

## A NEW EARLY SOURCE OF BASQUE: THE WILLUGHBY GLOSSARY OF 1664

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### ABSTRACT

We present a diplomatic edition of a seventeenth-century English manuscript containing previously unpublished lexical material in Bizkaian Basque. We offer a linguistic analysis of this, and explain the significance of the manuscript and its content in the history of linguistics and Basque scholarship.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

#### *1.1. The background to the manuscript and its author*

The manuscript we present and analyse here is preserved in the Middleton collection in the Hallward Library at the University of Nottingham. Its author, or at any rate its begetter, is Francis Willughby (1635–72), later father to the first Lord Middleton. The Willoughbys' chief family seat was at Wollaton, Nottinghamshire, but Francis Willughby visited there only occasionally, preferring his Warwickshire home at Middleton.<sup>1</sup>

Willughby was a prominent intellectual of the Restoration period and an original member of the Royal Society in 1662, with a special interest in natural history. The family archive which is now at Nottingham houses some of his scientific collections; his own manuscripts of scientific observations do not appear to have survived. His life and writings are assessed by Welch (1971) and by Cram et al. (2003: 3–26), on whose work we draw below. Since

<sup>1</sup> He always signed himself <Willughby>, but the family name is generally these days written <Willoughby>, as with the several places of that name in the East Midland counties.

Willughby died young, with much of his work unpublished, his reputation depends to an important degree on the amount that his close friend and collaborator, John Ray (1627–1705), saw through the press, including the well-known *Ornithologia* in 1676 and the less well-known *Historia piscium* in 1686. Ray was himself a notable scholar of diverse but methodologically integrated interests, regarded by some as the ‘greatest field naturalist that ever lived’ (Fisher 1966: 59), and he is known to linguists for his collections of English proverbs (1670), a dialect vocabulary published a century before any other significant dialectological works (1674), and a Greek–Latin–English dictionary (1675). His scholarly activity depended on his appointment as tutor to Willughby’s children, for whom the dictionary was produced. Ray actually acted as tutor for only a brief time, since Willughby’s widow remarried and her new husband clearly did not favour him; however, Willughby’s will required Ray to be involved in his sons’ education (Cram et al. 2003: 26). There was a dispute later about whether Willughby’s annuity of £60 to Ray was conditional upon his services as tutor, but it seems generally accepted that it was a straightforward gift. Whatever the case, it was certainly an important part of Ray’s subsequent income, and it continued throughout his life.

### *1.2. The intellectual and historical context of the work*

The following sections situate the Willughby glossary in the contexts of the general linguistics and scholarly methodology of its period, and of the recorded history of Basque.

#### *1.2.1. The work in the context of seventeenth-century linguistics*

There is no doubt that Ray and Willughby saw their linguistic work as part of their more general project of acquiring first-hand knowledge of natural phenomena in the field and theorising on the basis of collected data, not merely of study in the library, museum and herbarium. They had made a field trip in England and Wales in 1662, one of the fruits of which was a Welsh word list (Cram and Awbery 2001), and in 1663–4 they planned and executed an ambitious trip around Europe collecting specimens both natural

and lexical. For their lexical work on each trip they used a standard prompt list, whose methodological interest lies in the fact that each is a systematic elicitation tool for use in the field, not merely an aid to the collation of published material.

The prompt list on which the Welsh work was based consists of 449 English words. For the European exercise, Willughby and Ray substituted a related list of Latin words (391 in the MS in question, with a further one on the verso of one sheet which is probably a duplicate of one of the 391), which represents a stricter theorisation of their data-gathering activities. The intellectual background to the later list is given in Cram (1990, 1994) and briefly summarised here. The point of greatest interest about it is its relationship to the universal-language schemes which proliferated in the later seventeenth century. Ray and Willughby were involved with the early efforts of members of the Royal Society to devise normative approaches to vocabulary based on taxonomies of the phenomena of the world which were derived from speculative philosophy. The non-random order of the entries in their prompt list derives directly from the table of concepts in Dalgarno's then recently published *Ars signorum* (1661), with some material from the then as-yet-unpublished *Essay towards a real character and a philosophical language* by Wilkins; the latter, which appeared in 1668, contains a hierarchical universal classification scheme with which the lexis of actual languages might be compared and against which they can be evaluated (and, where necessary, 'improved' to make them intellectually respectable tools of science). The relatedness of the Ray–Willughby list and the tables of Dalgarno and Wilkins is beyond doubt, and is clearly set out in the appendix to Cram (1990: 234–5). Ray's *Dictionariolum* (1675) is organised around the same lexical list. In addition, Ray is known to have translated Wilkins's work into Latin, though the manuscript of the translation is now lost and it was never published (Gunther 1928: 192). He also contributed the systematic 'Table of Plants' to Wilkins' work.

Using this list, between them they collected data from thirteen languages, with an associate, Philip Skippon, collecting two more.<sup>2</sup> Ray's notes on 'High and Low Germany' have gone missing (Raven

<sup>2</sup> Skippon's own account of these travels was published posthumously in 1704.

1950: 133 n. 4; Cram et al. 2003: 14), but it is not apparent whether these included linguistic notes; Ray's biographer Raven practically ignores linguistic aspects of Ray's work apart from his English dialect vocabulary, and totally neglects linguistic aspects of his travels. Willughby's thirteen word lists or vernacular glossaries for the Latin taxonomic scheme, including one for Basque, are preserved at Nottingham.<sup>3</sup> The MSS including the Basque material are described below (§1.3.1).

### *1.2.2. The position of the Willughby glossary among other sources of Basque*

Cram (1990: 229) observes that in addition to the interest of the prompt list itself for the history of contemporary linguistic thought and methodology, '[t]his corpus of unpublished data is of interest in its own right for the history of the languages in question'. We are doing for Basque what Cram and Awbery have done for Welsh, namely providing a diplomatic edition of the glossary in question. The Willughby glossary is a rather early source of Basque, and we shall consider its position in the expanding stream of evidence for the language before going on to examine its linguistic content in detail.

Leaving aside onomastic evidence from the Iberia and Aquitania of antiquity (Michelena 1954b; Gorrochategui 1984), the earliest known surviving sources of Basque are the Emilian glosses, possibly dating from about 950 CE; there are other minor early glosses of a similar type. From 1055 comes a boundary clause appended to a land grant. A twelfth-century glossary is to be found in the journal of the Compostela pilgrim Aimery Picaud, a cleric from Poitou; and other idiomatic and onomastic items are found in a variety of Latin and Romance texts including the *fueros* or charters of incorporation of various towns and provinces and in the Castilian verses of Gonzalo de Berceo, all from the thirteenth century. An important connected text is the fourteenth-century Pamplona prayer. Other

<sup>3</sup> The thirteen languages are, using the manuscript's terminology: French, Walloon, Low and High Dutch, Hungarian, Bohemian, Croatian, Turkish, Persian, Spanish, Provençal, African and Biscay.

pilgrims and scholars, notably Arnold von Harff and Lucius Marineus Siculus, recorded small numbers of lexical items and phrases. Only in the sixteenth century does a flow of connected texts in Basque begin in earnest: for instance a personal letter (1537), a printed anthology of poems (1545), a translation of the New Testament and other religious works (1570s) and some collections of proverbs (1590s). More devotional works followed in the early seventeenth century, of which the most important is the *Gero* ‘Later’ of Pedro de Axular (1643). The seventeenth-century works are overwhelmingly in the Lapurdi dialect, from the French side of the Pyrenean frontier, and include more collections of proverbs, poetry and manuals of marine navigation and agriculture, as well as an unpublished Basque–French dictionary. It will be deduced that the Willughby glossary is important as rare evidence for Basque west of the Pyrenees in the seventeenth century, and as easily the most substantial glossary of the period before 1700 except that of Araban Basque by Landucci (1562, but published only in 1958). For more extensive discussion of these and other early sources of evidence for Basque, see Trask (1997: 35–51).

As we would expect for the environs of Bilbao, where the evidence was collected, the Basque represented here is consistently and unambiguously of the Bizkaian dialect. The place of the elicitation and the dialect of the evidence are discussed below in more detail. Even though substantial literary works were not produced in Bizkaian before about 1800, from the preceding centuries we have a good deal of material recorded in this dialect, of which the most important is as follows:

- anonymous songs (written down in the sixteenth century, but clearly composed one or two centuries earlier; collected in Michelena 1964);
- Lucius Marineus Siculus (mentioned above; an Italian visitor who compiled a Bizkaian glossary in the first half of the sixteenth century);
- Garibay (a sixteenth-century writer who wrote in Spanish but incorporated songs and proverbs from the Bizkaian dialect into his writings);
- the *Refranes y sentencias*, an anonymous collection of proverbs published in 1596;

- Betolaza (author of a *Doctrina christiana* also published in 1596);
- the anonymous *Viva Jesús!*, a brief catechism written in the first half of the seventeenth century;
- Micoleta (author of a handbook of Bizkaian Basque compiled in 1653, evidently unknown to Willoughby);
- Capanaga (author of a *Doctrina cristiana* published in 1656);
- Arzadun (author of a small catechism published in 1731);
- Barrutia (author of a Christmas play written some time in the first half of the eighteenth century);
- Basterrechea (poet, 1700–1761; wrote a few verses on religious themes).

The most important of these texts is the *Refranes y sentencias*, a collection of proverbs which are recorded not only in Bizkaian but in a remarkably archaic variety of Bizkaian.

| Latine | portucell.       | Albanice  | Alti uca                | Bizca.   |
|--------|------------------|-----------|-------------------------|----------|
| Deus   | Dieu: Dieu       | Dios.     | Allah                   | Deu      |
| Celum  | Ciel             | cielo     | Araak                   | cielu    |
| Stella | Estelle: Estelle | Estrellas | Heloban<br>soon         | estrella |
| Ignis  | futy feu         | fuego     | Nar                     | luz      |
| Fumus  | fum: fumaire     | houmo     | El humo<br>de la pilla  | giza     |
| Cinres | Vendre cinde     | ceniza    | El humo<br>de la pilla  | cinza    |
| Aer    | Aer              | odio      | Rek                     | ayo      |
| Agua   | Agua: Eau        | agua      | Helmet                  | ur       |
| Terra  | Terre: terra     | Tierra    | El suelo<br>de la pilla | luma     |

Figure 1. Sample page of the Willoughby glossary (Nottingham University Library MS. Mi 4/149/2/3/3/1/1), showing entries 1-9., with the Basque entries in the rightmost column. Reproduced by courtesy of the Library and the Hon. Michael Willoughby.

### 1.3. The manuscript

The following sections are a description of various aspects of the manuscript: its present state and what can be ascertained of its library history; the hand(s); the spelling conventions used; and the organisation of the material on the pages.

### *1.3.1. The manuscript in its present condition*

Four of Willughby's vocabulary lists (Provençal, Spanish, Arabic and Basque) form an item catalogued as N[ottingham] U[niversity] L[ibrary] Mi 4/149/2/3/3/1/1–4, consisting of four separate sheets of paper, not sewn together in a roll, although the four vertical column lines separating the Latin lemmata and the responses in the four languages suggest that they were configured in such a vertical sequence when written. Thereafter come Mi 4/149/2/3/3/2–4. Mi 4/149/2/3/3/2 is a group of four sewn sheets, on the verso of which appears 'X.II' in what appears to be a contemporary hand. Mi 4/149/2/3/3/3 is a further group of four sewn sheets with, on the verso, 'X.III'. Mi 4/149/2/3/3/4 is a group of two sewn sheets, the second being blank, bearing 'X.IIIII' on the verso. The sheets sewn end to end are not, or not now, rolled, and the sheets are (as will be deduced) not individually numbered by the modern cataloguer. The significance of the earlier roman numeration in relation to the rest of the Middleton papers is not known. In a small number of cases, the stitching interferes with the content of the work, and a lemma and its gloss may appear on separate sheets because one or other has been sewn under an overlap and therefore retranscribed in an adjacent (non-Basque) column or at the head of the new page. A further small number of lemma–gloss pairs are tucked in a fold under a stitched junction.

A photocopy of the work is available for casual study, but in a few cases the access we had been permitted to the original proved crucial in the decipherment.

### *1.3.2. The hand*

There are several hands present in the manuscript. Willughby's, as ascertained from other MSS in the collection, is easily recognisable, and he supplies the headings at the top of the four columns, consisting of four language names (or allusions to language names): 'Provençal', 'Hispanice', 'African' and 'Biscay'. He also writes the words in the 'African' column, and he corrects some of those in the Provençal one. The significance of the fact that the glossaries are not all in the same hand is not entirely clear, but various considerations explored below strongly suggest that this very

manuscript is the original record, produced in the field, of the Basque data.<sup>4</sup> If that is so, it may well have been used in the field to record the data from the other languages as well, and was therefore not written up at leisure at home after the field trip. The words on the verso, about the boy informant (see below, §1.4.), are also in Willughby's hand, and they may be taken as demonstrating that he was present at the elicitation session. He also writes the single word *Bilbo* on the verso of Mi 4/149/2/3/3/4. There are also a few original marks on the pages, mainly roman numerals (see above), but these have been omitted from the discussion below. Willughby also seems to be responsible for a cross 'x' after certain entries (91–93, 158, 159, 202, 203, 275, 327, 350, 368 and 386; perhaps 333 and 351), for which no reason is apparent unless it is simply to mark the entries out in some way. It is retained in our transcription (in boldface) in case it can eventually be explained. Some of the marked items constitute semantic sets.

But the hand of the other entries is quite unlike Willughby's usual script. This hand is a mixed, mainly italic, English seventeenth-century one which is clear and presents no major general difficulties except where some letter has been overwritten by another; however, <r> and <c> are sometimes hard to tell apart, as are <e> and <c>, though knowledge of Basque graphotactics obviously helps in the decipherment. It appears, with the exception of one interpolated or duplicated line (365'), to have been written by a single scribe, evidently not Willughby himself.

The <r> is somewhat <x>-like; the <d> is sometimes floriated, and what serves for <d> early in the glossary is used for <de> later. The overdot on <i> is usually a short obliquely rising stroke. The letters <a> and <l> are sometimes terminated by a short vertical stroke which may give the appearance of an additional <l> or <i>. The letter <f> is represented by the double-<f> letter shape in English parts of the manuscript, but, curiously, a single-<f> shape is used on the rare occasions where it is required in Basque. <ç> often lacks the expected cedilla. Initial capital <C> and <L> are not emically so. The pair <I/i> and <J/j> are

<sup>4</sup> For instance, the apparent false starts written in the language in which the interview was conducted, Spanish.

allographs, as are <U/u> and <V/v>, and the latter paired pairs may be varigraphs (either appears to be used preconsonantly); this latitude is all within the norms of the period.

### 1.3.3. *The spelling conventions*

The spelling conventions are worth exposition. The Latin alphabet in a narrow sense is used, <k> and <z> being absent,<sup>5</sup> but <ç> is used in addition, though inconsistently. The absence of <k> forces the use of <qu> before front-vowel letters, and <gu> is usually used in parallel fashion for /g/ before front vowels. The resultant superficial appearance of the text suggests that the conventions of post-medieval Spanish are being used, but actually, with allowance for the ‘romanising’ non-use of <k>, the conventions used are much like those used for writing the English of the period. The use of <ch> for /tʃ/ is as much English as Spanish. The frequent use of <g> for the Bizkaian realisation of Pre-Basque \*/j/ requires some more detailed comment. It could be seen as an attempt to render the dialectal pronunciation of /j/ as [j], but that is presently found only in the east of the Basque-speaking region, in Lapurdi and Low Navarre. Much of Bizkaia has [dʒ], whilst modern southern Bizkaian has [j]. (For the facts about the reflexes of the Pre-Basque glide, see Trask 1997: 155–7.) This use of <g> could, but need not, indicate an orthographical trait with its roots in English; see §3.2.7 below for amplification. The use of <au> for /au/ is not characteristically English at all, and might easily be taken simply as Spanish. However, in the intellectual context described above, an ‘English’ interpretation is possible. Early Modern English of the mid-seventeenth century had no normal [au]. The phonetically nearest diphthong was [ɔu], which was normally written <ou>; <au> was typically used in French loans for what had become [ɔ:] (*cause*) or, for example before <n>, generally [ɑ:] before later substitutional changes (*haunt*). But [au] was found as a less typical reflex of

<sup>5</sup> Something like a <z> is occasionally met, but it is treated here as an allograph of <<x>>, which is itself rare. There is no evidence that the two need to be treated as distinct graphemes.

ME /au/, most often in conservative learned discourse (on all this, see Dobson 1968, vol. 2: 785). Willughby's usage may be within this conservative tradition, but it is tempting to think that he was working from first principles within a universalistic methodology. If so, his usage may draw on Dalgarno's rather cursory observation (1661: 3) that there are six easy diphthongs, of which he writes one as <au>, whose value can be deduced from the articulatory reference points he gives to be [au]. A further theoretical, though unlikely, possibility is that the Basque sequence was heard as disyllabic. One clearly Spanish feature is the use of <x> for /ʃ/, but this is seen only in response 17, and perhaps 256.

#### *1.3.4. The organisation of the manuscript*

The 391 lemmata are in Latin, in an order dictated by the philosophical considerations set out in §1.2.1 (with a small number of aberrations due probably to omission when first copying out the list and the later insertion of a few items). There is some evidence that, as would be expected, they were presented orally to the informant in Spanish; see further below (§1.4). Whether the investigator would have expected any conceptual distortion to arise in this double process of translation is a significant point. He was working from a systematised list of concepts which in an ideal, non-Whorfian world would have been faithfully reproducible in any language into which it was translated. That there were distortions for more mundane reasons will become apparent, and no doubt he would have put these down to human inadequacy in the informant, if not to the real-world consequences of the Confusion of Tongues.

The material we present below is, as already noted, from one of four columns of glosses, headed 'Provencel', 'Hispanice', 'African' (i.e. Arabic; on the circumstances of whose collection see Cram and Awbery (2001: 5)) and 'Biscay'. The last of these is the set of Basque glosses, and the term *Biscay* is a normal English one for the entire Basque Country at this period which survives in our name for the Bay. In Basque the name *Bizkaia* is reserved for the western Basque province which includes Bilbao, and used to refer to the dialect whose boundaries do not exactly coincide with those of

the province. (For the importance of this fact, see below, §1.4.) We present the lemmata or prompts, our English glosses on them and the elicited Basque glosses in parallel columns, each lemma with the reference number assigned by ourselves.

*1.4. How, from whom, where and when the data was collected*

Ray and Willughby had parted company in Naples well before Willughby's Spanish journey took place (Raven 1950: 134–5), and Ray (1673: 462) explicitly attributes the text describing this journey to Willughby. Of the other companions, Skippon had gone with Ray, but Nathaniel Bacon may have been with Willughby still, which leaves open the possibility that the hand of the Basque data is Bacon's.<sup>6</sup> In view of the considerations set out in §1.3.2 (and §3.2.7), it is possible that the hand is English rather than that of a local amanuensis. Despite the joint work that evidently went into the creation of the prompt list, we believe it is appropriate that the 1664 glossary should become known to scholarship under Willughby's name, since he was the moving force in collecting the Basque material. We will refer to the material, and the hand, as if it were his.

On the verso of Mi 4/149/2/3/3/1/4 we find a slight description of the informant and of the circumstances under which the collection of words was made. Willughby notes: 'Ye Biscaian by a Boy that came from a Village near Bilbo. ye Beginning is Very wel done. but towards ye end ye boy grew weary & Impatient and tooke no care at all[.]'<sup>7</sup> There are indeed signs of stress in the responses of the regrettably unnamed informant, as we shall show below, but the output remains of more lasting scholarly interest than his gentleman inquisitor might have expected.

<sup>6</sup> This is the same Nathaniel Bacon (1646/7–1676) who led the revolt at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1676. John Ray's character-sketch has come down to us, and it may make us wonder how well equipped he was to be Willughby's amanuensis at the age of 17: 'Very good parts, and a quick wit, but impatient of labour, and indeed his temper will not admit long study.' An account of some aspects of the relations between Ray, Willughby, Skippon and Bacon may be found in Grindle (2005).

<sup>7</sup> Of course, the grapheme <y> should be read as <th> where appropriate.

*Bilbo* is the Basque name of Bilbao and also, with *Bilboa* and *Bilbow*, a usual seventeenth-century English rendering of the name, alone and in lexical expressions containing it, as can be seen in the entry for *bilbo*<sup>1</sup> in *OED* (2nd edn). Willughby's itinerary (Ray 1673: 490–92) did not pass especially near Bilbao. He entered the Basque Country through (Vitoria-)Gasteiz in Araba on 11 November 1664, and proceeded via what is now the road C6213 through Leintz-Gatzaga ('Salines'; *gatzaga* means 'saltworks' in Basque) to Eskoriatza ('Æscurias'), where he spent the night. On 12 November he passed through (Mondragón-)Arrasate, Oñati, Legazpi and Villarreal to Villafranca in Gipuzkoa, and on 13 November via Tolosa to (San Sebastián-)Donostia, leaving for Irún on 14 November.

It seems probable that the fieldwork took place on Tuesday 11 or early on Wednesday 12 November, since the route moves decisively away from Bilbao on 12 November; the nearest approach to Bilbao was Eskoriatza or Arrasate, some 42 km to the south-east of the city. We do not know with what degree of regionality Willughby was applying the term *Bilbo*. But there is a very high probability that the data was collected in Eskoriatza, Arrasate or Oñati, since these places, though administratively in Gipuzkoa, are dialectally Bizkaian (see Trask 1997: 4 and 6, figs 1.2 and 1.3), and the material collected is unambiguously Bizkaian in character (§§3.2, 3.3).<sup>8</sup> The stopover in Eskoriatza clearly offered a good opportunity, but we shall probably never know for sure where the data collection took place. Willughby probably never actually entered the province of Bizkaia proper at all. The failure to name the place of the boy's birth and/or residence proves to be a nuisance for the analysis at one point, as will be seen below (§3.3.3, in the discussion of vowel harmony).

It was noted above that the material would have been presented in Spanish, and the informant's responses contain evidence of quite large amounts of lexical borrowing from Spanish. Some such borrowings have become fully part of Basque lexis, but some items

<sup>8</sup> The seventeenth-century dialect characteristics of the towns of Gasteiz and Leintz-Gatzaga cannot now be determined with precision, and the language has retreated from there.

are unattested or rare in recorded Basque (39, 50, 93, 129, 157, 164, 202, 239, 289, 299, 334, 340, 341, 382, and arguably 142, 165, 177, 185, 215, 251, 290, 293, 304). That is, up to 5.9 percent of the responses show marks of Spanish interference that would be unexpected in a monolingual user of modern Basque. In addition, in 7 and 390, the Latin lemma seems to have been mistaken for a prompt in Spanish. In a few cases, Spanish responses have been scored through or may have been abandoned or elaborated (items 57, 58, 215, 290), presumably indicating one of three things: either that the scribe accidentally wrote down the prompt, or that the informant first echoed the prompt, or that the informant gave a response containing borrowed material and then knowingly responded in more traditional Basque. Whatever was the case, the evidence clearly shows that the boy was bilingual. He must have been therefore not randomly chosen from the peasantry, but probably carefully selected, perhaps using the good offices of contacts of the investigators. It is not certain, therefore, that he was ‘an ordinary, uneducated native speaker’ (*pace* Cram and Awbery 2001: 39, n. 46).

His bilingualism suggests that he was of the upper social class and to some degree culturally urban (despite the use by Willughby of the word *village* to describe his place of origin). Ray tells us (1673: 490) that the people of the region ‘send their children to School to learn Spanish ... as we do ours to learn Latin’. In fact, there is good reason to suspect that Spanish may have been the boy’s first language by choice (whether mother tongue or not), since the notable number of responses using Spanish borrowings where modern Basque has more normally retained an inherited word implies, but does not prove, that at least part of his default lexis was Spanish. However, if the strange material in the response to lemma 215 can be taken at face value (which is open to dispute), it might indicate that the boy’s preferred language in stressful situations was Basque.

We know nothing about the boy apart from his tendency to wilt while performing an unfamiliar task, not even his age, so we cannot evaluate properly some of the more interesting features of his responses. For instance, he appears uncomfortable and/or confused when dealing with compass-point terms (91–94) and abstract nouns

(e.g. most of 143–81, 297), and appears to get flustered when dealing with topics that might have been considered indelicate (158, 159). For some lemmata, he gives an elaborated response in phrasal or sentential form (e.g. 85, most of 143–81, 184, 187–95, 313, 342, 345, 346, 350, 351), sometimes, strikingly, expressing a proposition with a non-third-person subject or an imperative (e.g. 218–26, 246, 247, 258, 262, 292), rather than giving a straightforward lexical equivalent. When prompted by *plenum* ‘full’, he replies ‘My belly is full’ (359), and when prompted by *deorsum* ‘down’ he replies ‘The bird is on the ground’ (351). He sometimes wrestles with himself where he evidently finds expressing his ideas difficult; presented with *separare* ‘to separate’, he says ‘One goes from one, from another one’ (368), and *umbrae* ‘shadows’ provokes a response beginning ‘Sun and smoke...’ (179). Giving word-equivalents is arguably not a normal conversational skill but a specialised one of a pedagogic or academic kind. We cannot say whether the features that exasperated Willughby to say that he ‘grew weary & Impatient and tooke no care at all’ are due to the boy’s age, social conditioning, intellectual abilities or level of education, or to an understandable dislike of his task or boredom. His difficulties appear to increase as the ordeal proceeds, and where the prompts are more abstract. No response at all is recorded for *accommodare* ‘to fit, adjust’ (305) or, more puzzlingly, for the last item, *mater* ‘mother’ (391). We suspect that the interrogator forgot to present the latter. We should also make it clear here that we do not understand all the boy’s responses, even at the lexical level (e.g. 128, 172, 187, 192, 205, 210, 211, 270, 273, 290, 296, 321, 323).

### 1.5. *The distribution of tasks*

The transcription was done on 12 July 2002 by Coates, who has no significant knowledge of Basque but has worked regularly with Early Modern English MSS and has some knowledge of Spanish. He had available, through the generosity of its author, a preliminary transcription by Dr David Cram, which he used as an independent check on his own completed work, and discrepancies between the two were used to prompt a return to the MS. In some cases of uncertainty, Cram’s readings were preferred as more

plausible in the light of the evidence of modern Basque forms provided by Trask, a specialist in Basque (see e.g. Hualde et al. 1995; Trask 1997). Where the original reading was deemed reasonably certain, it was accepted, but in some of these cases a defensible and more plausible reading is suggested in the discussion of the entry (§ 4; e.g. 76, 294), and the discrepancy between the MS entry and the presumed intention is either explained linguistically or left problematic.

Trask did not see the original MS. He and Coates discussed the transcription item by item and established a definitive text as far as was possible. The resultant analysis and commentary on the individual words is almost completely by Trask. His notes are labelled ‘preliminary’, but they are very extensive, and there is little doubt that the final versions would have been substantially similar. Coates has not added or changed much (24 of the 391 entries, or 6.1 percent), but has made some stylistic adjustments. Coates returned to the MS, armed with Trask’s comments, for a final attempt to clear up outstanding problems on 18 September 2002. Discussion continued for some time, and, when Trask died on 27 March 2004, the essentials of the article were complete. Our final discussion, four days before his death, had been about the Willughby glossary. Section 1 is mainly by Coates, but Trask had seen and had the opportunity to comment on large parts of it. The convention of using the first person plural is adopted throughout because the authors saw it as a joint project and had agreed to accept joint responsibility for the finished product.

#### *1.6. Previous related scholarship and acknowledgements*

As we have made clear above, the MSS of linguistic interest in the Middleton collection have been examined before, by Dr David Cram of the University of Oxford. With Dr Gwenllian Awbery, he published a Welsh word list (MS Mi 4/149/2/3/8; Cram & Awbery 2001). We are grateful to Dr Andrew Breeze of the University of Navarre for originally drawing their article to our attention, and to Dr Cram for his generous cooperation. We are also very grateful to the Hon. Michael Willoughby for

permission to publish the material in his ownership, and to Dr Dorothy Johnston and Mrs Linda Shaw of the Department of Manuscripts and Special Collections, Hallward Library, University of Nottingham, for their good offices in enabling us to view and transcribe the manuscript and arranging permission to publish it. Dr Johnston also commented on the first draft of the opening sections, and her remarks have saved us from errors. We are very grateful for her suggested wording about the state of the MS and its cataloguing history. Our thanks are also due to Professor Max W. Wheeler for useful comments on Spanish and Basque phonology.

## 2. THE GLOSSARY

We now present the glossary in columns: the Latin lemma, our gloss and Willughby's Basque gloss *literatim*. We have numbered the lemmata. The ends of sheets, whether separate or sewn, are recorded, and the catalogue number of the sheet (if a separate catalogue item) appears at the head of each one. Material which the scribe has deleted is shown with a double strikethrough, however the deletion is effected in the MS. An oblique indicates a line-break. A small amount of problematic material is enclosed in parentheses. Comment on the physical form of the written response appears in square brackets.

| <i>Number</i>                   | <i>Lemma</i> | <i>English gloss</i> | <i>Basque response</i>   |
|---------------------------------|--------------|----------------------|--|
| <i>Sheet Mi 4/149/2/3/3/1/1</i> |              |                      |  |
| 1                               | Deus         | 'God'                | gangoicoa  |
| 2                               | Cælum        | 'sky, heaven'        | cerua  |
| 3                               | Stella       | 'star'               | yçaraac  |
| 4                               | Ignis        | 'fire'               | sua  |
| 5                               | Fumus        | 'smoke'              | guea   |
| 6                               | Cineres      | 'ashes'              | avsa   |
| 7                               | Aer          | 'air'                | aço  |
| 8                               | Aqua         | 'water'              | vra  |
| 9                               | Terra        | 'earth'              | Lvrra [There is an indecipherable mark between the first two letters; see remark on <I> in §1.32.] |
| 10                              | Pulvis       | 'dust, powder'       | poluorea   |
| 11                              | Cænum        | 'mud'                | Loia   |

| <i>Number</i>                   | <i>Lemma</i> | <i>English gloss</i>               | <i>Basque response</i>                                     |
|---------------------------------|--------------|------------------------------------|--|
| 12                              | Tonitru      | 'thunder'                          | gusturiac [First letter may overwrite <j>.]                |
| 13                              | Nubes        | 'cloud(s)'                         | odiac  |
| 14                              | Pluvia       | 'rain'                             | euria  |
| 15                              | Nix          | 'snow'                             | edura  |
| 16                              | Glacies      | 'ice'                              | Leia   |
| 17                              | Ventus       | 'wind'                             | axea   |
| 18                              | Sol          | 'sun'                              | egusquia   |
| 19                              | Luna         | 'moon'                             | irarguia [Note apparent understroke of second <r>.]        |
| 20                              | Saxum        | 'rock'                             | arriac   |
| 21                              | Aurum        | 'gold'                             | vregoria   |
| 22                              | Argentum     | 'silver'                           | vrecuria   |
| 23                              | Gramen       | 'grass'                            | bedarac [Third letter indistinct; could be <r>.]           |
| 24                              | Flos         | 'flower'                           | gaucaed <del>arc</del> Loraac                              |
| 25                              | Arbor        | 'tree'                             | escurac [Last letter overwrites <r>.]                      |
| 26                              | Musca        | 'fly'                              | evliac   |
| 27                              | Piscis       | 'fish'                             | araina   |
| 28                              | Avis         | 'bird'                             | choria   |
| 29                              | Bestia       | 'animals',<br>arguably 'cattle'    | beiac [Last letter under blot.]                            |
| <i>Sheet Mi 4/149/2/3/3/1/2</i> |              |                                    |  |
| 30                              | Lignum       | 'firewood'                         | egura [Last two letters under blot.]                       |
| 31                              | Radix        | 'root'                             | custraiaac [Letter 2 and its link to letter 1 under blot.] |
| 32                              | Cortex       | 'bark'                             | adara asala  |
| 33                              | Folium       | 'leaf'                             | o <sup>r</sup> ria   |
| 34                              | Semen        | 'seed'                             | asia   |
| 35                              | Pinna        | 'feather, wing',<br>taken as 'fin' | egoac arainaenac   |
| 36                              | Squama       | 'scale'                            | escamea  |
| 37                              | Rostrum      | 'beak'                             | picua  |
| 38                              | Ala          | 'wing'                             | egoachoeriaenac  |
| 39                              | Penna        | 'feather'                          | pulmea   |
| 40                              | Ovum         | 'egg'                              | aravsea  |
| 41                              | Crisis       | 'hair'                             | vleac  |
| 42                              | Cornu        | 'horn'                             | adara  |
| 43                              | Cutis        | 'skin'                             | narua  |
| 44                              | Cauda        | 'tail'                             | bustana  |
| 45                              | Lac          | 'milk'                             | esnea  |
| 46                              | Sanguis      | 'blood'                            | odola  |
| 47                              | Cerebrum     | 'brain'                            | garunac  |
| 48                              | Os Ossis     | 'bone'                             | acurac   |
| 49                              | Caro         | 'flesh'                            | oquelea  |
| 50                              | Adeps        | 'fat'                              | seboa  |

| <i>Number</i> | <i>Lemma</i> | <i>English gloss</i> | <i>Basque response</i>   |
|---------------|--------------|----------------------|--|
| 51            | Caput        | 'head'               | burúa [ <i>Sic</i> with acute accent.]                           |
| 52            | Facies       | 'face'               | arpeguia   |
| 53            | Oculus       | 'eye'                | beguiac  |
| 54            | Auris        | 'ear'                | belariac   |
| 55            | Nasus        | 'nose'               | curac  |
| 56            | Os oris      | 'mouth'              | aoa  |
| 57            | Lingua       | 'tongue'             | <del>Lea</del> . Mina  |
| 58            | Dens         | 'tooth'              | die[nt a]guinac [ <i>&lt;nt&gt;</i> overlaps <i>&lt;a&gt;</i> .] |

*Sheet Mi 4/149/2/3/3/1/3*

|    |               |                 |  |
|----|---------------|-----------------|--|
| 59 | Collum        | 'neck'          | cocotea  |
| 60 | Tergum        | 'back'          | <del>cocotea</del> lepoa   |
| 61 | Pectus        | 'breast, chest' | bularra  |
| 62 | Humerus       | 'shoulder'      | soluardea  |
| 63 | Mamma         | 'female breast' | tituac   |
| 64 | Costa         | 'rib'           | caiacac  |
| 65 | Venter        | 'belly'         | tirpea   |
| 66 | Brachium      | 'arm'           | becoa  |
| 67 | Manus         | 'hand'          | escua  |
| 68 | Digitus       | 'finger'        | acac [First <i>&lt;c&gt;</i> may be <i>&lt;ç&gt;</i> .]  |
| 69 | Femur         | 'thigh'         | isterac  |
| 70 | Tibia         | 'shin'          | bernacaquiac   |
| 71 | Pes           | 'foot'          | oinac  |
| 72 | Digitus Pedis | 'toe'           | beaçac   |
| 73 | Genu          | 'knee'          | belanacburuac [Mark before <i>&lt;l&gt;</i> ].<br>[Second <i>&lt;b&gt;</i> resembles <i>&lt;h&gt;</i> .] |
| 74 | Calx          | 'heel'          | orpoa  |
| 75 | Cor           | 'heart'         | vioça  |
| 76 | Pulmo         | 'lung'          | vtriac   |
| 77 | Hepar         | 'liver'         | guibela  |
| 78 | Viscera       | 'guts'          | tripac [ <i>&lt;ri&gt;</i> overwrites something.]  |
| 79 | Vir           | 'man'           | guiçona  |
| 80 | Mulier        | 'woman'         | andrea   |
| 81 | Mons          | 'mountain'      | baçoac   |
| 82 | Vallis        | 'valley'        | bea  |
| 83 | Mare          | 'sea'           | ysaçoa   |
| 84 | Fluvius       | 'river'         | ybaia  |
| 85 | Longus        | 'long'          | Luceada  |
| 86 | Brevis        | 'short'         | chicara  |
| 87 | Latus         | 'wide'          | çabala   |
| 88 | Angustus      | 'narrow'        | estua  |
| 89 | Altus         | 'high'          | áltua [ <i>Sic</i> with acute accent.]   |

*Sheet Mi 4/149/2/3/3/1/4*

|    |          |               |         |
|----|----------|---------------|---------|
| 90 | Humilis  | 'low, humble' | bea     |
| 91 | Oriens   | 'east'        | odiac x |
| 92 | Occidens | 'west'        | asea x  |

| <i>Number</i>   | <i>Lemma</i>                           | <i>English gloss</i>   | <i>Basque response</i>   |
|---|--|------------------------|--|
| 93  | Septentrio                             | 'north'                | nordea x   |
| 94  | Meridies                               | 'south'                | ipara egoea [Preceded by illegible material.] [First 'letter' or vertical stroke uncertain.] |
| 95  | Multitudo                              | 'crowd'                | asco   |
| 96  | Paucitas                               | 'small number, dearth' | eguichi [<e> may be struck through.] [<g> may overwrite <h>.]                                |
| 97  | Vnum                                   | '1'                    | bat  |
| 98  | Duo                                    | '2'                    | Vi   |
| 99  | Tres                                   | '3'                    | yrü  |
| 100   | Quatuor                                | '4'                    | Lav  |
| 101   | Quinque                                | '5'                    | bost   |
| 102   | Sex                                    | '6'                    | sei  |
| 103   | Septem                                 | '7'                    | saspi  |
| 104   | Octo                                   | '8'                    | sorci  |
| 105   | Novem                                  | '9'                    | vederaci   |
| 106   | Decem                                  | '10'                   | amar   |
| 107   | Vndecem                                | '11'                   | amaca  |
| 108   | Duodecem                               | '12'                   | amabi  |
| 109   | Tredecem                               | '13'                   | amairu   |
| 110   | Quatuordecem                           | '14'                   | amalau [Fourth letter unclear; could be <r> overwriting something.]                          |
| 111   | Quindecem                              | '15'                   | amabostoc  |
| 112   | Sexdecem                               | '16'                   | amacei   |
| 113   | Septendecem                            | '17'                   | amacaspi   |
| 114   | Octodecem                              | '18'                   | amucorci [Third letter appears to be <u> overwriting <l> or similar.]                        |
| 115   | Novendecem                             | '19'                   | emereci  |
| 116   | Viginti                                | '20'                   | ogui   |
| 117   | Triginta                               | '30'                   | oguetaamar   |
| 118   | Quadráginta                            | '40'                   | berogui  |
| 119   | Quinquaginta<br>[fifth letter unclear] | '50'                   | beroguetaamar  |
| 120   | Sexaginta                              | '60'                   | yrorogui   |
| 121   | Septuaginta                            | '70'                   | yroroguetaamar   |
| [On the verso of this sheet is the account of the informant referred to in the Introduction.] |  |                        |  |
| <i>Sheet Mi 4/149/2/3/3/2</i>   |  |                        |  |
| 122   | Octoginta                              | '80'                   | Larogui  |
| 123   | Nonaginta                              | '90'                   | Laroguetaamar  |
| 124   | Centum                                 | '100'                  | eun [<e> is written huge.]   |
| 125   | Recta                                  | 'straight'             | artecs   |
| 126   | Curva                                  | 'bent, crooked'        | oquer  |
| 127   | Acuta                                  | 'sharp'                | covosdago  |
| 128   | Obtusa                                 | 'blunt'                | dengarobatedauc  |

| <i>Number</i>    | <i>Lemma</i> | <i>English gloss</i>   | <i>Basque response</i>  |
|------------------|--------------|------------------------|---|
| 129              | Agger        | 'mound'                | montoeba  |
| 130              | Fossa        | 'ditch'                | culua   |
| 131              | Dies         | 'day'                  | egunac  |
| 132              | Nox          | 'night'                | gauba   |
| 133              | Mane         | 'morning,<br>tomorrow' | biar  |
| 134              | Meridies     | 'midday'               | eguerdia  |
| 135              | Vesper       | 'evening'              | besperac  |
| 136              | Æstas        | 'summer'               | vdea  |
| 137              | Hyems        | 'winter'               | negua   |
| 138              | Ver          | 'spring'               | martia  |
| 139              | Autumnus     | 'autumn'               | cecerilla   |
| 140              | Infans       | 'child'                | vmea  |
| 141              | Senex        | 'old'                  | cara  |
| 142              | Memoria      | 'memory'               | memoria   |
| 143              | Oblivio      | 'forgetfulness'        | astugat   |
| 144              | Visus        | 'sight'                | baquest   |
| 145              | Cæcitas      | 'blindness'            | ycua(g) [Final letter obliterated.]   |
| 146              | Auditus      | 'hearing'              | ensuneguicu [Possible space before <g>.]  |
| 147              | Surditas     | 'deafness'             | estancut  |
| 148              | Olfactus     | 'sense of smell'       | vsain   |
| 149              | Gustus       | 'sense of taste'       | gustua  |
| 150              | Tactus       | 'sense of touch'       | Gaitendau [First letter overwrites something.]  |
| <i>New sheet</i> |              |                        |   |
| 151              | Vita         | 'life'                 | vicida  |
| 152              | Mors         | 'death'                | yl [Offstroke of <l> has terminal vertical bar.]  |
| 153              | Salus        | 'health'               | oacuna  |
| 154              | Morbus       | 'illness'              | gechonas [The <s> may be illusory.]   |
| 155              | Robur        | 'vigour'               | yndara  |
| 156              | Debilitas    | 'weakness'             | mea   |
| 157              | Dolor        | 'pain'                 | penac   |
| 158              | Mas          | 'male'                 | gestoa x  |
| 159              | Fæmina       | 'female'               | gestotaeguiten x  |
| 160              | Fertilis     | 'fertile'              | erionada  |
| 161              | Sterilis     | 'barren'               | ercion(der[e?])aieteesta/uc [Unclear whether space () is real.]<br>[<e?> might be <c>.] |
| 162              | Maturus      | 'ripe'                 | biguna  |
| 163              | Sapientia    | 'understanding'        | entendimentua   |
| 164              | Stultitia    | 'stupidity'            | ynoratebatdau   |
| 165              | Fidelitas    | 'faithfulness'         | fiadua [Unclear; maybe <Liadua>.]   |
| 166              | Perfidia     | 'treachery'            | vnecostutendaqui [<o> may overwrite something.]   |
| 167              | Mendacium    | 'lie, untruth'         | guçural [Final letter may be illusory.]   |

| <i>Number</i>    | <i>Lemma</i> | <i>English gloss</i>    | <i>Basque response</i>   |
|------------------|--------------|-------------------------|--|
| 168              | Fortitudo    | 'fortitude'             | aminoadauco  |
| 169              | Crudelitas   | 'cruelty'               | guicon dungabat  |
| 170              | Patientia    | 'patience'              | pacienciadaco  |
| 171              | Liberalitas  | 'generosity'            | nacaidagoala   |
| 172              | Avaritia     | 'greed'                 | guiçonsipleada   |
| 173              | Fælicitas    | 'happiness'             | suerteonadauco   |
| 174              | Miseria      | 'misery'                | estaucana  |
| 175              | Divitiæ      | 'wealth, riches'        | auerasdago   |
| 176              | Paupertas    | 'poverty'               | poruea   |
| 177              | Lux          | 'light'                 | caridadea  |
| 178              | Tenebræ      | 'darkness'              | ylundauco  |
| 179              | Vmbræ        | 'shade, shadow(s)'      | egusquiaetaquese/aeguitenda  |
| 180              | Pulchritudo  | 'beauty'                | edradalaandera   |
| 181              | Deformitas   | 'deformity'             | dungeada [Misaligned with next lemma.]   |
| <i>New sheet</i> |              |                         |  |
| 182              | Albus        | 'white'                 | curia  |
| 183              | Niger        | 'black'                 | balca  |
| 184              | Ruber        | 'red'                   | coloregoriadauco   |
| 185              | Viridis      | 'green'                 | Verdea   |
| 186              | Sonus        | 'sound'                 | oca  |
| 187              | Silentium    | 'silence'               | gueldia doala  |
| 188              | Vox          | 'voice'                 | bosonadauco  |
| 189              | Dulcis       | 'sweet'                 | gocoda   |
| 190              | Amarus       | 'bitter'                | garaca   |
| 191              | Salsus       | 'salt(y)'               | gacaaascodauco [Second <c> overwrites something.]  |
| 192              | Calor        | 'heat'                  | egusquiascoeguite/nter(...)dau [(...) accommodates downloop of <g> in previous line.]  |
| 193              | Frigus       | 'cold(ness)'            | oseguitenda  |
| 194              | Humiditas    | 'moisture'              | omilledago [Second <d> is spread like <a>.]  |
| 195              | Siccitas     | 'dry(ness)'             | cicudago   |
| 196              | Gravitas     | 'heaviness'             | palabatepisetarda <i>or</i> palabatepisularda [ <b> appears to overwrite <p>.]   |
| 197              | Levitas      | 'lightness (of weight)' | guirindoa [There is a squiggle overwritten over the first three letters; if this is intended to be a letter, it could be <a>.] |
| 198              | Durities     | 'hardness'              | gogora   |
| 199              | Mollities    | 'softness'              | estagora   |
| 200              | Lævis        | 'smooth'                | Luundago   |
| 201              | Asper        | 'rough'                 | audengarodaro  |
| 202              | Tenax        | 'tough'                 | fuercaadauco x   |
| 203              | Friabilis    | 'crumbly'               | estaco fuercairi x   |
| 204              | Benedictio   | 'blessing'              | Bendicinoaesardendeuçõ   |

| <i>Number</i>                | <i>Lemma</i>   | <i>English gloss</i> | <i>Basque response</i>                                      |
|------------------------------|--|----------------------|---|
| 205                          | Maledictio   | 'curse'              | soasorean   |
| 206                          | Preservatio  | 'preservation'       | Libradarinago   |
| 207                          | Destructio   | 'destruction'        | gacaitenda  |
| 208                          | Crederere  | 'believe'            | quedroa   |
| 209                          | Dubitare   | 'doubt'              | yrauten dau   |
| 210                          | Cogitare   | 'think'              | pensaentandot   |
| <i>New sheet</i>             |  |                      |   |
| 211                          | Inquirere  | 'seek'               | daraiten  |
| 212                          | Invenire   | 'find'               | ydorodo   |
| 213                          | Desiderium   | 'desire'             | gureada ucac  |
| 214                          | Placere  | 'please'             | contentuasco dauc   |
| 215                          | Displicere   | 'displease'          | Nochachagustu/ria<br>[<sent ...> is overwritten.]           |
| 216                          | Compassio  | 'pity'               | pasiencia daucat  |
| 217                          | Pudor  | 'shame'              | Locariquestauca   |
| 218                          | Amor   | 'love'               | gureadacaut [The second <u><br>appears to overwrite a <t>.] |
| 219                          | Odium  | 'hatred'             | bilduradacac  |
| 220                          | Gaudium  | 'joy'                | alegrenago  |
| 221                          | Tristitia  | 'sadness'            | tristenago  |
| 222                          | Spes   | 'hope'               | esperancea dauca  |
| 223                          | Metus  | 'fear'               | bildura daucat  |
| 224                          | Jra  | 'anger'              | rabioadaucat  |
| 225                          | Risus  | 'laughter'           | bareitendo  |
| 226                          | Fletus   | 'weeping'            | negareguitendo [ <ne> overwrites<br>something like <ge>.]   |
| 227                          | Fames  | 'hunger'             | gocea   |
| 228                          | Edere  | 'eat'                | gaten   |
| 229                          | Bibere   | 'drink'              | edaten [ <d> overwrites <l>.]<br>[ <n> under blot.]         |
| 230                          | Somnus   | 'sleep'              | Loeguingurado [ <del>Loeguitamesegut/tendot</del> ]         |
| 231                          | Somnium  | 'dream'              | ameseguidendot [ <d> overwrites<br><t> or vice versa.]      |
| 232                          | Loqui  | 'speak'              | beruaeguiten [ <i>sic</i> ]                                 |
| 233                          | Canere   | 'sing'               | Cantetan [ <C> overwrites <t>.]                             |
| 234                          | Parturire  | 'give birth'         | Ceinaeguitendago  |
| 235                          | Stare [word<br>displaced laterally<br>because of tear] | 'stand'              | artesdaگو   |
| 236                          | Sedere   | 'sit'                | gariridago  |
| 237                          | Surgere  | 'arise'              | eroasu  |
| 238                          | Cadere   | 'fall'               | gaussi  |
| 239                          | Ambulare   | 'walk'               | paseatan  |
| 240                          | Currere  | 'run'                | Lasterca  |
| 241                          | Volare   | 'fly'                | banoacareraca/ynnesinoa                                     |
| <i>End of sheet, damaged</i> |  |                      |   |

| <i>Number</i>                 | <i>Lemma</i> | <i>English gloss</i> | <i>Basque response</i>                                      |
|-------------------------------|--------------|----------------------|---|
| <i>Sheet Mi 4/149/2/3/3/3</i> |              |                      |   |
| 242                           | Claudicare   | 'limp, hobble'       | erendaco [ <c> is over-size.]                               |
| 243                           | Natare       | 'swim'               | Vguer   |
| 244                           | Saltare      | 'jump'               | Saltu   |
| 245                           | Titubare     | 'totter'             | estropesaetagat   |
| 246                           | Ducere       | 'lead'               | eroaçu  |
| 247                           | Sequi        | 'follow'             | ceguidueguiocu  |
| 248                           | Spiratio     | 'sigh'               | cispura   |
| 249                           | Tussis       | 'cough'              | estula [ <l> appears to overwrite <c> .]                    |
| 250                           | Singultus    | 'weeping'            | negareguitendot   |
| 251                           | Sternutatio  | 'sneeze'             | dominestua  |
| 252                           | Morsus       | 'bite'               | aguinca   |
| 253                           | Linctus      | 'lick'               | garuientan  |
| 254                           | Salivare     | 'spit'               | chistueguiten   |
| 255                           | Vomere       | 'vomit'              | comituacateraetan   |
| 256                           | Mingere      | 'urinate'            | chixaeguiten <i>or</i> chizaeguiten                         |
| 257                           | Cacare       | 'defecate'           | cacaeguiten   |
| 258                           | Sudare       | 'sweat'              | yserdia dariat  |
| 259                           | Pedere       | 'fart'               | Vscara  |
| 260                           | Ructare      | 'belch'              | estula eguiten  |
| 261                           | Pellere      | 'strike, drive'      | vrteneguiten  |
| 262                           | Premere      | 'press'              | estunago  |
| 263                           | Trahere      | 'pull'               | tira  |
| 264                           | Vehere       | 'carry'              | Cargealepoan [The third <a> appears to overwrite <l> .]     |
| 265                           | Fodere       | 'dig'                | Laieta  |
| 266                           | Plantare     | 'plant'              | plantetan   |
| 267                           | Serere       | 'sow'                | garia eguiten   |
| 268                           | Metere       | 'reap'               | ebagui  |
| 269                           | Lavare       | 'wash'               | garbitutenescuaot [Second <a> obscured by blot.]            |
| 270                           | Percutere    | 'pierce'             | eglaci  |
| <i>New sheet</i>              |              |                      |   |
| 271                           | Secare       | 'cut'                | ebagui  |
| 272                           | Frangere     | 'break'              | aussi [Letters 3 and 4 very unclear.]                       |
| 273                           | Aperire      | 'open'               | ydigui [On preceding line.]<br><del>obard[?]-daguilla</del> |
| 274                           | Claudere     | 'close'              | ychi  |
| 275                           | Colligere    | 'gather'             | ardudaguiala x  |
| 276                           | Spargere     | 'sprinkle, scatter'  | Luraesarten [ <t> overwrites <d> .]                         |
| 277                           | Pater        | 'father'             | ayta  |
| 278                           | Avus         | 'grandfather'        | aytanagusia   |
| 279                           | Filius       | 'son'                | semae   |
| 280                           | Filia        | 'daughter'           | alauca  |

| <i>Number</i>    | <i>Lemma</i> | <i>English gloss</i>     | <i>Basque response</i>  |
|------------------|--------------|--------------------------|---|
| 281              | Frater       | 'brother'                | anaia   |
| 282              | Soror        | 'sister'                 | asitea  |
| 283              | Patruelis    | 'uncle'                  | osauea  |
| 284              | Maritus      | 'husband'                | senā nar [ <s> overwrites <y> .]  |
| 285              | Vxor         | 'wife'                   | andrea  |
| 286              | Vidua        | 'widow'                  | andra larguna   |
| 287              | Virgo        | 'young woman,<br>virgin' | Donsellea   |
| 288              | Herus        | 'master'                 | maisuça [ <i> may overwrite <e> .]  |
| 289              | Servus       | 'servant'                | Criadua   |
| 290              | Discipulus   | 'pupil'                  | escruianteonat [ <c> may overwrite<br><e> .] [Last letter may be <c> .]   |
| 291              | Amicus       | 'friend'                 | adis quirea [Not clear whether space<br>is intended or not.]  |
| 292              | Hostis       | 'enemy'                  | ene arerioa   |
| 293              | Arvum        | 'arable field'           | Canpoa  |
| 294              | Pratum       | 'pasture, meadow'        | socoandia [Third letter is most unclear;<br>first of all perhaps <h> was<br>written and is blotted; <c><br>may overwrite <t>; could be <l> .] |
| 295              | Docere       | 'teach'                  | yracaci   |
| 296              | Laus         | 'praise'                 | albetae   |
| 297              | Mīnæ         | 'threats'                | oneberebician ycasico/estu  |
| 298              | Rex          | 'king'                   | reguea  |
| 299              | Subditus     | 'subject'                | sugestonago   |
| 300              | Lex          | 'law'                    | Legedauco   |
| 301              | Tributum     | 'tribute, tax'           | pagetandot  |
| 302              | Emere        | 'buy'                    | yrabaste  |
| 303              | Vendere      | 'sell'                   | Salduten  |
| <i>New sheet</i> |              |                          |   |
| 304              | Mutuari      | 'borrow'                 | perta dueguidacu/[on previous line,<br>foot of previous sheet] pertadu  |
| 305              | Accommodare  | 'fit, adjust'            | BLANK   |
| 306              | Promittere   | 'promise'                | pagaetacoobilga   |
| 307              | Medicus      | 'doctor'                 | dotorea   |
| 308              | Judex        | 'judge'                  | Juessa  |
| 309              | Innocens     | 'innocent'               | Ynosentea   |
| 310              | Nocens       | 'guilty'                 | eruaecarten   |
| 311              | Condemnare   | 'condemn'                | Condenadua  |
| 312              | Absoluere    | 'pardon'                 | librea  |
| 313              | Homicidium   | 'murder, homicide'       | yltendauenna [ <l> overwrites<br>something.] [ <t> overwrites <d> .]  |
| 314              | Furtum       | 'theft'                  | Lapura  |
| 315              | Pæna         | 'punishment'             | Castigacot  |
| 316              | Præmium      | 'reward'                 | preminoguichi   |
| 317              | Pax          | 'peace'                  | bequea  |

| <i>Number</i>    | <i>Lemma</i> | <i>English gloss</i> | <i>Basque response</i>   |
|------------------|--------------|----------------------|--|
| 318              | Bellum       | 'war'                | guerra   |
| 319              | Pugnare      | 'fight'              | alcaren contra [Unexplained horizontal mark over <c> in second word.]                                  |
| 320              | Victoria     | 'victory'            | Vitoria  |
| 321              | Arma         | 'weapons'            | espata etaporquor  |
| 322              | Sacerdos     | 'priest'             | aytaba   |
| 323              | Votum        | 'vow, offering'      | aganco gorodena  |
| 324              | Precatio     | 'prayer'             | egaciten   |
| 325              | Ens          | 'thing'              | gacabat  |
| 326              | Nihil        | 'nothing'            | baperes [<s> has paraph.]  |
| 327              | Nomen        | 'name'               | Ycena x  |
| 328              | Bonum        | 'good'               | ona  |
| 329              | Malum        | 'bad'                | dengua   |
| 330              | Verum        | 'true'               | eguaia   |
| 331              | Falsum       | 'false'              | falssoa  |
| 332              | Necessarium  | 'necessary'          | nesesariaero pean/a<br>[Second <s> overwrites something.]  |
| 333              | Licitum      | 'lawful, proper'     | onodeguintado [<x> (or x?) appears above <u>.]   |
| 334              | Facile       | 'easy'               | fasilada   |
| 335              | Difficile    | 'difficult'          | arerioa [Second <r> overwrites something.]   |
| <i>New sheet</i> |              |                      |  |
| 336              | Vtile        | 'useful'             | eropeaennesarioa   |
| 337              | Noxium       | 'harmful'            | eno osetannau [Second <o> may be illusory.]<br>[Second <e> overwrites something.] [Third <n> unclear.] |
| 338              | Tutum        | 'safe'               | segurunago   |
| 339              | Periculosum  | 'dangerous'          | piligurnago  |
| 340              | Prosperum    | 'prosperous'         | benturosoa   |
| 341              | Adversum     | 'unfortunate'        | desdichada   |
| 342              | Addere       | 'add'                | yminieguisugueia/go  |
| 343              | Auferre      | 'remove'             | eroacu   |
| 344              | Medium       | 'middle'             | erdia  |
| 345              | Extremum     | 'extreme'            | acabaduda  |
| 346              | Apex         | 'top'                | altuagoda  |
| 347              | Fundus       | 'bottom'             | bea  |
| 348              | Dextra       | 'right (hand)'       | escumea  |
| 349              | Sinistra     | 'left (hand)'        | escuesquera  |
| 350              | Sursum       | 'up'                 | goiradoa x   |
| 351              | Deorsum      | 'down'               | Lureandagochoria<br>[<or> partly obscured by an <x> (or x?).]  |

| <i>Number</i>                  | <i>Lemma</i>                 | <i>English gloss</i>    | <i>Basque response</i>   |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|--|
| 352                            | Anterius                     | 'front'                 | asenengoa [First <n> under blot.] [Last letter overwrites something.]              |
| 353                            | Posteriorus                  | 'behind'                | aseti  |
| 354                            | Interiorus                   | 'inner'                 | baruti   |
| 355                            | Exteriorus                   | 'outer'                 | canpoti  |
| 356                            | Magnum                       | 'big'                   | andia  |
| 357                            | Parvum                       | 'small'                 | chiquira   |
| 358                            | Æquale                       | 'equal'                 | Ygualdira  |
| 359                            | Plenum                       | 'full'                  | betedagosabela   |
| 360                            | Vacuum                       | 'empty'                 | Vsitudago  |
| 361                            | Otium                        | 'leisure'               | estavocoarecgui  |
| 362                            | Negotium                     | 'business'              | negociauegui/ai  |
| 363                            | Simile                       | 'same, similar'         | bat deruria [<b> overwrites something, maybe <l>.]                                 |
| 364                            | Dissimile                    | 'different, dissimilar' | estiduriere  |
| 365                            | Habere                       | 'have'                  | escusico dog(ou) [Not certain that there is really a letter-space in second word.] |
| overleaf,<br>unnumbered [365'] | caere [sic]<br>[in new hand] | '(?) lack'              | essugui [Third letter uncertain.]  |

*New sheet**Sheet Mi 4/149/2/3/3/4*

|     |            |                 |  |
|-----|------------|-----------------|--|
| 366 | Carere     | 'lack'          | BLANK  |
| 367 | Iungere    | 'join'          | Juntadueguisu                                      |
| 368 | Separare   | 'separate'      | vatoabatetibestabat/eti x                          |
| 369 | Dare       | 'give'          | emon   |
| 370 | Accipere   | 'accept'        | artueguicu   |
| 371 | Recusare   | 'refuse'        | esto gusralau [<l> uncertain.]                     |
| 372 | Incipere   | 'begin'         | asisaite   |
| 373 | Concludere | 'end'           | acauadueguisu<br>[Possible space after third <a>.] |
| 374 | Mittere    | 'send'          | eguisu   |
| 375 | Prehendere | 'take, grasp'   | artueguisu   |
| 376 | Quæstio    | 'question'      | escatu   |
| 377 | Responsio  | 'answer'        | erancun  |
| 378 | Rogare     | 'ask (for)'     | Jangoicoenamorear/e<br>[Third letter unclear.]     |
| 379 | Concedere  | 'assent, grant' | acordau  |
| 380 | Affirmare  | 'affirm'        | firmedu  |
| 381 | Negare     | 'deny'          | gucura   |
| 382 | Plumbum    | 'lead'          | plomoa   |
| 383 | Ferrum     | 'iron'          | burdina  |

| <i>Number</i> | <i>Lemma</i> | <i>English gloss</i>      | <i>Basque response</i>                               |
|---------------|--------------|---------------------------|--|
| 384           | Ego          | 'I'                       | ni   |
| 385           | Tu           | 'you (sg.)'               | iyas() [End unclear.]                                |
| 386           | Ille         | 'he, that'                | <del>erribatdaes</del> er x                          |
| 387           | Nos          | 'we'                      | emengara [An <I> is struck through after first <e>.] |
| 388           | Vos          | 'you (pl.)'               | suegue   |
| 389           | Illi         | 'they'                    | aura   |
| 390           | Pecunia      | 'wealth, money, property' | chiquiraet   |
| 391           | Mater        | 'mother'                  | BLANK  |

### 3. LINGUISTIC COMMENTARY

#### 3.1. Introduction

Like most native speakers, the informant generally cites nouns and adjectives with the definite article *-a* attached. Quite often he cites a noun in the plural, with the plural article *-ak*, mostly for reasons we cannot guess. He usually cites verbs in the imperfective participle (ending *-ten*), a practice without any precedent known to us. Most native speakers use the perfective participle as the citation form, and the boy does this on some occasions. Not infrequently, though, he provides a verb either in the imperative or in a finite form (a phrase or a complete sentence), with a subject apparently chosen arbitrarily, seemingly preferring to give a response situated in some context rather than none and with some propositional content.

#### 3.2. Early-established features of Bizkaian

Many of the signature features of modern Bizkaian were already firmly in place by the time of our earliest records of the dialect. These features are consistently present in all the texts listed in section 1.1, and of course they are also present in Willughby's transcriptions. Among these features are the following:

3.2.1. The presence of Bizkaian words not recorded in any other dialect, such as *lei* 'ice, frost' (16), *garun* 'brain(s)' (47) and *jaisi* 'fall down' (238).

3.2.2. The presence of uniquely Bizkaian variant forms, such as *emon* ‘give’ for common *eman* (369), *baltz* ‘black’ for common *beltz* (183) and *ebagi* ‘cut’ for common *ebaki* (271).

3.2.3. The presence of distinctively Bizkaian auxiliary verb forms, such as first plural transitive *dogu* (elsewhere *degu*, *dugu*) (365), first singular transitive *dot* (elsewhere *det*, *dut*) (231, 250), third singular transitive *dau* (elsewhere *du*) (192) and first singular dative intransitive *jat* (elsewhere *zait*, *zaut*) (143).

3.2.4. The presence of a geminate /aa/ in absolutive plurals of nouns ending in /-a/, in *izarraak* ‘stars’ in 3 (modern Bizkaian *izarrak*) and *loraak* ‘flowers’ in 24 (modern Bizkaian *lorak*), apparently the sole examples. Such plurals are common in early Bizkaian texts, and they occur as late as the work of Moguel in the first years of the nineteenth century, but they appear to be gone today. So far as we know, no other dialect exhibits such forms at any period.

3.2.5. The presence of the highly characteristic definite singular forms of nouns ending in /-a/. The singular definite article is a suffix *-a*, as in common *gizon* ‘man’, *gizona* ‘the man’; *etxe* ‘house’, *etxea* ‘the house’. When the noun ends in /-a/, in most dialects the two identical vowels coalesce into one: *uda* ‘summer’, *uda* ‘the summer’. But Bizkaian is different: instead of coalescence, we have raising of the first /a/ to /e/, producing *uda* ‘summer’, but *udea* ‘the summer’, as given in 136. Such a definite form is recorded by Willughby for every noun ending in /-a/, except, mysteriously, for the borrowing *fuertzaa* in 202. This is just what we would expect: as pointed out by de Rijk (1970: 158), this vowel-raising is undoubtedly much the oldest of the several processes affecting sequences of vowels in modern Bizkaian, two more of which we will be discussing below.

3.2.6. The lowering of word-final /e/ to /a/ in an arbitrary subset of nouns. Some nouns in final /e/ have the same form in all dialects, including Bizkaian: *etxe* ‘house’, *gose* ‘hunger’, and others. But many of these nouns have undergone a lowering of /e/ to /a/ in B[izkaian]: common *ote* ‘gorse’, B *ota*; common *lore* ‘flower’, B *lora* (24); common *and(e)re* ‘lady’, B *andra* ‘woman’ (80). This is not a phonological change but an analogical one arising from the vowel-raising described in §3.2.5 above. Once *uda* ‘summer’ had acquired

the definite form *udea*, and similarly for all other nouns ending in /a/, then there was an ambiguity with nouns ending in /e/. The historical *lore* ‘flower’ had a regular definite form *lorea*, and speakers must have applied a four-part analogy: *udea* : *uda* :: *lorea* : *X*. Solving for *X*, of course, yields a new base form *lora*, and this process has been applied to a number of nouns. Unfortunately, the absence from the transcriptions of bare nouns without articles makes it difficult to demonstrate the presence here of forms like *lora*, but the presence of the plural *loraak* in 24 seems enough to guarantee their existence in the boy’s speech, since a singular *\*lore* should not yield a plural *loraak* (compare modern Bizkaian *etxe* ‘house’, definite *etxea*, plural *etxeak*, not *\*etxak*, continuing an earlier *\*etxaak*).

3.2.7. There is one more Bizkaian feature which was probably in place centuries ago but whose presence is not so easy to extract from written texts. This is the treatment of the historical glide *\*/j/*. This segment has developed quite variously in the several dialects. In almost all of the area of Bizkaian, the outcome is the affricate [tʃ], as recorded by Louis-Lucien Bonaparte in the middle of the nineteenth century. In words containing it, this historical *\*/j/* is consistently transcribed by Willughby with the letter <g>, as in item 238, *gaussi*, for modern *jausi* ‘fall down’. We could take this as exploiting the phonetic value of the name of the English letter <g>, in line with the medieval view that the ‘proper’ sound of a letter was that which its name had in its citation form (strictly, that if letter names were properly assigned, they would be a true reflection of the letters’ power or phonetic manifestation (Abercrombie 1949)), and therefore as an attempt at spelling [tʃ]. But we obviously cannot rule out another possibility, namely an attempt to render directly a sound unfamiliar in English, the palatal plosive [j] which continues *\*/j/* today in Lapurdi and Low Navarre, i.e. most of the French Basque Country, and which was presumably intermediate in the Bizkaian strengthening of [j] to [tʃ].<sup>9</sup> In the latter case, we have a

<sup>9</sup> Ray’s theoretical opinion about affricates may have been different, to judge by the views expressed in later work discussed by Cram (1998: 143–4). He analyses <j> as <dzy>, and ascribes the opinion to Wilkins, though Cram shows that it is really due to Alexander Gil.

useful indicator that the strengthening was not completed in this region of Bizkaian in 1664.

### 3.3. *More recent features of Bizkaian*

The developments above were completed in Bizkaian long before Willughby obtained his transcriptions, and we cannot be surprised at finding all of them reflected consistently in his data. Of greater interest, though, are some other processes, ones which are typical of modern Bizkaian but which had clearly not gone to completion, or perhaps even appeared, by the time of our first records of Bizkaian. There are four of these: sibilant merger; glide formation and glide strengthening; vowel harmony; and mid-vowel raising. Some less consistent phenomena are discussed in §3.3.5.

#### 3.3.1. *Sibilant merger*

Basque exhibits a clearly ancient contrast between two voiceless alveolar sibilants, a laminal, notated <z> in the traditional orthography, and an apical, notated <s>. The corresponding affricates, notated <tz> and <ts>, are also present. This laminal/apical contrast is clearly and consistently maintained in writing in the medieval Bizkaian materials (Michelena 1964). It is equally consistently maintained in the Bizkaian writings of the sixteenth century, including the *Refranes y sentencias* (see Lakarra 1996 for an edited version). But, in the seventeenth century, we begin to find spelling confusion between <z> and <s> in Bizkaian writings. Today the contrast is apparently completely gone in all of the area assigned to the Bizkaian dialect, and it was already mostly gone when Louis-Lucien Bonaparte investigated the area in the mid-nineteenth century. Michelena (1961: 282) reports that the distinction was still maintained in the 1950s in the region of Marquina, but Hualde (1991: 10) concludes that the contrast no longer exists anywhere in the province of Bizkaia. The contrast was not lost all at once, of course. In the first half of the seventeenth century, confusion between the two sibilants was almost total in the writer Micoleta, a native of Bilbao in the west, and in the *Viva Jesús!*, which also seems to have been composed in the west of the

Bizkaian area (Michelena 1961: 282). But the writer Pedro Pablo de Astarloa (1751–1821), a native of Durango in the east-central area, not only retained the contrast in his speech but provided a more than respectable articulatory description of the two sounds. Yet Astarloa's brother Pedro José apparently lacked the contrast entirely, to judge by the frequent spelling confusions in his writing (Michelena 1961: 280 n. 3). It is clear that the merger first appeared in the far west, near Bilbao, and that it has been spreading eastward ever since. Willughby's transcriptions recognise no distinction between the historical laminals and the historical apicals. Willughby uses both <s> and <ç> (the second frequently written as <c>), but he uses both in a wholly indiscriminate manner, and neither letter corresponds with any regularity to either historical sibilant. For example, he writes *izarra* 'star' as *yçara* in 3 but *azala* 'bark' as *asala* in 32, and he writes *osabea* 'uncle' as *osauea* in 283 but *basoa* 'wilderness' as *baçoac* in 81. We may therefore surmise that the boy had already lost the contrast, though perhaps we cannot quite rule out the possibility that the boy was making the difference but that Willughby could not hear it. A belief in Willughby's cloth ear is perhaps supported by the observation that Willughby makes no distinction between affricates and fricatives, writing for example *itsasoa* 'sea' as *ysaçoa* in 83. On a different issue: the precise significance of the <x> found only in 17 (in a word containing modern <z>) and perhaps 256 is unknown; it may testify to the affective palatalisation so frequent in modern Basque.

### 3.3.2. *Glide formation and glide strengthening*

Practically all modern varieties of Bizkaian (perhaps absolutely all, but we lack the evidence to assert this confidently) exhibit a process of glide formation, by which a glide [j] or [w] is inserted after a high vowel /i/ or /u/ in hiatus with a following non-high vowel. If nothing else happens, then, the addition of the article *-a* to *ogi* 'bread' and to *buru* 'head' produces *ogij]a* and *buru[w]a*. In very many varieties of Basque, however, this inserted glide then undergoes some kind of strengthening, converting [j] to any of [j], [ç], [ʒ], or even [ʃ], and converting [w] to [β]. These forms are well represented in Bizkaian literature, usually by means of spellings

such as *oguiya* or *oguija* ‘the bread’ and *buruba* ‘the head’ (or *oguiye* etc., because of the process discussed in §3.3.3 below). These processes apply chiefly at morpheme boundaries, as in the examples just given, but they also apply to those few lexical stems of suitable shape. For example, *biar* ‘tomorrow’ appears as *bil[ɨ]ar* or in a strengthened variant. The Bizkaian texts of the sixteenth century show no trace of glide insertion. The definite form of ‘bread’, for example, is consistently written *oguiá* in the *Refranes y sentencias* and in other early texts. A search through the Bizkaian texts collected in Etxenagusia et al. (1980), discovers no written evidence for glide insertion in any of the texts from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, including the Christmas play of Pedro Barrutia (1682–1759; born in (Mondragón-)Arrasate, in the east). But then, in the Passion of Agustín Basterrechea (1700–1761; born in Lequeitio, in the north-east), glide insertion, and very likely also some form of glide strengthening, is pervasive. This author never misses a chance to note glide formation: he writes *bizia* ‘the life’ as *bizija*, *biotza* ‘the heart’ as *bijotza*, *eskuak* ‘hands’ as *eskubak* and *tortentubak* ‘torments’ as *tortentubak*. The same is true for the important writer Juan Antonio Moguel (1745–1804; born in Eibar, in the east), in whose writings glide formation is likewise pervasive. But then there appears to be no trace of glide formation in the work of the slightly younger Fr. Pedro Antonio Añibarro (1748–1830; born in Villaro, in the south). These observations are broadly consistent with the reports of Bonaparte’s colleague José Antonio Uriarte, who reported in 1861 that glide formation was then present throughout the central and eastern parts of the Bizkaian-speaking region, but completely absent from the south (cited in de Rijk 1970: 155–6). There is no trace of glide formation in Willughby’s transcriptions. Willughby records *euria* for ‘rain’ (14), and not *\*euriya*; he records *egusquia* for ‘sun’ (18), and not *\*egusquiya*; he records *cerua* for ‘sky’ (2), and not *\*ceruba*; and so on throughout the list. The sole possible exception occurs in 132, ‘night’. The bare stem here is *gau*, and the definite form is *gaua* in other dialects. In modern Bizkaian, because of the presence of the diphthong, the definite form is not *\*gauba* but *gaba*, with a different process applying. Yet Willughby records *gauba*, a peculiar form which appears to be unique.

### 3.3.3. *Vowel harmony*

Most, though not all, modern varieties of Bizkaian exhibit a kind of rudimentary vowel harmony, by which the vowel /a/ in the final syllable of a phonological word is raised to /e/ if the preceding syllable contains a high vowel /i/ or /u/. So, for example, using the definite article *-a* and the indefinite article *bat*, we have *etxe* ‘house’, *etxea* ‘the house’ (or *etxia*, by the process discussed below) and *etxe bat* ‘a house’. But, with *egun* ‘day’, we have definite *egune* and indefinite *egun bet*, and, with *zaldi* ‘horse’, we have definite *zaldi* [?] *e* etc. (by glide formation and glide strengthening) and indefinite *zaldi bet*.

The history of vowel harmony is poorly known. There is no record of it in the sixteenth-century materials or earlier. The first written text to show undeniable evidence of the process is the catechism known as the *Viva Jesús!*, composed some time in the first half of the seventeenth century (Michelena 1954a). Thereafter, written evidence is extremely sparse. The Bizkaian texts collected in Etxenagusia et al. (1980) appear to contain not a single harmonised form in any text written before the twentieth century.

This is strange, because there is no doubt that vowel harmony has been well established in Bizkaia for a long time. Drawing upon the data collected by Bonaparte and his colleagues around 1860, de Rijk (1970: 161 (1998: 48)) provides a map. This map shows that vowel harmony was present in 1860 in almost the entirety of the Bizkaian-speaking area, save only for the coast from Bermeo eastward, from the inland towns of Aulestia and Marquina, and from the valley of the river Deva from Deva to Oñati. (But vowel harmony was present in Marquina in the early twentieth century: see Rollo (1925), cited in de Rijk (1970: 159). The process has clearly been continuing to spread since Bonaparte’s day.) The absence of vowel harmony from the literary record is therefore puzzling. Perhaps writers were inclined to regard harmony as a vulgar feature of speech, not to be recorded in serious writing.

We can hardly doubt that the boy was providing his vernacular forms as best he could, and yet Willughby’s transcriptions show no trace of vowel harmony. With the constant presence of the article *-a*, there are dozens of opportunities to display vowel harmony if it

is present. No fewer than fifteen of the first twenty-two items in the list qualify for vowel harmony, but not one item receives it, here or elsewhere. Vowel harmony was evidently absent from the boy's speech.

It is a pity that Willughby did not record the boy's home village with any accuracy. De Rijk (1970: 160) interprets the map mentioned above as showing that the process of vowel harmony must have appeared first not far from Bilbao, to the south-east of the city, and that it has been spreading mainly north-eastward ever since.

### 3.3.4. *Mid-vowel raising*

In some, but not all, varieties of modern Bizkaian, a mid vowel /e/ or /o/ in a second or later syllable is raised to /i/ or /u/ when in hiatus with a following non-high vowel. In varieties possessing this process, the nouns *ume* 'child' and *asto* 'donkey' exhibit the definite forms *umia* and *astua*, and the words *bear* 'need' and *beor* 'mare' appear as *biar* and *bior*. This process does not feed glide formation, and so, for example, the definite forms of *ume* and *asto* do not appear as \**umi[j]a* and \**astu[w]a*. This observation strongly suggests that mid-vowel raising is historically later than glide formation in the varieties possessing both. Anyway, mid-vowel raising, though categorically present in the eastern half of the Bizkaian area, is generally absent from the west, including the environs of Bilbao, in Bonaparte's data, and so we would not expect to find it in Willughby's transcriptions, and we generally do not. We have *esnea* 'milk' in 45, *lepoa* 'back' in 60, *orpoa* 'heel' in 74, *gocea* (for *gosea*) 'hunger' in 227, and so on throughout the list, with raising only in *picua* 'beak' in 37 and *zulua* 'ditch' in 130 for *pikoa* and *zuloa* respectively. Mid-vowel raising was largely absent from the boy's speech, but this is just what we would expect, from Bonaparte's observations.

### 3.3.5. *Miscellaneous features*

3.3.5.1. A number of finite verb forms occur in the transcriptions, and all of these but one are identical to the modern Bizkaian forms.

The exception is the third singular present of the verb *eduki* ‘hold, have’. Modern Bizkaian, like other varieties, has *dauka* ‘he has it’, but the boy consistently provides *dauco*, as in 173, 224, 300 and elsewhere. This form is otherwise rare. It occurs just once in the *Refranes y sentencias* (R&S, Lakarra 1996), in proverb 69, though it is supported in the R&S by two occurrences of first-singular *deucot* ‘I have it’, modern *daukat*. Also, according to Lafon (1944: 214), there are two occurrences of *dauco* in the sixteenth-century Bizkaian writer Garibay. However, rare instances of the modern third singular form *dauka* occur in 217 and 222, and there is no final vowel at all in 214. In the other persons, the boy provides only the modern forms: first singular *daukat* in 216, 224, 225 and perhaps elsewhere, and second singular *daukak* in 219.

3.3.5.2. Like most dialects of Basque, Bizkaian has a contrast between two rhotics: a tap and a trill. The contrast is confined to intervocalic position, where the standard orthography writes <r> for the tap and <rr> for the trill. In other positions, the contrast is neutralised, and only a single <r> is written. Willughby shows no great awareness of the contrast. In most cases, he writes a single <r> indifferently to represent either rhotic, though very occasionally he writes <rr> for the trill, but never for the tap. For example, he writes *cerua* for *zerua* ‘sky’ (2) and *vra* for *ura* ‘water’ (8), but he also writes *yçara* for *izarra* ‘star’ (3) and *araina* for *arraina* ‘fish’ (27), and yet he writes *Lvrra* for *lurra* ‘earth’ (9) and *arriac* for *arria* ‘stone’ (20).

3.3.5.3. In modern Bizkaian, the palatal nasal [ɲ] (spelt <ñ>) and the palatal lateral [ʎ] (spelt <ll>) are pervasive sounds. The palatal nasal, at least, was somewhat less frequent in the sixteenth century, but both sounds were undoubtedly present then, and surely they were present in the boy’s speech. But Willughby shows no awareness of these sounds, and there is only one of his transcriptions which can be taken as an attempt at representing palatality, namely item 287. This must be a failure on his part, since it is very hard to believe that the boy lacked a palatal nasal in, say, the word for ‘fish’, as in 27 and 35.

3.3.5.4. There are several instances of <a> in the material where <au> is expected, for example in *daco*, *da* and the like for *dauko* ‘it has’, *dau* ‘it makes’ (168, 170, 193, 203), but inconsistently. The

<u> is absent where expected in *Jaungoikoa* ‘God’ (1, 378), in which word the form in <Jan-> is known in Bizkaian but is rare; *belauna* ‘knee’ (73); and *gauza* ‘thing’ (325). Conversely, <u> is found where not expected in *gauba* ‘night’ (132).

#### 4. DISCUSSION OF THE INDIVIDUAL WORDS

In what follows, we will present modern standard Basque forms with the label ‘EB’ (= *euskara batua* ‘Unified Basque’) and attested Bizkaian forms with the label ‘B’. ‘Common Basque’ forms are those general to dialects apart from those singled out for note. References to Azkue are to his great dictionary of Basque (1905); where uncontroversial checking has been necessary, Aulestia and White (1992) has also been used. We use ‘W’ for Willughby.

1. ‘God’. We expect *Jaungoikoa*; the variant *Jangoikoa* is well recorded, though only sparsely in B.
2. ‘sky, heaven’. This is *zerua* ‘sky’.
3. ‘star’. This is *izarra* ‘star’.
4. ‘fire’. This is *sua* ‘fire’.
5. ‘smoke’. Common *ke*, but Pyrenean *eke*. No such variant as \**ge* is recorded anywhere. If W’s *guea* is genuine, this is outstandingly interesting and important, but either W may have genuinely misheard, or there is a transcription error for W’s *quea*. [The lemma was read with <g> by both Cram and Coates; but cf. 179.]
6. ‘ashes’. This is *autsa* ‘dust’, ‘powder’, ‘ash(es)’. It is interesting that the boy has not provided *errauts*, a more explicit word for ‘ash(es)’ compounded from *erre* ‘burn’ and listed in Azkue as specifically B, but as localised within B.
7. ‘air’. The Basque words for ‘air’ and ‘wind’ may sometimes be confused, but the Romance loan *aire* ‘air’ is not recorded in B, and the native (*h*)*aize* ‘wind’ appears in B as *a(i)xe* (as in 17). There is a word (*h*)*ats* ‘breath, breathing’ in the eastern dialects, but Azkue records B *ats* only in the sense of ‘stench’, while the ordinary B word for ‘breath’ is *arnasa*. (The item *egurats*, cited diffidently on the page here, is an eastern word for ‘ventilation’, a compound of *egun* ‘day’ and (*h*)*ats*.) W’s

*aço* looks like the universal Basque word *atzo* ‘yesterday’. The Spanish word for ‘yesterday’ is *ayer*; the Latin word on the page is *aer*. It is possible that the Latin lemma was mentioned and that the Spanish-speaking intermediary mistranslated; or that the boy heard the Latin lemma mentioned and incorrectly got ahead of the game. In any case, it is clear that the boy heard the (or a) form presented as *ayer*, not *aer*, and responded accordingly.

8. ‘water’. This is *ura* ‘water’.
9. ‘earth’. This is *lurra* ‘earth’.
10. ‘dust, powder’. A misunderstanding. Basque *polbora*, whose B definite form is *polborea*, means only ‘gunpowder’. The word is, of course, borrowed from Spanish *pólvora*.
11. ‘mud’. This is *loia* ‘mud’.
12. ‘thunder’. This word for ‘thunder’ is attested mainly on the French side of the Pyrenees, usually as *ihurtziri* or something similar. But a variant *iñusturi* occurs in the eighteenth-century Bizkaian writer Añibarro. Azkue, himself a native speaker of Bizkaian, records no other record of the word in Bizkaian, but Agud and Tovar (*s.v. ihortziri*) report another Bizkaian variant, *justuri*, for which they provide no source. Given W’s habit of writing <g> for [dʒ], the form represented may well be *\*justuri*, with [dʒ].
13. ‘cloud(s)’. EB *hodei*, common B *odei*, a severely localised B variant *odoi*, but no record of a variant *\*odi* in B or elsewhere. W’s plural form *odiac* is a unique form, and may be an error of hearing and/or transcription, but it is replicated in the unexpected response in 91; cf. also 116.
14. ‘rain’. This is *euria* ‘rain’.
15. ‘snow’. An obvious error. The Basque word is *elur*, definite form *elurra*. B has variants *erur* and *edur*, but not one like *\*elar*.
16. ‘ice’. This is *leia* ‘ice, frost’, a word confined to this dialect.
17. ‘wind’. This is *axea*, or possibly *aixea*, ‘wind’. The only convincing instance of <x> representing the voiceless palatal fricative in the glossary (but cf. 256), and it suggests the influence of Spanish spelling conventions. But the EB word is *haize*, with a lamino-alveolar, and the precise

significance of the spelling in the MS is unclear. [It was read with <x> by both Cram and Coates.]

18. 'sun'. This is *eguzkia* 'sun'.
19. 'moon'. This is B *irargia* 'moon'.
20. 'stone'. This is *arria* 'stone'.
21. 'gold'. This is B *urregorria* 'gold', a compound of *urre* 'gold' and *gorri* 'red'.
22. 'silver'. The usual Basque word is *zilar* (with several variants), also recorded in B, but most of B prefers *urrezuri*, as given here, a compound of *urre* 'gold' with *zuri* 'white'.
23. 'grass'. The common Basque form is *belarra*, though B normally has the variants *berarra* and *bedarra*, and Azkue, a native speaker of B, does not record *belar* for B. Cf. 294.
24. 'flower'. The first part appears to be a garbled version of *gauza ederrak* 'beautiful things'. But then *loraac* represents *lorak* 'flowers', with the archaic geminate vowel.
25. 'tree'. This is presumably meant to be *ezkurrak*. In archaic B, this word meant 'tree', but in modern Basque it means 'acorn'.
26. 'fly'. This is *eulia* 'fly'.
27. 'fish'. This is *arraina* 'fish'.
28. 'bird'. This is *txoria* 'bird'.
29. 'animals'. This appears to be *beiac* 'cow'. Possibly a hyponymic misunderstanding; but there were certainly traditions in Medieval Latin where *animal* and *bestia* meant specifically 'farm animal', 'livestock', 'head of cattle'.
30. 'firewood'. This is *egurra* 'firewood'.
31. 'root'. This is *sustraia* 'root'.
32. 'bark'. This is *azala* 'bark'.
33. 'leaf'. This is *orria* 'leaf'.
34. 'seed'. This is *azia* 'seed'.
35. 'wing', here as 'fin'. This is *egoak arraina(r)enak* 'wings (of fish)'. Cf. 38.
36. 'scale'. This is *eskamea* 'scale'.
37. 'beak'. This is *pikua* 'beak', though the recorded form is *piko*, suggesting mid-vowel raising in this item (see § 3.3.3.).
38. 'wing'. This is *egoa txoria(r)ena* 'wing (of a bird)'. There must be a final <c> missing in the first item; cf. 35.

39. 'feather'. The Basque word is *luma*, B *lumea*. The boy appears to be borrowing Spanish *pluma*, but with an unexpected metathesis to eliminate the plosive–liquid cluster (cf. 208, 339, 382).
40. 'egg'. This is *arrautzea* 'egg'.
41. 'hair'. This is *ulea* 'hair' (of the head), which really does often occur in the plural, as here.
42. 'horn'. This is *adarra* 'horn'.
43. 'skin'. This is *narrua* 'skin'.
44. 'tail'. This is *buztana* 'tail'.
45. 'milk'. This is *esnea* 'milk'.
46. 'blood'. This is *odola* 'blood'.
47. 'brain'. This is B *garuna* 'brain', often pluralised, as here.
48. 'bone'. This is *azurra* 'bone'.
49. 'flesh'. The B word offered is strictly 'meat' (i.e. 'flesh food'), not 'flesh' in general. It is *okela*, B definite form *okelea*.
50. 'fat'. There are several Basque words for 'fat', but this is Spanish *sebo*, not ordinarily used in Basque, so far as we know.
51. 'head'. This is *burua* 'head', with an unaccountable acute accent, unless this is an extraneous mark
52. 'face'. This is *arpegia* 'face'.
53. 'eye'. This is *begia* 'eye'.
54. 'ear'. This is *belarria* 'ear'.
55. 'nose'. This is *sudur* 'nose', often reduced in B to *suur* or *sur*; definite form *sudurra*.
56. 'mouth'. The word for 'mouth' is *ao*, as here. But the modern B definite form is usually *aba*, not clearly represented here.
57. 'tongue'. This is *mina* 'tongue'.
58. 'tooth'. This is *agina* 'molar tooth'. There is no single lexicalisation for 'tooth'.
59. 'neck'. This is *kokotea* 'neck'.
60. 'back'. The word *lepo* does not mean 'back', which is *bizkar*. In most dialects, *lepo* is 'neck', but in B it is 'shoulder'. A referential misunderstanding, presumably.
61. 'breast, chest'. This must be *bularra* 'chest', with a garbled first letter.

62. 'shoulder'. The common Basque word is *sorbalda*, whose B definite form is *sorbaldea*. W's apparent \**solbarda* is a possible variant form, but one not recorded in dictionaries available to us.
63. 'female breast'. Garbled. The Basque word is *titi*, and \**titua* is impossible in the modern language. [Both Cram and Coates read the fourth letter as <u>.]
64. 'rib'. The expected word is *saietsa*, and W's *saietsa* is unexpected.
65. 'belly'. Very unexpected. This appears to be *tripea* 'belly', but with a surprising metathesis. Cf. 78.
66. 'arm'. This is *besoa* 'arm'.
67. 'hand'. This is *eskua* 'hand'.
68. 'finger'. This is *atza* 'finger'.
69. 'thigh'. The common word for 'thigh' is *izterra*, but we expect the variant *iztarra* in B.
70. 'shin'. This is *bernazakia* 'shin'.
71. 'foot'. This is *oina* or *oña* 'foot'.
72. 'toe'. This is *beatza* 'toe'.
73. 'knee'. The first element is *belauna* 'knee', with an unexpected omission of <u>. The second appears to be *burua* 'head'. *Belaunburu* is a recorded word for 'kneecap', apparently attested in Bizkaian, but the boy has pluralised both elements, which is not regarded as possible in a Basque compound.
74. 'heel'. This is *orpoa* 'heel'.
75. 'heart'. This is *biotza* 'heart'.
76. 'lung'. This is *biria* 'lung'. The response may really therefore be <viriac>.
77. 'liver'. This is *gibela* 'liver'.
78. 'guts'. This is *tripak* 'guts'. Cf. 65.
79. 'man'. This is *gizona* 'man'.
80. 'woman'. This is *andrea* 'woman'.
81. 'mountain'. Not the expected word. The common Basque for 'mountain' is *mendi*. Basque *baso* means 'woods', 'wilderness'. Uplands may be viewed either from the topographical or the economic viewpoint, and the boy seems to have chosen the latter.

82. ‘valley’. W’s *bea* is unexpected. The western word for ‘valley’ is *ibar* (eastern (*h*)*aran*). The word cited here is really just the word meaning ‘bottom, down’ (and in B also ‘ground’). It is given by Azkue as *bee*, but the long vowel is shortened before a case-suffix.
83. ‘sea’. This is *itsasoa* ‘sea’.
84. ‘river’. This is *ibaia* ‘river’.
85. ‘long’. This is a complete sentence: *luzea da* ‘it’s long’, with the verb struck out.
86. ‘short’. A partial equivalence. The common word for ‘short’ is *labur*, but the boy has provided B *txikar* ‘small’ (definite form *txikarra*).
87. ‘wide’. This is *zabala* ‘wide’.
88. ‘narrow’. This is *estua* ‘narrow’.
89. ‘high’. This is *altua* ‘high’. The apparent acute accent may be an extraneous mark.
90. ‘low, humble’. This is the same word as that given in 82 for ‘valley’, but this time in its ordinary sense.
91. ‘east’. An error. This is the word for ‘cloud’ given in 13 – with the same phonological oddity. The boy seems to have been uncomfortable with compass-point terminology (cf. 92–4). Perhaps he was responding to pointing by the inquisitor.
92. ‘west’. The boy appears to have offered *atzea* ‘space behind’.
93. ‘north’. This is a garbled version of the Spanish word *norte*, which does not appear to be used in Basque.
94. ‘south’. The first part looks like Spanish *para* ‘for’, but, with the preceding stroke in the MS, it might in fact be for *iparra* ‘north’. The second part is B *egoea* ‘south’.
95. ‘crowd’. Not categorially appropriate. Western *asko* is a quantifier meaning ‘many, much, lots of’.
96. ‘small number, dearth’. Undoubtedly, W is trying to cite B *gitxi* ‘few, little, not many, not much’, the conventional antonym of *asko*.
97. ‘one’. Common *bat*.
98. ‘two’. Common *bi*.
99. ‘three’. B *iru* (EB *hiru*).
100. ‘four’. Common *lau*.

101. 'five'. Western *bost*.
102. 'six'. Common *sei*.
103. 'seven'. Common *zazpi*.
104. 'eight'. Common *zortzi*.
105. 'nine'. Common *bederatzi*.
106. 'ten'. EB *hamar*; B *amar*.
107. '11'. EB *hamaika*; modern B *amaika*~*ameka*~*amaka*, the last of these being the form cited by W.
108. '12'. EB *hamabi*; B *amabi*.
109. '13'. EB *hamairu*; B *amairu*.
110. '14'. EB *hamalau*; B *amalau*.
111. '15'. EB *hamabost*; B *amabost*.
112. '16'. EB *hamasei*; B *amasei*.
113. '17'. EB *hamazazpi*; B *amazazpi*.
114. '18'. EB *hemezortzi*; B *emezortzi*. The form given here is unexpected, and analogical on the form of '10' found in the lower numerals.
115. '19'. EB *hemeretzi*; B *emeretzi*.
116. '20'. EB *hoge*; B *ogei*. W's *ogui* (= *ogi*) is not recorded elsewhere, but compare his treatment of the diphthong/ei/in 13 and 91.
117. '30'. EB *hogeitahamar*; B usually *ogeitamar*, but W records a more conservative form.
118. '40'. Common *berrogei*.
119. '50'. EB *berrogeitahamar*; B *berrogeitamar*.
120. '60'. EB *hirurogei*; B *irurogei*.
121. '70'. EB *hirurogeitahamar*; B *irurogeitamar*.
122. '80'. Common *laurogei*, but B *larogei*.
123. '90'. EB *laurogeitahamar*; B *laurogeitamar*.
124. '100'. EB *ehun*; B *eun*.
125. 'straight'. It is not clear whether here and in the next four items W is looking for adjectives or adverbs, and the Basque forms cited are not very helpful. Exclusively B is *artez* 'straight', an adverb by form and so used, but according to Azkue it is also an adjective. W's *artecs* is presumably meant to record a variant *\*artetz*, unknown to Azkue.
126. 'bent, crooked'. This is *oker* 'crooked'.

127. ‘sharp’. This is the sentence *zorrotz dago* ‘it’s sharp’. It is possible that the third letter is really the expected <r> rather than <v> .
128. ‘blunt’. Mysterious. This is the first of several adjectives with very similar forms provided in this passage and not previously recorded. It appears that the word being cited is \**dengaro*, which is probably an adverb, since *-ro* is a common ending on adverbs, and since the whole thing is a sentence in which an adverb makes sense. The last part must be another instance of *dauko* ‘he has’, with its final vowel omitted. But the middle part is unintelligible.
129. ‘mound’. This is clearly a borrowing of Spanish *montón* ‘pile’, not commonly used in Basque. It has been borrowed as *montoe*, which is to be expected, and the final element must be the article *bat* ‘a’, with its <t> omitted.
130. ‘ditch’. This is *zuloa* ‘hole’, with an unexpected <u> , suggesting mid-vowel raising in this item (3.3.3).
131. ‘day’. This is *eguna* ‘day’.
132. ‘night’. The word for ‘night’ is *gau*. The modern B definite form is *gaba*, and W’s *gauba* is new in the record.
133. ‘tomorrow’. This is *biar* ‘tomorrow’.
134. ‘noon’. This is *eguerdia* ‘noon’.
135. ‘evening’. Basque *bezpera* does not mean ‘evening’, but ‘eve’, ‘day before [another named day]’. In the plural it also means ‘vespers’, the Roman Catholic evening service. The common word for ‘evening’ is *arrats*.
136. ‘summer’. This is *udea* ‘summer’.
137. ‘winter’. This is *negua* ‘winter’.
138. ‘spring’. In fact, *marti* is just the B word for ‘March’ (*martxo* in most of the rest of the Basque Country), and it does not seem to be recorded as ‘spring’, which is *udazken* in modern B, though this word is not recorded before the middle of the eighteenth century.
139. ‘autumn’. This is pretty clearly another reapplied month name, and the only one that fits is *zezeilla*, an archaic Bizkaian name for ‘February’ (!) recorded in the writer Astarloa (Caro Baroja 1973: 76). This appears to be built upon *zezen* ‘bull’, with the usual final element *-illa* ‘month’. Most unexpected.

140. 'child'. This is *umea* 'child'.
141. 'old'. This is *zarra* 'old'.
142. 'memory'. Since *memoria* is well recorded in early Basque literature, though it is obsolete today, the boy might be reporting his everyday word, though he might just be resorting to the Spanish word. The ordinary Basque word is *gogo*.
143. 'forgetfulness'. The boy has provided a finite verb-form: B *aztu jat* 'I have forgotten'.
144. 'sight'. This is most likely a rendering of *bakust*, a contracted form of *badakust* 'I see [it]'.
145. 'blindness'. This is *itsua* 'blind', with a mysterious extra letter, though this may be obliterated.
146. 'hearing'. This is an imperative, *entzun egizu* 'listen!'.
147. 'deafness'. The boy has provided a finite verb form: *ez dantzut* 'I don't hear [it]', from *entzun* 'hear' as in 146.
148. 'sense of smell'. This is *usain* 'odour', with no article.
149. 'sense of taste'. This is *gustua* 'taste'.
150. 'sense of touch'. Obscure. This is clearly a finite verb form, but the identity of the lexical verb is not obvious. A verb *gaitu* is recorded in archaic B in the sense of 'afflict, distress', but the imperfective participle of this verb should be \**gaituten*, not \**gaiten*. Perhaps a case of haplography. The ordinary B verb for 'touch' is *ikutu*.
151. 'life'. This is a verb form, *bizi da* 'he lives'.
152. 'death'. This form is uninterpretable. Clearly we are looking at some form of *il* 'dead', but \**ili* is unknown. The apparent final <i> may be a terminal downstroke of the <l>; see 1.32.
153. 'health'. This is *osasuna* 'health'.
154. 'illness'. Obscure. The first element is perhaps *gaiso* 'ill' or *gaitz* (B *gatx*) 'bad', or, but the form is difficult and the rest is uninterpretable.
155. 'vigour'. This is *indarra* 'strength, force, vigour'.
156. 'weakness'. This appears to be *mea* 'slender, thin'.
157. 'pain'. This is *pena* 'pain', surprisingly preferred here to native and frequent *min*.
158. 'male'. Strangely, this appears to be *gaiztoa* 'naughty'.

159. ‘female’. This is stranger still. We appear to have something along the lines of *gaiztoa egiten* ‘doing naughty things’. The (teenage?) boy seems to have taken both terms for the sexes as having prototypically to do with active sexuality.
160. ‘fertile’. Obscure. Basque is rich in words for ‘fertile’, but none of them is recognisable here. Assuming the form is transcribed accurately, the first element is the B verb *erion* ‘flow (with)’, ‘run with’, ‘teem with’. So far as we can judge, the participle is used here as an adjective, with the article *-a*, and the whole is *eriona da*, roughly ‘it has flourished’.
161. ‘barren’. Again the cited form does not resemble any of the several familiar Basque words for ‘barren’. Again we have something that might be *erion* (or might not). The ending looks like *ez dauko* ‘he/she/it doesn’t have’. But the middle part is unintelligible.
162. ‘ripe’. This is *biguna* ‘soft’.
163. ‘understanding’. This is *entendimentua* ‘understanding’.
164. ‘stupidity’. The cited form is clearly a sentence of the form [??] *bat dau* ‘he has a [??]’. The first element appears to be a version of Spanish *ignorante* ‘ignorant’ or something similar.
165. ‘faithfulness’. This is wholly unintelligible. What is expected is *\*fedea*, representing *fede* ‘faith’. What is on the page looks suspiciously like a piece of Spanish, involving perhaps *fiador* ‘guarantor’.
166. ‘treachery’. Complicated. It looks suspiciously like *onek ostuten daki* ‘this man knows how to steal’.
167. ‘lie, untruth’. This is *guzurra* ‘lie’.
168. ‘fortitude’. The second element is *dauko* ‘he has [it]’. But the first element is unintelligible.
169. ‘cruelty’. The cited form is a phrase: *gizon dunga bat* ‘a *dunga* man’. Presumably *dunga* is ‘cruel’, but the Bizkaian word for ‘bad, evil’ is recorded elsewhere as *donga~deunga*, not as *dunga*.
170. ‘patience’. This is the sentence *pazientzia dauko* ‘he has patience’, with the <u> omitted.
171. ‘generosity’. This appears to be the sentence *nasai dagoala* ‘that it is plenty’.

172. 'greed'. Curious. This is a sentence *Gizon ziplea da* 'He is a *zipla* man'. Presumably *zipla* is 'greedy', but the dictionaries available to us do not confirm this. There is a B noun *zipla~sipla* 'nasty remark' – not obviously helpful. Azkue adds a B word *zipla* which he glosses with the verb 'earn' – promising – but then he says it is used as an interjection meaning something like 'just like that he got it!'
173. 'happiness'. Another sentence: *suerte ona dauko* 'he has good luck'.
174. 'misery'. An intriguing instance of a free relative *ez daukana* 'he who has not'. This time the boy uses *dauka* instead of his usual *dauko*.
175. 'riches'. Another sentence: *aberats dago* 'he is rich'.
176. 'poverty'. The word is *pobrea* 'poor', but again with an unexpected metathesis (cf. 39, 208, 339, 382).
177. 'light'. Not the expected word. Basque *karidade* (and variants) means '(religious) love' as well as 'charity'; it is a somewhat elevated word, and it is surprising to see it turning up here. It seems probable that the lemma was rendered in Spanish as *claridad* 'light' and that the informant misunderstood this as *caridad*.
178. 'darkness'. This is a sentence, though an odd one: *ilun dauko*, literally 'it has darkness', with *ilun* 'dark', 'darkness', and, strangely, no suffixed article.
179. 'shade, shadow(s)'. Puzzling. It appears to start with *eguzkia eta kea* 'sun and smoke' (for 'smoke' see 5), in the appropriate semantic area, but the rest is unintelligible. The ending looks like the imperfective participle suffix *-ten* followed by the intransitive auxiliary form *da*.
180. 'beauty'. This appears to be a slightly garbled version of *ederra dala andera* 'that she is beautiful, the woman', though the word for 'woman' unaccountably lacks the article: *and(e)rea* is expected in Bizkaian (cf. 80).
181. 'deformity'. This is clearly a sentence: *dungea da*, with an apparent adjective *\*dunga* 'deformed' or the like, which is clearly the same unusual word as in 169.
182. 'white'. This is *zuria* 'white'.
183. 'black'. This is B *baltza* 'black'.

184. 'red'. Another sentence: *kolore gorria dauko* 'it has a red colour', with *gorri* 'red'.
185. 'green'. This is *berdea* 'green'.
186. 'sound'. This is *otsa* 'noise'.
187. 'silence'. This presents syntactic problems of interpretation. The word *geldi* often means 'quiet' today, but in the older literature it normally means only 'still, unmoving'. The last part is *doala* 'that it goes', but *geldia* looks syntactically impossible: perhaps *geldian*, with a locative ending.
188. 'voice'. This is a sentence: *boz ona dauko* 'he has a good voice', with *boz* 'voice'.
189. 'sweet'. This is a sentence: *gozo da* 'it's sweet'.
190. 'bitter'. This is *garratza* 'bitter'.
191. 'salt(y)'. A sentence-answer, for which *\*gatz asko dauko* 'it has a lot of salt' is expected; but what we have is *gatza asko dauko*, with an extra <-a> on the end of the word for 'salt' which is not readily explainable.
192. 'heat'. A sentence, but one containing a short stretch of uninterpretable material. A perfect B sentence is *eguzki asko egiten dau*, literally '[it] makes a lot of sun', idiomatically 'It's very sunny'. But W's form has an extra sequence <-ter-> in the middle, and this makes no obvious sense.
193. 'cold(ness)'. Another sentence: B *otz egiten dau* 'it's cold' (literally '[it] makes cold').
194. 'moisture'. Obscure. There is an exclusively B word *umel*; Azkue and other sources gloss this only as 'stale', 'soft, overripe', 'starting to rot', but Aulestia and White give 'sultry, muggy, humid'. However, W's form is very difficult to interpret sensibly. Since *umil* is common Basque for 'humble', we are left with the suspicion that one of the participants has confused the prompt-language words for 'humidity' and 'humility'. But none of that explains the <-de-> in the middle [read as such by both Cram and Coates]. In any case, the final element must be *dago* 'is'.
195. 'dry(ness)'. This is *siku dago* 'it's dry'.
196. 'heaviness'. The responses around here are strange. The first part appears to be B *pala bat* 'a spade' (presumably 'a

- spadeful'). The last part might be *eta erdi* 'and a half'. But the middle bit is unrecognisable, though *pisu* 'weight' might be involved. Might it be *pala bat* (as above) *ee* (hesitation vowel as suggested in 388) then something like *pisu erda[raz ...]* '*pisu* [for *peso*], using the Spanish word'?
197. 'lightness (of weight)'. First reading quite unintelligible. If the alternative reading is preferred, the common word *arin* 'light' (in weight) might be buried in it, and *arin dago* 'it's light' might be intended.
198. 'hardness'. This is *gogorra* 'hard'.
199. 'softness'. A sentence: *ez da gogorra* 'it's not hard'. Hardly necessary, since the boy has already produced B *bigun* 'soft' in 162 above.
200. 'smooth'. This should be *leun dago*. The word is *leun*, and no variant *\*luun* is recorded elsewhere. An apparent error.
201. 'rough'. We have *au* 'this' and *dengaro*, the curious word found in 128. There is no *\*daro*, but perhaps it is a case of dittography for *dago* 'is': hence *au dengaro dago* 'this is *dengaro*'.
202. 'tough'. This is a sentence *fuertzaa dauko* '[it] has force', with Spanish *fuertza*, not commonly used in Basque. The geminate <aa> has no explanation, but we would expect *\*fuertzea* in B.
203. 'crumbly'. Another sentence-answer. *Ez dauko fuertzarik* 'it doesn't have any force' would be expected, but W's form does not quite match this.
204. 'blessing'. We have here *benediziñoa* 'benediction', but the rest is obscure. We may suspect *esan* 'say', but *esarden* is impossible to interpret. The last part might be *dauko* (or *deuko?*) 'he has', assuming the cedilla to be erroneous.
205. 'curse'. Unintelligible. The final element looks like *-an*, the locative suffix; the second part bears a faint resemblance to *sorgin* 'witch', but this does not get us far.
206. 'preservation'. The first part seems to be *libre* 'free', with odd vocalism. The last part is *nago* 'I am'. But the middle portion is obscure.
207. 'destruction'. Mysterious. This is a verb form, but there is no obvious way of reading it other than as the effective contradictory of the lemma, *jasaiten da* 'it is being built'.

208. ‘believe’. This appears to be a rearranged version of Spanish *credo* ‘creed’, with the plosive–liquid cluster metathesised away (cf. 39, 176, 339, 382).
209. ‘doubt’. A blunder. This is transparently *irauten dau* ‘it lasts, it endures’. Evidently, Spanish *dudar* ‘to doubt’ has been misheard as *durar* ‘to last’.
210. ‘think’. The first part is some form of *pentsatu* ‘to think’. The last part must be the auxiliary form *dot*. But the middle part is mysterious.
211. ‘seek’. Mysterious. There is perhaps a form of *jarrai-* ‘follow’ here.
212. ‘find’. This is *idoro dot* ‘I have found it’.
213. ‘desire’. This is *gurea daukak* ‘you have a desire’.
214. ‘please’. This is *kontentu asko daukak* ‘you have a lot of happiness’, with its final syllable rime omitted.
215. ‘displease’. It looks as though W may have begun to record some form of *sentitu* ‘feel’, or more likely of Spanish *sentir* in the sense ‘regret, resent’. But the rest is difficult, except that we can see *gustu* ‘pleasure’ in the middle of it. If appearances are to be believed, it begins *No, txatxa[la ...]* ‘Hey, you, stupid [woman]!’, for reasons beyond recovery, with *no*, a word specifically for catching a female’s attention, according to Aulestia and White (1992).
216. ‘pity’. This is *pazientzia daukat* ‘I have patience’.
217. ‘shame’. We start with *lotsa* ‘shame’, and we finish with *ez dauka* ‘s/he doesn’t have’. But the middle part is obscure. Bizkaian has a word *lotsari* ‘genitals’, linking, as many languages do, this concept with ‘shame’, but this does not help with *-egu*. It is just possible that the Spanish suffix *-iego*, as in *mujeriego* ‘womaniser’, has become embroiled in this somehow.
218. ‘love’. This is a slightly garbled version of *gurea daukat* ‘I have desire’, as in 213.
219. ‘hatred’. A misunderstanding. This is *bildurra daukak* ‘you have fear’.
220. ‘joy’. This is *alegre nago* ‘I am happy’.
221. ‘sadness’. This is *triste nago* ‘I am sad’.
222. ‘hope’. This is *esperantzea dauka* ‘he has hope’.

223. 'fear'. This is *bildurra daukat* 'I have fear'; cf. 219.
224. 'anger'. This is *arrabia* (or *errabia*) *daukat* 'I have anger', with the initial vowel of the noun omitted. But the extra <o> is mysterious [read as such by both Cram and Coates].
225. 'laughter'. This is *barre egiten dot* 'I laugh', commonly pronounced in the syncopated form *barreiten dot*.
226. 'weeping'. This is *negar egiten dot* 'I weep', a response repeated in 250.
227. 'hunger'. This is *gosea* 'hunger'.
228. 'eat'. This is *jaten* 'eating'.
229. 'drink'. This is *edaten* 'drinking'.
230. 'sleep'. This is *lo eguin gura dot* (= *lo egin gura dot*) 'I want to sleep', with final <t> missing.
231. 'dream'. This is *ames eguiten dot* (= *ames egiten dot*) 'I dream', with an erroneous <d> for final <t>.
232. 'speak'. This is *berba eguiten* (= *berba egiten*) 'speaking'.
233. 'sing'. This is *cantetan* (= *kantetan*) 'in song'.
234. 'give birth'. Apparently *sein eguin* (= *sein egin*) 'give birth'. The article *-a* is unexpected, but Azkue's dictionary notes *seina egiteko* 'in order to give birth' in a document of 1818, so the idiom in the glossary is supported by this.
235. 'stand'. This is *artez dago* 'he is straight'.
236. 'sit'. This is *jarririk dago* 'he is seated', with a consonant omitted.
237. 'arise'. This is *eroazu*, an imperative of *eroan* 'take away', and it means 'take it away!'
238. 'fall'. This is *jausi* 'fall down'; for once, a verb cited in the now conventional perfective participle form.
239. 'walk'. This is Spanish *paseo* '(a) walk', not commonly used in Basque, in a locative nominal *paseaetan* '(in) walking'. The vocalism is obscure.
240. 'run'. This is *lasterca* (= *lasterka*), which is literally an adverb meaning 'rapidly, fast', but which commonly accompanies a verb of motion to express 'run'.
241. 'fly'. This is *banoa karreraka* 'I'm running', with Spanish *carrera* 'run', not commonly used in Basque, but here well integrated into the syntax, though not with the sought

- meaning. The second gloss is difficult; it looks as though it may begin with *inon ez* ... ‘nowhere’.
242. ‘limp, hobble’. The first item is the noun *erren* ‘limp’. The rest is a verb form, but it is hard to tell which one. Maybe *dago* ‘is’.
243. ‘swim’. This is *uguer* (= *uger*) ‘swimming’.
244. ‘jump’. This is surely *saltu* ‘jump’, though in fact the recorded form of this word is *salto*.
245. ‘totter’. Obscure. The first element might be Bizkaian *estropezu* ‘setback, obstacle’, though the vocalism is not quite right. The final part looks like *gat* (= *jat*), a first singular dative intransitive auxiliary ‘it is to me’, but there is no obvious verb to combine this with.
246. ‘lead’. This is *eroazu* ‘take it away!’ again, as in 237.
247. ‘follow’. This is *seguidu eguioçu* (= *segidu egiozu*), an imperative: ‘follow him!’.
248. ‘sigh’. This should probably be *zizpurua*, but the second <u> is missing.
249. ‘cough’. This is *eztula* ‘cough’.
250. ‘sobbing’. This is *negar eguiten dot* (= *negar egiten dot*) ‘I weep’, the response repeating that given for 226 *Fletus*.
251. ‘sneeze’. We expect *usina*, but we have something cute. The apparent presence of *domine* suggests that we have something along the lines of ‘(Lord) bless you!’. The formation is obscure but the rest appears to be an adjectivalised participle.
252. ‘bite’. This is *aguinca* (= *aginka*), the first part of (*h*)*aginka egin* ‘bite’.
253. ‘lick’. Obscure. The first part appears to be *garbi* ‘clean’, but \**garbiantan* is unintelligible.
254. ‘spit’. This is *chistu eguiten* (= *txistu egiten*) ‘spitting’.
255. ‘vomit’. Unintelligible. Despite the initial <c>, the first six letters may represent an intention to write *vomitu* (<c> by dittography?). An anonymous reviewer notes that there are forms in various Spanish- and Portuguese-lexified creoles (and also Saramaccan) which inherit non-standard forms of Romance lexical items, such as *gumitar* ‘to vomit’ (standard *vomitar*), which Meyer-Lübke calls ‘semi-learned’ (1890: 340), and suggests that may be the case

here. Native Basque words rarely begin with /k-/, and Meyer-Lübke raises the possibility that the informant is using such a non-standard borrowing, though the evidence available to us does not help with whether this feature is found in the Basque Country. The rest of the informant's response contains a suggestion of the native word *okatu* 'vomit', the whole apparently in a locative nominal form (*-etan*).

256. 'urinate'. This is probably *chixa eguiten* (= *txixa egiten*) 'peeing', if <x> can represent the palatal fricative in a text like this (but it may be written for <z>, which is otherwise unattested in the MS and is therefore not available for comparison). The generally attested form is *txiza egin*, but there is nothing surprising about a palatalised ('affective') form *txixa*. For palatalisation as symbolic of affective meaning, see Corum (1974).
257. 'defecate'. This is *caca eguiten* (= *kaca egiten*) 'shitting'.
258. 'sweat'. This is *izerdia dariat* 'I am running with sweat'.
259. 'fart'. This is *uzkarra* 'fart'.
260. 'belch'. An error. This is *etzula egiten* 'coughing' again, with the noun as in 249.
261. 'strike, drive' This is *urten eguiten* (= *urten egiten*) 'making (someone) go out', i.e. 'expel'.
262. 'press'. This is *estu nago* 'I am squeezed' (cf. 88).
263. 'pull'. This is *tira*, the stem or imperative of *tiratu* 'pull'.
264. 'carry'. This is *kargea lepoan* 'a load on one's back'. The spelling here would be expected, for consistency's sake, to be <carguea>.
265. 'dig'. This appears to be *laietan*, a locative nominal meaning 'busy with *laias*', where a *laia* is an agricultural tool, resembling a large two-pronged fork, used for turning soil.<sup>10</sup> The final <n> is missing.
266. 'plant'. This is a nominal, *plantetan* 'in plants'.
267. 'sow'. This is *garia eguiten* (= *garia egiten*), literally 'doing/making wheat'.
268. 'reap'. This is *ebagui* (= *ebagi*) 'cut (verb)'.

<sup>10</sup> There is no English lexical equivalent.

269. ‘wash’. There is something wrong near the end, but this is no doubt *garbituten eskua dot* ‘I wash (my) hand’.
270. ‘pierce’. Unintelligible. No known word for ‘pierce’ looks anything like this, and the form on the page does not resemble a Basque word because <gl> is graphotactically inadmissible.
271. ‘cut’. This is *ebagui* (= *ebagi*) ‘cut’, as in 268 – a rare perfective participle as citation-form.
272. ‘break’. Illegible, but the word is probably *autsi* ‘break’ – another perfective participle.
273. ‘open’. The required word is *idigui* (= *idigi*) ‘open’, on the line above – the third straight perfective participle. The rest is gibberish.
274. ‘close’. This is *ichi* (= *itxi*) ‘close’ – the fourth perfective participle.
275. ‘gather’. This is gibberish. The last part might be *dagiela* ‘that he does/makes’. The first part resembles the word for ‘wine’, but is probably too short to represent the expected *ardaoa*.
276. ‘sprinkle, scatter’. This appears to be *lurra ezarten* ‘putting the ground’. The wording is curious as it stands; we might have expected at least *lurrean* ‘on the ground’. Maybe there is an echo of some Spanish expression such as *poner la tierra [en tempero]* ‘to get (lit. ‘put’) the soil [into (good) condition]’.
277. ‘father’. This is *aita* ‘father’.
278. ‘grandfather’. This is the archaic Bizkaian word *aitanagusia* literally ‘principal father’. This may be the earliest known occurrence of the word.
279. ‘son’. This is *semea* ‘son’.
280. ‘daughter’. This is *alabea* ‘daughter’.
281. ‘brother’. This is *anaia* ‘brother (of a man)’. Bizkaian also has *neba* ‘brother of a woman’.
282. ‘sister’. An error. The Bizkaian word for ‘sister (of a woman)’ is *aiztea*, which must be what is intended here. There is also *arriba* ‘sister of a man’.
283. ‘uncle’. This is *osabea* ‘uncle’.
284. ‘husband’. The expected word is *senarra*, but W’s transcription is garbled.

285. 'wife'. This is *andrea*, which means 'lady' in most dialects, but both 'woman' and 'wife' in Bizkaian.
286. 'widow'. Interesting. The ordinary word is *alargun*, but here we have a compound *andralarguna*, whose first element is *andra* 'woman, wife', as in 285. This compound is otherwise unattested.
287. 'young woman' or 'virgin'. The word here is *dontzellea* 'virgin'. It contains an apparent notation of the palatal lateral unique in this text.
288. 'master'. The expected word is *maisu* or archaic *maesu*. What we have here appears to be the derivative *maisutza* 'mastership'.
289. 'servant'. This is Spanish *criado* 'servant', not normally used in Basque.
290. 'pupil'. Appears to begin with Spanish *escribe* 'he writes'; then gibberish.
291. 'friend'. This is *adisquirea* (= *adiskirea*) 'friend'.
292. 'enemy'. This is *ene arerioa* 'my enemy'. It is interesting that the boy is still using *ene* for 'my'; this is long obsolete in Bizkaian.
293. 'arable field'. The word is *kanpoa*. From our earliest records of Basque, this obvious borrowing from Spanish *campo* 'field' is attested in no sense other than 'outside', for which it is everywhere the ordinary word. If the boy is really using it for 'field', this is the first attestation of this sense.
294. 'meadow'. The second part is *andia* 'big'. The first part is mysterious. The original intention may have been to put *berardi* for *belardi* 'pasture, meadow'; note the B variant *berarra* 'grass' for common Basque *belarra* (cf. 23). It is not inconceivable that the first four letters are actually *soro*, the word for '(cultivated) field'.
295. 'teach'. This is *irakatsi* 'teach'.
296. 'praise'. Mysterious. No such word as *\*albetae* is recorded in any sense. This item vaguely resembles Spanish *alabanzas* 'praise' (noun) and the related verb *alabar* 'praise', but it can hardly be directly borrowed.
297. 'threats'. This item is curious. It appears to be the sentence *onek bere bizian ikasiko ez du* 'this one will not learn on his

- life'. But there is no trace of the required final <c> in the first word. *Estu* on the next line may otherwise represent the element, lit. 'narrow' (cf. 88.), found in the expression *estu hartu* 'to be a threat or challenge to someone (in competition)'.
298. 'king'. This is *erreguea* (= *erregea*), with omission of the initial vowel.
299. 'subject' (i.e. 'vassal'). The second part is *nago* 'I am'. The first appears to be a slightly garbled version of Spanish *sujeto*.
300. 'law'. This is *legea dauko* 'it has a law'.
301. 'tribute, tax'. The last part is the auxiliary *dot*. The first seems to be a form of the verb *pagatu* 'pay', and we would expect *pagatuten*, or conceivably *pagaten*, but we have the impossible *pagetan*.
302. 'buy'. There is surely a final <n> missing here, but in any case *irabazten* means 'gaining, earning', not 'buying'.
303. 'sell'. This is *salduten* 'selling'.
304. 'borrow'. Apparently we have *pertadu egidazu*, which would be an imperative 'do me a *pertadu*', but a word of the form *pertadu* is unknown. A garbled form of Spanish *prestado* as in *dar prestado* 'lend', *tomar prestado* 'borrow', is probable.
305. 'fit, adjust'. BLANK.
306. 'promise'. Strange. The first part seems to be *pagaetako* 'of payment', while the second part seems to be a rearranged form of a (Spanish) word for 'oblige'.
307. 'doctor'. This is *dotorea* 'doctor'.
308. 'judge'. This is *jueza* 'judge'.
309. 'innocent'. This is *inozentea* 'innocent'.
310. 'guilty'. This is *errua ekarten* 'carrying the blame'.
311. 'condemn'. This is *kondenadua* 'condemned'.
312. 'pardon'. This is *librea* 'free'.
313. 'murder, homicide'. This is *ilten dauena* '(the one) who kills', with a puzzling geminate <nn>.
314. 'theft'. This is *lapurra* 'thief'.
315. 'punishment'. This is some form of *kastigatu* 'punish', but the entry is obscure. A Bizkaian *\*kastigauko dot* 'I will punish him', contracted in speech to *\*kastigaukot*, is quite possible.

316. 'reward'. The first element appears to be *premio* 'prize' in principle, and a B \**premiño* is not inconceivable, though no such form is recorded. The second element is *guichi* (= *gitxi*) 'not much', which makes the reply semantically and pragmatically obscure.
317. 'peace'. This is *baquea* (= *bakea*) 'peace'.
318. 'war'. This is *guerra* (= *gerra*) 'war'.
319. 'fight'. This is *alkarren kontra* 'against each other'.
320. 'victory'. This is *bitoria* 'victory'.
321. 'weapons'. The first part is *ezpata* 'sword', though it is somewhat surprising not to see the definite form *ezpatea*. The next part looks like *eta* 'and', but the remainder is obscure. Words with a slight resemblance to the obscure part and that might have been relevant include *burtzi* 'spear' and *borroka* 'struggle', but it is hard to justify emending to either of these, especially since *burtzi* is a word of doubtful authenticity recorded only in an unpublished MS of Añibarro. The word which resembles the residue most closely is *apurkor* 'fragile', but it is hard to see what relevance that might have.
322. 'priest'. Easily recognisable is *aita* 'father' (cf. 277), but the last syllable is unexpected, and there is no such word as \**aitaba* recorded anywhere. A possible explanation is that the final syllable represents the frequent discourse particle which is written <bada> but pronounced [ba], approximately 'so, then'. This particle is utterance-final.
323. 'vow, offering'. Mysterious. There might be buried in it *gantzu* 'lard, unguent' with reference to the language of sacrifice and a form of *goratu* 'raise, exalt', but this is suggested with great diffidence.
324. 'prayer'. Obscure. This appears to be the imperfective participle of a verb, though the form is odd, since a verb in /-i/ should lose its /-i/ before the ending *-ten*. In any case, no verb is found in the language, in any sense at all, with a form even roughly similar to the required \**ega(t)zi* or \**ega(t)si*. Is it possible that the response includes *egiazki* 'truly, certainly', used for *amen*, whose Hebrew etymological source means just this?

325. ‘thing’. This is *gauza bat* ‘a thing’, with its <u> omitted.
326. ‘nothing’. This is *bat bere ez* ‘nothing’, pronounced in the contracted form *baperez*.
327. ‘name’. This is *izena* ‘name’.
328. ‘good’. This is *ona* ‘good’.
329. ‘bad’. The only hitherto recorded forms of this specifically Bizkaian word are *donga* and *deunga*. The boy’s *dengua*, if it is correctly transcribed, appears to be a metathesised variant. Cf. 169. [Both Cram and Coates read *dengua*.]
330. ‘true’. This is *egia* ‘truth’.
331. ‘false’. This is *fal(t)soa* ‘false’.
332. ‘necessary’. The first part is seemingly *nezesarío* ‘necessary’, recorded early in eastern Basque but not, to our knowledge, in Bizkaian. But the vocalism is unexpected. The next part might be *edo* ‘or’, for which a variant *ero* would be unremarkable. Then the sense breaks down. What might be expected is *bear* ‘necessity’ or some derivative of this, and perhaps that is what is concealed in this uninterpretable mass.
333. ‘proper, lawful’. This is *ondo eguinik dago* ‘it is properly done’, which would be pronounced *ondo egunitago*. The final *-ado* is surely for *-ago*.
334. ‘easy’. This is *fazila da* ‘it’s easy’, with a long <S>, and with a borrowed word that is not commonly used in Basque.
335. ‘difficult’. This certainly looks like *arerioa* ‘enemy’, as in 292. The two relevant senses may be mediated by Spanish *contrario*.
336. ‘useful’. Clearly not an appropriate response. The second part is a garbled version of *nezesaríoa* ‘necessary’. The first part is a genitive in *-a(r)en* of a noun. This noun could well be the seemingly unrecorded *\*erropa* ‘clothes’, a simple borrowing of Spanish *ropa(s)*. This word appears as *arropa* from our earliest texts in the eastern half of the country, but it seems not to be recorded in Bizkaian. However, there is no obstacle to a re-borrowing.
337. ‘harmful’. Unintelligible. Too difficult to read for speculation to be useful.
338. ‘safe’. This is *seguru nago*, which normally means ‘I am sure’, but the Spanish source-word *seguro* has the required sense.

339. 'dangerous'. The recorded early Bizkaian form of 'danger' is *peligru*, with one or two minor variants. What we have here is apparently *piligur nago* 'I am danger', with very strange syntax. Once again we seem to have a metathesis introduced to eliminate a plosive–liquid cluster (cf. 39, 176, 208, 382).
340. 'prosperous'. This is Spanish *venturoso* 'successful', 'lucky', not commonly used in Basque.
341. 'unfortunate'. This is Spanish *desdichado* 'unlucky', with *da* 'it is'.
342. 'add'. This is *imini egizu geiago*, an imperative meaning 'put some more (on)'.
343. 'remove'. This is an imperative *eroazu* 'take it away!', as in 237, 246. This time it provides a reasonable gloss, though note that the verb *eroan* means 'carry off, remove from the vicinity', while 'take away' in the sense of 'remove from its present position' is *kendu*.
344. 'middle'. This is *erdia* 'middle'.
345. 'extreme'. This is *akabadu da* 'it has been finished'.
346. 'top'. This is *altuago da* 'it is higher'.
347. 'bottom'. This is *bea* 'low', 'bottom', as in 82, 90.
348. 'right (hand)'. This is *eskumea* 'right hand'.
349. 'left (hand)'. This is *esku ezkerria* 'left hand'.
350. 'up'. This is *goira doa* 'it's going up', with *goira*, a specifically Bizkaian variant of common *gora* 'up'.
351. 'down'. This is *lurrean dago txoria* 'the bird is on the ground'.
352. 'front'. This looks for all the world like *atzenengoa* 'last', but must really be for *aitzenengoa* from *aitzin-* 'before'.
353. 'behind'. This is adverbial *atzeti* 'behind', lit. 'from behind'.
354. 'inner'. This is *barruti* 'from inside'.
355. 'outer'. This is *kanpoti* 'from outside'.
356. 'big'. This is *andia* 'big'.
357. 'small'. This is *txikira* 'small'.
358. 'equal'. This is *igual dira* 'they are equal'.
359. 'full'. This is *bete dago sabela* '(my) stomach is full'.
360. 'empty'. This is *utsitu dago* 'it is empty'.
361. 'leisure'. The first part might be *ezttau*, representing *ez dau* 'he doesn't...', but it is preferable to see *ezttauca*,

- representing *ez dauka* (or *ez dauko*, the form usually used by the boy) ‘he doesn’t have’. The rest is garbled. We might have expected here the common Bizkaian word *zeregin* ‘business, matter, affair’, and this may be intended, though a partitive form *zereginik* would be more suitable.
362. ‘business’. The first part is Spanish *negocio* ‘business’ (as opposed to the native word used in 361), again with an unexpected vocalism. The remainder is obscure, but it does look like *begi* ‘eye’, possibly in the dative *begia(r)i* ‘to the eye’.
363. ‘same, similar’. The first part is *bat* ‘one’, but the rest is opaque.
364. ‘different, dissimilar’. This is *ez diduri* ‘it doesn’t resemble’, but that final *-ere* is mysterious.
365. ‘have’. Very strange. We clearly have a verb form of the approximate shape *\*eskuziko dogu* ‘we will ... it’. But what is the verb? It appears to be built on *esku* ‘hand’, and a suitable original sense can be surmised, but no suitable verb form is recorded.
- [365]’? ‘lack’. This lemma presumably attempts to reproduce 366, whose response has been displaced. The response appears to be a truncated form of something like *ez ugari da* ‘there isn’t a lot’.
366. ‘lack’. BLANK.
367. ‘join’. This is an imperative, *juntadu egizu* ‘join it!’.
368. ‘separate’. This appears to be *bat doa bateti, beste bateti* ‘one goes from one, from another one’, and the boy’s conceptual struggle is open for all to see.
369. ‘give’. This is *emon* ‘give’.
370. ‘accept’. This is an imperative, *artu egizu* ‘take it!’, exactly like 375.
371. ‘refuse’. The first part appears to be *eztogu*, representing *ez dogu* ‘we don’t ...’. The rest should be a participle of a verb, and *-au* is a good ending for a perfective participle, but the verb is unrecognisable. (*Gustatu* ‘to like’, perf. part. *gustatau*, could perhaps be implicated in a semantically bleached response to the prompt.).

372. 'begin'. This is an imperative, *asi zaitte* 'begin!'. The auxiliary element is normally *zaitetz*, but *zaitte* is apparently attested.<sup>11</sup>
373. 'end'. Another imperative: *akabadu egizu* 'finish it!'.  
 374. 'send'. This is *egizu*, an imperative of *egin* 'do, make'. Given the boy's habit of using *egizu* to form imperatives (see e.g. 367, 370, 372), it is possible that a first element has been missed out here.
375. 'take, grasp'. Another imperative: *artu egizu* 'take it!', exactly like 370.
376. 'question'. This is *eskatu* 'ask for, request'.  
 377. 'answer'. This is *erantzun* 'reply', verb and noun.
378. 'ask'. This is roughly *ja(u)ngoikoa(r)en amorea ...* 'for the love of God', as if responding to 'ask for in prayer'. The final part is obscure.
379. 'assent, grant'. This is *akorda(d)u* 'agree'.  
 380. 'affirm'. The prompt has been misunderstood: this is *firmadu* 'sign', 'put one's name to', cf. Spanish *firma* 'signature'. This attestation antedates by two years the previous earliest known attestation of the Basque word.
381. 'deny'. This is *guzurra* 'lie', as in 167.
382. 'lead', i.e. the metal. This is Spanish *plomo*, used instead of the ordinary Basque word. The plosive-liquid cluster is undisturbed (cf. 39, 176, 208, 339).
383. 'iron'. This is *burdiña* 'iron'.  
 384. 'I'. This is *ni* 'I, me'.  
 385. 'you (singular)'. Unexpected. The expected form is *i*. The boy may well have provided *i aiz* 'you are', in which case W has for once recorded an inserted glide.
386. 'he, that'. Something has been badly misunderstood here. The material struck through looks like *erdi bat da* 'it's one-half', with two extra letters tacked on to the end.
387. 'we'. This seems to be *emen gara* 'we are here'. It is interesting that the boy uses the form *gara* and not the expected *gaude* with a locative complement.

<sup>11</sup> Trask's notes unfortunately give no source for this assertion. There is an imperative *zaitte* in Labourdin dialect (Lafitte 1962: §542).

388. ‘you (plural)’. The expected form is *zuek*, but we seem to have some extra material. If we can read this as <sueque>, we might be looking at *zuek* ... *ee*, with the hesitation vowel tacked on.
389. ‘they’. This is *eurak* ‘they’, with its final consonant omitted.
390. ‘wealth, money, property’. This seems to start with *chiquira*, representing *txikira* ‘small’, implying that the boy heard the Latin prompt as Spanish *pequeño* ‘small’, and continued *eta* ‘and’ but did not finish.
391. ‘mother’. BLANK. Omitted from the sequence of relationship terms in 277–87. The expected word is *ama*.

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