

Supplements of *Anuario del Seminario de Filología Vasca «Julio de Urquijo»*, XXXIV

JOSÉ IGNACIO HUALDE, GORKA ELORDIETA AND ARANTZAZU ELORDIETA

THE BASQUE DIALECT OF LEKEITIO



Universidad del País Vasco Diputación Foral de Gipuzkoa
Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea Gipuzkoako Foru Aldundia
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*To R. M. Azkue
in memoriam*

*and to the People
of Lekeitio*

THE BASQUE DIALECT OF LEKEITIO

This book is a study of the Basque variety spoken in Lekeitio. As such we have intended to make a direct contribution to Basque Dialectology, aiming at setting certain standards for research in this area. In addition, we believe that some of the materials assembled in this work will be of interest to a larger audience, beyond Basque specialists. It is for this reason that we decided to write the present book in English. In our opinion, certain linguistic aspects are treated in more detail here than in any previous work on any other Basque variety. A case in point would be accentuation, both at the lexical level and in its relation to the syntactic process of focalization.

In a number of cases, it is difficult to know to what extent the facts that are described here represent unusual local developments or have a wider geographical distribution but have not received the attention of linguists. An example is the integration of gender (a category borrowed from Spanish) in the linguistic system of Basque (e.g.: mutill altúa 'tall boy' but neska altía 'tall girl') which has resulted in developments beyond the possibilities of the source language such as the extension of the distinction to verbal forms (e.g.: morenotu 'to get tanned (a male)' vs. morenatu 'to get tanned (a female)'). Other dialectal phenomena occurring in Lekeitio and which have not been previously reported to our knowledge are, for instance, the use of the reciprocal anaphor alkar with intransitive agreement and the existence of important differences among "semiauxiliaries" such as nai 'to want' and biar 'must'.

After an introductory chapter in which the sociolinguistic reality of Lekeitio and the main differential characteristics of the Basque variety spoken in this town are considered, this book contains chapters on Phonology, Morphology and Syntax. The data in these three chapters represent the native intuitions of two of the authors and have also been checked against those of other speakers. In the Phonology and Morphology chapters, we have aimed at being exhaustive in the presentation of phenomena. The Syntax chapter has a narrower scope, constituting for the most part a classification of the main monoclausal and multiclausal sentence types found in Lekeitio.

These four chapters are followed by a set of transcribed texts excerpted from recorded conversations with Lekeitio speakers spanning a wide age range. The recordings were made by one of the authors who is also a member of the linguistic community and represent a relaxed conversational style; the interviewees being for the most part friends and relatives of the interviewer. These texts thus offer a representative sample of Lekeitio speech.

Finally, an extensive vocabulary list has been included. Our goal has been to gather the lexicon that is currently in use in Lekeitio, without discriminating against any words by reason of their foreign origin. Including both old and new loanwords allows one to observe how

Spanish borrowings are nativized and to determine to what extent phonological rules are active in their application to borrowed items.

A tape containing the texts corresponding to the transcriptions of chapter 5 as well as oral renditions of many of the examples from other chapters is available from the authors.

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PREFACE 1

Perhaps it will be of some interest to the reader to know why this book was written and how it came about. Writing a book of this type is something that I have had in mind for a number of years already. In 1986, when I started working on my dissertation on the Lexical Phonology of Basque, it soon became apparent to me that basic descriptive work on individual Basque varieties was sorely needed if one were to advance in the study of the Phonology of the language. Given the scarcity of published data that could be used to support explicit phonological analyses, my thesis, which was revised and published in 1991 as *Basque Phonology*, was based to a great extent on my own fieldwork with speakers of different varieties. This work left me with the strong impression that there was still much to be discovered by studying local varieties in detail. I thus decided to embark in this kind of dialectal research as soon as the opportunity presented itself. A first step in this direction was my joint work with Xabier Bilbao, which resulted in the publication of *A phonological study of the Basque dialect of Getxo* in 1992. For a number of reasons this study could not be as extensive as I initially wanted it to be. I considered it a pilot study for more ambitious work to be undertaken in the future.

Shortly after the Getxo manuscript had been sent to the press, in November of 1991, I had the good luck to see Gorka Elordieta (whom I had met years before), at a Conference in Los Angeles, where he was pursuing a graduate degree in Linguistics. I approached Gorka about the possibility of collaborating in a study of his native dialect of Lekeitio and he was enthusiastic about it. We agreed that he would fly to my home in Champaign for a few days during the following spring. In the meantime I would make a general plan for the work. During Gorka's visit in the spring of 1992 we collected most of the data for the Phonology chapter and did some basic work on Syntax. We decided that during his summer stay in Lekeitio, Gorka would complete inflectional paradigms and obtain lists of examples of morphological derivation and compounding in consultation with other speakers. He would also make recordings of free conversations with speakers of different age groups. We also thought that we would try to convince his sister Arantzazu, who was enrolled as a doctoral student in Basque Philology at the University of the Basque Country, to collaborate with us. She graciously agreed and was assigned the very important and extremely time-consuming job of compiling the vocabulary list. In addition, she would serve as our local contact for checking the data when we wanted the opinion

of a diverse group of speakers or wanted to obtain forms used only by specific populations such as older speakers or fishermen.

After the summer, it was my turn to work. With all the data assembled, I started writing the text. As anyone who has done this kind of work knows, no matter how complete a questionnaire one has, as soon as one tries to make sense of the data that have been obtained and derive generalizations from them, all sorts of questions arise and many more data have to be gathered. Thanks to the wonders of electronic mail, all my questions were promptly answered by Gorka with whom I have been in constant electronic (and frequent telephonic) contact. Gorka's summer and winter stays in Lekeitio (and his phone calls to his family) have been used as opportunities for confirming data. To Gorka are also due many important observations and generalizations about all sorts of linguistic points.

In addition to compiling the vocabulary list, transcribing some of the recorded texts and other tasks, Arantzazu, as our permanent research team member in Lekeitio, was in charge of conducting the survey about language use in the local schools and obtaining the rest of the sociolinguistic information reported in Chapter 1. I hardly could have hoped to find such excellent collaborators.

I am very grateful to Koldo Zuazo and Miren Lourdes Oñederra, who read the manuscript of the book, providing many insightful and valuable comments.

I also want to thank Joseba A. Lakarra for his help with the technical aspects of publishing this book.

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PREFACE 2

This book is dedicated to the memory of Resurrección María de Azkue, a native of Lekeitio, and founder and first President of the Academy of the Basque Language. Azkue's impressive scholarly work on Basque grammar and dialectology is widely recognized in the field of Basque linguistics and philology. It can be said without any doubt that his legacy transcends time and linguistic theories and traditions, as reflected by the fact that his two monumental works (*Diccionario vasco-español-francés*, 1905-1906, and *Morfología Vasca*, 1923), as well as many of his articles, still constitute a basic source of information for any person engaged in doing research on any aspect of the Basque language. Despite this public acknowledgment, however, it is also true that some of Azkue's views endured severe criticism from other prominent Basque scholars, such as Seber Altube and Luis Michelena [Koldo Mitxelena], especially the former. The issue which stirred most controversy was probably Azkue's attempt to describe the Basque accentual pattern ("Del acento tónico vasco en algunos de sus dialectos", 1931-1932). The dispute arose from the fact that Azkue claimed to have achieved a description of the general accentual pattern of Basque, when the truth is that the system reflected in his study is exactly the one found in the Biscayan dialect of Lekeitio and Ondarroa, but nowhere else. In this dialect, one can distinguish between unaccented and accented words, depending on whether they have their final or penultimate syllable stressed, respectively. The accented pattern is triggered by a lexical property of certain morphemes (including both roots and affixes). Although in neighboring Biscayan varieties such as the Gernika type we find a distinction between unaccented and accented words, accentual prominence does not necessarily have to fall in one of the two final syllables (cf. Hualde 1989, 1990, 1991, 1993a). Once we move to other non-Biscayan dialects, we find even greater differences. Altube did not recognize most of the generalizations and observations made by Azkue, confused by the misleading approach adopted by the Lekeitian priest, and neither did Michelena (cf. Altube 1934, Michelena 1958). On behalf of Azkue, we should say that such an approach was probably dictated by what he felt was a compelling need to establish a literary, standard variety of Basque which could provide a unifying identity to a language with considerable differences among its dialects. Indeed, in the above mentioned article, Azkue used examples from eastern varieties (from Souletin, concretely) which coincidentally also showed final and penultimate stress, depending on certain morphological differences, as well as phonological. But again, the metrical properties of these dialects are certainly not identi-

cal to those of Lekeitio, once studied in detail (cf. Hualde 1990, 1991, 1993b; Michelena 1958, 1985). It is very conceivable that Azkue included these data deluded by his own desire for convergence in the Basque language.

In his final sentence in the summary section of the second part of his article, Azkue's words speak for themselves (p. 50): "Al dar por terminado el Estudio de nuestro acento tónico, deploraré una vez más que sea este tan distinto en algunos de sus dialectos." ["Hereby finishing the study of our accentual system, I shall deplore once again that it is so different in some of its dialects."].

Nevertheless, it would not be fair to charge on Azkue all the confusion on Basque accentuation that may have resulted after the publication of his famous article. In fact, Altube himself contributed to this state of affairs, since in his *Observaciones al Tratado de 'Morfología Vasca' de Don R.M. de Azkue* (1934) he made the same mistake Azkue made. He described what he believed to be the "real" Basque accentual system based mainly on the central Gipuzkoan variety, and claimed that that system also applied to Biscayan varieties (and even eastern dialects, with some minor modifications). In the dialect Altube discusses the main stress in the word falls on either one of the first two syllables of the word, depending on the number of syllables of the word or the prosodic unit in which the word is included, without accentual properties triggered by morphemes. Clearly, this system does not coincide with central Biscayan varieties, where the domain for stress assignment is not circumscribed to the first two syllables, and is determined by accentual properties of morphemes composing words. Thus, it is obvious that Altube's ambitious position does not hold.

Although we know that Altube must not have been unfamiliar with Biscayan dialects (he was the mayor of Gernika, a Biscayan town located 17 miles south of Lekeitio), it is not gratuitous that he chose the central variety of the Gipuzkoan dialect as the basic model for Basque accentuation. At that time, the Gipuzkoan variety was considered by many Basque linguists and humanists in general as the most prestigious among all dialects, and it seems that Altube tried to focus only on the accentual properties of this dialect, ignoring the rest.

Putting aside the criticizable aspect of Azkue's work on Basque accentuation, it is fair to acknowledge the accuracy of Azkue's description of the accentual system of the dialect of Lekeitio. His work goes beyond descriptive adequacy, in the sense that it also gives the first insight into the underlying mechanism ruling stress assignment in this dialect. For example, on page 290 of the article mentioned above, Azkue says: "... todos los elementos de suyo átonos ceden su atonía al elemento que se les agrega, quedando ellos en el tono de las sílabas precedentes." ["... all elements which are inherently atonic pass their atonicity onto the element that is suffixed to them, and remain in the same tone as the previous syllables."]. By "atonic elements" he referred to the morphemes that trigger penultimate stress when suffixed to a root, and remain in a lower tone than the preceding syllables. An example of these would be the diminutive morpheme *-txu*: cf. *nes.ká* 'girl' vs. *nes.ká.txu* 'little girl'. When other morphemes are suffixed to these atonic elements, the accent falls on the penultimate syllable of the new word, atonicity being realized on the new final

syllable. Thus, since the original atonic element is not in the final syllable anymore, it is not pronounced in a low tone, but in the same tone as the previous syllables (i.e., high tone, except the first syllable). This is illustrated by the word *nes.ka.txú.a* 'the little girl'. More than sixty years later, we are corroborating Azkue's observations, making only a more fashionable analysis with the new tools that modern linguistic theories provide for us (cf. Hualde's work mentioned above).

Koldo Mitxelena, himself a native speaker of the Gipuzkoan dialect of Erreterria, disputed some of Azkue's observations, such as the minimal pair formed by the first word of the following phrases: *gizonik estago* 'there are no men' (partitive) and *gizónik onéna* 'the best man' (lit., 'the best of men'). Although the morpheme added to the root *gixon* has the same form (i.e., *-ik*) and belongs to the same grammatical category (it reflects partitive case) in both cases, the partitive of superlative comparisons is a morpheme which triggers penultimate accent (the superlative morpheme *-en* also triggers penultimate accent, as illustrated by *onéna*). Michelena (1985) writes, on page 577: "Es ilusorio tratar de distinguir con Azkue, ... el suf. *-(r)ik* 'tónico' de *gizonik estago* ... del "átono" de *gizónik onéna*" ["it is illusory to try to distinguish, as Azkue does, the 'tonic' suffix *-(r)ik* of *gizonik estago* from the 'atonic' one of *gizónik onéna*"]. As a native speaker of the Lekeitio dialect, I can certify that Azkue's distinction is as real as the undisputable fact that Mitxelena was one of the greatest Basque philologists and linguists in this century. His misjudgment in this case can only be attributed to his unawareness of the details of the accentual system of Lekeitio, and to the absence of such a contrast in his native dialect of Erreterria or other dialects that he might have mastered. Acknowledging this, we wanted to give Azkue the credit of achieving such a fine description of his native dialect, and therefore we take advantage of the opportunity to pay our humble homage to the brilliant grammarian from Lekeitio.

Finally, it is only fair to recognize the fact that this book would not have been possible if the dialect of Lekeitio did not exist. And in turn, we also have to bear in mind that if the dialect of Lekeitio exists, it is because of its people. At a time in which Standard Basque constitutes the official language in the Basque Autonomous Community, along with Spanish, vernacular varieties are not taught at schools, all instruction on the Basque language being on the Standard dialect. Local dialects are maintained as everyday means of communication among native speakers in towns and villages. This is the case in Lekeitio too. The Lekeitian people are the only ones who, consciously or unconsciously, can keep the vernacular variety alive (as long as the town keeps its natural demographic growth and way of life), and they are the only ones who, consciously or unconsciously, can cause its death. It is often said that languages are a heritage of humanity, but while politicians and intellectuals revel in the beauty of the truism, it is the people speaking those languages that keep them alive. Knowing the spirit of Lekeitians, I have no doubt that they will take care of their heritage. This is why we also dedicate this book with great honor to the People of Lekeitio, for all their knowledge that we have simply reflected in written form.

At a personal level, I want to thank Maria Nieves Alzibar, Andoni Barainka, Ainara Barainka, Sorkunde Burgoa, Eukene Elordieta and Pablo Gabiola for

allowing me to record my conversations with them, and the rest of my family, for being such great informants and for checking my native intuitions. Rufo Atxurra deserves my most sincere gratitude and utter respect, for his attention, his interest, and his historic knowledge of the evolution of the Lekeitio dialect over the last 100 years. Alfredo Arnaiz (“Komandante Arnaiz”) printed the figures illustrating the F₀ contours of the sentences in the section on intonation, in chapter 2. I also want to thank the Department of Education, Universities and Research of the Basque Government for financial support during most of the time it took to prepare this book.

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PREFACE 3

As someone involved in the writing of this book, I would like to insist on the reasons that have led us to write a descriptive grammar of a Basque dialect which is relatively distant from the standard variety.

One might think especially taking into account the difficult sociolinguistic position of Basque speakers, all of whom live in a situation of bilingualism, that a dialectal description of this sort does not have any practical utility, both because of the small number of speakers of such a variety and because it is not a written language. Nevertheless, we have wanted to produce a dialectal study because we believe that only if we start from a detailed description of local varieties can we hope to obtain a better knowledge of the Basque language as a whole, which eventually should also have an impact on the grammatical formulation of the standard language.

To give an example, the Basque variety of Lekeitio, which we describe in this work, presents some very intricate facts involving the prosodic consequences of such syntactic phenomena as focalization, the verb-auxiliary relation, the distinction between simple and periphrastic verbal forms, etc. Many of these facts have not been previously described for any other Basque variety and we believe that they should be of interest both to Basque specialists and also to other linguists working on such theoretical areas as the relation between syntactic and phonological processes.

If we were to disregard the study of local dialects, we would lose an important linguistic wealth. This loss would not only be for the field of Linguistics, but also for other aspects of human culture; since the language of a human group is the bearer of its traditions, customs, beliefs, etc. Anyone who has been concerned with the standardization of a language will understand what I am saying.

In addition, the study of Universal Grammar and linguistic universals requires the consideration of the dialectal diversity which might be present in any language.

In the distribution of tasks for writing this book, my contribution has been, in an important measure, the compilation of a dictionary of words used in Lekeitio. I would have been unable to carry out this tough work without the constant and unconditional help of Rufo Atxurra, a wonderful elderly informant who was always willing to answer my questions and provide me with all kinds of information. This information has been extremely useful in my work. Likewise, I would like to give my thanks to the members of the gastronomical society Kai-Abiya of Lekeitio, a group of amicable sailors to whom I am indebted for answering all my questions, regarding, especially, the Basque names of different kinds of fish. And, of course, I

also want to thank my family, with whom I have checked and clarified my native intuitions over and over, and also for their collaboration in the recordings that were made.

As a Lekeitian, I am proud to have taken part in the elaboration of this book, which we present as an homage to the people of Lekeitio, albeit more modest than that of Azkue.

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ABBREVIATIONS

In word-by-word glosses, the following abbreviations are used:

Nominals:

A=	absolutive	E=	ergative
AL=	allative	G=	genitive
AB=	ablative	GL=	genitive locative
C=	comitative	IN=	inesive
D=	dative	PT=	partitive.

Singular and plural numbers are indicated in the translations themselves in nouns (e.g. 'book', 'books'). In adjectives and other forms: s = singular, p = plural. Indefinite number is marked as ID.

Verbal forms:

AUX=	auxiliary	F=	future participle
I=	imperfective participle	VN=	verbal noun.
RELP=	relative participle		

Perfective participles are unmarked (e.g. the perfective participle *ikusi* is glossed as 'see'; the imperfective form *ikústen* is glossed as 'see.I')

Other abbreviations

CP=	complementizer	M=	modal prefix
DIM=	diminutive	QP=	question particle
EMPH=	emphatic word		

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Lekeitio sociolinguistics.

Lekeitio Basque, Standard Basque and Spanish

Lekeitio is a coastal town of 7,579 inhabitants in the province of Biscay (Bizkaia), situated 58 kilometers to the east of Bilbao, in a solidly Basque-speaking area. Lekeitio is a bilingual town, most speakers having an active command of both Basque and Spanish. According to the official statistical data that we have consulted, 84.7% of the people living in Lekeitio speak the Basque language.¹ On the other hand, all inhabitants speak Spanish, although some elderly people may not use it with any frequency in their daily lives. A phonological trait in the Spanish pronunciation of some old Lekeitians is the absence of the voiceless interdental fricative /θ/, which is replaced by an apical /s/.

It can be said that, in general, Lekeitians show a strong feeling of loyalty towards the Basque language. An indication of this is the marked preference that parents show for education in the Basque language for their children. In the schools of the Basque Autonomous Community, there are three official language tracks or models, known as Models A, B, and D:²

Model A: All education in Spanish, except for a mandatory Basque language course.

Model B: Bilingual education. Some courses are taught in Spanish, and some others in Basque.

Model D: All education in Basque, except for Spanish language arts.

In Lekeitio there are three schools: a private Basque-language school, or *ikastola*, where all instruction is given in Basque, a public school, and a technical school. The enrollment figures in the different schools and tracks are as follows:

Ikastola: 437 students, all in Model D.

Public school: 457 students: 421 in Model D and 36 in Model B.

Technical school: 117 students: 92 in Model D and 25 in Model A.

As can be seen from these figures, Lekeitio parents are overwhelmingly in favor of education in Basque for their children.

In Lekeitio the percentage of people able to speak the Basque language remains relatively constant across age groups:

(1) The figures and percentages in this section are the results of a statistical survey conducted by SIADECO in 1988. The report has been obtained from the Lekeitio municipal government, which we want to thank.

(2) The curious gap is due to the fact that the Basque alphabet does not use the letter C.

Age group	% of Basque-speakers
2-17	82.8
18-24	86.3
25-34	82.7
35-44	83.1
45-65	86.4
66-	87.6
TOTAL	84.7

These are data from 1986. With high enrollment in Basque-language curricula, it is to be expected that knowledge of Basque among the youngest speakers, if anything, will increase, but will certainly not diminish.

Traditionally, the Basque language has played a dominant role both within the family and in the social life of the town. The economic activity of Lekeitio has been centered until recently, and continues to be centered to a certain extent, around fishing, in a work-environment which strongly favors the use of Basque. In recent years, however, tourism has become a major factor in the economic and social life of the town, increasing the presence of the Spanish language in Lekeitio considerably, especially in the summer and on weekends. A study on the use of Basque conducted by SIADECO, in which the language that passers-by in the main street of the town were speaking was noted, gave the following results for weekdays:

	Number	Speaking in Basque	%
Children (-14)	1603	1283	80.0
Youths (14-24)	875	454	51.9
Adults (25-64)	3510	2105	60.0
Elderly	1335	1026	76.8
TOTAL	7323	4868	66.5

It may be noted that the highest indices of use of Basque are found among the oldest and youngest speakers. The use of the Basque language is lowest, on the other hand, among adolescents and young adults. Looking at those results, it can be concluded that Basque is the preferred language for interaction among Lekeitians; although this preference is more marked in some age-groups than in others.

In public functions, Basque is also the preferred medium. Town Hall meetings are usually conducted in Basque, unless someone who does not speak the language is present. The mayor speaks in Basque when he addresses the community. Church functions are also in Basque, although on weekends, some masses are given in Spanish, for the benefit of tourists.

For the purposes of this study, it is of importance to distinguish the use of the local Basque variety from the use of other Basque varieties, especially Euskara Batua or Standard Basque. In principle, one might expect Standard Basque to be favored in certain public functions that would normally call for a high register, and also, perhaps, by school children, since all Basque-medium education is in the standard language, not in the local dialect. It must be noted, however, that the standard

language was not developed and codified until the 1970's and that all speakers above a certain age were educated in Spanish. Most adults, therefore, are not at all fluent in Standard Basque, even though they may have acquired some familiarity with it through reading, television and radio.

Attitudes towards the standard also vary among speakers. The fact is that Standard Basque does not play an important role in social communication in Lekeitio. The mayor and other town authorities use the local variety to address the public. In church functions, the priests modify the vernacular in the direction of an older prestige variety, Literary Biscayan, rather than Standard Basque.

In the classroom, teachers use Standard Basque exclusively and students are also expected to use this variety. To determine whether school-age children showed a tendency to use Standard Basque also outside of the classroom, which might have a decisive effect on the future of the local variety, we decided to conduct a survey in the schools. The result is that Standard Basque shows no signs of displacing Lekeitio Basque in its traditional functions. Students overwhelmingly prefer the local variety over Standard Basque for communication outside of the classroom, both with their elders and with their peers. Standard Basque has expanded the use of the Basque language to the classroom, a domain previously reserved for Spanish; but it shows no signs of supplanting the dialect, at least for the time being.

We distributed a questionnaire in all three schools. All students were in Model D except for 7 students at the technical school. The students at the ikastola and public school were in the 13-14 year age group and those at the technical school were one year older (14-15 year age group). The questionnaire was written in Standard Basque. We obtained 88 completed questionnaires: 34 from the Ikastola or Basque school, 33 from the public school, and 21 from the technical school. We included questions about their preferred language at home, with their friends on the street, and with their friends at school. The following tables display the results that we obtained in raw numbers, with percentages added for the totals:³

1. Generally, what language do you speak with your brothers and sisters?⁴

	Lek.B.	St.B.	Span.	Other B.	Total
Ikastola	30	1	2	0	33
Public sch.	22	1	4	4	31
Tech. sch.	15	1	4	1	21
TOTAL	67	3	10	5	85 ⁵
	78.8%	3.5%	11.7%	5.8%	100%

(3) Possible answers, in every case, were: Lekeitio Basque (abbreviated in the tables as Lek.B.), Standard Basque (St.B.), Spanish (Span) and 'other, fill in the blank'. As it turned out, languages other than Basque and Spanish were not mentioned in any answer. The category 'other', thus, refers exclusively to other Basque varieties (Other B.). Some students gave more than one language as answer to a given question. In that case, 'Spanish and Basque' has been included under Spanish, and 'Lekeitio Basque and Standard Basque' has been counted as Standard Basque.

(4) We also asked about the language generally used with father and mother. But, since in this case the element of choice may be absent with more frequency (because the parent does not speak Basque or Lekeitio Basque), we do not present those results here.

(5) Three students indicated that they did not have any siblings.

2. Generally, what language do you speak with your friends on the street?

	Lek.B.	St.B.	Span.	Other B.	Total
Ikastola	32	0	2	0	34
Public sch.	21	1	8	3	33
Tech. sch.	17	0	3	1	21
TOTAL	70	1	13	4	88
	79.5%	1.1%	14.7%	4.5%	100%

3. Generally, what language do you speak with your friends at school?

	Lek.B.	St.B.	Span.	Other B.	Total
Ikastola	33	1	0	0	34
Public sch.	26	2	3	2	33
Tech. sch.	19	1	0	1	21
TOTAL	76	4	3	3	88
	86.3%	4.5%	3.4%	3.4%	100%

From these data we can conclude that Lekeitio Basque is clearly the preferred language of interaction among school children. What is surprising for us is the very small impact that education in Standard Basque appears to be having in the use of this variety outside of formal instruction. Only four students report using primarily Standard Basque to communicate with friends at school (one of whom actually gave both Lekeitio Basque and Standard Basque in answer to this question). In other contexts, the preference for Standard Basque is even lower. It should be pointed out that the three students who reported using Standard Basque (or both Lekeitio Basque and Standard Basque) with their siblings had at least one parent who was not from Lekeitio. The one student reporting using Standard Basque on the street had a parent from outside of the Basque Country and was him-/herself born in Southern Spain.⁶ As for Spanish, 9 of the 10 students who reported using primarily this language (or both Spanish and Basque) with their siblings had at least one parent who was not from Lekeitio, with whom they communicated in Spanish. On the street, the reported use of Spanish is greater; but still it is well behind the local Basque variety. Naturally, figures for Spanish usage would have been higher had we included as subjects more students in Models A and B. However, as mentioned above, our purpose was to determine the relative strength of Standard Basque and the local variety.

To see if students consider Standard Basque (in which they are being educated) a high prestige variety within the local community, we introduced a question about the language that they would like for the local authorities to use in formal occasions. The question and quantified responses were the following:

(6) We conducted an extended oral interview with a 13 year old who attends the Ikastola. She confirmed to us that communication in Standard Basque is confined to student-teacher interaction and exchanges between students within the instructional context.

4. What language should the mayor of Lekeitio use when speaking to the townsfolk?

	Lek.B.	St.B.	Span.	Other	Total
Ikastola	33	1	0	0	34
Public sch.	29	2	2	0	33
Tech. sch.	21	0	0	0	21
TOTAL	83	3	2	0	88
	94.3%	3.4%	2.3%	0%	100%

As can be seen, students overwhelmingly prefer for the local authority to use the local variety. We had a final question about preference in communicating with Basque-speakers from other towns:

5. In what language do you prefer to speak with Basque-speakers from Ondarroa or other towns?

	Lek.B.	St.B.	Span.	Other B.	Total
Ikastola	25	7	0	2	34
Public sch.	24	3	1	5	33
Tech. sch.	14	3	2	2	21
TOTAL	63	13	3	9	88
	71.3%	14.7%	3.4%	10.2%	100%

It is interesting to note that even when speaking to speakers of other local Basque varieties, students show a preference for Lekeitio Basque. Nevertheless, many more students indicated a preference for Standard Basque in this question than in the questions discussed before. In the question we gave Ondarroa as an example. This is a neighboring and also strongly Basque-speaking coastal town, whose variety, although clearly different from that of Lekeitio, is still felt as not too distant. Had we referred in our question to communication with Basque-speakers from non-Biscayan areas, very likely Standard Basque would have been a more frequent answer.⁷

To conclude, Lekeitio Basque does not appear to be in imminent danger of extinction. It certainly does not seem that it will be replaced in its functions by Standard Basque in the near future. Spanish poses a greater threat. But the danger to the survival of Basque in the form of the increasing presence of the Spanish language, brought in by tourism and improved communications, is being checked by the strong loyalty towards the Basque language that speakers feel and by the fact that Spanish has been displaced from its former role as the sole vehicle in education and the mass media.⁸

(7) Since the need to communicate with Basque-speakers from far-away areas may not have arisen in the experience of many students, we preferred to word the question as we did.

(8) When the present generation of school children reaches reproductive age, most of them will have three codes at their disposal: Lekeitio Basque, Standard Basque and Spanish. Which one of the three they will choose to transmit to their children is something about which it is not possible to make an educated guess.

1.2. Lekeitio Basque among the Basque dialects

The groundwork on Basque dialectology was laid in the second half of the past century by the Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte (1863, 1869, among other works). In an impressive achievement, Bonaparte collected information from all areas of the Basque Country, establishing a long-lasting classification in dialects, subdialects and varieties.⁹ Although some relatively minor modifications have been proposed, Bonaparte's classification is still followed today (cf., for instance, Etxebarria 1983, Yrizar 1981, Txillardegui 1983).¹⁰

The Basque variety spoken in Lekeitio was included in Bonaparte's classification of Basque dialects in the variety of Markina, within the eastern subdialect of the Biscayan dialect of Basque.

In his dialectological work, Bonaparte employed some criteria that nowadays seem peculiar to us. Examples of these are the central role that he gives to literary dialects (those with a written tradition) and his belief in the existence of 'pure' (and mixed) dialects. Nevertheless, his classification has proven to be an achievement of lasting importance.

Naturally, Basque dialects are not compact entities, separated by impenetrable boundaries. As one would expect, the features that are usually taken as characteristic of a given dialect do not all have the same geographical distribution, but each one presents its own isogloss. In our particular case, some of the features that are usually considered as typically Biscayan surpass the geographical limits which Bonaparte gave to this dialect, whereas some others are found only in parts of the Biscayan territory (Lakarra 1986, Zuazo 1988). Nevertheless, for the purpose of locating Lekeitio Basque within the varieties of this language it can be helpful to briefly point out some of the 'Biscayan' features that it displays.

An aspect to which Bonaparte gave great weight in classifying major dialects is the shape of the present indicative forms of the transitive auxiliary. Lekeitio Basque has the typically Biscayan forms *dot* 'I have it', *dau* 's/he has it', contrasting with Gipuzkoan *det*, *du* and Navarrese and Labourdin *dut*, *du*.

Another Biscayan feature is a zero subject marker in past tense transitive forms; e.g.: *eban* 's/he had it' vs. *zuan* ~ *zuen* in Gipuzkoan and similar *z-* initial forms in other dialects.

A further Biscayan feature in inflected verbal forms is the extensive use of a pluralizing suffix *-s/*. In Lekeitio we find oppositions such as *dot/doda-s* 'I have it/them' *neban/neba-s-an* 'I had it/them', whereas in non-Biscayan areas we find corresponding forms such as *dut/d-it-ut*, *nuen/n-it-uen*, respectively.

In nominal inflectional morphophonology, a feature that is often considered as characteristically Biscayan, although the isogloss is found well inside the Gipuzkoan territory (and even extends to the High Navarrese Burunda valley),¹¹ is the raising

(9) A great number of works by Bonaparte and his Basque collaborators have been recently reprinted by the Academy of the Basque Language or Euskaltzaindia (Bonaparte 1991).

(10) K. Zuazo (p.c.) rightly points out that this is in part due to the fact that progress in Basque dialectology has been relatively small since Bonaparte's times.

(11) Cf. Zuazo (1994).

of stem-final /a/ in inflected singular forms, versus its deletion in the same context in other dialects. In Lekeitio we find forms such as /alaba-a/ *alabia* 'the daughter', instead of *alaba*, which is found in central and eastern dialects.

Also in nominal inflection, a Biscayan feature is the comitative suffix *-gaz*, where other dialects have *-kin*. In Lekeitio this suffix is found in the singular; e.g.: *alabiágas* 'with the daughter', vs. *alaba(re)kin* in non-Biscayan dialects. In the plural, nevertheless, the suffix *-kin* is used in Lekeitio, and generally in eastern Biscayan: *alabákiñ* 'with the daughters' (some other Biscayan varieties, further to the west, have *alábakas*).

Two Biscayan syntactic features that have to do with the order of elements in the noun phrase are the postnominal position of the numeral *bi* 'two' and the pronominal position of demonstratives. Thus, in Lekeitio we find examples such as *libúru bi* 'two books', vs. *bi liburu* in non-Biscayan dialects, and *ori liburúa* or *ori liburuóri* 'that book', vs. *liburu (h)ori* in non-Biscayan dialects.¹²

Certain other features which are viewed as typically Biscayan are of less importance and have to do with differences in vowel quality in specific lexical items. In a few items such as *baltz* 'black', *txarri* 'pig' and *barri* 'new', Biscayan varieties (including Lekeitio) have a low vowel /a/, whereas other dialects have an /e/: *beltz*, *txerri* and *berri*.¹³ Similarly, in a few words there is an alternation involving the high vowels in Biscayan and non-Biscayan forms. Whereas in Lekeitio and other Biscayan varieties we find *gitxi* 'little', *uri* 'town' and *ule* 'hair', outside of the Biscayan area the corresponding forms are *gutxi* or *guti*, *(h)iri* and *(h)ile*.

There are also some lexical differences involving frequently used words. Examples are the word for 'how', whose Biscayan form (found in Lekeitio) is *sélan*, corresponding to *nola* in other dialects, and the word for 'without', *barik* in Biscayan and *gabe* in other areas (both from **bagerik*).¹⁴

From a phonological point of view, on the other hand, there is not any feature that could be used to characterize Biscayan Basque as a whole against the other dialects. A phenomenon of an innovative nature that may be mentioned in this respect, however, is that nowadays all varieties spoken in Biscay have lost the phonological opposition between apico-alveolar and predorso-alveolar fricatives and affricates that is still present in the other dialects. In Bonaparte's texts this neutralization is noted only for western subdialects of Biscayan. Rollo (1925) reports that the opposition was only marginal in Markina when he completed his fieldwork. Nowadays, the neutralization is found not only in all of Biscay but also in many parts of Gipuzkoa, both along the coast and in urban areas.

After having mentioned some of the distinguishing features of the Biscayan dialect, it is perhaps worth mentioning some of the most notorious features which distinguish the Lekeitio variety from the speech of neighboring towns.

(12) The postnominal placement of *bi* 'two' appears to have had a much greater geographical diffusion in previous centuries (cf. Zuazo 1988).

(13) Cf. also Lek. *sarratu* 'to close' from Sp. *cerrar*.

(14) The form *bage* is attested in some areas.

One of the most salient phonological features of the Lekeitio variety is the voiced prepalatal \check{z} / \check{z} /, with fricative and affricate allophones, corresponding to / x / in neighboring towns. We find a systematic correspondence among initial \check{z} - / \check{z} / ([\check{z}] ~ [$d\check{z}$]) in Lekeitio (and in a few other towns), y - / j / in some western areas (Txorierrri, Arratia, Zeberio) and j - / x / in most other areas of Biscay (and all of Gipuzkoa) (see map 2, adapted from Gaminde 1988):

(1)	Lekeitio	Getxo	Gernika	
	<i>žan</i>	<i>yan</i>	<i>jan</i>	'to eat'
	<i>žakiñ</i>	<i>yakin</i>	<i>jakiñ</i>	'to know'
	<i>žo</i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>jo</i>	'to hit'
	<i>žuan</i>	<i>yon</i>	<i>joan</i>	'to go'
	<i>žoko</i>	<i>yoko</i>	<i>joko</i>	'game'

We will offer here some speculations on the historical origin of these sound correspondences. The original pronunciation must have been a glide. This can be concluded from the morphological structure of the verbal forms that have been given as examples. The perfective participle of the oldest Basque verbs consists of a root, preceded by a prefix *e-* and usually carrying also an ending *-n* or *-i*. This structure is perfectly transparent when the root starts with a consonant, as shown in the following examples, where the participial form is compared with a conjugated form of the same verb (the third person singular of the present indicative):

(2)	<i>e-torr-i</i>	'to come'	<i>d-a-torr</i>	's/he comes'
	<i>e-karr-i</i>	'to bring'	<i>d-a-karr</i>	's/he brings'
	<i>e-kus-i</i> ¹⁵	'to see'	<i>d-a-kus</i>	's/he sees'
	<i>e-gi-n</i>	'to make'	<i>d-a-gi</i>	's/he makes'

Given this structure, the initial consonant of the perfective participle of 'to eat', 'to know', 'to hit' and 'to go' must then reflect an original *e-* as well, which became a glide before vowel-initial roots:

(3)	<i>*e-a-n</i>	>	[j]an	'to eat'
	<i>*e-aki-n</i>	>	[j]akin	'to know'
	<i>*e-o</i>	>	[j]o	'to hit'
	<i>*e-oa-n</i>	>	[j]oan	'to go'

The evolution of initial glides appears to have followed the same steps as in Spanish [j] > [\check{z}] > [\check{f}] > [x]. Lekeitio was not affected by the two latest changes, devoicing and velarization, which spread throughout the surrounding area, leaving Lekeitio as a conservative island.

It has often been thought that the palatal fricative that is found in western areas such as Getxo represents the most archaic pronunciation. Nevertheless there are facts to suggest that, in this area as well, initial glides originally became a palatoalveolar fricative [\check{z}]. The current palatal pronunciation [j] would then represent a later

(15) Standard *ikusi*, with vowel raising. The form *ekusi* is nevertheless attested in some dialects.

development [ʒ] > [j]. What suggests that this may have been the actual development is that Old Spanish [ʒ] (Modern Spanish /x/) appears as [j] in some western areas in borrowings such as *yente* 'people' (O.Sp. [ʒente]) and *koyu* 'to take' (O.Sp. [koʒido]). The same conclusion can be drawn by comparing the Spanish and Basque forms of certain toponyms in this area. Not far from Bilbao, there are two towns whose Basque names are Leioa [lejoa] and Loiu [loju], whereas the Spanish names are Lejona [lexona] and Lujua [luxua], respectively. This correspondence, Basque [-j-] Spanish [-x-], can only be explained if we assume as original forms [leʒona] (intervocalic [-n-] was regularly lost in Basque) and [loʒua]. In these place names as elsewhere, [ʒ] regularly evolved into a voiceless velar fricative in the pronunciation of Spanish speakers. The Basque pronunciation was retained as [ʒ] until this sound became [j] in this area of Biscay, which may have been a relatively recent development. If this is so, the pronunciation of Proto-Basque initial glides found in western varieties such as Getxo, Arratia, etc, is not more archaic than that of Lekeitio; rather, the opposite would be true. Old Spanish /ʒ/ appears to have been preserved in Lekeitio in a number of borrowings such as *žénte* 'people', *kontzižu* 'Town Hall', *žoiža* 'jewel', *kožidu* 'to gather the fishing gear', etc. An innovation in Lekeitio, on the other hand, may have been the realization of /ʒ/ as an affricate [dʒ] after pause and certain consonants.

Another respect in which Lekeitio appears as a conservative island is in not presenting a rule raising /a/ to [e] after a high vowel. This rule, low vowel assimilation, is found throughout the territory of Biscayan dialect within the province of Biscay, except for Lekeitio and three other isolated towns (see map 3, adapted from Gaminde 1988). In this case, we know that the process has spread considerably in very recent times. From Bonaparte's data, it appears that little more than a hundred years ago, the rule was found in areas such as Arratia, Otxandio (Ochandiano), Gernika and Ludio (Llodio), as well as in the variety that Bonaparte calls Central Biscayan. The varieties of Markina and Bermeo, on the other hand, did not possess the rule in the years 1862-1864, when Bonaparte published his texts.¹⁶ Nowadays the rule is found in those as well as most other Biscayan varieties. The rule was already established in Markina in the first decades of our century, as we know from Rollo's (1925) dialectal description.¹⁷ Lekeitio remains as a conservative area in not having adopted this innovation.

A morphological characteristic of Lekeitio Basque is the loss of the opposition between certain bivalent and trivalent forms of the transitive auxiliary. Thus, corresponding to both the bivalent form *nasu* 's/he has me' and the trivalent *dostasu* 's/he

(16) For the Central Biscayan, Markina, Bermeo, Arratia and Otxandio varieties comparative translations of the same text can be found in Bonaparte (1991: II, 45-60). The variety of Ludio (Llodio), which appears to have had the interesting characteristic that low vowel assimilation was triggered by underlying, but not derived, high vowels (e.g. /gusti-a/ *gustie* 'all' vs. /fede-a/ *fedia* 'the faith'), is illustrated in Bonaparte (1991: II, 17-41). The existence of low vowel assimilation in the variety of Gernika is mentioned in a footnote in Bonaparte (1991: I, 259).

(17) On the other hand, a rule inserting /b/ after /u/ in the same morphological environments, which had a considerable extension a century ago, has been lost in most of its former territory. Rules affecting vowel sequences thus appear to be gained and lost with extraordinary ease and speed. In the variety of Markina, for instance, /esku-a/ 'the hand' was pronounced *eskuba* in Mogel's and Bonaparte's times, but *eskue* when Rollo wrote his description, some fifty years later, and is nowadays *esku(e)*.

has it to me' in the neighboring variety of Ondarroa (and similar forms in other Biscayan varieties), in Lekeitio we find only *nasu*, with both meanings. The same phenomenon is found far away from Lekeitio in coastal areas of Gipuzkoa (e.g. Hondarribia, Donostia-San Sebastian) and Labourd.

Another feature that distinguishes Lekeitio from neighboring varieties, and the last one that we will mention, is its accentual system. Lekeitio is located within an accentual area where there is a basic distinction between accented and unaccented words. Accents are, for the most part, lexical properties of morphemes, both roots and affixes. In most varieties near Lekeitio, accented roots always bear an accent on a given syllable and accentually marked suffixes are generally preaccenting, placing an accent on the preceding syllable (cf. Hualde 1991, 1993, Hualde & Bilbao 1993). Thus, an accented root with initial accent such as /bélarri/ 'ear' maintains initial accent in all of its inflected forms, e.g.: *bélarriže* 'the ear, abs', *bélarrižeri* 'to the ear, dat', etc.; and preaccenting suffixes such as the plural abs/erg /'-ak/ or the plural dat /'ari/ give rise to words accented on the syllable preceding the suffix such as *gixonak* 'the men', *gixonari* 'to the men', *itturrižek* 'the fountains', *itturrižeri* 'to the fountains, dat', when attached to the unaccented roots /gixon/ 'man', /liturri/ 'fountain' (cf. the corresponding unaccented singular forms *gixona* 'the man', *gixonari* 'to the man', *itturriže* 'the fountain', *itturrižeri* 'to the fountain'). When both root and suffix are accented or, in general, a word contains more than one lexical accent, only the leftmost one surfaces. In some varieties spreading irregularly over a large territory and including towns very close to Lekeitio, such as Gautegiz-Arteaga and Ereño, there has been a historical change whereby the accent has been retracted one syllable. A consequence has been that certain suffixes are preaccenting in those varieties (in some specific contexts); that is, they place an accent two syllables to their left, as in /gixon-"ak/ *gixonak* 'the men', /gixon-"ari/ *gixonari* 'to the men'. In Lekeitio there has been a shift in the opposite direction which has caused a radical restructuring of the system. As will be shown in section 2.8, in Lekeitio lexical accents surface on the penultimate syllable of the word, whether they are introduced by the root, as in *belarriža* 'the ear' or by an affix, as in *gixonári* 'to the men'. The accentual system of Lekeitio thus differs quite strikingly from that of other towns in the same area such as Gernika, Ereño or Markina. The accentual system of the variety of Ondarroa shares the rule placing lexical accents on the penultimate syllable, but differs from Lekeitio in other respects.

Lekeitio Basque also appears to possess some peculiar intonational contours not used in neighboring varieties (e.g. in yes-no questions, cf. 2.9.2); but we lack descriptive work in this area for other Basque varieties.

These are, thus, some of the most noticeable features in which Lekeitio Basque differs from neighboring varieties. A detailed comparison of any two varieties (e.g. Lekeitio and Ondarroa or Lekeitio and Ereño) would reveal many other respects in which each variety presents unique features.

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1. Sound inventory

The Basque variety spoken in Lekeitio has the following sound inventory:

(1)	labial	dent/alv	(pre)pal	vel		
	p	t	(c)	k	i	u
	b	d	(j)	g	e	o
	f	s	(ʃ)	x	a	
			ʒ			
		ts	tʃ			
		(dz)	(dʒ)			
	m	n	(ɲ)			
		l	(ʎ)			
		r				
		r̄				
	(w/ŵ)		(j/ j̄)			

Those sounds whose phonemic status is dubious or are clearly allophones of other, more basic, sounds are given in parentheses. The reasons for this consideration are given in the corresponding sections.

The orthography that is employed in this study is based on standard Basque spelling conventions, but adapted to the specific pronunciation of the Lekeitio dialect. The following letter-sound correspondences are to be noted:

<i>tz</i>	[ts]	voiceless (predorso)alveolar affricate
<i>ž</i>	[ʒ], [dʒ]	voiced prepalatal fricative or affricate.
<i>x</i>	[ʃ]	voiceless prepalatal fricative
<i>tx</i>	[tʃ]	voiceless prepalatal affricate.
<i>tt</i>	[c]	voiceless palatal stop (allophone of /t/).
<i>dd</i>	[j]	voiced palatal stop (allophone of /d/).
<i>y</i>	[j̄]	voiced palatal fricative or approximant (allophone of /i/ in syllable-initial prevocalic position).
<i>ɣ</i>	[j]	palatal on-glide.
<i>w</i>	[ŵ]	voiced labiovelar fricative or approximant (allophone of /u/ in syllable-initial prevocalic position).
<i>ũ</i>	[w]	rounded labio-velar on-glide.

<i>j</i>	[x]	voiceless velar fricative.
<i>ñ</i>	[ɲ]	palatal nasal.
<i>ll</i>	[ʎ]	palatal lateral.
<i>rr</i>	[r̄]	rhotic trill (intervocally and word-initially).
<i>r</i>	[r]	rhotic flap intervocally and word-initially (elsewhere <i>r</i> represents a rhotic trill).

As mentioned, in using these orthographic symbols we follow standard Basque practice, except that standard Basque orthography does not have a symbol for the voiced prepalatal fricative or affricate found in Lekeitio. The symbol *ž* that we use to represent this sound has been employed by some authors in the transcription of Biscayan dialectal texts. The sounds that we represent with *y* and *w* usually are not distinguished orthographically from *i* and *u*, even in dialectal texts. We also mark nonsyllabic high vocoids as *ĩ* and *ũ* in those exceptional cases where their nonsyllabicity is not predictable from their position (cf. section 2.2.7).

In standard Basque orthography (as in Spanish) a word-initial rhotic trill is represented as *r*, the flap being excluded from this position in the language. In Lekeitio, however, an initial flap [r] is found in conjugated verbal forms as an allophonic form of /d/. For this reason, we deviate from standard practice in representing word-initial rhotic trills as *rr*.

Other graphemes have their usual phonetic value, with the particularities of pronunciation that will be indicated in the following sections.

In Lekeitio words can be lexically accented (always on the penultimate syllable) or unaccented (see section 2.8). Lexical accents will be indicated with an acute accent mark in both orthographic and phonetic representation; e.g.: *arbóla* [aɾβóla] 'tree', *arbolía* [aɾβolía] 'the tree' *gixónak* [giʃónak] 'the men'. In phonological representation, lexical accents will be represented with an asterisk following the lexically accented morpheme; e.g.: /arbola*/ 'tree', /arbola*-a/ 'the tree', /gison-ak*/ 'the men'.

2.2. Description of phonemes and principal allophones

2.2.1. Stops

There are three phonemic voiceless stops: bilabial /p/, dental /t/ and velar /k/. These consonants appear unrestrictedly in onset position (2a). /k/ and /t/ (but not /p/) are also found in word-final codas (2b) (cf. section 2.3.3.2). The restriction against labial consonants in a coda is found throughout the Basque-speaking domain:

- (2) a. *paper* 'paper', *aparízo* 'fishing equipment', *kámpo* 'outside', *arpei* 'face',
tentel 'stupid', *ate* 'door', *kaižola* 'cage', *soka* 'rope', *ainka* 'leg'
 b. *bat* 'one', *bost* 'five', *ónak* 'the good ones' *klok* (*éindda*) 'full'

Stops do not appear in word-internal codas, except in the pronunciation of recent borrowings from Spanish by younger speakers; e.g. Sp. *helicóptero* [elikoté-ro] (older speakers) or [elikoptéro] ~ [elikóptero] (younger speakers) 'helicopter'; Sp. *dictador* [ditaðor̄] or [diktaðor̄] 'dictator'. But even for younger speakers, these stops are very weakly articulated. Assimilated borrowings show the deletion of

stops in word-internal codas: Sp. *corrector* > *korretor* [kōretor̄] 'device for correcting a physical deficiency', Sp. *doctrina* > *dotriña* [dotrīɲa] 'doctrine', Sp. *infecta* > *infeta* [im̄feta] 'to become infected', Sp. *infección* > *infesño*.

The only significant allophony is presented by /t/ which, in palatalization contexts, i.e. after a front high vocoid or palatal sonorant, is realized as a palatal stop [c] by older speakers and as a prepalatal affricate [tʃ] by the younger generations. Middle-aged speakers present both pronunciations as palatal allophones of /t/ in seemingly free variation:

- (3) *mend̄i*[c]ik ~ *mend̄i*[tʃ]ik 'from the mountain', *ei*[c]éko ~ *ei*[tʃ]éko 'for making', *ai*[c]a ~ *ai*[tʃ]a 'father', *poli*[c]a ~ *poli*[tʃ]a 'pretty'.

In the speech of younger speakers, /t/ has completely merged with the prepalatal affricate phoneme /tʃ/ in this context. Only in those morphemes where a morpho-phonological alternation between [t] and [tʃ] is found will it be justified to posit underlying /t/ for surface [tʃ] for those speakers. When there is no alternation, the distinction between the two phonemes /t/ and /tʃ/ has effectively been neutralized after a front high vocoid. That is, whereas for [mend̄itʃik] 'from the mountain' we must postulate underlying /mendi-tik*/, cf. [basótik] 'from the forest' etc., monomorphemic [aitʃa] 'father' or [sín'tʃa] 'tape' (Sp. *cinta*) could equally well be represented as /aita/, /sinta*/ or directly as /aitʃa/, /sintʃa*/. An archiphoneme might be postulated in this environment.

Unless otherwise indicated, the orthographic representations that will be used in the examples and in the lexicon follow the pronunciation of those older speakers who maintain the distinction: *mend̄ittik* 'from the mountain', *aitta* 'father', *sint̄tta* 'tape'. That is, the grapheme *tt* indicates that the sound is potentially pronounced as [c] by some speakers. Spellings such as *mend̄itʃik* (where *tx* = [tʃ]) will be used when the pronunciation of the younger generations in particular is discussed.

The gradual merge of [c] and [tʃ] can be observed when the pronunciation of speakers of different age groups is compared (cf. the texts in section 5). Old speakers consistently maintain the distinction between these two sounds, although [tʃ] is found in their speech in some items where, from an etymological point of view, [c] would be expected.¹ Middle-aged speakers have variation between [c] and [tʃ] as palatal allophones of /t/; e.g.: /ei-ten*/ [éjcen] ~ [éjtʃen] 'make, do, imp', presenting, thus, a situation of partial merger with the affricate phoneme /tʃ/, realized always as [tʃ], of other words such as /etʃe-a/ [etʃia] 'the house'. Young speakers lack the palatal stop altogether, using [tʃ] instead in every case. Young speakers produce [c] only when imitating the pronunciation of older speakers (for humoristic or other purposes) or when using words such as *kuttun* 'dear', which are not part of the lexicon of the younger generation (the pronunciation *[kutʃun] is not found).²

(1) As in the auxiliary form *dixus* 's/he V's them' (cf. St. B. *ditu*), which is pronounced with an affricate even by old speakers who, otherwise, have the stop in *saitut* 'I V you', etc.

(2) The word *kuttun* 'dear', which alternates with *kutun*, is also exceptional in that its palatal stop is not conditioned by the presence of a preceding /i/. This word represents an isolate instance in the Lekeitio dialect of a phenomenon of 'affective palatalization' which has productivity in eastern and central dialects (cf. Hualde 1991: 121-123, Oñederra 1990: 57-74). In pairs such as *iñárrri/txiñárrri* 'ant' and *pispiddu/txispiddu* 'to become happy, esp. after drinking', the second form would also have its origin in 'affective palatalization'.

There are three voiced stops, bilabial /b/, dental /d/ and velar /g/ found only in onset position:

- (4) /b/ *baba* 'bean', *bónba* 'bomb'
 /d/ *dotore* 'elegant', *adurra* 'saliva' *andra* 'woman'
 /g/ *gorri* 'red', *agur* 'good-bye', *ango* 'of there'

These three phonemes have both continuant and noncontinuant allophones with the same distribution as in Castilian Spanish (cf. section 2.5.10). In addition /d/ presents an allophone [r] in intervocalic position (with certain morphological restrictions, cf. section 2.5.10): *aba[ð]e* ~ *aba[r]e* 'priest'. This allophone of /d/ is identical to the basic allophone of the independent phoneme /r/.

The dental /d/ also has a palatal allophone after a palatal noncontinuant consonant (cf. section 2.5.2). This allophone is realized as a palatal stop [ɟ] by older speakers. Younger speakers have a prepalatal allophone [dʒ] identical to the affricate allophone of /z/ (see 2.2.3): */ein dau/ [ejɲɟaw] ~ [ejndʒaw]* 's/he has done it'. The same issues for phonemic representation arise as in the case of /t/.

2.2.2. Affricates

Lekeitio Basque possesses two voiceless affricate phonemes: predorso-alveolar /ts/ *tz* and alveopalatal (or prepalatal) /tʃ/ *tx*. These can occur both in onsets and in codas:³

- (5) /ts/ *atzo* 'yesterday', *entzun* 'to hear', *antz* 'resemblance', *bartz* 'lice egg'
atz 'stench', *matz* 'grape'
 /tʃ/ *txori* 'bird', *etxe* 'house', *antxiña* 'long time ago', *atx* 'rock'

As was mentioned above, [tʃ] is also an allophone of /t/ in palatalization contexts in the speech of the younger generations.

In addition to these voiceless affricates, there is also a voiced predorsoalveolar affricate /dz/ which occurs only word-initially in a reduced number of words which are either onomatopoeias or derive from onomatopoeias (see Vocabulary for complete list of examples):

- (6) /dz/ *dzangada* 'jump in the water', *dzast* 'sting', *dzist* 'little sting'

2.2.3. Fricatives

There are three voiceless fricative phonemes: labiodental /f/, apico-alveolar /s/⁴ and velar /x/ *j*. In addition, there is a voiced alveopalatal fricative /ʒ/ *ž*. Of these, the only one which can appear in a coda is /s/; although a velar fricative [x] occurs in a

(3) As mentioned in section 1.2, conservative dialects of Basque have an apico-alveolar voiceless affricate /tʃ/, orthographically represented as *tz*, and a predorso-alveolar or dental /ts/, orthographically represented as *tz*. The distinction has been lost in all of Biscay as well as in parts of Gipuzkoa.

(4) As with the affricates, most non-Biscayan varieties of Basque distinguish between an apico-alveolar /s/ phoneme, represented as *s*, and a predorso-alveolar /s/, represented as *z*.

coda in a few recent borrowings from Spanish; e.g.: Sp. *signo* [sínno] 'sign'. The distribution of the voiceless fricatives is illustrated in (7):

(7) voiceless fricative phonemes and allophones

- /f/ *feúa* 'the ugly one', *afari* 'dinner', *fanfárria* 'fanfare'
 /s/ [s] *sasi* 'bush', *ames* 'dream', *béste* 'other'
 [z] *esne* [ezne] 'milk'
 [ʃ] *gixon* [gijʃon] 'man', *máixo* [májʃo] 'male teacher'
 /x/ *ejémplo* [exémplo] 'example', *jenéro* 'merchandise', *jenízo* 'temper',
 jaun [xawn] 'sir', *gixájo* 'poor man', *Jainko* 'God'

The labiodental /f/ appears mostly, but not exclusively, in borrowings. Some old borrowings present replacement of this sound with /p/. In a number of such loanwords, both pronunciations with /f/ and /p/ are found; the pronunciation with /p/ being more frequent in the speech of older speakers: Sp. *fraile* > *fraille* ~ *praille* 'monk', Sp. *francés* > *frantzés* ~ *prantzés* 'French', Sp. *fanfarrón* > *fanfarro* ~ *panparro* 'braggard'. A native word for which pronunciations with both /f/ and /p/ are found is *afari* ~ *apari* 'dinner'. A change /f/ < b/ appears in the verb *brizidu* 'to fry' < Sp. *freído*.

As shown in (7), the apico-alveolar /s/ is voiced before a voiced consonant.

The prepalatal [ʃ] x, which has phonemic status in many Basque varieties, in Lekeitio appears to be only an allophone of /s/ which occurs in contexts of palatalization; that is, after a front high vocoid (see section 2.5.4). Even in borrowings with /ʃ/ in the lender language, a palatal glide has been inserted before this consonant thus placing it in the context where the prepalatal allophone of /s/ occurs; e.g. Old Sp. [kóʃo] > Lek. B. [kojʃo] (interpretable as /koiso/, given the rule of palatalization). Basque names which in other dialects (and in the orthography) have initial [ʃ] such as *Xabier*, *Xabin*, etc., are pronounced in Lekeitio with [s]: [saβieɾ], [saβiɲ]. In this respect, it is interesting to note that Old Sp. [ʃ] *abón* has given [tʃ] *abo(i)* 'soap' and O.Sp. [ʃ] *eringa* has become [tʃ] *irínga* 'syringe'. Initial [ʃ] was, thus, replaced by the affricate [tʃ] at an earlier stage.⁵

The fricative /s/ is rare in postconsonantal position, appearing in this position only in recent borrowings. In the native vocabulary and integrated borrowings the affricate /ts/ occurs to the exclusion of /s/ in postconsonantal position. The examples in (8) show the effects of a process of postconsonantal affrication in the adaptation of borrowings:

(8)	Sp. <i>pienso</i>	>	<i>pentzu</i>	'fodder'
	Sp. <i>pensa-</i>	>	<i>pentza</i>	'to think'
	Sp. <i>percebe</i>	>	<i>pertzébe</i>	'barnacle'
	Sp. <i>persona</i>	>	<i>pertzóna</i>	'person'
	Sp. <i>jersey</i>	>	<i>kertze</i>	'sweater, jersey'
	Sp. <i>conversación</i>	>	<i>konbertzasiño</i>	'conversation'
	Sp. <i>morcilla</i>	>	<i>murtzilla</i>	'blood-sausage'

(5) The historical neutralization of initial /ʃ/ and /tʃ/ has taken place in most of the Basque Country. Whereas in Biscayan and Gipuzkoan word-initial /ʃ/ was changed to /tʃ/, in Labourdin and Low Navarrese the neutralization was in favor of /ʃ/ (Michelena 1985:191).

Some borrowings, nevertheless, have not undergone this adaptation and preserve /s/ in this position. In some words, both possibilities are found:

(9)	Sp. <i>persiana</i>	>	<i>peršána</i>	'Venetian blind'
	Sp. <i>pensión</i>	>	<i>pensiño ~</i>	
			<i>pentziño</i>	'pension'
	Sp. <i>baloncesto</i>	>	<i>balontzéstó~</i>	'basketball'
			<i>balonséstó</i>	
	Sp. <i>parcela</i>	>	<i>parséla</i>	'lot of land'
	Sp. <i>ensalada</i>	>	<i>ensalada ~</i>	'salad'
			<i>entzalada</i>	
	Sp. <i>consulta</i>	>	<i>konsúлта</i>	'consultation'
	Sp. <i>conseguido</i>	>	<i>konegidu</i>	'to obtain'
	Sp. <i>príncipe</i>	>	<i>prinsípe ~</i>	'prince'
			<i>printzípe</i>	

The situation is thus similar to that which has been described for Getxo (Hualde & Bilbao 1992: 4-6), although in Lekeitio the exceptions to the rule of affrication are relatively fewer, which would indicate that the process of affrication has been active and obligatory in Lekeitio until a more recent time than in Getxo.⁶ Loanwords that fail to undergo affrication or present variation are not necessarily more recent than those with affrication; since old adapted borrowings may have lost the affrication under the influence of the Spanish model. There is no affrication of /s/ across morpheme or word boundaries:

(10)	/mutil-sar/	[mutʃlsar̄]	'bachelor' (lit. 'old boy')
	/emon san/	[emonsan]	'was given'
	/il san/	[ilsan]	's/he died'

The velar /x/ appears only in four or five native words, and in a considerable number of borrowings from Spanish. Although this sound must be considered a completely integrated phoneme, its adoption in Lekeitio appears to be very recent. Even some very modern borrowings which have /x/ in Spanish have been adapted with /k/ in Lekeitio Basque. Examples of words where Sp. /x/ has been replaced by /k/ are: Sp. *Julián* > *kulian*, Sp. *jersey* > *kertze* 'sweater', Sp. *traje* > *tráke* 'suit', Sp. *gitano* > *kittáno* 'gypsy', Sp. *colegio* > *kolekížo* 'school', Sp. *sargento* > *sarkénto* 'sargent', etc.⁷ The rarity of /x/ in Lekeitio contrasts with its frequency in surrounding varieties (Ondarroa, Gernika, etc.). The reason for this is that Proto-Basque word-initial yod, maintains the conservative prepalatal pronunciation /ʃ/ in Lekeitio, whereas in all of Gipuzkoa and a great part of Biscay this sound has evolved to [x] ([ʃ] > [f] > [x]). Thus, whereas in Ondarroa, Gernika, etc., for instance, the word for 'to eat' is [xan], in Lekeitio it is [(d)ʒan] (cf. section 1.2). Native words presenting a voiceless velar fricative such as *jaun* 'sir', *Jainko* 'God' and *gixájo* 'poor man' can be considered cases

(6) Notice that some borrowings that must necessarily be quite recent, such as *kertze* 'sweater' and *balontzéstó* 'basketball', present affrication.

(7) Some of these words present alternants with /x/, which are preferred by younger speakers (*Julian*, *tráje*, *jixáno*, *sarjénto*).

of interdialectal borrowings. The same small set of items appears with /x/ in other varieties where this sound is not the product of regular sound change, both in western Biscay and in Navarre (cf., for instance, Michelena 1985: 170, fn. 7, Hualde 1993b: 3, fn. 5, Hualde & Bilbao 1992: 4, Etxebarria Ayesta 1991: 111).

Lekeitio Basque also has a voiced alveopalatal fricative phoneme /ʒ/ ž which only occurs in onset position. This phoneme presents an affricate allophone utterance-initially and after a nasal (see section 2.5.11), being realized as a fricative elsewhere:

- (11) /ʒ/ [dʒ] *un da* 'he went', *etxera* [ʒ] *un da* 'he went home',
[dʒ] *ai* [ʒ] *o* 'to be born'.

The orthographic symbol ž will be used for both the fricative and the affricate allophone, just as no distinction is made between the continuant and noncontinuant allophones of /b,d,g/ in orthographic representation: *žun da*, *etxera žun da*, *žaižo*.

As many other central Biscayan varieties, Lekeitio Basque presents [ʒ] as an epenthetic sound inserted between /i/ and another vowel in certain morphological contexts; e.g.: /mendi-a/ [mendiʒa] 'the mountain' (see section 2.6.2).⁸ Some borrowings from Old Spanish also preserve this sound. Examples are *kožidu* 'to gather the nets' < O.Sp. *cogido*, *kontzižo* 'Town Hall' < O.Sp. *concejo*, *monža* 'nun' < O.Sp. *monja*, *žente* 'people' < O. Sp. *gente*, *žoiža* 'jewel' < O. Sp. *joya*.

2.2.4. Nasals

On the surface there is a contrast between three nasal sounds in prevocalic position: bilabial /m/, alveolar /n/ and palatal /ɲ/ ñ.:

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------|-----|-----------------|--------------|
| (12) | # | ___ | V ___ V | C ___ V |
| /m/ | <i>merke</i> | | <i>moma</i> | <i>asma</i> |
| | 'cheap' | | 'shark, spec.' | 'to make up' |
| /n/ | <i>neska</i> | | <i>ana(i)ža</i> | <i>arnas</i> |
| | 'girl' | | 'brother' | 'breath' |
| /ɲ/ | (<i>ño</i>) | | <i>kañabera</i> | ___ |
| | 'interjection' | | 'cane' | |

The phonemic status of the palatal nasal is, however, questionable. Word-initially, [ɲ] is only found in the interjection *ño*. This sound is, otherwise, restricted to the intervocalic position. But, even in this position, there are reasons to consider it an allophone of /n/. This is because there is a rule which palatalizes /n/ after a high front vocoid, which optionally involves the absorption of a palatalizing glide; e.g. /ařain-a/ [ařajɲa] ~ [ařajɲa] 'the fish' (cf. section 2.5.2). Postvocalic [ɲ] can thus be interpreted as a sequence /jɲ/, which makes its phonemic status very dubious. In fact, most words containing an intervocalic [ɲ] admit a pronunciation with a preceding glide; e.g.: [kaɲaβera] ~ [kajɲaβera] 'cane', [sójɲu] ~ [sójɲu] 'sound', [baɲa] ~

(8) In Gernika, Bermeo, etc., /mendi-a/ 'the mountain' is realized as [mendiʒe]. For the raising of /a/ to [e], cf. Hualde (1991, ch. 2). To the east of this area (in Markina, Ondarroa and a neighboring area in Gipuzkoa), this consonant has been devoiced to /ʃ/. Thus our example is pronounced as [mendiʃe] in Ondarroa and Markina, and as [mendiʃa] in Bergara and Eibar.

[bajna] ‘but’, [bájna] ~ [bájɲa] ‘case’ < Sp. *vaina*. The only words that do not admit an optional glide before a palatal nasal (besides those where this sound is preceded by syllabic /i/) are some borrowings for which the Spanish model does not permit deviation such as *señóra* *[sejɲóra] ‘dame’, *pestaña* *[pestájɲa] ‘eyelash’. In all native and nativized words, on the other hand, a palatal glide can be optionally pronounced before the palatal nasal. This leads us to question the phonemic status of /ɲ/ in Lekeitio.

The phonological contrast among the nasal phonemes is neutralized in coda position. A nasal takes the point of articulation of a following consonant (see 2.5.1 for examples and discussion). We can, thus, assume an archiphoneme /N/ in coda position, with multiple realizations depending on the point of articulation of the following consonant.

Word-finally and not followed by a consonant, there is neutralization of nasals in [n]; except after a front high vocoid where the nasal that surfaces is [ɲ], as a consequence of the rule of palatalization already mentioned and which is studied in section 2.5.2:

(13)	a,e,o,u	___ #	i ___ #
	<i>gixo</i> [n]	‘man’	<i>mi</i> [ɲ]
	<i>esa</i> [n]	‘to say’	<i>oi</i> [ɲ] ~ <i>o</i> [ɲ]
			‘pain’
			‘foot’

2.2.5. Laterals

There are two lateral sounds which contrast in prevocalic position: alveolar /l/ and palatal /ʎ/ ʎ.:

(14)	# ___	V ___ V	C ___ V
	/l/ <i>lau</i>	<i>kale</i>	<i>erle</i>
	‘four’	‘street’	‘bee’
	/ʎ/ <i>lʎaberúa</i>	<i>allaga</i>	_____
	‘the key-chain’	‘to arrive’	

The phonemic status of the lateral palatal is only marginal. Word-initially it only appears in borrowings. In other contexts, the same observations made with respect to the palatal nasal apply to the palatal lateral. In native and nativized words postvocalic [ʎ] can be optionally preceded by a front glide; e.g.: [praʎe] ~ [prajʎe] ‘fray’ < Sp. *fraile*, [koʎára] ~ [kojʎára] ‘spoon’, [oʎásko] ~ [ojʎásko] ‘chicken’, [aʎaʎa] ~ [ajʎaʎa] ‘to arrive’ < Sp. *llega(r)*, etc. Given that a rule of palatalization of /l/ after a front high vocoid optionally triggers the absorption of a palatalizing glide, [Vü] ~ [Vjʎ] is thus interpretable as /Vil/. As with the palatal nasal, the only words that do not optionally admit a glide are borrowings which preserve the same shape as their Spanish source such as *sello* *[sejʎo] ‘stamp’.

In coda position, laterals assimilate to following consonants with some complications which are discussed in section 2.5.1.

Word-finally and not followed by a consonant, palatal [ʎ] appears after a front high vocoid (which can be optionally absorbed if it is not syllabic, as mentioned), and alveolar [l] appears after all other vocoids:

- (15) a,e,o,u ___ # i ___ #
 asa[l] 'skin' muti[ʎ] 'boy'
 ue[l] 'leather belt' sai[ʎ] 'land lot'

2.2.6. Rhotics

There are two rhotic phonemes: a flap /r/ and a trill /r̄/. These sounds are found in phonological contrast only in the intervocalic position, as in all Basque dialects and the Ibero-Romance languages. Elsewhere only the trill is found. Word-initially rhotics are found only in recent borrowings:

- (16) a. Intervocally: *ba[r]e* 'calm' *ba[r̄]e* 'laugh'
 b. Word-initial: *[r̄]adižúa* 'the radio' (only in recent borrowings)
 c. Preconsonantal: *a[r̄]tu* 'to take'
 d. After tautosyllabic consonant: *and[r̄]a* 'woman', *p[r̄]ákak* 'the pants'
 e. After heterosyllabic consonant: *al[r̄]ebes* 'upside down'
 f. Word-final, before pause: *ama[r̄]* 'ten'
 g. Word-final, before consonant: *ama[r̄] morro* 'ten boys'
 h. Word-final, before vowel: *ama[r̄] aberatz* 'ten wealthy people'

This situation of limited contrast resembles that found in Standard Spanish in that the phonemic distinction between the two rhotics is limited to the intervocalic position. Unlike in Spanish, however, in Lekeitio Basque and other Basque varieties the trill is the segment with the wider distribution, appearing in a number of contexts where Standard Spanish has the flap.⁹

Word-initial rhotics were not originally allowed in Basque. Loanwords starting with a rhotic regularly underwent epenthesis until recent times. Some Lekeitio examples are the following:

- (17) Spanish
 revisa- > *errebixa* 'to revise, review'
 regalo > *erregálu* 'present, gift'
 revista > *errebísta* 'journal, magazine'
 recado > *errekaro* 'errand'
 respeto > *errespéto* 'respect'
 remedio > *erremedízo* 'remedy'

Newer rhotic-initial borrowings do not undergo epenthesis (cf. Vocabulary under *R*).

(9) This same distribution also occurs in the regional Spanish spoken in the Basque Country, even that of monolingual Spanish speakers.

2.2.7. Vowels and glides

As in most Basque dialects, there are five vowel phonemes /i, e, a, o, u/ in Lekeitio. For the most part, the surface glides [j,w] are in complementary distribution with the high vowels /i,u/. High vocoids are always realized as glides in postvocalic position, both word-internally and across word boundaries:

(18)	<i>aingeru</i>	[ajŋgeru]	‘angel’
	<i>nai</i>	[naj]	‘desire’
	<i>lau</i>	[law]	‘four’
	<i>arráusi</i>	[aṙáwsi]	‘yawn’
	<i>neska ixilla</i>	[neskajʃiʎa]	‘quiet girl’
	<i>ori umia</i>	[oriwmiə]	‘that child’

Immediately before another vowel, on the other hand, high vocoids are generally syllabic both in the native vocabulary and in integrated borrowings:

(19)	<i>burua</i>	[bu.ru.a]	‘the head’
	<i>suerte</i>	[su.er.te]	‘luck’
	<i>piura</i>	[pi.u.ra]	‘aspect’
	<i>uel</i>	[u.el]	‘leather belt’

Nevertheless, some borrowings present glides in this position:

(20)	<i>fúerte</i>	[fwér.te]	‘strong’
	<i>gobtéerno</i>	[go.βjér.no]	‘government’
	<i>wélga</i>	[wél.ɣa]	‘strike’

We thus find quasi-minimal pairs such as [su.er.te] and [fwér.te]. Words such as those in (20), which, as we mentioned, are all fairly recent borrowings, must be interpreted as containing underlying glides.¹⁰ This is the only context in which high vowels contrast with glides.

As in Castilian Spanish, glides are strengthened in syllable initial position, becoming approximants or fricatives [w] and [j]:

(21)	<i>lau</i> /lau/	[law]	‘four’	<i>lawá</i>	[la.wa]	‘the fourth one’
	<i>kanpai</i> /kanpai/	[kam.paj]	‘bell’	<i>kanpaya</i>	[kam.pa.ɣa]	‘the bell’

Exceptionally, the final glide of the forms *dau* ‘s/he has (it)’ and *nau* ‘s/he has me’ becomes a bilabial fricative in intervocalic position when a suffix is added: *ikusi dabela* ‘that s/he has seen (it)’, *ikusi nabela* ‘that s/he has seen me’.

In the intervocalic context, we find a contrast between accented syllabic high vocoids and the realization of unaccented high vocoids as fricatives or approximants when not bearing an accent:

(10) Or, alternatively, as being partially pre-specified for syllabification.

- (22) a. *desío* /desio*/ [de.sí.o] ‘desire’ *desiúa* [de.si.ú.a] ‘the desire’
 pasíu /pasiu*/ [pa.sí.u] ‘walk’ *pasiúa* [pa.si.ú.a] ‘the walk’
 b. *morau* /morau/ [mo.raw] ‘purple’ *morawa* [mo.ra.wa] ‘the purple one’
 žawe /žaue/ [dʒa.ŵe] ‘owner’ *žawia* [dʒa.ŵi.a] ‘the owner’

2.3. Syllable structure

2.3.1. Onsets

All consonants can appear in a word-internal onset (for word-initial restrictions cf. section 2.4). In addition to single consonants, clusters consisting of a stop or /f/ followed by a liquid /r/ or /l/ can appear both word-initially and in word-internal onsets, except for */dl/ and */tl/:¹¹

- (23) Onset clusters
- | | | | | | |
|------|-------------------|--------------|------|---------------------|---------------|
| /pr/ | <i>prá.kak</i> | ‘trousers’ | /pl/ | <i>pla.ter</i> | ‘plate, dish’ |
| /tr/ | <i>tris.ka</i> | ‘to destroy’ | /tl/ | _____ | |
| /kr/ | <i>kre.sal</i> | ‘sea water’ | /kl/ | <i>kla.be.li.ña</i> | ‘carnation’ |
| /fr/ | <i>frés.ko</i> | ‘cool’ | /fl/ | <i>fláu.ta</i> | ‘flute’ |
| /br/ | <i>bri.ži.du</i> | ‘to fry’ | /bl/ | <i>blú.sa</i> | ‘blouse’ |
| /dr/ | <i>dran.ga.da</i> | ‘long drink’ | /dl/ | _____ | |
| /gr/ | <i>grix</i> | ‘grey’ | /gl/ | <i>gan.glí.žo</i> | ‘ganglion’ |

It should be noted that, although there are native words that present onset clusters, these are mostly found in words of nonnative origin.

2.3.2. Nuclei

All five vowel phonemes can obviously occupy the syllable nucleus.

Raising diphthongs are found only in nonadapted borrowings, since in native words and adapted borrowings sequences of vocoids of raising sonority are always heterosyllabic (cf. section 2.2.7):

- (24) Raising diphthongs (borrowings)
- | | |
|------|---|
| [ja] | <i>estúdiánte</i> ‘student’, <i>persiána</i> ‘Venetian blinds’, <i>negoslánte</i> ‘businessman’ |
| [wa] | <i>kūartel</i> ‘barracks’ |
| [je] | <i>propiedade</i> ‘property’, <i>sentimíento</i> ‘feeling’, <i>obediénte</i> ‘obedient’,
<i>esperiéntzi</i> ‘experience’ |
| [we] | <i>būélta</i> ‘turn’, <i>pañūélo</i> ‘handkerchief’, <i>pūésto</i> ‘position’ |
| [jo] | <i>nerbioso</i> ‘nervous’ |
| [wo] | <i>makalláwok</i> ‘these cods’ ([ŵo]) |
| [ju] | _____ |
| [wi] | <i>būitre</i> ‘vulture’ |

(11) It is interesting to note that the word *Athletic* (usual shortened name of the Athletic de Bilbao soccer team), which presents an onset /tl/ cluster in the regional variety of Spanish, is pronounced as [a.lé.ti] or [a.te.lé.ti] in Lekeitio Basque.

As mentioned, raising diphthongs are not found in the native vocabulary. Some borrowings containing such diphthongs have been adapted with a sequence in hiatus as in s[u.e]rte 'luck' < Sp. s[wé]rte. In a great number of examples we find that a diphthong has been broken by inserting [ʒ] after an original front glide, as in *jenízo* 'temper' < Sp. *gen*[jo], *kanbiža* 'to change' < Sp. *camb*[ja](r), *kalendarízo* 'calendar' < Sp. *calendar*[jo], *negosízo* < Sp. *negoc*[jo].

The insertion of [ʒ] or the preservation of the diphthong in a borrowing may depend on its phonological shape. The preferred contexts for the application of [ʒ]-insertion are [ja], [jo] diphthongs in word-final syllables. Compare *negosízo* and *negosíante* or the treatment of the two original diphthongs in *propřetarízo* 'owner' < Sp. *prop*[je]*tar*[jo]. Very recent borrowings may preserve the diphthong even when the context is the one that favors [ʒ]-insertion. Thus, whereas Sp. *seminario* 'seminary' has been adapted as *seminarízo*, in its more recent meaning of 'seminar, advanced course' this same word is sometimes rendered as *seminárío* without breaking the diphthong.

The following examples illustrate heterosyllabic sequences (hiatuses) where the first element is a high vowel:

(25) Hiatuses

- [i.a] *biáje* 'trip', *neskia* 'the girl', *síar* 'through'
 [u.a] *burua* 'the head', *žuan* 'to go'
 [i.e] *neskien* 'of the girl', *siesta* 'siesta'
 [u.e] *suerte* 'luck', *buruen* 'of the head'
 [i.o] *desío* 'desire', *umíon* 'of the children, prox.', *umióna* 'the one of the children, prox.'
 [u.o] *buríon* 'of the heads, prox.', *súok* 'you-pl, prox.'
 [i.u] *pasú* 'walk', *biurtu* 'to twist', *piura* 'bad look'
 [u.i] _____

As mentioned above (cf. section 2.2.7), falling sequences of two vocoids where the second one is high are always tautosyllabic (diphthongs). Falling diphthongs are common in the native and nonnative vocabulary. The following falling diphthongs are found at the word level:

(26) Falling diphthongs

- | | | | |
|------|--|------|---|
| [aj] | <i>aista</i> 'sister of female', <i>bai</i> 'yes' | [oj] | <i>goi</i> 'top', <i>koipe</i> 'grease' |
| [aw] | <i>dauko</i> 's/he has', <i>ardau</i> 'wine' | [ow] | _____ |
| [ej] | <i>eiñ</i> 'to make', <i>bedeinkasiño</i> 'blessing' | [iw] | _____ |
| [ew] | <i>seu</i> 'you', <i>euli</i> 'fly' | [uj] | <i>suiñ</i> 'son-in-law' ¹² |

There are no syllabic consonants.

(12) The diphthongs [wi] and [uj] are not easily distinguishable. A reason to consider that in *suiñ* the nonsyllabic element is the second vocoid is that it is absorbed in the following palatal consonant when a vowel follows: [suj na] ~ [su na] 'the son-in-law, abs'.

2.3.3. Codas

2.3.3.1. Word-internal codas

Only the following consonants are permitted as word-internal codas:

- a. a nasal homorganic with a following consonant, e.g. *ka[m].po* ‘outside’, *a[ŋ]go* ‘of there’
- b. a liquid /l/ or /r/, e.g. *al.de* ‘side’, *ar.te* ‘between’, and
- c. the coronal fricative /s/, e.g. *es.ker* ‘left; thank’.

As was mentioned, word-internal coda obstruents other than /s/ in borrowings from Spanish are generally deleted, although younger speakers may pronounce them as lax consonants in words such as *obsesiño* ‘obsession’, *sijno* ‘sign’, *elikoptéro* ‘helicopter’, etc. (cf. section 2.2.1).

2.3.3.2. Word-final codas

Word-final codas present more possibilities than word-internal codas. In addition to a nasal [n] ([ɲ] after /i/), a lateral [l] ([ʎ] after /i/), a rhotic [r̄] and the fricative [s] ([ʃ] after /i/), the two voiceless affricates [ts] and [tʃ] and the voiceless stops [t] and [k] also occur in this position:

(27)	Nasals:	<i>gixo</i> [n]	‘man’,	<i>ei</i> [ɲ]	‘to make’	
	Laterals:	<i>asa</i> [l]	‘skin’,	<i>abi</i> [ʎ]	‘skillful’	
	Rhotics:	<i>ada</i> [r̄]				
	Fricatives:	/s/	<i>ame</i> [s]	‘dream’,	<i>gri</i> [ʃ]	‘gray’
	Affricates:	/ts/	<i>o</i> [ts]	‘cold’		
		/tʃ/	<i>urra</i> [tʃ]	‘hazelnut’		
	Stops:	/t/	<i>kako</i> [t]	‘drunkenness’		
		/k/	<i>gixóna</i> [k]	‘the men’		

In addition, a few groups of two consonants are also allowed word-finally. The following groups are found:

(28)	/-st/	<i>bost</i> ‘five’	/-nts/ (/ns/)	<i>antz</i> ‘resemblance’
				<i>buskentz</i> ‘big belly’
	/-r̄t/	<i>bart</i> ‘last night’	/-lts/ (/ls/)	<i>baltz</i> ‘black’
			/-r̄ts/ (/rs/)	<i>bartz</i> ‘lice egg’
				<i>umesurtz</i> ‘orphan’

All allowable word-final groups consist of two coronal consonants, the first of which is either continuant or sonorant (or both) and the second a stop or affricate. Since /s/ becomes [ts] after another consonant, it can be concluded that all possible final groups consist of two coronal consonants, of which (with the exception of /-r̄t/) one is /s/. These groups respect the sonority scale (i.e. more sonorous segments are closer to the nucleus than less sonorous ones).

Other groups are not permissible. The final group /rk/, which is created in morpheme concatenation, is simplified by deletion of the rhotic or epenthesis:

- (29) /nor-k/ *nok* or *nórek* 'who, erg.', cf. /nor/ *nor* 'who, abs.'

2.4. Word-initial restrictions

As in the Ibero-Romance languages, the rhotic flap /r/ is excluded from word-initial position. In addition, the rhotic trill /r̄/ occurs only in recent borrowings from Spanish. Since, as in all Basque varieties, in older borrowings from Latin and Spanish there is vowel epenthesis before this consonant, as was illustrated in (17).

The dental fricative /ts/ does not occur word-initially either. This restriction is common to a large area of the Basque domain.

The palatal sonorants /ɲ/ and /ʎ/ are very rare word initially. The nasal palatal occurs in the exclamation *ño* and the lateral palatal only in borrowings from Spanish such as *llabéro* 'key-chain'.

2.5. Main phonological processes affecting consonants

2.5.1. Nasal and lateral assimilation

As in many other languages and in all Basque dialects, in Lekeitio nasals take the point of articulation of a following consonant, both word-internally and across word boundaries:

- (30) bilabial: *ká[m]po* 'outside', *gixo[m] potolúa* 'the fat man', *bo[m]ba* 'bomb',
o[m] bat 'a good one'
 labiodental: *fá[m]farro* 'braggard', *gixo[m] famosua* 'the famous man'
 apico-dental: *sá[ŋ]tu* 'saint', *a[ŋ]dra* 'woman', *gixo[ŋ] dotoria* 'the
 elegant man'
 predorso-alveolar: *a[ŋ]tz* 'resemblance', *balo[ŋ]tzésto* 'basketball'.
 apico-alveolar: *émo[ŋ] saspi* 'give seven', *ártu[ŋ] lau* 'take four', *éntzu[ŋ]*
rradižúa 'listen to the radio'
 prepalatal: *ame[ɲ] txoriža* 'mother's bird', *ame[ɲ] [dʒ]atéko* 'to eat here'
 palatal: *émo[ɲ] [ʎ]aberúa* 'give the key-chain'
 velar: *ai[ŋ]ka* 'leg' *ame[ŋ]go* 'of here', *gixo[ŋ] gorriža* 'the red man'

Also as other Basque dialects and in Spanish, laterals are subject to a more restricted process of assimilation. Laterals assimilate to the point of articulation of following dental, alveolar, alveopalatal and palatal consonants and are realized as alveolar [l] before labials or velars:

- (31) *a[l]de* 'side' *a[l]per* 'lazy'
ba[l]tza 'the black one' *a[l]kar* 'each other'
berde[l] txikiña 'the small verdel (a fish)'

The more restrictive character of the assimilation in place of articulation of laterals, as compared with the nasals, follows from articulatory considerations (cf. Hualde 1991: 99). The facts can be summarized as follows:

- (32) Nasal and Lateral Assimilation: A noncontinuant sonorant (i.e. a nasal or lateral) must share the point of articulation of a following consonant.

Restriction: a lateral cannot have a velar or labial point of articulation.

2.5.2. Palatalization of noncontinuant coronals

Another assimilatory process affecting nasals and laterals is palatalization. The noncontinuant coronal sonorants /n/ and /l/ are palatalized after a high front vocoid (syllabic or nonsyllabic):

- (33) /in/ *agi*[ɲ]*a* 'the tooth, *agi*[ɲ] 'tooth'; *mi*[ɲ]*a* 'the pain', *mi*[ɲ] 'pain',
mi[ɲ] *aundiža* 'the big pain'.
 /il/ *muti*[ʎ]*a* 'the boy', *muti*[ʎ] 'boy', *muti*[ʎ] *aundiža* 'the big boy';
abi[ʎ]*a* 'the skillful one', *abi*[ʎ] 'skillful', *abi*[ʎ] *idade* 'skill'.

As shown, palatalization takes place when the target segment is in prevocalic position (in an onset; both word-internally and across word-boundaries) and also before pause. There are other dialects which present palatalization only when the target segment is in an onset; e.g.: *muti*[ʎ]*a* 'the boy', but *muti*[l] 'boy'. This situation has been described, for instance, for the Gipuzkoan dialect of Donostia-San Sebastián (Iverson & Oñederra 1985) and for the Biscayan dialect of Getxo (Hualde & Bilbao 1992: 22-25).

As mentioned in section 2.3.3.2, all distinctions in place of articulation among both nasals and laterals are neutralized in a coda. The result of the interaction between this neutralization and the process of palatalization is thus that word-finally, either before pause or before vowel, [ɲ] and [ʎ] occur after a front high vocoid, and [n] and [l] elsewhere:

- (34) *mi*[ɲ] 'pain', *arrai*[ɲ] 'fish'
mi[ɲ] *aundiža* 'great pain', *arrai*[ɲ] *ederra* 'the beautiful fish'
emo[n] 'to give', *esa*[n] 'to say', *lagu*[n] 'friend'
gixo[n] *ederra* 'the beautiful man'
muti[ʎ] 'boy', *matrai*[ʎ] 'cheek'
muti[ʎ] *aundiža* 'the big boy', *matrai*[ʎ] *aundiža* 'the big cheek'
asa[l] 'skin', *odo*[l] 'blood', *estu*[l] 'cough'
asa[l] *ederra* 'the beautiful skin'

Palatalization also affects noncontinuant coronal obstruents. The voiceless dental stop /t/ palatalizes in the same context as /l/ and /n/. The segment that results from the palatalization of /t/ is the voiceless palatal stop [c] in the speech of the older generation. For younger speakers, instead, the palatalization of /t/ results in the alveopalatal affricate [tʃ]:

- (35) /it/
 older generation: [ajca] 'father', /d-a-ki-t/ [dakic] 'I know', [icuṛi]

'fountain'

younger generation: [ajtʃa], [dakitʃ], [itʃu̯ri]

The voiced coronal obstruent /d/ is not palatalized after /i/. Instead, /d/ is realized as a continuant [ð] or [r] in this position (intervocally); e.g.: [eskriβiðu] ~ [eskriβiru] 'to write'. On the other hand, both /t/ and /d/ are palatalized when preceded by the sequences /il/, /in/:

- (36) /int/ [piŋca] ~ [piŋtʃa] (Sp. *pinta*) 'to paint', [síŋca] ~ [síŋtʃa]
 (Sp. *cinta*) 'tape'
 /ilt/ /il-ten*/ [íʎcen] ~ [íʎtʃen] 'to die, imperf'
 /ind/ [iŋ.ʃaɾ] ~ [iŋ.ʃaɾ] 'strength', /ein dau/ [ejŋ.ʃaw] ~
 [ejŋ.ʃaw] 'has done it'
 /ild/ /il da/ [iʎ.ʃa] ~ [íʎ.ʃa] 'has died'

The palatalization rule is a lexical rule, unlike nasal and lateral assimilation. As such, it both presents lexical exceptions and is restricted to certain morphological contexts.

As Oñederra (1990: 33) points out, exceptions to palatalization are often found among words where the palatalizable consonant is both preceded and followed by /i/. In Lekeitio we find the following exceptions to the palatalization rule in this group:

- (37) *basilika* 'basilica', *famili* 'family', *gili-gili* 'tickles', *ixilik* (or *ixillik*) 'silent'; *kikiliño* 'penis', *kikiliúsaiñ* 'smell of smoke', *kilin-kólon* 'so-so', *militar* 'military', *plastilíña* 'play dough', *txiliñ* 'small bell', *txilíño* 'shout', *klinika* 'clinic', *minímo* 'minimum', *opiniño* 'opinion', *txita* (sg *txitia*) 'chick', *kritika* 'criticism', *pitillo* 'hem', *politiika* 'politics', *titi* 'breast', *dindilíska* 'hanging', *trikilika* 'on one foot', *fila* (sg *filía*) 'line', *lila* (sg *lilía*) 'lilly', *tíla* (sg *tilía*) 'linden tea', *píla* (*pilía*) 'battery'.

In addition, some borrowings which do not present the context in (37) also fail to undergo the rule:

- (38) *desilusiño* 'desillusion', *destíno* 'destiny', *jubila* 'to retire', *kilómetro* 'kilometer', *madrileño* 'Madridian', *pilóto* 'pilot', *seminaríño* 'seminary', *síne* 'cinema', *pitórrro* 'spout'.

Most borrowings do, however, undergo palatalization, as the following examples show:¹³

- (39) Spanish
- | | | | | | | | |
|------------------|---|-------------------|------------|------------------|---|------------------|---------------|
| <i>habilidad</i> | > | <i>abillidade</i> | 'skill' | <i>capitán</i> | > | <i>kapittan</i> | 'captain' |
| <i>aspirina</i> | > | <i>aspiriña</i> | 'aspirin' | <i>minero</i> | > | <i>miñero</i> | 'miner' |
| <i>esquina</i> | > | <i>eskíña</i> | 'to shoot' | <i>oficina</i> | > | <i>ofisiña</i> | 'office' |
| <i>hilera</i> | > | <i>illara</i> | 'line' | <i>domina</i> | > | <i>domiña</i> | 'to dominate' |
| <i>kilo</i> | > | <i>kílo</i> | 'kilo' | <i>gabardina</i> | > | <i>gabardiña</i> | 'rain coat' |

(13) Some of these words admit two pronunciations, with or without palatalization; e.g.: *millágro* ~ *milágro*, *motxilla* ~ *motxíla*.

<i>máquina</i>	>	<i>makiña</i>	‘machine’	<i>gasolina</i>	>	<i>gasoliña</i>	‘gasoline’
<i>milagro</i>	>	<i>millágro</i>	‘miracle’				

There are no exceptions to Palatalization among words ending in a palatalizable sequence. All borrowings with such an ending unexceptionally undergo palatalization (uninflected and abs sg forms are given. Cf. Hualde & Bilbao 1992: 24 for Getxo, where the same situation obtains):

(40)	Spanish					
	<i>bábil</i>	>	<i>abill, abilla</i>			‘skillful’
	<i>fusil</i>	>	<i>fusill, fusilla</i>			‘rifle’
	<i>Guardia Civil</i>	>	<i>gũardasóbill, gũardasobilla</i>			‘Civil Guard’
	<i>alguacil</i>	>	<i>agũasill, agũasilla</i>			‘municipal policeman’
	<i>calcetín</i>	>	<i>kaltzetiñ, kaltzetiña</i>			‘sock’
	<i>automóvil</i>	>	<i>automóbill, automobilla</i>			‘car’
	<i>latín</i>	>	<i>latiñ, latiña</i>			‘Latin’

Palatalization is strictly restricted to the word domain. It applies within roots, as in the examples in (33) or (39) above, and across an inflectional or derivational morphological boundary, as in the examples in (41):

(41)	/mendi-tik*/	<i>mendítik</i>	‘from the mountain’, cf. <i>basótik</i> ‘from the forest’
	/baserri*-tar*/	<i>baserrítar</i>	‘farmer’, cf. <i>kanpótar</i> ‘outsider’
	/bi-na/	<i>biña</i>	‘to by two’, cf. <i>bana</i> ‘one by one’

On the other hand, palatalization generally does not apply when there is a word boundary between trigger and target, including compounds:

(42)	<i>ixerdi-lárri</i>	*[ʎ]	‘cold sweat’
	<i>ixerdi-líkiñ</i>	*[ʎ]	‘sticky sweat’
	<i>begi-lusia</i>	*[ʎ]	‘the long-eyed one’
	<i>mendi lusia</i>	*[ʎ]	‘the long mountain’
	<i>amábi neska</i>	*[ɲ]	‘twelve girls’

Nevertheless, there are some contexts in which certain word-initial palatalizable consonants do undergo palatalization. First of all, /d/-initial forms of the copula/intransitive auxiliary and the transitive auxiliary are (optionally) palatalized when preceded by a palatalized sonorant, as shown in (43a). These conjugated verbal forms thus behave like phonological clitics. Other /d/-initial conjugated verbs, participles, adjectives, etc. do not palatalize, (43b):

(43)	a.	/martin da/	[mãtiŋja]	‘it is Martin’
		/bardin da/	[bãðiŋja]	‘it is the same’
		/il da/	[iʎja]	‘s/he has died’
		/ein dau/	[ejɲaw]	‘s/he has done it’

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------|---------------------|
| b. | <i>Marti</i> [nd]oya | 'Martin is going' |
| | <i>Marti</i> [nd]ator | 'Martin is coming' |
| | <i>Marti</i> [nd]otoria da | 'Martin is elegant' |

The conjunction /*(e)ta*/ also behaves as a phonological clitic and undergoes palatalization triggered by an immediately preceding high vocoid or palatalized sonorant:

- (44) /bi ta iru/ [bicajru] 'two and three'

In participle-auxiliary groups initial /*n*/ optionally palatalizes after [ɲ] (both nasals being fused in a single segment), (45a); but not after [i] or [ʎ], (45b). Outside of this syntactic context, /*n*-initial words do not undergo palatalization, (45c) (the forms to the right of the arrow correspond to rapid speech pronunciations):

- (45) a. *žakiñ neban* → *žaki*[ɲ]eban 'I knew'
 b. *ill neban* → *i*[ln]eban *[ʎɲ] 'I killed'
ekarri neban → *ekarri* [n]eban *[ɲ] 'I brought'
 c. *lagunákiñ nator* → *lagunáki*[n]ator *[ɲ] 'I come with my friends'
aiñ negar asko → *ai*[n]egar asko *[ɲ] 'so much crying'

On the other hand, in the same syntactic context, /*l*-initial auxiliaries optionally undergo palatalization after [ʎ], [ɲ] or (for some speakers) [i]:

- (46) a. *ill leikú* - > *i*[ʎ]eikú ~ 'it can kill us'
i[l]eikú
eiñ léike -> *ei*[ʎ]éike ~ 's/he can do it'
ei[nl]éike
etorri léike -> *etorri* [ʎ]éike ~ 's/he can come'
etorri [l]éike
 b. *eiñ lasai* -> *ei*[nl]asai *[ɲʎ] 'do it calmly'

2.5.3. Interaction between palatalization and nasal and lateral assimilation

So far, we have considered only the case when the target of palatalization is followed by a vocoid or by pause. When /*n*/ or /*l*/ is preceded by a front high vocoid and followed by a consonant, it is found in the context for both palatalization and nasal and lateral assimilation. There is thus a conflict between these two processes in this case. The conflict is solved in favor of nasal and lateral assimilation. Nasals take the point of the following consonant even when the nasal is also in the context of the Palatalization rule, as the following examples show:

- | | | | | | |
|---------|--------------------|-------------------|----|-------------------------|-------------------|
| (47) a. | <i>ai</i> [ɲ]ka | 'leg' | b. | <i>arrai</i> [ɲ] | 'fish' |
| | <i>ai</i> [ɲ]geru | 'angel' | | <i>arrai</i> [ɲ]a | 'the fish' |
| | <i>ai</i> [m]béste | 'so much' | | <i>arrai</i> [m]politxa | 'the pretty fish' |
| | <i>i</i> [ɲ]gúru | 'surroundings' | | <i>arrai</i> [m]barriža | 'the new fish' |
| | <i>i</i> [m]pernu | 'hell' | | <i>arrai</i> [ɲ]tontúa | 'the stupid fish' |
| | <i>i</i> [m]porta | 'to be important' | | <i>arrai</i> [ɲ]gorriža | 'the red fish' |

As for the lateral, what we find is that palatalization is blocked in preconsonantal position whether or not the following consonant is one whose point of articulation a lateral can take:

(48)	a.	<i>gi</i> [l̥]tʰz	'key'	b.	<i>muti</i> [ʎ]	'boy'
		<i>umi</i> [l̥]de	'humble'		<i>muti</i> [ʎ]a	'the boy'
		<i>Bil</i> [l̥]bo	'Bilbao'		<i>muti</i> [l̥] tontúa	'the stupid boy'
		<i>il̥</i> [l̥]go	's/he will die'		<i>muti</i> [l̥] potolúa	'the fat boy'
					<i>muti</i> [l̥] gorriža	'the red boy'

Word-internally the realizations are obligatorily as given in (47) and (48) (e.g. **Bil*[ʎ]bo is not found). Across word-boundaries, the realizations given are the most common ones, although, less commonly, the palatal character of a final lateral or nasal may be preserved. Nasal and lateral assimilation is thus a stronger process or constraint than palatalization.

From the fact that palatalization fails to apply even in those cases where a lateral does not assimilate to a following consonant (before a labial or velar), it can be concluded that a lateral (or a nasal) in a coda does not 'license' a point of articulation (cf. Goldsmith 1990). It will receive its point of articulation from a consonant immediately to its right. Failing this (because there is no following consonant or because the consonant is one of those whose point of articulation a lateral cannot take (a labial or a velar), these segments will receive a 'default' coronal specification. Then, they may undergo palatalization if they are in the context for this rule and if the application of the palatalization rule will not produce a sequence with two different points of articulation.¹⁴

In word-internal (and clitic-group) domains, when the consonant following the sequence /in/ or /il/ is itself a possible target of palatalization (/t/ or /d/), both palatalization and nasal and lateral assimilation can be simultaneously satisfied. This is what happens in examples such as *i*[ɲ]ar 'strength', /il-ten*/ *il*[ʎ]en 'die, imperf.', /ein dau/ *ei*[ɲ]au 's/he has done it', *Marti*[ɲ]a 'it is Martin', etc. In this case, since the consonant following the first palatalizable one is also a possible target of palatalization, both requirements on /n/ or /l/ of becoming palatal after /i/ (palatalization) and sharing the point of articulation of a following consonant (nasal and lateral assimilation) can be and are satisfied. In examples such as *Marti*[ɲd]ala 'that it is Martin', on the other hand, /d/ cannot be palatalized because palatalization is restricted to the word domain and *dala* is not a possible clitic. Consequently, only the stronger constraint is satisfied and the nasal is realized as dental if no prosodic break intervenes.

2.5.4. Palatalization of /s/

The coronal fricative /s/ is also palatalized after a high front vocoid. The examples in (49a) show palatalization in native Basque words that contain a coronal sibilant in other dialects. The examples in (49b) show palatalization in borrowings from Spanish:

(14) The phonotactics of Lekeitio Basque dictate that a preconsonantal coda consonant must either share the point of articulation of the following consonant or have a coronal (i.e. dental or alveolar) point of articulation.

- (49) a. *goix* 'early', *goixa* 'the morning', *ixarra* 'the star', *bixar* 'beard', *ixen* 'name', *ixan* 'to be', *ixerdi* 'sweat', *gixon* 'man', *bixi* 'to live'.

b. Spanish

<i>peso</i>	>	<i>pixo</i>	'weight'
<i>piso</i>	>	<i>pixo</i>	'apartment'
<i>aviso</i>	>	<i>abixo</i>	'call'
<i>tiza</i>	>	<i>tíxa</i>	'chalk'
<i>pizarra</i>	>	<i>pixárra</i>	'blackboard'
<i>liso</i>	>	<i>líxo</i>	'flat'
<i>paisa</i>	>	<i>páixa</i>	'Moroccan travelling salesman'
<i>pulveriza-</i>	>	<i>pulberixa</i>	'to powder'
<i>tenis</i>	>	<i>ténix</i>	'tennis'
<i>anis</i>	>	<i>anix</i>	'anissette'

/s/ does not palatalize when it is followed by a consonant:

- (50) *bistia* 'the sight' (Sp. *vista*), *pistia* 'the path' (Sp. *pista*), *aistia* 'the sister of a woman', *biskor* 'swift', *istar* 'leg', *máistra* 'female teacher', *liska* 'glue', *triska* 'to destroy', *Biskáiz* 'Biscay'.

The palatalization of /s/ presents more lexical exceptions than that of other palatalizing consonants. A large number of exceptions present a sequence where /s/ is both preceded and followed by /i/, as in the examples in (51a), among many others. Aside from these, there are a few other exceptions, both among borrowings and in the native vocabulary, (51b):

- (51) a. *bisi* 'life', *bisitta* 'visit', *bisizo* 'vice', *desisiño* 'decision', *disipulu* 'disciple', *indisiño* 'injection', *justisi* 'justice', *malisi* 'malice', *notisi* 'news', *ofisizo* 'job', *pisina* 'swimming pool', *sakrifisizo* 'sacrifice', *eisian* 'hunting'.
 b. *miséri* 'misery', *paisaje* 'landscape', *isotz* 'ice', *prisa* 'hurry'.

Across morpheme boundaries, /s/ palatalizes in verbal forms with the suffix /su/, as in /d-a-ki-su/ *dakixu* 'you-sg know', /d-a-ki-su-e*/ *dakixúe* 'you-pl know'. There is no palatalization of /s/ across a compound boundary:

- (52) *mendigoisále* 'mountaineer' *argisári* 'wax'

From its geographical distribution, /s/-palatalization appears to be a different process from the palatalization of noncontinuant coronals. The palatalization of /l/ and /n/ is found in a large area from Navarre (e.g. Baztan) to northwestern Biscay (e.g. Getxo). The palatalization of /t/ is found in a smaller area and that of /d/ (after nasal or lateral) occupies an even smaller area, being restricted to eastern and central Biscayan. Everywhere where /t/ palatalizes, /l/ and /n/ also palatalize.¹⁵ On the other hand, the palatalization of /s/ is found exclusively in the Biscayan dialect including an area of southwestern Biscay where /n/ and /t/ do not palatalize.¹⁶

(15) Other implications are that if syllabic /l/ triggers palatalization, nonsyllabic [j] does too, and that if a segment palatalizes in a coda it also palatalizes in an onset (cf. Hualde 1991: 121).

(16) In Zeberio (southwestern Biscayan), /s/ palatalizes after /i/ as in *gixon* 'man', but /l/ does not, e.g. *mutile* 'the boy' (cf. Etxebarria Ayesta 1991).

2.5.5. Neutralization of rhotics

Underlyingly, there is an opposition between morpheme-final /r/ and /r̄/, although those morphemes which have final /r/ are few. As was indicated in section 2.2.6, the flap /r/ can occur only in word-internal intervocalic position on the surface. A consequence of this restriction is that morpheme-final /r/ will be realized as [r] only if followed by a vowel-initial morpheme within the word (i.e. when followed by a vowel-initial suffix). Otherwise, it becomes [r̄], neutralizing the distinction between the two rhotics:

(53)	/plater/	plate[r]a	plate[r̄]	plate[r̄] aundiža
	‘dish’	‘the dish’	‘dish’	‘the big dish’
	/ur/	u[r]a	u[r̄]	u[r̄] asko, u[r̄] pillúa
	‘water’	‘the water’	‘water’	‘much water’ ‘a lot of water’
	/tʃaku̯/	txaku[r̄]a	txaku[r̄]	txaku[r̄] aundiža
	‘dog’	‘the dog’	‘dog’	‘the big dog’

As shown in the examples, the underlying flap of words such as /plater/ and /ur/ appears only before a vowel-initial suffix, as in [platera], [ura]. There is thus a rule that turns the flap /r/ into the trill [r̄] in a syllable rime. This rule applies before the resyllabification of CV sequences across word boundaries.

2.5.6. Deletion and reduction of preconsantal stops

Oral stops are usually deleted before another consonant, both in morphological and in syntactic concatenation:¹⁷

(54)	/kp/	gixónak potolúak (dira)	[p]	‘the men are fat’
		nok pintta rau	[p]	‘who painted it’
	/kt/	gixónak tontúuk (dira)	[t]	‘the men are stupid’
	/kk/	umíik kakatžak (dira)	[k]	‘the children are poopy’
	/km/	suk momia	[m]	‘you (erg) the shark’
	/kn/	súek néskak (sarie)	[n]	‘you-pl are girls’
	/kl/	nok Lagundu (dotzu)	[l]	‘who has helped you’
	/kf/	lagúnak feúuk (dira)	[f]	‘the friends are ugly’
	/ks/	niġ sokia (daukat)	[s]	‘I have the rope’
	/kx/	gixónak jenižodúnak (dira)	[x]	‘the men are grumpy’
	/k̄r/	Jonek rradžúua (dauko)	[r̄]	‘Jon has the radio’
	/stp/	bost patáta	[sp]	‘five potatoes’
	/tp/	sémat paper	[p]	‘how much paper’
	/tt/	sémat tóntu	[t]	‘how many idiots’
	/tk/	sémat ke	[k]	‘how much smoke’
	/tm/	sémat morro	[m]	‘how many guys’

(17) As mentioned in section 2.1.1, the only word-final stops are /k/ and /t/. Morpheme-internally syllable-final stops are found only in a few borrowings in careful pronunciation.

/tn/	<i>sémat neska</i>	[n]	'how many girls'
	<i>es tot nai</i>	[n]	'I don't want'
/tl/	<i>sémat lagun</i>	[l]	'how many friends'
/tʎ/	<i>sémat llabéro</i>	[ʎ]	'how many key-chains'
/t̃r/	<i>sémat rradížo</i>	[r̃]	'how many radios'
/tx/	<i>sémat jeneral</i>	[x]	'how many generals'

The deletion of stops before other consonants is not an obligatory process in syntactic concatenation, but it is very common. Occasionally, stops may be reduced to a glotal articulation in the preconsonantal context:

(55)	<i>bat sartu da</i>	[ʔs]	'one got in'
	<i>badaukat sokia</i>	[ʔs]	'I have the rope'
	<i>gixónak dotoriak (dira)</i>	[ʔd]	'the men are elegant'

2.5.7. Devoicing of stops

As just shown in the previous section, in sequences of two stops, the first stop (necessarily voiceless) is frequently deleted. A second change in sequences of two stops is that if the second stop is /b/ or /d/ it may be optionally devoiced. The velar stop /g/ is not devoiced in this context:

(56)	<i>gixónak dira</i> -> <i>gixóna[t]ira</i>	'they are men'
	<i>nok dáukos</i> -> <i>no[t]áukos</i>	'who has them'
	<i>gixónak badíra</i> -> <i>gixóna[p]adíra</i>	'if they are men'
	<i>Jonek ba(d)aki</i> -> <i>Jone[p]aaki</i>	'Jon knows'
	<i>gixónak be</i> -> <i>gixóna[p]e</i>	'the men too'
	<i>sémat dátos</i> -> <i>séma[t]átos</i>	'how many are coming'
but :	<i>gixónak gara</i> -> <i>*gixóna[k]ara</i>	'we are men'
	<i>sémat góyas</i> -> <i>*séma[k]óyas</i>	'how many of us are going'

Devoicing of the velar /g/ takes place, nevertheless, in postpositional phrases, as in (57a), as well as in cases of morphological concatenation, where it can be considered a purely historical change, as in (57b):

(57)	a. <i>gixónak gáittik</i> -> <i>gixóna[k]áittik</i>	'because of the men'
	b. /bat-garr*-ik/ <i>bakárrik</i>	'only'

This application of the rule of devoicing in syntactic contexts is severely limited. Besides clitics and postpositions, the process only affects conjugated verbal forms. Other items do not undergo the rule. In the following examples, for instance, the word initial voiced obstruent cannot be realized as a voiceless stop:

(58)	<i>bat Benitontzáko</i>	*[p]	'one for Benito'
	<i>sémat bárku</i>	*[p]	'how many boats'
	<i>etxiúk barrižak (dira)</i>	*[p]	'the houses are new'
	<i>bat Damasonzáko</i>	*[t]	'one for Dámaso'

<i>sémat dólár</i>	*[t]	‘how many dollars’
<i>ba(d)aukat dirua</i>	*[t]	‘I have the money’

2.5.8. Fricativization of preconsonantal affricates

Preconsonantal affricates are reduced to fricatives in morpheme concatenation and, optionally, across word boundaries:

(59)	/aberats-tu/	<i>aberastu</i>	‘to became rich’	(cf. <i>aberatz</i> ‘rich’)
	/sořots-tu/	<i>sorrostu</i>	‘to sharpen’	(cf. <i>sorrotz</i> ‘sharp’)
	/mats-pasa*/	<i>maspása</i>	‘raisin’	(cf. <i>matz</i> ‘grape’)

In syntactic concatenation this simplification is very frequent before a coronal stop, but only optional before other consonants. The fricative element of the affricate may, in addition, assimilate in voice to a following voiced consonant (cf. section 2.5.12):

(60)	<i>matz totolúa</i>	[st]	‘fat grape’
	<i>aberatz tontúa</i>	[st]	‘stupid rich person’
	<i>matz politta</i>	[tsp] ~ [sp]	‘the pretty grape’
	<i>ikatx baltza</i>	[tsβ] ~ [zβ]	‘the black coal’
	<i>bartz pillúa</i>	[řtsp] ~ [řsp]	‘a lot of lice eggs’
	<i>bartz totolúa</i>	[řtst] ~ [řst]	‘the fat lice egg’
	<i>aberatz dotoria</i>	[zð]	‘the elegant rich person’
	<i>aberatz txotxolúa</i>	[st]	‘the silly rich person’
	<i>gatx dago</i>	[zð]	‘it is difficult’

As mentioned, this simplification is more likely to occur before a coronal than before consonants with other points of articulation.

2.5.9. Degemination

A sequence of two identical consonants is reduced to one:

(61)	<i>asal lusia</i>	[l]	‘the long skin’
	<i>lagun noblía</i>	[n]	‘the noble friend’
	<i>marras santarra</i>	[s]	‘the dirty rag’
	<i>txakur rrarúa</i>	[ř]	‘the strange dog’

The sequence /ts+s/ is reduced to an affricate of normal duration:

(62)	<i>matz santarra</i>	[ts]	‘the dirty grape’
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2.5.10. Spirantization and related processes

The nonstrident voiced obstruents present basically the same allophonic realizations as in Spanish (and other Basque dialects); that is, they are realized as stops after

a nasal, after /l/ in the case of /d/ and after pause, and as fricatives (or approximants) in other contexts. There are, nevertheless, certain peculiarities with respect to the Castilian Spanish pattern. In addition, Lekeitio Basque possesses a voiced prepalatal strident obstruent which also participates in the alternation between a continuant (fricative) and a noncontinuant (affricate) allophones.

The context where the greatest degree of weakening is found is the intervocalic context. In intervocalic position, /b/ is realized as a bilabial fricative [β]; /d/ can be realized as a dental fricative [ð], as a rhotic flap [r] or be deleted, and /g/ is realized as a velar fricative [ɣ] and it is also frequently deleted:

- | | | |
|------|----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (63) | <i>a[β]eratzá</i> | 'rich' |
| | <i>neskia [β]adator</i> | 'the girl is coming' |
| | <i>aba[ð]e ~ aba[r]e</i> | 'priest' |
| | <i>Euská[ð]i ~ Euská[r]i</i> | 'Basque Country' |
| | <i>ikusi [ð]au ~ ikusi [r]au</i> | 's/he saw it' |
| | <i>ume[ð]una ~ ume[r]una</i> | 's.o. who has children' |
| | <i>esne[ð ~ r]una</i> | 'the milk man' |
| | <i>etorri [ð ~ r]a</i> | 'has come' |
| | <i>laguna [ð ~ r]ator</i> | 'the friend is coming' |
| | <i>lei[ð]u ~ lei[r]u</i> | 'to read' |
| | <i>a[ð]arra ~ aarra</i> | 'the branch' |
| | <i>e[ð]erra ~ eerra</i> | 'beautiful' |
| | <i>la[ɣ]una ~ launa</i> | 'the friend' |
| | <i>a[ɣ]iña ~ aiña</i> | 'the tooth' |
| | <i>e[ɣ]una ~ euna</i> | 'the day' |

Whereas the realizations [β], [ð], [ɣ] are always possible in intervocalic position, both the rhotacism of /d/ and the deletion of /d/ and /g/ are more restricted processes.

As shown in the examples above, the rhotacism rule (i.e., the realization of /d/ as [r]) applies in the intramorphemic context, and also affects suffix-initial and clitic-initial /d/, including conjugated verbs, which behave as phonological clitics for the purposes of this and other rules. On the other hand, the rule does not apply in other contexts across word boundaries or even across a compound boundary:

- | | | |
|------|---|--------------------|
| (64) | <i>neska [ð]otória , *neska [r]otória</i> | 'the elegant girl' |
| | <i>espata[ð]antzariña , *espata[r]antzariña</i> | 'the sword-dancer' |

The rhotic allophone of /d/ is identical to the intervocalic realization of the rhotic flap phoneme /r/. There are, thus, words which allow a variation [ð ~ r] (those with underlying /d/), such as *aba[ð]e ~ aba[r]e* 'priest', and words whose only possible realization is with [r] (those with underlying /r/), such as *ba[r]e* 'calm', not **ba[ð]e*. Rhotacism is blocked when the following syllable contains a rhotic in onset position; e.g.: *a[ð]urra* 'the spit', not **a[r]urra*, *a[ð]arra* 'the branch', not **a[r]arra*, *e[ð]erra* 'the beautiful one', not **e[r]erra*, etc.

Intervocalic /g/ is frequently deleted within a morpheme, although more frequently in some words than in others and there are lexical exceptions to the rule.

/g/-initial suffixes (comitative /-gas*/) and postpositions (/ -gaitik*/ 'because of') also lose this consonant very frequently after a vowel. However, there is no deletion after a compound or syntactic word boundary:

- (65) a. morpheme-internally
- | | |
|--|-------------|
| <i>da</i> [ɣ]o ~ <i>dao</i> | 's/he is' |
| <i>bi</i> [ɣ]óte ~ <i>bióte</i> | 'moustache' |
| <i>arpe</i> [ɣ]i ~ <i>arpe</i> [j] ¹⁸ | 'face' |
| <i>a</i> [ɣ]ura ~ <i>aura</i> | 'old man' |
- But:
- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|
| <i>a</i> [ɣ]urtu, ?? <i>aurtu</i> | 'to greet' |
| <i>a</i> [ɣ]ertu, ?? <i>aertu</i> | 'to appear' |
- b. suffixation and postpositions
- | | |
|--|----------------------|
| <i>aittä</i> [ɣ]as ~ <i>aittäas</i> | 'with the father' |
| <i>txakurra</i> [ɣ]áittik ~ <i>txakurra áittik</i> | 'because of the dog' |
- c. compounds
- | | |
|---|-------------------------|
| <i>buru</i> -[ɣ]ógor, * <i>buruógor</i> | 'hard-headed, stubborn' |
| <i>aspiko</i> -[ɣ]óna, * <i>aspikoóna</i> | 'pettycoat, slip' |
| <i>borra</i> -[ɣ]óma, * <i>borraóma</i> | 'eraser' |
- d. across word-boundaries
- | | |
|---|---------------------|
| <i>ume</i> [ɣ]angarra, * <i>ume angarra</i> | 'mischievous child' |
| <i>mendi</i> [ɣ]orriža, * <i>mend</i> [io]rriža | 'the red mountain' |

There are relatively few items that allow deletion of an intervocalic /d/. The deletion of /d/ appears, in fact, to be restricted to the case where this consonant is between identical nonhigh vowels. In other cases, it is impossible:

- (66) a. *a*[ð]arra ~ *aarra* 'the branch'
- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>e</i> [ð]erra ~ <i>eerra</i> | 'the beautiful one' |
| <i>ba</i> [ð]ator ~ <i>baator</i> | 's/he is coming' |
- b. *bi*[ð]ia ~ *bi*[r]ia - **biia* 'the road'
- | | |
|---|-------------------------|
| <i>embu</i> [ð]úa ~ <i>embu</i> [r]úa - * <i>embuúa</i> | 'the funnel' |
| <i>etorri</i> [ð]a ~ <i>etorri</i> [r]a - * <i>etorr</i> [ia] | 's/he has come' |
| <i>ume</i> [ð]úna ~ <i>ume</i> [r]una - * <i>umeúna</i> | 's.o. who has children' |

The deletion of /d/ in intervocalic position, like that of /g/, is also restricted to the word-internal domain. Across word boundaries, the deletion process does not take place:

- (67) *baso* [ð]otoria , **bas*[oo]toria 'the elegant forest'

Following a continuant consonant (a fricative or a rhotic), /b,d,g/ are realized as continuant [β,ð,ɣ]:

(18) High vowels which become postvocalic as a consequence of the deletion of an intervocalic consonant generally glide. An exception is *begi* ~ *be*[i] 'eye' which remains bisyllabic.

(68)	<i>nóas bajatuko saríe</i>	[zβ]	'who will you-pl come down with'
	<i>lagunágas dator</i>	[zð]	's/he is coming with the friend'
	<i>nóas góyas</i>	[zɣ]	'who are we going with'
	<i>arbolía</i>	[rβ]	'the tree'
	<i>ardawa</i>	[rð]	'the wine'
	<i>argíza</i>	[rɣ]	'the light'
	<i>txakur gorriža</i>	[rɣ]	'the red dog'

After a noncontinuant sonorant, the distribution of the allophones is as in standard Spanish. After a nasal, stop realizations of the three phonemes are found. After a lateral, /d/ is realized as a stop and /b/ and /g/ as continuant:

(69)	<i>bombía</i>	[mb]	'the bomb'
	<i>egun barriža</i>	[mb]	'the new day'
	<i>andaria</i>	[nd]	'the speed'
	<i>emóngo</i>	[ŋg]	'will give'
	<i>albuun</i>	[lβ]	'beside'
	<i>aldía</i>	[ld]	'the side'
	<i>algodoya</i>	[lɣ]	'the cotton'
	<i>asal gorriža</i>	[lɣ]	'the red skin'

Following a voiceless stop, /b/ and /d/ can be realized as voiceless stops in certain syntactic environments, as was mentioned in section 2.5.7. If devoicing does not apply, /b,d,g/ may be realized as either continuant or noncontinuant. It appears that what determines one realization or the other is the degree to which the preceding stop is deleted. If the first consonant in a sequence is completely eliminated (which may happen when the two consonants are homorganic), the voiced obstruent may be found in intervocalic position, in which case it will be realized as a continuant segment. On the other hand, if the voiceless stop preceding the voiced obstruent is only reduced and a noncontinuant articulation, which may be purely glottal, remains, the second segment will be realized as noncontinuant as well:

(70)	<i>ba(d)aukat gorriža</i>	[ʔg]	'I have the red one'
	<i>no^kgaldu (dau)</i>	[ʔg] ~ [ɣ]	'who lost it'
	<i>ni^kgorrižak (daukaras)</i>	[ʔg] ~ [ɣ]	'I have the red ones'
	<i>umi^{ak}dotori^{ak} (dira)</i>	[ʔd]	'the children are elegant'
	<i>ba(d)aukat berdia</i>	[ʔb]	'I have the green one'

Finally, at the beginning of an utterance, /b,d,g/ are realized as stops:

(71)	[b]ombía	'the bomb'
	[d]irua	'the money'
	[g]orriža	'the red one'

2.5.11. Allophony of the voiced prepalatal obstruent

The prepalatal strident voiced obstruent /ʒ/ has two distinct allophones, fricative [ʒ] and affricate [tʃ]. These two allophones present the same distribution as the continuant and noncontinuant allophones of the nonstrident voiced obstruents, stu-

died in the preceding section. The affricate is found utterance-initially and after a nasal. The fricative is found elsewhere:

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (72) | [dʒ]an dau | 's/he has eaten it' |
| | [dʒ]un da | 's/he has gone' |
| | sémat gixon [dʒ]un díra | 'how many men have gone' |
| | [dʒ]on [dʒ]un da | 'Jon has gone' |
| | dana [ʒ]an dau | 's/he has eaten everything' |
| | Górka [ʒ]un da | 'Górka has gone' |
| | Fidel [ʒ]un da | 'Fidel has gone' |
| | Aitor [ʒ]un da | 'Aitor has gone' |
| | mon[dʒ]a | 'nun' |
| | [dʒ]ur[ʒ]idu | 'to fill up' |

2.5.12. Voicing of fricatives

Syllable-final fricatives assimilate in voice to a following consonant, word-internally and across word boundaries:

- | | | |
|------|-------------------|----------------------------------|
| (73) | lagunága[z] dator | 's/he is coming with the friend' |
| | a[z]guría | 'the itching' |
| | e[z]biárra | 'the accident' |
| | goi [ʒ] dator | 's/he is coming early' |
| | gri[ʒ] barriža | 'the new grey one' |

The affricates /ts/ and /tʃ/ also undergo voicing in this context, often being respectively realized as the voiced fricatives [z] and [ʒ] in this position (cf. section 2.5.8):

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|
| (74) | gat̪̥ barik [z] | 'without salt' | gat̪̥ dago [ʒ] | 'it is difficult' |
|------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|

2.6. Main phonological processes affecting vowels

2.6.1. Mid vowel raising

The mid vowels /e/, /o/ are raised to high immediately preceding another nonhigh vowel. The application of this rule is readily observable in nominal inflection:

- | | | | |
|------|---------------|-----------|----------------------------|
| (75) | /etʃe-a/ | etxia | 'the house, abs' |
| | /etʃe-en*/ | etxién | 'of the houses, gen' |
| | /etʃe-ok*/ | etxiók | 'the houses, abs/erg prox' |
| | /au etʃe-au/ | au etxiau | 'this house, abs' |
| | /berde-ago*/ | berdiágo | 'greener' |
| | /berde-egi*/ | berdiégi | 'too green' |
| | /berde-en*-a/ | berdiéna | 'the greenest' |
| | /baso-a/ | basua | 'the forest, abs' |
| | /basu-en*/ | basúen | 'of the forests, gen' |

/basu-ok*/	<i>basúok</i>	'the forests, abs/erg prox'
/au baso-au/	<i>au basuan</i>	'this forest, abs'
/tonto*-ago*/	<i>tontuágo</i>	'more stupid'
/tonto*-egi*/	<i>tontuégi</i>	'too stupid'
/tonto*-en*-a/	<i>tontuéna</i>	'the stupidest'

Monosyllabic stems ending in a mid vowel /e/ do not undergo mid vowel raising (there are no monosyllables with final /o/). Instead, when followed by a vowel-initial inflectional suffix, they show insertion of a palatal glide:

(76)	uninfl	abs sg	
	<i>me</i>	<i>meya</i>	'thin'
	<i>ke</i>	<i>keya</i>	'smoke'
	<i>te</i>	<i>teya</i>	'tea'

It would be possible to postulate an underlying final glide or long vowel for these words; but that would be to miss the generalization that all monosyllabic stems ending in [e] show this behavior. The reason motivating the special behavior of monosyllables would seem to be the preservation of the quality of their only vowel. An analogous behavior with respect to other rules is found in other Basque dialects. Thus, in Souletin, stem-final *-ü* is unrounded before a vowel in inflectional contexts as in *lékhü* 'place', *lekhía* 'the place, abs sg'. However, monosyllabic stems show insertion of a palatal glide instead: *sü* 'fire', *süya* 'the fire, abs sg'.

Although mid vowel raising, like other rules affecting vowel sequences that arise in inflectional morphology, is a very conspicuous rule, given the frequency of inflected forms with such sequences, actually the application of the rule is limited to the phonological word domain (i.e. it is a lexical rule). The rule does not apply across words boundaries, (77a), or even in compounds, (77b):

(77)	a.	<i>etxe aundiža</i>	- >	<i>*etx[i] aundiža</i>	'the big house'
		<i>baso ederra</i>	- >	<i>*bas[u] ederra</i>	'the beautiful forest'
	b.	<i>asteásken</i>		<i>*[ia]</i>	'Weekend'
		<i>semealábak</i>		<i>*[ia]</i>	'sons and daughters'
		<i>lepoásur</i>		<i>*[ua]</i>	'backbone'
		<i>treotzára</i>		<i>*[io]</i>	'type of basket'

In underived domains there are no true exceptions to the rule within the native vocabulary and comparison with other domains shows that mid vowels have been raised in the relevant context; e.g. *joan* > *žuan* 'to go', *be(h)ar* > *biar* 'need'. Nevertheless, a number of borrowings constitute exceptions to the rule in underived environments. Some examples are the following:

(78)	<i>korréa</i>	'belt',	<i>peáje</i>	'toll',	<i>errekréo</i>	'recess',	<i>féo</i>	'ugly',	<i>petroléo</i>	'petrol',	<i>tebéo</i>	'comic',	<i>preokupa</i>	'to worry',	<i>peo</i>	'peon',	<i>plateau</i>	'silvered',	<i>toállá</i>	'towel'.
------	---------------	---------	--------------	---------	-----------------	-----------	------------	---------	-----------------	-----------	--------------	----------	-----------------	-------------	------------	---------	----------------	-------------	---------------	----------

However, other borrowings are changed in conformity with the rule. In particular, Spanish verbs in *-ear* systematically undergo raising of the mid vowel:

(79) Spanish			
<i>catea-</i>	>	<i>katia</i>	'to flunk'
<i>mosquea-</i>	>	<i>moskia</i>	'to be suspicious'
<i>pasea-</i>	>	<i>pasia</i>	'to take a walk'
<i>sortea-</i>	>	<i>sortia</i>	'to raffle'
<i>torea-</i>	>	<i>toria</i>	'to fight a bull'

Other examples of adapted borrowings are *antiojúak* 'glasses' < Sp. *anteojos* and *marío* 'dizziness' < Sp. *mareo*.

The deletion of intervocalic voiced obstruents gives rise to surface exceptions to mid vowel raising, as in *egon* ~ *eon* 'to be, stay'. The intensive third person singular pronoun *beori* from /ber-ori/ (and other forms of its paradigm, cf. section 3.1.6), where the first /r/ is not pronounced in Lekeitio also constitutes a surface exception to mid vowel raising.

2.6.2. ž-insertion

The prepalatal voiced fricative /ž/ [ʒ] is inserted between the high front vowel /i/ and another vowel. This is a lexical rule. Its operation in inflectional concatenation is illustrated in the following examples:

(80)	/mendi-a/	<i>mendiža</i>	'the mountain, abs'
	/mendi-ak*/	<i>mendižak</i>	'the mountains, abs/erg'
	/mendi-en/	<i>mendižen</i>	'of the mountain, gen'
	/mendi-on*/	<i>mendižon</i>	'of the mountains, gen prox'
	/au mendi-au/	<i>au mendižau</i>	'this mountain, abs'
	/argi-ago*/	<i>argižago</i>	'clearer'
	/argi-egi*/	<i>argižegi</i>	'too clear'
	/argi-en*-a/	<i>argižena</i>	'the clearest'

The insertion of [ʒ] only takes place after underlying /i/, not after /e/ or /a/ raised to [i] by mid vowel raising (cf. section 2.6.1) or singular low vowel raising (cf. section 2.7.1).

The extent to which /ž/-insertion affects underived domains (in the synchronic grammar or historically) is not readily apparent, given the fact that [iV] sequences can be taken to represent underlying /eV/ (cf. previous section). Comparative evidence allows us to identify examples such as *bi(h)ar* > *bižar* 'tomorrow' (cf. *be(h)ar* > *biar* 'need'), *arerio* > *arerižo* 'enemy', *bariaku* > *barižaku* 'Friday', *(h)eriotza* > *erižótza* 'death', etc. The process has a high degree of productivity in the adaptation of borrowings ending in *-ia* or in *-io*:

(81) Spanish			
<i>radio</i>	>	<i>rradižo</i>	'radio'
<i>armario</i>	>	<i>armarižo</i>	'cabinet, cupboard'
<i>vicario</i>	>	<i>bikarižo</i>	'vicar'
<i>vicio</i>	>	<i>bisižo</i>	'vice'

<i>vestuario</i>	>	<i>bestuaríño</i>	'vestuary, dressing room'
<i>desconfia-</i>	>	<i>deskonfíza</i>	'to distrust'
<i>divorcía-</i>	>	<i>dibortzíza</i>	'to divorce'
<i>divorcio</i>	>	<i>dibortzíño</i>	'divorce'
<i>edificio</i>	>	<i>edifisíño</i>	'building'
<i>remedio</i>	>	<i>erremedíño</i>	'remedy'
<i>ensayo</i>	>	<i>entzaiño</i>	'essay, attempt'
<i>espía-</i>	>	<i>espiña</i>	'to espy'
<i>estudia-</i>	>	<i>estudiña</i>	'to study'
<i>estudio</i>	>	<i>estudíño</i>	'study'
<i>cambio</i>	>	<i>kambiño</i>	'change'
<i>confía-</i>	>	<i>konfíza</i>	'to trust'
<i>confesonario</i>	>	<i>konfesonaríño</i>	'confessional box'
<i>novio</i>	>	<i>nobíño</i>	'boyfriend'

Aside from loanwords presenting this context, which includes a large number of items, ž-insertion does not have any productivity in the adaptation of borrowings. Very few borrowings present ž-insertion in an environment other than final *-ia*, *-io*. Some examples showing this adaptation are given in (82a).¹⁹ Examples such as those in (82b) not presenting this adaptation are by far more numerous:

(82)	a.	<i>confianza</i>	>	<i>konfízántza</i>	'confidence'
		<i>criada</i>	>	<i>križada</i>	'maid, female servant'
		<i>criado</i>	>	<i>križau</i>	'male servant'
		<i>merienda</i>	>	<i>merižénda</i>	'afternoon snack'
	b.	<i>curioso</i>	>	<i>kuríoso</i>	'curious'
		<i>gobierno</i>	>	<i>gobíerno</i>	'government'
		<i>persiana</i>	>	<i>perslána</i>	'Venetian blinds'
		<i>sentimiento</i>	>	<i>sentimíento</i>	'feeling'
		<i>nerviosa</i>	>	<i>nerbíosa</i>	'nervous, fem'
		<i>negociante</i>	>	<i>negoslánte</i>	'businessman'
		<i>obediente</i>	>	<i>obedíente</i>	'obedient'

The rule does not apply across word boundaries (83a) or in compounds (83b):

(83)	a.	<i>mendi aundi bat</i>	->	<i>*mendi[3]aundi bat</i>	'a big mountain'
	b.	<i>ontzi-árotz</i>		<i>*[i3a]</i>	'ship carpenter'
		<i>žai-egun</i>		<i>*[aj3e]</i>	'holiday'
		<i>segi-áldi</i>		<i>*[i3a]</i>	'persecution'

Across a derivational morpheme boundary, there is ž-insertion in /lodi-eral/ *lodižé-ra* 'fatness', but the process does not seem to be productive in this morphological context; e.g. /donosti-ār*/ *donostíar* 'Donostian (from Donostia-San Sebastián)', not **donostížar*. The adjectival affixes /-ago*/ 'more', /-egi*/ 'too' and /-en*/ 'most',

(19) It is not easy to determine the age of the borrowings in (82a). Other borrowed words with this adaptation which have the aspect of being quite old in Lekeitio Basque are *oríño* 'oil', *kažóla* 'cage' and *erréño* 'river'.

which in Basque can be considered inflectional in spite of their function, regularly trigger ž-insertion, as shown above in (80). However, there is no insertion in the adverbs *gitxiénes* 'at least' and *gitxiágo* 'less' formed from *gitxi* 'little'.

The deletion of intervocalic /g/ creates apparent exceptions to ž-insertion in an inflectional context in comitative forms containing the suffix /gas*/; e.g.: *orrasígas* ~ *orrasías* 'with comb, com indef'.

2.6.3. Total assimilation of vowels

In certain morpho-syntactic contexts, /a/ and /e/ assimilate in all features to an immediately preceding vowel.²⁰ Unlike the two rules just examined (mid vowel raising and ž-insertion), this total assimilation process is an optional, fast-speech, rule:

- | | | |
|------|--|-------------------------|
| (84) | <i>umia da</i> ~ <i>umii da</i> | 'it is the child' |
| | <i>basúak dis</i> ~ <i>basúuk dis</i> [basúutis] | 'they are the forests' |
| | <i>umien ama</i> ~ <i>umiin ama</i> | 'the child's mother' |
| | <i>umíen ama</i> ~ <i>umíin ama</i> | 'the children's mother' |
| | <i>katuen platera</i> ~ <i>katuun platera</i> | 'the cat's plate' |
| | <i>žo ében</i> ~ <i>žo óben</i> | 'they hit him/her' |
| | <i>apurtu eban</i> ~ <i>apurtu uban</i> | 's/he broke it' |
| | <i>ikusi ében</i> ~ <i>ikusi íben</i> | 'they saw it' |

The pronunciations to the right of the arrow show the application of this process of total assimilation which, as mentioned, is only optional but very common in casual conversation.

The vowel /o/ does not undergo this process :

- | | | |
|------|---|---------------------------------------|
| (85) | <i>basúok dis</i> - * <i>basúuk dis</i> | 'they are the forests, prox(imative)' |
| | <i>umíon ama</i> - * <i>umíin ama</i> | 'the children's mother, prox' |

As for the high vowels, they are never found in the relevant morphological contexts. The application of total vowel assimilation is restricted to basically two contexts: between stem and nominal inflection and between main verb and auxiliary (those illustrated above in (84)). Outside of these two morphosyntactic contexts, total vowel assimilation applies only with the superlative suffix /-en*/. This is a rather curious exception, since other suffixes of a similar semantic and morphological nature, such as the comparative /-ago*/ and the excessive /-egi*/, do not undergo the rule:

- | | | |
|------|---|-----------------------|
| (86) | /tonto*-en*-a/ <i>tontuéna</i> ~ <i>tontuúna</i> | 'the most stupid one' |
| | /tonto*-ago*-a/ <i>tontuáwa</i> - * <i>tontuúwa</i> | 'more stupid' |
| | /tonto*-egi*-a/ <i>tontuegíza</i> - * <i>tontuugíza</i> | 'too stupid' |

As was noted in sections 2.6.1 and 2.6.2 all three suffixes illustrated in (86) undergo both mid vowel raising and ž-insertion, just like nominal inflectional suffixes. The difference between the superlative and the other two adjectival suffixes is, thus, rather unexpected.

(20) Hualde & Elordieta (1992) is an expanded version of this section, where some theoretical issues raised by the process of total vowel assimilation are discussed. Cf., also, Elordieta (1994).

Elsewhere the rule does not apply:

(87)	Morpheme-internally ²¹ :	<i>diabru</i> -	* <i>diibru</i>	'devil'
	Derivation:	<i>listu-égi</i> -	* <i>listuúgi</i>	'too smart'
		<i>donosti-árra</i> -	* <i>donostiírra</i>	'Donostian'
	Compounding:	<i>buru-ándi</i> -	* <i>buruúndi</i>	'big-headed'
	Between words:	<i>ortu estua</i> -	* <i>ortu ustua</i>	'narrow field'
		<i>ori argiža</i> -	* <i>ori irgiža</i>	'that light'

Total vowel assimilation is, thus, a process that only affects nominal inflectional suffixes and auxiliaries. The exceptionality of the superlative suffix can be related to the fact that this morpheme is phonologically identical to the genitive plural. In fact, it can be taken to be the same morpheme.

A further restriction on this process is that it does not apply when the target syllable immediately precedes a pause or strong intonational break:

(88)	<i>Péru gure umia ra</i> ~ <i>Péru gure umii ra</i>	'Peru is our child'
but:	<i>Péru ra gure umia</i> - * <i>Péru ra gure umii ##</i>	
	<i>liburúak Péruk daukos</i> ~ <i>liburúuk Péruk daukos</i>	'Peru has the books'
but:	<i>Péruk daukos liburúak</i> - * <i>Péruk daukos liburúuk##</i>	
	<i>barrixtu egingo dabela [plasan dagoen etxia/ *etxii] esan ében</i>	'they said that they would renovate [the house that is on the square]'

This is, thus, a morphologically restricted rule which is sensitive to intonational breaks. On the other hand, total vowel assimilation between participle and auxiliary is not dependent on cliticization; since it may take place even when participle and auxiliary constitute separate prosodic words, as when the participle receives focus accent or the auxiliary carries a complementizer (cf. sections 2.8.4 and 5.1):

(89)	<i>ekarrí eban</i> ~ <i>ekarrí iban</i>	's/he did bring it'
	<i>ekarrí ebalako</i> ~ <i>ekarrí ibalako</i>	'because s/he brought it'
	<i>ekarríko eban</i> ~ <i>ekarríko oban</i>	's/he would bring it'

Total vowel assimilation applies on the output of the obligatory rules of mid vowel rising (cf. section 2.6.2) and singular low vowel raising (cf. section 2.7.1):

(90)	/baso-a/ <i>basua</i> ~ <i>basuu</i> (<i>da</i>)	'(it is) the forest'
	/baso-en/ <i>basuen</i> ~ <i>basuun</i> (<i>žawia</i>)	'(the owner) of the forest'
	/ume-a/ <i>umia</i> ~ <i>umii</i> (<i>da</i>)	'(it is) the child'
	/ume-en/ <i>umien</i> ~ <i>umiin</i> (<i>ama</i>)	'(the mother) of the child'
	/neska-a/ <i>neskia</i> ~ <i>neskii</i> (<i>da</i>)	'(it is) the girl'
	/neska-en/ <i>neskien</i> ~ <i>neskiin</i> (<i>ama</i>)	'(the mother) of the girl'

Total vowel assimilation can also be fed by a rule that deletes the final /-n/ of perfective participles in certain intervocalic contexts (cf. section 2.7.4):

(91)	<i>žan eban</i> ~ <i>ža eban</i> ~ <i>ža aban</i>	's/he ate it'
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(21) Tautomorphic sequences are affected only in a few words, such as the semiauxiliary *biar* ~ *bi(i)r* 'must',

2.6.4. Postvocalic glide formation

In sequences of two vocoids where one of them is high, the relative position of the two vocoids determines their syllabification. Whereas prevocalic high vocoids are syllabic (except in some borrowings, as was mentioned in section 2.2.7), postvocalic high vocoids are realized as glides. Thus, *ausua* 'the neighbor' is syllabified as [aw.su.a], where the sequence *au* forms a diphthong, but the opposite sequence *ua* is pronounced in hiatus. The distinction between diphthongs and hiatuses is relevant for accentuation purposes. In Lekeitio, lexical accents are always realized on the penultimate syllable of the word (cf. section 2.8.1). Given this restriction on the position of accents, consider the accentual patterns of lexically accented words such as *éurak* 'they, abs/erg' and *suéri* 'to you-pl, dat'. In both cases, the accent must be on the penultimate syllable, but in *suéri* [su.é.ri] it falls on the penultimate vocoid and in *éurak* [éw.rak] on the antepenultimate. This shows that accent placement is sensitive to syllabification and, in particular, to the derived syllabic distinction between prevocalic and postvocalic high vocoids.

The rule of diphthongization or postvocalic glide formation, thus, makes a high vocoid nonsyllabic when immediately following a segment of higher sonority.²²

- (92) Postvocalic glide formation: A high vocoid becomes nonsyllabic (i.e. loses its moraic character) when immediately preceding a nonhigh vocoid

m	m		m	
V	V	->	V	V
[-high]	[+high]		[-high]	[+high]

(where, m = mora)

Postvocalic glide formation applies both word-internally (e.g.: [lau] → *law* 'four') and across word boundaries (e.g.: *neska umilde bat* → *nes.kaw.mil.de bat* 'a humble girl'). Nevertheless, the rule of postvocalic glide formation does not apply in sequences that have been created by deletion of an intervocalic consonant. Thus the auxiliary form, *dou* from /dogu/ is bisyllabic, as shown by the position of the accent in an example such as (*gûk*) *eitten-dóu* 'we make it' which can be compared with (*lagunâk*) *eittén-dau* 'the friend makes it'.

Intervocalic high vocoids both precede and follow a vowel. Thus, they would seem to be both in the context where these segments are realized as vowels and in the context where they are realized as glides. The fact is that, in morpheme internal position, intervocalic high vocoids are syllabified as onsets and are realized as fricativized glides; e.g. *žawe* /ʒaue/ [dʒa.ʷe] 'owner'. Intervocalic high vocoids thus behave

but not, e.g.: *sjar* ~ **siir* 'through'. In particular, participles in *-ia* can undergo the rule, e.g.: *sortia* ~ *sortii* 'to raffle' (cf. Elordieta 1994).

(22) Sequences of two high vowels are generally heterosyllabic: /piura/ [pi.u.ra] 'aspect, figure', /pasiu*/ [pa.sí.u] 'stroll'.

as postvocalic ones in undergoing glide formation (and subsequent fortition). Consider now, however, the following contrasts:

(93)	<i>desi.ú.ak</i>	'desires'	<i>mo.rá.uak</i>	'purple ones'
	<i>pasi.ú.ak</i>	'strolls'	<i>lá.uak</i>	'the four'
	<i>fe.ú.ak</i>	'ugly ones'	<i>sé.uek</i>	'you-pl, emph.'
	<i>e.rre.kre.ú.ak</i>	'recesses'	<i>ar.dá.uak</i>	'the wines'

In the words on the left column, the accent falls on the intervocalic vocoid, which is syllabic. In those on the right, on the other hand, the intervocalic high vocoid is nonsyllabic and the accent falls on the third vocoid from the right.

A difference between the words on the right and the left column in (93) appears once we consider their uninflected forms:

(94)	<i>desío</i>	<i>morau</i>
	<i>pasíu</i>	<i>lau</i>
	<i>féo</i>	<i>seu</i>
	<i>errekréo</i>	<i>ardau</i>

The left-column words are accented words ending in a hiatus. The right-column words on the other hand end in a postvocalic glide. Postvocalic Glide Formation (PGF) does not apply in the left-column examples because either the last segment is not underlyingly high or, if high, it is preceded by another high vocoid:

(95)		<i>pasiuak</i>	<i>feak</i>	<i>morauak</i>	<i>seuek</i>
	PGF	_____	_____	<i>morawak</i>	<i>sewek</i>
	Syllabification	<i>pa.si.u.ak</i>	<i>fe.o.ak</i>	<i>mo.ra.wak</i>	<i>se.wek</i>
	Mid V Raising	_____	<i>fe.u.ak</i>	_____	_____
	Lexical Stress Ass.	<i>pa.si.ú.ak</i>	<i>fe.ú.ak</i>	<i>mo.rá.wak</i>	<i>sé.wek</i>

2.6.5. Deletion and gliding of postvocalic mid vowels

Although, with the only exception of *oe* 'bed', the final sequence [Ve] is not found on the surface, there is a group of words for which an underlying stem-final /Ve/ sequence appears to have to be postulated. Consider the contrast between the examples in (96a) and (96b):

(96)	uninflected abs sg						
a.	<i>kata</i>	<i>kataya</i>	'chain'	b.	<i>bei</i>	<i>beiža</i>	'cow'
	<i>gasta</i>	<i>gastaya</i>	'cheese'		<i>mái</i>	<i>máiža</i>	'table'
	<i>melo</i>	<i>meloya</i>	'melon'		<i>dei</i>	<i>deiža</i>	'call'
	<i>patro</i>	<i>patroya</i>	'boss'		<i>gai</i>	<i>gaiža</i>	'topic'
	<i>televisiño</i>	<i>televisiñoja</i>	'television'		<i>úrdai</i>	<i>úrdáiža</i>	'bacon'
					<i>kai</i>	<i>kaiža</i>	'harbor'
					<i>nasai</i>	<i>nasaiža</i>	'wide'
					<i>loi</i>	<i>loiža</i>	'dirt'

The stems in (96b) do not present any surprises. They clearly appear to end in underlying /i/ and, thus, trigger ž-insertion before a vowel-initial inflectional suffix, like any other /i/-final stems. For the words in (96a), however, a final underlying /e/ can be postulated. This vowel deletes in final position preceded by another vowel (left column). In the intervocalic position, on the other hand, underlying /e/ rises and glides (right column).

This distinction can be captured if, for stems such as those in (96a), we postulate final underlying /e/, which rises and glides in postvocalic position and is deleted word-finally. (cf. Hualde & Bilbao 1992: 34-35, Hualde 1993b for related facts in other dialects):

(97)		/katae/	/katae-a/	/nasai/	/nasai-a/
	Ø → ž /	i __ V	_____	_____	_____
	e → j /	V __ V	_____	<i>kataya</i>	_____
	e → Ø /	V __]	<i>kata</i>	_____	_____
			<i>kata</i>	<i>kataya</i>	<i>nasai</i>
					<i>nasaiža</i>

2.7. Restricted morphophonological processes

In this section, we include phonological alternations which only affect a few morphemes or are otherwise restricted to very specific morphological contexts.

2.7.1. Raising and deletion of stem-final low vowels

Stem final /-a/ is raised to [i] before the initial vowel of an inflectional suffix in the singular:²³

(98)	/neska-a/	<i>neskia</i>	‘the girl, abs’
	/baba-a/	<i>babia</i>	‘the bean, abs’
	/neska-a-k/	<i>neskiak</i>	‘the girl, erg’
	/baba-a-k/	<i>babiak</i>	‘the bean, erg’
	/neska-en/	<i>neskien</i>	‘of the girl, gen’
	/baba-en/	<i>babien</i>	‘of the bean, gen’
	/ori neska-ori/	<i>ori neskiori</i>	‘that girl, abs’
	/ori baba-ori/	<i>ori babiori</i>	‘that bean, abs’

In the plural and indefinite, instead, the same sequences are altered by deletion of the stem-final low vowel:

(99)	/neska-ak*/	<i>néskak</i>	‘the girls, abs/erg’
	/baba-ak*/	<i>bábak</i>	‘the beans, abs/erg’
	/neska-en*/	<i>nésken</i>	‘of the girls, gen’
	/baba-en*/	<i>báben</i>	‘of the beans, gen’

(23) This process can be interpreted as raising of /a/ to [e], which is then raised to [i] by mid vowel raising (cf. section 2.6.1).

/neska-on*/	<i>néskon</i>	'of the girls, gen prox'
/baba-on*/	<i>bábon</i>	'of the beans, gen prox'
/neska-en/	<i>nesken</i>	'of girls, gen indef'
/baba-en/	<i>babén</i>	'of beans, gen indef'

The raising of /a/ before another vowel is thus a process restricted to singular inflectional domains.

2.7.2. Processes affecting the negative particle

After the negative particle /es/, inflected verbal formings beginning with /b/ or /d/ undergo optional devoicing, just as after voiceless stops (cf. section 2.5.7). The same asymmetry indicated in section 2.5.7 can be observed also in this context. The velar /g/, which does not devoice after stops, is not devoiced after the negation either:

(100)	/es-dator/	<i>es[t]ator</i>	's/he is not coming'
	/es-dira/	<i>es[t]ira</i>	'they are not'
	/es-ba-doya*/	<i>es[p]adóya</i>	'if s/he is not going'

But:

	/es-gara/	<i>*es[k]ara</i>	'we are not'
		<i>e[zy]ara</i>	
	/es-goias*/	<i>*es[k]óyas</i>	'we are not going'
		<i>e[zy]óyas</i>	

Devoicing after /es/ is an optional process. In the examples above /s/ can take the voiced feature of the following consonant instead, as is normal outside of this special morphosyntactic context: *e[zð]ator*, *e[zð]ira*, *e[zβ]adóya*. On the other hand, /s/ does not cause devoicing of a following stop in any other context. Thus, examples such as *es barrízak* 'not the new ones' or *es damutu* 'not to repent', where the negative particle *es* is followed by a word which is not a conjugated verb, devoicing is impossible: **es[p]arrízak*, **es[t]amutu*. Similarly devoicing does not take place in *lagunágas dator* 's/he is coming with the friend', which contains a conjugated verb form starting with /d/ preceded by an /s/ which does not belong to the negative particle: **lagunágas[t]ator*.

A second special rule restricted to groups with negative /es/ is that the final /s/ of the negative particle deletes before inflected verb forms starting with /n/ or /l/. This is also an optional process:

(101)	/es-nabil/	<i>enabill</i>	'I am not walking'
	/es-leuko/	<i>eleuko</i>	's/he would not have it'

2.7.3. Voicing of stops after noncontinuant sonorants

In some restricted morphological contexts, a stop is voiced after a nasal or lateral (a noncontinuant sonorant). One of the contexts where this rule operates is the morphology of uninflected verb forms. The initial consonant of both the future

suffix /-ko*/ and the suffix /-ta/ of the participial adjective undergo voicing after a nasal or lateral. Compare the following examples:²⁴

(102)	future	adjectival participle	
a.	<i>etorri-ko</i>	<i>etorri-tta</i>	'to come'
	<i>banatú-ko</i>	<i>banatú-ta</i>	'to distribute'
b.	<i>éin-go</i>	<i>éin-dda</i>	'to do, make'
	<i>emón-go</i>	<i>emón-da</i>	'to give'
	<i>esán-go</i>	<i>esán-da</i>	'to say'
	<i>il-go</i>	<i>il-dda</i>	'to die'

One of the endings of the perfect participle is /-tu/ (cf. section 3.2.1). This suffix, which is productive in the formation of verbs from adjectives and nouns, also undergoes the rule of voicing:

(103) a.	<i>luse-tu</i>	'to lengthen'
	<i>erres-tu</i>	'to make easy'
	<i>labur-tu</i>	'to shorten'
b.	<i>epel-du</i>	'to warm up'
	<i>gixon-du</i>	'to become a man'
	<i>ixil-ddu</i>	'to become/make quiet'
	<i>lagun-du</i>	'to help'
	<i>makal-du</i>	'to weaken'

There are two stop-initial suffixes in the nominal inflectional paradigm which also undergo voicing: the genitive locative /-ko/²⁵ and the ablative /-tik*/. However these two suffixes only undergo voicing when they attach to adverbs of place or time which take these suffixes:

(104) a.	<i>or-ko</i>	'of there'	<i>ór-tik</i>	'from there'
b.	<i>on-go</i>	'of now'	<i>ón-dik</i>	'from now'
	<i>nún-go</i>	'of where'	<i>nún-dik</i>	'from where'
	<i>amen-go</i>	'of here'	<i>amén-dik</i>	'from here'
	<i>an-go</i>	'of over there'	<i>án-dik</i>	'from over there'

Outside of this morphological context, these same suffixes do not undergo devoicing; rather, an epenthetic vowel is introduced after any stem-final consonant:

(105)	<i>sagarr-eko</i>	'of the apple'	<i>sagarr-étik</i>	'from the apple'
	<i>belau-eko</i>	'of the knee'	<i>belau-étik</i>	'from the knee'

(24) Voicing of stops in restricted morphological contexts is common to most Basque dialects; but the specific contexts where the rule applies may vary. For instance, in Getxo the future suffix shows voicing after a nasal, but not after a lateral (*ingo* 'to do, fut', *ilko* 'to die, fut') and there is no voicing in the adjectival participle (*emónsta* 'given'), cf. Hualde & Bilbao 1992: 53.

(25) As de Rijk (1993) convincingly shows 'genitive locative' is a misnomer for this suffix. The real function of this suffix is as a linking suffix to allow modification of an NP by a PP. Nevertheless, we will use the traditional name here.

2.7.4. Deletion processes in verbal groups

Participial forms ending in a nasal optionally lose their final consonant when followed by a vowel-initial auxiliary:

- (106) *žan eban* -> *ža eban* ~ *ža aban* 's/he ate'
žaten éban -> *žate éban* 's/he was eating'

In certain cases, both the final /n/ of the participle and the initial /d/ of a following auxiliary can be deleted:

- (107) *esan dot* - *esaot* 'I have said'
žan dosu - *žaosu* 'you have eaten'
eran dosúe - *eraosúe* 'you-pl have drunk'
emon dot - *emoot* 'I have given'

However, this contraction is highly lexicalized. It is possible with some sequences of participle plus auxiliary, but not with others. For instance, there is no contraction with the verb *žakiñ* 'to know' or with the auxiliaries *dau*, *dogu* and *dabe*:

- (108) *žaki[ŋd]ot* - not **žakiot* 'I have known'
esan do(g)u - not **esaou* 'we have said'
emon dau - not **emoau* 's/he has given'
eran dabe - not **eraabe* 'they have drunk'

2.7.5. Final glide deletion in perfective participles

Perfective participles in *-a* borrowed from Spanish appear to have an underlying final back high vocoid, which surfaces when a vowel-initial inflectional suffix follows:

- (109) /atrapau/ *atrapa* 'to catch, perfective participle'
 /atrapau-a-gas*/ *atrapawágas* 'with catching'
 /atrapau-ago*/ *atrapawágo* 'crazier' (lit. 'more caught')

The process does not affect other falling diphthongs and does not apply to adjectives derived from verbs. Thus in the adjective *estimañ*, *estimawa* 'esteemed' the final vocoid does not delete, unlike in the verb *estima* 'to esteem' to which it is related.

2.7.6. Total regressive assimilation

In a few forms a low vowel assimilates to a following round vowel in all features in sequences created by the deletion of an intervocalic /g/. This phenomenon takes places with the comparative suffix /-ago*/ and a few verbal forms:

- (110) *altuágo* -> *altuóo* 'taller'
dágo -> *doo* 's/he is'
daukagu -> *daukuu* 'we have'

This assimilation does not take place in verbal forms where the low vowel is accented, as in *daroyá(g)u* 'we are taking it', not **daroyúu* or in any other cases; e.g.: *sa(g)u* 'mouse', not **suu*.

2.7.7. Dependent stem formation rules

Among the oldest and most characteristic phonological processes in the Basque language, there are a number of rules which apply exclusively in the formation of dependent stems from free stems (cf. Hualde 1991: ch. 3). Dependent stems are used followed by a derivational suffix or by the head of the compound in subcompounds. The rules involved in the formation of dependent stems are not productive. In Lekeitio, they account for a very limited number of alternations found in the lexicon.

A first process involved in the formation of dependent stems is the lowering to /a/ of stem-final mid vowels in bisyllabic stems when followed by a consonant. In Lekeitio, we find examples such as the following which show this alternation:

(111)	<i>arto</i>	'corn'	<i>arta-búru</i>	'ear of corn'
	<i>baso</i>	'forest'	<i>basa-mortu</i>	'desert'
	<i>ollo</i>	'chicken'	<i>ollá-sko</i>	'young chicken'

Stem-final vowels in dependent stems which are not subject to lowering are deleted. Stem-final vowels can be deleted: a/ if the stem contains more than two syllables (regardless of the quality of the final vowel, (112a)), b/ if high (regardless of number of syllables, (112b)), or c/ if followed by another vowel (112b,c):

(112) a.	<i>arnasa</i>	'breath'	<i>arnas-estúka</i>	'panting'
	<i>itxaso</i>	'sea'	<i>itxas-kábra</i>	'a type of fish', lit. 'sea goat'
b.	<i>begi</i>	'eye'	<i>bet-ul</i>	'eyebrow'
			<i>bet-ondo</i>	'frown'
c.	<i>baso</i>	'forest'	<i>bas-érri</i>	'farm house'
	<i>ollo</i>	'hen'	<i>óll-ar</i>	'rooster'

Consonants that become final as a consequence of final vowel deletion are changed in a number of ways. Stops are changed to /t/. The only examples that we have been able to find for Lekeitio are those given in (112b) above, involving the stem *begi* 'eye', which becomes *bet-* as a dependent stem. The rhotic flap is changed to /l/, some examples are the following:

(113)	<i>afari</i>	'supper'	<i>afal-du</i>	'to have supper'
			<i>afal-ostían</i>	'after supper'
	<i>bustarri</i>	'yoke'	<i>bustar-tu</i>	'to yoke'
	<i>erdéra</i>	'Spanish lg.'	<i>erdal-dun</i> ²⁶	'Spanish speaker'
	<i>euskéra</i>	'Basque lg.'	<i>euskal-dun</i>	'Basque speaker'

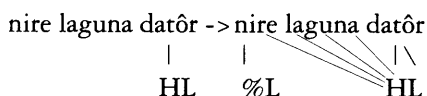
(26) The pairs *euskéra/euskal*, *erdéra/erdal* show, in addition, a change in vowel quality. This change is historically explainable if we assume the forms *euskara*, *erdara* (which are found in eastern dialects) for an earlier period.

The noun *gixon* 'man' has a completely peculiar dependent stem form in Basque, *gixa-*. In Lekeitio we find the following examples with this dependent stem:

- (114) *gixon* 'man' *gixá-jo* 'poor man'
 gixá-ja 'poor woman'

2.8. Accentuation

In Lekeitio Basque pitch is the main correlate of accent. Accents are invariably realized by means of a H*L tonal melody. That is, accented syllables carry a high tone, immediately followed by a sharp drop. Whereas the fall following an accent is always sharp, the rise in pitch on the accented syllable may not be abrupt, and syllables preceding the accented syllable (except for the first one in the phrase) are often realized on the same pitch as the accented syllable. That is, there is a phenomenon of leftward high tone spreading, that can be clearly observed, for instance, in the fundamental frequency tracing given in fig. 1:



Only some words are accented. The rest do not carry accentual prominence on any syllable. In the example above, *nire laguna datôr*, only the word *datôr* receives an accent. Observe also the two tracings in fig. 2. In fig. 2a *nire lagunen liburúa ra* 'it is the book of my friend', there is only one accent, on the penultimate syllable of *liburúa*. In fig. 2b *nire lagunen liburúa ra* 'it is the book of my friends', on the other hand, there are two accents, since the word *lagunen* 'of the friends' is accented, unlike *lagunen* 'of the friend':

Surface accentual prominence on a given syllable may have one of three sources:²⁷

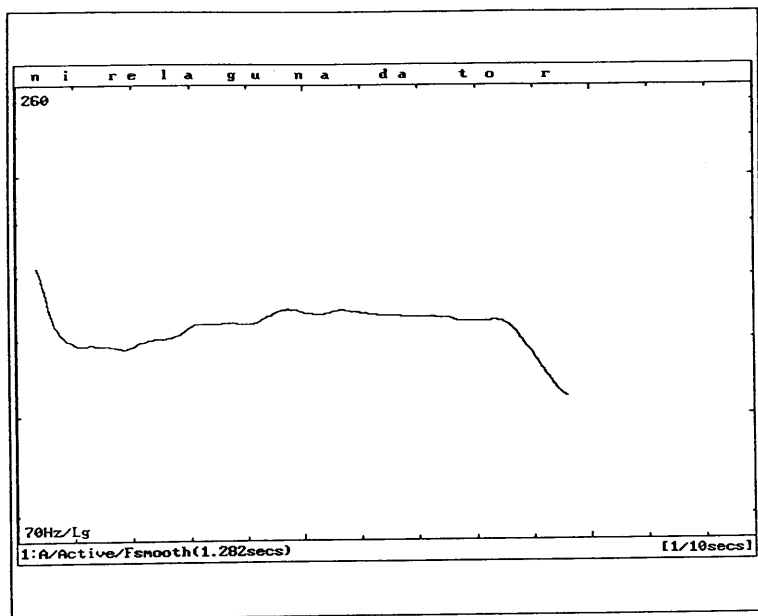
1. Lexical accent. There is a lexical distinction between accentually marked and unmarked morphemes. Whereas accentually unmarked morphemes do not have any accentual properties, marked or accented morphemes have the property of placing an accent on the penultimate syllable of the word that contains them. We will signal a lexical accent with an asterisk in underlying representation and with an acute accent (´) on the prominent syllable in surface representation.

2. Syntactic accent. In certain syntactic constructions which will be examined, an accent is inserted (e.g. verbs receive penultimate accent in questions with question words).

3. Phrase-final accents. Lexically unaccented words or phrases receive accentual prominence on their final syllable when pronounced in isolation. In a sentence, an unaccented phrase will receive phrase-final accent only when focalized.

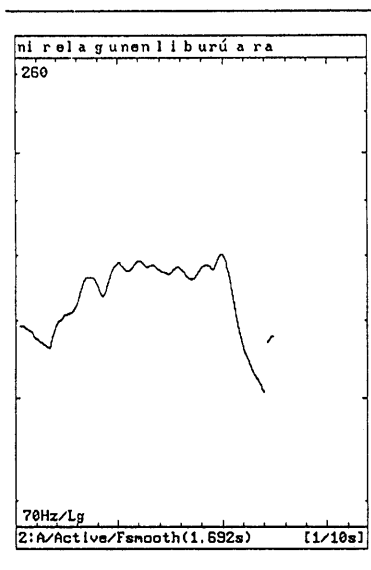
In every sentence one of the accents (lexical or otherwise) is given a greater prominence. We will refer to this greater level of prominence as focal accent since it

(27) The first description of this accentual system is due to Azkue (1923, 1931-32). Cf., also, Hualde (1989, 1990, 1991, 1993a).



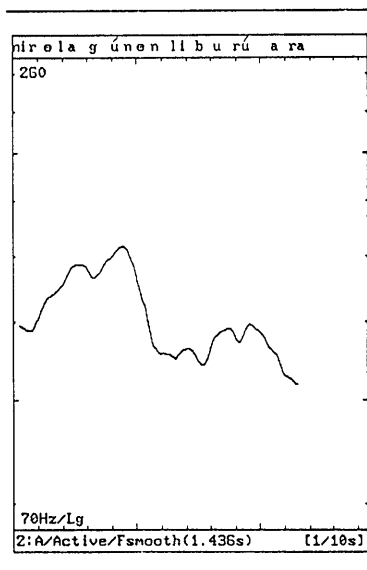
nire laguna datôr

Fig. 1



nire lagun en liburuâ ra

fig 2a



nire lagûnen liburuâ ra

fig 2b

corresponds to the focalized element in the sentence. Focal accent will be indicated with a circumflex accent mark (^).

2.8.1. Accented and unaccented morphemes

Words may be lexically accented or unaccented; most words being in fact unaccented. Unaccented words do not bear prominence on any syllable; except that, in phrases containing only unaccented words, the final syllable carries accentual prominence when the phrase is pronounced in isolation or constitutes the focus of the sentence. We indicate this phrase-final accent with a grave accent mark. The following examples contain only unaccented words:

- | | |
|--|--|
| (115) <i>iru abadè</i> | ‘three priests’ |
| <i>abadià</i> | ‘the priest’ |
| <i>gure erriko abade barrižari</i> | ‘to the new priest of our village’ |
| <i>gure erriko abade barrižentzakò</i> | ‘for the new priest of our village’ |
| <i>sure lagun^{en} etxeko sutonduàn</i> | ‘in the fireplace of your friend’s house’ |
| <i>gure lagun^{en} erriko itturri ederrentzakò</i> | ‘for the beautiful fountain of our friend’s village’ |

On the other hand, accented words present penultimate prominence regardless of their position in the phrase. Accentuation is, to be precise, a lexical property of morphemes, not of words. Accented morphemes, thus, have the property of assigning prominence to the penultimate syllable in the word that contains them. Accented morphemes (which will be marked with an asterisk in underlying representations) can be roots, suffixes or prefixes. The following phrases contain one or more accented words:

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| (116) <i>lau libúru</i> | ‘four books’ |
| <i>liburúa</i> | ‘the book’ |
| <i>liburuári</i> | ‘to the book, dat’ |
| <i>sure lagun^{en} liburúa</i> | ‘your friend’s book’ |
| <i>sure lagun^{en} libúru barriža</i> | ‘the new book of your friend’ |
| <i>sure lagun^{en} libúru barriža</i> | ‘the new book of your friends’ |
| <i>súen lagun^{en} libúru modernúa</i> | ‘the modern book of your-pl friends’ |
| <i>gure eskoláko máixo barrižári</i> | ‘to the new teachers of our school’ |

In the examples in (116), the lexical accent of some of the words is a property of the root (/eskola*/ ‘school’, /liburu*/ ‘book’, /moderno*/ ‘modern’, /maiso*/ ‘teacher’); in other words the accent is introduced by a suffix (the genitive plural /-en*/ and the dative plural /-ari*/).

Accented roots include a relatively small group of native items (most of which historically presented a complex morphological structure, cf. Hualde 1993a) and a large number of borrowings, both recent and very old. In general, there is considerable agreement between Lekeitio and other Biscayan (and Gipuzkoan) dialects

regarding which words are accented. A peculiarity, nevertheless, is that, unlike in other dialects, absolutely all perfective participles are unaccented in Lekeitio. This includes borrowings such as *boia* 'to throw' and old causatives such as *eruan* 'to carry', which are typically accented elsewhere. Spanish paroxytones and proparoxytones are generally adopted as accented items, whereas all Spanish oxytones are interpreted as unaccented in Lekeitio (see Vocabulary and section 2.9). Some representative examples of the different groups of accented monomorphemic words are the following:

(117) Accented monomorphemic words

a. Old borrowings:²⁸ *aixkóra* 'ax', *alkondára* 'shirt', *aparízo* 'fishing tools', *dénda* 'store', *denpóra* 'time', *doméka* 'Sunday', *zénte* 'people', *erre-gálu* 'present', *errénta* 'rent', *errosarízo* 'rosary', *eskóla* 'school', *espillu* 'mirror', *ganbára* 'attic', *ingúru* 'surroundings', *ixára* 'bed sheet', *kabána* 'shop', *katillu* 'cup', *keríxa* 'cherry', *kažóla* 'cage', *lakirízo* 'bird trap', *léku* 'place', *libúru* 'book', *puxíka* 'bladder', *txirínga* 'syringe'.

b. Modern borrowings: *abíxu* 'warning', *agílla* 'eagle', *ajéntzi* 'agency', *alégre* 'happy', *anímo* 'courage', *aspiradóra* 'vacuum cleaner', *bakúna* 'vaccine', *bañéra* 'bath tub', *dútxa* 'shower', *eskaparáte* 'showcase', *bolánte* 'steering wheel', *boligráfo* 'ballpoint pen', *büélta* 'turn', *ekipáje* 'luggage', *gasolína* 'gasoline', *karpéta* 'folder', *konéjo* 'rabbit', *kutxíllu* 'knife', *lanpára* 'lamp', *líxo* 'flat', *nebéra* 'refrigerator', *porsiakáso* 'just in case', *rradízo* 'radio'.

c. Etymologically complex native and semi-native words:²⁹ *amáika* 'eleven', *amúma* 'grandmother', *asgúra* 'itching', *atéta* 'doorway', *báyetz* 'yes, of course', *bakárrik* 'only', *barízáku* 'Friday', *egúski* 'sun', *ewásten* 'Wednesday', *éwen* 'Thursday', *emerétzi* 'nineteen', *erízótza* 'death', *etzi-karámon* 'day after tomorrow', *euskéra* 'Basque language', *erdéra* 'Spanish', *galéper* 'quail', *ixéko* 'aunt', *kaltzérdi* 'sock', *larógei* 'eighty', *lengúsu* 'cousin', *okáran* 'plum', *íntxaur* 'walnut', *ollásko* 'chicken', *posárren* 'happy', *treotzára* 'basket', *úrdai* 'bacon', *úrratx* 'hazel nut'.

d. Native words of unknown etymology: *ámu* 'fishing hook', *aséri* 'fox', *arráutza* 'egg', *arráusi* 'yawn', *artási* 'scissors', *átze* 'back', *áurre* 'front', *béste* 'other', *bekóki* 'forehead', *belárri* 'ear', *berákatz* 'garlic', *éra* 'manner', *eréñotz* 'laurel', *erástun* 'ring', *kankárru* 'big container', *kikírri* 'penis', *lapíko* 'cooking pot', *mái* 'table', *mallúki* 'strawberry', *masústra* 'wild

(28) Included here are words that might have been borrowed at very different times. Some examples are words that appear to derive from Latin, from Old Spanish or some other Medieval Romance dialect. For other examples it is difficult to determine the time of the borrowing. These have been included among the "old borrowings" when they show adaptations that are no longer productive.

(29) In this group we include words whose morphological structure is not transparent, but where it is possible to recognize at least one component or which have been convincingly shown to derive from a morphologically complex structure. Semi-native words are those consisting of both native and borrowed morphemes.

blackberry', *órratz* 'needle', *sayérre* 'vulture', *símaur* 'manure', *tangárro* 'pail', *ugesába* 'boss', *úski* 'buttocks'.

Among the nominal inflectional suffixes, all plural suffixes and the nonplural ablative */-tik*/* and comitative */-gas*/* are accented (cf. section 3.1):

(118)	<i>/abade-ak*/</i>	<i>abadíak</i>	'the priests, abs/erg'
	<i>/lagun-en*-a/</i>	<i>lagunéna</i>	'the one of the friends'
	<i>/lagun-a-gas*/</i>	<i>lagunágas</i>	'with the friend'
	<i>/mendi-tik*/</i>	<i>mendítik</i>	'from the mountain'

In most declensional cases, the only difference between singular and plural is of an accentual nature, as can be seen in the following examples for *lagun* 'friend' (cf. section 3.1):

(119)	singular	plural	singular	plural
	erg	<i>lagunak</i>	<i>lagúnak</i>	gen <i>lagunen</i>
	dat	<i>lagunari</i>	<i>lagunári</i>	ben <i>lagunentzako</i>
				<i>lagunentzáko</i>

The singular/plural distinction is thus lost when the stem is accented, as shown in the following examples for *libúru* 'book':

(120)	singular	plural	singular	plural
	erg	<i>liburúak</i>	<i>liburúak</i>	gen <i>liburúen</i>
	dat	<i>liburuári</i>	<i>liburuári</i>	ben <i>liburuentzako</i>
				<i>liburuentzáko</i>

In the morphology of participial forms, both the imperfective */-(t)en*/* and the future */-ko*/* are accented (cf. section 3.2):

(121)	<i>/eskribidu/</i>	<i>eskribidu</i>	'write, perf'
	<i>/eskribidu-ten*/</i>	<i>eskribidúten</i>	'write, imp'
	<i>/eskribidu-ko*/</i>	<i>eskribidúko</i>	'write, fut'

A number of derivational suffixes are also accented; these include, for instance, the superlative */-en*/* and 'excessive' */-egi*/* (both better treated as inflectional, cf. section 2.6.2), the frequentative */-ro*/*, the adjective forming */-ti*/* and the place-adjective forming */-tarr*/* (cf. section 3.3):

(122)	<i>/ederr-en*/</i>	<i>edérren</i>	'most beautiful'
	<i>/ederr-en*-a/</i>	<i>ederréna</i>	'the most beautiful one, abs'
	<i>/ederr-en*-en-tzako/</i>	<i>ederrenentzáko</i>	'for the most beautiful one, ben'
	<i>/bero-egi*/</i>	<i>berué(g)i</i>	'too hot'
	<i>/kale-tarr*/</i>	<i>kalétar</i>	'town dweller'
	<i>/kale-tarr*-a/</i>	<i>kaletárra</i>	'the town dweller, abs'
	<i>/aste-ro*/</i>	<i>astéro</i>	'every week'
	<i>/gusur-ti*/</i>	<i>gusúrti</i>	'liar'
	<i>/gusur-ti*-ari/</i>	<i>gusurtižári</i>	'to the liar, dat'

Further examples of accented stems containing derivational suffixes are the following (cf. section 3.3 for a list of derivational suffixes and more complete exemplification):

- (123) Accented derived stems: *asikéra* 'beginning', *žaižokéra* 'birth', *žaskéra* 'way of dressing', *žokéra* 'tendency', *lodižéra* 'fatness', *orraskéra* 'style of combing', *sabaléra* 'width', *luséra* 'length', *laburréra* 'shortening', *ibilkéra* 'way of walking', *moskórti* 'drunkard', *ikaráti* 'frightful', *eskérti* 'lefthanded', *uskárti* 'farty', *lotzáti* 'shy', *gaixóki* 'sickly', *saspiki* 'premature baby', *gosóki* 'candy', *txarríki* 'pork', *lagúntza* 'help', *soldáutza* 'military service', *eskóntza* 'wedding', *gorríngo* 'yolk', *suríngo* 'egg white', *egunéro* 'every day', *urtéro* 'every year', *edári* 'drink', *esnerun* 'milkman', *ikásádu* 'coal seller', *esaupíde* 'acquaintance', *illúntze* 'twilight', *lótzor* 'shy', *asmakíxun* 'invention', *atérpe* 'refuge', *astokillo* 'brute'.

There is no difference between words containing only one accented morpheme and words carrying more than one such morpheme. Prominence is on the penultimate of the word regardless of the number of accented morphemes within the word (and the position of the accented morpheme(s) within the word):

- (124) Accented root:
 /belarri*-a/ *belarríza* 'the ear, abs'
 Accented root and accented inflectional suffix:
 /belarri*-ak*/ *belarrízak* 'the ears, abs/erg'
 /lagun-en*-ari/ *lagunenári* 'to the one of the friends'
 Two accented inflectional suffixes:
 /lagun-en*-ari*/ *lagunenári* 'to the ones of the friends'
 Accented root and two accented inflectional suffixes:
 /tonto*-en*-ari*/ *tontuenári* 'to those of the stupid ones'
 Accented root and derivational suffix:
 /kanpo*-tarr*-a/ *kanpotárra* 'the outsider, abs'
 Accented root, derivational suffix and inflectional suffix:
 /kanpo*-tarr*-ak*/ *kanpotárrak* 'the outsiders, abs/erg'

2.8.2. Compound accent rule

A great number of compounds are accented, even when the members in isolation behave as unaccented. The (a) examples are of noun phrases containing an unaccented noun modified by an unaccented adjective. In these examples there is only phrase-final accent (except in the plural form). The (b) examples are noun+adjective compounds, which receive penultimate accent by the compound rule:

- (125) a. *lau sagu sàr* 'four old mice' b. *lau sagúsar* 'four bats'
 sagu sarrà 'the old mouse' *sagusárra* 'the bat'
 sagu sárrak 'the old mice' *sagusárrak* 'the bats'
- (126) a. *lau begi gorri* 'four red eyes' b. *lau begigórri* 'four red-eyed ones'
 begi gorrižà 'the red eye' *begigorrižà* 'the red-eyed one'

Additional examples of accented compounds are the following (127) (the two stems are separated by a hyphen, cf. also section 3.4):

- (127) Accented compounds: *arpei-gógor* 'shameless', *arratz-álde* 'evening', *atzó-sar* 'old woman', *asté-len* 'Monday', *aste-ásken* 'Weekend', *aste-sántu* 'Holy Week', *aitta-sántu* 'Holy Father', *aitta-súlo* 'daddy's baby', *ake-lá-rre* 'witches' sabbath', *arta-búru* 'ear of corn', *baba-lóra* 'pretty', *bas-érrri* 'farmhouse', *begi-óker* 'cross-eyed', *bei-txíngor* 'sty' *buru-ándi* 'big-headed', *buru-gógor* 'hard-headed, stubborn', *žakí-nai* 'curiosity', *buru-óker* 'wrong-headed, stubborn', *žaižo-bárri* 'newly born', *erre-úsaiñ* 'smell of burning', *espata-žántza* 'sword-dance', *etxe-súlo* 'home-loving', *esiñ-ikúsi* 'envy', *es-biar* 'accident', *gabón-sar* 'New Year's Eve', *gibel-ándi* 'nonchalant', *goitti-béra* 'type of skating board', *ikatz-árri* 'mineral coal', *ill-árri* 'tombstone', *ixerdi-lárri* 'cold sweat', *ixxas-kábra* 'type of fish', *kanpo-sántu* 'cemetery', *kata-kúma* 'kitten', *kikili-úsaiñ* 'smell of smoke', *men-di-tóntor* 'mountain summit', *mutíl-sar* 'old bachelor', *negar-sótiñ* 'sob', *neská-sar* 'spinster', *odol-óste* 'blood sausage', *ordu-érđi* 'half an hour', *otzák-ill* 'sensitive to cold', *papar-górri* 'robin', *sarr-ántza* 'old look', *sar-tzáro* 'old age', *sasi-tárte* 'bush', *seir-éun* 'six hundred', *ser-éiñ* 'occupation', *tentel-úsaiñ* 'sleepiness', *traga-nárru* 'big eater', *tripakó-miñ* 'stomach pain', *ustel-úsaiñ* 'stench'.

Productively created compounds are accented. There is thus a rule inserting an accent in the lexical representation of compounds.

2.8.3. Deaccentuation

A few derivational suffixes have the property of erasing a lexical accent from the root to which they attach. These include /-lari/ 'profession, occupation' and /-keri/ 'act with negative connotations'. In the following examples the basic form is accented, but the derived word is accented:

- | | | | | |
|-------|-----------------|---------|---------------------|----------------|
| (128) | <i>txístu</i> | 'flute' | <i>txistulari</i> | 'flautist' |
| | <i>pelóta</i> | 'ball' | <i>pelotari</i> | 'ball-player' |
| | <i>txotxólo</i> | 'silly' | <i>txotxolokeri</i> | 'silly action' |

Lexical accents are also lost in the derivation of verbs from nouns or adjectives by means of suffixes such as /-tu/ and /-ratu/. This follows from the strict ban against accented perfective participles in Leketio:

- | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|----------|------------------|--------------------|
| (129) | <i>tónto</i> | 'stupid' | <i>tontotu</i> | 'to become stupid' |
| | <i>áurre</i> | 'front' | <i>aurreratu</i> | 'to advance' |

2.8.4. Prosodic and morphological words

As mentioned, in Leketio lexical accents are always realized on the penultimate syllable of the word. This property makes clear what constitutes a prosodic word.

A fact that is frequently mentioned in studies on word order in Basque is that, even though the order of constituents in this language is relatively free, only a few

“particles” can occur between participle and auxiliary in their normal, uninverted order (cf., for instance, Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 1987). In Lekeitio, the accentual behavior of a number of these particles shows that, in fact, they are prefixes on the auxiliary.³⁰ These include the conditional /ba-*/ and the evidentials /ete-*/ ‘perhaps’ and /ei-*/ ‘seemingly’. As the examples show, these elements induce penultimate accent on the auxiliary:

- (130) a. *lagúnak ikusi-dosus* b. *lagúnak ikusi ba-dósus*
 friends.A see-AUX ‘if you have seen the friends’
 ‘you have seen the friends’
- (131) a. *ni etorríko nitzateke* b. *ni etorríko ba-nitzatéke*
 I.A come.F AUX ‘if I came’
 ‘I would come’
- (132) a. *lagúnak etorri-dira* b. *lagúnak etorri ei-díra*
 friends.A come-AUX ‘the friends seem to have come’
 ‘the friends have come’
- (133) a. *gâur etorri díra?* b. *gâur etorri ete-díra?*
 today come-AUX ‘did they perhaps arrive today?’
 ‘did they come today?’

An interesting fact that can be derived from the position of lexical accents is that prosodic words do not always coincide with morphological words. A case is found in verbal constructions. More often than not, a Basque verbal expression consists of a participle followed by an auxiliary (cf. section 3.1.2). These two elements constitute separate morphological words, as shown by the fact that certain elements may occur in between (cf. above) and that they are inverted in negative clauses (cf. section 4.1). Nevertheless, in the unmarked case, participle and auxiliary constitute a single prosodic word. This can be clearly shown in tenses formed with the imperfective or future participle.

Both the imperfective suffix /-ten*/ and the future /-ko*/ are accented. If the participle is the focus, the lexical accent of these suffixes will appear on the penultimate of the participle:

- (134) *lagúnak etorríko díra* (135) *aitxak erângo dau*
 friends.A come.F AUX father.E drink.F AUX
 ‘the friends WILL come’ ‘father WILL drink it’

However, if focus is assigned to the preverbal constituent, the lexical stress of the participial suffixes will surface on the penultimate of the participle + auxiliary unit, showing that this is a single prosodic word:³¹

- (136) a. *lagúnak etorriko-díra* b. *lagunâ etorrikó-da*
 friends.A come.F-AUX friend.A come.F-AUX
 ‘THE FRIENDS will come’ ‘THE FRIEND will come’

(30) The prefixal nature of these items was already noted by Azkue (1923: 43-44).

(31) Azkue (1931: 13) also notes this fact.

- c. *nire etxétik mendižâ ikustén-dot*
 my house.AB mountain.A see.I-AUX
 'from my house I see THE MOUNTAIN'
- d. *gure etxétik mendižâ ikusten-dógu*
 ourhouse.AB mountain.A see.I-AUX
 'from our house we see THE MOUNTAIN'

Besides the case where the participle receives focal accent (cf. 134-135 above), the lexical accent of the imperfect and future participle fails to move to the auxiliary, thus showing that there are two prosodic words, when the auxiliary carries a complementizer:

- (137) *posik dagô etxia saldúko dabelako*
 happy s/he-is house.A sell.F AUX-because
 's/he is happy because s/he will sell the house'
- (138) *ikústen dosun etxia nire lagunêna da*
 see.I AUX-CP house.A myf riends.G.As is
 'the house that you see is the one of my friends'
- (139) *esan dau liburûa ekarríko dabela*
 say AUX book.A bring.F AUX.CP
 's/he said that s/he will bring the book'

Participle and auxiliary also constitute independent accentual domains when the focalized constituent appears in postverbal position. Compare the following sentences:

- (140) a. *ondorâ botaten-dábe*
 bottom.AL throw.I-AUX
 b. *botáten dábe, ondorâ*
 'they thow it TO THE BOTTOM [of the sea]'
- (141) a. *Pêru dala pentzátén-dot* b. *pentzátén dot Pêru dala*
 Peru.A is.CP think.I-AUX 'I think it is Peru'

The union of participle and auxiliary in a single prosodic word is thus limited to the case when the auxiliary does not carry a complementizer and there is a focalized constituent in preverbal position.

On the other hand, there are other cases where the domain that is relevant for penultimate accent placement (i.e. the prosodic word) is smaller than the morphological word. In indirect commands the verb carries an accent. This accent is placed on the penultimate of the verb but excluding the complementizer suffix /-ela/ from the domain:

- (142) *dâtorrela esan-dot*
 s/he-comes-CP say-AUX
 'I told him/her TO COME'

Similarly, in nonfinite indirect commands carrying the suffix /-te*-ko/, a lexical accent appears on the antepenultimate syllable of the verb. In contrast, nonfinite verb forms in final clauses, which also carry the suffix /-te*-ko/ present penultimate accent, as expected. We interpret antepenultimate accent in nonfinite indirect commands as exclusion of the final syllable /-ko/ from the domain of the prosodic word:

- (143) a. *patâtak erósteko esan-dotzat*
 potatoes.A buy.for say-AUX
 'I told him/her to buy POTATOES' (indirect command)
 b. *au dirnau patâtak erostéko da*
 this.A money-this.A potatoes.A buy.foris
 'this money is to buy POTATOES' (final)
- (144) a. *liburúa ekárteko esan-neutzan*
 book.A bring.for say-AUX
 'I told him TO BRING the book' (indirect command)
 b. *leidutêko emon-neutzun ori liburúa*
 read.for give-AUX that.A book.A
 'I gave you that book TO READ' (final)

2.8.5. Enclitic accent

A few postpositions have the property of assigning an accent to the preceding syllable. These include *be* 'too', *barik* 'without', and *bako* 'one without, -less':

- (145) *laguná be* 'the friend too'
aittä barik 'without father'
aittä bako umia 'the fatherless child'
aittä bakua 'the one without father'
aittä bakuari 'to the one without father, dat'
- (146) *sure lagunâ etorri-da dirú barik*
 your friend.Acome-AUX moneywithout
 'YOUR FRIEND came without money'
- (147) *txakurra ekarrî dau lagunák be*
 dog.A bring AUX friend.E too
 'the dog, the friend too did bring it'

In the case of *be* 'too', this accent will always appear on the penultimate of the clitic group, since this item cannot be followed by any inflection. The accent assigned by *be* would thus seem to be indistinguishable from a lexical accent on the penultimate of the clitic group. Nevertheless, a distinction between lexical and enclitic accent appears when the word preceding *be* is accented. A lexically accented word preceding the clitic will be accented on its penultimate syllable (not on the penultimate of the clitic group), as in *lagúnak be* [laɣúnape] 'the friends too, abs/erg'. We thus conclude that the accent that the enclitic element assigns is of a different

nature from lexical accent, since it shows a different behavior. In the example *lagúnak be* the enclitic accent which would be assigned to the last syllable of *lagúnak* is lost by an accent clash resolution rule: *lagúnák be* → *lagúnak be* (cf. section 2.8.7).

In the examples with *barik* and *bako*, on the other hand, it is always clear that the accent is assigned to the syllable preceding this postpositional element, regardless of the number of syllables in the phrase after this accent.

Enclitic elements such as *be*, *barik* and *bako* are also “invisible” for the assignment of focal accent. When the phrase to which they belong syntactically receives focal accent this falls on the word preceding the postposition (cf. section 4.1):

- (148) *sure laguna dirû barik etorri-da*
 your friend.A moneywithout come-AUX
 ‘your friend came WITHOUT MONEY’
- (149) *ori mutillori ulê bakua da*
 that. A boy.A hair without.of. A is
 ‘that boy is BALD (= without hair)’

Another case where enclitic accent is assigned is verb forms in subordinate clauses. A lexically unaccented participle receives enclitic accent on its final syllable when a following auxiliary carries a complementizer, thus failing to join in a single prosodic word:

- (150) *Pêru etorrí dala esan-dau* (151) *txakurra ikusî dogulako*
 Peru.A come AUX-CP say-AUX dog.A see AUX-because
 ‘s/he said that PERU came’ ‘because we have seen the dog’
- (152) *ikusí dosun etxia nire lagunêna da*
 see AUX-REL house.A my friends.G.As is
 ‘the house that you have seen is the one of my friends’

The suffixes /-tako/ and /-niko/ also appear to present the property of assigning an accent to the preceding syllable, even though they are bound morphemes:

- (153) *apurtútako* ‘broken’
apurtútakua ‘the one broken’
etorríniko ‘arrived’
etorrínikuari ‘to the one having arrived, dat’
- (154) *orixe dâ Ameriketára žúniko mutilla*
 that.A is Americas.AL go.REL boy.A
 ‘THAT is the boy who went to America’
- (155) *atzo allagániko gixona ertzaiña dâ*
 yesterday arrive.REL man.A policeman.A is
 ‘the man who arrived yesterday is A POLICEMAN’
- (156) *atzo nik apurtúniko basúa loižetâra bota-dot*
 yesterday I.E break.REL glass.A garbage.ALthrow.AUX
 ‘I have thrown TO THE GARBAGE CAN the glass that I broke yesterday’

- (157) *mendittik etorríttakuari emon-dotzat*
 mountain.AB come.REL.Ds give-AUX
 'I have given it TO THE ONE who arrived from the mountain'

There are, thus, two distinct prosodic domains which are smaller than the prosodic phrase: the prosodic word and the prosodic clitic group. Neither of these prosodic domains needs to be coextensive with a morphological domain. The prosodic word and the prosodic clitic group are the respective domains of application of two different accentual rules: lexical accent assignment and enclitic accent assignment. The lexical accent that is carried by an accented morpheme is realized on the penultimate syllable of the prosodic word containing it. Examples of prosodic words are /saspi-garren*-a/ *saspigarréna* 'the seventh one, abs', /leku*-ko-a/ *lekukúna* 'the one of the place', /sagu*-sarr-a-ri/ *sagusarrári* 'to the bat' (with compound accent), /etorr-i da/ (*berâ*) *etorri-da* 's/he has come' or /etorr-i-ko* gara/ (*gêu*) *etorriko-gára* 'we will come'. A prosodic clitic group is a domain where enclitic accent is assigned to the final syllable of the host. Examples of prosodic clitic groups are *laguná+be* 'the friend too', *dirú+barik* 'without money', *etorrí+dala* 'that s/he has come' and *apurtú+niko* 'broken'.

2.8.6. Focal accent

The most prominent accent in the sentence is that assigned to elements in focus position. The focus position is an obligatory constituent of the sentence in Lekeitio Basque; that is, focal accent must necessarily be assigned to some constituent in the sentence. With some exceptions to be noted below, focal accent will fall either on the word immediately preceding the verb, as in (158a,b) or on the verb itself (the participle in the case of analytical verbs), as in (158c).³²

- (158) a. *gaur goixian sure lagunâ etorri-da*
 today morning.IN your friend.A come-AUX
 'this morning YOUR FRIEND came' (and not someone else)
 b. *sure laguna gaur goixiân etorri-da*
 'THIS MORNING your friend came' (and not some other time)
 c. *sure laguna etorrî da gaur goixian*
 'your friend DID come this morning'

Focal accent is a level of prominence added to a syllable that is assigned an accent by lexical or postlexical means. Thus, lexically unaccented words receive focal accent on their last syllable (which is made prominent by a rule of phrase-final accent) and accented words on the penultimate:

(32) As noted in the syntax chapter, sentences like (158a), where the focalized constituent is an intransitive subject (or a direct object) are actually ambiguous between an interpretation where the preverbal constituent is the pragmatic focus and another interpretation where there is no particular focus in the sentence. That is, although in every sentence there is an element that receives focal accent, not every sentence has a pragmatic focus.

- (159) *liburúa, lagunâk ekarri-dau* (160) *lagunak, liburúa ekarri-dau*
 book.A friend.A bring-AUX 'the friend brought THE BOOK'
 'THE FRIEND brought the book'
- (161) *liburúa, lagûnak ekarri-dábe*
 book.A friends.E bring-AUX
 'THE FRIENDS brought the book'

If the participle is not focalized and the preverbal constituent is made up of lexically unaccented words, focus accent must fall on the last syllable of the last word of this phrase. It is not possible to give contrastive focal accent to a nonfinal lexically unaccented element in a NP or PP, even if contrast is intended on a non-phrase-final constituent. Sentences (162b), (163b) and (164b) are ungrammatical:

- (162) a. *etxe barrižâ ikusi-dot, es subi barriža*
 house new.A see-AUX no bridge new.A
 'I saw THE NEW HOUSE, not the new bridge'
 b. **etxê barriža ikusi dot, es subi barriža*
 'I saw the new HOUSE, not the new bridge'
- (163) a. *neure lagunâk ekarri-dau, es seuriak*
 my friend.E bring-AUX no yours.E
 'MY FRIEND brought it, not yours'
 b. **neurê lagunak ekarri dau, es seuriak*
 'MY friend brought it, not yours'
- (164) a. *aitten erložuâ dâ, es arrebiena*
 father.G watch.A is no sister.G.As
 b. **aittên erložua da, es arrebiena*
 'it is FATHER'S WATCH, not sister's'

On the other hand, if the focalized phrase contains one or more lexical accents, the first one of them will receive the greatest prominence in the unmarked case:

- (165) *sure lagûnen liburúa ekarri-dot*
 your friends.G book.A bring-AUX
 'I have brought your friends' book'
- (166) *sure lagûnen umia ikusi-dot*
 your friends.G child.A see-AUX
 'I have seen your friends' child'

Nevertheless, in the case of focalized phrases with lexically accented words in nonfinal position, it is possible to give greater prominence to a different word, making possible to contrast meanings prosodically:

- (167) a. *libûru barriža ekarri dot* b. *libûru barrižâ ekarri dot*
 book new.A bring-AUX 'I brought the NEW book' (marked)
 'I brought the new BOOK'/ 'I brought THE NEW BOOK'
 'I brought the new book'

Focalized phrases with multiple lexical accents are further exemplified in (168)-(169). As indicated, the strongest accent will fall on the syllable carrying the first lexical accent in the focalized phrase, as in (168a) and (169a), unless there is contrastive focus on a different element of the phrase, as in (168b)-(168c) and (169b):

- (168) a. *sure lagúnen bigárren liburúa ikusi-dot*
 your friends.G second book.A see-AUX
 'I have seen YOUR FRIENDS' SECOND BOOK' /
 'I have seen your friends' second book'
 b. *sure lagúnen bigárren liburúa ikusi-dot*
 'I have seen your friends' SECOND book'
 c. *sure lagúnen bigárren liburúa ikusi-dot*
 'I have seen your friends' second BOOK'
- (169) a. *erregalúa orrentzâko mutillentzâko ekarri-dábe*³³
 present.A those.B boys.B bring-AUX
 'they have brought the present FOR THOSE BOYS'
 b. *erregalúa orrentzâko mutillentzâko ekarri-dábe*
 'they have brought the present for those BOYS'

Another exception to the generalization that focal accent must fall on the word immediately preceding the verb, if it does not fall on the verb itself, is presented by those postpositions which assign enclitic accent (cf. section 2.8.5). These postpositions cannot receive focal accent (even if semantically they would appear to be focalized). Focus accent will fall on the preceding word:

- (170) *dirua, sure lagunâk be ekarri-dau*
 money.A your friend.E too bring-AUX
 'the money, YOUR FRIEND TOO has brought (it)'
- (171) *sure laguna, dirû barik etorri-da*
 your friend.A money without come-AUX
 'your friend has come WITHOUT MONEY'
- (172) *umia aittâ barik geldittu-san*
 child.A father without remain-AUX
 'the child was left FATHERLESS'
- (173) *ori mutillori ulê bakua da*
 that.A boy-that.A hair without.of.A is
 'that boy is bald (= hairless)'

Some other NP modifiers such as *gitxiénes* 'at least' and *gitxigorabéra* 'more or less' present the same property of being skipped in the assignment of focus accent to the preverbal constituent:

(33) In this sentence, *erregalúa* 'the present' constitutes a topic.

- (174) *Péruk amar txorî gitxiénes il ditxus*
 Peru.E ten bird at least kill-AUX
 'Peru has killed TEN BIRDS at least'
- (175) *nire aittak amar txitxârro³⁴ gitxigorabéra atrapa-ditxus*
 my father.E ten fish more or less catch-AUX
 'my father has caught TEN FISH more or less'

Certain adverbs which express an attitude on the part of the speaker about the proposition such as *beintzat* 'at least', *barrix* 'however', *béñi-peñ* 'at least', etc., can never be focalized for semantic reasons. Interestingly, they do not allow a phrase to their left to receive focal accent either. When one of these adverbs appears in preverbal position, focus accent (and interpretation) must necessarily be on the verb:

- (176) a. *lagunak beintzat ekarrî dau* b. **lagunak beintzât ekarri dau*
 friend.E at least bring AUX c. **lagunâk beintzat ekarri dau*
 'the friend, at least, brought it'

Since the assignment of focal accent is directly related to word order, the topic will be further discussed in the Syntax chapter.

2.8.7. Focalization with synthetic verbs

In main clauses of declarative sentences, an unaccented synthetic verb and a preceding unaccented focalized phrase constitute a single prosodic unit. This implies that focal accent is realized on the verb and not on the semantically focalized phrase. This does not result in lack of differentiation with sentences in which the assertion is focalized, since in this second case the affirmative particle *ba(i)* is prefixed to the synthetic verb, as in (177b-178b):³⁵

- (177) a. *gixona dâ*
 man.A is
 'it is THE MAN'
 b. *ba(i)dâ gixona*
 'it IS the man'
- (179) *aittak dakî*
 father.Ehe-knows
 'FATHER knows'
- (178) a. *gure laguna datôr*
 our friend.A s/he-comes
 'OUR FRIEND is coming'
 b. *badatôr gure laguna*
 'our friend IS coming'
- (180) *es tatôr*
 no s/he-comes
 's/he is NOT coming'

This phenomenon takes place in declarative sentences, exclusively. In interrogative sentences the accent does not move to the verb:

(34) A specific type of fish.

(35) It is impossible to place focus accent on the preverbal word in these examples: **gixonâ da*, **gure lagunâ dator*, **aittâk daki*.

- (181) *gixonâ da?*
man.A is
'is it the man?'
- (182) *gure lagunâ dator?*
our friend.A s/he-comes
'is our friend coming?'
- (183) *ês tator?*
no s/he-comes
's/he is not coming?'

There is no fusion in a single accentual unit if either the word in preverbal position (184)-(187) or the verb (188)-(190) carries a lexical accent. In this case, focal accent does appear on the preverbal constituent:

- (184) *liburûa da*
book.A is
'it is the book'
- (185) *gixônak diras*
men.A they-are
'it is THE MEN' ('they are THE MEN')
- (186) *mutil tontûa dator*
boy silly.A he-comes
'THE SILLY BOY is coming'
- (187) *aittîtak daki*
grandfather.E he-knows
'GRANDFATHER knows'
- (188) *gixonâ dakârre*
man.A they-bring
'they are bringing THE MAN'
- (189) *diruâ daukosûe*
money.A you.p-have
'you-pl have THE MONEY'
- (190) *ês takîze*
no they-know
'they do NOT know'

2.8.8. Addressive and imperative accent

Terms of address receive penultimate accent: *es, gixonâ!* 'no, man!', *bai, andrîa!* 'yes, ma'am!'. Perfective participles used as imperatives are also accented, but only if they receive focus accent: *etôrri ona!* 'come here!', *žûn etxera!* 'go home', but *onâ etorri* 'come HERE', *etxerâ žun* 'go HOME'. In a narrative, perfective participles are also accented when they are used without an auxiliary; e.g.: *kéndu orretxeri, mandibulîa, esta?* 'he took its jaw off, right?'

2.8.9. Question accent

In question-word questions both synthetic and analytical verbal forms are accented on their penultimate syllable. Compare the following examples:

- (191) *aittak dakî*
father.E he-knows
'FATHER knows it'
- (192) *nok dâki?*
who.E s /he-knows
'WHO knows it?'

- | | |
|---|--|
| (193) <i>sure lagunâkiñ sabiltzas</i>
your friends.C you-walk
'you are going WITH YOUR FRIENDS' | (194) <i>nôas sabiltzas?</i>
who.C you-walk
'WITH WHOM are you going?' |
|---|--|

In question-word interrogative sentences with analytic verb constructions the accent appears on the penultimate of the participle + auxiliary unit:

- | | |
|--|---|
| (195) <i>nôr etorri-da?</i>
who.A come-AUX
'who has come?' | (196) <i>sêr ekarri-dôsu?</i>
what.A bring-AUX
'what have you brought?' |
|--|---|

2.8.10. Accent clash resolution

When two accents occur on adjacent syllables, one of the two is removed. Whether it is the first or the second of the two abutting accents that is deleted depends on the particular morphological and prosodic configuration. We must thus postulate two separate rules:

- (197) a. Accent clash resolution rule 1 (ACR1):

$$* \rightarrow \emptyset / * \underline{\quad}$$

An accent is deleted immediately following another accent.

- b. Accent clash resolution rule 2 (ACR2)

$$* \rightarrow \emptyset / \underline{\quad} *$$

An accent is deleted immediately preceding another accent.

ACR1 applies to remove an enclitic accent when the preceding syllable bears a lexical accent:

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------------|
| (198) lexical accents: | <i>lagúnak be</i> |
| enclitic accent: | <i>lagúnák be</i> |
| ACR1: | <i>lagúnak be</i> [layúnape] |
| | 'the friends abs/erg too' |

In participle + auxiliary groups, when the participle bears a final accent (enclitic or focal accent) a lexical accent on the first syllable of the auxiliary is lost by ACR1:

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (199) lexical accents: | <i>erosi dábe</i> |
| focal accent: | <i>erosî dábe</i> |
| ACR1: | <i>erosî dabe</i> |
| | 'they DID buy it' |
| lexical accents: | <i>erosi dáben etxia</i> |
| enclitic accent: | <i>erosí dáben etxia</i> |
| ACR1: | <i>erosí daben etxia</i> |
| | 'the house that they have bought' |

Similarly, a conjugated verb with initial accent loses its accent by ACR1 when the preceding word bears focal accent on its last syllable. Focal accent, thus, always takes precedence over any other adjacent accent:

- (200) lexical accents: *gixona dóya*
 focal accent: *gixonâ dóya*
 ACR1: *gixonâ doya*
 'THE MAN is going'
- (201) lexical accents: *es dóya*
 focal accent: *ês dóya*
 ACR1: *ês doya*
 's/he is NOT going'³⁶
- (202) lexical accents: *gixona êi-da*
 focal accent: *gixonâ êi-da*
 ACR1: *gixonâ ei-da*
 'it seems to be THE MAN'

On the other hand, when two lexical accents are found on adjacent syllables, ACR2 applies to delete the first of the two accents. Since lexical accents always fall on the penultimate syllable one would expect that there should not be any situation where two lexical accents in a two word sequence would be realized on adjacent syllables. The situation does, nevertheless, arise with the few exceptional monosyllabic words that are accented, such as /mai*/ 'table' (whose two underlying syllables are contracted to one) or the question words /nor*/ 'who', /ser*/ 'what' followed by a bisyllabic accented word:

- (203) lexical accents: *mái ónak*
 ACR2: *mai ónak*
 'good tables'

ACR2 also applies to remove a lexical accent immediately followed by a question accent:

- (205) lexical accents: *nók daki*
 question accent: *nók daki*
 ACR2: *nok daki*
nok daki?
 'who knows?'

(36) Notice thus the contrast between *ês doya* 's/he is NOT going' and *es datôr* 's/he is NOT coming', *es dâ* 's/he/it is NOT'. Basterrechea (1974: 333) notes similar facts for the dialect of Gernika, expressing surprise at the seemingly exceptional behavior of the negative particle when followed by conjugated forms of the verb 'to go': "lo más sorprendente del caso es que haya un verbo único para el cual las cosas suceden de un modo totalmente distinto. Se trata del verbo JOAN cuando se conjuga sintéticamente." It is quite likely that the situation in Gernika is as in Lekeitio; that is, the conjugated forms of 'to go' are accented and ACR1 applies.

Sequences where a focalized monosyllabic question word such as /nor*/ or /ser*/ is followed by a verb with lexical accent on the first syllable are exceptional in having two possible realizations:

- (206) lexical accents: *nór dóya*
 ACR1/ACR2: *nór doya ~ nor dóya*
 nôr doya? ~ nor dôya?
 'who goes?'

Notice that in this example the first word bears focal accent in addition to lexical accent and the second lexical accent is also reinforced by question accent.

2.9. Major intonational patterns

Intonation is an aspect of Basque phonology which has not been studied in any detail in any previous work. In this section, we will describe only the most general intonational patterns used in declarative and interrogative sentences in Lekeitio. Much more work awaits to be done in this area.

2.9.1. Declarative sentences

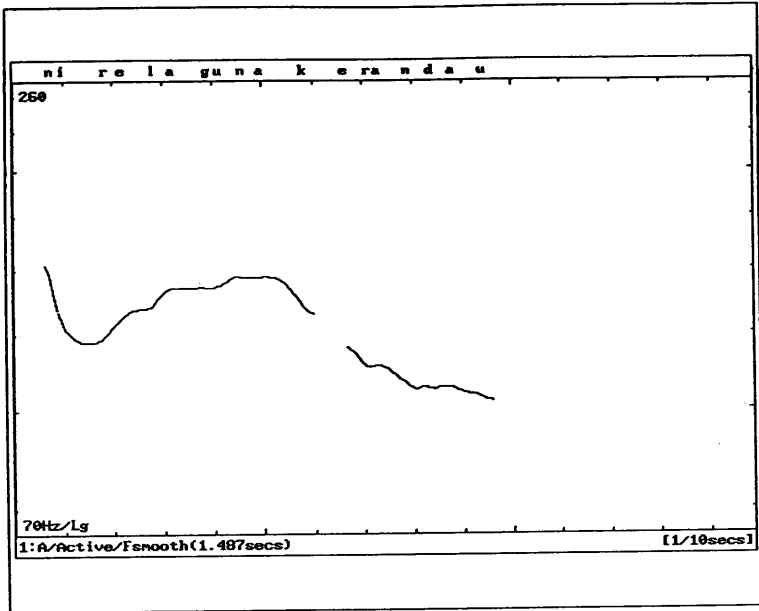
Declarative sentences present a final fall in pitch. This fall starts on the syllable carrying the last accent. In fig. 3 *nire lagunâk eran dau* 'my friend has drunk it' the pitch drops after rising on the last syllable of *lagunâk* 'friend, erg', which carries focal accent, and keeps descending until the end of the utterance:

Final declarative intonation is thus characterized by a right boundary tone L%, adopting the framework of Pierrehumbert (1980), Beckman & Pierrehumbert (1986) and related work. Since accented syllables bear a H*L pitch accent, a boundary tone after it will cause a pronounced and steady drop from the last accented syllable to the end of the utterance. The example above would have the following schematic representation: *nire lagunâk eran dau*

H*L L%

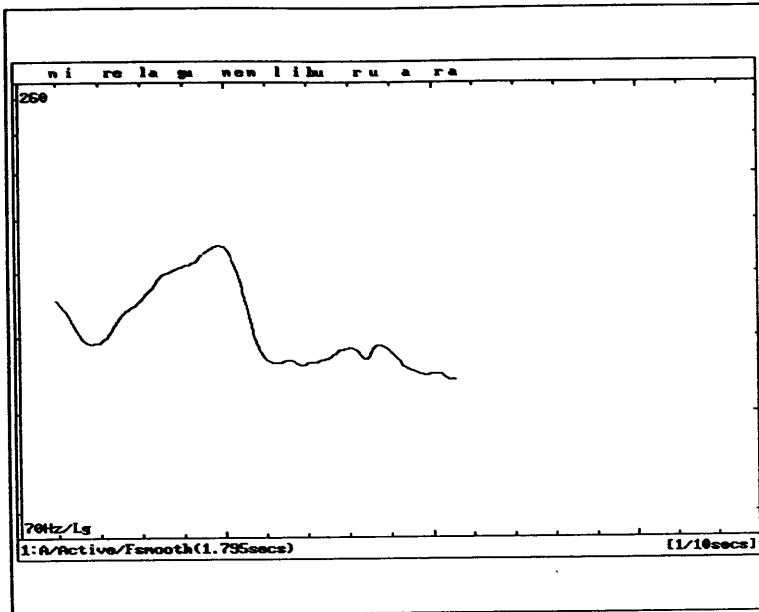
The focal accent always causes a sharp drop in pitch on the syllables following the accented one, but the pitch will rise again if there are any other accents; after which it will fall again, as in fig 4 *nire lagûnen liburûa ra* 'it is the book of my friends'.

If the final syllable in the utterance carries an accent (necessarily focal), this syllable will bear a HL contour, as in fig 5 *nire laguna râ* 'it is my friend'.



nire lagunâk eran-dau

Fig. 3



nire lagûnen liburûa ra

Fig. 4

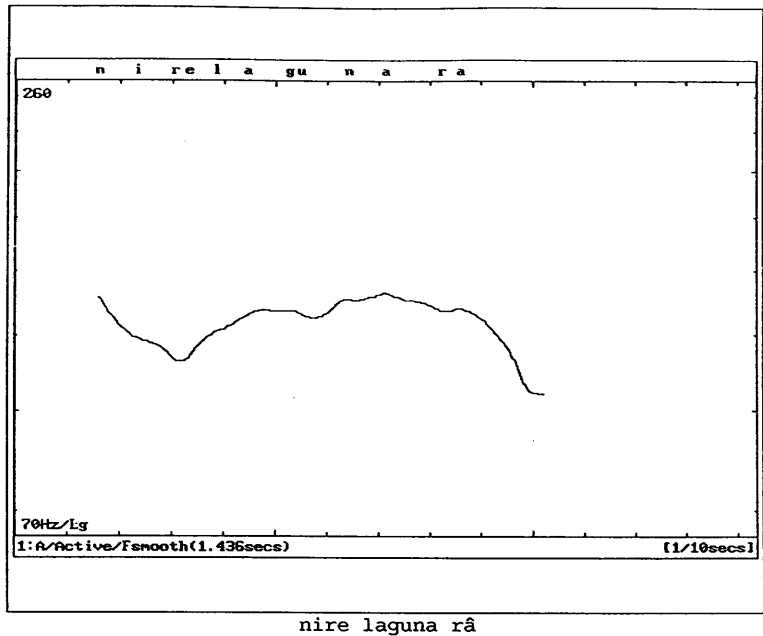


Fig. 5

2.9.2. Yes-no questions

Unlike in Spanish, the most usual pattern in yes-no questions does not present a final rise (cf. Navarro Tomás 1944, Sosa 1991). Yes-no questions are intonationally distinguished from declaratives in that they have a higher overall pitch and the final syllable is considerably lengthened. Compare fig. 6 *umiã erun-dau mendira* 's/he has taken the child to the mountain' with the corresponding interrogative sentence in fig. 7 *umiã erun dau mendira?* 'has s/he taken the child to the mountain?'.

Interrogative sentences also differ from the corresponding declarative structures in certain rules of accent placement, a fact which results in greater differences in intonational contours. As was mentioned in section 2.8.7, in declarative sentences lexically unaccented synthetic verbs carry the focal accent when the constituent to their left is semantically focalized and lexically unaccented. But this does not take place in interrogative sentences. The patterns in fig. 8 *nire lagunã ra?* 'is it my friend?' and fig. 9 *nire lagunã dator?* 'is my friend coming?' are, thus, quite different from the corresponding declarative patterns in fig. 5 and fig. 1 (of section 2.8.1) above, respectively; due to the presence of the focal accent on the last syllable of *lagunã* 'the friend' in fig. 8 and fig. 9, but on the last syllable of the verb in fig. 5 and fig. 1.

Such effects are not found when the focalized word preceding the verb is lexically accented. This word will bear an accent on its penultimate syllable both in declarative and interrogative sentences. In this case, the difference between statement and question will be given exclusively by the higher pitch and final lengthening of the

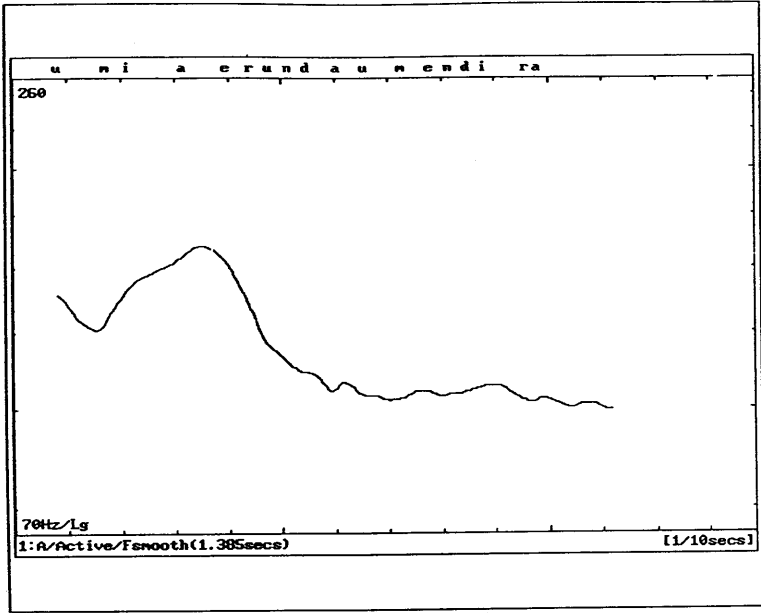


Fig. 6

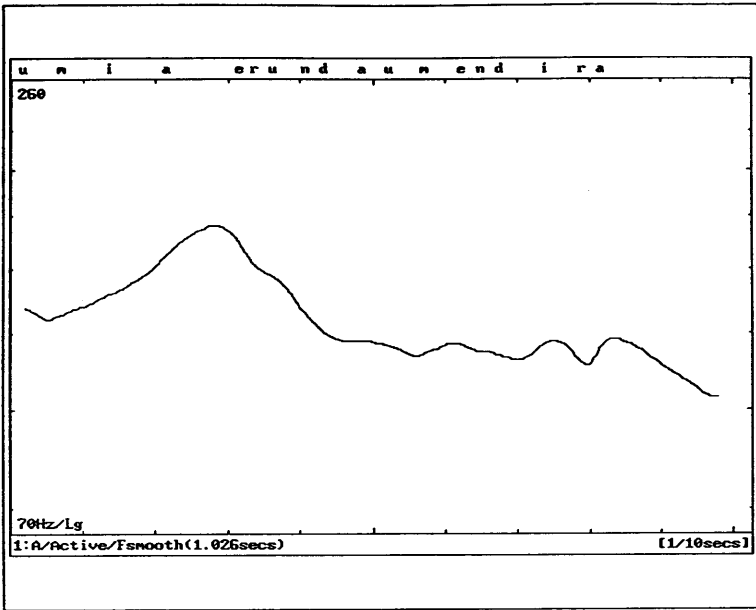
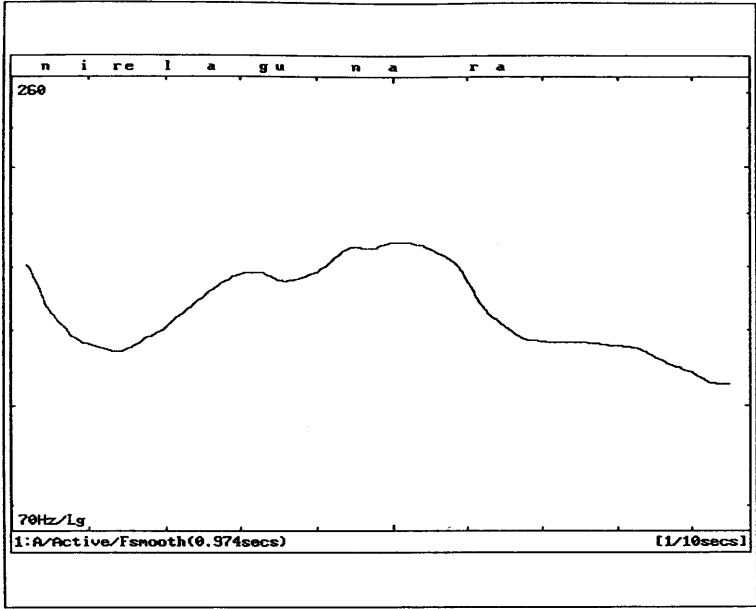
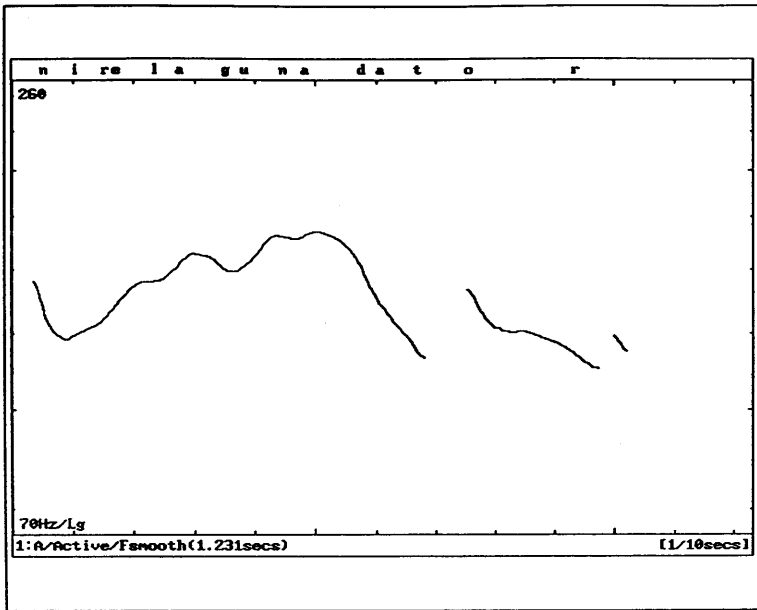


Fig. 7



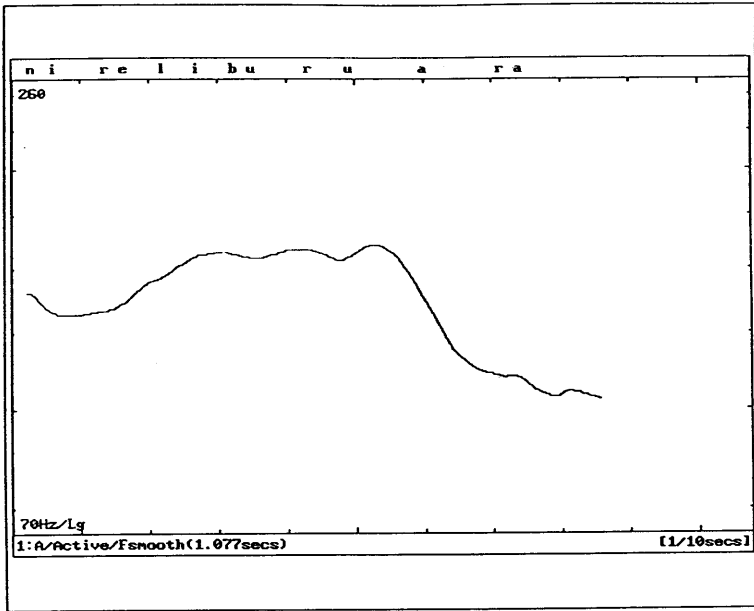
nire lagunã ra?

Fig. 8



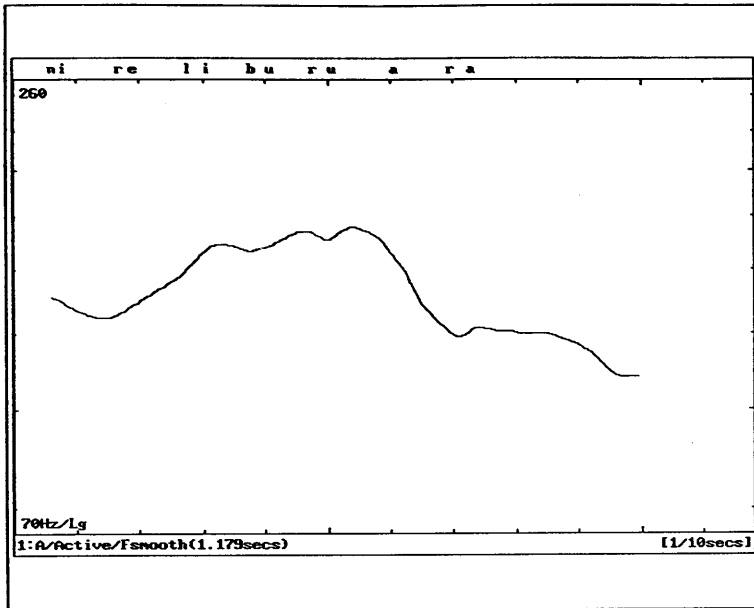
nire lagunã dator?

Fig. 9



nire liburûa ra

Fig. 10



nire liburûa ra?

Fig. 11

interrogative. Compare fig. 10 *nire liburúa ra* 'it is my book' and fig. 11 *nire liburúa ra?* 'is it my book?'

Given these accentual effects, yes-no questions may differ from statements in more than its higher pitch level and final lengthening.

2.9.3. Question-word questions

In question-word questions the question-word carries a very high pitch followed by a very sharp drop, as can be seen in fig. 12 *norêna ra umia?* 'whose is the child?' and fig. 13 *nôr erún-dau mendira?* 'whom has s/he taken to the mountain?'

As can be observed in fig. 13 as well as in fig. 14 *norêna ra liburúa?* 'whose is the book' and fig. 15 *nôr erún-dau nire lagúnen amúmak?* 'whom has your friends' grandmother taken?', lexical and other accents after the question-word have a relatively small effect on the overall contour. In the examples, the accents on the penultimate syllable of *liburúa* 'the book', *lagúnen* 'of the friends' and *amúmak* 'the grandmother, erg' and on the final of *erún* produce a slight raising of the pitch on those syllables which breaks the overall falling pattern.

As mentioned in section 2.8.9 (and shown in some of the examples already given), in question-word questions an accent is introduced on the penultimate syllable of the verb + auxiliary unit, which results in an additional contrast between declaratives and question-word interrogatives. Compare the declarative sentence in fig. 16 *umiâ erun-do(g)u mendira* 'we have taken the child to the mountain' with the

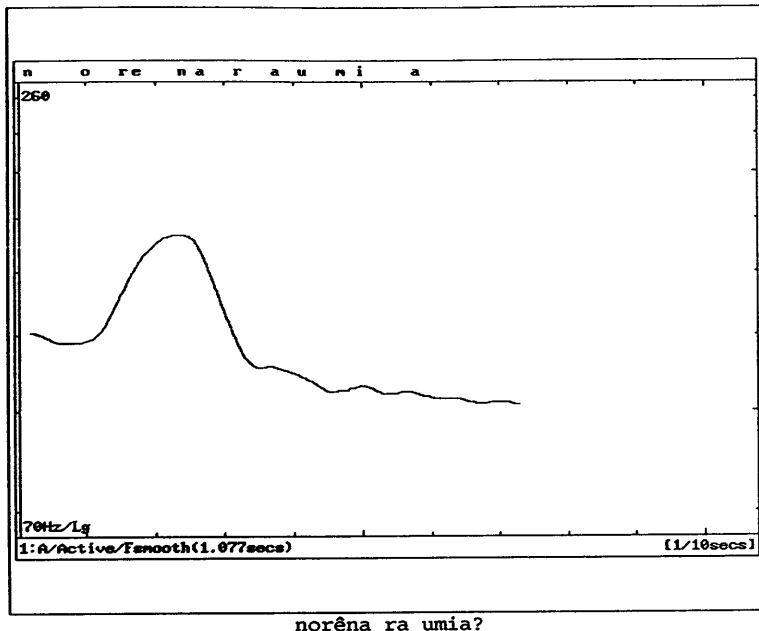
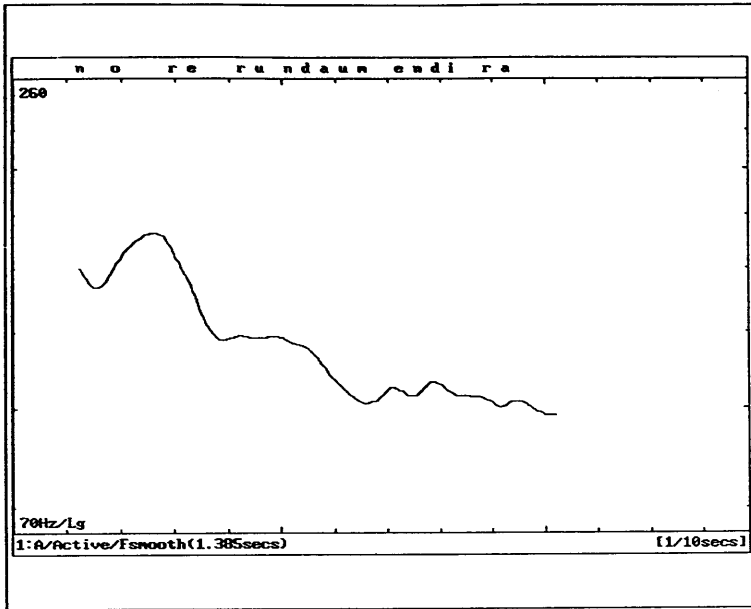
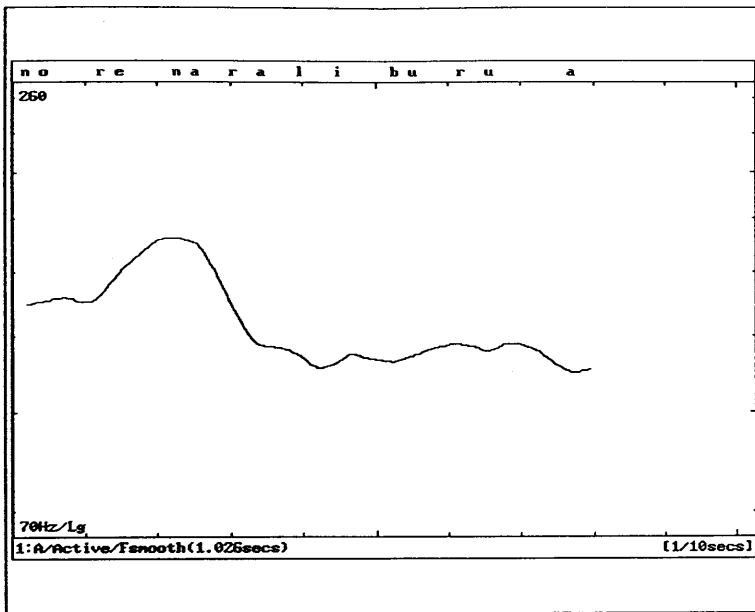


Fig. 12



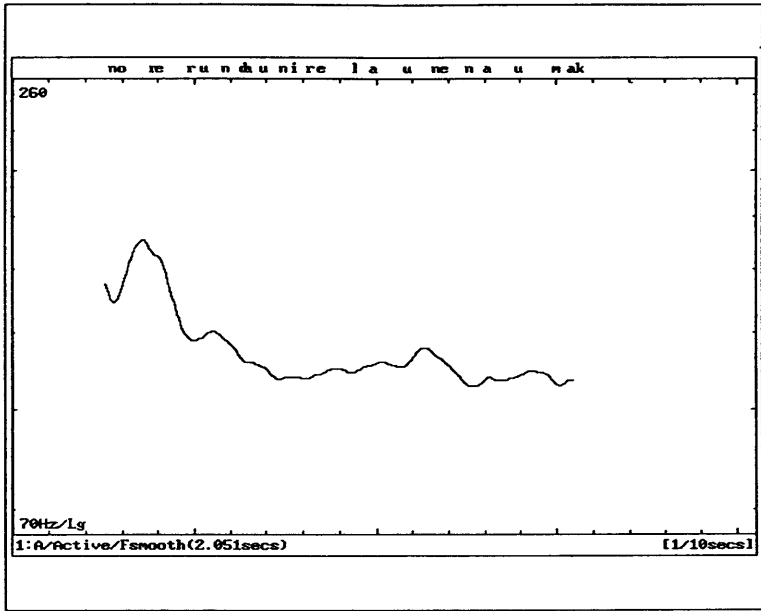
nôr erûn-dau mendira?

Fig. 13



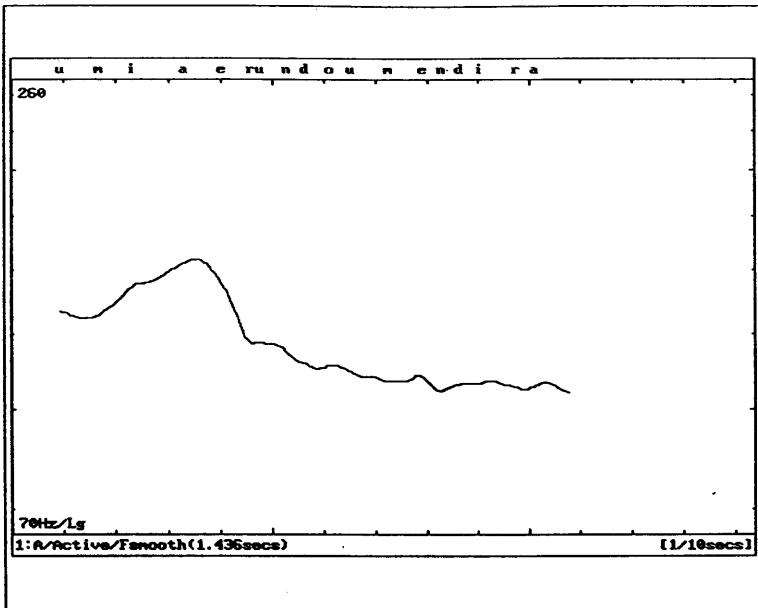
norêna ra liburúa?

Fig. 14



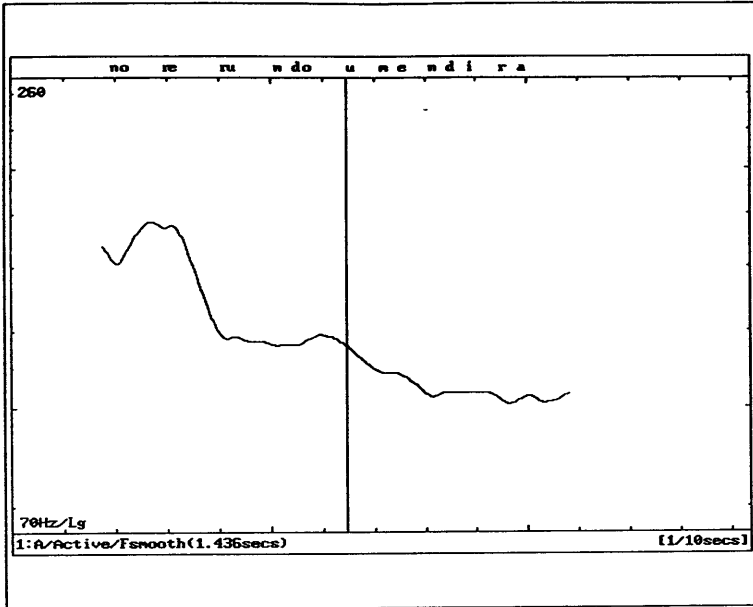
nôr erún-dau nire lagúnen amúmak?

Fig. 15



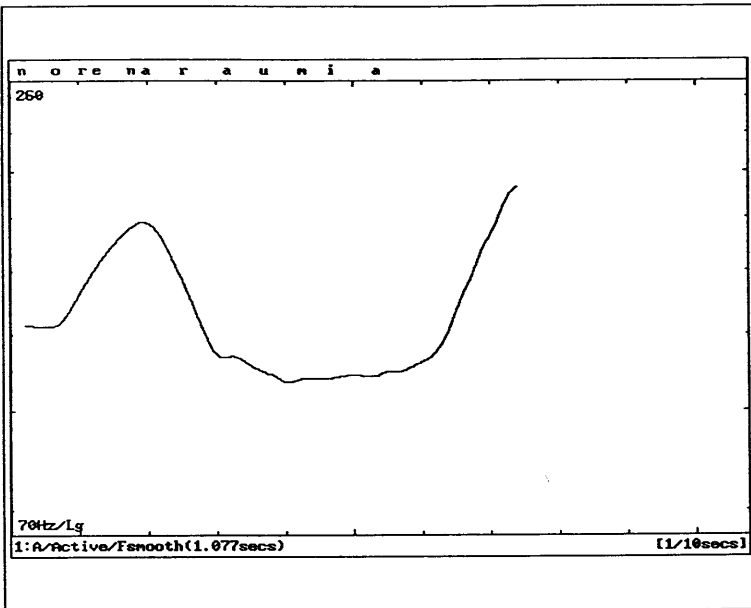
umiã erun-dogu mendira

Fig. 16



nôr erun-dôgu mendira?

Fig. 17



norêna ra umia?

Fig. 18

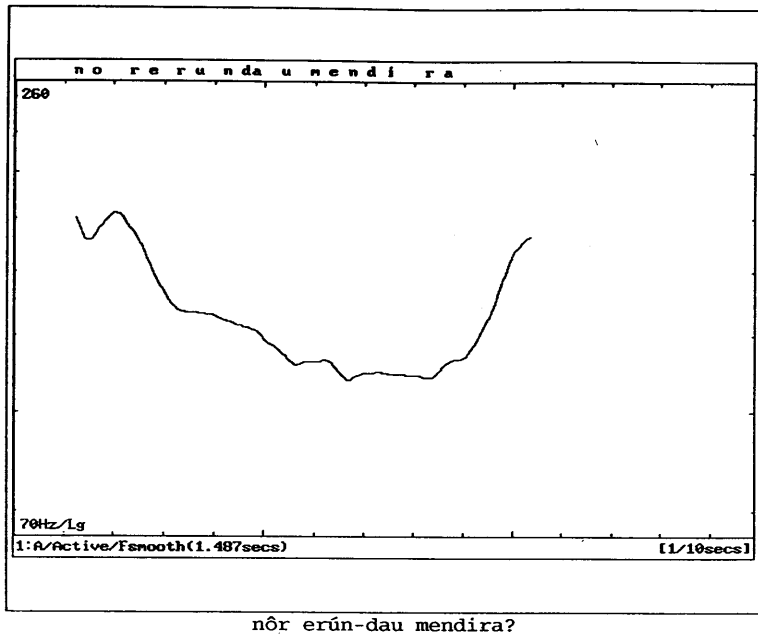


Fig. 19

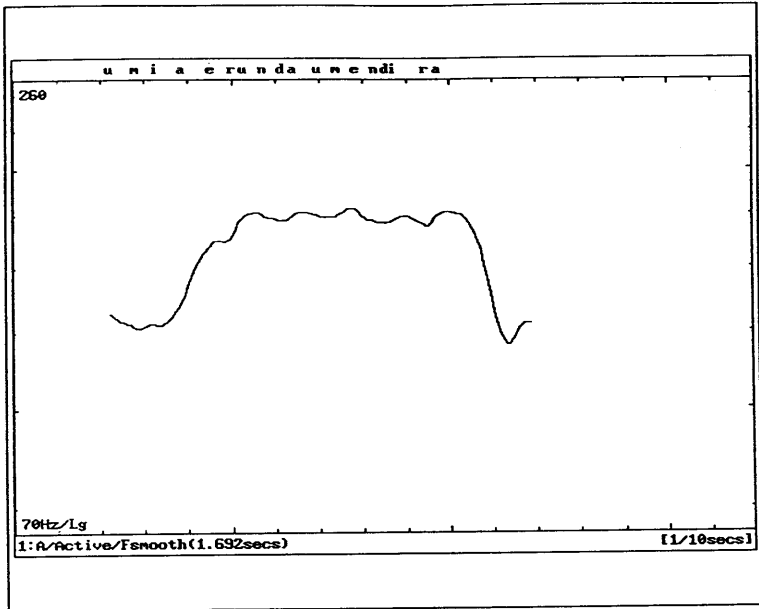
interrogative sentence in fig. 17 *nôr erun-dó(g)u mendira?* 'whom have we taken to the mountain?'

There is a second, less common, intonational pattern in interrogatives which differs from the one seen in the previous examples in the presence of a final rise (a boundary H% tone), as shown in fig. 18. *noréna ra umia?* 'whose is the child' and fig. 19. *nôr erún-dau mendira?* 'whom did s/he take to the mountain?'

2.9.4. Confirmation questions

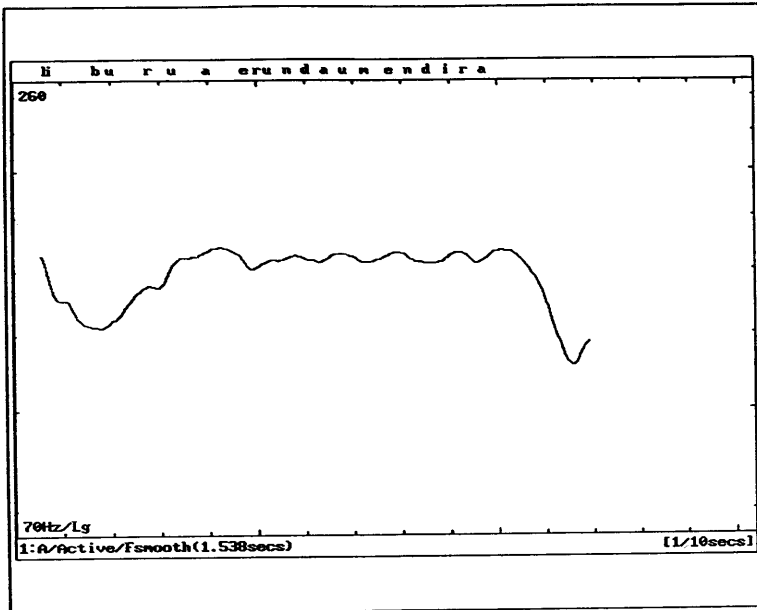
Questions which are requests for clarification or confirmation are characterized by a very peculiar intonational pattern. In such questions there is no focal accent assigned to any element in the sentence. In yes-no confirmation questions there is a high pitch plateau from the second syllable of the sentence, falling only at the end, as shown in fig. 20 *umia erun-dau mendira?* '(you are asking whether) s/he has taken the child to the mountain?' and fig. 21 *liburúa erun-dau mendira?* '(you are asking whether) s/he has taken the book to the mountain?'

In question-word confirmation questions, the general pitch of the sentence is also maintained at a high level (with only small falls after accents) rising even much higher at the end, as shown in fig. 22 *noréna ra umia?* '(you are asking) whose the child is?' and fig. 23 *nôr erún-dau mendira?* '(you are asking) whom s/he has taken to the mountain?'



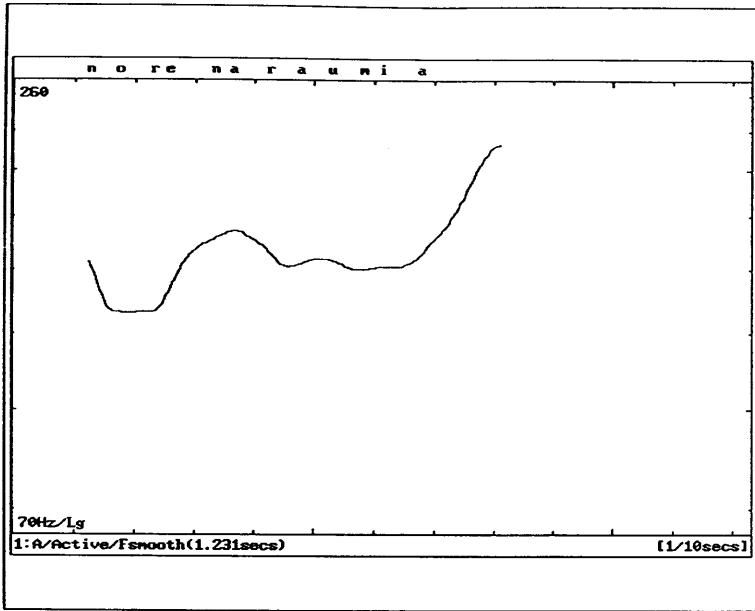
umia erun-dau mendira?

Fig. 20



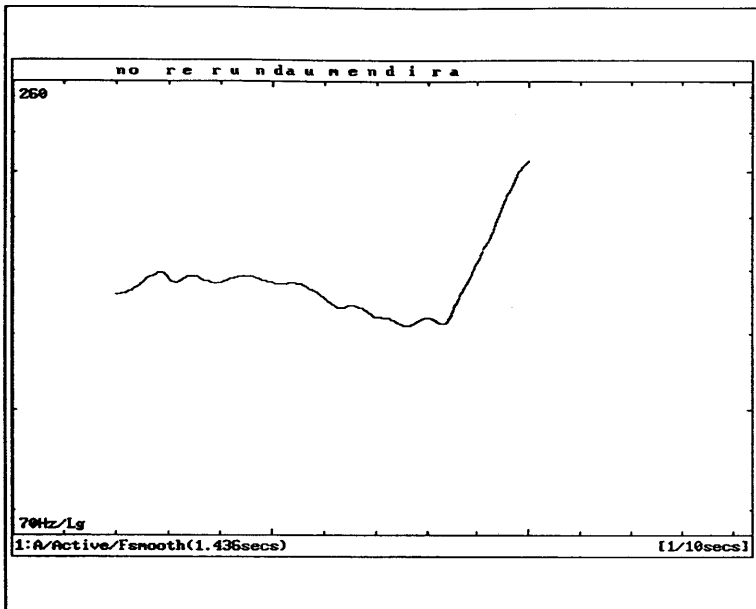
liburúa erun dau mendira?

Fig. 21



noréna ra umia?

Fig. 22



nor erún-dau mendira?

Fig. 23

2.10. Adaptation of borrowings

In this section, we summarize the major phonological changes that take place in the adaptation of Spanish borrowings, concentrating on those that apply in a productive manner (cf. Hualde 1993). Most of the facts discussed in this section have already been mentioned in other sections.

A way in which borrowings are commonly adapted is by replacing those sounds which are not found in the borrowing language. The only Castilian Spanish phoneme that is not present in Leketio Basque is the voiceless interdental fricative /θ/. This sound is systematically replaced by /s/ in borrowings (which can be palatalized after /i/), as in the following examples:

(207) Spanish

<i>cepillo</i> > <i>sepillo</i> 'brush'	<i>circuito</i> > <i>sirkuító</i> 'circuit'
<i>cerveza</i> > <i>serbésa</i> 'beer'	<i>bicicleta</i> > <i>bixikléta</i> 'bicycle'

The numerous Spanish words ending in *-tad/-dad* which have been borrowed add a final *-e*, since *-d* is not a possible word-final segment in Leketio Basque:

(208) *umildade, unidade, abillidade, amistade, eletrisidade, kalidade, kantidade, karidade, kasualidade, komodidade, kurřosidade, libertade, edade.*

As was mentioned in section 2.2.3, borrowed words such as *sarkénto* < Sp. *sargento* 'sargent', *kertse* < Sp. *jersey* 'sweater', *kittánu* < Sp. *gitano* 'gypsy', and several others show that /x/ was replaced by /k/ until recently. Nowadays, however, the voiceless velar fricative is a perfectly integrated phoneme in Leketio Basque and new borrowings with this sound are not changed.

There are cases where, corresponding to Spanish /x/, we find [ʃ] or [ʒ] in Leketio; e.g.: Sp. *cojo*, Lek. *kóixu* 'lame'; Sp. *cogido*, Lek. *kožidu* 'to gather the fishing gear'. These correspondences do not show adaptation of any kind, recent or old; but, rather, the preservation in those borrowings in Leketio Basque of the old Spanish pronunciation (cf. section 2.2.3).

Besides the replacement of foreign sounds, borrowings can be adapted according to the phonological rules and phonotactic constraints of the language. When we consider the treatment of Spanish borrowings in Leketio Basque, an interesting fact that emerges is that some of these adaptations apply systematically only in some very specific environments, unadapted borrowings being otherwise freely admitted. An example is provided by the way borrowings containing palatalizable consonants are adapted to comply with the palatalization rules of Leketio Basque (cf. sections 2.5.2 and 2.5.4). As was mentioned, borrowings are exceptionlessly adapted in this manner when the palatalizable consonant is word final; e.g.: Sp. *tenis* > *ténix*, Sp. *automovil* > *automóbill*, Sp. *latín* > *latiñ* (for more examples, cf. the corresponding sections). Outside of this very specific context, palatalization in borrowings is a lot less systematic; that is, not every borrowing is adapted to undergo the rule; e.g.: *kílllo* 'kilogram', but *kilómetro* 'kilometer'.

Similarly, the rule of insertion of [3] between a high front vocoid and a following vowel applies rather systematically in borrowings ending in *-ia*, *-io*; e.g.: *notario* > *notarřzo* 'notary'. Otherwise, borrowings are not generally adapted in this manner (cf. section 2.6.2).

A connected phenomenon is that certain Spanish endings are changed in systematic ways. The Spanish endings *-sión*, *-ción* are consistently and productively replaced by *-siño* (*siño*- when inflected, cf. section 2.6.6.). Among many other examples, we find the following:

(209) Spanish			
<i>afición</i>	>	<i>afisiño, afisiño</i>	'fondness'
<i>vacación</i>	>	<i>bakasiño, bakasiño</i>	'vacation'
<i>excursión</i>	>	<i>eskursiño, eskursiño</i>	'excursion'
<i>infección</i>	>	<i>infesiño, infesiño</i>	'infection'
<i>impresión</i>	>	<i>inpresiño, inpresiño</i>	'impression'

Other Spanish words ending in *-ón* replace this ending by *-o/-oy-*. There is a great number of words in this group. Some examples are the following:

(210) Spanish			
<i>cajón</i>	>	<i>kajo, kajoya</i>	'drawer'
<i>contestón</i>	>	<i>kontesto, kontestoya</i>	'rebellious'
<i>peatón</i>	>	<i>peato, peatoya</i>	'pedestrian'
<i>lamparón</i>	>	<i>lanparo, lanparoya</i>	'grease stain'
<i>avión</i>	>	<i>abio, abioya</i>	'airplane'

Another process that has a certain degree of productivity in the adaptation of borrowings is the affrication of sibilants (cf. section 2.2.3); e.g.: *baloncesto* > *balontzészto* 'basketball'.

Epenthesis before word-initial rhotics, which can be observed in a great number of borrowings (e.g.: Sp. *recreo* > *errekréio* 'recess'), has ceased to be productive (see lexicon under *R*).

As for accentuation, Spanish paroxytones and proparoxytones are generally adapted as accented words (i.e. with prominence on the penultimate); e.g.: Sp. *ánimo* > *animó*, *animúa* 'courage', Sp. *bigote* > *bigóte*, *bigotía*, and Spanish oxytones are always treated as unaccented; e.g.: *fusil* > *fusill*, *fusilla* 'rifle'. Some young speakers preserve antepenultimate accentual prominence in Spanish proparoxytones when uninflected, placing the accent on the penultimate when inflection is added; e.g.: *polítiko*, *polítikúa* (instead of *polítiko*, *polítikúa*). Spanish proparoxytones are unexceptionally adapted as accented words. On the other hand, not all paroxytones are adapted as accented. Interestingly, there are groups of Spanish paroxytones bearing certain endings which are systematically adapted as unaccented. For instance, adjectives in *-oso* are always unaccented, (211a). Spanish words bearing the agentive derivational suffix *-ero* are almost unexceptionally unaccented, (211b), whereas those bearing the homophonous place suffix are treated as accented, (211c):

- (211) a. *animoso, enbidioso, famoso, kontajioso, koploso, kurioso, lujoso, mañoso, mimoso, nerbioso, orgulloso, peligroso, seloso, tranposo.*
- b. *atunero, bankero, karnasero, kartero, konsejero, kosiñero, miñero, misñonero, obrero, pastelero, peskadero, sapatero, serrajero, posadero, tesorero, torero, txurrero.*
- c. *labadéro, letréro, matadéro, pertxéro, sonbréro, trastéro, gallinéro.*

3. MORPHOLOGY

3.1. Nominal inflection. Structure of the noun phrase

In Basque, in general, adjectives follow the noun and only the last word in the noun phrase carries inflection:

- (1) *lagun-ari* 'to the friend, dat'
lagun andi-žari 'to the great friend, dat'
lagun andi bat-eri 'to a great friend, dat'

An exception is that forms carrying the genitive or the so-called genitive locative (or relational) suffix can appear within a larger noun phrase. This is in cases where a noun takes a noun phrase or postpositional phrase as its complement, since complements precede their heads:

- (2) *lagun-aren etxe-ra* 'to the house of the friend, all'
friend.G house.AL
etxe-ko žawi-a 'the owner of the house, abs'
house.GL owner.A
Ondarru-rá-ko autobus-a 'the bus bound for Ondarroa'
Ond.AL.GL bus.A

Nominal complements to the left of the head noun may also bear the suffix *-dun* 'having':¹

- (3) *žake gorri-dun mutill-a* 'the boy with a red jacket'
jacket red.having boy.A

Ordinal numerals are also prenominal:

- (4) *lau-gárren urti-an* 'in the fourth year'
four-th year-IN

Relative clauses also occur to the left of the noun (cf. section 4.5.2):

(1) The example in the text consists of a noun modified by a noun phrase complement with the suffix *-dun*. Modifiers with this suffix may also be regular adjectives, in which case they will follow the noun as in *gixon bixardúna* 'the bearded man' or *neska dirudúna* 'the wealthy girl'.

Nationality and other geographic adjectives, which may be preposed to the noun in some dialects, are postposed to the noun in Lekeitio, like any other adjectives: *gixon gernikárra* 'the Gernikan man', *bárku frantzesá* 'the French ship'.

3.1.1. Nonlocative cases

In the following tables, examples are given of stems ending in a consonant, in each of the five vowels and in diphthongs. Both unaccented and accented stems (/leku*/, /belarri*/) are included.

Absolutive. The absolutive indefinite is identical to the uninflected stem. The definite forms carry an ending which is /-a/ in the singular, /-ak*/ in the plural and /-ok*/ in the plural proximate. Consonant-final stems do not require more comment. Stems ending in a mid vowel /e/, /o/ show the application of a rule which raises the stem-final vowel to high before another vowel (mid vowel raising, cf. section 2.6.1). Stems ending in /i/ present insertion of the prepalatal voiced fricative before another vowel (ž-epenthesis, cf. section 2.6.2). Stems ending in /u/ do not undergo any special rules. A peculiarity of all Biscayan and some western Gipuzkoan varieties is that stems ending in /-a/ show the application of different rules in the singular and the plural. In the plural, stem-final /-a/ is deleted prevocally. In the singular, stem-final /-a/ is raised, instead; to [e] in the most conservative varieties (e.g. Arratia, Zeberio) and to [i] in Lekeitio (cf. section 2.7.1):

(11) Absolutive

indefinite	singular	plural	plural prox.	
<i>gixon</i>	<i>gixona</i>	<i>gixónak</i>	<i>gixónok</i>	'man'
<i>neska</i>	<i>neskia</i>	<i>néskak</i>	<i>néskok</i>	'girl'
<i>etxe</i>	<i>etxia</i>	<i>etxiak</i>	<i>etxiok</i>	'house'
<i>mendi</i>	<i>mendiža</i>	<i>mendižak</i>	<i>mendižok</i>	'mountain'
<i>baso</i>	<i>basua</i>	<i>basúak</i>	<i>basúok</i>	'forest'
<i>buru</i>	<i>burua</i>	<i>burúak</i>	<i>burúok</i>	'head'
<i>léku</i>	<i>lekúia</i>	<i>lekúiak</i>	<i>lekúok</i>	'place'
<i>belárri</i>	<i>belarríža</i>	<i>belarrížak</i>	<i>belarrížok</i>	'ear'
<i>bei</i>	<i>beíža</i>	<i>béižak</i>	<i>béižok</i>	'cow'
<i>morau</i>	<i>morawa</i>	<i>moráwak</i>	<i>moráwok</i>	'purple'

The absolutive case is used for intransitive subjects and for direct objects:

- | | | | | | |
|------|--------------------|------------------|------|-----------------------|------------------|
| (12) | <i>gixonâ</i> | <i>etorri da</i> | (13) | <i>gixonâ</i> | <i>ikusi dot</i> |
| | man.A | come AUX | | man.A | see AUX |
| | 'the man has come' | | | 'I have seen the man' | |

Nominal predicates in copulative constructions are also inflected in the absolutive case:

- (14) *Péru nire laguna dá*
 Peru.A my friend. A is
 'Peru is my friend'

Ergative. Ergative plural and plural proximate forms are identical to those found in the absolutive; whereas, in the ergative indefinite and singular, a final /-k/ is added to the absolutive forms. If we take the endings that appear in the absolutive

to be number morphemes (the absolutive case per se lacking any overt marker), the ergative morpheme can be taken to be /-k/ added after the number morpheme. The addition of this ending would lack phonetic realization when added to forms already ending in /k/ (e.g. /gixon-**ak-k/ gixónak*), which causes plural and plural proximate forms to be identical on the surface in the absolutive and ergative. In the indefinite, a vowel /e/ is epenthesized after a consonant or glide and optionally the sequence /-re-/ is inserted after a high front vocoid:

(15) Ergative

indefinite	singular	plural	plural prox.	
<i>gixonek</i>	<i>gixonak</i>	<i>gixónak</i>	<i>gixónok</i>	'man'
<i>neskak</i>	<i>neskiak</i>	<i>néskak</i>	<i>néskok</i>	'girl'
<i>etxek</i>	<i>etxiak</i>	<i>etxiák</i>	<i>etxiók</i>	'house'
<i>mendi(re)k</i>	<i>mendižak</i>	<i>mendižak</i>	<i>mendižok</i>	'mountain'
<i>basok</i>	<i>basuak</i>	<i>basúak</i>	<i>basúok</i>	'forest'
<i>buruk</i>	<i>buruak</i>	<i>burúak</i>	<i>burúok</i>	'head'
<i>lékuk</i>	<i>lekúak</i>	<i>lekúak</i>	<i>lekúok</i>	'place'
<i>bei(re)k</i>	<i>beižak</i>	<i>béižak</i>	<i>béižok</i>	'cow'
<i>moraw(e)k</i>	<i>morawak</i>	<i>moráwak</i>	<i>moráwok</i>	'purple'

Transitive subjects are inflected in the ergative case:

- (16) *gixonak liburúa erosi dau*
 man.E book.A buy AUX
 'the man has bought the book'

Dative. If we assume that the dative suffix is added to forms that are identical to those which surface in the absolutive, the dative morpheme can be taken to be /-ri/ in all forms. In the indefinite, there is epenthesis of [e] after stem-final consonants: /gixon-ri/ *gixoneri*; but not after a front glide. In the plural and plural proximate, the final /-k/ of the number marker is deleted instead: /gixon-ak*-ri/ *gixonári*. In both the ergative and the dative, a sequence of consonants in the concatenation of number and case morphemes is broken by deletion: /ak-k/ [ak], /ak-ri / [ari]. It can be noticed that when a sequence of two consonants arises between the stem and a case suffix, instead, a rule of epenthesis applies. Alternatively, different suffixes, added directly to the stem, can be postulated for each of the numbers: /-ri/, /-ari/, /-ari*/ and /-ori*/:

(17) Dative

indefinite	singular	plural	plural prox.	
<i>gixoneri</i>	<i>gixonari</i>	<i>gixonári</i>	<i>gixonóri</i>	'man'
<i>neskari</i>	<i>neskiari</i>	<i>neskári</i>	<i>neskóri</i>	'girl'
<i>etxeri</i>	<i>etxiari</i>	<i>etxiári</i>	<i>etxióri</i>	'house'
<i>mendiri</i>	<i>mendižari</i>	<i>mendižári</i>	<i>mendižóri</i>	'mountain'
<i>basori</i>	<i>basuari</i>	<i>basuári</i>	<i>basuóri</i>	'forest'
<i>bururi</i>	<i>buruari</i>	<i>buruári</i>	<i>buruóri</i>	'head'

<i>lekúri</i>	<i>lekuári</i>	<i>lekuári</i>	<i>lekuóri</i>	'place'
<i>beiri</i>	<i>beizari</i>	<i>beizári</i>	<i>beizóri</i>	'cow'
<i>moraweri</i>	<i>morawari</i>	<i>morawári</i>	<i>morawóri</i>	'purple'

The main use of the dative is to mark the indirect object:

- (18) *gixonak liburúa emon dotzo neskiari*
 man.E book.A give AUX girl.D
 'the man has given the book to the girl'

Human direct objects are often inflected in the dative as well. The two sentences in (19) are equivalent:

- (19) a. *sure lagunâ ikusi dot* b. *sure lagunari ikusi dotzat*
 your friend.A see AUX your friend.D see AUX
 'I have seen your friend'

The dative is also used to indicate possession, as in Spanish:

- (20) *kendûixu sonbrerúa umiari*
 take off-AUX hat.A child.D
 'take off the child's hat' (lit. 'take off the hat to the child')
- (21) *gixonak adârrak ebagi eutzasan beizari*
 man.E horns.A cut AUX cow.D
 'the man cut the cow's horns'

Also as in Spanish, certain pseudo-impersonal intransitive verbs take a dative argument (arguably the 'logical' subject):

- (22) *gixonari es-žakô dirurik gerátzen*
 man.D not-AUX money.PT remain.I
 'the man does not have any money left'³

Genitive. The definite genitive forms (singular and plural) are straightforward. The suffixes can be taken to be singular /-en/, plural /-en*/ and plural proximate /-on*/, added directly to the stem. The same rules apply as in other cases before. The indefinite forms are less straightforward. It is possible to postulate an indefinite suffix /-n/, which triggers epenthesis of /-re-/ after /i/ and of /-e-/ after a consonant or back glide. In addition, singular genitive forms are optionally used instead of the indefinite forms given:

- (23) Genitive
- | | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------|
| indefinite | singular | plural | plural prox. | |
| <i>gixonen</i> | <i>gixonen</i> | <i>gixonen</i> | <i>gixonon</i> | 'man' |
| <i>neskan</i> | <i>neskien</i> | <i>nesken</i> | <i>neskon</i> | 'girl' |
| <i>etxen</i> | <i>etxien</i> | <i>etxién</i> | <i>etxion</i> | 'house' |
| <i>mendi(re)n</i> | <i>mendižen</i> | <i>mendižen</i> | <i>mendižon</i> | 'mountain' |

(3) Sp. 'al hombre no le queda dinero'.

<i>bason</i>	<i>basuen</i>	<i>basúen</i>	<i>basúon</i>	'forest'
<i>burun</i>	<i>buruen</i>	<i>burúen</i>	<i>burúon</i>	'head'
<i>lékun</i>	<i>lekúen</i>	<i>lekúen</i>	<i>lekúon</i>	'place'
<i>beiren</i>	<i>beizen</i>	<i>beizen</i>	<i>beizon</i>	'cow'
<i>morawen</i>	<i>morawen</i>	<i>moráwen</i>	<i>moráwon</i>	'purple'

Other varieties (e.g. Markina, Oñati) have a difference in vowel quality between the singular and the plural; e.g.: sg. *gixonan*, pl. *gixonén*. Yet other varieties have [a] in both the singular and the plural (Gernika, Getxo, Zeberio); e.g.: sg. *gixonan*, pl. *gixonán*; but [e] in both numbers when the vowel in the final syllable of the stem is [i,u] (due to a rule of low vowel assimilation): sg. *lagunen*, pl. *lagúnen*.

The genitive is the case of the possessor noun phrase:

- (24) *au es-tâ txakurren etxia, katién etxia da*
 this not-is dog.G house.A cats.G house.A is
 'this is not the dog's house, it's the house of the cats'

The genitive may be followed by other inflectional suffixes:

- (25) *txakurrêna da* (26) *txakurrenarî emon dotzat*
 dogs.G.As is dog.G.Ds give AUX
 'it is the one of the dogs' 'I have given it to the one of the dog'

Benefactive. The benefactive is formed by adding /-tzat/ or /-tzat-ko/ -*tzako* to the genitive:

- (27) Benefactive
- | indefinite | singular | plural | plural prox. | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------|
| <i>gixonentzat / gixonentzako</i> | <i>gixonentzat / gixonentzako</i> | <i>gixonéntzat / gixonentzâko</i> | <i>gixonóntzat / gixonontzâko</i> | 'man' |
| <i>neskantzat</i> | <i>neskientzat</i> | <i>neskéntzat</i> | <i>neskóntzat</i> | 'girl' |
| <i>etxentzat</i> | <i>etxientzat</i> | <i>etxiéntzat</i> | <i>etxióntzat</i> | 'house' |
| <i>mendi(re)ntzat</i> | <i>mendižentzat</i> | <i>mendižéntzat</i> | <i>mendižóntzat</i> | 'mountain' |
| <i>basontzat</i> | <i>basuentzat</i> | <i>basuéntzat</i> | <i>basuóntzat</i> | 'forest' |
| <i>buruntzat</i> | <i>buruentzat</i> | <i>buruéntzat</i> | <i>buruóntzat</i> | 'head' |
| <i>lekuéntzat</i> | <i>lekuéntzat</i> | <i>lekuéntzat</i> | <i>lekuóntzat</i> | 'place' |
| <i>beirentzat</i> | <i>beizentzat</i> | <i>beizéntzat</i> | <i>beizóntzat</i> | 'cow' |
| <i>morawentzat</i> | <i>morawentzat</i> | <i>morawéntzat</i> | <i>morawóntzat</i> | 'purple' |

The benefactive forms in *-tzako* can be used both modifying a noun and independently; those in *-tzat* only in independent arguments:

- (28) *lagunéntzat da / lagunentzâko da*
 'it is for the friends'
- (29) a. *lagunentzâko erregalúak ekarri-dixus*
 friends.B presents.A bring-AUX
 's/he has brought [presents for the friends]'

- b. *lagunentzákollagunéntzat erregaliak ekarri-ditxus*
 ‘for the friends, s/he has brought presents’

Comitative. To form the comitative, the accentually marked suffix /-gas*/ is added directly to the stem in the indefinite (with epenthesis of [e] after a consonant) and to the stem plus number marker in the singular. The /g/ of this suffix is often deleted. In the plural and plural proximate a different suffix, which we may represent as /-in/ is added after the number marker /-ak*/, /-ok*/:

(30) Comitative

indefinite	singular	plural	plural prox.	
<i>gixoné(g)as</i>	<i>gixoná(g)as</i>	<i>gixonákiñ</i>	<i>gixonókiñ</i>	‘man’
<i>neská(g)as</i>	<i>neskiá(g)as</i>	<i>neskákiñ</i>	<i>neskókiñ</i>	‘girl’
<i>etxé(g)as</i>	<i>etxiá(g)as</i>	<i>etxiákiñ</i>	<i>etxiókiñ</i>	‘house’
<i>mendí(g)as</i>	<i>mendižá(g)as</i>	<i>mendižákiñ</i>	<i>mendižókiñ</i>	‘mountain’
<i>basó(g)as</i>	<i>basuá(g)as</i>	<i>basuákiñ</i>	<i>basuókiñ</i>	‘forest’
<i>burú(g)as</i>	<i>buruá(g)as</i>	<i>buruákiñ</i>	<i>buruókiñ</i>	‘head’
<i>lekuí(g)as</i>	<i>lekuá(g)as</i>	<i>lekuákiñ</i>	<i>lekuókiñ</i>	‘place’
<i>béi(g)as</i>	<i>beizá(g)as</i>	<i>beizákiñ</i>	<i>beizókiñ</i>	‘cow’
<i>moráu(g)as</i>	<i>morawá(g)as</i>	<i>morawákiñ</i>	<i>morawókiñ</i>	‘purple’
<i>morawé(g)as</i>				

These forms are used both with comitative and instrumental complements:

- (31) *lagunákiñ dator*
 friends.C s/he-comes
 ‘s/he is coming with the friends’
- (32) *boligráfo morawágas eskribidu-dau*
 ballpen purple.Cs write AUX
 ‘s/he has written it with the purple ballpen’

From an interdialectal perspective, we may notice that in Gipuzkoan and eastern dialects the comitative takes an ending *-kin*, generally added to the genitive, in all numbers: *gizona(re)kin* ‘with the man’, *gizonekin* ‘with the men’. In western Biscayan varieties, on the other hand, the comitative/instrumental takes the suffix *-gas* added to absolutive forms both in the singular and the plural. Thus, in Getxo we find *gisoná(g)as* ‘with the man’, *gisonakas* ‘with the men’ (Hualde & Bilbao 1992: 55). In the Gernika area *gixonágas* is used in the singular, as in Lekeitio, whereas in the plural *gixonakas* and *gixonakiñ* are found in free variation.

Instrumental. In Non-Biscayan dialects as well as in Standard Basque, an instrumental case, which takes a suffix *-z* (*-s* in some Navarrese varieties), is distinguished from the comitative; e.g.: *eskuaz* ‘by means of the hand’, *eskuéz* ‘by means of the hands’. In Lekeitio there are remnants of this case in expressions such as *soritxarres* ‘unfortunately, by bad luck’, *burus* ‘by heart’, lit. ‘by head’ (as in *burus dakitt* ‘I know it by heart’) and with names of languages, e.g.: *euskéras* ‘in Basque’, *biskayéras* ‘in Biscayan Basque’, *erdéras* ‘in Spanish’. The instrumental suffix /-s/ also appears

together with the relational /-ko/ in the suffix /-s-ko/ which indicates the material of which something is made as in /seda*-s-ko/ *sedásko* 'silken, made of silk', *sidarresko* 'made of silver', etc.

Partitive. In the partitive there are no number distinctions. Consonant-final stems take an ending *-ik* and vowel (and glide)-final bases take *-rik*.

(33) Partitive

indefinite

<i>gixonik</i>	'man'	<i>bururik</i>	'head'
<i>neskarik</i>	'girl'	<i>lekúrik</i>	'place'
<i>etxerik</i>	'house'	<i>beirik</i>	'cow'
<i>mendirik</i>	'mountain'	<i>moraurik</i>	'purple'
<i>basorik</i>	'forest'		

As Azkue (1932: 10) notes, the partitive morpheme is unaccented when suffixed to an argument of the verb, but accented when suffixed to a noun in the superlative construction:⁴

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------|---------------------------|------|--------------------------|
| (34) | <i>es-tôt</i> | <i>gixonik ikusi</i> | (35) | <i>gixoník ederréna</i> |
| | <i>not-AUX</i> | man.P see | | man.P most beautiful.A |
| | | 'I have not seen any men' | | 'the most beautiful man' |

Prolative. In the prolative the suffix *-tzat* is added directly to the stem:

(36) Prolative

<i>gixontzat</i>	'man'	<i>burutzat</i>	'head'
<i>neskatzat</i>	'girl'	<i>lekútzat</i>	'place'
<i>etxetzat</i>	'house'	<i>beitzat</i>	'cow'
<i>menditzat</i>	'mountain'	<i>morautzat</i>	'purple'
<i>basotzat</i>	'forest'		

The prolative is used in expressions such as 'to take (someone) for something'. There are no number distinctions in the prolative:

- | | | | |
|------|------------------------------|------|--------------------------------|
| (37) | <i>gixontzât artun-neban</i> | (38) | <i>gixontzât artun-nebasan</i> |
| | 'I took him for a man' | | 'I took them for men' |

3.1.2. Locative cases

The locative cases constitute a special subparadigm. The distinguishing characteristic is that the most basic form appears to be the singular, whereas both the

(4) This accentual distinction is also made in the variety of Gernika, but it may not obtain in other varieties. Michelena (1985: 577) manifests that there is no such distinction: "Es ilusorio tratar de distinguir con Azkue... el suf. *-(r)ik* 'tónico' de *gizonik eztago* 'no hay hombres' del 'átono' de *gizonik onenâ...*". It should be noted that an 'atonic suffix' in Azkue's terminology is one that receives a low tone, and thus corresponds to an accented suffix in our terms. Correspondingly, 'tonic suffixes' are unaccented ones (i.e. do not induce a drop in pitch). Greater progress in the study of Basque accentuation would have been possible had Azkue clearly stated, here as elsewhere, that his description corresponded to the accentual system of his native variety of Lekeitio.

indefinite and the plural carry a suffix before the case marker: indefinite /-ta/, plural /-e*-ta/, plural proximative /-o*-ta/.

Inesive ('place at'). The inesive singular carries a suffix /-an/. As in most Basque dialects, this suffix has the irregular property of triggering the appearance of an epenthetic vowel (/e/ raised to [i] by mid vowel raising) after consonant-final stems. This is shown in the inesive singular of *ixar* 'star' which is *ixarrian* (comparable to Standard Basque *izarrean*), not **ixarran*, as would be expected (cf. Jacobsen 1977 for an analysis of this phenomenon). Stems ending in a low vowel show the same type of deletion as in the nonlocative plural: /orma-an/ *orman*, /orma-o*-tan/ *ormótan*. Other sequences of vowels are treated in familiar ways (i.e. by application of mid vowel raising and ž-insertion).

The same suffix /-an/ can be assumed to appear in the indefinite, plural and plural proximative after the suffixes /-ta/, /-e*-ta/ and /-o*-ta/, respectively. In the indefinite, the suffix /-ta/ is often optional or not used:

(39) Inesive

indefinite	singular	plural	plural prox.	
<i>ixarretan</i>	<i>ixarrian</i>	<i>ixarrétan</i>	<i>ixarrótan</i>	'star'
<i>orma(ta)n</i>	<i>orman</i>	<i>ormétan</i>	<i>ormótan</i>	'wall'
<i>etxetan</i>	<i>etxian</i>	<i>etxiétan</i>	<i>etxiótan</i>	'house'
<i>mendi(tta)n</i>	<i>mendižan</i>	<i>mendižétan</i>	<i>mendižótan</i>	'mountain'
<i>baso(ta)n</i>	<i>basuan</i>	<i>basuétan</i>	<i>basuótan</i>	'forest'
<i>buru(ta)n</i>	<i>buruan</i>	<i>buruétan</i>	<i>buruótan</i>	'head'
<i>lekútan</i>	<i>lekúan</i>	<i>lekuétan</i>	<i>lekuótan</i>	'place'
<i>máittan</i>	<i>máižan</i>	<i>maižétan</i>	<i>maižótan</i>	'table'
<i>maižátan</i>				
<i>kata(ta)n</i>	<i>katayan</i>	<i>katayétan</i>	<i>katayótan</i>	'chain'
<i>morau(ta)n</i>	<i>morawan</i>	<i>morawétan</i>	<i>morawótan</i>	'purple'

Allative ('place to'). The allative suffix is /-ra/. Regularly for a consonant-initial suffix, the vowel [e] is epenthesized with consonant-final stems.

(40) Allative

indefinite	singular	plural	plural prox	
<i>ixarre(ta)ra</i>	<i>ixarrera</i>	<i>ixarretára</i>	<i>ixarrotára</i>	'star'
<i>orma(ta)ra</i>	<i>ormara</i>	<i>ormetára</i>	<i>ormotára</i>	'wall'
<i>etxetara</i>	<i>etxera</i>	<i>etxietára</i>	<i>etxiotára</i>	'house'
<i>mendirra</i>	<i>mendirra</i>	<i>mendižetára</i>	<i>mendižotára</i>	'mountain'
<i>baso(ta)ra</i>	<i>basora</i>	<i>basuetára</i>	<i>basuotára</i>	'forest'
<i>buru(ta)ra</i>	<i>burura</i>	<i>buruetára</i>	<i>buruotára</i>	'head'
<i>lekutára</i>	<i>lekúra</i>	<i>lekuetára</i>	<i>lekuotára</i>	'place'
<i>lekúra</i>				
<i>máira</i>	<i>máira</i>	<i>maižetára</i>	<i>maižotára</i>	'table'
<i>katara</i>	<i>katara</i>	<i>katayetára</i>	<i>katayotára</i>	'chain'

<i>morawera</i>	<i>moraura</i>	<i>morawetára</i>	<i>morawotára</i>	'purple'
	<i>morawera</i>			

Directional ('place towards'). There are two directional suffixes suffix /-rutz/ and /-ratz/, which are in free variation for all stems; e.g.: *etxerutz* ~ *etxeratz* 'towards the house'.

(41) Directional

indefinite	singular	plural	plural prox.	
<i>ixarrel(ta)rutz</i>	<i>ixarrerutz</i>	<i>ixarretárutz</i>	<i>ixarrotárutz</i>	'star'
<i>ixarrel(ta)ratz</i>	<i>ixarreratz</i>	<i>ixarretáratz</i>	<i>ixarrotáratz</i>	
<i>ormarutz</i>	<i>ormarutz</i>	<i>ormetárutz</i>	<i>ormotárutz</i>	'wall'
<i>etxe(ta)rutz</i>	<i>etxerutz</i>	<i>etxietárutz</i>	<i>etxiotárutz</i>	'house'
<i>mendirutz</i>	<i>mendirutz</i>	<i>mendižetárutz</i>	<i>mendižotárutz</i>	'mountain'
<i>basorutz</i>	<i>basorutz</i>	<i>basuetárutz</i>	<i>basuotárutz</i>	'forest'
<i>bururutz</i>	<i>bururutz</i>	<i>buruetárutz</i>	<i>buruotárutz</i>	'head'
<i>leketárutz</i>	<i>lekúrutz</i>	<i>leketárutz</i>	<i>lekuotárutz</i>	'place'
<i>máirutz</i>	<i>máirutz</i>	<i>maižetárutz</i>	<i>maižotárutz</i>	'table'
<i>katarutz</i>	<i>katarutz</i>	<i>katayetárutz</i>	<i>katayotárutz</i>	'chain'
<i>moraurutz</i>	<i>moraurutz</i>	<i>morawetárutz</i>	<i>morawotárutz</i>	'purple'
<i>morawerutz</i>	<i>morawerutz</i>			

Ablative ('place from'). The ablative suffix is /-tik*/, with epenthesis of [e] after consonant-final stems. Adverbs carrying this suffix do not present epenthesis after a stem-final sonorant: *amen* 'here', *améndik* 'from here', *or* 'there', *órtik* 'from there' (cf. Section 2.7.3). The ablative /-tik*/ is one of the only two nonplural inflectional suffixes which are accented (the other one is the comitative /-gas*/). In the indefinite, the suffix /-ta-/ is not generally used. Indefinite forms are thus identical to singular forms in most instances:

(42) Ablative

indefinite	singular	plural	plural prox.	
<i>ixarretátik</i>	<i>ixarrétik</i>	<i>ixarretátik</i>	<i>ixarrotátik</i>	'star'
<i>ixarrétik</i>				
<i>ormátik</i>	<i>ormátik</i>	<i>ormetátik</i>	<i>ormotátik</i>	'wall'
<i>etxetátik</i>	<i>etxétik</i>	<i>etxietátik</i>	<i>etxiotátik</i>	'house'
<i>etxétik</i>				
<i>mendítik</i>	<i>mendítik</i>	<i>mendižetátik</i>	<i>mendižotátik</i>	'mountain'
<i>basótik</i>	<i>basótik</i>	<i>basuetátik</i>	<i>basuotátik</i>	'forest'
<i>burútik</i>	<i>burútik</i>	<i>buruetátik</i>	<i>buruotátik</i>	'head'
<i>leketátik</i>	<i>lekútik</i>	<i>leketátik</i>	<i>lekuotátik</i>	'place'
<i>lekútik</i>				
<i>máitik</i>	<i>máitik</i>	<i>maižetátik</i>	<i>maižotátik</i>	'table'
<i>katáitik</i>	<i>katáitik</i>	<i>katayetátik</i>	<i>katayotátik</i>	'chain'
<i>katátik</i>	<i>katátik</i>			
	<i>katayétik</i>			

<i>moráutik</i>	<i>moráutik</i>	<i>morawetátik</i>	<i>morawotátik</i>	'purple'
<i>morawétik</i>	<i>morawétik</i>			

Genitive locative/ relational suffix. The genitive locative is marked by the suffix /-ko/, with epenthesis of [e] after consonant-final stems, except in adverbs as was mentioned for the ablative (*amengo* 'of here', *orko* 'of there'):

(43) Genitive locative

indefinite	singular	plural	plural prox.	
<i>ixarretako</i>	<i>ixarreko</i>	<i>ixarretáko</i>	<i>ixarrotáko</i>	'star'
<i>ormatako</i>	<i>ormako</i>	<i>ormetáko</i>	<i>ormotáko</i>	'wall'
<i>etxetako</i>	<i>etxeke</i>	<i>etxietáko</i>	<i>etxiotáko</i>	'house'
<i>mendi(tta)ko</i>	<i>mendiko</i>	<i>mendižetáko</i>	<i>mendižotáko</i>	'mountain'
<i>baso(ta)ko</i>	<i>basoko</i>	<i>basuetáko</i>	<i>basuotáko</i>	'forest'
<i>buruko</i>	<i>buruko</i>	<i>buruetáko</i>	<i>buruotáko</i>	'head'
<i>leketáko</i>	<i>lekuáko</i>	<i>leketáko</i>	<i>lekuotáko</i>	'place'
<i>máiko</i>	<i>máiko</i>	<i>maižetáko</i>	<i>maižotáko</i>	'table'
<i>katako</i>	<i>katako</i>	<i>katayetáko</i>	<i>katayotáko</i>	'bell'
<i>morauko</i>	<i>morauko</i>	<i>morawetáko</i>	<i>morawotáko</i>	'purple'

Although there are morphological reasons for including this suffix among the locative inflectional markers, the suffix /-ko/ has a wider use and is better understood as a relational affix (cf. de Rijk 1993). Thus, besides constructions such as (44)-(45), which illustrate the genitive locative usage, the suffix /-ko/ is also used in examples such as (46)-(48), where it serves the function of allowing a noun phrase or postpositional phrase to modify another nominal:

- | | |
|---|---|
| (44) <i>mendiko etxia</i>
'the house of the mountain' | (47) <i>bižotz oneko gixona</i>
'a man of good heart' |
| (45) <i>basuotáko arbólak</i>
'the trees of these forests' | (48) <i>amáiru urteko neska bat</i>
'a thirteen year old girl' |
| (46) <i>Aletíko žokalaríža</i>
'the Athletic player' | |

The suffix /-ko/ may follow the allative suffix in prenominal modifiers:

- | | |
|---|--|
| (49) <i>Ondarruráko autobusa</i>
'the bus bound for Ondarroa'
(lit. 'of to Ondarroa') | <i>mendirako bidia</i>
'the path to the mountain' |
|---|--|

However, unlike in the literary dialect studied in de Rijk (1993), it cannot follow other inflectional suffixes. Like the (nonlocative) genitive, the suffix /-ko/ may also be followed by other suffixes:

- (50) *etxekeúak*
'the ones of the house, the members of the household'
- (51) *gure mendižetakuári orrřžak žausi žákes*
lit. 'to those of our mountains, the leaves have fallen'

3.1.3. Animate allative and other animate locative cases

Animate nouns form their allative with a suffix /-gana/ added to the absolutive:

(52) Animate allative (movement towards an animate)

indefinite	singular	plural	
<i>neska(g)ana</i>	<i>neskia(g)ana</i>	<i>neskakána</i>	'girl'
<i>gixone(g)ana</i>	<i>gixona(g)ana</i>	<i>gixonakána</i>	'man'

Plural forms show an ending *-akána* which results from the simplification of the group /kg/ in the morphological sequence /-ak*-gana/. Optionally, in the singular the ending *-gana* can be added after the genitive: *gixone(n)(g)ana* 'to the man'.

In the ablative, vowel-final stems referring to animates take the postposition *ándik*. Consonant final stems take the same endings as for inanimates:

(53) Ablative (movement from an animate)

	indefinite	singular	plural	
a.	<i>neskándik</i> <i>neskátik</i>	<i>neskiándik</i>	<i>neskak ándik</i>	'girl'
b.	<i>gixonétik</i>	<i>gixonétik</i>	<i>gixonetátik</i>	'man'

There are no other forms for animate cases. Corresponding to the animate inesive of the standard language, the comitative is used with animates.

3.1.4. Special cases: stem-final diphthongs

Stems ending in a diphthong have been illustrated with the example /bei/ 'cow' whose paradigm is repeated in (54):

(54)

	indefinite	singular	plural	plural prox.
abs	<i>bei</i>	<i>beiza</i>	<i>béizak</i>	<i>béizok</i>
erg	<i>bei(re)k</i>	<i>beizak</i>	<i>béizak</i>	<i>béizok</i>
dat	<i>beiri</i>	<i>beizari</i>	<i>béizari</i>	<i>béizóri</i>
gen	<i>beiren</i>	<i>beizen</i>	<i>béizen</i>	<i>béizon</i>
ben	<i>beirentzat</i>	<i>beizentzat</i>	<i>béizéntzat</i>	<i>béizóntzat</i>
com	<i>béi(g)as</i>	<i>beizá(g)as</i>	<i>béizákiñ</i>	<i>béizókiñ</i>
part	<i>beirik</i>			
prol	<i>beizat</i>			

There are however other stems which also appear to end in a sequence of vocoids and which do not conform to this paradigm. There is a group of words whose stem appears to end in a vowel in indefinite forms but presents a final palatal glide in most singular and plural forms. This group includes a relatively large number of borrowings which in Spanish end in *-on*.⁵ An example is *patro/patroya* 'boss, captain of a fishing boat'. These stems can be understood as underlyingly ending in /-oe/. The final /-e/ is deleted in the indefinite; otherwise raising and gliding (cf. section

(5) Cf. Hualde (1993c) for this correspondence in a number of Basque dialects.

2.6.5). The group also contains words such as *kata/kataya* 'chain', *gasta/gastaya* 'cheese' for which final underlying /-ae/ may be postulated:

(55)		indefinite	singular	plural	plural prox.
	abs	<i>patro</i>	<i>patroya</i>	<i>patróyak</i>	<i>patróyok</i>
	erg	<i>patrok</i>	<i>patroyak</i>	<i>patróyak</i>	<i>patróyok</i>
	dat	<i>patrori</i>	<i>patroyari</i>	<i>patroyári</i>	<i>patroyóri</i>
	gen	<i>patroyen</i> <i>patronen</i>	<i>patroyen</i>	<i>patróyen</i>	<i>patróyon</i>
	ben	<i>patro(ye)ntzat</i>	<i>patroyentzat</i>	<i>patroyéntzat</i>	<i>patroyóntzat</i>
	com	<i>patró(g)as</i>	<i>patroyá(g)as</i>	<i>patroyákiñ</i>	<i>patroyókiñ</i>
	part	<i>patrorik</i>			
	prol	<i>patrotzat</i>			
	abs	<i>kata</i>	<i>kataya</i>	<i>katáyak</i>	<i>katáyok</i>
	erg	<i>kata(ye)k</i>	<i>katayak</i>	<i>katáyak</i>	<i>katáyok</i>
	dat	<i>katari</i>	<i>katayari</i>	<i>katayári</i>	<i>katayóri</i>
	gen	<i>katayen</i>	<i>katayen</i>	<i>katáyen</i>	<i>katáyon</i>
	ben	<i>katayentzat</i>	<i>katayentzat</i>	<i>katayéntzat</i>	<i>katayóntzat</i>
	com	<i>katá(g)as</i>	<i>katayá(g)as</i>	<i>katayákiñ</i>	<i>katayókiñ</i>
	part	<i>katarik</i>			
	prol	<i>katatzat</i>			
	ines	<i>katan</i>	<i>katayan</i>	<i>katayétan</i>	<i>katayótan</i>
	all	<i>katara</i>	<i>katara</i>	<i>katayétara</i>	<i>katayótara</i>
	dir	<i>katarutz</i>	<i>katarutz</i>	<i>katayetarutz</i>	<i>katayotarutz</i>
	abl	<i>katátik</i> <i>katáittik</i>	<i>katátik</i> <i>katáittik</i>	<i>katayetátik</i>	<i>katayotátik</i>
	g-l	<i>katako</i>	<i>katako</i>	<i>katayetáko</i>	<i>katayotáko</i>

3.1.5. Demonstratives

The demonstratives present some peculiarities in their inflectional paradigm, as in other Basque dialects. There are three basic demonstratives, whose absolute forms are *au* 'this', *ori* 'that' and *a* 'that over there'. The distal demonstrative *a* is homophonous with the determiner. Their complete nonlocative paradigms are as follows:⁶

(56)		sing	plural	sing	plural	sing	plural
	abs	<i>au</i>	<i>ónek</i>	<i>ori</i>	<i>órrek</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>árek</i>
	erg	<i>onek</i>	<i>ónek</i>	<i>orrek</i>	<i>órrek</i>	<i>arek</i>	<i>árek</i>
	dat	<i>oneri</i>	<i>néri</i>	<i>orreri</i>	<i>orréri</i>	<i>areri</i>	<i>aréri</i>
	gen	<i>onen</i>	<i>ónen</i>	<i>orren</i>	<i>órren</i>	<i>aren</i>	<i>áren</i>
	ben	<i>onentzat</i>	<i>onéntzat</i>	<i>orrentzat</i>	<i>orréntzat</i>	<i>arentzat</i>	<i>aréntzat</i>
	com	<i>onégas</i>	<i>onékiñ</i>	<i>orrégas</i>	<i>orrékiñ</i>	<i>arégas</i>	<i>arékiñ</i>

(6) The prolative and partitive cases are not used with demonstratives.

The demonstratives in (56) can be used as pronouns (i.e. forming their own noun phrases) and as 'adjectives' (i.e. modifying a noun). In central and eastern Basque dialects, and in Standard Basque, adjectival demonstratives appear phrase-finally, after the noun they modify and any adjectives. In Lekeitio, as in many other Biscayan varieties, instead, demonstratives in their adjectival use appear in phrase-initial position, to the left of the noun. In noun phrases containing demonstratives, case inflection appears both on the demonstrative and phrase-finally (as in the left-column examples in (57)). An inflected suffixal copy of the demonstrative may also appear at the end of the phrase, as in the right-column examples. In some plural cases (genitive, benefactive and comitative), the phrase-initial demonstrative may be optionally left in its absolutive/ergative form, whereas the noun (or adjective) inflects for the corresponding case:

(57) 'this child'

abs	<i>au umia</i>	<i>au umiau</i>
erg	<i>onek umiak</i>	<i>onek umionek</i>
dat	<i>oneri umiari</i>	<i>oneri umioneri</i>
gen	<i>onen umien</i>	<i>onen umionen</i>
ben	<i>onentzat umientzat</i>	<i>onentzat umionentzat</i>
com	<i>oné(g)as umiá(g)as</i>	<i>oné(g)as umioné(g)as</i>

'these children'

abs	<i>ónek umiak/umíok</i>	
erg	<i>ónek umiak/umíok</i>	
dat	<i>onéri umiári/umióri</i>	<i>onéri umionéri</i>
gen	<i>onen umien/umíon</i>	<i>ónen umiónen</i>
ben	<i>onéntzat/ónek umiéntzat/ -óntzat</i>	
com	<i>onékiñ umiákiñ/-ókiñ</i>	<i>onékiñ umionékiñ</i>

'that child'

abs	<i>ori umia</i>	<i>ori umiori</i>
erg	<i>orrek umiak</i>	<i>orrek umiorrek</i>
dat	<i>orreri umiari</i>	<i>orreri umiorreri</i>
gen	<i>orren umien</i>	<i>orren umiorren</i>
ben	<i>orrentzat umientzat</i>	<i>orrentzat umiorrentzat</i>
com	<i>orré(g)as umiá(g)as</i>	<i>orré(g)as umiorré(g)as</i>

'those children'

abs	<i>órrek umiak/umíok</i>	
erg	<i>órrek umiak/umíok</i>	
dat	<i>orréri umiári/umióri</i>	<i>orréri umiorréri</i>
gen	<i>órren/órrek umien/umíon</i>	
ben	<i>orréntzat/órrek umiéntzat/ -óntzat</i>	
com	<i>orrékiñ umiákiñ/-ókiñ</i>	<i>orrékiñ umiorrékiñ</i>

'that child over there'		'those children over there'	
abs	<i>a umia</i>	abs	<i>árek umiak</i>
erg	<i>arek umiak</i>	erg	<i>árek umiak</i>
dat	<i>areri umiari</i>	dat	<i>aréri umiári</i>
gen	<i>aren umien</i>	gen	<i>áren/árek umien</i>
ben	<i>arentzat umientzat</i>	ben	<i>aréntzat/árek umiéntzat</i>
com	<i>aré(g)as umiá(g)as</i>	com	<i>arékiñ/árek umiákiñ</i>

Some examples with a noun phrase containing both a demonstrative and an adjective are shown in (58):

- (58) *au libúru gorrižau* 'this red book'
orrékiñ lagun andižákiñ /andižorrékiñ 'with those great friends'

For the proximative demonstrative, in addition to forms based on a root /on-/, there are emphatic alternatives with a root /aun*-/. In these emphatic forms the first syllable is accented and behaves as an independent prosodic word in the singular. These forms alternate with unaccented forms. Plural forms receive penultimate accent:

(59)		singular	plural
	abs	<i>au</i>	<i>áunek</i>
	erg	<i>áunek ~ aunek</i>	<i>áunek</i>
	dat	<i>áu-neri ~ aunerí</i>	<i>aunéri</i>
	gen	<i>áu-nen ~ aunen</i>	<i>áunen</i>
	gen+abs sg	<i>áu-nena ~ aunena</i>	<i>aunéna</i>
	ben	<i>áu-nentzako ~ aunentzako</i>	<i>aunentzáko</i>
	com	<i>áu-negas ~ aunégas</i>	<i>aunékiñ</i>

These emphatic forms can only be used as pronominal; that is, they cannot modify a noun:

- (60) *áu-nena da* 'it is the one of this one'
áu-neri 'to this one'
**gixon áu-nena da* 'it is the one of this man'
**gixon áu-neri* 'to this man'

The original locative forms of the demonstrative series have been lost in the singular. In singular noun phrases inflected for the locative cases, place adverbs are used in prenominal position (*amen* 'here', *or* 'there', *an* 'over there'). For all forms starting with *o-* there are alternative more emphatic forms with a diphthong *au-*, accented or unaccented. The declension of these adverbs is as follows; emphatic forms are listed after the corresponding non-emphatic variants:

(61)	place adverbs			
		'here'	'there'	'over there'
	ines	<i>amen</i>	<i>or, aur</i>	<i>an</i>
	all	<i>ona, áuna</i>	<i>orra, aurra, áurra</i>	<i>ara</i>

abl	<i>améndik</i>	<i>órtik, áurtik</i>	<i>ándik</i>
gen-loc	<i>amengo</i>	<i>orko, aurko, áurko</i>	<i>ango</i>
dir	<i>onutz</i>	<i>orrutz</i>	<i>arutz</i>
	<i>onatz, aunatz, áunatz</i>	<i>orratz, aurratz, áurratz</i>	<i>aratz</i>
all+gen-loc	<i>onako, aunako, áunako</i>	<i>orrako, aurrako, áurrako</i>	<i>arako</i>

(62) Singular locative phrases with demonstratives

<i>amen etxian</i>	‘in this house’ (or ‘here in the house’)
<i>ona etxera</i>	‘to this house’
<i>améndik etxétik</i>	‘from this house’
<i>amengo etxeke</i>	‘of this house’
<i>onutz etxerutz</i>	‘towards this house’
<i>or etxian</i>	‘in that house’
<i>orra etxera</i>	‘to that house’
<i>órtik etxétik</i>	‘from that house’
<i>orko etxeke</i>	‘of that house’
<i>orrutz etxerutz</i>	‘towards that house’
<i>an etxian</i>	‘in that house over there’
<i>ara etxera</i>	‘to that house over there’
<i>ándik etxétik</i>	‘from that house over there’
<i>ango etxeke</i>	‘of that house over there’
<i>arutz etxerutz</i>	‘towards that house over there’

In plural locative phrases, distinct plural demonstrative forms are used in the inesive, allative and partly in the ablative; in the remaining cases, adverbs are used, as in the singular, or the demonstrative appears in the absolutive/ergative plural:

(63) Plural locative phrases with demonstratives

<i>onétan etxiótan/-étan</i>	‘in these houses’
<i>onétan etxionétan</i>	
<i>onetára etxiotára/-etára</i>	‘to these houses’
<i>onetára etxionetára</i>	
<i>onetátik etxiotátik/-etátik</i>	‘from these houses’
<i>amengo etxiotákol/-etáko ~</i>	
<i>ónek etxiotákol/-etáko⁷</i>	‘of these houses’
<i>ónek etxiotárutz/-etárutz</i>	‘towards these houses’
<i>orrétan etxiótan/-étan</i>	‘in those houses’
<i>orretára etxiotára/-etára</i>	‘to those houses’
<i>orretátik etxiotátik/-etátik</i>	‘from those houses’
<i>orko etxiotákol/-etáko ~</i>	
<i>órrek etxiotákol/-etáko</i>	‘of those houses’
<i>órrek etxiotárutz/-etárutz</i>	‘towards those houses’

(7) Alternatively, in the plural genitive locative, the nonlocative genitive form of the demonstrative can be used: *ónen etxiotáko* ‘of these houses’.

<i>arétan etxiétan</i>	‘in those houses over there’
<i>aretára etxiétára</i>	‘to those houses over there’
<i>ándik etxiétárik</i>	‘from those houses over there’
<i>ango etxiétáko ~</i>	
<i>árek etxiétáko</i>	‘of those houses over there’
<i>árek etxiétárutz</i>	‘towards those houses over there’

There is a set of emphatic or intensive demonstratives with a suffix *-xe* / *-txe*. The allomorph *-xe* occurs word-finally (that is, in the absolutive singular), and *-txe* preceding inflectional suffixes):⁸

(64) Emphatic demonstratives

sing	plural	sing	plural	sing	plural
<i>auxe/áuxe</i>	<i>onétxek</i>	<i>orixe</i>	<i>orrétxek</i>	<i>axe(n)/áxe(n)</i>	<i>arétxek</i>
<i>onetxek</i>	<i>onétxek</i>	<i>orretxek</i>	<i>orrétxek</i>	<i>aretxek</i>	<i>arétxek</i>
<i>onetxeri</i>	<i>onétxéri</i>	<i>orretxeri</i>	<i>orrétxéri</i>	<i>aretxeri</i>	<i>arétxéri</i>
<i>onetxen</i>	<i>onétxen</i>	<i>orretxen</i>	<i>orrétxen</i>	<i>aretxen</i>	<i>arétxen</i>
<i>onetxentzat</i>	<i>onétxéntzat</i>	<i>orretxentzat</i>	<i>orrétxéntzat</i>	<i>aretxentzat</i>	<i>arétxéntzat</i> ⁹
<i>onetxégas</i>	<i>onétxékiñ</i>	<i>orretxégas</i>	<i>orrétxékiñ</i>	<i>aretxégas</i>	<i>arétxékiñ</i>

Emphatic demonstratives do not have suffixal counterparts. Rather, plain non-emphatic demonstratives are used as suffixes even when there is a pronominal emphatic demonstrative:

- (65) *auxe liburúa ~ auxe liburúau*, (**auxe liburuáuxe*) ‘this very book, abs’
orixe liburúa ~ orixe liburúori, (**orixe liburuorixe*) ‘that very book, abs’
axe liburúa, (**axe liburuáxe*) ‘that very book over there, abs’
orretxeri gixonari (**orretxeri gixonorretxeri*) ‘to that very man, dat’

The form *axen* is used exclusively as a pronominal demonstrative. E.g.: *axên ikusi-ot andižéna* ‘that’s the biggest one I have seen’ (lit. ‘that I have seen the biggest one’).

In the singular locative cases, the emphatic forms of the place adverbials are used as demonstratives. In these forms the emphatic allomorphs *-xe* and *-txe* are in phonologically determined complementary distribution: *-xe* appears after a vowel and *-txe* after a consonant. The intensive morpheme is affixed in word-final position in the inessive, allative and genitive-locative. Ablative and directional forms are irregular. In the ablative, *-xeri-* is inserted as an infix inside the ablative suffix. In the directional, we find a final sequence *-a-xe-rutz* (that is, the suffix *-rutz* is added to the emphatic allative):

(66) Emphatic place adverbials

ines	<i>amentxe</i>	<i>ortxe</i>	<i>antxe</i>
all	<i>onaxe, áunaxe</i>	<i>orraxe</i>	<i>araxe</i>
	<i>aunaxe</i>		
abl	<i>amendixérik</i>	<i>ortixérik</i>	<i>andixérik</i>

(8) Historically, the affricate may derive from assimilation in forms such as **onek-xek*.

(9) Or *onetxentzako*, *onetxentzako*, etc.

gen-loc	<i>amengoxe</i>	<i>orkoxe</i>	<i>angoxe</i>
dir	<i>onaxerutz</i>	<i>orraxerutz</i>	<i>araxerutz</i>

- (67) *amentxe ondarrían* 'on this very beach / right here on the beach'
orkoxe etxeko žawia 'the owner of that very house'

In the plural, there are special emphatic demonstrative forms bearing a suffix *-txe* in all cases but the genitive-locative, although absolutive plural forms can be used instead in every case:

- (68) Emphatic plural demonstratives

ines	<i>onetxétan</i>	<i>orretxétan</i>	<i>aretxétan</i>
all	<i>onetxetára</i>	<i>orretxetára</i>	<i>aretxetára</i>
abl	<i>onetxetátik</i>	<i>orretxetátik</i>	<i>aretxetátik</i>
dir	<i>onetxetárutz</i>	<i>orretxetárutz</i>	<i>aretxetárutz</i>

- (69) *onetxetára etxietára* ~ *onétxek etxietára* 'to those very houses'

Manner adverbials are derived from demonstratives by means of a suffix */-la-n*/*. From these, noun modifiers in */-la-ko/* are formed:¹⁰

- (70) *áulan* 'in this manner'
aulantxérik, áulantxerik 'in this very manner' (emphatic)
áulako 'like this'; e.g. *áulako arriža* 'a stone like this'
áulakoxe 'like this' (emphatic)
- ólan* 'in that manner'
olantxérik 'in that manner' (emphatic)
ólako 'like that'; e.g.: *ólako etxia* 'a house like that'
ólakoxe 'like that' (emphatic)
- álan* 'in that manner'
alantxérik 'in that very manner'
álako 'like that'
álakoxe 'like that'

For most forms there are also unaccented variants. Accented forms are used deictically (i.e. pointing at the referent). Forms with */-n-/* instead of */-l-/* are also employed for the first two paradigms; e.g.: *áunako, ónako*, etc.

The adverbials *on* 'now' and *ordun* 'then' also take the intensive suffix: *auntxe* 'right now', *ongoxe* or *aungoxe* 'of right now', *orduntxe* 'right then', *orduntxétik* 'since then', *orduntxe arte* 'until then'. From the noun *modu* 'way, type', there is also an intensive form *modukoxe* 'of that type'.

(10) *Lantxérik* and *lakóxe* are also used as free postpositional forms with genitive noun phrases in comparative expressions; e.g.: *nire lantxérik* 'like me', *Kóldon lakoxía da* 's/he is like Koldo'.

3.1.6. Personal pronouns

Personal subject pronouns come in two series, regular and emphatic. The regular or non-emphatic pronouns have the following declension:

(71)		‘I’ (1.)	‘you’ (2.)		‘we’ (1’.)	‘you-pl’ (2’.)
	abs	<i>ni</i>	<i>su</i>	abs	<i>gu</i>	<i>súek</i>
	erg	<i>nik</i>	<i>suk</i>	erg	<i>guk</i>	<i>súek</i>
	dat	<i>niri</i>	<i>suri</i>	dat	<i>guri</i>	<i>suéri</i>
	gen	<i>nire</i>	<i>sure</i>	gen	<i>gure</i>	<i>súen</i>
	ben	<i>nitzat</i> ¹¹	<i>sutzat</i>	ben	<i>gutzat</i>	<i>suéntzat</i>
	com	<i>nígas</i>	<i>súgas</i>	com	<i>gúgas</i>	<i>suékiñ</i>
	all	<i>nígana</i>	<i>sugana</i>	all	<i>gugana</i>	<i>suekána</i>
	abl	<i>nigándik</i>	<i>sugándik</i>	abl	<i>gugándik</i>	<i>súek ándik</i>

As non-emphatic third person personal pronouns, (distal) demonstratives are used; e.g.: *a da* ‘that/he/she/it is’, *árek diras* ‘those/they are’ (for the paradigm, cf. (56)).

The genitive forms *nire*, *gure*, *sure* do not carry the final *-n* that otherwise characterizes the genitive (this is general to all Basque dialects). In the comitative, we may note that the suffix *-gas*, used with singular nouns, is employed in the form *gúgas* which has plural reference.

In emphatic contexts, the following forms of the personal pronouns are used:

(72)		‘I’ (1.)	‘you’ (2.)	‘s/he, it’ (3.)	
	abs	<i>neu</i>	<i>seu</i>	<i>bera</i>	<i>beori</i>
	erg	<i>neuk</i>	<i>seuk</i>	<i>berak</i>	<i>beorrek</i>
	dat	<i>neuri</i>	<i>seuri</i>	<i>berari</i>	<i>beorreri</i>
	gen	<i>neure</i>	<i>seure</i>	<i>bere(n)</i>	<i>beorren</i>
	ben	<i>neutzat</i>	<i>seutzat</i>	<i>berentzat</i>	<i>beorrentzat</i>
	com	<i>néugas</i>	<i>séugas</i>	<i>berágas</i>	<i>beorrégas</i>
	all	<i>neugana</i>	<i>seugana</i>	<i>beragana</i>	<i>beorre(n)gana</i>
	abl	<i>neugándik</i>	<i>seugándik</i>	<i>beragándik</i>	<i>beorre(n)gándik</i>
		<i>neurétik</i>	<i>seurétik</i>		<i>beorrenétik</i>
		‘we’ (1’.)	‘you-pl’ (2’.)	‘they’ (3’.)	‘they, prox’
	abs	<i>geu</i>	<i>séwek</i>	<i>éurak</i>	<i>éurok</i>
	erg	<i>geuk</i>	<i>séwek</i>	<i>éurak</i>	<i>éurok</i>
	dat	<i>geuri</i>	<i>sewéri</i>	<i>eurári</i>	<i>euróri</i>
	gen	<i>geure</i>	<i>séwen</i>	<i>éuren</i>	<i>éuron</i>
	ben	<i>geutzat</i>	<i>sewéntzat</i>	<i>euréntzat</i>	<i>euróntzat</i>
	com	<i>géugas</i>	<i>sewékiñ</i>	<i>eurákiñ</i>	<i>eurókiñ</i>
	all	<i>geugana</i>	<i>sewekána</i>	<i>eurakána</i>	<i>eurokána</i>
	abl	<i>geugándik</i>	<i>séwek ándik</i>	<i>éurak ándik</i>	<i>éurok ándik</i>
		<i>geurétik</i>	<i>sewenétik</i>	<i>eurenétik</i>	<i>eurenótik</i>

(11) Or *nitzako*, *sutzako*, etc.

The old second person singular (*b*)*i*, which is still used as a familiar second person in many varieties, has been completely lost in Lekeitio among the younger generations. Older speakers still use some forms of this pronoun, all from the emphatic paradigm (forms in parenthesis are very rare, even for the oldest generations):

(73)		‘thou’ (2 f)	
	abs	<i>eu</i>	ben (<i>eutzako</i>)
	erg	<i>euk</i>	com <i>éugas</i>
	dat	<i>huri</i>	all <i>ewana</i>
	gen	<i>eure</i>	abl (<i>eugándik, éutik</i>)

For all but the very oldest speakers, the pronoun *su* is the only second person singular form. Originally, *su* (*zu*) was a second person plural, which, following the same development as in other European languages, came to be used as a second person singular of respect (cf., for instance, Lakarra 1986). The current second person plural *súek* constitutes a later development.

The third person singular pronoun *bera* is an emphatic form of the third degree (or distal) demonstrative *a* and *berori* is originally an emphatic form of the second degree demonstrative *ori*. The form *éurak* also appears to be an emphatic form of the demonstrative *árek*.

3.1.7. Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns *nor* ‘who’, *ser* ‘what’ and *seiñ* ‘which (one)’ have the following declensional forms:

(74)	sg	pl	sg	pl	
	abs	<i>nor</i>	<i>nórtzuk</i>	<i>se(r)</i>	<i>sértzuk</i>
	erg	<i>nok, nórek</i>	<i>nórtzuk</i>	<i>sérek</i>	<i>sértzuk</i>
	dat	<i>nóri</i>	<i>nortzúri</i>	<i>séri, seréri</i>	<i>sertzúri</i>
	gen	<i>nóren</i>	<i>nórtzun</i>	<i>séren</i>	<i>sértzun</i>
	ben	<i>noréntzat</i>	<i>nortzúntzat</i>	<i>seréntzat</i>	<i>sertzúntzat</i>
	com	<i>nó(g)as</i>	<i>nortzúkiñ</i>	<i>sé(g)as</i>	<i>sertzúkiñ</i>
	abs	<i>seiñ</i>	<i>séintxuk</i>		
	erg	<i>séiñek</i>	<i>séintxuk</i>		
	dat	<i>seiñéri</i>	<i>seintxúri</i>		
	gen	<i>séiñen</i>	<i>séintxun</i>		
	ben	<i>seiñéntzat</i>	<i>seintxúntzat</i>		

From *ser* ‘what’, there is a manner adverbial *selan* ‘how’ and a corresponding noun modifier *seláko* ‘of what type’; e.g.: *seláko liburúa da?* ‘what kind of book is it?’ The word for ‘why’ is *se(g)áittik*, where the second morphological element is the ablative of *gai* ‘topic, reason’. The word for ‘where’ takes locative suffixes, presenting an irregular alternation between /nu-/ (before /n/) and /no-/:

(75)	ines	<i>nun</i>	‘where’
	all	<i>nóra</i>	‘whither’
	abl	<i>núndik</i>	‘whence’
	gen	<i>núngo</i>	‘of where’
	dir	<i>nórutz</i>	‘in which direction’
	dest	<i>nóra áiño</i>	‘up to where’
		<i>nóra árte</i>	

The word for ‘when’ is *noix*, which has the inflected forms in (76):

(76)	<i>noix</i>	‘when’	<i>noixko</i>	‘for when’
	<i>nóixtik</i>	‘from when’	<i>noix árte</i>	‘until when’

There is also an allative form *noixera* ‘to when’, which is only used in the expression *noixétik noixera* ‘from time to time’ and not as a question word.

All question words are accented in direct questions (where they receive focus accent), but unaccented in indirect questions (except for *sélan*, which is always accented; i.e. lexically):

(77)	<i>nôr</i>	<i>etorri da?</i>	(78)	<i>es-takítt</i>	<i>nor</i>	<i>etorri dan</i>
	who	come AUX		not-I-know	who	come AUX-CP
		‘who has come?’				‘I don’t know who has come’
(79)	<i>nôri</i>	<i>emon dotzásu?</i>	(80)	<i>es-takítt</i>	<i>nori</i>	<i>emon dotzasun</i>
	who.D	give AUX		not-I-know	who.D	give AUX-CP
		‘to whom did you give it?’				‘I don’t know who you gave it to’

3.1.8. Quantifiers

There are three series of quantifiers that are derived from the interrogative pronouns. A first series, common to all Basque dialects (with only minor phonological differences), is formed by prefixing a vowel *i-* or *e-* to the interrogative pronouns. These have an existential meaning and are used in interrogative and negative sentences:

(81)	‘anybody’	‘anything’	‘anywhere’	‘ever’		
	abs	<i>iñor</i>	<i>eser</i>	ines	<i>iñun</i>	<i>iñoix</i>
	erg	<i>iñok</i>	<i>eserek</i>	all	<i>iñora</i>	
	dat	<i>iñori</i>	<i>eseri</i>	abl	<i>iñúndik</i>	
	gen	<i>iñon</i>	<i>eseren</i>	gen	<i>iñungo</i>	
	ben	<i>iñontzat</i>	<i>eserentzat</i>			
	com	<i>iñó(g)as</i>	<i>eseré(g)as/esé(g)as</i>			

The use of these quantifiers is illustrated in the following examples:

(82)	<i>iñor</i>	(<i>be</i>)	<i>es san etorri</i> ¹²	(83)	<i>iñok</i>	(<i>be</i>)	<i>es eban žan</i>
			‘nobody came’				‘nobody ate it’

(12) The negation is more emphatic when the quantifier is followed by *be* ‘too’ or *bes* (be+es).

- (84) *es neban iñor (be) ikusi*
'I didn't see anybody'
- (85) *ikusi senduan iñor?*
'did you see anybody?'
- (86) *ei(ñ) eban iñok?*
'did anybody do it?'
- (87) *es tot nai eser eran*
'I don't want to drink anything'
- (88) *ikusi senduan eser?*
'did you see anything?'
- (89) *es nitzan iñoix žuan*
'I never went'
- (90) *žuan siñian iñoix?*
'did you ever go?'

Another series of quantifiers is obtained prefixing *edo-* lit. 'or' to the interrogative pronouns:

(91)		'anybody'	'anything'	'any, anybody, anything'
	abs	<i>edonor</i>	<i>edoser</i>	<i>edoseiñ</i>
	erg	<i>edonok/</i> <i>edonorek</i>	<i>edosek/</i> <i>edoserek</i>	<i>edoseiñek</i>
	dat	<i>edonori</i>	<i>edoseri</i>	<i>edoseiñeri</i>
	gen	<i>edonoren</i>	<i>edosereren</i>	<i>edoseiñeren</i>
	ben	<i>edonorentzat</i>	<i>edoserentzat</i>	<i>edoseiñentzat</i>
	com	<i>edonó(g)as</i>	<i>edoseré(g)as/</i> <i>edosé(g)as</i>	<i>edoseiñé(g)as</i>
		'anywhere'		'ever'
	ines	<i>edonun</i>		<i>edonoix</i>
	all	<i>edonora</i>		<i>edosélan</i>
	abl	<i>edonúndik</i>		
	gen	<i>edonungo</i>		

These quantifiers are used in affirmative declarative sentences, as illustrated in the following examples:

- (92) *edonôr etorri léike*
'anybody may come'
- (93) *edonók žan léike*
'anybody can eat it'
- (94) *edonôr ikusi leikíxu*
'you can see anybody (you want)'
- (95) *edosêr ein leikíxu*
'you can do anything (you want)'
- (96) *edosein libûru dago ondo*
'any book will be fine'
- (97) *edoseiñek ein léike*
'anybody could do it'
- (98) *edonorâ žuan leikíxu*
'you can go anywhere (you want)'
- (99) *edonôix žuan néiket*
'I can go any time'

The manner quantifier *edosélan* is also used in negative clauses (there is no corresponding form **eselan*, unlike in some other Biscayan varieties):

- (100) *esin neban edosélan be eiñ*
'I couldn't do it in any manner'

A third series of quantifiers are formations on the interrogative pronouns with a reduplicative prefix followed by *o* (*u* after *u*). These quantifiers, thus, have a structure $C_1V_1\text{-}o/u\text{-}C_1V_1X$:

(101)		‘somebody’	‘something’		‘somewhere’
	abs	<i>nó o nor</i>	<i>sé o ser</i>	ines	<i>nú u nun</i>
	erg	<i>nó o no(re)k</i>	<i>sé o serek</i>	all	<i>nó o nora</i>
	dat	<i>nó o nori</i>	<i>sé o sereri</i>	abl	<i>nú u núndik</i>
	gen	<i>nó o noren</i>	<i>sé o seren</i>	gen	<i>nú u nungo</i>
	ben	<i>nó o norentzat sé o serentzat</i>			
	com	<i>nó o nó(g)as sé o sé(g)as, sé o seré(g)as</i>			
		‘some time’	‘some how’		
		<i>nó o noix</i>	<i>sé o sélan</i>		

Examples:

- | | |
|---|---|
| (102) <i>nô o norek ža(n) eban</i>
‘somebody ate it’ | (106) <i>arâ nai dot žuan nó o noix</i>
‘I want to go there some time’ |
| (103) <i>nô o nor ikusi neban</i>
‘I saw somebody’ | (107) <i>êin senduan sé o sélan?</i>
did you do it somehow? |
| (104) <i>sê o ser nai dot žan</i>
‘I want to eat something’ | (108) <i>sê o sélan ein neban</i>
‘I did it somehow’ |
| (105) <i>nô o nora nai dot žuan</i>
‘I want to go somewhere’ | |

There is also an expression *bâten bat* with the meaning ‘somebody, someone’. The plural of *bat* ‘one’, *bâtzuk* is used to express ‘some’:

- | | |
|---|---|
| (109) <i>bâten batek ža(n) eban</i>
‘someone ate it’ | (111) <i>libûru bâtzuk erosi nebasan</i>
‘I bought some books’ |
| (110) <i>bâten bat ikusi neban</i>
‘I saw somebody’ | |

3.1.9. Postnominal postpositions

There are a number of postpositions, most of which appear following inflected noun phrases (although some of them take uninflected phrases). Accentually, these postpositions constitute independent words. In (112), the most important postpositions are listed. The case the word preceding the postposition takes is indicated in brackets, (\emptyset) corresponding to a noninflected form:

- (112) postnominal postpositions
 (all) *áiño* ‘up to’. E.g.: *Ondarrúra áiño* ‘up to Ondarroa’, *etxera áiño* ‘up to the house’, *etxietára áiño* [etʃietárajno] ‘up to the houses’.

- (all) *árte* 'up to, until'. E.g.: *Bilbóra árte* 'up to Bilbao', *amárrak árte* 'until ten'.
- (gen) *artían* 'between, among'. E.g.: *bížen artían* 'between the two', *ume artían* 'among children'.
- (Ø) *tartían* 'between, among'. E.g.: *arbóla tartían* 'among the trees', *sasi tartían* 'among bushes'.
- (gen) *aurrían* 'in front of, before'. E.g.: *gixonen aurrían* 'in front of the man', *seure aurrían* 'in front of you'.
- (gen) *aurrétik* 'in front of' (with verbs of movement). E.g.: *seure aurrêtik dóya* 's/he is going in front of you'.
- (gen) *atzían* 'behind'. E.g.: *etxien atzían dago* 's/he/it is behind the house', *ándren atzían gelditu da* 's/he has stayed behind the women'.
- (gen) *atzétik* 'behind' (with verbs of movement). E.g.: *islíen atzétik pasa-san barkúia* 'the ship passed behind the island'.
- (gen) *aspízan* 'under'. E.g.: *arrižen aspízan* 'under the rock', *kotxién aspízan* 'under the car'.
- (gen) *aspítik* 'under' (with verbs of movement). E.g.: *etxien aspítik dóyas tuberízak* 'the pipes go under the house'.
- (gen) *ganían* 'on top of'. E.g.: *etxien ganían* 'on top of the house'.
- (gen) *ganétik* 'over' (with verbs of movement). E.g.: *elixien ganétik pasa sirian txorízak bolando* 'the birds passed flying over the church'.
- (gen) *kóntra* 'against'. E.g.: *neure kóntra* 'against me', *mundu gustižen kóntra* 'against everybody'.
- (Ø) *barik* 'without'. E.g.: *gurasó barik* 'without parents', *dirú barik* 'without money', *libúru barik* 'without books'.
- (abs) *gáittik* 'because of'. E.g.: *mutilla (g)áittik* 'because of the boy', *neskia (g)áittik* 'because of the girl', *mutíllak (g)áittik* 'because of the boys'.

3.1.10. Gender

Basque lacks morphological gender. However, this category has been introduced through borrowing for a small set of nouns and adjectives in Lekeitio Basque. A number of nouns and adjectives referring to humans present a quasi-inflectional masculine/feminine distinction. The masculine ends in /-o/ and the feminine ends in /-a/. Almost all of these items with gender motion have been directly borrowed from Spanish, (113a), but some of them are not found in Spanish and appear to have been formed by analogy, (113b). Among others we find the following examples (uninfllected forms are given):

(113)	masculine	feminine	
a.	<i>enano</i>	<i>enana</i>	'dwarf'
	<i>álto</i>	<i>álta</i>	'tall'
	<i>alúmno</i>	<i>alúmna</i>	'student'
	<i>madriléño</i>	<i>madriléña</i>	'Madridian'

<i>májo</i>	<i>mája</i>	‘good looking, nice’
<i>sebilláno</i>	<i>sebillána</i>	‘Sevillian’
<i>bajéto</i>	<i>bajéta</i>	‘shorty’
<i>tónto</i>	<i>tónta</i>	‘stupid, silly’
<i>txúlo</i>	<i>txúla</i>	‘arrogant’
b. <i>gixájo</i>	<i>gixája</i>	‘poor man/poor woman’
<i>sorrísto</i>	<i>sorrísta</i>	‘lousy’
<i>txotxólo</i>	<i>txotxóla</i>	‘stupid, short witted’

In some borrowed adjectives of nationality and a few others, to a consonant-final masculine corresponds a feminine form in *-a* (generally accented). These words are all Spanish borrowings:

(114) masculine	feminine	
<i>frantzes</i>	<i>frantzésa</i> ¹³	‘Frenchman/Frenchwoman’
<i>ingeles</i>	<i>ingelésa</i>	‘Englishman/Englishwoman’
<i>español</i>	<i>españóla</i>	‘Spanish’

Some of the adjectives with gender motion can be used with reference to both humans and nonhumans (including inanimates). The form ending in */-a/* of these adjectives is used with reference to a human female, whereas the other form is used in all other cases:

(115) female referent:	<i>neska álta bat</i>	‘a tall girl’,
male referent:	<i>mutil álto bat</i>	‘a tall boy’
inanimate referent:	<i>etxe álto bat</i>	‘a tall house’

The */-a/* form of adjectives presenting gender motion is, thus, the marked term in the opposition, being sensitive to the semantic feature “female”, whereas the masculine form is also the default form (cf. Oñederra & Hurch 1991).

With all other adjectives there is no gender agreement of any sort:

(116) female referent:	<i>neska sendo bat</i>	‘a strong girl’,
male referent:	<i>mutil sendo bat</i>	‘a strong boy’
inanimate referent:	<i>etxe sendo bat</i>	‘a strong house’

Gender distinctions are sometimes maintained in verbs derived from adjectives, as in the following pairs:

(117) <i>morenotu</i>	‘to become tanned (a male)’	< <i>moréno</i> ‘dark (male)’
<i>morenatu</i>	‘to become tanned (a female)’	< <i>moréna</i> ‘dark (female)’
<i>majotu</i>	‘to become handsome (a male)’	< <i>májo</i> ‘handsome (male)’
<i>majatu</i>	‘to become handsome (a female)’	< <i>mája</i> ‘handsome (female)’

This is interesting because Spanish, from which the category was borrowed, does not offer the possibility of marking gender in verbs.

(13) To give examples with declensional suffixes: *frantzesak* ‘the Frenchman, erg’, *frantzésiak* ‘the Frenchwoman, erg’.

3.2. Verbal inflection

Except for a handful of verbs which possess synthetic forms in a couple of tenses, verb expressions in Basque consist of a participle (perfective, imperfective or future) followed by an auxiliary. Transitive and intransitive verbs take different auxiliaries, as can be seen in the following examples:

(118) intransitive		transitive	
<i>geratu da</i>	's/he (has) remained'	<i>erosi dau</i>	's/he (has) bought'
<i>geratu san</i>	's/he remained'	<i>erosi eban</i>	's/he bought'
<i>geratzen da</i>	's/he remains'	<i>erosten dau</i>	's/he buys'
<i>geratuko da</i>	's/he will remain'	<i>erosiko dau</i>	's/he will buy'
<i>geratuko san</i>	's/he would remain'	<i>erosiko eban</i>	's/he would buy'

Whether a verb takes the transitive or the intransitive auxiliary is generally predictable from semantic considerations. There are, nevertheless, well-known exceptions, such as *urten* 'to leave, go out', which takes the transitive auxiliary in spite of the fact that it can never take a direct object (cf. section 4.4.3). In the following sections, the morphology of the participial and other nonfinite forms is examined (3.2.1) and then the conjugation of the intransitive and intransitive auxiliaries as well as that of those synthetic verbs which are currently in use in Lekeitio are presented, (3.2.2). Finally, the main analytical expressions are given with their meanings (3.3.3).

3.2.1. Nonfinite forms

As mentioned, there are three participial forms that are used with an auxiliary in analytic verbal expressions: the imperfective, perfective and future participles. In addition, there are other nonfinite forms.

3.2.1.1. Perfective participle

Perfective participles fall into several groups according to their ending. To begin with, as in all Basque dialects, there are three relatively small groups of (mostly) native participles ending in /-i/, /-n/ or with no suffix. The lists in (119) are nearly exhaustive:

- (119) *i*: *etorri* 'to come', *ibilli* 'to walk', *asi* 'to begin', *žantzi* 'to dress', *žausi* 'to fall', *žosi* 'to sew', *ebagi* 'to cut', *egosi* 'to boil, cook', *ekarri* 'to bring', *erakutzi* 'to show', *ereitxi* 'to opine, seem', *erosi* 'to buy', *esegi* 'to hang', *euki* 'to have', *erantzi* 'to undress', *eutzi* 'to hold', *igarri* 'to guess', *iesi* 'to flee', *ikasi* 'to learn', *ikusi* 'to see', *ipiñi* 'to put', *irabasi* 'to win, earn', *itxi* 'to allow', *nai* 'to want', *bixi* 'to live', *busti* 'to get wet', *meresi* (< Sp. *merece*) 'to deserve'.
- n*: *žagon* 'to take care', *žakiñ* 'to know', *žan* 'to eat', *žuan* 'to go', *egon* 'to be, stay', *eiñ* 'to do, make', *ekiñ* 'to insist', *emon* 'to give', *eran* 'to drink', *eraiñ* 'to open; to cause', *ereiñ* 'to sow', *eruan* 'to carry', *esan*

'to say', *etzun* 'to lie down', *entzun* 'to hear', *igon* 'to go up, climb', *irakiñ* 'to boil', *ixan* 'to be', *urten* 'to leave'.

Ø: *žaižo* 'to be born', *žaso* 'to happen; to lift', *žo* 'to hit', *erre* 'to burn', *ižo* 'to grind', *itto* 'to drown', *gorde* (< Sp. *guarda*) 'to keep'.

A much larger group of participles takes an ending /-tu/,¹⁴ realized as *-du* after a nasal or lateral. This group includes verbs derived from nouns and adjectives (120a) (further exemplified in section 3.3.3), old borrowings (120b), and some (synchronically) nonderived native participles (120c):

- (120) a. *berdetu* 'to become green', *baltzittu* 'to blacken', *epeldu* 'to become mild', *bigundu* 'to soften', *atzeratu* 'to delay', *asarratu* 'to become angry'.
- b. *sarratu* 'to close', *žokatu* 'to play', *erregutu* 'to pray, beg', *geratu* 'to remain', *konpondu* 'to repair', *parkatu* 'to pardon', *sikatu* 'to dry', *saldu* 'to sell', *urkatu* 'to hang', *bajatu*.¹⁵
- c. *ospatu* 'to celebrate', *eldu* 'to ripe', *eskatu* 'to ask', *esagutu* 'to know', *galdu* 'to loose', *ikutu* 'to touch', *kendu* 'to take away', *ostu* 'to steal', *sortu* 'to create', *atertu* 'to stop raining', *ukatu* 'to deny'.

A few participles that end in *-tu* in most dialects have added a final *-n* in Lekeitio and neighboring varieties:

- (121) *artun* (com. *(h)artu*) 'to take', *sartun* (com. *sartu*) 'to go or take inside', *lotun* (com. *lotu*) 'to tie'.

Two very large and productive classes of perfective participles are a group with final *-a* (not a suffix), adapted from Spanish verbs of the first conjugation (infinitive in /-ar/, past participle in /-ado/), exemplified in (122a), and a group in *-idu*,¹⁶ based on the past participle of Spanish verbs of the second or third conjugation (infinitive in /-er/ and /-ir/, past participle in /-ido/), (122b):

- (122) a. *alegra*, 'to become or render happy' < Sp. *alegrado*, *anima* 'to animate, encourage' < Sp. *animado*, *arrasta* 'to drag' < Sp. *arrastrado*, *arregla* 'to repair' < Sp. *arreglado*, *arrima* 'to bring near' < Sp. *arrimado*, *ataka* 'to attack' < Sp. *atacado*, *atrapa* 'to catch' < Sp. *atrapado*, *asma* 'to guess' < O. Sp. *asmado*, *barrunta* 'to surmise' < Sp. *barruntado*, *benga* 'to avenge' < Sp. *vengado*, *desia* 'to desire' < Sp. *deseado*, *desgasta* 'to wear out' < Sp. *desgastado*, *errebixa* 'to revise' < Sp. *revisado*, *erregala* 'to give as a gift' < Sp. *regalado*, *erresa* 'to pray' < Sp. *rezado*, *errespet* 'to respect' < Sp. *respetado*, *deskontzola* 'to grieve' < Sp. *desconsolado*, *diborsiža* 'to divorce' < Sp. *divorciado*, *enterra* 'to bury' < Sp. *enterrado*, *entzaiža* 'to try' < Sp. *ensayado*, *erresulta* 'to result' < Sp. *resultado*, *erretira* 'to retire' < Sp. *retirado*, *eskapa* 'to escape' < Sp. *escapado*, *espan-*

(14) This ending is generally assumed to have been borrowed from Latin, but see Trask (1990).

(15) The obviously modern *bajatu* 'to go or get down' could be a modernization of an older **baxatu*. If it were a recent borrowing, the expected form would be **baja* (cf. 122a).

(16) This ending is very often pronounced as [iru].

- ta* 'to frighten' < Sp. *espantado*, *espiža* 'to spy' < Sp. *espiado*, *esplika* 'to explain' < Sp. *explicado*, *esplota* 'to explode' < Sp. *explotado*, *estima* 'to esteem' < Sp. *estimado*, *estropesa* 'to tumble' < Sp. *tropezado*, *estudiža* 'to study' < Sp. *estudiado*, *falta* 'to lack' < Sp. *faltado*, *flota* 'to float' < Sp. *flotado*, *afusilla* 'to shoot' < Sp. (*a*)*fusilado*, *gasta* 'to spend' < Sp. *gastado*, *goberna* 'to govern' < Sp. *gobernado*, *gomuta* 'to remember' < O. Sp. *conmutado*, *gomintta* 'to vomit' < Sp. *vomitado*, *gusta* 'to like' < Sp. *gustado*, *infeta* 'to infect' < Sp. *infectado*, *kanbiža* 'to change' < Sp. *cambiado*, *kanta* 'to sing' < Sp. *cantado*, *kantza* 'to get tired' < Sp. *cansado*, *komenta* 'to comment' < Sp. *comentado*, *konfesa* 'to confess' < Sp. *confesado*, *konpara* 'to compare' < Sp. *comparado*, *konforma* 'to conform' < Sp. *confirmado*, *konfiža* 'to trust' < Sp. *confiado*, *konplika* 'to complicate' < Sp. *complicado*.
- b. *atrebidu* 'to dare' < Sp. *atrevido*, *batidu* 'to shake' < Sp. *batido*, *desaparesidu* 'to disappear' < Sp. *desaparecido*, *desididu* 'to decide' < Sp. *decidido*, *despedidu* 'to say goodbye' < Sp. *despedido*, *dibididu* 'to divide' < Sp. *dividido*, *dirijidu* 'to direct' < Sp. *dirigido*, *diskutidu* 'to discuss' < Sp. *discutido*, *elejidu* 'to choose' < Sp. *elegido*, *eskribidu* 'to write' < Sp. *escrito/escribir*, *enbolbidu* 'to wrap up' < Sp. *envuelto/envolver*, *entretenu* 'to entertain' < Sp. *entretenido*, *eridu* 'to hurt' < Sp. *berido*, *kabidu* 'to fit' < Sp. *cabido*, *komenidu* /*konbenidu* 'to be convenient' < Sp. *convenido*, *konbensidu* 'to convince' < Sp. *convencido*, *kondusidu* 'to drive' < Sp. *conducido*, *konprometidu* 'to compromise' < Sp. *comprometido*, *konsegidu* 'to obtain' < Sp. *conseguido*, *koinsididu* 'to coincide' < Sp. *coincidido*, *korrejidu* 'to correct' < Sp. *corregido*, *korridu* 'to run' < Sp. *corrido*, *leidu* 'to read' < Sp. *leido*, *mantenidu* 'to maintain', *mantenido*, *mobidu* 'to move' < Sp. *movido*, *obedesidu* 'to obey' < Sp. *obedecido*, *ofendidu* 'to offend' < Sp. *ofendido*, *presididu* 'to preside' < *presidido*, *prometidu* 'to promise' < Sp. *prometido*, *reunidu* 'to gather' < Sp. *reunido*, *segidu* 'to follow' < Sp. *seguido*, *sentidu* 'to feel' < Sp. *sentido*, *serbidu* 'to serve' < Sp. *servido*, *sobrebibidu* 'to survive' < Sp. *sobrevivido*, *sufridu* 'to suffer' < Sp. *sufrido*, *sujeridu* 'to suggest' < Sp. *sugerido*, *unidu* 'to unite' < Sp. *unido*.

The patterns of adaptation shown by the examples above are fully productive in the adaptation of new verbs. Thus, Lekeitio verbs derived from Spanish verbs of the second and third conjugations are usually basically identical to the past participle of these verbs in Spanish, with the small change of final *-o* in *-u*, as in *prometido* > *prometidu*. Ultimately, for verbs of the first conjugation, the Spanish past participle is also the direct source of the borrowing. In neighboring Biscayan varieties we find forms such as *animau* > *anima(d)o*, *kantau* > *canta(d)o*, etc. In these varieties it is clear that the same pattern of adaptation is followed for Spanish verbs of all three conjugations: the Basque perfective participle is identical to the Spanish past participle with the minor adaptation that the final /-o/ is raised to /-u/. The loss of the dental consonant in *-au* (versus *-idu*) is due to the Spanish source itself, where the colloquial pronunciation of the participial ending *-ado* is [ao] (but the /d/ is not deleted in participles in *-ido*). In Lekeitio there appears to have been a change *-au* > *-a* in

perfective participles. The original morpheme-final high vocoid surfaces, nevertheless, when degree adjectival suffixes or nominal inflectional suffixes are added, as in *gustaw-ágo* 'more liked' (cf. section 2.7.5), *atrapaw-a* 'crazy' (lit. 'caught') *kantaw-á(g)as* 'with the singing'.

The treatment of those verbs which in Spanish present irregularities, nevertheless, shows that the adaptation does not simply consist in taking a specific form of the Spanish verb; but rather there are established patterns of adaptation. Forms such as *eskribidu* 'to write' and *enbolbidu* 'to wrap up' clearly do not derive from the past participle of Sp. *escribir*, *envolver*, which are the irregular *escrito*, *envuelto*, respectively, and not **escribido*, **envolvido*.

3.2.1.2. Imperfective and future participles

The future participle of all verbs is created by adding /-ko*/ to the perfective form ([go] after a nasal).

The imperfective participle, on the other hand, presents a certain amount of allomorphy, depending on the shape of the perfective participle. Verbs whose perfective participle ends in /-tu/ and /-tu-n/ generally replace this ending by /-tzen*/ in the imperfective (123a), except that when the root (stem minus the perfective ending) ends in a fricative or affricate, the perfective ending is not removed and the suffix /-tzen*/ is added, (123b). The reason for this exception is clearly of a phonotactic nature; namely, to avoid sequences of the type [sts] (which are also avoided in other dialects in verb morphology, although the specific means may be different, cf. Hualde 1991: 134-35). If the root ends in the vowel /-i/ (or, what amounts to the same thing, if the /t/ of the suffix /-tu/ is palatalized), there is free variation between a form created by removing /-tu/ and adding /-tzen*/ and a form where the suffix /-tzen*/ is added after /-tu/, (123c):

(123)	perfective	imperfective	future	
a.	<i>bajatu</i>	<i>bajátzen</i>	<i>bajatúko</i>	'to go down'
	<i>kendu</i>	<i>kéntzen</i>	<i>kendúko</i>	'to take away'
	<i>saldu</i>	<i>sáltzen</i>	<i>saldúko</i>	'to sell'
	<i>sarratu</i>	<i>sarrátzen</i>	<i>sarratúko</i>	'to close'
	<i>apurtu</i>	<i>apúrtzen</i>	<i>apurtúko</i>	'to break'
	<i>artun</i>	<i>ártzen</i>	<i>artúko</i>	'to take'
b.	<i>ostu</i>	<i>ostúten</i>	<i>ostúko</i>	'to steal'
	<i>aberastu</i> ¹⁷	<i>aberastúten</i>	<i>aberastúko</i>	'to become rich'
	<i>bistu</i>	<i>bistúten</i>	<i>bistúko</i>	'to light'
	<i>otzittu</i> ¹⁸	<i>otzittúten</i>	<i>otzittúko</i>	'to become cold'
c.	<i>amaittu</i>	<i>amáitzen</i>	<i>amaittúko</i>	'to finish'
		<i>amaittúten</i>		
	<i>geldittu</i>	<i>geldáitzen</i>	<i>geldittúko</i>	'to remain'
		<i>geldittúten</i>		

(17) From *aberatz* 'rich, wealthy'.

(18) The form *otzittu* 'to become cold' contains two perfective endings /otz-i-tu/ (although, synchronically, the first ending should perhaps be considered a mere epenthetical segment). This participle derives from *otz* 'cold' with the suffix *-tu*. The root, thus, ends in an affricate.

Verbs whose perfective participle ends with the suffixes /-i/ and /-n/ replace this ending by /-ten*/, (124a) (/i/ is not lost when the resulting sequence would be unsyllabifiable, cf. *euki*).¹⁹ In all other cases, the ending /-ten*/ is added to the perfective form to create the imperfective participle, (124b):

(124) a.	<i>ekarri</i>	<i>ekárten</i>	<i>ekarríko</i>	'to bring'
	<i>etorri</i>	<i>etórten</i>	<i>etorríko</i>	'to come'
	<i>erosi</i>	<i>erósten</i>	<i>erosíko</i>	'to buy'
	<i>ibilli</i>	<i>ibíltten</i>	<i>ibillíko</i>	'to walk'
	<i>euki</i>	<i>eukítten</i>	<i>eukíko</i>	'to have'
	<i>ipiñi</i>	<i>ipínnten</i>	<i>ipiñíko</i>	'to put'
	<i>emon</i>	<i>emóten</i>	<i>emóngo</i>	'to give'
	<i>žan</i>	<i>žáten</i>	<i>žángo</i>	'to eat'
	<i>žakiñ</i>	<i>žakítten</i>	<i>žakíngo</i>	'to know'
	<i>urten</i>	<i>urtéten</i>	<i>urténgo</i>	'to leave'
	<i>esan</i>	<i>esáten</i>	<i>esángo</i>	'to say'
	<i>erañ</i>	<i>eráitten</i>	<i>eráingo</i>	'to open'
	<i>igon</i>	<i>igóten</i>	<i>igóngo</i>	'to go up'
b.	<i>kanbiža</i>	<i>kanbižáten</i>	<i>kanbižáko</i>	'to change'
	<i>asma</i>	<i>asmáten</i>	<i>asmáko</i>	'to make up'
	<i>desia</i>	<i>desiáten</i>	<i>desiáko</i>	'to desire'
	<i>leidu</i>	<i>leidúten</i>	<i>leidúko</i>	'to read'
	<i>eskribidu</i>	<i>eskribidúten</i>	<i>eskribidúko</i>	'to write'
	<i>žaižo</i>	<i>žaižóten</i>	<i>žaižóko</i>	'to be born'
	<i>erre</i>	<i>erréten</i>	<i>erréko</i>	'to burn'

3.2.1.3. Verbal noun

A verbal noun form, used in nominalized clauses, is created by means of the nominalizing suffix /-te*/ ~ /-tze*/. The attachment of this suffix follows the morphophonological conditions stated above for the imperfective participle, to which the nominalizing morpheme is obviously related:

(125) perfective part.		verbal noun
<i>apurtu</i>	'to break'	<i>apúrtze</i> '(the) breaking'
<i>amaittu</i>	'to finish'	<i>amáitze</i> '(the) finishing'
<i>erosi</i>	'to buy'	<i>eróste</i> '(the) buying'
<i>asi</i>	'to begin'	<i>áste</i> '(the) beginning'
<i>eiñ</i>	'to do, make'	<i>éitte</i> '(the) doing'
<i>emon</i>	'to give'	<i>emóte</i> '(the) giving'
<i>erre</i>	'to burn'	<i>erréte</i> '(the) burning'
<i>asma</i>	'to make up'	<i>asmáte</i> '(the) making up'

(19) The verb *bixi* 'to live' also preserves its final vowel, *bixítxen*. As far as we know, this is true in every Basque dialect.

Verbal nouns are inflected like any other noun; e.g.: *apurtzía* ‘the breaking, abs’, *apurtziak* ‘erg’, *apurtziári* ‘dat’, etc.

The genitive locative form of the verbal noun has a final meaning; e.g. *apurtzéko* ‘for breaking’, *erostéko* ‘for buying’, and is used in embedded clauses of various types (cf. section 4.5.4).

3.2.1.4. Perfective participles as adjectives

Perfective participles can be used as noun modifiers in postnominal position, in which case they can take nominal inflection. The following examples are all inflected in the absolutive singular:

(126) <i>erre</i> ‘to burn’	<i>žatéko erria</i>	‘burnt food’
<i>asi</i> ‘to grow’	<i>mutil asiža</i>	‘grown boy’
<i>ebagi</i> ‘to cut’	<i>okela ebagiža</i>	‘sliced meat’
<i>entzun</i> ‘to hear’	<i>gausa entzuna</i>	‘(often)-heard thing’
<i>atrebidu</i> ‘to dare’	<i>gixon atrebidua</i>	‘daring man’
<i>estima</i> ‘to esteem’	<i>lagun estimawa</i>	‘esteemed friend’

As any other adjectives, participles in this usage can take degree suffixes:

(127) <i>gausárik entzunéna</i>	‘the most often heard thing’
<i>atrebiduáwa</i>	‘more daring’
<i>erriegiža</i>	‘too burnt’

3.2.1.5. Predicative participial adjectives

There is a suffix /-ta*/ ([-da] after a nasal or lateral), which, added to the perfective participle, forms predicative participial adjectives:

(128) perfective part.		part. adjective	
<i>apurtu</i>	‘to break’	<i>apurtúta</i>	‘broken’
<i>amaittu</i>	‘to finish’	<i>amaittúta</i>	‘finished’
<i>erosi</i>	‘to buy’	<i>erosítta</i>	‘bought’
<i>asi</i>	‘to begin’	<i>asítta</i>	‘begun’
<i>eiñ</i>	‘to do’	<i>éindda</i>	‘done’
<i>emon</i>	‘to give’	<i>emónnda</i>	‘given’
<i>erre</i>	‘to burn’	<i>erréta</i>	‘burnt’
<i>asma</i>	‘to make up’	<i>asmáta</i>	‘made up’
<i>ill</i>	‘to die, kill’	<i>íllda</i>	‘dead’

These forms are used as adjectival predicates in copulative sentences with *egon* as well as in certain resultative constructions; e.g.: *máizta apurtúta dago* ‘the table is broken’; *saldúta daukat* ‘I got it sold’.

3.2.1.6. Relative participial forms

The form based on the participial adjective plus the suffix /-ko/ is used as a complement of a noun in prenominal position in nonfinite relative constructions (cf. section 4.5.2):

- (129) *aittak ekarrítako erregalúa* 'the present that father brought'
seuk apurtútako kristala 'the glass you broke'

It may be noted that the syllable preceding the ending *-tako* receives an accent. This suffix, thus, assigns an accent to the preceding syllable (cf. section 2.8.5). With the same meaning and usage a form in *-niko* is alternatively (and more frequently) employed:

- (130) *aittak ekarríniko erregalúa* 'the present that father brought'
seuk apurtúniko kristala 'the glass you broke'

These nonfinite verbal forms can also receive nominal inflection if the head of the relative construction is null:

- (131) *aittak ekarrítakua/ekarrínikua* 'the one that father brought'
aittak ekarrítakuari/ekarrínikuari 'to the one that father brought'

3.2.1.7. Other nonfinite forms

The suffix /-keran*/ is added to the perfective participle to create a form with the meaning 'in the act of V-ing, upon V-ing'. Verbs with the suffix /-n/ lose this ending before the suffix /-keran/:

- (132) *žun* *žukéran* 'in the act of going'
eiñ *eikéran* 'in the act of making'
etorri *etorrikéran* 'in the act of coming'
ikusi *ikusikéran* 'in the act of seeing'
apurtu *apurtukéran* 'in the act of breaking'
pentza *pentzakéran* 'in the act of thinking'

- (133) *kotxétik urtekéran buruâ žo neban atiágas*
 'upon leaving the car, I hit my head with the door'

- (134) *etxian sartukéran sarata askô eitten-dósu*
 'when you get home you make a lot of noise'

There is another suffix /-kotan*/ or /-koan*/ 'for' which is added to the verbal noun (or, which is the same, to the imperfective participle minus the final /-n/):

- (135) *žun* *žutekótan* 'to go, for going'
etorri *etortekótan* 'to come, for coming'
apurtu *apurtzekótan* 'to break, for breaking'

- (136) *bakárrik etortekótan, obetô es basátos*
 'to come alone, better if you don't come'
- (137) *ainbéste eráten ibilttekúan, naižâgo dot etxian geldittu*
 'to be drinking so much, I prefer to stay at home'

The suffix /-koan*/ can also be added to the allative form of the verbal noun to produce a form which has the same meaning as /-keran*/. This form is not as common in Lekeitio as the one with /-keran*/:

- (138) *kristala apurtzerakúan topa eban* (rare)
 'upon breaking the glass s/he found it'

3.2.2. Finite forms

As was mentioned, conjugated verbal expressions generally consist of a participle and an auxiliary (intransitive or transitive). In the following sections, the different forms of the auxiliaries are studied. They are the following: present indicative, past indicative, conditional protasis, conditional apodosis, present potential, hypothetical potential, present subjunctive, and imperative. Intransitive and transitive forms will be presented separately. In addition to the auxiliaries, a reduced group of verbs possesses synthetic conjugated forms, but only for the present and past indicative. These will be presented after the paradigms of the corresponding auxiliary (intransitive or transitive).

3.2.2.1. Intransitive auxiliary

Present and past indicative. The most basic intransitive forms show agreement with an absolutive argument, the subject of the clause. The intransitive auxiliary, which can also be used by itself with copular function, has the following present and past indicative forms in Lekeitio:²⁰

(139) Present and past indicative monovalent forms					
Present indicative			Past indicative		
1.	<i>ni</i>	<i>naix/nas</i>	'I am'	<i>nitzan</i>	'I was'
2f.	<i>eu</i>	<i>as</i> ²¹	'thou art'		
3.	<i>bera</i>	<i>da</i>	's/he is'	<i>san</i>	's/he was'
1.	<i>gu</i>	<i>gara</i>	'we are'	<i>giñian</i>	'we were'
2.	<i>su</i>	<i>sara</i>	'you are'	<i>siñian</i>	'you were'
2'.	<i>súek</i>	<i>saríe</i>	'you-pl are'	<i>siñien</i>	'you-pl were'
3'.	<i>éurak</i>	<i>dira(s)/dis</i>	'they are'	<i>sirian</i>	'they were'

(20) Person and number are indicated in the following manner: 1. = first person singular, 2f. = second person singular familiar (only used in certain imperative forms and, by old speakers, in a few other tenses), 3. = third person singular, 1'. = first person plural, 2. = second person singular, 2'. = second person plural, 3'. = third person plural. Second person singular forms are ordered after the first person plural in the paradigms for morphological/etymological reasons (i.e. because their morphology shows that originally they were plural forms; cf. section 3.1.6).

(21) This form is no longer in use in Lekeitio. It is remembered by old speakers.

These forms differ little from those found elsewhere in Basque. In non-Biscayan dialects the pluralizer in the 2' form is *-te* instead of *-e*; cf., for instance, the standard forms *zarete* 'you-pl are' and *zineten* 'you-pl were'. It can be noted that the only accented forms are the second person plural forms, which contain a pluralizer /e*/.

In both the present and the past indicative tenses there are bivalent forms (absolutive-dative) of the copula/intransitive auxiliary, but only for a third person absolutive argument, singular or plural. The left-column numbers refer to the person and number of the dative argument:

(140) Present and past indicative bivalent forms (abs/dat)

	Present		Past	
	abs 3rd sg	abs 3rd pl	abs 3rd sg	abs 3rd pl
1.	<i>žat</i>	<i>žaras</i>	<i>žaten</i>	<i>žatesen/žarasen</i>
3.	<i>žako</i>	<i>žakos</i>	<i>žakon</i>	<i>žakosen</i>
1'.	<i>žaku</i>	<i>žakus</i>	<i>žakun</i>	<i>žakusen</i>
2.	<i>žatzu</i>	<i>žatzus</i>	<i>žatzun</i>	<i>žatzusen</i>
2'.	<i>žatzúe</i>	<i>žatzúes</i>	<i>žatzúen</i>	<i>žatzúesen</i>
3'.	<i>žáke</i>	<i>žákes</i>	<i>žáken</i>	<i>žákésen</i>

(sample translations: *žat* 'it is to me', *žaras* 'they are to me', *žaten* 'it was to me', *žatesen* 'they were to me').

The initial *ž-* of these forms seems to derive from palatalization of an older sequence /d-i/, where the initial /d-/ is a third person absolutive marker and the /i/ a prefix associated with the dative suffix.²² The plural (dative) morphemes /-e*/ and /-ke*/ introduce accents in the second and third person plural forms respectively. The pluralization of the absolutive argument is indicated by a suffix *-s* which, in the past, precedes the past tense marker *-n*. The alternation between *t* and *r* in the first person absolutive marker would appear to reflect an original *d*, which would devoice word-finally and rhotacize in intervocalic position.

Conditional. In the conditional, identical forms are used in the protasis and the apodosis in Lekeitio; but the protasis bears a prefix /ba*-/, which causes penultimate accentuation:

(141) Conditional monovalent forms

	Protasis	Apodosis
1.	<i>banitzatéke/banítzan</i>	<i>nitzateke/nitzan</i>
3.	<i>básan</i>	<i>san</i>
1'.	<i>bagiñitéke(s)/bagiñían</i>	<i>giñiteke(s)/giñian</i>
2.	<i>basiníteke(s)/basiñían</i>	<i>siñiteke(s)/siñian</i>
2'.	<i>basinítekiés/basiñien</i>	<i>siñitekié(s)/siñien</i>
3'.	<i>basirían</i>	<i>sirian</i>

(22) A form such as *žat* 'it is to me', historically from /d-i-a-t/, where to the basic form *da* 'is' a first person marker /-t/ and a dative affix /-i-/ are added, can be compared with Gipuzkoan (and standard) *zait* /d-i-a-i-t/, with repetition of the dative marker /-i-/, and with *dakit* /d-a-ki-t/, used with the same meaning in small areas of Navarre (e.g. Argibizu) and Biscay (cf. Zuazo 1988: 374), where the dative marker is /-ki-/.

As shown, there are special conditional forms, derived from the past tense and bearing a suffix /-teke/, only for first and second person forms, but not in the third person. In addition, as indicated in the table, past indicative forms can be used for all persons in both the protasis and the apodosis. This paradigm represents a merger and simplification with respect to other Basque dialects. In standard Basque, the suffix /-teke/ is used only in the apodosis (for all persons/numbers) and there are also protasis forms which are different from the past indicative (e.g., St. Basque past indicative *nintzen* 'I was', *zen* 's/he was'; protasis *banintz* 'if I were', *balitz* 'if s/he were'; apodosis *nintzateke* 'I would be', *litzateke* 's/he would be').²³

The bivalent intransitive past forms given above in (140) are used in both the protasis and the apodosis of conditional constructions. In the protasis the prefix /ba-*/ triggers penultimate accent, e.g.: *bažáten* 'if it were to me', *bažakúsen* 'if they were to us'.

Potential. In addition to indicative and conditional forms, there is a potential mood, which includes both present and past/hypothetical forms:

(142) Potential

	Present	Past/ Hypothetical
1.	<i>néike(t)/léiket</i>	<i>neikíen/leikíen</i>
3.	<i>léike</i>	<i>leikí(ž)en</i>
1'.	<i>giñikes/leikí(g)u</i>	<i>giñikí(g)un/leikí(g)un</i>
2.	<i>siñikes/leikíxu</i>	<i>siñikísen/leikíxun</i>
2'.	<i>siñikíes/leikíxúe</i>	<i>siñikísen/leikíxúen</i>
3'.	<i>léikes/leikíe(s)</i>	<i>leikí(ž)en</i>

Both for reasons of interdialectal comparison and of internal reconstruction, it appears that, in each case where two alternative forms are given in (142), the older form for this meaning must be the first one listed (except that in *néiket* the final /-t/, which redundantly marks the subject, must be an innovation).

With much certainty, these potential forms (many of which are also used as transitive forms) are originally forms of *egin* 'to do', whose root /-gi-/ constitutes the axis of the paradigm. The suffix /-ke/ is a marker of possibility/futurity, which originally presented a great freedom of combination with different verb forms (cf. Lafon 1944). The following morphological structure can be reconstructed for the present potential:

(143)	abs	tense	root	potential	plural
1.	<i>n-</i>	<i>e-</i>	<i>gi</i>	<i>-ke</i>	
3.	<i>l-</i>	<i>e-</i>	<i>gi</i>	<i>-ke</i>	
1'.	<i>gin-</i>	<i>e-</i>	<i>gi</i>	<i>-ke</i>	<i>-z</i>
2.	<i>sin-</i>	<i>e-</i>	<i>gi</i>	<i>-ke</i>	<i>-z</i>
2'.	<i>sin-</i>	<i>e-</i>	<i>gi</i>	<i>-ke</i>	<i>-e-z</i>
3'.	<i>l-</i>	<i>e-</i>	<i>gi</i>	<i>-ke</i>	<i>-z</i>

(23) There are no morphologically distinct forms to express a failed condition (e.g., St.B. *nintzatekeen* 'I would have been').

Since all potential forms are accented, the morpheme /-ke/ must be taken to be underlyingly accented.

The second form in each pair in (142) appears to morphologically correspond to a bivalent form, where the absolutive is a third person (marked by a prefix /l-/ in the potential) and the final suffixes (/ -t/, /-Ø/, /-gu/, /-su/, /-su-e*/, /-es/) code the person and number of the dative argument. In fact, such forms are also used as bivalent absolutive-dative forms with a third person singular absolutive (and also as transitive forms, as mentioned). Thus an expression such as *etorri leikígu* is interpretable either as 'we can come' or as 'he can come to us'. In bivalent forms where the absolutive is a third person plural, a final -s is added:

(144) Potential bivalent abs/dat forms²⁴

Present		abs 3p / dat	
1. (<i>leiket</i>)	'it can be to me'	(<i>leikétes</i>)	'they can be to me'
3. <i>leike</i>		<i>leíkes</i>	
1'. (<i>leikí(g)u</i>)		(<i>leikí(g)us</i>)	
2. <i>leikíxu</i>		<i>leikíxus</i>	
2'. <i>leikixúe</i>		<i>leikixúes</i>	
3'. <i>leikí(ž)e</i>		<i>leikí(ž)es</i>	

Past/hypothetical

abs 3s /dat	
1. (<i>neikíen /leikíen</i>)	'it could be to me'
3. <i>leikíen</i>	
1'. (<i>leikí(g)un</i>)	
2. <i>leikíxun</i>	
2'. <i>leikixúen</i>	
3'. <i>leikí(ž)en</i>	

Present subjunctive. Another mood in Basque is the subjunctive. In Lekeitio, the subjunctive is very little used, being usually replaced by infinitival clauses. The only special subjunctive intransitive forms that are employed are present tense monovalent form:

(145) Present subjunctive

1. <i>nasen/naixen/naižen</i>	2. <i>sarien</i>
3. <i>deižen/daižen</i>	2'. <i>saríen</i>
1'. <i>garien</i>	3'. <i>dirasen/disen/deižesen</i>

It can be observed that some of the forms in this paradigm derive from the corresponding present indicative forms plus a suffix /-en/. A final nasal can thus be interpreted either as a past marker or as a subjunctive marker.

Bivalent present subjunctive forms are formed by adding /-(e)n/ to the present indicative forms and are thus identical to the past indicative paradigm given above

(24) These forms are also used as ergative/absolutive or ergative/absolutive/dative with transitive verbs.

in (60). That is, for instance, *etorri žakun* can be translated as 's/he came to us' or as a present subjunctive expression, e.g. *itxóten gagos semia etorri žakun* 'we are waiting for our son to come to us'.

Imperative. Finally, there is also an imperative mood. There are distinct imperative forms only for a second person subject (the only true commands that are possible). On the other hand, the imperative preserves a second person singular familiar form, which has been lost in all other paradigms. There are thus three forms in the intransitive imperative paradigm:

- (146) Imperative
 2f. *yári*²⁵
 2'. *saix*
 2. *sáixe*

Commands are also formed with the suffix *-ik** (*egik*) attached to the perfective participle: *etórrik* 'come!', *eskápaik* 'flee!'

3.2.2.2. Synthetic intransitive verbs

Besides the copula/intransitive auxiliary *ixan*, only four verbs have a synthetic present: *žu(a)n* 'to go', *egon* 'to be, stay', *ibilli* 'to walk' and *etorri* 'to come':

(147)	<i>žuan</i>	<i>egon</i> ²⁶	<i>ibilli</i>	<i>etorri</i>
	'go'	'be, stay'	'walk'	'come'
1.	<i>nóya</i> ²⁷	<i>nago</i>	<i>nabill</i>	<i>nator</i>
2f.	<i>óya</i>		<i>abill</i>	<i>ator</i>
3.	<i>dóya</i>	<i>dago</i>	<i>dabill</i>	<i>dator</i>
1'.	<i>góyas</i>	<i>gagos</i>	<i>gabiltzas/gabix</i>	<i>gatos</i>
2.	<i>sóyas</i>	<i>sagos</i>	<i>sabiltzas/sabix</i>	<i>satos</i>
2'.	<i>soyáse</i>	<i>sagóse</i>	<i>sabiltzáse/sabíxe</i>	<i>satóse</i>
3'.	<i>dóyas</i>	<i>dagos</i>	<i>dabiltzas/dabix</i>	<i>datos</i>

These forms differ little from those found elsewhere in Basque. The structure is as follows. The first consonant is the absolutive person marker (i.e. the subject): */n-/* = 1st sg, */d-/* = 3rd, */g-/* = 1st pl, */s-/* = 2nd. The following vowel *-a-*, which is absent in the paradigm of *žoan*, is a present tense marker. This is followed by the root of the verb: */-o(i)a-/* 'go', */-go-/* 'be, stay', */-bil-/* 'walk', */-torr-/* 'come'. Plural forms have a suffix */-s/*, except that *ibilli* takes a double pluralizer */-tza-s/* as an option. Finally the relatively recent second person plural adds a final */-e**/, which triggers penultimate accent. Notice that all forms of *žoan* are also accented. The only morphophonological rule that deserves mention is the simplification of the group

(25) In Standard Basque *hadi*. The initial palatal is probably from *egin*.

(26) The intervocalic */g/* is very often deleted in all forms of *egon*. The present indicative forms that are given in (147) are further reduced in rapid speech to *no*, *do*, *gos*, *sos*, *sóse*, *dos*.

(27) The vowel *-a* is frequently lost in all forms of this paradigm in rapid speech: *nói*, *dói*, *góis*, *sóis*, *soíse*, *dóis*.

/-rs/ in the plural forms of *etorri*, e.g. /g-a-tor-s/ *gatos* and of /-ls/ in plural forms of *ibilli* such as /g-a-bil-s/ *gabix*.

The plural paradigm of *egon* is that found in Biscayan varieties, where the pluralizer /-s/ has a much wider use than in other varieties. In other dialects the forms that are found show the presence of an original pluralizer /-de/; e.g. **g-a-go-de* > *gaude* 'we are, stay'. Two strong intransitive verbs, *ibilli* 'to walk' and *etorri* 'to come' have bivalent forms (absolutive-dative) in the present indicative. The absolutive argument can only be a third person, singular or plural. Notice that for *ibilli* there are no forms for a third person plural dative in current use:

(148) Bivalent present indicative forms

		<i>ibilli</i>	
<i>žabiltzat</i>	's/he is walking to me'	<i>žabiltzaras</i>	'they are walking to me'
<i>žabiltzo</i>	'he is walking to him/her'	<i>žabiltzos</i>	'they are walking to him/her'
<i>žabilgu</i>	'he is walking to us'	<i>žabilgus</i>	'they are walking to us'
<i>žabiltzu</i>	'he is walking to you'	<i>žabiltzús</i>	'they are walking to you'
<i>žabiltzúe</i>	'he is walking to you-pl'	<i>žabiltzúes</i>	'they are walking to you-pl'

		<i>etorri</i>	
<i>žatort</i>	's/he is coming to me'	<i>žatortes</i>	'they are coming to me'
<i>žatorko</i>	's/he is coming to him/her'	<i>žatorkos</i>	'they are coming to him/her'
<i>žatorku</i>	's/he is coming to us'	<i>žatorkus</i>	'they are coming to us'
<i>žatortzu</i>	's/he is coming to you'	<i>žatortzús</i>	'they are coming to you'
<i>žatortzúe</i>	's/he is coming to you-pl'	<i>žatortzúes</i>	'they are coming to you-pl'
<i>žatórke</i>	's/he is coming to them'	<i>žatórkes</i>	'they are coming to them'

As was mentioned with respect to the bivalent forms of the intransitive auxiliary, the initial *ž-* in these forms historically derives from a sequence /d-i-/, where /d-/ is the third person absolutive marker and /i-/ a prefix associated with the dative. The dative person marker appears after the root (*-t ~ -d* = 1st sg, *-ko* = 3rd sg, *-gu ~ -ku* (with devoicing) = 1st pl, *-(t)zu* = 2nd, *-ke* = 3rd pl). As in other cases, the second person plural takes an accented marker /-e*/. A plural (third person) absolutive is marked by a final /-s/.

In addition to the present, only two intransitive verbs besides the copula/intransitive auxiliary, namely, *egon* 'to be, stay' and *ibilli* 'to walk' possess a synthetic past (aorist):

(149) Past indicative monovalent forms

	<i>egon</i>	<i>ibilli</i>		
1.	<i>newan</i>	<i>nebillan</i>	2.	<i>sewasan sebixan</i>
3.	<i>ewan</i>	<i>ebillan</i>	2'.	<i>sewásen sebixen</i>
1'.	<i>gewasan</i>	<i>gebixan</i>	3'.	<i>ewasan ebixan</i>

These forms present the same person markers as the present paradigms, except that the third person has a zero marker, both in the singular and in the plural. After the absolutive subject prefix, a vowel /-e-/ is found, followed by the root. The final /-n/ is interpretable as a past marker, which in the plural is preceded by the plural-

izer /-s/ (with an intervening epenthetic vowel). The final lateral of /-bil-/ is deleted and the plural /-s/ palatalizes after /i/.

3.2.2.3. Transitive auxiliary

In Eastern dialects, the transitive auxiliary can be used as a main verb with the meaning of 'to have'; e.g.: *dirua dut* 'I have money'. In Lekeitio it has been replaced by *euki* in this function: *dirua daukat* 'I have money', **dirua dot*. Nevertheless, in Lekeitio, the transitive auxiliary can be used as a main verb in a couple of cases. Firstly, it can be used instead of the copula and appear as a main verb in a construction where the ergative (subject) inflection on the verb corresponds to an interested party, often replacing a possessive. Consider the following two examples:

(150) *Urrûtia da éuren žokalarírik onéna*
'Urrutia is their best player'

(151) *Urrûtia dábe žokalarírik onéna*
'they have Urrutia as (their) best player'

In these examples, encoding the third person plural referent as an argument of the verb instead of as a possessive gives the meaning that this is an affected party. Consider also the following example:

(152) *Josebak askô maitte-rau ori mutilla, esta?* *klaro! semia rau ta!*
'Joseba loves that boy a lot, right?' 'Sure, he is his son'

The last sentence where a transitive form is used conveys a sense that he (Joseba) is an affected party. This nuance is not found in the copulative *bere semia da* 'he is his son' where a possessive is used.

Secondly, the transitive auxiliary is used in constructions with certain nouns; e.g.: *ikaria dau* 's/he is afraid' ('s/he has fear'), *gorrotua dau* 's/he hates', *errespetua dau* 's/he has respect', *amorrúa dau* 's/he is angry' ('s/he has anger'). There is a slight difference in meaning between this construction and corresponding expressions with the verb *euki* 'to have', which are less emphatic: *ikaria dauko*, *gorrotua dauko*, etc.

Present indicative. In (153) the present indicative forms of the transitive auxiliary for a third person object are given. The left-column forms are those for a third person singular direct object and the right-column ones those for a third person plural object:

(153) Present indicative for a 3rd person DO

	3rd sg DO	3rd pl DO		
1.	<i>dot</i>	<i>doras</i>	1'.	<i>dogu dogus</i>
2f.	<i>dok/dona</i> ²⁸		2.	<i>dosu dosus</i>
3.	<i>dau</i>	<i>ditxus</i>	2'.	<i>dosúe dosúes</i>
			3.	<i>dábe dábes</i>

(28) The first form is used with a male subject and the second with a female subject: *ék esan-dok* 'thou hast said it (male addressee)', *ék esan-dona* 'thou hast said it' (female addressee). These forms are only used by old speakers.

The initial /d-/ represents a third person absolutive, as in present tense intransitive forms; with the difference that the absolutive is the subject of intransitive verbs but the direct object of transitive verbs. The transitive subject (ergative) is marked by suffixes in this paradigm: /-t/ = 1st sg, /-Ø/ = 3rd sg, /-gu/ = 1st pl, /-su/ = 2nd (sg), /-su-e*/ = 2nd pl, /-e*/ = 3rd pl. From a comparative point of view, it is interesting to note that, in the paradigm for a third person plural direct object (right column), the irregular *ditxus* actually is a remnant of an older paradigm which is used in all non-Biscayan dialects as well as in older Biscayan (cf. Michelena 1981) where pluralization of the object is marked by an infix /-it-/ (cf. St. Basque, e.g. (*ikusi*) *dut* 'I have (seen) it', (*ikusi*) *d-it-ut* 'I have (seen) them', etc.). Pluralization by /-s/ in this paradigm is an innovation found throughout Biscayan; although competing with forms with /-it-/ are often found in the same variety. Notice that *ditxus* presents in fact both the older and the newer object plural marker. The plural /-it-/ is also used in Lekeitio in forms where the direct object is a first or second person, as we will see below.²⁹

The form for a third person plural subject *dábe* shows consonantization of an intervocalic high vocoid /d-a-u-e*/. The same consonantization takes place when the form *dau* is followed a complementizer; e.g.: *dabela* 'that s/he has' (vs. *dabéla* 'that they have'). There are also bivalent transitive forms (ergative-absolutive) where the absolutive is a first or second person. The columns are organized by subject (ergative) and the numbers across from left to right refer to the person of the direct object:

(154) Present indicative for a 1st or 2nd person DO

	1.	2f.	1'.	2.	2'.
1.				<i>saittut</i>	<i>saittúet</i>
3.	<i>nau</i>	<i>nauk</i>	<i>gaittu(s)</i>	<i>saittu(s)</i>	<i>saittúe</i>
1'.				<i>saittugu</i>	<i>saittugu</i>
2.	<i>nasu</i>		<i>gaittusu(s)/</i> <i>gaittus</i>		
2'.	<i>nasúe</i>		<i>gaittusúe(s)</i>		
3'.	<i>nábe</i> ³⁰		<i>gaittúe(s)</i>		

Examples: *ikusi nau* 'he has seen me', *ikusi saittugu* 'we have seen you'.

The transitive auxiliary also possesses trivalent forms (ergative-absolutive-dative) in the present indicative. In these trivalent forms the absolutive argument is always a third person, singular or plural. It should be noted that, for the case where the indirect object is a first person singular or plural, there are no distinct trivalent forms, but bivalent forms are used instead. In the tables in (155)-(156), forms in a

(29) For the neighboring variety of Bolibar, Gaminde (1988: 247) has found forms bearing the pluralizer /-itu/ in the first and third persons singular and plural, but not in forms for a second person subject. For Ondarroa, on the other hand, Gaminde gives a first person singular form with two pluralizers *doixuas* < *do-itu-da-s 'I V them', but forms with plural -s for all other subject persons, e.g.: *dau* 's/he Vs them'. The replacement of the pluralizer /-it-/ in this paradigm by the more general /-s/, then, appears to have followed different paths in different (even neighboring) varieties. On the other hand, /-it-/ is still found throughout the Biscayan area in bivalent transitive forms where the absolutive is a first or second person plural (cf. Gaminde 1988).

(30) /n-a-u-e*/, with consonantization of the intervocalic high vocoid.

given column have the same indirect object and forms on a given horizontal row have the same subject:

(155) Present indicative trivalent forms for a 3rd sing DO

	1.	3.	1'.	2.	2'.	3'.
1.		<i>dotzat</i>		<i>dotzut</i>	<i>dotzúet</i>	<i>dotzáte</i>
2f.	<i>nauk</i>					
3.	<i>nau</i> ³¹	<i>dotzo</i>	<i>gaittu(s)</i>	<i>dotzu</i>	<i>dotzúe</i>	<i>dótze</i>
1'.		<i>dotzagu</i>		<i>dotzugu</i>	<i>dotzugu</i>	<i>dotzagu</i>
2.	<i>nasu</i>	<i>dotzasu</i>	<i>gaittusu</i>			<i>dotzasu</i>
2'.	<i>nasúe</i>	<i>dotzasúe</i>	<i>gaittusúe</i>			<i>dotzasúe</i>
3'.	<i>nábe</i>	<i>dótze</i>	<i>gaittúe</i>	<i>dotzúe</i>	<i>dotzúe</i>	<i>dótze</i>

Examples: *lagunak liburúa emon nau* 'the friend has given me the book', *liburúa emon dotzat lagunari* 'I have given the friend the book'.

(156) Present indicative trivalent forms for a 3rd pl DO

	1.	3.	1'.	2.	2'.	3'.
1.		<i>dotzaras</i>		<i>dotzurás</i>	<i>dotzuéras</i>	<i>dotzátes</i>
3.	<i>nittus</i>	<i>dotzos</i>	<i>gaittus</i>	<i>dotzus</i>	<i>dotzúes</i>	<i>dótzes</i>
1'.		<i>dotzagus</i>		<i>dotzugas</i>	<i>dotzugas</i>	<i>dotzagus</i>
2.	<i>nasus</i>	<i>dotzasus</i>	<i>gaittusús</i>			<i>dotzasus</i>
2'.	<i>nasúes</i>	<i>dotzasúes</i>	<i>gaittusúes</i>			<i>dotzasúes</i>
3'.	<i>nábes</i>	<i>dótzes</i>	<i>gaittúes</i>	<i>dotzúes</i>	<i>dotzúes</i>	<i>dótzes</i>

Examples: *Górkak liburúak emon nittus* 'Gorka has given me the books'.

The loss of the original trivalent forms for first person indirect objects is characteristic of the Lekeitio variety, and it is not found in neighboring varieties such as Ondarroa (Gaminde 1988: 247-248, Rotaetxe 1978). For second and third person indirect objects, on the other hand, the distinction has been preserved in Lekeitio. Thus whereas in both *ikusi nau* 's/he saw me' and *liburúa emon nau* 's/he gave the book to me' the same (formally bivalent) auxiliary is used, in *ikusi saittut* 'I saw you' and *liburúa emon dotzut* 'I gave the book to you' different forms of the auxiliary are employed.³²

A related phenomenon is that, in bivalent constructions where the direct object is a human third person, trivalent forms are sometimes used instead of bivalent forms, and the direct object is marked as dative. Consider the following examples: *liburúa ikusi dot* 'I have seen the book', but *neskiari ikusi dotzat* 'I have seen the girl' (= *neskia ikusi dot*), with the same marking as *neskiari liburúa emon dotzat* 'I have given the book to the girl'. This is rather more frequent with a second person direct object;

(31) As in the form *dau*, the final glide is consonantized as a bilabial fricative when a suffix is added; e.g.: *emon naben liburúa* 'the book that s/he has given me'.

(32) The (partial) merging between direct and indirect objects in verbal morphology and case marking is a phenomenon known as 'solecism of the coast' which is found in a number of coastal towns as far away as Hondarribia on the eastern boundary of Gipuzkoa and Saint Jean de Luz (Donibane-Lohitzune) in Labourd, although Lekeitio appears as an isolated point in presenting it (since it is not found in neighboring towns). This phenomenon has, moreover, different realizations in different varieties.

e.g.: *suri ikusi dotzut* 'I saw you' instead of *su ikusi saittut*. This marking of human direct objects as dative, in which the influence of the Spanish model is apparent, is a geographically much more widespread phenomenon than the one mentioned in the previous paragraph.

Past indicative. The past tense forms corresponding to those above in (153) are given in (157):

(157) Past indicative bivalent transitive forms for a 3rd person DO

	abs 3rd sg	abs 3rd pl		
1.	<i>neban</i>	<i>nebasan</i>	2.	<i>senduan sendusan</i>
3.	<i>eban</i>	<i>ebasan</i>	2'.	<i>sendúen sendúsen/senduésen</i>
1'.	<i>genduan</i>	<i>gendusan</i>	3'.	<i>ében ebésen</i>

Examples: *ikusi genduan* 'we saw him/her/it', *ikusi gendusan* 'we saw them'

As in all Basque dialects, the coding of subject and direct object in the past tense of the transitive auxiliary is different from that found in the present. Unlike in the present, where the transitive subject is marked by suffixes, in the past transitive auxiliary, the ergative subject is marked by prefixes, like intransitive subjects. Third person subjects are indicated by lack of a prefix in most Biscayan varieties, whereas in other dialects they are marked by *z-* in this paradigm (e.g.: Lek. *eban* = St. B. *zuen*). The third person singular direct object is left unmarked, whereas when the direct object is a plural third person there is a plural suffix */-s/*. Non-Biscayan dialects have a plural marker */-it-/* in this paradigm (e.g.: Lek. *ebasan* = St. B. *zituén*).³³

Past tense bivalent transitive forms for a first or second person direct object are formed by adding *-(e)n* to the corresponding present tense forms in (155)-(156), with some minor modifications. In (158), all forms in a column have the same direct object and all forms in a given row have the same subject:

(158) Past indicative bivalent transitive forms for a first or second person DO:

	1.	1'.	2.	2'.
1.			<i>saittuten</i>	<i>saittuéten</i>
3.	<i>naben</i>	<i>gaittusen</i>	<i>saittun</i>	<i>saittúen</i>
1'.			<i>saittugun</i>	<i>saittuégun</i>
2.	<i>nasun</i>	<i>gaittusun</i>		
2'.	<i>nasúen</i>	<i>gaittusúen</i>		
3'.	<i>náben</i>	<i>gaittúsen</i>	<i>saittúen</i>	<i>saittúen</i>

Examples: *ikusi nasúen* 'You-pl have seen me', *ikusi saittuéten* 'I have seen you-pl'

Unlike in the present, there are morphologically distinct trivalent forms for a third person singular direct object for all dative persons. In (159)-(160), forms in a column share the same indirect object and forms on a row share the same subject:

(33) The pluralizer */-it-/* is also found in some Biscayan varieties, in at least some forms of the paradigm; e.g. Ondarroa *sixun* = St. B. *zituén* (Gaminde 1988: 247).

(159) Past indicative trivalent forms for a 3rd sing DO

	1.	3.	1'.	2.	2'.	3'.
1.		<i>neutzan</i>		<i>neutzun</i>	<i>neutzúen</i>	<i>néutzen</i>
3.	<i>eustan</i>	<i>eutzan</i>	<i>euskun</i>	<i>eutzun</i>	<i>eutzúen</i>	<i>éutzen</i>
1'.		<i>eutzagun</i>	<i>eutzugun</i>	<i>eutzugun</i>		<i>eutzagun</i>
2.	<i>eustasun</i>	<i>eutzasun</i>	<i>euskusun</i>			<i>eutzasun</i>
2'.	<i>eustasuén</i>	<i>eutzasuén</i>	<i>euskusuén</i>			<i>eutzasuén</i>
3.	<i>éusten</i>	<i>éutzen</i>	<i>euskuén</i>	<i>eutzúen</i>	<i>eutzúen</i>	<i>éutzen</i>

(160) Past indicative trivalent forms for a 3rd pl DO

	1.	3.	1'.	2.	2'.	3'.
1.		<i>neutzasan</i>		<i>neutzusan</i>	<i>eutzúésen</i>	<i>neutzésen</i>
3.	<i>eustasan</i>	<i>eutzasan</i>	<i>euskusan</i>	<i>eutzusan</i>	<i>eutzúésen</i>	<i>eutzésen</i>
1'.		<i>eutzagusan</i>		<i>eutzugusan</i>	<i>eutzuegusan</i>	<i>eutzagusen</i>
2.	<i>eustasusan</i>	<i>eutzasusan</i>	<i>euskususan</i>		<i>eutzasusen</i>	
2'.	<i>eustasuésen</i>	<i>eutzasuésen</i>	<i>euskusuésen</i>		<i>eutzasuésen</i>	
3'.	<i>eustésen</i>	<i>eutzésen</i>	<i>euskuésen</i>	<i>eutzúésen</i>	<i>eutzúésen</i>	<i>eutzésen</i>

In the forms in (159)-(160), the subject is marked by means of a prefix /n-/ only for first person singular subjects; for all other persons, it is encoded by a suffix.

In the paradigm for plural direct objects, there is variation *e ~ a* in the vowel that appears between the pluralizer *-s* and the past marker *-n*. This epenthetic vowel surfaces as *e* if the preceding vowel is also *e*. If another vowel precedes, then it may variably be realized as either *a* or *e*.

Although there are distinct trivalent forms for all person combinations (unlike in the present), formally bivalent forms are frequently used when the indirect object is a first person singular or plural. In fact bivalent forms are more frequent than trivalent ones in this case. Most trivalent forms with a first person, singular or plural, dative argument are very rare, bivalent forms being preferred in this case: *Péruk liburúa emon eustan* or (more commonly) *Péruk liburúa emon naben* 'Peru gave me the book'; *Péruk liburúa emon gaittusen ~ euskun* 'Peru gave us the book'; *lagúnak liburúak emon gaittusen* 'our friends gave us the books' (much more common than *emon euskuésen*). Conversely, trivalent forms can be used when the direct object is animate, as was mentioned above for the present forms: *Péruk ikusi naben ~ eustan* 'Peru saw me', *su ikusi saittuten ~ suri ikusi neutzun* 'I saw you', *Kóldok zo saittun ~ eutzun* 'Koldo hit you', *Péruk ikusi eban ~ eutzan* 'Peru saw him/her'.

Conditional. Bivalent transitive conditional forms for a third person direct object are given in (161):

(161) Conditional

	3rd sg DO		3rd pl DO	
	Protasis	Apodosis	Protasis	Apodosis
1.	<i>banéuko</i>	<i>neuko</i> ³⁴	<i>banéukos</i>	<i>neukos</i>
3.	<i>baléuko</i>	<i>leuko</i>	<i>baléukos</i>	<i>leukos</i>

(34) There are alternative forms *neuke* and *leuke*, although they are much less frequent than *neuko*, *leuko*. Cf. 3.2.2.4.

1'. <i>bagendúkel</i>	<i>genduke</i>	<i>bagendúkes/</i>	<i>gendukes</i>
<i>bagendukíe</i>		<i>bagendukíes</i>	
2. <i>basendúke</i>	<i>senduke</i>	<i>basendúkes</i>	<i>sendukes</i>
2'. <i>basendukíe</i>	<i>sendukíe</i>	<i>basendukíes</i>	<i>sendukíes</i>
3'. <i>baléukíel</i>	<i>leukíe</i>	<i>baléukíes/</i>	<i>leukíes</i>
<i>baléuke</i>	<i>léuke</i>	<i>baléukes</i>	<i>léukes</i>

Examples: *ikusíko banéuko ekarríko neuko* 'If I saw it, I would bring it'

As in the intransitive auxiliary, conditional forms are morphologically related to past forms, with the particularity that the third person singular subject marker is /l-/. The past ending is replaced by /-ko/ in forms for singular subjects and /-ke/ when the subject is morphologically plural. The direct relation between past and conditional is clear, e.g.: *neban* (*neu-an*) *neu-ko*; *eban* (*eu-an*) *l-eu-ko*; *gendu-an* *gendu-ke*.³⁵

Instead of the conditional forms, past tense forms can be used in both the protasis and the apodosis (the form in the protasis receiving always an accent): *Péruk ekarríko baléuko/baéban ikusíko senduke/senduan* 'If Peru brought it, you would see it'.

In the protasis paradigm there are bivalent transitive forms for a first or second person direct object, which are identical to the past indicative forms with the prefix /ba-*/:

(162) Conditional protasis forms for a 1st or 2nd person DO

	1.	1'.	2.	2'.
1.		<i>basaittúten</i>	<i>basaittuéten</i>	
3. <i>banáben</i>		<i>bagáittun</i>	<i>basáittun</i>	<i>basaittúen</i>
1'.		<i>basaittúgun</i>	<i>basaittúgun</i>	
2. <i>banásun</i>		<i>bagaittúsun</i>		
2'. <i>banasúen</i>		<i>bagaittusúen</i>		
3'. <i>banáben</i>		<i>basaittúen</i>	<i>basaittúen</i>	<i>basaittúen/basaittuésen</i>

The forms used in the apodosis when the direct object is a first or second person are those of the past indicative. The same trivalent forms that are used in the past indicative are also optionally used both in the protasis and the apodosis of conditional structures. There are, nevertheless, some specifically conditional forms, which can be used in either clause of the conditional structure (with /ba-*-/ 'if' in the protasis). As before, forms on the same horizontal line share the same subject:

(163) Trivalent conditional forms for a 3rd sg DO

	1.	3.	1'.	2.	2'.	3'.
1.		<i>neukížo</i>		<i>neukixu</i>	<i>neukixúe</i>	<i>neukíže</i>
3. <i>leuko</i>		<i>leukížo/leuko</i>	<i>leuko</i>	<i>leukixu</i>	<i>leukixúe</i>	<i>leukíže</i>
1'.		<i>leukigu</i>	(<i>geunkixu</i>) ³⁶	(<i>geunkixúe</i>)	<i>leukigu</i>	
2. <i>senduke</i>		<i>senduke</i>	<i>senduke</i>			<i>senduke</i>
2'. <i>sendukíe</i>		<i>sendukíe</i>	<i>sendukíe</i>			<i>sendukíe</i>
3'. <i>leukíe</i>		<i>leukíže</i>	<i>leukíe</i>	<i>leukixúe</i>	<i>leukixúe</i>	<i>leukí(ž)e</i>

(35) Nevertheless, there is some overlap between these forms of the transitive auxiliary and the conditional forms of the synthetic verb *euki* 'to have'.

(36) These two forms in parenthesis are only known to older speakers. Other speakers use instead the past indicative form *eutzugun* for both forms.

In the apodosis these forms may add a final /-n/. As can be seen, there is massive homophony in this paradigm. We can then hardly talk of a trivalent paradigm here, given the fact that some arguments are not encoded. When an argument is not encoded in the auxiliary it needs to be expressed pronominally; e.g.: *suk ekarríko senduke guri* 'you would bring it to us'; *suk ekarríko senduke niri* 'you could bring it to me'; *éurak emóngo leukíe niri* 'they could give it to me'.

Potential. The potential paradigm has undergone massive simplification in Lekeitio. As was mentioned, many of the same forms are used both in the intransitive and transitive potential paradigms. In addition, in the transitive potential, the distinction between bivalent and trivalent forms has been blurred. The following are used as bivalent transitive present potential forms:

(164) Present potential

	3rd sg DO	3rd pl DO		
1.	<i>néike(t)/léiket</i>	<i>néikes/leikédas</i>	2.	<i>leikíxu leikíxus</i>
3.	<i>léike</i>	<i>léikes</i>	2'.	<i>leikixúe leikixúes</i>
1'.	<i>leikígu</i>	<i>leikígus</i>	3'.	<i>leikí(ž)e leikí(ž)es</i>

Examples: *erosi leikíxu* 'you can buy it' (also 's/he can buy it for you').

As can be seen, in this paradigm there is inconsistency in the marking of the arguments. A first person singular subject can be marked with a prefix *n-* (*néike*), with a suffix *-t* (*léiket*) or indeed with both, since *néiket* is also found. All the forms of the bivalent paradigm in (164) can, furthermore, be used as trivalent forms.

The complete table of present potential transitive forms is given in (165). In this table, forms on a row have the same subject. The numbers on the columns indicates the direct object, when the forms are used as bivalent, or the indirect object if the forms are used as trivalent (in which case there will be a third person direct object):

(165) Present potential bivalent/trivalent forms

	1.	3.	1'.	2.	2'.	3'.
1.		<i>néike(t)/leikížot</i> ³⁷		<i>neikíxu(t)/leikíxut</i>	<i>neikixúe(t)/leikixúet</i>	<i>neikíže(t)/leikížet</i>
3.	<i>léike</i>	<i>leikížo</i>	<i>leikígu/leíke</i>	<i>leikíxu/leíke</i>	<i>leikixúe/leikixúe</i>	<i>leikíže</i>
1'.		<i>leikígu</i>	<i>leikígu</i>	<i>leikígu</i>	<i>leikígu</i>	
2.	<i>leikíxu</i>	<i>leikíxu</i>	<i>leikíxu</i>			<i>leikíxu</i>
2'.	<i>leikixúe</i>	<i>leikixúe</i>	<i>leikixúe</i>			<i>leikixúe</i>
3'.	<i>leikí(ž)e</i>	<i>leikí(ž)e</i>	<i>leikí(ž)e</i>	<i>leikixúe</i>	<i>leikixúe</i>	<i>leikí(ž)e</i>

It can be observed that the agreement system is seriously eroded in this paradigm. Many forms in the table do not encode agreement with an indirect object or a non-third direct object. For other combinations of arguments, forms showing full agreement alternate with others with less rich morphology. Arguments which are not encoded on the auxiliary need to be identified contextually. Instead of *neskiari*

(37) Also *léiket* and *neikížot*.

liburúa emon leikířot 'I can give the book to the girl' where all arguments are encoded in the auxiliary (*-* = 3. abs, *-iřo* = 3. dat, *-t* = 1. erg), constructions such as *neskiari liburúa emon néike ~ léiket* 'I can give the book to the girl', where the dative argument is not encoded, are also common. Similarly, a form such as *léike*, which only marks a third person subject can be used with several other non-subject arguments: *lagunak atrapa leikígu ~ lagunak gu(ri) atrapa léike* 'the friend can catch us', *neskiak liburúa niri emon léike* 'the girl can give me the book'. Person markers do not consistently indicate a given grammatical function. For instance, in a form such as *leikíxu*, the ending *-xu* indicates a second person argument which may be the subject, the direct object or the indirect object.

When the direct object is plural, a final *-s/* is added to the forms in (165) (final *-t* being replaced by *-das*).

The past or hypothetical tense of the potential is obtained adding a final *-(e)n* to the present tense potential forms; e.g.: *emon neikien* 's/he could give it to me', *atrapa leikígun* 's/he could catch us'.

Present subjunctive. Subjunctive forms are created by adding a suffix */-n/* to corresponding indicative forms. There are, however, special present subjunctive bivalent forms for a third person direct object. In (166) these special subjunctive forms are shown together with the alternative forms that arise by simple addition of */-n/* to the indicative:

(166) Present subjunctive

	3rd sg DO		3rd pl DO
1.	<i>neičen / doten</i>		<i>neičesen / dorasen/dotesen</i>
3.	<i>deičen / daben</i>		<i>deičesen/-an/ dabesen/(ditxusen)</i>
1'.	<i>deigun / dogun</i>		<i>deigusan / dogusan/ dogusen</i>
2.	<i>deixun / dosun</i>		<i>deixusen/-an/ dosusen/-an</i>
2'.	<i>deixúen / dosúen</i>		<i>deixuésen / dosuésen</i>
3'.	<i>deičen / dáben</i>		<i>deičésen / dabésen</i>

For all other argument combinations, indicative forms suffixed with */-n/* are employed. Nonconjugated clauses are, in any case, much more frequent than subjunctive clauses.

Imperative. In true imperatives, the subject will be a second person singular or plural. As was mentioned with respect to the intransitive auxiliary, in the imperative we find the only morphological remnants of the old second person familiar which are still in use among the younger generations. The following forms are used as transitive bivalent imperative forms for a third person direct object:

(167) Transitive bivalent imperative forms for a 3rd person DO

	3rd sg DO	3rd pl DO
2f.	<i>éiřok/éiřona/ik</i>	<i>éiřonas</i>
2.	<i>éixu</i>	<i>éixus</i>
2'.	<i>eixúe</i>	<i>eixúes</i>

The forms *éizok* and *éizona* encode an original morphological distinction which refers to the gender of the subject; e.g.: *artúizok* 'take it' (male addressee), *artúizona* 'take it' (female addressee). Nowadays, however, they are used indistinctively, all conscience of the functioning of the earlier familiar forms having been lost. The initial vowel in these forms is usually lost, except in negative forms; e.g.: *es éizok erosi* 'do not buy it'.

The other imperative familiar form, *ik*, appears to be a reduced form of *e(g)ik*, which originally would be a masculine familiar command of the same paradigm as *é(g)ixu* and *é(g)ixue* (all being forms of *egin* 'to do, make', used as an auxiliary in the imperative). These imperative forms function as accented suffixes, causing the main verb to which they attach to receive an accent on the penultimate; e.g.: *atrápaik* 'catch it!', *úrteik* 'leave!', *apúrtuik* 'break it!'. The forms *éixu*, *eixúe* lose their initial vowel in postverbal position; e.g.:, *apurtúixu* 'break it!' (but *es éixu apurtu* 'don't break it!'), *garbittúixu* 'clean it!' *záixu* 'eat it!'.

In imperatives where the direct object is a first person, subjunctive forms are used (i.e. indicative forms with the suffix /-n/):

(168) Transitive bivalent imperative forms for a 1st person DO

	1st sg DO	1st pl DO
2.	<i>nasun</i>	<i>gaittusun</i>
2'.	<i>nasúen</i>	<i>gaittusúen</i>

Example: *etxera eruan gaittusun* 'take us home'.

There are special trivalent imperative forms for a third person dative. For a first person dative, bivalent forms can be used:

(169) Transitive trivalent forms for a 3rd sg DO

	1.	3.	1'.	3'.
2.	<i>nasun</i>	<i>eizotzasu</i>	<i>gaittusun</i>	<i>éizotzasu</i>
2'.	<i>nasúen</i>	<i>eizotzasúe</i>	<i>gaittusúen</i>	<i>éizotzasue</i>

(170) Transitive trivalent forms for a 3rd pl DO

	1.	3.	1'.	3'.
2.	<i>nasusen</i>	<i>eizotzasus</i>	<i>gaittusun</i>	<i>éizotzasus</i>
2'.	<i>nasúesen</i>	<i>eizotzasúes</i>	<i>gaittusúen</i>	<i>éizotzasues</i>

Examples: *emôn nasun* 'give it to me!', *emôn nasúesen* 'give them to me (pl addressee)', *emôizotzasu* 'give it to him/her/them!', *es éizotzasu emon* 'don't give it to him/her/them!', *emôizotzasus* 'give them to him/her/them!'.

Dative arguments are frequently left unmarked in the imperative: *es éixu emon gixonari* 'do not give it to the man' (or *es éizotzasu emon*), *es éixu emon niri* 'do not give it to me' (or *ês nasun emon*).

3.2.2.4. Synthetic transitive verbs

Only five transitive verbs have synthetic forms in the present tense: *eruan* 'to carry', *euki* 'to have', *ekarri* 'to bring', *žakiñ* 'to know' and a root /-ino*/ 'to say' which lacks a participial form.³⁸ Only present forms for a third person direct object are in current use:

(171) Present indicative of synthetic transitive verbs

<i>eruan</i> 'to take, carry'		<i>euki</i> 'to have'	
3 sg DO	3 pl DO	3 sg DO	3 pl DO
1. <i>daróyat</i> ³⁹	<i>daroyádas</i>	<i>daukat/daukot</i>	<i>daukadas</i>
3. <i>daróya</i>	<i>daróyas</i>	<i>dauko</i>	<i>daukos</i>
1'. <i>daroyágu</i>	<i>daroyágus</i>	<i>daukogu</i>	<i>daukogus</i>
2. <i>daroyásu</i>	<i>daroyásus</i>	<i>daukosu</i>	<i>daukosus</i>
2'. <i>daroyasúe</i>	<i>daroyasúes</i>	<i>daukosúe</i>	<i>daukosúes</i>
3'. <i>daróye</i>	<i>daróyes</i>	<i>dáuke</i>	<i>dáukes</i>
 <i>ekarri</i> 'to bring'		 <i>žakiñ</i> 'to know'	
1. <i>dakart</i>	<i>dakadas</i> ⁴⁰	<i>dakitx</i>	<i>dakidas</i>
3. <i>dakar</i>	<i>dakas</i>	<i>daki</i>	<i>dakix/dakis</i>
1'. <i>dakagu</i>	<i>dakagus</i>	<i>dakigu</i>	<i>dakigus</i>
2. <i>dakasu</i>	<i>dakasus</i>	<i>dakixu</i>	<i>dakixus</i>
2'. <i>dakasúe</i>	<i>dakasúes</i>	<i>dakixúe</i>	<i>dakixúes</i>
3'. <i>dakárre</i>	<i>dakárres</i>	<i>dakíže</i>	<i>dakížes</i>
 /-ino*/ 'to say'			
1. <i>díñot</i>	<i>diñódas</i>	2'. <i>diñósu</i>	<i>diñósus</i>
3. <i>díño</i>	<i>díños</i>	2". <i>diñosúe</i>	<i>diñosúes</i>
1'. <i>diñógu</i>	<i>diñógus</i>	3'. <i>diñúe</i>	<i>diñúes</i>

All paradigms have the same structure: /d-/ 'third person absolutive', /a-/ 'tense marker' (absent with /-ino*/), root /-ro(y)a-*/ 'take', /-uk-/ 'have', /-karr-/ 'bring', /-ki-/ 'know', /-ino*/ 'to say' and ergative marker (1. /-t/ (/d/), 1'. /-gu/, 2. /-su/), which is followed by a pluralizer in 2'. /su-e*/, and 3'. /-e*/. A plural direct object is indicated by a suffix /-s/. The verb /-ino*/ possesses some trivalent forms:

(172) Trivalent present tense forms of /-ino*/ 'to say'

3 sg DO					
1.	3.	1'	2.	2'.	3'.
1.	<i>diñótzat</i>		1. <i>diñótzut</i>	<i>diñótzúet</i>	<i>diñótzáte</i>
3. (<i>diñósta</i>)	<i>diñótzo</i>	<i>diñósku</i>	3. <i>diñótzu</i>	<i>diñótzúe</i>	<i>diñótze</i>
1'.	<i>diñótzágu</i>		1'. (<i>diñótzágu</i>)	(<i>diñótzúegu</i>)	<i>diñótzágu</i>
2. <i>diñótásu</i>	<i>diñótásu</i>	(<i>diñoskúsu</i>)	2.		<i>diñótásu</i>
2'. <i>diñótasúe</i>	<i>diñótasúe</i>	(<i>diñoskusúe</i>)	2'.		<i>diñótasúe</i>
3'. (<i>diñóste</i>)	<i>diñótze</i>	<i>diñoskúe</i>	3'. <i>diñótzúe</i>	<i>diñótzúe</i>	<i>diñótze</i>

(38) In analytical forms, the meaning of 'to say' is expressed by *esan*. E.g. *díñot* 'I say', but *esan dot* 'I have said'.

(39) Alternative forms are *daróit*, *daróigu*, *daróisu/daróixu*, *daróisúe/daróixúe*.

(40) This ending is most frequently pronounced [-aras] in all paradigms.

Forms in parentheses are rare. Gaps in the paradigm are filled by analytical forms with *esan* 'to say'; e.g.: *esaten năsu* 'you are telling me', *esaten găitxus* 's/he is telling us'. Forms for a third person plural direct object are created by adding a final *-s* (final *-t* being replaced by *-das*); e.g.: *diňotzúdas* 'I am saying them to you', *diňotzos* 's/he is saying them to him/her'. For all other four synthetic transitive verbs, there are trivalent forms for a third person singular subject and a second person dative, which may be an 'ethical dative', rather than a real indirect object argument:

- (173) Trivalent present tense forms for other transitive synthetic verbs
eruan: *daroyátzu* 's/he is taking it to you', *daroyatzúe* 's/he is bringing it to you-pl'.⁴¹
euki: *daukotzu* 's/he has it for you', *daukotzúe* 's/he has it for you-pl'.
ekarri: *dakartzu* 's/he is bringing it to you', *dakartzúe* 's/he is bringing it to you-pl'.
žakiň: *dakitzu* 's/he knows it for you', *dakitzúe* 's/he knows it for you-pl'.

Present tense forms of *euki* for a third person subject with the subordinating suffix */-la/* are used in subjunctive and optative expressions (together with the verbal noun, cf. section 3.2.3.11). The following bivalent and trivalent forms of *euki* are used in those constructions (gaps in the paradigm are filled by the transitive auxiliary):

- (174) Bivalent subjunctive forms of *euki*
- | | | | | | | | |
|----|----------------|----------------|------------------|-----|----------------|----------------|------------------|
| | 1. | 3. | 3'. | | 1. | 3. | 3'. |
| 3. | <i>naukola</i> | <i>daukola</i> | <i>daukosela</i> | 3'. | <i>naukéla</i> | <i>daukéla</i> | <i>daukeséla</i> |

Examples: *eruatía naukola* 'may s/he take me', *žatía daukola* 'may s/he eat it', *erostía daukosela* 'may s/he buy them', *eskríbidutía daukéla* 'may they write it'.

- (175) Trivalent subjunctive forms of *euki* for a 3rd sg DO
- | | | | | | | |
|-----|----------------|-------------------|-------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| | 1. | 3. | (1'.) | 2. | 2'. | 3'. |
| 3. | <i>naukola</i> | <i>daukotzola</i> | | <i>daukotzula</i> | <i>daukotzuéla</i> | <i>daukotzéla</i> |
| 3'. | <i>naukéla</i> | <i>daukotzéla</i> | | <i>daukotzuéla</i> | <i>daukotzuéla</i> | <i>dauketzéla</i> |

Examples: *emotía daukotzéla* 'may s/he give it to them' or 'may they give it to him/her/them', *emotía daukotzuéla* 'may s/he/they give it to you-pl' or 'may they give it to you-sg'. As mentioned, for those person combinations lacking a special form with *euki*, the corresponding forms of the transitive auxiliary are used; e.g.: *emotía gaittusela* 'may s/he give it to us', *emotía gaittuséla* 'may they give it to us'.

- (176) Trivalent subjunctive forms of *euki* for a 3rd pl DO
- | | | | | | | |
|-----|------------------|---------------------|-------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| | 1. | 3. | (1'.) | 2. | 2'. | 3'. |
| 3. | <i>naukosela</i> | <i>daukotzosela</i> | | <i>daukotzusela</i> | <i>daukotzueséla</i> | <i>daukotzeséla</i> |
| 3'. | <i>naukeséla</i> | <i>daukotzeséla</i> | | <i>daukotzueséla</i> | <i>daukotzueséla</i> | <i>dauketzeséla</i> |

Only *euki* 'to have' and *žakiň* 'to know' possess synthetic past tense paradigms, whereas *ekarri* 'to bring' has an incomplete paradigm:

(41) Or *daroitzu*, *daroitzúe*.

(177) Past indicative of synthetic transitive verbs

<i>euki</i>		<i>žakiñ</i>	
3rd sg DO	3rd pl DO	3rd sg DO	3rd pl DO
1. <i>neukan</i>	<i>neukasan</i>	<i>nekižan</i>	<i>nekižasan</i>
3. <i>eukan</i>	<i>eukasan</i>	<i>ekižan</i>	<i>ekižasan</i>
1'. <i>eukaun</i>	<i>eukausan</i>	<i>genkiun/ekiun</i>	<i>genkiusan/ekiusan</i>
2. <i>eukasun</i>	<i>eukasusan</i>	<i>ekixun</i>	<i>ekixusan</i>
2'. <i>eukasiñen</i>	<i>eukasuésen</i>	<i>ekixúen</i>	<i>ekixuésen</i>
3'. <i>éuken</i>	<i>eukésen</i>	<i>ekížen</i>	<i>ekížesen</i>
 <i>ekarri</i>			
1. <i>nekarren</i>			
3. <i>ekarren</i>			
3'. <i>ekárren</i>			

In these paradigms, only first person singular subjects are marked with a prefix, while other subjects are encoded by means of a suffix. This is with one exception. In forms of *žakiñ* such as *genkiun*, the first person plural subject appears to be marked twice, by a prefix /-gen/ and a suffix /-(g)u/: /gen-ki-gu-n/. In addition, the verb *euki* possesses conditional forms which are partly identical to those of the transitive auxiliary:

(178) Conditional forms of *euki*

3rd sg DO	3rd pl DO	3rd sg DO	3rd pl DO
1. <i>neuko</i>	<i>neukos</i>	2. <i>leukasu</i>	<i>leukasus</i>
3. <i>leuko</i>	<i>leukos</i>	2'. <i>leukasúe</i>	<i>leukasúes</i>
1'. <i>leukagu</i>	<i>leukagus</i>	3'. <i>leukiél/léuke</i>	<i>leukiés/léukes</i>

Examples: *diru asko baleukágu...* 'if we had a lot of money'

3.2.2.5. Allocutive conjugation

In Basque Linguistics, allocutivity is the term that is used to refer to the morphological encoding of the addressee in verbal inflection when it is not an argument of the verb. In western dialects, allocutivity is restricted to the familiar treatment, where different forms are used depending on whether the addressee is male or female. For instance, in Standard Basque, corresponding to the nonallocutive *Miren etorri da* 'Miren has come', we find the allocutive *Miren etorri duk* 'Miren has come, familiar, male addressee' and *Miren etorri dun* 'Miren has come, familiar, female addressee'; and corresponding to the nonallocutive *nik ekarri dut* 'I have brought it', we find *nik ekarri diat* 'I have brought it, familiar, male addressee' and *nik ekarri dinat* 'I have brought it, familiar, female addressee'.⁴² In Lekeitio the general loss of the familiar treatment has brought with it the disappearance of the allocutive conjugation. Some forms are still used or remembered by older speakers, but these are only isolated forms without any systematicity. Some forms still in use are the following:

(42) For a recent treatment of allocutivity in Basque, cf. Oyharçabal (1993).

(179) 'to be' / intransitive auxiliary

	nonallocutive	alloc. masc.	alloc. fem.
'I am'	<i>naix/nas</i>	<i>nauk/nok</i>	
's/he is'	<i>da</i>	<i>dok/žok</i>	<i>dona/žona</i>
'they are'	<i>diras</i>	<i>žosak</i>	

Examples:

Gôrka etorri dok 'Gorka has come'
êurak allaga žosak 'they have arrived'
nêu ibilli nok 'I have walked'
ori žonâ emakume feia 'that is an ugly woman'

(180) Transitive auxiliary

	nonallocutive	alloc. masc.	alloc. fem.
'I have it'	<i>dot</i>	<i>žu(a)t</i>	
's/he has it'	<i>dau</i>	<i>žu(a)k</i>	<i>žu(a)n</i>
'they have it'	<i>dábe</i>	<i>žúek</i>	

Examples:

âu entzun žut 'I have heard this' *es žût esan ori* 'I have not said that'

(181) *egon* 'to be, to stay'

	nonallocutive	alloc. masc.	alloc. fem.
'I am'	<i>nago</i>	<i>naižaok</i>	
's/he is'	<i>dago</i>	<i>žagok</i>	
'they are'	<i>dagos</i>	<i>žagosak</i>	
<i>ibilli</i> 'to walk'			
's/he walks'	<i>dabill</i>	<i>žabilk</i>	

As can be seen only a very reduced number of allocutive forms are still used or remembered, even by old speakers. In addition, speakers who know (some of) these forms are often uncertain about their meaning. Thus, speakers may fail to distinguish between, for instance, the nonallocutive second person familiar form *abill* 'thou walkest' and the allocutive *žabilk*, whose original meaning must have been 's/he walks, familiar, masculine addressee'. Similarly, some speakers think that the difference between *dok* and *dona* has to do with the gender of the subject ('he is' vs. 'she is') instead of with the gender of the addressee, as must have been originally and still is in dialects which maintain the allocutive conjugation.

3.2.3. Tense, aspect and mood: Basic forms

Verbal expressions can be classified in two groups: basic and periphrastic forms. Basic verb forms consist of a participle (perfective, imperfective or future) and a conjugated form of the auxiliary, transitive or intransitive, depending on the verb. Except that there are a few verbs for which some simple tenses are formed synthetically without the help of an auxiliary, as was mentioned. There are five formally distinct moods: indicative, conditional, potential, subjunctive and imperative. The

following basic forms can be recognized (examples are given with an intransitive and a transitive verb):

Indicative

Present indicative: *žausťen-nas*⁴³ 'I fall/ am falling'; *erostěn-dot* 'I buy/ I am buying'

Present Perfect/Recent Past: *žausi-nas* 'I have fallen/I fell'; *erosi-dot* 'I (have) bought'

Aorist: *žausi-nitzan* 'I fell', *erosi-neban* 'I bought'

Imperfect: *žausťen-nitzan* 'I fell/I was falling/I used to fall'; *erosten-neban* 'I bought/...'

Future: *žausikó-nas* 'I will fall'; *erosikó-dot* 'I will buy'

Future of the Past: *žausiko-nitzan* 'I would fall'; *erosiko-neban* 'I would buy'

Conditional

Present Condition

Protasis: *žausíko-banitzatéke* 'If I fell'; *erosíko-banéuko* 'If I bought'

Apodosis: *žausíko-nitzateke* 'I would fall'; *erosíko-neuko* 'I would buy'

Failed/Hypothetical Condition

Protasis: *žausi-banítzan* 'If I had fallen'; *erosi-banéban* 'If I had bought'⁴⁴

Potential

Present Potential: *žausi-néike* 'I can fall'; *erosi-néike* 'I can buy'

Past/Hypothetical Potential: *žausi-neikien* 'I could fall'; *erosi-neikien* 'I could buy'

Subjunctive

Present subjunctive: *žausi-naixen/nasen* '(that) I fall'; *erosi-neižen/doten* '(that) I buy'

Imperative

Imperative: *žausí-saix* 'fall!'; *erosíxu* 'buy!'

Periphrastic forms are created with the help of some other verb. There is a Progressive construction with *egon* 'to be, stay' with is used in a number of tenses: *žáusten/erósten nago* 'I am falling/buying', *žáusten/erósten egongó-nas* 'I will be falling/buying', etc. With *ibilli* 'to walk' a Habitual construction is formed, also in several tenses: *žáusten/erósten ibilli-nas* 'I have been falling/buying', *žáusten/erósten ibillikó-nas* 'I will be falling/buying'. A Resultative/Experiential periphrastic form employs *euki* 'to have' and the adjectival participle: *erosítta daukat* 'I got it bought', *erosítta eukíkot*⁴⁵ 'I will get it bought'. Another Experiential construction employs *egon* 'to be, stay' with the adjectival participle: *erosítta dago* 'it has been bought'. Finally, another periphrastic expression that can be mentioned is a Future with *žu(a)n* 'to go': *kantáten noya* 'I am going to sing', *kantáten žuan-nitzan* 'I was going to sing'.

(43) The accentuation given in all accented forms corresponds to the case where there is a focalized element in preverbal position; e.g.: *něu žausťen-nas*.

(44) Some speakers prefer *žausi ixan banítzan*, *erosi ixan banéban*.

(45) /euki-ko* dot/.

- (192) *besuâ apurtu-dot gaur goixian*
'this morning, I have broken (I broke) my arm'
- (193) *aurten arraiñ askô atrapa-dogu*
'this year we have caught a lot of fish'
- (194) *aurten etxiâ saldu-dau*
'this year s/he has sold his/her house'

3.2.3.3. Aorist

The aorist or nonrecent perfective past is formed with the perfective participle and the past indicative of the auxiliary:

- (195) *atzo Gôrka ikusi-neban* (197) *pasa dan urtian arraiñ askô atrapa-genduan*
'yesterday I saw Gorka' 'last year we caught a lot of fish'
- (196) *pasa dan urtian Erromâ ikusi-neban*
'last year I saw Rome'

3.2.3.4. Imperfect

The imperfect (imperfective past) consists of the imperfective participle and the past indicative of the auxiliary. The imperfect has a habitual meaning. Unlike in Spanish, the imperfect does not have a progressive meaning:⁴⁸

- (198) *pasa dan urtian Erromâ ikusten-néban astéro*
'last year I used to see Rome every week'
- (199) *arrañ askô atrapatén-genduan*
'we used to catch a lot of fish'
- (200) *autobusa beti allagatén-san berandu*
'the bus always arrived late'
- (201) *es-eutzân itxóten*
's/he wasn't waiting for him/her'

The synthetic past has an imperfective meaning:

- (202) *atzo ikusí genduan gixonak gauza asko ekižasân*
'the man we saw yesterday knew a lot of things'

(48) Thus a Spanish sentence such as *mi madre miraba la televisión cuando llegué* 'My mother was watching television when I arrived', where the imperfect *miraba* has a progressive meaning, cannot be translated in Lekeitio Basque as **nire amak telebisiñoya ikusten éban ni allaga nitzanian* with the imperfect *ikusten éban*. Instead, it must be translated as *nire ama telebisiñoya ikústen ewan ni allaga nitzanian* with the progressive form *ikústen ewan*.

3.2.3.5. Future

The future tense consists of the future participle and the present indicative of the auxiliary:

- (203) *bižar Ondarrûra žungó-nas*
‘tomorrow, I will go to Ondarroa’

The future is also used to express probability in the present (as in Spanish):

- (204) *es takîtt se ordu dan. Irûrak edo ixango-dîra*
‘I don’t know what time it is. It must be around 3 o’clock’
- (205) *ogei urtê edo eukîko-dîtxus*
‘s/he must be about twenty’

3.2.3.6. Future of the past

The future of the past is formed with the future participle and the past indicative of the auxiliary. The future of the past is used when a future is embedded under a past tense in the main clause:

- (206) *esan eustan martitzenerâko žakîngo ebalâ*
‘s/he told me that s/he would know it by Tuesday’
- (207) *Pêruk esan eustan domêkan žûngo sala*
‘Peru told me that he would go on Sunday’

This form may also indicate probability in the past:

- (208) *Górkak ogei urtê edo eukîko-ebâsan Ameriketâra žun sanian*
‘Gorka must have been about twenty when he went to America’
- (209) *ordu bižak ixango-sirîan etxera allaga sirinian*
‘it must have been around two o’clock when they got home’

This construction is also used in both parts of a conditional expression:

- (210) *erantzûna žakîngo banêban, esângo neutzun*
‘if I knew the answer, I would tell you’ /
- (211) *dirua eukîko banêban, erosîko neban*
‘if I had money, I would buy it’

3.2.3.7. Present conditional

The present conditional is formed with the future participle and the conditional form of the auxiliary. The same expression may be used in the protasis and apodosis of a conditional construction:

- (212) *loteriža tokáko bažáten, etxe barri bāt erosiko-néuko*
 'if I won the lotto, I would buy a new house'⁴⁹

The present conditional can always be replaced by the future of the past; that is, instead of the conditional form of the auxiliary, the past indicative can be used:

- (213) *erantzúna žakíngo banéban/banéuko, esángo neutzun*
 'if I knew the answer, I would tell you'

3.2.3.8. Past (failed) or hypothetical conditional

The past conditional is formed with the perfective participle and either the conditional or the past indicative of the auxiliary. This form is used exclusively in the protasis of the conditional construction. In the apodosis no distinction is made between failed and pending condition:

- (214) *erantzúna žakin-banéban/banéuko, esángo neutzun*
 'if I had known the answer, I would have told you (= I would tell you)'

3.2.3.9 Present potential

The present potential consists of the perfective participle and the present potential form of the auxiliary:

- (215) *lagunâk ekarri léike* (217) *esiñ néiket eraiñ ori atia*
 'the friend can bring it' 'I cannot open that door'
- (216) *nai badósu, gêwas etorri leikíxu/siñíkes*
 'if you want, you may come with us'

These forms may express an epistemic meaning (i.e. 'may', 'might') or a root meaning (i.e. 'be able to', 'be allowed to'). A construction with *al* 'to be able to', 'to be allowed to' (or its negative *esiñ*) represents an alternative to convey the root meaning (cf. 3.2.5).

3.2.3.10. Past potential

The past potential is formed with the perfective participle and the past potential form of the auxiliary:

- (218) *maixúak etxiân ein-leikigúla esa-eban*
 'the teacher told us that we could do it at home'
- (219) *aittak esa(n) eustan žûn neikiéla*
 'father said that I could go'

(49) Cf. Sp. 'si me tocara la lotería'.

This construction may have an epistemic or a root meaning. To express the root meaning ‘to be able’ there is an alternative construction with *al/esĩñ* and the past indicative, as in (220b), instead of the past potential form of the auxiliary (cf. section 3.2.5):

- (220) a. *esĩñ neikién eraiñ bentanía* b. *esĩñ ixan neban eraiñ bentanía*
 ‘I couldn’t open the window / ‘I couldn’t open the window’
 I wasn’t allowed to open the window’

3.2.3.11. Subjunctive and alternative expressions

There is a present subjunctive formed with the perfective participle and the present subjunctive paradigm of the auxiliary, as in (221). The subjunctive is used in noun clauses expressing an indirect command or a desire, in relative clauses with nonspecific referent and in adverbial clauses of purpose. In all contexts where the subjunctive can be used it is often replaced by nonfinite expressions.

A first use of the subjunctive is in indirect commands:

- (221) *sapâatak erosi deiže(se)la esan-dotzat* (223) *atia erâiñ deižela eskatu-neutzan*
 ‘I told him to buy shoes’ ‘I asked him to open the door’
- (222) *žûn deižela alamiérdára esan-dotzat*
 ‘I told him to go to hell’

In this context an alternative construction to the subjunctive is provided by infinitival forms in /-te*-ko/. The examples in (224-226) have the same meaning as (221-223) above:

- (224) *sapâatak erústeko esan-dotzat* (226) *atia erâitteko eskatu-neutzan*
 ‘I told him to buy shoes’ ‘I asked him to open the door’
- (225) *žûteko alamiérdára esan-dotzat*
 ‘I told him to go to hell’

Another alternative construction in clauses expressing an indirect command is a periphrastic construction employing the absolutive singular of the verbal noun and the present of *euki* ‘to have’, as in (227) and (228):

- (227) *sapâatak erostía daukoselal/daukola esan-dotzat*⁵⁰
 ‘I told him (that he had) to buy shoes’
- (228) *žutía daukola alamiérdára esan-dotzat*
 ‘I told him to go to hell’

(50) In this example there is a choice in the conjugated form between marking agreement with a third person singular or a third person plural absolutive argument (direct object). This choice is due to the fact that either the plural noun *sapâatak* ‘shoes’ or the infinitival clause *sapâatak erostía* ‘to buy shoes’ can be taken as the direct object: *esan dotzat [sapâatak] erostía daukosela, esan dotzat [sapâatak erostía] daukola*

Related to indirect commands are optative expressions. Both subjunctive clauses and the construction with *euki* and the verbal noun are used in optative expressions with third person subjects without subordination to another verb:

- | | |
|---|---|
| (229) <i>êin deižela</i>
'let him/her do it' | (231) <i>sapâtak erostia daukosela</i>
'let him/her buy the shoes' |
| (230) <i>žutia daukola améndik</i>
'let him/her go away from here' | (232) <i>emotia daukotzola</i>
'let him/her give it to him/her' |

In expressions of desire, either the subjunctive or nonfinite clauses with the absolutive singular of the verbal noun are employed:

- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| (233) a. <i>su elixara žiun sarien nai-dot</i>
'I want you to go to church' | b. <i>su elixara žutia nai dot</i> |
|--|------------------------------------|

This is except that, if the subject of both clauses is the same, neither a subjunctive clause nor a verbal noun is used. Instead there is a single clause, with *nai* 'to want' as a semiauxiliary (cf. section 3.2.5). This is reminiscent of the situation in Spanish, although the particular constructions are rather different:

- (234) *elixarâ nai-dot žun*
'I want to go to church'

Another use of the subjunctive is in relative clauses. The use of the subjunctive in a relative clause indicates that the head noun does not have a specific referent (again, as in Spanish):

- (235) *nire biarrâgas lagundu neižen morro bat biar-dot*
'I need a guy to help me with my work'

On the other hand, if the present indicative is used, the referent is specific:

- (236) *nire biarrâgas lagúntzen naben morro bat daukat*
'I have a guy who helps with my work'

The subjunctive is also used in adverbial clauses of purpose. In this context, nonfinite forms in /-te*-ko/ can be used instead (as in indirect commands, but with a different accentual pattern, cf. section 4.5.4.3):

- | |
|---|
| (237) a. <i>aittak ori esan-dau gu ixilik egôn garien</i> |
| b. <i>aittak ori esan-dau gu ixilik egotêko</i>
'father said that so that we would be quiet' |
| (238) <i>lagunak ori esa-eban seuk erost deixun/erostêko</i>
'the friend said that so that you would buy it' |
| (239) <i>ori ei-eban neu geldittû neižen/gelditzêko</i>
's/he did that so that I would stay' |

The subjunctive mood has only a present tense. If the verb of the matrix clause is in a past tense (other than the present perfect/recent past), the subjunctive simply cannot be used. The present subjunctive cannot be used if past tense is required. The past indicative is also excluded. The alternative expressions with the verbal noun that have been presented above must be used instead:

- (240) a. *esan neutzan sapâtak erostía euka(sa)la*
 b. *esan neutzan sapâtak erósteke*
 c. **esan neutzan sapâtak erosi deizen*
 'I told him/her to buy shoes' (nonrecent past)
- (241) a. *aittak atzo ori esa-eban gu ixilik egotêko*
 b. **?aittak atzo orî esan-eban gu ixilik egon giñian/garien*
 'father said that yesterday so that we would be quiet'

The use of the subjunctive is thus much more restricted than in a language such as Spanish. We may note here that in a number of contexts where the subjunctive is used in Spanish, indicative or nonfinite expressions are employed instead in Lekeitio Basque. The indicative is used in the complement of verbs of doubt, disbelief, etc.:

- (242) *estôt pentzáten sasos allagáko danik*
 'I do not think he will arrive on time'

In the complement of verbs of emotion, where the subjunctive is also required in Spanish, either an indicative or a nonfinite form is used in Lekeitio Basque:

- (243) a. *ikaria dankât Péruk txarto éingo daben*
 b. *Péruk txarto eittéko ikaria daukat*
 'I am afraid that Peru may do it badly'
- (244) *pôsten naix suk ainbéste žatiágas*
 'I am happy that you eat so much' (lit. 'with you eating so much')

In time clauses with future reference, which require the subjunctive in Spanish, the indicative is used in Lekeitio Basque:

- (245) *Ondarrúra žúten danian sure tîo ikusikó-dau*
 'when s/he goes to Ondarroa s/he will see your uncle'

Finally, another context where the subjunctive is used in Spanish but not in Lekeitio Basque is in concessive clauses. With a concessive meaning, a nonfinite expression with /arren*/ postposed to the perfective participle is used:

- (246) *Péruk logura asko euki árrren, estâ žúngo lotara*
 'even though Peru may be very sleepy, he will not go to bed'

3.2.3.12. Imperative

The imperative is formed with the perfective participle and one of the imperative forms of the auxiliary:

- | | |
|--|---|
| (247) <i>etorrî saix/ etorrî yari!</i>
'come (you-sg)!' | (249) <i>êraik/erâixu!</i>
'drink it!' |
| (248) <i>es êixu ekarri!</i>
'don't bring it (you-sg)!' | (250) <i>erosî žona!</i>
'buy it' |

The perfective participle by itself can also be used with imperative force:

- | | |
|---|---|
| (251) <i>etôrrî etxera!</i>
'come home!' | (252) <i>lêîdu liburûa!</i>
'read the book!' |
|---|---|

3.2.4. Periphrastic constructions

3.2.4.1. Progressive construction with *egon*

A progressive construction is formed with *egon* 'to be, stay' and the imperfective participle of the verb (cf. Spanish *estoy comprando*). The progressive with *egon* is characteristic of Biscayan varieties. Other dialects possess instead a construction with the semiauxiliary *ari* and the intransitive auxiliary (e.g. *erosten ari naiz* 'I am buying').

- (253) *liburûak sâltzen dagos*
'they are selling books'
- (254) *Erroma ikûsten newan gerria asi sanian*
'I was seeing Rome when the war started'
- (255) *pasa dan urtian ingelesa ikâsten newan*
'last year I was studying English'
- (256) *gaur goixian telibisiñoya ikûsten egon-nas Péru allaga danian*
'this morning I was watching television when Peru arrived'
- (257) *atzo telebisiñoya ikûsten newan Péru allaga sanian*
'yesterday I was watching television when Peru arrived'

3.2.4.2. Repetitive construction with *ibilli*

A type of repetitive construction is formed with *ibilli* 'to walk' and the imperfective participle of the main verb which has the meaning 'to go around V-ing', 'to be engaged in V-ing' (cf. Spanish *anda comprando libros*):

- (258) *ingelesa ikâsten ibilli-nas lau urtian*
'I have been studying English for four years'

The structure of these sentences would thus be as follows:

- (271) a. (*nik*) *semia_i* [*PRO_i* *etorritta*] *daukat*
 I.erg son come I-have
 b. (*nik*) *umia_i* [*PRO_i* *papillia žanda*] *daukat*
 I.erg child food eaten I-have

The present resultative/experiential partially overlaps in meaning with the present perfect/recent past. The past resultative/experiential has the meaning of a pluperfect (that is, a past event completed before some other past event):

- (272) *allaga nitzanian, saldûta eukan liburûa*
 'when I arrived, he had already sold the book'

3.2.4.5. Resultative/experiential with *egon*

Another experiential construction is formed with the adjectival participle and a form of *egon* 'to be, stay':

- (273) *Terranobâra artian žûnda nago* (274) *ôrtik ibillîta nago*
 'I have been up to Newfoundland' 'I have been there'
 (lit. 'I am (having) gone to N.')
- (275) *bentâna batétik žausîta nago*
 'I have fallen from a window' (experiential)

As we mentioned for the construction with *euki*, the past tense can be used as a pluperfect:

- (276) *allaga nitzanian nire lagúnak žânda ewasan*
 'when I arrived my friends had already eaten'

3.2.4.6. Future with *žuan*

A future action can be expressed with the imperfect participle of the main verb and a form of *žuan* 'go':

- (277) *kânta bat kantâten nôya*
 'I am going to sing a song'
- (278) *datorren urtian kimikîa ikâsten nôya amentxe berton*
 'next year I am going to study chemistry right here'
- (279) *kantâten žuan nitzan, baiña askanian lotzatû eiñ-nitzan*
 'I was going to sing, but at the end I was shy'

3.2.4.7. Immediate future with *egon*

An immediate future with the meaning 'to be about to' is formed with the /-ko/ form of the verbal noun and a conjugated form of *egon*:

- (280) *nire aitta auntxe allagatêko dago*
'my father is about to arrive now'
- (281) *batzârra iža amaitzêko ewala sartu-sirian sure lagúnak*
'your friends came in when the meeting was about to end'
- (282) *neu kantatêko newala, Sinâtra allaga san*
'when I was about to sing, Sinatra arrived'

3.2.4.8. Optative construction with *euki*

As mentioned in section 3.2.3.11, optative expressions are formed with the verbal noun and a conjugated form of *euki* 'to have' bearing the subordinating suffix /-la/:

- (283) *etxera žutîa daukola* (284) *kartzêlan sartzia daukêla*
'let him/her go home!' 'may they put him/her in jail!'

3.2.5. Semiauxiliaries

Semiauxiliaries are verbs that appear in a nonfinite form together with main verb and auxiliary and generally placed between the two. The class of semiauxiliaries includes *eiñ* 'to do', *ixan* 'to be', *nai* 'to want', *biar* 'must, need', *al* 'to be able' and *esiñ* 'not to be able'. These verbs do not form a homogeneous group from the point of view of their syntactic properties and will be presented separately.

The verb *eiñ* 'to do', in its semiauxiliary function, occurs after the main verb when this is focalized, as in (285-287b):

- (285) a. *lagunâ etorri da* b. *laguna etorrî eiñ dda*
'the friend has come' 'the friend has COME'
(e.g. as opposed to going)
- (286) a. *aittâk ekarrîkó-dau* b. *aittak ekarrî eingó-dau*
'father will bring it' 'father will BRING it'
- (287) a. *Górkak arraiñâ saltzén-dau* b. *Górkak saldû eittén-dau arraiña*
'Gorka sells fish' 'Gorka SELLS fish'

As can be observed from the examples, when the verb is focalized it always appears in its perfective form and the semiauxiliary *eiñ* appears in the participial form appropriate for the specific tense/aspect of the sentence. Auxiliary selection (transitive or intransitive) depends on the selectional properties of the main verb. For more details on focalization, cf. section 4.1.

The semiauxiliaries *nai* 'to want' and *biar* 'to need, must' present important similarities in their behavior, but also certain differences. In constructions with *nai*, the main verb is preposed to the auxiliary only when it is focalized; otherwise it is postposed:

- (288) a. *erosî nai-dot erložua* 'I want to BUY the watch'
 b. *erložuâ nai-dot-erosi* 'I want to buy THE WATCH'

On the other hand, *biar* always occur between main verb and auxiliary in affirmative clauses. To focalize the verb, *eiñ* must be inserted in this case:

- (289) a. *erosî eiñ biar-dot erložua* 'I need to BUY the watch'
 b. *erložuâ erosi-biar-dot* 'I need to buy THE WATCH'

Another important difference between *nai* and *biar* has to do with auxiliary selection. *Nai* always takes a transitive auxiliary, regardless of the type to which the main verb belongs. In constructions with *biar*, on the other hand, the transitive auxiliary is used when the main verb is transitive; but when the main verb is intransitive either auxiliary is possible:

- (290) *žûn nai-dau* 's/he wants to go'
 (292) *Péruk bižâr nai-dau etorri* 'Peru wants to come tomorrow'
 (291) *žûn ein-biar-dau /da* 's/he must go'
 (293) a. *Péruk bižâr etorri-biar-dau*
 b. *Péru bižâr etorri-biar-da* 'Peru must come tomorrow'

In forms other than the present, a participial form of *ixan* is employed between the semiauxiliary and the inflected auxiliary. As with *eiñ*, the main verb appears always in the perfective participle. The presence of *ixan* is obligatory in the present perfect (to distinguish it from the present), and in the imperfect, because *nai* and *biar* do not have imperfective forms (they cannot take the imperfective suffix /-t(z)en*/). In other tenses, the use of *ixan* is optional:⁵¹

- (294) Present perfect / recent past:
žûn nai-ixan-dau 's/he has wanted to go'
žûn ein biar ixan-dau /da 's/he has had to go'
 Aorist
žûn nai-(ixan)-eban 's/he wanted to go'
žûn ein biar (ixan) eban /san 's/he had to go'
 Imperfect:
žûn nai-ixate-éban 's/he used to want to go'
žûn biar-ixate-éban /san 's/he used to have to go'
 Future:
žûn nai-ixangó-dau / žûn nai-kó-dau 's/he will want to go'

(51) Constructions with these semiauxiliaries do not occur in the potential. Instead impersonal expressions such as the following are normally used: *ixân léike žun-nai-ixatía* 'it can be that one may want to go' (lit. 'it may be [for s.o.] to want to go'), *ixân léikien erosi-biar-ixatía* 'It might be that one might have to buy it'.

žûn biar-ixangó-dau/da / *žûn ein-biarkó-dau/da* 's/he will have to go'

Future of the past:

žûn nai-ixango-éban / *žûn naiko-éban* 's/he would want to go'

žûn ein-biar-ixango-éban/san / *žûn ein-biarko-éban/san* 's/he would have to go'

Present condition-Protasis:

žûn nai-ixángo baléuko / *žûn náiko baléuko*⁵² 'if s/he wanted to go'

žûn biar-ixángo baléuko/balitzatéke / *žûn biar baléuko/balitzatéke*⁵³ 'if s/he had to go'

Condition-Apodosis:

žûn nai-ixango-léuko / *žûn naiko-léuko* 's/he would want to go'

žûn ein-biar-ixango-léuko/litzatéke / *žûn ein-biarko-léuko/litzatéke* 's/he would have to go'

As mentioned above, the main verb may appear preceding the semiauxiliary *nai* only when it is focalized (as in the examples just given); otherwise the focalized phrase appears immediately before the semiauxiliary *nai* and the main verb follows the inflected auxiliary:

(295) *žûn nai dau etxera*
's/he wants TO GO home'

(297) *Bilbôra nai-ixango-néuko žûn*
'I would like to go TO BILBAO'

(296) *etxerâ nai dau žûn*
's/he wants to go HOME'

A form derived from *nai*, and with the same properties, is *naižago* 'to prefer, to have better', morphologically a comparative of *nai*:

(298) *naižágo ixan-dot etxian geldittu*
'I have preferred to stay at home'

Another semiauxiliary verb is *al* 'to be able'. This verb presents some special characteristics. In the unmarked case, *al* is the focalized element in the sentence. As with *nai*, the main verb is preposed to the semiauxiliary only when it is focalized:

(299) a. *guk âl dogu žûn*
'we CAN go'

(300) a. *guk âl dogu pelótan žokatu*
'we CAN play ball'

b. *guk žûn al-dogu*
'we can GO'

b. *guk žokatû al-dogu pelótan*
'we can PLAY ball'

The semiauxiliary *al* takes the transitive auxiliary. However, optionally but less preferably, when the main verb is intransitive, the intransitive auxiliary can be used. In this respect *al* falls between *nai* which does not coocur with the intransitive auxiliary and *biar*, which allows both auxiliaries with equal ease when the main verb is intransitive:

(52) In these examples no element is marked as focus because the focus appears in the apodosis.

(53) As shown in the example, *biar* (unlike *nai*) appears without the future marker in this tense when *ixan* is not used.

- (301) a. *Bégok âl dau etorri etxera* (preferred) b. *Bégo âl da etorri etxera*
 'Bego can come home'
- (302) *gu žûn al gara/ guk žûn al dogu* (303) *guk pelótan žokatû al dogu*
 'we can go' 'we can play (hand)ball'

For the expression of different tenses/aspects the same structures are used as with *nai*:⁵⁴

- | | |
|--|---|
| (304) Present perfect:
<i>žûn al-ixan-dau</i>
's/he has been able to go' | Imperfect:
<i>žûn al-ixate-éban</i>
's/he used to be able to go' |
| Aorist:
<i>žûn al-ixan-éban</i>
's/he was able to go' | Future:
<i>žûn al-ixangó-dau</i>
's/he will be able to go' |
| Future of the past:
<i>žûn al-ixango-éban</i>
's/he would be able to go' | Condition, protasis:
<i>žun al-ixángo ba-léuko</i>
'if s/he could go' |
| Condition, apodosis:
<i>žûn al-ixango-léuko</i>
's/he would be able to go' | |

Al can be used with potential forms of the auxiliary. There is no clear difference in meaning between the potential and the indicative in constructions with *al*. The two sentences in (305), formally in the present potential and the present indicative, respectively, appear to have the same meaning:

- (305) a. *suk âl lekíxu amarrétan etorri?* b. *suk âl dosu amarrétan etorri?*
 'can you come at ten?'

In negative clauses, *al* is replaced by *esiñ* 'not to be able', which has the same properties for auxiliary selection and position as *al*:

- (306) a. *Mirének esiñ-ddâu žun Gernikara*⁵⁵ b. *Míren esiñ-ddâ žun Gernikara*
 'Miren cannot go to Gernika'
- (307) *guk esiñ-ddogû erosi liburúrik* (308) *Górkak esiñ leikíxu deittu suri*
 'we cannot buy any books' 'Gorka cannot call you'

Finally, the verb *ixan* 'to be' is used as a semiauxiliary to indicate aspect in constructions with *nai*, *biar*, *al* and *esiñ*, as has been indicated, cf. (220b), and also with an irregular verb such as *bixi* 'to live' whose perfective participle is used in the present tense:

- (309) *bixi-naix* 'I live' (cf. *žaustén-naix* 'I fall')
- (310) *bixi-ixan-naix* 'I have lived' (cf. *žausi-naix* 'I have fallen')

(54) In all of the examples in (304) the intransitive auxiliary can be used instead, although less preferably.

(55) For the position of the focal accent in these sentences, cf. section 4.2.

3.2.6. Modal prefixes

There are a few modal particles which are prefixed to finite verb forms. These include the conditional /ba-*/ and the evidentials /ete-*/ ‘perhaps’ and /ei-*/ ‘seemingly’. These elements induce penultimate accent on the auxiliary and thus show to be accented prefixes (cf. section 2.8.4):⁵⁶

- | | | | |
|----------|---|----|---|
| (311) a. | <i>sêuk ikusi-dosu</i>
‘you have seen it’ | b. | <i>seuk ikusi ba-dósu</i>
‘if you have seen it’ |
| (312) a. | <i>ni etorríko nitzateke</i>
‘I WOULD come’ | b. | <i>ni etorríko ba-nitzatéke</i>
‘if I came’ |
| (313) a. | <i>lagúnak etorri-díras</i>
‘the friends came’ | b. | <i>lagúnak etorri-ei-díras</i>
‘the friends seem to have come’ |
| (314) a. | <i>gâur etorri-díras?</i>
‘did they come TODAY?’ | b. | <i>gâur etorri-ete-díras?</i>
‘did they perhaps arrive TODAY?’ |

The prefixal nature of these modal particles is clear, since they are accented morphemes and their lexical accent appears on the penultimate of the verb to which they are attached. Characterization as prefixes is less straightforward in the case of the negative particle /es/ and affirmative /ba(i)/. As was shown in section 2.7.2, /es/ triggers a number of special phonological rules, which fact appears to indicate that it is a prefix. On the other hand, /es/ forms a single accentual word with a following finite verb only when the latter is unaccented and does not carry a complementizer. In (315), the negation is focalized and focal accent appears on the verb, showing that negative particle and verb constitute a single prosodic word. In (316), on the other hand, /es/ constitutes a separate accentual word and receives focal accent on itself, since the verb /doya*/ is accented (it loses its accent by an accent clash resolution rule, cf. section 2.8.10).⁵⁷ In (317), where the verb carries a complementizer, /es/ also receives the focal accent on itself, showing that for accentual purposes it is a separate word:

- | | | | |
|-------|---|-------|--|
| (315) | <i>Péru estatôr</i>
‘Peru is NOT coming’ | (317) | <i>Péru ês tatorrela dñot</i>
‘I say that Peru is NOT coming’ |
| (316) | <i>Péru ês toya</i>
‘Peru is NOT going’ | | |

The same accentual facts obtain with the affirmative particle /ba(i)/:

- | | | | |
|-------|--|-------|--|
| (318) | <i>gixona datôr</i>
‘THE MAN is coming’ | (319) | <i>badatôr gixona</i>
‘the man IS coming’ |
|-------|--|-------|--|

(56) Azkue (1923: 43–44) already observed that these particles are prefixes.

(57) As discussed in section 2.8.7, unaccented synthetic verbs fuse in a single prosodic word with a preceding focalized unaccented phrase. Lexically accented verbs remain as separate prosodic words.

- (320) *gixona bâ datorrela dīñot*
 'I say that the man IS coming'

It is, thus, not evident that /es/ and /ba(i)/ can be treated as prefixes. Rather, they seem to behave as cliticizing elements.

3.3. Derivation

3.3.1. Noun-forming suffixes

Among the derivational suffixes that can be used to create nouns from other nouns we find the following:

- (321) /-dun*/ 'having, possessor'
- | | | | |
|---------------|---------|-------------------|--------------------|
| <i>bixar</i> | 'beard' | <i>bixárdun</i> | 'bearded' |
| <i>ume</i> | 'child' | <i>umérundun</i> | 'having children' |
| <i>ardura</i> | 'worry' | <i>ardurádun</i> | 'person in charge' |
| <i>ikatz</i> | 'coal' | <i>ikásdun</i> | 'coal seller' |
| <i>esne</i> | 'milk' | <i>esnérundun</i> | 'milkman' |

A few nouns with this suffix are unaccented. In fact a lexical accent carried by the root is lost in a couple of examples with this suffix:

- (322)
- | | | | |
|----------------|--------------|------------------|-------------------|
| <i>erdéra</i> | 'Spanish' | <i>erdaldun</i> | 'Spanish speaker' |
| <i>euskéra</i> | 'Basque lg.' | <i>euskaldun</i> | 'Basque speaker' |
| <i>berba</i> | 'word' | <i>berbaldun</i> | 'talkative' |

- (323) /-(l)ari / (deaccenting) 'one who has a relation with N as a profession or occupation'

<i>pelóta</i>	'ball'	<i>pelotari</i>	'ball player'
<i>bértzo</i>	'verse'	<i>bertzolari</i>	'verse-singer'
<i>txistu</i>	'flute'	<i>txistulari</i>	'flautist'
<i>aixkóra</i>	'ax'	<i>aixkolari</i>	'lumber jack'
<i>áurre</i>	'front'	<i>aurrelari</i>	'front player (in ball game)'
<i>átze</i>	'back'	<i>atzelari</i>	'back player (in ball game)'

- (324) /-tza*/ a. 'name of profession or position'
 b. 'place where N abounds'

a.	<i>alkate</i>	'mayor'	<i>alkatétza</i>	'mayorship'
	<i>soldau</i>	'soldier'	<i>soldáutza</i>	'military service'
	<i>abade</i>	'priest'	<i>abadétza</i>	'priesthood'
b.	<i>arto</i>	'corn'	<i>artótza</i>	'cornfield'
	<i>sasi</i>	'bush (plant)'	<i>sasítza</i>	'bush (field)'
	<i>kaka</i>	'excrement'	<i>kakátza</i>	'heap of excrement'
	<i>posu</i>	'puddle'	<i>posútza</i>	'big puddle'

- (325) /-kada/ (deaccenting) 'blow with N', 'N-ful', or 'heap of N'⁵⁸
- | | | | |
|-------------|---------|-----------------|---------------------|
| <i>arri</i> | 'stone' | <i>arrikada</i> | 'blow with a stone' |
|-------------|---------|-----------------|---------------------|

- | | | | |
|---------------|---------|------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>esku</i> | 'hand' | <i>eskukada</i> | 'blow with the hand; handful' |
| <i>ostiko</i> | 'kick' | <i>ostikada</i> | 'kick' |
| <i>au</i> | 'mouth' | <i>aukada</i> | 'mouthful' |
| <i>kárro</i> | 'cart' | <i>karrokada</i> | 'cart'-full ⁵⁹ |
- (326) /-kaso*/ 'blow with N'
- | | | | |
|----------------|---------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>buru</i> | 'head' | <i>burukáso</i> | 'blow with/on the head' |
| <i>pálo</i> | 'stick' | <i>palokáso</i> | 'blow with a stick' |
| <i>arri</i> | 'stone' | <i>arrikáso</i> | 'blow with a stone' |
| <i>ikuwill</i> | 'fist' | <i>ikuwilkáso</i> | 'punch' |
- (327) /-(t)ar*/ 'inhabitant, member of a group'
- | | | | |
|----------------|---------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>Lekitto</i> | 'Lekeitio' | <i>lekítar</i> | 'Lekeitian' |
| <i>Ondárru</i> | 'Ondarroa' | <i>ondarrútar</i> | 'Ondarroan' |
| <i>kámpo</i> | 'outside' | <i>kanpótar</i> | 'outsider' |
| <i>kale</i> | 'street' | <i>kalétar</i> | 'town-dweller' |
| <i>Alsíbar</i> | 'family name' | <i>alsibártar</i> | 'one of the Alzibars' |
| <i>séwek</i> | 'you (pl.)' | <i>sewétar</i> | 'one of you (pl.)' |
| <i>basérri</i> | 'farmhouse' | <i>baserrítar</i> | 'farmer' |
| <i>gu</i> | 'we' | <i>gútar</i> | 'one of us' |
- (328) /-ki*/ 'piece'
- | | | | |
|---------------|---------|-----------------|------------------------------|
| <i>txarri</i> | 'pig' | <i>txarriki</i> | 'pork' |
| <i>saspi</i> | 'seven' | <i>saspiki</i> | 'premature baby, pernickety' |
- (329) /-si/ 'urge'
- | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|----------------|--------------------|
| <i>txixa</i> | 'urine' | <i>txixasi</i> | 'urge to urinate' |
| <i>kaka</i> | 'excrement' | <i>kakasi</i> | 'urge to defecate' |
- (330) /-pe*/ 'under' (related to *be* 'under, below')⁶⁰
- | | | | |
|-----------------|-------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>elixa</i> | 'church' | <i>elixápe</i> | 'under the church' |
| <i>arbóla</i> | 'tree' | <i>arbolápe</i> | 'under the tree' |
| <i>kontzižo</i> | 'Town Hall' | <i>kontzižópe</i> | 'under the Town Hall' |
| <i>tingláu</i> | 'platform' | <i>tingláupe</i> | 'under the platform' |
| <i>aterri</i> | 'shelter' | <i>atérpe</i> | 'under the shelter' |
| <i>toldo</i> | 'awning' | <i>toldópe</i> | 'under the sunshade' |
- (331) /-sale*/ 'fond of'
- | | | | |
|----------------|--------|-------------------|----------------|
| <i>arrainñ</i> | 'fish' | <i>arrainsále</i> | 'fond of fish' |
| <i>ardau</i> | 'wine' | <i>ardausále</i> | 'fond of wine' |

(58) There are some examples where the suffix *-ada* forms nouns that are derived from verbs such as *sakada* 'push' from *sakatu* 'to push'. On the other hand, in *saparrada* 'shower rain' there is no more basic word from which it could derive.

(59) E.g.: *karrokada bat arto* 'a cart-full of corn'.

(60) A reason to consider /pe*/ a derivational suffix and not a postposition is that the accent that it introduces is not enclitic, as shown by the fact that it moves to the right: *elixapian* 'under the church'.

There is a productive diminutive suffix /-txu*/. Another diminutive suffix, which is not productive, is /-tilla*/:

(332) Diminutives

/-txu*/			
<i>katu</i>	'cat'	<i>katútxu</i>	'kitten'
<i>lora</i>	'flower'	<i>lorátxu</i>	'little flower'
<i>arpei</i>	'face'	<i>arpéitxu</i>	'little face'
/-tilla*/			
<i>neska</i>	'girl'	<i>neskatilla</i>	'little girl'

The suffix /-ko/, which we have included among the inflectional suffixes as genitive locative, but which more generally has a linking function (de Rijk 1993), acquires a derivational character in some expressions with a lexicalized meaning:

(333) /-ko/ 'of'

<i>arpe(g)i</i>	'face'	<i>arpeiko</i>	'slap'
<i>matarla</i>	'cheek'	<i>matarlako</i>	'blow on the cheek'
<i>esku</i>	'hand'	<i>eskuko</i>	'money in hand'
<i>beso</i>	'arm'	<i>besuetáko</i>	'god-child'
<i>milla</i>	'thousand'	<i>millako</i>	'one thousand pesetas note'
<i>bost</i>	'five'	<i>bosteko</i>	'five hundred/thousand pesetas coin/note'
<i>bat</i>	'one'	<i>bateko</i>	'ace (in card game)'
<i>bi</i>	'two'	<i>biko</i>	'two (in card game)'
<i>eske</i>	'asking'	<i>eskeko</i>	'beggar'

The two suffixes /-tasun/, which names a quality, and /-keri/, which indicates a negative quality, create nouns usually from adjectives, but, in some cases, from other nouns:

(334) /-(t)asun/ 'quality'

<i>estu</i>	'narrow'	<i>estutasun</i>	'distress'
<i>lagun</i>	'friend'	<i>laguntasun</i>	'friendship, help'
<i>arro</i>	'proud'	<i>arrotasun</i>	'pride'
<i>garbi</i>	'clean'	<i>garbittasun</i>	'cleanness, cleaning'
<i>bero</i>	'hot'	<i>berotasun</i>	'heat'
<i>otz</i>	'cold'	<i>otzittasun</i>	'cold'
<i>ixill</i>	'quiet'	<i>ixiltasun</i>	'quietness'
<i>illun</i>	'dark'	<i>illuntasun</i>	'darkness'
<i>gixon</i>	'man'	<i>gixontasun</i>	'manhood'

(335) /-keri/ (deaccenting) 'negative quality or act'

<i>soro</i>	'crazy'	<i>sorokeri</i>	'crazy act'
<i>abil</i>	'skilful'	<i>abilkeri</i>	'skilful act'
<i>tónto</i>	'silly'	<i>tontokeri</i>	'silly act'
<i>ume</i>	'child'	<i>umekeri</i>	'childish act'

<i>arro</i>	'proud'	<i>arrokeri</i>	'conceited act'
<i>santar</i>	'disgusting'	<i>santarkeri</i>	'disgusting act'
<i>gaixto</i>	'evil person'	<i>gaixtokeri</i>	'evil act'
<i>oker</i>	'twisted'	<i>okerkeri</i>	'twisted act'
<i>sorgiñ</i>	'witch'	<i>sorginkeri</i>	'witchcraft'
<i>txotxólo</i>	'stupid'	<i>txotxolokeri</i>	'stupid act'

The suffix /-kera*/ combines with perfective participles to form nouns:

(336) /-kera*/ 'manner, way of V-ing'

<i>asi</i>	'to begin'	<i>asikéra</i>	'beginning'
<i>amaittu</i>	'to finish'	<i>amaittukéra</i>	'end'
<i>esan</i>	'to say'	<i>esakéra</i>	'expression'
<i>etorri</i>	'to come'	<i>etorrikéra</i>	'witty remark'
<i>ibilli</i>	'to walk'	<i>ibillikéra</i> ~ <i>ibilkéra</i>	'way of walking'
<i>žantzzi</i>	'to dress'	<i>žantzikéra</i> ~ <i>žaskéra</i>	'way of dressing'
<i>ixan</i>	'to be'	<i>ixakéra</i>	'way of being'

Two suffixes with a very restricted semantic field are /-ari*/ and /-ngo*/. The suffix /-ari*/ attaches to the root of verbs of eating and drinking to give nouns. The suffix /-ngo*/ attaches to color adjectives to give the names of the parts of an egg:

(337) /-ari*/ 'deverbal'

<i>edan</i>	'to drink'	<i>edári</i>	'drink'
<i>žan</i>	'to eat'	<i>žanári</i>	'food'
<i>afaldu</i>	'to eat'	<i>afari</i>	'supper' ⁶¹

(338) /-ngo*/ 'part of egg'

<i>gorri</i>	'red'	<i>gorringo</i>	'yolk'
<i>suri</i>	'white'	<i>suringo</i>	'white of egg'

As for the derivation of nouns from verbs, the suffix /-te*/ ~ /-tze*/ creates nominal forms from verbs (cf. section 3.2.1.3). This suffix was included under inflection because it is intimately related to the imperfective participle and because it is completely productive. Every verb has a nominalized form with this suffix.

3.3.2. Adjective-forming suffixes

There are three suffixes which attach to any adjective (or participle) to form another adjective and, thus, are 'semi-inflectional'. These are the superlative /-en*/,⁶² the comparative /-ago*/ and the excessive /-egi*/:

(61) The word *afari* appears to be unaccented in most varieties with accentual systems of the Western type. Other words bearing this suffix are accented.

(62) As argued in section 2.6.3, the superlative suffix is related to the genitive plural.

- (339) /-en*/ 'superlative, most'
- | | | | |
|----------------|---------|------------------|------------|
| <i>andi</i> | 'big' | <i>andižen</i> | 'biggest' |
| <i>txikiñ</i> | 'small' | <i>txikiñen</i> | 'smallest' |
| <i>aberatz</i> | 'rich' | <i>aberátzen</i> | 'richest' |
- (340) /-ago*/ 'comparative, more'
- | | | | |
|----------------|-----------|-------------------|----------------|
| <i>andi</i> | 'big' | <i>andižágo</i> | 'bigger' |
| <i>txikiñ</i> | 'small' | <i>txikiñágo</i> | 'smaller' |
| <i>aberatz</i> | 'rich' | <i>aberatzágo</i> | 'richer' |
| <i>žakiñ</i> | 'to know' | <i>žakiñágo</i> | 'better known' |
- (341) /-egi*/ 'excessive, too'
- | | | | |
|----------------|---------|-------------------|-------------|
| <i>andi</i> | 'big' | <i>andižégi</i> | 'too big' |
| <i>txikiñ</i> | 'small' | <i>txikiñégi</i> | 'too small' |
| <i>aberatz</i> | 'rich' | <i>aberatzégi</i> | 'too rich' |

In both the comparative and the excessive the intervocalic /g/ is often deleted. In addition, in the comparative the first vowel of the suffix often assimilates to the second; e.g.: *andižágo* - *andižóo* 'bigger', *guapuágo* - *guapuóo* 'more handsome'.

When the superlative, comparative and excessive suffixes are added to perfect participles in *-a*, an intervening *-w-* surfaces. The diachronic reason for this apparent insertion appears to be that those participles used to end in *-au*:

- (342)
- | | | | |
|----------------|------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>gusta</i> | 'to like' | <i>gustawágo, gustawóo</i> | 'more liked' |
| <i>entrena</i> | 'to train' | <i>entrenawágo, entrenawóo</i> | 'more trained' |
| | | <i>entrenawéna</i> | 'the best trained one' |
| <i>atrapa</i> | 'to catch' | <i>atrapawéna</i> | 'the craziest one' |
| | | <i>atrapawé(g)i</i> | 'too crazy' |

A number of suffixes derive adjectives from nouns:

- (343) /-ti*/ 'characterized by N'
- | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|----------------|---------------------------|
| <i>txixa</i> | 'urine' | <i>txixáti</i> | 's.o. who urinates a lot' |
| <i>kaka</i> | 'excrement' | <i>kakáti</i> | 'pooper' |
| <i>móko</i> | 'snot' | <i>mokóti</i> | 'snotty' |
| <i>negar</i> | 'tear' | <i>negárti</i> | 'cry-baby' |
| <i>adur</i> | 'saliva' | <i>adúrti</i> | 'drooling' |
| <i>ikara</i> | 'fear' | <i>ikaráti</i> | 'fearful' |
| <i>esker</i> | 'left' | <i>eskérti</i> | 'left-handed' |
| <i>gusur</i> | 'lie' | <i>gusúrti</i> | 'liar' |
| <i>lotza</i> | 'shame' | <i>lotzáti</i> | 'shy' ⁶³ |
| <i>didar</i> | 'shout' | <i>didárti</i> | 's.o. who shouts a lot' |

- (344) /-sto*/ 'characterized by N, derogatory'
- | | | | |
|--------------|----------|-----------------|----------|
| <i>sorri</i> | 'louse' | <i>sorrísto</i> | 'lousy' |
| <i>koipe</i> | 'grease' | <i>koipésto</i> | 'greasy' |

(63) Not as frequent as *lótzor* 'shy'.

(345) /-tzu/ 'having, abundant in N'

<i>ule</i>	'hair'	<i>uletzu</i>	'hairy'
<i>inddar</i>	'strength'	<i>inddartzu</i>	'strong'
<i>laño</i>	'fog'	<i>lañotzu</i>	'foggy'
<i>pixo</i>	'weight'	<i>pixotzu</i>	'heavy'
<i>koipe</i>	'grease'	<i>koipetzu</i>	'greasy'
<i>mamiñ</i>	'meat'	<i>mamintzu</i>	'meaty'
<i>ixerdi</i>	'sweat'	<i>ixerditzu</i>	'sweaty'
<i>miñ</i>	'pain'	<i>mintzu</i>	'painful'

The suffix /-garri/ 'worth of' can attach to nouns or to verbs:

(346) /-garri/ 'worth of, causing'

<i>lotza</i>	'shame'	<i>lotzagarri</i>	'shameful'
<i>pena</i>	'pity'	<i>penagarri</i>	'pitiful'
<i>ikusi</i>	'to see'	<i>ikusgarri</i>	'worth seeing'

Ordinal numerals are obtained by attaching /-garren*/ to cardinal numerals:

(347) /-garren*/ 'ordinal'

<i>bi</i>	'two'	<i>bigárren</i>	'second'
<i>saspi</i>	'seven'	<i>saspigárren</i>	'seventh'
<i>bederátzi</i>	'nine'	<i>bederatzigárren</i>	'ninth'

3.3.3. Verb-forming suffixes

The suffix /-tu/ (deaccenting) (-*du* after nasal or lateral), attaches to nouns and adjectives to form perfective participles:

(348) /-tu/

<i>zawe</i>	'owner'	<i>zawetu</i>	'to become the owner'
<i>epel</i>	'mild'	<i>epeldu</i>	'to become mild'
<i>aberatz</i>	'rich'	<i>aberastu</i>	'to become rich'
<i>afari</i>	'supper'	<i>afaldu</i>	'to have supper'
<i>andi</i>	'big'	<i>andittu</i>	'to become/make big'
<i>apur</i>	'bit'	<i>apurtu</i>	'to break into pieces'
<i>argal</i>	'thin'	<i>argaldu</i>	'to become thin'
<i>argi</i>	'light'	<i>argittu</i>	'to become/make lighter, clearer'
<i>asarre</i>	'anger'	<i>asarratu</i>	'to become/make angry'
<i>bake</i>	'peace'	<i>baketu</i>	'to pacify'
<i>baltz</i>	'black'	<i>baltzittu</i>	'to become/make black'
<i>bardiñ</i>	'same'	<i>bardinddu</i>	'to become/make the same'
<i>bare</i>	'calm'	<i>baretu</i>	'to become calm (sea)'
<i>baster</i>	'corner'	<i>bastertu</i>	'to leave in a corner'
<i>bat</i>	'one'	<i>batu(n)</i>	'to bring together'
<i>berde</i>	'green'	<i>berdetu</i>	'to become/make green'
<i>bero</i>	'hot'	<i>berotu</i>	'to heat'
<i>biar</i>	'obligation'	<i>biartu</i>	'to oblige'
<i>bigun</i>	'soft'	<i>bigundu</i>	'to soften'

<i>billós-ik</i>	'naked'	<i>billostu</i>	'to undress'
<i>biskor</i>	'strong'	<i>biskortu</i>	'to strengthen'
<i>bustarri</i>	'yoke'	<i>bustartu</i>	'to yoke'
<i>damu</i>	'repentance'	<i>damutu</i>	'to repent'
<i>epel</i>	'lukewarm'	<i>epeldu</i>	'to warm up'
<i>erres</i>	'easy'	<i>errestu</i>	'to make easy'
<i>formal</i>	'formal'	<i>formaldu</i>	'to make formal'
<i>fresko</i>	'chilly'	<i>freskotu</i>	'to become chilly'
<i>gaixo</i>	'sick'	<i>gaixotu</i>	'to become sick'
<i>gaixoto</i>	'bad'	<i>gaixtotu</i>	'to become bad'
<i>garbi</i>	'clean'	<i>garbittu</i>	'to clean'
<i>gixon</i>	'man'	<i>gixondu</i>	'to become a man'
<i>gitxi</i>	'little'	<i>gitxittu</i>	'to decrease'
<i>gogor</i>	'hard'	<i>gogortu</i>	'to harden'
<i>gorri</i>	'red'	<i>gorrirtu</i>	'to become red'
<i>gor</i>	'deaf'	<i>gortu</i>	'to become deaf'
<i>gose</i>	'hunger'	<i>gosetu</i>	'to become hungry'
<i>gurma</i>	'sea fog'	<i>gurmatu</i>	'to become foggy'
<i>ikara</i>	'fear'	<i>ikaratu</i>	'to frighten'
<i>illun</i>	'dark'	<i>illundu</i>	'to become/make dark'
<i>inddar</i>	'strength'	<i>inddartu</i>	'to become/make strong'
<i>ixerdi</i>	'sweat'	<i>ixerdittu</i>	'to sweat'
<i>ixill</i>	'quiet'	<i>ixilldu</i>	'to become/make quiet'
<i>isotz</i>	'ice'	<i>isostu</i>	'to freeze'
<i>itzu</i>	'blind'	<i>itzutu</i>	'to become blind'
<i>kargu</i>	'charge'	<i>kargutu</i>	'to be in charge'
<i>kaka</i>	'excrement'	<i>kakastu</i>	'to spoil'
<i>kokólo</i>	'dumb'	<i>kokolotu</i>	'to become dumb'
<i>lagun</i>	'friend'	<i>lagundu</i>	'to help'
<i>laño</i>	'inland fog'	<i>lañotu</i>	'to become foggy'
<i>labur</i>	'short'	<i>laburtu</i>	'to shorten'
<i>larri</i>	'dizzy'	<i>larrirtu</i>	'to become dizzy'
<i>lasai</i>	'calm'	<i>lasaittu</i>	'to calm down'
<i>lodi</i>	'fat'	<i>lodittu</i>	'to fatten'
<i>lora</i>	'flower'	<i>loratu</i>	'to bloom'
<i>lotza</i>	'shame'	<i>lotzatu</i>	'to ashamed'
<i>luse</i>	'long'	<i>lusetu</i>	'to lengthen'
<i>makal</i>	'weak'	<i>makaldu</i>	'to weaken'
<i>moreno</i>	'tanned'	<i>morenotu</i>	'to become tanned'
<i>moskor</i>	'drunken'	<i>moskortu</i>	'to get drunk'
<i>me</i>	'thin'	<i>metu</i>	'to (become) thin'
<i>neurri</i>	'measure'	<i>neurtu</i>	'to measure'
<i>obe</i>	'better'	<i>obetu</i>	'to better'
<i>oker</i>	'twisted'	<i>okertu</i>	'to twist'
<i>ori</i>	'yellow'	<i>orirtu</i>	'to become yellow'
<i>otz</i>	'cold'	<i>otzirtu</i>	'to become/make cold'

<i>pos</i>	'happiness'	<i>postu</i>	'to become/make happy'
<i>sabal</i>	'wide'	<i>sabaldu</i>	'to widen'
<i>sati</i>	'piece'	<i>satiitu</i>	'to reduce to pieces'
<i>sakon</i>	'deep'	<i>sakondu</i>	'to make deep'
<i>sar</i>	'old'	<i>scrtw</i>	'to bgcomg old'
<i>sorrotz</i>	'sharp'	<i>sorrostu</i>	'to sharpen'
<i>suri</i>	'white'	<i>surittu</i>	'to become white'
<i>sutún-ik</i>	'standing'	<i>sutundu</i>	'to stand up'
<i>tónto</i>	'stupid'	<i>tontotu</i>	'to become stupid'
<i>tximur</i>	'wrinkle'	<i>tximurtu</i>	'to wrinkle'
<i>ume</i>	'child'	<i>umetu</i>	'to become (like) a child'
<i>ur</i>	'water'	<i>urtu</i>	'to thaw, to melt'
<i>usaiñ</i>	'smell'	<i>usainddu</i>	'to become smelly'
<i>ustel</i>	'rotten'	<i>usteldu</i>	'to rot'

The suffix /-tu/ may also be added to the allative form of a noun, to form verbs conveying the notion of movement to the place denoted by the noun:⁶⁴

(349) /-ra-tu/

<i>átze</i>	'back'	<i>atzeratu</i>	'to delay, move to the back'
<i>áurre</i>	'front'	<i>aurreratu</i>	'to advance'
<i>etxe</i>	'house'	<i>etxeratu</i>	'to go home'
<i>itxaso</i>	'sea'	<i>itxasoratu</i>	'to go to the sea'
<i>kale</i>	'street'	<i>kaleratu</i>	'to go out'
<i>kóntu</i>	'attention'	<i>konturatu</i>	'to notice, realize'
<i>lepo</i>	'back'	<i>leporatu</i>	'to inculpate'
<i>urre</i>	'near'	<i>urreratu</i>	'to bring near'
<i>oe</i>	'bed'	<i>oeratu</i>	'to go to bed'

3.3.4. Adverb-forming suffixes

The suffix /-to/ (-do after a nasal) attaches to adjectives to create adverbs:

(350) /-to/

<i>santar</i>	'bad'	<i>santarto</i>	'badly'	<i>obe</i>	'better'	<i>obeto</i>	'better'
<i>on</i>	'good'	<i>ondo</i>	'well'	<i>txar</i>	'bad'	<i>txarto</i>	'badly'
<i>politt</i>	'pretty'	<i>politto</i>	'prettily'	<i>eder</i>	'beautiful'	<i>ederto</i>	'beautifully'

This is not a productive suffix. It is not possible, for example, to create adverbs such as **loito* 'dirtily' from *loi* 'dirty' or **laburto* 'shortly', from *labur* 'short'.⁶⁵ The suffix /-ka*/ (-ga after a nasal) permits the creation of adverbs from nouns or verbs:

(64) Notice that when the root is accented it loses its accent. All perfective participles are unaccented in Lekeitio.

(65) This is also true of other Biscayan varieties (cf. Hualde & Bilbao 1992: 76-77). There is, thus, no counterpart in Biscayan Basque to the suffix /-ki/ '-ly' which appears to be used in a completely productive manner in some eastern dialects.

(351) /-ka*/			
<i>sálto</i>	'jump'	<i>saltóka</i>	'jumping'
<i>barre</i>	'laughter'	<i>barréska</i>	'laughing'
<i>a(g)iñ</i>	'tooth'	<i>áinka</i>	'biting'
<i>buélta</i>	'turn'	<i>bueltáka</i>	'turning'
<i>txilizo</i>	'scream'	<i>txilizóka</i>	'screaming'
<i>sarata</i>	'noise'	<i>saratáka</i>	'making noise'
<i>txíste</i>	'joke'	<i>txistéka</i>	'telling jokes'
<i>dardara</i>	'shake'	<i>dardaráka</i>	'shaking'
<i>ardau</i>	'wine'	<i>ardáuka</i>	'drinking wine'
<i>ariñ</i>	'quick'	<i>ariñ-arínga</i>	'quickly'
		<i>aringarínga</i>	
<i>geldi</i>	'slow'	<i>geldi-geldíka</i>	'slowly'
<i>mosu</i>	'kiss'	<i>mosúka</i>	'kissing'
		<i>auskáka</i>	'fighting'

The suffix /-ro*/ attaches to names of time periods to produce a form with the meaning 'every time period'. In addition, it also appears in a few other adverbials:

(352) /-ro*/			
<i>aste</i>	'week'	<i>astéro</i>	'every week'
<i>urte</i>	'year'	<i>urtéro</i>	'every year'
<i>ille</i>	'month'	<i>illéro</i>	'every month'
<i>egun</i>	'day'	<i>egunéro</i>	'every day'
<i>barri</i>	'new'	<i>barríro</i>	'again'
<i>geldi</i>	'slow'	<i>geldíro</i>	'slowly'

A number of nouns inflected in the inesive case are used as adverbials. Depending on the specific noun, the inesive singular, plural or indefinite is used in this function:

(353) /-(e)an/ inesive singular			
<i>jüérga</i>	'party'	<i>jüérgan</i>	'partying'
<i>usaiñ</i>	'smell'	<i>usaiñian</i>	'smelling for'
(354) /-e*-ta-n/ inesive plural			
<i>karta</i>	'card'	<i>kartétan</i>	'playing cards'
<i>kañika</i>	'marble'	<i>kañikétan</i>	'playing marbles'
<i>berba</i>	'word'	<i>berbétan</i>	'talking'
<i>bróma</i>	'joke'	<i>brométan</i>	'joking'
(355) /-ta-n/ inesive indefinite ⁶⁶			
<i>lapur</i>	'thief'	<i>lapurretan</i>	'stealing'
<i>su</i>	'fire'	<i>sutan</i>	'on fire'
<i>andra</i>	'woman'	<i>andratan</i>	'looking for women'
<i>uso</i>	'pigeon'	<i>usotan</i>	'hunting for pigeons'

(66) An epenthetic vowel /e/ is inserted after a vowel.

<i>arraiñ</i>	'fish'	<i>arraiñetan</i>	'fishing'
<i>karakol</i>	'snail'	<i>karakoletan</i>	'going for snails'
<i>ardau</i>	'wine'	<i>ardautan</i>	'going for wine'
<i>txiki</i>	'small'	<i>txikittan</i>	'as a child, in childhood'

In a few cases, the inesive affix appears to have been attached to a perfective participle; or, at least, no other form of the noun from where the participle may also derive is currently used:

(356) <i>olga</i>	'to play'	<i>olgétan</i>	'playing'
<i>pasia</i>	'to walk'	<i>pasiétan</i>	'going for a walk' ⁶⁷
<i>eskatu</i>	'to ask for'	<i>eskian</i>	'begging'
<i>iarri</i>	'to notice'	<i>iarrižan</i>	'being noticeable'

A few adverbials bear the partitive suffix /-(r)ik/:

(357) /-(r)ik/ partitive			
<i>ixill</i>	'quiet'	<i>ixilik</i>	'quietly'
<i>geldi</i>	'still'	<i>geldirik</i>	'still'
<i>bixi</i>	'life'	<i>bixirik</i>	'alive'
_____	_____	<i>sutúnik</i>	'standing'
_____	_____	<i>billósik</i>	'naked'

3.3.5. Prefixation

Outside of verbal inflection, prefixes are not common in Basque. There are remnants of an old pattern of construction of causative verbs by prefixation of /-ra-/. The following examples are found in Lekeitio:

(358) Old causatives			
<i>eiñ</i>	'to do'	<i>eraiñ</i>	'to cause'
<i>ibilli</i>	'to walk'	<i>erabilli</i>	'to use'
<i>ikusi</i>	'to see'	<i>erakutzi</i>	'to show, teach' ⁶⁸
<i>žu(a)n</i>	'to go'	<i>erun</i>	'to take'

There are a couple of negative prefixes *des-* (borrowed from Spanish) and *es-* (identical to the negative particle), which appear only in a few words:

(359) Negative prefixes			
<i>eiñ</i>	'to do'	<i>deseiñ</i>	'to undo'
<i>agertu</i>	'to appear'	<i>desagertu</i>	'to disappear'
<i>ixen</i>	'name'	<i>esixen</i>	'nickname'
		<i>desixen</i>	

(67) A related noun is *pasú* 'walk, stroll', whose inesive plural is *pasinétan*.

(68) The causative of *ikasi* 'to learn' (*irakatsi* 'to teach' in other dialects) has been lost in Lekeitio and *erakutzi*, causative of *ikusi* 'to see', has acquired the meaning of 'to teach' in addition to its expected meaning of 'to show, cause to see' (very likely under the influence of Spanish *enseñar* 'to show, to teach').

<i>esagun</i>	'known'	<i>esesagun</i>	'unknown'
<i>ikusi</i>	'see'	<i>esikúsi (eiñ)</i>	'(to pretend) not to see'

3.4. Compounding

There are several productive processes of compounding for the formation of both nouns and verbs, together with a few others of lesser productivity. Compound nouns and compound verbs will be considered separately.

3.4.1. Compound nouns

N+N co-compounds. There is a pattern in which two nouns N_1 and N_2 are compounded; the resulting compound noun having the meaning 'set of N_1 's and N_2 's'. This pattern can be used productively in the literary language (cf. Azkarate 1993). In lexicalized cocompounds the order of the two members cannot be altered (cf. Jacobsen 1982). In Lekeitio we find the following examples:

(360) N+N cocompounds

<i>semealábak</i>	'children' (<i>seme</i> 'son' + <i>alaba</i> 'daughter')
<i>nebarrébak</i>	'siblings' (<i>neba</i> 'brother' + <i>arriba</i> 'sister')
<i>andragixonak</i>	'married couple' (<i>andra</i> 'woman' + <i>gixon</i> 'man')
<i>neskamutillak</i>	'group of boys and girls' (<i>neska</i> 'girl' + <i>mutill</i> 'boy')

N+N subcompounds. In addition to cocompounds, there is another pattern of N+N compounding, where the first noun modifies the second one (the head of the compound is, thus, its second member):

(361) N+N subcompounds

<i>artabúru</i>	'ear of corn' (<i>arto</i> 'corn' + <i>buru</i> 'head')
<i>baséri</i>	'farm' (<i>baso</i> 'forest' + <i>erri</i> 'village')
<i>barregura</i>	'urge to laugh' (<i>barre</i> 'laughter' + <i>gura</i> 'desire')
<i>asgúra</i>	'(urge to) itch' (<i>atz</i> 'itch' + <i>gura</i> 'desire')
<i>negargura</i>	'urge to cry' (<i>negar</i> 'cry' + <i>gura</i> 'desire')
<i>logura</i>	'urge to sleep' (<i>lo</i> 'sleep' + <i>gura</i> 'desire')
<i>biximodu</i>	'way of life' (<i>bixi</i> 'life' + <i>modu</i> 'manner')
<i>elixáte</i>	'church door' (<i>elixa</i> 'church' + <i>ate</i> 'door')
<i>elixáurre</i>	'church front' (<i>elixa</i> 'church' + <i>áurre</i> 'front')
<i>etxeáurre</i>	'house front' (<i>etxe</i> 'house' + <i>áurre</i> 'front')
<i>etxeátze</i>	'house back' (<i>etxe</i> 'house' + <i>átze</i> 'back')
<i>etxeóndo</i>	'side of house' (<i>etxe</i> 'house' + <i>ondo</i> 'side')
<i>gautxóri</i>	'night bird' (<i>gau</i> 'night' + <i>txori</i> 'bird')
<i>kalatxori</i>	'seagull' (<i>kala</i> 'fishing ground' + <i>txori</i> 'bird')
<i>torratxori</i>	'sparrow' (<i>torre</i> 'tower' + <i>txori</i> 'bird')
<i>kanpatórre</i>	'belltower' (<i>kanpai</i> 'bell' + <i>tórre</i> 'tower')
<i>idipróbak</i>	'ox competition' (<i>idi</i> 'ox' + <i>próba</i> 'test')

<i>astopróbak</i>	'donkey competition' (<i>asto</i> 'donkey' + <i>próba</i> 'test')
<i>probaléku</i>	'arena' (<i>próba</i> 'test' + <i>léku</i> 'place')
<i>odolóste</i>	'blood sausage' (<i>odol</i> 'blood' + <i>este</i> 'intestine')
<i>ogisáti</i>	'piece of bread' (<i>ogi</i> 'bread' + <i>sati</i> 'piece')
<i>okelasáti</i>	'piece of meat' (<i>okela</i> 'meat' + <i>sati</i> 'piece')
<i>sagárdau</i>	'cider' (<i>sagar</i> 'apple' + <i>ardau</i> 'wine')
<i>titikume</i>	'baby' (<i>titi</i> 'teat' + (<i>k</i>) <i>ume</i> 'child')
<i>txakurkuna</i>	'puppy' (<i>txakur</i> 'dog' + <i>kuna</i> 'offspring')
<i>txakurkúma</i>	'puppy'
<i>katukuna</i>	'kitten' (<i>katu</i> 'cat' + <i>kuna</i> 'offspring')
<i>katukúma</i>	'kitten'
<i>otzikára</i>	'rash' (<i>otz</i> 'cold' + <i>ikara</i> 'fear')
<i>oskírri</i>	'chill' (<i>otz</i> 'cold' + <i>kírri</i> 'shiver')
<i>neskalágun</i>	'girlfriend' (<i>neska</i> 'girl' + <i>lagun</i> 'friend')
<i>mutil-lágun</i> ⁶⁹	'boyfriend' (<i>mutill</i> 'boy' + <i>lagun</i> 'friend')
<i>soróantz</i>	'mad look' (<i>soro</i> 'mad' + <i>antz</i> 'look, aspect')

N+N exocentric compounds. A third pattern of N+N compounding is shown by compounds with an adjectival meaning, usually not directly predictable from the meaning of its components (some of them also have a literal, subcompound, interpretation):

(362) N+N exocentric compounds

<i>artabúru</i>	'idiot' (<i>arto</i> 'corn' + <i>buru</i> 'head')
<i>ogisáti</i>	'good-natured' (<i>ogi</i> 'bread' + <i>sati</i> 'piece')
<i>amasúlo</i>	'mom's kid' (<i>ama</i> 'mother' + <i>sulo</i> 'hole')
<i>aittasúlo</i>	'dad's kid' (<i>aitta</i> 'father' + <i>sulo</i> 'hole')
<i>amabítxi</i>	'godmother' (<i>ama</i> 'mother' + <i>bitxi</i>) ⁷⁰
<i>aittabítxi</i>	'godfather' (<i>aitta</i> 'father' + <i>bitxi</i>)
<i>umemóko</i>	'brat' (<i>ume</i> 'child' + <i>móko</i> 'mucus')
<i>pot(r)osórri</i>	'annoying person' (<i>potro</i> 'testicle' + <i>sorri</i> 'louse')
<i>itxaskábra</i>	'type of fish' (<i>itxas</i> 'sea' + <i>kábra</i> 'goat')
<i>astopótro</i>	'brute' (<i>asto</i> 'donkey' + <i>pótro</i> 'testicle')

These are exocentric compounds. As indicated, their meaning is not purely componential. For instance, *artáburu* in its figurative interpretation conveys the meaning of 'someone whose head (*buru*) is made out of corn (*arto*)'; *ogisáti* is 'someone who is like a piece of bread',⁷¹ *aittasúlo* is 'someone who is like a hole on his/her father', etc.

N+ A compounds. Another common pattern is that presented by compound nouns which have a noun as first member and an adjective as second member.⁷²

(69) [mutiláyun].

(70) The word *bitxi* is used with the meaning of 'adornment, decoration' in other dialects. In Lekeitio it is not known as an independent word. On the other hand, *bitxi* in these compounds may be related to the numeral *bi* 'two'.

(71) Cf. Sp. *cacho-pan*, with the same meaning.

(72) This is the normal collocation of nouns and adjectives. Compounds are, nevertheless, distinguished from sequences of noun and adjective in that generally they present lexical accent.

These can be subcompounds (e.g.: *astesántu* 'week+holy' = 'Holy Week') or exocentric compounds (e.g.: *egalúse* 'fin+long' is not a long fin; but, rather, it is a fish whose fin is long):

(363) N+Adj subcompounds

<i>aittasántu</i>	'Pope' (<i>aitta</i> 'father' + <i>sántu</i> 'holy')
<i>astesántu</i>	'Holy Week' (<i>aste</i> 'week' + <i>sántu</i> 'holy')
<i>aittagura</i>	'Our Father' (<i>aitta</i> 'father' + <i>gure</i> 'our')
<i>amabirjína</i>	'Holy Virgin' (<i>ama</i> 'mother' + <i>birjína</i> 'virgin')
<i>atzósar</i>	'old woman' (<i>atzo</i> 'old woman' + <i>sar</i> 'old')
<i>agurásar</i>	'old man' (<i>agura</i> 'old man' + <i>sar</i> 'old')
<i>mutílsar</i>	'old bachelor' (<i>mutill</i> 'boy' + <i>sar</i> 'old')
<i>neskásar</i>	'spinster' (<i>neska</i> 'girl' + <i>sar</i> 'old')
<i>lagúntzar</i>	'old friend' (<i>lagun</i> 'friend' + <i>sar</i> 'old')
<i>sagúsar</i>	'bat' (<i>sagu</i> 'mouse' + <i>sar</i> 'old')
<i>ikomélau</i>	'overripe fig' (<i>iko</i> 'fig' + <i>melau</i> 'overripe')
<i>maspása</i>	'raisin' (<i>matz</i> 'grape' + <i>pasa</i> 'ripe')
<i>arnasestu</i>	'puff' (<i>arnasa</i> 'breath' + <i>estu</i> 'narrow')

(364) N+Adj exocentric compounds

<i>be(g)igórrri</i>	'red eye' (<i>be(g)i</i> 'eye' + <i>gorri</i> 'red')
<i>buruándi</i>	'bigheaded' (<i>buru</i> 'head' + <i>andi</i> 'big')
<i>burugógor</i>	'stubborn' (<i>buru</i> 'head' + <i>gogor</i> 'hard')
<i>ulelúse</i>	'long-haired' (<i>ule</i> 'hair' + <i>luse</i> 'long')
<i>ulelábur</i>	'short-haired' (<i>ule</i> 'hair' + <i>labur</i> 'short')
<i>arpeíluse</i>	'long-face' (<i>arpei</i> 'face' + <i>luse</i> 'long')
<i>arpeibiribill</i>	'round-face' (<i>arpei</i> 'face' + <i>biribill</i> 'round')
<i>arpéiloi</i>	'dirty-face' (<i>arpei</i> 'face' + <i>loi</i> 'dirty')
<i>uskíloi</i>	'annoying person' (<i>úski</i> 'buttocks' + <i>loi</i> 'dirty')
<i>popérrre</i>	'annoying person' (<i>pópa</i> 'buttocks' + <i>erre</i> 'burn')
<i>bustánbaltz</i>	'type of fish' (<i>bustan</i> 'tail' + <i>baltz</i> 'black')
<i>egalúse</i>	'type of tuna fish' (<i>ega</i> 'wing, fin' + <i>luse</i> 'long')
<i>egalábur</i>	'type of tuna fish' (<i>ega</i> 'wing, fin' + <i>labur</i> 'short')
<i>usaingoso</i>	'perfume' (<i>usain</i> 'smell' + <i>goso</i> 'tasty')

3.4.2. Compound verbs

A great number of verbs are formed with *eiñ* 'to do, make' preceded by a noun, usually in its uninflected form, but in a few cases in the absolutive singular or plural:

(365) N+eiñ compounds

<i>bakíak eiñ</i>	'to make peace' (bake 'peace')
<i>barre eiñ</i>	'to laugh' (barre 'laughter')
<i>biarra eiñ</i>	'to work' (biar 'work')
<i>kaka eiñ</i>	'to defecate' (kaka 'excrement')

karíño eiñ	'to caress' (karíño 'affection')
putz eiñ	'to blow' (putz 'onomatopoeia')
fálo eiñ	'to miss' (fálo 'miss')
lo eiñ	'to sleep' (lo 'sleep')
negar eiñ	'to cry' (negar 'tear')
txilížo eiñ	'to scream' (txilížo 'scream')
sarata eiñ	'to make noise' (sarata 'noise')
didar eiñ	'to shout' (didar 'shout')
sálto eiñ	'to jump' (sálto 'jump')
sintz eiñ	'to blow one's nose' (sintz 'onomatopoeia')
agur eiñ	'to wave goodbye' (agur 'goodbye')
txálo eiñ	'to applaud' (txálo 'applause')
txixa eiñ	'to urinate' (txixa 'urine')
usaiñ eiñ	'to smell' (usaiñ 'smell')
kásu eiñ	'to pay attention' (kásu 'attention') 'to greet with a sign'
estul eiñ	'to cough' (estul 'cough')
doministíku eiñ	'to sneeze' (doministíku 'sneeze')
txístu eiñ	'to whistle' (txístu 'whistle')
kíñu eiñ	'to blink' (kíñu 'blink')
sópak eiñ	'to dip' e.g. bread in milk (sópak 'soup')
plantía eiñ	'to fake' (plánta 'fake')
plántak eiñ	'to clown'
frénte eiñ	'to confront' (frénte 'front')
sáunka eiñ	'to bark' (sáunka 'bark')
tópo eiñ	'to bump into' (tópo 'bump')

Some compound verbs with *eiñ* take an adverbial form in /-ka/ or a noun in the inesive case (which can have an adverbial function, cf. 3.3.4):

(366) Adverb + *eiñ* compounds

auskáka eiñ	'to fight'
ostíka eiñ	'to fight'
kartétan eiñ	'to play cards' (karta 'card')
singan eiñ	'to row with one oar'
billarrian eiñ	'to play billiard' (billar 'billiard')
amesetan eiñ	'to dream' (ames 'dream')

The verb *eiñ* acquires the meaning of 'to go' when used with a noun inflected with the directional locative suffix /-ratz/ or /-rutz/ 'towards':

(367) Directional N + *eiñ*

gorutz eiñ	'to go upward' (goi 'above')
beratz eiñ	'to go downward' (be 'below, under')
etxeratz eiñ	'to go home' (etxe 'house')
plasarutz eiñ	'to go towards the square' (plasa 'square')

aurrératz eĩñ	'to go/move forward' (áurre 'front')
atzératz eĩñ	'to go/move backward' (átze 'back')

There are also some compound verbal expressions with other verbs:

(368) Compound verbal expressions with verbs other than eĩñ

aurría artun	'to take the lead' (áurre 'front'; artun 'to take')
arnasia artun	'to breathe' (arnasa 'breath'; artun 'to take')
mosu emon	'to kiss' (mosu 'kiss'; emon 'to give')
kontúak atara	'to reckon up' (kóntu 'account, bill'; atara 'to take out') ⁷³
lekúa gorde	'to watch someone's place' (léku 'place'; gorde 'to keep')
biajían žun	'to go on a trip' (biáje 'trip'; žun 'to go')
tirúa bota	'to shoot' (tíro 'shot'; bota 'to throw')
gomintxúak bota	'to vomit' (gomintxúak 'vomit'; bota 'to throw')
txálo žo	'to applaud' (txálo 'applause'; žo 'to hit')
burus ikasi	'to learn by heart' (buru 'head'; ikasi 'to learn')
kontú(t)an žausi	'to realize' (kóntu 'account'; žausi 'to fall') ⁷⁴
tinbría žo	'to ring the bell' (tínbre 'bell'; žo 'to hit')
atian žo	'to knock on the door' (ate 'door'; žo 'to hit')
gusurra esan	'to lie' (gusur 'lie' + esan 'to say')
ariñarínga žun	'to run' (ariñ 'quick'; žun 'to go')
soñían eruan	'to wear' (soñían 'wearing'; eruan 'to carry')

Causative verbs are productively formed with eraiñ 'to cause':

(369) Causative verbs

ekarri eraiñ	'to make bring'
žun eraiñ	'to make go'
žan eraiñ	'to make eat'
artun eraiñ	'to make take'

(73) Cf. Sp. *sacar las cuentas*.

(74) Cf. Sp. *caer en la cuenta*.

4. SYNTAX

In this chapter some of the most basic syntactic characteristics of Lekeitio Basque are reviewed. The presentation will be much less complete than in the chapters on Phonology and Morphology. A reason for not presenting a more thorough description is that syntactic differences among Basque varieties are relatively small, as compared to the differences that are found at the phonological and morphological levels. Most of the information on Syntax given in Basque grammars is directly applicable to the Lekeitio variety. Another reason is the less contained nature of syntactic phenomena, which precludes exhaustive treatment in a book like this. The scope of this chapter is, thus, rather limited. The main topic of this chapter is the structure and types of simple and complex sentences. Some information on the structure of the noun phrase can be found in chapter 3 (section 3.1).

4.1. Order of constituents: The syntax of focalization

A basic principle governing word order in Basque is that the focus, or most important information in the sentence, is placed in preverbal position (and receives focus accent, indicated here with a circumflex accent, cf. section 2.8.6).¹ Other constituents may appear either as topics before the focalized constituent, or in postverbal position. Sentences with more than one constituent in prefocus position are generally dispreferred (i.e., generally, there is, at most, one topic). Question words are placed in the same position as focalized constituents. Thus, each of the declarative sentences in (1), (2) would be an appropriate answer to the corresponding prime interrogative sentence:

- (1) a. *lagunak txakurrâ ekarri-dau gaur goixian*
friend.E dog. A bring AUX today morning
'the friend brought THE DOG this morning' /
'the friend brought the dog this morning'
a'. *sêr ekarri-dau lagunak gaur goixian?*
'what did the friend bring this morning'
b. *txakurra lagunâk ekarri-dau gaur goixian*

(1) The discovery of this principle is attributed to Altube (1929). Cf. also de Rijk (1969, 1978), Goenaga (1978), Michelena (1981), Ortiz de Urbina (1983, 1989), Arejita (1985), Eguzkitza (1986), Osa (1990). The focalized element is referred to as *elemento inquirido* (in Spanish) or *galdegaia* (in Basque) in the Basque linguistic tradition.

- 'THE FRIEND brought the dog this morning'
- b'. *nôk ekarri-dau txakurra gaur goixian?*
'who brought the dog this morning?'
- c. *txakurra gaur goixiân ekarri-dau lagunak*
'the friend brought the dog THIS MORNING'
- c'. *nôix ekarri-dau txakurra lagunak?*
'when did the friend bring the dog?'
- (2) a. *gaur goixian aittâ etorri -da*
today morning father.A come AUX
'this morning FATHER came' / 'this morning father came'
- a'. *nôr etorri-da gaur goixian?*
'who came this morning?'
- b. *aitta gaur goixiân etorri-da* b'. *nôix etorri-da aitta?*
'father came THIS MORNING' 'when did father come?'

Now, in a context where the whole sentence constitutes new information and, thus, there is no particular pragmatic focus, the order would be as in the examples (1a) and (2a). That is, in the most neutral order, the intransitive subject or the direct object occupies preverbal position (and receives focus accent). Sentences (1a) and (2a) are thus pragmatically ambiguous between an interpretation where the preverbal constituent is understood as focus of the sentence and another interpretation where no constituent is pragmatically focalized.²

The affirmation itself can be the focus of the sentence. That is, what is asserted may be the realization of the event expressed in the sentence. In this case the participle receives focus accent:

- (3) *aitta etorrî da gaur goixian* (4) *lagunak ekarriko dau*
'father DID come this morning' 'the friend WILL bring it'

If what is asserted is the kind of action or event expressed by the verb, the verb *eiñ* 'to do, make' is inserted between main participle and auxiliary, the participle also receiving focus accent:

- (5) *gaur goixian sure laguna etorrî eiñ dda*
today morning your friend.A come do AUX
'this morning your friend CAME' (e.g., instead of going)

In constructions with the semiauxiliary *nai* 'to want', the focalized element is placed immediately before the semiauxiliary. The main verb will appear preceding the semiauxiliary if it is focalized, otherwise it will be placed after the inflected auxiliary (cf. section 3.2.5):

- (6) a. *Mikélek gêwas nai-dau etorri*
Mikel.E we.C want-AUX come
'Mikel wants to come WITH US'

(2) As a result, the most frequent order will be SOV (cf. de Rijk 1969).

- b. *Mikélek etorrî nai-dau gúas* c. *Mikélek nâi dau gúas etorri*
 'Mikel wants TO COME with us' 'Mikel WANTS to come with us'

This does not extend to the semiauxiliary *biar* 'must' which, unlike *nai*, is always preceded by the main verb:

- (7) a. *erložuâ erosi biar-leuko* / **erložuâ biar-leuko erosi*
 watch.A buy must-AUX b. *erložuâ erosî eiñ bir-leuko*
 's/he must buy THE WATCH' 's/he must BUY the watch'

As for the potential auxiliary *al*, it usually receives focus accent and triggers the postposing of the main verb:

- (8) a. *Induraiñek âl dau irabasi aurtengo turra be*
 Indurain.E canAUX win this-year.of tour too
 'Indurain CAN win this year's Tour of France too'
 b. ? *Induraiñek al dau irabasi aurtengo turra be*³
 'INDURAIN can win this year's Tour of France too'
 c. * *Induraiñek irabasî al dau aurtengo turra be*

To focalize a different element in a potential sentence, the potential forms of the auxiliary must be used instead of the semiauxiliary *al*:

- (9) a. *Induraiñek irabasi-léike aurtengo turra*
 'INDURAIN can win this year's Tour'
 b. *Induraiñek irabasî léike aurtengo turra*
 'Indurain CAN win this year's tour'
 c. *Induraiñek irabasî ein léike aurtengo turra*
 'Indurain can WIN this year's tour'

In spite of everything said so far about the position of focalized elements, in copulative sentences the pragmatic focus often occurs in postverbal position:

- (10) —*nôr da Rufo Atxúrra?*
 who is 'who is Rufo Atxurra?'
 —*Rufo Atxúrra da or zesarrítta dagon gixona*
 is there sit.PP is.REL man.A
 'Rufo Atxurra is the man who is sitting over there'

- (11) —*nôr da Clínton?* —*Clínton da Amerikáko presidentía*
 'who is Clinton?' 'Clinton is the president of America'

The pragmatic focus may occasionally appear in postverbal position in other monoclausal constructions as well (cf. Osa 1990); but, in such cases, the focus would be dislocated, in an extrasentential position (signaled by a pause or break of some type):

(3) This is possible as an echo question.

- (12) *kaskúa étxen dábe, ba ondorâ*
 hulk.A do.I AUX well sink
 'the hulk they, well, SINK it'

Without a pause after the verb, an example such as the following, where the focus is postverbal, is impossible:

- (13) —*sêr erosi dôsu?* —**erosi dot alkondâra barri bat*
 what buy AUX buy AUX shirt new one
 'what have you bought?' 'I have bought a new shirt'

In direct object clauses and other noun clauses, the subordinate clause may contain the focalized element, which is positioned with respect to the subordinate verb:

- (14) *maixúak pregunta eban îa nok ekižan erantzúna*
 teacher.E ask AUX CP who.E s/he-knew answer.A
 'the teacher asked WHO KNEW THE ANSWER'
- (15) *Péruk esan dau bižâr etorriko dala*
 Peru.E say AUX tomorrow come.F AUX-CP
 'Peru has said that he will come TOMORROW'

Other types of subordinate clauses do not contain a focus position.

4.2. Negative sentences

Sentence negation is expressed by means of the negative particle *es*, which cliticizes to a conjugated verb form. In negative clauses, the unit formed by the negative particle *es* and the semiauxiliary is preposed. The focalized element appears before the preposed auxiliary. Other constituents may appear between the preposed auxiliary and the participle:

- (16) *txakurrâ estau ekarri sure lagunak*
 'your friend did not bring THE DOG'

The constituent preceding the participle in these negative constructions cannot receive focus accent:⁴

- (17) **txakurra estau sure lagunâk ekarri*

(4) This goes against de Rijk's (1969: 344) and Lafitte's (1979: 48-49) description of focalization in negative sentences (cf. also Osa 1990: 198-213, Saltarelli 1988: 92). It seems clear that there are important differences among dialects in the position of focalized elements in negative clauses. Lafitte's (1979: 49) example *Ez du aitak aurdiki* 'Ce n'est pas le père qui l'a jeté' would correspond in Lekeitio to *aittäk estau bota* 'FATHER has not thrown it'. Nevertheless, in Lekeitio it is possible to place a constituent with contrastive interpretation (contrastive focus) after the auxiliary, but in this case focus accent must fall on the auxiliary, not on the postverbal constituents: *txakurra estâu sure lagunak ekarri, amak báiño* 'your friend did not bring the dog, mother did'. This contrastive focus phenomenon is thus different from the focalization phenomenon described in this section, which is connected with focus accent.

Focus accent may only fall on the constituent preceding the auxiliary as in (16) above or on the negation-carrying inflection as in the following example:

- (18) *sure lagunak txakurra estâu ekarri*
 'your friend did NOT bring the dog'

The unmarked case in a negative sentence is for the negation+auxiliary unit to receive focus accent. Compare also the following examples:

- (19) a. *aittä esta etorri* b. *aittä estâ etorri*
 father.A not-AUX come 'father did NOT come'
 'FATHER did not come' (context: did father come?)
 (context: who didn't come?)

In negative sentences with a semiauxiliary, the semiauxiliary is not preposed.

- (20) a. *estau nai Bilbôra žun*
 not-AUX want Bilbao.AL go
 's/he doesn't want to go TO BILBAO'
 b. *Bilbôra estâu nai žun*
 's/he does NOT want to go to Bilbao'
 c. *žûn estau nai Bilbôra / Bilbôra žûn estau nai*
 's/he doesn't want TO GO to Bilbao'

4.3. Interrogative sentences

Yes-no questions are usually distinguished from declaratives solely by their intonation (cf. section 2.9):

- (21) a. *txakurrâ ekarri-dábe* b. *txakurrâ ekarri-dábe?*
 dog.A bring AUX 'did they bring THE DOG?'
 'they brought THE DOG'

In yes-no questions the focus accent normally falls on the main verb:

- (22) *txakurra ekarrî dabe?* (23) *Mirének erosî dau liburúa?*
 'did they bring the dog?' Miren.E buy AUXbook.A
 'did Miren buy the book?'

In emphatic questions the particle *ála* 'or' appears in final position:

- (24) *txakurrâ ekarri-dábe, ála?* (25) *atrapâta sagos, ála?*
 'did they bring the dog, or what?' crazy you-are or
 'are you crazy?'

Leading questions carry the tag *esta?* 'is it not?':

- (26) *txakurrâ ekarri-dábe, esta?* (27) *sure laguna estosû ikusi, esta?*
 'they brought the dog, right?' your friend.A not-AUX see not-is
 'you haven't seen your friend, right?'

In question-word questions (partial questions), the interrogative word or phrase appears in focus position and receives focus accent:

- | | |
|---|--|
| (28) <i>sêr ekarri -dâbe?</i>
what bring AUX
'what did they bring?' | (29) <i>nôri emon dotzásu dirua?</i>
who.D give AUXmoney.A
'to whom did you give the money?' |
|---|--|

4.4. Sentence types

4.4.1. Copulative sentences

There are two copulas *ixan* 'to be' and *egon* 'to be, stay', which have the same semantic distribution as Spanish *ser* and *estar*, respectively. In addition, *egon* has the value of 'there be':

- | | |
|---|---|
| (30) <i>Górka mariñela dâ</i>
'Gorka is a sailor' | (31) <i>Péru alkatia dâ</i>
'Peru is the mayor' |
| (32) <i>Górka altiña da</i>
'Gorka is tall' | (33) <i>Míkel lodi lodi dagô</i>
'Mikel is/looks very fat' (temporary) |
| (34) <i>Míren trîste dago</i>
'Miren is sad' | (35) <i>Miren etxian dagô</i>
'Miren is at home' |
| (36) <i>katu bat dagô tellatúan</i>
cat one.A is roof.IN
'there is a cat on the roof' | |

The verb *eiñ* 'to do, make' can be used as a quasi-copulative verb with the meaning of 'to become' conjugated with the intransitive auxiliary (cf. Sp. *hacerse*). In this construction the nominal predicate appears in uninflected form:

- | | |
|---|---|
| (37) <i>ura ardâu eiñ-san</i>
water.A wine do-AUX
'the water became wine' | (38) <i>nire anaizia abogâu eiñ-dda</i>
my brother.A lawyer do-AUX
'my brother has become a lawyer' |
|---|---|

The notion of 'to become' is also expressed by verbs derived from adjectives such as *berdetu* 'to become green', *tontotu* 'to become stupid', *morenotu* 'to get a tan', etc.:

- | |
|---|
| (39) <i>orrîzak berdetû eiñ diras</i>
leaves.A turn-green do AUX
'the leaves have turned green' |
|---|

4.4.2. Secondary predication

Nominals used as secondary predicates appear in uninflected form:

- | | |
|---|---|
| (40) <i>Ardânza elejiru-êben lendakari</i>
elect-AUX president
'they elected ARDANZA president' | (41) <i>kulpâble topa-ebésen</i>
guilty find-AUX
'they found them GUILTY' |
|---|---|

4.4.3. Intransitive and transitive sentences: Auxiliary selection

Generally speaking, transitive verbs are conjugated with the transitive auxiliary and intransitive verbs with the intransitive auxiliary. There are, nevertheless, some important exceptions (cf. Lafitte 1979: 189-190, Levin 1983, Ortiz de Urbina 1989: 39-61). To begin with, a number of intransitive verbs are compound verbs with *eiñ* 'to do, make' and select the transitive auxiliary; e.g. *nik lo eiñ dot* 'I have slept', *barre eiñ dogu* 'we have laughed', *negar eiñ neban* 'I cried' (cf. section 3.4.2 for a list of compounds with *eiñ*). In addition, a group of simple intransitive verbs also take the transitive auxiliary. Lafitte calls these verbs 'deponent' and Levin and Ortiz de Urbina 'unergative'. In Lekeitio this group includes the following verbs:

(42) Intransitive verbs which take the transitive auxiliary

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| <i>irakiñ</i> 'to boil' | <i>urten</i> 'to leave' |
| <i>urak irakî rau</i> | <i>gixonâk urten-dau</i> |
| water.E boil AUX | man.E leave-AUX |
| 'the water HAS boiled' | 'THE MAN has left' |
| <i>korridu</i> 'to run' | |
| <i>gaur Kóldok askô korridu-dau</i> | |
| today Koldo.E a lot run-AUX | |
| 'today Koldo has run A LOT' | |
| <i>žokatu</i> 'to play' | |
| <i>bižar Osasúnak Real Madriden kôntra žokatžén-dau</i> | |
| tomorrow Osasuna.E Real Madrid.E against play.I-AUX | |
| 'tomorrow Osasuna is playing AGAINST REAL MADRID' | |
| <i>olga</i> 'to play' | |
| <i>goix gustižân olga-dábe umiák</i> | |
| morning all.IN play-AUX kids.E | |
| 'the kids have played ALL MORNING LONG' | |
| <i>dimitidu</i> 'to resign' | <i>segidu</i> 'to continue' |
| <i>alkatiák dimitidu-dau</i> | <i>Mikélek aurrêra segidu eban</i> |
| mayor.E resign-AUX | Mikel.E front.AL continue-AUX |
| 'THE MAYOR has resigned' | 'Mikel kept going ONWARDS' |
| <i>afaldu</i> 'to have supper' | |
| <i>amarrêtan afalduko-dógu</i> | |
| ten.IN.p have supper.F-AUX | |
| 'we will have supper AT TEN' | |
| <i>baskaldu</i> 'to have dinner' | |
| <i>atzo arratsaldéko irurêtan baskaldu-gendun</i> | |
| yesterday afternoon.of three.IN dine-AUX | |
| 'yesterday we had dinner AT THREE in the afternoon' | |
| <i>armosa</i> 'to have breakfast' | |
| <i>argittu</i> 'to become clear' | <i>illundu</i> 'to become dark' |
| <i>egunak argittû-dau</i> | <i>illundû eiñ ddau</i> |
| day.E become-clear-AUX | 'it has become dark' |
| 'the day has cleared up' | |

- tarda* 'to take time'
denpõra asko tarda-dau ori èitten
 time a lot take-AUX that do.I
 's/he has taken A LONG TIME to do that'
- žo* 'to go' *funciona* 'to work'
Ondarrũra žo-dau Mikélek kotxiák estâu funcionáten
 Ondarroa.AL go-AUX Mikel.E car.E not-AUXwork.I
 'Mikel has gone to ONDARROA' 'the car doesn't work'
- brilla* 'to shine'
gaur eguskĩzak estâu brilláten askorik
 today sun.E not-AUX shine.I much.PT
 'today the sun is not shining much'
- entrena* 'to train'
Usúek Gasteisên entrenatén-dau
 Usue.E Gasteiz.IN train.I-AUX
 'Usue trains IN GASTEIZ'
- ion* 'to go up, to climb'
Otaĩzora astêro ioten-gendũan gastĩak giĩnian
 Otoio.AL every-week climb.I-AUX young.A.p we-were.when
 'we used to go up to Mount Otoio⁵ EVERY WEEK when we were young'
- altza* 'to clear up' (weather)
eweldĩzak altzâ eiĩ-ddau
 weather.Eclear-up do-AUX
 'the weather has cleared up'

Transitive verbs are used in intransitive constructions in several cases. First of all, some verbs allow both a transitive and an intransitive (middle) interpretation. This group includes such verbs as *asarratu* 'to make/become angry', *arduratu* 'to worry', *postu* 'to render/become happy', *apurtu* 'to break', etc.:

- (43) a. *orrek mutillak asarratũ eittén-nau*
 that.E boy.E become-angry do.I-AUXtr
 'that boy MAKES me angry'
 b. *askotân asarratzén-nas*
 often become-angry-AUXintr
 'I often get upset'
- (44) a. *mutillak bentaniã apurtu-eban* b. *bentaniã apurtu-san*
 boy.E window.A break-AUXtr window.A break-AUXintr
 'the boy broke the window' 'the window broke'
- (45) a. *rradižũan entzun doten notisĩzak arduratũ eiĩnau*⁶
 radio.IN hear AUX-REL news.E worry do-AUXtr
 'the news I have heard on the radio has WORRIED me'

(5) Name of a mountain near Lekeitio. The name has three variants in Lekeitio: *Otaĩzo*, *Otoyo* and *Otõyo*.

(6) *eiĩ-nau*.

- b. *umien gurasúak arduratú ein-sirian*
 children.G parents.A worry do-AUXintr
 'the children's parents got WORRIED'
- (46) a. *onégas legiágas mundu gustizâ postukóu⁷*
 this.C law.C world all.A make-happy.F-AUXtr
 'with this law we will make EVERYBODY happy'
- b. *nik pentzáten dot postúko dala*
 I.E think.I AUX be-happy.F AUXintr-CP
 'I think he WILL be happy'

Secondly, there is an impersonal/passive construction in which the intransitive auxiliary is used with all verbs:

- (47) a. *Kóldok askô žatén-dau*
 Koldo.E a lot.A eat.I-AUXtr
 'Koldo eats a lot'
- b. *Lekitton arraiñ askô žatén-da*
 Lekeitio.IN fish a lot.A eat.I-AUXintr
 'in Lekeitio one eats a lot of fish'
- (48) a. *nire etxétik mendizak ikusten-dóras*
 my house.AB mountains.A see.I-AUXtr
 'I see the mountains from my house'
- b. *nire etxétik mendizak ikusten-díras*
 my house.AB mountains.A see.I-AUXintr
 'from my house one can see the mountains' / 'the mountains can be seen'

Thirdly, transitive verbs also take the intransitive auxiliary in reflexive and reciprocal constructions (cf. sections 4.4.5, 4.4.6):

- (49) a. *Kóldok kotxia garbitzén-dau* b. *Kóldo garbitzen da*
 Koldo.E car.A wash.I-AUXtr Koldo.A wash.I-AUXintr
 'Koldo washes the car' 'Koldo washes himself'
- (50) a. *guk mendizâ ikusi-dogu* b. *gu kaliân ikusi-gara*
 we.E mountain.A see-AUXtr we.A street.IN see-AUXintr
 'we have seen the mountain' 'we have seen each other on the street'

It may be noted that all three cases of intransitivization that have been mentioned correspond to uses of *se* constructions in Spanish.

4.4.4. Causatives

Causatives are formed with *eraiñ* 'to cause'. The causee takes dative inflection (the auxiliary is always a trivalent transitive form):

(7) *postuko+dógu*

- (51) *Péruk Gorkári eskolâra žun eraiñ-etzan*
 Peru.E Gorka.D school.ALgo cause-AUX
 'Peru made Gorka go to school'
- (52) *Péruk Mirenéri urtên erai-etzan*
 Peru.E Miren.D leave cause-AUX
 'Peru made Miren leave'
- (53) *Górkak umiari porrusaldîa žan eraiñ etzan*
 Gorka.E child.D leek-soup.A eat cause-AUX
 'Gorka made the child eat the leek-soup'
- (54) *Gorkári maixúak Edurnéri liburûa emon eraiñ-etzan*
 Gorka.D teacher.E Edurne.D book.A give cause-AUX
 'the teacher made Gorka give the book to Edurne'

4.4.5. Reciprocals

The most basic reciprocal construction is one where the subject is plural and there is an anaphoric reciprocal relation between subject and direct object. In this situation, in Lekeitio Basque reciprocity is marked by intransitivization and optional use of *alkar* 'each other' or *bata-bestiâ* 'lit. one the other':⁸

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(55) a. <i>sure lagúnak maitte-dira</i>
 your friends.A love-AUXintr
 b. <i>sure lagúnak alkâr maitte-dira</i>
 c. <i>sure lagúnak bata bestîa maitte-dira</i>
 'your friends love each other'</p> | <p>(56) a. <i>ikusîko dira</i>
 see.F AUXintr
 b. <i>alkâr ikusîko-dira</i>
 c. <i>bata bestîa ikusîko-dira</i>
 'they will see each other'</p> |
|---|---|

Intransitivization only takes place when the reciprocal is the direct object. If the reciprocal element is an indirect object, on the other hand, a transitive construction is used with *alkar* or *bata-beste* bearing dative inflectional marking (and triggering plural dative agreement on the auxiliary).⁹ The same elements *alkar* and *bata-beste* are used when the reciprocal is any other argument of the verb or a complement in a noun phrase:

- (57) a. *Jon eta Mirének alkarrerî libûru bat emo-éutzen*
 Jon and Miren.E each-other.D book one.A give-AUX
 b. *Jon eta Mirének bata bestiári libûru bat emo-éutzen*
 each-other.D
 'Jon and Miren gave each other a book'
- (58) a. *alkarrentzako erregalûak ekarri-ebésen*
 each-other.B presents.A bring-AUX

(8) In other dialects (including the Standard), *alkar* ~ *elkar* requires a transitive structure (e.g. *elkar ikusîko dugu* 'we will see each other' and *bata-besteâ* ~ *bata-bertzea* cannot occur as direct object (cf. Rebuschi 1993: 122).

(9) In other dialects these anaphoric expressions trigger singular agreement.

- b. *bata-bestientzâko erregalúak ekarri-ebésen*
each-other.B
'they brought presents for each other'
- (59) a. % *alkarren liburúak irakurri-ebésen*¹⁰
each-other.G books.A read-AUX
b. *bata-bestîen liburúak irakurri ebésen*
each-other.G
'they read each other's books'
- (60) a. % *alkarren lagûnik onénak gara*
each-other.G friend.PT best.Ap we-are
b. ?*bata-bestîen lagûnik onénak gara*
each-other.G
'we are each other's best friend'
- (61) a. % *alkarren gurasuentzâko ekarri ebésen erregalúak*
each-other.G parents.B bring-AUX presents
b. *bata-bestîen gurasuentzâko ekarri ebésen erregalúak*
each-other.G
'they brought presents for each other's parents'
- (62) a. *alkarrêgas žungo-gára* c. *baterâ žungo-gára*
each-other.C go.F-AUX together
b. **bata-bestiâgas žungo-gára* 'we will go together'
each-other.C ('with each other')

The expression *bata-béste* can appear in subject position (inflecting for the ergative case if the verb is transitive and triggering singular agreement), but *alkar* cannot have this function:

- (63) a. **ês-takîže alkarrek ser éingo daben*
b. *ês-takîže bata-bestiâk ser éingo daben*
not-they-know each-other.E what do.F AUX-CP
'they don't know what each other will do'¹¹

Alkar cannot appear as complement of a subject either:

- (64) a. **ba-dakîže alkarren alabiak ser éingo daben*
b. *bâ-dakîže bata-bestiên alabiak ser éingo daben*
M they-know each-other.G daughter.E what.A do.FAUX-CP
'they know what each other's daughter will do'

(10) The symbol "%" indicates that the example is acceptable for some speakers and unacceptable for other speakers. This is different from cases of dubious grammaticality, marked with a question mark "?", since "%" sentences are perfectly grammatical for the speakers who accept them.

(11) Incidentally, this English sentence is perfectly normal for some speakers of American English and ungrammatical for other speakers of the same language.

There is a third reciprocal expression *bakotxak beste-*, lit. 'each the other'. In this expression, which has a more limited usage, the first element has a subject role and always appears in the ergative and the second word may vary in its inflection. This is thus an expression consisting of two separate constituents with different case markings, unlike *bata-béste*, which forms a single constituent in the examples given above. Agreement may be singular or plural with this expression, there being a certain amount of variation among speakers:¹²

- (65) *bakotxak bestien liburúak irakurri-dábes/ditxus*
 each.E other.G books.A read-AUX.3pE/3sE
 'each read the others'/other's books'
- (66) *bakotxak bestiári libûru bat emo-étzen/eutzan*
 each.E other.D book one.A give-AUX.3pE/3sE
 'each gave a book to the other(s)'
- (67) *bakotxak bestien gurasuentzâko erregalúak ekarri ebasan/ebésen*
 each.E other.G parents.B presents.A bring-AUX.3sE/3pE
 'each brought presents for the other's/others' parents'
- (68) *bakotxak bestientzâko erregalúak ekarri-ebasan/ebésen*
 each.E other.B presents.A bring-AUX.3sE/3pE
 'each brought presents for the other(s)'
- (69) *bâ-dakîze bakotxak bestien alabiak ser éingo daben*
 M they-know each.E other.G daughter.E what do.E AUX-CP
 'they each know what the other's/others' daughter will do'

There can be an explicit subject in addition to *bakotxak*, in which case *bakotxak* becomes a sort of apposition:

- (70) *Jonek eta Mirének bakotxak bestiári libûru bat emo-étzen*
 Jon.E and Miren.E each.E other.D book bat.A give-AUX
 'Jon and Miren, each gave the other A BOOK'
- (71) *Jonek eta Mirének bakotxak bestientzâko erregalúak ekarri-ebésen*
 Jon.E and Miren.E each.E other.B presents.A bring-AUX
 'Jon and Miren, each brought presents FOR THE OTHER'
- (72) *Jonek eta Mirének bakotxak bestien gurasuentzâko ekarri-ebésen erregalúak*
 Jon.E and Miren.E each.E other.C parents.B bring-AUX presents.A
 'Jon and Miren each brought presents for the other's PARENTS'

Bakotxak can be used as subject of a subordinate clause as well:

- (73) *ba-dakîze bakotxak ser éingo daben*
 'each knows what the other will do'

(12) Some speakers report that they obtain different interpretations depending on whether singular or plural agreement is used. With singular agreement there are only two individuals involved. With plural agreement the interpretation is that there are three or more individuals. Not everyone agrees with this intuition.

The expression *bata béste* 'each other', which in all the examples above functions as a single argument, can also optionally be split into two constituents, taking *batak* the subject role (and triggering singular agreement), as in (74a) (cf. (74b), where *bata bestiári* is a single dative constituent and the subject is third person plural):

- (74) a. *batak bestiári libúru bat emo-eutzan*
 one.E other.D book one.A give-AUX.3sE
 'one gave a book to the other'
 b. (*órrek*) *bata bestiári libúru bat emo-éutzen*
 they.E each other.D book one.A give-AUX.3pE
 'they gave each other a book'

4.4.6. Reflexives

In sentences where the direct object has the same referent as the subject, an expression with a possessive and *burua* 'head' (*neure burua* lit. 'my head', *seure burua*, *bere(n) burua*, etc) is used as direct object. A second strategy is intrasitivization.¹³

- (75) a. *Péruk bere buruâ garbittu-eban*¹⁴ b. *Péru garbittû s an*
 Peru.E his head.A wash-AUXtr Peru.E wash AUXintr
 'Peru washed himself'
 (76) a. *txakurra saunkâka asi-san espillúan bere burua ikusi*
 dog.A barking start-AUX mirror.IN its head.A see
ebanian
 AUXtr-when
 b. *txakurra saunkâka asi-san espillúan ikusi sanian*
 AUX intr-when
 'the dog started barking when it saw itself in the mirror'
 (77) a. *neure buruâ žo-dot* b. *žô eiñas*¹⁵
 my head.A hit-AUXtr hit do-A
 'I have hit MYSELF' 'I have HIT myself'
 (78) a. *umiak barrê eiban*¹⁶ *kasetian bere burua entzun*
 child.E laugh do-AUXtr cassette.IN his head.A hear
ebanian
 AUXtr-when
 b. *umiak barrê eiban kasetian entzun sanian*
 child.E laugh do-AUXtr cassette.IN hear AUXintr-when
 'the child LAUGHED when s/he heard him/herself on the cassette'

(13) In intransitive reflexive constructions the focus accent generally falls on the verb.

(14) This sentence can also have an interpretation where the expression *bere burua* receives a literal interpretation 'Peru washed his head (by himself)'.
 (15) *eiñ nas*.

- (79) a. *arek soruak bere buruâ bota-dau bentanâtik*
 that.E madman.E his head.A throw-AUXtr window.AB
 'that madman has thrown HIMSELF out of the window'
 b. *a sorua bentanâtik bota da*
 that.A madman.A window.AB throw-AUXintr
 'that madman has thrown himself OUT OF THE WINDOW'
- (80) a. *ondô sainddu-rot neure burua*
 well take-care-AUXtr my head.A
 b. *ondô sainddu-nas*
 well take-care-AUXintr
 'I have taken good care of myself'
- (81) a. *txartô ipiñikó-su seure burua* b. *txartô ipiñiko-sára*
 badly put.F-AUXtr your head.A badly put.F-AUXintr
 'you are going to put yourself in a bad position'
- (82) a. *eskuân žo-nas* b. *eskuâ žo-rot*
 hand.IN hit-AUXintr hand.A hit-AUXtr
 'I have hit myself in the hand' 'I have hit my hand'
- (83) *ori neskia askô pinttatén-da*
 that.A girl.A a lot paint-AUXintr
 'that girl paints herself a lot' (i.e. 'wears a lot of makeup')

In intransitive reflexive constructions, an emphatic pronoun with *bakárrik* 'alone, only' is often used as an intensifier (cf. Sp. *yo solo*, etc.):

- (84) a. *inbittáwak êurak bakárrik serbidu-dira*¹⁷
 guests.A they.A alone serve-AUXintr
 'the guests have served THEMSELVES'
 b. *inbittáwak serbidû dira*
 'the guests HAVE served themselves'
- (86) a. *olako žoko eskaságas, ori pelotariža bera bakárrik*
 like-that game poor.C that.A ball-player.Ahe.A alone
saldû-da
 sell-AUXintr
 'with that poor playing, that ball-player has sold HIMSELF'
 b. *olako žoko eskaságas, ori pelotariža saldû eiñ-dda*
 'with that poor playing, that ball-player has SOLD himself'

Unlike in reciprocal constructions, not all verbs can be used as intransitive with a reflexive meaning, in particular verbs of emotion can only be used as reflexive with *-burua*:

(16) *eiñ eban*.

(17) Cf. Sp. 'los invitados se han servido ellos solos'.

- (87) a. *Péruk bere buruâ maitte dau*
 'Peru loves himself'
- b. **Pêru maitte-da*
 AUX-intr
- (88) a. *Asierrek bere buruâ gorrotatzén-dau*
 Asier.E his head.A hate.I-AUXtr
 'Asier hates himself'
- b. **Asiêr gorrotatzén-da*
 AUXintr

With verbs such as *ill* 'to kill; to die' which have different meanings when used as transitive and as intransitive, the only possibility to obtain a reflexive meaning is with *-burua*:

- (89) a. *Kóldok bere buruâ ill-eban*
 Koldo.E his head.A kill-AUXtr
 'Koldo killed himself'
- b. *Kóldo il san*
 Koldo.A die AUXintr
 'Koldo died', not *'Koldo killed himself'

The dative expression *bere buruari* can potentially be used when the subject is coreferential with the indirect object (although, normally the benefactive would be used instead):

- (90) *Péruk bere buruarî emo-utzan erregálo bat*
 Peru.E his head.D give-AUX present one.A
 'Peru gave HIMSELF a present'

If the reflexive has any other function, either forms with *burua* or simple pronominal forms are used. In the second case ambiguity between a reflexive and a nonreflexive reading obtains:

- (91) a. *Péruk bere buruentzakô nai-dau dana*
 Peru.E his head.B want-AUX everything.A
 'Peru wants everything FOR HIMSELF'
- b. *Péruk berentzakô nai-dau dana*
 3s.B
 'Peru wants everything FOR HIMSELF / FOR HIM/HER'

There is no genitive form of the reflexive expression; instead pronominal forms are used:

- (92) *Mirének bere liburûa leidu-eban*
 Miren.E his/her book.A read-AUX
 'Miren read her (own) /his book'
- (93) *Péruk Mirenéri bere istorîžak konta-utzasan*
 Peru.E Miren.D his/her stories.A tell-AUX
 'Peru told Miren stories about himself/her/him' (lit. 'his/her stories')

When the direct object is a body part or some other possession of the subject, the possessive is optional:

- (94) a. *Górkak arpeizâ garbittu-eban*
 Gorka.E face.A wash-AUXtr.3sE.3sA
 ‘Gorka washed his own face’ (cf. Sp. ‘se lavó la cara’)
 b. *Górkak bere arpeizâ garbittu-eban*
 his/her
 ‘Gorka_i washed his_i/her face’ (his own or someone else’s)
 c. *Górkak arpeizâ garbittu-eutzan*
 AUXtr.3sE.3sA.3sD

‘Gorka_i washed his_i/her face’ (someone else’s, not his own, cf. Sp. ‘le lavó la cara’)

4.5. Subordination

4.5.1. Noun clauses

4.5.1.1. Subject noun clauses

Subject noun clauses are always nonfinite and are constructed with the verbal noun. For each example several possible word orders and focus assignments are illustrated:

- (95) a. *suk niri órrek gáusak esatía(k) molestátén-nau*
 you.E me.D those.A things.A say.VN.E/A bother.I.AUX
 ‘for you TO SAY those things to me bothers me’ (‘it bothers me that you SAY those things to me’)
 b. *suk niri órrek gáusak esatía(k) molestátén-nau*
 ‘for you to say THOSE THINGS to me bothers me’
 c. *molestâ eittén-nau suk niri órrek gáusak esatía(k)*
 ‘it BOTHERS me that you say those things to me’
 d. *suk niri órrek gáusak esatía(k) molestâ eittén-nau*
 ‘for you to say those things to me BOTHERS me’
- (96) a. *dirurik es eukittía esžât inportáten*
 money.PT not have.VN.A not-AUX bother.I
 b. *esžât inportáten dirurik es eukittía*
 ‘not to have any money doesn’t bother me’
 ‘that I/ s/he/you,/they/ etc. don’t have any money doesn’t bother me’
- (97) a. *esžât gustáten su billósik eskolára etortía*
 not-AUX like.I you.A naked school.AL come.VN.A
 ‘I don’t like it for you to come naked to school’
 b. *su billósik eskolára etortía esžât gustáten*
 ‘I don’t like it for you TO COME naked to school’

- c. *su billôsik eskolâra etortía eszat gustâten*
 'I don't like it for you to come TO SCHOOL naked'
- d. *su eskolâra billôsik etortía eszat gustâten*
 'I don't like for you to come NAKED to school'
- (98) a. *ardau asko eratía estâ ona*
 wine a lot drink.VN.A not-is good.A
 'to drink a lot of wine is NOT good'
 (or 'for you/ him/her/them/etc. to drink a lot of wine is not good')
- b. *ardau asko eratía esta ona*
 'TO DRINK a lot of wine is not good'
- (99) a. *êurak ainbéste ardau eratía estâ ona*
 they.E so much wine drink.VN.A not-is good.A
 'for them to drink so much wine is NOT good'
- b. *êurak ainbéste ardau eratía esta ona*
 'FOR THEM to drink so much wine is not good'

4.5.1.2. Indirect statements

Object noun clauses expressing indirect statements are usually finite. If the main clause is affirmative, the conjugated verb of the subordinated clause bears the complementizer suffix /-la/:

- (100) a. *pentzâten dot bižâr etorrîko dala*
 think.I AUX tomorrow come.F AUX-CP
 'I think s/he will come TOMORROW'
- b. *pentzâten dot bižar etorrîko dala*
 'I think s/he WILL come tomorrow'
- (101) *badakîtt Parixen estudižá dosula*
 M-I-know Paris.IN study AUX-CP
 'I know that you have studied in Paris'
- (102) a. *Aitta-Santúa Lekittorâ etorrîko dala entzun-neban*
 father-holy.A Lekeitio.AL come.F AUX-CP hear-AUX
 'I heard that the Pope will come TO LEKEITIO'
- b. *Aitta-Santúa etorrîko dala Lekittora entzun-neban*
 'I heard that THE POPE will come to Lekeitio'
- c. *Aitta-Santúa Lekittora etorrîko dala entzun-neban*
 'I heard that the Pope WILL come to Lekeitio'

An epenthetic vowel [e] is inserted before the suffix /-la/ when the verb to which it attaches ends in a consonant, as one would expect; but it is also inserted in some cases where the conjugated verbal form ends in a vowel which is part of the root (cf.

Arejita 1985: 65).¹⁸ Thus in (103) the verb /d-a-ki/ 's/he knows', takes the suffix *-ela*. The epenthetic vowel, in its turn, creates the context for insertion of *ž* :

- (103) a. *frantsês dakižela diño / diño frantsês dakižela*
 French he-knows-that he-says
 's/he says that s/he knows FRENCH'
 b. *frantses bâ dakižela diño / diño frantses bâ dakižela*
 's/he says that s/he DOES know French'

The complementizer /-na/ is optionally used instead of /-la/ when: the main verb expresses complete certainty about the proposition contained in the subordinate clause, and the subordinate clause is not the focus (cf. Arejita 1985: 76-81):

- (104) *badakîtt berandu etorrî sariena / sariela*
 M-I-know late come AUX-CP
 'I know that you came late'
 (105) *bâ dakîže orréas neskiáas sabiltzasena / sabiltzasela*
 M they-know that.C girl.C you-walk-CP
 'they know that you are going out with that girl'
 (106) *argi dagô berak apurtú dabela / dabena kristala*
 clear is he.E break AUX-CP glass.A
 'it is clear that s/he has broken the window'
 (107) *egîža da erregia ikusí dotena / dotela*
 truth.A is king.A see AUX-CP
 'it is true that I have seen the king'

In the examples above, the focalized element is in the main clause. If the subordinate clause is in focus, on the other hand, only /-la/ can be used.

When the main clause is negative, the suffix /-nik/ is used instead of /-la/ (with the same conditions for epenthesis):

- (108) *estôt pentzáten bižar etorríko danik / *dala / *dana*
 'I do not think s/he will come tomorrow'

Nevertheless, in negative sentences where the embedded clause expresses an event that is taken to be certain (which would be expressed in the indicative mood in Spanish), the use of /-nik/ is only optional. If the event embedded under a negative clause is presented as only possible (in the subjunctive in Spanish), on the other hand, /-nik/ must be used. Compare the following examples:

- (109) a. *Mirének esgaitxusên esan bázar bat egon sanik / sana / sala*
 Miren.E not-AUX say meeting one.PT be AUX-CP
 'Miren didn't tell us that there was a meeting' (cf. Sp. 'Miren no nos dijo que hubo una reunión')

(18) There are exceptions. For instance, with /d-oya*/ 's/he is going' there is no epenthesis: *doyála* 'that s/he goes'.

- b. *Mirének esgaitxusên esan batzárrik egon sanik / *sana / *sala*
meeting.PT.
'Miren didn't tell us that there was any meeting' (cf. Sp. 'Miren no nos dijo que hubiera ninguna reunión')

4.5.1.3. Indirect questions

Indirect question-word questions are marked with the suffix /-n/ on the conjugated subordinate verb (with epenthesis of [e] under the same circumstances as the other two complementizers seen above):

- (110) *estakîtt noix allagáko disen*
not-I-know when arrive.F AUX-CP
'I do not know when they will arrive'
cf. *nôix allagako-dí(ra)s?* 'when will they arrive?'

If the subordinate verb ends in *-n* (because it is a past tense form), there is no surface suffixation, but the presence of a complementizer can be detected because of the effect it has in impeding the union of participle and complementizer in one prosodic word (cf. section 2.8.5):

- (111) *estakîtt noix allagá sirian*
not-I-know when arrive AUX-(CP)
'I do not know when they will arrive'
cf. *nôix allaga-sirian?* 'when did they arrive?'
- (112) *estakîtt nun erosíko senduan*
not-I-know where buy.F AUX-(CP)
'I do not know where you would buy it'
cf. *nûn erosíko-sendúan?* 'where would you buy it?'

With verbs of asking, such as *pregunta* 'to ask', besides the suffix /-n/, a particle *ía* appears preceding the question word in the subordinate clause when the subordinate clause is in focus:

- (113) a. *maixúak pregunta eban ía nok ekižan erantzúna*
teacher.E ask AUX CP who he-knew-(CP) answer.A
'the teacher asked who knew the answer'
b. *maixúak pregunta eban erantzúna ía nok ekižan* 'idem'
c. *maixúak pregunta eban ía erantzúna nok ekižan* 'idem'
e. *maixúak pregunta eban erantzúna nok ekižan*
'THE TEACHER asked who knew the answer'
- (114) a. *lórak ía nori emóngo eutzasan pregunta-neutzan*
flowers.A CP who.D give.F AUX-(CP) ask-AUX
b. *pregunta neutzan lórak ía nori emóngo eutzasan*
c. *lórak nori emóngo eutzasan pregunta-neutzan*

- d. *ia lórak nori emóngo eutzasan pregunta-neutzan*
 'I asked him/her who s/he was going to give the flowers to'

Indirect yes-no questions can be constructed either with the suffix /-n/ or as conditional structures (as in Spanish or English) with the prefix /ba*/ 'if' on the conjugated verb:

- (115) a. *estakîtt sure laguna etorríko dan*
 not-I-know your friend.A come.F AUX-CP
 b. *estakîtt sure laguna etorríko bá-da*
 if-AUX
 'I don't know if your friend will come'

As with question-word questions, the particle *ia* is generally used with verbs of asking, unless the focus is elsewhere:

- (116) a. *sure lagunak pregunta eustan ia lekittarra banítzan*
 your friend-E ask AUX Lekeitian.A if-AUX
 'your friend asked me IF I was a Lekeitian'
 b. *ia lekittarra banítzan pregunta eustan sure lagunak* 'idem'
 c. *preguntâ eustan lekittarra banítzan*
 's/he ASKED me if a was a Lekeitian'
 d. *lekittarra banítzan pregunta eustan sure lagunak*
 'your friend asked me if I was A LEKEITIAN'
 e. *sure lagunâk pregunta eustan lekittarra banítzan*
 'YOUR FRIEND asked me if I was a Lekeitian'

In questions containing a subordinate yes-no question, the subordinate auxiliary may carry either the suffix /-nik/ or the prefix /ba*/ 'if, whether':

- (117) a. *bâ dakixu súen laguna datorren astian eskondúko danik?*
 M you-know your friend.A it-comes.REL week.IN marry.F AUX-CP
 b. *bâ dakixu súen laguna datorren astian eskondúko báda?*¹⁹
 'do you know whether your friend is getting married next week?'
- (118) a. *entzûn dosúe Indurain lélén geldittu danik?*
 hear AUX Indurain.A first stay AUX-CP
 b. *entzûn dosúe Indurain lélén geldittu báda?*
 'have you heard whether Indurain has finished first?'
- (119) a. *esân dábe partidirik emóngo dabénik telebisiñoyan?*
 say AUX game.PT give.F AUX-CP television.IN
 b. *esân dábe partidirik emóngo badábe telebisiñoyan?*
 'have they said whether they will offer the game on television?'

(19) Cf. *bâ dakixu súen laguna datorren astian eskondúko dala?* 'do you know that your friend is getting married next week?'

4.5.1.4. Indirect commands

Indirect commands can be expressed by means of nominalizations with the /-ko/ form of the verbal noun:

- (120) a. *liburúa martitzenerâko ekârteko esan-neutzan*
 book.A Tuesday.by bring.VN.of say-AUX
 ‘I told him/her to bring the book BY TUESDAY’
 b. *liburúa ekârteko martizenerâko esan-neutzan*
 ‘I told him/her TO BRING the book by Tuesday’
 c. *esan neutzan liburúa ekârteko martizenerâko*
 ‘I told him to bring THE BOOK by Tuesday’
- (121) a. *esan dotzut etôrteko ona auntxe momentúan*
 say AUX come.VN.of here.AL this.IN moment.IN
 ‘I have told you TO COME here immediately’
 b. *esan dotzut auntxe momentúan ona etôrteko*
 ‘I have told you to come here IMMEDIATELY’
- (122) *êitteko aginddu-gaittusen* (123) *etxera žûteko esan-dotzat*
 do.VN.of order-AUX house.AL go.VN.ofsay-AUX
 ‘s/he ordered us to do it’ ‘I told him/her to go home’
- (124) *txakurra, kalera atarâteko esan-dotzut*
 dog.A street.AL take-out.VN.of say-AUX
 ‘I told you to take the dog out to the street’
- (125) *erregalúa Koldôri emôteko esan-dotzâte*
 present.A Koldo.D give.VN.of say-AUX
 ‘I told them to give the present TO KOLDO’

Another, less common, possibility involves the construction with *euki* ‘to have’ and the absolutive singular of the verbal noun studied in section 3.2.3.1.1:

- (126) *etxera žutîa daukola esan-dotzat*
 house.AL go.VN.A s/he-has-CP say-AUX
 ‘I told him/her to go home’
- (127) *erregalúa Koldôri emotîa daukotzêla esan-dotzâte*
 present.A Koldo.D give.VN.A they-have-CP say-AUX
 ‘I told them to give the present TO KOLDO’
- (128) *liburúa martitzenerâko ekartîa daukola esan-dotzat*
 book.A Tuesday.for bring.VN.A s/he-has-CP say-AUX
 ‘I told him/her that s/he had to bring the book BY TUESDAY’

This construction is only possible when the subject of the subordinate clause is a third person. Thus examples (129a), (130a), where the subject of the subordinate

clause is a third person, are grammatical; but (129b), (130b), where the subject of the subordinate verb is a second person, are ungrammatical:

- (129) a. *txakurra, kalera ataratia daukola esan-dotzut*
 dog.A street.AL take-out.VN.A s/he-has-CPsay-AUX
 'I told you that s/he should take out the dog to the street'
 b. **txakurra kalera ataratia daukosula esan-dotzut*
 you-have-CP
 'I told you that you should take the dog out to the street'
- (130) a. *sagarra zatia daukola esan-dotzat*
 apple.A eat.VN.A s/he-has-CP say-AUX
 'I told him/her that s/he has to eat the apple'
 b. **sagarra zatia daukosula esan-dotzat*
 you-have-CP
 'I told him/her that you should eat the apple'

Verbs of volition and semantically similar verbs take nonfinite complements with the verbal noun which, if the main verb is negative, may be inflected in the partitive case:

- (131) *seuk eittia nai-dot*
 you.E do.VN.A want-AUX
 'I want for you to do it'
- (132) *es-tôt nai su moskortuta ibilttia/ibiltterik*
 not-AUX want you drunken walk.VN.A/PT
 'I don't want you to be drunk'
- (133) *pentzâ be es eĩn ona etortia/etorterik*
 think too not do here.AL come.VN.A/PT
 'don't even think about coming here'

4.5.1.5. Complements of aspectual verbs and verbs of perception

Verbs of perception take nonfinite complements with the imperfective participle. The aspectual verbs *asi* 'to begin' and *itxi* 'to stop, to quit' (also 'to leave' and 'to allow', cf. Sp. *dejar* (*de*)) take the same type of complement:

- (134) *urriten ikusi-neutzun* (136) *erriten itxi-dot*
 leave.I see-AUX smoke.I quit-AUX
 'I saw you leaving' 'I have quit smoking'
- (135) *Górka kantâten asi-san*
 Gorka.A sing.I begin-AUX
 'Gorka began to sing'

The verb *itxi* can also take a nominalized complement:

- (137) *erretía itxi-dot*
 smoke.VN.A quit-AUX
 'I have quit smoking'

When used with the meaning of 'to allow, to let', *itxi* also takes nonfinite imperfective complements:

- (138) *ês nabe itxi kalera urtétén*
 not AUX allow street.AL leave.I
 'they haven't allowed me to go out (to the street)'

4.5.1.6. Indirect object clauses

A nominalized clause with the dative singular of the verbal noun can be used with the function of indirect object of the main verb:

- (139) *estotzât gausa txarrik topáten txistíak kontatiári*
 not-AUX thing bad.PT find.I jokes.A tell.VN.D
 'I don't find anything wrong with (= to) telling jokes'
- (140) *estaukotzô ikararik žentía ilttiári*
 not-s/he has fear.PT people.A kill.VN.D
 's/he is not afraid of killing people'

4.5.1.7. Complement of a noun

Both finite clauses with the complementizer suffix /-n/ and nonfinite clauses with the /-ko/ form of the verbal noun can be used as complement of a noun. Whereas some nouns can take both finite and nonfinite complements, some other nouns can take only one type of complement:

- (141) *itxasora urtên biar dâben abixúa euki dâbe*
 sea.AL leave must AUX-CP notice.A have AUX
 'they have received notice that they must go to sea'
- (142) *itxasora urtetéko abixúa euki dâbe*
 leave.VN.of
 'they have received notice to go to sea'
- (143) *soldautzâra žun biar dâben deiža allaga-žako Josebâri*
 army.AL go must AUX-CP notice.A arrive-AUX Joseba.D
 'Joseba has received notice that he must join the army'
- (144) *soldautzâra žutéko deiža allaga-žako Josebâri*
 go.VN.of
 'Joseba has received notice to join the army'

- (145) *gerria asîko dan surrumurrua dago*
war.A start.F AUX-CP rumor.A is
'there is a rumor that the war will start'
- (146) *seu etorrîko sarien susmua euki-dot*
you come.F AUX-CP feeling.A have-AUX
'I had the feeling that you would come'
- (147) *aguasillâri deittûko dotzon ikaria euki-dou*
city-police.D call.F AUX-CP fear.A have-AUX
'we were afraid that s/he would call the City Police'
- (148) a. *gixona gabonetarâko allagâko žakon esperantzîa dauko Mârik*
man.A Christmas.for arrive.F AUX-CP hope.A s/he-has Mari.E
b. *gixona gabonetarâko allagatêko esperantzîa dauko Mârik*
'Mary hopes that her husband will arrive by Christmas'
- (149) *orreri morroyari arpeižan žotêko gogua emon-nau*
that.D guy.D face.IN hit.VN.of desire.A give-AUX
'I felt like hitting that guy in the face' (cf. Sp. 'me han dado ganas de darle en la cara a ese tipo')
- (150) *asko erân daben señalîa da ori*
a lot drink AUX-CP sign.A is that.A
'that is a sign that s/he has drunk a lot'

4.5.2. Relative clauses

Relative clauses precede the head noun. They can be finite or nonfinite. In finite clauses, the auxiliary takes a complementizer suffix /-n/:

- (151) *orixe dâ txakurra ekarrî daben mutilla*
that is dog.A bring AUX-CP boy.A
'that is the boy who brought the dog'
- (152) *seu ikûsten etorrî san gixona alkatia dâ*
you.A see.I come AUX-(CP) man.A mayor.A is
'the man who came to see you is the mayor'

The relativization of subjects and direct objects with a finite construction is unproblematic:

- (153) *orixe dâ Ameriketâra žûn san mutilla*
that is America.AL go AUX-(CP) boy.A
'that is the boy who went to America'
- (154) *orixe dâ txakurra ekarrî eban mutilla*
that is dog.A bring AUX-(CP) boy.A
'that is the boy who brought the dog'

- (155) *orixe dâ mutillak ekarrí eban txakurra*
 that is boy.E bring AUX-(CP) dog.A
 'that is the dog that the boy brought'
- (156) *orixe dâ atzo ikusí senduan mutilla*
 that is yesterday see AUX-(CP) boy.A
 'that is the boy whom you saw yesterday'

The relativization of indirect objects produces somewhat less felicitous results:

- (157) *?orixe dâ dirua emón eutzasun mutilla*
 that.A is money.A give AUX-(CP) boy.A
 'that is the boy to whom you gave the money'

As has been noted (cf. de Rijk 1972a, 1972b, Oyharçabal 1983, 1987), relativization of other arguments is more difficult. Without a context, whereas a sentence such as (158) is perfectly acceptable, a sentence such as (159) is of dubious acceptability and (160)-(161) are even less acceptable:

- (158) *auxe dâ bixí nasen etxia*
 this is live AUX-CP house.A
 'this is the house where I live'
- (159) *? orixe dâ etorri garien automobilla*
 that is come AUX-CP car.A
 'that is the car in which we came'
- (160) **? orixe dâ María bixí dan mutilla*
 that is Maria.A live AUX-CP boy.A
 'that is the boy that Maria lives with'
- (161) **? orixe dâ žán dogun máiža²⁰*
 that is eat AUX-CP table.A
 'that is the table that we ate at'

The acceptability of such sentences is strongly conditioned by pragmatic factors. As has also been noted (de Rijk 1972a, 1972b), acceptability improves dramatically when the relativized NP takes the same case in both the main and the relative clause:

- (162) *María bixí dan mutillágas etorri-da*
 Maria.A live AUX-CP boy.C come-AUX
 'Mary came with the boy that she lives with'

Nonrestrictive relative clauses are appositions:

- (163) *Péru, atzo neu ikústen etorri sana, neure*
 Peru.A yesterday I.A see.I come AUX-CP-DET.A my

(20) This sentence is perfectly acceptable with the pragmatically odd reading 'that is the table that we ate'.

lagun andiza dâ

friend big.A is

'Peru, the one who came to see me yesterday, is a good friend of mine'

Subjects of unaccusative verbs and direct objects can be relativized by means of a nonfinite construction with the preaccenting suffixes *-tako* or *-niko* (cf. section 2.8.4):

- (164) *orixe dâ Ameriketâra žúniko/žúndako mutilla*
 that.A is America.AL go.RELP boy.A
 'that is the boy who went to America'
- (165) *atzo allagâniko/allagâtako gixona ikusi-dot*
 yesterday arrive.RELP man.A see-AUX
 'I have seen the man who came yesterday'
- (166) *atzo žaižóniko/žaižótako umia lodiza dâ*
 yesterday be-born.RELP child.A fat.A is
 'the child who was born yesterday is fat'
- (167) *orixe dâ atzo suk ikusíniko/ikusíttako mutilla*
 that.A is yesterday you.E see.RELP boy.A
 'that is the boy that you saw yesterday'
- (168) *orixe dâ mutillak ekarríniko/ekarríttako txakurra*
 that.A is boy.E bring.RELP dog.A
 'that is the dog that the boy brought'
- (169) *atzo nik apurtúniko/apurtúttako basúa loizetâra bota-dot*
 yesterday I.E break.RELP glass.A garbage.AL throw-AUX
 'I have thrown away the glass that I broke yesterday'

On the other hand, the relativization of real transitive subjects and other arguments using this strategy is a lot more difficult. The following examples are unacceptable without a context (they may, nevertheless, become acceptable under certain contextual conditions):

- (170) ??*orixe dâ txakurra ekarríniko/ekarríttako mutilla*
 that.A is dog.A bring.RELP boy.A
 'that is the boy who brought the dog'
- (171) ??*orixe dâ dirua ostúniko/ostúttako mutilla*
 that.A is money.A steal.RELP boy.A
 'that is the boy who stole the money'
- (172) ??*orixe dâ dirua emóniko/emóndako mutilla*
 that.A is money.A give.RELP boy.A
 'that is the boy who was given the money'

The same situation obtains with subjects of pseudo-transitive or unergative verbs (intransitive verbs which take transitive inflection, cf. section 4.4.3). The relativiza-

tion of these subjects by means of a nonfinite construction also produces results of very dubious acceptability:

- (173) **?orixe dâ berandura árte lo éñíkoléimddako gixona*
 that.A is late.AL until sleep do.RELP man.A
 ‘that is the man who slept until late’
- (174) **?orixe dâ etxétik urténíkolurténdako gixona*
 that.A is house.AB leave.RELP man.A
 ‘that is the man who came out of the house’

4.5.3. Cleft sentences

In cleft sentences the emphasized constituent preceding the copula is inflected as would correspond to an argument of the subordinate verb. The subordinate verb carries the suffix /-la/ or /-na/. In the following examples, the (b) sentences are clefts:

- (175) a. *orretxêgas mutillâgas etorri-nas*
 that.C boy.C come-AUX
 ‘I have come with that boy’
 b. *orretxêgas mutillâgas da etorri nasena*
 that.C boy.C is come AUX-CP
 ‘it is with that boy that I have come’ (lit. ‘with that boy (it) is that I have come’)
- (176) a. *erregalúa orrentzâko mutillentzâko ekarri-dâbe*
 present.A those.B boys.B bring-AUX
 ‘they have brought the present for those boys’
 b. *orrentzâko mutillentzâko da erregalúa ekarri dabéna*
 those.B boys.B is present.A bring AUX-CP
 ‘it is for those boys that they have brought the present’
 (lit. ‘for those boys (it) is that they have brought the presents’)
- (177) a. *premižúa orreri mutillarî emon-dôtze*
 prize.A that.D boy.D give-AUX
 ‘they have given the prize to that boy’
 b. *orreri mutillari dâ premižúa emón dotzéna*
 that.D boy.D is prize.A give AUX-CP
 ‘it is to that boy that they have given the prize’
 (lit. ‘to that boy (it) is that they have given the prize’)

4.5.4. Adverb clauses

4.5.4.1. Time clauses

There are finite time clauses indicating simultaneity (‘when’-clauses) where the auxiliary carries the suffix /-n/ followed by the inesive case marker:

- (178) a. *etörtén sarinian, ekârri liburúa*
 come.I AUX-when bring book.A
 'when you come, bring the book'
 b. *etörtén sarinian ekârri liburúa*
 'when you COME, bring the book'
- (179) *Lekitton newanian, Kôldo ikusi-neban*
 Lekeitio.IN I-was-when Koldo.A see AUX
 'when I was in Lekeitio, I saw Koldo'
- (180) *guardasolâ galdu nebala konturatu-nitzan etxian sartûn nitzanian*
 umbrella.A lose AUX-CP realize-AUX house.IN enter AUX-when
 'I realized that I had lost THE UMBRELLA when I entered the house'

The subordinate verb with the complementizer suffix /-n/ may be followed by the position *artían* 'while':

- (181) *afarizâ preparâten newan artían, Péruk komunâ garbittu-eban*
 dinner.A prepare.I I-was-(CP) while Peru.E bathroom.A clean-AUX
 'while I was cooking dinner, Peru cleaned the bathroom'
- (182) *goixétan Kôldo rradizña entzûten eotén-da, armosua žâten*
 mornings.IN Koldo.A radio.A listen.I be.I-AUX breakfast.A eat.I
daben artían
 AUX-CP while
 'in the morning, Koldo listens to the radio while he eats his breakfast'

Another possibility is for the conjugated verb to carry the suffix /-la/, but this construction is only possible with past events (simultaneous with a past event in the main clause):

- (183) a. *lo ewasala, lapûrrak sartun-sirian*
 sleep they-were-CP thieves.A enter-AUX
 'as they were sleeping, THE THIEVES got inside'
 b. *lo ewasalâ sartun-sirian lapûrrak*
 'AS THEY WERE SLEEPING, the thieves got inside'
 c. *lo ewasala, sartûn ein sirian lapûrrak*
 'as they were sleeping, the thieves GOT INSIDE'

In this construction, the verb in the main clause may be a present form and may, nevertheless, be interpreted as indicating a past event:

- (184) *lo dagosela, lapûrrak sartun-sirian*
 sleep they-are-CP thieves.A enter-AUX
 'as they were (lit. are) sleeping, the thieves got inside'

Time clauses expressing a simultaneous event can also be nonfinite with the suffix /-keran*/ 'upon':

- (185) a. *etxian sartukéran, guardasolâ galdú nebala konturatu-nitzan*
house.IN enter.upon umbrella.A lose AUX-CP realize-AUX
'upon entering the house, I realized that I had lost THE UMBRELLA'
b. *guardasola galdû eiñebala konturatu nitzan etxian sartukéran*
'upon entering the house, I realized that I had LOST the umbrella'

The postposition *bittartían* 'while' (after a conjugated verb with the suffix /-n/) also expresses simultaneity:

- (186) *lo ewasan bittartían, lapûrrak sartun-sirian*
sleep they-were-(CP) while thieves.A enter-AUX
'while they slept, the thieves got in'

A repeated event is expressed with *gustižan* or *gustižian* 'every time' or with *bakotxian* 'each time' after a conjugated verb with the suffix /-n/:

- (187) a. *Lekittora nóyan gustižan, neure aittítta ikustén-dot*
Lekeitio.AL I-go-CP every.IN my grandfather.A see-AUX
'every time I go to Lekeitio, I see my grandfather'
b. *Lekittora nóyan gustižân ikustén-dot neure aittítta*
'EVERY TIME I go to Lekeitio, I see my grandfather'
- (188) *orrek neskiak ikústen naben bakotxian barrê eittén-dau*
that.E girl.E see.I AUX-CP each.IN laugh do.I-AUX
'that girl laughs every time she sees me'

An event previous to that of the main clause is expressed by nonfinite clauses with *báiño ariñágo* 'sooner than, before', *aurrétik* 'before' or *orduko* 'before, by the time' following the perfective participle:

- (189) a. *urten baiño ariñágo, sarrátu bentának*
leave than sooner close windows.A
'before leaving, CLOSE the windows'
b. *sarrátu bentának urten baiño ariñágo*
'CLOSE the windows before leaving'
c. *urten baiño ariñágo sarratu bentának*
'close the windows BEFORE LEAVING'
- (190) *Ameriketára žun aurrétik, eskôla baten eo-nitzan biarrían*
Americas.AL go before school one.IN be-AUX work.IN
'before going to America, I worked at a school'
- (191) *amentxê eon-da, seuk deittú aurrétik*
here be-AUX you.E call before
's/he was here before you called'
- (192) *esamíña entregá orduko, errepâsa ondo eskribidú dosuna*
exam.A deliver before review well write AUX-REL.A
'before handing in the exam, go over what you have written'

- (193) *su biarrian así orduko gabâ eingo-ra*
 you.A work.IN begin before night.A make.F-AUX
 'by the time you start working, the night will come'

Finite clauses with the expression *ordurako* 'by the time' following a finite verb with the complementizer /-n/ are also employed. Instead of *ordurako*, the verb may take the suffix *-(e)rako* after the complementizer /-n/:

- (194) *su satsosen ordurako pelikulía amaittûta eongó-ra*
 you.A you-come-AUX by the time movie.A finished be.F-AUX
 'by the time you come the movie will be finished'
- (195) *es-tâ iñor geldittúko amen, polisíza datorren ordurako*
 not-AUX anybody remain.F here police.A come.AUX by the time
 'nobody will remain here by the time the police come'
- (196) *burua büeltá nebanerako, txoriža eskapâta ewan*
 head.A turn AUX-CP-for bird.A escaped it-was
 'by the time I turned my head, the bird had already escaped'
- (197) *illun ewân gu etxera allagá giñinerako*
 dark it-was we.A house.AL arrive AUX-CP-for
 'it was dark by the time we arrived home'

An event taking place after that of the main clause can be expressed with *-ta gero* 'after' or with the suffix *-takuan* (which, like /-tako/, assigns enclitic accent), both following a perfective participle:

- (198) a. *žan da gero, betî botatén-dot siestia*
 eat and later always throw.I-AUX nap.A
 'after eating, I ALWAYS take a nap'
 b. *žân da gero botatén-dot beti siestia*
 'AFTER EATING I always take a nap'
 c. *siestia, žân da gero botatén-dot beti*
 'the nap, I always take (it) AFTER EATING'
- (199) *esamiña amaittútakuan, tabernarâ žungo-gára*
 exam.A finished.of.IN tavern.AL go.F-AUX
 'after finishing the exam, we will go to the bar'

The expressions *eta segîžan* and *eta gitxira* 'and immediately, and right away' (cf. Sp. *y en seguida*, *y al poco*, respectively) following a perfective participle indicate a more immediately following event:

- (200) *nire txakurra katu bat ikusí tta segîžan saunkâka astén-da*
 my dog.A cat one.A see and immediately barking begin.I-AUX
 'my dog starts barking right away when he sees a cat'

- (201) *makiñia erosí tta gitxira fállo bat eukala konturatu-nitzan*
 machine.A buy and little.AL fault one.A it-had-AUX realize-AUX
 ‘shortly after buying the machine, I noticed that it had a problem’

The expression *eta batera* ‘at once’ may indicate a simultaneous or immediately following event:

- (202) *neuk kalera urtén da batera argizak amata-sirian*
 I.E street.AL leave and one-AL lights.A extinguish-AUX
 ‘when I went out to the street, the lights went out’
- (203) *makurtú ta batera prâkak apurtu-žakosen*
 bend and one.AL pants.A break-AUX
 ‘when s/he bent over, his/her pants ripped apart’

An immediately following event can also be expressed by *báiño es eiñ* lit. ‘not do (other) than’ (cf. Sp. *no hacer sino*):

- (204) *neu dútxan sartun báiño es nitzan eiñ, da ân kentzen-dábe ura*
 I.A shower.IN enter than not AUX do and there take out.I-AUX water.A
 ‘I just got in the shower, and they cut off the water’

A related construction with the same meaning takes the expression *báiño es* ‘not (other) than’ following either a perfective participle or a verbal noun:

- (205) *neu dútxan sartu/sartzia báiño es, da ân kentzen-dábe ura*
 I shower.IN enter/VN.A than not and there take out.I-AUX water.A

‘Until’ is expressed with the postposition *árte* or *artían* following the perfective participle:

- (206) *seu žun árte/artían esnâs trankill egóngo*
 you.A go until not-AUX calm be.F
 ‘until you leave, I will not be calm’
- (207) *neu etorri árte/artían su ês mobidu*
 I.A come until you.A not move
 ‘don’t move until I come’
- (208) *euriža geldittu árte/artían kontzižopían eon-giñian*
 rain.A stop until Town Hall-under.IN be-AUX
 ‘we stayed in the Town Hall’s arcade until the rain stopped’

‘Since’-clauses (in their temporal meaning) are expressed by finite clauses with the complementizer suffix /-n/ followed by the ablative suffix:

- (209) *ori andria posik daô semia Ameriketátik allagá žakonétik*
 that.A woman.A happy she-is son.A Americas.AB arrive AUX-CP.AB
 ‘that woman is happy since her son arrived from America’

- (210) *eskondú sanétik fiñ-fiñ dabill*
 marry AUX-(CP).AB correct s/he-walks
 's/he is behaving very well since s/he got married'

In this construction the subordinate verb may be followed by *ona* 'hitherto':

- (211) *doktorawa amaittú ebanétik ona es-tâu eser geižágo*
 doctorate.A finish AUX-CP.AB hitherto not-AUX anything more
argittaratu
 publish
 's/he has not published anything more since s/he finished his/her PhD'
- (212) *asidentía eukí nebanétik ona mariuâkiñ ibilli-nas*
 accident.A have AUX-CP-AB hitherto dizziness.C walk-AUX
 'since I had the accident, I have been feeling dizzy'

4.5.4.2. Manner clauses

Finite manner clauses are formed with the postpositions *modura*, *moduan* 'manner, all/in' or *antzera* 'like' (lit. 'resemblance, all.') following a verb with the suffix /-n/:

- (213) *seuk nai dosun modurâ/moduân éngot*
 you.E want AUX-CP manner.AL/IN do.F-AUX
 'I will do it as you want'
- (214) *dana žakîngo baéban modura/moduan esa-eban*
 everything.A know.F if-AUX-(CP) manner.AL/IN say-AUX
 's/he said it as if s/he knew everything'
- (215) *monûak ibiltten disen antzera ibilttén-da gure jefía*
 monkeys.A walk.I AUX-CP like walk.I-AUX our boss.A
 'our boss walks like monkeys walk'

Uninflected clauses with the imperfective participle or the predicative adjectival participle can be used as complements of manner:

- (216) *astua bustana mobirûten etorri-san gewana*
 donkey.A tail.A move.I come-AUX gu.AL
 'the donkey came towards us waving its tail'
- (217) *txiližûak éitten botaten-dítxus orrek abadiak sermóyak*
 yells.A do.I throw.I-AUX that.E priest.A sermons.A
 'that priest gives his sermons yelling'
- (218) *orrek pelotarizak burua makurtûta žokatzén-dau*
 that.E ball-player.E head.A lowered play.I-AUX
 'that ball-player plays with his head down'
- (219) *sêlan atará doten olako nóta ona? asko ikasîttal/ikâsten*
 how get AUX-CP such grade good.A a lot learned/learn.I
 'how did I get such a good grade? (by) studying hard'

- (220) *ondarrian asko ibiltten/ibillítta áinkak gogortû eitten-díras*
 beach.I a lot walk.I/walked legs.A strengthen do.I-AUX
 'by walking on the beach your legs get stronger'

4.5.4.3. Purpose (final) clauses

Purpose or final clauses can be finite or nonfinite. In finite final clauses, the conjugated verb takes the suffix *-n/*. Subjunctive forms are optionally used in those tenses for which they exist:

- (221) *seu žûm sarien/saixen eiñ-ddau ori*
 you.A go AUX-CP do-AUX that.A
 's/he has done that so you will leave'
- (222) *ori diruori, Koldóri liburûa erosi dotzasun emon-dotzut*
 that.A money-that.A Koldo.D book.A buy AUX-CPgive-AUX
 'I have given you that money for you to buy Koldo the book'

Nonfinite final clauses are formed with the *-ko/* form of the verbal noun:

- (223) *seuk žakittêko diñótzut*
 you.E know.VN.of I-tell-you
 'I am telling you, so that you know'
- (224) *leidutêko emon neutzun ori liburúa*
 read.VN.of give AUX that.A book.A
 'I gave you that book for you to read'
- (225) *ónek larrósak altaran ipinttêko díras*²¹
 those.A roses.A altar.IN put.VN.of they-are
 'those roses are to put on the altar'

Nonfinite clauses formed with the verbal noun with the suffix *-ko-tan/* are used as complements of *egon* 'to be, to stay' (and some other verbs) in expressions with the meaning 'to have the intention, to be meaning':

- (226) *beti sagôs Ainhoári deitzekótan*
 always you-are Ainhoa.D call.VN.of.IN
 'you are always meaning to call Ainhoa'
- (227) *ondarrera žutekótan eon gara, baiña tapâ eiñ-ddau eweldžak*
 beach.AL go.VN.of.IN be AUX but cover do-AUX weather.E
 'we had the intention of going to the beach, but the weather has gotten cloudy'

The verb *žuan* 'to go' takes final complements with the imperfective participle:

(21) In this example the whole purpose clause [*altaran ipinttêko*] is the focus. This sentence can be translated as 'these roses are TO PUT on the altar' or as 'these roses are to put ON THE ALTAR'. It is not possible to focalize part of the purpose clause. That is **ónek larrósak altarán ipinttêko díras* is ungrammatical.

- (228) *ospittalerâ dôyas, amúma bisittâten*
 hospital.AL they-go grandmother.A visit.I
 'they are going to the hospital in order to visit their grandmother'

Nonfinite final clauses can also be formed with the postpositions *árren* or *(g)áittik* 'for, in order to' following the absolutive form of the verbal noun:

- (229) *bera librâti árren akusa-gaittus guri*²²
 s/he.A free.VN for accuse-AUX we.D
 'in order to free him/herself, s/he has accused us'
- (230) *guraso bätzuk erosêr eingo-leukié éuren semalabári žâten emóti árren*
 parent some.E anything.A do.F-AUX their children.D eat.I give.VN for
 'some parents would do anything to feed their children'
- (231) *beren lagunak lelungóko premižúá irabásti áittik tranpîa eiban juesak*
 his friend.E first prize.A win.VN for trick.A do-AUX judge.E
 'in order for his friend to win the first prize, the judge cheated'

4.5.4.4. Cause clauses

In the main type of cause adverbial clause, the conjugated verb bears the suffix /-lako/ 'because':

- (232) *Míren ingelesa ikâsten dago, datorren urtian Ameriketâra*
 Miren.A English.A learn.I she-is it-comes.REL year.IN America. AL
nai dabelako žun
 want AUX-CP go
 'Miren is learning English, because she wants to go to America next year'
- (233) *gogua emôn nabelako eiñ-ddot olan*
 feeling.A give AUX-CP do-AUX thus
 'I have done it that way, because I have felt like it'²³

A related suffix is /-lakoan/ (with the inessive marker), which gives rise to clauses with the meaning 'on account of, thinking that':

- (234) *tontúa dalakuan, engaňâ nai-ixan-dábe (eiñ)*
 stupid.A he-is-CP cheat went-be-AUX do
 'thinking that s/he is stupid, they have tried to cheat him/her'
- (235) *kanpiňñan žun diras Iparraldéra, eweldi ederra éingo dabelakuan*
 camping.IN go AUX Iparralde.AL weather good.Ado.F AUX-CP
 'they have gone camping to Iparralde, thinking that the weather is going to be fine'

(22) *libratí(a) árren* -> *libráti árren* 'in order to free'

(23) Cf. Sp. 'porque me ha dado la gana'

Another type of construction indicating cause is a coordinate structure where the conjunction *éta* 'and' is used as a postposition at the end of the clause indicating a cause or reason. That this is a coordinate structure, rather than involving subordination, is shown by the fact that focus accent is assigned independently to each of the two clauses:

- (236) *berâ presenta-žakun, guk esgenduân esagútzen éta*
 s/he.A introduce-AUX we.E not-AUX know.I and
 's/he introduced him/herself to us, because/since we didn't know him/her'
- (237) *amâta rradizúa, burukomiña daukât eta*
 turn off radio.A headache.A I-have and
 'turn off the radio, I have a headache'

The clause-initial complementizer *se* 'that' can also introduce coordinate causal clauses, the final conjunction *éta* being optional in this case:

- (238) *êsnoya uritéten, se biar pillûa daukat (éta)*
 not-I-go leave.I that work a lot.A I-have and
 'I am not going to go out, because I have a lot of work'
- (239) *etôrri mesedes, se jentîa biar dou (éta)*
 come please that people.A need AUX and
 'Please come, because we need people'
- (240) *estakîtt ser nai daben, se ondiñóko estôt eiñ barbarik*
 not-I-know what want AUX-CP that still not-AUX do word.PT
beráas
 him/her.C
 'I don't know what s/he wants, because I haven't talked to him/her yet'
- (241) *etxerâ nóya, se amen es-taô negosižórik (éta)*
 house.AL I-go that here not-is business.PT and
 'I am going home because there is nothing to do here' (lit. 'there is no business here')

Another possibility in finite causal clauses is for the subordinate verb to take the general complementizer suffix /-la/, followed by *éta*. In this construction there is an implicit verb of 'saying' or 'thinking':

- (242) *es-tâ etorri afarira, ês taukola gogorik éta*
 not-AUX come supper.AL not he-has-CP desire.PT and
 's/he hasn't come to supper, on account that s/he doesn't feel like it'
- (243) *dirurik ês taukéla ta, Andoni ta Maribi es-tirâ*
 money.PT not they-have-CP and Andoni.A and Maribi.A not-AUX
eskondúko ondiñóko
 marry.F yet

'since they don't have any money, Andoni and Maribi are not going to get married yet'

- (244) *es-totzaû eser esan, asarratûko dala ta*
 not-AUX anything say get angry.F AUX-CP and
 'we haven't told him/her anything, (thinking) that s/he might get angry'

Nonfinite clauses with the postposition (*g*)*aittik* or *arren*, which were mentioned in the previous section as expressing purpose or finality, may also have a causal meaning, as in the following examples:

- (245) *maixúak berba eittia aittik kastiga-nau*
 teacher.E word do.VN.A for punish-AUX
 'the teacher has punished me for talking'
- (246) *dirurik es emotia aittik sekuestra-dábe*
 money.PT not give.VN.A for kidnap.AUX
 'they have kidnapped him/her for not paying money'
- (247) *kalerâ bialduko-sáittut, txarto portáti arren*
 street.AL send.F-AUX badly behave.VN.A for
 'I will send you out, for behaving badly'
- (248) *seu ikústi arren etorri-naix ona*
 you.A see.VN.A for come-AUX here.AL
 'I have come here in order to see you'

There is another type of finite cause clause involving the suffix */-les*/* 'since', although the meaning of these clauses is not strictly causal:

- (249) *dirurik es-taukéles, estôt pentzáten erosi-al-dabénik*
 money.PT not-they-have-since not-AUX think.I buy-can-AUX-CP
 'since they don't have money, I don't think they can buy it'
- (250) *seuk dakixúles, segaittik es násu esaten?*
 you.E you-know-since why not AUX say.I
 'since you know it, why don't you tell me?'

4.5.4.5. Consequence/result clauses

There is a correlative construction of result where *aiñ* (*asko*) 'so (much)' is introduced in the first clause and the complementizer *se* 'that' is used as link between the two clauses:

- (251) *Górkak aiñ diru asko daukó se ori danâ erosi-léike*²⁴
 Gorka.E so money much he-has that that all.A buy-AUX
 'Gorka has so much money, that he can buy all of that'

(24) Or *Górkak ainbêste diru asko dauko...*

- (252) *âiñ urrun dagó se, egun bî tardatén-da allagáten*
 so far it-is that day two take.I-AUX arrive.I
 'it is so far, that it takes two days to get there'
- (253) *âiñ asko žan-genduán se, iža errementâ ein-giñian*
 so much eat-AUX that almost explode do-AUX
 'we ate so much, that we almost exploded'

4.5.4.6. Degree/comparative clauses

a/ Comparisons of inequality

In comparisons expressing inequality, the standard of comparison is followed by *báiño* 'than'. It is important to distinguish the comparison of quantities from the comparison of qualities. To compare unequal quantities, the words *geižágo* 'more' and *gitxiágo* 'less' are used:

- (254) *Górkak Mariak báiño diru geižágo dauko*
 Gorka.E Maria.E than money more he-has
 'Gorka has more money than Maria'
- (255) *nik suk báiño diru gitxiágo daukat*
 I.E you.E than money less I-have
 'I have less money than you'

Sentence (256) illustrates the comparison of unequal qualities. As in all Basque dialects, only possession of a quality to a higher degree than the standard can be expressed (with the comparative suffix */-ago*/* 'more, -er' attached to the compared adjective).²⁵

- (256) *Górka Mariá báiño altuáwa da*
 Gorka.A Maria.A than taller he-is
 'Gorka is taller than Maria'

b/ Comparisons of equality

When equal quantities are compared *béste* 'other' is postposed to the standard of comparison, which takes the genitive case:

- (257) *Górkak sure béste diru dauko*
 Gorka.E your other money he-has
 'Gorka has as much money as you'
- (258) *Ainarak èuren béste andráko dauko*
 Ainara.E their other doll she-has
 'Ainara has as many dolls as them'

In constructions with the meaning 'as much as possible', *béste* 'other' is used after a form of *al ixan* 'to be able':

(25) Sentences such as 'Gorka is less tall than Maria' are not directly expressable in Basque.

- (259) *Kóldok al ixâ eban béste korridu-eban*
Koldo.E can be AUX-(CP) other run-AUX
'Koldo ran as much as he could'
- (260) *al-ixâ neban béste perretxiko artu-nebasan*
can-be AUX-(CP) other mushroom take-AUX
'I picked up as many mushrooms as I could'

Instead of *béste*, a superlative form is used in comparisons involving adverbs. The two constructions illustrated in the examples are employed:

- (261) *Képa al-ixâ eban aríñen etorri-san*
Kepa.A can-be AUX-(CP) fastest come-AUX
'Kepa came as soon/fast as he could'
- (262) *Aitorrek al-ixâ eban obetúen ei-ban esamíña*
Aitor.E can-be AUX-(CP) best do-AUX exam.A
'Aitor did the exam as well as he could'
- (263) *Retégik al-ixâ ebanik eta gogórren žo-eban pelotía*
Retegi.E can-be AUX-CP and hardest hit-AUX ball.A
'Retegi hit the ball as hard as he could'

In the comparison of equal qualities and in comparisons of equality involving nouns *bestêko* 'as much as', lit. 'of other', *lakóxe* 'like' and *moduko*, lit. 'like' are used, the standard of comparison being in the genitive case:

- (264) *Górka Edürnen bestêko/moduko altúa da*
Gorka.A Edurne.G other.of/manner.of tall.A he-is
'Gorka is as tall as Edurne'
- (265) a. *Górka seure bestekúa da*
Gorka.A your other.of.A he-is
'Gorka is your equal (is as much as you are)'
b. *Górka seure lakoxía da / seure modukua dâ*
'Gorka is like you'
- (266) *Sesíliok geure bestêko abillidadia danko*
Sesilio.E our other.of skill.A he-has
'Sesilio has a much skill as we do'
- (267) *Kóldon lakóxe gixon bat da*
Koldo.G like man one.A he-is
'He is a man like Koldo'
- (268) *Benítok neure bestêko etxe karua erakutzi-nau*
Benito.E my other.of house expensive.A show-AUX
'Benito has shown me a house as expensive as mine'

- (269) *orrek familíazak geure bestêko probléma gogórrak daukos*
 that.E family.E our other.of problem hard.pl.A it-has-them
 ‘that family has problems as serious as ours’

Correlative structures of the type ‘the more/the less... the more/the less’ in which quantities are compared are expressed by *semat geižágo/gitxiágo... geižágo/gitxiágo*, lit. ‘as much more/less... more/less’ (cf. Sp. *cuanto más/menos... más/menos*). The verb in the main sentence carries the complementizer /-n/:

- (270) *semat geižágo entzúten dotzuten, gitxiágo aittuten-dótzut*
 how much more hear.I AUX-CP less understand.I-AUX
 ‘the more I hear you, the less I understand you’
- (271) *semat geižágo estudižáten dosun, geižágo žakingó-su*
 how much more study.I AUX-CP more know.F-AUX
 ‘the more you study, the more you will know’

If qualities are compared in such correlative structures, the comparative suffix /-ago*/ is added to the adjectives or adverbs:

- (272) *semat gogorrágo žóten neban globiúa, gorágo allagatén-san*
 how much harder hit.I AUX balloon.A higher arrive.I-AUX
 ‘the harder I hit the balloon, the higher it got’

It is possible to leave the verb unexpressed (as in English):

- (273) *semat txikiñáo, obetô* (274) *semat argalágo ta biskorrôo*
 how much smaller better how much thinner and quicker
 ‘the smaller, the better’ ‘the thinner, the quicker’
- (275) *semat andižóo ta tontuôo*
 how much bigger and more stupid
 ‘the bigger, the more stupid’

In superlative constructions, the noun takes the partitive ending:

- (276) *ori Lekittoko/Lekittórik etxêrik andižéna da*
 that.A Lekeitio.of/AB house.PT biggest it-is
 ‘that is the biggest house in Lekeitio’

4.5.4.7. Concessive clauses

There are several types of concessive structures. Nonfinite concessive clauses can be formed with the postposition *árren* ‘although, even though, in spite of’ following the perfective participle or the postposition *gáittik* ‘for’ (lit. ‘theme, abl.’), in which case the perfective participle carries singular absolutive inflection. As was mentioned in sections 4.5.4.3 and 4.5.4.4, these same postpositions convey a causal or final meaning when used with the verbal noun:

- (277) *erantzúna žakiñ árren, es-ebân eser esan*
 answer.A know despite not-AUX anything say
 ‘even though s/he knew the answer (in spite of knowing the answer),
 s/he didn’t say anything’
- (278) *partidua galdu árren, ondiñoko positik daôds amerikanúak*
 match.A lose despite still happy they-are Americans.A
 ‘despite losing the match, the Americans are still happy’
- (279) *txikiña ixana gáittik, inddar asko raukô*
 small been.A for strength much s/he-has
 ‘for being so small, s/he is very strong’
- (280) *es-tôt aittu askorik, atênto entzúten egona gáittik*
 not-AUX understand much.PT attentive listen been.A for
 ‘I haven’t understood much, despite being listening attentively’

Another possibility for nonfinite clauses with a concessive meaning is the use of the expression *naix eta* ‘although, even though’ (lit. ‘wanting and’) preceding the perfective participle:

- (281) *naix eta erantzúna žakiñ, es-ebân eser esan*
 though and answer.A know not-AUX anything say
 ‘even though s/he knew the answer, s/he didn’t say anything’

In finite concessive clauses the verb takes the conditional prefix /ba*/ ‘if’ and is followed by *be* ‘also’:

- (282) *aringarínga ba-dóya be, es-tâ allagáko*
 fast-fast if-s/he-goes too not-AUX arrive.F
 ‘even if s/he runs, s/he won’t arrive’

4.5.4.8. Clauses of proviso

Adverb clauses of proviso are formed with the postposition *eskéro* (etymologically from *gero* ‘later’ following a participle with the instrumental suffix /-s/). From the point of view of their meaning, these sentences come very close to conditional structures:

- (283) *Lekittora allaga eskéro, naikû eiñ-ddou*
 Lekeitio.AL arrive provided enough do-AUX
 ‘provided that we arrive to Lekeitio, we’ve done enough’
- (284) *batzárra ariñ amaittu eskéro, txikîto bátzuk ártzen žungo-gára*
 meeting.A fast finish provided glass some.A take.I go.F-AUX
 ‘provided that the meeting ends soon, we will go for a drink’

Nominalized clauses in the comitative case can also be used with a similar meaning:

- (285) *Lekittora allagatiágas, naikû eiñddou*²⁶
 Lekeitio.AL arrive.VN.C enough do-AUX
 'as long as we arrive to Lekeitio, we've done enough'

4.5.4.9. Conditional clauses

The conditional construction was studied in sections 3.2.3.7 and 3.2.3.8. The following are examples of conditional sentences:

- (286) *astirik ba-daukósu, gwâsen auntxen*
 time.PT if-you-have let us go right now
 'if you have time, let us go right now'
- (287) *dirurik ba-néuko, emôngo neutzun*
 money.PT if-I-had give.F AUX
 'if I had money, I would give it to you'
- (288) *dirurik euki-ixan-ba-néban, emôngo neutzun*
 money.PT have-be-if-AUX give.F AUX
 'if I had had money, I would have given it to you'

Nominalized constructions with the suffix /-ko-tan*/ can be used with a conditional meaning:

- (289) *aburridúta eotekótan, naižôo dot etxian geldittu*
 bored be-CP prefer AUX house.IN stay
 'if I am going to be bored, I'd rather stay at home'
- (290) *esamiñéra es presentatekótan, ês asi estudižáten on*
 exam.AL not present-CP not start study.I now
 'if you are not going to show up for the exam, don't start studying now'

Nonfinite clauses with *esian* (or *esik*) after a perfective participle are employed with the meaning of 'unless':

- (291) *nire andriak lagundú esian, esîñ ixángo-t biarra amaittu*
 my woman.E help unless not be able be.F-AUX work.A finish
 'unless my wife helps me, I won't be able to finish the job'
- (292) *eurîza ixán esian, plasân ixangó-ra konsiertua*
 rain.A be unless square.IN be.F-AUX concert.A
 'unless it rains, the concert will be in the Main Square'
- (293) *Alásne ixán esik, es-tôt pentzáten iñor etorriko danik*
 Alazne be unless not-AUX think.I anybody come.F AUX-CP
 'except for Alazne, I don't think anybody will come'

(26) Cf. Sp. 'con llegar a Lekeitio'

4.5.4.10. Other types of adverbial adjunct clauses

Nonfinite adverbial clauses with the meaning of 'instead of' are constructed with *biarrian*, *biarkúan* (based on *biar* 'need, obligation') or *barik* 'without' (which assigns enclitic accent) after a perfective participle:

- (294) *estudiža biarrian/biarkúan, sinêra žungó-nas*
 study instead theater.AL go.F-AUX
 'instead of studying, I am going to the movies'
- (295) *êixu ein biar dosuna, tontokeržak esáten ibillí barik*
 do.IMP do must AUX-REL.A stupid things.A say.I walk without
 'do what you have to do, instead of being there saying stupid things'
- (296) *iñoáittik txarto berba éitten ibillí barik, seáittik es-sára ixilik*
 anybody.for badly word do.I walk without why not-AUX silent
geldítzen?
 stay.I
 'instead of saying bad thing about other people, why don't you keep quiet?'

Nominalized clauses with the comitative suffix are used with basically the same meaning and function as infinitival clauses with *con* in Spanish:

- (297) *didar eittiágas es-tosú eser lortúko*
 shout do.VN.C not-AUX anything obtain.F
 'you won't get anything by shouting' (cf. Sp. 'con gritar no vas a lograr nada')
- (298) *naiku dâ klaséra žutiágas kurtzua aprobatéko*
 enough is class.AL go.VN.C course.A pass.VN.of
 'it is enough to go to class to pass the course'
 (cf. Sp. 'es suficiente con ir a clase para aprobar el curso')

Clauses with the perfective participle bearing the singular comitative ending /-a-gas*/ can have a causal interpretation:

- (299) *gitxi atrapawáas, ês-tabe diru askorik atara aurtengo marian*
 little catch.C not-AUX money much.PT take this year.of season.IN
 'having caught little, they have not made much money this season'

Nonfinite clauses in which the perfective participle takes the suffix /-keran*/ may also convey a vague causal meaning (besides a purely temporal meaning, cf. section 4.5.4.1):

- (300) *biarra galdukéran, beren errirâ žun da bűéltan*
 work.A lose-CP his/her country.AL go AUX turn.IN
 'having lost his job, s/he has returned to his/her country'
- (301) *kurtzúa asikéran osterá-be, pixo gustižak daos okupáta*
 course.A start-CP again-too apartment all.A they-are occupied
 'with the academic term starting again, all the apartments are taken'

A similar meaning is conveyed by nonfinite clauses with the predicative adjectival form of the participle (which structurally correspond to the absolute participial construction found in Spanish):

- (302) *olako loiža ikusítta, es-gatôs geižóo ona oteiera*
 such dirt.A seen not-we-come more here.AL hotel.AL
 'having seen that dirt, we are not coming again to this hotel'
- (303) *aittítta ilgo žakéla žakíndda, abadiarî deittu-éutzen*
 grandfather.A die.F AUX-CP known priest.D call-AUX
 'knowing that their grandfather was going to die, they called the priest'

4.5.5. Exclamative sentences

Cleft constructions with *auxe* 'this' are often used as exclamative sentences:

- (304) *auxê da lodiža/lodi dagoná be!*
 that.A is fat.A s/he-is-REL-A too
 'how fat s/he is!'
- (305) *auxê da lodžak dagošenak be!*
 this is fat.p.A they-are-REL-A too
 'how fat they are' (lit. 'this is those that are fat too!')
- (306) *auxê da berua dagoná be!*
 that.A is hot.A he-is-REL-A too
 'how hot!'
- (307) *auxê da bero daukatená be!*
 that.A is hot I-am-REL-A too
 'how hot I am!'

Another common type of exclamative constructions employs the expressions *grasíža* or *eskérrak* 'thanks'; the verb carries the suffix /-na/ or /la/:

- (308) *grasíža/eskérrak ekarrí ebanalebala!*
 thanks bring AUX-CP
 'it's a good thing that s/he brought it'²⁷
- (309) *grasíža dirua neukana orduntxe momentúan!*
 thanks money.A I-had-CP then moment.IN
 'it's a good thing that I had money at that moment'

Other examples of exclamative sentences are the following:

- (310) *obetô/obâ allagáten bá-da partidurako!*
 better arrive.I if-AUX game.for
 's/he's better arrive on time for the game'

(27) 'Gracias que lo trajó'

- (311) *îa allagáten bá-da partidurako!*
 CP arrive.I if-AUX game.for
 'let's hope s/he will arrive (on time) for the game'
- (312) a. *segurû Górkak dakizena* b. *Górkak segurû dakizena*
 sure Gorka.E he-knows-CP 'for sure Gorka must know it'

4.6. Coordination

4.6.1. And-, or-, and but-coordination

Copulative coordinate clauses (*and*-coordination). Two clauses can be coordinated with the conjunction *eta* 'and':

- (313) *Pêruk beizâ erosi eban eta bere andriak saldû ei(ñ) (e)ban*
 Peru.E cow.A buy AUX and his woman.E sell do AUX
 'Peru bought the cow and his wife sold it'
- (314) *Pêruk es ebân ekarri liburúa, eta Mirének be es ebân estudiža*
 Peru.E not AUX bring book.A and Miren.E too not AUX study
lesiñoya
 lesson.A
 'neither did Peru bring the book, nor did Miren study the lesson'

Adversative coordinate clauses (*but*-coordination) are headed by the conjunction *baiña* 'but':

- (315) *Pêruk beizâ erosi ei(ñ) (e)ban, baiña bere andriak saldû ei(ñ) (e)ban*
 Peru.E cow.A buy do AUX but his woman.E sell do AUX
 'Peru bought the cow, but his wife sold it'

The conjunction *baiña* can also be placed at the end of the second clause (in which case it is accented):

- (316) *gure maixúak libûru bi daukos eskribidûta; es-diras*
 ourteacher.E book be.A he-has-them written not-they-are
luse-lusíak báinna
 long-long.p.A but
 'our teacher has got two books written; they are not very long, though'
- (317) *askanian orren neskien etxerâ nóya, es-daukat gogo askorik báinna*
 last.IN that.G girl.G house.AL I-go not-I-have desire much.PT but
 'at the end, I am going to that girl's house, although I don't feel like it very much'

When the first clause is negative and the second expresses a contrast, the conjunction *báinna* is used at the end of the second clause:

- (318) *basúa apurtú ebana e-sân ixan Aitor, Asier báiño*
 glass.A break AUX-REL.A not-AUX be Aitor.A Asier.A but
 ‘the one who broke the glass is not Aitor, but Asier’

Disjunctive coordinate clauses (*or*-coordination). The conjunctions *edo* and *ala* are used in disjunctive coordination:

- (319) *Lekittôn nai-dosu bixi edo/ala Ameriketâra nai dosu žuan?*
 Lekeitio.IN want-AUX live or Americas.AL want AUX go
 ‘do you want to live in Lekeitio or do you want to go to America?’
- (320) *amên geldittuko-sâra, edo/ala mendirâ etorriko-sâra gúas?*
 here stay.F-AUX or mountain.AL come.F-AUX we.C
 ‘will you stay here or will you come to the mountains with us?’

Ala expresses a true disjunction, whereas *edo* can also be used when two coordinated terms don’t exclude each other:

- (321) *alkatien ofisiñía udaletxía edo*ala kontzižúa deitzén-da*
 mayor.G office.A town hall or town hall call.I-AUX
 ‘the mayor’s office is called municipal office or town hall’
- (322) *alkatien semiak amâbost edo*ala amâsei urte daukos*
 mayor.G son.E fifteen or sixteen year he-has-them
 ‘the mayor’s son is fifteen or sixteen years old’

Both clauses in a disjunction may be headed by *edo*:

- (323) *edo alkatia es ewân bere ofisiñian, edo bere sekretarižiak es ebân*
 or mayor.A not he-was his office.IN or his secretary.E not AUX
nai telefonórik artun
 want telephone.PT take
 ‘either the mayor wasn’t in his office, or his secretary didn’t want to pick up the phone’

A disjunction between phrases or other elements can be expressed by *seiñ* or *nai*:

- (324) *aittak (eiñ) seiñ/nai amak eiñ, bardin žakô*
 father.E do or mother.E do same it-is-to him/her
 ‘whether father (does it) or mother does it, it is the same’
- (325) *ârtun naixuna, gorriža seiñ/nai asula*
 take want-AUX-REL.A red.A or blue.A
 ‘pick whichever you want, the red one or the blue one’

4.6.2. Correlative coordination

There is a correlative affirmative coordinate construction in which the second clause is headed by *eta báitta* (*bai+éta*) ‘and yes and’ and contains the word *be* ‘also’.

In the corresponding negative construction the second clause is headed by *éta* (*es+éta*) 'not and' and also carries the word *be* or *bes* (*be+es*) 'also not':

- (326) *Aláznen anažiak etxe andi bat taukô, eta báitta*
 Alazne.G brother.E house big one.A he-has and yes/yes-and
basêrri bat be Ipastarren
 farmhouse one.A too Ispaster.IN
 'Alazne's brother has a big house in Lekeitio as well as a farmhouse in Ispaster'
- (327) *Mikélek es-ebân nai su etortérik, éta Mirének pe(s)*
 Mikel.E not-AUX want you.A come.VN.PT not-and Miren.B too-(not)
 'Mikel didn't want you to come and neither did Miren'
- (328) *es, estoû eiñ berbarik Xabierréas; éta Bixentéas bes*
 no not-AUX do word.PT Xabier.C not-and Bixente.C too-not
 'no, we haven't talked to Xabier; with Bixente either'
- (329) *iñôr be es-ta etorri batzarréra; éta lendakariza bes*
 anybody too not-AUX come meeting.AL not-too president.A too-not
 'nobody has come to the meeting; not even the president'

Correlative structures with *bai...bai* 'yes...yes' or *es... es* 'neither... nor' can also be used to coordinate noun phrases:

- (330) *bai alkatiak esâ eustalako, (da) bai sekretarižiak abixâ eustalako,*
 yes mayor.E say AUX-CP and yes secretary.E call AUX-CP
askanian žakê ñeban nun san batzárra
 last.IN know AUX where it-was meeting.A
 'both because the mayor told me and because the secretary called me, finally I found out where the meeting was'
- (331) *bai Peruk eta bai Mikélek flautia žoten-dábeLekittoko bandan*
 yes Peru.E and yes Mikel.E flute.A play.I-AUX Lekeitio.of band.IN
 'both Peru and Mikel play the flute in Lekeitio's band'
- (332) *es nik es suk es-takiû se pasá dan*
 not I.E not you.E not-we-know what happen AUX-CP
 'neither I nor you know what has happened'

Other types of correlative structures are illustrated in the following examples:

- (333) *parte batétik/batéra gogo asko daukarâs futbolian žokatžeko,²⁸*
 part one.AB/AL desire much I-have-them soccer.IN play-CP
báiña bestétik/bestéra ikaria daukât miñ eittéko
 but other.AB/AL fear I-have pain do-CP

(28) The construction *gogo asko daukaras*, which calques the Sp. *tengo muchas ganas* appears to be a recent innovation in the speech of younger speakers. In more conservative varieties, *gogo* 'desire, feeling' is not pluralizeable in this expression, cf. *gogo aundiâ daukat*, lit. 'I have a great desire'.

5. TEXTS

In this section we include excerpts from recorded conversations with several speakers in order to provide a sample of spontaneous speech in Lekeitio Basque. We have tried to make this sample representative by including texts from speakers of different ages and both sexes. The same spelling conventions are used as in the rest of the book, but adapting the transcription to the actual pronunciation, and thus reflecting assimilations, deletions and other processes to a slightly greater degree than in other chapters of the book.

Text 1

M : f, 52 yr. (María Nieves Alzibar)

G : m, 26 yr. (Gorka Elordieta)

M: *mariñerúu pe,¹ itxî dabe ta itxasoratía.²*
sailors too leave AUX and sea-going.VN
'Because the sailors too have stopped going to sea'

G: *itxî dabéla?*
leave AUX.CP
'(That) they have stopped?'

M: *bai, antxobárik, antxobátan ês-tois. atunetarako*
yes anchovies.PT anchovy.AL.IN not-they-go tuna-fishing.for
preparâten daos
prepare.I they-are
'Yes, they do not go to the [fishing of] anchovies. They are getting ready for the fishing of tuna.'

G: *a! se ba, antxobía ya geruo ta gitxiô³ ero? ya...*
ah what then anchovy now less and less then I-see
'Ah! why?, [because there is] less and less anchovy? I see...'

M: *ba... gitxitxâten asko*
well decrease.I much
'Well [it is] decreasing a lot.'

(1) *mariñerúak be* 'the sailors too'.

(2) *itxaso-ra-té-a*: *itxaso-ra* 'sea all sg' → *itxaso-ra-tu* 'to go to sea' → *itxaso-ra-te** 'deverbal noun, going to sea' → *itxasoratía* 'the going to sea'.

(3) *geruágo eta gitxiágo* 'less and less', lit. 'later and less'.

- G: *eta?*
and
'And?'
- M: *da aurten emôn dau, e? emôn dau, ene! aixâ arrántzak!*
and this-year give AUX give aux gee! what catches
'And [but] this year, there have been , uh? there have been, my! what [great]
catches!'
- G: *esin saldûta*
not-able sold
'[They] cannot [be] sold' [they couldn't sell them]
- M: *esin saldûta. kláro, geru ta kabána gitxião dóis. da...*
not-able sold sure later and cannery fewer they-go and
'[They] cannot [be] sold. Sure, there are fewer and fewer canneries and....'
kabána(k) beté disenian, áre pe⁴ esñ artun geizáo, se bestelan e,
canneries.A fill AUX.when they too not-able take more that otherwise uh
'when the canneries fill up, they cannot take any more, because otherwise, uh'
eurári be es-pa-ótze erósten, ba sêlan artuko-dábe ba.
they.dat too not-if-AUX buy.I t hen how take.F AUX then
'if they don't buy from [lit. to] them, then, how are they going to take it, then!'
da ês-tabe pentzáten ixan aimbéste arrántzok ekarríko dabénik. da
and not-AUX think.I be so-many catches.A bring.F AUX-CP and
'And they haven't thought that they will bring so many catches, and'
orduán e, eon días preparáta gitxiaoráko, da erostéko, erostéko gitxiáo.
then uh be AUX prepared for-less and for-buying for-buying less
'then, uh, they have been prepared for less, and for buying, for buying less'
da sartun danian aimbéste antxóá, on iru urtétik es-ta
and come-in AUX.when so-much anchovy.A now three year.AB not-AUX
sartún aimbéstérik,
come-in so-much
'and when so much anchovy came in... in three years so much has not come in.'
ba esñ ixan-dábe artun, aimbéstérik, se es-taôs e, preparáta
well not-able be AUX take so-much.part that not-they-are prepared
es-taôs.
not-they-are
'Well, they cannot take it, so much, because they are not uh, they are not
prepared'
da kabána asko sarratûta daos, da ordútik,
and cannery many closed they-are and then.abl
'And many canneries are closed, and since then'
da ekárte ixan-dábe antxobía ba, ôrtik, kampôtik.
and bring.imp be AUX anchovy well there.AB outside.AB
'and they bring the anchovy, well, from there, from outside'

(4) *árek* be 'they too'.

- G: *setâko?*
what.for
'what for?'
- M: *es-taî(t) ni nûndik ekárten ixan dâben e.. urrunetâtik.*
not-I-know I where.AB bring.I be AUX-CP uh far.AB
'I don't know where they bring it from, uh, from far away.'
klâro, bera kalidadia eskasô da, baña merkiâo.
sure it quality.A poorer is but cheaper
'Sure, the quality is poorer, but cheaper.'
baña aurten presîzo ma..., bajûu eiñ ddôtze e?
but this-year price low do AUX uh
'But, this year they have fixed a low price for them uh?'
arrañ asko baña presîzo bajuúkin. merkiâo askó be,
fish much but price low.C cheaper much too
'A lot of fish, but with low prices. Much cheaper too.'
auntxên urte biko presiúuk eiñ ddôtzes ero!
now year two-of prices make AUX emph
'They have fixed for them the prices of two years ago!'
da bêitu gausî(k) sêlan ión dâben.
and look things how go-up AUX-CP
'And look how things have gone up!'
baña, bêîñpeiñ⁵ gitxías, apurrâas es-pá-da be, osea...
but at-least less.C little.C not-if-is too that-is
'But, at least, even if it is nothing but a little, I mean...'
arrañ asko ixán dales, da presiúu bajuâ eiñ-ddábe,
fish much be AUX.CP and price low make AUX
'Since there has been a lot of fish, and they have gotten a low price.'
ba, bêîñpeiñ e, séoser idabasâ dábe. on urté bi-txa es, txarrâo
well at-least uh something earn AUX now year two-and no worse
'Well, at least, uh, they have earned something. Two years ago and so [they did] not, [it was] worse.'
- G: *perdidâkiñ ibilli-dis, es-ta? on es, on...*
losses.C walk AUX not-is now no now
'They have been having losses,⁶ haven't they? not now, now...'
- M: *aimbéste bârko daos sáltzen gero e? amengo bajuri... ene:!!*
so-many ship they-are sell.I then uh here.of coastal-fishing my!
'They are selling so many ships, then, uh? the coastal fishing of here... my!'
da barririk bâpes.⁷ urtiitan be és-tabe eiñ barririk.
and new.part one-not years.IN too not-AUX make new.PT
'And no new ones at all. In years they have not made new ones.'
- G: *saldu sêmat eiñ-ddábe saldu ba*
sell how-many do AUX sold then
'How many have they sold, then?'

(5) *bêînik-beîñ* 'at least'.(6) Cf. Sp. *han andado con pérdidas*.(7) *bat-be-es* 'not one', lit. 'one-too-not'.

- M: *ser?* *barkúak?*
 what ships
 'What? ships?'
- G: *barkúak, bai*
 ships yes
 'Ships, yes.'
- M: *Lekitton e... lau, bai.*
 Lekeitio.in uh four yes
 'In Lekeitio, uh... four, yes.'
- G: *la::u?*
 four
 'Four!?'
- M: *Torrontéro an daô.*
 Torrontero there it-is
 'Torrontero is there'
- G: *ba:i...*
 yes
 'Yes...'
- M: *emoten d... órrek étxen dâbes, erúten dâbe, Bermiorâ.*
 give-I they.E do.I AUX take.I AUX Bermeo.AL
 'They give-, they take them to Bermeo'
- G: *bai.*
 yes
 'Yes.'
- M: *Bermioko...*
 Bermeo.of
 '[to] Bermeo's...'
- G: *portura.*
 harbor.AL
 'To the harbor.'
- M: *se...? portura es. itxasorâ, Matxixáko búeltára. da: éitxen dâbes e: ondorâ*
 what harbor.AL no see.AL M round.AL and do.I AUX sink
 'What? not to the harbor, to the ocean, around [the cape of] Matxixako.
 And they ... sink them.'
- G: *a bai?*
 yes
 'Oh, really?'
- M: *bai. ondora. da gobiernuuk emóten dotzes berróei millô.*
 yes sink and government.E give.I AUX forty million.ID
 'Yes. Sink it. And the government gives them forty millions.'
motorrâ ero, aprobetxâten dótze, ser daukon, ta ondorâ botaten-dâbes.
 engine or use.I AUX what AUX-CP and bottom.AL throw.I-AUX
 'They use the engine or whatever it has [of value], and they throw them to
 the bottom [of the sea].'

gausa tristîi ixan bi-dau ba, ene!
 thing sad be must-AUX then my!

'It must be a sad thing! my!'

se žúten didas, ba, o, patroya(k) žún bikó-dau.
 because go.I AUX well skipper.E go must.F AUX

'Because they go, well, uh, the skipper will have to go.'

se erúten dábe, bapora, béste bapor, bárko, bárko bateri amarratúta.
 because take.I AUX steamer other steamer ship ship one.D tied

'Because they take it, the steamer, tied to [towed by] another steamer, to another ship.'

ta allagáten dis altura batera, kéntzen dótze, sulatúten dábe.
 and arrive.I AUX latitude one.AL take-away.I AUX pierce.I AUX

'And they arrive at a certain latitude, they take it from it, they make a hole in it.'

suluâ eitze-órze, da botáten dábe, ondorâ. da gero: sêoser euki bi dau e,

hole make.I-AUX and throw.I AUX bottom.AL and later s.t. have must AUX
 'They make a hole, and they throw it to the bottom. And later, it must have something, uh?'

ondora botáten dábe, baña sêoser euki bi-dau e: beren e,
 bottom.AL throw.I AUX but s.t. have must-AUX their

'They throw it to the bottom, but it must have something, uh, its, uh...'

sêlan nai dotzut esan e: sêoseren alakuâas, se:

how want AUX say s.t.G like-that.C because

'How can I say it to you? with something like that, because...'

arrâñak žun ei-dís e gero bertara, bertân étxen éi-da sêoser.

fishes go M-AUX later there.AL there.IN make M-AUX s.t.

'It appears that the fish go there later. Something is made there, it seems.'

bárko: orrétan fondiíta eotén-da, aimbéste bârko dos fondiíta, an beyan
 ship those. IN sunken be.I AUX so-many ship are sunken there bottom.IN

'In those ships, it is sunken. So many ships are sunken, there, on the bottom [of the sea].'

G: *a bai, e?*

yes

'Really?'

M: *da étxen ei-dídas e, komo:,⁸ bñéno, arrâñen alako bätzuk moruan.*

and make.I M-AUX like well fishes.G like-that some manner.IN

'And something is formed, uh, like, well, those things for the fish.'

bibéro bätzuk moruan étxen ei-dídas.

colony some manner.IN make.I M-AUX

'It seems that something like fish-colonies are formed.'

G: *bertarâ žúten disela arrâñak?*

there.AL go.I AUX-CP fishes

'The fish go there?'

(8) Sp. *como* 'like'.

- M: *bai.*
yes
'Yes'
- G: *baña, ser? sétan?*
but what what.IN
'But, what? what for?'
- M: *es-takî(t) ser, baña séoser aittû neban, e?*
not-I-know what but s.t. hear AUX
'I don't know what; but I heard something, uh?'
esî-ñikîxu esan gausa andirik, paña...
not-able-AUX say thing big.PT but
'I cannot tell you much, but...'
funtziño bat taukô, funtziño bat taukô, ondoratîi barkúuk.
function one has function one has sink.VN ships
'it has a function, it has a function, sinking the ships.'
- G: *a::! funtziño ba(t) tauko?*⁹
function one-has
'Ah! it has a function?'
- M: *bai.*
yes
'Yes'
- G: *îtxon píxkat a, nik pentzá-ot igual e: kointzidêntzi bat dala, osea.*
wait a-little I.E think-AUX maybe coincidence one is.CP that-is
'Wait a little, ah, I thought that maybe, uh, it is a coincidence, that is,'
ondorate-osu, ba, bûéno, ba: desgûasêra es erutéko ero dana dalakua.
sink.I-AUX ok well ok cemetery.AL not bring.for or all is.CP
'You sink it, okay, well, okay, not to take it to the ship-cemetery or something like that.'
- M: *sêlan, desguas-? sêlan desgûasêra es erutéko?*
how cemetery how cemetery.AL not take.for
'What do you mean the ship-cemet-? what do you mean not to take it to the ship-cemetery?'
- G: *osea, ía, Torrontéro. sarra râ, iñô-pe*¹⁰ *es-táu nai.*
that-is let's see T old is nobody-too not-AUX want
'Okay, let's see, Torrontero. It's old, nobody wants it.'
*bûéno, ordun se, ser, sêr em-bi-ósu*¹¹ *orréas?*
well then what what what do-must-AUX it-C
'Well, then, what, what should you do with it?'
desgûasêra eruan apurtzêko, da bertan e, dana alakua atara, aprobetxáten.
cemetery-AL take break.for and there all like-that take-out use.I
'Take it to the ship-cemetery to dismantle and there, take out whatever, to use.'

(9) *bat dauko.*(10) *iñok be* 'nobody'.(11) *eiñ bir dosu* 'you have to do'.

- M: *bai, leléngo étxen dótze ba, eser ba-dáuko, ba atarâko ótze, motorra*
 yes first do.I AUX ok anything if-has ok take-out.F AUX engine
ero dana alakua.
 or whatever
 'Yes, first they do, okay, if it has anything, they'll take it out, the engine or whatever.'
- G: *da béste gustiža es-tabéles baližo esetakó bes...*
 and other all not-has-since value anything.for too-not
 'And since everything else does not have any value for anything at all...'
- M: *kaskúa étxen dábe ba ondorâ,*
 hulk do.I AUX ok sink
 'The hulk, they do, well, sink it.'
- G: *ya.*
 I-see
 'I see.'
- M: *baña pentzáten dot, neuk e, aittú doten moruan, nóonori, esáten e,*
 but think.I AUX I.E hear AUX-CP manner.IN s.o.D say.I
ori dala, funsionamüento ba(t) taukola¹² orrek [...]
 that is-CP function one has-CP that.E
 'But I think, as I have heard, from somebody, saying, uh, that that is, that that has a function.'
- G: *a bai e? ai, eta gero...*
 yes and later
 'Really? uh, and later...'
- M: *se... dâna(k) botaten-dâbes púnto baten.*
 because all throw.I AUX point one.IN
 'Because... they throw them all away at some point.'
- G: *a! da ordun sê pasatén-da, ondoráten dâbes an,*
 and then what happen.I AUX sink.I AUX there
 'Ah! then, what happens? they sink them there,'
da gero atzekûuk datos arrañetan ara, ero ser?
 and later back.of.pl they-come fishing.IN.ID there.AL or what
 'and later they others [lit. the ones behind] come ther to fish, or what?'
- M: *gero es-tai(t), sôoser etxén-dau, arétxek e, kaskûuk ero, sôoser, igual e:...*
 later not-I-know s.t. do AUX those.E hulks or s.t. maybe
 'Later, I don't know. It does something, those, uh, the hulks or, something, maybe, uh...'
džângo didas e, ikûsten dosus séu(k) pe¹³ pelikulétan be, igual e,
 go.F AUX see.I AUX you.E too films.IN too maybe
 'They must go, uh, you see them in the movies as well, may be, uh,'
barkûuk eta undidûta eóten disena eta és-tis eóten arráñak eta, sarritxan eta?
 ships and sunken be.I AUX-CP and not-AUX be.I fishes and often and
 'ships and so on, that they are sunken and aren't there fish and so on, often?'

(12) *bat daukola.*(13) *séuk be* 'you-erg too'.

ba alako sêoser ixan bi-dau.

ok like-that.of s.t. be must-AUX

'Well, it must be something like that.'

gobiernuuk emôte ontzéna, baaki(tt), berróei millo.

government.E give.I AUX-CP I-know forty million.ID

'That the government gives them forty millions I know.'

sôose gáitxik emote-óntze, es-ta?

s.t. because give.I-AUX not-is

'It must for some reason, right?'

baña eon bi-dau kola bat. ôr dao Torrontéro.

but be must-AUX line one there is T

'But there must be a line [a waiting list]. There you have Torrontero.'

aprellian erutêko ixa-san. da ondiñoko or dago.

April.IN take.I be-AUX and still there is

'It was to have been taken in April. And it is still there.'

oseake¹⁴ kolân eon bi-didas. orrek sêr nai dau esan?

so line.IN be must-AUX that.E what want AUX say

'So, they must be in line. What does that mean?'

askô daosela undidutêko. da orrek sêr nai dau esan?

many are.CP sink.for and that.E what want AUX say

'That there are many to be sunk. And what does that mean?'

gerúu ta bajuria berâo doyála. ês-osu entendirúten?

later and coastal-fishing down.more goes.CP not-AUX understand.I

'That coastal fishing is going down. Don't you understand?'

G: *gausa txarra dê orixe.*

thing bad is that

'That is a bad thing.'

M: *kláro, da barririk êitten es. amen e gastiik es daukô ero se, sereñnik¹⁵ amen*
 sure and new.PT make.I not here youngster not has what future.PT here
bajuran.

coastal-fishing.IN

'Sure, and new ones are not made. Here, uh, a young person does not have, what, any future here, in coastal fishing.'

boltzillâu ibilli biar da: sêma(t) denpóra erxen-dábe ba, itxasuun ba?

pocket walk must and how-much time do.I AUX ok sea.IN ok

'They must have money [lit. they must use the pocket] and, how much time do they spend, okay, at sea?'¹⁶

auntxê eñ-ddábe. aber.¹⁷ asíko sirian, martzuân edo aprilliân.

now do AUX let's see begin.F AUX March.IN or April.IN

'They have done it now. Let's see. They must have begun in March or April.'

(14) Sp. *o sea que* 'so'.

(15) *ser-eñ-ik* 'what to do, part.'

(16) The meaning of this utterance is something like 'they need money, but they do not have enough, because they do not spend enough time at sea.'

(17) Sp. *a ver*.

amaittúko dábe: nobiembrîn. geizóo es -tóyas.

finish.F AUX November.IN more not -they-go
 'They will finish in November. They do not go more.'

ía se: emprésak emóten daben e: orrembésate illabete eñ biarra ta
 Let's see which company give.I AUX-CP so-many month do work and
 'Let's see which company gives, uh, having worked only those months [lit. so many months']

G: *lau ille ero bost ?*
 four months or five
 'Four months or five?'

M: *bixi [...] urte betii, e?*
 live year whole
 'live [...] the whole year, eh?'

G: *lau, lau, lau ero bost? ille? liorrian.?*
 four four four or five month.IDI and.IN
 'Four or five? four or five months? on land?'

M: *bai. bai. eta seiñ empresátan emotén-dau e, bost ille bete,*
 yes yes and which company.IN.ID give.I AUX five month full
 'Yes, yes. And in which company do they give, five months,'

lau ille betiin etxin esé-be éim barik?
 four month full.IN house.IN nothing-too do without
 'four months at home, without doing anything?'

on e:.... lortú dabe ori. parúa.
 now get AUX that unemployment
 'Now, uh, they've got that, unemployment [benefits]'

Text 2

E: f, 20 yr. (Eukene Elordieta)

G: m, 26 yr. (Gorka Elordieta)

G: *da se, piparrî pe¹⁸ aitzú bes diñósu?*
 and what pepper too understand too-not you-say
 'And what, you say you [could] not understand a word (lit. a pepper)?'

E: *aitxú bes. danâ etxen-dábe, asênto diferentía dáuke ganéra*
 understand too-not everything do.I-AUX accent different they-have besides
 'Not even understand. They do everything, besides they have a different accent.'

G: *sélan, selâko asentúa dáuke ba?*
 how how-like accent they-have
 'How, what kind of accent do they have?'

(18) *piparrîk-be* 'not a pepper', cf. Sp. *ni un pimiento*.

- E: *kantáten* [singing]
sing.I
'Singing [singing]'
- G: *gu, geuáitxik pe esáten dábe kantáten doula*
we we-because too say.I AUX sing.I AUX-CP
'We, they also say about us that we sing.'
- E: *bai, baiña... jo! nik iárte ot nire pixokua,*
yes but gee! I.E notice.I AUX my apartment.of
Antxóni, Subietakúa da. da gúas, danâ etxén-dau batuan
A S-of is and we.C all do.I-AUX standard.IN
'Yes, but... gee! I do notice [that] my roommate (lit. the one of my apartment), Antxonni, she is from Zubieta.¹⁹ And with us, she always speaks (lit. she does all) in Standard Basque.'
- G: *bai ba.*
yes
'Yes.'
- E: *eta; amak deitxúte otzonian... aitxú bes*
and mother.E call.I AUX.when understand too-not
'And when her mother calls her... [we do] not understand at all.'
osea berak káro, berak amari, beren iskúntzan.
that-is she.E of-course she.E mother.D her language.IN
'So, she, of course, to her mother she [speaks] in her dialect.'
- G: *káro, káro.*
'Of course, of course.'
- E: *beren iskéran. da ásten da... da tóno diferentía*
her dialect.IN and start.I AUX and tone different
'In her dialect. And she starts... and a different tone.'
[onomat.] amaitzén-dau [onomat.] ta dana, búéno, laburtu dana.
finish.I-AUX and all well shorten all
'[onomat.] she finishes [onomat.] and everything, well, she shortens everything.'
óstra, aitxú bes, baiña politxa. jo! da berarî esate-otzáu.
darn understand to-not but pretty gee! and she.D say.I-AUX
'Darn, [we] do not understand at all, but [it is] beautiful. Gee! And we tell her:'
gêu be biskáitxar gaos. gu, geu, bakotxak gure errikuâ etxen-dóu.
we too Biscayan we-are we we each.E our village.of do.I-AUX
'We too are [speaking] Biscayan. We, each of us, we speak the one of our village.'
ba sú pe²⁰ eñ.
well you.E too do
'Well, you should too.'
- G: *bai*
'Yes.'
- E: *seure errikua. da on sêoser sartzén-dau*
your village.of and now s.t. introduce.I-AUX

(19) A village in Navarre.

(20) *suk be* 'you-erg too'.

- baña sekûla bes amáas étxen dabena.*
 but never too-not mother.C do.I AUX-CP
 'The one of your village. And now she uses some, but never what she speaks with her mother.'
- G: *da, súdek lekitxárta etxe-osúe da berak áitzen dau lekitxárta?*
 and you.pl.E Lekeitian do.I-AUX and she.E understand.IAUX Lekeitian
 'And, you guys speak in Lekeitian, and does she understand Lekeitian?'
- E: *óstra, lelgótan, galdu-galdúta.*
 gee first.IN lost-lost
 'Gee, at first [she was] totally lost.'
- G: *bai, esta?*
 yes not-is
 'Yes, isn't it?'
- E: *eske... pasan urtian e-sân eon gúas pixuan*
 because last year.IN not-AUX stay we.C apartment.IN
 'Because... last year she wasn't staying with us in the apartment.'
Patriás da eon-san, klasían, se kláro,
 Patri.C and be-AUX class.IN because of-course
 'She was with Patri and those, in class, because, of course,'
euskal filolojižakúak da ingeles filolojižakúak
 Basque philology.of.those and English philology.of.those
 'Those in Basque Philology and those in English Philology,'
euskerátik tao étxen ingeles filolojiža
 Basque.AB is do.I English philology
 'She is doing English Philology in Basque'
da ordun batera ewasân klasían
 and then together they-were class.IN
 'and thus they were together in class'
ta orduntxê esantu-sirian da Pátrik pe,
 and then meet AUX and Patri.E too
 'and they met then, and Patri too.'
danâ etxén-dau, Etxebarriko, ori
 all do.I-AUX Etxebarri.of that
 'she speaks all [in the dialect] of Etxebarri, that.'
- G: *a bai?*
 'Oh, yes?'
- E: *bai, arek batua, búeno, ni porrelfórro.*²¹
 yes that.E standard well not-at-all
 'Yes, she Standard Basque, well, not at all.'
da, óstra, galdúta lelgótan. da, búeno, aren e, entzunás, ba, errestxuáo
 and gee lost first.IN and well that.G hearing.C well easier.DIM
 'And gee, [she was] lost at first. And well, by hearing that, well, it is easier.'

(21) Sp. *ni por el forro* 'not at all'.

baña etorri da Bastaneko béste bat aurten pixora
 but come AUX Baztan.of other one this-year apartment.AL
 'But another one from Baztan has come to the apartment this year.'

Text 3

A: m, 58 yr. (Andoni Barainka)

G: m, 26 yr. (Gorka Elordieta)

A: *interesantîi da ori*
 interesting is that
 'That is interesting.'

G: *bai, interesantîi da. interesânte interesantîa da*
 yes interesting is interesting interesting is
 'Yes, it is interesting. It is very interesting.'

A: *ba, nik itxasuun orrétxek. eta gero, kláro*
 well I.E sea.IN those.E and then of-course
 'Well, I [have seen] those in the sea. And then of course,'
ikusi dousen e, or e, atunerútan da:, e, se-or, mmm,
 see AUX-CP there tuna-ship.IN and what-there
órrek e:, tiburôyak eta órrek. ba:, árek
 those sharks and those well those
 'We have seen, uh, there, uh, in tuna ships and, uh, [...], those, uh, sharks and
 [things like] those. Ooff, those.'

bein gero, sariáas atrapa, da tiburo askô atrapate-gendúun, e?
 once emph net.C catch and shark many catch.I-AUX
atun tartían
 tuna among.IN

'There was a time, [we used to] catch them with a net, and we used to catch a lot of sharks, huh? among the tuna fish.'

se atuna žâten da jeneralian e, atuna, es-ta?
 because tuna go.I AUX generally tuna not-is
 'Because the tuna fish generally go, uh, the tuna, right?'

ta atunen e, žâten džu- atuna žâten džutén-da, tiburoya.
 and tuna.G eat.I go tuna eat.I go.I AUX shark

'And of the tuna, uh, it goes to ea-, goes to eat tuna fish, the shark.'

tiburoi beti-roo...²² odola daon tokîžan, tiburoi-roo. odola daon tokîžan.
 shark always-is blood is.CP place.IN shark-is blood is.CP place.IN
 'Sharks are always... where blood is, sharks are. Where blood is.'

da tiburoik étxe otzu, atun erdiža be, rrâ!
 and shark.E do.I AUX tuna half too

'And sharks do, half a tuna fish too, ra! [onomatopoeia of biting]'

(22) [r]oo <- dao 'it is'.

da, bein e ôlan atrapa genduun ba, estai,
 and once like-that catch AUX not-I know
 'And, once, uh, like that, we caught, I don't know.'
sortzi amar toneladako etxara bât ero ein-genduun da, ba, [...]
 eight ten tons.of throw one or do AUX and well
 'We made a throw of eight or ten tons or something like that, and, well [...]'
ba tartiin ba, tiburôyak. da, es-tai(tx), gaur be eongo ra,
 well among.IN well sharks and not-I know, today too be.F AUX
 'well, among [the catch], well, [there were] sharks. And, I don't know, it must
 still be like that today too.'
tiburoya... bermiôtar bat eukuun e, mariñeruu ta,
 shark Bermeoan one we-had sailor and
 'The shark... we had a sailor from Bermeo, and,'
arek bermiôtárrak e, "Andoni, au tiburoya..."
 that.E Bermeoan.E Andoni this shark
 'that Bermeoan, uh, [said to me], "Andoni, this shark..."'
tiburon tigre²³ ero berak esáten ey-eútzan.
 shark tiger or he.E say.I M-AUX
 'apparently he called them tiger shark.'
es-tâi selako tiburo klasû dan, e?
 not-I-know what-like shark class is.CP
 'I don't know what type of shark it is, uh?'
eukan aguâ ta lepo andizâ ta âu-nako iarra,
 it-had mouth and back big and this-like jaw
 'It had a big mouth and back, and a jaw like this,'
bustanerutz e, bastánte, baña, eukíko ban ba,
 tail.toward quite but have.F AUX
 'towards the tail uh, [it was] quite [big], but, it must have been uh...'
iru bat mêtro edo, mêtro bí txa erdí edo. búeno, itzala.
 three one meter or meter two and half or well huge
 'about three meters long, or two and a half or so. Well, [it was] huge.'
kéndu orretxeri, mandibulía, esta? mandibulía.
 take-off that.D jaw not-is jaw
 '[he] took its jaw off, right? Its jaw.'
kéndu, kendû eutzan, mandibulía, ta prepará abanian,
 take-out take-off AUX jaw and prepare AUX.when
 'He took, he took off, the jaw, and when he prepared it,'
neuri, ikutû barík!, mandibulíi sartzé-san, neure gorputzian.
 I.D touch without jaw go-in.I AUX my body.IN
 'me, without touching me!, the jaw could wrap, my body'
neu alánixik.²⁴ ikuturik eim barík! atâraik²⁵ gixona, sêlan arek e...!
 I like-that touch.PT do without calculate.AUX man how that.E
 'I [was] like that. Without touching [me]! Figure out how a man, that [shark] uh...!'

(23) Spanish.

(24) *alan-tx(é-r)ik* 'like that'.(25) *atara égik* 'calculate, imperative' (lit. 'take out').

- G: *tragáko oban.*
swallow.F AUX
'... would swallow'
- A: *are(k)? žângo žuk. gixon erdžža bai.* [laughter].
that.E eat.F AUX man half yes
'That one? It would definitely eat him. Half a man at least'
axen e, axên ikusi-ot andžžéna. axên ikusi-ot andžžéna.
that that see-AUX biggest that see-AUX biggest
'That one, uh, that one is the biggest I have ever seen. That one is the biggest I have ever seen.'
da, bajurakúun e, ibilli ni- bajuran nabillela be bai e,
and coastal-fishing.of.G walk I coastal-fishing.IN I-walk.CP too yes
ólan atunáas, atunetan da, [...]
like-that tuna.C tuna.IN.ID and
'And, in coastal fishing, uh, I- while I was in coastal fishing too, uh, like that, with the tuna, in tuna fishing and, [...]'
lântzak erute-gendúsan a, báltzen móúra, ta zast! da,
spears take.I AUX blacks.G manner.AL and onomat and
'we used to take spears, uh, like Blacks [Africans], and zast! and,'
éurak lantzii sartúnda be, éurak odoliin [...], amorrú geizóo.
they spear put-in.PP too they blood.G rage more
'they, even though they had a spear inside, [...] of the blood, they [showed] more rage'
- G: *itzáalak dira, e? odolari, e?*
tremendous are huh blood.D huh
'They are tremendous, huh? To the blood, huh?'
- A: *ene! arek? esáten dábe és-tabéla ikústén.*
my they say.I AUX not-AUX.CP see.I
'My! Those? They say that they [the sharks] don't see.'
usaiñá dala, éuren alakua...
smell is.CP their like-that
'That smell is, their thing...'
- G: *ba. da bibrasiñóyak.*
yes and vibrations
'Yes. And vibrations.'
- A: *ba. da alako - baña, jolin!*
yes and like-that but gee!
'Yes, and like that - but, gee!'

Text 4

S: f, 36 yr. (Sorkunde Burgoa)

G: m, 26 yr. (Gorka Elordieta)

- G: *da, berak e, semiak e, bâ daukotzúe afisiñorik ála itxasorako?*
and he.E son.E QP he-has-to-you (pl) liking-PT or sea.AL.of
'And he, uh, [your] son uh, does he have any liking for the sea?'

- S: *ba se, tantâri pes.*²⁶
 well what bit.PT too-not
 ‘Well, what, not a bit.’
- G: *tantâri pes, e?*
 bit.PT too-not
 ‘Not a bit, huh?’
- S: *tantâri pes.*
 bit.PT too-not
 ‘Not a bit.’
- G: *da ikusî be es-tau nai eiñ?*
 and see too not-AUX want do
 ‘And he doesn’t even want to see it?’
itxas... bai igiri etxêko igual bai baña, ero ondarrera žutêko.
 sea yes swim do.for maybe yes but or beach.AL go.for
 ‘The sea... yes, maybe for swimming yes, but, or to go to the beach.’
- S: *aurixen! baiña bestelan e:... es-tagi*²⁷ *bêiñ ero žun bá-da*
 that but otherwise not-I-know once or goif-AUX
aitxáas baña bñelta bat emóten.
 father.C but short-trip one give.I
 ‘That’s it! But otherwise, uh, I’m not sure whether he has gone once or so with his father, but for a short trip.’
*da ni neuk, motor txikira es-tô*²⁸ *saltáko sekúla be*
 and I I.E motorboat small.AL not-AUX jump.F never too
 ‘And I, I will never jump onto a small motorboat.’
es-tô pentzáten. niri, igiri isliarî bñeltía baiña ganín monta, iñún
 not-AUX think.I I.D swim island.D turn but top.IN get-on nowhere
bes
 too-not
 ‘I don’t think so. To me, I [can] swim round the island, but to get aboard, nowhere.’
- G: *sêr isliari bñeltía*
 what island.D turn
 ‘What [do you mean] round the island?’
- S: *nai bôsu*²⁹ *igiri. baina monta atz-...[...]*
 want if-AUX swim but get-on
 ‘Swimming, if you want. But to get on...’
- G: *suk igiri, emô otzasu ála, bñeltía?*
 you.E swim give AUX or turn
 ‘You, swimming, have you [ever gone] around it?’

(26) *tantârik be es* ‘not even a bit’.(27) *es dakit* [estayi?] ‘I don’t know’(28) *es dot saltáko* ‘I will not jump’(29) *nai ba-dôsu* ‘if you want’

- S: *niri e-žât ardura. a, būeltía? pixkáka, pixkáka?*
 I.D not-AUX worry turn little-by-little
 'I wouldn't mind [it does not worry me], ah, a turn? little by little?'
kláro ba emó leikiína
 of-course give AUX-CP
 'Of course one can do it.'
- G: *emô osu³⁰ iñois?*
 give AUX ever
 'Have you ever done it?'
- S: *e:s*
 no
 'Nooo'
- G: [...]
- S: *urtiin urtin etxén dot žun tinglaura, eta*
 year.IN year.IN do.I AUX go pier.AL and
 'Year after year I do it. Go to the pier, and'
sálta góitxik burus-béra ta atzéra ondarrera.
 jump top.AB head.INS-down.AL and back.AL beach.AL
 'dive head first from the top and back to the beach again.'
- G: [...]
- S: *eske,³¹ nire piscinía³² portuû ixan da*
 because my swimming-pool harbor been AUX
 'Because the harbor has been my swimming-pool'
sémat urtêas sapaldu néban nik ondarra ba?
 how-may year.C step AUX I.E beach
 'How old was I when [lit. with how many years] I [first] hit the beach?'
ba guardi sibillákin beti e, arutz da onutz,
 because guard civil.C.pl always there.toward and here.toward
 'Because with the Civil Guards always uh, back and forth,'
da es-gendun erúten trajebañúan e, petroléo koloría erute-gendúun ba!
 and not-AUX bring swimming-suit.IN oil color bring.I-AUX
 'And what didn't we have on the swimming-suit uh, we wore oil stains [lit. oil color]!
ónantxikoxeko³³ kolorîñak eruten-gendúun. dana gasoilla
 like-this colors bring AUX all of.gasoil
 'We wore stains like this. All from diesel-oil.'
beti guardi sibillak, an éote san katxarruás.³⁴
 always guard civil.pl there be.I AUX-CP thing.C
 'The Civil Guards always with the thing that used to be there.'

(30) *emôn dosu* 'have you given it'(31) Sp. *es que* 'it is that'.

(32) [pisθinía] unadapted borrowing.

(33) *onantx(er)ik-ko-xe-ko* 'hither.intensive.partitive-of-intensive-of'. The accent on the initial syllable is because it is an exclamation here.(34) The verb *éote-san* 'it used to be' does not agree with *guardi sibillak* 'Civil Guards', which constitutes a topic.

etórtén siriin tingláutik, ês gaitxúsen, proibirúta ewan. tingláutik.
 come.I AUX pier.AB not AUX prohibited was pier.AB
 'They used to come along the pier. They didn't [let] us, it was prohibited; from the pier.'

ártun errópak esku batéas da bestiáas, Abadín Mollâra
 take clothes hand one.C and other.C priests.G pier.AL
 'Take our clothes with one hand, and with the other to the Priests' Pier'
etórri bestétik eta gero atzaniin ya ondarrerâ barris zuten-giñín
 come other.AB and later end.IN already beach.AL again go.I AUX
 '[They] came from the other and then at the end we went to the beach again,'
áunantxérik eskuáas. errópak erun da bestiáas étxen.
 like-this hand.C clothes take and other.INS do.I
 'with the hand like this. Taking the clothes and with the other doing [hand gesture].'

Text 5

P: m, 78 yr. (Pablo Gabiola)

G: m, 26 yr. (Gorka Elordieta)

- P: *da, daukuu esperantzía sapatáun o, úrtén amen goixiin e,*
 and we-have plan Saturday-IN uh leave here morning.IN uh
 'And we have plans, on Saturday uh, to leave from here in the morning uh,'
saspírak sortzírak ingurúun ero ta, iru traiñeru- iru embarkasiñô góyas,
 seven eight around.IN or and three boat three boat we-go
esperantzía.
 plan
 'at around seven or eight or so and, we are going in three small fishing boats-
 three boats, [those are our] plans.'
Pedrójüan, nire lagúna, Saátas, da, a dou patro ta kapittan
 Pedro-Juan my friend Saatas and that we-have skipper and captain
da dana éitten dabena. da, a da, manekâten gaittuna.
 and everything do.I AUX.CP and that is lead.I AUX.CP
 'Pedro Juan, my friend, Saatas,³⁵ and, he is our skipper and captain and the one
 who does everything. And, he is the one who leads us.'
bai, da gero kosiñeruû be bai. kosiñeruu be ona. kosiñeruu,
 yes and then cook too yes cook too good cook
munduun doónik ederréna.
 world.IN is.CP.PT best
 'Yes, and then [he is] a cook, too. A good cook as well. A cook, the best in the
 world.'
- G: *nor, ori?*
 who that
 'Who, that one?'

(35) A nickname. Lit. 'Noises', from *saata* 'noise' plus the Sp. plural marker -s.

- P: *Julian? edo, Pedrojüan? jölin! Pedrojüan, óla! me kasüen lapuñéta!*³⁶ *bai*
 'Julian? Or, Pedro-Juan? Gee! Pedro-Juan, oof! heck! Yes.'
gero dankuu esperantzía, ba, batúko gara, sei matrimoniñô, batuko-gára.
 then we-have plan gather.F AUX six married-couple gather AUX
 'Then we have plans, uh, we will get together, six married couples, we will get together.'
- G: *ai matrimoniñzo ra e?*
 married-couple is
 'Ah, so it is married-couples, huh?'
- P: *es, gero žatêko. kabra sopii žatêko Mendixan.*
 no later eat.for type-of-fish soup eat-for Mendexa-IN
 'No, to eat, later. To eat a kabra (type of fish) soup in Mendexa.'
- G: *nun, baña?*
 where, but
 'But where?'
- P: *Mendixan. Mendixan žatêko, kabra sopii žatêko.*
 Mendexa-IN Mendexa-IN eat.for type-of-fish soup eat.for
 'In Mendexa. To eat in Mendexa; to eat kabra soup'
- G: *a bai? obetô ori.*
 yes better that
 'Ah, yes? That's better'
- P: *ba:! bai, artistî r' au Pedrojüan. organixadore ona râ, ba:! ba.*
 yes yes artist is this Pedro-Juan organizer good is yes yes
 'Oh, yeah! Yes, he is an artist, this Pedro Juan. He is a good organizer. Oh, yeah! Yes.'
- G: *seure edadekuû ra, Pedrojüan?*
 your age.of is Pedro-Juan
 'Is he your age, Pedro-Juan?'
- P: *es, gastióo. ni bânno, bost urte gastióo. bai.*
 no younger I than five year younger yes
 'No, younger. Five years younger than me. Yes.'
gero bêste bat dankuu, laun ona, Flóren, Flóren Urkiága.
 then other one we-have friend good Floren Floren Urkiaga
 'Then we have another one, a good friend, Floren, Floren Urkiaga.'
*ori, Flóren Urkiága. es-taitx suk esautúko sun.*³⁷ *bai, aixe be,*
 that Floren Urkiaga not-I-know you.E know.F AUX-CP yes that too
 'That, Floren Urkiaga. I don't know whether you know him. Yes, that one too.'
- G: *mendisárrak,*³⁸ *eta orko [..]?*
 Mendexans and there.of
 'Mendexans, and from there [...]?'

(36) Euphemism for Sp. *me cago en la puñeta*.

(37) *esautúko dosu-n* 'whether you will know him'.

(38) *Mendisárrak* is a slip of the tongue for *mendixárrak* 'Mendexans', which causes P to misinterpret the utterance, as having something to do with *sarra* 'old'.

- P: *si,*³⁹ *es-tâ olako, sarra, da semia, dauko, bat érdi:, olakotxiú rauko.*
 yes not-is like-that old and son he-has one half like-that.dim he-has
 'Yes, he is not that old, and he has a son, one [who is] half, a bit like that, he has.
da, alabía medikía, bat. bestia amen e, Lekuedêrren eskondúta
 and daughter doctor one other here Leku-Eder.IN marry.PP
béste alabía. orrétxen aitta.
 other daughter those.G father
 'And, [his] daughter [is] a doctor, one of them. The other one, here uh, married
 in Leku-Eder, the other daughter. The father of those.'
- G: *a:!* *orréna?*
 ah those.G
 'Ah! The one of those?'
- P: *orrétxen aitta. ba, si.*⁴⁰ *ba.*
 those.G father yes yes yes
 'The father of those. Yes, yes. Yes'
orrek e, gabârrak taukos, Bilbon. beorrêk e, organixate-îtxus,
 that.E barges he-has Bilbo.IN he.E organize.I AUX
da an daukô orrek bere biximodua. ondô bixi-ixan-da.
 and there he-has that.E his living well live be AUX
 'That one uh, owns barges, in Bilbao. He uh, runs them, and he has his liveli-
 hood there. He has lived well.'
ori san, len, nik, parejîi eukí nebanian, motoristâ ibilli-san
 that was formerly I.E couple have AUX.CP machinist walk AUX
*ori, géwas ibilli-san. motoristii be ona. mu búéno, mu búéno.*⁴¹
 that we.C walk AUX machinist too good very good very good
 'That one was, formerly, when I had the two boats [lit. the couple], he was the
 machinist. He went with us. A good machinist, too. Very good, very good.'
báitta Pedrojūan. bîzak sirian motorista... bai. bîzak
 yes-and Pedro-Juan the-two were machinist yes the-two
*ibiltxe-sirían a, alkarrêas ibillikúak a, ta, mu búéna jénte.*⁴²
 walk.I AUX one-another.C been.p and very good people
 'Pedro-Juan too. The two of them were machinists... yes. The two of them used
 to be, uh, they have been together uh, and, very good people.'

Text 6

A: f, 13 yr. (Ainara Barainka)

G: m, 26 yr. (Gorka Elordieta)

- G: *baña, iñôis be es-ta pasa gausa, grabérik, esta?*
 but ever too not-AUX happen thing serious.PT not-is
 'But nothing serious has ever happened, right?'

(39) Sp. *sí*.

(40) Sp. *sí*.

(41) Sp. *muy bueno*.

(42) Sp. *muy buena gente*.

- A: *es. pasan urtian sesenâk eskapa-ban,*⁴³ *Mendixaráiño.*
no last year.IN bull.E escape-AUX Mendexa.up-to
'No. Last year the bull run away, up to Mendexa.'
- G: *ba!?*
yes
'Really!?'
- A: *bai.*
'Yes.'
- G: *aibalalétxe!*⁴⁴ *núndik, ándik, ostalétik gora?*
gee where.AB there.AB hostel.AB top.AL
'I'll be darned! Where from, from there, from the hostel up?'
- A: *e, žun san, sélan dáuko ixena? ondar txikítzik... búeno, esân eon.*
go AUX how it-has name beach small.AB well not-AUXbe
'Uh, it went, what's its name? Through Little Beach... well, it wasn't there.'
portu gustikuú ixan-san, da, žun san, urte ban, ondar txikítzik, da...
dock all.of be AUX and go AUX leave AUX beach small.AB and
'It was [a thing] of the whole dock, and, it went, it left, from Little Beach, and...'
- G: *ondar txikítzik...*
beach small.AB
'From Little Beach...'
- A: *salbajétik gero žun-san ándik góitzik, ta...*
wild.AB then go AUX there.AB top.AB and
'Then it went through Wild [Beach], through up there, and...'
- G: *ba!*
yes
'Really!'
- A: *bai. da, aringa-rínga, píllo bat kótxe ta.*
yes and fast-fast lot one car and
'Yes. And, [there was] running, a lot of cars.'
- G: *errežúa pasa-aban?*
river cross AUX
'It crossed the river?'
- A: *bai. e-sân ixan maria altúu baña...*
yes not-AUX be tide high but
'Yes. It wasn't a high tide, but...'
- G: *da, es-eutzân kubrirúten?*
and not-AUX cover.I
'And, didn't it cover it?' (didn't the water cover the bull?)'
- A: *es-taki nik, nik danâ ikusi-gendun*⁴⁵ *aringa-rínga, ta dana žentía atzétik.*
not-I know I.E I-E all see AUX running and all people behind.AB
'I don't know, I, we saw everybody (lit. everything) running, and all the people go after [it]'

(43) *eskapa eban* 'it escaped'.(44) Sp. *abí va la leche*.(45) Performance error. There is an explicit first person singular subject pronoun *nik*, but the auxiliary *gendun* agrees with a first person plural subject. The correct form of the sentence would have been either *nik danâ ikusi-neban* 'I saw everything' or *guk danâ ikusi-gendun* 'we saw everything'.

- G: *da, artzáiñak pe bai, atzétik?*
and shepherds too yes behind.AB
'And the shepherds too, after [it]?'
A: *bai, kotxi ta. éuren e, kamioyá ta. dana.*
yes car and their truck and everything
'Yes, the car and so on. Their, uh, truck and so on. Everything.'
G: [laughter].
[...]
G: *sê gustawóo, bilbotárrak ero lekixárrak, mutíllak?*
what like.more Bilbaoans or Lekitians boys
'What [do you] like most, boys from Bilbao or boys from Lekeitio?'
A: *bilbotárrak.*
Bilbaoans
'The ones from Bilbao'
G: *a! [laughter] seáitxik ori?*
why that
'Ah! Why [is] that?'
A: *ba, guapuóo diselako.*
well handsome-more are.CP
'Well, because they are more handsome'
G: *a bai, e? óstra!*
ah yes darn
'Oh, really, huh? Darn!'
A: *ganéra dana daô bilbotárra Lekitxon. Bilbo ingurukúuk eta.*
besides all is Bilbaoan Lekeitio-IN Bilbao around.of.those and
'Besides, Lekeitio is full of Bilbaoans, from around Bilbao and so'
G: *s-sélan Bilbo ingurukúak?*
how Bilbao around.of.those
'W-what do you mean, from around Bilbao?'
A: *ba igual e, Algortakúuk eta... andíxik urre. Bilbóko, alboko*
well maybe Algorta.of.those and there.AB near Bilbao.of side.of
errizetakúuk eta.
towns.of.those and
'Well, maybe, uh, from Algorta and... near there. People from the towns around Bilbao'
G: *etórtén disela ona.*
come.I AUX.CP here.AL
'(That) they come here'
A: *bai.*
'Yes'
G: *da gusta.*
and like
'And [you] like [them]'
A: *bai [laughter]*
'Yes' [laughter]

- G: [...] *da, mutill lekitxárrak ori bâdakîze?* *enterâten dira, esta?* *ikûsten dâbe.*
 and boy Lekeitians that QP-they-know realize.I AUX not-is see.I AUX
 'And, do boys from Lekeitio know that? They realize, don't they? They see it.'
- A: *bai, ikusîko dâbe.*
 yes see.F AUX
 'Yes, I guess they see it'
- G: *da sê esaten-dâbe?* *tontúak!*
 and what say.I AUX stupid.p
 'And what do they say? "Stupid guys!"'
- A: *batzútan e, igual e, sortzi, bûéno, béste, edade batekuári ta, dânak ibiltxen-dîis*
 sometimes maybe eight well other age one.of.D and all walk.I AUX
neská ta mutill batera.
 girl and boy together
 'Sometimes uh, maybe uh, eight, well, [youngsters] of other ages and so, all of them hang out together, boys and girls'
- da, esân eutzen e, îa bilbótar bázuk al disen sartun éuren kuadríllan,*
 and say AUX CP Bilbaoans some can AUX .CP get-in their group.IN
da mutíllak embidižáas ésetz.
 and boys envy.C no
 'And they [the girls] asked them [the boys] uh, if some [boys] from Bilbao could get in their group, and the boys said no, with envy'

6. VOCABULARY

Nominals (nouns and adjectives) are given both in uninflected form and in the absolutive singular. Although the second form given is generally predictable from the first, we include it because it is the citation form of nominals. For verbs, their perfective participle is given, which is both the most basic form of verbs and the citation form.

Adj: Adjective

Adv: Adverb

a.u.: also unaccented

Conj: Conjunction

Dem: Demonstrative

Dim: Diminutive

Interj: Interjection

N: Noun

Neol: Neologism

Num: Numeral

obs: obsolete or obsolescent

Onom: Onomatopoeic word

Pos: Possessive

Postp: Postposition

Pred adj: Predicative adjective

Pref: Prefix

Q: Quantifier

QW: Question word

Suf: Suffix

V: Verb

A.

a (Dem): that over there / aquel.

abade, abadía (N): priest / cura.

abadetásun, abadetasúma (N): priesthood / oficio de cura.

Abadi(e)n Mollía (N): The Pier of the Priests, a toponym / Muelle de los Curas.

abánte (Interj): onward, (let's) go on / adelante.

abantian (Adv): sailing, navigating / navegar. E.g.: *ni bederâtzi urtêas asi-nitzan*

abantian 'I started sailing when I was nine' / 'empecé a navegar con nueve años'.

abárka, abarkía (N): type of sandal / abarca, tipo de sandalia.

abarkéta, abarketía (N): 1. espadrille 2. boring discourse or thing / 1. alpargata 2. pelmada, rollo aburrido.

abemari, abemariža (N): Hail Mary / Ave María.

abendu, abendua (N): December / diciembre.

aberastu (V): to become rich / hacerse rico.

aberatz, aberatza (Adj): rich, wealthy / rico.

aberi, aberiža (N): damage, breakdown / avería.

aberri, aberriža (N, Neol): fatherland / patria.

abiža, abižía (N): nest / nido.

abižada, abižadia (N): speed / velocidad.

abill, abilla (Adj): skillful / hábil.

abillidade, abillidadia (N): skill / habilidad.

abilkeri, abilkeriža (N): (show of) worthless skill / (demostración de) habilidad fatua.

abio, abioya (N): airplane / avión.

abixa (V): to warn, to call / avisar.

abíxo, abixúa (N): call, warning / aviso.

abusa (V): to abuse / abusar.

aburridu (V): to bore; to get bored / aburrir(se).

aburrido, aburridua (Adj): boring / aburrido.

aburrimiento, aburrimientúa (N): boredom / aburrimiento.

- adar, adarra* (N): 1. branch 2. horn / 1. rama
2. cuerno.
- adur, adurra* (N): saliva / saliva.
- afaldu* (V): to have supper / cenar.
- afalostíán* (Adv): after supper / sobremesa de la cena.
- afan, afana* (N): eagerness / afán.
- afan, afana* (Adj): conceited, pretentious / pretencioso.
- afari, afariža* (N): supper / cena.
- afe(k)ta* (V): to affect / afectar.
- afisiño, afisiñoaya* (N): fondness / afición.
- afusilla* (V): to shoot with rifles / fusilar.
- agarra* (V): to grab / agarrar.
- agarrada, agarradia* (N): fight / agarrada, pelea.
- agertu* (V): to appear / aparecer.
- agilla, agillía* (N): eagle / águila.
- agiñ, agiña* (N): tooth / diente.
- a(g)in-báko, a(g)in-bakúa* (Adj): toothless / desdentado.
- a(g)inddu* (V): 1. to order, to command 2. to promise / 1. ordenar, mandar 2. prometer.
- a(g)iráka eiñ* (V): to scold / regañar.
- agirizan* (Adv): in plain view / a la vista.
E.g.: *agirizan daróisu gabardiña* 'your raincoat is in plain view' / 'llevas la gabardina a la vista'.
- agosto, agostua* (N): August / agosto.
- a(g)üanta or a(g)üenia* (V): to support, to bear / aguantar.
- a(g)üasill, a(g)üasilla* (N): city policeman / alguacil.
- agúdo or agúro* (Adv): quickly / rápidamente.
- agur, agurra* (N): good bye / adiós.
- a(g)ura, a(g)uria* (N): old man / anciano.
- agurtu* (V): to greet / saludar.
- áiba* (Interj): interjection of surprise / interjección de sorpresa. E.g.: *áiba! sêlan eiñ ddau ori ba?* 'Gee! how did (s)he do it?' / '¡jahi va! ¿cómo lo ha hecho?'
- ayenêka ibilli* (V, *ai ene* 'oh my!' + *ka* 'adverbializer): to moan / lamentarse.
- aiñ* (Adv): so / tan.
- ainbéste* (Adv): so much, so many / tanto(s).
- aingeru, aingerua* (N): angel / ángel.
- áinka eiñ* (V): to bite / morder.
- ainka, ainkia* (N): leg / pierna.
- ainkada, ainkadia* (N): biting / mordisco.
- aista, aistia* (N): sister of woman / hermana de mujer.
- aitta* (N): father (used without the determiner) / padre.
- aittabíxi* (N): godfather / padrino.
- aittagura, aittaguria* (N): Our Father / padre-nuestro.
- Aittasántu, Aittasantúa* (N): Pope, Holy Father / Papa, Padre Santo.
- aittasúlo, aittasulúa* (Pred adj): daddy's kid / niño apegado a su padre.
- aittátar, aittatárra* (Pred adj): 1. resembling his or her father 2. paternal relative / 1. que sale al padre 2. de la familia paterna.
- aittatu* (V): to mention / mencionar.
- aittiaren* (N): Sign of the Cross / señal de la cruz.
- aittítta* (N): grandfather / abuelo.
- aittainarréba* (N): father in law / suegro.
- aittu* (V): to understand / comprender.
- aixa* (Interj): what a / vaya, qué. E.g.: *aixá mutill ona!* 'what a good boy!' / '¡vaya qué niño más bueno!'
- aixe, aixia* (N): wind / viento.
- áxe or axe* (Dem): that over there, intensive / aquel mismo.
- aixkiratu* (V): to make peace, to make up / hacer las paces.
- aixkóra, aixkoria* (N): ax / hacha.
- aja* (V): to get crumpled / ajar(se).
- ajau, ajawa* (Adj): crumpled / ajado.
- ajéntzi, ajentzîza* (N): agency / agencia.
- ajustau, ajustawa* (Adj): tight (clothes) / ajustado (se dice de la ropa).
- akábo* (Interj): that's it! / se acabó.
- akelárre, akelarría* (N): witches' sabbath / aquelarre.
- aker, akerra* (N): billy goat / macho cabrío.
- akonseja* (V): advise / aconsejar.
- akorda* (V): to remember / acordarse.
- akorduan euki* (V): to keep in mind / tener en cuenta.
- akostunbra (eiñ)* (V): to get used to / acostumbrarse.
- akullu, akullua* (N): goad / aguijada.
- al* (V): to be able / poder.
- ála* (Conj.): 1. or (exclusive) 2. perhaps, or what / 1. o (exclusivo) 2. o qué. E.g.:

- ês-takixu ála?* 'you don't know or what?' / 'no sabes ¿o qué?'
- alaba, alabia* (N): daughter / hija.
- alamierdára* (Adv): to hell / a la mierda. E.g.: *alamierdára zúitá daukola!* 'let him/her go to hell!' / ¡que se vaya a la mierda!'
- álan* (Adv): thus, in that manner / así.
- alantxérik* (Adv): in that manner (emphatic) / así mismo.
- aláru, alarúa* (N): scream (normally in the plural) / alarido, chillido (generalmente en plural).
- alarúka* (Adv): screaming / dando alaridos, chillando.
- alargun, alarguna* (N): widow(er) / viudo-a.
- alargundu* (V): to become a widow(er) / en-viudar.
- albaittero, albaitterua* (N, obs.): veterinarian / veterinario, albaiteiro.
- albo, albuá* (N): side / lado.
- aldatz, aldatza* (N): uphill, slope/ pendiente, cuesta.
- alde, aldía* (N): side, zone / zona, lado.
- alde eñ* (V): to leave / irse.
- aldendu* (V): to disappear, to get lost / desaparecer, perderse.
- alderdi, alderdiža* (N): 1. side 2. political party, esp. Basque Nationalist Party / 1. lado 2. partido político, esp. PNV.
- aldian* (Adv): 1. in comparison (with genitive) 2. (carrying) with oneself / 1. en comparación (con genitivo) 2. encima, con uno mismo. E.g.: *su abilla sarâ neure aldian* 'you are skillful compared with me' / 'en comparación conmigo (a mi lado), eres hábil'; *eráxu dirua beti aldian* 'always carry your money with you' / 'lleva siempre el dinero encima'.
- ale(g)iñ, ale(g)iña* (N): effort / esfuerzo.
- ale(g)inddu* (V): to make an effort, to try / esforzarse, intentar.
- alégre, alegría* (Adj): happy / alegre.
- alegra* (V): to become or render happy / alegrarse.
- algarête* (Adv): adrift, in a chaotic state / desorganizadamente, al garete. E.g.: *bapore gustizak algarête dabiltzas portuan, denpo-raliágas* 'all the boats are adrift in the harbor with the storm' / 'todos los barcos andan al garete (de un lado a otro) en el puerto, con el temporal'.
- álik eta* or *aldánik eta* (Conj): as... as possible; / lo más posible. E.g.: *álik eta obetúen* 'as best as possible' / 'lo mejor posible'.
- alkar* (Pro): each other / uno al otro.
- alkartu* (V): to get together / reunirse.
- alkate, alkatia* (N): mayor / alcalde.
- alkatxófa, alkatxofía* (N): artichoke / alcachofa.
- alkawéte, alkawetía* (N): go-between, gossip, confident / alcahuete.
- alkondára, alkondaría* (N): shirt / camisa.
- almúada, almúadia* (N): pillow / almohada.
- alobéra, alobería* (N, obs): salary / sueldo.
- alper, alperra* (Adj): lazy / vago, perezoso.
- alperveri, alperveriza* (N): laziness / pereza.
- alperriek* (Adv): in vain / en vano.
- alrebes* (Adv): upside down, the opposite / al revés.
- álta, altía* (Adj): tall (female) / alta.
- altare* or *altara, altaria* (N): altar / altar.
- álto, altúa* (Adj, Sp. *alto*): tall, high / alto.
- altura, alturia* (N): height / altura.
- alúmna, alumnía* (N): female student / alumna.
- alúmno, alumnúa* (N): male student / alumno.
- altza* (V): to get up; to lift / alzar(se), levantar(se).
- altzada, altzadia* (N): lifting / levantamiento, alzada.
- altzo, altzua* (N): lap / regazo.
- ama* (N): mother (used without the determiner) / madre.
- amá-bako, amá-bakua* (Adj): orphan of mother / huérfano de madre.
- amaórde, amaordía* (N): step-mother / madrastra.
- amábi* (Num): twelve / doce.
- Amabirjiña, Amabirjiña* (N): the Virgin Mary / Virgen María.
- amabítxi* (N): godmother / madrina.
- amábost* (Num): fifteen / quince.
- amáika* (Num): eleven / once.
- amáiru* (Num): thirteen.
- amaiñarréba* (N): mother in law / suegra.
- amaittu* (V): to finish / terminar.
- amaittukéra, amaittukeria* (N): end / fin, final.

- amálau* (Num): fourteen / catorce.
amantal, amantala (N): apron / delantal, mandil.
amánte, amantía (N): lover / amante.
amar (Num): ten / diez.
amarratu (V): to tie / amarrar.
amarreko, amarrekua (N): coin of ten duros (fifty pesetas) / diez duros.
amasáspi (Num): seventeen / diecisiete.
amásei (Num): sixteen / dieciseis.
amasórtzi (Num): eighteen / dieciocho.
amasúlo, amasulúa (Adj): mom's kid / niño apegado a su madre.
amata (V): to extinguish, to turn off / apagar.
amatár, amatárra (Adj): 1. resembling his or her mother 2. maternal relative / 1. que sale a la madre 2. de la familia materna.
ames, amesa (N): dream / sueño.
amesetan eñ (V): to dream / soñar.
ametsar, ametsarra (N): nightmare / pesadilla.
amistade, amistadia (N): friendship / amistad.
amorrotúta (Pred adj): anxious, angry / ansioso, furioso. E.g.: *txakurra amorrotúta dago katua ikusítta* 'the dog is angry after seeing the cat' / 'el perro está furioso habiendo visto el gato'.
amorru, amorrua (N): desire; anger / deseo; rabia.
amorrua euki (V): to hate / odiar, tener odio. E.g.: *amorrua dotzat ba, orreri morroiari* 'I hate that guy' / 'le tengo tirria a ese tipo'.
ámu, amúa (N, a.u.): fishing hook / anzuelo.
amúma (N): grandmother / abuela.
ana(i)ža, ana(i)žia (N): brother of man / hermano de hombre.
andero, anderua (N): coffin-bearer / persona que porta el féretro.
a(u)ndi, a(u)ndiža (Adj): big / grande.
andiki, andikiža (N): wealthy, important person / persona importante.
andikeri, andikeriža (N): show of greatness or wealth / ostentación de riqueza o importancia.
andínai, andináiža (N): yearning for greatness or riches / deseo de grandeza.
andittu (V): to grow, to become big / crecer.
andra, andria (N): woman; wife / mujer; esposa.
andragíxon, andragíxonak (N): married couple / matrimonio.
andráko, andrakúa (N): doll / muñeca (juguete).
angúla, angulía (N): baby eel / angula.
angúlo, angulúa (N): corner, angle / ángulo.
anilla, anillía (N): ring / anilla.
anima (V): encourage / animar.
animáli, animalíža (N): animal / animal.
anímio, animúa (N): courage, spirit / ánimo.
animoso, animosua (Adj): spirited, lively / animoso.
anix, anixa (N): anisette / anís.
ánkla, anklía (N): anchor / ancla.
anpor, anporra (N): log, plank / tabla.
anpúlai, anpúláiža (N, rare): type of cherry / cereza grande.
antigüaleko, antigüalekua (Adj): ancient / antiguo.
antiójo, antiojúak (N): eyeglasses / gafas.
antipatíko, antipatíkúa (Adj): disagreeable, nasty / antipático.
antxiñako, antxiñakua (Adj): ancient, very old / antiguo.
antxiñan (Adv): long time ago / hace mucho tiempo.
antxóba, antxobía (N): anchovy / anchoa.
antz, antza (N): resemblance; aspect / parecido; aspecto.
antzar, antzarra (N): goose / ganso.
Antzárarak, antzar eguna or *antzar-egúna* (N): Goose Day, Lekeitio's Holiday, September 5 / Día de los Gansos, fiesta de Lekeitio, 5 de septiembre.
antzeko, antzekua (Adj): similar / similar.
apal, apala (Adj): humble / humilde.
aparáio, aparatúa (N): instrument / aparato.
apari, aparíža (N): supper / cena. Cf. *afari*.
aparížo, aparížiúa (N): fishing tool / aparejo.
aparka (V): to park / aparcar.
aparkaléku, aparkalekúa (N): parking lot, parking spot / aparcamiento.
aparkatéko léku, aparkatéko lekúua (N): parking lot, parking spot / aparcamiento. *aparta* (V): to remove / apartar.
apartaménto, apartamentúa (N): apartment / apartamento.

- aparte* (Adv): apart / aparte.
- ápas eiñ* (V): to sit down (child talk) / sentarse (lenguaje infantil).
- apellido, apellidua* (N): family name / apellido.
- aposta* (V): to bet / apostar.
- apósta, apostía* (N): bet / apuesta.
- aprapos* (Adv): 1. on purpose 2. jokingly / 1. aposta, a propósito 2. de broma.
- apriñ, aprilla* (N): april / abril.
- aproba* (V): 1. to pass (an exam). 2. to try, to taste 3. to try, to attempt / 1. aprobar 2. probar, degustar 3. probar, intentar.
- apróba, aprobía* (N): try, attempt / prueba, intento.
- aprobau, aprobawa* (N): passing grade / aprobado.
- aprobetxa* (V): to take advantage, to profit / aprovechar.
- apunta* (V): to jot down / apuntar.
- apúnte, apuntía* (N): notes / apunte.
- apur bat* (Adv): a little / un poco.
- apur, apurra* (N): crumb / miga.
- apurtu* (V): to break / romper.
- ar, arra* (N): worm / gusano.
- ar, arra* (Adj): male / macho.
- ár, árrak* (N): present given by bridegroom to bride / arras.
- ára* (Interj): interjection of surprise / ¡hala!
E.g.: *ára nok amaitsu daben lélen!* look who has finished first! / ¡hala quién ha terminado primero!
- ara(g)i, ara(g)iña* (N): flesh / carne.
- ara(i)ñeun* (Adv): day before yesterday / antes de ayer.
- arbóla, arbolía* (N): tree / árbol.
- ardau, ardawa* (N): wine / vino.
- ardi, ardiña* (N): 1. sheep 2. flea / 1. oveja 2. pulga.
- ardura, arduria* (N): worry; responsibility / preocupación; responsabilidad.
- ardurádun, arduradúna* (Adj): person in charge / responsable.
- arduratu* (V): to worry, to take responsibility / responsabilizarse.
- arek* (Pro): that over there (erg) / aquel (erg).
- árek* (Pro): those over there (abs or erg) / aquellos (abs o erg).
- arena* (V): to mop / fregar el suelo.
- arenadura, arenaduria* (N): mopping / fregado del suelo.
- arerizo, arerizua* (N): enemy / enemigo.
- ari, ariza* (N): thread / hilo.
- aritz, aritza* (N): oak / roble.
- argal, argala* (Adj): thin, skinny / delgado.
- argaldu* (V): to thin, to become skinny / adelgazar.
- argi, argiña* (N): light / luz.
- argi, argiña* (Adj): 1. light, bright 2. evident, clear 3. bright, smart / 1. claro, luminoso 2. evidente, claro 3. listo, despabilado.
- argittasun, argittasuna* (N): brightness, clarity / claridad.
- argittu* (V): to make or become clear, to lighten, to illuminate / clarear(se), iluminar(se).
- argisa(r)i, argisa(r)iña* (N): wax / cera.
- arima, arimia* (N): soul / alma.
- ariñ* (Adv): quickly / rápidamente.
- ariñ, ariña* (Adj): quick, fast / rápido.
- ariñ-arínga* or *aringarínga* (Adv): running / corriendo.
- arko, arkua* (N): arch; bow / arco.
- arkume, arkumia* (N): lamb / cordero.
- arkúpe, arkuþía* (N): porch, arcade / soportal.
- armarizo, armarizúa* (N): cupboard, wardrobe / armario.
- armosa* (V): to have breakfast / desayunar.
- armoso, armosua* (N): breakfast / desayuno.
- arnasa, arnasia* (N): breath / respiración.
- arnasestu, arnasestua* (N): pant / jadeo, resuello.
- arnasia artun* (V): to breathe / respirar.
- arpe(g)i, arpe(g)iña* (N): face / cara.
- arpei-gógor, arpei-gogorra* (Adj): shameless / caradura.
- arpei-ándi, arpei-andiña* (Adj): shameless / carota, caradura.
- arpeiko, arpeikua* (N): slap in the face / bofetada.
- arpo, arpoya* (N): harpoon / arpón.
- arrakála, arrakalía* (N): 1. crack 2. craziness / 1. grieta 2. locura.
- arrakalatu* (V): to crack / rajar(se), agrietar(se).
- arranka* (V): to root out / arrancar.
- arrankilla, arrankillía* (N): anchor / ancla.
- arra(i)ñ, arra(i)ña* (N): fish / pez, pescado.

- arraingórri, arraingorríza* (N): type of red fish / tipo de pez rojo.
- arráno* (Interj): interjection of surprise or anger, euphemism for *arrázo* / ¡rayos! E.g.: *sé arráno! gèukè eingóu eta kito!* 'what the heck! we'll do it ourselves and enough of it!' / ¡qué rayos! lo haremos nosotros y se acabó!
- arrasa* (V): arrasar / arrasar.
- arraska* (V): to scratch / rascar.
- arrantzale, arrantzalia* (N): fisherman, sailor / marinero, pescador.
- arrañetan zuan* (V): to go fishing / ir de pesca.
- arrasta* (V): to drag / arrastrar.
- arrastaka* (Adv): dragging, trawling / a rastras.
- arrastando* (Adv): dragging, trawling / arrastrando.
- arrastero, arrasterua* (N): trawling boat / barco arrastrero.
- arraste, arrastia* (N): drag (fishing technique) / arrastre (técnica de pesca).
- arrastian* (Adv): trawling (fishing) / al arrastre (pesca).
- arratzalde, arratzaldia* (N): evening / tarde.
- arráusi, arrausíza* (N): yawning / bostezo.
- arráutza, arrautzía* (N): egg/ huevo.
- arrázo* (Interj): interjection of surprise or anger / ¡rayos!
- arriba, arrebía* (N): sister of man / hermana de hombre.
- arregla* (V): to fix / arreglar.
- arri, arriza* (N): 1. stone 2. kitchen sink / 1. piedra 2. fregadero.
- arríkiskírri, arríkiskirríza* (N): pebble / piedrecilla.
- arriko, arrikua* (N): washing up / fregado.
- arrima* (V): to bring or come close / arriar(se).
- arrittúta* (Adj predicative): surprised / sorprendido.
- arro, arrua* (Adj): proud / orgulloso.
- arros, arrosa* (N): rice / arroz.
- arrotu* (V): to become proud / enorgullecerse.
- artabúru, artaburúa* (N): 1. ear of corn 2. clumsy, silly / 1. mazorca 2. atolondrado.
- artási, artasízak* (N): scissors / tijeras.
- arte, artia* (N): live oak / encina.
- árte, artía* (N): art / arte.
- árte* (Adv): up to, until / hasta.
- artían* (Adv): between / entre.
- artista, artistia* (N): artist / artista.
- artistíko, artistikúa* (Adj): artistic / artístico.
- arto, artua* (N): corn / maíz.
- artóla, artolía* (Adj): pudgy (female) / regordeta.
- artólo, artolúa* (Adj): pudgy / regordete.
- artun* (V): to take / tomar.
- artza(i)ñ, artza(i)ña* (N): shepherd / pastor.
- asa, asia* (N): cabbage / col.
- ása, asía* (N): handle / asa, mango.
- asafáta, asafatía* (N): stewardess / azafata.
- asafrán, asafrana* (N): safran / azafrán.
- asal, asala* (N): skin, peel / piel, cáscara.
- asalga, asalgia* (N): chard / acelga.
- asarratu* (V): to make or get angry / enfadar(se).
- asarre, asarria* (N): anger / enfado.
- asbíxar, asbíxarra* (N): hangnail / padrastro, pellejo de la uña.
- aséri, aseríza* (N): fox / zorro.
- asgordiñ, asgordiña* (N): chilblain / sabañón.
- asgúra, asguría* (N): itch / picor.
- asi* (V): to begin / empezar.
- asi, asiža* (N): seed / semilla.
- asieske* (Conj): thus, therefore / así es que.
- asijnatura, asijnaturia* (N): course / asignatura.
- asikéra, asikería* (N): beginning / comienzo.
- askan, askana* (Adj): final, last / último, final.
- áskan ibilli* (V): to scratch / rascarse.
- askánen* (Pred adj): last / último. E.g.: *Péru geldittu-da askánen* 'Peru has arrived the last' / 'Peru ha quedado último'.
- askanengóko, askanengokúa* (Adj): last / último.
- askatasun, askatasuna* (N): freedom / libertad.
- askatu* (V): to free / liberar.
- asko* (Adv): a lot / mucho.
- askotan* (Adv): often, frequently / frecuentemente.
- asma* (V): to make up / inventar.
- ásma, asmía* (N): asthma / asma.
- asmakixun, asmakixúna* (N): invention / invención.
- asmo, asmua* (N): plan, intention / plan, intención.
- aspaldizán* (Adv): long time ago / hace mucho.
- aspaldíko, aspaldikua* (Adj): old, of long time ago / de antaño.

aspaldiko (Adj): used as an exclamation upon meeting again someone not seen for a long time / ¡tanto tiempo!, exclamación al encontrar de nuevo a un viejo conocido.

aspi, aspiza (N): bottom / parte de abajo.

aspižan (Adv): under / debajo.

aspikogóna, aspikogonía (N): underskirt / enaguas.

aspiradora, aspiradoría (N): vacuum cleaner / aspiradora.

aspiriña, aspiriñía (N): aspirine / aspirina.

asta, astia (N): handle / asa.

aste, astia (N): week / semana.

astélen, asteléna (N): Monday / lunes.

astesántu, astesantúa (N): Holy Week / Semana Santa.

asteásken, asteaskéna (N): Weekend (in other dialects, this word means Wednesday) / fin de semana (en otros dialectos, miércoles).

asti, astiza (N): free time / tiempo libre.

astinddu (V): to beat (a carpet or a person) / sacudir; dar una paliza.

asto, astua (N): donkey / burro.

astonaparrerri, astonaparreriza (N, obs, a.u.): smallpox / viruela.

astokeri, astokeriza (N): exaggerated action / burrada, exageración.

astokillo, astokillúa (Adj): stupid / borrico.

astopóiro, astopotrúa (Adj): stupid, uncouth / bruto, basto.

astu (V): to forget / olvidar.

asúkere, asukría (N): sugar / azucar.

asul, asula (Adj): blue / azul.

asun, asuna (N): 1. nettle 2. thorn / 1. ortiga 2. espina.

asur, asurra (N): bone / hueso.

atabáka, atabakía (N): small box containing color balls / caja pequeña con bolas de colores.

atara (V): to take out / sacar.

ataka (V): to attack / atacar.

atakada, atakadia (N): attack / ataque.

atáke, atakía (N): attack / ataque.

ate, atia (N): door / puerta.

atentau, atentava (N): terrorist assault / atentado.

aterpe, aterpia (N): cover, esp. from the rain / refugio, esp. de la lluvia.

aterri (Adv): clear sky / cielo despejado.

artertu (V): to clear up after the rain / despejar.

atéta, atetía (N): entrance hall / portalada.

atesúan egon (V): to be in a jam / estar en un aprieto.

atrapa (V): to catch / atrapar.

atrasa (V): to delay, to postpone / atrasar.

atrasau, atrasawa (Adj): delayed; (mentally) retarded / atrasado; retrasado (mental).

atun, atuna (N): tuna / atún.

atunéta, atunetía (N): tuna fishing campaign / pesca del atún.

atunero, atunera (N): tuna fishing boat / barco atunero.

atx, atxa (N): rock / roca.

atxéki, atxekíza (N): excuse / excusa.

atxur, atxurra (N): 1. hoe 2. drunkenness / 1. azada 2. borrachera.

atz, atza (N): stentch / hedor.

atzamar, atzamarra (N): finger / dedo de la mano.

atzamar-púnta, atzamar-puntía (N): fingertip / yema del dedo.

atzan, atzana (Pred adj): last / último.

átze, atzia (N): back / parte de atrás.

atztan (Adv): in back / atrás.

atzekálde, atzekaldía (N): back side / parte de atrás.

atzerakada, atzerakadia (N): rejection; backing off / rechazo; marcha atrás.

atzéra (Adv): again / de nuevo.

atzéra bota (V): to revoke, to reject / revocar, rechazar.

atzeratu (V): to move back; to delay, to postpone / mover hacia atrás; atrasar, posponer. E.g.: *Retégik pelotía atzeratu-eban* 'Retegi threw the ball to the back' / 'Retegi echó la pelota hacia atrás'.

atzekos aurréra (Adv): backwards / hacia atrás.

atzo (Adv): yesterday / ayer.

atzo, atzua (N): old woman / anciana.

atzósar, atzósarra (N): old woman (slightly despective) / anciana, vieja (algo despectivo).

atzotu (V): to become an old woman / hacerse vieja.

au (Pro.): this / este.

au, awa (N): mouth / boca.

aukada, aukadia (N): mouthful / bocanada.
au-sántarr, au-santárra (Pred, Adj): bad-mouthed / malhablado.
au-santarreko, au-santarrekua (Adj): bad-mouthed / malhablado.
aukéra, aukeria (N): opportunity, chance / oportunidad.
aukéran (Adv): as wanted / a pedir de boca.
áulan (Adv): thus, in this way / de esta manera, así.
aulantxérik (Adv): thusly, in this very way / de esta misma manera, así mismo.
áu-lako, áu -lakua or *áu-nako, áu-nakua* (Adv): like this (deictic) / como así (deictico). E.g.: *áu lako arriža* 'a stone like this' / 'una piedra así'; *arriža áu lakua san* 'the stone was like this' / 'la piedra era como así'.
aumenta (V): 1. to mention, to comment 2. to increase / 1. comentar 2. aumentar.
aumentó, aumentúa (N): increase / aumento.
áutxe(n) or *auntxe(n)*: right now / ahora mismo.
aurki, aurkiža (N): chair / silla.
áurre, aurria (N): front / delante.
áurre eñ (V): to confront / hacer frente.
aurria artun (V): to take the lead / tomar la delantera.
aurréko, aurrekúa (Adj): in front, anterior / de delante.
aurrerantzian or *aurrerakúan* (Adv): from now on / de ahora en adelante.
aurreratu (V): 1. to advance. 2. to save / 1. adelantar 2. ahorrar.
aurten (Adv): this year / este año.
auso, ausua (N): 1. neighbor 2. neighborhood / 1. vecino 2. vecindario.
ausoko, ausokua (N): neighbor / vecino.
autobus, autobusa (N): bus / autobús.
automóbill, automobilla (N): car / automóvil.
autortu (V): to confess / confesar(se).
autz, autza (N): dirt, powder / polvo.
ayuntamíento, ayuntamíentúa (N) = city hall / ayuntamiento.

B.

ba (Conj): then, so / pues.
*ba**- (Pref): 1. if (conditional prefix); 2. whether, if (prefix in indirect questions) / si (condicional o en preguntas indirectas). E.g.: *es badósu pagáten és totzúe emóngo* 'if you don't pay for it, they won't give it to you' / 'si no pagas, no te lo van a dar'; *estakítt etorriko báda* 'I don't know whether (s)he will come' / 'no sé si vendrá'.
ba(i)- (Pref): affirmative prefix used with focalized synthetic verbs / prefijo usado con verbos sintéticos para focalizar la afirmación. E.g.: *badatór aitta* 'father is coming' / '(si que) viene el padre'; *bádo-ya etxera* 's/he is going home' / '(si que) va a casa'.
baba, babia (N): fava bean / haba.
babalóra, babaloría (Adj): beautiful, esp. said to children / precioso, esp. dicho a los niños.
badaespádan (Adv): just in case / por si acaso.
badaespadáko, badaespadakúa or *badá-espada-ko, badá-espadakua* (Adj): untrustworthy / poco fiable, mediocre.
bage, bagia (N): deep ocean / altamar.
bagó, bagoya (N): wagon / vagón.
bai (Adv): yes / sí.
bai, baiža (N): sieve / criba, cedazo.
ba(i)ña (Conj): but / pero.
bá(i)ña (Conj): though (in sentence-final position) / sin embargo, pero (al final de la oración). E.g.: *es-taukât dirurik báíña* 'I don't have any money, though' / 'no tengo dinero, sin embargo'.
bá(i)ña, ba(i)ña (N): green bean / vaina.
báyetz, bayétza (N): affirmation / afirmación.
bajatu (V): to descend; to put down / bajar.
bajilla, bajillía (N): dishes / vajilla.
bájo, bajúa (N): bass / bajo (instrumento).
bajéto, bajetúa (Adj): short / bajo.
bajéta, bajetía (Adj): short (female) / baja.
báju, bajúa (Adj): short / bajo.
baju or *báju* (Pred adj): low / bajo. E.g.: *musikía baju dagô* 'the music is low' / 'la música está baja.

- bajuran ibilli* (V): to work in coastal fishing / faenan en la pesca de bajura.
- bakardade, bakardadia* (N): loneliness / soledad.
- bakárrik* (Adv): 1. only 2. alone / sólo.
- bakasño, bakasñoyak* (N): holidays / vacaciones.
- bake, bakia* (N): peace / paz.
- baketu* (V): to pacify, to calm / pacificar.
- baketzu, baketzua* (Adj): peaceful, calm / pacífico, calmado.
- bako* (Postp): without / e.g.: *ganôra bako bat sara* 'you are an irresponsible jerk' / 'eres un insensato'
- bakotx, bakotxa* (Pro): each (one) / cada.
- bakúna, bakunía* (N): vaccination / vacuna.
- balda, baldia* (N): shelf / balda, anaquel.
- bálde, baldía* (N): pail, bucket / cubo, balde.
- bale, balia* (N): whale / ballena.
- bále, balía* (N): pass / vale, pase.
- baléka ibilli* (V): to play hide and seek (lit. to engage at *bále*, word said in this game) / jugar al escondite (lit. jugar a vale) .
- balénte, baléntia* (Adj): courageous / valiente.
- balizo, balizua* (N): price, value / valor.
- balizoko, balizokua* (Adj): valuable / valioso.
- balko, balkoya* (N): balcony / balcón.
- balo, baloya* (N): large ball / balón.
- balore, baloria* (N): 1. courage 2. value / 1. valor, valentía 2. valor, valía.
- bálsa, balsía* (N): raft / balsa.
- baltz, baltza* (Adj): black / negro.
- baltzittu* (V): to blacken; to become black, to get a tan / ennegrecer; ponerse negro o moreno, ennegrecerse.
- baltzío, baltziúa* (N): dance / baile.
- baltziúan eñ* (V): to dance, esp. slow / bailar, esp. agarrado. E.g.: *éingou baltziúan?* 'shall we dance?' / ¿bailamos?.
- baltzúna, baltzunía* (N): bruise / moratón, cardenal.
- bállá, ballía* (N): fence / valla.
- bana* (Adv): one (for) each / uno a cada uno. E.g.: *karamelu banâ emon dôtze* 's/he gave each of them a piece of candy' / 'les dio un caramelo a cada uno'.
- bana-banáka* or *banan-bánan* (Adv): one by one / uno a uno.
- banatu* (V): to distribute / distribuir, repartir.
- banda, bandia* (N): band, music group / banda de música.
- bandera, banderia* (N): flag / bandera.
- bandido, bandidua* (N): bandit; trickster / bandido.
- bando, bandua* (N): edict / bando.
- bandurriña, bandurriña* (N): bandurria, Spanish lute / bandurria.
- bankada, bankadia* (N): seat in a boat / banco donde se sientan los remeros en una barca.
- bankéa, banketia* (N): stool / banqueta.
- bankéte, banketia* (N): banquet / banquete.
- bankero, bankerua* (N): banker / banquero.
- bánko, bankúa* (N): 1. bank 2. bench / banco.
- bankillo, bankillua* (N): bench / banquillo.
- baña* (V): to bathe / bañar(se).
- báña, bañía* (N): sheath; pod / vaina.
- bañera, bañeria* (N): bath tub / bañera.
- bañu, bañua* (N): bath / baño.
- báño* (Conj): 1. than, comparative conj / que, conj comparativa. E.g.: *su txikiñágo sara ni báño* 'you are smaller than I am' / 'tú eres más pequeño que yo' 2. but, adversative conj used when the first conjoint is negative / sino, conj adversativa. E.g.: *es ekarri patatárik, arráutzak báño* 'don't bring potatoes, but eggs' / 'no traigas patatas, sino huevos' 3. except, only, nothing but / sino, excepto, más que. E.g.: *amen estagos lau katu báño* 'there is nothing but four cats here' i.e. 'there is hardly a soul here' / 'aquí no hay más que cuatro gatos'.
- bápes* (Pro, *bat be es*): nothing, not one / ni uno.
- bápo* (Interj): finished! (baby talk) / terminado (lenguaje infantil).
- bapor, bapora* (N): fishing boat for coastal fishing (lit. steamer) / barco pesquero de bajura.
- barau, barawa* (N): fast (not eating) / ayuno.
- baráurik* or *baraurik* (Adv): fasting / en ayunas.
- barbariñ, barbariña* (N): red mullet, type of fish / salmonete.
- barbéri, barberfza* (N): barber's shop / barbería.
- barbero, barberua* (N): barber / barbero.
- bare* (Adv): calm (said of the sea) / en calma, serena (mar)

- baretu* (V): to become calm / calmarse, apaciguarse.
- bardiñ* (Adj): same / mismo.
- bardin-bardiñ* (Adv): same / mismo, igualito.
- bardinddu* (V): to make even / igualar.
- barik* (Postp): without / sin.
- bariséla, bariselía* (N): chickenpox / varicela.
- barix, barixa* (N): varicous vein / variz.
- barizáku, barizakúa* (N): Friday / viernes.
- barkillo, barkillúa* (N): rolled wafer / barquillo.
- bárko, barkúa* (N): boat / barco.
- barrabasada, barrabasadia* (N): mischief / barrabasada.
- barre, barria* (N): laughter / risa.
- barre eiñ* (V): to laugh / reir.
- barregura, barreguria* (N): desire to laugh / ganas de reir.
- barréska* (Adv): laughing / riendo.
- barri, barriža* (Adj): new / nuevo.
- barríro* (Adv): again / de nuevo.
- barrix* (conj.): 1. of course 2. on the other hand / 1. por supuesto 2. sin embargo, por otra parte. E.g.: *súek, barrix, beti sabiltzase bardiñ. Estosié kanbizáko!* 'you guys are always behaving the same, of course. You won't change!' / 'vosotros, por supuesto, siempre andáis igual. No vais a cambiar'.
- barrixtu* (V): to renovate / renovar.
- barru, barrua* (N): inside / parte de dentro.
- barruna* (V): to take inside / meter, adentrar.
- barrunta* (V): to suspect / barruntar, sospechar.
- barruratu* (V): to get inside / meter(se).
- bart* (Adv): last night / anoche.
- bartz, bartza* (N): lice egg / huevo de piojo.
- basa, basia* (N): mud, clay / barro, lodo.
- basamortu, basamortua* (N): desert / desierto.
- basátza, basatzia* (N): mudhole, muddy place / lodazal.
- basérri, baserriža* (N): farm / caserío.
- baserritar, baserrittarra* (N): farmer / granjero.
- basilika, basilikía* (N): basilica / basílica.
- baskaldu* (V): to have dinner / comer al mediodía.
- baskári, baskarriža* (N): dinner / comida del mediodía.
- baso, basua* (N): forest / bosque.
- báso, basúa* (N): glass / vaso.
- bastarra gustizak* (N): everything (perhaps from *bastárrak gustizak*) / todo. E.g.: *bastarra gustizak apurtu dittus* 's/he has broken everything' / 'ha roto todo'.
- baster, basterra* (N): corner / rincón.
- bastertu* (V): 1. to corner; to put in a corner 2. to reject / 1. arrinconar 2. rechazar.
- básto, bastúa* (Adj): rough, uncouth / basto.
- basto, bastoya* (N): walking stick / bastón.
- bat* (Num): one / uno.
- batallo, batalloya* (N): battalion / batallón.
- báta, batía* (N): robe / bata.
- batasun, batasuna* (N): unity (neologism in Lekeitio) / unidad.
- bateko, batekua* (N): ace (cards) / as.
- batel, batela* (N): type of boat / batel, tipo de barco.
- batera* (Adv): together / a una, juntos.
- bateratu* (V, rare): to bring together / juntar.
- bates be* (Adv): mainly, mostly, especially / especialmente.
- batidóra, batidoría* (N): blender / batidora.
- batidu* (V): to beat (e.g. eggs) / batir.
- batun* (V): to unite / unir.
- bátxe, batxia* (N): pothole; slump / bache.
- bátzar, batzárra* (N): meeting, reunion / reunión.
- bátzu(k)* (Pro): some / algunos.
- báu, báwa* (N): vapor, steam / vaho.
- bautixa* (V): to baptize / bautizar.
- bautixo, bautixua* (N): baptism / bautizo.
- be* (Adv): also / también.
- be, beya* (N): bottom, lower part / parte de abajo.
- bebai* (Adv, *be bai*): also / también.
- bedar, bedarra* (N): grass / hierba.
- bedeinkasiño, bedeinkasiñoa* (N): blessing / bendición.
- bedeinkatu* (V): to bless / bendecir.
- be(g)i, be(g)iža* (N): eye / ojo.
- be(g)iko kañika, kañikía* (N): eyeball / globo del ojo.
- be(g)ióker, be(g)iokerra* (Adj): cross-eyed / bizco.
- be(g)itxingor, be(g)itxingorra* (N): stye / orzuelo.
- be(g)íra e(g)on* (V): to be watching / estar mirando.
- bei, beiža* (N): cow / vaca.

- beñ oneskéro* (Adv): by now / para ahora. E.g.:
beñ oneskéro amaittäta eongó-da batzárra 'the meeting should have ended by now' / 'para ahora ya habrá terminado la reunión'.
- beitu* (V, *begi+tu*): to look / mirar.
- beya žo* (V): to get depressed / deprimirse.
- beñ* (Adv): once / una vez.
- bekeréke, bekerekía* (N): sheep, lamb / oveja, cordero.
- bekóki, bekokíža* (N): forehead / frente.
- béla, belía* (N): sail / vela.
- belañó, belañua* (N): low fog / niebla baja.
- belárrri, belarríža* (N): ear / oreja.
- belarrittáko, belarrittakúa* (N): ear-ring / pendiente.
- belarriondóko, belarriondokúa* (N): slap in the face / bofetada.
- belaun, belauna* (N): knee / rodilla.
- belauniko* (Adv): kneeling / de rodillas.
- beléro, belerúa* (N): sail boat / velero.
- bélo, belúa* (N): veil / velo.
- benétan* (Adv): truthfully / de veras.
- benga* (V): to take revenge / vengar(se).
- bénga* (Interj): come on, let's go! / ¡venga, vamos!
- bengáne, benganía* (N): floor / suelo.
- bengántza, bengantzía* (N): revenge / venganza.
- bénta, bentía* (N): 1. sale 2. place where fish is sold in auction / 1. venta 2. lugar donde se vende el pescado a subasta.
- béntan* (Adv): on sale / en venta.
- bentaja, bentajia* (N): advantage / ventaja.
- bentána, bentanía* (N): window / ventana.
- bera* (Pro): he, she, it / él, ella.
- berákatz, berakátza* (N): garlic / ajo.
- berandu* (Adv): late / tarde.
- berasko, beraskua* (N): diarrhea / diarrea.
- berba, berbía* (N): word / palabra.
- berba eñ* (V): to talk / hablar.
- berba(i)kéra, berba(i)kería* (N): way of talking / modo de hablar.
- berbaldun, berbalduma* (Adj): talkative / hablador.
- berba-sántar, berba-santárria* (N): bad word / palabrota.
- berbéta, berbetía* (N): way of talking / forma de hablar. E.g.: *berbéta santarreko gixona da, ba!* 'he is a man with very bad language' / 'es un hombre que habla muy mal'.
- berbo, berbúa* (N): verb / verbo.
- berde, berdía* (Adj): 1. green 2. obscene / 1. verde 2. verde, obsceno.
- berdekeri, berdekeriža* (N): obscene comment / verdulería, dicho obsceno.
- berdel, berdela* (N): 1. type of fish 2. drunkenness / 1. verdel (pez) 2. borrachera.
- berdetu* (V): 1. to become green 2. to become lascivious or obscene / 1. enverdercer(se), ponerse verde (de color, o de matiz obsceno).
- berduléri, berduleriža* (N): obscene comment / verdulería, dicho obsceno.
- berdura, berduria* (N): vegetables / verdura.
- beres* (Adv): by nature / por naturaleza, de por sí. E.g.: *ori ežatzú aldatúko, beres dá alakoxia* 'that one is not going to change, s/he is like that by nature' / 'ésel-a no te va a cambiar, es así por naturaleza'.
- bero, berua* (N, Adj): 1. heat 2. hot / 1. calor 2. caliente.
- berotu* (V): to warm up / calentar(se).
- bertzo, bertzua, or bértzo, bertzúa* (N): verse, poem / verso, poema.
- bertzolari, bertzolariža* (N): oral poet, verse-singer / versolari.
- bertan* (Adv): right there / allí mismo.
- berton* (Adv): right here / aquí mismo.
- berun, beruna* (N): lead / plomo.
- besi(g)u, besi(g)ua* (N): sea bream / besugo.
- beso, besua* (N): arm / brazo.
- béste, bestía* (Pro): other, another / otro.
- bestuarížo, bestuarižúa* (N): dressing room, locker room / vestuario.
- bete* (V): to fill up / llenar.
- bete, betia* (Adj): full / lleno.
- betebiar, betebiarra* (N): obligation, task / obligación.
- betekada, betekadia* (N): repletion / llenazo, hartazgo.
- beti* (Adv): always / siempre.
- betondo, betondua* (N): frown / entrecejo, ceño.
- betul, betula* (N): eyebrow / ceja.
- betun, betuna* (N): shoe polish / betún.
- bi* (Num): two / dos.
- bialdu* (V): to send / enviar.
- biar, biarra* (N): job, work / trabajo, tarea.

- biargiñ*, *biargiña* (N, Adj): worker; hard-working / trabajador.
- biarrixen*, *biarrixena* (N): need, necessity / necesidad.
- biartu* (V): to oblige / obligar.
- biaje*, *biajía* (N): trip / viaje.
- biajian zuan* (V): to travel / viajar, ir de viaje.
- bibero*, *biberoya* (N): baby bottle / biberón.
- biblia*, *bibliža* (N): Bible / Biblia.
- bidar* (N): time / vez. E.g.: *bi bidar* 'twice, two times' / 'dos veces'.
- bide*, *bidia* (N): path, road / camino.
- bido*, *bidoya* (N): barrel / bidón.
- bi(g)óte*, *bi(g)otía* (N): moustache / bigote.
- bi(g)um*, *bi(g)una* (Adj): soft / suave, blando.
- bi(g)undu* (V): to soften / ablandar.
- bikarižo*, *bikarižúa* (N): vicar / vicario.
- biki*, *bikiža* (N): twin / gemelo.
- biko*, *bikua* (N): two (cards) / dos (naipes).
- bilddur*, *bilddurra* (N): fear / miedo.
- bilin-baláunka* (Adv): stumbling / a trompicones.
- billa ibilli* (V): to be looking for / andar buscando.
- billéte*, *billetía* (N): bill, note, ticket / billete.
- billósik* (Adv): naked / desnudo.
- billostu* (V): to undress / desnudar(se).
- billotz*, *billotza* (N): lamb / cordero.
- biña-biñáka* or *biñan-biñan* (Adv): two by two / de dos en dos.
- biribill*, *biribilla* (Adj, N) = 1. round 2. circle / 1. redondo 2. círculo.
- birrittán* (Adv): twice / dos veces.
- birrindu* (V): to undo / deshacer.
- bisi*, *bisiža* (N): 1. life 2. cancer / 1. vida 2. cáncer.
- bisitta* (V): to visit / visitar.
- bisitta*, *bisittía* (N): visit / visita.
- bisžžo*, *bisžžúa* (N): vice / vicio.
- bisžžo*, *bisžžúak* (N): intestinal worms / lombrices intestinales.
- Biskáiža* (N): Biscay / Vizcaya, Bizkaia.
- biskayéra* (N): Biscayan Basque dialect (generally used in the instrumental case) / dialecto vizcaíno. Neol. in Lekeitio, cf. *euskéra biskáittar*.
- biskayéras* (N): in Biscayan Basque (instrumental case) / en vascuence vizcaíno.
- biskáittar*, *biskáittarra* (Adj): Biscayan / vizcaíno.
- biskor*, *biskorra* or *bixkor*, *bixkorra* (Adj): quick, nimble / ágil.
- biskortu* (V): to quicken / agilizar(se).
- bispéra*, *bispería* (N): eve / víspera.
- bista*, *bistia* (N): sight, view / vista.
- bistu* (V): to light / encender.
- bittárte*, *bittartía* (N): interlude, intercalation / intermedio.
- bittartían* (Adv): 1. in between 2. in the meantime / 1. entre 2. mientras tanto. E.g.: (*bížen*) *bittartían segáittik e-sóyas dendára* 'in the meantime, why don't you go to the store?' / mientras tanto ¿por qué no vas a la tienda?'
- bitza* (N): foam / espuma.
- biurtu* (V): to twist / torcer.
- bixar*, *bixarra* (N): beard / barba.
- bixárdun*, *bixardúna* (Adj): bearded / barbudo.
- bixi* (V): to live / vivir.
- bixi*, *bixiža* (N): life / vida.
- bixi*, *bixiža* (Adj): alive; lit / vivo; encendido.
- bixikléta*, *bixikletía* (N): bicycle / bicicleta.
- biximodu*, *biximodua* (N): way of life / modo de vida.
- bixirik* (Adv): alive / vivo.
- bižámon*, *bižámóna* (N): 1. following day 2. hangover / 1. día siguiente 2. resaca (después de una borrachera).
- bižar* (Adv): tomorrow / mañana.
- bižotz*, *bižotza* (N): heart / corazón.
- bolandéra*, *bolandería* (N): fireworks / fuegos artificiales.
- bolando* (Adv): flying; quickly / volando; muy rápido.
- bolánte*, *bolantía* (N): steering wheel / volante.
- boletiñ*, *boletiña* (N): bulletin / boletín.
- boligráfo*, *boligrafúa* (N): ballpen / bolígrafo.
- bólo*, *bolúa* (N): money that is thrown at the church door after a baptism / dinero que se tira a la puerta de la iglesia después de un bautismo.
- boltza*, *boltzia* (N): bag / bolsa.
- boltzillo*, *boltzillúa* (N): pocket / bolsillo.
- bolzo*, *boltzua* (N): bag / bolso.
- borondate*, *borondatia* (N): will / voluntad.
- bos*, *bosa* (N): voice / voz.

bost (Num): five / cinco.
bosteko, bostekua (N): twenty-five peseta coin (five 'duros') / moneda de cinco duros.
bostekua emon (V): shake hands / dar la mano.
bonbilla, bonbillía (N): lightbulb / bombilla.
borradore, borradora (N): eraser; draft / borrador.
borragóma, borragomía (N): pencil eraser / goma de borrar.
bostéun (Num): five hundred / quinientos.
bota (V): to throw; to throw away / tirar, echar.
bota eiñ (V): to vomit / vomitar.
bota, botia (N): 1. boot 2. winebag / bota (calzado o de vino).
botélla, botellía (N): bottle / botella.
botíka, botikía (N): 1. pharmacy 2. medication 1. farmacia, botica 2. medicina.
botikarízo, botikarizúa (N): pharmacist / boticario, farmacéutico.
botikáko, botikakúa (N): pharmacist / boticario, farmacéutico.
boto, botoya (N): button / botón.
bóto, botúa (N): vote / boto.
brintz, brintza (N): wood chip / brizna, viruta de madera.
brintzatu (V): to break in small pieces / desmenuzar, romper en trozos pequeños.
brísko, briskúa (N): small peach / melocotón pequeño.
brižidu (V): to fry / freir.
bróma, bromía (N): joke / broma.
brométan (Adv): jokingly / en broma.
brúsa, brusía (N): blouse / blusa.
büélta, büeltía (N): round, turn, somersault / vuelta.
büélta eiñ (V): to return / volver.
büeltáka (Adv): rolling / a vueltas.
büitre, büitria (N): vulture / buitre.
bular, bularra (N): chest, breast; lung / pecho; pulmón.
burdiñ(a), burdiñia (N): iron / hierro.
burruntzáldi, burruntzaldíza (N): soup spoon / cuchara de sopa.
buru, burua (N): head / cabeza.
buruándi, buruandíza (Adj): big-headed / cabezón, cabezudo.

buruáviñ, buruáriña (Adj): light-headed, thoughtless person / ligero de cascos, insensato.
burubáko, burubakúa (Adj): senseless, silly / estúpido.
burugógor, burugogórra (Adj): stubborn / terco, cabezota.
buruóker, buruokérra (Adj): stubborn, wrong-headed / terco.
burus (Adv): by heart / de memoria.
burútik egon (V): to be crazy / estar loco.
bustan, bustana (N): tail / rabo, cola.
bustán-baltz, bustan-báltza (N): small fish with black and white stripes and a black tail / pececillo de rayas blancas y negras con cola negra.
bustarri, bustarriza (N): yoke / yugo.
bustartu (V): to put the yoke / poner el yugo.
busti (V): to (get) wet / mojar(se).
busti, bustiža (Adj): wet / mojado.
bustittasun, bustittasuna (N): wetness, humidity / humedad.
buskentz, buskentza (N): big belly (in other varieties, blood-sausage) / barriga prominente.

D.

da(g)onerako (Adv): for now / para ahora.
damu, damua (N): repentance / arrepentimiento.
damutu (V): to repent / arrepentirse.
dana (Pro): everything, all / todo.
dandarres (Adv): dragging / arrastrando.
dardara, dardaria (N): tremor / temblor.
daupada, daupadia (N): heart beat / latido del corazón.
debośni, debośniya (N): devotion / devoción.
dedika (V): to devote or dedicate oneself / dedicarse.
dedikasiño, dedikasiñoya (N): dedication / dedicación.
defendidu (V): to defend (onself) / defender(se).
deféntza, defentzía or *defénsa, defensía*: defense (also in sports) / defensa (también en deportes).

- dei, deiža* (N): call. In the plural, banns / llamada. En plural, proclamas.
- deittu* (V): to call / llamar.
- demoniño, demoniñua* (Adj): devil, little devil (said to children) / demonio, diablillo. E.g.: *lotzabaga maskarióri! demoniño, demoniñuori!* 'shameless, little devil!' / '¡desvergonzado, diablillo!'
- demóntre(s)* (Interj): darned! / demontres. E.g.: *nun demóntres eon sara onárte?* 'where the heck have you been until now?' / '¿dónde demontres has estado hasta ahora?'
- dénda, dendía* (N): store, shop / tienda.
- dendero, denderua* (N): shop-keeper / tendero.
- denpóra, denporía* (N): time / tiempo.
- denporal(e), denporalia* (N): storm / temporal.
- dentista, dentistia* (N): dentist / dentista.
- derétxo, deretxúa* (N): right; Law / derecho; Derecho.
- derrigor(res)* (Adv): mandatorily, obligatorily / necesariamente, de rigor.
- desagertu* (V): to disappear / desaparecer.
- desaparesidu* (V): to disappear / desaparecer.
- desarma* (V): to unarm / desarmar.
- desia* (V): to desire / desear.
- desiú, desiúa* (N): desire / deseo.
- desgasta* (V): to wear out / desgastar.
- desilusiño, desilusiñoa* (N): disillusion, disappointment / desilusión.
- desilusiona* (V): to disillusion, to disappoint / desilusionar(se).
- desididu* (V): to decide / decidir.
- desisiño, desisiñoa* (N): decision / decisión.
- desixen, desixena* (N): nickname / mote, apodo. Cf. *esixen*.
- deskarga* (V): to unload / descargar.
- deskonfiža* (V): to mistrust / desconfiar.
- deskonfižántza, deskonfižantzía* (N): mistrust / desconfianza.
- deskontzola* (V): to grieve, to distress / desconsolar.
- desküénto, desküéntúa* (N): discount / descuento.
- desmonta* (V): to dismount / desmontar.
- desnibel, desnibela* (N): unevenness / desnivel.
- desobedesidu* (V): to disobey / desobedecer.
- desobediénte, desobediéntía* (Adj): disobedient / desobediente.
- desórden, desordéna* (N): disorder, disarray, mess / desorden.
- desordena* (V): to disarray / desordenar.
- despedida, despedidia* (N): goodbye / despedida.
- despedidu* (V): to say goodbye / despedir.
- destina* (V): to destine / destinar
- destíno, destiniúa* or *destino, destiniua* or *destiño, destiñua* (N): destiny; destination / destino.
- dibortziža* (V): to divorce / divorciar(se).
- dibortzižada, dibortzižadia* (N): divorcée / divorciada.
- dibortzižau, dibortzižawa* (N): divorce(e) / divorciado.
- dibortzižo, dibortzižúa* (N): divorce / divorcio.
- didar, didarra* (N): scream / grito.
- didar eiñ* (V): to scream / gritar.
- didárti, didartíža* (Adj): screamer / gritón.
- dibisiño, dibisiñoa* (N): division / división.
- dibididu* (V): to divide, to distribute / dividir.
- diferénte, diferentía* (Adj): different / diferente.
- diferéntzi, diferentziža* (N): difference / diferencia.
- diferentziža* (V): to differ; to distinguish / diferenciar(se).
- difúnta, difuntía* (N, Adj): deceased (female) / difunta.
- difúnto, difuntúa* (N, Adj): deceased (male) / difunto.
- dijeridu* (V): to digest / digerir.
- dijestiño, dijestiñoa* (N): digestion / digestión.
- di(k)tador, di(k)tadora* (N): dictator / dictador.
- di(k)tadura, di(k)taduria* (N): dictatorship / dictadura.
- diktau, diktawa* (N): dictation / dictado.
- dindilíska* (Adv): hanging / colgando.
- diputasiño, diputasiñoa* (N): provincial government / diputación.
- diretore, diretoria* (N): director / director.
- dirigidu* (V): to direct / dirigir.
- diru, dirua* (N): money / dinero.
- dirúdun, dirudúna* (Adj): rich, wealthy / rico, adinerado.
- dissusta* (V): to displease; to be displeased / disgustar(se).
- disgústu, disgustúa* (N): grief / disgusto.
- disimula* (V): to disguise, to conceal / disimular.

disimúlo, disimulúa (N): dissimulation / disimulo.

disionarířo, disionarířúa (N): dictionary / diccionario.

disipúlu, disipulúa (N): disciple / discípulo.

disko, diskúa (N): disk, record / disco.

diskulpa (V): to apologize, to excuse (oneself) / disculpar(se).

diskúlpa, diskulpía (N): apology, excuse / disculpa.

diskusiño, diskusiñoa (N): discussion / discusión.

diskutidu (V): to discuss / discutir.

dispara: to shoot / disparar.

dobla (V): to twist / doblar.

doble, doblía (N): double / doble.

dokuméntu, dokumentúa (N): document / documento.

doméka, domekía (N): Sunday / domingo.

domiña (V): to dominate / dominar.

dominiřo, dominiřúa: domination / dominio.

doministíku, doministíkúa (N): sneeze; expression used when s.o. sneezes (dominus tecum) / estornudo; expresión utilizada cuando alguien estornuda.

domusántu eguna (N): Halloween / día de todos los santos.

donánte, donantía (N): donnor / donante.

donasiño, donasiñoa (N): donation, gift / donación.

doséna, dosenía (N): dozen / docena.

dotore (Adj, Adv): elegant(ly) / elegante(mente).

dotriña, dotriña (N): doctrine, catechism / catecismo, doctrina cristiana.

dranga-dránga (Onom): glug-glug, sound of drinking / glu-glu, sonido de beber.

drangada, drangadia (N): long and noisy gulp / trago largo y ruidoso.

dróga, drogía (N, Sp. droga): 1. drug 2. fight / 1. droga 2. pelea.

drógan eiñ (V): to fight / pelear. E.g.: *Mikélek eta Andónik drógan éi-ben atzo* 'Mikel and Andoni had a fight yesterday' / 'Mikel y Andoni se pelearon ayer'.

drógan ibilli (V): to argue, to fight / discutir, pelear. E.g.: *órrek beti dabiltzas drógan* 'those guys are always fighting' / 'esos andan siempre peleando'.

duda, dudia (N): doubt / duda.

durdun, durduna (N): a type of fish with thick lips / tipo de pescado con labios gruesos.

dutxa (V): to take a shower / duchar(se).

dútxa, dutxía (N): ducha.

dzánga eiñ (V): to dive / zambullirse .

dzangada, dzangadia (N): dive / zambullida.

dzapart eiñ (V): to jump, to dive / saltar.

dzapartada, dzapartadia (N): jump / salto.

dzartadáko, dzartadakúa (N, Adj): 1. slap 2. energetic / 1. bofetada 2. enérgico.

dzast eiñ (V): to puncture / pinchar.

dzastada, dzastadia (N): puncture / pinchazo.

dzaust (Onom): noise of swallowing (baby talk) / sonido de tragar (lenguaje infantil).

dzi-dza (Adv, N, Onom): quickly, in a jiffy / rápidamente, en un abrir y cerrar de ojos.

E.g.: *au etxia dzi-dza (baten) garbittu biar da, e?* 'this house has to be cleaned in a jiffy' / 'hay que limpiar esta casa en un periquete ¿eh?' .

dzíngo, dzíngúa (N): hole in wet sand; bottom / agujero en la arena mojada; fondo.

E.

eba(g)i (V): to cut / cortar.

eba(g)i, eba(g)iřa (N): cut / corte.

ebanjelířo, ebanjelířúa (N): gospel / evangelio.

ebanjelista, ebanjelistia (N): evangelist / evangelista.

edade, edadia (N): age / edad.

edadeko, edadekua (Adj): old / mayor, de edad.

edári, edarířa (N): drink / bebida.

eder, ederra (Adj): beautiful, handsome / hermoso.

ederto (Adv): very well, beautifully / perfectamente, hermosamente.

edifisířo, edifisířúa (N): building / edificio.

edo or *ero* (Conj): 1. o; 2. approximately, about / 1. o; 2. o así, a eso de. E.g.: *ordu biřetaráko ero allagako-gára* 'we will arrive around two o'clock' / 'llegaremos a eso de las dos'.

edonoix or *eronoix* (Q): any time / cuandoquiera.

edonor or *eronor* (Q): anybody / quienquiera.

- edonora* or *eronora* (Q): (to) anywhere / a dondequiera.
- edonun* or *eronun* (Q): anywhere / (en) dondequiera.
- edoseiñ* or *eroseiñ* (Q): any / cualquier(a).
- edoser* or *eroser* (Q): anything / cualquier cosa.
- edur*, *edurra* (N): snow / nieve.
- edurrur*, *edurrúra* (N): sleet / aguanieve.
- eféto*, *efetúa* (N): effect, impression / impresión.
- egal*, *egala* (N): end, point, edge / borde, punta.
- egarri*, *egarriža* (N): thirst / sed.
- egata*, *egatia* (N): loin of hake / ijada de merluza.
- é(g)i*, *e(g)íža* (N): truth / verdad.
- e(g)o*, *e(g)ua* (N): wing; fin / ala; aleta.
- e(g)o*, *e(g)ua* (N): south wind / viento del sur.
- egoista*, *egoistia* (Adj): egoist / egoista.
- e(g)on* (V): to be, to stay / estar.
- egosi* (V): to boil, to cook / cocer, cocinar.
- e(g)u-e(g)úka* (Adv): flying / volando.
- e(g)uerdi*, *e(g)uerdiža* (N): 1. midday 2. midday meal / 1. mediodía 2. comida del mediodía.
- e(g)un*, *e(g)una* (N): day / día.
- e(g)unéro* (Adv): every day / cada día.
- e(g)unes* (Adv): in the day / por el día.
- e(g)unian-e(g)unian* (Adv): daily / a diario.
- e(g)unon* (N): good day, salutation / buenos días.
- egur*, *egurra* (N): wood, timber / leña, madera.
- e(g)úski*, *e(g)uskíža* (N): sun / sol.
- e(g)uskitzu*, *e(g)uskitzua* (Adj): sunny / soleado.
- ei* (Pref): reportedly / al parecer. E.g.: *etorri éi-da* 's/he is reported to have arrived' / 'al parecer ha venido'.
- eiñ* (V): to make, do / hacer.
- eisian eiñ* or *ibilli* (V): to hunt / andar de caza, cazar.
- ejersítto*, *ejersittúa* (N): army / ejército.
- ejertzížo*, *ejertzizúa* or *ejersížo*, *ejersizúa* (N): exercise / ejercicio.
- ekarri* (V): to bring / traer.
- ekiñ* (V): to insist / insistir.
- ekiñ*, *ekiña* (Adj): stubborn / terco.
- ekipáje*, *ekipajía* (N): luggage / equipaje.
- ekípo*, *ekipúa* (N): team / equipo.
- elau*, *elawa* (N): ice cream / helado.
- eldu*, *eldua* (Adj): ripe / maduro.
- eldu* (V): to ripe / madurar.
- ele(g)ánte*, *ele(g)antía* (Adj): elegant / elegante.
- elejidu* (V): to choose / elegir.
- ele(k)siño*, *ele(k)siñoja* (N): election / elección.
- elemento*, *elementúa* (N): element; guy / elemento; individuo.
- eletrisidade*, *eletrisidadia* (N): electricity / electricidad.
- eletrista*, *eletristia* (N): electricist / electricista.
- elgorri*, *elgorriža* (N): measles / sarampión.
- elixá*, *elixia* (N): church / iglesia.
- eltxo*, *eltxua* (N): mosquito / mosquito.
- emakuma*, *emakumia* (N): woman / mujer.
- eme*, *emia* (N): female (said of animals) / hembra (de animal).
- emerézi* (Num): nineteen / diecinueve.
- emon* (V): to give / dar.
- enana*, *enania* (N): female dwarf / enana.
- enano*, *enania* (N): male dwarf / enano.
- enara*, *enaria* (N): swallow (bird) / golondrina.
- enbajada*, *enbajadia* (N): embassy; news, esp. bad news / embajada; noticia, esp. malas noticias. E.g.: *on be! sê enbajadáas sátos?* 'now what? what's wrong now? (what bad news are you coming with?)' / ¿también ahora? ¿con qué noticia vienes?'
- enbidíža* (N): envy / envidia.
- enbidioso*, *enbidiosua* (Adj): envious / envidioso.
- enbolbidu* (V): to wrap / envolver.
- enparau*, *enparawa* (N): disgust / disgusto.
- ene* (Interj): exclamation of surprise / exclamación de sorpresa.
- engaña* (V): to deceive / engañar.
- enkarga* (V): to commission / encargar.
- enkargau*, *enkargawa* (N): person in charge / encargado.
- enkargu*, *enkargua* (N): commission / encargo.
- enküesta*, *enküestia* (N): poll, survey / encuesta.
- enpatxa* (V): to get indigestion / empacharse.
- enpatxo*, *enpatxua* (N): indigestion / empacho.
- enpolla* (V): to cram, to study hard / empollar.
- enpollo*, *enpolloja* (Adj): bookworm / empollón.
- enpollóna*, *enpollonía* (Adj): bookworm (female) / empollona.
- enprésa*, *enpresía* (N): enterprise / empresa.

- ensalada, ensaladia* (N): salad / ensalada.
enreda (V): to entangle, to get entangled / enredar(se).
enredo, enredua (N): tangle / enredo.
enterra (V): to bury / enterrar.
enterru, enterrua (N): burial / entierro.
entrada, entradia (N): entrance / entrada.
entrel(g)a (V): to deliver / entregar.
entretenuidu (V): to entertain / entretener.
entza(i)za (V): to try, to rehearse / ensayar.
entza(i)zo, entza(i)zua (N): rehearse, try / ensayo.
entzun (V): to listen, to hear / oír, escuchar.
epatitis, epatitixa (N): hepatitis / hepatitis.
epel, epela (Adj): lukewarm. Also applied to people / templado. Se aplica también a personas, tibio, poco entusiasta.
epeldu (V): to warm up / templar, entibiar.
eper, eperra (N): partridge / perdiz.
éra, ería (N, rare): 1. form 2. occasion / 1. modo 2. ocasión.
erabilli (V): usar / to use.
era(g)iñ, era(g)iña (N): influence, clout / influencia, poder.
eraiñ (V): 1. to open 2. to make (causative) / 1. abrir. 2. hacer, causar
era(g)iñ (V): to stir / remover, dar vueltas a algo.
erakutzi (V): 1. to show 2. to teach / enseñar.
eran (V): to drink / beber.
erantzi (V): to undress / desvestir(se).
erástun, erastúna (N): ring (jewel) / anillo.
erbéste, erbestía (N, rare): abroad, foreign land / extranjero.
erdaldun, erdalduna (Adj): Spanish speaker / castellanoparlante.
erdéra, erdería (N): Spanish language / lengua castellana.
erdi, erdiža (N): 1. half 2. middle / 1. mitad 2. medio.
erdibana or *erdisána* (Adv): fifty-fifty, half for each / a medias (en un reparto).
erdix por érdix (Adv): so so, half done / así así, a medias. E.g: *orrek erdix por érdix itxi dau lana éindda* '(s)he has left the work half done' / 'ése ha dejado el trabajo a medio terminar'.
ereñ (V): to sow / sembrar.
erénotz, erénotza (N): laurel, bay leaf / laurel.
ere(i)txi (V): to think, to seem to s.o. / opinar, parecer.
eridu (V): to (get) hurt / herir(se).
erido, eridua (Adj): hurt / herido.
erizótza, erizotzia (N): death / muerte.
erle, erlia (N): bee / abeja.
erlo(i)zo, erlo(i)zua (N): watch, clock / reloj.
ermítta, ermittía (N): hermitage / ermita.
erne(g)a (V): to get angry / enfadarse.
erne(g)a eraiñ (V): to make angry / hacerle enfadar a alguien.
erosi (V): to buy / comprar.
erpe, erpia (N): claw / garra.
erramu, erramua (N): branch, bouquet / ramo.
erre (V): to smoke; to burn; to roast / quemar, fumar, asar.
erre, erria (Adj): 1. burnt 2. exhausted, lacking energy / 1. quemado 2. falto de energía.
errebixa (V): to revise / revisar.
errebela (V): to reveal / rebelar(se).
(e)rrebisiño, (e)rrebisiñoya: revision / revisión.
errebista, errebistía (N): magazine, journal / revista.
errebüelta, errebüeltía (N): curve, bend / curva, revuelta.
erre(g)ala (V): to give as a gift / regalar.
erre(g)álo, erre(g)alúa (N): gift / regalo.
erre(g)e, erre(g)ia (N): king / rey.
erre(g)utu (V): to beg / rogar.
erreño, erreñua (N): kingdom / reino.
erreñása, erreñasía (N): queen / reina.
erré(i)zo, erre(i)zúa (N): river / río.
erréka, erreka (N): mouth of a river / ría.
errekaixe, errekaixia (N): South wind / viento del sur (de la ría).
errekarro, errekarua (N): errand / recado.
errekréo, errekreúa (N): playtime, break / recreo.
errekorta (V): to cut out / recortar.
errekórtte, errekortía (N): cut out / recorte.
erremedižo, erremedižúa (N): remedy / remedio.
erremíntta, erreminttía (N): tool / herramienta, cacharro.
erremolari, erremolariža (N): rower / remero.
erremuskada, erremuskadia (N): outspoken remark / refunfuño, desplante.

- erren, errena* (N): daughter in law / nuera.
errenta, errentía (N): rent / renta, alquiler.
erres (Adv): easily / fácilmente.
erres, erresa (Adj): easy / fácil.
erresa (V): to pray / rezar.
erreseta (V): to prescribe / recetar.
erreseta, erresetía (N): recipe; prescription / receta.
errespeta (V): to respect / respetar.
errespéto, errespétua (N): respect / respeto.
errésu, erresúa (N): prayer / rezo, oración.
erresulta (V): to result, to happen, to turn out / resultar. E.g.: *erresultáten da se...* 'it so happens that...' / 'resulta que...'.
erresultau or *erresultado, erresultawa* (N): result / resultado.
erretira (V): to retire / retirar(se).
erretiro, erretirúa (N): retirement / retiro, jubilación.
erretira (V): to portrait / retratar.
erretirista, erretiristia (V): photographer / fotógrafo.
erretirato, erretirátua (N): portrait / retrato, foto.
erreúsaiñ, erreúsaiña (N): smell of burning / olor a quemado.
erria (V): 1. to let go 2. to give money / 1. soltar 2. soltar dinero. E.g.: *erria txikota* 'let the rope go' / 'suelta la cuerda'.
erri, erriña (N): village, country / pueblo, país.
errilbiko, errilbikua (N, obs): small coin / moneda de dos reales (erreal biko).
errobera, erroberia (N): wheel / rueda.
erromeri, erromeriza (N): festive gathering, normally at a local shrine / tomería, verbena.
erropa, erropia (N): clothes / ropa, vestido.
errotá, errotia (N): mill / molino.
errotari, errotariza (N): miller / molinero.
errosarizo, errosarizúa (N): rosary / rosario.
erru, errua (N): 1. compassion 2. tentacle / 1. compasión. 2. tentáculo.
errú bako, errú bakua (Adj): innocent / inocente.
errudun, erruduna (Adj): guilty / culpable.
eru(a)n (V): to carry / llevar.
es (Adv): no, not / no.
- es, esa* (N): 1. negation, denial 2. lack, scarcity / 1. el no, negación 2. carencia, falta, escasez.
esa(g)un, esa(g)una (Adj): known; acquaintance / conocido.
esa(g)utu (V): to know, to be acquainted with / conocer.
esakéra, esakería (N): saying / dicho.
esamiñ, esamiña (N): exam / examen.
esan (V): to say / decir.
esaupíde, esaupidía (N): acquaintance / conocimiento, amistad.
esbiar, esbiarra (N): mishap / desgracia.
esébes (Pro, *eser+be+es*): nothing / nada.
ese(g)i (V): to hang / colgar.
eser (Pro): something, anything / algo, nada.
esesa(g)un, esesa(g)una (Adj): unknown / desconocido.
esése (Adv): except / salvo, excepto. E.g.: *seu esése, dának datos* 'they are all coming, except for you' / 'todos vienen, excepto tú'.
ésetz, esétza (N): negation, denial / el no. E.g.: *eskatu dotzat eta esétza emon nau* 'I have asked him and he has given me a no' / 'se lo he pedido y me ha dicho que no (me ha dado el no)'.
esikúsi eiñ (V): to pretend not to have seen s.o. / no saludar, hacer como si no se hubiera visto.
esiñ (V): not to be able / no poder. E.g.: *esiñ dot ekarri* 'I cannot bring it' / 'no puedo traerlo'; *txartuagórik esiñ* 'it couldn't be worse' / 'peor imposible'.
esiñesko, esiñeskua (Adj): impossible / imposible.
esiñikúsi, esiñikustza (N): hate / odio (no poder ver).
esixen, esixena (N): nickname / mote, apodo.
eskandálo, eskandalúa (N): scandal / escándalo.
eskapa (V): to escape / escapar.
eskaparáte, eskaparátia (N): showcase / escaparate.
eskas (Adv): very little / muy poco.
eskas, eskasa (Adj): little, of little value / escaso, menudo, de poco valor.
eskatu (V): pedir / to ask for.
eskatz, eskatza (N): kitchen / cocina.
eskeko, eskekua (N): beggar / mendigo.
eskéla, eskelía (N): death notice / esquela.

- esker, eskerra* (N): 1. left (hand) 2. thanks / 1. izquierda. 2. gracias, agradecimiento.
- eskéro* (Conj): if, provided that, in case / si, supuesto que, en caso de. E.g. *etorri eskéro* 'in case of coming' / 'en caso de venir'.
- eskérrak emon* (V): to thank, to give thanks / agradecer, dar las gracias.
- eskerrik asko*: thank you / gracias.
- eskerroneko, eskerronekoa* (Adj): thankful, grateful / agradecido.
- eskerti, eskertiza* (Adj): left-handed / zurdo.
- eskertu* (V): to thank / agradecer.
- eskertzarreko, eskertzarrekoa* (Adj): ungrateful / desagradecido.
- eskian ibilli* (V): to beg / mendigar.
- eskillara, eskillaria* (N): staircase / escalera.
- eskiña, eskiña* (N): corner / esquina.
- eskira, eskiria* or *ixkira, ixkiria* (N): small shrimp / quisquilla.
- esklábu, esklabúa* or *esklabo, esklabua* (N): slave / esclavo.
- esklabixa* (V): to enslave / esclavizar.
- eskóba, eskobia* (N): broom / escoba.
- eskoba* (V): to sweep / barrer.
- eskóla, eskolia* (N): school / escuela.
- eskondu* (V): to marry / casar(se).
- eskóntza, eskontzia* (N): marriage, wedding / boda.
- eskopétra, eskopetía* (N): rifle / escopeta.
- eskribidu* (V): to write / escribir.
- eskritore, eskritoria* (N): writer / escritor.
- eskritoriño, eskritoriñua* (N): desk / escritorio.
- eskritura, eskrituria* (N): writing / escritura (estilo).
- esku, eskua* (N): hand / mano.
- eskubiár, eskubiárta* (N): craft / artesanía, manualidad.
- eskuéra, eskueria* (N): Basque language, cf. *euskéra* / lengua vasca.
- eskuma, eskumia* or *eskumiñ, eskumiña* (N): right (hand) / derecha.
- eskupeleto, eskupeletoa* (N): handball / juego de pelota a mano.
- eskursiño, eskursiñoa* (N): excursion / excursión.
- eskuta* (V): to hide / esconder(se).
- eskutur, eskuturra* (N): wrist / muñeca (de la mano).
- esne, esnia* (N): milk / leche.
- esnérun, esnerúna* (N): milkman / lechero.
- esnesópak* (N): milk with bread / sopas de leche.
- espan, espána* (N): lip / labio.
- espanetáko, espanetakúa* (N): lipstick / pintalabios.
- espanta* (V): to scare away / espantar(se), ahuyentar.
- espata, espátia* (N): sword / espada.
- espatazántza, espatazantzía* (N): sword-dance / ezpatadantzza, danza vasca de las espadas.
- espatazantzári, espatazantzariña* (N): sword-dancer / ezpatadantzari, bailarín(a) en la danza de las espadas
- esperientzi, esperientzia* (N): experience / experiencia.
- espía, espía* (N): spy / espía.
- espiza* (V): to spy / espiar.
- espillu, espillúa* (N): mirror / espejo.
- espiritu, espiritúa* (N): spirit / espíritu.
- esplika* (V): to explain / explicar.
- esplikasiño, esplikasiñoa* (N): explanation / explicación.
- esplota* (V): to explode / explotar.
- esplosiño, esplosiñoa* (N): explosion / explosión.
- esponja, esponjía* (N): sponge / esponja.
- estasiño, estasiñoa* (N): station / estación.
- este, estia* (N): intestine / intestino.
- esti, estiza* (N): honey / miel.
- estima* (V): to appreciate, to be grateful, to esteem / estimar, apreciar, agradecer.
- estimau, estimawa* (Adj): esteemed, appreciated / apreciado, estimado.
- estittu* (V): to vaccinate / vacunar(se).
- estorba* (V): to bother, to get in the way / estorbar.
- estorbu, estorbua* (N): bother / molestia, estorbo.
- estrapéro, estraperlúa* (N): black market / estraperlo.
- estrepo, estrepua* (N): rope bow for keeping the oar in place / lazo de sogá para fijar el remo en una trainera.
- estropada, estropadía* (N): regatta / regata, competición de traineras.
- estropesa* (V): to trip / tropezar.
- estropésu eiñ* or *estropésuan eiñ* (V): to trip / tropezar.

estu, estua (Adj): 1. narrow 2. worried / 1. estrecho. 2. apurado, agobiado.
estudiante, estudiantía (N): student / estudiante.
estudiža (V): to study / estudiar.
estudižo, estudižúa (N): study / estudio.
estul, estula (N): cough / tos.
estutu (V): 1. tighten 2. to worry / 1. apretar. 2. apurar(se).
estútxe, estutxía (N): box / estuche.
esúme, esunía (N, rare): time of scarcity / tiempo de escasez.
eta (Conj): 1. and 2. because (after the verb) / 1. y 2. porque, dado que (después del verbo).
ete (Pref): modal prefix of doubt, perhaps / prefijo modal de duda, acaso. E.g.: *nún sartu-ete-da on?* 'where could (s)he possibly be now?' / '¿dónde se habrá metido ahora?'; *etorriko ete-da gaur?* 'will (s)he come today, perhaps?' / '¿(acaso) vendrá hoy?'
etorri (V): to come / venir.
etórri, etorriža (N, a.u.): fluency / oratoria, labia.
etxe, etxia (N): house / casa.
etxeko, etxekua (N): familiar / familiar.
etxekoandra, etxekoandria (N): housewife / ama de casa.
etxesúlo, etxesulúa (Adj): home-loving / apegado a la casa, que sale poco de casa, hogareño.
etxúra, etxuría (N): aspect / traza, hechura.
etzi (Adv): day after tomorrow / pasado mañana.
etziгарámun or *etzikarámun* (Adv): three days from today / el día después de pasado mañana.
etzun (V): to lay down / acostarse, tumbarse.
euki (V): to have / tener.
euli, euliža (N): fly / mosca.
eun (Num): a hundred / cien.
eun, euna (N, obs): cloth / lienzo, tela.
euri, euriža (N): rain / lluvia.
euskaldun, euskalduna (Adj): Basque, Basque speaker / vasco, vascoparlante.
euskéra, euskería (N): Basque language / lengua vasca, vascuence.
euskéra biskaittar, euskéra biskaittárta (N): Biscayan Basque dialect / dialecto vizcaíno.

euskéra giputx, euskéra giputxa (N): Gipuzkoan Basque dialect / dialecto guipuzcoano.
eutzi (V): to hold / sostener, agarrar.
ewásten, ewasténa (N): Wednesday / miércoles.
eweldi, eweldiža (N): weather / tiempo (meteorológico).
éwen, ewéna (N): Thursday / jueves.

F.

fabrika, fabrikía (N): factory / fábrica.
falta (V): to lack / faltar.
fálta, faltía (N): 1. scarcity 2. absence 3. foul / 1. falta, escasez, 2. falta, ausencia 3. falta, fallo.
fama, famia (N): fame / fama.
famili, familiža (N): family / familia.
famosa, famosia (Adj): famous (female) / famosa.
famoso, famosua (Adj): famous / famoso.
fanatiko, fanatikúa (Adj): fanatical / fanático.
fanéka, fanekía (N): type of fish, cf. *takart* / faneca (pescado). Se usa más la palabra *takart*.
fanfarro, fanfarroya (Adj): braggart, cf. *panparro* / fanfarrón.
fanfarrokéri, fanfarrokeriža (N): arrogance / fanfarronería, chulería, arrogancia.
fáro, farúa (N): lighthouse / faro.
farol, farola (N): street light / farol.
fárta, farría (N): party / farra, juerga.
fedé, fedia (N): faith / fe.
fedé-bako, fedé-bakua (Adj): non-believer, atheist / no creyente, ateo.
fedédun, fededúna (Adj): believer / creyente.
féo, feúa (Adj): ugly / feo.
fĕsta, fĕstia (N): party / fiesta privada.
fĭla, filía (N): row / fila.
fiñ, fiña (Adj): fine, well-behaved, honest / fino, cortés, honesto.
findesemána, findesemána (N): weekend / fin de semana.
fitada, fitadia (N): whistling / silbido. Cf. *pitada*.
fiža (V): to trust / fiarse.

fláuta, flautía (N): flute / flauta.
flésu, flesúa (N): desk lamp / flexo, lámpara de mesa.
flétxa, fletxía (N): arrow / flecha.
flota (V): to float / flotar.
flotador, flotadora (N): float / flotador.
folízo, folizúa (N): folio / folio.
formal, formalá (Adj): formal / formal.
formaldu (V): to make or become formal / formalizar(se).
fra(i)lle, fra(i)llia (N): monk, friar / fraile. Cf. *praille*.
fránko (Adj): loose, comfortable / amplio, cómodo. E.g.: *fránko gelditzen žátzu kertsia* 'the sweater fits you well' / 'el jersey te queda cómodo'.
frantzes, frantzesa (N, Adj): French(man) / francés. Cf. *prantzés*.
frantzésa, frantzésia (N, Adj): Frenchwoman / francesa.
frénte eiñ (V): to confront, to face / hacer frente, enfrentarse.
frésko, freskúa (Adj): fresh; chilly / fresco. E.g.: *frésko dago gaur ba!* 'it's chilly today!' / 'hoy está fresco'.
freskotu (V): to become chilly (weather) / refrescar (el tiempo).
freskura, freskuria (N): 1. chill (weather). 2. freshness, impudence / 1. fresco (tiempo) 2. frescura, impertinencia. E.g.: *neu žúteko zeure billa? estaukasu freskuria makala!* 'that I should go to pick you up? You must be kidding! (don't you have guts!)' / '¿que te vaya a buscar yo? No tienes frescura ni nada'.
fronto, frontoya (N): ball court or wall / frontón.
fruta, frutia (N): fruit / fruta.
fruto, frutua (N): fruit / fruto.
fundaménto, fundaméntúa (N): judgement, sense / fundamento, sentido.
fundaménto-báko, fundaménto-bakúa (Adj): senseless, thoughtless / sin fundamento.
fusill, fusilla (N): rifle / fusil.
fúbol, fubóla (N): football / fútbol.
füerte, füertía (Adj): strong / fuerte.

G.

gaba, gaba (N): night / noche.
gabardiña, gabardiña (N): raincoat / gabardina.
gabon: good night (greeting) / buenas noches.
gabon, gabónak (N): Christmas / Navidades.
Gaboné(g)un, Gabone(g)úna (N): Christmas eve / Nochebuena.
Gabónsar, Gabonsárrak (N): New Year's Eve / Nochevieja.
gai, gaiža (N): topic / tema.
gai, gaiža (Adj, rare): able / capaz.
gaixo, gaixua (Adj, N): 1. sick, ill 2. sickness / 1. enfermo 2. enfermedad.
gaixóki, gaixokíža (Adj): sickly / enfermizo.
gaixotasun, gaixotasuna (N): illness / enfermedad.
gaixotu (V): to become ill / enfermar.
gaixto, gaixtua (Adj): bad, evil / malo, malvado.
gaixtokeri, gaixtokeriža (N): evil / maldad.
gaixtotu (V): to become evil / hacerse malvado.
galan, galana (N): handsome young fellow / galán.
galant, galanta (Adj): 1. beautiful 2. large, robust / 1. hermoso 2. grande, robusto.
galarréna, galarréna (N): storm at sea, tide wave / marejada, tempestad.
galaso (V): to prohibit, to hinder / prohibir, impedir.
galdu (V): to lose, to get lost / perder(se).
galéper, galéperra (N): quail / codorniz.
galléta, galletía (N): cookie, wafer / galleta.
gallinéro, gallinerúa (N): henhouse / gallinero.
ganaru, ganarua (N): cattle / ganado vacuno.
ganbára, ganbaría (N): chamber in a ship; attic / camarote; ático, desván.
gáne, ganía (N): top / parte de arriba.
ganéra (Adv): besides / además.
ganeráko: second course in a meal / de segundo plato.
gáne-ganían egon (V): to be on top watching / estar encima vigilando.
gánes eiñ (V): to overflow / rebosar.
gangar, gangarra (Adj): joker / travieso, burlón, bromista.
gangarrúsaiñ, gangarrusáiña (N): desire to joke / ganas de bromear.
ganóra, ganoría (N): sense, judgement / juicio, sentido.

- ganorabáko, ganorabakúa* or *ganóra bako, ganóra bakua* (Adj): senseless, thoughtless / sin sentido.
- gar, garra* (N, obs): flame / llama.
- garagárdau, garagardáwa* (N, Neol): beer / cerveza.
- garau, garawa* (N): grain / grano.
- garbantzu, garbantzua* (N): garbanzo bean / garbanzo.
- garbi, garbiža* (Adj): clean / limpio.
- garbittasun, garbittasuna* (N): cleanliness / limpieza.
- garbittu* (V): to clean, to wash / lavar, limpiar.
- gárbo, garbúa* (N): jauntiness / garbo, confianza.
- garbosa, garbosia* (Adj): jaunty (female) / garbosa.
- garboso, garbosua* (Adj): jaunty (male) / garboso.
- gari, gariža* (N): wheat / trigo.
- garitx, garitxa* (N): mole (skin) / verruga.
- garixuma, garixumia* (N): Lent / Cuaresma.
- garrafo, garrafoya* (N): big bottle / garrafón.
- garratz, garratza* (Adj): sour, bitter / amargo.
- garun, garuna* (N): brain / cerebro.
- gas, gasa* (N): gas / gas.
- gasa, gasia* (N): gauze / gasa.
- gasi, gasiža* (Adj): salty / salado.
- gasittu* (V): to salt / salar.
- gasoliña, gasoliñia* (N): gasoline / gasolina.
- gasoliñera, gasoliñeria* (N): gas station / gasolinera.
- gasta* (V): to spend / gastar.
- gasta, gastaya* (N): cheese / queso.
- gastaiña, gastaiñia* (N): chestnut / castaña.
- gaste, gastia* (Adj): young / joven.
- gaste-denpóra, gaste-denporía*: youth (period in life) / juventud (periodo de tiempo).
- gastetan* (Adv): in one's youth / de joven.
- gastetasun, gastetasuna* (N): youth / juventud (edad).
- gasteteri, gasteteriža* (N): youth (collective) / juventud (grupo de jóvenes).
- gastu* or *gasto, gastua* or *gásto, gastúa* (N): expense / gasto.
- gatx, gatxa* (Adj): difficult / difícil.
- gatxak artun* (V): to get infected (a wound) / infectarse.
- gatz, gatza* (N): salt / sal.
- gatzatu, gatzatua* (N): curds / cuajada.
- gátz-bako, gátz-bakua* (Adj): without salt / soso, sin sal.
- gaur* (Adv): today / hoy.
- gaur e(g)un* (Adv): nowadays / hoy en día.
- gausa, gausia* (N): thing / cosa.
- gautxóri, gautxoríža* (Adj): night owl (lit. nightbird) / nocherniego.
- geižál(g)o* (Adv): more / más.
- geiža(g)otu* (V): to increase / aumentar.
- geižen bat* (Adv): most of all / sobre todo.
- geldi, geldiža* (Adj): slow / lento, parado.
- geldi-geldiža* (Adv): slowly / lentamente.
- gelditu* (V): to stop; to stay / quedar, parar.
- geratu* (V): to stay, to remain / quedar, parar.
- gerixpa, gerixpia* (N): shade / sombra.
- gero* (Adv): later / después, luego.
- gerra, gerria* (N): war / guerra.
- gerri, gerriža* (N): waist/ cintura.
- gerriko, gerrikoa* (N): belt / cinturón.
- gibel, gibela* (N): hígado / liver.
- gibelándi, gibelandíža* (Adj): slow (person), irresponsible (lit. big liver) / lento; irresponsable.
- gibeledo, gibeledua* (N): illness of the liver / enfermedad del hígado.
- gili-gili, gili-gilíža* (N): tickle / cosquillas.
- giltz, giltza* (N): key / llave.
- gipuskérra* (N): Gipuzkoan dialect / dialecto guipuzcoano. Neol. in Lekeitio, cf. *euskérra giputxa*.
- Gipuskúa* (N): Gipuzkoa / Guipúzcoa, Gipuzkoa.
- giputx, giputxa* (Adj): Gipuzkoan / guipuzcoano.
- girringóla, girringolía* (N): flesh; gall, nerve, generally in the plural / carnazas; cachazas, cojones, generalmente en plural. E.g.: *auxê da girringólak daukosusena be!* 'what nerve you have!' / '¡vaya cojones que tienes!'
- gittárta, gittarria* (N): guitar / guitarra. Also *kittárta*.
- gitxi* (Adv): little / poco.
- gitxiénes* (Adv): at least / al menos.
- gitxi eritxi* (V): to seem like little / parecer poco.
- gitxittu* (V): to decrease, to diminish / disminuir.

gixája, gixajía (Adj): poor woman / pobre mujer.
gixájo, gixajúa (Adj): poor guy / pobre hombre.
gixen, gixena (Adj): fat, fatty meat / grasa, gordo de la carne.
gixon, gixona (N): man / hombre .
gixondu (V): to become a man / hacerse hombre.
gixonesko, gixoneskua (Adj): male / hombre.
goberna (V): to govern, to direct / gobernar.
gobierno, gobiernua or *gobierno, gobernua* (N): government / gobierno.
go(g)o, go(g)ua (N): intention, desire, will / intención.
gogoratu (V): to remember / recordar.
go(g)or, go(g)orra (Adj): strong, hard, violent / fuerte, duro, violento.
go(g)or eiñ (V): to scold / regañar.
gogortasun, gogortasuna (N): hardness / dureza.
go(g)ortu (V): to harden / endurecer.
gogos kóntra (Adv): against one's will, by necessity / en contra de la voluntad, por necesidad. E.g.: *au gogos kóntra éitten nago, es neuk nai dotelako* 'I am doing this against my will, not because I like it' / 'lo hago contra mi voluntad, no porque quiera'.
goi, goiña (N): top / parte de arriba.
goibe, goibéyak (N): neighbors in a building / vecinos en un edificio.
goitibéra, goitibería (N): wooden child cart / goitibehera, especie de carrito que usan los niños.
goix, goixa (N): morning / mañana.
goixalde, goixaldia (N): early morning / temprano por la mañana.
goixétik (Adv): early / temprano.
goixin-goixétik (Adv): from very early / desde muy de mañana.
goixtar, goixtárta (Adj): early-riser / madrugador.
golde, goldia (N, rare): plow / arado.
gólpe, gólpa (N): blow / golpe.
gomintta (V): to vomit / vomitar.
gomínnto, gominttúa (N): vomit / vómito.
gomínnto-lárri, gomínnto-larríza (N): desire to vomit / ganas de vomitar.

gomuta (V): to remember / acordarse, recordar. E.g.: *gomutâtzen sara orréas?* 'do you remember that?' / '¿te acuerdas de eso?'
gomútan euki (V): to remember / recordar, tener en el recuerdo. E.g.: *ori gomútan daukat* 'I remember that' / 'me acuerdo de eso'.
góna, gonía (N): skirt / falda.
gonasále, gonasalía (Adj): womanizer / mujeriego.
gor, gorra (Adj): deaf / sordo.
gorabéra (Adv): 1. more or less. 2. confrontation, disagreement (generally in the plural) 3. ups-and-downs, variations / 1. más o menos 2. desacuerdo (generalmente en plural) 3. variaciones. E.g.: *presizúen gorabérek andízak ixan dira* 'the ups-and-downs in prices have been great' / 'las variaciones en el precio han sido grandes'
gora-goráka (Adv): 1. shouting 2. nauseated, vomiting / 1. chillando 2. vomitando.
gorántzi, gorantzízak (N): greetings, regards / recuerdos.
gorde (V): to keep / guardar.
gordiñ, gordiña (Adj): raw; green, not ripe / verde, no maduro; crudo.
gordiñik (Pred Adj): raw / crudo. E.g.: *okelia gordiñik žan dau* 's/he has eaten the meat raw' / 'se ha comido la carne cruda'.
gorpu, gorpua (N): corpse, cadaver / cadáver.
gorputz, gorputza (N): body / cuerpo.
gorri, gorriža (Adj): red / rojo.
gorríngo, gorringúa (N): yolk of egg / yema.
gorrittasun, gorrittasuna (N): redness / rojez.
gorrittu (V): to redden / enrojecer.
gorroto, gorrotua (N): hatred / odio.
gorrotua ixan (V): to hate / odiar.
gorro, gorrua (N): phlegm / flema.
gortu (V): to become deaf / quedarse sordo, ensordecer.
goru, gorua (N, obs): spinning wheel / rueca.
gose, gosia (N): hunger / hambre.
gose ixan or *e(g)on* (V): to be hungry / tener hambre.
gosékill, gosékilla (Adj): hungry, starved / hambriento, muerto de hambre.

gosekillían e(g)on (V): to be starving / estar muerto de hambre.

gosesto, gosestua (Adj): hungry, starved / hambriento.

gosetu (V): to become hungry / tener hambre.

goso, gosua (Adj): sweet; delicious / dulce; sabroso.

gososále, gososalía (Adj): sweet-toothed / goloso.

gosóki, gosokfza (N): candy / caramelo.

gradu, gradua (N): grade; degree / grado.

grakada, grakadia (N): sound of cracking / ruido producido al romperse algo duro. Cf. *klakada* and *krakada*.

granáte, granatía (Adj): granate / granate.

gráno, granúa (N): 1. grain 2. pimple 3. in negative contexts, not a bit / 1. grano (semilla) 2. grano (piel) 3. en contextos negativos 'nada, ni un grano'. E.g.: *granòrik be es-tau saldu* 's/he hasn't sold a thing' / 'no ha vendido nada'.

grípe, gripía (N): influenza / gripe.

grípe úsaiñ, grípe usáiña (N): symptoms of influenza / síntomas de gripe.

grix, grixa (Adj): grey / gris.

güardasóbill, güardasobilla or *güardasíbill, güardasibilla* (N): Guardia Civil, Spanish police(man) / guardia civil.

gudari, gudariža (N): Basque soldier / soldado vasco.

gultzurrun, gultzurruna or *guntzurrun, gultzurruna* (N): kidney / riñón.

guraso, gurasua (N): parent / padre.

gurári, gurariža (N): desire / deseo.

gurma, gurmia (N): sea fog / bruma marina.

gurmatu (V): to become foggy at sea / embruarse el mar.

gusta (V): to like / gustar.

gusti, gustiža (Adj): everything / todo.

gústo, gustúa (N): taste, gusto / gusto.

gustóko, gustokúa (Adj): preferred / preferido.

gusur, gusurra (N): lie / mentira.

gusúrti, gusurtiža (Adj): liar / mentiroso.

gútar, gutarra (Adj): member of our family or our group / de los nuestros, de la familia.

gutun, gutuna (N): letter (less common than *kárta*) / carta.

I.

ía (Part.): whether, if, in indirect questions / (a ver) sí, (que) sí (en preguntas indirectas). E.g.: *pregunta nau ía datorren* 's/he has asked me whether s/he is coming' / 'me ha preguntado a ver si viene'.

iarri (V): to guess / adivinar.

iariúta (Adj, obs): dry / seco.

ibilkéra, ibilkería or *ibillikéra, ibillikería* (N): way of walking / forma de andar.

ibilli (V): to walk / andar.

idar, idarra (N): pea / guisante.

idéa, ideía (N): idea / idea.

idi, idiža (N): ox / buey.

idipróbak (N): oxen competition / concurso de bueyes.

igarabíra, igarabiría (N, rare): otter / nutria.

iarri-iarrižan (Adv): obviously, clearly / obviamente, claramente. E.g.: *iarri-iarrižan dauko guraso barik dagola etxian* 'it is obvious that s/he is at home without his/her parents' / 'es obvio que está en casa sin los padres'.

ieltzero, ieltzerua (N): mason, brick layer / albañil.

iesi (V): to flee / huir.

i(g)es (Adv): last year / el año pasado.

i(g)eslenian (Adv): two years ago / hace dos años.

igiri eiñ (V): to swim / nadar.

igual (Adv): 1. perhaps 2. alike / 1. quizá 2. igual.

ikara, ikaria (N): scare / miedo, susto, temor.

ikarátí, ikaratiža (Adj): fearful / miedoso.

ikaratu (V): to get scared / asustarse.

ikásdun, ikasdúna (N): coal seller / carbonero.

ikasi (V): to learn / aprender.

ikastóla, ikastolía (N): Basque school / escuela vasca.

ikatx, ikatza (N): coal / carbón.

ikatzárrí, ikatzarriža (N): coal (stone) / carbón de piedra.

ikomelau, ikomelawa (N): dried fig / higo seco.

iku, ikua (N): fig / higo.

ikubill, ikubilla or *ikuwill, ikuwilla* (N): fist / puño.

- ikurriñ, ikurriña* (N, Neol): Basque flag / bandera vasca, ikurriña.
- ikusgarri, ikusgarriña* (Adj): worth seeing / digno de verse.
- ikusi* (V): to see / ver.
- ikusi-makúsi* (N): guessing game (I spy with my little eye) / veo-veo.
- ikutu* (V): to touch / tocar.
- ill, illa* (Adj, N): 1. dead 2. lacking energy / 1. muerto 2. falto de energía.
- ill (eiñ)* (V): to die; to kill / morir; matar.
- illabete, illabetia* or *illebete, illebetia* (N): month / mes.
- illara, illaria* (N): row / hilera.
- illar, illarra* (N): death bell / toque a muerto.
- illárri, illarríza* (N): thomb stone / lápida.
- ille, illia* (N): month / mes.
- illeko, illekua* (N): 1. menstruation 2. monthly salary / 1. menstruación 2. salario mensual.
- illeta, illetia* (N): lamentation / lamento (en un funeral).
- illetári, illetaríza* (N): mourner / plañidero.
- illun, illuna* (Adj): dark / oscuro.
- illuntasun, illuntasuna* (N): darkness / oscuridad.
- illúntze, illuntzía* (N): sunset / anochecer.
- inbidi, inbidiña* or *enbidi, enbidiña* (N): envy / envidia.
- inddada, inddadia* (N): loin of tuna / ijada de atún.
- inddar, inddarra* (N): strength / fuerza.
- inddartu* (V): to strengthen / reforzar, fortalecer.
- inddartzu, inddartzua* (Adj): strong / fuerte.
- indisiño, indisiñoa* (N): injection / inyección.
- inddiár, inddiárria* (N): bean / alubia, judía.
- infesiño, infesiñoa* (N): infection / infección.
- infeta* (V): to infect, to become infected / infectar(se).
- inguratu* (V): to surround / rodear.
- ingúru, ingurúa* (N): surroundings / alrededores.
- ingurúan* (Adv): more or less, around, about / alrededor, a eso de. E.g.: *amárrak ingurúan bueltako da etxera* 's/he will return home around ten o'clock' / 'volverá a casa a eso de las diez'.
- inka* (V): 1. to stick, to glue 2. to hit / 1. clavar, pegar 2. pegar, golpear.
- inklusáko, inklusakúa* (Adj): orphanage child, cf. *kajako* / niño de la inclusa.
- inpernu, inpernua* (N): hell / infierno.
- inporta* (V): to matter / importarle a uno.
- inportánte, inportantía* (Adj): important, famous / importante, de categoría, de renombre.
- inportántzi, inportantzíza* (N): importance / importancia, interés.
- inpresioño, inpresioñoa* (N): impression / impresión, efecto.
- inpresiona* (V): to impress / impresionar(se), dejar boquiabierto a uno.
- interes, interesa* (N): interest / interés.
- interesa* (V): to interest / interesar.
- interesánte, interesantía* (Adj): interesting / interesante.
- intxaur, intxáurra* (N): walnut / nuez.
- intxaur-arbóla, intxaur-arbolía* (N): walnut tree / nogal.
- intxaur-sáltza, intxaur-saltzía* (N): walnut sauce / crema de nueces.
- intzári, intzaríza* (N): scream / chillido.
- intziríka* (Adv): screaming / chillando.
- iñoix* (Adv): sometime, ever; never / alguna vez; nunca.
- iñoixbes* (Adv, *iñoix be es*): never / nunca.
- iñor* (Pro): someone; anyone / alguien; nadie.
- iñórbes* (Pro): noone / nadie.
- iñora* (Adv): (to) somewhere; (to) anywhere / a algún sitio; a ningún sitio.
- iñorábes* (Adv): (to) nowhere / a ningún sitio.
- iñun* (Adv): somewhere; anywhere / en algún sitio; en ningún sitio.
- iñúnbes* (Adv): nowhere / en ningún sitio.
- iñúrri, iñurríza* (N): ant / hormiga.
- iñúsente, iñusentía* (Adj): silly / tontorrón.
- iñusentekeri, iñusentekeríza* (N): silliness / tontería, bobada.
- istitúto, istitutúa* (N): institute / instituto.
- ipar, iparra* (N): 1. North 2. stutter / 1. norte 2. tartamudez.
- iparra euki* (V): to stutter / ser tartamudo.
- ipárdun, ipardúna* (Adj): stutterer / tartamudo.
- iparráixe, iparraixiá* (N): North wind / viento del norte.
- iperdi, iperdiña* (N): buttocks / trasero, culo.

- iperdikára, iperdikaría* (N): wagtail, type of bird / pajarita, aguzanieves.
- ipiñi* (V): to put / poner, colocar.
- irabasi* (V): 1. to win 2. to earn / ganar, vencer.
- irabasle, irabaslia* (N): winner / vencedor.
- irakiñ* (V): to boil / hervir.
- iretargi, iretargiža* or *iritargi, iritargiža* (N) moon / luna.
- iretargi bete, iretargi betia* or *iritargi bete, iritargi betia* (N): moon / luna.
- irisill, irisilla* (N): whip made with a calf's umbilical cord / látigo hecho con el cordón umbilical del buey.
- irribarre, irribarria* (N): smile / sonrisa.
- irrintzi, irrintziža* (N): shout, yell / grito sonoro y prolongado que antes lanzaban los pastores en los flancos de las montañas.
- iru* (Num.): three / tres.
- iruntz, iruntza* (N): dew / rocío.
- iruntzi* (V): to drink up, to gobble up / tragar, beber a tragos.
- isla, islia* (N): island / isla.
- isostu* (V): to freeze / helar(se).
- isotz, isotza* (N): ice / hielo, helada.
- istar, istarra* (N): leg, thigh / muslo, pierna.
- itto* (V): to drown / ahogar(se).
- itto eñian* (Adv): 1. drowning 2. anxiously / 1. ahogándose 2. angustiosamente.
- itto-ittóka* (Adv): thoughtlessly / precipitadamente.
- ittolapíko, ittolapikúa* (N): moneybox / hucha.
- itto(g)iñ, itto(g)iña* (N): drip / gotera.
- iturri, iturriža* (N): fountain / fuente.
- itxarópen, itxarópéna* (N): hope / esperanza.
- ittáurren eñ* (V): to drive oxen / guiar a los bueyes.
- itxasapo, itxasapua* (N): type of fish / rape, pez sapo.
- itxaskábra, itxaskabría* (N): type of fish / ca-bracho (pescado).
- itxaso, itxasua* (N): sea / mar.
- itxi* (V): 1. to leave, to abandon 2. to allow / 1. dejar, abandonar. 2. dejar, permitir.
- itxi, itxiža* (Adj): untidy, careless, lazy / de-jado, desordenado.
- itxittasun, itxittasuna* (N): lack of concern / dejadez.
- itzal, itzala* (Adj): huge / enorme.
- itzalesko, itzaleskua* (Adj): huge; impressive / imponente.
- itzu, itzua* (N): blind / ciego.
- itzumustuan* (Adv): blindly, hastily / a ciegas, apresuradamente.
- itzutu* (V): to become blind / volverse ciego, cegarse.
- ixa(k)éera, ixak(é)ería* (N): way of being / forma de ser.
- ixan* (V): to be / ser.
- ixára, ixaría* (N): bed sheet / sábana.
- ixar, ixarra* (N): star / estrella.
- ixáte, ixatía* (N): nature / naturaleza, el ser de cada uno. E.g.: *Mánu, ixátes, esta txarra, baña jenižúa dauko* 'Manu is not bad, by nature, but he has a strong character' / 'Manu, de suyo, no es mal chico, pero tiene mal genio'.
- ixéko, ixekua* (N): aunt. This word is accented when uninflected, but not in the singular / tía.
- ixen, ixena* (N): nombre / name.
- ixerdi, ixerdiža* (N): sweat / sudor.
- ixerdilárri, ixerdilarríža* (N): cold sweat / sudor frío.
- ixerdilíkiñ, ixerdilikíña* (N): sticky sweat / sudor pegajoso.
- ixerditu* (V): to sweat / sudar.
- ixilddu* (V): to be quiet, to shut up / callarse.
- ixilik* (Adv): silently / en silencio, callando.
- ixill, ixilla* (Adj): silent, quiet / silencioso, callado.
- ixorratu* (V): 1. to ruin 2. to bother / 1. echar a perder, estropear 2. fastidiar.
- ixur, ixurra* (N): pleat / frunce.
- ixurda, ixurdia* (N): dolphin / delfín.
- ixurra artun* (V): to pleat / fruncir la ropa.
- ižo* (V): to grind / moler.

J.

- Jainko, Jainkua* (N): God / Dios.
- jarábe, jarabía* (N): sirup / jarabe.
- jardiñ, jardiña* (N): garden / jardín.
- jaun, jauna* (N): sir, lord, mister / señor. Cf. *žaun*.

Ja(u)ngoiko, Ja(u)ngoikua (N): God / Dios.
jauntxo, jauntxia (N): lord, landowner / señor, dueño (de una importante propiedad).
jenéro, jenerúa (N): merchandise / género, mercancía.
jenitzo, jenižúa (N): temper / genio.
jitano, jitanúa (N): gypsy, cf. *kittáno* / gitano.
jóta, jotía (N): jota, a dance / jota (baile folklórico).
jubila (V): to retire / jubilarse.
jubilau, jubilawa (Adj): retired / jubilado.
jubilasiño, jubilasiñoa (N): retirement / jubilación.
jues, juesa (N): judge / juez.
junta (V): to get together; to gather / juntar(se).
jusga (V): to judge / juzgar.
jusgau, jusgawa (N): Court House / juzgado.
justisi, justisiža (N): justice / justicia.
jušto (Adv): tightly / ajustadamente.
jušto-jušto (Adv): almost; just enough / casi casi, por poco.
jušto, justúa (Adj): tight / justo, apretado.

K.

kabána, kabanía (N): cannery / fábrica de conservas.
kabida, kabidia (N): space, capacity / cabida.
kabidu (V): to fit / caber.
kábo, kabúa (N): corporal / cabo del ejército.
kábra, kabría (N): type of fish / cabracho (pescado). Cf. *itxas-kábra*.
kafe, kafia (N): coffee / café.
kafeko(n)létxe, kafeko(n)letxía (N): coffee with milk / café con leche.
kafetéra, kafetería (N): coffee maker / cafetera.
kafetéri, kafeteriža (N): coffee shop / cafetería.
kai, kaiža (N): port, harbor / puerto.
káiku, kaikúa (N): type of Basque jacket or sweater / chamarra azul a cuadros. También jersey de lana azul con borlas.
kaixa, kaixia (N): coffer / arca.
kaixarránka, kaixarrankía (N): type of dance / tipo de baile.
ká(i)xko, ka(i)xkúa (N): head / cabeza.

kaižo, kaižua (N): type of seagull / tipo de gaviota.
kaižóla, kaižolía (N): cage / jaula.
kaja, kajia (N): box / caja.
kajako, kajakua (Adj): orphanage child (lit. of a box) / niño de la inclusa.
kajo, kajoya (N): drawer / cajón.
kaka, kaka (N): excrement, shit / caca, mierda.
kakalamux, kakalamuxa (N): somersault / voltereta.
kakalamux eiñ (V): to do a somersault / dar la voltereta.
kakalárri, kakalarríža (N): desire to defecate; panic / ganas de cagar; pánico.
kakanarru, kakanarrua (Adj): dwarf, shorty / enano, pequeñajo.
kakanáste, kakanastía (N): mess / lío.
kakanastu (V): to spoil / estropear.
kakamokórdo, kakamokordúa (N): excrement, stool / caca, mierda.
kakamurtzálla, kakamurtzillía (N): excrement, stool / caca, mierda.
kakasi ixan (V): to feel like defecating / tener ganas de cagar.
kakasiža euki (V): to feel like defecating / tener ganas de cagar.
kakastu (V): to spoil, to ruin / estropear.
kakáti, kakatíža (Adj): 1.s.o. who defecates a lot 2. fearful / 1. cagón 2. miedoso.
kakátza, kakatziá (N): pile of excrement / montón de mierda.
kakot, kakota (N): drunkenness / borrachera.
kakúsaiñ, kakusáiña (N): 1. excrement stench 2. annoying person / 1. olor a mierda 2. persona irritante.
kalabása, kalabasía (N): pumpkin / calabaza.
kalabasiñ, kalabasiña (N): goard / calabacín.
kalatxóri, kalatxoríža or *kalatxori, kalatxoríža* (N): small seagull / gaviota pequeña.
káldo, kaldúa (N): soup, broth / caldo.
kale, kalía (N): street / calle.
kalentura, kalenturia (N): fever / fiebre.
kalidade, kalidadía (N): quality / calidad.
kálix, kalíxa (N): chalice / cáliz.
kalendarížo, kalendarížiúa (N): calendar / calendario.
kalka (V): to calque / calcar.
kalkula (V): to calculate / calcular.

- kalkúlo, kalkulúa* (N): calculation, calculus / cálculo.
- kalte, kaltia* (N): harm, damage / daño, perjuicio.
- kalte eiñ* (V): to harm, to damage / dañar, perjudicar.
- kaltgarri, kaltgarriža* (Adj): harmful / dañoso, perjudicial.
- kaltzarpe, kaltzarpiá* (N): arm pit / sobaco.
- kaltzerdi, kaltzerdiža* (N): sock, stocking / calcetín, media.
- kaltzetiñ, kaltzetiña* (N): sock / calcetín.
- kaltzetórratz, kaltzetórrátza* (N): knitting needle / aguja de hacer punto.
- kamaña, kamaña* (N): 1. sailor's berth 2. bed spread / 1. camarote de mariner 2. colcha.
- kamio, kamioya* (N): truck / camión.
- kamixéta, kamixetía* (N): t-shirt / camiseta.
- kanal, kanala* (N): canal; channel / canal.
- kanbižo, kanbižua* (N): change / cambio.
- kanbiža* (V): to change / cambiar.
- kandéla, kandelía* (N): 1. candle 2. mucus, snot / 1. candela, vela 2. mocos.
- kañika, kañikía* (N): marble (ball) / canica.
- kañikétan eiñ or žokatu* (V): to play marbles / jugar a las canicas.
- kankárro, kankarrúa* (N): 1. large metal container 2. large person / 1. recipiente grande de metal 2. persona grande.
- kanpa, kanpaya* (N): bell / campana.
- kanpa(n)tórrre, kanpa(n)tórrría* (N): bell tower / campanario.
- kánpo, kanpúa* (N): outside; abroad / fuera; en el extranjero.
- kanposántu, kanposantúa* (N): graveyard / cementerio, campo santo.
- kanpótár, kanpotárrra* (Adj): stranger, outsider, foreigner / forastero, extranjero.
- kanta* (V): to sing / cantar.
- kánsér, kánsérria or kántzer, kantzérria* (N): cancer / cáncer.
- kánta, kantía* (N): canción / song.
- kantánte, kantantía* (N): cantante / singer.
- kantari, kantariža* (Adj): s.o.who likes to sing / cantarín, que le gusta cantar.
- kantore, kantoria* (N): member of a choir / cantor en un coro.
- kantidade, kantidadia* (N): quantity / cantidad.
- kantíko, kantikúa* (N): metal container for milk / recipiente de metal para leche.
- kanto, kantoja* (N): lane, narrow street / cantón, callejón.
- kántu, kantúa* (N): song / canto, canción.
- kantza* (V): to get tired, to tire / cansar(se).
- kantzasiño, kantzasiñoja* (N): tiredness / cansancio.
- kañabera, kañabería* (N): fishing rod / caña de pescar.
- kaño, kañoja* (N): 1. cannon 2. canyon / 1. cañón (arma) 2. cañón, desfiladero.
- kañobéta, kañobetía* (N, obs): knife / cuchillo.
- kapas, kapasa* (Adj): able / capaz.
- kapilla, kapillía* (N): chapel / capilla.
- kapittan, kapittana* (N): captain / capitán.
- karakol, karakola* (N): snail / caracol.
- karamelo, karamelua* (N): caramel, candy / caramelo.
- karda, kardaja* (N): type of fish / tipo de pescado.
- karda* (V): to card (fibers) / cardar.
- kardau, kardauja* (N): carded (fiber) / cardado.
- kare, karia* (N): 1. lime (mineral) 2. plaster / 1. cal 2. escayola.
- karel, karela* (N): corner in a boat / rincón de un barco.
- karenáta* (Pred adj): purple / cárdeno, morado.
- karga* (V): to load / cargar.
- karga, kargia* (N): load / carga.
- kargaménto, kargamentúa* (N): load, cargo / cargamento.
- kargu, kargua* (N): charge, responsibility / cargo, responsabilidad. E.g.: *seure kargu itxi dot umia* 'I have left the child at your charge' / 'he dejado el niño a tu cargo'.
- karguratu or kargutu* (V): to be responsible, to be in charge, to assume responsibility / hacerse cargo.
- karidade, karidadia* (N): charity / caridad.
- karnabal, karnabálak* (N): carnival / carnavales(es).
- karnaséri, karnaseriža* (N): butcher's / carnicería.
- karnasero, karnaserua* (N): butcher / carnicero.
- karne(t), karneta* (N): identification card / carnet.

- karrósa, karrosía* (N): coach / carroza.
karpéta, karpetía (N): folder / carpeta.
karpíñ, karpíña (N): type of fishing hook / tipo de anzuelo.
karramarro, karramarrua (N): crab / cangrejo.
karraspizo, karraspizua (N): type of fish / carraspio, serrano (pescado).
karrera, karrera (N): career / carrera.
karta, kartia (N): letter / carta.
kartel, kartela (N): poster / cartel.
karteléra, kartelería (N): billboard (in a movie theater) / cartelera.
kartéra, kartería (N): wallet / cartera.
kartero, karterua (N): mailman / cartero.
karto, kartoya (N): cardboard / cartón.
kartzéla, kartzelía (N): jail / cárcel.
kaset, kaseta (N): cassette / cassette.
karu, karua (Adj): expensive / caro.
kaskabel, kaskabela (N): rattle / cascabel.
kaskára, kaskaría (N): peel, skin of fruit, egg shell / cáscara.
kaskarreko, kaskarrekoa (N): blow on the head / golpe en la cabeza.
kásko, kaskúa (N): helmet / casco.
kastiga (V): to punish / castigar.
kastigo, kastigua (N): punishment / castigo.
kásu, kasúa (N): 1. case 2. attention / 1. caso, incidente 2. caso, atención.
kasualidade, kasualidadia (N): casuality / casualidad.
kasulára, kasularía (N): cooking pot / cacerola, cazuela.
kata, kataya (N): chain / cadena.
kategori, kategoriža (N): category / categoría.
kategoriko, kategorikua (Adj): elegant, first class (often with irony) / de categoría; e.g.: *ño! aixxa žake dotoria be! kategorikua da, gero!* 'Gee! what a pretty jacket! it is really elegant!' / '¡vaya una chaqueta bonita! es de categoría ¿eh?'
katia (V): to flunk an exam / catear.
katiatu (V): to clog / atascar.
katillu, katillúa (N): bowl / tazón.
katu, katua (N): cat / gato.
katukúma, katukumía or *katakuma, katakumia*, or *katakúma, katakunía* (N): kitten / gatito.
kaxéta, kaxetía (N): small house, hut / caseta.
ke, keya (N): smoke / humo.
keixa or *keja* (V): to complain / quejarse.
keja, keja (N): complaint / queja.
kejika, kejkía (Adj): complainer / quejica.
kendu (V): to take away / quitar.
kepix, kepixa or *képix, kepíxa* (N): kepis, visor / quepis.
keríxa, kerixía (N): cherry / cereza.
kertze, kertzia (N): jersey, sweater / jersey.
kikilíño, kikilínúa (N): penis / pene.
kikilíúsaiñ, kikilíúsaiña (N): smoke smell / olor a humo. Cf. *likilíúsaiñ*
kikilddu (V): to shrink / encoger.
kikill, kikilla (Adj): shy / tímido.
kikírri, kikirríža (N): penis.
kilin-kólon (Adv): so so / así así.
kilómetro, kilometría (N): kilometer / kilómetro.
kíllu, kílúua (N): kilogram / kilo.
kinkirrinkon or *kinkirrinko, kinkirrinkoya* (N): sweet wine / vino dulce.
kíntta, kinttía (N): draft, levy, age / quinta. E.g.: *nire kinttakúa* 'of my same age' / 'de mi quinta'.
kíntto, kinttúa (N): of the same age / de la misma quinta. E.g.: *Míkel neure kinttúa da* 'Mikel is of my same age' / 'Mikel es de mi quinta, de mi edad.
kiñu, kiñúa (N): wink, sign / guiño.
kiñu-kiñúka (Adv): winking / a guiños.
kipo, kipoya (N, obs): old-fashioned heavy jacket / chaquetón antiguo.
kipúla, kipulía (N): onion / cebolla.
kipur, kipurra (N, obs): skin that forms on milk / nata de la leche. Cf. *téla*.
kirikillo, kirikillúa (N): curl / rizo.
kiriñau, kiriñawa (Adj): curly / rizado.
kirižo, kirižua (N): nerve; marrow / nervio; túbano. E.g.: *kirižuetára áiño sartu žat miña* 'the pain has reached my nerves' / 'el dolor me ha entrado hasta los túbetanos'.
kirri-kirri, kirri-kirríža (N): teeth chattering / dentera.
kittáno, kittanúa (N): gypsy / gitano.
(eta) kittu (Adv): period, that's it / y se acabó.
kixket, kixketa or *kisket, kisketa* (N): lock / cerrojo.
kixkortu (V): to burn / achicharrarse, chamuscarse.

- klabeliñ, klabeliña* or *klabeliña, klabeliña* (N): carnation / clavel.
- klak eiñ* (V): to break, to crack / romperse algo duro (un hueso, por ej.).
- klakada, klakadia* (N): sound of cracking / ruido producido al romperse algo duro.
- klarion, klariona* (N): chalk / tiza.
- k(l)áro* (Interj): of course / claro, por supuesto.
- klaro, klarua* (Adj): clear, light; clear, plain / claro.
- klaru* (Adv): clearly / claramente, claro. E.g.: *gáusak klaru ta argi esan* 'say things clearly' / 'di las cosas claro'.
- kláse, klasía* (N): 1. class, type 2. class(room) 1. clase, tipo. 2. clase, aula.
- klasifikadore, klasifikadora* (N): classifier / clasificador.
- klinika, klinikía* (N): clinic / clínica.
- klok eiñ* (N): to fill up eating / hartarse de algo, empacharse (de comer).
- kobárde, kobardía* (Adj): coward / cobarde.
- kobasúlo, kobasulúa* (N): cave / cueva.
- kobra* (V): to receive or collect a payment / cobrar.
- kobradore, kobradora* (N): collector / cobrador.
- kófre, kofría* (N): case (for jewels) / cofre.
- ko(i)llára, ko(i)llaría* (N): spoon / cuchara.
- koinsidentzi, koinsidentzía* (N): coincidence / coincidencia.
- koinsididu* (V): to coincide / coincidir.
- ko(i)ñata, ko(i)ñatia* (N): sister in law / cuñada.
- ko(i)ñatu, ko(i)ñatua* (N): brother in law / cuñado.
- koipe, koipia* (N): grease, oil / aceite, grasa.
- koipelústre, koipelustría* (Adj, normally vocative): dirty, greasy / sucio, grasiento.
- koipesto, koipestua* (Adj, N): oily (hair, face, etc) / grasiento (aplicado al pelo, cara, etc).
- koipetzuz, koipetzua* (Adj): oily (applied to food) / grasiento, aceitoso (aplicado a la comida).
- kóixo* (Adv): limping / cojeando.
- koixo, koixua* (Adj): lame / cojo.
- koixo-koixóka* (Adv): limping / cojeando.
- koixo-koixóka, koixo-koixokía* (N): lameness / cojera.
- koittaro, koittarua* (Adj): poor guy / cuitado, pobre.
- kojiñ, kojiña* (N): pillow / cojín.
- koko, kokua* (N): bug, insect / bicho, insecto en general.
- kokóla, kokolía* (Adj): stupid (female) / bobalicona.
- kokólo, kokolúa* (Adj): stupid (male) / bobalicón.
- kokot, kokota* (N): back of the neck, nape / pescuezo.
- kokoiteko, kokotekua* (N): blow in the back of the head / cogotada.
- kokoteko asur, kokoteko asurra* (N): cervical, neck bone / vértebra cervical.
- kola, kolia* (N): 1. row, line, queue 2. glue / 1. cola, fila. 2. cola de pegar.
- kolaiño, kolaiñua* (N): type of fish / colario (pescado).
- kolekiño, kolekiñua* (N): school / colegio.
- kolesiño, kolesiñoa* (N): collection / colección.
- kolko, kolkua* (N): bosom / seno.
- kollar, kollarra* (N): necklace / collar.
- kolore, koloria* (N): color / color.
- koltxo, koltxoya* (N): mattress / colchón.
- komenéntzi, komenentzía* or *konbenéntzi, konbenentzía* (N): convenience / conveniencia.
- komenidu* or *konbenidu* (V): to be convenient / convenir.
- komenta* (V): to comment / comentar.
- komentariño, komentariñua* (N): comment / comentario.
- kómik, komika* (N): comic / comic.
- komisári, komisaría* (N): police station / comisaría.
- komódo, komodúa* (Adj): comfortable / cómodo.
- komodidade, komodidadía* (N): comfort / comodidad.
- komun, komuna* (N): toilet, bathroom / cuarto de baño, W.C.
- komunidade, komunidadía* (N): community / comunidad.
- komuniño, komuniñoa* (N): communion / comunión.
- komulga* (V): to take communion / comulgar.
- konbensidu* (V): to convince / convencer.
- konbentu, konbentúa* (N): convent / convento.
- konbertzasiño, konbertzasiñoa* (N): conversation / conversación.
- kónde, kondía* (N): count (nobleman) / conde.
- kondésa, kondesía* (N): countess / condesa.

- kondena* (V): to condemn / condenar.
kondéna, kondénia (N): sentence, conviction / condena.
- kondisiño, kondisiñoa* (N): condition / condición.
kondusidu (V): to drive / conducir.
- kondutore, kondutoria* (N): driver / conductor.
konéjo, konejúa (N): rabbit / conejo.
- konferéntzi, konferentziza* (N): conference, talk / conferencia.
- konfesa* (V): to confess / confesar.
konfesiño, konfesiñoa (N): confession / confesión.
konfesonarízo, konfesonarizúa (N): confessional box / confesonario.
- konfiza* (V): to trust / confiar.
konfizántza, konfizantzía (N): trust, confidence / confianza.
- konforma* (V): to conform / conformar(se).
konfórme egon (V): to agree / estar conforme, de acuerdo.
- konjuga* (V): to conjugate / conjugar.
konjugasiño, konjugasiñoa (N): conjugation / conjugación.
- konorte* or *konorta, konortia* (N): sense / conhorta, sentido, conocimiento.
- konpara* (V): to compare / comparar.
konparasiño, konparasiñoa (N): comparison / comparación.
- konpas, konpasa* (N): 1. compass 2. time, rhythm (music) / compás (instrumento o de música).
- konplika* (V): to complicate, to get complicated / complicar(se).
konplikasiño, konplikasiñoa (N): complication / complicación.
- konplikau, konplikawa* (Adj): complicated, complex / complicado, complejo.
- konplo(t), konplota* (N): plot / complot.
konplixe, konplixía (N): accomplice / cómplice.
- konpondu* (V): to fix / componer, arreglar, solucionar.
- konponkéta, konponketía* (N): fixing / arreglo.
konportamiénto, konportamiéntúa (N): behavior / comportamiento.
- konpostura, konposturia* (N): composure / compostura.
- konprometidu* (V): to compromise / comprometer.
- konpromíxo, konpromixúa* (N): engagement / compromiso.
- konsegidu* (V): to reach, to achieve / conseguir, alcanzar.
- konsejero, konsejerua* or *kontzejero, kontzejerua* (N): advisor / consejero.
- konsejal, konsejala* or *kontzejal, kontzejala* (N): town councillor / concejal.
- konséju, konsejúa* or *kontzéju, kontzejúa* (N, a.u.): advice / consejo.
- konsulta* (V): to consult / consultar.
- konsúlta, konsultía* (N): 1. consultation 2. doctor's office / consulta.
- konta* (V): to tell a story / contar.
- kontajiza* (V): to infect, to transmit an illness / contagiar(se).
- kontajñoso, kontajñosua* (Adj): contagious / contagioso.
- kontesta* (V): to reply, to answer / contestar.
- kontestasiño, kontestasiñoa* (N): answer, reply / contestación.
- kontesto, kontestoya* (Adj): cheeky, insolent (male) / contestón, respondón.
- kontestóna, kontestonía* (N): cheeky, insolent (female) / respondona.
- kóntra* (Posp): against / contra. E.g.: *dánok sagóse neure kóntra(n)* 'you are all against me' / 'todos estáis en mi contra'.
- kontráko, kontrakúa* (Adj): contrary / opuesto, contrario.
- kontrasta* (V): to contrast / contrastar.
- kontráste, kontrastía* (N): contrast / contraste.
- kontrata* (V): to hire / contratar.
- kontratu, kontratua* (N): contract, agreement / contrato.
- kontrol, kontrola* (N): control / control.
- kontrola* (V): to control / controlar.
- kóntu, kontúa* (N): 1. bill; account 2. topic / 1. cuenta, factura. 2. asunto, tema.
- kontuák esan* (V): to chat / charlar.
- kontulari, kontulariza* (Adj): s.o. who likes to tell stories / que cuenta mucho.
- kontzéntzi, kontzentziza* or *konsiéntzi, konsiéntziza* (N): conscience / conciencia.
- kontzierto, kontziertua* or *konsierto, konsiertua* (N): concert / concierto.

- kontzižo, kontzižua* (N, obs): City Hall, cf. *ayuntamiénto, udalétxe*. / concejo, ayuntamiento.
- kontzola* (V): to console / consolar.
- kontzolasaiño, kontzolasaiñoa* (N): consolation / consolación, consuelo.
- kópa, kópia* (N): drink (alcoholic); drinking glass / copa, trago.
- koléta, kolería* (N): ponytail / coleta, cola de caballo (peinado).
- kopiža* (V): to copy / copiar.
- kopřža, kopřžía* (N): copy / copia.
- kópla, koplía* (N): 1. excuse, pretext, nonsense 2. type of sea bird / 1. coplas, pamplinas 2. copla, tipo de ave marina. E.g.: *es eiñ kasurik! koplía baiño estauko eta!* 'don't pay any attention to him/her; it's nothing but silliness!' / '¡no le hagas ni caso, que no tiene más que pamplinas!'.
- kóplak eiñ* (V): to clown around / hacer payasadas.
- koplía eiñ* (V): to eat one's fill / hartarse de comer. E.g.: *koplía eiñ árite žan neban* 'I ate my fill' / 'comí hasta hartarme'.
- koplosu, koplosua* (Adj): s.o. who makes up stories or excuses / cuentista, pamplinero.
- korbáta, korbatía* (N): tie / corbata.
- kordelero, kordelerua* (N): cordmaker / cordelero.
- kordeléri, kordelerřža* (N): ropeyard / cordelería.
- kordó, kordoya* (N): string / cordón.
- koro, koroya* (N): crown / corona.
- korréa, korreía* (N): 1. belt 2. endless conversation / 1. correa. 2. cháchara, conversación interminable.
- korredore, korredoria* (N): runner, bicyclist / corredor (normalmente ciclista).
- korrejidu* (V): to correct / corregir.
- korrespondéntzi, korrespondentřža* (N): correspondence / correspondencia.
- korrespondidu* (V): to correspond / corresponder.
- korretor, korretora* (N): correcting device / aparato corrector de alguna deficiencia física.
- korriénte, korriéntía* (N): current / corriente (de agua, de electricidad, de aire).
- korriénte, korriéntía* (Adj): common / corriente, común, vulgar.
- korridu* (V): to run / correr.
- korroskada, korroskadia* (N): burp / eructo.
- korse, korsia* (N): corset / corsé.
- koro, korua* (N): choir / coro.
- kórta, kortía* (N): stable / cuadra.
- kórta, kortía* (Adj): shy (female) / tímida, corta.
- kortíña, kortiñía* (N): curtain / cortina.
- kórto, kortúa* (Adj): shy (male) / tímido, corto.
- kortxéte, kortxetía* (N): bracket / corchete.
- kortxo, kortxua* (N): cork / corcho.
- kosiña* (V): to cook / cocinar.
- kosiña, kosiñía* (N): 1. cuisine 2. stove. Not used with the meaning of kitchen, unlike the Sp. word / 1. cocina, arte de cocinar 2. cocina, horno. No tiene el sentido de estancia donde se cocina. Cf. *eskatza*.
- kosiñera, kosiñeria* (N): cook (female) / cocinera.
- kosiñero, kosiñerua* (N): cook (male) / cocinero.
- koskor, koskorra* (Adj): adolescent / niño crecido.
- koskor, koskorra* (N): 1. bread crust 2. skull / 1. corteza de pan 2. cráneo.
- koskortu* (V): to grow (a child) / crecer (los niños, sobre todo).
- koskorreko, koskorrekua* (N): blow on the head / golpe en el cráneo.
- kosta* (V): to cost / costar.
- kosta, kostia* (N): coast / costa.
- kosto, kostua* (N): cost, price / coste, importe.
- kostúnbre, kostunbría* (N): costume / costumbre.
- kótxe, kotxía* (N): car / coche.
- kožidu* (V): to gather fishing tools / recoger los aparatos de pesca.
- krakada, krakadia* (N): crack / crujido.
- krakáso, krakasúa* (N): crack / crujido.
- kresal, kresala* (N): sea water / agua marina.
- krímen, kriména* (N): crime / crimen.
- kriminal, kriminala* (Adj): criminal / criminal.
- kristal, kristala* (N): crystal, glass / cristal.
- kristau, kristawa* (Adj, obs): Christian / cristiano.
- kristiñau, kristiñawa* (Adj): Christian / cristiano.
- kritika* (V): to criticize / criticar.
- kritika, kritikía* (N): criticism / crítica.
- kritiko, kritikúa* (Adj): critic / crítico.
- kritiko, kritikoya* (Adj): overcritical / criticón, el que critica por todo.
- križada, križadia* (N): maid / criada.
- križau, križawa* (N): servant (male) / criado.

krómo, kromúa (N): card (e.g. baseball) / cromo.
krúse, krusía (N): intersection / cruce de caminos.
krusifika (V): to crucify / crucificar.
kūadérno, kūadernúa (N): notebook / cuaderno.
kūadráu, kūadrawa (N, Adj.): square / cuadrado.
kūádro, kūadrúa (N): picture / cuadro.
kūartel, kūartela (N): barracks / cuartel.
kūēba, kūebía (N): cave / cueva.
kuku, kukua (N): cuckoo / cuco, cuclillo.
kúku eiñ (V): to play a game of hiding one's face with one's hands and showing it to a small child / jugar a tapar la cara con las manos y mostrarla a un niño pequeño.
kukurrúku, kukurrukúa (N): rooster, chicken (child talk) / gallo, gallina (lenguaje infantil).
(estul)-kukurrúku, (estul)-kukurrukúa (N): dry cough / tos ronca.
kúlpá, kulpía (N): guilt / culpa.
kulpáble, kulpablía (Adj): guilty / culpable.
kuma, kumia or *kuna, kunia* (N): offspring of an animal / cría de animal.
kúna, kunía (N): crib, cradle / cuna.
kupel, kupela (N): barrel / tonel, cuba.
kupo, kupoya (N): coupon / cupón.
kuriosidade, kuriosidadia (N): curiosity / curiosidad.
kuriosa, kuriosia (Adj): curious (female) / curiosa.
kurioso, kuriosua (Adj): curious (male) / curioso.
kurioso (Adv): orderly / ordenado, curioso.
 E.g.: *dana itxi kurioso-kurioso urten aurrétiak, e?* 'leave everything ordered before going out' / 'déjalo todo bien ordenado antes de salir, ¿eh?'
kurrillo, kurrilloya (N): sparrow / gorrión.
kursillo, kursillúa or *kurtzillo, kurtzillúa* (N): short course, seminar / cursillo.
kurtziño, kurtziñua (N): cross / cruz.
kurtzo, kurtzua or *kúrtzo, kurtzúa* (N): course / curso.
kurumiñero, kurumiñerua (N): wasp / avispa.
kuttun, kuttuna (Adj): dear / íntimo, querido.
kuttun, kuttuna (N, obs): scapulary that children used to wear on their clothes / esca-

pulario que se prendía en la ropa a los niños.

kutxillo, kutxillúa (N): knife / cuchillo.

L.

laba, labia (N): oven / horno.

lábau, labáwa or *labau, labawa* (N): washing sink / lavabo.

labadéro, labaderúa (N): laundry, washing place / lavadero.

labadóra, labadoría (N): washing machine / lavadora.

laba(i)ña, laba(i)ñia (N): razor / navaja (de afeitarse).

labandéri, labanderiza (N): laundry / lavandería.

laban, labana (Adj): slippery / resbaladizo.

laban eiñ (V): to slip without falling / resbalar sin llegar a caerse.

labatiba, labatibía (N): enema / lavativa, purga.

labur, laburra (Adj): short / corto.

laburrera, laburrería (N): shortness / cortedad.

laburtu (V): to shorten / acortar.

la(g)un, la(g)una (N): friend / amigo, -a.

la(g)undu (V): 1. to help 2. to accompany / 1. ayudar 2. acompañar.

la(g)úntza, la(g)untzía (N): help / ayuda.

la(g)untzárta or *la(g)unsárta* (N, vocative): old friend / viejo amigo.

laiñ (Adv): enough; able, capable / tanto como, suficiente; capaz. E.g.: *trankill, zatêko laiñ badagó-ta* 'take it easy, there is enough to eat' / 'tranquila, que tanto como para comer ya hay'. *su errekaro bat etxêko laiñ be es sara* 'you can't even run an errand' / 'no eres capaz ni de hacer un recado'

la(i)ño, la(i)ñua (N): fog / niebla.

la(i)ñotu (V): to fog up / echarse la niebla, nublarse.

la(i)ñotzu, la(i)ñotzua (Adj): foggy, misty / con niebla.

laka, lakía (N): hair-spray / laca de pelo.

lakirizo, lakirizua (N): small trap for birds / pequeño cepe para atrapar pájaros.

- lakóxe, lakoxía* (Adv): like / como. E.g. *Kóldon lakóxe gixon bat da* 'he is a man like Koldo' / 'es un hombre como Koldo'.
- lamaiko, lamaikua* (N, obs): type of coin / cuarto (moneda).
- lamiña, lamiñia* (N): female ghost, mythological creature / sirena, lamia.
- lan, lana* (N): work / trabajo. Cf. *biar*.
- lanbas, lanbasa* (N): mop / fregona.
- lanbro, lanbrua* (N, obs): drizzle, mist / bruma, llovizna.
- landare, landaria* (N): plant / planta.
- lanpára, lanparía* (N): lamp / lámpara.
- lanparo, lanparoya* (N): greasy stain / lamparón, mancha de grasa.
- lanperna, lanpernia* or *anperna, anpernia* (N): barnacle / percebe.
- lantzáta* (Adv): thoughtlessly / lanzado, precipitadamente.
- lantzi(a)n beñ* (Adv): from time to time / de vez en cuando.
- lapa, lapia* (N): limpet / lapa.
- lapatxiku, lapatxikua* (N): small fig / higo pequeño y dulce.
- lapíko, lapikúa* (N): cooking pot / cazuela, olla.
- lapikóko, lapikokúa* (N): stew / cocido.
- lapix, lapixa* (N): pencil / lápiz.
- lapur, lapurra* (N): thief / ladrón.
- lapurreta, lapurretia* (N): theft, robbery / robo.
- larga* (V): to free / soltar, librar, largar.
- laró(g)ei* (Num): eighty / ochenta.
- larri, larriža* (N): dizziness / mareo, malestar.
- larrittasun, larrittasuna* (N): dizziness / mareo, apuro.
- larrittu* (V): to get dizzy / marearse, apurarse.
- larrosa, larrosía* (N): rose / rosa.
- lasada, lasadia* (N): bowknot / lazo. E.g. *êñ lasadia sapatári* 'tie your shoes' / 'átate los zapatos'.
- lasai* (Adv): calmly / tranquilamente.
- lasai, lasaiža* (Adj): calm, relaxed / tranquilo.
- lasaittasun, lasaittasuna* (N): calm / tranquilidad.
- lasaittu* (V): to calm down / tranquilizarse.
- laso, lasua* (N): lasso / lazo.
- lastan, lastana* (Adj): dear, beloved. Frequently used in vocatives / cariño. E.g.: *etôrri ona, lastána* 'come here, my dear' / 'ven aquí, cariño'.
- laster* (Adv): soon / pronto, en seguida.
- lasto, lastua* (N): hey, straw / paja.
- lasun, lasuna* (N): type of fish / muble (tipo de pescado).
- lata, latia* (N): can / lata.
- latiñ, latiña* (N): Latin / latín. E.g.: *orrék ser estáki! latiña be ba daki!* 'what doesn't (s)he know/ (s)he even knows Latin!' / 'ése, ¡qué es lo que no sabe, sabe hasta latín!'.
- lato, latoya* (N): brass / latón.
- latz, latza* (Adj): rough / áspero, seco.
- lau* (Num): four / cuatro.
- laubúru, lauburúa* (N): Basque cross / cruz vasca.
- laudarduán ipiñi* (V): to frighten / poner temblando de pavor.
- laun, launa* (N): fourth, quarter / cuarto, la cuarta parte. Ex: *ordu bñzak laun gitxiago diras* 'it is quarter till four' / 'son las dos menos cuarto'; *ordu bi tta láunak diras* 'it's two fifteen' / 'son las dos y cuarto'.
- lau patan* (Adv): crawling / a cuatro patas, gateando.
- lauréun* (Num): four hundred / cuatrocientos.
- lauskittu* (V): to destroy / deshacer.
- lebatz, lebatza* (N): hake / merluza.
- leba(tz)-sále, leba(tz)-saliá* (N): hake-fishing ship / merlucera (barco).
- lege, legia* (N): law / ley.
- lei, leiža* (N): frost / escarcha.
- leidu* (V): to read / leer.
- leiñ* (Adv): before / antes.
- leja* or *lejia, lejia* (N): bleach / lejía.
- lekíttar, lekiítarra* (Adj): Lekeitian, from Lekeitio / lequeitiano.
- Lekitto* (N): Lekeitio / Lekeitio.
- léku, lekúa* (N): place / lugar.
- lekutáko amenera* (Adv): to a far away place / a un sitio lejano. E.g.: *Japoneráiño nai dosu žuan? lekutáko amenera sóyas, txótxo!* 'you want to go to Japan? you are going far, boy!' / '¿quieres ir a Japón? ¡vas lejos, muchacho!'.
- lélén* or *lénén* (Adv): firstly / primeramente.
- léléngo* or *lenéngo* (Adv): firstly / primeramente.

- leléngo, lelengúa* or *lenéngo, lenengúa* (Adj): first / primero.
- lema, lemia* (N): rudder, steering wheel in a boat / timón.
- lemaórratz, lemaorrátza* (N): support of rudder / fijador del timón.
- lé(i)nddik* (Adv): since before / desde antes.
- lengusiña, lengusiñia* (N): female cousin / prima.
- lengúsu, lengúsua* (N): male cousin / primo.
- lentasun, lentasuna* (N): priority / prioridad.
- lenteja, lentejía* (N): lentil / lenteja.
- lento, lentoya* (N): type of fish / aligote (pescado).
- lénta, lentía* (Adj): slowmoving (female) / lenta.
- lénto, lentúa* (Adj): slowmoving (male) / lento, pausado.
- lepo, lepua* (N): back (body) / espalda.
- lepoásur, lepoasúrra* (N): 1. nape 2. spinal cord / 1. nuca 2. espina dorsal.
- lepoko asurra* (N): spinal cord / columna vertebral, espina dorsal.
- leporatu* (V): to blame / cargar a alguien con las culpas.
- lesiño, lesiñoya* (N): lesson / lección.
- létra, letría* (N): letter (character), handwriting / letra.
- letura, leturia* (N): reading / lectura.
- letréro, letrerúa* (N): sign, notice / letrero, cartel.
- letxúga, letxugía* (N): lettuce / lechuga.
- leun, lenna* (Adj): flat / liso, llano.
- leundu* (V): to flatten / allanar.
- lia* (V): to tangle, to get tangled / enredar(se).
- libertade, libertadia* (N): freedom / libertad.
- libra, libría* (N): pound (weight) / libra.
- libra* (V): to free / librarse.
- libre, libría* (Adj): free / libre.
- libréri, libreríza* (N): bookshop / librería.
- librero, librerua* (N): book seller / librero.
- libréta, libretía* (N): account book / libreta de ahorro.
- libúru, liburúa* (N): book / libro.
- lija* (V): to sand / lijar.
- lija, lijía* (N): sandpaper / lija.
- likiñ, likiña* (Adj): dirty / sucio.
- likiñ, likiña* (N): soot / hollín.
- likiñúsaiñ, likiñusáña* (N): smoke smell / olor a quemado, a humo.
- likor, likorra* (N): liquor / licor.
- lima* (V): to file / limar.
- líma, limía* (N): file (tool) / lima.
- lila, lilía* (Adj): lilly / lila.
- limo, limoya* (N): lemon / limón.
- limósna, limosnía* or *limosna, limosnia* (N): alms / limosna.
- liño, liñua* (N): linen / lino.
- lior, liorra* (N): (in)land / tierra (adentro).
- liorreko, liorrekuu*: of the land (not of the sea) / de tierra.
- liska, liskia* (N): glue for trapping birds; stickiness / liga para coger pájaros; viscosidad.
- lísta, listía* (N): list / lista.
- lísta, listía* (Adj): smart, clever (female) / lista.
- lísto, listúa* (Adj): smart, clever (male) / listo.
- lísto* (Adv): ready / listo, dispuesto. E.g.: *a beti daukasu lísto eroser eittéko!* '(s)he is always ready for anything' / 'a ése siempre lo tienes listo para hacer cualquier cosa'; *ala, lísto* 'ok, done!' / '¡hala, listo!'
- lítro, litrúa* (N): liter / litro.
- líxo, lixúa* (Adj): flat, smooth / liso, llano.
- lixotu* (N): to flatten / alisar.
- llabéro, llaberúa* (N): key chain / llavero.
- lo, lua* (N): sleep / sueño.
- lo eiñ* (V): to sleep / dormir.
- loba, lobia* (N): nephew, niece; grandson, granddaughter / sobrino, -a; nieto, -a.
- lodi, lodíza* (Adj): fat / gordo, grueso.
- lodizéra, lodizería* (N): fatness / gordura, obesidad.
- lodittasun, lodittasuna* (N): fatness / grosor, gordura.
- lodittu* (V): to become fat / engordar.
- lo(g)ura, lo(g)uria* (N): sleepiness / sueño, ganas de dormir.
- loi, loiža* (N): dirtiness / suciedad.
- loi, loiža* (Adj): dirty / sucio.
- loikeri, loikeriža* (N): dirtiness / suciedad.
- loittu* (V): to dirty / ensuciar.
- lólo eiñ* (V): to sleep (baby talk) / dormir (lenguaje infantil).
- lora, loria* (N): flower / flor.
- loratu* (V): to bloom / florecer.
- loro, lorúa* (N): parrot / loro.
- lortu* (V): to achieve, to obtain / conseguir.
- losa, losia* (N): sidewalk / acera.

losorraua (N): deep sleep / sueño profundo.
loteri, loteriza (N): lottery / lotería.
loterdžan (Adv): time of being awake in the middle of sleeping / intervalo de tiempo entre sueños.
lóri, lotřza (Adj): sleepy / dormilón.
lotu(n) (V): to tie / atar.
lotza, lotzia (N): shame / vergüenza.
lotzabaga, lotzabagia (Adj): shameless / descarado, desvergonzado.
lotzabaga-maskaría (Adj, vocative): shameless / descarado.
lotzabakeri, lotzabakeriza (N): shamelessness / insolencia, falta de respeto.
lotzagarri, lotzagarriřa (Adj): shameful / vergonzoso.
lotzáti, lotzatřza (Adj): shy / tímido.
lotzatu (V): to be shameful / avergonzar(se).
lótzor, lotzórra (Adj): shy / tímido, corto de carácter.
lugan, lugana (N): fence / vallado.
lújo, lujúa (N): luxury / lujo.
lujoso, lujosua (Adj): luxurious / lujoso.
lukartu(n) (V): to fall asleep / adormecerse, dormirse.
luma, lumia (N): feather / pluma de ave.
lumátza, lumatřzia (N): pile of feathers / montón de plumas, dicho de cualquier cosa muy suave y blanda.
lúpa, lupía or *lupa, lupia* (N): magnifying glass / lupa.
lupu, lupua (N): 1. caterpillar 2. scorpion 3. poison / 1. oruga 2. escorpión 3. veneno.
lur, lurra (N): land / tierra.
lurra emon (V): to bury / enterrar, dar tierra.
lurrun, lurruna (N): steem / vaho.
lusáro, luserúan (Adv): for a long time / por largo tiempo.
lusanga, lusangia (Adj): long and thin / alargado.
luse, lusia (Adj): long / largo.
luséra, lusería (N): length / largura, longitud.
lusetu or *lusatu* (V): to lengthen / alargar
lúto, lutúa (N): mourning / luto.
lúřa, luřia (N, a.u.): type of fish / julia (tipo de pescado).

M.

madaléna, madalenía (N): muffin / magdalena.
madari, madariřa (N): pear / pera.
madarikatu, madarikatua (Adj): dammed / maldito.
madéja, madejía (N): skein / madeja.
madriléña, madrileñía (Adj, a.u.): Madridian (female) / madrileña.
madriléño, madrileñúa (Adj, a.u.): Madridian (male) / madrileño.
madrástra, madrastría (N): stepmother. Despective; the neutral term is *amaorde* / *madrastra* (despectivo).
madrigéra, mdrigería (N): den / madriguera.
magal, magala (N, obs): lap / regazo.
mágo, magúa (N): magician / mago.
ma(g)urřo, ma(g)urřúa (N): sea snail / *magurio*, *caracolillo de mar*.
mái, mářza (N): table / mesa.
má(i)lla, ma(i)llía (N): 1. level 2. meshwork clothes / 1. nivel 2. ropa de malla. E.g.; *ma(i)lládun kamixetía* 'a meshwork t-shirt' / 'camiseta de malla'.
máistra, maistría (N): female teacher / maestra.
maittasun, maittasuna (N): love / amor, cariño.
maitte (V): to love / amar, querer.
maitte, maittia (Adj): beloved, dear / querido.
máixo, maixúa (N): male teacher / maestro.
ma(i)řatz, ma(i)řatza (N): May / mayo.
mája, majía (Adj) = 1. nice (female) 2. good-looking (female) / 1. maja, simpática. 2. favorecida. E.g.: *or erretratáian eřatzus ikústen granúak, mája urten dosu* 'in that picture, one cannot see your zits; you've come out pretty' / 'en esa foto no se ven los granos, has salido favorecida'.
majatu (V): to become prettier (a woman) / mejorar el aspecto físico (una mujer).
májia, majřza (N): magic / magia.
majíko, majikúa (Adj): magical / mágico.
májo, majúa (Adj): 1. nice (male) 2. good-looking (male) / 1. majo, simpático 2. de buen porte, favorecido.
májo (Adv): very well / bien, bonitamente.
 E.g.: *Aléti auten májo dabill, esta?* 'the Bilbao Athletic Football Club is doing

- fine this year, right? / 'el Athletic anda bien este año, ¿no?'
- majotu* (V): to become more handsome (a man) / mejorar físicamente (un hombre).
- makal, makala* (Adj): scarce; bad; weak / débil; escaso; malo. E.g.: *estaukasu suertia makala!* 'you don't have bad luck!' (i.e. 'how lucky you are!') / 'janda que no tienes suerte ni nada!'
- makaldu* (V): to weaken / ir a menos, debilitar, menguar.
- makállau, makállawa* (N): cod / bacalao.
- makarro, makarroya* (N): macaroni / macarrón.
- makéta, makétiá* (N): 1. model 2. (N, Adj) woman of Spanish origin who does not speak Basque / 1. maqueta 2. (N, Adj) mujer de origen español que no habla vasco.
- makéto, maketúá* (N, Adj): man of Spanish background who does not speak Basque / hombre de origen español que no habla vasco.
- makilla, makillia* (N): stick / palo, bastón.
- makíña, makiñía* (N): machine / máquina.
E.g.: *eskribidutéko makiñía* 'typewriter' / 'máquina de escribir'.
- makiñári, makiñaríza* or *makiñéri, makiñeríza* (N): machinery / maquinaria.
- makiña bat* (Q): much, many, a lot / un montón. E.g.: *makiña bat zénte etorri da* 'a lot of people came' / 'ha venido un montón de gente'; *makiña bat txori* 'a lot of birds' / 'un montón de pájaros'.
- makiñista, makiñistia* (N): machinist / maquinista.
- makur, makurra* (Adj): bent / encorvado.
- makurtu* (V): to bend / agacharse, encogerse.
- makurtúta* (Adv): bent / agachado, encorvado.
- malabarista, malabaristia* (N): juggler; flexible person / malabarista, persona muy flexible.
- malagána, malaganía* (N): ill-being / malestar, mala gana, síntoma de gripe.
- maledukada, maledukadia* (Adj): ill-behaved (female) / maleducada.
- maledukau, maledukawa* (Adj): ill-behaved (male) / maleducado.
- maléta, maletía* (N): suitcase / maleta.
- maletiñ, maletiña* (N): briefcase / maletín.
- malísi, malisíza* (N): malice / malicia.
- mallúki, mallukíza* (N): strawberry / fresa.
- mamintzu, mamintzua* (Adj): chubby / carnososo, rollizo.
- mamiñ, mamiña* (N): 1. flab 2. soft crumb / 1. carne blanda 2. miga de pan.
- mamorro, mamorra* (N): ghost / fantasma.
- Mamórrro* (N): the boogeyman / el Coco.
- mana, mana* (N): manna; effortless solution for a problem / maná. Se emplea cuando alguien espera que se solucionen sus problemas sin hacer nada
- mandamüento, mandamüentúa* (N): commandment / mandamiento.
- mandamas, mandamasa* (N): boss / jefe, mandamás.
- mando, mandua* (N): mule / mulo.
- mándo, mandúa* (N): military authority, commanding officer / mando militar.
- mándo, mandúa* (Adj): huge, enormous / enorme.
- mandulakóxe, mandulakoxía* (Adj, prenominal): huge, enormous / enorme. E.g.: *mandulakóxe arraiña artun dabe gaur goixian* 'this morning they caught a huge fish' / 'esta mañana han atrapado un pez enorme'.
- maneja* (V): 1. to operate 2. to manage / 1. manejar 2. arreglarse, manejarse.
- manéjo, manejúa* (N): skill / habilidad, manejo.
- manga, mangia* (N): sleeve / manga.
- mangéra, mangería* (N): hose / manguera.
- mángo, mangúa* (N): handle / mango.
- mani, maniña* (N): mania, whim / manía.
- manifestasiño, manifestasiñoa* (N): demonstration / manifestación.
- maniki, manikiña* (N): mannequin / maniquí.
- manikura, manikuria* (N): manicure / manicura.
- manka* (V): to hurt; to be hurt / recibir un golpe duro (tanto físico como psicológico); herir.
- mankáta e(g)on* (V): to be wounded; to be tired / estar decaído o muy cansado, herido.
- manodeobra, manodeobría* (N): work force / mano de obra.
- mánta, mantía* (N): bed cover / manta.

- mantekau, mantekawa* (N): icecream / helado mantecado.
- mantekilla, mantekillia* (N): butter / mantequilla.
- mantel, mantela* (N): tablecloth / mantel.
- manteleri, manteleriža* (N): table linen / mantelería.
- mantenidu* (V): top support / mantener(se).
- mantilla, mantillia* (N): mantilla / mantilla.
- manto, mantoya* (N): shawl / mantón.
- mantóko, mantokúa* or *mantutáko, mantutakúa* (Adj): baby / bebé de manto.
- mantxu, mantxua* (Adj): missing one or both arms / manco.
- mantxa, mantxia* (N): stain / mancha.
- mantzo-mantzo* (Adv): quietly / mansamente, flojamente, plácidamente.
- mantzo, mantzua* (Adj): tame, gentle / lento, manso, dócil.
- mañual, mañuala* (N): manual / manual.
- maña, maña* (N): 1. skill 2. Aragonese woman / 1. maña, habilidad. 2. maña, aragonesa.
- mañak eiñ* (V): to pretend to be crying, to cry with no reason / hacer pucheros.
- mañosa, mañosia* (Adj): 1. skillful (female) 2. cry-baby (female) / 1. mañosa, habilidosa, manitas. 2. llorona.
- mañoso, mañosua* (Adj): 1. skillful (male) 2. cry-baby (male) / 1. manitas. 2. llorón.
- mare, maria* (N): tide / marea
- maribera, maribera* (N): low tide / bajamar.
- marigora, marigora* (N): high tide / pleamar.
- maria* (V): to get dizzy / marear(se).
- marizáerdi, marizaerdiža* (N): wages for earning half a fishing season / ganancia que correspondía a quien hiciera media marea.
- marizálaun, marizálauna* (N): wages for working a fourth of the fishing season / ganancia que correspondía a quien hiciera la mitad de media marea.
- marizaoso, marizaosua* (N): wages for working a whole season / ganancia que correspondía a quien hiciera una marea entera. (Hoy, la mayoría hacen entera, unos pocos la media).
- marikitta, marikittia* (N): 1. ladybug 2. sissy, girly man 3. annoying guy / 1. mariquita. 2. amanerado 3. individuo cargante.
- marikitta-pelóna, marikitta-pelonía* (N): annoying boy or man / chico u hombre cargante.
- marimútil, marimutilla* (Adj): tomboy / marimacho.
- marinél, mariñela* (N): sailor / marinero.
- marinero, mariñerua* (N): sailor / marinero.
- marío, mariúa* (N): dizziness / mareo.
- maripósa, mariposía* (N): butterfly / mariposa.
- marka* (V): to mark / marcar.
- márka, markía* (N): 1. mark 2. grief, mishap / 1. señal, marca. 2. disgusto. E.g.: *aixa markía pasa žakona gaur kotxiágas!* 'what a terrible thing that has happened to him / her with the car!' / '¡no sabes el disgusto que le ha pasado hoy con el coche!'.
- márko, markúa* (N): frame / marco.
- marmi(ñ)ttako, marmi(ñ)ttakua* (N): tuna and potato dish / marmitako, un cocido hecho con bonito y patatas.
- marmo, marmua* (N): penitent in Holy Week procession / penitente.
- marmoka, marmokia* (N): jellyfish / medusa.
- mármol, marmóla* (N): marble / mármol.
- mápa, mapía* (N): map / mapa.
- marraxo, marraxua* (N): type of fish / marrajo (pescado).
- marras, marrasa* (N): kitchen rag / trapo de cocina.
- marro, marroya* (Adj): brown / marrón.
- marroska, marroskia* (Adj): brownish / amarronado.
- martillo, martillúa* (N): hammer / martillo. Cf. *matrállo*
- martingála, martingalía* (N): trick / engaño, martingala.
- martingalosa, martingalosa* (Adj): trickster (female) / embaucadora, engañadora.
- martingaloso, martingalosua* (Adj): trickster (male) / embaucador, engañador.
- martítzen, martitzéna* (N): Tuesday / martes.
- mártxa, martxía* (N): 1. march, pace 2. party atmosphere / 1. marcha, paso 2. marcha, ambiente de juerga.
- martzo, martzua* (N): March / marzo.

- mása, masía* (N): dough / masa.
masáje, masajía (N): massage, rub / masaje.
masajista, masajistia (N): masseur, masseuse / masajista.
masákere, masakría (N): massacre / masacre.
masapan, masapana (N): marzipan / mazapán.
masi, masiža: 1. mixture 2. bait / 1. mezcla 2. cebo para pescar. E.g.: *aixa masiža dabiliena arek: batían txokolatía, bestían ka-fia, bestían esnia* 'what a mixture that (s)he is forming, first chocolate, then coffee, then milk' / '¡vaya mezcla con que anda ése! que si chocolate, que si café, que si leche'.
masifikasiño, masifikasiñoa (N): massification / masificación.
masímo, masimúa (Adj): maximum / lo más, máximo.
masimóna, masimonía (N): type of bait / cebo máspreciado que *masi*.
maskára, maskaría (N): mask / máscara. Also in the expression *lotzabaga maskaría* 'shameless rascal' / 'desvergonzado'.
masopa, masopia (N): type of fish / marsopa, pez grande y negro, despreciado porque ahuyenta las sardinas.
maspása, maspasia (N): 1. raisin 2. nonchalant and chubby / 1. uva pasa. 2. persona tranquila y normalmente de cara redonda.
mastapúnta, mastapuntía (N): pole / cucaña.
másti, mástiža (N): grapevine / viña.
mástill, mástilla (N): mast / mástil.
mastika (V): to chew / mastigar.
masústra, masustría (N): wild blackberry / mora silvestre.
matadéro, mataderúa (N, a.u.): slaughterhouse / matadero.
matarla, matarlia (N): cheek / mejilla.
matarlako, matarlakua (N): slap in the face / bofetada.
matéri, materíža (N): matter / material.
matordu, matordua (N, obs): meal / comida en general.
matralla, matrallia (N): jaw / mandíbula.
matralla(g)íña (N): molar / muela, diente molar.
matrállo, matrallúa (N): hammer / martillo.
- matrimonížo, matrimonížúa* or *matrimonižo, -ua* or *matrimoniño, -ua* (N): married couple; marriage / matrimonio.
matrix, matrixa (N): matrix, uterus / matriz.
matxan, matxana (N): vagina / vagina.
matxángo, matxangúa (N): 1. grasshopper 2. monkey / 1. saltamontes 2. mono.
matxéte, matxetía (N): machete / machete.
matz, matza (N): grape / uva.
maul, máulak (N): remainder, leftovers / restos.
mául, máula (Adj): lazy / holgazán, maula.
mauta-mauta (Adv): devouring food / devorando la comida.
mautz, mautza (N): small fish / pececillo negro que vive entre las peñas.
mautzetan *el(g)on* or *bixi* (V): to be or live without worries / estar tranquilo, sin ninguna preocupación.
mayonésa, mayonesía (N): mayonnaise / mahonesa.
mayuskúla, mayuskulía (N): capital letter / mayúscula.
me, meya (Adj): thin, narrow / estrecho, fino.
medida, medidia (N): measurement / medida.
medídan (Adv): suitable / a la medida.
medikaméntu, medikamentúa (N): medication / medicamento.
medíko, medikúa (N): physician / médico.
medisíña, medisíñia (N): medicine, medication / medicina.
mekanika, mekanikía (N): mechanics / mecánica.
mekaniko, mekanikúa (N): repair man / mecánico.
mekanismo, mekanismúa (N): mechanism / mecanismo.
mekáwen(la) (Interj): Exclamation of surprise or anger / me cago en (la).
meléna, melenía (N): main, long hair / melena.
melo, meloya (N): melon / melón.
melokoto, melokotoya (N): peach / melocotón.
meméla, memelía (Adj): stupid (female) / insustancial, lerda.
memélo, memelúa (Adj): stupid (male) / insustancial, abobado.
memóri, memoríža (N): memory / memoria.
memorixa (V): to memorize / memorizar.
menbrillo, menbrillúa (N): quince / membrillo.
mendel, mendela (N): baby sash / faja que se les pone a los niños pequeños.

- mendi, mendiža* (N): mountain / monte, montaña.
- mendigoisále, mendigoisalía* (Adj): mountaineer / montañero, aficionado al monte.
- menditóntor, menditontórra* (N): summit / cima del monte.
- mensáje, mensajía* (N): message / mensaje.
- meresi (du)* (V): to deserved / merecer.
- meresidu, meresidua* (N): well-deserved punishment / merecido.
- meriženda, merižendía* (N): snack / merienda.
- meriženda* (V): to have a midafternoon snack / merendar. E.g.: *meriženda dosu?* 'did you have your snack?' / '¿has merendado?'
- meritto, merittúa* (N): merit / mérito.
- merkau, merkawa* (N): market / mercado.
- merke, merkia* (Adj): cheap / barato.
- merketu* (V): to lower the price / abaratar.
- merkromiña, merkromiñía* or *merkromiña, merkromiñía* (N): mercromine / mercromina.
- mermelada, mermeladía* (N): jam, marmelade / mermelada.
- merma* (V): to dwindle / mermar.
- mesa, mesia* (N): mass / misa.
- mesa-nótxe, mesa-notxía* or *mésa-notxía* (N): night table / mesita de noche.
- mesede, mesedia* (N): favor / favor.
- mesedes* (Adv): please / por favor.
- mesilla, mesillía* (N): small table / mesilla.
- meso, mesoya* (N): restaurant / mesón.
- metal, metala* (N): metal / metal.
- metalesko, metaleskua* (Adj): metallic / metálico.
- metalíko, metalikúa* (Adj): metallic / metálico.
- metiko, metikoya* (Adj): busybody, gossip (male) / meticón, cotilla, metomentodo.
- metikóna, metikonía* (Adj): busybody, gossip (female) / meticona, cotilla, metomentodo.
- metódo, metodúa* (N): method / método.
- metodíko, metodikúa* (Adj): methodical / metódico.
- metralléta, metralletía* (N): machine gun / metralleta.
- metro, metrúa* (N): meter / metro.
- mika, mikía* (Adj): finicky eater (female) / melindrosa, que come poco.
- mika, mikía* (N): magpie / urraca, picaza.
- míko, mikúa* (Adj): finicky eater (male) / melindroso, que come poco y mal.
- militar, militarra* (N, Adj): military, soldier / militar.
- milla* (Num.): a thousand / mil.
- millágro, millagrúa* (N): miracle / milagro.
- mima* (V): to pamper / mimar.
- mímo, mimúa* (N): 1. fuss; pampering 2. mime / 1. mimo, lloriqueo. 2. mimo (payaso).
- mimosa, mimosia* (Adj): spoiled, pampered (female) / mimosa, consentida.
- mimosa, mimosia* (N): mimosa / mimosa (flor).
- mimoso, mimosua* (Adj): spoiled, pampered (male) / mimoso, consentido.
- mimosatu* (V): to become spoiled, pampered / hacerse mimoso.
- miñ, miña* (N): 1. tongue 2. pain / 1. lengua. 2. dolor.
- miñ eiñ* (V): to hurt, to get hurt / hacer(se) daño.
- miñ artun* (V): to get hurt / hacerse daño.
- miña, miñía* (N): 1. mine 2. pencil lead / 1. mina (de mineral) 2. mina de lápiz.
- miñero, miñerua* (N): miner / minero.
- Mingórrri* (N): personification of death in Holy Week procession / la Muerte simbolizada en un monstruo de lengua roja, que sale en la procesión de Semana Santa.
- mingotz, mingotza* (Adj): bitter / amargo.
- minímo, minimúa* (Adj): minimum / mínimo.
- minpeko, minpekua* (N): muscle under the tongue / frenillo.
- mínsor* (Pred adj): with a low-level constant pain / con dolor casi insensible pero constante. E.g.: *mínsor daukat au eskua* 'I have a constant low-level pain in this hand' / 'tengo esta mano con un dolor casi insensible pero constante'.
- minuskála, minuskulía* (N): lower case letter / minúscula.
- miséri, miserřza* (N): misery / miseria, pobreza.
- miseráble, miserablía* (Adj): miserable / miserable.
- misiño, misiñoaya* (N): mission / misión.
- misionero, misionerua* (N): missionary / misionero.
- miskíño, miskiñúa* (Adj): stingy / mezquino, tacaño.
- mistéla, mistelía* (N): sweet wine / vino dulce.

- místo, mistúa* (Adj): mixed / mixto.
mispilla (N): medlar / níspero (fruto).
mobidu (V): to move / mover(se).
mobimientu, mobimientúa (N): movement / movimiento.
móda, modía (N): fashion / moda.
modérna, modernía (Adj): modern (female) / moderna.
modérno, modernúa (Adj): modern / moderno, novedoso.
modista, modistia (N): seamstress / modista.
modu, modua (N): 1. manner 2. good manners; skill / 1. modo, manera. 2. buena educación, buenas maneras, labia. E.g: *orrek edonór engaña léike! moduá dauko berbétan, ba!* '(s)he could trick anybody, what a skill (s)he has talking!' / '¡ése engañaría a cualquiera, tiene una labia!'
mojojo, mojojoya (N): mussel / mojojón, mejillón.
mokasiñ, mokasiña (N): moccasin / mocasín.
móko, mokúa (N): 1. snot 2. trimmings left over from making the Holy Host / 1. moco 2. borde que sobra de la ostia sagrada (también se le llama *errekóрте*).
mokóti, mokotíza (Adj): brat / mocoso.
mokor, mokorra (N): hip / cadera.
moldakatz, moldakatzá (Adj): difficult; clumsy / torpe; difícil.
mólde, moldía (N): 1. mould 2. type / 1. molde 2. tipo.
molesta (V): to bother / molestar.
molésti, molestíza (N): pain / molestia, dolor.
moltzo, moltzua (N): group, pile / grupo, montón.
moma, momia (N): type of shark / pez de la familia de los escualos, de sabor fuerte.
momentu, momentúa (N): moment / instante, momento.
monagillo, monagillua or *monagillo, monagillúa* (N, a.u.): altar boy / monaguillo.
mondrónko, mondrongúa (N): pile / montón.
mondža, mondžia (N): nun / monja.
mondžaórratz, mondžaórrátza (N): blacktop needle / alfiler de cabeza negra.
morapillo, morapillúa (N): knot / nudo.
morau, morawa (Adj): purple / morado.
moréna, morenía (Adj): dark, tanned (female) / morena (de tez y pelo).
morenátu (V): to get a tan, to become dark (a female) / ponerse morena.
moreno, morenúa (Adj): dark, tanned / moreno.
morenotu (V): to get a tan, to become dark (a male) / ponerse moreno (un hombre).
mordo, mordua (N): amount / cantidad.
morokill, morokilla (N): blood-sausage / morcilla.
morro, morroya (N): guy / tipo, individuo.
morroskána, morroskanía (Adj): strong (female) / robusta, fuerte.
morrósko, morroskúa (Adj.): strong (male) / robusto, fuerte (aplicado a hombres).
morrósko, morroskúa (N): cream pie / pastel de nata.
móro, morúa (N): Moor / moro.
moskatel, moskatela (N): muscatel, sweet wine / vino muscatel.
moskia (V): to get angry / mosquear(se).
moskitto, moskittua (N): small flying bug / cualquier insecto volador pequeño.
moskor, moskorra (N): drunkenness / borrachera.
moskórti, moskortíza (Adj): drunkard / borracho.
moskortu (V): to get drunk / emborracharse.
mosóla, mosolía (Adj, a.u.): spiritless (female) / sosa, abotargada.
mosólo, mosolúa (Adj, a.u.): spiritless (male) / abotargado, soso.
mosolo, mosolua (N): little owl / mochuelo.
mósto, mostúa (N): grape juice / mosto.
mostrador, mostradora (N): counter / mostrador.
móstro, mostrúa (N): monster / monstruo.
mosu, mosua (N): kiss / beso.
mosu emon (V): to kiss / besar.
mota, motia (N): 1. mole, spot 2. steep bank / 1. lunar 2. ribazo.
motel, motela (Adj): 1. spiritless 2. without salt 3. s.o. who talks with a nasal twang / 1. soso, bobo 2. soso, insípido. 2. gangooso, que no se le entiende bien al hablar.
moteldu (V): to acquire a nasal twang / volverse gangooso.
moteltasun, moteltasuna (N): spluttering / farfulla, gangoosidad.
motíbo, motibúa (N): motive, reason / motivo, razón.

- motor, motorra* (N): 1. motorcycle 2. engine / 1. motocicleta. 2. motor.
- motóra, motoría* (N): motorboat / lancha motora.
- motorista, motoristia* (N): motorman in a boat / el que trabaja en el motor del barco.
- motroillo, motroillua* (N): group / montón, grupo.
- motroilluan* or *motroilloyan* (Adv): in a group / en grupo.
- motx, motxa* (Adj): short (sleeves, pants, etc) / corto (aplicado a mangas, pantalones, etc).
- motxi(l)la, motxi(l)lía* (N): backpack / mochila.
- múda, mudía* (N, a.u.): underwear / ropa interior, muda.
- muda* (V): to change one's cloths / mudarse de ropa.
- műéka, műékía* (N): grimace / mueca, gesto.
- múga, mugía* or *muga, mugia* (N): boundary, frontier / frontera, muga.
- mugárrri, mugarríza* (N): boundary stone / mojón, hito.
- muker, mukerra* (Adj): twisted / torcido.
- multa* (V): to fine / multar.
- múlta, multía* (N, a.u.): fine / multa.
- multiplika* (V): to multiply / multiplicar.
- multiplikasiño, multiplikasiñoa* (N): multiplication / multiplicación.
- mun, muna* (N, obs): ritual kiss / beso en la mano o a una figura religiosa.
- mundu, mundua* (N): world / mundo.
- munisipal, munisipala* (Adj): 1. municipal 2. (N) local policeman / 1. municipal 2. guardia municipal.
- murtzilla, murtzillía* (N): 1. blood sausage 2. arms and legs of a baby / 1. morcilla 2. piernas y brazos gordos de un bebé.
- mus, musa* (N): a card game / juego del mus.
- musika, musikía* (N): music / música.
- musíko, musikúa* (N): musician / músico.
- muskar, muskarra* (N): lizard / lagarto.
- musterle, musterlia* (N): weasel / comadreja.
- mustur, musturra* (N): snout / morro, hocico.
- mustúrrak ipiñi* (N): to be angry / ponerse de morros, enfadarse.
- musturreko, musturrekua* (N): slap in the face / bofetada.
- mutill, mutilla* (N): boy; unmarried man / chico; soltero.
- mutilsar, mutilsárra* (Adj): old bachelor / solterón.
- mutu, mutua* (Adj): mute / mudo.
- mututu* (V): to become mute / enmudecer.
- mutur, muturra* (N): 1. snout 2. end / 1. hocico. 2. cabo, extremo.
- muturretáko, muturretakúa* (N): slap in the face / bofetón.
- mux, muxa* (N): somersault / voltereta.

N.

- nabega* (V): to navigate / navegar.
- nabegánte, nabegantía* (N): navigator / navegante.
- nabegasiño, nabegasiñoa* (N): navigation / navegación.
- nabo, nabua* (N): turnip / nabo.
- nagi, nagíza* (N): laziness / pereza.
- nagízak bota* (V): to stretch / desperezarse.
- nagosi, nagosiža* (N): 1. boss 2. elder / 1. jefe 2. mayor en edad.
- nai* (V): to want / querer.
- nai* or *naix* (Conj.): either... or / o... o, sea... sea. E.g.: *séwas nai beorréas, baiña zuángo nas* 'either with you or with him/her, but I shall go' / 'o contigo o con él, pero iré'.
- nai dan béste* (Adv): a lot, as much as one could desire / mucho, tanto como se quiera. E.g.: *nai dan béste euri bota dau gaur be* 'today too, it has rained a lot' / 'tanto como se quiera ha llovido hoy también'.
- nái, náiža* (N): desire, wish / deseo.
- naikeri, naikeriža* (N): whim, fancy / deseo vano.
- naiko* or *naiku*: 1. (Adv, Q): enough, quite a few / bastante(s). E.g.: *naiku gixón etorri dira gaur batzaréra* 'quite a few men have come to the meeting today' / 'bastantes hombres han venido a la reunión hoy'.
- náitta* (Adv): on purpose / queriendo, aposta. E.g.: *náitta eñ ddau, seuri miñ eittéko* '(s)he's done it on purpose, to hurt you' / 'lo ha hecho queriendo, para hacerte daño'.

- naix eta* (conj.): even though, although / aunque.
- namas, namasa* (Adj, obs): slovenly / desarrapado.
- napar, naparra* (Adj): Navarrese / navarro.
- Naparrúa* (N): Navarra, Navarre / Navarra.
- nar eiñ* (V): to exhaust, to wear s.o. out / cansar, fatigar.
- naránja, naranjía* (N): orange / naranja.
- narradore, narradoría* (N): narrator / narrador.
- narrasiño, narrasiñoa* (N): narration / narración.
- narru, narrua* (N): leather / cuero.
- narrusko, narruskua* or *narrosko, narroskua* (Adj): made of leather / de cuero.
- narrugorritan* (Adv): naked / desnudo, en pelota.
- nasaittu* (V): to loosen / aflojar.
- nasai, nasaiña* (Adj): loose / flojo.
- nasiño, nasinöya* (N): nation / nación.
- nasional, nasionala* (Adj): national / nacional.
- nasta* (V): to mix, to mix up / confundir, mezclar.
- naste, nastía* (N): mixture, mess / mezcla, confusión, lío.
- nasteborraste, nasteborrastía* (N): mess / lío, confusión.
- náta, natía* (N): cream / nata.
- natalidade, natalidadía* (N): birth rate / natalidad.
- Natibittate e(g)una* (N): Christmas day / día de Navidad.
- natilla, natillía* (N): custard / natillas.
- natural, naturala* (Adj): natural / natural.
- naturalésa, naturalesía* (N, a.u.): nature / naturaleza.
- neba, nebia* (N): brother of female / hermano de mujer.
- nebarrébak* (N): brothers and sisters, siblings / hermanos y hermanas.
- nebéra, nebería* (N): icebox, refrigerator / nevera.
- ne(g)ar, ne(g)arra* (N): weeping, tear; drop of wax from a candle / lágrima; lágrima de una vela.
- ne(g)ar eiñ* (V): to cry / llorar.
- ne(g)argura, ne(g)arguria* (N): desire to cry / ganas de llorar.
- ne(g)arsótiñ, ne(g)arsotíña* (N): weeping / lloro.
- ne(g)árti, ne(g)artíña* (Adj): cry-baby / llorón.
- ne(g)osižo, ne(g)osižúa* (N): business / negocio.
- ne(g)osiža* (V): to deal, to negotiate / negociar.
- ne(g)ostánte, ne(g)ostántía* (N): businessman; s.o. who knows how to make money / negociante; que sabe hacer dinero.
- ne(g)u, ne(g)ua* (N): winter / invierno.
- neke, nekia* (N): 1. tiredness, exhaustion 2. pain / 1. cansancio 2. dolor.
- nekes* (Adv): 1. late 2. painfully / 1. tarde 2. penosamente.
- nerbiosa, nerbiosa* (Adj): nervous (female) / nerviosa.
- nerbioso, nerbiosa* (Adj): nervous (male) / nervioso.
- nerbiosatu* (V): to become nervous / ponerse nervioso.
- nerbížo, nerbížúa* (N): nerve / nervio.
- neseser, neseserra* (N): toilet case / neceser.
- neska, neskia* (N): girl; young woman / niña; mujer joven.
- neskásar, neskasarra* (N): spinster / solterona.
- neskatilla, neskatillía* (N): girl / chica, muchacha.
- neurri, neurriña* (N): measure / medida.
- neurtu* (V): to measure / medir.
- nibel, nibela* (N): level / nivel.
- nibela* (V): to level / nivelar.
- nobáta, nobatía* (Adj): beginner (female) / novata.
- nobatada, nobatadía* (N): hazing of new member; beginner's mistake / novatada.
- nobáto, nobatúa* (Adj): beginner (male) / novato.
- nobéla, nobelía* (N): novel / novela.
- nobíža, nobížía* (N): girlfriend, fiancée; bride / novia.
- nobížo, nobížúa* (N): boyfriend, fiancé; groom / novio.
- nóble, noblía* (Adj): noble, honest / noble, honrado.
- noblesáko, noblesakúa* (Adj): nobleman or noblewoman / noble (de la nobleza).
- noix* (Adv): when / cuándo.
- nó-o-noix* (Q): sometime / alguna vez.
- noix áрте* (Q): until when / hasta cuándo.
- noixi(a)n beñ* (Q): from time to time / de vez en cuando.
- nóixtik noixera* (Q): from time to time / de vez en cuando.

nóixko (QW): for when / de cuándo, para cuándo.

nóixtik (QW): since when / desde cuándo.

nók (QW): who, erg / quién, erg.

nó-o-nók (Q): anybody, erg / quienquiera.

nó-o-nora (Q): (to) somewhere / a algún sitio.

nor (QW): who, abs / quién, abs.

nóra (Q.): where (to), whither / adónde.

nóra áiño (Q.): up to where / hasta dónde.

norasian (Adv): disoriented / desorientado.

norbera (Pro): oneself / uno mismo.

nó(re)n (QW): whose / de quién. E.g.: *nóren etxia da ori?* 'whose house is that?' / '¿de quién es esa casa?'

no(ré)ntzat (QW): for whom / para quién.

nóri (QW): to whom, dat / a quién.

nortzúri (QW): to whom, dat pl / a quiénes.

nórtzuk (QW): who, abs/erg pl / quiénes.

nórma, *normía* (N): norm / norma.

normal, *normala* (Adj): normal / normal.

normalian (Adv): generally, normally / normalmente.

nórtzun (QW): whose, pl / de quiénes. E.g.: *nórtzun etxia da ori?* 'whose house is that?' (plural owner implied) / '¿de quiénes es esa casa?'

nota, *notía* (N): 1. notice 2. grade / nota.

notáble, *notablía* (Adj): notable / notable.

notaríza, *notarizúa* (N): notary's office / notaría.

notarízo, *notarizúa* (N): notary public / notario.

notísi, *notisíza* (N): news / noticia.

numéro, *numerúa* (N): number / número.

nun (QW): where / dónde.

núndik (QW): from where; whence / de dónde.

nú-u-nun (Q): somewhere / en algún sitio.

Ñ.

ño (Interj): exclamation of surprise / exclamación de sorpresa, ¡vaya! E.g.: *ño, dotore dago žantzítta ba!* 'Gee! (s)he is all dressed up!' / '¡vaya, está vestido elegante, pues!'

O.

oba (Adv): better / mejor. E.g.: *oba dosu etortía* 'you have better come' / 'mejor que vengas'.

obá-es (Adv): of course / cómo no, por supuesto.

obe, *obia* (Adj): better / mejor.

obedesidu (V): to obey / obedecer.

obediénte, *obediéntía* (Adj): obedient / obediente.

oberatz eiñ (V): to improve / mejorar.

obeto (Adv): better / mejor.

obetu (V): to improve / mejorar.

obliga (V): to oblige / obligar.

obligasiño, *obligasiñoia* (N): obligation / obligación.

obra (V): to defecate (esp. elderly people) / hacer de vientre.

obra, *obría* (N): work, construction / obra.

obrera, *obrería* (N): worker (female) / obrera.

obrero, *obrerua* (N): worker (male) / obrero.

obsesiño, *obsesiñoia* (N): obsession / obsesión.

obsesiñoa (V): to be or become obsessed / estar obsesionado, obsesionarse.

odol, *odola* (N): blood / sangre.

odolbatun, *odolbatuna* (N): coagulated blood / sangre coagulada.

odoloste, *odolostía* (N): blood-sausage / morcilla.

odolostu (V): to bleed, to lose a lot of blood / sangrar, desangrarse.

oe, *oya* (N): bed / cama.

ofendidu (V): to offend / ofender.

ofisiña, *ofisiñía* (N): office / oficina.

ofisiñista, *ofisiñistia* (N): office worker / oficinista.

ofisízo, *ofisizúa* (N): job / oficio.

ogei (Num.): twenty / veinte.

ogeiko, *ogeikua* (N): one hundred pesetas note (twenty duros) / billete de cien pesetas (veinte duros).

ogi, *ogiža* (N): bread / pan.

o(g)orleko, *o(g)orlekua* (N, *ogei* 'twenty' + *erreal* 'real, a coin' + *ko* 'of'): coin of twenty reales (five pesetas) / moneda de cinco pesetas (veinte reales).

oi, *oiža* (N): gum (teeth) / encía.

o(i)ñ, *o(i)ñia* (N): foot / pie.

o(i)ñes (Adv): by foot / a pie.

- o(i)ñortósik* (Adv): barefoot / descalzo. Cf. *ortósik*.
- oittúra, oitturía* (N, a.u.): costum / costumbre.
- oižal, oižala* (N): mantilla.
- ojáldre, ojaldría* (N): puff paste / hojaldre.
- ojéra, ojería* (N): rings under the eyes / ojera.
- okáran, okarána* or *okarána, okaránia* (N): plum / ciruela.
- okasiño, okasiñoa* (N): occasion / ocasión.
- okela, okelia* (N): meat / carne.
- okeláki, okelakíza* (N): meat product / cualquier vianda de carne.
- oker, okerra* (Adj): 1. twisted 2. mischievous / 1. torcido 2. travieso.
- okerkeri, okerkeríza* (N): mischief / trastada, travesura.
- okerretara* (Adv): wrongly / al revés. E.g.: *on be? okerretarra eiñdžosu!* 'you've done wrong again?' / '¿otra vez lo has hecho al revés?'
- okertu* (V): to twist / torcer.
- okondo, okondua* or *ukondo, ukondua* (N): elbow / codo.
- okotz, okotza* (N): chin / barbilla.
- okupa* (V): occupy / ocupar.
- okupasíño, okupasíñoa* (N): occupation / ocupación.
- ol, ola* (N): plank of wood / tabla de madera.
- olagarro, olagarrua* (N): octopus / pulpo.
- olako, olakua*: like this, such / tal, de esta calidad. E.g.: *néupe olako liburíua erosi (d)ot* 'I have bought such a book too' / 'yo también he comprado un libro como ése'.
- ólan* or *áulan* (Adv): like this / así, de esta manera.
- olato, olatua* (N): wave / ola.
- olesko, oleskua* (Adj): wooden / de madera.
- olga* (V): to play / jugar.
- olgétan ibilli* (V): to play, to have fun / andar jugando, divertirse.
- óllar, ollárra* (N): rooster / gallo.
- ollásko, ollaskúa* (N): chicken / pollo.
- ollo, ollua* (N): hen / gallina.
- on, ona* (Adj): good/ bueno.
- on* (Adv): now / ahora.
- ona* (Adv): (to) here, hither / acá, a aquí. E.g.: *etorri ona* 'come here!' / '¡ven aquí!'.
- ona díño* (Adv): up to here, hitherto / hasta aquí.
- ona árite* (Adv): until now, hitherto / hasta ahora.
- onatz* or *onutz* (Adv): in this direction / hacia aquí.
- onatzá(g)o* (Adv): more towards here / más hacia aquí.
- ondákiñ, ondakíña* or *ondakiñ, ondakiña* (N): leftovers / resto, despojo.
- ondar, ondarra* (N): beach; sand / playa; arena.
- ondasun, ondasuna* (N): riches, wealth / riqueza.
- ondatu* (V): 1. to get drenched, to drench 2. to ruin, to get ruined / 1. empapar(se) 2. estropear(se).
- ondésik* (Adv): sick, ill / enfermo, con malestar (normalmente, griposo).
- ondiñoóko* (Adv): still / aún, todavía.
- óndik aurréra* (Adv): from now on / de ahora en adelante.
- ondo* (Adv): 1. well 2. very / 1. bien, buena-mente. 2. muy. E.g.: *ondo guápo sóyas gaur* 'you look very handsome today' / 'bien guapo que vas hoy'.
- onduan* (Adv): beside / al lado. E.g.: *ipiñi amenxten, neure onduan* 'sit here, by my side' / 'ponte aquí, a mi lado'.
- omenáje, omenajía* (N): homage / homenaje.
- ónek* (Pro): these / éstos.
- onenbéste* (Adv): so much / tanto.
- onenbestéko, onenbestekúa* (N): of so much / de tanto, de una cierta cantidad determinada.
- ren onerako*: for s.o.'s good / para el provecho de.
- oneskéro* (Adv): already, now / ya, para ahora.
- ongótan* (Adv): this time / esta vez.
- onore, onoria* (N): honor / honor.
- onrau, onrawa* (Adj): honest (male) / honrado.
- onrada, onradia* (Adj): honest (female) / honrada.
- ontziárotz, ontziarótza* (N): boat carpenter / carpintero del astillero.
- opill, opilla* (N, obs): type of cake / torta pa-recida al pan (ahora ya no se hace).
- opéra, opería* (N): opera / ópera.
- opera* (V): to operate, to undergo surgery / operar(se).
- operadore, operadoría* (N): operator / operador.
- opiniño, opiníñoa* (N): opinion / opinión.

- oposisiño, oposisiñoa* (N): opposition / oposición.
or (Adv): there / ahí.
orai, oraiža (N): cloud / nube.
oraiñ, oraiña (N): mole / lunar.
orantzu (Adv): recently / hace poco.
oraldi, oraldiža (N): alga / alga.
-ren ordes: instead of / en lugar de.
ordesko, ordeskua (N): replacement, substitute / sustituto.
órden, ordéna (N): order / orden, organización.
ordena (V): to arrange, to order / ordenar, arreglar.
ordenadore, ordenadoria or *ordenador, ordenadora* (N): computer / ordenador.
ordu, ordua (N): hour / hora.
orduan (Adv): 1. then 2. on time / 1. entonces 2. a tiempo, puntual.
ordútik ona (Adv): since then / desde entonces.
ordubete (N): an hour / una hora.
orduerdi, orduerdiža or *orduerdi, orduerdiža* (N): half an hour / media hora.
ordu ta erdi, ordu ta erdiža (N): an hour and a half / hora y media.
oreka, orekia (N, rare): balance / equilibrio.
orekalarí, orekalaríža (N): person who keeps the balance on a rowing boat / el que mantiene el equilibrio de la lancha con los remos.
orgúllo, orgullúa (N): pride / orgullo.
orgullosa, orgullosia (Adj): proud (female) / orgullosa.
orgullosa, orgullosua (Adj): proud (male) / orgulloso.
ori (Pro.): that / ése, ésa, éso.
ori, oriža (Adj): yellow / amarillo.
oriska, oriskia (Adj): yellowish / amarillento.
orittasun, orittasuna (N): yellowness, paleness of face / amarillez, palidez en el rostro.
oritu (V): to become yellow / volverse amarillo.
orixe or *aurixe* (Pro): that very one / ése/a/o mismo.
orkatilla, orkatillía (N): ankle / tobillo.
orižo, orižua (N): oil, grease / aceite, grasa.
orkilla, orkillía (N): fork / horquilla.
orko (Pro.): of there / de ahí.
orma, ormia (N): wall / pared.
ormasokondo, ormasokondua (N): refuge next to a wall / abrigo o refugio junto a la pared.
orpo, orpua (N): heel / talón.
orra (Adv): there / (a) ahí.
orra aíño (Adv): up to there / hasta ahí.
orrasi, orrasija (N): comb / peine.
orraskéra, orraskería (N): combing style / forma de peinarse.
orrastu (V): to comb / peinar.
órratz, orrátza (N): needle / alfiler, aguja.
órrek (Pro.): those / ésos.
orrek (Pro.): that, erg / ése, erg.
orrenbéste (Adv): so much, as much as that / tanto, una cantidad como ésa.
orretxeđittik: because of that / por eso.
orri, orriža (N): leaf (of tree or sheet of paper) / hoja.
orrúka (Adv): growling / rugiendo.
órtik (Pro.): from there; around there / desde ahí; por ahí.
ortósik (Adv): barefoot / descalzo.
ortu, ortua (N): garden / huerto, huerta.
ortza, ortzia (N): horizon / horizonte.
osasun, osasuna (N): health / salud.
osatu (V): to heal / curar, sanar.
osasuntzu, osasuntzua (Adj): healthy / saludable, sano.
oseake (Conj): thus, therefore, so / o sea que.
oskirri, oskirriža (N): 1. quivering 2. chill (weather) / 1. escalofrío. 2. fresco (tiempo atmosférico).
oskol, oskola (N): husk / cáscara de la castaña y por extensión, todo tipo de cáscara.
oso-osoko, oso-osokua (Adj): whole, wholesome / entero, sin malicia.
osorik (Adv): completely / enteramente.
osotu (V): to complete / completar.
óspara eñ (V): to leave / largarse, irse.
ospatu (V): to celebrate / celebrar.
ospittal, ospittala (N): hospital / hospital.
osta-osta (Adv): hardly / a duras penas, justo justo.
ostal, ostala (N): hostel / hostel.
ostantzian (Adv): otherwise / de otro modo, si no.
ostarábe or *osterábe* (Adv): again / otra vez.
ostatu, ostatua (N): inn / pensión, posada.
ostéra, ostería (N): short trip / vuelta. E.g.: *ostéra bat emóngo(d)ot Bilbótik* 'I am going to take a short trip to Bilbao' / 'voy a dar una vuelta por Bilbao'.

ostían (Adv): behind / detrás de, tras.
ostikada, ostikadia (N): kick / patada.
ostiko, ostikua (N): kick / patada.
osto, ostua (N): leave / hoja de árbol.
ostu (V): to steal / robar.
otar, otarra (N): furce / argoma.
otz, otza (N, Adj): cold / frío.
otzakill, otzakilla or *otzakill, otzakilla* (Adj): sensitive to cold / friolero.
otzára, otzaria (N): 1. basket 2. rejection of love (obs) / 1. cesta, canasta. 2. "calabazas", desamor (obs).
otzikára, otzikaria (N): fever; quivering / pupa, calentura; escalofrío.
otzittu (V): to get cold / refrescar, enfriar(se).
otzo, otzua (N): wolf; bear / lobo; oso.

P.

pa (N): kiss (child talk) / besito (lenguaje infantil). E.g.: *emon pa* 'give me a kiss' / 'dame un besito'.
paella, paellía (N): paella / paella.
paellera, paellería (N): paella pan / paellera.
pa(g)a (V): to pay / pagar.
pága, pagía (N): payment; allowance / paga.
pagauso, pagausua (N): wild pigeon / paloma torcaz.
pago, pagua (N): 1. beech tree 2. payment / 1. haya. 2. pago, recompensa.
págo, pagúa (N): payment / pago, recompensa.
paitta, paittia (N): duck / pato.
paíxa, paixía (N): Moroccan salesman / paisa, un vendedor ambulante marroquí.
pajarítta, pajarittía (N): bow tie / pajarita.
páje, pajía (N): page / paje.
pajíta, pajitía or *pajítta, pajittía* (N): drinking straw / pajita.
pakéte, paketía (N): package / paquete.
pala, palia (N): 1. shovel, spade 2. racquet 3. front teeth / 1. pala (de frontón y de cavar) 2. en plural, paletas (dientes frontales).
palada, paladia (N): stroke (rowing) / palada al remar; brazada de nadador.
paladar, paladarra (N): palate / paladar.
palakada, palakadia (N): stroke (rowing) / palada.

palánka, palankía (N, a.u.): lever / palanca.
palangána, palanganía (N): washbasin / palangana.
palasízo, palasizúa (N): palace / palacio.
paletilla, paletillía (N): shoulder blade / paletilla (huesos dorsales).
palillo, palillúa (N): tooth pick, cf. *soz* / palillo.
palíxa, palixía (N): beating / paliza.
palméra, palmería (N): palm tree / palmera.
pálo, paliúa (N): stick / palo.
pana, pania (N): corduroy / pana.
panadéri, panaderíza (N): bread shop / panadería.
panadera, panaderia (N): female baker / panadera.
panadero, panaderua (N): baker / panadero.
panderéta, panderetía (N): tambourin / pandereta.
pandilla, pandillía (N): gang / pandilla.
pankárta, pankartía (N): banner / pancarta.
pañal, pañala (N): diaper / pañal.
paññélo, paññelúa (N): handkerchief / pañuelo.
panparro, panparroya (N): braggard / fanfarrrón. Cf. *fanfarro*.
panteo, panteoya (N): pantheon / panteón.
pánti, pantíza (N): pantyhose / panty (medias).
pantálla, pantallía (N): screen / pantalla.
papada, papadia (N): double chin / papada.
papar, paparra (N): breast, chest / parte superior del pecho.
papardo, papardua (N): type of fish / palometa (pescado).
papargórri, papargorríza (N): robin / petirrojo.
papel, papela (N): paper / papel.
papeléta, papeletía (N): ticket / papeleta.
papérak (N): mumps / paperas (enfermedad).
papilla, papillía (N): baby food / papilla.
papo, papua (N): cheek / mejilla carnosa.
para (V): to stop / parar(se), detener(se).
parakaídas, parakaidása (N): parachute / paracaídas.
parada, paradia (N): stop / parada.
paradója, paradojía (N): paradox / paradoja.
paradojiko, paradojikúa (Adj): paradoxical / paradójico.
paráje, parajía (N): place, spot / paraje.
paisáje, paisajía (N): landscape / paisaje.
parasma, parasmia (N): spider / araña.

- parasamétxa, parasmamétxía* (N): spider web / tela de araña.
- parau, paraua* (Adj): 1. graceless 2. unemployed / 1. parado, sin garbo. 2. parado, desempleado.
- paréja, parejía* (N): couple / pareja.
- parkámen, parkaména* (N, a.u.): pardon (esp. in church) / perdón (esp. eclesiástico).
- parkatu* (V): to pardon, to forgive / perdonar.
- parkeske* (Adv): asking for forgiveness / pidiendo perdón.
- páro, parúa* (N): unemployment / paro, desempleo.
- parra-parra* (Adv, Onom.): abundantly / en abundancia.
- parránda, parrandía* (N): spree / juerga.
- parrandista, parrandistia* (N): merry-maker / juerguista.
- parrastada, parrastadia* (N): spillage / líquido desparramado.
- parróki, parrokíza* (N): parish / parroquia.
- parróko, parrokúa* (N): parish priest / párroco.
- parséla, parselía* (N): land lot / parcela.
- parsimónia, parsimoníza* (N): parsimony / parsimonia.
- parte, partia* (N): 1. weather forecast 2. part / 1. parte meteorológico. 2. parte, porción.
- (-ren) partes* (Adv): from / de parte de.
- partilla, partillia* (N): wages that a sailor receives after fishing, depending on what has been caught / paga que recibe un marinero dependiendo de cuanto se haya cogido.
- partiža, partižia* (N): paying of wages to the sailors after fishing / pago a los marineros después de la pesca.
- pasa* (V): to pass / pasar.
- pasadore, pasadora* (N): sieve for milk / colador (de leche).
- pasajero, pasajerna* (N): passenger / pasajero.
- pasapórt, pasaportía* (N): passport / pasaporte.
- paséntzi, pasentzíza* (N): patience / paciencia.
- pasia* (V): to stroll / pasear.
- pasiú, pasiúa* (N): stroll, walk / paseo.
- pasillo, pasillúa* (N): corridor / pasillo.
- pasifika, pasifikía* (Adj): peaceful (female) / pacífica.
- pasifiko, pasifikúa* (Adj): peaceful / pacífico.
- páso, pasúa* (N): step / paso de teléfono.
- pasta, pastia* (N): pasta; dough / pasta.
- pastel, pastela* (N): cake / pastel.
- pasteléri, pasteleríza* (N): pastry shop / pastelería.
- pastelera, pasteleria* (N): female confectioner / pastelera.
- pastelero, pastelerna* (N): male confectioner / pastelero.
- pastilla, pastillía* (N): tablet / pastilla.
- pattar, pattarra* (N): brandy / aguardiente.
- patáta, patatía* (N): potato / patata.
- patilla, patillía* (N): sideburns / patilla.
- patiñ, patiña* (N): skate / patín.
- patiña* (V): to skate / patinar.
- patináj, patinajía* or *patináj, patinajía* (N): skating / patinaje.
- patrikera, patrikería* (N): pocket / bolsillo, faltriquera.
- patro, patroya* (N): patron, boss / patrón.
- patxada, patxadia* (N): nonchalance / cachaza, tranquilidad.
- patxaran, patxarana* (N): type of brandy / pacharán.
- patížo, patížúa* (N): patio, yard / patio.
- pausu, pausua* (N): step / paso (de caminar).
- payaso, payasúa* (N): clown / payaso.
- payasokeri, payasokeríza* (N): clownish act / bufonada.
- peáje, peajía* (N): toll / peaje.
- peató, peatoya* (N): pedestrian / peatón.
- pe(g)a* (V): 1. to hit 2. to glue / pegar.
- pe(g)aménto, pe(g)amentúa* (N): glue / pegamento.
- peka, pekia* or *péka, pekía* (N): freckle / peca.
- pekástro, pekastrúa* (Adj): freckled / pecoso.
- pekatu, pekatua* (N): sin / pecado.
- pekorotz, pekorotza* (N): sheep excrement / boñiga.
- pekosa, pekosia* (Adj): freckled (female) / pecosa.
- pekoso, pekosua* (Adj): freckled (male) / pecoso.
- peligro, peligrúa* (N): danger / peligro.
- peligroso, peligrosua* (Adj): dangerous / peligroso.
- pelikúla, pelikulía* (N): film / película.

- pélma, pelmía* (Adj): bothersome, boring / pelma, pesado.
- pelmada, pelmadia* (N): boring conversation / pelmada.
- pelóta, pelotía* (N): ball / pelota.
- pelotari, pelotariza* (N): handball player / manista, pelotari.
- pelúka, pelukía* (N): wig / peluca.
- pelukera, pelukeria* (N): female hairdresser / peluquera.
- pelukéri, pelukeriza* (N): hairdresser's / peluquería.
- pelukero, pelukerua* (N): barber / peluquero.
- pelusilla, pelusillía* (N): down, fuzz / pelusilla.
- pena, penia* (N): regret, sadness / pena, compasión.
- penagarri, penagarriza* (Adj): sad, regretful / penoso, triste.
- pendéjo, pendejúu* (Adj): bothersome / persona molesta, pelma.
- penka, penkia* (N): fleshy leaf / penca, parte blanca de la acelga.
- pensiño, pensioño* or *pentziño, pentziño* (N): pension / pensión.
- pentza* (V): to think / pensar.
- pentzamentu, pentzamentúa* (N): thought, thinking / pensamiento.
- pentzu, pentzua* (N): fodder / pienso.
- peo, peoya* (N): laborer, unskilled worker / peón.
- pepiño, pepiñúa* (N): cucumber / pepino.
- pepíto, pepitúa* (N): touchy, fastidious / quisquilloso.
- periodíko, periodikúa* (N): newspaper / periódico.
- perkal, perkala* (N): percale / percal.
- perla, perlia* (N): pearl / perla.
- perlita, perlitía* (N): type of fish / perlita, tipo de pescado.
- perlo, perloya* (N): type of fish / perlón, tipo de pescado.
- perilla, perillía* (N): goatee / perilla.
- perresill, perresilla* (N): parsley / perejil.
- perretxíko, perretxikúa* (N, a.u.): mushroom / champiñón.
- persána, persánta* (N): Venetian blind / persiana.
- pertxa, pertxia* (N): hanger / percha.
- pertxéro, pertxerúa* (N): clothes rack / perchero.
- pertzeba, pertzebia* (N): barnacle, cf. *anperna* / percebe.
- pertzekusiño, pertzekusiño* (N): persecution / persecución.
- pertzóna, pertzonía* (N): person / persona.
- pertzónaje, pertzonajía* (N): character / personaje.
- pesada, pesadía* (Adj): bothersome, boring (female) / pesada, pelma.
- pesau, pesawa* (Adj): bothersome, boring (male) / pesado, pelma.
- pestaña, pestañía* (N, a.u.): eyelash / pestaña.
- peséta, pesetía* (N): peseta / peseta.
- pesetero, peseterua* (Adj): stingy / pesetero, tacaño.
- peskadéri, peskaderiza* (N): fish market / pescadería.
- peskadero, peskaderua* (N): fish seller / pescadero.
- peso, pesoya* (N): nipple / pezón.
- petáka, petakía* (N): cigarette case / petaca.
- petálo, petalúa* (N): petal / pétalo.
- petardada, petardadia* (N): boring conversation / petardada, latazo, pelmada.
- petárdó, petardúa* (N, a.u.): firecracker / petardo.
- péto, petúa* (N): breast cover / peto (en el vestido).
- petroléo, petroleúa* (N): petrol / petróleo.
- piel, piela* (N): leather, fur / piel (refiriéndose a abrigos de piel o zapatos).
- pijama, pijamía* (N): pajamas / pijama.
- pika* (V): to itch, to sting / picar.
- pikada, pikadia* (N): sting / picadura, picotada.
- pikéte, piketía* (N): picket / piquete.
- piko, pikua* (N): beak / pico de aves.
- pikor, pikorra* (N): itch / picor, escozor; acritud en la garganta.
- pikotera, pikoteria* (Adj): tattletale (female) / chivata.
- pikotero, pikoterua* (Adj): tattletale (male) / chivato (normalmente se usa entre niños).
- píla, pilía* (N): battery / pila.
- pillára, pillaría* (N, a.u.): stone wall / petril.
- pílló, pillúa* (N): pile / montón.
- pílló bat* (Q): a lot / un montón. E.g.: *pílló bat gixon* 'a lot of men' / 'un montón de hombres'.
- pillotu* (V): to pile up / amontonarse, apilarse.
- pilóto, pilotúa* (N): pilot / piloto.
- píngo, pingúa* (N): leftovers / restos, sobras.

- pínki, pinkíza* (N): varnish for wooden floors / barniz para suelos de madera, pinki.
- pinkirúna* (N): person who applies varnish to wooden floors / barnizador.
- pinsel, pinsela* or *pinxel, pinxela* (N): brush / pincel.
- pinzelada, pinzeladia* (N): stroke with a brush / pincelada.
- pintta* (V): to paint / pintar.
- pinttada, pinttadia* (N): graffiti / pintada (en la pared).
- pinttore, pinttoria* (N): painter / pintor.
- pinttura, pintturia* (N): paint / pintura.
- pinxta* (V): to prick, to puncture / pinchar.
- pinxtáso, pinxtasúa* (N): puncture / pinchazo.
- piña, piñía* (N): pine cone / piña.
- piñádi, piñadíza* (N): pine grove / pinar.
- piño, piñoa* (N): pine-nut / piñón.
- piñu, piñua* (N): pine tree / pino.
- pipa, pipía* (N): 1. pipe 2. pacifier 3. sunflower seed / 1. pipa de fumar. 2. chupete. 3. pipa (fruto seco).
- pipar, piparra* (N): pepper / pimienta.
- piráta, piratía* (N): pirate / pirata.
- pírri, pírríza* (Adj): picky / puntilloso, disconforme.
- piñña, piñña* (N): swimming pool / piscina.
- pisill* (Adv): happily, cheerfully / alegremente.
- pisill, pisilla* (Adj): happy, cheerful / alegre.
- pisillína, pisillínía* (Adj): happy, cheerful (female) / alegre, feliz, contenta.
- pisilddu* (V): to become happy after drinking. cf. *txispilddu* / alegrarse.
- pista, pistia* (N): 1. track 2. sleep (eye) / 1. pista de atletismo 2. legaña.
- pistérre, pisterría* (Adj): 1. bleary 2. with small, ugly eyes / 1. legañoso 2. de ojos pequeños y feos.
- písto, pístúa* (N): dish with tomatoes, cucumber and zucchini / revuelto de tomate, pepino y calabacín.
- pistóla, pistolía* (N): pistol / pistola.
- pitada, pitadia* (N): whistling / pitada, silbido.
- pitillo, pitillúak* (N): type of pants / pitillo (pantalones).
- pitórro, pitorrúa* (N): spout / pitorro.
- piura, piuria* (N): slovenliness / hechura triste, malfigurado.
- pixa* (V): to weigh / pesar.
- pixarra, pixarría* (N): blackboard / pizarra, encerado.
- pixkat* (Adv): a little / un poco.
- pixo, pixua* (N): 1. apartment 2. weight / 1. piso. 2. peso.
- plága, plagía* (N): plague / plaga.
- pláka, plakía* (N): plate / placa.
- plan, plana* (N): plan / plan.
- planta* (V): 1. to remain 2. to come to the phone 3. to plant / 1. quedarse en algún sitio. 2. ponerse al teléfono. 3 plantar
- plánta, plantía* (N): 1. plant 2. trick / 1. plant 2. fingimiento, mañas. E.g.: *atentziñoa zo baño estáu nai; plântak éitten dago* '(s)he only wants to get attention, (s)he is pretending' / 'no quiere más que llamar la atención; está fingiendo'.
- planto, plantoya* (N): long wait / plantón.
- plantxa* (V): to iron / planchar.
- plantxa, plantxia* (N): iron (for clothes) / plancha.
- plasa, plasia* (N): square / plaza.
- plaso, plasua* (N): term / plazo.
- plasta, plastia* (Adj): bothersome / plasta, pesado.
- plastada, plastadia* (N): slap / bofetada.
- plastako, plastakua* (N): slap / bofetada.
- plastiko, plastikúa* (N): plastic / plástico.
- plastiliña, plastiliñía* (N): play dough / plastilina.
- plateau, plateawa* (Adj): silver / plateado.
- plater, platera* (N): plate, dish / plato.
- platillo, platillúak* (N): cymbals / platillos (de orquesta).
- plato, platua* (N): dish / plato (de menú en los restaurantes).
- plaust* (Onom): sound of falling objects / ruido producido al caerse algo.
- pláust eiñ* (V): 1. to break with a big noise 2. to get exhausted / 1. romperse con ruido. 2. quedarse o caerse cansado.
- plautri, plautiríza* (N): cold in the ganglia / tumor frío en los ganglios.
- plega* (V): to fold / plegar.
- pléitto, pleittúa* (N): lawsuit / pleito.

- plúma, plumía* (N): pen / pluma estilográfica.
póbre, pobría (Adj): poor / pobre, sin recursos.
polboro, polboroya (N): type of cake / polvorón.
polbóra, polboría (N): gunpowder / pólvora.
polísi, polisíza (N): police; policeman / policía.
politt, politta (Adj): pretty / bonito -a.
politika, politikía (N): politics / política.
politíko, politikúa (N): politician / político.
politto (Adv): 1. carefully 2. slowly / 1. cuidadosamente. 2. despacio.
pólo, polúa (N): 1. t-shirt 2. icicle / 1. polo (camiseta) 2. polo helado.
polléri, polleríza (N): chicken market / pollería.
pomada, pomadia (N): lotion / pomada.
pónda, pondúa (N, obs): latrine / letrina, saneamiento. (hoy día no existen y sólo quienes lo conocieron conocen esta palabra).
pópa, popía (N): 1. stern 2. buttocks / 1. popa 2. culo, trasero.
póro, porúa (N): pore / poro (de la piel).
porlan, porlana (N): cement / cemento (Portland).
porkeri, porkeríza (N): filth / porquería, suciedad.
porro, porrua (N): joint, marijuana cigarette / porro, cigarrillo de marihuana.
porru, porrua (N): leak / puerro.
porrusálda, porrusaldía (N, a.u.): leak soup / sopa de puerros.
porselána, porselanía (N): china / porcelana.
porsiakáso (Adv): just in case / por si acaso.
portada, portadia (N): façade / portada.
portal, portala (N): doorway / portal.
portaló, portaloia (N): large doorway / portalón, portalada grande.
portamínas, portaminása (N): propelling pencil / portaminas.
póрте, portía (N): bearing, demeanor / porte, clase, distinción.
portera, porteria (N): janitor (female) / portera.
portero, porterua (N): 1. janitor (male) 2. goalkeeper / portero (de una casa o de fútbol).
portíko, portikúa (N): arcade / pórtico.
portu, portua (N): port, harbor / puerto.
pos, posa (N): happiness / alegría.
posada, posadia (N): inn / posada.
posadero, posaderua (N): innman / posadero.
posárren (Adv): very happily / lleno de alegría.
- póse, posía* (N): composture / pose.
posesíba, posesibía (Adj): possessive (female) / posesiva.
posesíbo, posesibúa (Adj): possessive (male) / posesivo.
posik (Adv): happy / feliz, contento.
pospólo, pospolúa (N): match / cerilla.
pospoliñ, pospoliña (N): 1. spinning top 2. pretty / 1. trompo, peonza 2. niña bonita.
postal, postala (N): postal card / carta postal.
postasun, postasuna (N): happiness / alegría.
póste, postía (N): post / poste.
póster, posterra (N): poster / póster.
postu (V): to become happy / alegrarse.
póstu, postúa (N): position, place / puesto.
postura, posturia or *pustura, pusturia* (N): 1. position 2. bet / 1. postura, posición. 2. apuesta.
posu, posua (N): well / pozo.
posútzta, posutzía (N): large well; swamp / pozo muy grande; lugar muy lleno de pozos y charcos.
póta, potía (N): 1. cuttlefish 2. vomit / 1. jibia 2. vómito.
póte, potía (N): drink, esp. of wine / pote, trago.
potéo, poteúa (N): wine drinking / poteo.
poténte, potentía (Adj): powerful / potente.
poténtzi, potentzíza (N): power / potencia.
potestade, potestadia (N): power / potestad, poder.
potiñ, potiña (N): small boat / bote pequeño, lancha.
póto, potúa (N): can / bote (de conservas, etc).
potóla, potolía (Adj): chubby (female) / gordinflona.
potólo, potolúa (Adj): chubby (male); thick / gordinflón, regordete.
potorro, potorrúa (N): sea raven / cuervo marino.
potxóla, potxolía (Adj): nice (female) / linda, simpática, pochola.
potxolada, potxoladia (N): nice thing / pocholada, cosa bonita.
potxólo, potxolúa (Adj): nice (male) / pocholo, simpático.
potxúa (Interj): vocative used for calling a woman (somewhat despective) / voz con que se llama a las mujeres (para muchos tiene un valor despectivo).

- pótro, potrúa* (N): testicle / testículo.
praille, praillia (N): friar / fraile. Cf. *fraille*
praka, prakia (N): pants, trousseurs / pantalón.
prantzés (N, Adj): French / francés.
prego, pregoya (N): announcement / pregón.
pre(g)unta (V): to ask / preguntar.
pre(g)únta, pre(g)untía (N): question / pregunta.
pregunto, preguntoya (Adj): s.o. who asks too many questions / preguntón.
preguntóna, preguntonía (Adj): woman who asks too many questions / preguntona, que pregunta demasiado.
premiña, premiñía (N): need / necesidad.
premiño, premiñúa (N): prize / premio.
prensa, prensia (N): press (media) / prensa (comunicación de masas).
préntza, prentzia (N, a.u.): press, mill / prensa.
prentzan e(g)on (V): to be under a lot of pressure / estar oprimido, agobiado.
preokupa (V): to worry / preocupar(se).
preokupasiño, preokupasiñoya (N): worry / preocupación.
prepara (V): to prepare, to get ready / preparar(se), acicalarse.
preparatíbo, preparatibúa (N): preparation / preparativo.
présa, presía (N): damn / presa (de río).
présa, presía (Adj): female prisoner / presa, rea.
préso, presía (Adj): male prisoner / preso, reo.
préso e(g)on (V): 1. to be in prison 2. to be stuck / 1. estar preso 2. estar atascado.
presidénate, presidentía (N): presidency / presidencia.
presidéntzi, presidentzía (N, a.u.): presidency / presidencia.
presididu (V): to preside / presidir.
presiño, presiñoya (N): pressure / presión.
presiona (V): to pressure / presionar.
presíño, presizúa (N): price / precio.
pribau, pribawa (Adj): private / privado.
príma (Interj): vocative expression for calling a female friend / voz con que se llama a una amiga.
prímo (Interj): vocative expression for calling a male friend / voz con que se llama a un amigo.
- prinsípe, prinsipía* or *printzípe, printzipía* (N): prince / príncipe.
printzesa, printzesía (N): princess / princesa.
prisa, prisía or *priisa, priisia* (N): hurry / prisa.
proba, próbak (N): contest of oxen (*idipróbak*) or horses (*saldipróbak*) / pruebas de bueyes (*idipróbak*) o de caballos (*saldipróbak*).
probador, probadora (N): dressing room / probador de ropa.
probaléku, probalekúa (N): track for contests of oxen / pista para las pruebas de bueyes.
probétxu, probetxúa (N, a.u.): profit / provecho.
probintzi, probintzía (N): province / provincia.
probléma, problemía (N): problem / problema.
problematíko, problematikiúa (Adj): problematic / problemático, complejo.
profana (V): to desecrate / profanar.
profanadore, profanadoría (N): desecrator / profanador.
profesiño, profesioñoya (N): profession / profesión.
profesora, profesoria (N): female teacher / profesora.
profesore, profesoria (N): male teacher / profesor.
proféta, profetía (N): prophet / profeta.
profesi, profesiza (N): prophecy / profecía.
proklama (V): to proclaim / proclamar.
prokura (V): to try / procurar.
promésa, promesía (N): promise / promesa.
promediño, promediñúa (N): average / promedio.
prometidu (V): to promise, cf. *aginddu* / prometer.
propagánda, propagandía (N): propaganda / propaganda.
propiedade, propiedadia (N): property / propiedad, terreno.
propietaríño, propietarizúa (N): owner / propietario.
prosesiño, prosesioñoya (N): procession / procesión.
prostáta, prostatía (N): prostate / próstata.
proteína, proteiñía (N): protein / proteína.
protesta (V): to protest / protestar.
protésta, protestía (N): protest, complaint / protesta, queja.
púa, puía (N): sharp point, spike / púa.
publika (V): to publish / publicar.

publikasiño, plubikasiño (N): publication / publicación.
publíko, publikúa (N, Adj): public / público.
publisidade, publisidadia (N): publicity / publicidad.
pūesto, pūestúa (N): 1. place 2. stand / 1. puesto, lugar 2. puesto de vender.
pulberixa (V): to pulverize / pulverizar.
pulgo, pulgoya (N): plant louse / pulgón.
pulmoni, pulmoniza (N): pneumonia / pulmonía.
pulmo, pulmoya (N): lung / pulmón. Cf. *bular*.
pulpíto, pulpittúa (N): pulpit / púlpito.
pultzasiño, pultzasiño (N): pulse, beat / pulsación.
pultzéra, pultzería (N): bracelet / pulsera.
pultzo, pultzua (N): 1. pulse 2. steady hand / pulso.
púnta, puntía (N): point / punta.
puntilla, puntillía (N): lace / puntilla.
puntillétan (Adv): on tiptoe / de puntillas.
puntillitásen ipiñi (V): to tiptoe / ponerse de puntillas.
púnto, puntúa (N): 1. ladder (stockings) 2. point, period 3. point, perspective / 1. punto de lana. 2. punto de ortografía. 3. punto, aspecto.
púpu (eiñ) (V): to get hurt (baby talk) / hacerse daño, hacerse pupa (lenguaje infantil).
púpu, pupúa (N): ouey (baby talk) / daño, dolor (lenguaje infantil).
púrga, purgía (N): purge / purga, lavativa.
purrustada, purrustadia (N): sound of blowing hard / ruido producido por la boca expirando aire con fuerza.
purrustilla, purrustillía (N): bubble / burbuja.
pus, pusa (N): pus / pus.
pusla, puslia (N): blister / ampolla.
puta, putia (N): whore / puta, prostituta.
pustu (V): to inflate / hinchar, inflar(se).
pustura, pusturia (N): bet / apuesta.
putxittu (V): 1. to empty, cf. *utzittu* 2. to become exhausted / 1. vaciar 2. desbancarse.
pitxian-pitxian (Adv): very often / cada dos por tres, muy a menudo.
putz eiñ (V): to blow / soplar.
puxíka, puxikía (N): bladder / vejiga.

R.

rradar, rradarra (N): radar / radar.
rradízo, rradizúa (N): radio / radio.
rrára, rraría (Adj): rare, strange (female) / rara, extraña.
rráro, rrarúa (Adj): rare, strange / raro, extraño.
rrasiño, rrasión (N): ration / ración.
rrasñonaméntu, rrasñonamentúa (N): rationing / racionamiento.
rrégla, rreglía (N): rule / regla.
rréglaméntu, rreglamentúa (N): reglament / reglamento.
rréultau, rresultawa (N): result, cf. *erresultau* / resultado
rretal, rretala (N): remnant, piece left over / retal.
rreunidu (V): to get together, to gather, cf. *batu* / reunir(se).
rreuniño, rreuniño (N): reunion / reunión.
rrítmo, rritmía (N): rhythm / ritmo.
rríxo, rrixúa (N): rizo / curl.
rrobot, rrobota (N): robot / robot.
rróllo, rrollúa (N): 1. roll 2. boring thing / rollo.
rrotulador, rrotuladora (N): marker / rotulador.
rrosa (V): 1. to brush past 2. to border on 3. to mix with / 1. rozar 2. rozar con.
rrósa, rrosía (Adj): pink / rosa, rosado, rosáceo.
rrésta, rrestía (N): subtraction / resta, sustracción.
rrúlo, rrulúa (N): hair-curler / rulo.

S.

sabai, sabaiža (N): attic / entretecho (normalmente en los caseríos).
sabal, sabala (Adj): wide, large / ancho, amplio.
sabaldu (V): to open; to widen / abrir; ensanchar.
sabaléra, sabalería (N): width / anchura.
sabálik (Adj, predicative): open / abierto.
sabalúme, sabalunía (N): widening / ensanche, terreno o trecho ancho.
sabel, sabela (N): belly / vientre.
sabore, saboria (N): flavor / sabor.

- saburdiñ*, *saburdiña* (N): type of fish / salvario (pescado).
- sador*, *sadorra* (N): path, trail / sendero.
- sagar*, *sagarra* (N): apple / manzana.
- sagárdau*, *sagardáwa* (N): cider / sidra.
- sagi*, *sagiža* (N): winebag / pellejo o bota de vino.
- sagrau*, *sagrawa* (Adj): sacred / sagrado.
- sa(g)u*, *sa(g)ua* (N): mouse / ratón.
- sa(g)úsar*, *sa(g)usárra* (N): bat / murciélago.
- saill*, *sailla* (N): land lot / porción de terreno.
- sá(i)ndda*, *sa(i)nddiá* (N): turn / vez, turno.
- sa(i)nddada*, *sa(i)nddadia* (N): crazy idea / venada.
- saintzaille*, *saintzaillia* (N): guardian / guardián, cuidador.
- saka-sakáka* (Adv): pushing / a empujones.
- sakada*, *sakadia* (N): push / empujón.
- sakatu* (V): to push / empujar.
- sakatz*, *sakatzá* (N): gill / agalla, branquia.
- sáke*, *sakía* (N): 1. serve (sports) 2. good appetite / 1. saque, servicio (deportes) 2. gran apetito, saque
- sakon*, *sakona* (Adj): deep / profundo.
- sakondu* (V): to deepen / profundizar.
- sakonéra*, *sakonería* (N): depth / profundidad.
- sakraménto*, *sakramentúa* (N): sacrament / sacramento.
- sakrifika* (V): to sacrifice / sacrificar.
- sakrifisížo*, *sakrifisížiá* (N): sacrifice / sacrificio.
- sakriléjio* or *sakrilejížo*, *sakrilejížiá* (N): sacrilege / sacrilegio.
- sa(n)kristau*, *sa(n)kristawa* (N): sacristan / sacristán.
- sakristi*, *sakristiža* (N): sacristy / sacristía.
- saku*, *sakua* (N): bag / saco.
- sála*, *salía* (N): livingroom / sala (de estar).
- salabárdo*, *salabardúa* or *sarabárdo*, *sarabardúa* (N, a.u.): type of net or big sieve used in fishing / redeño, tipo de red o colador grande utilizado en la pesca.
- salada*, *saladia* (Adj): amusing, lively (female) / salada, graciosa.
- salau*, *salawa* (Adj): amusing, lively (male) / salado, gracioso.
- salba* (V): to save / salvar.
- salbadore*, *salbadoria* (N): savior / salvador.
- salbasiño*, *salbasiñoa* (N): salvation; rescue / salvación.
- salda*, *saldia* (N): soup / caldo de sopa.
- saldi*, *saldiža* (N): horse / caballo.
- saldu* (V): to sell / vender.
- saléro*, *salerúa* (N): wit, charm / salero, gracia.
- saletasun*, *saletasuna* (N): tendency, inclination / afición, gusto, tendencia.
- salíta*, *salitía* (N): small livingroom / salita.
- salo*, *saloya* (N): hall / salón.
- salta* (V): to jump / saltar.
- sálto*, *salitúa* (N): jump / salto.
- saltomatxángo*, *saltomatxangúa* or *matxangosá-lto*, *matxangosaltúa* (N): grasshopper / saltamontes.
- saltza*, *saltzia* (N): sauce / salsa.
- saltzera*, *saltzeria* (Adj): busybody (female) / salsera, enredadora.
- saltzero*, *saltzerua* (Adj): busybody (male) / salsero, enredador.
- saluda* (V): to greet / saludar.
- salúdo*, *saludúa* (N): greetings / saludo.
- sama*, *samia* (N): throat, neck / garganta, cuello.
- samakomiñ*, *samakomiña* (N): throat ache / dolor de garganta, anginas.
- samiñ*, *samiña* (N, obsolescent): grief / dolor muy amargo.
- san*, *sana* (N): vein / vena.
- sána*, *sanía* (Adj): healthy, sane (female) / sana, cuerda.
- sanatorížo*, *sanatorižiá* (N): sanatorium, nursing home / sanatorio.
- sanaóri*, *sanaoríža* (N): carrot / zanahoria.
- sandáli*, *sandáliá* (N): sandal / sandalia.
- sandía*, *sandiža* (N): water melon / sandía.
- sangría*, *sangríža* (N): sangria / sangría.
- sankarro*, *sankarroa* (N): type of meat / zancarrón, tipo de carne.
- sáno*, *sanúa* (Adj): healthy; sane; good-hearted / sano; cuerdo; de buen corazón
- sánta*, *santía* (Adj, N): holy, saint (female) / santa.
- santar*, *santarra* (Adj): dirty, obscene / cochino, sucio, obsceno.
- santarkeri*, *santarkeriža* (N): dirtiness, obscenity / suciedad, obscenidad.
- santarto* (Adv): badly / mal, muy mal.

- sánto, santúa* (Adj, N): holy, saint (male) / santo.
- santzza, santzia* (N): type of seagull / una clase de gaviota.
- sapaldu* (V): to step on s.t. / pisar.
- sapal, sapala* (Adj): flat, flattened / llano, aplastado.
- saparrada, saparradia* (N): shower (rain) / chaparrón.
- sapata, sapatia* (N): shoe / zapato.
- sapatéri, sapaterriza* (N): shoe store / zapatería.
- sapatero, sapaterea* (N): shoe maker / zapatero.
- sapatilla, sapatillia* (N): slipper / zapatilla.
- sapátu, sapatúa* (N): Saturday / sábado.
- sapi, sapiža* (N): handkerchief / pañuelo (normalmente el que se anudan las espata-dantzaris a la cabeza).
- sapo, sapua* (N): type of fish, cf. *itxasapo* / rape, pez sapo.
- sapobúru, sapoburúa* (N): tadpole / renacuajo.
- sápra, sapría* (N): good luck / buena suerte, oportunidad de oro. E.g.: *aixa sapría eiñ ddabena Belenek! biarra topa dau segŕzan* 'what a good luck Belen has had! she has found a job right away' / '¡vaya suerte que ha tenido Belén! ya ha encontrado trabajo'.
- saputz, saputza* (N): neck / pescuezo.
- sar, sarra* (Adj): old / viejo.
- saragi, saragiža* (N): winebag, cf. *sagi* / pellejo de vino.
- sarama, saramia* (N): 1. light rain 2. boring person / 1. lluvia menuda. 2. (Adj): pelma, pesado.
- sarata, saratia* (N): noise / ruido.
- saratáka* (Adv): shouting / gritando, metiendo bulla.
- sardiña, sardiñia* (N): sardine / sardina.
- sardiñera, sardiñeria* (Adj): sardine-seller; loud-person / sardinera; normalmente se dice de las personas que gritan mucho al hablar, como las sardineras.
- sare, saria* (N): net / red.
- sargore, sargoria* (N): sultry weather / bochorno.
- sari, sariža* (N): prize / premio.
- sarjentóna, sarjentonía* (Adj): bossy woman / sargentona, mujer dominante.
- sarkénto, sarkentúa* or *sarjénto, sarjentúa* (N, obs): sergeant / sargento.
- sarna, sarnia* (N): scabies / sarna.
- sárrantz, sarrántza* (N): old look / aspecto viejo.
- sarrastada, sarrastadia* (N): 1. incision 2. dragging / 1. incisión. 2. arrastre.
- sarrasta, sarrastia* (N): a certain stick with an iron tip used by sailors / palo con la punta de hierro que arrastraban los marineros.
- sarrastan* (Adv): dragging / arrastrando.
- sarratu* (V): to close / cerrar.
- sarri* (Adv): often / a menudo.
- sarrittan* (Adv): often / a menudo.
- sarta(i)ñ, sarta(i)ña* (N): frying pan / sartén.
- sartako, sartakua* (N): blow with the hand / tortazo.
- sartu* (V): to become old / envejecer.
- sartun* (V): 1. to enter 2. to put inside / 1. entrar 2. meter.
- sartun-úrten, sartun-urténa* (N): massive flow of people; in and out / afluencia masiva de público; entrada y salida rápidas.
- sártza, sartzia* (N): old age; aging / vejez; envejecimiento.
- sartzáro, sartzarúa* (N): old age / vejez.
- sasi, sasiža* (N): bush / zarzal, arbusto.
- Sasikoipétzu* (N): Thursday of Carnival / Jueves Gordo.
- sasitárte, sasitarúa* (N): bush / zarzal.
- saso, sasoya* (N): time, season / época, sazón, tiempo.
- sasos* (Adv): on time / a tiempo. E.g.: *sasos etorri da* '(s)he's come on time' / 'ha venido a tiempo'.
- saspi* (Num): seven / siete.
- saspíki, saspikíža* (Adv): 1. premature baby 2. impatient / 1. sietemesino. 2. impaciente, inquieto.
- sastar, sastarra* (N): drunkenness / borrachera
- sastar, sastarra* (Adj): disagreeable / desagradable, ruin.
- sati, satiža* (N): piece / trozo, pedazo.
- satisfasiño, satisfasiñoia* (N): satisfaction / satisfacción.
- satisfétxa, satisfetxia* (Adj): satisfied, happy (female) / satisfecha, feliz.

- satisfétxo, satisfetxúa* (Adj): satisfied, happy (male) / satisfecho, feliz.
- sator, satorra* (N): mole / topo.
- sáuna, saunía* (N): sauna / sauna.
- sáunka, saunkía* (N): bark (of dog) / ladrido.
- saunkada, saunkadia* (N): barking / ladrido.
- sáunka eiñ* (V): to bark / ladrar.
- saunkáka* (Adv): barking / ladrando.
- sayérre, sayerría* (N, obs): vulture / buitre.
- sayetz, sayetza* (N): rib / costilla.
- se* (Conj): that, then, because / que, pues, porque. E.g.: *esan nau se, etórteko* '(s)he has told me to come' / 'me ha dicho que venga'; *ésetz esan dau se estáu nai* '(s)he has said no because (s)he doesn't want to' / 'ha dicho que no porque no quiere'.
- sebillána, sebillanía* (Adj, a.u.): Sevillian (female) / sevillana.
- sebilláno, sebillanúa* (Adj, a.u.): Sevillian (male) / sevillano.
- seboliñ, seboliña* (N): round bald head (referring to babies and old people) / cabeza calva y redonda (se dice de los niños y ancianos).
- seboliño, seboliñua* (N): s.o. with a round bald head (often used as vocative) / cebollino, con cabeza calva y redonda (usado como vocativo).
- seda, sedia* (N): silk / seda.
- sedásko, sedaskúa* (Adj): silken / de seda.
- se(g)áittik* (Q.): why / por qué.
- se(g)idu* (V): 1. to follow 2. to keep on / seguir.
- segiáldi, segialdiza* (N): persecution / acoso, persecución.
- se(g)iduan* (Adv): right away / en seguida.
- se(g)izán* (Adv): right away / en seguida.
- seguridad, seguridadia* (N): security, safety / seguridad.
- seguru* (Adv): surely / seguramente.
- segúru, segurúa* (N): insurance / seguro.
- seguru, segurua* (Adj): safe / seguro.
- segurútik* (Adv): surely, probably / seguramente, probablemente.
- sei* (Num): six / seis.
- seikutára ibilli* or *zokatu* (V): to play "sixes" (a card game) / jugar a los seises (juego de naipes).
- seiñ* (QW): which / cuál.
- seínttuk* (QW): which (plural) / cuáles.
- sei(i)ñero, sei(i)ñerua* (N): look out / llamador y oteador del tiempo, de modo que si hacía buen tiempo salían los marineros a la mar y si no, se quedaban en tierra.
- seirém* (Num.): six hundred / seiscientos.
- sekador, sekadora* (N): hair drier / secador (de pelo).
- sekor, sekorra* (N, obs): 1. male calf, young bull 2. bright, of quick intelligence / 1. novillo macho. 2. espabilado.
- sekretári* or *sekretariza* or *sekretaría, sekretarizía* (N): secretary (female) / secretaria.
- sekretári* or *sekretariza* or *sekretaria, sekretariza* (N): secretary's office / secretaría.
- sekretarizo* or *sekretarizo, sekretarizúa* (N): secretary (male) / secretario.
- sekréto, sekretúa* (N, Adj): secret / secreto.
- sekúla* (Adv): never; ever / nunca, jamás; alguna vez. E.g.: *sekúla alákorik!* 'never anything like that!' / ¡nunca algo parecido!
- sekúla bes* (Adv): never / nunca, jamás.
- sekuláko, sekulakúa* (Adj): extraordinary / enorme, extraordinario.
- sekularizuan* (Adv): in a long time, never / eternamente, en larguísimo tiempo. E.g.: *sekularizuan be estogu amaittäko biar au* 'we won't ever finish this work' / 'nunca vamos a terminar este trabajo'.
- selai, selaiža* (N): field, lawn, prairie / prado, campo.
- seláko, selakúa* (QW): of which type / de qué tipo o naturaleza.
- sélan* (QW): how, in which manner / cómo, de qué manera.
- selebrasiño, selebrasiñoia* (N): celebration / celebración.
- selebra* (V): to celebrate / celebrar. Cf. *ospatu*.
- selébre, selebría* (Adj): funny, peculiar / gracioso, peculiar.
- sélo, selúa* (N): adhesive tape / celofán, cinta adhesiva.
- selosa, selosia* (Adj): jealous (female) / celosa.
- selosa, selosua* (Adj): jealous (male) / celoso.
- sélo, seluak* (N): jealousy / celos.
- sella* (V): to seal / sellar.
- sello, sellúa* (N): seal, stamp / sello.

sémat (Q.): how much, how many / cuánto-s.
seme, semia (N): son / hijo.
sem(e)alaba, sem(e)alábak (N): children / hijos (de ambos sexos). E.g.: *sémat semalaba dankósus?* 'how many children do you have?' / '¿Cuántos hijos tienes?'
semilla, semillía (N): seed / semilla. Cf. *asi*
seminarista, seminaristia (N): seminarist / seminarista.
seminarizño, seminarizúia (N): seminary / seminario (de curas).
seminarizño or *seminarño, seminarizúia* (N): seminar / seminario (cursillo).
senadore, senadoria (N): senator / senador.
senau, senawa (N): senate / senado.
sendo (Adv): a lot / mucho, en abundancia.
sendo, sendua (Adj): strong / firme, fuerte.
senide, senidia (N): relative / pariente.
senperren, senperrenak (N): 1. great effort 2. hard time / 1. esfuerzos muy grandes. 2. mal rato.
sentélla, sentellía (N): 1. thunderbolt, spark 2. rascal / 1. centella, rayo 2. demonio, malvado. E.g.: *sentellía báiño ariñágo zun da eskolára* '(s)he has gone to school faster than a thunderbolt' / 'ha ido a la escuela más rápido que la centella' / *selakúia da berau baña! bénga, neure aurretik, sentellió-ri!* 'look how you are! come, in front of me, you rascal!' / '¡pero cómo eres! ¡venga, pasa delante, demonio!'
sentido, sentidua (N): sense, meaning / sentido, significado.
sentidu (V): to feel / sentir.
sentimental, sentimental (Adj): sentimental / sentimental.
sentiménto, sentiméntua (N): feeling / sentimiento.
sentzasiño, sentzasiñoia (N): sensation / sensación.
sentzu, sentzua (N): sense, meaning / sentido, significado, lógica.
sentzúdun, sentzudúia (Adj): sensible / sensato, juicioso.
sentzun, sentzuna (N): judgement / juicio.
sentzún-bako, sentzún-bakua (Adj): senseless / sin sentido, insensato.
seña, señaia (N): sign, signal / seña, señal.

señal, señaia (N): sign (esp. traffic sign) / señal (esp. de tráfico).
señala (V): to point out / señalar.
señale, señaia (N): sign, indication / señal, signo. E.g.: *estotzu kontesta? señaia asarratúta dagola* '(s)he did not answer to you? that's a sign that (s)he is angry' / '¿no te ha contestado? señal de que está enfadada'.
señalasisiño, señaalasisiñoia (N): signaling / señalización.
señóra, señoría (N): lady, pretentious woman; used ironically / señora, mujer adulta distinguida y normalmente adinerada; se usa sobre todo con sentido irónico o peyorativo.
señorita, señoritía (N): pretentious young lady / señorita, muchacha fina y bien puesta. Hoy en día tiene sentido peyorativo, pretenciosa.
sé-o-ser (Pro): something / algo.
separa (V): to separate / separar(se).
separada, separadia (Adj): separated (female) / separada.
separasiño, separasiñoia (N): separation / separación.
separau, separawa (Adj): separated (male) / separado.
sepillo, sepillúa (N): brush / cepillo.
sepilla (V): to brush / cepillar(se).
sepo, sepua (N): trap / cepo.
ser (QW): what / qué.
sera (N): 1. that (used to replace a word that does not come to mind) 2. exclamative expression / 1. eso (término comodín usado muchas veces cuando uno no acierta o no quiere decir la palabra correspondiente) 2. expresión exclamativa. E.g.: *sera esan nau, seuana etórteko* '(s)he said that to me, that I should come to you' / 'me ha dicho eso, que vaya donde ti'; *bai sera!* 'no way! (lit. yes, that!)' / '¡qué va! (lit. ¡sí, eso!)'
sertzuk (QW): what (plural, abs or erg) / qué (plural, abs o erg).
serbésa, serbesía (N): beer / cerveza.
serbidu (V): to serve / servir.
serbilléta, serbilletía (N): napkin / servilleta.

- serbisížo, serbisížiúa* (N): service / servicio, utilidad.
- seréiñ, seréiña* (N): occupation / quehacer, ocupación.
- serenáta, serenatía* (N): serenade / serenata.
- seréno, serenúa* (N): night watchman / sereno.
- seréna* (Pred adj): sober; quiet (female) / sobria; tranquila.
- seréno* (Pred adj): sober; quiet / sobrio; tranquilo. E.g.: *seréno eon san gaba gustížan* '(s)he was sober all night' / 'estuvo sobrio durante toda la noche'.
- seríža, serižiúa* (Adj): serious (female) / seria.
- seríže* or *serie, serižiúa* (N): series / serie.
- serížo, serižiúa* (Adj): serious / serio.
- serížo* (Adv): seriously / de veras, en serio.
- serižotásun, serižotasúna* (N): seriousness / seriedad.
- seríedade, seríedadia* (N): seriousness / seriedad.
- serka, serkia* (N): fence, wall / cerca, vallado.
- sermo, sermoya* (N): sermon / sermón.
- sero, seroya* (N): small whale / cachalote pequeño.
- sero, serúa* (N): zero / cero.
- serpentíña, serpentiñía* (N): streamer / serpentina.
- serra, serria* (N): 1. saw 2. wood mill / 1. sierra 2. empresa maderera.
- serradura, serraduria* (N): bolt, lock / cerradura.
- serrajero, serrajerua* (N): locksmith / cerrajero.
- serrálla, serrallía* (N, a.u.): lock / cerrojo.
- sérrautz, serráutza* (N, rare): sawdust / serrín.
- sertu* (V): to effect / efectuar, hacer cualquier cosa.
- seru, serua* (N): sky; heaven / cielo.
- seruko tanbor, seruko tanborra* (N): airborne seed / semilla blanca de los cardos que es transportada por el viento.
- sesen, sesena* (N): bull / toro.
- sesenplasa, sesenplasia* (N): bullring / plaza de toros.
- sési, sesíža* (Adj): sexy / sexy.
- sesiño, sesiñoya* (N): session / sesión.
- sé(k)so, se(k)súa* (N): sex / sexo.
- setáko* (QW): what for / para qué.
- setán* (QW): in what / a qué, en qué.
- sia* (V): to put the oar in the water in such a way as to stop the boat / poner el remo ofreciendo resistencia al agua para frenar la marcha del bote. Cf. *siža*.
- sia* (Adv): through / a través (de).
- sibaríta, sibaritía* (Adj): sybarite / sibarita.
- sidar, sidarra* (N): silver / plata.
- sidarresko, sidarreskua* (Adj): made of silver / plateado.
- siesta, siestia* (N): siesta, nap / siesta.
- si(g)áro, si(g)arrúa* (N): cigarette / cigarrillo.
- sigor, sigorra* (N, recently introduced): punishment / castigo.
- sigortu* (V, recently introduced): to punish / castigar.
- sijno, sijnúa* (N): sign / signo.
- sikatu* (V): to dry / secar.
- sikáte, sikatía* or *siketía* (N): drought / sequía.
- sikéran* (Adv): at least / por lo menos, si quiera.
- sikiñ, sikiña* (Adj): dirty / sucio.
- sikinddu* (V): to dirty / ensuciar.
- siklismo, siklismúa* (N): biking / ciclismo.
- siklista, siklistia* (N): bicyclist / ciclista.
- siklo, siklúa* (N): cycle / ciclo.
- siku, sikua* (Adj): dry / seco-a.
- silbot, sillbota* (N): prominent belly / panza, abdomen saliente.
- silla, sillía* (N): chair / silla.
- sillíñ, sillíña* or *sillin, sillina* (N): seat (bike) / sillín.
- sillo, silloya* (N): armchair / sillón.
- simarro, simarroya* (N): type of tuna / cimarón, atún primerizo.
- símaur, simáurra* (N): manure, fertilizer / estiércol.
- simel, simela* (Adj): withered/ marchito, enjuto.
- simeldu* (V): to wither / marchitarse.
- síne, sínía* (N): cinema, movie theater / cine.
- sindikáto, sindikatúa* (N): trade union / sindicato.
- sinforosa, sinforosia* (Adj): constant complainer (female) / quejica, llorona.
- sinforoso, sinforosua* (Adj): constant complainer (male) / quejica, llorón.
- singan* (Adv): rowing with the oar towards the back of the boat / una manera de remar, con el remo en la popa del barco. E.g.: *žuári singan* 'go climb a rock!' (lit.

- 'go rowing!') / 'vete a la mierda' (lit. 'vete a remar').
- síngo, singúa* (N): 1. water tank 2. bottom / 1. cisterna llena de agua. 2. fondo. Cf. *dzíngo*
- sinsorga, sinsorgia* (Adj): silly (female) / estúpida.
- sinsorgo, sinsorgua* (Adj): silly (male) / estúpido.
- sintetiko, sintetikúa* (Adj): synthetic / sintético.
- síntta, sinttía* (N): tape / cinta.
- sintturo, sintturoya* (N): belt / cinturón.
- sintz eñ* (V): to blow one's nose / sonarse la nariz.
- sintzo, sintzua* (Adj): sincere, honest, loyal / sincero, honrado, fiel.
- sintzotasun, sintzotasuna* (N): honesty, loyalty / honradez, lealtad.
- siñsmen, siñsména* (N): faith, belief / creencia, fe.
- siñistu* (V): to believe / creer.
- siráuna, siraunía* (N, a.u.): type of snake / ciega (una culebra delgada e inofensiva).
- siréna, sirenía* (N): siren / sirena.
- siríka* (Adv): goading / tentando, hostigando.
- sirimíri, sirimiríza* (N): drizzle / llovizna.
- siriñ, siriña* (Adj): restless / inquieto, hostigador.
- sirkiñ eñ* (V): to move, to budge / moverse, hacer un ligero movimiento.
- sirko, sirkua* (N): circus / circo.
- sirkuito, sirkuitúa* (N): circuit / circuito.
- sirkúlo, sirkulúa* (N): circle / círculo.
- sirkunferéntzi, sirkunferentzíza* (N): circumference / circunferencia.
- sirri, sirríza* (N): erotic caress / carantoña.
- sirri eñ* (V): to caress / hacer carantoñas.
- sirriñ, sirriña* (N): sawdust / serrín.
- sisi, sisiža* (N): lady's shoe / zapato de mujer, parisina.
- sistada, sistadia* (N): whistling / silbido.
- sistriñ, sistriña* (Adj): 1. skinny 2. whim / 1. raquítico 2. melindre.
- sittal, sittala* (Adj): 1. annoying 2. stubborn / 1. pesado, fastidioso, molesto 2. terco.
- sittalkeri, sittalkeriža* (N): 1. quality of being annoying 2. stubbornness / 1. pesadez, cualidad de ser fastidioso 2. terquedad.
- sítta, sittía* (N): appointment, date / cita.
- sítta* (V): to make an appointment / citar(se) con alguien.
- sitz, sitza* (N): woodworm, wormeaten part / carcoma, polilla.
- síža* (V): to row towards the back / ciar, remar hacia atrás.
- sobra* (V): to be more than enough / sobrar.
- sóbra, sóbrak* (N): leftovers / restos, sobras.
- sóbran* (Adv): as leftovers / de sobra.
- sobránste, sobrantía* (N): leftover / sobrante, resto.
- sóbre, sobría* (N): envelop / sobre.
- sobrekáma, sobrekamía* (N): bedspread / sobrecama.
- sobrebibidu* (V): to survive / sobrevivir.
- sobresalénte, sobresaléntía* (N): A grade/ sobresaliente (nota).
- sofa, sofá* (N): sofa, couch / sofá.
- sofakáma, sofakamía* (N): couch-bed / sofá cama.
- sofistikasiño, sofistikasiñoja* (N): sophistication / sofisticación.
- sofistikada, sofistikadia* (Adj): sophisticated (female) / sofisticada.
- sofistikau, sofistikaua* (Adj): sophisticated / sofisticado.
- sofoka* (V): to sofocate / sofocar(se).
- sofokánte, sofokantía* (Adj): sofocating / sofocante.
- so(i)ñeko, so(i)ñekua* (N): clothes that one is wearing / la ropa que se lleva vestida.
- so(i)ñian* (Adv): carrying, wearing / a cuestas, llevar puesto un vestido.
- só(i)ñu, so(i)ñúa* (N, a.u.): harmonious sound, music / sonido agradable, música.
- so(i)ñulari, so(i)ñulariža* (N): musician / músico.
- soka, sokia* (N): rope / cuerda, soga.
- sokamútur, sokamutúrva* (N): running of cows / encierro de vaquillas.
- sokatíra, sokatiría* (N): tug-of-war / soka-tira.
- sokondo, sokondua* (N): corner; hole / rincón; hueco.
- sokorrísta, sokorrístia* (N): life-saver / socorrísta.
- sokorrúka* or *sokorróka* (Adv): asking for help / pidiendo auxilio.
- solápa, solapía* (N): lapel / solapa.
- soldau, soldawa* (N): soldier / soldado.

- soldáutza, soldautzía* (N): military service / servicio militar.
- solféo, solfeúa* or *solfúta* (N): solfa / solfeo.
- solí, solíza* (Adj): 1. mature 2. sonorous 3. nimble / 1. maduro 2. sonoro 3. ágil.
- solista, solistia* (N): soloist / solista (cantante).
- solittasun, solittasuna* (N): 1. infection 2. sonority 3. nimbleness / 1. infección 2. sonoridad 3. agilidad.
- solittu* (V): to become infected (a wound) / infectarse (una herida).
- solo, solua* (N): garden; country estate / huerta; heredad.
- solta* (V): to free / soltar.
- soltera, solteria* (Adj): single (female) / soltera.
- soltero, solterua* (Adj): single (male) / soltero.
- soltura, soltura* (N): self-confidence / soltura, desparpajo.
- sománta, somantía* (N): beating / paliza.
- sona* (V): to sound / sonar.
- sóna, sonía* (N): zone / zona.
- sonbréro, sonbrerúa* (N): hat / sombrero.
- sonbrilla, sonbrillía* (N): awning / sombrilla.
- sónda, sondía* (N, a.u.): probe, sound / sonda.
- sondeó, sondeúa* (N): sounding, probing / sondeo.
- sonido, sonidua* (N): sound / sonido.
- sopa, sopia* (N): soup / sopa.
- sópak eiñ* (V): to soak bread in milk / mojar el pan en la leche.
- sóplo, soplúa* (N): heart murmur / soplo (al corazón).
- sopráno, sopranúa* (N): soprano / soprano.
- sor, sorra* (N): debt / deuda.
- sorabižo, sorabižua* (N): confusion, bewilderment / aturdimiento.
- sorbaldá, sorbaldía* (N): shoulder / hombro.
- soratu* (V): to become crazy / volverse loco, enloquecer.
- sorgiñ, sorgiña* (N): witch / bruja.
- sorginkerí, sorginkeríza* (N): witchcraft / brujería.
- soritxarra* (N): bad luck / mala suerte, desgracia.
- soritxarres* (Adv): unfortunately / desgraciadamente, por desgracia.
- sorizónak* (N): congratulations / felicidades.
- sórna, sornía* (N): sarcasm / sorna.
- soro, sorua* (Adj): crazy / loco.
- sorokeri, sorokeríza* (N): craziness, silliness / locura, insustancialidad.
- soróte, sorotía* (Pred adj): loud, wild / ruidoso.
- soróti, sorotíza* (Adj): a little wild / un poco salvaje.
- sorotóki, sorotokíza*: madhouse / manicomio.
- sorri, sorriža* (N): louse / piojo.
- sorrísta, sorrístia* (Adj): lousy (female) / piojosa.
- sorrísto, sorrístua* (Adj): lousy (male) / piojoso.
- sorrostu* (V): to sharpen / afilar.
- sorrotz, sorrotza* (Adj): sharp / agudo, afilado, puntiagudo.
- sortéo, sorteúa* (N): drawing, raffle / sorteo.
- sortia* (V): to raffle / sortear.
- sortzi* (Num.): eight / ocho.
- sortzikua* (N): 1. eighth part 3. type of dance / 1. octavo 2. zorcico, baile.
- sósa, sosía* (Adj): dull (female) / sosa, parada.
- sóso, sosúa* (Adj): 1. dull (male) 2. without salt / 1. soso, abobado 2. soso, sin sal.
- soso, sosua* (N): thrush, type of black bird / tordo.
- sortu* (V): to create / crear.
- sosegaesiñ, sosegaesiña* (Adj): restless / inquieto.
- sose(g)a* (V): to calm down / calmarse, tranquilizarse.
- sosíus* (Adv): calmly / con sosiego, calmosamente.
- sospal, sospala* (N): splinter / astilla.
- sosten, sostena* (N): brasier / sostén, sujetador.
- sóta, sotía* (N): knave (cards) / sota.
- sotána, sotanía* (N): cassock, soutane / sotana.
- sotáno, sotanúa* (N): basement / sótano.
- sótiñ, sotiña* (N): hiccough / hipo.
- soz, sozta* (N): toothpick / palillo.
- su* (Pro): you / tú. •
- su, sua* (N): fire / fuego.
- sube, subia* (N): snake / serpiente, culebra.
- subelandára, subelandaría* (N, a.u.): small lizard / lagartija.
- subi, subíza* (N): bridge / puente.
- subill, subilla* (N, obs): long rope formerly used to fish red bream / cuerda larga que se empleaba para pescar besugo.
- suburbížo, suburbížua* (N): suburb / suburbio.
- súek*: you plural (abs or erg) / vosotros (abs o erg).
- süeldo, süeldúa* (N): salary, cf. *alobéra* / sueldo.

suerte, suertia (N): luck, fortune / suerte, fortuna.
sufridu (V): to suffer / sufrir.
sufrimüento, sufrimüentúa (N): suffering / sufrimiento.
su(i)ñ, su(i)ña (N): brother in law / yerno.
sujerente, sujerentía (Adj): suggestive / sugerente.
sujerentzi, sujerentziza (N): suggestion / sugerencia.
sujeridu (V): to suggest / sugerir.
sujeta (V): to hold down / sujetar.
sujetador, sujetadora (N): brasier / sujetador, sostén.
sulo, sulua (N): hole / agujero.
sulotu (V): to make holes / agujerear.
suma (V): to add / sumar.
súma, sumía (N): addition / suma (operación aritmética).
súmo, sumúa (N): juice / zumo.
sur, surra (N): nose / nariz.
sur, surra (Adj): smart, bright / vivo, despalado.
suri, suriza (Adj): white / blanco.
suringo, suringúa (N): egg white / clara del huevo.
suriska, suriskia (Adj): whitish / blanquecino.
surittu (V): 1. to peel (fruits or vegetables) 2. to become white / 1. pelar (patatas por ej.). 2. ponerse blanco.
súrko, surkúa (N): furrow / surco.
surrú-surrú (*edan*) (Onom.): gulping / a tragos, a sorbos.
surruputun, surruputuna (N): cod and potato soup / sopa de bacalao y patatas.
surrust (Onom): sound of gulping / onomatopeya que indica beber algo a tragos, sorbiendo. E.g.: *éran au surrust* 'drink this in one gulp' / 'bebe esto a tragos'.
surrustada, surrustadia (N): 1. gulp 2. snore / 1. sorbo, trago 2. ronquido.
surrustáak eiñ (V): to snore / roncar.
surtzillo, surtzillúa (N): nostril / fosas nasales.
susen, susena (Adj): right, straight / recto, derecho.
susendu (V): 1. to correct 2. to straighten up, to set upright 3. to direct / 1. corregir 2. enderezar 3. dirigir.

susenian (Adv): directly / en directo, directamente.
susmau or *susma* (V): to suspect / sospechar.
susmo, susmua (N): suspicion / sospecha.
sustántzi, sustantziza (N): 1. substance 2. depth of character / sustancia.
suster, susterra (N): root / raíz.
sústo, sustúa (N): scare / susto.
sustrai, sustraiza (N): root / raíz.
suspénso, suspensúa (N, a.u.): failing grade / suspenso.
suspendidu (V): to suspend; to fail / suspender.
sutondo, sutondua (N): fireplace, near the fire place / lugar junto al fuego.
sutundu (V): to stand (mostly in church; cf. *ténte*) / ponerse de pie (casi exclusivamente en el ámbito religioso).
sutúnik (Adv): standing (used mostly in church) / de pie (sobre todo en la iglesia).

T.

tába, tabía (N): ankle bone of a lamb (used by children to play) / taba.
tabáko, tabakúa (N): tobacco / tabaco.
taberna, tabernia (N): bar, tavern / bar, taberna.
tabertera, taberteria (N): 1. female bartender 2. woman who likes going to bars / 1. tabertera 2. aficionada a ir de bares.
tabertero, taberterua (N): 1. male bartender 2. man who likes going to bars / 1. tabertero 2. aficionado a ir de bares.
tajada, tajadia (N): 1. steak 2. drunkenness / 1. filete, tajada 2. borrachera.
takada, takadia (N): small blow / golpecito.
taka-táka (Adv): step by step (said when children are learning to walk) / pasito a pasito (cuando los niños están aprendiendo a andar).
takart, takartia (N): type of fish / faneca (pescado).
taket (*eiñ*) (V): to refuse / rehusar, rechazar hacer algo.
takilla, takillia (N): ticket window / taquilla.
takillero, takillerua (N): ticket seller / taquillero.
tako, takoya (N): heel / tacón.

- táko, takúa* (N): 1. wooden peg 2. booger / 1. taco de madera. 2. moco seco.
- tála, talía* (N): pier's end / morro del muelle.
- talá(i)ža, tala(i)žía* (N): watchtower / atalaya.
- tala(i)žero, tala(i)žerua* (N): look-out / atalayero, vigía.
- tálo, talúa* (N): corncake / talo, torta de maíz.
- tállá, tallía* (N): size / talla.
- tallar, tallarra* (N): workshop / taller.
- tamaño, tamañúa* (N): size / tamaño.
- tanboliñ, tanboliña* (N): 1. small drum 2. restless person / 1. tamboril 2. persona inquieta.
- tanbolintero, tanbolinterua* (N): drum player / tamborilero.
- tanbor, tanborra* (N): drum / tambor.
- tanbulet, tanbuleta* (N): large wooden piece used to keep the mast upright / pieza grande de madera que se emplea para sostener el mástil de las lanchas.
- tánda, tandía* (N): batch, group / tanda, grupo.
- tánga, tangía* (N): 1. cup to drink milk 2. tanga, G-string / 1. pote (para tomar la leche). 2. tanga, bikini pequeño.
- tangárrro, tangarrúa* (N): pail, bucket / balde.
- tángo, tangúa* (N): tango / tango.
- tánke, tankía* (N): tank, armored vehicle / tanque, carro de combate.
- tánta, tantía* (N): drop / gota.
- tánto, tantúa* (N): point, goal / tanto, punto, gol.
- tapa* (V): to cover / tapar, cubrir.
- tapa, tapia* (N): lid / tapa.
- tapo, tapoya* (N): plug / tapón.
- tarda* (V): to take time / tardar.
- tariñ, tariña* (N): type of bird / especie de pájaro.
- tariñ, tariña* (Adj): light-headed / de cascos ligeros.
- tarjeta, tarjetía* (N): card / tarjeta.
- tarratada, tarratadia* (N): tear, rip / rasgadura en un vestido.
- tarríña, tarríña* (N): cup (e.g. of ice-cream) / tarrina.
- tárrro, tarrúa* (N): pot / maceta, tiesto.
- tártá, tartía* (N): cake / tarta.
- tartañ, tartaña* (Adj, obs): small (applied mostly to children and old people) / pequeño, menudo (dícese de los niños y mayores).
- tártre, tartía* (N): interlude, break; space in between / intermedio, tiempo libre; espacio entre dos cosas.
- tartéra, tartería* (N): cake tin / tartera.
- táska, taskía* (N): tavern / tasca, vieja taberna.
- tast-tast eiñ* or *emon* (V): to hit a child on the buttocks as punishment / pegar en el culo a un niño.
- tatan, tatana* (N): 1. a type of tiny fish 2. baby of the family / 1. un tipo de pez muy pequeño 2. el niño menor de la familia.
- tatan, tatana* (Adj): very small / muy pequeño.
- tates* (Adv): crawling / a gatas. Cf. *lau patan*
- táto, tatúa* (Adj): big / grande.
- táto, tatúa* (N): big chunk / pedazo grande.
- tatxa* (V): to cross out / tachar.
- tatxo, tatxoya* (N): crossing out, stain / tachón.
- tatxüéla, tatxüelia* (N): tack / tachuela.
- taupada, taupadia* (N): heartbeat / latido del corazón.
- tautik* (Adv): nothing, not a thing / nada. E.g.: *tautik be estau eiñ* '(s)he hasn't done a thing' / 'no ha dado ni golpe'; *tautik be estau esan* '(s)he hasn't said a word / 'no ha dicho ni una sola palabra'.
- te, teya* (N): tea / té.
- tebéo, tebeúa* (N): comic, cartoon / tebeo, comic.
- teinka* (V): to stretch, to pull / estirar, tirar.
- teinkada, teinkadia* (N): pull / estirón.
- téjo, tejúa* (N): strong flavor / sabor fuerte (en las comidas).
- tela, telia* (N): 1. cloth 2. film that forms on milk / 1. tela. 2. nata de la leche.
- telebisiño, telebisiñoya* (N): television / televisión.
- teléfono, telefonúa* (N): telephone / teléfono.
- telefonista, telefonistia* (N): telephone operator / telefonista.
- tegráma, telegramía* (N): telegram / telegrama.
- telo, teloya* (N): curtain / telón.
- tella, tellia* (N): tile / teja.
- tellátu, tellatúa* (N): roof / tejado.
- téma, temía* (N): 1. topic 2. insistence / 1. tema, tópico 2. insistencia.
- tenedore, tenedor(ia)* (N): fork / tenedor.

- tenñente, tenñentía* (N): lieutenant / teniente.
tenista, tenistia (N): tennis player / tenista.
ténix, teníxa (N): tennis / tenis.
tenor, tenorra (N): tenor / tenor.
tenperatura, tenperaturia (N): temperature / temperatura.
tenplau, tenplawa (Adj): quiet, relaxed / relajado, tranquilo, templado.
tenpéra, tenpería (N): tempera / témpera.
tenporada, tenporadia (N): period, season / temporada.
tenporal, tenporala (N): tempest / temporal, tempestad.
tensa (V): to tense / poner tenso, tensar.
ténso, tensúa (Adj): tense / tenso.
tenta (V): 1. to tempt 2. to test out / tentar, burlar.
tentadore, tentadoria (Adj): tempter / tentador, burlador.
tentasiño, tentasiñoia (N): temptation / tentación.
ténte (Adv): standing / de pie.
tenel, tenela (Adj): stupid / tonto, alelado.
tenelúsa(i)ñ, tenelúsá(i)ña (N): sleepiness / modorra, abotargamiento.
tendo, tendoya (N): tendon, sinew / tendón.
tendo, tendua (N): stability / estabilidad. E.g.: *ori beti dosu tendo baten; edoser pasáta be, kanbiža bes* '(s)he is always the same; whatever happens, (s)he doesn't change' / 'ése-a siempre está igual: no cambia aunque le pase cualquier cosa'.
tentziño, tentziñoia (N): tension / tensión.
tergal, tergala (N): tergal (fabric) / tergal (hilo).
terka, terkía (Adj): subborn (female) / terca.
terkedade, terkedadia (N): stubbornness / terquedad, cabezonería.
terko, terkúa (Adj): stubborn (male) / terco, obstinado.
térmo, termúa (N): thermos / termo.
terrasa, terrasía (N): terrace / terraza.
terréno, terrenúa (N): terrain / terreno.
terréña, terreñía (N): large bucket / barreño.
terrenplen, terrenplena (N): rampart / terraplén.
terro, terroya (N): lump / terrón.
tertúli or tertúllia, tertulíza (N): social gathering / tertulia.
tertzizoko, tertzizokua (N): much better / mucho mejor. E.g.: *aixa etxe txikiña! tertzizokua san angua!* 'What a small house! The one there was a lot better' / '¡vaya casa más pequeña! ¡bastante mejor era la de allí!'.
tertzizuan (Adv): much better / mucho mejor.
tési, tesíza (N): thesis / tesis.
tesíña, tesíña (N): undergraduate thesis / tesina.
tes, tesa or testa (N): test / test.
tesorero, tesorerua (N): treasurer / tesorero.
tesóro, tesorúa (N): treasure / tesoro.
testaméto, testamentúa (N): 1. testament, will 2. Testament / testamento.
testigo, testigua (N): witness / testigo.
tía, tía (N): aunt / tía.
tiki-táka (Adv): step by step (when a child is learning to walk) / pasito a pasito (se dice de los niños cuando están aprendiendo a andar).
tíla, tilía (N): lime tea / tila.
tima (V): to swindle / timar.
timadore, timadoria (N): swindler, trickster / timador, embaucador.
timído, timidúa (Adj): timid, shy / tímido.
tímo, timúa (N): swindle / timo, engaño.
tínbre, tinbría (N): bell / timbre.
tinbrásó, tinbrasúa (N): ring (of a bell) / timbrazo.
tinta (V): to dye / teñir.
tínta, tintía (N): ink / tinta.
tintéra, tintería (N): thimble / dedal.
tintoreri, tintoreríza (N): dry cleaner's / tintorería.
tíña, tiñía (N): large earthen jar / tinaja.
tiñeta, tiñetia (N): a measure for liquids / pote, medida de líquidos (leche o vino).
tío, tiúa (N): uncle / tío.
típo, tipúa (N): 1. guy 2. body shape / 1. individuo, tipo 2. tipo, figura.
tíra, tiría (N): strip / tira.
tirabíra, tirabiría (N): somersault, roll / vuelta en redondo.
tirada, tiradia (N): cast, throw / tirada.
tirador(e), tiradora (N): drawer / cajón.
tiránte, tirantía (N): suspenders / tirante(s).
tíro, tirúa (N): shot / tiro, disparo.

- tirotéo, tiroteúa* (N): shootout / tiroteo.
tirotia (V): to shoot repeatedly / tirotear.
tirriá or *tirri*, *tirriža* (N): dislike / manía, tirria.
tirriñ, *tirriña* (N): navel / ombligo.
tirúa bota (V): to shoot / disparar.
titi, *titiža* (N): breast / pecho, teta.
tíxa, *tixía* (N): chalk / tiza.
toállá, *toallía* (N): towel / toalla.
tobogan, *tobogana* (N): slide / tobogán.
toka (V): to concern, to affect / tocar, caer en suerte.
tóka, *tokía* (N): headdress / toca, moño recogido en la nuca.
tóki, *tokiža* (N): place / lugar, sitio.
toldo, *toldua* (N): awning / toldo.
tolera (V): to tolerate / tolerar.
toleránte, *tolerantía* (Adj): tolerant / tolerante, permisivo.
tolet, *toleta* (N): stick that holds the oar / palo para sujetar el remo.
tolostu (V): to fold / doblar (las sábanas o ropa, mayormente).
tóma, *tomía* (N): dose / toma, dosis.
tomáte, *tomatía* (N): tomato / tomate.
tómo, *tomúa* (N): volume (book) / tomo.
tonillo, *tonillúa* (N): singsong, accent / tonillo.
tóno, *tonúa* (N): tone / tono.
tónta, *tontía* (Adj): stupid (female) / tonta, estúpida.
tónto, *tontúa* (Adj): stupid / tonto, estúpido.
tontokeri, *tontokeriža* (N): stupid action / tontería, necesidad.
tontor, *tontorra* (N): summit / cima, cumbre.
tontotu (V): to become stupid / volverse tonto.
topa (V): 1. to find, to meet 2. to reach the limit / 1. encontrar 2. llegar al límite.
tópe eiñ (V): to run into / topar, encontrarse frente a frente.
topiñ, *topiña* (N): cooking pot / marmita.
torbellino, *torbellinúa* (N): 1. whirlwind 2. hyperactive person / 1. torbellino 2. persona muy activa.
torero, *torerua* (N): bullfighter / torero.
toria (V): 1. to fight a bull 2. to tease / 1. torear. 2. tomar el pelo, torear.
torpe, *torpia* (Adj): clumsy / torpe.
torpédo, *torpedúa* (N): torpedo / torpedó.
- torratxóri*, *torratxoríža* (N, a.u.): sparrow / gorrión.
tórre, *torría* (N): tower / torre.
torrénte, *torrentía* (N): stream, torrent / torrente.
torrétxe, *torretxía* (N): tower-house / casa-torre.
tortilla, *tortillía* (N): omelette / tortilla
tortilla-frantzésa (N): omelette / tortilla francesa
tortilla-de-patátas (N): potato omelette / tortilla de patatas.
tortóla, *tortolía* (N): vagina / vagina.
tosta (V): to toast / tostar.
tostada, *tostadia* (N): toast / tostada.
tostartéko, *tostartekúa* (N): crewman / tripulante.
tostartían ibilli (V): to work as a sailor / trabajar de marinero.
tortúga, *tortugía* (N): turtle / tortuga.
total, *totala* (N): total / suma total.
total, *totala* (Adj): total, complete / total, completo. E.g.: *iñusente totala dosu ori* 'that one is a total idiot' / 'ése es un imbecil total'.
tóto eiñ (V): to eat one's fill / hartarse de comer, estar a punto de reventar.
totóla, *totolía* (Adj): fat (female) / gordinflona.
totólo, *totolúa* (Adj): fat (male) / gordinflón, rechoncho.
totolatu (V): to get fat (a female) / ponerse gorda.
totolotu (V): to get fat (a male) / ponerse gordo.
trába, *trabía* (N): hindrance, obstacle / estorbo, traba.
trában eiñ (V): to hinder / estorbar.
trabes eiñ (V): to do s.t. wrong / hacer algo de modo indebido.
trabilla, *trabillía* (N): belt loop / trabilla (del pantalón).
tradišioño, *tradišioñoa* (N): tradition / tradición.
tradišional, *tradišionala* (Adj): traditional / tradicional.
trafíko, *trafikúa* (N): traffic / tráfico.
traga (V): to swallow / tragar(se).
traganárrru, *traganarrúa* (Adj): big eater / el que come y traga mucho.

- trágo, tragúa* (N): 1. gulp, drink 2. alcoholic drink / trago.
- tra(i)ñ, tra(i)ña* (N): large net for fishing anchovies / traina, red grande para pescar anchoas.
- trañero, trañerua* (N): type of rowboat / traínera.
- traman, tramana* (N): 1. type of fish 2. fat woman / 1. pez muy ancho 2. mujer gorda.
- trámo, tramiá* (N): section / tramo.
- tránka, trankía* (N): beam for closing a door / tranca de las puertas de madera.
- tranka* (V): to bar / pasar la tranca de las puertas.
- trankáso, trankasúa* (N): cold, flu / catarro fuerte y griposo, trancazo.
- trankill, trankilla* (Adj): quiet, tranquil, calm / tranquilo.
- trankill* (Adv): quietly / tranquilamente.
- trankilldu* (V): to become quite, to calm down / calmar(se), tranquilizar(se).
- tránpa, tranpía* (N): trap / trampa.
- trapolíñ, trapolíña* (N): springboard / trampolín.
- tranposá, tranposia* (Adj): swindler (female) / tramposa.
- tranposó, tranposua* (Adj): swindler (male) / tramposo.
- transasiño, transasiñoa* (N): transaction / transacción.
- transistor, transistor(r)a* (N): transistor / transistor.
- trapo, trapua* (N): rag / trapo.
- trasa* (V): to trace / trazar.
- trása, trasía* (N): 1. trace 2. resemblance / traza, parecido (a alguien).
- trasalantíko, trasalantikúa* (N): transatlantic / transatlántico.
- traspasa* (V): to penetrate / traspasar.
- trasparénte, trasparenteía* (Adj): transparent / transparente.
- trasparéntzi, trasparentezía* (N): transparency / transparencia.
- trasplánte, trasplantía* (N): transplant / trasplante.
- trasplanta* (V): to transplant / trasplantar.
- traspórte, trasportía* (N): transportation / transporte.
- trasportista, trasportistia* (N): carrier / transportista.
- trastada, trastadia* (N): mischief / trastada, travesura.
- trastéro, trasterúa* (N): storage room / cuarto trastero.
- trásto, trastúa* (N): 1. tool 2. mischievous child / 1. trasto, cacharro, cualquier utensilio. 2. niño travieso y revoltoso, trasto.
- trata* (V): to treat / tratar.
- tratánte, tratantía* (N): cattle dealer / tratante, vendedor de ganado.
- tratau, tratawa* (N): treaty / tratado, acuerdo.
- tratu, tratua* (N): treatment / trato.
- trauskill, trauskilla* (Adj): ungainly / desgarbado, desaliñado.
- tren, trena* (N): train / tren.
- trentza, trentzia* (N): plait / trenza.
- treetzára, treetzaría* (N): 1. basket used to carry a fishing line 2. lover's rejection / 1. cesta para llevar el palangre. 2. calabazas, desamor. E.g.: *estotzu emon Júlik treetzaría makala!* 'Juli has really rejected you' / ¡vaya calabazas que te ha dado Juli!
- trésnak eñ* (V): to do the dishes / hacer el fregado.
- tresnéri, tresneríza* (N): cooking ware / batería de cocina.
- tretza, tretzia* (N): fishing line / palangre, aparejo para pescar besugo.
- trikilika* (Adv): to walk on one foot / andar sobre un pie.
- trilla* (V): to thresh; to destroy / trillar; destrozarse.
- trilla, trillía* (N): threshing / trilla.
- tringili-trángala* (Adv): balancing / balanceando.
- trípa, tripia* (N): 1. tripe, intestines 2. belly / tripa.
- tripáki, tripakíza* (N): tripe / callo(s).
- tripakomiñ, tripakomiña* (N): belly ache. Often used in the plural *tripakomiñak*. / dolor de tripas
- tripakada* or *tripakara, tripakaria* (N): satiation / llenazo de estómago (tras haber comido mucho).

- tripotx*, *tripóttxak* (N): lamb tripe / tripas de oveja o de cordero.
- triska* (V): to destroy / destrozar.
- triskántza*, *triskantzía* (N): destruction / destroz, exterminio.
- triskilla* (V): to shear / esquilar.
- triskilddu* (V): to destroy / destrozar.
- triste*, *tristía* (Adj): sad / triste.
- tristei*, *tristesiza* (N): sadness / tristeza, congoja.
- tristetu* (V): to become sad, to sadden / entristecer(se).
- trokatu* or *trukatu* (V): to switch around, to get switched around / dislocar(se), trocar.
- tróko*, *trokúa* (N): tumor, bump / tumor, bulto.
- trokóla*, *trokolía* (Adj): fat and clumsy (female) / torpe y gorda.
- trokólo*, *trokolúa* (Adj): fat and clumsy (male) / torpe y gordo.
- tronpello*, *tronpellua* (N): bump on the head, swelling / chichón.
- tronpéta*, *tronpetía* (N): trumpet / trompeta.
- trontzo*, *trontzua* (N): slide / todaja.
- trópa*, *tropía* (N): troop / tropa.
- tropelian* (Adv): all rushing together / en tropel.
- troté*, *trotía* (N): 1. trot 2. wear / trote. E.g.: *aixa trotía emotía sapata barrižári* 'you are giving a good wearing to your new shoes!' / ¡vaya uso que estás haciendo de los zapatos nuevos!.
- trotían* (Adv): trotting / al trote.
- truka* (V): to exchange, to switch / trocar.
- trukada*, *trukadia* (N): switch / cambio.
- trúko*, *trukúa* (N): trick / truco.
- trumo*, *trumoya* (N): thunder / trueno.
- trumonada*, *trumonadia* (N): loud thunder / trueno muy ruidoso.
- tubéri*, *tuberiza* (N, a.u.): pipe / tubería.
- túbo*, *tubúa* (N): tube / tubo.
- túna*, *tunía* (N): student music group / estudiantina, tuna.
- túfo*, *tufúa* (N): stentch / tufo, hedor.
- tuku-túku* (Onom): onomatopoeia of dry cough / voz onomatopéyica para designar a la tos seca.
- tunánte*, *tunantía* (Adj): crook, scoundrel / tunante, amigo de las juergas.
- túnda*, *tundía* (N): beating / tunda, paliza.
- tunba* (V): to lie down / tumbarse.
- túnel*, *tunéla* (N): tunnel / túnel.
- tuntuix*, *tuntuixa* (N): buoy which was formerly used to fish red bream / boya empleada antes en la pesca del besugo.
- tuntur*, *tunturra* (N): summit / cima.
- tupe*, *tupia* (N): toupée / tupé.
- turísmo*, *turismúa* (N): tourism / turismo.
- turista*, *turistia* (N): tourist / turista.
- turistikó*, *turistikúa* (Adj): touristic / turístico.
- turrada*, *turradia* (N): boring conversation / pelmada.
- turrit* (Excl): exclamation of negation or refusal / expresión que se utiliza cuando uno no quiere hacer lo que se le pide.
- turro*, *turroya* (N): nougat / turrón.
- turúta*, *turutía* or *turútu*, *turutúa* (N): small trumpet / turuta, trompeta pequeña.
- Turu-túru eguna* (N): third day of Carnival (obsolescent) / tercer día de Carnaval. Hoy día no se oye apenas, pero los mayores aún lo denominan así.
- tutúlo*, *tutulúa* (N): chimney of boat / chimenea del barco, cañuto.
- txabal* (Interj): vocative expression to call a boy or a girl; used also as an interjection in conversation / ¡chaval! apelativo con el que se llama a un chico o chica; también usado como interjección en la conversación.
- txabála*, *txabalia* (N): girl, girlfriend / chavala, moza, novia.
- txabo*, *txaboya* (N): soap / jabón.
- txabóla*, *txabolía* (N): hut / chabola, choza.
- txakéta*, *txaketía* (N): jacket / chaqueta. Cf. *žake*.
- txaketo*, *txaketoya* (N): big jacket / chaquetón.
- txakoliñ*, *txakoliña* (N): a local young white wine / chacolí.
- txakur*, *txakurra* (N): dog / perro.
- txakur-estúla* (N): dry cough / tos seca y perruna.
- txakurkeri*, *txakurkeriza* (N): evil action / perriería, maldad, mala jugada.
- txal*, *txala* (N): calf / ternero, ternera.
- txalapárta*, *txalapartía* (N): wooden percussion instrument / instrumento musical de percusión hecho de madera.

- txale(t)*, *txalet* (N): chalet / chalet.
txaléko, *txalékua* (N): vest / chaleco.
txálo, *txalúa* (N): 1. applause 2. blow / 1. aplauso. 2. bofetada.
txalo-pintxálo, *txalo-pintxalúa* (N): a children's game of applauding.
txalúpa, *txalupía* (N): type of boat / chalupa, lancha.
txamárra, *txamarría* (N): heavy sweater / chamarra, jersey grueso de lana.
txamarróte, *txamarrotía* (N): large and heavy sweater / jersey grande.
txanboliñ-oráizak (N): high clouds which indicate rain / nubes rotas y altas, precursoras de lluvia.
txánda, *txandía* (N): turn / turno, vez.
txándal, *txandála* (N): tracksuit, sweatsuit / chandal.
txangúrro, *txangurriúa* (N): crab dish / plato de centollo.
txanka, *txánkak* (N): long and skinny legs / piernas muy delgadas y largas.
txankélo, *txankelúa* (N): jack, knave (cards) / sota (en los naipes).
txankléta, *txankletía* (N): rubber slipper / chanclera.
txáno, *txanúa* (N): hat, hood / gorro, capucha.
txanpan, *txanpana* (N): champagne / champán.
txanpela (N): drunkenness / borrachera.
txanpu, *txanpua* (N): shampoo / champú.
txanta (V): to pay / pagar, depositar dinero.
txantáje, *txantajía* (N): blackmail / chantaje.
txantajista, *txantajistia* (N): blackmailer / chantajista.
txapa, *txapia* (N): 1. metal plate 2. boring conversation (among youngsters) / 1. chapa (de la botella, del coche o de la cocina) 2. conversación aburrida (usado por los jóvenes).
txapárro, *txaparrúa* (Adj): short and chubby / chaparro, rechoncho.
txaparróte, *txaparrotía* (Adj): short and chubby / rechoncho, bajito.
txapel, *txapela* (N): beret / boina.
txapiñ, *txapiña* (N): wool stocking / chapín, calcetín de lana para la cama.
txapista, *txapistia* (N): tinsmith, car body worker / chapista.
- txapittúla*, *txapittulía* (N): attic; top / buhardilla; parte de arriba.
txaplata, *txaplátia* (N): patch, mend / emplasto, remiendo.
txar, *txarra* (Adj): bad / malo.
txaría (N): joke / chanza. E.g.: *auxê da txaría dabillena orrek!* 'what a party mood (s)he is in! / ¡vaya juerga que lleva ése!'
txaránga, *txarangía* (N): music band / charanga, banda de música popular.
txarri, *txarriža* (N): pig / cerdo
txarrikeri, *txarrikeriža* (N): dirtiness / porquedad, suciedad.
txarriki, *txarrikiža* (N): pork / carne de cerdo.
txarrikórta, *txarrikortía* (N): pig-sty / pocilga.
txartel, *txartela* (N, Neol in Lekeitio): bill / billete (sobre todo de dinero).
txarto (Adv): badly / mal, de mala manera.
txartotu (V): to worsen / empeorar.
txastada, *txastadia* (N): smearing / untadura.
txast-txast eiñ (V): to smear / untar.
txatal, *txatala* (N): patch / retal, remiendo.
txatxero, *txatxerua* (N): gossip / el que anda con cuentos.
txepetx, *txepetxa* (N): 1. type of bird 2. hump / 1. reyezuelo. 2. giba.
txíbi, *txibíža* (N): cuttlefish / jibia blanca.
txibirúta, *txibiritía* (N): daisy / margarita.
txiki, *txikiža* (Adj): little, small / pequeño.
txikiñ, *txikiña* (Adj): little, small / pequeño.
txikiirri-txikiirri (N): type of accordion / tipo de acordeón, triki-trixa.
txikitea (V): to go from bar to bar drinking small glasses of wine / chiquitear, tomarse unos vinillos.
txikitero, *txikiterua* (N): s.o. who is in the habit of going from bar to bar drinking small glasses of wine / persona que acostumbra a chiquitear.
txikító, *txikitúa* (N): small glass of wine / chiquito, vaso de vino.
txikittan (Adv): in childhood, as a child / en la infancia.
txikittatik (Adv): from childhood / desde la infancia.
txiki-txóko, *txiki-txokúa* (N): clog used by sailors / choclo, zapato alto de madera que usan los marineros en el barco.

- txikittu* (V): to make small; to break in little pieces / empequeñecer, reducir; destrozarse, desmenuzarse.
- txikortu* (V): to shrink, to contract / encogerse, contraerse.
- txikot*, *txikota* (N): rope / cuerda, sogá.
- txiliñ*, *txiliña* (N): 1. small bell 2. talkative person with high pitch / 1. campanilla. 2. charlatán y de voz aguda.
- txilñzo*, *txilñzúa* (N): scream / grito, chillido.
- txilñzo eiñ* (V): to scream / gritar, chillar.
- txilñzoka* (Adv): screaming / chillando.
- tximiño*, *tximiñoa* (N): small squid / chipirón, calamar pequeño.
- tximista*, *tximistia* (N): thunderbolt / rayo.
- tximur*, *tximurra* (N): wrinkle / arruga.
- tximur*, *tximurra* (Adj): very wrinkled / lleno de arrugas.
- tximurtu* (V): to wrinkle / arrugar.
- txindórri*, *txindorríza* (N): robin / petirrojo.
- txingar*, *txingarra* (N): 1. hot coal 2. pork rind / 1. brasa. 2. cortezas de cerdo.
- txíngor*, *txíngorra* (N): hail / granizo.
- txíno*, *txínua* (N): Chinese / chino.
- txinparta*, *txinpartia* (N): spark from melting metal / chispa de metal derretido.
- txintxéta*, *txintxetía* (N): thumbtack / chincheta.
- txintxirriñ*, *txintxirriña* (N): rattle / sonajero.
- txiñúrri*, *txiñurríza* (N): ant, cf. *iñúrri* / hormiga.
- txipli-txápila* (Onom.): sound of wading / andar chapoteando en el agua.
- txipristiñ*, *txipristiña* (N): sprinkling / salpicadura.
- txipristiñak bota* (V): to sprinkle / salpicar.
- txiréne*, *txirénia* (Adj): funny person / persona insólita y graciosa.
- txíri*, *txíriza* (N): wood shaving / viruta, rizo de la madera.
- txirínga*, *txiríngia* (N): syringe / jeringa.
- txirla*, *txirlia* (N): small clam / chirila.
- txirlóra*, *txirloría* (N): wood shaving / viruta de madera.
- txirrinbóla*, *txirrinbolía* (N): round board / pieza circular y plana de madera.
- txirripitiñ*, *txirripitiña* (Adj): short person with high-pitched voice (affective) / per-
sona pequeña de voz aguda (carácter afectivo).
- txirrist eiñ* (V): to slide / resbalar.
- txirristada*, *txirristadia* (N): slide / resbalón, patinazo.
- txirritóla*, *txirritolía* (N): talkative little girl / niña muy charlatana.
- txispa*, *txispia* (N): spark / chispa.
- txispilddu* (V): to become happy, cf. *pispiddu* / alegrarse.
- txist* (Onom): expression used to call s.o. / expresión usada cuando se quiere llamar la atención de alguien.
- txi(s)tik be es eiñ* (V): not to say a word / no decir nada; E.g.: *arratzalde gustizán estáu txitík be eiñ!* '(s)he hasn't said a word all evening' / 'no ha dicho palabra en toda la tarde'.
- txistada*, *txistadia* (N): 1. whistling 2. call / 1. silbido. 2. llamamiento.
- txíste*, *txístia* (N): joke / chiste.
- txistosa*, *txistosia* (Adj): funny (female) / chistosa.
- txistoso*, *txistosua* (Adj): funny (male) / chistoso, gracioso.
- txistorra*, *txistorría* (N): type of sausage / longaniza, chorizo largo y fino.
- txistu*, *txistúa* (N): 1. type of flute 2. whistle 3. type of fish / 1. chistu, flauta vasca. 2. silbido. 3. gayano (cierto pez).
- txistu*, *txistua* (N): saliva / saliva.
- txistu eiñ* (V): to whistle / silbar.
- txistua bota* (V): to spit / escupir.
- txistulari*, *txistulariña* (N): txistu player, flautist / chistulari, que toca el chistu.
- txita*, *txitia* (N): chick / polluelo.
- txítxa*, *txitxía* (N): flesh / chicha, morcillones de carne.
- txitxárrro*, *txitxarrúa* (N): type of fish / chicharro (pescado).
- txitxi*, *txitxiña* (N): meat or fish (child talk) / la carne o el pescado (lenguaje infantil).
- txitximúrka* (Adv): pinching / pellizcando.
- txitximurkada*, *txitximurkadia* (N, rare): pinch / pellizco. Cf. *txutxumárka*.
- txitxiñ*, *txitxiña* (N): small fish used as bait / pez pequeño utilizado como cebo.
- txix* or *txixa*, *txixa* (N): urine / orina.

txixa eiñ (V): to urinate / orinar, mear.

txixalárrri, txixalarríza (N): desire to urinate / ganas de orinar.

txixasi, txixasiža (N): desire to urinate / ganas de orinar.

txixáti, txixatíža (Adj): s.o. who urinates a lot / el que orina frecuentemente.

txo (Interj): vocative expression used to call a boy / voz con que se llama a los chicos o muchachos.

txóko, txokúa (N): gastronomical society / sociedad gastronómica.

txokolatada, txokolatadia (N): hot chocolate feast / chocolatada.

txokoláte, txokolatía (N): chocolate / chocolate.

txokolatíña, txokolatíña (N): chocolate (candy) / chocolatina.

txokor, txokorra (N): cigar / puro (cigarro).

txólo, txolúa (N): small hole in the ground / hoyo pequeño y redondo, boche.

txolóka(n) ibilli (V): to play with a certain game with marbles / jugar al boche.

txongill, txongilla (N): type of earthenware drinking jug / botijo.

txori, txoriža (N): 1. bird 2. bow that little girls wear in their hair / 1. pájaro 2. lacito que llevan las niñas en el pelo.

txori-keríxa, txori-kerixía (N): type of cherry / variedad de cereza muy pequeña y dulce.

txoríxo, txorixúa (N): type of sausage / chorizo.

txoróngo, txorongúa (N, a.u.): excrement / mierda.

txorrada, txorradia (N): stupid thing / chorrada, tontería.

txórro, txorrúa (N, a.u.): jet, squirt, stream / chorro.

txósna, txosnía (N): temporary construction for selling food and drinks / chozna, chiringuito temporal donde se sirven bebidas y comida.

txóto, txotúa (N): hat, cap / gorra, gorro.

txotxiñ, txotxiña (Adj): light-headed / ligero de cascos.

txotxinddu (V): to lose one's marbles / perder el juicio.

txotxo (Interj): vocative expression for calling a boy / voz con que se llama a los chicos.

txotxóla, txotxolía (Adj): stupid (female) / lela, boba.

txotxolatu (V): to become stupid (female) / volverse boba.

txotxólo, txotxolúa (Adj): stupid (male) / bobo, pobre hombre, simple.

txotxolotu (V): to become stupid (male) / volverse tonto.

txukun, txukuna (Adj): clean / limpio, aseado.

txúla, txulía (Adj): overbold, stuck-up (female) / chula, engreída.

txuléri, txuleríža (N, a.u.): bragging / chulería, fanfarronería.

txuléta, txuletía (N): steak / chuleta.

txuleto, txuletoya (N): big steak / chuletón.

txúlo, txulúa (Adj): stuck-up, overbold, braggart (male) / chulo, fanfarrón.

txuntxur, txuntxurra (N): promontory, summit, heap / montón, promontorio, cima.

txupa (V): to lick, to suck / chupar, lamer.

txupéte, txupetía (N): sucker / chupete.

txupíto, txupitúa (N, Neol in Lekeitio): alcoholic drink / chupito, vasito de licor o cualquier bebida alcohólica.

txurréri, txurreríža (N): fritter stall / churrería.

txurrero, txurrerua (N): fritter seller / churrero.

txúrro, txurrúa (N): fritter / churro.

txurrut or *txurrutada, txurrutadia* (N): gulp of wine or liquor / trago de vino o licor.

txutxumárka, txutxumarkía (N): pinch / pellizco.

U.

uar, uarra (N): rust / roña, suciedad, mancha rojiza.

uaro, uarua (N): wake of a ship / estela del barco.

uartu (V): to rust / oxidar.

uda, udia (N): summer / verano.

udabárrri, udabarríža (N): spring / primavera.

udalétxe, udalétxía (N): City Hall (recently introduced in Lekeitio) / ayuntamiento, casa consistorial. Cf. *kontzižo*.

udásken, udaskéna (N): autumn / otoño.

- uéri, ueríza* (N): school of sardines; place where schools of sardines are often found / lugar donde abundan las sardinas, bancos de sardinas.
- uel, uela* (N): belt/ correa.
- wélgá, welgía* (N): strike / huelga.
- u(g)esába, u(g)esabía* or, *u(g)asába, u(g)asabía* or *u(g)esába, u(g)esába* (N, a.u.): owner / dueño, amo.
- u(g)esába andra, u(g)esába andria*: female owner / dueña.
- ukatu* (V): to deny / negar.
- ukondo, ukondua* (N): elbow / codo. Cf. *okondo*.
- ule, ulía* (N): hair / pelo.
- uletzu, uletzua* (Adj): hairy / peludo.
- ulséra, ulsería* (N): ulcer / úlcera.
- ume, umía* (N): child / niño, crío.
- umekeri, umekeriza* (N): childish action / niñería, infantilada.
- umel, umela* (Adj): overripe / pasado, demasiado maduro.
- umeldu* (V): to get overripe (fruit) / pasarse la fruta.
- umemóko, umemokúa* (Adj): brat, child (despective) / criajo, niño, mocoso (con matiz despectivo).
- umesurtz, umesurtza* (N): orphan / huérfano.
- umesále, umesalía* (Adj): s.o. who likes children / aficionado a los niños, que le gustan.
- umeteri, umeteriza* (N): big group of children / montón de niños.
- umetu* (V): to become like a child / anifiarse, volver a ser niño.
- umilde, umildía* (Adj): humble / humilde.
- umildade, umildadia* (N): humility, humbleness / humildad.
- umilla* (V): to humble, to humiliate / humillar.
- umore, umoria* (N): humor, mood / humor, estado de ánimo.
- umoreon, umoreona* (N): good mood / buen humor.
- umoretzar, umoretzarra* (N): bad mood / mal humor.
- umorotz, umorotza* (N): cold affecting the ganglia / tumor frío de los ganglios.
- unadáka* (Adv): from time to time / a ratos, a intervalos de tiempo.
- ungüénto, ungüentúa* (N): ointment, unguent / ungüento.
- unibersal, unibersala* (Adj): universal / universal.
- unidade, unidadia* (N): unity / unidad.
- unidu* (V): to unite / unir.
- unifórme, uniformía* (N): uniform / uniforme.
- untza, untzia* (N): nail / clavo.
- upel, upela* or *kupel, kupela* (N): barrel / cuba, tonel.
- upiñ, upiña* (N): tale, story / cuento, relato.
- ur, ura* (N): water / agua.
- ura bota* (V): to water / regar.
- úrdai, urdáiza* (N): bacon / tocino.
- uri, uríza* (N, obs): town / ciudad, villa.
- urkatu* (V): to hang (oneself) / ahorcar(se).
- urrakara, urrakaria* (N): scratch / arañazo, rasguño.
- urrakaratu* (V): to scratch / arañar.
- úrvatx, urrátxa* (N): hazelnut / avellana.
- urre* (Adv): near / cerca.
- urre, urria* (N): gold / oro.
- urregorri, urregorriza* (N): pure gold / oro puro.
- urréngo, urréngua* (Adj): next / siguiente.
- urreratu* (V): to approach / acercarse.
- urretxindor, urretxindorra* (N): nightingale / ruiseñor.
- urri, urriza* (N): October / octubre.
- urrian* (Adv): near / cerca.
- urrun* (Adv): far / lejos.
- urrundu* (V): to go away / alejar(se).
- urrunian* (Adv): far / lejos.
- urte, urtia* (N): year / año.
- Urtebárrri (eguna), Urtebarríza* (N): New Year / Año Nuevo.
- urtebete* (N): a whole year, a year's time / un año entero.
- urten* (V): to leave / salir.
- urtéro* (Adv): every year / todos los años.
- urtu* (V): to melt / derretir(se).
- urun, uruna* (N): flour / harina.
- usa* (V): 1. to use. Less common than *erabilli* with this meaning 2. to get used, to be in the habit / 1. usar, utilizar. No es muy frecuente en este sentido; en su lugar se emplea *erabilli* 2. acostumbrarse. E.g.: *Jésus! usáta dosu ori tarbernétan!* 'Jesus! (s)he is really in the habit of going to

bars / 'Jesús! ese está ya acostumbrado a andar de bares'.

usa(i)ñ, *usa(i)ña* (N): smell / olor.

usa(i)ñ eiñ (V): to smell, tr. / olfatear, oler, tr..

usainddu (V): to smell, intr. / oler, intr., des- prender olor.

usaingoso, *usaingosua* (N): eau-de-Cologne / agua de colonia.

usáta (Pred adj): used to, accustomed / acos- tumbrado.

uskar, *uskarra* (N): fart / pedo.

uskarti, *uskartiña* (Adj): farty / pedorro.

úski, *uskíza* (N): buttocks / culo, trasero.

uso, *usua* (N): pigeon / paloma.

usokuma, *usokumia* (N): young pigeon / pi- chón

uste (V): to think, to believe / creer, opinar.

ustel, *ustela* (Adj): spoiled, rotten / podrido.

usteldu (V): to get spoiled, to rot / pudrirse.

ustelkeri, *ustelkeriña* (N): rottenness, rotten part / podredumbre.

ustelúsaiñ, *ustelúsaiña* (N): rotten stench / olor a podrido.

ustían or *ústes* : 1. in ... opinion 2. thinking that / 1. a juicio de 2. pensando que.

utz, *utza* (N): 1. hole, emptiness 2. mistake / 1. vacío, nada 2. fallo.

utz, *utza* (Adj): simple, mere / mero, simple.

utz eiñ (V): to err / fallar.

utzik (Adv): empty / vacío.

utzittu (V): to empty / vaciar.

užol, *užola* (N): deluge / diluvio, torrente.

užúža, *užúžia* (N): scream, cf. *irrintzi* / alarido.

Ž

ža(g)on (V): to take care / cuidar.

žai, *žaiža* (N): holiday / fiesta.

žaižo (V): to be born / nacer.

žaižobárrri, *žaižobarríža* (N): newborn child / recién nacido.

žaižokéra, *žaižokería* (N): birth / nacimiento.

žaižótza, *žaižotzía* (N): 1. birth 2. nativity scene 1. nacimiento, acción de nacer 2. nacimiento, belén navideño.

žake, *žakia* (N): jacket / chaqueta.

žakiñ (V): to know / saber.

žakínai, *žakináizha* (N): desire to know, cu- riosity / curiosidad, ganas de saber.

žakittun, *žakittuna* (Adj): wise, knowledge- able / sabio.

žakittura, *žakitturia* (N): knowledge, wis- dom / sabiduría.

žan (V): to eat / comer.

žanedan, *žanedana* (N): banquet / banquete, comilona.

žántza, *žantzía* (N): dance, ball / baile, danza.

žántzan eiñ (V): to dance / bailar, danzar.

žantzi (V): to get dressed, to dress / ves- tir(se).

žaramon (*eiñ*): attention / atención, caso.

žaskéra, *žaskería* (N): way of dressing / modo de vestir.

žaso (V): 1. to happen 2. to lift / 1. aconte- cer. 2. levantar.

žatéko, *žatekúa* (N): food / comida.

žatorri, *žatorriža* (N): origin / origen, ascen- dencia.

žatorrisko, *žatorriskua* (Adj): related to the origen or ascendancy / relativo a la he- rencia.

žatun, *žatuna* (Adj): good eater / de buen apetito.

žauñ, *žauña* (N): sir / señor.

žawe, *žawia* (N): owner / dueño.

žawetu (V): to be in charge / hacerse cargo de.

žausi (V): to fall / caer(se).

žayegun, *žayeguna* (N): holiday / día festivo.

žénte, *žentía* (N): people / gente.

žesarri (V): to sit / sentar(se).

žíbo, *žibúa* (N): hump / giba.

žinžáuka (Adv): swinging / columpiándose.

žo (V): 1. to hit 2. to go, to end up (with allative argument) 3. to play an instru- ment 4. to strike the hour / 1. pegar. 2. ir a parar (con adlativo) 3. tocar un ins- trumento. 4. dar las horas.

žokatu (V): to play / jugar.

žokéra, *žokería* (N): tendency / tendencia, in- clinación hacia.

žoko, *žokua* (N): game / juego.

žokolari, *žokolariža* or *žokalari*, *žokalariža* (N): player; gambler / jugador.

žokuan eiñ (V): to gamble / jugar por dinero.

žorratu (V): to weed / escardar.

žosi (V): to sew / coser.

žoskura, žoskuria (N): seam / costura (de un vestido).

žostórratz, žostorrátza (N): sewing needle / aguja de coser.

žostun, žostuna (N): seamstress / costurera.

žoiža, žoižía (N, a.u.): jewel / joya.

žu(a)n (V): to go, to leave / ir(se).

žuržidu (V, obs): to fill / colmar, llenar completamente.

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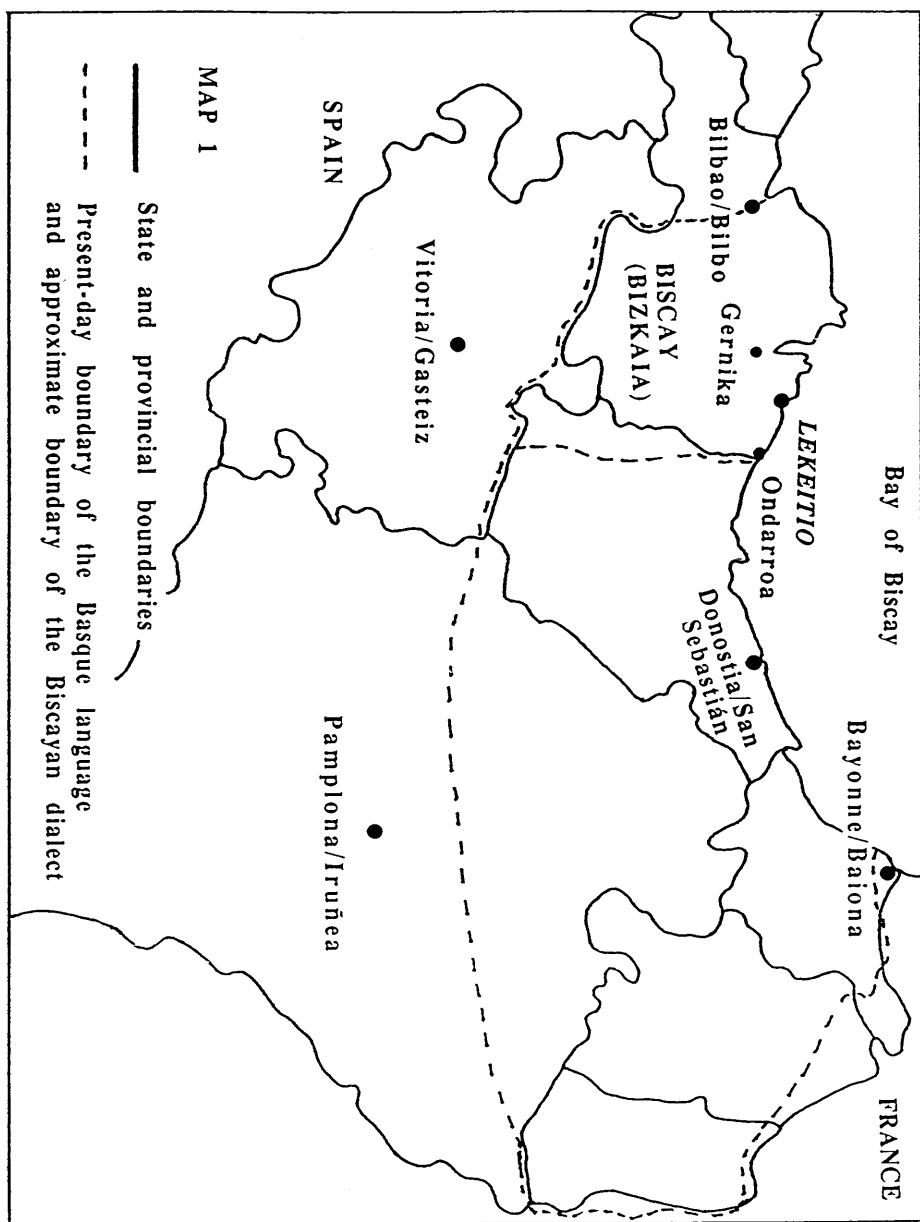
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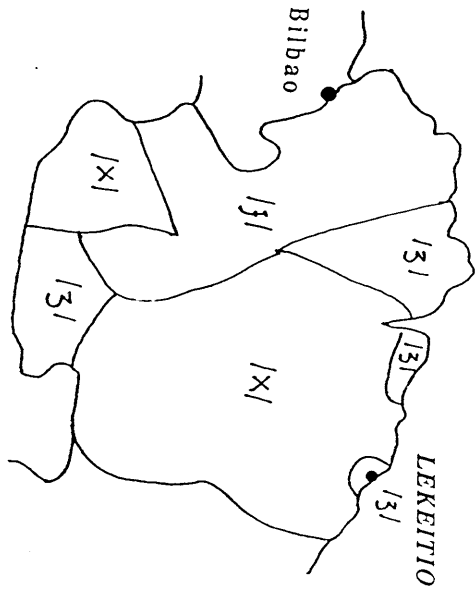
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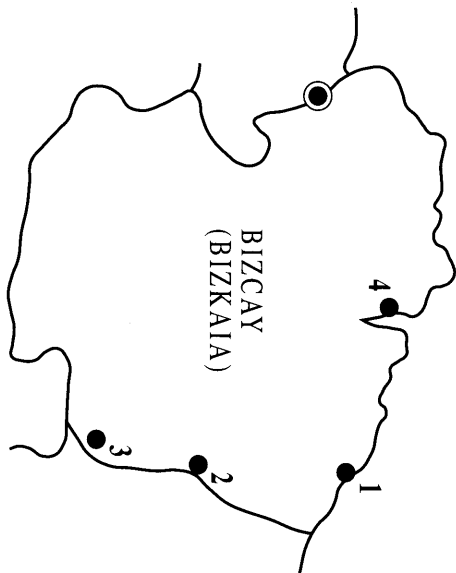
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8. Maps





MAP 2
Geographical distribution of pronunciations of the initial consonant in *jan* "to eat" in Biscay.



MAP 3
Geographical distribution of low vowel assimilation in Biscay
Forms without assimilation, such as *laguna* "the friend", are found in the four towns indicated with numbers: 1. Lekeitio, 2. Ermua, 3. Elorrio, 4. Mundaka. Forms such as *lagune* are found the rest of the area.