.**}

**hotz (\*\*), otz (\*\*)** *a.* ‘cold’, *n.* ‘cold’. \*\*\*\*

OUO.

**otzautsi (\*\*), otzausi (\*\*), otzasi (\*\*)** *a.* ‘lukewarm, tepid’. \*\*\*\* + **hautsi** ‘broken’  
 {(see **hauts**)} (M. 1961a: 283).

**txakil (B)** *a.* ‘weak, sickly’, ‘good-for-nothing’. \*\*\*\* M. (1977a: 511) endorses the proposal of A. (1905: *s.v.*) that this is from \**otzak il* ‘dead of cold’, + *-a* article + **-k** {[2]} Erg. CS + **hil** ‘dead’, with dimin. formation and exceptional loss of the initial vowel.

**ozen (\*\*)** *a.* ‘sonorous’, \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\*

**ozengi** (old LN) *adv.* ‘sonorously’. [FHV 353]

**ozpin (c.)** *n.* ‘vinegar’. 1596.

OUO. Probably contains **-min** ‘bitter’ (see **min**). For the first element, **hotz** ‘cold’ is possible but far from certain.

{[} **ozte (\*\*)** *n.* ‘host’, \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

**oztera** \*\*\*\* [FHV 249]

**ozterate** (old HN) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘tax equivalent to war service’} [FHV 249] {} Partly duplicated under **oste**. Combined there.}

**padura** (B), **fadura** (B), **madura** (B) *n.* ‘salt marsh’, ‘mud flats’.

From Lat. *padūlem* {metathesized form of classical Lat. *palūdem*} ‘stagnant pool, marsh’ (M. \*\*\*\* {1973a: 145; 1974b: 191}). Final /a/ by M5; variants by L3.

**pagotxa** (G), **txabotxa** (HN) *n.* ‘clover’ (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*).

From Fr. *farouche* ‘timid, wild’ (M. 1961a: 188).

**paitar** (B G), **patar** (G), **pattar** (G HN) *n.* ‘spirits, hard liquor’. \*\*\*\*

{[]} **palagadu** (old B) \*\*\*\* {*v.* ‘borrow’ A.}

From Cast. *manlevar* ~ *manllevar* \*\*\*\* (M. 1961a: 258). {} Duplicate, see under **ma(i)llebatu**.

**palatu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {‘rampart’ A.}

From Lat. *vallātum* ‘fortified’ (M. 1961a: 320).

**panp-**, **pinp-**, **punp-** (L LN Z R HN G) expressive stems.

Largely confined to northern varieties and to adjoining areas of HN and G, these stems give rise to a variety of expressive and nursery formations, mostly with arbitrary continuations. Such expressive stems are highly unusual in Bq., and they appear to be borrowed from Gasc., which has a number of expressive formations in *pVmp-*. Indeed, a few of the individual formations may be directly borrowed from Gasc. In some cases, this *pVnp-* appears to replace the initial syllable of another form.

**panp**, (L LN Z), **panpa**, **phanpa** (H.) *intj. n.* ‘thud’, ‘sound of a blow, a fall or a collision’; TS ‘blow’, ‘heavy fall’; TS (Z) ‘heartbeat’. Late 19th cent. Imitative. See also **zanpa**.

**panpa**, **panpan** (Z R LN HN), **panpatu** (L) *v.* ‘play pat-a-cake’ (nursery word).

**panpaka** (Z) *adv.* ‘with one’s heart pounding’; (L LN Z R) ‘banging’, ‘hitting’, ‘belting (someone)’; TS (R) *n.* ‘fight (between men)’. 1905. + **-ka** AdvFS.

**panpakari** (L?) *n.* ‘brawler’, ‘rowdy’, ‘thug’. + **-ari** {[1]} professional NFS.

**panpakatu** (L) *vt.* ‘hit’, ‘strike’, ‘punch’. + **-tu** VFS.

**panpakada** (L? LN?) *n.* ‘banging of a door’. + **-kada** NFS of activity. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**panpako** (N) *n.* ‘blow’. 1889. + **-ko** NFS.

**panpaldi** (N) *n.* ‘beating’. 1934. + **aldi** ‘time’.

**panpalaharra** (L LN Z) *adv.* (of a fall) ‘with a crash’.

**panpatu** (N) *vt.* ‘hit’, ‘fight with’. + **-tu** VFS.

**panpotsa**, **panpotza** (L LN) *n.* ‘heartbeat’.

**panpa** (L?) *n.* ‘rag doll’.

**panpala** (LN), **palpara** (L) *n.* ‘chatterbox’, ‘blabbermouth’.

- panpalakeria** (LN) *n.* ‘garrulousness’, ‘hot air’. + **-keria** NFS of vices.
- panpalina** (LN HN) *n.* ‘(small) bell’; TS (LN) ‘uvula’; TS (HN) ‘male genitals’. 1746.  
*Cf.* Cast. *campanilla* ‘small bell’.
- panpalo** (G) *n.* ‘old tree with large leaves’.
- panpanduja, panpandoja** (HN) *n.* ‘a certain variety of apple’. 1746.
- panpano** (G) *n.* ‘shoot’, ‘sprout’.
- panpa-panpa** *adv.* (L LN Z) ‘taking long strides’.
- panparreri** (HN G B) *n.* ‘blustering’, ‘boasting’, ‘big talk’. Probably + **-keria** NFS of vices.
- panparriko** (Z) *n.* ‘blow’. + **-ko** NFS.
- panpina** (L LN) *n.* ‘doll’, TS ‘baby’; TS (L LN Z) ‘polite and well-turned-out person’. 1853.
- panpinatu, panpindu** (N) *v.* ‘doll oneself up’. *Ca.* 1880. + **-tu** VFS.
- panpoiñ** (G) *n.* ‘coin’ (nursery word).
- panpots** (old LN) *a.* ‘neat, tidy’, ‘honest, upright’, ‘splendid’.
- panpotsa, panpotza** *a.* (L LN) ‘well-dressed’, ‘well-turned-out’, (old L) ‘gallant’.
- panpox, panpoxa** (*c.?*) *a.* ‘pretty, well-turned-out’ (of a woman). 1934.
- panpoxa** (?) *n.* ‘vulva’.
- panpoxta, panpotta** (L LN) *a.* ‘small, plump and pretty’ (of a woman). 1905.
- panpun, papun** (L) *n.* ‘large mushroom with a broad cap’ (but *cf.* Cast. *papo* id.)
- pinpa** (L) *n.* ‘bounce (of a ball)’.
- pinpalet** (L LN) *n.* ‘gimlet, boring tool’.
- pinper, binper** (LN) *n.* ‘reverse’.
- pinperrez** (LN) *adv.* ‘inside out, the other way round’. + **-z** instr./advbl.
- pinpili-panpala** (L) *n.* ‘favourite’.
- pinpillun-punpullun** (G) *adv.* ‘head over heels’, ‘tumbling’.
- pinpin** [1] (G) *n.* ‘wagtail’ (*zool.*) (family *Motacillidae*).
- pinpin** [2] (R) *n.* ‘reed whistle’.
- pinpin** [3] (HN) ‘a certain children’s finger game’.
- pinpina** [1] (LN) *n.* ‘bud (of a flower)’. {*Cf.* **pinpirin** below}
- pinpinatu, pinpineratu** (LN) *vi.* ‘come into bud’. + **-tu** VFS; second variant with **-ra**  
All. CS. {And *cf.* **pinpirinatu** under **pinpirin** below.}
- pinpina** [2] (HN) *a.* ‘elegant, graceful’.
- pinpiñeka** (H.) *n.* ‘garfish’ (*zool.*)
- pinpingaratxa** (HN) *n.* ‘bluetit’ (*zool.*).
- pinpinka** (B) *adv.* ‘hopping’, ‘playing hopscotch’. + **-ka** AdvFS.

**pinpino, pinpiro** (G) *n.* ‘garfish’ (*zool.*)

**pinpintxori, pinpinxori** (L LN) *n.* ‘bluetit’ (*zool.*)

**pinpi-panpa** (HN L) ‘sound of a blow or a gunshot’.

**pinpirin** (L) *n.* ‘garfish’ (*zool.*)

**pinpirin, pinpirina**, (L), **pinpirineta** (H.), **pinpilinpauxa** (L HN), **pinpilinpoxa** (HN) *n.* ‘butterfly’ (*zool*) (order *Lepidoptera*). 1664 (first two forms), 1905 (last two forms). The long forms apparently contain a Rom. form akin to Cast. *posa-* ‘perch’; *cf.* Cast. *mariposa* ‘butterfly’.

**pinpirinatxa** (H.) *n.* ‘little girl dressed up in her finery’. + **-txa** dimin. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**pinpirin, pinpin** (L LN) *n.* ‘bud (of a flower)’. {*Cf.* **pinpina** [1] above}

**pinpirinatu** (LN) *vi.* ‘come into bud’ (of flowers). + **-tu** VFS.

**pinpirindu** (L) *vi.* ‘grow again’ (of flowers). + **-tu** VFS.

**pinpirinakeri** (S.P.) *n.* ‘putting on airs’. 17th cent. + **-keria** NFS of vices.

**pinpirindu** (HN) *vi* ‘revive’, ‘return to activity’ (of animals, after winter); TS ‘fall in love’ (of newlyweds). + **-tu** VFS.

**pinpoil** (L) *n.* ‘somersault’. Lh. describes this as a variant of *anpoil*, a word of which I can find no other documentation.

**pinpoilka, pinpulka** (L LN) *adv.* ‘somersaulting’, ‘tumbling’, {‘head over heels’}. + **-ka** AdvFS.

**pinport** (B) *n.* ‘small flakes of skin’.

{[] **pinpulka** (LN) *adv.* ‘head over heels’. {} Duplicate, see **pinpoilka** above.}

**punp** (L G HN), **punpa** (L LN Z R) *intj.* ‘thud’, ‘bang’, ‘sound of a heavy fall or of a gunshot’. Imitative.

**punpatu** (L Z) ‘fall down’ (nursery word); (LN Z) ‘bounce’ (of a ball). + **-tu** VFS.

**punp(a) egin** (G L LN Z) *vitm.* ‘fall down’ (nursery word). + **egin** ‘do’.

**punp, phunpe** (L LN Z) *n.* ‘bounce of a ball’.

**punpa** (H.) *n.* ‘medium-large bell’.

**punpilitaka** (Z) *adv.* ‘hammering’. + **-ka** AdvFS.

**punpoillo** (L) *n.* ‘tuft, plume’.

**punpula** *n.* (L) ‘blister’, (LN) ‘tear’.

**punpulla** (L, R) *n.* ‘bubble’, (L LN) ‘teardrop’, (L LN) ‘dewdrop’, (HN) ‘bump on the head’.

**punpullka** (L) *adv.* ‘head over heels’. + **-ka** AdvFS.

**punpullo** (L) *n.* ‘bubble’, (G) ‘bump on the head’.

**punpullu** (Z) *n.* ‘clog’ (type of shoe) (nursery word).

**punpun** (H.) *n.* ‘poppy’ (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*\*).

**pantika** (R), **mandika** (S), **mardika** (LN) *n.* ‘rennet’, ‘stomach of a ruminant’. Dimin.  
**manddika** (S) ‘stomachs of a sheep’.

From an unrecorded Lat. *\*pantica*{*m*}, variant of *panticem* ‘paunch’ (M. \*\*\*\* {1974b: 191 and fn. 40}).

**paper** [tapped /r/] (\*\*), **papel** (B), **papé(r)** (Z) *n.* ‘paper’. \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\*

**para** (B G L), **bara** (Sout) *n.* ‘spade’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *pala* id., by P\*\* {22}.

**paradisu** (\*\* old HN) (1610), \*\*\*\*, **baradisu** (A), **baradizu** [hapax], **parabizu** (old LN \*\*),  
**paradisu** (old L \*\*), **paradiso** (old LN), **paradizu** (old HN) (1609) [hapax],  
**parabisu** (old L), **pha(r)adüsü** (Z) *n.* ‘paradise’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 239, 285]

\*\*\*\* M. (1961a: 239) notes that an original voiced initial plosive seems to have given way to a voiceless one.

**pareta** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {‘wall’} [FHV 134 fn]

**paridu** (old B) [hapax] *vt.* ‘suffer’. 1764.

From {Old} Cast. *padir* {id.}, with dissimilation (M. 1977a: 527).

**parte** (\*\*) *n.* ‘part’. \*\*\*\*

**partitu** (\*\* old LN), **phartitü** (Z) \*\*\*\* {*vi.* ‘set out’} [FHV 217 fn]

**partza** (\*\* {old Z}) *n.* \*\*\*\* [Lh. II] [FHV 290]

**paru** (\*\*), **phau** (Z) *n.* ‘stick of wood, pole’. \*\*\*\* [MT entry] {*Cf.* **maru** ‘post’.}

**pastana** (HN LN), **phastana** (Z), **pastena** (LN), **phastena** (LN), **pastan** (?) (1957),  
**phastenari** (LN), **pastanada** (LN), **pastanaga** (Z) (1905), **pastenaga** (?) (1897),  
**pastanagre** (L) (1864), **pastenagre** (L) (1858), **phastanagre** (Z), **phastanera** (Z) *n.*  
‘carrot’ (*bot.*) (*Daucus carota*).

From some Rom. descendant of Lat. *pastinācam* ‘parsnip’, probably from Occ. Note Occ. *pastenaiga*, *pastanarga*, *pastanaga*, and many variants, ‘carrot’ (variously wild or cultivated), and note also Cat. *pastanaga* (and variants like *pastanagre*) ‘carrot’ (M. Wheeler, M. Carrasquer Vidal, *p.c.* {, *DECLC s.v.*}). Orange carrots were created only in the 17th cent., in the Netherlands, and earlier European carrots were typically white or pale yellow. Confusion in naming parsnips and carrots is widespread in European languages.

**pataxa** (HN) *n.* \*\*\*\* [MT entry]

**pauma** (LN S) *n.* ‘peacock’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*). \*\*\*\*

From \**pauna*, by P\*\*{2}, from some development of Lat. *pāvōnem* id. (M. 1961a: 304 fn. 9).

**pauso** (B G) *n.* ‘step’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *pasos* id., perhaps conatminated by **pausu** ‘pause’ (M. 1961a: 95).

**pausu** (\*\* old LN), **pháusü** (Z) *n.* ‘calm’ \*\*\*\*

**pausagune** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘place of calm’} [FHV 305 fn]

**pausaleku** (\*\*) . \*\*\*\* {‘place of calm’} [FHV 305 fn]

**paxeilu** (A) \*\*\*\* {(tailor’s measure)} [FHV 211 fn]

**peitu** (LN) *n.* ‘lack, absence’, *a.* ‘lacking’, ‘devoid’. 1545. Also **degaitu** (B) *a.* ‘feeble’, ‘lifeless’.

From \**debeitu*, from some Rom. reflex of Lat. *dēfectum* *a.* ‘enfeebled’, *n.* ‘failure’ (M. \*\*\*\*{1974b: 190 and fn. 37}). First syllable lost in LN form by L14; devoicing of /b/ by P11, accounting for the absence of the aspiration.

**pelat** (old LN), \*\*\*\* , **pelát** (Z) ‘punch, slap’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 217]

**peligro** (\*\*), \*\*\*\*\*, **pelleguru** (B), **pelleburu** (B), **peiliguru** (Sout) *n.* ‘danger’. \*\*\*\* [check dialects]

**peiliguratu** (Sout) \*\*\*\* {‘endanger’} [FHV 183 fn]

**pena** (\*\*), **phena** (\*\*), **phéna** (Z) *n.* ‘sorrow’. \*\*\*\*

From Rom. \*\*\*\* {Cast., Occ. *pena* id.}

**pentsatu** (\*\*), **pensadu** (Sout), \*\*\*\* Stem **pentsa-**.

**pentze** (LN), **euntze** (HN) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘pasture’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 251 fn, 492]

Very likely from \**penu* ~ \**enu*, {by} P1{.3}, from Lat. *foenum* ~ *faenum* ~ *fēnum* ‘hay’, by L\*\*{3}, + **-tze** NFS (see **-tza**) (M. 1977a: 492). The toponym *Beunza* in Navarra may be of the same origin (M. 1977a: 509).

**peña** (R S \*\*), **peina** (A) *n.* ‘crag’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *peña* id. Last form by P\*\*{32}.

**pé(r)a** (Z) *n.* ‘pear’ (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*).

From Cast. {, Occ.} *pera* id.

**peretxu** (LN) *n.* ‘esteem, respect’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 287]

**phe(r)etxatü** (Z) \*\*\*\* ‘make a profit’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 287]

**perexil** (\*\*), \*\*\*\*, **perrexil** (HN \*\*), **perrejil** (G) *n.* ‘parsley’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 331]

**persegitü** (Z) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘pursue’} [FHV 290]

**pertika** (\*\*), **phertika** (\*\*), **phartika** (Z) \*\*\*\* [FHV 61]

From Lat. *perticam* [~~cheek~~ {Done}] {‘rod’} (M. 1961a: 61).

**pertsona** (\*\*), **presuna** (old L \*\*) *n.* ‘person’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 348]

**perusits** (B) *n.* ‘guano’. 1905.

From **Peru** ‘Peru’ + **sits** ‘ordure’. Note: the *\*peruzitz* of A. (1905) is an error.

**petatzu** (\*\* {HN}) \*\*\*\* *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘patch, piece’} Dimin. **petatxu** (\*\* G {HN}), **petatxo** (\*\* {G}) \*\*\*\* {*id.*} [FHV 287] [two words?]

**peza** (\*\* {L LN Z}) *n.* \*\*\*\* [FHV 287]

From Cast. *pieza* *id.* {or Occ. *pèça*.}

**pikarrái** (Z) *a.* ‘naked, nude’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 212]

**piko** (B G HN L) (1692), **phiko** (LN Z), **piku** (B?) (1591), **fiko** (L old LN) (1571), **fiku** (Sout) (1562), **iko** (B) (1653), **biku** (old HN A), **figo** (R) *n.* ‘fig’, ‘fig tree’ (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*).

From Lat. *fīcum* *id.* (A. 1905), or from various Rom. reflexes of this.

**pinu** (HN L LN Z) (17th cent.), **piñu** (B G), **pino** (Sout L LN Z) (1562) *n.* ‘pine’ (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*)

From Lat. *pīnum* *id.*, or from that word’s Rom. descendant *pino*. Preservation of /n/ by P2, P32, but possibly borrowed more than once. See **leher**.

**piñu zi** (S.P.) *n.* ‘pine cone’. \*\*\*\* + **zi** ‘acorn’.

**piper** (\*\*), **phiper** (\*\*), **phíper** (Z), **biper** (\*\*), **bipher** (\*\*), **pipar** (B G) *n.* ‘pepper’. \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *piper* *id.* (M. 1961a: 62). [FHV 334]

**piperrada** (\*\*), **bipherrada** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* [FHV 334]

**pipi** (\*\*) *n.* ‘woodworm’. \*\*\*\* Expressive.

**pipíta** (Z) *n.* ‘pip’ (of a fruit).

From Cast. *pepita* *id.* {or Gasc. *pepite* Palay (1980).}



{[]} **piru** (\*\*), **phiru** (\*\*), **biru** (\*\*), **firu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* [FHV 264] {} Duplicated under **biru**. Combined there.}

**pisti** (\*\*), **pistia** (\*\*), **pristia** (B) *n.* ‘pest, vermin’. \*\*\*\*

**pisu** (B G HN L), **pizu** (HN L), **phezu** (\*\*), **pezu** (\*\*), **phézü** (Z) *n.* \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘weight’} [FHV 68, 476]

**pitin** (B G) *n.* ‘a little’, (B) ‘little thing’, dimin. **pitxin**. Expressive.

**pitxer** (\*\*), **phitxer** (\*\*), **pitxar** (\*\*), **pitxarro** (\*\*), **pitxel** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* [CP s.v. *pichel*] {M. 1961a: 62}

**plama** (L), **plame** (H.), **plamu** (L) *n.* ‘sheet of paper, page’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 277, 304 fn]

**plater** [tapped /r/] (\*\* Sout) *n.* ‘plate’. \*\*\*\*

**plaun** (old L) *a.* \*\*\*\* [Ax]

\*\*\*\* See **lau** [2], **deblauki**.

**plaundu** (\*\*) [Ax] [FHV 347]

**plaza** (\*\*), **pláza** (Z), **plazta** (R) *n.* ‘town square’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *plaza* id. {or Occ. *plaça*.}

**plazént** (Z) *a.* ‘pleasant’. \*\*\*\*

**pobre** (\*\*), **probe** (old L \*\*) *a.* ‘poor’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 348]

**polit** (B G HN) *a.* ‘pretty’, ‘graceful’. 1657. Dimin. **pollit** (G L Z R).

From Occ. *polit* ‘pretty, gentle, polite’, from Lat. *polītum* ‘polished, polite’.

**poliki** (G HN), **polliki** (HN G L LN Z R) (often reduplicated), **polikiro** (G) *adv.* ‘prettily, gently, slowly’. 1745. + **-ki** {[1]} AdvFS (+ **-ro** AdvFS {Not in *The Dictionary*}).

**politto** (B) *adv.* ‘prettily, gently, slowly’. 1803. + **-to** {[2]} AdvFS.

**politu** (B G HN), **pollitu** (HN L LN Z R) *vi.* ‘get dolled up’. 1746. + **-tu** VFS.

**poltsa** (\*\* {B G}), \*\*\*\*, **mulsa** (old LN \*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘purse, handbag’ Aul.} [FHV 269]

**populu** (\*\* old LN), **popúlü** (Z) *n.* ‘people’. \*\*\*\*

**porlan** (B G) *n.* ‘cement’. 1977.

From English *Portland*, the trade name on the sacks of cement imported from England. Though not recorded in writing before 1977, the word is probably a good deal older. It is the only certain case known to me of an English word borrowed directly into Bq., without Rom. mediation: the word appears to be unrecorded in Spanish.

{Though it is not in the *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española*, *porlan* ‘concrete’ is, in fact, attested in Spanish since 1942 (Camilo José Cela, *La familia de Pascual Duarte*). Spanish *Porlan* ‘(the isle of) Portland’ is attested since 1449.}

**porlandegi** (B G) *n.* ‘cement factory’. + **-tegi** ‘place’ {(see **hegi**)}.

**porru** (c. exc. Z), **phorru** (L LN), **porrü** (Z), **phorrü** (Z) *n.* ‘leek’ (*bot.*) (*Allium porrum*) 1596.

From Lat. *porrum* id., or from a Rom. development of this.

**pot** [1] (HN L LN Z) *n.* ‘kiss’. 1545.

From Gasc. *pot* id., ult. from Lat. *pōtum* ‘(a) drink(ing)’. {Or rather, ult. from an expressive formation. See *DECLC s.v. petó* ‘kiss’; and **pot-** below.}

**potari** (HN), **pothari** (L) *n., a.* ‘(one who is) fond of kissing’. + **-ari** {[1]} professional NFS.

**pot egin** (HN L LN Z), **pot eman** (HN L?) *vitmd.* ‘kiss’. + **egin** ‘do’, + **eman** ‘give’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**pot** [2] (B) *n.* ‘exhaustion’.

Expressive.

**pot egin** (B) *vitm.* ‘take a break from work because of exhaustion’. + **egin** ‘do’.

**pot-**, **potx-**, **pox-** Expressive stem.

These stems are shared with Rom. and are probably of Rom. origin. Formations are numerous, highly variable, usually severely localized, and often poorly recorded. Some of them are labels for small animals or are related endearments, but many are sexual terms whose vulgar nature means that they are seldom recorded by lexicographers, many of whom are clerics. For the sexual terms, the principal source is Etxezarreta (1983).

**potikoka** (HN L) *adv.* ‘on all fours’. Contains **-ka** AdvFS.

**potin** (B), **potxingo** (B), **potxolo** (B), **potxongo** (B) *n.* ‘puddle’.

**potzozulo** (G) *n.* ‘puddle’. + **zulo** ‘hole’.

**potingo** (L) *a.* ‘diminutive, tiny’.

**potoko**, **poton(a)**, **potro** (B L?), **potroi**, **potrokil**, **potroskil**, **potto**, **pottu**, **poxpolin(a)** *n.* ‘testicle’. Some of these are recorded only in the plural.

**potramin** (G?) *n.* ‘hernia, rupture’. + **min** ‘pain’.

**potrazal** *n.* ‘scrotum’. + **azal** ‘skin’.

**potolo** [1] (HN L LN Z), **potzolo** (B G HN L R), **potzolote** (G), **potzorro** (Duv.) *n., a.* ‘(one who is) fat, obese’. Dimin. **pottolo** (HN L LN Z), **potxolo** (B HN) *a.* ‘small and fat, chubby’, *n.* ‘chubby little thing’ (used as an endearment).

**potolo** [2] (B) *n.* ‘child’s hiding place for nuts’. Dimin. **potxolo**.

**potor** (G) *n.* ‘small ball’.

**potorra**, **potorro**, **potota**, **pottotta**, **pottotto**, **pototina**, **pottotina**, **potta**, **pottor**, **potxa**, **potxin** (B), **potxola**, **potxolina**, **potxona**, **potxor** (B), **potxotxa**, **poxxolina**, **putxero** *n.* ‘vulva’. The exceptional last form is doubtless taken from Cast. *puchero* ‘cooking pot’.

**pottean ari izan** *vi.* ‘engage in sexual intercourse’. + **-n** {[1]} Loc. {CS.} + **ari izan** ‘be busy (at)’ (see **ari**).

**pottoan egin**, **putzuan egin** *vitm.* ‘engage in sexual intercourse’. + **-n** {[1]} Loc. {CS.} + **egin** ‘do’.

**pottorbero** *a.* (of a woman) ‘randy, horny’ (permanently). + **bero** ‘hot’.

**potorro** (B) *n.* ‘cormorant’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*), (S.P.) ‘stormy petrel’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*).

**potote** (G) *n.* ‘bud (on a tree)’.

**potots** (L) *a.* ‘fat, thick’.

**potox** [1] (B), **pototxa** (HN) *n.* ‘pine marten’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*).

**potox** [2] (B) *a.* ‘chubby, fat’.

**potroska** (LN S) *n.* ‘filth, ordure’ (also used as an insult).

**potto** (HN), **pottoko** (HN) *n.* ‘colt, young horse’.

**pottoka** (L LN) *n.* ‘pony’, (G) *a.* ‘chubby’.

**potxit** (B) *n.* ‘fop, dandy’.

**potxo** (LN?) *n.* ‘puppy’.

**potxor** (HN) *a.* ‘swollen’.

**potxua** (B) *intj.* ‘word used to call a woman’. App. not offensive.

**potzo** (L LN), **photzo** (L) *n.* ‘big dog, mastiff’.

**potzuak** *n. pl.* ‘genitals’.

**poxelu**, **phoxelu**, **poxolu**, **phoxolu** (L LN), **puzelu** (LN) *a.* ‘pregnant’.

**poxelatu** (L LN) *vi.* ‘become pregnant’. + **-tu** VFS.

**puzelatu**, **puztu** *vt.* ‘make pregnant, knock up’. + **-tu** VFS.

**poz** (B G HN), **boz** (\*\*), **botz** (\*\*) *n.* ‘happiness’. 1596. [FHV 289]

OUO, but certainly not native. M. (\*\*\*\* {1957c: 116}) diffidently suggests a derivation from some Rom. reflex of Lat. *gaudium* ‘joy’, with irregular phonological developments.

**bozkario** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*

**boztario** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* [same as above]

**pozik** (B G HN) *adv.* ‘happy’. 1745, 1761. + **-ik** advbl. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**poztu** (\*\*), **boztu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {‘be happy’} {Cf. **botz** ‘happy’.}

**pozoi** (\*\*), **pozoin** (\*\*), **phozǔ** (Z), **pozio** (HN) *n.* ‘poison’. \*\*\*\*  
\*\*\*\* HN form by P\*\*{39}.

**prakak** (\*\*{B G}), **frakak** (B \*\*) *n. pl.* ‘trousers’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 348]

**premia** (\*\*{B G HN L}), **premiña** (B) *n.* ‘urgent necessity’. \*\*\*\*  
From \*\*\*\*. [FHV 348]

**prestu** (\*\*{Old L [Ax]}), **perestu** (\*\*{old LN}), **pherestü** (old Z) \*\*\*\* {*a.* ‘honourable’}  
[FHV 158]

**probestu** (G) *n.* ‘constable’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *preboste* ‘provost, chief’, with metathesis (M. 1961a: 84).

**probetxu** (L), **progotxu** (L), **protxu** (L) \*\*\*\* *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘advantage, profit’} [FHV 258]

**puldamentu** (G HN) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘foundation’}

From Cast. *fundamento*, with nasal dissimilation (M. 1961a: 340).

**puta** (*c. exc.* Z), **püta** (Z) *n.* ‘whore, prostitute’. 1562.

From Cast. *puta* id. or related Rom. forms {Occ. *puta*}. The derivatives below are mostly vulgar and are sparsely recorded in dictionaries; the main source is Etxezarreta (1983).

**putakeria** *n.* (of women) ‘whoring, working as a whore, prostitution’. + **-keria** NFS of vices.

**putakume** *n.* ‘bastard’, ‘son-of-a-bitch’. + **-kume** ‘offspring’ (see **ume**).

**putanagusi** *n.* ‘madame of a brothel’. + **nagusi** ‘chief’.

**putañero**, **putaner**, **putaper** *n.* ‘man who pursues whores’. From Cast. *putañero* id.

**putaneria** *n.* ‘sex with whores’. + **-keria** NFS of vices.

**putar** *n.* ‘man who frequents whores’. App. + **-tar** AFS.

**putaseme** (L LN), **pütaseme** (Z) *n.* ‘son-of-a-bitch’. + **seme** ‘son’.

**putaska** *n.* ‘loose woman, tart, scrubber’. + **-ska** dimin. {Not in *The Dictionary.*}; calque on Cast. *putilla* id.

**putateria** *n.* ‘group of whores’. + \*\*\*\*.

**putati** *n., a.* ‘(man) spending time with whores’. + **-ti** {[1]} AFS.

**putatxulo** *n.* ‘pimp’. + Cast. *chulo* ‘pimp’.

**pütaxe** *n.* ‘whore’. + \*\*\*\*.

**putazain** *n.* ‘pimp’. + **zain** {[1]} ‘guardian’.

**putazale** *a.* ‘fond of whores’, ‘who pursues whores’. + **-zale** ‘fond of’ {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**putetxe** *n.* ‘brothel, whorehouse’. + **etxe** ‘house’.

**puto** *a.* ‘goddamned, bloody’.

From Cast. *puto* id.

**putre** (G), **futre** (HN) *n.* ‘vulture’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*). \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *buitre* id., by L\*\*{3}. See **sai**. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**putz** (\*\*), **butz** (\*\*), **hütz** (Z){, **utz** (R)} \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘puff of air’, \*\*\*\* {‘fart’} [AZKUE]

Imitative. See **uzki**.

**puzkar** (G HN LN), **puzker** (HN L), **uzkar** (B R S), **uzker** (BL LN Z R) *n.* ‘fart’. \*\*\*\*

**putzu** (\*\* HN old LN), **putzo** (G \*\*), **phützü** (Z), **butzu** (HN), **pozu** (B G) *n.* ‘well’, **mutio** (HN) *n.* ‘{salt pit’} [FHV 287 fn] \*\*\*\* [FHV 217, 287]

\*\*\*\* See also **zupu**.

**pühüllü** (Z), **mühüllü** (Z), **mirillu** (old B), **miillu** (B), **meillu** (B), **millu** (G HN), **mihuli** (LN), **múllu** (R), **mehula** (LN) *n.* ‘fennel’ (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*).

From some Rom. development of Lat. *fēniculum*, or perhaps better of an unrecorded variant *\*fēnuculum* (M. 1961a: 78), by P1. The probable Rom. form was approximately *\*fenullo*, yielding a Bq. *\*penullu*, whence *\*peullu* > *\*piullu*. Some of the variants have perhaps been contaminated by **mihura** ‘moss’ {not in *The Dictionary*}. The putative variant *\*pukullu* cited by {Azkue from} Gèze (1875{: 308}), which has long perplexed etymologists, is dismissed by M. (\*\*\*\*{1966a: 24}) as a simple typo {in Azkue} for ~~intended~~ {Gèze’s} *puhullu*, a French-style spelling of Z **pühüllü**.

**puxeta** (B), **pujeta** (B), **puiata** (Sout) \*\*\*\* [FHV 177]

\*-r Hypothetical formative which may possibly be present in **nor** ‘who?’ (from interrogative stem **no-**), **zer** ‘what?’ (from interrogative stem **ze-**), and perhaps **haur** ‘this’ (see **hau**) and **\*har** ‘that’ (distal) (M. 1961a: 336). These /r/s are always tapped. There appears to be no further evidence for such a formative, nor any identifiable function if the formative is real. However, we may note two points. First, these /r/s appear only in forms which are singular or at least non-plural. Second, in Bq. nominal morphology, a tapped /r/ is regularly inserted into a non-plural form to break up a vowel sequence arising when a vowel-initial suffix is added to a vowel-final stem, but no such /r/ is normally inserted in plural forms, in which the vowel hiatus is either retained or reduced. It is conceivable that this phonological /r/ derives from generalization of a fossilized /r/ formative.

**-ra** (*c. exc. Z*), **-la** (Z), **-rat** (L LN), **-(r)át** (Z), **-rát** (R), **-(a)lat** (Z) Allative CS. TS ‘for’, ‘in order to’ (purpose).

Today, with the partial exception of Z, this is everywhere the ordinary allative case-suffix. It has possibly replaced an earlier **-a**, the allative commonly found with place names. When following a verb in the gerund **-te** {[2]} or **-tze**, it expresses purpose: *erostera* ‘in order to buy (something)’. [FHV 245, 245 fn] [MORE]

**-rantz** (\*\*), **-rontz** (\*\*), **-runtz** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*\*

**-ra-** (*c.*) Causative prefix.

OUO. It is clear that, at some ancient stage, this **-ra-** was the productive causative affix in Bq., for both transitive and intransitive verbs. This is surprising, since it is prefixed to the root of the corresponding simple verb, and prefixes are extremely rare in Bq. In some cases, verb-pairs are still readily identifiable: **ibili** ‘be in motion’ (< \**e-bil-i*), **erabili** ‘put into motion’ (< \**e-ra-bil-i*); **egin** ‘do’ (< \**e-gin-i*), **eragin** ‘cause to do’ (< \**e-ra-gin-i*). In other cases, apparent pairs exhibit unexpected semantics: **jantzi** ‘get dressed’ (< \**e-antz-i*), **erantzi** ‘get undressed’ (< \**e-ra-antz-i*). A number of old verbs look like ancient causatives whose simple verbs are lost or doubtful: **irakurri** ‘read’, no simple verb recorded; **iraun** ‘last, endure’ (intransitive, but with transitive morphology), perhaps **egon** ‘wait, stay’? This affix occasionally appears as **-re-** by vowel dissimilation, esp. in the writer Leizarraga: [FHV 71]. In the historical period, the productive causative affix is the suffix **-erazi**, which is surely an independent verb in origin, and very likely also a **-ra-** causative of an unknown verb.

**-rean** (old B) Abl. CS. \*\*\*\*\*

M. (1977a: 504) suggests that this consists of **-e** Gen. + **-an** or **-n** [\*\*{1}] Loc. {CS.} [MOVE?]

**-reango** (\*\*) [FHV 120]

**repattán** (R) *n.* ‘young shepherd’.

From Arag. *repatán* id. (M. 1961a: 183). R is unique in permitting an initial rhotic in loan words.

**-sa, -tsa** Female NFS.

\*\*\*\* [FHV 290]

**sahats** (L), **saats** (B HN LN), **sagats** (B G HN), **sarats** (B G HN) *n.* ‘willow’ (*bot.*) (*Salix*). 1802.

From *\*sanats*, OUO, by P1, P35.1 (M. \*\*\*\* {1950d: 474}). The word cannot be sensibly related to Lat. *salix* id.

**sabai** (\*\*), **sapai** (\*\* {G}), \*\*\*\* **sapaio** (HN), **sapallo** (HN) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘ceiling’, ‘palate’} [FHV 233]

**sabel** (\*\*) *n.* ‘stomach’, ‘belly’. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* {OUO.}

**sagar** (*c.*) *n.* ‘apple’. 15th cent.

OUO. Possibly contains *\*-ar* collective NFS. As a final element in compounds, this word has various TSs centring on ‘round part’, ‘thick part’.

**sagasti** (\*\*), **sagastui** (Sout) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘apple orchard’. \*\*\*\* + **-di** NFS. [FHV 286, 286 fn]

**sageratü** (Z) *vt.* ‘seal’. \*\*\*\*

From Bearn. {*sagerà* id. Palay (1980).} (M. 1961a: 281).

**sagetta** (Z) *n.* ‘seal’. \*\*\*\*

From Bearn. {*sagèth*. id.} (M. 1961a: 281). See **zigilu**.

**sagu** (*c. exc.* Z), **sagü** (Z) *n.* ‘mouse’ (*zool.*) (*Muridae*). CF **sat-**. 1596. Dimin. **xagu** (G).

OUO. CF by W2.3, W3.

**saguzar** (B G), **saguxar** (G?) *n.* ‘bat’ (*zool.*) (*Chiroptera*). 1745, *ca.* 1800. + **zahar** ‘old’.

**satandere** (L LN), **satandera** (B) *n.* ‘weasel’ (*zool.*) (*Mustela nivalis*). 1746, 1935. + **andere** ‘lady’.

**satero** (B) *n.* ‘shrew’ (*zool.*) (*Sorex*). Second element obscure.

**satitsu** (G HN) *n.* ‘shrew’ (*zool.*) (*Sorex*). 1745, 1780. + **itsu** ‘blind’.

**sator** (B G HN LN R), **sathor** (L LN) *n.* ‘mole’ (*zool.*) (*Talpidae*). 1653. Second element obscure, but possibly **or** ‘dog’.

**satsuri** (old LN) *n.* ‘mole’ (*zool.*) (*Talpidae*). \*\*\*\* + **zuri** ‘white’, by P\*\* {W3, W6, W16} (M. 1961a: 283).

**saiatu** (\*\*), **sailatu** (B) \*\*\*\* {*v.*} ‘try’ [FHV 176 fn]

**saihets** (\*\*), **saiets** (\*\*), **seihets** (\*\*), **seiets** (\*\*), **saets** (\*\*) *n.* ‘rib’ (*anat.*) \*\*\*\* {‘side’}  
[FHV 176]

**saiheski** (old LN) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘field on a hillside’} [FHV 235 fn]

**sail** (B HN LN Z S) *n.* ‘field’ (demarcated for ploughing), TS ‘task’, TS ‘section’, ‘division’, ‘department’. 1643.

From some Rom. form akin to OFr *seil* ‘furrow’ (*cf.* mod. Fr. *sillon*) (M. \*\*\*\* {1968g: 481 fn. 21}).

**sain** (B), **saiñ** (B) *n.* ‘fish oil’. \*\*\*\* {From Cast. *sain* or Occ. *sain* ‘animal fat’}.  
[FHV 141]

**saindu** (HN L LN) (1545), **sandu** (HN R S A), **sáintü** (Z) (1676), **sáintu** (R), **santu** (B),  
**seindu** (L LN) *n.* ‘saint’, *a.* ‘holy’, ‘sacred’.

From Cast. *santo* id. or a related Rom. form, ult. from Lat. *sanctum* ‘holy’, by P6, P45, P48. M. (1961a: 360) concludes that B **santu** results from re-borrowing.

**sakon** (\*\* {B G}) *a.* ‘deep’.  
\*\*\*\* {OUO.}

**saldü** (*c. exc.* Z), **saldü** (Z) *vt.* ‘sell’, TS ‘betray’. 1545. Stem **sal-**.

OUO, but very likely related to **sari** ‘payment’. The resemblance to English *sell* is undoubtedly accidental. Lh. gives the Z form as the unexpected *saldü*, but this is perhaps only a typo for the expected ?*saltü*, by P6. [CHECK]

\***salsa-** Obscure stem found only in the surname *Salsamendi* (**mendi** ‘mountain’).

OUO. Conceivably from Lat. *salsum* ‘salty’ (ML 7550a). {M. 1973a: 148}

**saltsa** (\*\*), **sáltsa** (Z), **salsa** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*\* Dimin. **xálsa** (Z) [FHV 290]

**sama** (B) *n.* ‘neck’, ‘throat’. *Ca.* 1800.

OUO. See **lepo**, **idun**, **eztarri**, **zintzur**.

**samin** (\*\*) *a.* ‘bitter’. \*\*\*\* {*Cf.* **min** [1].}

**samur** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*a.* ‘tender’ Aul.}

**samurtu** (\*\* old LN) \*\*\*\*

**santan** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* in *sekulan santan*.



**sarde** [1] (G HN L LN Z), **saharde** (L), **saarde** (L), **sardei** (LN), **sarda** (B) *n.* ‘pitchfork’. 1745, 1808.

OUO. B form by M5.

**sardeska** (\*\*) *n.* ‘table fork’. \*\*\*\*.

**sardina** (\*\*) *n.* ‘sardine’. \*\*\*\* 1562. Dimin. **txardína** (Z).

**sare** (c.) *n.* ‘net’, \*\*\*\* 1571.

OUO.

**saroi** (\*\*), **saroe** (\*\*), **saroi** (R), **sario** (HN S), **saure** (S) ‘sheep pen’ \*\*\*\*  
[ARBELAIZ {1978: 128}] [FHV 121, 148, 177] + **ohe** ‘bed’ (M. 1961a: 121, 413).  
Last{Fourth} form by P\*\*{39}. R form by analogy with common *-oi* (M. 1961a: 149).

**sargori** (B G HN), **sargoi** (G HN) *n.* ‘oppressive heat’. 1745, 1930.

Obscure. In spite of its late attestation outside Larramendi’s dictionary, the word is popular. It appears to contain **gori** ‘fiery’, but the first element is opaque.

**sari** (\*\*) *n.* ‘payment’, ‘toll, tax’, ‘value’, ‘prize, reward’, TS ‘punishment, just desserts’.  
\*\*\*\*

OUO. possibly from *\*sali*, by P\*\*{22}, in which case very likely related to **saldu** ‘sell’ (M. 1961a: 318).

**sartu** (\*\*), **sarthu** (\*\* old LN), **sárthü** (Z) \*\*\*\* {*v.* ‘enter’, ‘insert’}

{OUO.}

**sasi** (B G HN L LN), **zarzi** (old LN) *n.* ‘bramble, blackberry bush’ (*bot.*) (*Rubus fruticosus*). 1658.

The conservative form is *zarzi*, recorded as a hapax in the writing of Oihenart in the passage “*çarci vel sassi*” (*Notitia* 52); common form as follows: *zarzi* > *\*zasi* (by P19) > *sasi* (by W16). The word must share a common origin with Cast. *zarza* id. (earlier *sarça*), itself OUO and presumably “pre-Roman”; see CP (*s.v. zarza*) for an account. CP also mention a putative Bq. variant *?sartzi*, not otherwise recorded.

**sasi-** pseudo-prefix ‘wild’, ‘false, pseudo-’. The sense of ‘wild’ is obvious enough from a word meaning ‘bramble’. The further sense of ‘pseudo-’ must have developed along the lines of ‘wild’ > ‘disorderly’ > ‘irregular’ > ‘pseudo-’. Established compounds with the sense of ‘wild’ are listed below. Those with the sense of ‘pseudo-’ are coined freely and are far too numerous to list here; a few prominent ones are listed in the dictionary under their second elements. Typical examples: *sasi-ezkontza* ‘cohabitation’, ‘living in sin’ (*ezkontza* ‘marriage’); *sasi-poeta* ‘poetaster’ (*poeta* ‘poet’).

**sasiko** *n.* (B G) ‘natural child’, ‘bastard’, (HN) ‘misanthrope’. + **-ko** NFS.

**sasi-ohoin** (L) *n.* ‘highwayman’, ‘outlaw who preys upon travellers in remote areas’. + **ohoin** ‘thief’.

**saski** (G HN L LN Z R) *n.* ‘basket’. \*\*\*\*

**sasoi** (\*\*), **sasoin** (\*\*), **sasú** (Z), **sazoi** (Sout), **zazoĩ** (R), **zazói** (R) \*\*\*\* {‘season’} [FHV 148, 283]

**sats** (\*\*) *n.* ‘ordure’. Perhaps also **xats** (R) ‘vice, corruption’. \*\*\*\* [also **sits** (B G) *n.* ‘ordure’, ‘manure’. 1905.

OUO.

**satsu** (\*\*) *a.* ‘filthy’. Probably also **txatxu** (G) ‘foolish’. \*\*\*\* + **-tsu** AFS, probably in its earlier form **-zu** (M. 1977a: 542–543). \*\*\*\*

**saunka** (B G), **sanka** (R) *n.* ‘braying’, **sainga** (HN), **aunka** (G), **zaunk** (G), **zauk** (G), **sanga** (G), **sanka** (Z) ‘moaning noise made by an animal’. \*\*\*\*

Imitative, with **-ka** AdvFS.

**segail** (G HN), **sekail** (L LN) *a.* ‘slim, slender’. \*\*\*\*

OUO.

**segalla** (R S) *n.* ‘one-year-old goat’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 233]

**sei** (*c.*) *num.* ‘six’. 1415.

OUO. Attempts at deriving this from Rom. have failed, since all neighbouring Rom. varieties have a final sibilant in their word for ‘six’, and hence a borrowing should have yielded a Bq. *\*seits* or *\*seis*, at best.

**seiaste** (B), **seillaste** (B) \*\*\* *n.* ‘week with no holiday’. \*\*\*\* + **aste** ‘week’. [FHV 176 fn]

{**sein** (EB),} **seiñ** (B) (1653), **seĩ** (old B) (1596), **segi** (Sout) (1562) *n.* ‘child’, (Sout also ‘doll’), **sei** (G L), **sehi** (L LN) (1635) ‘servant’. CF **sen-**.

From *\*seni*, OUO, by P1 (M. 1961a: 414). CF by W2.1. Possibly recorded as Aq. *SENI-* in male names like *SENICCO* and *SENIPONNIS*.

**sehaska** (L), **seaska** (G HN) *n.* ‘cradle’. \*\*\*\* + **aska** ‘cradle’. M. (1961a: 322 fn. 18) sees this as a very recent formation.

**sein egin** (B) *vitm.* ‘give birth’. \*\*\*\* + **egin** ‘do’.

**senide** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {‘sibling’, ‘relative’} \*\*\*\*

**seniparte** (G HN) *n.* ‘inheritance, legacy’. \*\*\*\* + **parte** ‘part’ (M. 1961a: 345).

**sekretu** (\*\*), **sekeretu** (\*\*{Ax.}), **segretu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘secret’} [FHV 158]

**sekula** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*, **zekuru** (old Z) *n.* ‘century’. \*\*\*\*

**seme** (*c.*) *n.* ‘son’. 15th cent. CF **sema-**.

From *\*senbe*, OOU, by P3 (M. \*\*\*\* {1954a: 432}). App. attested as *SEMBE-* in Aq. male names. It is possible that the word contains *\*sen-*, the CF of *\*seni*, mod. **sein** (and variants) ‘boy’, as suggested by Bähr (\*\*\*\* {1935: 10}). If so, then either the Aq. item is unrelated or we are looking at an extraordinarily early application of W\*\* {2.1}, since the word-formation processes listed in section \*\* {7} are not normally visible in the Aq. names. The final *\*-be* would also be obscure, though it might be present also in **ume** ‘child’, from *\*unbe*, and it might be a variant of the kinship suffix **-ba**. CF by W\*\* {2.2}.

**semebitxi** (B HN L), **semaatxi** (LN) *n.* ‘godson’. + **-bitxi** ‘god-’ (see **bitxi**).

**semeizun** (L?), **semaizun** (LN S), **semizun** (LN), **semexun** (R) *n.* ‘stepson’. + \*\*\*\* {-izun (see **-kizun.**)}

**semelora** (B?) [hapax] *n.* ‘filipendula’ (*bot.*) (*Filipendula hexapetala*). + **lora** ‘flower’ (see **lore**).

**semeorde** (B G) *n.* ‘stepson’. + **orde** ‘substitute’.

**semeponteko** (G) *n.* ‘godson’. + **ponte** ‘font’ {not in *The Dictionary*} + **-ko** NFS.

**seso** (Z) *n.* ‘grandson’. + **-so** kinship suffix.

**semin** (LN S) *n.* ‘labour pains’. + **min** {[1]} ‘pain’, with haplology.

**senar** (\*\*), **senhar** (\*\*), **sénhar** (Z) *n.* ‘husband’.

\*\*\*\* {OOU.}

**sendo** (B G HN L LN), **séntho** (Z), **senho** (R), **sonto** (R) *a.* ‘sturdy, robust’. 14th cent., 1545. CF **senda-**.

OOU. M. (1961a: 157 and elsewhere) proposes Lat. *exemptum* ‘excepted, freed, released’. A personal name *Urraca Sendoa* is attested in Navarra in 1107, and the surname or sobriquet *Sendoa* is rather frequent in medieval Navarra. CF by W2.2.

**sendatu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {v. ‘heal’, ‘strengthen’}

{[} **senide** (\*\*) *n.* ‘sibling’, ‘relative’ \*\*\*\* [PUT IT UNDER SOMETHING?] {  
Duplicates **senide** under **sein.**}

**señale** (\*\*), **senalle** (B), **sellane** (B), **selañe** (B), **zeñhare** (Z) *n.* ‘signal’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *señal* id., with various metatheses (M. 1961a: 326). [ADJUST FOR Z FORM?]

**senton** (\*\*), **sentana** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* [MT entry]

**seta** (\*\*), **sepa** (\*\*), **sepha** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘obstinacy’} [FHV 258]

From \*\*\* {Rom.} *se(c)ta* \*\*\*\* {from Lat. *sectam* ‘course of action, philosophy’} (M. 1961a: 258 {; 1957a:24}).

**siku** (B) *a.* ‘dry’. 1653.

From Cast. *seco* id., or conceivably from that word’s Lat. etymon *siccum*. [FHV 476]

**sirats** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*\* [MT entry]

**sits** (\*\*) *n.* ‘moth’. \*\*\*\*\* [also *sats*?]

**-sko** Dimin. suffix. [MITX 73] {M. 1973a: 149}

**so** (\*\*) *n.* ‘glance, look’. \*\*\*\*\*

OUO.

**sorotsi** (old B), **zorotzi** (B) \*\*\*\*\* {*v.* ‘watch’} \*\*\*\*\* + **egotzi** ‘throw’ (Bouda 1955) [FHV 286 fn]

**-so** Kinship suffix [MITX 73] {M. 1973a: 150}

\*\*\*\*\* See examples under **aurba**, **gu**, **iloba**, \*\*\*\*\* {**seme**, **neska**}

**sobera** (HN L LN Z) *det.* ‘too much’. \*\*\*\*\*

From Cast. {or Occ.} *sobra* ‘excess’ (M. 1961a: 158).

**soberna** (old LN), **zopherna** (old L) \*\*\*\*\* [FHV 233]

**soil** (*c.*) (1621) *a.* ‘bald’, ‘bare’, ‘mere, pure, simple, plain’, ‘sad’, (G HN) ‘sterile’, (HN) ‘sole, only’, TS (LN) *n.* ‘day labourer’. Dimin. **xoil** (old LN) (1571).

OUO.

**soilik** (G HN) *adv.* ‘unaided, unassisted’, *prt.* ‘only’. 1800. + **-ik** advbl. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**soin** (\*\* R) \*\*\*\*\*, **soñ** (Sout), **suñ** (Z) ‘shoulder’ \*\*\*\*\* ‘body’ \*\*\*\*\* ‘~~shoulder~~’

\*\*\*\*\* {OUO.}

**soinegi** (A), **soñegi** (S) *n.* ‘shoulder’ (*anat.*) \*\*\*\*\* {+ **-egi** ‘place’ (see **hegi**).}

**so(i)ñeko** (B \*\*) *n.* ‘clothing’, ‘(woman’s) dress’. \*\*\*\*\* + **-ko** NFS.

**sorbalda** (\*\*), **solbarda** (\*\*) *n.* ‘shoulder’. \*\*\*\*\* [FHV 486]

**sorburu** (B) *n.* ‘back’ (*anat.*). \*\*\*\*\* + **buru** ‘head’.

**soinu** (\*\* L LN), \*\*\*\*\*, **soñu** (B G HN \*\*), **soindu** (HN), **sonddu** (HN), **sonu** (B R S), **sónü** (Z) *n.* ‘sound’, ‘music’. \*\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*\* [FHV 307-308 for etym.] See **doinu**.

**soka** (\*\*), **sóka** (Z) *n.* ‘rope’. \*\*\*\*

From {late} Lat. *sōcam* id. (M. \*\*\*\* {1961a: 219, 408}), with unusual treatment of Lat. /s/.

**sokamutur** (\*\*) *n.* ‘activity in which a small bull is allowed to roam the streets while controlled by a rope’. \*\*\*\* + **mutur** ‘snout’ (see **m-**).

**solas** (\*\*), **solhas** (\*\*) *n.* ‘conversation’, **solaz** (old LN) (1545), **soláz** (Z) *n.* ‘pastime’, **jolas** (B G) ‘game, pastime, recreation’, (HN) ‘conversation’ \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *solaz* \*\*\*\* {Occ. *solaç*} (M. 1961a: 284). Common form by P\*\* {W16}. Schuchardt sees the last form as involving a cross with **joko** ‘game’, a conclusion dismissed by M. (1961a: 284 *fn.* 7) as “not entirely necessary”.

**solharu** (L), **solleru** (old LN) \*\*\*\* *n.* {‘granary’ Occ. *solierà*, *soliar.*} [FHV 210]

**soraio** (\*\*), **sorhaio** (\*\*), **so(r)háio** (Z) *a.* ‘lazy’ [more senses]. \*\*\*\* [FHV 329, 516] [Az.]

\*\*\*\* FHV 516 offers two etymologies.

**sorgin** (*c. exc.* Z) *n.* ‘witch’. Dimin. **xorgin**. 1562.

OUO. Almost certainly contains **-gin** ‘who makes’ (see **egin**), but the first element is obscure. Neither **zori** ‘omen, luck’ nor **zorte** ‘luck’ is phonologically possible, while **sor** ‘indolent’, ‘deaf’ {(not in *The Dictionary*)} is phonologically fine but semantically awkward (M. 1970b). Cf. **belhargile** (under **belar**).

**sorgin-afari** (B) *n.* ‘dinner eaten by women celebrating the last social gathering of the winter’, **sorgin-apari** (G) *n.* ‘light midnight supper eaten while building a lime-kiln’. + **afari** ‘dinner’ (see **gau**).

**sorgin-aize** (B G) *n.* ‘whirlwind’. + **haize** ‘wind’.

**sorgin-baratxuri** (HN) *n.* ‘wild garlic’. + **baratxuri** ‘garlic’ {not in *The Dictionary*}.

**sorginbelar** (L) *n.* ‘dandelion’ (*bot.*). + **belar** {[1]} ‘grass’.

**sorgin-bitxi** (B) *n.* ‘butterfly’ (*zool.*) (order *Lepidoptera*). + **bitxi** ‘ornament’ (see **bizi**).

**sorgindara** (B) *n.* ‘butterfly’ (*zool.*) (order *Lepidoptera*). + expressive extension.

**sorgindasun** (old B) *n.* \*\*\*\* [FHV 353]

**sorgindu** *vi.* ‘become a witch’, *vt.* ‘bewitch’, ‘enchant’. 1745. + **-tu** VFS, by P7.

**sorgingo**, **sorginko** (L LN) *n.* ‘witchcraft’ (as a profession). 1777. + **-go** collective NFS (see **-goa**).

**sorgin-gosari** (L) *n.* ‘light meal eaten shortly after midnight’. + **gosari** ‘breakfast’ (see **gose**).

**sorgin-ira** (B) *n.* ‘species of fern whose leaves are covered in down’. + **ira** ‘fern’.

**sorginkeria**, **sorgineria** (*c.*) *n.* ‘witchcraft’. 1562. + **-keria** NFS of vices.

**sorgin-luma** (B) *n.* ‘down on baby birds’. + **luma** ‘feather’.

**sorgin-mandatari** (B) *n.* ‘butterfly’ (*zool.*) (order *Lepidoptera*). + **mandatari** ‘messenger’ (see **mandatu**). {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**sorgin-oilo** (LN HN) *n.* ‘butterfly’ (*zool.*) (order *Lepidoptera*), ‘seeds of the knapweed’ (a thistle-like plant whose seeds are blown by the wind). + **oilo** ‘hen’.

**sorgin-orratz** (B) *n.* ‘dragonfly’ (*zool.*) (order *Odonata*). + **orratz** ‘needle’.

**sorgin-piko** (G) *n.* ‘wild fig(s)’. + **piko** ‘fig’ (~~see **biko**~~). [CHECK]

**sorgintxori** (LN) *n.* ‘tree creeper’ (*zool.*) (family *Certhiidae*), (L LN) ‘owl’. + **txori** ‘bird’ (see **zori** {[1]}).

**sorgintza** *n.* ‘witchcraft’. 1808. + **-tza** NFS.

**sorho** (L \*\*), **só(r)ho** (Z), **solo** (B) *n.* ‘field, meadow’, **soro** (Sout) ‘estate, farm’ \*\*\*\* [FHV 210, 549]

From Lat. *solum* ‘ground, earth, soil’ (M. 1961a: 312), by P\*\*{22}.

**sortu** (\*\*), **sorthu** (\*\* old LN), **sórthü** (Z) \*\*\*\* {*v.* ‘be born’, ‘engender’}  
{Root **sor-**, OUO.}

**su** (*c. exc.* Z), **sü** (Z) *n.* ‘fire’. 15th cent.

OUO.

**suár** (R) *n.* ‘firefly’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*). \*\*\*\*

**suharri** (\*\*), **suarri** (\*\*), **itsu arri** (Sout) *n.* ‘flint’. \*\*\*\* + **harri** ‘stone’. [FHV 157]

**sukalde** (\*\*), **sükálte** (Z), **sukálte** (R), **sutalde** (old B) *n.* ‘kitchen’. \*\*\*\* + **alde** ‘side’  
{(see **\*al-**)}. \*\*\*\* [FHV 248]

**sukopil** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* [FHV 248]

**suberte** (B \*\*), **suerte** (G) *n.* ‘luck, fortune’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *suerte* id., by \*\*\*{P35.1}

**sudur** (G HN L LN R), **südür** (Z), **suur** (B), **sur** (*c.*) *n.* ‘nose’ (*anat.*). 1562.

OUO. Reduced forms by P16.

**sudurpil** (1627), **sudupil** (1635) *n.* ‘nostril’ (of an animal). + **\*bil** ‘round’.

**südürxílo** (Z) *n.* ‘nostril’. + **xílo** ‘hole’ (see **zulo**). [other forms?]

**suge** (*c.*), **suga** (G), **sube** (\*\*) *n.* ‘snake’. CF **suga-**. 1562.

OUO. CF by W2.2. The form reported as G would more typically be B, by M\*\*{5}.  
Last form by P10.

**Sugaar** The name of a mythical serpent in folklore. Probably + **ar** ‘male’.

**suge-utsu** (R) *n.* \*\*\*\* [FHV 79]

**suin** (B), **sui** (G HN), **suhi** (L), **sūhī** (Z), **sūhū** (Z), **sū** (R), **sī** (R) *n.* ‘son-in-law’. *Ca.* 1620.

From *\*suni*, OUO, by P1 (M. 1961a: 150, 414).

**sunda** (B) *n.* ‘stench, stink’. *Ca.* 1800.

OUO.

**sundatu** (B) *vi.* ‘go bad, go off, become spoiled’ (of water). + **-tu** VFS.

**surgu** (B), **jurgu** (G) *n.* \*\*\*\* [FHV 561]

From Lat. *sulcum* \*\*\*\* {‘furrow’, ‘narrow ditch’} (M. 1977a: 561).

**susmo** (B G) *n.* ‘suspicion’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 292, 350]

\*\*\*\*

**sumatu** (B), **susmau** (B), **sumatu** (G), **sumau** (B) \*\*\*\* ‘suspect, guess’, **usmatu** (HN L S A), **usnatu** (HN L LN) \*\*\*\*. \*\*\*\* +**-tu** VFS. [FHV 292, 350]

**t/k reduplications** Bq. has a number of expressive formations corresponding broadly to the following pattern: *tVtV-* or *kVkV-*, sometimes with an extra consonant, especially /n/, after the first vowel. These formations are listed below. Most of them have typical expressive senses, centring on ‘bump, hump, projection’ or ‘fat, thick, stupid’. Back vowels are strongly favoured in these formations.

**kokorro** (B) *a.* ‘stupid’, ‘brutish’.

**konkor** *n.* (*c. exc.* L LN), **kunkur** (HN LN Z R) ‘hunchback’, (HN) ‘hump, bump’, (L LN Z) ‘bump on the head’, (Z) **tuntor** ‘bump, hump’, (B) **tuturo**, **tuturumillo**, **tuturrusko**, **tuturruxko** ‘bump on the head’, *a.* (L LN) **konkor**, (R) **kunkur**, (HN) **tuntur** ‘bent, crooked’. Dimin. *n.* (L LN) **ttonttor**, (HN) **ttunttur** ‘hunchback’.

**tontor** *n.* (B G HN L), **tontorro** (L), **tuntur** (B), **tuturru** (HN LN), **kokor** (old L), **kukutz** (B) ‘peak, summit, pinnacle, prominence’.

**total** (G HN S) *a.* ‘stuttering, stammering’. See **motel** (under **m-**).

**tutur** (old B), **kukur** (B HN), **kukurin** (L), **kukurrin** (L), **kukurusta** (L), **kukurrusta** (LN) *n.* ‘crest (on a bird)’, sometimes more specifically on a cock.

**tahárna** (Z) \*\*\*\* {‘inn’} [FHV 213] {*Cf.* **taberna**.}

**taberna** (B G L), **taferna** (S.P., H.), **tafarna** (H.) *n.* ‘tavern, bar’, ‘inn’. 1643.

From Cast. *taverna* id. or a related Rom. form. {Occ. *tavèrna*} Second form by L3. Now little used.

**tabernari**, **tafernari** *n.* ‘barman’, ‘tavern-owner’. 1643. + **-ari** {[1]} professional NFS. Now little used.

**taika** (HN R), **ttauka** (LN) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘a certain headdress formerly worn in church by young ladies’. [FHV 93]

From a Rom. source akin to Cast. *toca*, Port. *touca*, etc., ‘headdress’. CP (*s.v.* *toca*) trace all these words back to an ancient “Hispanic” word *\*tauca*.

**thailu** (\*\*), \*\*\*\* **thallu** (old LN) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘kind, sort’. \*\*\*\* Lh. **taxu** (\*\*), **taju** (G), {**taiu** (EB) ‘aspect’, ‘ability’, ‘adaptation’} \*\*\*\*\*

**taxutu** (HN \*\*) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘arrange, adapt’} [FHV 193, 517] [2 senses; one from **taxu**; sort]

**talaja** (G) {, **talaia** (B G)} *n.* \*\*\*\* ‘watchtower’ [FHV 177]

From Cast. *atalaya* id.

**talo** (B G HN L LN) *n.* ‘a kind of flat round maize-cake’, formerly a Basque staple, TS (L LN) *a.* ‘flat, flattened, squat’. 17th cent.

From Rom.: CP (*s.v.* *tallo*) reports a sparsely recorded Galician *talo* ‘maize cake’, app. from Lat. *thallu*{*m*} ‘stalk with leaves’.



**tamal** (B L) *n.* ‘misfortune’, ‘bad luck’, ‘regret’, ‘compassion’. 1596.

App. from Lat. *tam malum* ‘what a misfortune!’, or from a Rom. development of this (Lh. *s.v.*). The word was somewhat rare and archaic before the 20th cent., when it was revived.

**tanda** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*\* Dimin. **txanda** ‘turn’ (of a person in sequence, as in a game) \*\*\*\*\* [FHV 188]

**tanta** (\*\*), **tanto** (G) \*\*\*\*\* *n.* ‘drop’, \*\*\*\*\* **ttantto** (\*\* G)

**-tar, -ar** (c.) Ethnonymic suffix forming nouns and adjective: ‘(who is) from’. Examples: *lapurtar* ‘(who is) from Lapurdi’; *donostiar* ‘(who is) from Donostia (San Sebastián)’.

OUO. Usually we find **-tar** after a consonant or a diphthong and **-ar** after a vowel, suggesting perhaps an original *\*-dar*. Aq. *-T(H)AR*, *-TARRIS* may represent the same suffix. Ib. appears to exhibit a suffix *-TAR* which is attached to place names and perhaps also forms ethnonyms (M. \*\*\*\*\* {1961a: 50, etc.}).

**-tarzun, -arzun** (LN A S R), **-tárzün, -árzün** (Z), **-tasun, -asun** (B G HN L LN) NFS forming abstract nouns. Example: *eder* ‘beautiful’, *edertarzun, edertasun* ‘beauty’. + **-zun**. Last two variants by P19. In some Pyrenean varieties, the suffix is normally **-(t)arzun**, but is **-(t)asun** when the stem contains an /s/: hence *edertarzun* ‘beauty’, but *osasun* ‘wholeness, health’, from *oso* ‘whole’. Sometimes appears as **-rasun**, by dissimilation, when the stem contains a /t/ or a /d/. See **-keria**.

**tastabin** (B), **tastafin** (B), **gastabin** (G), **lastabin** (G), **laztabin** (G), **xastagin** (HN), **txasta(g)in** (HN) \*\*\*\*\* {‘small drill’} [FHV 187, 187 fn]

**thatxa** (old LN \*\*) *n.* ‘defect’. \*\*\*\*\*

{From Cast. *tacha* id.} [FHV 217]

**thatxatü** (Z) \*\*\*\*\* [FHV 217]

{[} **taxu** (\*\*), **taju** (G) \*\*\*\*\* [same as **t{h}ailu**, I guess]

**taxutu** (HN \*\*) \*\*\*\*\* [FHV 193, 517] [2 senses; one from **taxu**; sort] {} Moved to **thailu** }

**-te** [1] (c.) NFS of duration; NFS making verbal nouns.

OUO. This suffix makes nouns of duration, mostly from nouns, occasionally from adjectives: *gose* ‘hunger, hungry’, *gosete* ‘famine’; *huri* ‘rain’, *hurite* ‘rainy spell’; *legor* ‘dry’, *legorte* ‘drought’. Added to a verb-stem, it produces a verbal noun: *egin* ‘do’, *egite* ‘deed, action’; *ikusi* ‘see’, *ikuste* ‘act of seeing’. The second function is presumably derived from the first, and it supports the conclusion of Trask (1990) that the radical (the verb-stem functioning as a free form) was originally nominal; see **e-** [\*].

**-te** {[2]} [GERUND]

**-teko**

**-tekotan**

**-ten**

**-tera** , **-tra** (S)

**-terakoan**

**teila** (\*\*), **tella** (\*\* HN) *n.* ‘roof tile’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 521]

From \*\*\*\* {Arag. *tella* id. from Lat. *tēgulam* id.}

**teilatu** (*c.*) (17th cent.), **te(i)llatu** (*c.*), **telladu** (Sout) (1562) *n.* ‘roof’.

From some Rom. development of late Lat. *\*tēgulātum* ‘tiled, covered with tiles’ (of a roof), from Lat. *tēgulam* ‘roof tile’. The word is akin to Cast. *tejado* id., but the form of the Bq. word shows that it cannot be borrowed from Cast., and the likely source is Arag. (M. \*\*\*\* {1964a: 110}).

**théiü** (Z), **texu** (R) *a.* ‘dirty, impure, obscene’.

From Lat. *taedium* ‘loathing, disgust’ (M. 1961a: 175, \*\*\*\* {1954b: 142; 1972f: 316f.; 1974b: 190}).

**tenda** (\*\* old LN) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘pruning’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 217]

**tenore** (\*\*) *n.* ‘occasion, time’, ‘hour of the clock’. \*\*\*\*

**tentatu** (\*\*), **tentatü** (Z) *vt.* ‘tempt’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *tentar* id. or a related Rom. form. {Gasc. *tentà* Palay (1980).}

**tente** (\*\*) *a.* ‘erect’, ‘standing up’ \*\*\*\* dimin. **ttente** \*\*\*

**termiño** (L), **dermio** (HN), **termañü** (old Z) *n.* \*\*\*\* [FHV 303]

\*\*\*\* Cast. *término*.

**testamentu** (\*\* old LN), **testaméntü** (Z) *n.* ‘testament’. \*\*\*\*

**-ti** [1] (*c.*) AFS.

OUO. Forms adjectives from nouns. Examples: *beldur* ‘fear’, *beldurti* ‘fearful’; \*\*\*\*.

**-ti** [2] (old B) ‘via, by way of’, (*c.*) Abl. CS.

OUO. In our most archaic Bq. text, the *R&S*, this suffix is used exclusively to mean ‘via, by way of’, which is presumably its earlier function. Example: *ao* ‘mouth’, *aoti* ‘by mouth’. Otherwise, it occurs only as an Abl. case-suffix. As an Abl., it is frequent in early texts, and it is still perhaps used in a few varieties today, but it has been generally superseded by **-tik** (*q.v.*), which may or may not be derived from **-ti**.

Ablative: [be sure to include the directional sense of **goiti** etc.] [FHV 236: important]

**-ti** [3] (*c.*) \*\*\*\* As in *beheiti*, *urruti*, *barruti*, etc. \*\*\* [FHV 236] M. (1961a: 236) takes this as identical to **-ti** [2]. [FHV 236 fn: Lafon identifies it with **-ti** [1].]

**-tik** (*c.*) Abl. CS. [FHV 236-237: important] [often extended to **-tika(n)**] [FHV 237 fn]

**tilet** (EB) *n.* ‘(any) punctuation mark or diacritic’. Late 19th cent.

Neologism; arbitrary alteration of Cast. *tilde* ‘tilde’.

**tilista** (old B, *R&S* 50), **dilista** (Sout old G?), **txilista** (B) \*\*\*\* ‘lentil’ [FHV 187]

\*\*\*\* See also **txintxila**.

**tínta** (Z) *n.* ‘ink’.

From Cast. *tinta* id. {or Occ. *tinta*} (Lh.).

**tipi** (\*\*), **tiki** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* Dimin. **ttipi** (HN LN), **ttípi** (Z), **txípi** (Z), **txipi** (old B Sout L), **xipi** (L old LN Z), **ttiki** (HN L), **txiki** (B G HN LN), **xiki** (L) ‘small’, **txiki** (R) ‘few, little, not many, not much’.

\*\*\*\* The surname or *sobriquet* *Chipia* is frequent in Navarra.

**txiker** (B), **txikar** (B G), **txikir** (Sout) [hapax?] ‘small’ \*\*\*\*

**tipula** (L LN A R G HN), **kipula** (B G), **gipulla** (Sout), **kinpul(l)a** (B), **túpla** (R), **tipla** (S) *n.* ‘onion’ (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*). 1562.

From Lat. *cepullam* id. (M. 1961a: 65). First vowel by P37. Fourth variant by P34. R form by P70, P38. An otherwise unrecorded variant *dipula* in the name *Maria de Dipulatçe* (Pamplona 1350). The unusual variation in the initial consonant suggests that the word was borrowed at a time when Lat. /k/ had palatalized to [kʲ], and that the Basques, having no such sound, interpreted this variously as a velar or as a coronal. [FHV 183 fn] M. (1961a: 239–240) notes that an original voiced initial plosive seems to have given way to a voiceless one.

**tireso** (LN Z S) *a.* ‘stiff, rigid’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *tieso* id., by \*\*\*{P35.1} (M. 1961a: 167).

**tiro** (*c.*) *n.* ‘gunshot’, ‘sound of a gunshot’. 1562.

From Cast. *tiro* id.

**tiro egin** *vitm.* ‘shoot’, ‘fire (a gun)’. + **egin** ‘do’.

**tiroka** (*c.*) *adv.* ‘by shooting’, ‘with shots’, ‘while firing’. + **-ka** AdvFS.

**tirokatu** *vt.* ‘shoot (at)’, ‘fire (at)’. + **-tu** VFS.

**titi** (B G HN LN Z R) (1745), **thiti** (Z), **diti** (LN S) (1545), **dithi** (L LN) *n.* ‘(female) breast’, TS ‘mother’s milk’ (nursery word in this sense).

Of nursery origin, but possibly borrowed from Rom.: *cf.* Cast. {, Occ.} *teta* ‘nipple, udder’, Fr. *téton* ‘(female) breast’, etc., all of nursery origin.

**ditiburu** (\*\*), **titiburu** (\*\*), **ditimoko** (\*\*), **titimoko** (\*\*), **ditimutur** (\*\*), **titimutur** (\*\*), **ditipunta** (\*\*), **titipunta** (\*\*), **titimusko** (\*\*) *n.* ‘nipple’. + **buru** ‘head’, + **moko** ‘beak’, + **mutur** ‘extremity’, + **punta** ‘point’, + **musko** ‘summit’.

**titijorra** (?) *n.* ‘sexual fondling of the breasts’. + **jorra** ‘hoeing’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**tititsu** (G), **thititsu** (L) *n., a.* ‘(woman) having large breasts’. + **-tsu** AFS.

**-to** [1] (*c.*), dimin. **-tto** (L LN Z), **-txo** (B G HN L), **-txu** (B L). NFS forming diminutives.

OUO. Apparently recorded in the Aq. female name *NESCATO* (see **neskato** ‘little girl’, under **neska** ‘girl’), and perhaps more generally as Aq. *-T(T)O*. As is usual with diminutive suffixes, this one is almost always palatalized. [MITX 73 {(M. 1973a: 152)}] However, in spite of the straightforward phonology, M. (1961a: 186–187) is not sure that **-to** and **-txo** represent the same suffix, since Aq. exhibits two distinct suffixes *-T(T)O* and *-X(S)O*. See **-no**.

**-to** [2] (B) AdvFS forming adverbs of manner from adjectives. Examples: **ederto** ‘beautifully’ (**eder** ‘beautiful’); **ondo** ‘well’ (**on** ‘good’).

OUO. B alone uses this suffix, all other varieties using **-ki** [1] instead.

**to** (*c.*) *intj.* word using in calling to a man; also (HN L LN Z R) in calling to a domestic animal. It can represent a simple ‘Hey!’, or it can mean more specifically ‘Take this!’.

**tobaja** (G) *n.* ‘towel’, **tahálla** (Z) ‘tablecloth’, ‘napkin’. \*\*\*\*\*

From Cast. *toalla* ‘towel’. {**tahálla** (Z) rather from Occ. *toalha* ‘tablecloth’.}

**-toki** (\*\*), **-oki** (\*\*) NFS: ‘place’. \*\*\* {M. 1973a: 136-7}

\*\*\*\*\* A toponym *Olotuqui* near Leire 1056.

**toki** (\*\* L) *n.* ‘place’, **hóki** (Z) \*\*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘stool’, TS ‘normal state’}. [FHV 214{, 526}]  
By extraction of the suffix (M\*\*{3}).

**toletiko** (B) *n.* ‘large fig’. \*\*\*\*\*

From \**Toledo-iko* ‘Toledo fig’: > \**toled-iko* (by W1) > *tolet-iko* (by W3) (M. 1961a: 128). See **piko**.

**tortaka** (Sout) *adv.* \*\*\*\*\* {‘trotting’} [FHV 348]

**toska** (\*\*) *n.* ‘kaolin, white clay’, **toxka** (Z) \*\*\*\*\* 1746, 1858.

From a Rom. word akin to Cast. *tosco* ‘coarse, crude’. CP (*s.v.* *tosco*) note that this word is found throughout Ibero-Rom., and that attested Rom. formations like Cat. *pedra tosca*

‘pumice stone’ (lit. ‘coarse stone’) can account for the final /a/ in Bq. CP also suggests that the coarse, lumpy appearance of kaolin is the reason for the label.

**tratu** (\*\*) *n.* ‘dealing(s)’, ‘traffic’, ‘commerce’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *trato* ‘deal’.

**tresna** (\*\*), **tresen(a)** (HN) \*\*\*\*, **tresenak** (HN) *n. pl.* ‘clothes’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 512] [CP *s.v.* *tresnar*]

\*\*\*\* [FHV 164]

**tresnatu** \*\*\*\* [FHV 164]

**trikatu** (HN L LN) *vi.* ‘pause, stop, rest’. 1643.

From Occ. {Gasc.} *tricar* \*\*\*\* {‘wait, delay’}.

**triku** (G HN) *n.* ‘hedgehog’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*). \*\*\*\* [~~possibly to be combined with kirikiño?~~] [FHV 497] [SEE NOW FHV 534: COMBINE WITH **kirikiño**] {See Michelena 1971f: 259 ff.}

**trinitate** (R), **trintate** (S A), **trintete** (HN) *n.* ‘trinity’. \*\*\*\*

{[] **trisipu** (G) \*\*\*\* [FHV 258] {} Duplicate, see under **lizifru**.}

**-ts-** Dative flag.

**-tsu**, **-zu** (B G HN L) AFS ‘full of’.

The original form is clearly **-zu**, since this form alone occurs in toponyms, such as *Arantzazu* (*arantza* ‘thorn’). But, as a rule, only **-tsu** appears in ordinary lexical items, with rare exceptions like **mukizu** ‘full of mucus’, from **muki** ‘mucus’. M. (1977a: 542–543) suggests that this variant arose by reanalysis of cases like **satsu** ‘filthy’, from **sats** ‘ordure’ plus **-zu**, in which the phonological development is regular, by W8.

**-zu** (c.) Indefinite pl. suffix. [FHV 542]

**ttoko-ttoko**, **ttuku-ttuku** (H.) *adv.* ‘in small halting steps’.

Expressive.

**ttokol** (L) *n.* ‘insignificant person’, ‘(a) nobody’.

Expressive.

**ttok-ttok-ttok** (LN) *adv.* (of a person) ‘looking for something’.

Expressive.

**ttortoila** (LN), **ttorttola** (R) *n.* ‘turtledove’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*)

From Cast. *tórtola* id., by M\*\*{10} (M. 1961a: 185).

**ttotta** (G L) *n.* ‘spirits, hard liquor’. \*\*\*\*

Probably from Cast. *gota* ‘drop’, by M\*\*{??} (M. 1961a: 185).

**tu** (HN Sout), **thu** (L LN), **thü** (Z), **to** (G). *n.* ‘spit, saliva’, ‘gob of spit’. 1562, 1571. Dimin. **ttu** (HN), **txu** (B).

Imitative. Words for ‘spit’ of the form [tu-] are widespread in the world’s languages. See also **txistu**.

**tu egin** etc. *vitm.* ‘spit’. 1571. + **egin** ‘do’.

**-tu** (*c. exc.* B), **-du** (B) VFS.

The variant **-du** in most dialects after /n/ or /l/, by P6, but generalized in B, perhaps under Rom. influence. From the Lat. participial suffix *-tum* (M. 1961a: 233). It appears that early Bq. borrowed Lat. verbs in the form of their participles (e.g., **aditu** ‘hear’ from *auditum*), and that so many were borrowed that **-tu** came to be taken as the ordinary suffix for deriving verbs from other parts of speech, displacing native **-i** [1] in this function. [MITX 73 {M. 1973a: 153}] [B: often *-du*, or *-u* between vowels]

**tupina** (L LN), **tupin** (L LN), **tupiñ** (L LN), **thüpiña** (Z), **thipiña** (Z), **thipiñ** (Z), **dupin** (old LN), **duphin** (L LN), **dipiña** (LN), **dipidia** (old G?), **topina** (?) *n.* ‘cooking pot’. 17th cent.

From Gasc. *toupin* id. or a related Rom. form. {Occ. *topin* id.}

**topinagile** (old LN), **tupinagile** (old LN) \*\*\*\* {‘potter’} [FHV 77]

**txahal** (Z), **txaal** (B), **xahal** (L LN), **xáhal** (Z), **txal** (B G), **xäl** (R), **xal** (S) *n.* ‘calf’. 17th cent.

From *\*xanal*, by P1, from an unpalatalized original *\*zanal* or *\*sanal* (can’t tell which), OÜO (M. 1949a). The apparent variant *\*xamal* cited in Arbelaiz (1978: s.v.) is a typo.

**txabola** (B G) (1762), **txaola** (G) (1745, 1842) *n.* ‘hut, cabin’ (esp. a shepherd’s hut), **txabola** (S R) ‘customs man’s hut’.

From Old Cast. *javola* ‘cage’ (mod. *jaula*), ult. from Lat. *\*caveolam* ‘small enclosed place’ (Castro \*\*\*\* {A. 1933: 60-61}). The word is not related to **etxe** ‘house’ or to **ola** ‘place’. See **etxola** under **etxe**. See also **kaiola**. {M. 1953d: 566}

**txalma** (*c.*) *n.* ‘pack saddle, light saddle’, \*\*\*\*. 1745, 1808.

From Cast. *enjalma* id., by L\*\*{14}. {M. 1961a: 194}

**txantxiku** (B G) *n.* ‘frog’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*), ‘toad’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*) \*\*\*\* [FHV 520: from a personal name]



**txipiroi** (\*\*), **txibi(a)** (B HN) *n.* ‘squid’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*). \*\*\*\*

From OCast. *xibia* id. (M. 1961a: 194). {For the first, *cf.* Cast. *chipirón.*}

**txiriboga** (G), **txiribogin** (old B), **txiologa** (old B) *n.* ‘tavern’. 1596.

From some local Rom. form of the word represented by Cast. *sinagoga* ‘synagogue’ (M. \*\*\*\* {1957a: 14 and 23 fn. 7}), with dissimilation of the first /g/. Apparently a joke in origin.

**txirla** (B G) *n.* ‘clam’ (*zool.*) (genera *Tapes*, *Venus*, *Mytilus*), TS ‘vulva’. 1745, *ca.* 1800.

Expressive. It is possible that the sexual sense is earlier than the zoological one. In compounds, the word strangely means ‘oyster’, though this sense is not recorded for the independent word.

**txistu** (B G), **xistu** (L LN), **xixtu** (L LN), **hixtu** (L LN?), **fixtu** (L LN?), **listu** (HN), **lixtu** (HN), **ixtu** (G HN), **istu** (L LN?), **huxtu** (L LN), **hüxtü** (Z) *n.* ‘whistle’ (sound), ‘whistling’, ‘saliva, spit’, ‘traditional small end-blown flute’, (HN L) ‘speed’. 1653.

Imitative.

**txiz** (B G) *n.* ‘urine, piss’.

Imitative.

**txit** [1] (G Z), **xit** (L) *deg.* ‘very, completely’. 1658.

Expressive.

**txita** (B G LN), **txito** (G L LN), **txitxa** (LN Z R), **txitxo** (G HN Z) *n.* ‘chick’ (baby chicken).

Imitative.

**txitxirio** (G HN) *n.* ‘chickpea’ (*bot.*) (*Cicer arietinum*) 1746, 1847.

From some Rom. development of Lat. *cicerem* id. The details are obscure.

**txoloma** (G HN) *n.* ‘young pigeon’. \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *paloma* ‘pigeon’, by M\*\*{9}.

**txopa** (B G HN), **xopa** (L) *n.* ‘poop’ (of a boat). \*\*\*\*

From Cast. *popa* ‘poop’, by M\*\*{9}.

**txotxo** (B G) *n.* ‘penis’. \*\*\*\*

Probably of expressive origin, but perhaps a dimin. of **zozo** ‘blackbird’.

**txotxoka** *adv.* ‘engaging in sexual intercourse’, *n.* ‘sexual intercourse’. + **-ka** AdvFS.

**txotxoka egin**, **txotx egin** *vitm.* ‘engage in sexual intercourse’. + **egin** ‘do’.



**txukatu** (\*\* R), **xukatu** (\*\*), **txükátü** (Z), **ixukatu** (old LN), **üxükatü** (old Z) \*\*\*\* {v. ‘dry’} [FHV 157, 216, 583] [Lh. under *ixukatu*]

**txukun** (B G) *a.* ‘neat, tidy, clean’. *Ca.* 1740.

OUO, possibly expressive. Note: the widely disseminated suggestion that Cast. *chacona* (the dance), whence French and English *chaconne*, derives from this Bq. word is untenable.

**txunditu** (G HN) *vi.* ‘be astonished’ \*\*\*\*\* [FHV 188 fn]

**-tza, -tze** (*c.*) NFS forming nouns of abundance and abstract nouns, mainly of activity.

Examples: *jendetza, jendetze* ‘crowd, throng’ (*jende* ‘people’); *jaiotza* ‘birth’ (*jaiio* ‘be born’).

OUO. Modern **-tza** is attested several times as *-zaha* in the *Rejas de San Millán*, 952. It is not certain that **-tza** and **-tze** are the same suffix in origin, but their behaviour is so similar that they can reasonably be treated together. [FHV 111, 111 fn, 500: disagrees]

**-tzaile** (*c. exc.* Z), **-tzale, -zale** (Z) NFS forming agent nouns from verbs of the **-tu** class, of any transitivity. Example: *lagundu* ‘help, assist’, *laguntzaile* ‘helper, assistant’. + **-ile**, variant of **-le**, the agent suffix with ancient verbs. It appears that, at some early stage, verbs derived from non-verbal stems with the borrowed suffix **-tu** could not take **-le** directly, but had to first form a nominal derivative in **-tza**. This supports the conclusion of Trask (1990) that ancient verbal stems, derived from verbal roots with the prefix **e-** [1], were nominal in nature, not verbal.

**-tzapen** \*\*\*\* {NFS + **-pen** (see **-mendu**)}

**-tze** (*c. exc.* B R) Suffix forming gerunds from verbs of the **-tu** class. A grammaticalization of the noun-forming suffix above. As proposed in Trask (1990), it appears that verbal nouns of activity formed with this suffix were originally strictly nominal in nature, but that they came to be reinterpreted as non-finite verb-forms taking ordinary verbal arguments with ordinary case-marking. This development is strongly comparable to the origin of the English gerund suffix *-ing*, which likewise derives from a suffix forming verbal nouns (Jespersen 1948: 205–210). The late origin of this gerund suffix is consistent with its absence from the two peripheral dialects, B in the west and R in the east. See also **-te** {[2]}, **-keta** {not in *The Dictionary*}.

**-tzeko**

**-tzekotan**

**-tzen**

**-tzera** , **-tzra** (S)

**-tzerakoan**

**-tzat** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {Essive CS.}

**uhain** (\*\*), **uhin** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘wave’}

**uda** (*c. exc. Z*), **úda** (Z), **euda** (old B), **udara** (G) *n.* ‘summer’. \*\*\*\*

OUO. The old B variant **euda** is extracted from the hapax def. form *eudea* in Micoleta.

**udahaste** (LN) *n.* ‘spring’ (season). \*\*\*\* + **haste** ‘beginning’ (see **hasi**).

**udazken** (B G L), **udaazken** (L), **udatzen** (B) *n.* ‘autumn’, **udazken** (HN S R) ‘end of the summer’. \*\*\*\* + **azken** ‘last’.

**udaberri** (G L LN), **udabarri** (B) *n.* ‘spring’ (season). \*\*\*\* + **berri** ‘new’ (see \***berr-**).

**udabihotz** (L), **udabiotz** (HN) *n.* ‘dog days’, ‘height of summer’. \*\*\*\* + **bihotz** ‘heart’.

**udagoien** (B), **udaguen** (B) *n.* ‘autumn’. \*\*\*\* + **goi** ‘high part’ + **-en** {[1]} superl.

**udalein** (R S) *n.* ‘beginning of summer’, **udalen** (HN) ‘spring’. \*\*\*\* + **lehen** ‘first’.

**udamin** (HN LLN Z R) *n.* ‘dog days’, ‘height of summer’, (old B) ‘tertian fever’. \*\*\*\* + **min** ‘pain’.

**udaor** (?) *a.* ‘pertaining to the summer’. \*\*\*\*

**udaraitzen** (G) *n.* ‘autumn’. \*\*\*\*

**udarbi** (B?) [hapax] *n.* ‘beetroot’ (*bot.*) (\*\*). According to A. (1905), reported by F. Segura. + **arbi** ‘turnip’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**udaro** (*c.*) *n.* ‘summertime’, (HN) ‘good time for the harvest’. \*\*\*\* + **aro** {[1]} ‘time’.

**udasiera** (G) *n.* ‘spring’. \*\*\*\* + **hasiera** ‘beginning’ (see **hasi**).

**udati** (B? G? HN?) *a.* ‘pertaining to the summer’. \*\*\*\* + **-ti** [\*\*{1}] AFS.

**udatxori** (B?) *n.* ‘swift’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*) \*\*\*\* + **txori** ‘bird’ (see **zori** {[1]}).

**udare** (G HN L LN), **udari** (L LN) *n.* ‘pear’, TS (L LN) ‘fruit’ (in general). 17th cent.

OUO. The TS is found where ‘pear’ is usually **madari** (see below).

**madari** (B Sout HN L LN Z) *n.* ‘pear’. 1562. + **ma-** expressive syllable.

**ugari** (B G HN) *a.* ‘abundant’, ‘numerous’, *adv.* ‘in abundance, abundantly’, **jori** (\*\*{L HN}) \*\*\*\* {‘chubby’}, **heuragi** (old LN), **heuregi** (old LN) *a.* ‘much’. CF **ugal-**. 1596.

OUO. Could be from \**ugari* or from \**ugali*, by P22. Very likely contains **-i** [\*\*{1}] AFS. The CF **ugal-** is modern, not attested before 1880; older formations show *ugar(i)-*. [REWRITE: FHV 99, 492-493] Last two forms + **-egi** excessive. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**ugatz** (\*\*) *n.* ‘female breast’.

\*\*\*\* {OUO.}

**egüz-** (Z) ‘god-’ (in kinship terms) [FHV 84]

**egüzaita** (Z) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘godfather’} [FHV 351]

**ugaseme** (A), **egütséme** (Z) *n.* ‘godson’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 351]

**ugazaba** (\*\*) *n.* ‘boss’. \*\*\*\* + **asaba** ‘ancestor’ (M. 1977a: 543). {by W13}

**ui** (B) *n.* ‘pitch’ (viscous sticky material). *Ca.* 1800.

OUO. A word of extraordinary form. M. (1964a) notes the curious resemblance to Old Irish *bí* ‘pitch’ (< \**g<sup>w</sup>iw-*), but is reluctant to identify the words. He does, however, conclude that this word is probably older in the language than the synonymous **bike**.

**ukitu** (G HN L), **ikutu** (B G), **ikuttu** (B G), **ukutu** (B), **hunkitu** (L LN), **hunkitü** (Z), **onkitu** (R) \*\*\*\* *vt.* ‘touch’. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*. Given the lack of voicing of the /k/ by P\*\*{6}, the /n/ must be secondary, by P\*\*{34} (M. 1961a: 215 *fn.* 27).

**uko** [1] (old LN) (obsolete) *n.* ‘forearm’ (*anat.*). CF **uka-**. 17th cent.

OUO. CF by W2.2. It is possible that the word originally meant ‘elbow’, and shifted to ‘forearm’; see Buck (1949: §4.32) for numerous parallels.

**ukabil** (B G HN L), **ikubil** (B) *n.* ‘fist’. 1745, 1802. + \***bil** ‘round’.

**ukhabizi** (Hb.) *n.* ‘stiletto, dagger’. + **bizi** ‘living’.

**ukhaldi** (L LN Z) *n.* ‘blow’. + **aldi** ‘time’.

**ukarai** (LN), **ukarái** (R), **ukharai** (LN L?), **ükh(ar)ái** (Z), **uk(h)ari** (L), **ukhare** (LN), **ukha(r)i** (Z) *n.* ‘wrist’ (*anat.*). CF **ukal-**. 1657. From \**uka-garai*, + **garai** ‘high’ (see \***gara**), by P\*\*{W13}. CF perhaps by W12. A toponym *Ucaray Uacoyçça* in 1339.

**ukalondo** (G) *n.* ‘elbow’ (*anat.*). + **ondo** ‘bottom’. (M\*\*\*\*{1971f: 265}).

**ukaur**, **ukhor** (Hb.) *n.* ‘elbow’, ‘forearm’ (*anat.*). + \***aur** ‘front’.

**ukondo** (B HN LN), **ukhondo** (L LN), **ukaondo** (old B, *R&S* 250), **ukando** (B) *n.* ‘elbow’ (*anat.*); TS ‘angle’, ‘bend in the road’. 1596. From \**uka-ondo*, + **ondo** [1] ‘bottom’, by W14.

**uko** [2] (*c.*), **ukho** (L LN), **úkho** (Z) *n.* ‘refusal’, ‘denial’, ‘negation’, ‘weakness, faintness’, (L LN) ‘renunciation’. CF **uk(h)a-**. *Ca.* 1660.

OUO. CF by W2.2.

**uk(h)atu** (*c. exc.* Z), **ukhatü** (Z) *vitm(d)*. ‘refuse, deny’. 1562. + **-tu** VFS.

**uk(h)o egin** (*c.*) *vitm(d)*. ‘refuse’, ‘deny’. 1643. + **egin** ‘do’.

**ume** (*c.*), **hume** (LN), **húme** (Z), **ime** (B) *n.* ‘child’, ‘young of an animal’. 1562.

From \**unbe*, apparently recorded as Aq. *OMBE-* and *VMME* in male names. {OUO.} Possibly bimorphemic, involving the same element \**-be* as **seme** ‘son’ (< \**senbe*).

{[] **imuntzi** (Z) *n.* ‘womb’. + **untzi** ‘vessel’ (see **ontzi**). {} Info moved below to **umunzi**.}

**-kume** NFS ‘offspring’, ‘young’ (of an animal). The /k/ by M2. This suffix is very frequent, and it forms the normal way of deriving names for young animals; see, for example, **ardi** [1], **katu** and **zakur**.

**kume** (B) *n.* ‘young of an animal’. By extraction of the suffix {M3}. In B, this word contrasts with **ume**, which means only ‘child’.

**umealdi**, **umaldi** (*c.*) *n.* ‘lying in’, ‘birth’, (B) ‘generation’. 1745, 1855. + **aldi** ‘time’.

**umedun** (B G HN L) *a.* ‘pregnant’. + **-dun** ‘having’ (see **\*edun**).

**umegin**, **umagin**, **umegile** (\*\*\*) *n.* ‘woman with many children’. 1596. + **-gin**, **-gile** ‘maker’ (see **egin**).

**umekeri(a)** (B G) *n.* ‘childishness’. 1745, 1816. + **-keria** NFS of vices.

**ume-laztan** (B) *n.* ‘person who adores children’. + **laztan** ‘caress’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**umerri** *n.* (LN S) ‘newborn young of an animal’, (HN) ‘lamb’, (B) ‘sheep or goat more than two years old’. 17th cent. From **\*ume-berri**, by W\*\*{13}, + **berri** ‘new’ {(see **\*berr**)} (M. 1961a: 117).

**umetxo** (\*\*\*) *n.* ‘little child’. 1664. + **-txo** dimin. (see **-to** [1]).

**umezurtz** (B G HN L LN) *n.* ‘orphan’. 1653. + **zurtz** ‘orphan’.

**umoi** (HN), **hümói** (Z) *n.* ‘womb’, ‘cradle’. + **ohe** ‘bed’, by W19.

**umunzi** (old LN), **imuntzi** (Z) *n.* ‘womb’. \*\*\*\*. + **untzi** ‘container’ (see **ontzi**) (M. 1961a: 116).

**umil** (*c.* exc. Z), **ümíl** (Z) *a.* ‘humble’. \*\*\*\*

**umo** \*\*\*\* etc. {‘ripe’} [FHV 76, 119]

**umore** (\*\*), **imore** (LN), **imúr** (Z) *n.* ‘humour’, \*\*\*\*

**imore otz** (HN) *n.* ‘scrofula’. + **hotz** ‘cold’.

**unai** (G HN LN R), **unhai** (LN), **unain** (B), **ulhain** (old LN) *n.* ‘cowherd’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 479]

Obscure. Surely contains **-zain** ‘guardian’ (see **zain** [\*\*{1}]), with the same treatment seen in **urdain** ‘swineherd’ from **urde** ‘pig’, but the first element is opaque.

**\*unaitxipi** *n.* + **txipi** ‘small’ (see **tipi**). Not recorded, but required as the source of Alavese Spanish (1661) *unaichipi* ‘cowboy’ (M. 1977a: 479).

**unamaizter** (\*\*\*) *n.* ‘chief cowherd’. \*\*\*\* + **maizter** ‘master’ (M. 1961a: 355 *fn.* 15).

{[} **unatu** (\*\*), **unhatu** (\*\*), **ahunatu** (\*\*), \*\*\*\*, **eñhe** (Z) *a.* ‘tired, fatigued’ \*\*\*\* [FHV 103]  
Also **anu egin** (\*\*), **anhu** (\*\*), **ahunatu** (B G), **auno egin** (B) .... [SORT] {[} Largely duplicated under **anu**, combined there.}

**ungendu** (\*\*), **ünkhüntü** (Z) *n.* \*\*\*\* [FHV 399 *fn.* 527] [move?] {*Cf.* **onkendu**.}

**ungenstatu** (old LN) \*\*\*\* {‘anoint’} [FHV 368]

**unide** (\*\*{L LN}), **unhide** (\*\*), **iñude** (B G), **inude** (old B), **ünhüde**{, **enhüde**} (Z), **unúde** (R) *n.* ‘wetnurse’. \*\*\*\* {CF **iñut-**.}

{OUO, but we may be confident that **unide** is the conservative form and that it contains **-kide** ‘fellow’ attached to an unknown stem (M. 1961a: 84, \*\*\*\*{1969c: 129}). Western variant by metathesis. CF by W1, W3. }. A *casa de Unidea* in 1168 (M. 1977a:483).

**iñutu** (B) *vt.* ‘put (a child) with a wetnurse’. \*\*\*\* + **-tu** VFS.

**untxi** (G? HN), **untxe** (R), **entxe** (HN) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘rabbit’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*). \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* [FHV 492]. The R form is **untxe**, not *untxi*, as given in A. (1905).

{From *\*untzi* or *\*untsi*, OUO, with expressive palatalization M9.}

**untz** (\*\*{B G}), **huntz** (\*\*{L LN}), **hüntz** (Z) \*\*\*\* ‘ivy’ [FHV 57]

**uñhú** (Z) *n.* ‘onion’. \*\*\*\*

**húpa** (Z) *intj.* \*\*\*\* [FHV 214]

**upa** (B), **kupa** (R), **dupa** (L LN), **dupha** (L LN), **upel** (B G), **kupel** (G HN), **dupel** (L LN) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘barrel’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 253, 260]

**ur** (*c. exc.* Z) [tapped /r/], **hur** (Z) *n.* ‘water’. CF **u-**. 12th cent., 1562.

OUO. CF by W11. Though Z has **hur** by P69, the CF in Z is *ü-* (M. 1961a: 53). See also **urdin**. [FHV 556 for funny stuff]

{**uhaitz**} (LN), **üháitz** (Z), **ühátx** (Z), **ugaitz** (\*\*{LN}), **ugatx(a)** (R), **egutxa** (R), **eguatxa** (R) *n.* ‘river’\*\*\*\* [AZKUE, FHV 53, 178, 337]

**ubera** (old B, *R&S* 299) *n.* ‘ford’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 76]

**ubi** (L LN), **übi** (Z), **ibi** (old B old LN) (17th cent.), **hibi** (LN), **ibide** (L) (1630) *n.* ‘ford’. + **bide** ‘way’, by W\*\*{19} and vowel assimilation (M. 1961a: 412 *fn.* 8). The word cannot sensibly be related to **ibar** ‘valley’ or to that word’s derivative **ibai** ‘river’. [MUCH MORE FHV 76]

**ubil** (B) *n.* ‘eddy’. \*\*\*\* + **\*bil** ‘round’. \*\*\*\*

**ugabere** (B), **ugadera** (B L), **ügadera** (Z), **uadera** (L?), **ubegara** (B), **uagara** (B), **udagara** (LN S), **uhadera** (H.), **uragre** (A), **ugara** (S), **igaraba** (G HN), **igarabi** (B), **igarabire** (B), **igabera** (G) *n.* ‘otter’ (*zool.*) (*Lutra*). 1745, 1802. From *\*u-abere*, + **abere** ‘animal’ (M. \*\*\*\*{1961a: 75-76}) First form by P35.1; others by various irregular phonological developments. [REWRITE: FHV 75-76]

**ugalde** (HN A S), **ugelde** (\*\*), **ubelde** (\*\*) *n.* ‘flood’, **ugalte** (R) ‘river’.\*\*\*\* + **alde** ‘side’ {(see **\*al-**)}. Third form by P10. [FHV 337]

{[**ugaitz** (\*\*), \*\*\*\*, **üháitz** (Z), **ühátx** (Z), **ugatx** (R), **egutxa** (R), **eguatxa** (R) *n.* ‘river’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 178] [} Combined with **uhaitz** above.}

**urlaño** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* [FHV 366]

**urlaster** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* [FHV 366]

**urlazun** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* [FHV 366]

**urlepo** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* [FHV 366]

**urleze** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* [FHV 366]

**urraza** (B) *n.* ‘lettuce’. \*\*\*\* + **aza** ‘cabbage’ {not in *The Dictionary*}, with unusual strengthening of the rhotic (M. 1961a: 331).

**urte** (\*\*), \*\*\*\* **húrte** (Z) *n.* ‘rainy spell’. \*\*\*\* + **-te** {[1]} NFS of duration.

**urtu** (\*\*), **húrtü** (Z) \*\*\*\* ‘melt’. \*\*\*\* Stem sometimes **urt-**. + **-tu** VFS.

**urtxakur** (B G) *n.* ‘otter’ (*zool.*) (*Lutra*), (B G HN L LN R) ‘poodle’ (type of dog). 1905. + **txakur** ‘dog’ (see **zakur**).

**us-tinta** (G) *n.* ‘a little water’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 556]

**uzabal** (G) \*\*\*\* {‘ford’. + **zabal** ‘wide’} [FHV 76]

**hur** (\*\* {L LN}), **hür** (Z) \*\*\*\* {, **ur** (AN B G), **ũ** {[1]} **r** (R)} ‘hazelnut’  
\*\*\*\* {OUO.}

**urritz** (\*\* {B G}), **urretx** (B), **úrrüttx** (Z), **ürrüts** (Z), **urrutx** (R) *n.* ‘hazelnut’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 80]

**hura** (\*\*), **hú(r)a** (Z), **ura** (\*\*), **kura** (R S), **gura** (HN A) *det.* \*\*\*\*, *pron.* ‘he, she, it’.  
\*\*\*\* The R pron. is **ura** even though the det. is **kura**.

**urde** (c.), **úrde** (Z) *n.* ‘pig, hog, swine’, TS (B G HN LN R) *a.* ‘dirty, filthy’. CF **urda-** 1562.

OUO. CF by W2.2. See **zerri**.

**basurde** (\*\* Sout) *n.* ‘wild boar’. + **basa-** ‘wild’ (see **baso**).

**ordots**, **ordotx**, **ordotz** (c.) *n.* ‘boar’, ‘male pig’. 17th cent. + **orots** ‘male’ (M. \*\*\*\* {1969b: 13 fn. 47}), with vowel assimilation {and haplogy of [doro]}.  
Dimin. **ordotx**.

**urda-belarri** (Sout) *n.* [FHV 126]

**urdain** (\*\* {LN Z}), **urdazai** (Sout) *n.* ‘swineherd’. \*\*\*\* + **-zain** ‘guardian’ (see **zain** {[1]}), with unusual loss of the sibilant in the common form. {Cf. **unai**}

\***urdazaitxipi** *n.* + **txipi** ‘small’ (see **tipi**). Not recorded, but required as the source of Alavese Spanish *urdazaichipi* [no gloss] (M. 1961a: 479).

**urdaki** (HN LN Z S) *n.* ‘bacon’. \*\*\*\* + **-ki** [\*\* {3}] NFS.

**urdanga** (L LN S) *n.* ‘sow’, **urdanda** (LN) \*\*\*\* [FHV 258]

**urdari** (Sout) *n.* ‘sow’. 1562. + \*\*\*\*

**urdin** (B G HN L LN Z) *a.* (originally) ‘green, blue, grey’, (today) ‘blue’, but ‘grey’ (of hair or beards), (B HN LN) *n.* ‘mould’, (LN S R) *a.* ‘dirty’, (Z R S) *n.* ‘turbid water’, (B) *a.* ‘smooth, fine, white’ (of skin or complexion). 1627. Also (Sout) ‘grey-brown’ [hapax] 1562.

This looks for all the world like **ur** ‘water’+ **-din** AFS ‘resembling’ (see **\*edin**), which is semantically perfect for the historical sense, but, by W11, we would have expected **\*udin**. The original broader sense is not directly attested, but it is confirmed by **gibelurdin** (see **gibel**), the name of a mushroom with a bright green cap. And S.P. glosses the word as “grison, moisi” (“gone grey, mouldy”). The restriction to ‘blue’ was presumably induced by Rom. borrowings like **berde** ‘green’ and **gris** ‘grey’. Today the word means ‘grey’ only with respect to human hair and beards; see also **mutxurdin** (under **motz** [2]).

But the early Sout sense of ‘grey-brown’ (Cast. *pardo*), combined with the eastern sense of ‘turbid water’, points to a still earlier value (see Trask \*\*\*\*{??}). This earlier value lends some support to the proposal of Charency (1898) to derive the word from **urde** ‘pig’. But perhaps we cannot rule out the possibility that the earliest sense of **urdin** was the attested ‘mould’, and that all the other senses have been derived from this.

**urdin-belar** (HN), **urdin-bedar** (B), **urdin-berar** (G) *n.* ‘woad’ (*bot.*) (*Isatis tinctoria*). 1745, 1847. + **belar** {[1]} ‘grass’.

**ürgaitz** (Z) *n.* ‘aid, help, assistance’. \*\*\*\* \*

**ürgaitzi** (Z), **ürgatzi** (Z), **ürgaitzü** (Z) [diathesis unrecorded] ‘help, aid, assist’. \*\*\*\*

**urka** (\*\*), **ürkha** (Z) \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘pitchfork’, ‘gallows’ Aul.}

From Lat. *furcam* id. (M. 1961a: 51), by L3.

**urkatu** (\*\*), **urkhatu** (\*\*), **ürkhätü** (Z) \*\*\*\* {*vt.* ‘hang’ Aul.}

**urki** (B G HN), **urkhi** (L), **burkhi** (LN), **bürkhi** (Z), **epurki** (G), **turki** (B) *n.* ‘birch’ (*bot.*)  
Ca. 1800, but attested much earlier as an element in surnames and in toponyms, such as *Urkiola* in Vizcaya.

Probably from **\*burki**, OUO; common variant by P9. The last variant is mysterious, though M. (1961a: 260) suggests an assimilated intermediate form **\*kurki** or **\*gurki**. A link has often been suggested to the Germanic word represented by English ‘birch’, but there is no certain case of a Germanic word taken into Bq. without Romance mediation.  
\*\*\*\*

**urpo** (\*\*) {‘heap of grain’ A.}, **ürp{h}o** (Z) *n.* ‘pile of dung’ [FHV 52]

**hurr-** (c.) \*\*\*\* ‘near’ \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

**hurbil** (\*\*{L LN Z}) \*\*\*\* {*adv.* ‘near’}

**ürhéntü** (Z) *vt.* ‘finish, complete’. + **-tu** VFS. Stem **ürhen-**. [FHV 410]

**urhentze** (old LN){, **ürhentze** (Z)} *n.* ‘end, completion’. + **-tze** NFS (see **-tza**).

**hurko** (old LN) {'next'} [FHV 410]

**hurran** (\*\* old LN) \*\*\*\* {'near'} Dimin. (Z) **húllan**. [FHV 182, 410]

**hurren** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* 'nearest', 'next' \*\*\*\* + **-en** {[1]} superl. (M. 1961a: 410).

**hurreneko** (old LN), **hurrenengo** (old LN) \*\*\*\* [FHV 410]

\*\*\*\*

**hurrentsu** (S.P.), **hurrensu** (old LN) \*\*\*\* *prt.* 'almost'. \*\*\*\*

{[} **ürhentze** (Z) *n.* 'end'. \*\*\*\* + **-tze** NFS (see **-tza**). {]} Moved to **urhentze** above.}

**urrats** (\*\* HN R), **ürháts** (Z), **urrhets** (old LN) *n.* 'step'. \*\*\*\*

**urratu** (\*\*) *vt.* 'rip, tear', \*\*\*\* Stem **urra-**.

**urre** (*c. exc.* Z), **urhe** (L LN), **úrhe** (Z) *n.* 'gold'. CF **urra-**. 1545 (but CF 1538).

OUO. CF by W2.2. This word cannot possibly be linked to Lat. *aurum* id., from old Lat. *\*ausom*.

**urragin** (old B Sout) *n.* 'silversmith'. \*\*\*\* + **-gin** 'maker' (see **\*egin**). See **urre zuri** below.

**urregorri** (B), **urhegorri** (L) *n.* 'gold'. + **gorri** 'red' {(see **\*gorr-**)}.

**urre zuri** (B Sout) *n.* 'silver'. \*\*\*\* + **zuri** 'white'.

**urri** [1] (*c.*) *a.* 'rare, scarce'. \*\*\*\*

**urri** [2] *n.* (B G HN L LN) 'October', (B HN LN) 'September'. 1571.

OUO. Attempts at linking this to **urre** 'gold' are not persuasive.

**urriki** (G HN L LN S), **erruki** (B G) *n.* 'compassion'. \*\*\*\* [FHV 84, 84 fn]

{[} **urrin** (G HN L LN), **ürrin** (Z) *n.* 'odour, smell'. \*\*\*\* [SEE AZKUE] {]} Partly duplicated under **lurrin**. Combined there.}

**urrun** (B HN L old LN S \*\*), **húrrün** (Z), **urrin** (B R) \*\* *a.* 'far, distant'.

\*\*\*\* {OUO.}

**urruti** (Sout G \*\*), **irruiti** (G) \*\*\*\* [FHV 80, 236] + **-ti** [3]. In medieval Navarra, the word appears to have meant 'beyond', 'on the other side (of)', as in the toponym *Çubiurruti* (M. 1977a: 482).

**urte** (*c.*), **urthe** (L LN), **úrthe** (Z) *n.* 'year'. 14th cent. CF **urt(h)a-**

OUO. Possibly contains **-te** {[1]} NFS of duration. CF by W2.2.

**aurten** (B G HN S R), **aurthen** (L LN Z) *adv.* 'this year'. 1596. From *\*hau(r)-urte-n*, + **hau** 'this' + **-n** {[1]} Loc. {CS}: lit. 'in this year' (M. \*\*\*\* {?}; Gavel, 1920: 45 n. 1 [AT])), but with the demonstrative surprisingly preposed.



**aurthenbehin** (\*\*), **aurtenbein** (\*\*), **aurtemein** (B), **aurtemin** (B), **aurtemehin** (LN), **arthemein** (LN S), **arthemehin** (\*\*), **artemen** (HN), **aurten-beitan** (A) *adv.* ‘a short time ago’. + **behin** ‘once’ (M. 1961a: 95). [FHV 357, 490-491]

**geurtz** (\*\*), **geurz** (\*\*) *adv.* ‘next year’. \*\*\*\* The final element is **-z** instrl./advbl. The first element is obscure, but M. (1961a: 413 *fn.* 12) suggests that this is the same first element found in **gero** ‘later’.

**urt(h)ats** (L LN Z), **urthatse** (Z) *n.* ‘beginning of the year, first of the year’. \*\*\*\* + **haste** ‘beginning’ (see **hasi**).

**Urteberri** (G HN), **Urtabarri** (B) *n.* ‘New Year’, ‘New Year’s Day’. 1630. + **berri** ‘new’ {(see **\*berr**)}

**urtarril** (B G HN L R), **urtharril** (\*\*), **urtaril** (LN), **urtha(r)il** (Z), **urteberril** (G) *n.* ‘January’. + **-il** ‘month’ (see **\*iLe**) (M. 1977a: 513).

**urtebete** (B Sout G HN), **urtabete** (G?) *n.* ‘a full year’, ‘anniversary’ (sometimes spec. birthday). 1562. + **bete** ‘full’.

**urtebetegun** (R) *n.* ‘birthday’. + **egun** ‘day’.

**urtebetetze** *n.* (G HN) ‘birthday’, (HN) ‘anniversary’. + **-tze** NFS.

**urteide** (old B) *n.* ‘contemporary, coeval’ (person). + **-kide** ‘fellow’.

**urthume** (\*\* old LN) *n.* ‘animal born during the current year’. \*\*\*\* + **ume** ‘child’.

**urtxintx** (HN L LN), **ürxántx** (Z), **burintx(a)** (HN), **burtxintx** (A S) *n.* ‘squirrel’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*) \*\*\*\* Fita, followed by A. (1905), reads *burincha* in the writer Arikustain, but M. (1961a: 293 *fn.* 22) suggests that this is an error for *buxincha*, representing *buxintx(a)*.

\*\*\*\* See also the forms under **katu**.

**usain** (B HN L LN) (1571), **usai** (old B Sout G) (1562), **usein** (HN), **usna** (G HN L LN) *n.* ‘smell, odour’. \*\*\*\*

From *\*usani* OUO (M. 1961a: 144), by P1. \*\*\*\* [FHV 352]

**usario** (\*\*), **usadio** (G) *n.* ‘custom, usage’. \*\*\*\*

**usatu** (\*\* old LN) *vt.* ‘use’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 423 *fn.*]

**usin** (B G) (1802), **uxin** (B G), **usain** (Sout) (1562), **ürsáñ** (Z), **usái** (R), **usai** (S), **urzintz** (L LN), **burzintz** (L) *n.* ‘sneeze’, perhaps also (G) **uxi** ‘grunt’. \*\*\*\*

OUO, but possibly imitative. [REWRITE: see **urzintz**.]

**urzindu** (\*\*) {*v.* ‘sneeze’} [FHV 363]

**usin egin** (B G), **usain egin** (Sout) *vitm.* ‘sneeze’. + **egin** ‘do’.

**uso** (\*\*), **urzo** (\*\*), **ürzo** (Z) *n.* \*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘pigeon, dove’} CF **usa-**.

OUO. First form by P\*\* {19}. CF by W2.2.

**usakume** (old B Sout) *n.* ‘young pigeon’. 1562. + **-kume** ‘offspring’ {(see **ume**)}

**usatei** (Sout) *n.* ‘dovecote’. 1562. + **-tegi** ‘place’ {(see **hegi**)}.

**usatortola** (B G) *n.* ‘turtle dove’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 126]

**-usta** Final element in surnames.

OUO. This occurs in a few surnames whose first elements are more or less recognizable: *Altzusta* (perhaps *altz(a)* ‘alder’), *Irazusta* (*iratze* ‘fern’), and one or two others (M. 1973\*\*{a} *s.v.*).

**ustel** (*c. exc.* Z), **üstel** (Z), **bustel** (L), **pustel** (L), **phustel** (L) *a.* ‘rotten’. \*\*\*\*

OUO. By P69, the Z form is unexpected. M. (1977a: 532) concludes from the variation in form that this word must be borrowed from an unidentified source. [FHV 253]

**husu** (\*\*), **usu** (\*\*), **urru** (G) *a.* ‘thick’, ‘abundant’. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* [FHV 296 *fn.*]

**huts** (L LN), **uts** (B G HN S A R), **hüts** (Z) *n.* ‘absence’, ‘omission’, ‘gap’, TS ‘zero’, *a.* ‘empty’, ‘bare’, ‘plain’, ‘mere’. 1545.

OUO.

**hustu** (\*\*), **ustu** (\*\*{B G}) \*\*\*\* {*v.* ‘empty’}

{[} **hütz** (Z), **utz** (R) *n.* {‘fart’} [AZKUE] {] Partly duplicated under **putz**. Combined there.}

**utzi** (Sout G HN L LN \*\*), **ützi** (Z), **eutzi** (old G S), **iutzi** (HN), **etxi** (old B Sout), **itxi** (B), **eitzi** (old Z R), **eitzu** (R), **ützu** (R) \*\*\*\* *vt.* ‘leave’. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* {< \**e-utz-i*; see **e-** [1]}. {OUO.} It is interesting that old Z has exclusively **eitzi**, while modern Z has **ützi** (M. 1977a: 493).

**uzki** (\*\*) (1657), **úzkü** (Z), **úzku** (R), **uskoi** (old B) [hapax] (1653) *n.* ‘buttocks’, ‘anus’.

OUO. The B form probably in error for \**uzkoi*, by P\*\*{21}. M. (1961a: 255 *fn.* 50) suggests that this is a derivative of **putz** ‘puff of air’, presumably with **-ki** [\*\*{3}] NFS. See **ipurdi**. [FHV 255 *fn.*]

**uzkur** (\*\*) *a.* ‘bent’, \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\* Obscure. M. (1961a: 272) diffidently suggests **uzki** ‘buttocks’ + the stem of **gurtu** ‘kneel, bend’.

{[} **uztarri** (G HN L LN Z R), **buztarri** (B LN Z R) *n.* ‘yoke’. (other senses) TS (B) ‘rainbow’. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* The geographical distribution points to **buztarri** as the conservative form, with the central form by P\*\*{9} (M. 1977a: 532).

**uztargi** (G HN), **uzterku** (B), **uzterpu** (B), **uztrauku** (B?), **uztai** (G), **uztadar** (HN) *n.* ‘rainbow’. Various + **argi** ‘light’, + **adar** ‘horn’, with obscure phonological developments. {] Partly duplicated under **buztarri**. Moved there.}

**uzta** (G HN L LN Z R) *n.* ‘harvest’, TS (G) ‘July’. 1571.

OUO.

**uztail** (G L LN Z), **üzta(r)il** (Z) *n.* ‘July’. 1571. + **-il** ‘month’ (see **\*iLe**) (Caro Baroja 1973). It is difficult to deny this etymology, but why is July harvest time? The Z variant suggests that the direct source might rather be **uztaro** below.

**uztaro** (G HN L LN Z) *n.* ‘harvest time’. \*\*\*\* + **aro** \*\*\*\* {[1] ‘time’}.

**uztatu** (L R) *vt.* ‘reap, harvest’. 1859. + **-tu** VFS.

**uzterina** (LN), **üztaria** (Z), **uzturia** (R), **buztarina** (S.P.) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘crupper’} [FHV 531]

From Lat. *postilēnam* \*\*\*\* (M. 1977a: 531 {and 1965c: 117f.}). [CHECK V LENGTH {Done.}]

**xahu** (L LN), **xau** (HN R S A), **txau** (HN), **xáhũ** (Z), **xaĩ** (R), **xagu** (S) \*\*\*\* *a.* ‘clean, pure’.  
\*\*\*\*

From \**xanu*, by P1, probably from Lat. *sānum* ‘healthy’ by palatalization (M. 1961a: 151).

**txautu** (\*\* {G HN}), **jautu** (\*\*), **xaintu** (R) *vt.* ‘clean, purify’. \*\*\*\* + **-tu** VFS. [FHV 517]

**xede** (L LN \*\*), **xéde** (Z) *n.* ‘limit’, ‘goal, object’ \*\*\*\*

**zedarri** (\*\* old LN), **zedárri** (Z) *n.* ‘boundary stone’. \*\*\*\* + **harri** ‘stone’. [FHV 183, 183 fn]

**xedé(r)a** ({LN L} Z) *n.* ‘snare for catching birds’. \*\*\*\*

**xeru** (S), **xeuri** (R) *n.* ‘yellow pea, yellow vetchling’ (*bot.*) (*Lathyrus aphaca*).

From Cast. *yero* id. or a related Rom. form. R form by P\*\* {52}.

**xirmendu** (old LN) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘vine shoot’} [FHV 68]

**xolxi** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* [FHV 290] [mysterious]

{[]} **xukatu** (\*\*), **ixukatu** (\*\* old LN) \*\*\*\* {*v.* ‘dry’} [FHV 216] [Lh. under *ixukatu*] {} Partly duplicates **txukatu** .}

**xuntatu** (R S) \*\*\*\* {*v.* ‘join’} [FHV 193]

**xunto** (R) \*\*\*\* {‘next to’} [FHV 193]

**xusto** (HN) \*\*\*\* [FHV 193]

**yayo** (G HN) *a.* ‘graceful’, ‘skilful’.

Obscure. M. (1961a: 190) diffidently suggests Cast. *dado* ‘given’.

**z-** [1] Past tense

**z-** [2], **-tz-** (in forms like *zait*, *natzaizu*) [FHV 173-174: from \**di-* ?]

**-z** (c.), **-s** (HN A) Instrumental/adverbial suffix.

\*\*\*\* M. (1961a: 282) notes that A and part of HN use **-s** in place of the common **-z**.

OUO. Though commonly treated in grammars as a case-suffix, this suffix is in fact poorly integrated into the case-system. In most instances it is attached, not to an NP with a determiner, but to an N-bar, a bare nominal with no determiner. Examples: *esku* 'hand', *eskuz* 'by hand'; *gau* 'night', *gauez* 'at night'; *ardo* 'wine', *ardoz betea* 'full of wine'. [about] [with both hands]

It is possible that this suffix once meant 'with', 'in the company of'. [\*\*\*\*].

**-zki** (c.) NFS. App. + **-ki** [\*\*{3}] NFS.

**-zko** (c.) Suffix forming adjectivals: 'made of', 'consisting of', occasionally added pleonastically. Examples: *urre* 'gold', *urrezko* 'golden, made of gold'; *eme* 'female', *emezko* 'female' + **-ko**.

**zahar** (L LN Z), **zaar** (B), **zar** (B Sout G HN R), **zagar** (\*\*{HN}) *a.* 'old'. 1164, 1562.

Dimin. (L LN Z) **xahar** 'old', 'aged', 'used'. [FHV 413]

OUO. Apparently attested as Aq. *SA.HAR* in the male name *VMME SA.HAR* on the Lerga stele (see **ume**).

**-tzar** (c.), **-zar** (c.) 'old', 'big', 'bad'. By reanalysis of the above as a final element in compounds, with semantic shifts. Dimin. **-(t)xar**.

**tzar** (L LN Z) *a.* 'bad, perverse, wicked, evil'. 1750. Dimin. **txar** (LN Z) 'bad, shoddy, of poor quality, unsatisfactory', (L) 'naughty', (L LN Z R HN) 'small', (B G L LN) 'delicate, weak, feeble', (B G HN) 'bad'. 1720. By extraction of the suffix and use as an independent word (M\*\*{3}) (M. 1961a: 413). See **gaitz**. [FHV 190-191] M. (1961a: 191 *fn.* 26), citing A. Alonso, reports that the Bq. of the Baztán valley distinguishes the following: *gizon zaarra* 'the old man', *g. tzarra* 'the wicked man', *g. txarra* 'the bad-tempered man', *g. xarra* 'the old fellow', *g. ttarra* or *ttalla* 'the little fellow', the last possibly being a nursery form.

**zabal** (c.), **zábal** (Z) *a.* 'wide, broad', TS (c.) 'open', TS (B) 'public, well-known', TS (B HN) 'abundant, copious' (esp. of food), TS (old B) 'generous' (of a person) (hapax). 15th cent. Dimin. **xábal** (Z).

OUO. This word is extremely frequent in toponyms and surnames.

**zagi** (B G HN R S) *n.* 'leather container for wine or oil', 'wineskin'. \*\*\*\*

**zato** (B G HN), **xato** (HN) *n.* 'small wineskin'. \*\*\*\* + **-to** [\*\*{1}] dimin.

**zail** (\*\* R), **za(i)ll** (B G \*\*), **zal** (B), **zall** (Z) *a.* 'tough' \*\*\*\*\*

OUO. B form by an unusual application of P\*\*{51}.

**zain** [1] {*n.* ‘guard, watchman’} [SORT OUT],

From \**zani*, OOU, by P1 (M. 1961a: 414). {[FHV 143]}

**-zain** (\*\*), **-zai** (\*\*), **-zāi** (old B), **-záñ** (Z), **-zái** (R), **-za(i)ñ** (B) [FHV 143, 414] *n.* ‘guard, guardian’. \*\*\*\*

**zain** [2] (\*\* R), **za(i)ñ** (G HN), **zan** (B), **zañ** (Z) *n.* ‘vein’, ‘root’, \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

**zanbide** (old B, *R&S* 174) \*\*\*\* [FHV 139]

**-zaki** (*c.*) Final element in anatomical terms.

\*\*\*\* [Az.]

**zakil** (B Sout G HN L LN), **zakhil** (L LN) *n.* ‘penis’ (*anat.*). 1562.

OOU.

**zaku** (*c. exc.* Z), **zákü** (Z) *n.* ‘sack, bag’. 1562.

From Lat. *saccum* id.

**zakur** (G?) *n.* ‘dog’ (*zool.*) (*Canis lupus familiaris*), TS **zakur** (G HN LN Z R), **zakhur** (L LN) ‘big dog’. 1745, 1761. Dimin. **txakur** (*c.*) (1562), **xakur** (HN L LN Z R) (1643), **txákür** (Z) TS ‘dog’.

OOU. This word has displaced the earlier **or** from most of the country. The diminutive **(t)xakur** ‘little dog’ has now displaced the original **zakur** as the unmarked form in nearly all the country, by M10, while **zakur** is now either specialized to mean ‘big dog’ (in most of the country) or lost altogether (in B). The long-standing notion that Cast. *cachorro* ‘puppy’ derives from Bq. **txakur** is dismissed by CP (*s.v.*) as unsustainable.

**zaldi** (*c. exc.* Z) *n.* ‘horse’ (*zool.*) (*Equus caballus*). (?) *ca.* 1470, 1562.

OOU. Often related to an ancient Hispanic *t(h)ieldo* ‘horse’ recorded in Pliny’s *Natural History* 8: 166. See **zamari**. [FHV 356 fn]

**zaldun** (\*\*) *n.* ‘gentleman’. \*\*\* + **-dun** ‘having’ (see **\*edun**). [FHV 361]

**zaltoki** (old LN \*\*) *n.* ‘saddle’. \*\*\*\* + **-toki** ‘place’. [see FHV 250]

**zalke** (G HN S), **zalka** (G), **zalge** (LN Z R), **zalga** (B) *n.* ‘vetch’ (*bot.*) (*Vicia sativa*). 1745, 1802.

OOU. The fluctuation in the form of the cluster is anomalous and puzzling.

**zaltu** (R) *n.* ‘grove where cattle forage’, **\*zaldu** element in toponyms. [FHV 353] [much more]

From Lat. *saltum* ‘woodland, wilderness’ (M. 1961a: 353).

**zalu** (L LN), **zalhu** (L LN), **zallhu** (L LN), **zauli** (G HN L), **zalhi** (LN), **zoli** (B), **zálhe** (Z), **zalo**i (G HN A S), **zalui** (A), **zalhui** (L) *a.* ‘supple, flexible’, ‘obedient’, ‘agile, quick’, ‘determined, spirited’. 1627. **zal(h)u** (L LN) *intj.* ‘hurry up!, quickly!’

Obscure. M. (1961a: 107) cautiously suggests a derivation from **zail** ‘tough, tenacious’.

**zama** (*c.*) *n.* ‘load’. 1571. TS (1847) ‘a certain measure of weight’, about 300 pounds.

From Lat. *sagma* id., of Gk. origin.

**zamari**, **zamá(r)i** (Z), **zámari** (R) *n.* (B HN S Z R) ‘pack-horse’, TS (S R Z) ‘horse’ (in general) (*zool.*) (*Equus caballus*). 1571. CF **zamal-**. Dimin. **xamá(r)i** (Z).

From Lat. *sagmārium* ‘pack-horse’, of Gk. origin (M. \*\*\*\* {1961a: 402, 1973a: 164, 1974b: 191}). CF by W1, W12. In Z, this word has completely displaced native **zaldi** as the word for ‘horse’. See **zama**.

**xamalco** (\*\*) *n.* ‘colt’. \*\*\*\* + **-ko**. {Dimin. not in *The Dictionary*.} [FHV 318]

**zamaldun** (\*\*), **zamaldün** (Z) *n.* ‘horseman, rider’, TS ‘gentleman’. \*\*\*\* + **-dun** ‘who has’ (see **\*edun**).

**zamalzai** (Sout) *n.* ‘muleteer, teamster’. + **-zain** ‘guardian’ (see **zain** {[1]}).

**zamalzatz** (\*\*) *n.* ‘stud jackass’. ? + **-zatz** ‘male’ (see **-zartz**).

**zamar** [1], **zamarra** (?) *n.* (Sout HN Z S R) ‘thick lined coat or jacket’, often esp. a sheepskin garment with the wool still attached as a lining (1562), (Nor) ‘jacket’ (in general), (LN) ‘fleece’, (HN LN) ‘mass of wool cut from a single sheep’, (B) ‘covering for the flax on a distaff’, (B) (also **samar**) ‘piece of soft leather placed over the forehead of an ox’, (B) ‘glove’, (Z) ‘mane’ (1926), (Nor) ‘unruly mass of (human) hair’ (1961). Dimin. **txamar** (L) ‘jacket’, **txamarra** (B) ‘man’s jacket’, (LN) ‘jacket’.

The 16th-c. attestations probably represent **zamarra**, with common **zamar** by M\*\*{4}. It is not certain that all these senses represent the same word. The word is hardly likely to be native, and it is surely taken from Cast. *zamarra* ‘sheepskin jacket’, ‘sheepskin’, since ‘(sheepskin) jacket’ is the only sense recorded early. The Cast. word is itself OUO. CP (*s.v.*) initially contemplate a Bq. origin, but then they note that what appears to be the same word occurs in Portuguese, Catalan, Occ, Old Fr. and even Italian, and they note further that the word is recorded in northern Languedoc in the first half of the 13th c., and they conclude finally that the word is “pre-Roman”. CP present a number of fanciful etymologies from Bq., Greek and Arabic, and they properly dismiss all of them as indefensible.

Assuming these are all the same word, the sense of ‘sheepskin jacket’ has developed in one direction toward ‘covering’ (in general) and in another toward ‘fleece, wool’. The senses of ‘mane’ and ‘unruly hair’ are doubtless calqued on Fr. *toison* ‘fleece, mass of wool’, which has the same TS.

**zamargin** *n.* (Sout) ‘dealer in hides’ (1562), (B) ‘producer of leather coverings for oxen’. + **-gin** ‘maker’ (see **egin**).



**zamau** (B HN), **zamu** (B), **zabau** (old G Sout) *n.* ‘tablecloth’. 1745, 1802.

From Lat. *sabanum* ‘covering’ {better: ‘linen cloth’}, by P7, P1 (M. 1961a: 97).

**zanko** (B Sout G LN Z) (1562), **zánkho** (Z), **zánko** (R), **zango** (G HN L LN) (1571) *n.* ‘leg’ (*anat.*), (L LN Z) also ‘foot’, ‘paw (of an animal)’, TS (L LN Z) ‘footprint’, ‘track (of an animal)’. CF **zanka-**.

From a Rom. word meaning ‘long leg’ (as of a bird), preserved today as Cast. *zanco* ‘stilt’, *zanca* ‘shank’ (of a bird or a person) and elsewhere in Rom. (M. \*\*\*\* {1950a: 195}). Last form by P6. CP (*s.v. zanca*) report that the word is widespread in the Mediterranean area, and propose a Persian origin. CF by W2.2.

**zangar** (L LN), **kankar** (L LN) *n.* ‘leg’, ‘paw’, ‘calf’, ‘tibia’. + an obscure second element. Second form by P\*\*{15}.

**zapatu** (B Sout G) *n.* ‘Saturday’. 1562.

From Lat. *sabbatum* ‘Sabbath’, by L1 (M. 1961a: 229). See **larunbat**.

**zapore** (\*\*), **zaphore** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘flavour’ Aul.}

**-zarre** (\*\*) {NFS.} [FHV 351]

**zartagin** (\*\* {B L LN}) {, **zartagia** (G), **zartagiña** (Z), **zartegia** (R)} \*\*\*\*\* {*n.* ‘frying pan’} [FHV 146]

**-zartz, -zatz, -zauntz, -zontz, -zantz, -zerz** NFS ‘male’?

OUO. This final element occurs in the names of several male animals; see examples under **ahari**, **aker** and **zamari** (M. \*\*\*\* *BAP* 6: {1950b:} 452).

**zata** (G) *n.* ‘nightjar, goatsucker’ (*zool.*) (*Caprimulgus europaeus*). 1905.

OUO.

**zatar** (\*\* {c.}) \*\*\*\*\* *n.* \*\*\*\*\* {‘rag’}

**zauri** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*\* *n.* ‘wound, injury’. \*\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*\* M. (1961a: 318) suggests that this may be an ancient participle in **-i** [\*\* {see. **-i** [1] AFS}]. Possibly related to **zorne** ‘pus’.

**zauritu** (\*\*), **zaurtu** (\*\*), **zaurthu** (\*\*) *vt.* ‘wound, injure’. \*\*\*\*\* + **-tu** VFS.

**zazpi** (c.) *num.* ‘seven’. 1571.

OUO. M. (\*\*\*\* {1972f: 308 fn. 13}) very diffidently suggests *\*bortza-z-bi* ‘two with five’. This requires the original first syllable to have been lost (questionable), the original form of **bortz** ‘five’ to have been *\*bortza* (possible; see that entry), the instrumental **-z** to have been originally a comitative (likely; see that entry), and original **biga** ‘two’ to have been reduced early to **bi** (plausible).

**xaxpiki** (G?) *n.* ‘baby born two months premature’. + **-ki** [\*\*{3}] NFS.

**ze-** Interrogative stem.

OUO. This is one of the two interrogative stems of the language, the other being **no-**. L and LN exhibit a *variant* form **zo-** in certain formations only, esp. when an /n/ follows; this perhaps represents contamination from **no-** (M. 1961a: 82).

**zelan** (B) *adv.* ‘how?’ \*\*\*\*\* + **-lan** AdvFS (see **-la** [2]).

**ezelan** (B) \*\*\*\*\* + **e-** [2] indefinite.

**ezelango** (B), **ezelako** (B) \*\*\*\*\*

**zelan-alango** (B) *n.* ‘mediocre thing’. \*\*\*\*\*

**zelanbait** (B), **zelanbaist** (B) \*\*\*\*\*

**zelanbaitako** (B), **zelanbaistako** (B) *n.* \*\*\*\*\*

**zelan dan** (B) \*\*\*\*\*

**zelan edo alan** (B) \*\*\*\*\*

**zelango** (B), **zelako** (B) *adjvl.* \*\*\*\*\*

**zelangura** (B), **zelan-nai** (B) \*\*\*\*\*

**zelanik** (B) \*\*\*\*\*

**zer** [tapped /r/] (*c.*), **ze** (B G HN Z) *pron.* ‘what?’ Possibly contains formative \*-r. Short form by P25. Some varieties have specialized the short form for use in certain circumstances, often esp. before a noun or before a following consonant in inflected forms; see A. (1905: *s.v.* **ze**) for details. This item takes case-endings normally, except that it requires **-ta-** indef. {(not in *The Dictionary*)} in the local cases, as in Loc. *zertan* ‘in what?’ [ADD SPECIAL USES LIKE ‘thingy’]

**ezer** [tapped /r/] (*c.*) *pron.* ‘anything’ (in negatives and questions: NPI) 15th cent. + **e-** [2] indefinite. See **deus**.

**zein** (*c. exc.* Z), **zeiñ** (Z), **zeñ** (B), **zoin** (LN R), **zuin** (Z), **zuiñ** (Z), **zuñ** (Z) *det.* (prp.) ‘which?’. 1545. \*\*\*\*\* From \**zeren*, the Gen. of **zer** (which still exists), + **-en** {[1]} Gen. CS, by contraction (M. 1961a: 66). [MORE IN FHV, AZKUE]

**zein baino zein** (B G HN L) \*\*\*\*\*

**zeinbat** (B), **zenbat** (\*\*), **zonbat** (LN), **zumát** (Z), **zomat** (R S) \*\*\*\*\* ‘how much?’, ‘how many?’ \*\*\*\*\*

**zeinbana** (\*\*), **zenbana** (\*\*) *det., pron.* ‘how many each?, how many apiece?’

**zeinbatusun** (old B), **zenbatusun** (G?) *n.* ‘number, quantity’. + **-tasun** NFS (see **-tar**). Neologism coined by Mogel; no other existence.

**zeinbatere** (LN) \*\*\*\*\*

**zeinbatu** (B), **zenbatu** (\*\*), **zenbatetu** (G?) *vt.* ‘count’. \*\*\*\*\*

**zenbakarren** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*\*

**zenbatnahi** (Duv.) \*\*\*\*\*

- zenbatsu** (HN L LN) \*\*\*\*
- zeinda** (B) \*\*\*\*
- zeiñen** (G), **zuiñen** (Z) \*\*\*\* [same meaning?]
- zein geiago** (B G HN) \*\*\*\*
- zein-lehen** (HN L LN) \*\*\*\*
- zein-nahi** (\*\*), **zein-nai** (\*\*), **zein-nahiden** (\*\*), **zoinaiden** (R) \*\*\*\*
- zeintsu** (HN L) \*\*\*\*
- zeintzuk** (B) \*\*\*\*
- zenbait** (\*\*), **zenbeit** (L), **zonbait** (\*\*), **zonbeit** (LN), **zumáit** (Z), **zomait** (R S) \*\*\*\* ‘some’, ‘several’ \*\*\*\*
- zenbaitan** (HN) \*\*\*\*
- zenbaitrabeit** (old LN), **zenbatrebeit** (old LN) \*\*\*\* [FHV 162]
- zonbeño** (LN) \*\*\*\*
- zuiña** (Z) \*\*\*\* ‘than’. \*\*\*\*
- zerbait** (c.), **zerbaist** (B) pron. ‘something’. 1571. + **-bait** (see **bait-**). Dimin. **zerbaixki** (Duv.), **zerbaitto** (?), **zertxobait** (G)
- zer edo zer** (\*\*), **zeozer** (B) \*\*\*\*
- zeregin** (B) *n.* \*\*\*\*
- zeregintsu** (B) \*\*\*\*
- zeregintxu** (B) \*\*\*\*
- zeren** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*
- zerendako** (\*\*), **zerentako** (Z) \*\*\*\*
- zeren-eta** (Z) \*\*\*\*
- zerengatik** (\*\*), **zergaitik** (\*\*), **zergatik** (G HN L LN), **zaittik** (B) *adv.* ‘why?’, ‘from what cause?’.
- zer-ere** (HN LN) \*\*\*\*
- zerik** (L S) \*\*\*\*
- zerika** (HN L) \*\*\*\*
- zernahi** (\*\*), **zernai** (\*\*) *pron.* ‘anything you like, anything at all’. \*\*\*\*. + **-nahi** ‘any...at all’ (see **nahi** ‘desire’). [MORE: AZKUE]
- zernahitako** (\*\*), **zernaitako** (\*\*) *a.* ‘adroit, dextrous’. \*\*\*\*
- zerren** (old B) \*\*\*\* + **-arren** \*\*\*\*
- zertan** (\*\*), **zetan** (B) \*\*\*\* [necessary?]
- zetanbait** (B) \*\*\*\*
- zertarako** (\*\*), **zertako** (\*\*) *adjvl.* ‘what for?’ \*\*\*\* + **-ta-** indef. {not in *The Dictionary*} + **-rako** (or its adverbial variant **-ko**) Dest. (see **-ra**).
- zertaz** (\*\*), **zertzaz** (Z), **zezaz** (B) \*\*\*\*

**zertazbait** (R) \*\*\*\*

**zertazko** (\*\*), **zezazko** (B) \*\*\*\*

**zertsu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*

**zertu** (c.), **zertun** (B) \*\*\*\*

**zehir** (\*\*), **zear** (\*\*), **zeihar** (\*\*), **ziar** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {p. ‘across, through’}  
{OUO.}

**zehatz** (EB), **zeatz** (B G), **ziatz** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {a.} ‘exact’. \*\*\*\*

**zehe** (L LN), **zēhē** (Z), **zee** (B G), **ze** (B G HN). CF **ze(h)a-**. Dimin. **xehe** (L LN) (1571), **xéhē** (Z), **xē** (R), **xe** (HN LN), **txe** (G) (1656) a. ‘tiny’.

From \*zene, by P1 (M. \*\*\*\* {1950b: 450; 1961a: 146, 303}). CF by W2.2. In many varieties the dimin. has displaced the original as the unmarked form, by M10.

**zearo** (\*\* G) *adv.* \*\*\*\* + **-ro** AdvFS. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**zehatu** (L? LN) (1571), **zeatu** (B G HN), **zehetu** (L LN Z), **zeetu** (B G), **xehatu** (L) (1627) *vt.* ‘crush, grind, pulverize’, ‘crumble’, ‘shred, mince’. + **-tu** VFS.

**zehume** (L), **xehume** (L LN), **xehüme** (Z) *n.* ‘small span’, distance from tip of thumb to tip of index finger in maximally extended hand. + **-une** (see \*\*\*\* {gune}), by P\*\* {2}.

**zeia** (old B, *R&S* 82, 253) *n.* ‘market’. 1596. \*\*\*\* [FHV 176]

**zeinu** [1] (\*\*), **zēñü** (Z) \*\*\*\* (Z) ‘bell’ \*\*\*\* {Some error here; see **zeinu** [2]. No doubt **zeinu** [1] should be = ‘signal’.

**zeñatu** (\*\* R A), **zeinhatu** (LN), **zeñatu** (B HN S), **ziñatu** (B G), **zeñátü** (Z) \*\*\*\* ‘make the sign of the cross’, \*\*\*\* M. (1961a: 196 *fn.* 31) concludes that old B *zigiñatu*, *zigiñedu* was a learned form.

**zeñhare** (Z) *n.* ‘mark, signal’. [FHV 222]

**zeñeta** (R) *n.* ‘the sign of the cross’. \*\*\*\*

**zeinu** [2] { (\*\*), **zēñü** (Z) } (\*\*) *n.* ‘bell’. \*\*\*\*

**zekale** (B? G HN LN Z), **zekhale** (Duv. *ms.*) [hapax], **zekela** (\*\*), **zekele** (L), **zikirio** (B G), **txikiro** (\*\*) *n.* ‘rye’ (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*).

From Lat. \*\*\*\* {secale id.}

**zeken** (\*\*), **zekhen** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {‘stingy’ Aul.}

**zekengi** (old LN), **xekengi** (old LN) \*\*\*\* [FHV 353]

**zekor** (\*\* {c.}), **zekhor** (\*\* {L LN Z}), **zokor** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘bullock’. \*\*\*\* Dimin. **txekor** (\*\* {G}), **txokor** (G, HN). [FHV 83, 191]

**zela** (\*\*{L EB}) *n.* ‘saddle’. \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *sellam* ‘seat’ (M. 1961a: 320).

**zelai** (\*\*{c.}) *n.* ‘plain’.

\*\*\*\*{OUO.}

**zelata** (old LN) *n.* \*\*\*\*{‘ambush’} [FHV 223]

**zelemia** (Sout) *n.* \*\*\*\* [FHV 147]

**zemendi** (B) *n.* ‘November’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 281]

**zenbera** (\*\*), **zenbé(r)a** (Z), **zénbra** (R), **zenberauen** (\*\*{old LN}), **zendereben** (HN)  
\*\*\*\*{‘cream cheese’} [FHV 164 fn, 258, 511-512]

\*\*\*\*

{[}zenberauen (\*\*), \*\*\*\* [FHV 164 fn] {]} Included in above entry.}

**zentzu** (\*\*), **zentzun** (B), **senzu** (old L) *n.* ‘sense, judgement’ \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\* [FHV 285]

\*\*\*\* B form by an extraordinary spread of nasality.

**zentzatü**

**zerbitzu** (L LN), **serbitzu** (B G HN), **zerbutxu** (R), **zerbützü** (Z) *n.* ‘service’. \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*{M. 1961a: 285 fn. 10, 287}

**zerri** (G HN L) (1745, 1802) *n.* ‘pig’ (*zool.*). Dimin. **xerri** (HN L LN Z), **txerri** (G HN L LN Z) (1745, *ca.* 1760), **txarri** (B Sout) (1562).

OUO. In many varieties, the dimin. has displaced the original as the ordinary form, by M10, and the original is little used except as an insult or as a nickname. Last variant by P59. See **urde**.

**zarritxo** (Sout) {‘piglet’} [FHV 60]

**zeru** (B G HN L LN R S), **zélü** (Z), **zéuri** (R), **zeuru** (R) *n.* ‘sky’, TS ‘heaven’. 15th cent.

From *\*zelu*, by P22, from some Rom. development of Lat. *caelum* id. of the approximate form *\*[tselo]*. R forms by P52. The few derivatives are all religious, not popular. See **ortzi**.

**zerurako** (B) \*\*\*\*

**zeruratu** (\*\*{c.}) \*\*\*\*{*vi.* ‘go to heaven’}

**zeruratze** (\*\*{HN}) \*\*\*\*{*n.* ‘Ascension’, ‘salvation’}

**zerutar** (B G HN) 1745, 1761, **zerutiar** (L LN) 1890 *a.* ‘heavenly, celestial’, TS ‘pious’.  
+ **-tar** AFS.

**zeta** (L LN R), **zéta** (Z) *n.* ‘silk’. \*\*\*\*

From Lat. *saetam* ~ *sētam* ‘bristle’. The semantic change is Rom., not Bq.: *cf.* Cast. *seda* ‘silk’.

**zetabe** (HN), **zethabe** (L LN), **zethábe** (Z) *n.* ‘fine sieve’. \*\*\*\* + **bahe** ‘sieve’.

**zetatxu** (R), **zethátxü** (Z), **zetatxe** (R?) *n.* ‘coarse sieve’. \*\*\*\* Cast. *cedazo* id. \*\*\*\*

From some Rom. development of Lat. (*cribrum*) *saetāceum* ‘(sieve) made of bristles’; *cf.* Cast. *cedazo*. [CHECK V LENGTH {Done.}]

**zezen** (c.) *n.* ‘bull’ (*zool.*). 1562. Dimin. (G HN L LN R) **xexen**.

OUO.

**zezeil** (B), **zizeil** (?) *n.* ‘February’. \*\*\*\* + **-il** ‘month’ (see **\*iLe**), with an unusual application of P1 across a morpheme boundary. The motivation is unknown. Second form from Caro Baroja (1973: 76).

**zezensuzko** (\*\*) *n.* ‘papier-maché bull covered in fireworks’. + **su** ‘fire’ + **-z** instrl./advbl. + **-ko**. Calque on Cast. *toro de fuego*. The order of elements is unusual.

**zi** (LN S), **zī** (Z R) *n.* ‘acorn’. \*\*\*\*

From *\*zinV*, OUO, by P1 (M. 1961a: 415). M. suggests that the variant *-zi* occurring as a final element in word-formation has been generalized to the free form.

**ziape** (old B G HN LN), **zeape** (S LN), **zīape** (R) *n.* ‘mustard’. 1745, 1846.

From *\*zenape*, by P1, from Lat. *senāpe* id. (M. \*\*\*\* {1961a: 281; 1974b: 197}).

**ziaurre** (HN), **ziaurdi** (A), **ziorri** (B) \*\*\*\* *n.* ‘elder’ (*bot.*) (*Sambucus ebulus*). \*\*\*\*

[FHV 97]

**zigilu** (\*\*), **zigulu** (old LN) \*\*\*\* {*n.*} ‘seal’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 80] {*Cf.* **sagetta** (Z).}

**zigilatu** (\*\* {old LN}) {*vt.* ‘seal’} [FHV 80] {*Cf.* **sageratu** (Z).}

**zigor** *n.* (B G HN L) ‘staff, rod, stick’, (LN) ‘whip’, TS ‘punishment’. 1635.

OUO.

**zigortu** (\*\*) *vt.* ‘beat with a stick’, ‘whip’, ‘punish, castigate’. 19th cent. + **-tu** VFS.

**zihi** (\*\*), **ziri** (B G HN), **zi** (old B, R&S 182 \*\*) *n.* ‘wedge’, ‘peg, pin’ \*\*\*\* [FHV 176, 413]

**zikin** (c.), **zikhin** (L LN Z), **zikiñ** (Z) *a.* ‘dirty’, TS ‘filthy, indecent, improper, lewd, lascivious’. 1612.

{OUO.}

**zikindu** (B G HN), **zikhindu** (L LN), **zikhindatu** (LN) *vi.* ‘get dirty’, ‘become foul’, TS (B HN) ‘contract a venereal disease’, *vt.* ‘make dirty’, ‘befoul’. 1745, 1759. (+ **-ta-** {not in *The Dictionary*}) + **-tu** VFS.

**zil** (\*\*), **zill** (\*\*) *n.* \*\*\*\* [Az.] \*\*\*\* {‘navel’, ‘umbilical cord’}

\*\*\*\*

**zilbor** (B G), **zilbot** (\*\*) *n.* ‘paunch’. \*\*\*\* Dimin. **txilbor** (\*\*), **txilbur** (\*\*) ‘navel’, ‘paunch’, **bilgor** (HN LN S), **bilkor** (A), **bilgorra** (R) ‘grease, fat’, **gilbor** (B G HN) ‘paunch’, ‘grease, fat’. \*\*\*\*

**zilar** (L LN Z R G HN) (1571), **zilhar** (L LN Z), **zirar** (old B R) (15th cent.), **zidar** (B LN R), **zildar** (G) *n.* ‘silver’.

OUO. All but the severely localized variant **zildar** can be derived from \**zirar*, by P\*\*\*{24}. Naturally, the word has long been suspected of being linked to the Germanic and Balto-Slavic word represented by English ‘silver’, but nothing can be established. [FHV 549]

**zil(h)arbizi** (G HN L LN) *n.* ‘quicksilver, mercury’. 1745. + **bizi** ‘living’.

**zilargin** (G L LN Z) (17th cent.), **zilargile** (HN G L LN Z) (1571) *n.* ‘silversmith’.. + **-gin**, **-gile** ‘maker’ (see **egin**).

**zilharki** (L LN Z) *n.* ‘piece of silver’, ‘silver artefact’. 1907. + **-ki** [\*{3}] NFS.

**zilharrerria** (L LN Z HN) *n.* ‘silver (table) set’, ‘silver plate’. 1664. + **-eria** NFS. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**zil(h)arrez tatu** (L LN HN), **zilharztatu** (L LN Z), **zilharztatü** (Z), **zilarrez tu** (G), **zilharstatu** (old L). *vt.* ‘silver-plate’, ‘plate with silver’. 1657. + **-z** instrumental (+ **-ta-** {not in *The Dictionary*}) + **-tu** VFS.

**zilegi**, **zillegi** (G HN L LN), **zilhegi** (L) *a.* ‘licit’, ‘permitted’. *Ca.* 1660. {FHV 586 corrects the gloss to ‘free, set free’.}

OUO. The form and sense point strongly to a borrowing, but no suitable Rom. form is known. Lat. *sc̄ilicet* ‘it is permitted to know’ does not look a plausible source, and anyway this word seems not to have survived in Rom. [REWRITE: SEE **zil**{??}] [CORRECTION: FHV 586]

**zilegi izan** *vi.* ‘be permitted’. 1571. + **izan** ‘be’. In the 16th century, this verb could take a personal subject, as in *ez naiz zilegi* ‘I am not permitted’. Today it takes only an impersonal subject or a referential third-person subject (a gerund clause in the case of a clausal subject), and an affected person must be expressed in the dative, as in *ez zait zilegi* ‘it is not permitted to me’.

\***zilhetu** (old Z) *vt.* ‘permit’. \*\*\*\* + **-tu** VFS. Surmised from the imperative *zilhet nezazu* ‘allow me’ in Sauguis (M. 1961a: 423). {FHV 586 corrects the gloss to ‘set free’.}

**zimur** (\*\*{c.}), **ximur** (\*\*{c.}), **xümür** (Z), **txumur** (R) *n.* ‘wrinkle, crease’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 79]

\*\*\*\*

**zimiko** (G HN L LN) *n.* ‘small amount, pinch’. \*\*\*\* + **-ko** Dimin. {Not in *The Dictionary*.} (M. 1961a: 291 *fn.* 18). **ximiko** (\*\* old L old LN).

**zin** (G L LN Z R) *n.* ‘oath’, ‘truth’ (1571), TS (L LN Z) *a.* ‘true’, ‘faithful’ (1627), TS (Z) *deg.* ‘very’.

OUO.

**sinetsi** (HN L R) (1571), **sinhetsi** (L LN Z), **zinetsi** (old LN) (1545), **xinetsi** (R), **jinetsi** (A S), all *vt.*, **sinistu** (B G) (1596) *vitmd.* ‘believe’. + **-etsi** ‘consider’ (see **etsi**), by W16. The forms with **zin-** are found in Detxepare. Last form by transfer to the **-tu** class (M14) plus vowel-height assimilation. Some of the variants are irregular. The variation in diathesis is interesting.

**zinegotzi** (\*\*), **ezinotzi** (HN) \*\*\*\* {‘councillor’} {\*\*\*\* + **egotzi** ‘throw, attribute’} [FHV 157, 157 fn]

**zintzarri** (\*\* {G LN R Z}), **zinzarri** (\*\*), **zintzerri** (G HN), **tzintzarri** (Z), **intzarri** (B) \*\*\*\* [FHV 69, 290] *n.* ‘bell’. \*\*\*\* Dimin. **txintzarri** (\*\* {G}), {**txintzerri** (G HN),} **intzarri** (B) ‘small bell’.

**zintzur** (G HN L LN Z R), **züntzür** (Z), **tzuntzur** (R), **txuntzur** (R) *n.* ‘throat’ (*anat.*), TS (L LN) ‘neck (of a bottle)’, TS (HN) ‘mountain pass’. 1627. Dimin. **txintzur** (HN) ‘throat’, (G) ‘summit’, ‘goitre’, ‘stye’.

OUO. M. (\*\*\*\* {1973a: 154} § 565) notes the modern toponyms *Zizur* (two occurrences in Navarra; one recorded 1192 as *Çiçur*) and *Zizurkil* (Gipuzkoa), plus the medieval toponym *Çinçurrçu* (1284; near Roncesvalles), and concludes that these contain the same word. He suggests an original *\*zirzur*, yielding *\*zizur* by dissimilation, and this yielding *zintzur* by P34. He notes without comment the suggestion of Gárate (\*\*\*\* {Gárate, J. *Eusko-Jakintza* 5: 54}) that the original sense was ‘small elevation’. See **eztarri**.

**-zio** NFS. \*\*\*\*

**zipotz** (B G HN) *n.* \*\*\*\* {‘plug, stopper’} [FHV 346]

\*\*\*\* Perhaps from **zih** \*\*\*\* {‘wedge, peg’} + **motz** {[1]} ‘short’ (M. 1961a: 346).

**zirtoin** (\*\*), **zirthoin** (\*\*), **zorten** (\*\*), **txorten** (\*\*) ‘peduncle of fruit’ \*\*\*\*\* [FHV 296, 508]

\*\*\*\* M. (1961 {a}: 296) sees this as a dimin. of **girten** ‘handle’ (see **gider**), but M. (1977a: 508) rejects this analysis, and suggests that the first element might be **zur** ‘wood’. The second is **oin** ‘foot’.

**zital** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*a.* ‘mean, vile’ Aul.}

**zitaldasun** (old B) *n.* \*\*\*\* [FHV 353]

**zitu** (HN L) *n.* ‘reaping, harvest’ \*\*\*\*

From some Rom. reflex of Lat. *sectum* ‘cut’ of the approximate form *\*seito* (M. 1961a: 106).

**ziur** (G \*\* {B}), **segur** (\*\* {L BN}), \*\*\*\* {*a.* ‘sure’} [FHV 334-335]



**zizain** (LN Z), **zizein** (HN Z), **zizeñ** (Z), **izaiñ** (G HN) (1745, 1930), **izai** (G HN) (1745, 1842), **uzan** (B) (c. 1800), **ikaiñ** (G), **zirein** (HN), **zirain** (HN A) *n.* ‘leech’ (*zool.*) (*Hirudinea*). Dimin. **xixain** (L LN), **xixaiñ** (Z), **itxain** (L LN Z).

From *\*zizani*, by P1, P20 (M. \*\*\*\*). B form by P65, P51. A. (1905) cites a supposed B *\*usan*, but this is an error resulting from P21 (M. 1961a: 74). \*\*\*\*\* The mysterious **ikaiñ** perhaps by contamination from **akain** ‘tick’ (M. 1961a: 292 *fn.* 21). Last two variants puzzling. CP (*s.v. gusano*) cite, without provenance, a variant *zain*, not elsewhere recorded. M. (\*\*\*\* {1961a: 75 *fn.* 6}) diffidently suggests a derivation from an unrecorded Rom. *\*suge-sanguem* ‘blood-sucker’, a proposal dismissed by CP as phonologically unacceptable. See **zizari**.

**zizallu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*\* [FHV 78]

**zizari** (G HN L LN Z), **zizare** (HN L) *n.* ‘worm’ (in general) Dimin. **xixari** (L LN Z) ‘earthworm’, ‘intestinal worm’, ‘angler’s worm’, **txitxari** (Z) ‘worm’, **txitxare** (G) ‘intestinal worm’, ‘swamp worm’. 1571.

OUO. Probably related to **zizain** ‘leech’, and possibly derived irregularly from that word’s earlier form *\*zizani*.

**zogi** (G), **zohegi** (old LN), **zoigi** (B), **ziogi** (B), **zoegi** (old B), **zuegi** (HN) ‘prudent, discreet’ [FHV 84-85] [SARASOLA]

**zohi** (\*\* {L LN Z}), **zoi** (\*\* {G}), **zogi** (HN) *n.* \*\*\*\*\* \*\*\*\*\* {‘turf’, ‘clod’} CF **zot-**. [FHV 330 {88, 222}]

**zoperri** (G) *n.* ‘recently worked plot’. \*\*\*\*\* + **berri** ‘new’ (see *\*berr-*) (M. 1961a: 345).

**zoko** (c.), **zokho** (L LN), **zókho** (Z) *n.* ‘corner’. 1571. Dimin. **xoko**, **xokho**, **xókho**, **txoko**.

OUO. The dimin. has largely displaced the original as the unmarked form in some places, while elsewhere it means ‘nook’, ‘cosy little place’.

{[]} **zokor** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*\* *n.* ‘bullock’. \*\*\*\*\* Dimin. **txokor** (G). [FHV 191] {} Moved to **zekor** }

**zola** (\*\*), **zóla** (Z) \*\*\*\*\* *n.* \*\*\*\*\* ‘bottom’. \*\*\*\*\*

**zopa** (\*\*){, **sopa** (\*\*)} *n.* ‘soup’. \*\*\*\*\*

**zor** (\*\*), **zoor** (old B) *n.* ‘debt’. \*\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*\* {OUO.} Recorded as **zor** in the *Fuero General de Navarra* (M. 1961 {a}: 114).

**zori** [1] *n.* (old B) ‘omen’, (today) (B G HN L LN S) ‘luck, fortune’, (c.) ‘propitious moment’, ‘point at which something happens’. 1545.

OUO. It seems clear that the earliest (unrecorded) sense was ‘bird’, and that the sense of the unmodified word shifted to ‘omen’ as a result of the practice of looking for omens in the flight of birds (M. \*\*\*\*\* {1955a: 275 *fn.* 4; 1961a: 180 *fn.* 2}); *cf.* the shift of Lat.

\**avicem* ‘bird’ to old Cast. *auçe* ‘luck, fortune’, and note also Lat. *auspex* ‘augur’ from \**avi-spek-* ‘observer of birds’. The sense of ‘bird’ was shifted to the dimin. **(t)xori**, below. [FHV 180 fn]

**txori** (B G HN LN R), **txó(r)i** (Z), **xori** (HN L LN), **xo(r)i** (Z) *n.* ‘bird’, TS ‘penis’. 1571. Dimin. of **zori**.

**txoriburu** (B G HN), **xoriburu** (L LN) *a.* ‘scatterbrained’, ‘feckless’. 17th cent. + **buru** ‘head’.

**txorierrege** (R) *n.* ‘goldcrest’ (*zool.*) + **errege** ‘king’.

**txorigari** (B) *n.* ‘the finest variety of wheat’. + **gari** ‘wheat’.

**txori-kafi** (\*\*), **txofraki** (G) *n.* ‘bird’s nest’. \*\*\*\* + **kafi** ‘nest’ (see \*\*\*\* {**habia** ‘nest’}) (M. 1961a: 349).

**txorikume** *n.* ‘baby bird’. 1745, 1845. + **-kume** ‘offspring’ (see **ume**).

**txorimalo** (B) *n.* ‘scarecrow’, TS ‘mask, disguise’. 1890. + **malo** ‘ghost’, ‘scarecrow’. {Not in *The Dictionary*.}

**txorimats** (B G HN LN R) *n.* ‘wild grapes’. + **mahats** ‘grapes’.

**txori-negar** (B G LN), **txori-nigar** (L), **txori-ezti** (G), **txori-muki** (G HN) *n.* ‘gummy resin produced by pines and other trees’. + **negar** ‘tears’, **ezti** ‘honey’, **muki** ‘mucus’.

**txorisats** (B G) *n.* ‘guano’, TS ‘(commercial) fertilizer’. + **sats** ‘ordure’.

**zori** [2] (\*\*), **zorhi** (old LN \*\*), **zoli** (B) \*\*\*\* *a.* ‘mature’. \*\*\*\* [FHV 319-320]

\*\*\*\*

**zoldu** (\*\*), **zolitu** (\*\*), **zoritu** (\*\*), **zorhitu** (\*\*) \*\*\*\*

**zorne** (G L LN), **zorna** (\*\*), **zaurne** (S.P.) *n.* ‘pus’. \*\*\*\*.

OUO, but perhaps related to **zauri** ‘wound’ (M. 1961a: 98, 318, 492). M. (1977a: 492) suggests \**zaur-esne*, with **esne** ‘milk’.

**zorri** (*c.*) *n.* ‘louse’ (*zool.*) (order *Anoplura*), (B HN) ‘plant louse’ (type of aphid), TS (B) *a.* ‘tiny’. 1562.

OUO.

**zorro** (*c.*) *n.* ‘bag, sack, pouch’, with many spec. senses in various regions, TS ‘cocoon’, TS ‘belly, stomach’. 17th cent.

OUO. Dimin. **xorro** (L LN Z) ‘child’s belly’, TS ‘vulva’.

**xorro-bero** *n.* ‘man-chasing woman’, ‘randy woman’. + **bero** ‘hot’.

**zorrotz** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*a.* ‘sharp, severe’}

\*\*\*\*

**zorraztarri** (\*\* {Sout *c.*}) \*\*\*\* {‘whetstone’} [FHV 250 fn]

**zorte** (\*\*), **zorthe** (\*\*), **sorte** (HN) *n.* ‘luck’. \*\*\*\*

From \*\*\*\* {Lat. *sortem* id.} {[](suerte){]}. [FHV 285]

**zortzi** (c.), **zorzi** (Sout) *num.* ‘eight’. 1562. [FHV 290]

OUO. Attempts at decomposing this word morphologically are without foundation. See **\*-tzi** in section \*\*{12}.

**zotz** (\*\*)*n.* ‘stick’. \*\*\*\* *Ca.* 1400 [FHV 182] Dimin. **xotx**.

{OUO.}

**zozo** (\*\*)*n.* ‘blackbird’ (*zool.*) (\*\*\*\*) \*\*\*\* Dimin. **xoxo**.

{OUO.}

**zu** (c. exc. Z), **zü** (Z) *pron.* ‘you’ (pl.) (formerly), ‘you’ (sg.) (today). 14th cent.

OUO. It is clear that this pronoun was originally strictly plural, contrasting with singular **hi**. This is shown by the fact that it invariably requires plural agreement in a finite verb, in a way entirely parallel to **gu** ‘we’: (*ni*) *nator* ‘I’m coming’, (*hi*) *hator* ‘you (marked sg.) are coming’, (*gu*) *gatoz* ‘we’re coming’ (with absolutive plural *-z*), (*zu*) *zatoz* ‘you’re coming’. Moreover, A. (\*\*\*\*{1905-6: 2.466}) reports that, in his day, there were still places in Bizkaia where **zu** was in use as a plural pronoun. {Actually Azkue says that in his childhood he and other children used the expression *ene kaderak, ariñ egizu*, in which *zu* is understood as plural, rather than ...*egizue*.} But the entire historical period otherwise shows this only as the unmarked singular pronoun, contrasting with the now marked singular **hi**, and the singular use is the only one found in speech today. The plural sense has been taken over by **zuek** (below). [MORE IN AZKUE UNDER ZER-]

**z-** Absolutive agreement prefix in finite verbs with **zu**, as in (*zu*) *zatoz* ‘you are coming’. Presumably by incorporation of the free pronoun.

**z...e** or **z...te** (c.) Discontinuous absolutive agreement prefix in finite verbs with **zuek**. Constructed by adding to **z-** (above) a further plural marker, variously **-e** [2] or **-te** [2{3}] {(neither in *The Dictionary*)}, according to verb and variety.

**zeu** (B LN) (1617), **zuhaur** (LN) (1545), **zerori** (G) (1617), **zuhaurrori** (LN) *pron.* ‘you yourself’ (intensive). First two + **haur** ‘this’, third + **hori** ‘that’, last + both.

**zuek** (1617), **zerok** (G HN) (1636), **zeurok** (B) (1571), **zuihauek**, **zuhaurrek** (1902), **xaur-** (R) ‘you yourselves’ (intensive). + plural of **haur** ‘this’.

**-zu** (c. exc. Z), **-zü** (Z) Ergative and dative agreement suffix in finite verbs with *zuk*, *zuri*, ergative and dative respectively of **zu**. Presumably by incorporation of the free pronoun.

**-zue** (c.) Ergative and dative agreement marker in finite verbs with *zuek*, *zuei*, ergative and dative respectively of **zuek**. Constructed by adding to **-zu** (above) a further plural marker **-e** [2] {not in *The Dictionary*}.

**zuek** (c.), **zuiiek** (old LN), **ziek** (\*\*), **xek** (R), **uek** (R) *pron.* ‘you’ (pl.) 1545. Second variant by P58. + **-k** [1] plural. Constructed to provide a new pl. pronoun when the original **zu** became a polite sg.

**zuen** (c.) ‘your’ (pl.) Genitive case-form of **zuek**. + **-en** {[1]} genitive. This form takes the historically regular genitive ending **-en**, as opposed to **zure** (below), the genitive of **zu**, which takes the archaic genitive **-e** [1], as is usual with personal pronouns.

**zuka** (c.) *adv.* ‘using the pronoun *zu*’, TS *n.* ‘use of the pronoun *zu*’. + **-ka** AdvFS. It is common for adverbs in **-ka** to be reinterpreted as nouns.

**zuketa** (c.) *n.* ‘the use of the pronoun *zu*’. + **-keta** NFS of activity {not in *The Dictionary*}.

**zure** (c.) ‘your’. Genitive case-form of **zu**. + **-e** [1] genitive.

{**-zu** (c.) Indefinite pl. suffix. See **-tsu**.}

**zuku** (\*\*) *n.* ‘broth, soup’, ‘juice’. \*\*\*\*

From Lat. {*sūcum* ~} *succum* \*\*\*\* ‘juice’.

**zulo** (B G HN) (1562), **zilo** (L LN B) (1627), **zīlo** (Z), **zillo** (HN? LN?), **zulho** (L LN), **zilho** (L LN) *n.* ‘hole’. CF **zula-**. Dimin. (HN LN Z R) **xilo**, (Z) **xīlo**.

OUO. Apparently from *\*zuLo*, by P\*\*{23}. CF by W2.2. The second variant is curious, but perhaps by back-formation from the dimin. The northern variant **zilho** takes the collective NFS **-eta** in the surname *Zilhoeta* ~ *Zilhueta* ‘(place with) the holes’, which enters Fr. as *Silhouette*, the name of the French finance minister from which English *silhouette* ultimately derives. M.(1977a: 481) tells us that only *zul(h)o* occurs in medieval toponyms.

**zulatu** (\*\*) *vt.* ‘dig’. 1562. + **-tu** VFS.

**zulodun** (\*\*) *a.* ‘full of holes’, ‘leaky’ (of a vessel). 1745. + **-dun** ‘having’ (see **\*edun**).

**zumar** (B G HN L) (1745, 1847), **zuhar** (L LN) (1833), **zugar** (HN L A S), **zuar** (HN), **zunhar** (LN) (1657), **zūnhar** (Z) (though Gèze gives **zunhar**) *n.* ‘elm’ (*bot.*) (*Ulmus*).

From *\*zunar*, OUO, by P2 in the common form, by P1, P35.1 elsewhere (M. 1961a: 317). This in turn may perhaps derive from *\*zurar*, an apparent derivative of **zur** ‘wood’ (*ibid.*). The restoration of the /n/ in the last form is extraordinary.

**\*-zun** (c.) Apparent suffix.

Not attested as a single form, but seemingly present in two compound suffixes: **-kizun** (see **-ki** [\*\*]) and **-tarzun** (see **-tar**).

**zuntz** (HN L LN) *n.* ‘thread, strand, fibre’. 1627?, 1745, 1759.

OUO.

**zupu** (\*\*), **zuphu** (\*\*) *n.* ‘ditch’, ‘well’. \*\*\*\*

Possibly a metathesis of **putzu** ‘well’ (M. 1961a: 297).

**zur** (c. exc. R), **zūr** (R), **zul** (B) *n.* ‘wood’. CF **zu-**. 1562.

CF by W11. OUO. Though the Z form is **zur**, by P69, the Z CF is *zū-* (M. 1961a: 53).

See **zumar**, **zirtoin**.

**zuhain** (L LN), **zuhai** (L LN), **zugai** (HN S) *n.* ‘fodder’, **zumai** (HN) ‘hay’, **züháñ** (Z) ‘tree’. \*\*\*\* {FHV 53, 337}

**züháintze** (Z) *n.* ‘tree’. \*\*\*\*

**zuhaitz** (L LN), **zugatz** (B G), **zuatz** (B G) *n.* ‘(wild) tree’. \*\*\*\* A toponym *Zuhazu*, with the suffix **-zu** (see **-tsu**) Alava, 1025.

{[]\*\*\*\* *n.*, **züháñ** (Z) ‘tree’ [FHV 53,337] {} Duplicate, see under **zuhain**. OR perhaps rather both **züháñ** and **züháintze** ‘tree’ belong here under **zuhaitz**, distinct from **zuhain** etc. ‘fodder’, ‘hay’. See M. 1961a: 304; M. 1973a: 169 treats the ‘fodder’ and ‘tree’ words separately.}

**zubaltz** (B) *n.* ‘kermes oak’ (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*). \*\*\*\* + **beltz** ‘black’.

**zubi** (c.), **zibi** (R) *n.* ‘bridge’. 1053, 1562. An apparent variant *\*zufi* in the toponym *Zuffia*, Alava 1025, and in the modern toponym *Zufia*, Navarra (M. 1961a: 266). Also a variant *zupi* in *Erromako zupi* (G) ‘rainbow’, lit. ‘Roman bridge’. + **bide** ‘way’, by W19 (M. 1961a: 412 *fn.* 8).

**zübíhotz** (Z) *n.* ‘woody central part of an oak’. + **bihotz** ‘heart’.

**zuhirin** (old LN), **zuirin** (HN) *n.* ‘wood powder produced by woodworm’. \*\*\*\* + **irin** ‘flour’. (M. 1961a: 337).

**zume** (\*\*) *n.* ‘willow’. \*\*\*\* + **mehe** ‘slender’.

**zumel** (\*\*{B}), **zimel** (\*\*), **zimil** (\*\*), **ximel** (\*\*) [two senses {**zumel** *n.* ‘holm oak’, **zimel** etc. *a.* ‘withered’. Are these really the same word as M. (1961a: 77) implies?}] \*\*\*\* [FHV 77, 481] M. (1977a: 481) reports that only **zumel** and an otherwise unrecorded variant *\*zubel* occur in medieval toponyms. {On **zumel** see also M. 1956c: 186: **zur** + **\*bel** ‘dark’.}

**ximaldu** (\*\*) {*v.* ‘wither’} [FHV 77]

**zumitz** (B G LN), **zimitz** (G L), **zimintx** (B), **zimintza** (B) \*\*\*\* {‘iron hoop’} [FHV 77]

**zurgai** (L HN), **zurgei** (B Z) *n.* ‘splendid tree which should yield a great deal of wood’. + **gai** ‘material’.

**zurgin** (B G HN L LN R) *n.* ‘woodworker, carpenter, cabinetmaker’. 1643. + **-gin** ‘maker’ (see **egin**).

**zurgintza** (HN LN) *n.* ‘woodworking, carpentry’. 17th cent. + **-tza** NFS of profession.

**zurzai** (old LN) [hapax] *n.* ‘tree’. Second element obscure.

**zurda** (\*\*) [AZKUE] [FHV 52]

**zuri** (c.) *a.* ‘white’. Dimin. **txuri** (G), **xuri** (HN L LN), **xú(r)i** (Z). *Ca.* 1257, 15th c.

OUO. A. (\*\*\*\*) suggests **zur** ‘wood’ plus **-i** [\*{1}] AFS, which is possible. In many regions, esp. in L LN Z, the dimin. has displaced the original as the unmarked form.

**zuritu** (\*\*), **xuritu** (old LN \*\*) \*\*\*\* {*vti*. ‘bleach, whiten’ Aul.}

**zurtz** (\*\*) *n.* ‘orphan’.

\*\*\*\* {OUO.}

**zut** (\*\*), **txüt** (Z) \*\*\*\* ‘erect’, ‘stiff’ \*\*\*\*

**zutik** (\*\*) \*\*\*\* {*adv.* ‘upright’}

**zuhur** (L LN), **zũ’hür** (Z), **zür** (R), **zugur** (HN), **zuur** (\*\*), **zur** (\*\*) *a.* ‘prudent, \*\*\*\*’ \*\*\*\*  
[FHV 303]

From \**zunur*, OUO, by P1.

**zuhur-hagin** (L LN) *n.* ‘wisdom tooth’ (*anat.*). + **hagin** ‘molar’.

**zuzen** (*c. exc.* Z), **züzen** (Z) *a.* ‘straight’, ‘direct’, ‘right, proper, correct’, ‘honest’, TS *adv.*  
(B) ‘straight’, ‘correctly’, TS *n.* (HN L LN Z) ‘right’, ‘justice’. 1545.

OUO.

**zuzenki** (??), **xuxengi** (old LN) \*\*\*\* [FHV 353]

**zuzi** (B G HN L LN), **züzü** (Z), **zuzu** (R) *n.* ‘torch’. 1571.

OUO.

**zuzika** (L LN) *adv.* ‘unsteadily, fickly, frivolously’. + **-ka** AdvFS.

**zuzulu** (R), **züzülü** (Z), **xuxulu** (R) *n.* ‘kitchen bench’. \*\*\*\* **txisillu** (\*\*), **isillu** (B) ‘kitchen  
bench with a back’.

From Lat. *subsellium* ‘bench’ (M. 1961a: 196).

**zuzun** (B) *n.* ‘poplar’ (*bot.*) (\*\*\*\*), TS ‘scatterbrain’. \*\*\*\*

OUO. Conceivably built on **zur** ‘wood’.

MESSY VERBS TO SORT OUT

Ax **-erau-** tr aux [FHV 92]

ZERO MORPHS

{Morphemes cross-referred to but not listed in *The Dictionary*  
Proto-Basque roots mentioned only in *The Native Lexicon* are underlined.

- ahalegin**, under **ahal**.  
**-ada** NFS  
**haga** ‘pole’  
**aizaro** ‘Maundy Thursday’  
**-andel** NFS  
**-antz** AFS ‘-ish’  
**arbi** ‘turnip’  
**ardatz** ‘axle’  
\*-ario[n]- ‘flow’  
**arku** ‘arc’  
\*[h]arotz ‘smith’  
**aza** ‘cabbage’  
\*-ban- ‘give’ {see **eman** below}  
**bandera** ‘flag’  
**baratxuri** ‘garlic’  
**barna** ‘deep’  
**bazko** ‘Easter’  
\*ben ‘serious, solemn’  
**berba** {‘word’}  
**-e** [2] or **-te** [3] {‘plural’}  
**eman** ‘give’ {see **\*-ban-** above}  
**eresi** ‘dirge, song’  
**-eria** NFS {from Rom.}  
**hesi** ‘fence’  
**-gale** ‘desirous’  
**-gale** ‘wanting’  
**gona** ‘skirt’  
**\*-gotz-** ‘throw’ (section 5)  
**-gu** NFS of location.  
**\*-i** [\*\*] NFS  
**ihardun** ‘be busy’ {*cf.* **iharduki**, **jardun**}  
**idor** ‘dry’  
**-ik** \*\*\*\*  
**-ik** advbl.  
**-ik** AdvFS  
**ikara** ‘trembling’  
**ilhain** ‘kite’  
**jorra** ‘hoeing’  
**-ka** [\*\*] NFS  
**-kada** NFS \*\*\*\*  
**-kada** NFS of activity  
**kaka** ‘shit’  
**-kara** NFS
- kera** \*\*\*\* {NFS, see **era**}  
**-keta** NFS of activity  
**-ko**, **-ka** dimin.  
**-koitz** AFS  
**kuluxka** ‘nap’  
**lapa** ‘residue’  
\*lapitz ‘slate’  
**laztan** ‘caress’  
**maisu** ‘schoolteacher’  
**malo** ‘ghost’, ‘scarecrow’  
**mandatari** ‘messenger’ (see **mandatu**).  
**matraka** ‘altercation’  
**milika** {*adv.* ‘tasting’, *n.* ‘licking’}  
**mihura** ‘moss’  
**motraillu** ‘mortar’  
**nini** ‘child, pupil’  
**oparo** ‘abundant’  
**oraska** ‘mixture’  
**ponte** ‘font’  
**putzil** ‘disgusting’  
**-ro** AdvFS  
\*-ros- ‘buy’  
**sai** {‘vulture’}  
**salto** ‘jump’  
**sarta** ‘pole’  
**-ska** dimin  
**sor** ‘indolent’, ‘deaf’  
**talde** ‘group’ \*\*\*\*  
**-te** pl.  
**-tegi** {NFS place; see **hegi**}  
**-tilla** dimin.  
**tutu** ‘tube’  
**-txa** dimin. (see \*\*\*\*)  
**-txi** dimin. suffix.  
**txigor** ‘toasted’  
**-zale** ‘fond of’  
**zara** ‘basket’  
\*zati ‘piece’  
**zoro** ‘crazy’  
**-zto** dimin.  
**-zun** ‘in search of’  
**zurru** {‘snore’}  
}



## The Native Lexicon

This section presents all of the apparently native and monomorphemic lexical items which can plausibly be assigned to the most ancient stratum of the lexicon. Each item is presented in the earliest form which can be reconstructed for it. The abbreviation ‘NLR’ means that no ancient and monomorphemic lexicalization of the given sense can be recovered for Pre-Basque: all attested words are obvious loans, obvious expressive formations, or obvious compounds or derivatives, or else the sense is not lexicalized in Basque at all. {To the English-Basque list, missing items have been added, in { }, from the Basque-English list, and vice versa.}

## {1. English–Basque}

- ability: probably **\*anal**  
 {across: **\*ze[h]ar**}  
 after, later: **\*gero**  
 alive, living: **\*bizi**  
 all: **\*guzti**, **\*guzi** (possibly both from  
   **\*guz-**), **\*oro**}  
 and: **\*eta**  
 animal: NLR (only loanwords and  
   derivatives)  
 apple: **\*sagar**  
 arm: **\*beso**  
 ashes: see ‘dust’  
 {atmosphere: **\*giro** (but see **inguru** in *The  
   Dictionary*)}  
 aunt: **\*izeba** (contains kinship suffix **\*-ba**)  
 back (anat.): **\*bizkar**  
 bad: **\*gaitz**  
 badger: **\*azkone** (possibly borrowed)  
 {bare: **\*[h]uts**}  
 bark (*n.*): see ‘skin’  
 barley: NLR (only a reduplication)  
 {barren: **\*agor**}  
 be: **\*-(i)zan-** (suppletive stem of the  
   approximate form **\*-a-**)  
 {be born: **\*sor**}  
 be in motion: **\*-bil-** or **\*-biL-**  
 bear (*n.*): **\*[h]artz** (possibly borrowed)  
 beard: **\*bizar**  
 beautiful: **\*eder**  
 {bee: **\*erle**}  
 beech: NLR (only a loanword)  
 before: NLR (only compounds and  
   derivatives)  
 belly: see ‘stomach’  
 below, under: **\*be[h]e**  
 {bent, twisted: **\*bi[h]ur**}  
 {better: **\*[h]obe**}  
 big: **\*[h]andi**
- birch: **\*burki** (possibly borrowed)  
 bird: **\*zori**  
 bite (*v.*): NLR (only compounds)  
 black: **\*beletz** (derivative of **\*bel** ‘dark’)  
 {blackbird: **\*zozo**}  
 blind: **\*itsu**  
 blood: **\*odol**  
 blow (*v.*): NLR (only compounds)  
 blue: see ‘green’  
 {boar: **\*[h]erauts**}  
 body: **\*soin**, though only in certain senses  
 boil, cook (*v.*): **\*-gos-**  
 bone: **\*enazur**  
 boy: NLR (only a loan word) **\*seni**  
 brain: NLR, only compounds and  
   transferred senses  
 {bread: **\*ogi**}  
 breast (female): **\*ugatz**  
 breathe: NLR (only compounds)  
 bridge: **\*zubi** (probably a compound of  
   **\*zur** ‘wood’)  
 bright (*a.*), light (*n.*): **\*argi**  
 {bring: **\*-kaR-**}  
 bronze: NLR (only loanwords)  
 {broom (plant): **\*eRatz**}  
 brother (of a man): **\*aNaiia**, or possibly  
   **\*aNane** {see **\*ana-** and **anaia** in *The  
   Dictionary*}  
 brother (of a woman): **\*neba**  
 bull: **\*zezen**  
 burn (*v.*): **\*eRe**, **\*-ze** ({} **-ki-** {})  
 {busy: **\*ari**}  
 buttocks: **\*ipurdi** (possibly bimorphemic)  
 {buy: **\*-ros-**}  
 cabbage: **\*aza**  
 calf: **\*zanal** or **\*sanal** (can’t tell which)  
 {calm: **\*lasai**}  
 cart, wagon: **\*gurdi**

- cat: NLR (only loanwords)  
 centre: 'see 'middle'  
 {charcoal: **\*ikatz**}  
 cheek: NLR (only a loanword)  
 cheese: **\*gaztane**  
 cherry: NLR (only a loanword)  
 chest: **\*burar**  
 chief (*n.*): NLR (only a compound)  
 child: **\*unbe**, **\*[h]aur** {}, **\*seni**  
 chin: NLR (only loanwords and compounds)  
 clean: **\*garbi**  
 cloud: **\*[h]odei**, probably from **\*[h]odeCi**  
 cold: **\*[h]otz**  
 combat: **\*gudu**  
 come: **\*-toR-**; **\*-augin-**  
 {complete: see 'whole'}  
 container, vessel: **\*ontzi**  
 cook (*v.*): see 'boil'  
 copper: NLR (only loanwords and compounds)  
 {corner: **\*zoko**}  
 {cough: **\*eztul**}  
 count (*v.*): NLR (only compounds)  
 cousin: NLR (only loanwords)  
 cow: **\*be[h]i**  
 {crag: **\*[h]aitz** or **\*[h]anetz**}  
 {create: **\*sor**}  
 {cry, shout: **\*[h]ots**}  
 cut: **\*-ba-**  
 dance (*n.* and *v.*): NLR (only a loanword and compounds and derivatives of this)  
 dark: **\*bel** or **\*beL**; **\*iLun**  
 {darkness: **\*iLun**}  
 daughter: **\*aLaba** (contains kinship suffix **\*-ba**)  
 daughter-in-law: **\*eRain**  
 day: **\*egun** {(or possibly **\*egu**)}  
 {day after tomorrow: **\*etzi**}  
 dead: **\*[h]il**  
 debt: **\*zor**  
 deep: **\*sakon**  
 deer: **\*orein**  
 die: NLR (only derivatives)  
 {difficult: **\*gaitz**}  
 dig: NLR (only derivatives)  
 dirty: **\*zikin**  
 do: see 'make'
- dog: **\*or** (probably older), **\*zakur** (probably younger)  
 donkey: **\*asto** {(perhaps better **\*arsto**)} (possibly a derivative of **\*[h]artz** 'bear')  
 {door: **\*ate**}  
 dove, pigeon: **\*urzo**  
 drink: **\*-dan-**  
 dry: **\*ei[h]ar**, **\*lei[h]or**  
 dull, blunt: NLR (only loanwords)  
 dust, powder, ashes: **\*[h]auts**  
 eagle: **\*aRaNo**  
 ear: **\*beraRi**  
 early: see 'morning'  
 earth: **\*lur**  
 eat: **\*-an-**  
 {edge: **\*bazter**, **\*guren**}  
 eight: **\*zortzi**  
 elbow: NLR (only compounds)  
 empty: **\*[h]uts**  
 {evening: **\*aRats**}  
 eye: **\*begi**  
 fall (*v.*): **\*-ror-**, **\*-au** {(t)}**s-**  
 far: **\*uRun**  
 fat: **\*gizen**  
 father: **\*aita** (of nursery origin)  
 fear, fearful: **\*beldur**  
 feather: NLR (only a loanword)  
 female: NLR (only a loanword)  
 fern: **\*ira**, **\*garo**  
 finger: **\*eri**{}, **\*[h]atz** {} moved to 'paw'  
 {fir: **\*izeCi**}  
 fire: **\*su**  
 firewood: **\*egur**  
 first: **\*le[h]en**, or possibly **\*lenen**, possibly bimorphemic  
 fish: **\*aRani**  
 five: **\*bortz** (possibly shortened from a longer form)  
 {flame: **\*gar**}  
 flow: **\*-ario[n]**  
 flower: NLR (only a loanword)  
 fly (*n.*): **\*euLi**  
 fly (*v.*): NLR (only a compound)  
 foot: **\*oin**  
 forearm: **\*uko**  
 forest: **\*oi[h]an** {}, **\*baso** {} Moved to 'woods, wilderness'  
 forge, foundry: **\*oLa**  
 four: **\*laur**

- fox: NLR (only loanwords)  
frog: **\*igel**  
front: probably **\*a[h]ur**  
frost, ice: **\*izotz**, probably bimorphemic  
fruit: NLR (only a loanword)  
full: **\*bete**  
{furnace, oven: **\*labe**}  
girl: **\*neska**  
give: **\*-ban-**  
go: **\*-oan-**, or possibly **\*-oCan-**  
go in: **\*sar-** (non-verbal stem?)  
go up: **-gan-**  
goat: **\*anutz**  
gold: **\*uRe**  
good: **\*on**  
{gorse: **\*ote**}  
{grain: **\*bi[h]i**}  
grandchild: see ‘nephew’  
grandfather, grandmother, grandparent:  
NLR (only compounds)  
grapes: **\*banats**  
grass: **\*berar**  
green (also blue, grey) : **\*urdin** (probably  
bimorphemic)  
grey: possibly **\*aRe**, but see also ‘green’  
{guardian: **\*zani**}  
guts: **\*[h]ertze**  
hair (of the head): **\*iLe** (approximately)  
half: see ‘middle’  
{hammer: see ‘mallet’}  
hand: **\*esku**  
{handle: **\*gider**}  
hard: **\*gor**  
{hard-working: see ‘busy’}  
hare: **\*erbi**  
have: **\*-dun-**  
he: NLR  
head: **\*buru**  
heart: **\*bi[h]otz**  
{heat: **\*bero**}  
height, elevation: **\*goi**, **\*gara**  
{[ ] here: **\*hauen** (derivative of **\*haur**  
‘this’){[ ]}  
high: **\*garai** (probably bimorphemic)  
hole: **\*zuLo**  
honey: **\*ezti**  
horn: **\*adar**  
horse: **\*zaldi**  
hot: **\*bero**  
house: **\*etse** {[ ]} or **\*etze** {[ ]}
- hundred: **\*e[h]un**, (or possibly **\*enun**)  
hunger, hungry: **\*gose**  
husband: **\*seNar** (probably bimorphemic)  
I, me: **\*ni**  
ice: see ‘frost’  
{if: **\*ba-**}  
{ill: see ‘sick’}  
{inhabited place: **\*[h]eRi**}  
inside, interior: **\*baRu**  
{insert: : **\*sar-** (non-verbal stem?)}  
{interval: **\*arte**}  
iron: **\*burdina**  
key: **\*giltza**  
kill: **\*ero**{, **\*-ro** (form uncertain)}  
king: NLR (only a loanword)  
knee: **\*beLaun**  
knife: **\*anezto** (approximately; probably  
bimorphemic)  
language: NLR (only derivatives)  
last (a.): **\*azken**, possibly bimorphemic  
{last night: **\*barda**}  
later: see ‘after’  
laughter: see ‘smile’  
lead (n.): **\*ber**{(a)}**un**, or possibly  
**\*bel**{(a)}**un**  
leaf: **\*[h]oRi**  
leg: NLR (only loanwords)  
{life: **\*bizi**}  
{lie (n.) **\*gezur**}  
light (n.): see ‘bright’  
lip: **\*ezpain**  
liver: **\*gibel**, probably bimorphemic  
living: see ‘alive’  
long: **\*luze**  
{lose: **\*gal-**}  
louse: **\*zoRi**  
lung: **\*biri**  
make, do: **\*-gin-**  
male: **\*ar**  
{mallet, hammer: **\*gabi**}  
man: **\*gizon**  
mare: **\*be[h]or**  
material, matter: **\*gai**  
mature (v.): see ‘ripen’  
me: see ‘I’  
meadow: see ‘pasture’  
memory: see ‘mind’  
middle, centre, half: **\*erdi**  
milk: something like **\*e{z}ene** (precise  
form uncertain)

- millet: **\*arto**  
 mind, memory: **\*gogo** (possibly a reduplication)  
 month: see 'moon'  
 moon, month: **\*{[i]}iLe** (approximately)  
 morning, early: **\*goiz** (probably bimorphemic)  
 mother: **\*ama** (of nursery origin)  
 mountain: **\*bendi**  
 mouse: **\*sagu**  
 mouth: **\*a[h]o**  
 {move, be in motion: **\*-bil-** or **\*-biL-**}  
 name: **\*izen**  
 necessity, need: **\*be[h]ar**  
 neck: **\*lepo**  
 need (*n.*): see 'necessity'  
 nephew, niece, grandchild: **\*iLoba**  
 (contains kinship suffix **\*-ba**)  
 net: **\*sare**  
 new: **\*beRi** (possibly bimorphemic)  
 niece: see 'nephew'  
 night: **\*gau**  
 nine: **\*bederatzu** (probably bimorphemic)  
 not, no: **\*ez** (or perhaps **\*ez{e}**)  
 nose: **\*sudur**  
 nut: **\*[h]ur**  
 oak: **\*[h]aritz**  
 {oath: **\*zin**}  
 oats: **\*oLo**  
 old: **\*za[h]ar**  
 old man: NLR (only a loanword)  
 old woman: **\*atso**  
 one: **\*bade**  
 or: **\*edo**, **\*aLa**  
 orphan: **\*zurtz**  
 other: **\*bertze** (possibly bimorphemic)  
 outside, exterior: NLR (only a loanword)  
 ox: **\*idi**  
 {pain: **\*bin**}  
 pasture, meadow: **\*laRe**  
 {paw: **\*[h]atz**}  
 pea(s): **\*irar**  
 pear: **\*udare**  
 penis: **\*zakil**  
 person: NLR (only loanwords and derivatives) {see 'man'}  
 {piece: **\*zati**}  
 pig: **\*urde**, **\*zeRi**  
 pigeon: see 'dove'  
 {pillar, column: **\*[h]abe**}
- pine: probably **\*le[h]er**  
 plain (*n.*): **\*zeLai**  
 plant (*n.*): NLR (only loanwords)  
 plough (*n.*): **\*golde**  
 {population: **\*[h]eRi**}  
 powder: see 'dust'  
 proud: **\*[h]aRo**  
 prudent: **\*zunur**  
 question: **\*galte** (possibly bimorphemic)  
 {quick, soon: **\*laster**}  
 rabbit: possibly **\*untzi** or **\*untsi**, but doubtful  
 rain: **\*euri**  
 ram (zool.): **\*anari**  
 rat: NLR (only a loanword)  
 red: **\*goRi** (possibly bimorphemic)  
 {residue: see 'sand'}  
 ripen, mature: **\*[h]el-** (non-verbal stem?)  
 river: **\*ibai** ({{?}} derivative of **\*ibar** 'valley')  
 road, way: **\*bide**  
 rough: **\*latz**  
 round: **\*bil** or **\*biL**  
 salt: **\*gatz**  
 same, self: **\*ber-**  
 sand: **\*[h]ondar** {?bimorphemic}  
 say: something like **\*esran** (reconstruction uncertain); possibly also **\*-nau-**  
 sea: **\*itsaso**  
 see: **\*-kus-**  
 {seed: **\*aLe**}  
 self: see 'same'  
 {serious, solemn: **\*ben**}  
 seven: **\*zazpi**  
 she: NLR  
 sheep: **\*ardi**  
 {shoat (recently weaned pig) **\*bargo**}  
 short: **\*labur**  
 shoulder: NLR (only a compound)  
 {sick, ill: **\*eri**}  
 {side: **\*alte** ?bimorphemic}  
 silver: **\*zirar**  
 sister (of a man): **\*aReba** (contains kinship suffix **\*-ba**)  
 sister (of a woman): **\*anizpa** **\*aniz-ba**  
 (contains kinship suffix **\*-ba**)  
 six: **\*sei**  
 skin, bark: **\*azal**  
 sky: uncertain, but most likely **\*ortzi**  
 {slate: **\*lapitz**}

- sleep (*n.*): **\*lo**  
 sleep (*v.*): NLR (only a compound)  
 {slug: **\*bare**}  
 small: {**\*guti**} {**\*tipi** (expressive  
 formation of dubious antiquity)}  
 {smell, odor: **\*usani**}  
 smile (*n.*), laughter: **\*baRe**, **\*iRi**  
 smith: **\*[h]arotz**  
 smoke: **\*ke** (of anomalous form) {or  
**\*eke(e)**}  
 smooth: **\*leun**  
 snake: **\*suge**  
 snow: **\*erur**  
 {soft: **\*bigun**}  
 son: **\*senbe** (possibly bimorphemic)  
 son-in-law: **\*suni**  
 {soon: see ‘quick’}  
 {south wind, south: **\*[h]ego**}  
 speak: NLR (all compounds or derivatives)  
 spear: **\*burtzi** (sparsely attested)  
 star: **\*izar**  
 stay: see ‘wait’  
 stomach, belly: **\*sabel** (possibly  
 bimorphemic)  
 stone: **\*[h]aRi**, possibly also **\*[h]aitz** or  
**\*[h]anetz**  
 straight: **\*zuzen**  
 summer: **\*uda**  
 sun: NLR (only derivatives of **egun** ‘day’)  
 {sweat: **\*izerdi**}  
 sweet: **\*gozo**{, **\*ezti**}  
 table: **\*banai**, or possibly **\*banane**  
 tail: **\*buztan**  
 take: **\*[h]ar-**  
 tears: **\*negar**  
 ten: **\*[h]anbar** (probably)  
 that (distal): **\*[h]ar** {oblique sg. stem  
**\*[h]ar-**, pl. stem **\*hai-**}  
 that (non-distal): **\*[h]ori**, stem **\*[h]oR-**  
 {[}there (distal): **\*[h]an** (derivative of  
**\*[h]ar** ‘that’){}  
 {[}there (non-distal): **\*hor** (derivative of  
**\*[h]oR-** ‘that’){}  
 thick: **\*lodi**  
 thigh: **\*izter**  
 thin, slender: **\*bene**  
 thirst, thirsty: **\*egaRi** (possibly  
 bimorphemic)  
 this: **\*[h]aur**, stem **\*[h]on-**  
 three: **\*[h]irur**
- throat: **\*zintzur**, **\*eztaRi**  
 {throw: **\*-gotz-**}  
 tin: NLR (only loanwords)  
 today: NLR (only derivatives)  
 toe: NLR (only derivatives and  
 compounds)  
 tomorrow: **\*bi[h]ar**  
 tongue: **\*bini**  
 tooth: NLR, only **\*[h]ortz** ‘incisor’ and  
**\*[h]agin** ‘molar’  
 top: **\*gain**  
 {torch: **\*zuzi**}  
 {town: **\*[h]ili**}  
 tree: NLR (numerous words, none securely  
 assignable to Pre-Basque)  
 {trembling: **\*izu**}  
 truth: **\*zin**, **\*egia** (or possibly **\*egiCa**)  
 twenty: **\*[h]ogei**  
 {twisted: see ‘bent’}  
 two: **\*biga**  
 ugly: **\*itsusi** (possibly bimorphemic)  
 uncle: **\*osaba** (contains kinship suffix **\*-  
 ba**)  
 under: see ‘below’  
 us: see ‘we’  
 valley: **\*[h]aran**, **\*ibar**  
 vessel: see ‘container’  
 {vigilant, watchful: **\*zani**}  
 vulture: **\*sai**  
 vulva: **\*aLu**  
 wagon: see ‘cart’  
 waist: **\*geRi**  
 wait, stay: **\*-gon-**  
 walk: NLR  
 water: **\*ur**  
 {wax: **\*ezko**}  
 way: see ‘road’  
 we, us: **\*gu**  
 weasel: NLR (only compounds)  
 week: **\*[h]ertze**  
 wheat: **\*gali**  
 white: **\*zuri** (possibly bimorphemic)  
 who, what, *etc.*: interrogative stems **\*no-**,  
**\*ze-**  
 whole: **\*oso**  
 wide: **\*zabal**  
 wife: NLR (only derivatives)  
 wind (*n.*): **\*[h]aize**  
 window: **\*lei[h]o**

wine: **\*ardano** (originally, perhaps, ‘any fermented beverage’)

wing: **\*[h]ego, \*[h]egal**

winter: **\*negu**

{without: **\*gabe**}

wolf: **\*otso**

woman: NLR (only derivatives of a loan word, apparently with the original sense ‘girl’)

wood: **\*zur**

{woods, wilderness: **\*baso**}

word: **\*[h]itz**

work (*n.*): **\*lan**

work (*v.*): NLR (only compounds)

worm: **\*anar**

year: **\*urte** (possibly bimorphemic)

yellow: **\*[h]ori** (possibly bimorphemic)

yesterday: **\*atzo**

{yew: **\*[h]agin**}

yoke: **\*buztaRi**

you (*sg.*): **\*[h]i**

you (*pl.*): **\*zu**

young: **\*gazte**

\*\*\*\*\*

## {2. Basque-English}

- \*-a allative CS  
 \*abar 'branch'  
 \*[h]abe 'pillar, column'  
 \*adar 'horn'  
 \*[h]agin [1] 'molar tooth'  
 \*[h]agin [2] 'yew'  
 \*agor 'barren, sterile, exhausted, dried up'  
 \*aita 'father'  
 \*[h]aitz or \*[h]anetz 'crag'  
 \*[h]aize 'wind'  
 \*aLa 'or'  
 \*aLaba 'daughter'  
 \*aLe 'seed'  
 \*alte 'side' {?bimorphemic}  
 \*aLu 'vulva'  
 \*ama 'mother'  
 \*-an- 'eat'  
 \*aNae {~ \*aNaiā ~ \*aNane} 'brother (of a man)' [form uncertain {see \*ana- and anaia in *The Dictionary*}]  
 \*anal 'ability, power'  
 \*anar 'worm'  
 \*anari 'ram' (sheep)  
 \*{[h]}anbar 'ten'  
 \*andere 'lady'  
 \*[h]andi 'big'  
 \*anezto 'knife' (form uncertain)  
 \*aniz-ba 'sister (of a woman)'  
 \*anutz 'goat'  
 \*a[h]o 'mouth'  
 \*ar 'male'  
 \*[h]ar 'that' (yonder{distal}). oblique sg. stem \*[h]ar-, pl. stem \*hai-  
 \*[h]ar- 'take'  
 \*[h]aran 'valley'  
 \*aRani 'fish'  
 \*aRaNo 'eagle'  
 \*aRats 'evening'  
 \*ardano 'fermented beverage, wine'  
 \*ardi 'sheep'  
 \*aRe 'grey, dark'  
 \*aReba 'sister (of a man)'  
 \*argi 'light, bright'  
 \*ari 'busy', 'hard-working'  
 \*[h]aRi 'stone'  
 \*-ario[n]- 'flow'  
 \*[h]aritz 'oak'
- \*[h]aRo 'proud' {(but see har in *The Dictionary*)}  
 \*[h]arotz 'smith'  
 \*arte 'interval'  
 \*arto 'millet'  
 \*[h]artz 'bear' (animal)  
 \*aste 'week'  
 \*asto 'donkey' (perhaps better \*arsto)  
 \*ate 'door'  
 \*atso 'old woman'  
 \*[h]atz 'track, trace, trail' {'paw'}  
 \*atzo 'yesterday'  
 \*-augin- 'come'  
 \*[h]aur 'this' (stem \*[h]on-)  
 \*[h]aur 'child'  
 {} \*a[h]untz 'goat' {} see \*anutz  
 \*a[h]ur 'front'  
 \*-au{(t)}s- 'fall (down)'  
 \*[h]auts 'dust, powder, ashes'  
 \*aza 'cabbage'  
 \*azal 'skin, bark'  
 \*azken 'last'  
 {\*azkone (possibly borrowed) 'badger'}  
 \*b- third-person imperative marker in verbs  
 \*ba- 'if'  
 \*-ba- 'cut'  
 \*bade 'one'  
 \*-ban- 'give'  
 \*banai 'table' [form uncertain]  
 \*banats 'grapes'  
 \*barda 'last night'  
 \*bare 'slug'  
 \*baRe 'smile, laughter'  
 \*bargo 'shoat'  
 \*baRu 'inside, interior'  
 \*baso 'woods, wilderness'  
 \*bazter 'edge'  
 \*be[h]ar 'need, necessity'  
 \*bederatzu 'nine'  
 \*be[h]e '(space) below'  
 \*begi 'eye'  
 \*be[h]i 'cow'  
 \*bel or \*beL 'dark'  
 \*beLaun 'knee'  
 \*beldur 'fear, fearful'  
 \*beletz 'black'

- \*ben** ‘serious, solemn’  
**\*bendi** ‘mountain’  
**\*bene** ‘slender, slim’  
**\*be[h]or** ‘mare’  
**\*ber-** ‘same, self’  
**\*berar** ‘grass’  
**\*beraRi** ‘ear’  
**\*beraun** (or possibly **\*belaun** ‘lead’ (metal))  
**\*beRi** ‘new’  
**\*bero** ‘heat, hot’  
**\*bertze** ‘other’  
 {[ ] **\*berun** ‘lead’ (metal) {or **\*belun.** ]  
 Duplicates **\*beraun.** }  
**\*beso** ‘arm’  
**\*bete** ‘full’  
**\*beti** ‘always’  
**\*bi[h]ar** ‘tomorrow’  
**\*bide** ‘road, way’  
**\*biga** ‘two’  
**\*bigun** ‘soft’ {or **\*biguin** }  
**\*bi[h]i** ‘grain’  
**\*bil** or **\*biL** ‘round’  
**\*-bil-** or **\*-biL-** ‘be in motion’  
**\*bin** ‘pain’  
**\*bini** ‘tongue’  
**\*bi[h]otz** ‘heart’  
**\*biri** ‘lung’  
**\*bi[h]ur** ‘bent, twisted’  
**\*bizar** ‘beard’  
**\*bizi** ‘life, alive’  
**\*bizkar** ‘back’ (anat.)  
**\*bortz** ‘five’  
**\*burar** ‘chest’  
**\*burdina** ‘iron’  
**\*burki** ‘birch’  
**\*burtzi** ‘spear’  
**\*buru** ‘head’  
**\*buztan** ‘tail’  
**\*buztaRi** ‘yoke’  
**\*-dan-** ‘drink’  
**\*-dun-** ‘have’  
**\*eder** ‘beautiful’  
**\*edo** ‘or’  
**\*egaRi** ‘thirsty’  
**\*egia** ‘truth’  
**\*[h]ego** \*\*\*\* {‘south’} ‘south wind’  
**\*[h]ego, \*[h]egal** ‘wing’  
**\*egun** ‘day’ (or possibly **\*egu**)  
**\*egur** ‘firewood’
- \*ei[h]ar** ‘dry’  
**\*eke(e)** {or **\*ke**} ‘smoke’  
**\*[h]el-** ‘ripen, mature’  
**\*enazur** ‘bone’  
**\*eRain** ‘daughter-in-law’  
**\*eRatz** ‘broom (plant)’  
**\*[h]erauts** ‘boar’  
**\*erbi** ‘hare’  
**\*erdi** ‘middle, centre’, ‘half’  
**\*eRe** ‘burn’  
**\*eri** [1] ‘sick, ill’  
**\*eri** [2] ‘finger’  
**\*[h]eRi** ‘inhabited place’, ‘population’  
**\*erle** ‘bee’  
 {**\*ero** ~ **\*-ro** ‘kill’}  
**\*[h]ertze** ‘guts, intestines’  
**\*erur** ‘snow’  
**\*esku** ‘hand’  
 {**\*esran** ~ **\*sVran** ‘say’}  
**\*eta** ‘and’  
**\*etse** ‘house’  
**\*etzi** ‘the day after tomorrow’  
**\*euLi** ‘fly’ (insect)  
**\*e[h]un** ‘one hundred’  
**\*euri** ‘rain’  
**\*ez**{(e)} ‘not’  
**\*e{z}ene** ‘milk’ (form uncertain)  
**\*ezko** ‘wax’  
**\*ezpain** ‘lip’  
**\*eztaRi** ‘throat’  
**\*ezti** ‘honey’, ‘sweet’  
**\*eztul** ‘cough’  
**\*gabe** ‘without’  
**\*gabi** ‘mallet, hammer’  
**\*gai** ‘material, matter’  
**\*gain** ‘top’  
**\*gaitz** ‘bad, difficult’  
**\*gal-** ‘lose’  
**\*galte** ‘question’  
**\*gali** ‘wheat’  
**\*-gan-** ‘go up’  
**\*gar** ‘flame’  
**\*gara** ‘height, elevation’  
 {**\*garai** (probably bimorphemic) ‘high’}  
**\*garbi** ‘clean’  
**\*garo** ‘fern’  
**\*gatz** ‘salt’  
**\*gau** ‘night’  
**\*gatzane** {or **\*gatzana** in *The Dictionary*}  
 ‘cheese’



- \*gazte ‘young’  
 \*geRi ‘waist’  
 \*gero ‘later’  
 \*gezur ‘(a) lie’  
 \*gibel ‘liver’ {(probably bimorphemic)  
     *The Dictionary*}  
 {\*gider ‘handle’}  
 \*giltza ‘key’  
 \*-gin- ‘do, make’  
 \*giro ‘atmosphere’ {but see **inguru** in *The Dictionary*}  
 {[}\*girten ‘handle’] see \*gider in *The Dictionary*}  
 \*gizen ‘fat’ {?bimorphemic}  
 \*gizon ‘man, person’  
 \*gogo ‘mind, memory’  
 \*goi ‘high place’  
 \*goiz ‘early’ {, ‘morning’}  
 \*golde ‘plough’  
 \*-gon- ‘wait, stay’  
 \*gor ‘hard’  
 \*goRi ‘red’ {?bimorphemic}  
 \*-gos- ‘boil, cook’  
 \*gose ‘hunger, hungry’  
 {\*-gotz- ‘throw’}  
 \*gozo ‘sweet’  
 \*gu ‘we’  
 \*gudu ‘combat’  
 \*gurdi ‘cart’  
 \*guren ‘edge’  
 \*guti ‘small’  
 \*guz(t)i ‘all, every’  
 \*[h]i ‘you (singular)’  
 \*ibai ‘river’ {?bimorphemic}  
 \*ibar ‘water meadow, valley’  
 \*idi ‘ox’  
 \*igel ‘frog’ [form uncertain]  
 \*ikatz ‘charcoal’ [form uncertain]  
 \*[h]il ‘dead’  
 \*iLe [1] ‘hair (of the head)’ [form uncertain]  
 \*[h]iLe [2] ‘moon’ [form uncertain]  
 \*[h]ili ‘town’  
 \*iLoba ‘niece, nephew, grandchild’  
 \*iLun ‘darkness, dark’  
 \*ipurdi ‘buttocks’  
 \*ira ‘fern’  
 \*irar ‘pea’  
 \*iRi ‘smile, laughter’  
 \*[h]irur ‘three’
- \*itsaso ‘sea’  
 \*itsu ‘blind’  
 \*itsusi ‘ugly’  
 \*[h]itz ‘word’  
 \*-(i)zan- ‘be’  
 \*izar ‘star’  
 \*izeba ‘aunt’  
 \*izeCi ‘fir’  
 \*izen ‘name’  
 \*izerdi ‘sweat’  
 \*izotz ‘frost, ice’ {probably bimorphemic}  
 \*izter ‘thigh’  
 \*izu ‘trembling’  
 \*-k [1] absolutive plural  
 \*-k [2] ergative CS  
 \*-kaR- ‘bring’  
 \*-kus- ‘see’  
 \*labe ‘furnace, oven’  
 \*labur ‘short’  
 \*lan ‘work’  
 \*lapitz ‘slate’  
 \*laRe ‘pasture’  
 \*lasai ‘calm’  
 \*laster ‘quick, soon’  
 \*latz ‘rough’  
 \*laur ‘four’  
 \*le[h]en or \*lenen ‘first’  
 \*le[h]er ‘pine’  
 \*lei[h]o ‘window’  
 \*lei[h]or ‘dry’  
 {\*lenen ‘first’ (see le[h]en)}  
 \*lepo ‘neck’  
 \*leun ‘smooth’  
 \*lo ‘sleep’  
 \*lodi ‘thick’  
 \*lur ‘earth’  
 \*luze ‘long’  
 \*-n locative CS  
 \*-nau- ‘say’ (form uncertain {: see -io- in *The Dictionary*)  
 \*neba ‘brother of a woman’  
 \*negar ‘tears’  
 \*negu ‘winter’  
 \*neska ‘girl’  
 \*ni ‘I’  
 {\*no- interrogative stem}  
 {[}\*nor ‘who?’] }  
 \*-oan- or \*-oCan- ‘go’  
 \*[h]obe ‘better’

{[] \***[h]obi** ‘grave, tomb’ {} Romance etymology in *The Dictionary*}  
 \***[h]odeCi** {or \***[h]odei**} ‘cloud’  
 \***odol** ‘blood’  
 \***[h]ogei** ‘twenty’  
 \***ogi** ‘bread’  
 \***oi[h]an** ‘forest’  
 \***oin** ‘foot’  
 \***oLa** ‘forge, foundry’  
 \***oLo** ‘oats’  
 \***on** ‘good’  
 \***[h]ondar** ‘sand’, ‘residue’ {} bimorphemic with Rom. root}  
 \***ontzi** ‘container, vessel’  
 \***or** ‘dog’  
 \***orein** ‘deer’  
 \***[h]ori** [1] ‘that’ (just there {non-distal}, stem \***[h]oR-**)  
 \***[h]ori** [2] ‘yellow’  
 \***[h]oRi** ‘leaf’  
 \***oro** ‘all’  
 \***[h]ortz** ‘incisor tooth’  
 \***ortzi** ‘sky’  
 \***osaba** ‘uncle’  
 \***oso** ‘whole, complete’  
 \***ote** ‘gorse’  
 \***[h]ots** ‘cry, shout’  
 \***otso** ‘wolf’  
 \***[h]otz** ‘cold’  
 {[] \***-ro-** ‘kill’ (form uncertain) {} Moved to \***ero**}  
 \***-ror-** ‘fall (down)’  
 \***-ros-** ‘buy’  
 \***sabel** ‘stomach’  
 \***sagar** ‘apple’  
 \***sagu** ‘mouse’  
 \***sai** ‘vulture’  
 \***sakon** ‘deep’  
 {\***sanal** or \***zanal** (can’t tell which) ‘calf’}  
 \***sar-** ‘enter’, ‘insert’  
 \***sare** ‘net’  
 \***sei** ‘six’  
 \***seNar** ‘husband’  
 \***senbe** ‘son’  
 \***seni** ‘boy’ {, ‘child’}  
 \***soin** ‘body’  
 \***sor-** ‘be born’, ‘create’  
 \***su** ‘fire’  
 \***sudur** ‘nose’  
 \***suge** ‘snake’

\***sun**i ‘son-in-law’  
 {[] \***-sVran-** ‘say’ (form very uncertain) {} Combined with \***esran**}  
 \***-toR-** ‘come’  
 \***uda** ‘summer’  
 \***udare** ‘pear’  
 \***ugatz** ‘(female) breast’  
 \***uko** ‘forearm’  
 \***unbe** ‘child’  
 \***untzi** or \***untsi** ‘rabbit’  
 \***ur** ‘water’  
 \***[h]ur** ‘nut’  
 \***urde** ‘pig’  
 \***urdin** ‘green, blue, grey’  
 \***uRe** ‘gold’  
 \***urte** ‘year’  
 \***uRun** ‘far’  
 \***urzo** ‘pigeon, dove’  
 \***usa** {**ni**} ‘smell, odour’  
 {[] \***uste** ‘opinion’ {} bimorphemic in *The Dictionary s.v. etsi*}  
 \***[h]uts** ‘bare, empty’  
 \***za[h]ar** ‘old’  
 \***zabal** ‘wide’  
 \***zakil** ‘penis’  
 \***zakur** ‘dog’  
 \***zaldi** ‘horse’  
 \***zanal** or \***sanal** (can’t tell which) ‘calf’  
 \***zani** ‘vigilant, watchful’, ‘guardian’  
 \***zati** ‘piece’  
 \***zazpi** ‘seven’  
 {\***ze-** interrogative stem}  
 \***ze[h]ar** ‘across’  
 \***-ze(-ki-)** ‘burn’  
 \***zeLai** ‘plain’ (flat land)  
 {[] \***zer** ‘what?’ {} See \***ze-**}  
 \***zeRi** ‘pig’  
 \***zezen** ‘bull’  
 \***zikin** ‘dirty’  
 \***zin** ‘truth, oath’  
 \***zintzur** ‘throat’  
 \***zizar** ‘silver’  
 \***zoko** ‘corner’  
 \***zor** ‘debt’  
 \***zori** ‘bird’  
 \***zoRi** ‘louse’  
 \***zortzi** ‘eight’  
 \***zozo** ‘blackbird’  
 \***zu** ‘you (plural)’

\***zubi** 'bridge' {(probably a compound of  
\***zur** 'wood')}

\***zuLo** 'hole'

\***zunur** 'prudent'

\***zur** 'wood'

\***zuri** 'white' {?bimorphemic}

\***zurtz** 'orphan'

\***zuzen** 'straight'

## {Supplementary native lexicon

This list consists of lexical words that are listed as ‘pre-Basque’ in sections 4-5, or identified in *The Dictionary* main alphabetical list as ‘OUO’ (of unknown origin) and not suggested, or not likely, to be polymorphemic, but that are not included in Trask’s section ‘The Native Lexicon’. The head word and gloss from sections 4-5 or *The Dictionary* is given with a proto-form if suggested.

## 3. English-Basque

acorn: <b>zi</b> *zinV	hawthorn: <b>elorri</b>
alder: <b>haltza</b>	hazelnut: <b>hur</b>
ancestor: (contains <b>-ba</b> kinship suffix)	heavy: <b>astun</b>
<b>asaba</b>	horsefly: <b>habe</b>
ash tree: <b>leizar</b>	hunting: <b>ehiza</b> *enizV
assemble: <b>bil-</b>	ilex, holm oak: <b>arte</b>
bag, sack, pouch: <b>zorro</b>	jump: <b>jauzi</b> *e-auz-i
bald, bare: <b>soil</b>	juniper: <b>orre</b>
bare, uncovered: <b>has</b>	know: <b>jakin</b> *e-akin-i
be satisfied, satisfy, sate: <b>ase</b>	lap, chest, flank: <b>galtzar</b>
become: <b>-di-</b>	lay (eggs): <b>errun</b> {(root *-Run-)}
bed: <b>ohe</b>	learn: <b>ikasi</b> (root <b>-kas-</b> )
bilberry, whortleberry: <b>ahabia</b> *anabi(a)	leave: <b>utzi</b> *e-utz-i
billygoat: <b>aker</b>	left hand: <b>ezker</b>
board, plank: <b>ohol</b> *onol(a)	lie down: <b>etzan</b>
bramble: <b>lahar</b>	lineage, breed, race: <b>hatz</b>
bramble: <b>sasi</b> *zarzi	maple: <b>ihar</b>
broom: <b>isats</b>	mother-in-law: <b>aube</b>
bury, inter: <b>ehortzi</b> *e-nortz-i	mould, filthy: <b>lizun</b>
companion: <b>lagun</b>	noise: <b>azantz</b>
cooking pot: * <b>eltze</b>	odour, stench: <b>keru</b> *keno
crooked: <b>oiher</b>	once: <b>behin</b>
custom: <b>ohi</b>	open: <b>ireki</b> *e-re-ki, *e-de-ki, *e-rek-i, *e-dek-i
deep place in a river or in the sea: <b>osin</b>	ordure: <b>sats</b>
desire: <b>nahi</b>	pitch: <b>ui</b>
dew: <b>ihintz</b> *initz	pitchfork: <b>sarde</b>
disgust: <b>higuin</b> *(h)iguni	plum: <b>aran</b>
edge: <b>er(e)tz</b>	pool, puddle: <b>idoi</b> *idoCi
elm: <b>zumar</b> *zunar	pour: <b>isuri</b> *e-sur-i
enemy: <b>etsai</b>	pregnant: <b>izorra</b>
filthy, obscene: <b>ahats</b>	put: <b>ezarri</b> {*e-zaR-i}, <b>ipini</b> *e-beN-i, *e-baiN-i
flight, fleeing: <b>ihes</b> *ines	quarrel, dispute: <b>aharra</b>
flour: <b>irin</b> *urin, *irun	reed, rush: <b>ihi</b> *ini
forget: <b>ahantzi</b> : *anatz-i	refusal, denial: <b>uko</b>
furrow: <b>hildo</b>	robin: <b>txindor</b> *zindor, *sindor
gall-oak: <b>ametz</b> *anbetz	root: <b>erro</b>
glance, look: <b>so</b>	sell: <b>saldu</b> (stem <b>sal-</b> )
go out, take out: <b>jalgi</b> *e-elki	send: <b>igorri</b> (root <b>-gorr-</b> )
great-grandfather, ancestor: (contains <b>-ba</b> kinship suffix) <b>aurba</b>	sew: <b>josi</b> *e-os-i
grind: <b>eho</b>	

shadow: **itzal**  
skin: **larru**  
sow: **ahardi**  
spring: **iturri**  
spume: **bits**  
squeeze, compress, tighten: **hertsi**  
staff, rod, stick: **zigor**  
stench: **sunda**  
stick: **zotz**  
story, tale: **ipuin**  
stranger, outsider: **atze**  
strength, force, power: **indar**  
stupid: **ergel**  
suffocate, drown: **ito**

swallow: **enara** \**aiNala*  
sweep: **ekhortu** (root **-kor-**?)  
they say: **ei**  
thief: **lapur**  
thief: **ohoin** \**onoin*  
throw: **egotzi**  
time, occasion: **aldi**  
too (much): **lar**  
torch: **zuzi**  
tough: **zail**  
turn: **irauli**  
weakness: **anu** \**auNo*  
willow: **sahats** \**sanats*

## 4. Basque-English

<b>ahabia</b> ‘bilberry, whortleberry’ * <i>anabi(a)</i>	<b>idoi</b> ‘pool, puddle’ * <i>idoCi</i>
<b>ahantzi</b> ‘forget’ * <i>anatz</i>	<b>ihes</b> ‘flight, fleeing’ * <i>ines</i>
<b>ahardi</b> ‘sow’	<b>igorri</b> (root <b>-gorr-</b> ) ‘send’
<b>aharra</b> ‘quarrel, dispute’	<b>higuin</b> ‘disgust’ *( <i>h</i> ) <i>iguni</i>
<b>ahats</b> ‘filthy, obscene’	<b>ihi</b> ‘reed, rush’ * <i>ini</i>
<b>habe</b> ‘horsefly’	<b>ihintz</b> ‘dew’ * <i>initz</i>
<b>aker</b> ‘billygoat’	<b>ikasi</b> (root <b>-kas-</b> ) ‘learn’
<b>aldi</b> ‘time, occasion’	<b>hildo</b> ‘furrow’
<b>haltza</b> ‘alder’	<b>indar</b> ‘strength, force, power’
<b>ametz</b> ‘gall-oak’ * <i>anbetz</i>	<b>ipini</b> ‘put’ * <i>e-beN-i</i> , * <i>e-baiN-i</i>
<b>anu</b> ‘weakness’ * <i>auNo</i>	<b>ipuin</b> ‘story, tale’
<b>aran</b> ‘plum’	<b>irauli</b> ‘turn’
<b>arte</b> ‘ilex, holm oak’	<b>ireki</b> ‘open’ * <i>e-re-ki</i> , * <i>e-de-ki</i> , * <i>e-rek-i</i> , * <i>e-dek-i</i>
<b>has</b> ‘bare, uncovered’	<b>irin</b> ‘flour’ * <i>urin</i> , * <i>irun</i>
<b>asaba</b> ‘ancestor’ (contains <b>-ba</b> kinship suffix)	<b>isats</b> ‘broom’
<b>ase</b> ‘be satisfied’, ‘satisfy, sate’	<b>isuri</b> ‘pour’ * <i>e-sur-i</i>
<b>astun</b> ‘heavy’	<b>ito</b> ‘suffocate, drown’
<b>hatz</b> ‘lineage, breed, race’	<b>iturri</b> ‘spring’
<b>atze</b> ‘stranger, outsider’	<b>itzal</b> ‘shadow’
<b>aube</b> ‘mother-in-law’	<b>izorra</b> ‘pregnant’
<b>aurba</b> ‘great-grandfather, ancestor’ (contains <b>-ba</b> kinship suffix)	<b>jakin</b> ‘know’ * <i>e-akin-i</i>
<b>azantz</b> ‘noise’	<b>jalgi</b> ‘go out’, ‘take out’ * <i>e-elki</i>
<b>behin</b> ‘once’	<b>jauzi</b> ‘jump’ * <i>e-auz-i</i>
<b>bil-</b> ‘assemble’	<b>josi</b> ‘sew’ * <i>e-os-i</i>
<b>bits</b> ‘spume’	<b>keru</b> ‘odour, stench’ * <i>keno</i>
<b>-di-</b> ‘become’	<b>lahar</b> ‘bramble’
<b>egotzi</b> ‘throw’	<b>lagun</b> ‘companion’
<b>ei</b> ‘they say’	<b>lapur</b> ‘thief’
<b>ehiza</b> ‘hunting’ * <i>enizV</i>	<b>lar</b> ‘too (much)’
<b>ekhortu</b> (root <b>-kor-?</b> ) ‘sweep’	<b>larru</b> ‘skin’
<b>elorri</b> ‘hawthorn’	<b>leizar</b> ‘ash tree’
* <b>eltze</b> ‘cooking pot’	<b>lizun</b> ‘mould, filthy’
<b>enara</b> ‘swallow’ * <i>aiNala</i>	<b>nahi</b> ‘desire’
<b>eho</b> ‘grind’	<b>ohe</b> ‘bed’
<b>ehortzi</b> ‘bury, inter’ * <i>e-nortz-i</i>	<b>ohi</b> ‘custom’
<b>er(e)tz</b> ‘edge’	<b>oiher</b> ‘crooked’
<b>ergel</b> ‘stupid’	<b>ohoin</b> ‘thief’ * <i>onoin</i>
<b>erro</b> ‘root’	<b>ohol</b> ‘board, plank’ * <i>onol(a)</i>
<b>errun</b> {(root * <i>-Run-</i> )} ‘lay (eggs)’	<b>orre</b> ‘juniper’
<b>hertsi</b> ‘squeeze, compress, tighten’	<b>osin</b> ‘deep place in a river or in the sea’
<b>etsai</b> ‘enemy’	<b>sahats</b> ‘willow’ * <i>sanats</i>
<b>etzan</b> ‘lie down’ * <i>-tzaun-</i>	<b>saldu</b> (stem <b>sal-</b> ) ‘sell’
<b>ezarri</b> ‘put’ (* <i>-zaR-</i> )	<b>sarde</b> ‘pitchfork’
<b>ezker</b> ‘left hand’	<b>sasi</b> ‘bramble’ * <i>zarzi</i>
<b>galtzar</b> ‘lap, chest, flank’	<b>sats</b> ‘ordure’
<b>ihar</b> ‘maple’	<b>so</b> ‘glance, look’
	<b>soil</b> ‘bald, bare’

**sunda** ‘stench’  
**txindor** ‘robin’ \**zindor*, \**sindor*  
**ui** ‘pitch’  
**uko** ‘refusal, denial’  
**hur** ‘hazelnut’  
**utzi** ‘leave’ \**e-utz-i*  
**zail** ‘tough’

**zi** ‘acorn’ \**zinV*  
**zigor** ‘staff, rod, stick’  
**zorro** ‘bag, sack, pouch’  
**zotz** ‘stick’  
**zumar** ‘elm’ \**zunar*  
**zuzi** ‘torch’  
 }

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### Abbreviations

- ASJU* *Anuario del Seminario de Filología Vasca “Julio de Urquijo”*  
*BAP* *Boletín de la Real Sociedad Vascongada de los Amigos del País*  
*BSL* *Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris*  
*FLV* *Fontes Linguae Vasconum*  
*REL* *Revista Española de Lingüística*  
*RIEV* *Revista Internacional de los Estudios Vascos*

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**Index of botanical names**

*Alnus glutinosa*: **haltza**

*Alopecurus pratensis*: **azeri-belar** (under **azeri**)

*Bellis* et al.: **bitxilore** (under **bitxi**)

*Calluna vulgaris*: **erika**

*Daucus carota*: **azenario**

*Equisetum hiemale*: **azeribuztan** (under **azeri**), **eztañu-belar** (under **eztainu**)

*Hyoscyamus niger*: **biotz-igarra** (under **bihotz**)

*Plantago maior*: **arpin** (under **ardi**)

*Setaria italica*: **arto**

*Triticum aestivum*: **gari**

*Vaccinium myrtillus*: **ahabia**

*Zea mays*: **arto**

**Index of zoological names**



## Subject index

References are to headwords under which one or more examples of a phenomenon can be found. Both certain examples and possible examples are listed.

- adjective-forming suffixes* \*edin, \*edun, -i [1], {gai, gaitz,} -kin, -kizun, {-kor, -kun} -o [2], {ohi,} -os, -tar, -ti [1], -tar, {-tsu,}
- adverb-forming suffixes* {-ka,} -ki [1], {-la,} {ontsa (see on), oro,} -ro {not in *The Dictionary*}, -to [2], -z,
- agreement markers in verbs* : {-da, -ga, gu, hi, -na-, ni, -o, zu}
- articles* \*har, {hau,} bat
- aspect markers*: see *tense*
- blocking (h)arritu (harri)*
- case-suffixes* -a [1], {-an,} {-e,} -en [1], {gai, -gan, -gaz,} ide, -i [2], {-ik,} -k [2], {-kide,} {-n [1],} -ra, {-rean,} -ti [2], -tik, {-tza,} -z,
- causative affixes* -erazi, -ra-
- colour terms* arre, \*bel, berde, {düdü,} \*gorr-, hori [\*\*{2}], {marroi,} urdin, zuri,
- comparative suffix* -ago
- comparison, irregular* hobe, on
- compound verbs, fossilized* {ausiki, eguriki, esku,} \*ihar-, itxadon, jaurtiki,
- contamination, crossing and folk-etymology* {aba, aintzigar, andere, aho, harroka, \*aur, azenario, balea, bat, biaje, bidali, bigae, bizi, bortu, buru, gain, gorputz, egun, ekarri, ehortzi, erdi, erresiñol, estali, etxe, hezkabia, gatz, gu, hi, igurain, iphizpiku, itze, \*ize-, jarri, kurilloe, lahar, lau, loragiño, lore, m-, mihimen, mustela, ortzi, osaba, pühüllü, solas, ze-, zizain}
- crossing*: see *contamination*
- dative flags* -ki- [2], {-ts-}
- demonstratives*: {-a,} \*har, hau, {-k [1], -la [2], orain,} hori [1], hura, {urte}
- diminutive suffixes* {-anda,} -ko {not in *The Dictionary*}, -no, -sko, -to [1],
- diminutives and expressive variants* hegal, gako, [POSSIBLY TOO NUMEROUS TO LIST?]
- expressive formations*: m-, m-reduplications, ma-, panp-, pot-, t/k reduplications, plus many individual cases too numerous to list
- expressive variants*: see *diminutives*
- extraction of suffixes* {ginharreba, -kide, -kizun, kusu, -toki, ume, zahar}
- folk-etymology*: see *contamination*
- grammaticalization* ahal, aintzin, hatz, \*aur, behe, ber-, \*bez(a)-, bide, deus, \*edin, \*edun, egin, -erazi, gain, goi, gura, ide, irten, izan, joan, nahi, ohi, ondo [1], oso, oste, {-tza}
- haplology* {seme, urde}
- interrogatives* no-, {\*-r,} ze-
- kinship terms* {ahaide,} aita, ahizpa, alaba, ama, {\*ana- [1], anaia} arreba, {asaba,} aube, {aurba,} -ba, ginharreba, {gu, guti,} iloba, \*ize-, {-kizun,} neba, osaba, seme, -so, suin
- loanwords, unusual* erika, laket, majo, martitzen, otu, porlan, txiriboga,
- metathesis* {adreilu,} {[] ainhara{]], {alfer,} belena, {bezatu,} bitxi, {debeku, diru, enara, errain, erraldoi, estali, estrata, euli,} euskara, {ezabatu, faratila, gabe, gain, \*gi-, gurutze, ikusi,} igan, {ingude, iñude, kantitu, kaprestu, kurel, lañeza, laño, lardería, lipizta, lizun, manteliña,} maradikatu, hobe, hodei, horri, ortzi, {probestu, señaile, zupu}

*mood markers: see tense*

*neologisms* {ahari, aho, \*aur, -ba, bat,} bizi, {daguenil, edan, hegal, etorri,} euskara, {gari,} garrantzi, {gatz,} iraatsi, irakurri, {jai, lur,} margo, {hori, tilet, ze-}

*noun-forming suffixes* -aia, {-aga,} -aje, {-anda,} \*-ar, -ari [1], -ari [2], -ba, -da, -dade, -di, -do, {-dura,} \*edun, {egin, era, -eta, gai} -goa, -iri, -keria, -ki [3], {-kide,} -kizun, -ko, \*-kun, -le, {mendu,} -no, -o [2], {orde, -sa,} -tar, -te [1], {-to [1], -toki,} -tza, {ume, -z, -zarre, -zartz, zio,} \*-zun,

*numerals* bat, bi, hiru {r}, lau [\*\*{1}], bortz, sei, zazpi, zortzi, bederatzi (under bat), hamar, hoge, ehun [\*\*], mila

*patronymic suffix* -iz,

*personal name as source of word* azeri, {bitxilote (under bitxi),} Katalin, luki, Mari [2],

Martin, {txantxiku,} Txarran, {txatiko}

*personal pronouns* en-, gu, hi, ni, zu

*plural markers* -it-, -k [1],

*postpositions* aintzin, {\*-al, ate, hatz,} \*aur, azpi, {baithan,} barru, behe, {\*bez(a), bi, bide, buru,} gabe, gai, gain, inguru, {-kide,} kontra, {landa,} ondo [1], oste, {zehir}

*prefixes* {ahal, ai-, ba-, bait-, be-,} bihur, {d-, des-, e- [1], e- [2], ez, {gu, hi, ni, -ra-, zu}

*question particles* -a [2], ahal

*superlative suffix* -en [1]

*surname suffixes* -duru, -en [2], {gune,} -illa, {-iri, -itz,} -iz, -kute, {ola,} -usta

*syncope* {andere, arnegatu, esan, gar, ikatz}

*synthetic forms, verbs with* {atxeki, edan,} \*edin, \*edun, egin, {\*erahatzi (under ahantzi),

ekarri, entzun, eritzi, esan,} etorri, {etzan,} {[ezagun]}, jardun (under \*ihar-),

ibili, erabili (under ibili), igorri, ikusi, {-io-, ipini, irakin,} izan, {izeki,} jakin,

{jaugin}

*syntactic suffix* -ko

*tapped /r/, words with final* {hau(r), barau(r), hirur, lau(r), ñirñir, paper, plater, \*-r, ur, zer (under ze-)}

*tense/mood/aspect markers* ari, bide, ei, ohi, omen, {Other than at bide, this grammatical phenomenon is not discussed in *The Dictionary*.}

*toponymic suffixes* -aga, -ain, -ama, -ana, -atz, -eta, -ika, -itz, {-o [3],} -oa, -oña

*transfer of verbs to the -tu class* {ahantzi, aberatsi (under abere), bidali, eguriki, herts,

eskaini (under esku), ezagun, ihesi (under ihes), ijeztu, izan, sinetsi (under zin)}

*verbal affixes* -a [3], be-, d-, -da-, e- [1], -it-, -o [1], -ra-, -te [1], {and see *prefixes* above}

*verb-forming suffixes* -i [1], -tu,

Suffix \*-r ?? {see entry \*-r in *The Dictionary*}