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A PHONOLOGICAL STUDY
OF THE BASQUE DIALECT OF GETXO

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0. Introduction

The Basque variety that is described in this study is that spoken in Getxo. Getxo is located on the northwestern border of the Basque speaking domain, not far from the city of Bilbao. This is thus a variety of Biscayan Basque.

Given its proximity to Bilbao, the Getxo area is highly urbanized and has attracted an important nucleus of monolingual Spanish-speaking population. The only district which has remained largely rural is Andra Mari (Santa María de Getxo). It is in this district that Getxo Basque is currently spoken.

The data that are described in this study are based on fieldwork carried out by one of the authors (X. Bilbao) with a number of speakers of the Getxo area, as well as on the native intuitions of this same author. The vocabulary list in section 9 was also compiled by X. Bilbao.

We want to thank all of those who have offered us information on their language. In particular, we are grateful to Jose Mari Ansoaite (79 years old in 1990), Miren Arrieta Lloia (72 yrs.), Ramon Basarte Arrururrena (79 yrs.), Jabier Bilbao Beaskoteekia (57 yrs.), Francisco Cayero Agirre (71 yrs.), Jesus Madariaga Agirre (67 yrs.), Juana Mardaras (76 yrs.), Gregoria Mezo (70 yrs.), Txaro Zalbidea Azpiazue (58 yrs.) and Juan Bilbao Zarraga (83 yrs.).

For the fundamental frequency tracings included in section 6.7., we are thankful to Greg Dogil of the University of Bielefeld, Germany.

(1) In particular, in the classification of Basque dialects established by Louis Lucien Bonaparte, which is still generally accepted among Basque dialectologists, Getxo belongs to the variety of Plentzia, within the western subdialect of Biscayan Basque (cf. Yrizar 1981). There are published descriptions of aspects of the linguistic systems (subvarieties) of two other towns within the variety of Plentzia, Butroe (Gaminde 1982) and Leioa (Gaminde 1989). In this work, the words dialect and variety will be used indistinctively to refer to the form of Basque spoken in Getxo.
1. Phonemes and allophones
1.1. Sound inventory

Getxu Basque presents the following phonological inventory:

(1) consonants:                  vowels: i  u
    p  t  k  e  o
    b  d  g  a
    f  s  ſ  x
    ts  tš
    m  n  (ŋ)
    l  (ʎ)
    r/r

Unless a greater degree of detail is required, we will use in our examples an adaptation of conventional Basque orthography, modified to reflect the pronunciation of the dialect of Getxu in a clear manner. The following symbols will be used:

(2) consonants:                  consonantal glides: y  w
    p  t  k  y
    b  d  g  w
    f  s  x  j
    ts  tš  ts
    m  n  ñ
    l  ll

Notice, thus, that the prepalatal voiceless fricative /ř/ is represented by the grapheme ſ, and the velar voiceless fricative /x/ is represented by j (as in Spanish). We will make use of the letter y to represent a voiced palatal fricative [j], and w to represent a voiced bilabial fricative in our orthography; even though neither sound is phonemic, both being derived from underlying vowels; e.g.: /iaio/ [íaio] yayo ‘to be born’.

In addition to these symbols, in sections dealing directly with matters of syllabification, surface nonsyllabic vocoids (glides) will be indicated by a half-month subscript diacritic: ſ, ſ.

The detailed point of articulation of each consonant is shown in the following chart:

(3) bi labio apico dorso apicó labial dental dental alv alv prepal pal velar
    stop p  t  k
    fricative f  s  ſ (x)  x (ř)
    nasal m  ts (tś)  tš (tx)
    lateral n  ſ (ř)
    rhotic flap r
    rhotic trill ſ (ř) /r/r

In the accentual system of Getxu Basque, as in other Biscayan varieties, only words containing certain accentually marked morphemes receive lexical, word-level, stress (see section 6). These stresses will consistently be marked in the examples by acute accents. There is, in addition, a rule of phrase-final stress. Phrase-final stresses will be left unmarked for the most part, except when they are directly relevant to the discussion (but will be always marked in phonetic representations between square brackets).

1.2. Description of phonemes and principal allophones
1.2.1. Stops

There are three unaspirated voiceless stops, bilabial /p/, dental /t/ and velar /k/. They do not present any significant allophony.

There are also three voiced stops with the same three points of articulation as their voiceless counterparts: /b/, /d/ and /g/. These have both continuant [β], [δ], [γ] and noncontinuant [b], [d], [g] allophones. As in Castilian Spanish and other Basque dialects, they are realized as continuant in all positions except after pause, after a nasal and, in the case of /d/, after /l/. This distribution is illustrated in section 4.2.3.

Stops are the only segments for which voicing is a phonologically distinctive feature. Furthermore, the distinction between the voiced and voiceless series only operates in onsets position (see section 4.1.5).

1.2.2. Fricatives and affricates

All fricative phonemes are voiceless. There is a labiodental /ř/, an apico-alveolar /s/, a prepalatal /ř/, and a velar /x/. Of these, /ř/ and /x/ are found mostly, but not only, in words of Spanish origin.

In some borrowings we find /p/ for Spanish /ř/ as in pralle (< Sp. pralle) ‘monk’, a fact which would seem to indicate that /ř/ was not allowable in Basque at some historical time. However, /ř/ does appear in many, probably more recent, borrowings, such as fabrike ‘factory’ or kafé ‘coffee’. In addition, /ř/ is found in a few native words, such as aferi ‘dinner’.

Similarly, there are a few native words that present the velar /x/: ana [anax] ‘the brother’, jaun [xāun] ‘sir’, the compound from the same root jaunagoko ‘God’ (lit. ‘lord of above’) and its reduced form xainko ‘God’, gisaino ‘poor man’ and perhaps no other. This sound is nevertheless perfectly integrated in the sound system of the dialect and is very frequent in words of Spanish origin such as biaco ‘trip’, jusegut ‘court’ (< Sp. juerga), jenero ‘merchandise’, jente ‘people’, jasta ‘just, fair’, etc.

It is perhaps of some interest to make some remarks of a comparative and historical character on the distribution of the velar fricative /x/ at this point. The westernmost area of the Basque speaking territory, which includes Getxu, has kept what seems to be close to the original pronunciation of the consonant in words such as yañ [ján] ‘to eat’, yakín [jakín] ‘to know’, yayo [jaio] or [jājol] ‘to be born’. Similar pronunciations are found in eastern areas including Labourd and Biztan in corresponding cognates: [ján] or [ján] ‘to eat’. This sound evolved to [z] in Souletin,
the easternmost Basque dialect. In the Biscayan town of Lekeitio, we also find a pre-
patatal [sx] in cognates. In the now extinct Roncalse dialect, [sx] was found. But the 
most widespread pronunciations are those with a velar [x] in word-initial position: 
[xan], [xakin], [xaio]. This situation represents an evolution [i] > [sx] > [sx] > [x], 
perhaps with other intermediates stages, which is not unlike the one that took place 
in Spanish. The velar is found nowadays in all of Guipuscoa, parts of Navarre (e.g. 
Sakana) and a large part of Biscay. In areas where this is not a regular change, how-
ever, the velar is often still found in the words for 'sir' and 'god', as in Getxo. This 
distribution has been attested in Zeberio, also on the western border of the Basque-
speaking domain (Etxebarria 1991), and, on the other side of the velarizing area, 
in regions of Navarre, including the Arakil Valley (see Michelen 1985: 170, fn. 7) 
and the extinct Roncalse dialect, where [sx] is found in [stan] 'eat', [xakin] 'to know' 
and regularly in other cognates, but 'sir' is [xe:n] (see Estornés 1968). The diffusion 
of the [sx] in the words for 'god' and 'sir' can be attributed to sociolinguistic reasons 
probably related to preaching. This diffusion through preaching seems confirmed 
by the fact that in Zeberio, [zentlek] and [zentlek] 'the pagans' are both found in 
alternation. This item is part of the Christian terminology and appears to be an old 
borrowing.

The other native word that presents /sx/ in Getxo (and Zeberio) is anaje 'brother, 
abs sg'. This is a rather unique item, whose uninflected form is anai [anáí]. It is not 
clear how this word may have acquired its velar articulation.

The apico-alveolar /sl/ has a voiced allophone before voiced consonants: šmilk 'milk' otes nator [šmelnatår] 'I'm coming by foot' saldás dator [saldše:datår] 'he is 
coming on a horse', ortus gogor [õ:tuçg:go:ɡo:ɡ] 'hard with the garden'.

The other fricatives /f/ and /s/ do not present voiced allophones simply because 
they never occur before another consonant (i.e. in a coda).

The prepalatal /sx/ is restricted almost exclusively to the intervocalic position. Like 
/i/ and /sx/, its occurrence is limited to the onset position within the syllable (with 
some exceptions that will be noted immediately), but, even then, it is absent from 
word-initial position. In a word-internal coda, [sx] is found for some speakers in a 
few words such as [aštā] 'sister of woman', [aškora] 'hatchet' and [aškof:] 'toponym'. 
Other speakers have [aštā], [aškora], [aškof:] instead.

After /i/ there is a certain amount of variation between /sx/ and /sx/, which is limited 
to some lexical items; e.g. [piši] ~ [piši] 'weight' (< Sp. peso). Other items, however, 
only admit one pronunciation either with [s]: e.g.: [piši] 'apartment' (< Sp. 
piso); or with [sx]: e.g.: [bišeq] 'beard'. More details are given in section 4.2.2.

There are two affricates, both voiceless, a predorsal-dental /ts/ and a prepalatal /tʃ/.

Word-internally, the distinction between the fricative-affricate pairs /sl/-/ts/ and 
/sx/-/tʃx/ is neutralized after /i/, /l/, /u/, or, more generally, after a consonant. In this 
position, only the affricates are found in native words and integrated borrowings. Some 
native examples are antx 'resemblance', biskuntz 'blood-sausage', enxtun 'to hear' 
iruntzi 'to swallow', balitz 'black', galtzu 'type of hay', nortzuk 'who-pl', ituorz 'wal-
nut'. The historical application of a process of affrication of fricatives in the postcon-
sontantal position can be observed in the treatment of integrated borrowings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(4) Lat. anser  &gt;</th>
<th>ántzar  &gt;</th>
<th>'goose'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lat. pulsatu      &gt;</td>
<td>bultzekada &gt;</td>
<td>'push'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ kada  &gt;</td>
<td>alza      &gt;</td>
<td>'to get up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp. alzar(še) &gt;</td>
<td>yántrza  &gt;</td>
<td>'dance'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp. danza &gt;</td>
<td>yeltrzo   &gt;</td>
<td>'gypsum'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp. ye(š)so &gt;</td>
<td>kantza    &gt;</td>
<td>'to tire'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp. cansar &gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp. calza + B. erdi 'half' &gt;</td>
<td>káltzerdi &gt;</td>
<td>'stocking'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp. confianza &gt;</td>
<td>konfántza &gt;</td>
<td>'confidence'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp. esperanza &gt;</td>
<td>esperántza &gt;</td>
<td>'hope'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp. importancia &gt;</td>
<td>importántzi &gt;</td>
<td>'importance'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp. conveniencia &gt;</td>
<td>komeniértzi &gt;</td>
<td>'convenience'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp. pensar &gt;</td>
<td>pentza    &gt;</td>
<td>'to think'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp. provincia &gt;</td>
<td>probintza &gt;</td>
<td>'province'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp. presidencia &gt;</td>
<td>presidéntzi &gt;</td>
<td>'presidency'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp. garbanzo &gt;</td>
<td>garbántzu  &gt;</td>
<td>'chick pea'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp. pienso &gt;</td>
<td>pentzu    &gt;</td>
<td>'fodder'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp. cruce &gt;</td>
<td>kurtrze,  &gt;</td>
<td>'crossovers'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp. cárcel &gt;</td>
<td>kárätzel  &gt;</td>
<td>'jail'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp. esfuerzo &gt;</td>
<td>esfértzu  &gt;</td>
<td>'effort'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp. bolsa &gt;</td>
<td>boltza    &gt;</td>
<td>'bag'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp. calcetín &gt;</td>
<td>kaltzentin &gt;</td>
<td>'sock'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp. salsa &gt;</td>
<td>saltza    &gt;</td>
<td>'sauce'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In more recent borrowings, however, the rule has ceased to apply:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(5) Sp. tensión &gt;</th>
<th>tensinho &gt;</th>
<th>'tension'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sp. consolar &gt;</td>
<td>konsóla  &gt;</td>
<td>'to console'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp. consolación &gt;</td>
<td>konsolasinho &gt;</td>
<td>'consolation'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp. ensalada &gt;</td>
<td>ensalada  &gt;</td>
<td>'salad'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp. aconsejar &gt;</td>
<td>akonséja &gt;</td>
<td>'to advise'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp. pensión &gt;</td>
<td>pensíño    &gt;</td>
<td>'pension'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp. conversar &gt;</td>
<td>konbérsza &gt;</td>
<td>'to converse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp. conversación &gt;</td>
<td>konbersaño &gt;</td>
<td>'conversation'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp. divorcio &gt;</td>
<td>dibórisio &gt;</td>
<td>'divorce'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp. jersey &gt;</td>
<td>jerse     &gt;</td>
<td>'sweater'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp. percebe &gt;</td>
<td>persébe &gt;</td>
<td>'barnacle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp. persona &gt;</td>
<td>persóna &gt;</td>
<td>'person'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp. pulso &gt;</td>
<td>půslu &gt;</td>
<td>'pulse'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some borrowings like konsidéntzi 'coincidence', from Sp. coincidencia and konsidéntzi 
'conscience' from Sp. conciencia, show an inconsistent behavior in that in the same 
word there is affrication in one instance and lack of it in an identical group. This can 
be explained by the fact that certain common endings have a fixed Basque equi- 
valent. This is the case with Sp. -enial B. -atuzi.
The affrication process is no longer an active rule of the language. It does not apply between words:

(6) ibil sara [i'bilsarə] 'you have walked'
    il san [ilsán] 'he died'
    ser sara [se'rsarə] 'what are you'
    ixen san [i'xensán] 'he was'
    ber sendun [be'rsendun] 'you would need'
    etor san [eto'rসn] 'he came'

There is no affrication in compounds, either:

(7) lúr-salla [lúrsalə] 'plot of land'
    mutril-sarra [mutrilənə] 'bachelor' (lit. 'old boy')

Across other morpheme boundaries there are no alternations that would justify postulating a rule of affrication. There is, then, simply a neutralization at the lexical level that affects the native part of the vocabulary.

The complete distribution of fricatives and affricates is as summarized in the following chart. The examples in parenthesis indicate that they are rare and variable (in the case of /s/ before a consonant) or limited to borrowings (in the case of /s/ after a consonant). About the incidence of /s/ the remarks that were made above should be taken into account:

(8) /f/ [famfli] 'family'
    /afafə] 'supper'
    /kornfēsa] 'confess'
    /v/ [vaxfri] 'far'
    /pulslu] 'pulser'
    /asə] 'pulse'
    /astə] 'ast','
    /ezné] 'milk'
    /es] 'no'
    /ts/ [etstə] 'theater',
    /ɜrty] 'yesterday'
    /gypsum'
    /bàsn] 'short'
    /a][əsta] 'sister'
    /tʃ/ [tʃak] 'dog'
    /i] [intʃ] 'introduce'
    /a][əna] 'to leave'
    /n] [e'baŋxe1o] 'brother'
    /s/ [sir] 'brother'

Symbols: [ ] = word-initial; V = intervocalic, C = after consonant, _C[-v]_ = before voiceless consonant, _C[+v]_ = before voiced consonant, _ = word-final before pause.

As shown, affricates are not found before other consonants. Some compounds and derived words show the application of a rule of fricativization of affricates in that post-

1.2.3. Nasals

In word-internal intervocalic position, there is a phonological contrast between three nasal articulations: bilabial /m/, alveolar /n/ and palatal /ŋ/; e.g.: ama 'mother', sama 'vein', trošu 'knot'). Word-initially /n/ is not found, if we leave aside the interjection na. Word-finally, and more generally, syllable-finally, the nasals are neutralized taking the point of articulation of a following consonant and being realized as /n/ if no consonant follows. Details are given in section 4.1.1.

After /l/, syllabic or nonsyllabic, and in onset position /n/ is palatalized. Since palatalization automatically brings about the absorption of a preceding glide, as in /o-in-ŋe/ 'the foot, abs sg' (cf. /o-in/ [ŋe] 'foot'), this allows for an analysis in which every /ŋ/ sequence derives from underlying /n/. That is, examples such as those in (9) could have the underlying representations indicated, given active processes that are attested across morpheme boundaries:

(9) /ũ/ [ũ] /bainu/ 'bath'
    /enɡaŋu/ /ge'san/ 'deceit'
    /kaññbera/ /ka'ainbera/ 'reed'
    /tamaŋu/ /tšmaŋu/ 'size'
    /koñetu/ /koñenetu/ 'brother-in-law'
    /troñu/ /troinu/ 'knot'
    /sfnəde/ /se'ınale/ 'signal'
    /soñeko/ /soineko/ 'dress'

The only positions where it would not be possible to derive a palatal nasal from an underlying group of front glide plus coronal nasal are the word initial position and the position after a consonant. But, crucially, /ŋ/ is missing from both of these positions. The palatal nasal only appears in [ŋnV] contexts, where it would always be possible to postulate an underlying /n/ sequence. There is thus no clear obstacle for eliminating the palatal nasal from the underlying phonemic inventory.

1.2.4. Lateral

The surface facts show the existence an opposition between two lateral sounds: a coronal lateral /l/ and a palatal lateral /ʃ/. However, like the palatal nasal, the palatal lateral is restricted in its occurrence to the [V,ʃV] environment. Since laterals are also subject to palatalization-cum-gliding-absorption (i.e. [V,ʃV] is derivable from /VlV/), this restricted restructural raises the same questions for the phonemicity of /ʃ/.

In word-initial position, the palatal lateral appears in one single word illoña 'nephew, grandchild', which alternates with illoña.
(10) makállau /makállau/ ‘cod’
mallúki /mallúki/ ‘strawberry’
tellatu /tellatu/ ‘roof’
akúllu /akúllu/ ‘stable’ (noun)
kolláru /kolláru/ ‘spoon’
oílo /óilo/ ‘hen, chicken’
sél-lu /sél-lu/ ‘stamp’

Before a consonant, laterals assimilate to other articulations involving the front part of the tongue, but not to labials or velars. The assimilation of laterals is treated in section 4.1.2.

1.2.5. Rhotics

There is a contrast, limited to the intervocalic position, between a trill [r] (written r) and a flap [ɾ] (written r). Elsewhere the contrast is neutralized in favor of the trill. The surface distribution of rhotic sounds is as follows:

(11) a. [r]

Intervocalic: u[r]leta ‘October’
Word initial: [r]ádio ‘radio’ (only borrowings)
After tautosyllabic C: an[r]a ‘woman’
After heterosyllabic C: a[r]ebes ‘backwards’
Before consonant: ð[r]ai ‘bacon’
Word final, before C: apu[r]et ‘a little’
Word final, before V: txaku[r] andi ‘big dog’

b. [ɾ]

Intervocalic: so[r]ion ‘happiness’

As shown, the flap has a rather limited distribution. However, it is not derivable from the trill by any observable process in the language. Both rhotics must then be taken as distinct phonemes, in spite of their limited contrastive environments.

More evidence that /r/ and /ɾ/ are distinct phonemes is given by the fact that they undergoly contrast in morpheme-final position. This is not reflected in the chart above because the contrast only appears when the morpheme-final rhotics are placed in intervocalic position in morpheme concatenation. The vast majority of morphemes ending in a rhotic have a final trill, this is apparent when suffixes are added, as in /tʃakur/ [tʃakur] ‘dog’, /tʃakur-alo/ [tʃakur-e] ‘the dog, abs sg’; /sagaɾ/ [sag̪aɾ] ‘apple’, /sagaɾ-alo/ [sag̪aɾ-e] ‘the apple, abs sg’, etc. Only a handful of words present final /ɾ/, among them, /ur/ [ur] ‘water’, /ur-alo/ [ur-e] ‘the water, abs sg’; /ser/ [seɾ] ‘what’, /ser-alo/ [ser-e] ‘what, abs sg’; /plater/ [plater] ‘plate’, /plater-alo/ [plater-e] ‘the plate, abs sg’. Some numerals appear to have a final /ɾ/ that only surfaces when another morpheme follows in the word, as in /iru/ [ir] ‘three’, /iru-ak/ [irúrek] ‘the three, abs/erg pl’.

1.2.6. Vowels and Glides

Like nearly all other Basque dialects, Getxo Basque has five vowel phonemes: high front /i/, high back /u/, mid front /e/, mid back /e/ and low /a/. The low vowel behaves phonologically as a front vowel, being raised to [e] in certain contexts (see section 4.3.1). There are also two glides, palatal /j/ and labiovelar /u/, which, for the most part, can be taken to be allophones of the corresponding high vowels (although there are some complications).

Unstressed high vowels become glides immediately after another vowel. This rule operates morpheme-internally and across morpheme and word boundaries and is studied in section 4.3.3.

In the following examples, containing morpheme-internal /u/, /u/ sequences, syllable boundaries are indicated by periods and glides (nonsyllabic vocoids) are marked with a half-moon diacritic. Examples of diphthongs in both stressed and unstressed position are given:

(13) /ai/ lu.kain.ka ‘sausage’, májso ‘teacher’, kan.pái ‘bell’, gas.táš ‘cheese’
a.tró ‘to look’, nájkó ‘enough’, ba.bét ‘one cow’
/ei/ lój ‘frost’, béjñ ‘once’
á.reñ ‘to cause, to sow’, ba.deñ.ke.tú ‘to bless’
/sai/ ‘season’
/ai/ su.ñ ‘son-in-law’
/u/ áy.to ‘car’, dáy ‘he has’
ba.y.tsa ‘to baptise’, sa.jñ.ké ‘you would have’, se.layan ‘of what type’, ga.y ‘more’
/eu/ éyñ ~ éyn ‘a hundred’, éyñ.ké ‘Basque language’
/eu/ éyñ.ki ~ a.y.ki ‘to have’, réj.ni.nó ‘reunion’, éyñ.kal.dún ‘Basque speaker’

The sequence /ou/ is not found morpheme-internally.

We can safely conclude that the diphthongs in all the examples above are derived by a rule that makes an unstressed high vowel into a glide immediately after anoth-
er vowel. An apparent exception, where a high unstressed vocoid maintains its syllabicity after another vowel is a.ik 'they' which alternates with a.rik. This last form can be taken as basic, with which the exceptionality of this item disappears (that is, the deletion of the consonant is ordered after the rule of gliding).

There is no gliding in the few examples containing an stressed high vocoid after another vowel: ego.3s.te 'egotistical', ra.úme 'rheumatism'.

Another source of glides is an optional fast-speed rule which turns an unstressed high vowel into a glide immediately before another unstressed vowel (see section 4.3.4). In slower or more careful speech, however, these sequences are usually realized in hiatus, without gliding of the high vocoid, both morpheme-internally and across morphological and word boundaries:

(14)
/ia/ a.bi.a.dá 'speed'
/ie/ kri.e.dé 'servant', gi.e.rrá 'red meat'
/io/ bi.or.tá 'to twist'
/ua/ ka.tu.a.ná 'to the cat, adl'
/ue/ do.zu.e.té 'they have it to you-pl'
/uö/ es.ku.o.trek 'that hand, erg'

However, there is a large number of borrowings which present a diphthong in these sequences in their most usual pronunciation, even in cases where the syllable receives stress:

(15)
/ia/ es.tú.djá 'to study', kon.fían.tze 'confidence', ma.te.rja.lá 'material'
/bjáje 'trip', di.bör.sjá 'to divorce', ko.piá 'copy'
/ie/ ba.ljén.te 'courageous', o.be.djén.te 'obedient', sa.na.je 'carrot'
/ia/ ter.tú.lje 'social gathering'
/io/ rá.dú 'radio', sé.rjó 'serious', e.rro.sá.rjó 'rosary', bí.sjó 'vice'
/ue/ ma.tri.mó.njó 'married couple', e.re.med.djó 'remedy', (e)rri.bjó 'blond'
/uö/ e.ban.jé.ljó 'gospel', ku.rjó.só 'tidy', ne.gó.sjó 'business', pe.rjó.dí.ku 'newspaper'

We will assume that the segments in the syllable are divided between an optional onset (O) and an obligatory rhyme (R). The rhyme includes the peak or nucleus (N) and a possible coda (unlabeled under the R node). This structure is illustrated with the syllable [pfrést] in (17); to save space, this structure will be collapsed as (18):

(17) p f r e s t
(18) p f r e s t

In this representation, the nucleus is marked by a vertical line connected to the syllable node and both onset and coda segments are linked to S by slanted lines.

2. Syllable structure

We will assume that the segments in the syllable are divided between an optional onset (O) and an obligatory rhyme (R). The rhyme includes the peak or nucleus (N) and a possible coda (unlabeled under the R node). This structure is illustrated with the syllable [pfrést] in (17); to save space, this structure will be collapsed as (18):

(17) p f r e s t
(18) p f r e s t

In this representation, the nucleus is marked by a vertical line connected to the syllable node and both onset and coda segments are linked to S by slanted lines.

2.1. Onsets

All consonants can appear in a syllable onset, including those derived from high vocoids via the consonantization of onset-initial glides (periods indicate syllable boundaries):

(19) /p/ pá.pau 'stupid'
/t/ tá.má.fiu 'size', a.te 'door'
/k/ ko.a 'smoke'
/b/ ba.ká.trik 'only', a.ba.de 'priest'
/d/ dus.ti 'everything'
/g/ go.rí 'red'
/f/ fan.fá.roí 'braggart'
/s/ só.so 'season'
/ks/ bá.xu 'short'
/x/ jén.te 'people'
/ť/ gil.tze 'the key'

The only consonant clusters that are allowed in onset position are those formed by a stop or /ňt/ followed by a nonpalatal liquid. Except that /dl/ is also excluded:

(16) ko.piá ~ ko.plá 'to copy', kan.biá ~ kan.bjá 'to change', kan.bi.o ~ kan.bjó 'change', pré.só ~ pre.sjó 'price'
E ran.djó ~ E ran.djó; De.rfó ~ De.rjó.
Borrowings from Spanish may contain obstructions other than /s/ in internal codas in the lender language. In these foreign words, the integration of the borrowing implies the deletion of the consonant. The following is a list of integrated borrowings showing deletion of a coda obstruent:

(23) Spanish Getxo Basque
    óptico ótiku 'optician'
    optimista optimista 'optimist'
    práctico prátko 'practical'
    efecto efetu 'effect'
    en el acto eneláro 'right away'
    rector retor 'rector'
    objeción ojesiño 'objection'
    dirección diresiño 'direction'
    obsesión osesiño 'obsession'

3. Word-level restrictions

3.1. Word-initial consonants

The following consonants are not found in word-initial position: the palatal sonorants /l/ and /ł/, whose status as phonemes is, as we argued, questionable; the prepalatal fricative /ʃ/; the pre dorso-alveolar affricate /ts/; and the rhotic flap /l/. In addition, the rhotic trill /ɾ/ is only found in recent borrowings, while older borrowings in this sound in the lender language show initial vowel epenthesis. The consonantized glide /w/ is also excluded from the word-initial position.

The consonants that can unrestricledly appear word-initially are thus the following: all the stops /p/, /t/, /k/, /b/, /d/, /g/; the prepalatal affricate /ts/; the fricatives /ʃ/, /ɾ/, /s/ (although /ɾ/, /ʃ/ mostly in borrowings); the nasals /m/ and /n/, and the alveolar lateral /l/. The palatal fricative /ʃ/, which represents underlying /ʃ/ is also allowed word-initially.

3.2. Word-final consonants and consonant clusters

The inventory of word-final codas is larger than that of word-internal codas. The following consonants can occur word-finally:

(24) /t/ senbet 'how much' /ɾʃ/ gatx 'difficult'
/k/ gisonak 'the man, erg' /n/ gison 'man'
/s/ armas 'breath' /l/ sabal 'wide'
/ʦ/ orz 'cold' /ɾ/ txakur 'dog'

Of these, final /-k/ occurs in some very common inflectional suffixes but not stem-finally. That is why the example given is of an inflected ergative form. The only possible word-final groups are the following:
(25) */-st/ bost ‘five’ */-nts/ buskentz ‘blood-sausage’
    sembest ‘how many’ antz ‘similarity’
    daust ‘he has it to me’ */-lts/ balzt ‘black’
    */-r/ bart ‘last night’ gitz ‘key’
    dakart ‘I bring’ */-r/ ts burukortz ‘head pin’

These are all groups of two coronals: either a continuant followed by a stop or a sonorant followed by an affricate.

The group */rk/, which is created in morpheme-concatenation when the ergative ending is attached to certain interrogatives and quantifiers, is simplified. This is apparent in the following absolute/ergative pairs:

(26) abs erg
    abs erg
    ser sek ‘what’ /ser-k/ nor nok ‘who’ /nor-k/
    eser esek ‘anything’ /eser-k/ iñor iñok ‘anybody’ /inor-k/

4. Main phonological processes

4.1. Processes affecting consonants in a coda

4.1.1. Nasal assimilation and neutralization

A nasal in a rhyme is always homorganic with a following consonant, both word-internally and across word boundaries. Before pause or vowel, nasals are realized as alveolar (except for the effects of Palatalization when preceded by a high front vowel, see section 4.2.1).

(27) giso[m] [b]u ‘short man’ giso[n'] [tš]iker ‘small man’
    giso[m] [p]a ‘stupid man’ giso[n] [t]akitur ‘learned man’
    giso[m] [f]anfari ‘bragging man’ giso[n] [x]ustu ‘just man’
    giso[o] [t]en ‘stupid man’ giso[n] [g]orri ‘red man’
    giso[o] [d]istik ‘all men’ giso[n] andi ‘big man’
    giso[n] [l]odi ‘fat man’ giso[n] ‘man’

These facts show the existence of two processes affecting coda nasals. One is a rule or filter that neutralizes the nasal phonemes in coda position, allowing only a coronal articulation if no process of assimilation takes place. The other one is a rule that spreads the place features of a following consonant to a nasal in a rhyme.

We will assume that nasals in a coda do not license a place node (in the sense of Goldsmith 1989). They either acquire a value by spreading from a following consonant in an onset or receive a default coronal specification. In this analysis, nasal Neutralization consists of a filter prohibiting a nasal in a rhyme to bear its own distinctive specification for place, followed by the insertion of a default coronal specification in the structure of those rhyme nasals that fail to receive another specification by Nasal Assimilation:

(28) a. Nasal Neutralization
    b. Nasal Assimilation
        * [PLACE]

(A nasal in a rhyme cannot have a prespecified place value)

(A nasal receives its place features from a following consonant)

4.1.2. Lateral assimilation and neutralization

Before pause, a lateral is always realized as alveolar. Probably it is not appropriate to talk about neutralization of laterals in coda position, since, as we saw in section 1.2.4, arguably, [ɾ] is not an independent phoneme in Getxoko Basque, which reduce the number of lateral phonemes to one, the alveolar lateral.

Laterals assimilate only to dentals, alveolars, prepalatals and palatals. Before a labial or velar, a lateral preserves its alveolar articulation:

(29) asa[l] [ɾ]ari ‘new peel’ asa[l] [ɾ]iker ‘small peel’
    asa[l] [ɾ]resku ‘fresh peel’ asa[l] [ɾ]una ‘eaten peel’
    asa[l] [ɾ]usti ‘all the skin’ asa[l] [ɾ]orri ‘red peel’
    asa[l] [ɾ]aye ‘abundant peels’

The assimilation of laterals is, thus, not as general as the assimilation of nasals: This finds an explanation in universal constraints on the articulation of laterals (a lateral must be produced with the front part of the tongue).

4.1.3. Neutralization of rhotics

The flap /ɾ/ never occurs in a rhyme. There are alternations that show that this is due to a rule by which /ɾ/ becomes /ɾ/ in this position of the syllable. Morpheme finally both /ɾ/ and /ɾ/ are found. However, the underlying distinction only surface when the rhotic is followed by a vowel and is thus syllabified in onset position i morpheme concatenation:

(30) /ɾa/ plate[r]a ‘the plate, abs sg’
    /ɾakor-ɾ-a/ ‘the dog, abs sg’

If syllabified in a rhyme, that is, if followed by a consonant-initial morpheme (word-final, /ɾ/ is neutralized with /ɾ/:

(31) /ɾa/ plate[r] ‘plate’
    /ɾakor-ɾ/ ‘little plate’
    /ɾakor-ɾ/ ‘dog’
    /ɾakor-ɾ/ ‘little dog’
These examples show the existence of a rule that changes /t/ into /p/ in a syllable rhyme:

(32) Rhotic Neutralization

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{r} & \rightarrow \text{p} \\
| & \\
\text{R} & \\
/\text{t}/ & \text{becomes } /\text{p}/ \text{ in a rhyme}
\end{align*}
\]

This rule applies at the word-level, prior to the resyllabification of final consonants with word-initial vowels, since the rhotics are still neutralized in this context:

(33) plae.te.[p] an.di ‘big plate’
    txa.ku.[p] an.di ‘big dog’
    /plater andi/ \rightarrow pla.tep. an.di \rightarrow pla. te. p an. di

The neutralization of the rhotic is of a very different type than the neutralization of the nasals, since there is an underlying contrast between rhotic phonemes in final position that does not exist in the case of the nasals. Unlike Nasal Neutralization, Rhotic Neutralization is a word-level rule, but not a morpheme-level rule.

4.1.4. Voice assimilation of /s/

In a rhyme, the fricative /s/ is voiced before a voiced consonant and is realized as voiceless elsewhere (i.e. before voiceless consonants, before pause and also before a vowel across word boundaries, where it is resyllabified as onset):

(34) e[z]ne ‘milk’
    ju[z]gedu ‘court, tribunal’
    buru[z] dakit ‘I know by heart’ (lit. ‘with the head’)
    arna[z] gogor ‘strong breath’
    arna[z] luse ‘long breath’
    a[s]to ‘donkey’
    e[s]örtzu ‘effort’
    burúe[s] pentza ‘to think with the head’
    arna[s] txarra ‘bad breath’
    arna[s] andi ‘big breath’
    burúe[s] ‘with the head’
    bu.ru.[s] i.ki.si ‘to learn by heart’

There is thus a rule assimilating /s/ in voice to a following voiced consonant:

(35) /s/-Voiceing

\[
\text{\[+\text{voice}\]}
\]

4.1.5. Voice neutralization of stops

Stops are not allowed in the rhyme of word-internal syllables. Word-finally only a coronal and a velar stop are found. There is no opposition between voiced and voice-

less stops in final position. Word-final stops are realized as voiceless before pause and before vowels.

Word-final stops are frequently deleted before another consonant (see section 4.1.6). Another possible and very common pronunciation, however, is for the word-final stop not to be deleted, in which case it will be realized as voiced and continuant if the following segment is either voiced or continuant. Before a voiceless stop, undeleted final stops are not voiceless, but are nevertheless realized as lax. The following examples show the different pronunciations of preconsonantal final stops:

(36) bat bákarrik \rightarrow ba[p]ákarrik \rightarrow ba[p]ákarrik
    su[k] justi \rightarrow su[t]justi \rightarrow su[t]justi
    bat san \rightarrow ba[n]an \rightarrow ba[n]an
    bat naiko \rightarrow ba[n]ai ko \rightarrow ba[n]ai ko
    bat plasan \rightarrow ba[p]la san \rightarrow ba[p]la san

The deletion process is studied in more detail in the following section. Here we concentrate only on the first pronunciation given for each example. This pronunciation results from the laxing of the stops in the weak coda position when followed by another consonantal articulation in a strong position, a phenomenon that is also known in Castilian Spanish (see, for instance Navarro Tomás 1977, Alonso 1943). These lax stops are realized as continuant and voiced, but complete voicing is impeded before a voiceless stop.

4.1.6. Deletion of preconsonantal stops

Stops are not found in word-internal rhymes. Word-finally, stops (/t/ and /k/, since /p/ and the voiced stops are excluded from word-final position) are frequently deleted when followed by a word-initial consonant. The examples in (37) illustrate sequences where the word-final stop is followed by another voiceless stop or affricate:

(37) stop + voiceless stop
    bat pásaten da \rightarrow [bapásatendá] \rightarrow ‘one passes’
    es dot pentza \rightarrow [estópentsá] \rightarrow ‘I haven’t thought’
    es da(k)it pass badau \rightarrow [estápaśaβádau] \rightarrow ‘I don’t know if it has passed’
    bat koxi \rightarrow [bákoxí] \rightarrow ‘take one’
    es dot kendu \rightarrow [estókendú] \rightarrow ‘I haven’t taken away’
    bat txistues \rightarrow [batxistues] \rightarrow ‘one with the flute’
    il dot txarri \rightarrow [ildotxarri] \rightarrow ‘(I) have killed the pig’
orrek pentza
bákarrik persóna
nik tapa (dot)
bákarrik Tómas
nik kendu (dot)
ortrek koxi (dau)
nik txori
gisonak txarto
[ōepentsa]  'that one thinks'
[bākæjpersone]  'only the person'
[nitapa]  'I have covered'
[bākæjitomas]  'only Tomas'
[nikendë]  'I have taken away'
[of ekoši]  'that has taken'
[nitšori]  'I (erg) the bird'
[gisonatšatšō]  'the man (erg) badly'

If the word-initial consónant is a voiced stop /b, d, g/, it will normally be devoiced after a deleted stop (by an independent process examined in section 4.2.1):

(38) stop + voiced stop
bat bákarrik
bákarrik bere es
dot bearra
es da(k)it ba
catatkat
in dota
dot dana
surrut dusti
bat gero
es dot gure
surrut gau
nik bai
ortrek bere
bákarrik bat
nik dekot
ortrek daki
nik gero
ortrek gau
bákarrik gaus
[bāpakaʃi]  'only one'
[ba[pəres]  'not even one'
[indōpea]  'I have done the work'
[estajpa]  'well, I don't know'
[bateko]  'I have one'
[indōtanā]  'I have done every thing'
[suʃutusti]  'sip it all'
[bakerō]  'one later'
[estōkure]  'I don't want'
[suʃuʃa]  'sip more'
[nipā]  'I (erg) yes'
[ōpəpere]  'that (erg) too'
[bākæjipat]  'only one'
[nitēkō]  'I have'
[ōfetaki]  'that one knows'
[nikerō]  'I (erg) later'
[ōfeka]  'that one (erg) more'
[bākærikaʒ]  '(we) are alone'.

Before a voiceless fricative, final stops also delete:

(39) stop + fricative
bat falta da
imin dot frīukes
es da(k)it falla badau
nik frīukes
ortrek fällaten
bákarrik fasīllau
bat sūes
sartu dot sākutan
surrut sāgārdau
nik ser
ortrek sartu (dau)
[bafaltsa]  'one is missing'
[imindosfrïukes]  'I have put it with threads'
[esťaxasabø]  'I don't know if there is a fault'
[nifiрук]  'I (erg) with thread'
[of eʃiʃat]  'that missing'
[bākæjfasam]  'alone (is) easier'
[basu]  'one with you'
[saftubosakutan]  '(I) put it in sacks'
[suʃusaya]  'sip cider'
[nisē]  'I (erg) what'
[ofesəɾətu]  'that has put it in'

The only voiced fricative that may occur following a word-final stop is the palatal [j] which results from the consonantization of [ʃ] in onset-initial position. In sequences where a final stop is followed by [j], the stop deletes, as in all other cases above and [j] is affricated. We will represent the resulting voiced palatal affricate as [ʃj]

(40) stop + voiced fricative
bat yan
es dot yōsten
es da(k)it yausiko bada
nik yakē
ortrek yosī
bákarrik yāten
[gisona yakin (dau)]
[bākæjjaʃen]  'eat one'
[estoʃen]  'I don't sew'
[estajausiko]  'I don't know if it will fall'
[niʃak]  '(I) (erg) the jacket'
[ofeʃos]  'that sew'
[bākæjjaʃen]  'only eating'
[gisonajak]  'the man has known'

In other western Biscayan varieties such as Zeberio, y [ʃj] is both affricated and devoiced in this context, changing also the point of articulation from palatal to prepalatal and resulting in [ʃj]; e.g. /berak jän dau/ [beratšanda] he himself has eaten it (see Beexbarria 1991). In Getxo, there is stop deletion and affrication in this context, as shown in (40), but [ʃj] does not seem to deviate.

Finally, word-final stops also delete before sonorant consonants (wich do not devoice):

(41) stop + sonorant consonant
bat mōzau
es dot manēxaten
nik mäye
[gisənarmōza]  'one uglier'
[estōmanēxaten]  'I don't handle'
[nimaj]  '(I) (erg) the table'
[gisənamōza]  'the men uglier'
[imindonastara]  'I put it mixed'
[estajoŋdan]  'I don't know who he is'
[ninjok]  'I myself (erg)'
[bākæjina]  '(I) am alone'
[ofeŋoa]  'that (erg) where (adl)'
[balaŋ]  'one is too much'
[imindoliasa]  'I made it flat'
[niʃiay]  'I (erg) earlier'
[bākæjilaj]  'that (erg) too much'
[ofelaf]  'only four'
[bākæjilaj]  'I heard it on the rádio'
entzun dot rádion
To summarize, a word-final stop is deleted before any consonant. This can be represented as follows:

(42) Stop Deletion
    [-son]  [-cont]
    |       |
    Ø ← C  C
    |       |
    R  O

Rule (42) expresses that a stop (nonsonorant noncontinuant segment) in a rhyme is deleted before another consonant in onset position.

There is an alternate pronunciation of the groups that we are considering in which a glottal stop is produced instead of the word-final consonant:

(43)
    bat deko  [baʔ tekó]  'he has one'
es da(k)it ba  [estáʔ pa]  'well, I don't know'
nik bota dot  [niʔ póta̬dot]  'I have thrown it away'
orrek gasta dau  [oʔ eʔ kasta̬dau]  'that one has spent it'

This pronunciation (which is also noted in Rollo 1925: 32 for the dialect of Marinya), can be understood as a process of partial deletion; that is, only the supralaryngeal features of the stop are deleted, but features such [-voice] and [-cont] which are not included in the supralaryngeal group remain, producing a glottal stop (see Hualde 1987).

1.7. Fricativization of preconsonantal affricates

Both affricate segments /ts/ and /tʃ/ are changed into [s] when placed immediately before another consonant in morphological or syntactic concatenation (voiced to z) before a voiced consonant:

(44)
    /aberats- tʃu/  [aβerəstʃu]  'wealthy, diminutive'
    /gaɾatʃ  tʃu/  [gaɾastʃu]  'sour, diminutive'
    /gats barik/  [gazbarik]  'without salt'
    /gaɾatʃ dau/  [gazdau]  'it is difficult'

The fricativization of the affricates can be seen as an effect of the same process that deletes stops in a coda before another consonant (see Hualde 1991a, ch. 6). In the case of the affricates, their stop component is deleted and what remains is a fricative sibilant. In Getxo (and Zeberio, but not in other Guipuscana, Navarrese, etc. dialects) the point of articulation of this fricative is then changed to that of /s/, to conform with restrictions in segment and syllable structure.

In Getxo, unlike most other dialects, however, a much more common option is to keep these sequences of affricate + consonant by inserting an epenthetic vowel /a/. Compare the diminutives of the words in (45a) with those of the words in (45b). Whereas in (45a) the diminutive suffix -txu [-tʃu] is added directly to the stem, in

(45b), where the stems end in an affricate, an epenthetic [a] appears in the most common pronunciation:

(45) Plain          Diminutive          Pronunciation
   a. gison  gisón'txu  'man'
   mutil  mutíltxu  'boy'
   txakur  txakúrtxu  'dog'
   b. aberatz  aberazártxu  'wealthy'
   garratz  garratzártxu  'sour'
   iketz  iketzártxu  'coal'

The same process is observable in syntactic concatenation. Thus ikeztz balzta 'black coal' is more common than ikeztz balzta [ikezbaltsa] (see section 7.1).

4.1.8. Degemination

All sequences of two identical consonants are simplified (as are sequences of identical vowels, see section 4.3.2):

(46) asal luse  [l]  'long skin'
    gison noble  [n]  'noble man'
    senber turiste  [ɾ]  'how many tourists'
    badakar radio  [ɾ]  'he brings the radio'
    arnas jakon  [s]  'deep breath'

This includes sequences where the first consonant becomes identical to the second by assimilation:

(47) lagunen mosu  [m]  'the kiss of the friend'

4.2. Other consonantal processes

4.2.1. Devoicing of stops

As was shown in section 4.1.6, word-initial voiced stops devoice after word-final stops (which are deleted). We repeat a few examples here:

(47)
    bat bai  [bapá]  'one yes'
    nik dekot  [nitekót]  'I have'
    bat gero  [bakeró]  'one later'

After fricatives there is no devoicing, rather, the fricative becomes voiced (except for verb forms with the negative e, see section 7.2):

(48)
    ures betetu  [urejbetetú]  'fill with water'
    saldles dator  [saldjelsdator]  'he's coming with the horse'
    arnas gogor  [afnazgojor]  'strong breath'

(4) In the dialects of Ondarroa (Rosaute 1978: 106-107) and Baztan (Salaburu 1984: 286-287), /b/ and /d/ are devoiced in this context, but /g/ is not. In Zeberio, the same results obtain as in Getxo (Etxebarria 1991: 262-269).
The devoicing of the onset stops would have to be ordered before the deletion rule if this latter rule is conceived of as the complete deletion of the coda stop. However, if stop deletion is actually only removal of supralaryngeal features, with other features including voice remaining, then no ordering would be required.

Stop Devoicing can be formulated as follows:

(49) Stop Devoicing
[-cont] [-son]
|      |
C   C
[-voi]

The rule in (49) indicates that an obstruent (nonsonorant) will receive the feature [-voice] by spreading from an immediately preceding voiceless noncontiguous segment (i.e. a voiceless stop). No other features are needed in the characterization of the target, since the other obstruents (fricatives and affricates) are voiceless. 5

4.2.2. Palatalization

The noncontinuant coronal sonorant /n/ and /l/ are palatalized after /i/, syllabic or nonsyllabic, but only if they are in onset position (i.e. if a vocoid follows). A palatalization triggering glide is absorbed in the process:

(50) uninfl
mín               [mín]               miñe              [mjñe]            ‘pain’
oñe               [oñe]            ‘foot’
suñe               [suñe]            ‘son-in-law’
mutil               [mutu lã]       mutille               [mutu lãe]       ‘boy’
matrañi               [matrañi]       matraille               [matrañi le]  ‘cheek’
sesel               [sesel]          seselle               [sesel le]       ‘February’

The examples in (50) show application of palatalization in contexts where trigger and target are contained in the same morpheme. Across a morpheme boundary, palatalization applies in the only declensional case that presents a possible input, the enitve. Compare the examples in (51a) and (51b):

(51) a. gisonana ‘of the man’
    basona ‘of the forest’
    etzena ‘of the house’
    burune ‘of the head’

b. Máriñe ‘of Mary’
mendile ‘of the mountain’
txarriñe ‘of the pig’

Other examples of palatalization across morpheme boundaries involve the distributive /-nan/ and the complementizers. Examples showing palatalization are given as the right column:

(52) banan ‘one by one’
    bifen ‘two by two’

dala ‘that he is’
dule ‘that we have’
dakilñe ‘that he knows’

(5) This is leaving aside consonantized glides, which we take to be sonorants.

The /i/ in (53) is not a syllabic /i/. It appears between two consonants: /p/-, which is the trigger, and /n/ which is the target. /l/ does not become palatalized after word-final /i/.

(53) saldi naiko *saldinaiiko  ‘enough horses’
    mendi luse *mendidiluse  ‘long mountain’

However, word-final /l/, /n/ which are preceded by /l/ do become palatalized when they are resyllabified as onset of a following vowel-initial word:

(54) min in [mín in]  ‘to hurt’
    arin etor nas [aɾiñe toɾ nas]  ‘I came fast’
    mutil andi [mutil andi]  ‘big boy’
    il ártten [iɾatтен]  ‘until dying’

Followed by a word-initial consonant, there is neither resyllabification nor Palatalization:

(55) sein gure dosu [səɲgure dosu]  ‘which one you want’
    agin betek [aɲimbetek]  ‘a tooth’
    in dau [indap]  ‘he has done it’
    il san [ilsan]  ‘he died’
    mutil bet [mutilbet]  ‘a boy’

These facts posit an interesting problem about the ordering and domain of application of the Palatalization rule. The question is whether the rule applies in syntactic concatenation. The Palatalization rule has both a preceding and a following context. In the context /in#V, /i#V/, where the triggering /l/ and the target nasal or lateral are both found in the same word and there is a following vowel across a word boundary, Palatalization applies, as shown in (54). However, if the context is /i#nV, /i#lV/ there is no Palatalization. So, the rule seems to both apply and not apply at the phrasal level, depending on the distribution of boundaries. We will propose that Palatalization only applies lexically.

This process has all the characteristics of lexical rules, including the existence of lexical exceptions (see, for instance, Kaiser and Shaw 1985). The words in (56a) are examples of borrowings that do not undergo Palatalization. In addition, there is at least one word of native origin that also constitutes an exception to Palatalization, (56b):

(56) a. arruina ‘to ruin’
    klfnika ‘clinic’
    gabardina ‘raincoat’
    gasolina ‘gasoline’
    makinsta ‘machine-driver’
    but makina ‘machine’
    mineral ‘mineral’

b. isilic ‘silent’
    pepño ‘cucumber’
    ablidoso ‘clever’
    ilusiño ‘illusion’
    jubilasino ‘retirement’
    famli ‘family’
    milagru ‘miracle’
(58) Palatalization

\[ [+\text{high}] \]
\[ \text{V} \quad \text{C} \]
\[ [-\text{back}] \]
\[ [+\text{son}] \]
\[ [+\text{cor}] \]

\( \text{V} = [-\text{cons}], \text{C} = [+\text{cons}] \)

The rule in (58) says that the feature [+high] spreads from a [-cons] segment that also bears the feature [-back] (i.e. /il/) to a following coronal sonorant segment (i.e. /l/, /n/). Notice that in the rule no mention is made of a following environment or position within the syllable. As formulated Palatalization will affect nasals and laterals in a coda position (before pause or consonant). These effects will be corrected by the processes of Nasal and Lateral Assimilation and Neutralization, which apply postlexically and after the resyllabification of C.V groups (Low Vowel Assimilation (LVA), which applies in one of the examples will be considered in its relation with Palatalization in the next section).

(59) Word level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/ain/</th>
<th>/ain-a/</th>
<th>/ain bar'i/</th>
<th>/ain edeرف-a/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

LVA: agin
Phrase level: agin
Resyllab.: a.gin.bar'i
N Assim: a.gin.bar'i
N Neutr: a.gin.bar'i

(60) o(n)in ori da [o(n)nɔɾˈa] ‘now, it is that’
ain osten [aɪn ɔˈnɛstən] ‘behind them’
bein urten badort [beɪn ʊrˈtɛɾbəɾɔt] ‘if I left once’
orain asi dire [ɔɾain əˈsɪdɪɾε] ‘now they have started’

Glide Absorption must be a word-level rule, ordered after Palatalization. It can be formulated as follows:

(61) Glide Absorption

\[ \text{Ø} \quad \text{X} \quad \text{X} \quad \text{S} \quad \text{S} \]

The rule in (61) says that when two segments belonging to different syllables are linked to the same feature [+high] (as a result of Palatalization), the first segment is deleted. The rule is blocked when the first segment is the nucleus of its syllable by structure preservation.

The relevant difference in examples where Glide Absorption applies, as in (62b) and examples where it does not apply, as in (62a) and (62c) is in the syllabification of the glide and the following palatal before postlexical resyllabification:

(62) a. /oin/ [ø̂ɪn] ‘foot’
b. /oin-a/ [ø̂ɪnɛ] ‘the foot, abs sg’
c. /oin andi/ [ø̂ɪn əndɪ] ‘big foot’

It thus seems crucial that Glide Absorption should apply in the word-level component of the Phonology, before postlexical resyllabification:

(63) /oin/ /oin-a/ /oin andi/

Word level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllabif.</th>
<th>ôɪn</th>
<th>ôɪnɛ</th>
<th>ôɪn əndɪ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LVA</td>
<td>ôɪn</td>
<td>ôɪnɛ</td>
<td>ôɪn əndɪ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palat.</td>
<td>ôɪn</td>
<td>ôɪnɛ</td>
<td>ôɪn əndɪ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G Absorpt.</td>
<td>ôɪn</td>
<td>ôɪnɛ</td>
<td>ôɪn əndɪ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrase Level Resyllab.</td>
<td>ôɪn</td>
<td>ôɪnɛ</td>
<td>ôɪn əndɪ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N Assim: a.gin.bar'i</td>
<td>ôɪn</td>
<td>ôɪnɛ</td>
<td>ôɪn əndɪ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The palatalization of the coronal noncontinuant sonorant consonants /l/ and /n/ is a widespread process affecting most Basque varieties, although the particular conditions on the rule vary among varieties (see Hualde 1991a). In some dialects the rule affects a greater number of targets than in Getxo. The most extensive process of palatalization takes place in an area of eastern and central Biscay including the towns of Markina and Germika. In this area, palatals may surface in a coda, before pause or another consonant. In addition, the rule has been simplified to include as targets all
noncontinuant coronals, both sonorants and obstruents. In addition to /l/ and /n/, Palatalization also affects /t/, and /d/ in those contexts where this segment is noncontinuant; that is after a nasal or lateral (in the sequences /l̃d/, /̃d̃/). In Getz, the coronal stops do not palatalize. Only in a handful of words is there evidence of a process of palatalization of /t/: /st[e] ~ [st[e]u] 'father', /št[e] ~ [št[e]u] 'grandfather', [pol[i]k] 'pretty' from OSp. poloto and [košt[e]u] 'pitiful' from Sp. cursado. These isolated examples of palatalization of /t/ are simply to be treated either as cases of interdental borrowing or as remnants of an old process of affective palatalization that is still active in non-Biscayan dialects (see Hualde 1991a: 121-123).

A different process, generally with different conditions and with a different geographical distribution, is the palatalization of the continuan coronal /s/. That this is a historically independent process can be gathered from its occurrence in an area of Biscay, the Arratia-Zeberio region, where other segments do not palatalize. There is also evidence for the independence of /s/-Palatalization as a process in the system of rules of dialects such as that of Gernikia where the noncontinuant coronals are also subject to palatalization (see Hualde 1991a:111). In Getz, the palatalization of /s/ after /i/ is a phenomenon that seems to be spreading throughout the lexicon. A number of words present two possible pronunciations, either with [s] or with [ʃ] after /i/:

(64) [písat] ~ [píʃat] 'weight' (< Sp. peso)
[isat] ~ [isatʃ] 'bait'
[tiʃat] ~ [tiʃatʃ] 'urine'
[isatʃ] ~ [isatʃ] 'silent'
[isatʃ] ~ [isatʃ] 'to be'

Other lexical items, for which comparative evidence indicates the presence of an alter /s/ have only one pronunciation, with [ʃ]:

(65) [biʃatʃ] St. B. bizar 'beard'
[eliʃatʃ] St. B. eliza 'church'
[giʃatʃ] St. B. gizako 'pitiful man'

Still many (most) other words present a nonpalatalized /s/ sequence: [bisc] 'to live', [isot] 'vice', [bisiklata] 'bicycle', [ikis] 'to learn', [noris] 'news', [lisot] 'flat', [otics] 'frost', ['május] 'teacher', ['písus] 'apartment', [bisatʃ] 'visit' [isatʃ] 'name', [gamas] 'Lent', [anot] 'anisette', [aʃatʃ] 'notice', etc. In addition, there are no alternations that could show the presence of an active rule of palatalization of /s/ in the ichronic phonology of the dialect. This is thus a process that may one day become neralized, eliminating all or almost all surface occurrences of /s/ and giving rise allophonic alternations in some cases. For the time being, though, the palatalization of /s/ cannot be regarded as part of the inventory of phonological rules of Getz,

3. Spiranization
The voiced obstruents /b,d,g/ present continuan and noncontinuant realizations, ending on the preceding environment. The distribution is the same as in Castilian Spanish (see, for instance, Navarro Tomás 1977, Mascaró 1984). That is, stops are realized after pause and after a homorganic nasal or lateral. All three segments /b,d,g/ are thus realized as stops after any nasal, since nasals always agree in point of articulation with a following consonant (see section 4.1.1). But after a lateral, the results are not homogeneous for all three segments: /d/ is realized as a stop, but /b/ and /g/, which do not share a point of articulation with a preceding lateral (see section 4.1.2), are pronounced as continuants:

(66) a. after pause
[b]otu
[d]ator
[ɡ]ison

b. after vowel or glide
[β]ar [β]are
[γ]une [β]ar [β]ator
[γ]a [β]a [γ]isona

(67) c. after nasal
[ar] [β]arri
[γ]aro [d]otore
[β]arri

(67) d. after lateral
[β]oko
[β]oro
[γ]o

Still many (most) other words present a nonpalatalized /s/ sequence: [bisot] 'to live', [isot] 'vice', [bisiklata] 'bicycle', [ikis] 'to learn', [noris] 'news', [lisot] 'flat', [otics] 'frost', ['május] 'teacher', ['písus] 'apartment', [bisatʃ] 'visit' [isatʃ] 'name', [gamas] 'Lent', [anot] 'anisette', [aʃatʃ] 'notice', etc. In addition, there are no alternations that could show the presence of an active rule of palatalization of /s/ in the ichronic phonology of the dialect. This is thus a process that may one day become neralized, eliminating all or almost all surface occurrences of /s/ and giving rise allophonic alternations in some cases. For the time being, though, the palatalization of /s/ cannot be regarded as part of the inventory of phonological rules of Getz.

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[β]ar [β]are
[γ]une [β]ar [β]ator
[γ]a [β]a [γ]isona

(67) c. after nasal
[ar] [β]arri
[γ]aro [d]otore
[β]arri

(67) d. after lateral
[β]oko
[β]oro
[γ]o
4.3. Processes affecting vowels

4.3.1. Low vowel assimilation

Most Biscayan as well as a number of Guipuscoan and Navarrese varieties possess a rule raising the low vowel /a/ to [ə] after a high vocoid, with or without any intervening consonants. An informal formulation of the rule would be the following:

\[(68) \text{Low Vowel Assimilation} \]
\[V \rightarrow [\text{low}] / V \text{ Co} \rightarrow [\text{high}]\]

The morphological domain of application as well as added phonological conditions vary greatly among varieties presenting a rule of this type (see Hualde 1991a: ch. 2). In Getxo, this rule of Low Vowel Assimilation only applies in some very restricted domains. A context where the rule applies is between the stem and the number markers, singular /-a/ and plural /-ak/). Thus compare the absolutive plural forms in (69a), where the last vowel of the stem is nonhigh and those in (69b), where the last vowel of the stem is high and Low Vowel Assimilation applies:

\[(69) \text{a.} / \text{gison-ak/} \]
\[/ \text{isotzak/} \]
\[/ \text{platzer-ak/} \]
\[/ \text{ederrak/} \]
\[/ \text{epalak/} \]
\[/ \text{gázerrak/} \]
\[/ \text{asal-ak/} \]
\[/ \text{txakúrek/} \]
\[/ \text{mutilek/} \]
\[gisónak 'the men'

\[isótzak 'the frosts'

\[platzer 'the plates'

\[ederr 'the beautiful ones'

\[epalak 'the apples'

\[gáxerr 'the skins'

\[asál 'the dogs'

\[mutilek 'the boys'

All the examples given are of consonant-final stems and thus present a consonant between trigger and target. With vowel-final stems, the effects of Low Vowel Assimilation cannot be observed, given a rule of vowel deletion, which deletes the number marker immediately after another vowel (see section 7.1).

Low Vowel Assimilation also affects other inflectional affixes, such as the adlicative /-ra/ and the locative presuffixal number marker. Curiously the directional and destinative which seems to have the adative as first component, do not show assimilation. Thus, compare the corresponding forms for etxe 'house' and mendri 'mountain':

\[(70) \text{adl sg etzer a mendire} \rightarrow \text{dir sg etzerántxa mendiántxa}\]

With other inflectional suffixes, the benefactive /-tsako/ and the comitative /-Cas/, the application of Low Vowel Assimilation is only optional:

\[(71) \text{saldras} \rightarrow \text{saldrás 'with the horse'}\]
\[\text{saldrinzako} \rightarrow \text{saldrinzeko 'for the horse'}\]

Low Vowel Assimilation must be ordered before a process of palatalization-cum-glide-absorption, since this process causes the disappearance of glides which trigger Low Vowel Assimilation, as in the following examples (see section 4.2.2):

\[(72) / \text{oin-a/} \rightarrow \text{[qne] 'the foot, abs sg'}\]
\[/suin-a/ \rightarrow \text{[supne] 'the son-in-law, abs sg'}\]

The derivation of these words must be as follows:

\[(73) \text{Low Vowel Assimilation} \]
\[\text{Palatalization} \]
\[\text{[qne]} \rightarrow \text{[e]}

\[\text{[supne]} \rightarrow \text{[e]}\]

Were Palatalization to apply before, it would remove the trigger for Low Vo Assimilation.

On the other hand, as argued in section 4.3.6, Low Vowel Assimilation must precede Mid Vowel Raising, since underlyingly mid vocoids that are raised to high Mid Vowel Raising fail to trigger Low Vowel Assimilation, as in /oe-a/ oya 'the b abs sg' (cf. /goi-a/ goye 'the top, abs sg')

4.3.2. Shortening of long vowels

Two identical vocoids that become adjacent in morphological or syntactic con- tenation are fused into one if both are unstressed. The following examples are from transcriptions of natural conversations:

\[(74) \text{iru urtē} \rightarrow \text{i.ru.tē}.

'three years'

\[\text{gure etzē} \rightarrow \text{gu.re.tē}.

'our house'

\[\text{es.kri.be.tay.ki.ye.ne}.

'he had in writing'

\[\text{egon dīre etzēn} \rightarrow \text{ē.go.ten.di.re.tēn}.

'they are usually at home'

Fusion is much less likely to occur if one of the vowels is stressed:

\[(75) \text{nes.ká.as} \rightarrow \text{'with the girl'}

\[\text{be.ye.ejik} \rightarrow \text{'because of the cow'}

\[\text{e.tē. es} \rightarrow \text{'the house not'}

\[\text{es.ne. é.ro.ten} \rightarrow \text{'carrying milk'}

\[\text{sá.bo.re. é.ron. dos.ku.ē} \rightarrow \text{'they have taken our rubble'}

\[\text{es.te.ko.te.lá. a.tē.glu.rik} \rightarrow \text{'that I am beyond repair'}\]

4.3.3. Postvocalic glide formation

Unstressed high vowels become glides in postvocalic position. The rule applies whether the first vowel is stressed or unstressed. This process is not morphologically restricted. Some morpheme-internal examples are given in (76). Additional exam- ples can be found in section 1.2.5. In this section, both lexical and phrase-level stres- ses will be marked:
4.3.4. Prevocalic glide formation

In unstressed sequences where a high vowel immediately precedes another vowel, the high vowel can optionally glide, thus creating a diphthong. This is a fast speech rule which does not usually apply in slower styles. Normally, gliding can take place only if the high vowel itself and the following vowel are both unstressed. In the examples both lexical and phrasal stresses are marked, since both are relevant for the operation of the process of diphthongization. In the examples in (81), both vowels involved are unstressed, and Prevocalic Glide Formation can apply. As mentioned, this rule is only of optional application and, thus, pronunciations with a heterosyllabic sequence of vowels (hiatus) are also possible in these cases:

(81) sal.di.a.ná = sal.dja.ná ‘to the horse’ (adlative)
    katu.a.ná = ka.tja.ná ‘to the cat’
    i.fu.rrii.a.ná = i.fu.rrja.ná ‘to the ant’
    gu.sur.ti.a.ná = gu.sur.tja.ná ‘to the liar’
    pàtu.a.ná = pà.tja.ná ‘to the duck’

The following examples are from natural conversation illustrating this process in phrasal environments:

(82) ixt fosu apur betén → i.xf.o.sya.pur.be.tén
    ‘leave it for a little while’
    iru aistè → i.rjals.tá
    ‘three sisters’
    ari es sakon gútsten → a.rje.sa.kon.gúst.ta.ten
    ‘he did not use to like it’
    ikusi orf → i.ku.sf.o.rf
    ‘see that’
    iru abádek → i.rjá.bá.dek
    ‘the three priests’
    ni es nas akórdá → nje.na.sa.kórdá
    ‘I did not remember’

In the following examples, on the other hand, the high vowel receives stress, and gliding is blocked. Only the pronunciation in hiatus is possible:

(83) a. monomorphic sequences
    ma.ní.e ‘mania’
    o.rí.o ‘oil’

b. across word-internal boundaries
    sal.dif.es ‘with the horse’
    gur.dif.es ‘with the chariot’
    i.tu.ruf.es ‘with the fountain’
    li.sú.a.y ‘flatter’
    in.der.tzu.a.y ‘stronger’
    li.sú.a.y ‘flatter’
    andif.a.y ‘bigger’

The process of diphthongization by gliding of postvocalic high vowels can be formulated as follows:

(80) Postvocalic Glide Formation

V

[+high] → [-syl] / V
[-stress]
The creation of a diphthong by gliding of a prevocalic high vowel is also blocked when stress falls on the second vocoid. In the following examples, the vowel following the high vocoid receives phrasal stress and, again, only a hiatus pronunciation is found:

(84) bá.xu.áyáy 'shorter' bá.xuxé 'shortest'
jús.tu.áyáy 'tighter' jús.tuxé 'tightest'
lo.tzá.ti.áyáy 'more timid' lo.tzá.xé 'most timid'
bil.dúr.ti.áyáy 'more fearful' bil.dúr.xé 'most fearful'

If these words are not phrase-final and, thus, do not receive phrasal stress on their last syllable, then they can undergo Prevocalic Gliding Formation:

(85) bá.xu.ja já bá.xe.na dá
'it is shorter' 'it is the shortest'
jús.tjá já jús.tje.na dá
'it is fairer' 'it is the fairest'
lo.tzá.tjá já lo.tzá.tje.na dá
'it is more timid' 'it is the most timid'
bil.dúr.tjá já bil.dúr.tje.na dá
'it is more fearful' 'it is the most fearful'

Some examples containing tautomorphemic sequences with stress on the second vowel are given in (86):

(86) so.rí.én 'happiness' la.gun.tzi.ó 'help'
bí.ožó 'heart' bali.ó ~ ba.li.o 'to be worth'

The examples in (87) from natural conversation illustrate the same situation in syntactic concatenation:

(87) o.rí. és gar.bi. ág.ki.te.ko
'not that' 'to have it clean'

The rule of gliding that we are examining can be given a formulation as in (88):

(88) Prevocalic Glide Formation (optional)

\[ V \rightarrow \left[ +\text{high}\right] \rightarrow \left[ -\text{syll}\right] / \text{[-stress]} \]

In unstressed /ui/, /u/ sequences both Prevocalic and Postvocalic Glide Formation could apply in principle. In these sequences, which of the two high vocoids is realized as a glide and which as a consonant is not clear; both pronunciation would seem to be possible:

(89) /suín/ suín 'son-in-law'
/erí ur-en-ta' er.djúr.tén.ta 'er.djúr.tén.ta 'half outside'
/buru in-dar-tzu-a/ bu.ruín.dar.tzu 'bu.ruín.dar.tzu 'strong head'

There are some important differences in the application of the two rules of Postvocal and Prevocalic Glide Formation. Firstly, Postvocalic Glide Formation applies whether or not the preceding vowel is stressed. Prevocalic Glide Formation, on the other hand, only applies regularly in sequences where both vocoids are unstressed. Secondly, whereas Postvocalic Glide Formation is an obligatory rule in normal speech, Prevocalic Glide Formation is only optional and characteristic of fast speech.

4.3.5. Consonantization of onset-initial glides

In onset-initial position, unstressed high vocoids consonantize, /i/ becoming a voiced palatal fricative [ʃ] represented as y in our orthography and /u/ turning into a voiced labiovelar fricative which we represent as w. Both segments can be affricated after nasal or in utterance-initial position. This process of fortition of syllable-initial vocoids is reminiscent of an analogous process in Spanish:

(90) ya.yo 'to be born', ya.ye 'festival', i.ye 'last year', yel.txo 'gypsum'
 u.gà.rño 'frog', iy.o 'to grind', Bís.ká.ya 'Biscay', ba.yer 'yes'
a.wá 'mouth', ga.wé 'night'

For the examples above, underlying representation with such vocaloids as /ai/0, etc., can be postulated. A form such as /ai/0 will become /a.i/0 by application of the syllabification rules (see section 5) and finally [ja.jo] yeyo 'to be born' by consonantization of the glides.

The consonantization of the glides can be observed in alternations that take place when a morpheme-final high vocoid is placed in intervocalic position in morpheme concatenation (and thus moved to syllable-initial position):

(91) /mai/ mál 'table', /maí-/ má.ye 'the table'
/bai/ báj 'cow', /bai-/ ba.ye 'the cow'
/marroi/ marroj, /marroi/-en/ marrøyen 'brownest'
/gau/ gaj 'night', /gau-/ gawe 'the night'
/pápu/ pəpu 'stupid', /pápu/-en/ pəpawen 'most stupid'

This process can be formulated as a rule turning a high vocoid into a consonant segment when found in onset-initial position:

(92) Consonantization

\[ [-\text{high}] \rightarrow [-\text{cons}] / [\text{syll} \rightarrow \left[\text{-stress}\right] \]

This process applies across morpheme-boundaries, as the examples in (93) show but only within the domain of the word. Glides can be resyllabified as consonants in syntactic concatenation, but they do not become fricatives:

(93) és nei esan gúrurik → é.ni.je.san ... áu in sán → á.jín.sán
'I cannot say any more'
sei egún → se.je.gún
'laü' "six days"
This is parallel to the situation in Spanish (cf. *ley* [lé] ‘law’, *leyes* [lé.jes] ‘laws’ and *ley* [lé.ies] ‘law is’).

There is no consonantization of glides across a compound boundary either: *andia-rralak* [a.ni.ˈJA.ɾa.ˈbak] ‘brothers and sisters’. In this, compound boundaries show the same strong character as for other phonological rules.

Also as in Spanish, the resyllabification of glides is not automatic:

(94) lēlau akórda → lē.la∗, a.kórd.a  bádau orain → bá.day, o.rain ‘remember earlier’ ‘if there is now’

3.6. Raising and gliding of postvocalic mid vowels

The sequences [ae], [oe], [ao], [eo], where the second element is unstressed, are never found morpheme-externally. The reason for this is that there is a rule raising all mid vowels in this position. Nevertheless, such sequences do occur underlyingly, as in morpheme-final position. Consider the following examples:

(95) uninflected absolutive sg

a. boto → botoya  ‘button’
gast → gastaya  ‘cheese’
erat → erratoya  ‘rat’
kanpa → kanpaya  ‘bell’
oj → oya  ‘bed’
b. yal → yaye  ‘holiday’
be → beye  ‘cow’
gal → gaye  ‘call’
sej → seye  ‘six’
goj → goye  ‘top’
ürda → ürdaye  ‘bacon’
gay → gawe  ‘night’
laj → lawe  ‘four’

On the surface all the uninflected forms in (95) end in a diphthong. However, when inflected for the absolutive singular or other cases containing a low vowel, the forms in (a) trigger Low Vowel Assimilation and those in (b) do not. This can be accounted for if the stems in (a) end in a mid vowel, whereas those in (b) end in a high vowel. The surface identity between these endings is caused by a rule raising an unassimilated mid vowel after another non-high vowel:

(96) Mid Vowel Raising
V → V
[-low] → [+high] / [-high]

Then both underlying high vowels and those derived by Mid Vowel Raising undergo gliding after a vowel by the rule of Postvocalic Glide Formation examined in section 4.3.3 and become fricatives if in an onset by the process of Consonantization examined in 4.3.5.

Since derived high vowels do not trigger Low Vowel Assimilation, this rule must be ordered before Mid Vowel Raising.

The derivations of /o]/ [o] ‘bed’ and /go]/ [goj] ‘top’ are as follows:

(97)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Low Vowel Assimilation</th>
<th>/oe-ə/</th>
<th>/goi-ə/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mid Vowel Raising</td>
<td>oia</td>
<td>goie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syllabification</td>
<td>o.ə</td>
<td>go.ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consonantization</td>
<td>oj</td>
<td>goj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mid Vowel Raising applies only morpheme-externally. It does not apply across word-boundaries or word-internal morphological boundaries.

(98) kókolo ederra [kó.ko.lo.ə.ə.ˈrə] ‘the big idiot’
kókolo-en-a [kó.ko.lo.ə.ˈnə] ‘the silliest one’

5. Syllabification

A number of the rules examined in the above sections make reference to the position of elements within the syllable. It is thus important to determine how syllables are built. The main challenge that the syllabification procedure finds in Getxo Basque is presented by the fact that some vocoids are syllabified as syllabic nuclei in some contexts but as non-nuclei in others. It has been shown that glides are not underlyingly distinct from high vowels. Certain alternations have also led us to conclude that some surface nonsyllabic segments represent underlying mid vowels. This was concluded from the observation that only some stem-final glides appear to trigger Low Vowel Assimilation. Those which do, it was argued, represent underlying high vowels, whereas those which do not are derived from mid vocoids. Our syllabification procedure must then account for the double behavior of mid and high vocoids as syllable peaks or margins.

We will consider underlyingly high vocoids first. Leaving aside for the moment the effects of the fast speech process of Prevocalic Glide Formation, high vocoids have the distribution illustrated in the following examples:

(99) a. i.ru.ri  ‘fountain’  egn  ‘a hundred’
    a.bi.da  ‘speed’  sujn  ‘son-in-law’
    bi.or tu  ‘to twist’  c. go.ye  ‘the top’

b. goj  ‘top’
    ga.ve  ‘night’
    ya.yo  ‘to be born’

In the examples in (99a), high vocoids are syllabic nuclei and are, thus, realized as vowels; in those in (99b) the high vocoids are realized as glides in the rhyme of the syllable; and in those in (99c) the underlying high vocoids are syllabified as onsets.

(6) This creates an ordering problem, since (a) we have argued that Low Vowel Assimilation, which applies across certain inflectional boundaries is ordered before Mid Vowel Raising. The problem is solved if those same inflectional contexts are also in the domain of Mid Vowel Raising. Across these morphological boundaries the rule would simply lack possible inputs.
sets and surface as "hardened" glides. Syllabification is completely predictable in every case and thus does not need to be indicated in underlying representation.

We will adopt a syllabification procedure in which not all syllables are created at once. We want to propose that the first rule of syllabification takes a [-consonantal] segment and groups it into a syllable with a [+consonantal] segment to its left, as rhyme (nucleus) and onset, respectively. On the second parse, two adjacent [-consonantal] segments are joined in one syllable, the second one being the nucleus. Finally, onsetless syllables are created with [-consonantal] segments. This mechanism of formation of core syllables by successive parses is somewhat in the spirit of Dell and Emmedlau (1986), although there are important differences between the proposals:

\[(100)\] Core Syllabification

First Parse: [+cons] [-cons] (CS1)

Second Parse: [-cons] [-cons] (CS2)

Third Parse: [-cons] (CS3)

(vertial lines indicate syllable nuclei, S= syllable)

Consider the syllabification of the following words:

\[(101)\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{abiada} \\
\text{goi} \\
\text{goia} \\
\text{gaua} \\
\text{iaio}
\end{array}
\]

CS1

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{abiada} \\
\text{goi} \\
\text{goie} \\
\text{gaue} \\
\text{iaio}
\end{array}
\]

CS2

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{abiada} \\
\text{goi} \\
\text{goie} \\
\text{gaue} \\
\text{iaio}
\end{array}
\]

CS3

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{abiada} \\
\text{goi} \\
\text{goie} \\
\text{gaue} \\
\text{iaio}
\end{array}
\]

As regards syllabification, the application of all three parses of Core Syllabification to our examples produces correct surface results in all cases except for the word /goi/, which is parsed as bisyllabic but should have only one syllable. The correct syllabification is produced by application of a rule of Postvocalic Glide Formation, which now we can formulate as (102); this rule applies to /goi/ producing [goi] in (103):

\[(102)\] Postvocalic Glide Formation

\[(103)\] goi \rightarrow goi

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[-high]} \\
\text{S} \\
\text{S} \\
\text{S}
\end{array}
\]

(vertial lines indicate syllable nuclei)

After this rule, the final syllabification of all our examples is as follows:

\[(104)\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{abiada} \\
\text{goi} \\
\text{goie} \\
\text{gaue} \\
\text{iaio}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{SS} \\
\text{SS} \\
\text{SS} \\
\text{SS}
\end{array}
\]

\[\text{abiada} \quad \text{goi} \quad \text{goie} \quad \text{gaue} \quad \text{iaio}\]

Glides in onset position are hardened to fricatives, giving surface forms: [abia\text{\text{\text{'}}} 'speed', [goi] 'top', [gojé] 'the top' [gawé] 'the night' and [ja\text{\text{\text{}}} 'to be born'.

Postvocalic high vocoids must be adjoined to the preceding syllable before the moment at which phrase final stress is assigned. Otherwise incorrect results such as *fanfarrao' would be obtained phrase-finally, instead of correct 'fanfarri' 'braggart' (see section 6). As mentioned in section 2.2.5, there is a couple of borrowings such as e goi i.e that do not undergo Postvocalic Glide Formation. It is the presence of lexical stress on the high vocoid that blocks the process.

Turning now our attention to underlying mid vocoids that surface as glides ("hardened glides", these segments are made [+high] by the rule of Mid Vowel Raising (see section 4.3.6). If this rule is ordered before the syllabification procedure, 

\[(105)\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{oe} \\
\text{goi} \\
\text{gau} \\
\text{aoa} \\
\text{kea}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{oe} \\
\text{goi} \\
\text{gau} \\
\text{aoa} \\
\text{kea}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{LVA} \\
\text{MVR} \\
\text{CS1} \\
\text{CS2}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{oe} \\
\text{goi} \\
\text{gau} \\
\text{aoa} \\
\text{kea}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{oe} \\
\text{goi} \\
\text{gau} \\
\text{aoa} \\
\text{kea}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{MVR} \\
\text{CS1} \\
\text{CS2}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{oa} \\
\text{goi} \\
\text{gau} \\
\text{aoa} \\
\text{kea}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{oa} \\
\text{goi} \\
\text{gau} \\
\text{aoa} \\
\text{kea}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{LVA} \\
\text{MVR} \\
\text{CS1} \\
\text{CS2}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{oe} \\
\text{goi} \\
\text{gau} \\
\text{aoa} \\
\text{kea}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{oe} \\
\text{goi} \\
\text{gau} \\
\text{aoa} \\
\text{kea}
\end{array}
\]

As regards syllabification, the application of all three parses of Core Syllabification to our examples produces correct surface results in all cases except for the word /goi/, which is parsed as bisyllabic but should have only one syllable. The correct syllabification is produced by application of a rule of Postvocalic Glide Formation, which now we can formulate as (102); this rule applies to /goi/ producing [goi] in (103):
In addition to rules creating syllable structure, there is a rule of Resyllabification that moves a word-final consonant to the onset position of a following onsetslesslable:

\[(108) \text{Resyllabification} \]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
C \\
S
\end{array}
\]

The following examples illustrate the process of resyllabification across boundaries:

\[(109) \text{es imiñi → e.s.i.mi.ñi' do not put it'}
\]
\[
\text{gison andi → gi.so.nan.di 'big man'}
\]

As was mentioned in section 4.3.3, final glides, unlike final consonants, do consistently resyllabify.

6. Stress assignment
6.1. Basic accentual facts

In Getxo Basque, as in other western dialects, there is a lexical distinction between accented and unaccented words. Unaccented words only receive stress at the pl level by a rule that stresses the phrase-final syllable. All the words in the following examples are lexically unaccented:

\[(110) \text{laguné 'the friend'}
\]
\[
\text{lagunerí 'to the friend'}
\]
\[
\text{lagun ederrá 'the beautiful friend'}
\]
\[
\text{gure lagun ederrá 'our beautiful friend'}
\]
\[
\text{gure lagun ederrarí 'to our beautiful friend'}
\]

Within words, on the other hand, have fixed stress on a given (non-final) syllable. Words such as laguné 'the friends', lagunerí 'to the friends', bélarri 'ear' and màk 'stick', in the following examples, are accented. In addition to their lexically determined stress, accented words may also bear phrase-final stress, as the examples show:

\[(111) \text{lagúnek 'the friends'}
\]
\[
\text{bétarri ederrá 'the beautiful ear'}
\]
\[
\text{luguñeri 'to the friends'}
\]
\[
\text{egúski ederrá 'the beautiful sun'}
\]
\[
\text{béfarri 'the ear'}
\]

The example lagúnek shows that the rule of phrase-final stress fails to apply if phrase-final word has lexical stress on the penultimate syllable (i.e. we don’t say lagúnek).

Underlying accent is a property of morphemes. A number of roots are accented on some (non-final) syllable. For instance, the roots /bélarri/ 'ear' and /báxu/ 'sl are accented on its first syllable; /egúski/ 'sun' is accentuated on its second syllable.

For more extensive exemplification, cf. Bilbao (1991). A metrical analysis is given in Hualde (1998). In this section, all forms will be written in orthographic representation, even when given within ed lines.
A lexical accent may also be introduced by a suffix. Accentually marked suffixes are for the most part preaccenting; that is, they assign an accent to the preceding syllable. There are no morphemes accented on their last syllable. A consequence of this is that monosyllabic suffixes can be preaccenting but not accented on its own syllable. All plural suffixes are preaccenting. A few nonplural inflectional suffixes also have this property. Quite a few derivational suffixes are also accentually marked underlyingly. In the following examples, the plural absolutive /-’ak/, the superlative /-en/ and the ordinal /-’garren/ are preaccenting. In underlying representations, we will mark preaccentuation by an apostrophe preceding those morphemes that have this property. In the examples phrase-final stress is disregarded:

(112) /bélarrri-ˇa-ra/  
     /baxu-ˇa-ri/  
     /egúski-ˇa-ra/  
     /gison-’ak/  
     /andi-’en-a/  
     /saspi’-garren-a/  
     bélarriri  
     baxuri  
     egúskire  
     gisónak  
     andiena  
     saspi’garrena

‘to the ear, adl’  
‘to the short one, dat’  
‘to the sun, adl’  
‘the men, abs’  
‘the biggest one, abs’  
‘the seventh one, abs’

A great number of compounds also present lexical accent, generally on the last syllable of the first component, even if both components would be unaccented in isolation:

(113) /buru-andi/  
     /sagú-sarr-a/  
     /elis-ate/  
     burandi  
     sagúsarra  
     elisate

‘big-headed’  
‘the bat’ (lit. ‘old mouse’)  
‘church door’

In words containing more than one accentually marked morpheme the first one (leftmost) of them determines the placement of surface stress (cf. also 148):

(114) /bélarrri-’ak/  
     /saspi’-garren-’ak/  
     /baxu-’en-’ak/  
     /sagú-’sarr-’ak/  
     bélarrrik  
     saspi’garrenak  
     baxuenak  
     sagúsarrak

‘the ears, abs’  
‘the seventh ones, abs’  
‘the shortest ones, abs’  
‘the bats’

Only one underlying accent per word is allowed to surface, the leftmost one. As indicated above, on the other hand, accented words (those containing one or more accentually marked morpheme) may receive phrase-final stress on their last syllable in addition to a lexical stress on some other syllable. Thus the words in (114) will actually be pronounced with two stresses if phrase-final:

(115) bélarrrik  
     saspi’garrenak  
     baxuenak

‘the ears, abs’  
‘the seventh ones, abs’  
‘the shortest ones, abs’

6.2. The Compound Rule

Lexical accents may be a property of roots or suffixes, but are also assigned by rule in compounds:

(117) Compound Rule: Assign an accent to the last syllable of the first member.  
     e.g. sagú-sar → sagú-sar ‘bat’ (lit. ‘old-mouse’)  
In a compound such as /bélarr-onthi/ bélarrondo ‘side of face’, where the first member is accented, the Compound Rule will produce the representation /bélarr-onthi/.  
But the accent introduced by the Compound Rule will not surface since the leftmost lexical accent wins out by the rule of Lexical Stress.

Not all compounds are accented according to the Compound Rule. A number of them are accented on the first syllable of the second member instead, and some others are unaccented. Nevertheless, in spite of presenting exceptions, the Compound Rule accounts for the pattern of most compounds and is a productive rule.

6.3. Stress retraction with vowel-final bases

Plural suffixes appear to be preaccenting when attached to consonantal-bases, as in the examples in (118a). With vowel-final bases, instead, some plural suffixes place the stress two syllables to their left, as in (118b):

(118) a. consonant-final bases  
     /gison-’ak/  
     /gison-’ati/  
     /kuntuzzrun-’ak/  
     /kuntuzzrun-’ari/  
     /kuntuzzrun-’atan/  
     /etze-’ak/  
     /etze-’ari/  
     /iturri-’ak/  
     gisónak  
     gisónari  
     kuntuzzrunek  
     kuntuzzurrüneri  
     kuntuzzurrünetan  
     étzek  
     érzeri  
     itúrrrik
     ‘the men, abs/erg’  
     ‘to the men, dat’  
     ‘the kidneys, abs/erg’  
     ‘to the kidneys, dat’  
     ‘in the kidneys’  
     ‘the houses, abs/erg’  
     ‘to the houses, dat’  
     ‘the fountains, abs/erg’

(9) A putative exception is maí ‘table’, which can be taken as underlyingly bisyllabic /mael/ or /ma-al/, cf. section 8.1.1.
(10) In this example, the accent that surfaces is the one introduced by the compound rule (cf. section 6.2).
4. Preaccentuation

The future suffix /-ko/ and the imperfective /-tzen/, /-ten/ place the stress two syllables to their left (this property is signaled by a double apostrophe preceding the orphenoe in morphemic representations):

(120) perfective future imperfective kendu kénduko künduten/kéntzen 'take away' apurtu apúrtuko apúrtuten/apúrtzten 'break' ikusi ikúsiko/ikusko ikúsiten/ikusten 'see' ibilli ibílliko/ibilko ibílliten/ibilen 'walk' egon égongo égoten 'be, stay' eon émongo émoten 'give' atara atáraten atáráko 'take out'

These suffixes can be taken as being both underlyingly preaccenting and, in addition, as being lexically marked as triggers of a rule of accent retraction. The combinational action of these two properties will place stress two syllables before the suffix:

(121) apurtu-ko/ (by preaccentuation) → apúrtuko (by lexically conditioned retraction)

Rules of retraction are also found in other dialects of the western prosodic type, though the suffixes that trigger retraction vary considerably from dialect to dialect. In some dialects, plural suffixes have this property, giving rise to plural forms as gisônak 'the men abs/erg' instead of gisôn. As expected, if the base itself is accented, its accent prevails over that assigned by suffix, since the rule of Lexical Stress determines that the leftmost accent mark is kept. Thus from an accented base such as /asár-a-tu/ 'to get angry' we obtain ratuko, asárratuoten.

Deaccentuation

A few derivational suffixes appear to trigger the deletion of a lexical accent on /oor/:

1) See Hualde (1991b) for a formal account of this phenomenon.

(122) txistu 'flute' txistulari 'flautist' aiskóra 'axe' aiskolari 'lumberjack' euskereta 'Basque lg' euskaldun 'Basque speaker' tórro 'stupid' tontakeri 'stupid action'

This must be treated as a special case, where these suffixes, which are very few in number, are lexically marked as triggering deaccentuation.

6.6. Stress clash resolution

When the rules of Lexical Stress and Phrasal Stress would place stresses on two contiguous syllables, the second one of the two stresses is deleted. This rule applies both when the second of the two stresses is assigned by the Phrasal stress rule as in (123), and when the deleted second stress is lexically assigned, as in (124):

(123) /lagun-ak/ Lexical Stress: lagünek Phrasal Stress: lagünêk Clash Resolution: lagünek

(124) /non bota dosue/ Lexical Stress: non bota dosue Phrasal Stress: non bota dosué Clash Resolution: non bota dosué

6.6. Phonetic correlates of stress

The main phonetic correlate of stress in Getxo Basque is pitch. Stressed syllables are associated with a High-Low contour. Whereas we are not in a position to maintain that there are not other physical correlates of stress such as duration or amplitude, pitch is a sufficient condition to determine the location of stressed syllables.

In the following figures, fundamental frequency (pitch) tracings are given for a number of utterances. In figures 2, 6, 7 and 9, the utterances contain accented words, respectively, lagüñena, lékuko, bigarren and lagüñen. These words present a marked rise and fall on the stressed syllable. These figures can be compared with 1, 3, 4, 5 and 8, which correspond to utterances containing only unaccented words and which present comparatively rather flat contours. In every figure the tonal effects of the phrasal-final stress can be observed as a rise and fall on the last syllable (the copula da is in all the examples).

(12) See Bilbao (1991) for further exemplification.
Figure 1: "This is the one of the friend"

Figure 2: "This is the one of the friends"

Figure 4: "That is the one of our father's friend"

Figure 5: "That is the priest of our village"

Figure 3: "That is the one of our friend"

Figure 6: "That is the priest of our place"
7. Restricted morphophonological processes

7.1. Number marker deletion and its morphological consequences

In Getxo and a small surrounding area, the inflected forms of vowel-final non-infl stems lack the number vowel marker that precedes case endings with consonan final stems. Compare, for instance the absolutive and dative singular of /gison/ ‘man’ and /baso/ ‘forest’ (for extensive exemplification see section 8.1):

(125) uninflected: gison  baso
abs sg  gisona  baso
dat sg  gisonari  basori

This phonologically motivated process is restricted to vowel sequences where the second element is a number marker, singular /-a/ or plural /-a(k)/. The rule can be given the following formulation:

(126) Number Marker Deletion

\[V \quad [\text{number}] \quad \rightarrow \quad \emptyset / V\]

This morphologically-conditioned phonological rule has brought about very important changes in the morphosyntax of the dialect. One consequence has been the almost complete loss of the indefinite number. Most other Basque dialects, besides plural and a singular, have an indefinite number that is used with numerals and other quantifiers, among other uses, as in the following examples from the standard dialect: zehat gizora ‘how many men?’, biru gizon ‘three men, abs’, biru gizoni ‘three men, dat’) (as opposed to the plural biru gizona ‘the three men’, biru gizoni ‘the three men’). For the most part, singular and indefinite differ in that singular forms carry the singular determiner /-a/ and indefinite forms do not. Under these circumstances, it is clear that the rule of Number Marker Deletion would make this morphological distinction opaque in the case of vowel-final stems. To see this, it will help to examine the situation in a not very different dialect such as that of Gernika, which in the relevant respects illustrates the situation that would obtain in Getxo before the acquisition of the rule of Number Marker Deletion. Consider thus the following partial declensional paradigms for baso ‘forest’, gixon ‘man’ and lagun ‘friend’, showing singular and indefinite forms in the dialect of Gernika:

(127) Gernika

\[\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{singular} & \text{indefinite} \\
\text{abs} & \text{baso} & \text{baso} \\
\text{erg} & \text{baso} & \text{baso} \\
\text{dat} & \text{baso} & \text{baso} \\
\text{gen} & \text{baso} & \text{baso} \\
\text{abs} & \text{gixon} & \text{gixon} \\
\text{erg} & \text{gixon} & \text{gixon} \\
\text{dat} & \text{gixon} & \text{gixon} \\
\text{gen} & \text{gixon} & \text{gixon} \\
\end{array}\]
In this dialect, vowel-final stems such as baso show that the same case endings are used in the singular and the indefinite, with the difference that in the singular a number marker /-a/ is attached first, whereas in the indefinite the case endings attach directly to the stem. The consonant-final form gizon, shows that an epenthetic vowel /e/ is inserted in the indefinite to avoid clashes of two consonants. In lagun, which is consonant-final and has a high vowel in its last syllable, the rule of Low Vocal Assimilation (see section 4.3.1) obliterates the distinction between singular and indefinite forms in all cases but the absolutive, since both /-a/ representing the singular morpheme and the epenthetic vowel of indefinite forms are realized as [e] here. In spite of this neutralization with bases like lagun, the phonological distinction between singular and indefinite forms is apparent in a sufficiently large number of forms to allow for a clear opposition between the two morphological categories.

Suppose that the dialect acquires a rule such as Number Marker Deletion, simplifying vowel sequences in certain morphological environments. The resulting paradigm would be the following:

(128) Gernika + Number Marker Deletion (reconstructed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Indefinite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abs</td>
<td>/baso-a/</td>
<td>baso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erg</td>
<td>/baso-a-k/</td>
<td>basok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat</td>
<td>/baso-a-ri/</td>
<td>basori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen</td>
<td>/baso-a-n/</td>
<td>bason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abs</td>
<td>/gizon-a/</td>
<td>gizone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erg</td>
<td>/gizon-a-k/</td>
<td>gizonek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat</td>
<td>/gizon-a-ri/</td>
<td>gizoneri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen</td>
<td>/gizon-a-n/</td>
<td>gizonen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abs</td>
<td>/lagun-a/</td>
<td>lagune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erg</td>
<td>/lagun-a-k/</td>
<td>lagunek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat</td>
<td>/lagun-a-ri/</td>
<td>laguneri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen</td>
<td>/lagun-a-n/</td>
<td>lagunen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown, Number Marker Deletion would cause a merger between singular and indefinite forms with vowel-final bases such as baso. When this is added to the already existing homophony in the case of consonant-final bases with a high vowel in the last syllable such as lagun, the net result is that only consonant-final bases have different singular and indefinite forms in the absolutive, and only consonant-final bases with a nonhigh vowel on the last syllable do now have different surface forms for the singular and the indefinite in other cases. This very limited surface contrast was not enough to maintain the two categories distinct in Getxo and the almost complete disappearance of the indefinite paradigm ensued. Distinct singular and indefinite forms are used only in the absolutive (and locative cases) and this only for consonant-final stems. In the restructured paradigm, the vowel [e], which in the earlier system could be either epenthetic or a surface manifestation of /a/ raised by Low Vowel Raising, is always interpreted in the latter fashion:

(129) Getxo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Singular/Indefinite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abs</td>
<td>/boso-a/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erg</td>
<td>/boso-a-k/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat</td>
<td>/boso-a-ri/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen</td>
<td>/boso-a-n/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abs</td>
<td>/gison-a/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erg</td>
<td>/gisona-k/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat</td>
<td>/gisona-ri/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen</td>
<td>/gisona-n/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abs</td>
<td>/lagun-a/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erg</td>
<td>/lagun-a-k/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat</td>
<td>/lagun-a-ri/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen</td>
<td>/lagun-a-n/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Even the remaining opposition in the absolutive of consonant-final stems (gison vs. gizona) is not consistently made, and originally singular forms are used sometimes when the indefinite would be required in other dialects. For this reason all forms on the left column in (129), including gizona and lagune have been labeled as singular/indefinite.

Another important consequence of the acquisition of the rule of Number Marking Deletion has been the partial blurring of the distinction between uninflated forms and absolutive singular forms.

In Basque, only the last word in the noun phrase is inflected for number and case. All other words in the noun phrase are always uninflated. Thus we have, for instance (examples in the standard language), mendia 'the mountain, abs', menditori 'to the mountain, dat', but mendiorria 'the red mountain, abs' (not *mendiorria), mendiorria 'to the red mountain, dat'. In the dialect of Getxo, given Number Marker Deletion, the corresponding forms are mendia 'the mountain, abs', menditori 'to the mountain, dat', mendiorria 'the red mountain, mendiorria 'to the red mountain'. That is, uninflated and absolutive singular forms are identical with vowel-final bases. The difference is still maintained with consonant-final bases, as in gizona 'the man, abs', gizonorria 'the red man, abs', gizonera 'the handsome man, abs', gizonera 'to the handsome man, dat', etc. However, the homophony between uninflated and absolutive singular in the case of vowel-final stems has served as triggering element for the beginning of a process of undistinction with consonant-final stems. Especially with monosyllabic stems, forms such as lur gorri and lurre gorri 'red land', giltz baltz and giltze baltze 'black key' are now found in seemingly free variation. Some originally consonant-final forms may also have become vowel-final by reinterpre-
ing the singular number marker as part of the stem. To a lesser extent, the same variation is found with longer stems, but not with all and factors such as the nature of the final consonant seem to play a role. Thus, whereas both tsakur balta and tsakurre balta 'black dog' are heard, *gisona balta 'black man' is still impossible.¹³

7.2. Processes affecting the negative particle

The negative particle es triggers a couple of special processes. In conjugated verbal forms, stops are dropped after es (optionally but frequently):

(130) es bāda [esbāda] 'if it is not'
es dator [estatōf] 'he is not coming'
es dōt [estōt] 'I do not have'
es dā(k)it [estāk] 'I do not know'
es gara [eskāra] 'we are not'
es goaš [eskōaš] 'we are not going'

This devoicing never takes place in other /sl+/ stop sequences. As shown in section 4.1.4, in these sequences the assimilation in voice is in the opposite direction, /sl/ being voiced to [z] before a voiced consonant; e.g.: armas gogorra [aˈnαzyoʊoʊˈɾa] not *[aˈnαstaskoʊˈɾa] 'strong breath'; saldies dator [saldezətəɾ] not *saldezestəɾ] 'he is coming with a horse'.

Nevertheless, the devoicing process after /sl/ must have had a wider domain of application at some earlier time, as can be gathered from certain verb forms. The first person absolutive and dative suffix in inflected verb forms must have been originally /-gul/, which can still be postulated in an abstract morphophonemic analysis, identical to the first person plural pronoun gu 'we'. This form appears, for instance, in /d-a-ka-r-gul/ dahegra 'we are bringing'. Between vowels the /g/ of this suffix has been lost in all cases; e.g.: /d-a-ka-gul/ darra 'we are carrying it', cf. /d-a-ka-sul/ darosu 'you are carrying it'. Interestingly for our present discussion, this consonant is devoiced after /sl/, as in the auxiliary form dasku 'he V's it to us'.

The particle es can also optionally assimilate like the other /sl/-final items; e.g. es bāda [ezbāda] 'if it is not'; es dator [ezstatōf] 'he is not coming', etc.

Another peculiar property of the negation es is that its /sl/ deletes before a sonorant-initial conjugated verbal form:

(131) es lauku [elaukɛ] 'he would not have'
es nabil [eŋaɓi] 'I am not walking'

This process is also optional but frequent.

(13) A similar process of vowel deletion is found in Ondarroa (and, as an optional rule, in other towns of the same area). In this case, the sound change has not had consequences as drastic as in Getxo. This is because, in Ondarroa, other rules operate in vowel sequences before the deletion of the second vowel. This has kept uninflected and singular forms distinct for the most part. Thus singular absolutive /te-xe/-/ste/ 'the house' (through stein, found in Markina, etc.) is distinguished from uninflected or indefinite singular ste 'house' (see Rotaearxe 1978, Hualde 1991a), whereas in Getxo both forms are ste.

7.3. Deletion processes in verbal groups

In sequences involving a future participle ending in /-ko/ and an auxiliary starting with /dp/-, the intervocalic /d/ is lost and the two vowels are fused. This is an optional fast-speech phenomenon:

(132) sārtuko dot → sārtukor 'I will put it in'
éreko dosu → éreksou 'you will burn it'
ésango dostesu → éssangostesu 'you will say to me'
iķusiko dosue → iķusikosue 'you-pl will see'
émongt dezet → émonggotzet 'I will give it to him'
fingo dot → fingo 'I will do it'
fîngot → fîngot 'I will do it'
mîngot dezut → mîngotzet 'I will put it to you'

There is no deletion of the intervocalic /d/ if the following vowel is other than /o/:

(133) sārtuko dau → not *sārtukoau 'he will put it in'
ésango du → not *éssangou 'we will say'
iķusiko daude → not *iķusikoaude 'they will see'

Neither is there deletion of /d/ when, although in the appropriate phonological context, the main verb is not a future participle:

(134) yóko dot → yókot 'I will hit'
But: yo dot → not *yot 'I hit'
yokó dosu → yokosu 'you will grind'
But: iyo dosu → not *iyosu 'you have ground'

The final /n/ of nonconjugated verbal forms is frequently lost in intervocalic position:

(135) ţen auden → ţeauaden 'they used to do it'
pågaten in austen → pâgeiausten 'they used to pay them to me'
ţimten auden → ţmitaudean 'they put it'
esan autzen → esautzen 'he told me'
ëmon fostesu → emōıostesu 'give it to me!
yan ñsu → yâsu 'eat it!

The final nasal of the imperfective suffix /-ten/ can also be deleted before /g/, but not before other consonants:

(136) émoten guantzen → émotegauntzen 'we gave it to him'
yóten gintzen → yötegiintzen 'we went, used to go'
êkarten gendun → êkartegendun 'we brought it, used to bring'
But: yöten siren → not *yötesiren 'they used, used to go'
esaten daude → not *êsådetdaude 'they say'
êmoten badaust → not *êmotebadaust 'if he gives it to me'

The final nasal of perfective forms is not lost in this context:

(137) yon gintzen → not *yogintzen 'we went'
esan gendun → not *esagendun 'we said'
Perfective participles which take the ending /-i/ may optionally lose this vowel in the formation of the future participle. This only applies regularly to roots whose final consonant is /-a/ or /-i/. Among those roots ending in /-s/ or /-t/ or /-r/ some do and some do not undergo this process in an idiosyncratic manner. Whether the /-i/ is deleted or not has consequences for the placement of the stress. Roots ending in a different consonant or in a group of consonants do not lose the /-i/ participial ending:

(138) perfective future

a. imiňi imiňiko/imingo 'to put'
ibilli ibilliiko/ibilko 'to walk'
erosi erosiiko/erosiko 'to buy'
ikusi ikusiko/ikusko 'to see'
ekarrri ekarrrikoko 'to bring'

But: iyerri iyerrikiko/*yerko 'to notice'
yarri yarriko 'to sit down'
yesarrri yesárriko 'to sit down'
bisi bisko 'to live'
asi ásiko 'to begin'
ausi áusiko 'to break'
yáusi yáusiko 'to fall'
egosi egósiiko 'to boil'
yosi yósiiko 'to sew'

b. busti bustiko/*bústko 'to get wet'
iriiki irikiiko/*rikko 'to boil'
auki aukiiko 'to have'
ebagi ebagiko 'to cut'
itzii itzikoko 'to close'

In the cases in (b), the nonapplication of /-i/ deletion clearly has to do with syllable structure.

Those verbs that lose the ending /-i/ in the future participle also lose this ending optionally when followed by an auxiliary:

(139) ikus dai ikus dau 'he has seen'
erosi dai erosi dau 'he has bought'
ekarrri dai ekar du 'we have brought'

But: iyerri dau not *iyer dau 'he has noticed'
egosi dau not *egas dau 'he has boiled'

Some verbal forms show that an /-s/ sequence is simplified by loss of the rhotic, as in the following examples with the verbs ekarrri /e-kar/-i/ 'to bring' and etrorri /e-to/-r/-i/ 'to come':

(140) /d-a-kaľ-s/ daksu 'he is bringing them'
cf. /d-a-kaľ/ daksar 'he is bringing it'
/d-a-kaľ-su/ daksu 'you are bringing it'

cf. /d-a-kaľ-gu/ dąarku 'we are bringing it'
/d-a-toľ-s/ dator 'he is coming'
cf. /d-a-toľ/ dator 'he is coming'

7.4. Postnasal voicing

In a few morphological constructions there is a rule that voices a stop after a nasal. This rule affects the initial stop of the declensional locative suffixes /-ko/ 'of' and /-ti(k)/ 'from' in adverbial formations. Compare the examples with nasal-final stems in (141a) with those in (141b):

(141) a. lenko 'of before' lendik 'from before'
ango 'of there' ándik 'from there'
nongo 'of where' nóndik 'from where'
emengo 'of here' eméndik 'from here'

b. gaurko 'of today' güurtik 'from today'
bierko 'of tomorrow' biértik 'from tomorrow'
atzoko 'of yesterday' atzótik 'from yesterday'
oroko 'of there' órtik 'from there'

With nouns ending in a nasal, the rule of voicing does not apply and there is vowel epenthesis before the suffix, as with any other consonant-final stems (or, rather, the singular determinant is inserted, cf. section 7.1):⁴⁴

(142) kunzturuneko kunzturunetik 'of/from the kidney'
Iruneko Irinetik 'of/from Irún'
sagarrako sagarratik 'of/from the apple'
assallok asalatik 'of/from the skin'
Urduliseko Urdulisesik 'of/from Urduliz'

In verbal morphology, the future marker /-ko/ shows voicing after nasal-final stems. The participial adjective forming /-ta/, on the other hand, is not a target for voicing, even though it starts with a voiceless stop:

(143) part adj future

a. ýomono emónta 'to give'
yóno yónta 'to go'
yándo yánda 'to eat'
inyo inte 'to do'

b. filko filte 'to die'
ibiliko, ibilko ibilfite, ibilfé 'to walk'

The perfective suffix /-tu/ presents voicing both after nasals and after laterals: kendu 'take away', galdu 'lose', konpundo 'repair' (cf. esetu 'know', sartu 'come/bring in').

(14) In other dialects and Standard Basque, nasal and lateral-final proper nouns also trigger the rule of voicing: Irungo 'of Irún', Irundik 'from Irún', Madrigo 'of Madrid', Madriliko 'from Madrid'.
7.5. Bound stem formation rules

In Basque, there are a number of phonological rules that apply exclusively in the derivation of bound stems from free nominal stems (see Hualde 1991a, ch. 3). These bound stems must be followed by other stems in subcompounds or by derivational suffixes. The process of bound stem formation and the rules involved in it are found throughout the Basque domain. This, however, has generally ceased to be a productive process. In Gëtxo, the sound changes involved in bound stem formation are observable only in a limited number of compounds and derived words. We will exemplify the phonological changes involved separately.

Across all Basque dialects, stems may undergo one of two major modifications in becoming bound stems: a/ bisyllabic stems ending in a non-high vowel change this vowel to [æ]; b/ stems containing more than two syllables or ending in a high vowel, suffer deletion of the last vowel.

The first of these two processes, the lowering of mid vowels in bisyllabic stems is found in examples such as the following:

\[(144)\] arto 'corn' arraburu 'ear of corn'
orlu 'hen' ólasko 'sparrow', lit. 'corn bird'
lasto 'hay' lastátegi 'barn'
tonto 'stupid' tonakeri 'stupid action'

Lowering is not observable if the second morpheme starts with a vowel, since the first vowel in the sequence will be deleted by another rule in vowel sequences:

\[(145)\] etze 'house' étzondo 'side of house' (ondo 'side')
etzakalde 'side of house' (alde 'side')
etzoste 'back of house' (oste 'back')
oluo 'furze' orábar 'branch of furze' (abar 'branch')
baso 'forest' báserrri 'farm'

As mentioned, items of three or more syllables or ending in a high vowel lose their final vowel in the bound stem form, both before a vowel and before a consonant. In addition, the now stem-final consonant may undergo some modification. In particular, /t/ (but not /f/) becomes /l/ and oral stops become /f/ in this environment. In the following examples the stem is separated from the suffix for clarity:

\[(146)\] belarrri 'ear' belarr-ondo 'ear-side'
iritu 'fountain' iritu-ondo 'fountain-side'
éskera 'Basque' euskal-on 'Basque speaker'
erdura 'foreign' erdul-dun 'foreigner'
gari 'wheat' gai-tzu 'wheat straw'
afari 'supper' afal-ordu 'supper time'
báskari 'dinner' báskal-oste 'after dinner'
idai 'ox' ft-aurre 'front of yoke'
sagu 'mouse' sat-or 'mole'

8. Elements of morphology
8.1. Nominal inflection

In Basque, only the last word in the noun phrase is inflected for number and case. This implies that nominal inflectional suffixes can be attached not only to nouns, but also to adjectives and other postnominal modifiers (and to nominalized verbs):

\[(147)\] sagarrari 'to the apple'
apple-dat sg
sagar ederrari 'to the beautiful apple'
apple beautiful-dat sg
sagar eder asko-ri 'to many beautiful apples'

In the following sections, nonlocative and locative inflectional suffixes will be presented separately, since they constitute two distinct paradigms.

8.1.1. Nonlocative inflectional suffixes

A partial declensional paradigm of the noun gison 'man' is given in (148). In Gëtxo Basque there are two complete number paradigms, singular and plural:

\[(148)\] singular plural

| absolutive | gisona | gisônak |
| ergative | gisonak | gisônak |
| dative | gisonari | gisônari |
| genitive | gisonan | gisônan |
| benefactive | gisonantzako | gisônantzako |
| comitative | gisônag | gisônakas |
| partitive | gisonik | |

It can be observed that most forms are segmentally identical in the singular and the plural, differing only in accentuation. All plural suffixes are preaccenting, placing the stress on the last syllable of the base. In addition, the benefactive suffix -/t-zako/, which is added to the genitive, and the comitative -/g|as/, which is added to the absolutive, are also preaccenting. Other suffixes are unaccented. As was mentioned in section 6, words containing only unaccented morphemes are only subject to a rule of phrase-final stress. The nonlocative inflectional suffixes are, thus, the following:

\[(15)\] Declensional paradigms for a great number of Biscayan Basque varieties are found in Gamirde (1998). Paradigms for Gëtxo are also offered in Sántxo (1985) and Biañ (1991), and for the neighboring town of Sopela in Rojo (1985).
In the comitative singular some speakers present variation between forms such as *gisonadas* and *gisonágas*. Other speakers only produce forms without the velar consonant. But there are reasons to postulate the presence of an initial consonant in this suffix even for speakers who never pronounce it, as will be argued below.

The partitive shows allomorphy, being realized as [-rik] after a vowel and as [-ilk] after a consonant (or there is a rule restricted to this suffix deleting its initial /r/ after a consonant).

It is possible to further decompose the absolutive, ergative, dative and genitive markers into a number morpheme and a case morpheme. The number morpheme would be /-a/ for the singular and would have two allomorphs in the plural, both preaccenting, /-ak/ in the absolutive and /-a/ in all other cases. The case markers would then be identical in the singular and the plural: absolutive /-∅/ (zero morpheme), ergative /-k/, dative /-r/ and genitive /-n/:

(150)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abs</td>
<td>/-a-∅/</td>
<td>/-ak-∅/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erg</td>
<td>/-a-k/</td>
<td>/-a-k/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat</td>
<td>/-a-r/</td>
<td>/-a-r/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen</td>
<td>/-a-n/</td>
<td>/-a-n/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Alternatively, the plural marker can be taken to be /-a/ also for the absolutive and then the absolutive marker itself would present allomorphy: zero in the singular but /-k/ in the plural. It is not easy to decide between these two analyses.16

As was mentioned in section 7.1, in Getxo, unlike in most other Basque dialects, there is no distinct indefinite paradigm for nonlocative cases, except for a marginal opposition in the absolutive of consonant-final stems. Thus we find singular forms in nonlocative cases with numerals and other quantifiers, which in other dialects and the standard language require the indefinite: *ainbets gison* (but sporadically also *ainbets gisona*) 'so many men, abs' (St. *baibets gizon*), *amabost gisonari* 'to fifteen men, dat' (St. *hamabost gizoni*, opposed to singular *gisonari* 'to the man', cf. section 7.1).

The plural proximate, which is found in the standard and other western Basque varieties has also been lost in Getxo. Remnants appear only in a few fossilized expressions such as *tsiok* 'you-pl, abs/erg'.

Inflected words whose stem has a high vowel in its last syllable show the operation of a rule raising the low vowel /a/ to [e] in this context (Low Vowel Assimila-

(16) A third analysis in which the plural is marked as /-ak/ throughout the paradigm, its consonant being deleted before another consonant, e.g. plural+dative /-ak-r/ → /-a-r/, seems excessively abstract.

(151)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abs</td>
<td>lagune</td>
<td>lagúnke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erg</td>
<td>lagunek</td>
<td>lagúnke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat</td>
<td>laguneri</td>
<td>lagúnere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen</td>
<td>lagunen</td>
<td>lagúnene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>benefactive</td>
<td>lagunentzako</td>
<td>lagúnentzako</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comitative</td>
<td>lagunegas</td>
<td>lagúnegas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>partitive</td>
<td>lagunik</td>
<td>lagunik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The genitive suffixes can be followed by other inflectional suffixes thus giving rise to a sort of superdeclension. Examples are given of forms containing a genitive suffix followed by a dative suffix:

(152)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/gison-an-ari/</td>
<td>gisonanari</td>
<td>'to the one of the man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gison-an-ari/</td>
<td>gisonánari</td>
<td>'to the ones of the man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gison-an-ari/</td>
<td>gisónanari</td>
<td>'to the one of the men'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gison-an-ari/</td>
<td>gisónanari</td>
<td>'to the ones of the men'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As was mentioned in section 7.1, one of the most prominent characteristics of the variety of Getxo and neighboring areas, when compared with other Basque dialects, is that it has undergone a process of vowel sequence simplification by deletion of the second vowel in the sequence. This process operates in vowel sequences created by the addition of vowel-initial inflectional suffixes to vowel-final stems. This is illustrated with the words *etze* 'house' and *baso* 'forest':

(153)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abs</td>
<td>etze</td>
<td>étzek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erg</td>
<td>etzek</td>
<td>étzek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat</td>
<td>etzeri</td>
<td>étzeri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen</td>
<td>etzen</td>
<td>étzen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>benefactive</td>
<td>etzentzako</td>
<td>étzentzako</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comitative</td>
<td>etze(g)as</td>
<td>étzeas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>partitive</td>
<td>etzerik</td>
<td>étzerik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abs</td>
<td>baso</td>
<td>bások</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erg</td>
<td>basok</td>
<td>bások</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat</td>
<td>basori</td>
<td>básori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen</td>
<td>bason</td>
<td>báson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>benefactive</td>
<td>basontzako</td>
<td>básontzako</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comitative</td>
<td>baso(g)as</td>
<td>básokas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>partitive</td>
<td>basorik</td>
<td>básorik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It can be seen that all vowel-initial suffixes lose that vowel after vowel-final stems. Surface forms can be derived by a rule of vowel deletion from underlay representations where the shape of the different suffixes is as given in (149) above, as in the following examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
(154) & /\text{etze-a/} & \text{etze} & \text{‘the house, abs’} \\
& /\text{etze-a-k/} & \text{etzek} & \text{‘the house, erg’} \\
& /\text{etze-a-ri/} & \text{etzeri} & \text{‘to the house, dat’}
\end{align*}
\]

The only vowel sequence appears in comitative forms such as \text{etzakas}, \text{basakas}. This exception is explained if we postulate the presence of an initial consonant in this suffix. Vowel deletion does not take place in this case, because there is no sequence of two vowels but rather a VCV sequence, where the consonant is /g/ for some speakers who present alternative pronunciations such as \text{etzagas}, and a fully empty segment for others (/etze-a-Cas/ \text{etzas}).

It should be noticed that, with vowel-final bases, in the plural the stress does not fall on the last syllable of the stem, as in forms with consonant-final stems, but rather on the penultimate of the stem. The effect is that all the plural forms present the stress retracted one syllable with respect to the singular. This point is discussed in section 6.3.

Stems ending in a high vowel present as only additional fact the application of the rule of Low Vowel Assimilation. This rule applies only optionally in the benefactive and the comitative, as illustrated in the following paradigms with \text{itsuri ‘fountain}, \text{burri ‘head} and the accented item \text{bélarrri ‘ear}:

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
(155) & \text{absolutive} & \text{singular} & \text{plural} \\
& \text{erative} & \text{itu} & \text{iturrri} \\
& \text{ative} & \text{itu} & \text{iturrri} \\
& \text{genitive} & \text{itu} & \text{iturrri} \\
& \text{benefactive} & \text{itu} & \text{iturrntrzeko} \\
& \text{comitative} & \text{itu} & \text{iturrntrzako} \\
& \text{partitive} & \text{itu} & \text{iturrri}
\end{array}
\]

Stems ending in a low vowel fall into two groups, depending on whether or not the stem-final vowel is raised to [e] in the singular. A word like \text{alaba ‘daughter} undergoes this process, but \text{nesk ‘girl} does not for some speakers:

\[
\begin{align*}
(156) & & \text{absolutive} & \text{plural} \\
& & \text{erative} & \text{alabek} \\
& & \text{ative} & \text{alaberi} \\
& & \text{genitive} & \text{alaben} \\
& & \text{benefactive} & \text{alabentzako} \\
& & \text{comitative} & \text{alabas} \\
& & \text{partitive} & \text{alabari}
\end{align*}
\]

All Biscayan varieties have a morphologically conditioned rule raising stem-final /a/ in the singular (Singular Low Vowel Raising); i.e. /alaba-a/ \text{alabes}. The form \text{alba} is found in Arratia, for instance. Other derivations that suppose an intermediate form \text{alaba} are \text{alaba} (Lekeitio), \text{alabik} (Gernika), \text{alabi} (Ondarroa), which show the application of further phonological rules. In Getxo, we would indeed expect forms such as \text{alaba}, if the rule of Singular Low Vowel Raising applies before Vowel Deletion: /alaba-a/ --- > \text{alaba} --- > \text{alaba}. Singular Low Vowel Raising constitutes a rather opaque process in Getxo, since its trigger does not appear on the surface. This added to the generalization that vowel final words are for the most part identical in their uninflected form and in the absolutive singular seems to have triggered the blocking of the rule in words such as \text{naska}. The expected evolution would be for Singular Low Vowel Raising to be finally lost from the phonology of the dialect, all stems ending in /a/ either behaving like \text{naska} or shifting to the /e/-final class.

Finally, glide-final stems must be considered. All stems ending in a glide in their surface uninflected form do not show the same behavior. It is enough to show the absolutive singular form together with the uninflected stems:

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{absolutive} & \text{bélarrri} \\
& \text{eractive} & \text{bélarrri}
\end{align*}
\]
(157) uninflected absolutive sing
a. oi oya ‘bed’
patroi patroya ‘patron, boss’
milloi milloya ‘million’
kanpai kanpaya ‘bell’
gastai gastaya ‘cheese’
edoi edoya ‘cloud’
errotai erratoya ‘rat’
b. goi goye ‘top’
yai yaye ‘holiday’
gai gaye ‘call’
sei seye ‘six’
bei beye ‘cow’
úrdai úrdaye ‘ham’
gau gawe ‘night’
lau lawe ‘four’
lei leye ‘frost’
c. mái máye, máya ‘table’
d. ardau ardaux ‘wine’
ságardau ságardau ‘cider’
makállau makallau ‘cod’
sáráu sáraux ‘older’
e. anai anaje [anaxe] ‘brother’

As was shown in section 4.3.6, the examples in (a) underlyingly end in a mid vowel whereas those in (b) end in a high vowel. Comparative evidence shows that this is indeed the historical reason for the dissimilar behavior of these two groups of items. Thus, in the standard dialect the corresponding forms for oi ‘bed’ and goi ‘top’ are, respectively, obe and goi. The words patroi ‘patron, boss’, milloi ‘million’ and erratoi ‘rat’ exemplify a rather large group of words of Romance origin whose source ends in /-oi/ and ended in /-ai/ in earlier times; that is, these forms derive historically from *patrōne* (modern Spanish *patrón*), *millōne* (*millón*), *ratone* (*ratón*), etc., with loss of an intervocalic nasal by a rule that was once widespread in Basque. Forms such as *patro* are still found in some dialects.

The word mái ‘table’ shows an inconsistent behavior, falling optionally into one or the other group. For comparative reasons it should belong to the group in (b).

If stems ending in a surface glide in fact end in a mid or high vowel, as was shown in section 4.3.6, then it must be explained why they appear with a final vowel in the absolutive singular, given that stems ending in a vowel such as etze ‘house’ or *itxurri* ‘fountain’ undergo Vowel Deletion in their inflected forms. The explanation has to be that Glide Formation (and Consonantization) (see 4.3.6 for the formalization of these rules) are ordered before Vowel Deletion:

(158) Mid Vowel Raising
-patro-1a/ /patro-a/
Syllabification pa.tro.ia e.tse.a
Consonantization patroja
Vowel Deletion /etse/

Thus, for the purpose of their inflectional behavior with respect to Vowel Deletion, the words in (157a-c) behave as consonant-final.

The words in (d), on the other hand, show the same behavior as vowel-final stems. A possible representation that would account for this exceptional behavior would be to provide these items with an empty consonant between the two final vocals, i.e. /árdaCa/17. The comparative suffix -au (–ago in St. Basque) also patterns in this manner.

Finally, in the unique case of *anai/anaje ‘brother’, final [x] can be postulated, since this sound is otherwise never found word-finally. This word can also simply be listed in the lexicon as presenting two allomorphs, /anai/ when uninflected and /anaxe/ before inflectional suffixes, since it represents a totally exceptional case.

8.1.2. Locative cases

The locative cases constitute a different subparadigm in Getxo, as in all Basque varieties. In this subset, indefinite forms are formally distinguished from the singular and the plural:

(159) locative cases

- inessive: ‘at, in’; adlative: ‘to’ (place); ablative: ‘from’; genitive locative: ‘of’ (place); destination: ‘up to’; directional: ‘towards’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>form</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>indefinite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>inessive</td>
<td>isterran</td>
<td>isterratan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adlative</td>
<td>isterrara</td>
<td>isterratara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ablative</td>
<td>isterratik</td>
<td>isterratati(k)</td>
<td>isterratáki(k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>genitive</td>
<td>isterrako</td>
<td>isterratako</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>destination</td>
<td>isterraraño</td>
<td>isterrarákano</td>
<td>isterrarákano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>directional</td>
<td>isterráranta</td>
<td>isterraránta</td>
<td>isterraránta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etze ‘house’</td>
<td>etzen</td>
<td>étzeten</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inessive</td>
<td>etzeren</td>
<td>étzetara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adlative</td>
<td>etzetik</td>
<td>étzetati(k)</td>
<td>étzetáki(k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ablative</td>
<td>etzetako</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>genitive</td>
<td>etzeralo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>destination</td>
<td>etzeralo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>directional</td>
<td>etzeralta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(17) A form *ardau* must indeed be postulated for Proto-Basque (cf. Michela 1985).
If the stem ends in a vowel, Vowel Deletion will apply to simplify the sequence, deleting the singular marker /a/:

(163) /baso-a/ta/ bason /baso-a-tik/ basotik
     /baso-a-ra/ basora /baso-a-ko/ basoko

As mentioned, in most other dialects, locative case suffixes are added directly to the stem in the singular. Thus in the standard we find, for instance, adiative forms such as /baso-ra/, /mendi-ra/, /ister-era/ and /kuntzurrun-era/. The last two examples show epenthesis of the unmarked vowel [e] to break a consonant cluster. Assuming that this represents the original situation, in Getxo there has been a reanalysis. This reanalysis has been triggered by the opacity created by the rule of Vowel Deletion. Given the rule of Vowel Deletion, a suffix-initial vowel goes undetected with vowel-final stems. That is, we expect the same outcome from /baso-ra/ and from /baso-a-ra/. The difference should appear with consonant-final stems. From underlying /ister-ra/ and /kuntzurrun-ra/ we would expect /ister-ra/ and /kuntzurrun-ra/, with epenthesis of [e] in both cases. Now, the fact is that in Getxo we find /istera/, instead, with a low vowel immediately after the base, which is not the epenthetic vowel in the language. This is the fact that shows that there has been a reinterpretation of underlying representations as containing a sequence /e-a-ra/. This reinterpretation has been favored by the additional uncertainty about the underlying quality of a vowel [e] in forms with a high vowel in the last syllable of the stem and ending in a consonant. Both /kuntzurrun-ra/ and /kuntzurrun-a-ra/ are possible underlying representations for /kuntzurrun-ra/. Eventually, the epenthetic vowel in these forms was interpreted as part of the underlying representation and an alternation [e] after high vowels and [a] after other vowels was introduced, showing the presence of an underlying /a/. In this way, the structure of singular locative forms has been made more like that of non-locative forms.

The definitive and directional appear to be formed on the adiative, but there are some accentual complications. Both of these forms present two accentual patterns. In one of its accentuations, the definitive can be analyzed as an ending /-fio/ which is added to the adiative. In the other pattern it appears that /-ra/ constitutes a single preaccenting suffix. Similarly, the directional appears as preaccenting /-ntza/, added to the adiative or as a preaccenting bisyllabic /-rantza/.

(164) definitive /-a-ra-fio/, /-a-ra/  directional /-a-ra-ntza/, /-a/ra-/rantza/

Plural locative forms carry a preaccenting suffix /-a/ prior to the case markers. Similarly, the indefinite forms bear an unaccented suffix /-a/:

(165)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>singular locative suffixes</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>indefinite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>inesive /-a/n/</td>
<td>/-a/ntza/</td>
<td>/-a/ntza/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adiative /-a-ra/</td>
<td>/-a/ra/</td>
<td>/-a/ra/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>genitive /-a-ko/</td>
<td>/-a/ko/</td>
<td>/-a/ko/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a word like /kuntzurrun/ 'kidney', Low Vowel Assimilation will apply to the pre-final singular suffix:

(162) /kuntzurrun-a-n/ kuntzurrunen /kuntzurrun-a-tik/ kuntzurrunetik
     /kuntzurrun-a-ra/ kuntzurrunea /kuntzurrun-a-ko/ kuntzurruneko
The vowels of these suffixes are subject to the effects of Low Vowel Assimilation, as in /kuntzurrun'-ata-ra/ kuntzurrun'etara 'to the kidneys'. The second vowel of the suffix can also undergo the rule, when the first one is eliminated by Vowel Deletion, as in /tiirri-ata-ra/ tiirrietara 'to the fountains'.

Like the nonlocative genitive, the locative genitive can be followed by other inflectional suffixes:

(166) /isterr-ko-a-ri/- istetrikoi 'to the one of the leg'
/isterr-ko-a-ri/- istetrikoi 'to the one of the leg'
/isterr-ko-a-ri/- istetrikoi 'to the one of the leg'
/isterr-ko-a-ri/- istetrikoi 'to the one of the leg'
/mendi-a-ko-a-ri/- mendikoi 'to the one of the mountain'
/mendi-a-ko-a-ri/- mendikoi 'to the one of the mountain'
/mendi-a-ko-a-ri/- mendikoi 'to the one of the mountains'
/mendi-a-ko-a-ri/- mendikoi 'to the one of the mountains'
/mendi-a-ko-a-ri/- mendikoi 'to the one of the mountains'
/mendi-a-ko-a-ri/- mendikoi 'to the one of the mountains'

Locative case suffixes are restricted in principle to inanimate bases. For animates there are distinct adlative and ablative inflections. The ablative animate forms are not common:

(167) animate locative cases
*gison 'man'
| adlative | gisonana | gisónanaka |
| ablative | gisónarik | gisónararik |

lagun 'friend'
| adlative | laguneana | lagúnaka |
| ablative | lagunetarik | lagunetarik |

neska 'girl'
| adlative | neskana | néskaka |
| ablative | neskatarik | neskatarik |

abade 'priest'
| adlative | abadeana | abádekana |
| ablative | abadetarik | abadetarik |

For the adlative animate, we can postulate an underlying form /-Cana/, where C is an empty consonant. Comparative evidence points to an original form /-gana/, but the value of the consonant is not synchronically recoverable in the system of Getxo. This suffix is attached to absolutive singular and plural forms:

(168) /gison-a-Cana/ → /gisonana/ → gisonana 'to the man' (with shortening of the unstressed /aa/ sequence)
/gison-a-ka-Cana/ → gisónakanaka 'to the men'
/lagun-a-Cana/ → /laguneCana/ → laguneana 'to the friend'
/lagun-a-ka-Cana/ → /lagúnekCana/ → lagúnekana 'to the friends'

The ablative animate suffix is /-tärlik/, which attaches to singular forms bearing /-a/ and plural forms bearing /'-al/ (or /'-ak/ in a more abstract analysis, with automatic deletion of the first consonant in the sequence /kt/):

(169) gison-a-tärlik/ gisónatärlik 'from the man'
/lagun-a-tärlik/ lagunetärlik 'from the friend'
/abade-a-tärlik/ abadetärlik 'from the priest'
/abade-a-τärlik/ abadetärlik 'from the priests'

8.2. Verbal inflection

There are only a handful of verbs that possess synthetic forms. Leaving these aside, the different tenses consist of a participial form of the main verb and an auxiliary that is inflected for tense and agreement with ergative, absolutive and dative complements:

(170) a. erosī dau 'he has bought it'
     b. erosen dau 'he buys it'
     c. erōsiko dau 'he will buy it'

8.2.1. Nonfinite forms

As shown above, there are three nonfinite or participial forms that, together with an auxiliary, enter in the formation of verb units. These are the perfective (170a), the imperfective (170b) and the future participle (170c). Of these, the perfective participle is the morphologically simplest one.

A great number of perfective participles have an ending -tu (-du after a nasal or lateral). Smaller groups end in -i or -n. Some do not have any identifiable ending:

(171) Perfective participles
a. /-tu/ (-du after nasal or lateral): apurtu 'break', artu 'take', sartu 'take/bring into', galdu 'lose', kendu 'take away', konpondu 'repair', postu 'become happy', epeldu 'become mild', asarratu 'get angry'
b. /-i/: erosī 'buy', egosi 'boil', ibilli 'walk', ekari 'bring', etorri 'come', bisi 'live', iksusi 'see', imiihi 'put', asi 'begin', yosi 'sew', yesari 'sit'
c. /-n/: egon 'be, stay', emon 'give', yon 'go', esan 'say', entzun 'hear', érein 'cause/sow', éron 'take', yan 'eat', in 'do/make'
d. No suffix: yo 'hit', erre 'burn', il 'die/kill', bota 'throw', goberna 'take care', aumēnta 'mention', akordia 'remember', akonsēja 'advise'

The imperfective participle takes the suffixes /-tzen/, /-ten/. Verbs whose perfective ends in /-tu/ can either add /-ten/ to the perfective or /-tzen/ directly to the
As mentioned, verbal nouns take nominal inflection; e.g. apúrtuk ‘the breaking’, erg’, ézteri ‘to the saying, dat’. There is a suffix */-ta/ (/-te after a high vowel) which forms past participial adjectives. This suffix, which is preaccenting but not prepreaccenting, is added to the perfective (with possible deletion of final */-i/):

(173) perfective past participle adjective
   a. apurtu apurtute ‘break’
      galdu galduñe ‘lose’
   b. ikusi ikuste/ikúste ‘see’
      ekari ekarrute/ekárta ‘bring’
   c. emon emündta ‘give’
      esan esánta ‘say’
   d. gobeña gobeñata ‘take care’
      yo yota ‘hit’

8.2.2. Finite forms

In Basque there are different auxiliaries for intransitive and transitive verbs. As was mentioned, auxiliary forms are inflected for tense and show agreement with absolute, ergative and dative arguments. The intransitive auxiliary also functions as copula. In addition to the auxiliaries, only a few verbs possess conjugated or synthetic forms. We will examine first the morphology of the copula/intransitive auxiliary and intransitive synthetic verbs, and then the transitive auxiliary and other transitive verbs. 18

The basic form of the copula/intransitive auxiliary shows agreement only with an absolute subject (its subject). In Getxo, there are complete paradigms only for four tenses (present indicative, imperfective past indicative, conditional and present subjunctive), for another tense, (the potential) only third person forms are currently used. In order to show the morphological paradigms more clearly, second person singular forms are given after the first person plural. As in many languages, the second person plural became a singular form of respect. Subsequently a new second person plural was developed (marked as ‘2’). The old second person singular, which remains as a familiar second person form in many dialects, has been completely lost in Getxo: 19

(176) ixem ‘copula/intransitive auxiliary’: monovalent (absolute) forms
   a. present indicative  b. past indicative
   1. nas ‘I am’ 1. nitzen ‘I was’
   2. da ‘s/he, it is’ 2. san ‘s/he, it was’
   3. gara ‘we are’ 1. gintzen/gintzesen ‘we were’
   2. sara ‘you are’ 2. sintzen/sintzesen ‘you were’
   3. dire ‘you-pl are’ 3. sintzen/sintzesen ‘you-pl were’

(18) Only the most usual forms are presented here. For a more complete presentation of verbal morphology in the neighboring and very similar (sub)varieties of Leda and Burtoe, the reader is referred to Gaminde (1989, 1992). For the original varieties of the Bidasoa area, see Gaminde (1987). Yrurri (1981) contains verbal paradigms for all dialects, subdialects and recognized varieties of Basque.

(19) The translations correspond to the meanings of the forms when they are used as a copula.
c. conditional
1. nestike 'I would be'
3. lestike 's/he, it would be'
1. gentikes 'we would be'
2. sentikes 'you would be'
2. sentikes 'you-pl would be'
3. lestikes 'they would be'

d. present subjunctive
1. naiten 'I be'
3. daiten 's/he, it be'
1. gaitesen 'we be'
2. saiten 'you be'
2. saiten 'you-pl be'
3. daiten 'they be'

e. imperative
2. sates 'be'
3. lei/leite 's/he, it could be'
3. leis/leites 'they could be'

In addition, *ixen* has bivalent (absolutive/dative) forms in the present indicative and past indicative with a third person (singular or plural) absolutive argument. In the following examples, the number correspond to the person and number of the dative argument:

(177) ixen: bivalent (absolutive/ dative) forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. present indicative</th>
<th>b. past indicative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>absolutive: 3rd sg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>('s/he/it is to me, to him...') ('they are to me, to him...')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. dat/dast/yar</td>
<td>1. dat/dast/yar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. dako/yako</td>
<td>3. dako/yako</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. daku/dakatu/yaku</td>
<td>1. daku/dakatu/yaku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. datzuz/atzuz</td>
<td>2. datzuz/atzuz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. daze/ake</td>
<td>3. daze/ake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>('they are to me, to him...') ('they were to me, to him...')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. yaten/ikiten</td>
<td>1. yaten/ikiten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yakon/ikion</td>
<td>3. yakon/ikion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. yakun/ikion</td>
<td>1. yakun/ikion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yatzen/ikisun</td>
<td>2. yatzen/ikisun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yatzen/ikisun</td>
<td>2. yatzen/ikisun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yaken/ikien</td>
<td>3. yaken/ikien</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides the copula/intransitive auxiliary, four other intransitive verbs possess synthetic forms: *egon* 'to stay, to be' (cf. Sp. *estar*), *yon* 'to go', *etorri* 'to come' and *ibi- li* 'to walk'. These verbs have only present indicative synthetic forms:

(178) Synthetic intransitive verbs (present tense, monovalent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>egon</th>
<th>yon</th>
<th>etorri</th>
<th>ibilli</th>
<th>ixen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. nau</td>
<td>nua</td>
<td>nator</td>
<td>nabil</td>
<td>nas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. dau</td>
<td>doa</td>
<td>dator</td>
<td>dabil</td>
<td>da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. gaus</td>
<td>goas</td>
<td>gatos</td>
<td>gabiltzes</td>
<td>gara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. saus</td>
<td>soas</td>
<td>sotos</td>
<td>sabiltzes</td>
<td>sara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. sause</td>
<td>soase</td>
<td>sateste</td>
<td>sabiltzes</td>
<td>sare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. daus</td>
<td>doas</td>
<td>datos</td>
<td>dabiltzes</td>
<td>dire(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the verb *yon* 'to go' some synthetic bivalent forms are commonly used; e.g.: *dakho* 'he goes to him', *doatz* 'he goes to you', *doatzus* 'they go to you'.

The transitive auxiliary has bivalent (ergative/absolute) and trivalent (ergative/absolute/dative) forms. By far the most usual forms are those in which the absolutive is the direct object, e.g. (179), bivalent, ergative/absolute forms of the transitive auxiliary are given. The forms on the left column are those used with a third person singular direct object and those on the right column correspond to a third person plural direct object (e.g. *ikusi dot* 'I have seen him/he/it'; *ikusi doas* 'I have seen them'):

(179) transitive auxiliary: bivalent forms (ergative/3. absolutive)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. present indicative</th>
<th>b. past indicative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>absolutive: 3sg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. dot doas</td>
<td>1. nedun nendzen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. dau daus/dairus</td>
<td>3. eun/aun eusen/ausen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. du dus</td>
<td>1. gendun gendzen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. dozu dosus</td>
<td>2. sendun sendzen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. dosue dosues</td>
<td>2. senduen sendzen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. daude daudes/daitues</td>
<td>3. eun/auden eusen/ausen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. conditional</td>
<td>d. present subjunctive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. nauke naukes</td>
<td>3/3'. dainen dainen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. lakue laukes</td>
<td>e. imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. 'gauke gaunkes</td>
<td>2'. fsu fsus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 'saunke saunkes</td>
<td>2'. fsue fsues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 'laukes laukes</td>
<td>e. potential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. nei</td>
<td>3. lei leis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most bivalent forms for first and second person direct objects have been lost in Getxo and trivalent forms are used instead in this function. Nevertheless, a few originally bivalent (present indicative) forms are still used, as in the following examples:

(180) *ikusi satudes* 'I have seen you' *ikusi nosu* 'you have seen me'

*ikusi satus* 'he has seen you' *ikusi gaitus* 'he has seen us'

In (181) present and past trivalent forms of the transitive auxiliary are given. The direct object (absolutive) is always a third person (singular or plural). Columns are organized by subject person and rows by indirect object. For each indirect object the first line corresponds to a singular third person direct object and the second line to a plural third person direct object (e.g. *emon daust* 'he has given it to me'; *emon dauzes* 'he has given them to me'):

(20) Imperative forms optionally appear without the initial /-i/ after some main verbs, including all verbs ending in /-tu/; e.g.: *apurtsisu* 'break it!', *benditsu* 'take it away', *buez* 'throw it away!', *erve* 'burn it', *erditsu* 'use it'.
(181) a. transitive auxiliary: trivalent non-past forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. austen</th>
<th>he</th>
<th>1. he</th>
<th>1. he</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. nautzen</td>
<td>we</td>
<td>2. nautzen</td>
<td>we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. nautzen</td>
<td>we</td>
<td>2. nautzen</td>
<td>we</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. transitive auxiliary: trivalent past forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>to me</th>
<th>he</th>
<th>we</th>
<th>you</th>
<th>you-pl</th>
<th>they</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to him</td>
<td>to him</td>
<td>dotzer</td>
<td>dotzu</td>
<td>dotzues</td>
<td>dautze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to us</td>
<td>to us</td>
<td>dotzos</td>
<td>dotzues</td>
<td>dorzu</td>
<td>dautze</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(183) ekarri

| 1. dakart - dakartes | éron | auki |
| 2. daker - dakers | darot - darotas | dekot - dekotas |
| 3. daker - dakers | daro - daros | deko - dekos |
| 1'. dakargu - dakargus | daru - darus | deku - dekus |
| 2'. daku - daku | darosu - darosus | dekosp - dekosus |
| 3'. daku - daku | daraude - daraudes | dekospes - dekosues |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yakin</th>
<th>esan /-ino/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. dakit - dakites</td>
<td>diñot - diñotes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. daki - dakis</td>
<td>diño - diños</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1'. dakiu - dakius</td>
<td>diñu - diñus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2'. dakius - dakisus</td>
<td>diñosu - diñosus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2'. dakisue - dakisues</td>
<td>diñosue - diñoses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3'. dake - dakes</td>
<td>diñase - diñades</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some trivalent forms of these verbs are also used; e.g., dakatzut 'I am bringing to you', darratsey 'you are carrying it to me', diñotzut 'I am saying it to you', diñoset 'you are saying it to me'.

8.3. Derivation

8.3.1. Noun-forming suffixes

A number of suffixes derive nouns from other nouns:

(184) -dun (deaccenting) 'having, possessor'

| ume | 'child' |
| diru | 'money' |
| éuskeru | 'Basque' |
| érderu | 'Spanish' |
| esne | 'milk' |
| ikeru | 'coal' |
| ogi | 'bread' |
| erru | 'fault' |
| errudu | 'guilty' |

| bixe | 'beard' |
| bixeru | 'bearded' |

| fede | 'faith' |
| fededun | 'believer' |
Diminutive-forming suffixes create nouns from other nouns. There is one productive diminutive suffix -txu which, in principle attaches to any noun or adjective. In addition, there are some other restricted diminutive suffixes that are used with a few nouns:

(185)
-txu
txakur ‘dog’
gizon ‘man’
lbru ‘book’

-txakurtxu ‘little dog’
gisontxu ‘little man’
lbrutxu ‘little book’

The following suffixes derive nouns mostly from verbs or adjectives, although in some examples also from other nouns:

(186)
-(t)asun ‘quality’
argi ‘light, clear’
illun ‘dark’
gogor ‘hard’
busti ‘wet’
larrri ‘uneasy’
lodi ‘far’
loki ‘dirt’
sakon ‘deep’
pos ‘happiness’
osatu ‘to heal’

-keri (deaccenting) ‘negative quality or act’
txarri ‘pig’
asto ‘donkey’
ume ‘child’
ifusenteko ‘innocent’
kokoletxa ‘dummy’
barrabasketxe ‘evil person’
okerri ‘twisted’
sorgikerri ‘witch’
tontxeko ‘silly’

-ibilli ‘to walk’
-as ‘to begin’
sakon ‘deep’
berba ‘word’
bisi ‘to live’
esan ‘to say’

-ibilkerri ‘way of walking’
asikerri ‘beginning’
sakonerri ‘depth’
berbakerra ‘way of talking’
bisikerra ‘way of living’
esikerri ‘expression’

The following suffixes create nouns of profession or position:

-abade ‘priest’
alakte ‘mayor’
máisutxe ‘teacher’s job’
soldadutxe ‘military service’

-abadetz ‘priesthood’
alkatetxe ‘mayorship’
máisutxe ‘teacher’s job’
soldadutxe ‘military service’

-ko
mutil ‘boy’
mutilko ‘little boy’

-killo
asto ‘donkey’
astokillo ‘little donkey’

-tilla
neska ‘girl’
nesktilla ‘little girl’

-’txe
yantza ‘dance’
yantzar ‘dancer’
aiskora ‘ax’
aiskolari ‘lumber jack’
txistulari ‘flautist’
beresok ‘verse’
beresolari ‘verse-singer’
dendar ‘store clerk’
derotari ‘mill’
pelet ‘ball’
pelectari ‘ball player’

’txe
abade ‘priest’
alakte ‘mayor’
máisutxe ‘teacher’
soldadu ‘soldier’

-kada (or -káda)
eskua ‘hand’
adukadaga ‘blow with the hand’
palmu ‘stick’
patetada ‘blow with a stick’
tomate ‘tomato’
hepatetada ‘blow with tomatoes’
palma ‘shovel’
shovel ‘shovelfull’
bultza ‘to push’
shovelfull ‘pushing’
biot ‘twist’
biotx ‘twisting’

-tar
Getxo ‘Getxoan’
Biskai ‘Biscayan’
GU ‘we’
Kanpotar ‘outside’

-ti ‘piece’
txarri ‘pig’
saspi ‘seven’

-txe
uges ‘rust’
saske ‘dirty’
ugerd ‘rusty, dirty’

-kera
ibilli ‘to walk’
as ‘to begin’
sakon ‘deep’
berba ‘word’
bisi ‘to live’
esan ‘to say’

-kikerri ‘way of walking’
asikerri ‘beginning’
sakonerri ‘depth’
berbakerra ‘way of talking’
bisikerra ‘way of living’
esikerri ‘expression’
-kuntze 'action'
asare 'angry' asarrakuntze 'anger'
-kune 'abstract noun'
berba 'word' berbakune 'language'
-tari 'profession, occupation'
agindu 'command' agintari 'boss'
-ari 'deverbal'
edan 'to drink' edari 'drink'
yan 'to eat' yanari 'food'
gure 'to want' gurari 'desire'
gose 'hunger' gósari 'breakfast'
bakari 'lunch, dinner'
afar 'supper' 21

-ngo 'part of egg'
gori 'red' goringo 'yolk'
suri 'white' suringo 'white of egg'

8.3.2. Adjective-forming suffixes

There is a group of completely productive suffixes that can attach to any adjective to form other adjectives. This group includes the superlative -en, the comparative -an, and the 'excessive' -egi:

(187)
-en 'superlative, most'
gaste 'young' gastean 'youngest'
sar 'old' sarrèn 'oldest'
andi 'big' anden 'biggest'

-an 'comparative, more'
gaste 'young' gasteanu 'younger'
sar 'old' sarræn 'older'
andi 'big' anden 'bigger'

-egi 'excessive, too'
gaste 'young' gastegi 'too young'
sar 'old' sarrægi 'too old'
andi 'big' andegi 'too big'

Adjectives can be derived from nouns by means of a number of suffixes:

-si (deaccenting) 'characterized by'
bárre 'laughter' barrèti 'jolly'
baso 'forest' basáti 'wild'
berba 'word' berbáti 'talkative'
bildur 'fear' bildúrti 'fearful'

(21) This is the only unaccented example with this suffix.

22 The form ikisi historically derives from ikasi, general in Basque. By Low Vowel Assimilation ikasi > ikasi and then by raising of the mid vowel between the two identical high vowels, ikisi (cf. Gaminde 1982).
(190) -tu
aberats ‘rich’ aberastu ‘to become wealthy’
afarri ‘supper’ afaldu ‘to have supper’
alkar ‘together’ alkaritu ‘to get together’
andi ‘big’ anditu ‘to become/make big’
apur ‘bit’ apurtu ‘break into pieces’
argi ‘light’ argitu ‘to light’
arro ‘proud’ arrotu ‘to become proud’
baltz ‘black’ balzitu ‘to become/make black’
bardin ‘same’ bardindu ‘to become/make the same’
berde ‘green’ berdetu ‘to become green’
bero ‘hot’ berotu ‘to heat’
bat ‘one’ batu ‘to bring together’
bigun ‘soft’ bigundu ‘to soften’
lodi ‘fat’ loditu ‘to fatten’
luse ‘long’ lusetu ‘to lengthen’
garbi ‘clean’ garbitu ‘to clean’
gogor ‘hard’ gogortu ‘to harden’
gison ‘man’ gisondu ‘to become a man’
lagun ‘friend’ lagundu ‘to help’
moskor ‘drunkenness’ moskontu ‘to get drunk’
ob ‘better’ obetu ‘to better’
lotza ‘shame’ lotzatu ‘to shame’
lafon ‘fog’ lafontu ‘to become foggy’
sabal ‘wide’ sabaldu ‘to widen’
sorrotz ‘sharp’ sorrostu ‘to sharpen’

Perfective participles conveying the notion of movement to a place are formed by adding -/tu/ to the adjectival form of the noun:
(191) -ratu
albo ‘side’ alboratu ‘to put aside’
àurre ‘front’ àurreratu ‘to advance’
barru ‘inside’ barreretu ‘to take inside’
kóntu ‘attention’ kónteretu ‘to realize’

8.3.4. Adverb-forming suffixes
There is a suffix -to which forms adverbs from adjectives:
(192) -to ‘adverbializer’
eder ‘beatiful’ ederto ‘beautifully’
on ‘good’ ondo ‘well’
txar ‘bad’ txarto ‘badly’

 obe ‘better’ obeto ‘better’
 polite ‘pretty’ polito ‘with care’

This suffix is not productive. For instance, it is not possible to make adverbs from illus ‘dark’ or busti ‘wet’ by suffixation of -to: *illundo ‘darkly’, *bustito ‘wetly’.
Most adjectives can be used as adverbs without any suffixation.
A few other adjectives create adverbs from nouns or verbs:
(193) -ka ‘by means of’
agin ‘tooth’ aginke ‘biting’
bárre ‘laughter’ bárrekua ‘laughing’
buru ‘turn’ buñelatu ‘turning’
bóta ‘to throw’ bótaka ‘vomiting’

-tan
berba ‘word’ berbatan ‘talking’
bróma ‘joke’ brómatan ‘joking’
égik ‘truth’ égiten ‘truthfully’
iker ‘scare’ ikeratan ‘trembling’
txiker ‘small’ txikerrtan ‘in young age’
txiska ‘spark’ txispatan ‘sparkling’
lapur ‘chief’ lapurretan ‘stealing’

-to
barri ‘new’ barriko ‘again’
egun ‘day’ egunero ‘every day’
geldi ‘slow’ geldiro ‘slowly’

8.3.5. Prefixation
Prefixes are not common in Basque. Some pairs of verbs show the existence of and old causative prefix e-ra-, which is no longer productive:
(194) ibilli ‘to walk’ erabilli ‘to use’
ikisi ‘to learn’ erákatzi ‘to teach’
ikusi ‘to see’ eráktuki ‘to show’
in ‘to do’ érein ‘to cause’
yon ‘to go’ éron ‘to take’

The old prefix can be taken to be simply /ra/-, inserted immediately before the stem: *e-bil-ile-ra-bil-i, *e-kas-ile-ra-kas-i, *e-kas-ile-ra-kas-i, *e-gi-ile-ra-gi-n, *e-ox-ile-ra-ox-n, etc. The initial vowel e- in these nonfinite forms belongs to the same paradigm as the a- that appears in pre-stem position in the present. E.g.: d-a-bil ‘we are walking’, etc.

Nowadays productive causatives are formed with érein ‘to cause’, following another verb (see section 8.4.2).
(23) In this example (but not in others) the suffix -tan/ behaves as desceacting.
A prefix that is moderately productive is the borrowed negative des-. The also negative but native à ‘no’ appears only in a few examples such as eskiše ‘nickname’ from uze ‘name’.

8.4. Compounding
8.4.1. Compound nouns
8.4.1.1. Noun+Noun compounds

Compound nouns consisting of two nouns are very frequent formations. These can be classified in co-compounds, where both elements are in a coordinate relation; sub-compounds, where the head is the second element; and exocentric compounds, in which neither member is the head of the compound, but rather the compound has a different referent from those of the components.

(195) N+N co-compounds

Análit-arrabak ‘siblings’ (Análit ‘brother’ + arrabak ‘sister’)
Andrá-gisonak ‘married couple’ (Andrá ‘woman’ + gison ‘man’)
Aité-amak ‘parents’ (Aité ‘father’ + amak ‘mother’)
Semelabak ‘children’ (Semel ‘son’ + alaba ‘daughter’)

(196) N+N sub-compounds

Artaxori ‘sparrow’ (Artax ‘corn’ + xori ‘bird’)
Artaburu ‘corn ear’ (Artaburu ‘corn’ + buru ‘head’)
Baserri ‘farm’ (Baso ‘forest’ + erri ‘village’)
Añorodu ‘supper time’ (Añor ‘supper’ + ordu ‘hour’)
Añolose ‘after supper’ (Añor ‘supper’ + òste ‘after’)
Báskalose ‘after dinner’ (Báski ‘dinner’ + òste ‘after’)
Báregure ‘urge to laugh’ (Báre ‘laugh’ + guere ‘desire’)
Negaríguere ‘urge to cry’ (Negar ‘cry’ + guere ‘desire’)
Belameta ‘pile of grass’ (Belar ‘grass’ + meta ‘pile’)
Bisísmodu ‘way of life’ (Bisi ‘life’ + modu ‘manner’)
Elxasare ‘church door’ (Elxa ‘church’ + ate ‘door’)
Elxasare ‘church door’ (Elxa ‘church’ + ate ‘door’)
Éztare ‘house door’ (Étze ‘house’ + ate ‘door’)
Éztasare ‘house front’ (Étze ‘house’ + aüre ‘front’)
Éztasare ‘house back’ (Étze ‘house’ + aüre ‘back’)
Ézode ‘side of house’ (Étze ‘house’ + ondo ‘side’)
Ézoste ‘house back’ (Étze ‘house’ + òste ‘behind’)
Gautxóri ‘night bird’ (Gau ‘night’ + xori ‘bird’)
Idipróbak ‘ox competition’ (Idi ‘ox’ + proba ‘test’)
Kanpínórre ‘belltower’ (Kanpi ‘bell’ + torre ‘tower’)
Kartayoko ‘card game’ (Karta ‘card’ + yoko ‘set’)
Lurzalla ‘plot’ (Lur ‘land’ + salla ‘lot’)
Mitrondo ‘grape vine’ (Mitr ‘grape’ + ondo ‘side’)
Mendide ‘mountains’ (Mendi ‘mountain’ + alde ‘side’)
Mokósi ‘handkerchief’ (Moko ‘mucus’ + sapi ‘cloth’)
odólose ‘blood sausage’ (odol ‘blood’ + òste ‘after’)
probakle ‘arena’ (prob ‘rest’ + léku ‘place’)
ságardau ‘cider’ (Sagar ‘apple’ + ardu ‘wine’)
táloburni ‘grill’ (Tálo ‘cornbread’ + burni ‘iron’)
yayegun ‘holiday’ (Ya ‘festival’ + egun ‘day’)

(197) N+N exocentric compounds

Artatari ‘lazy bum’ (Arta ‘corn’ + sati ‘piece’)
Artaburu ‘idiot’ (Arta ‘corn’ + buru ‘head’)
Aitasilo ‘dad’s kid’ (Aita ‘father’ + solu ‘hole’)
Amasulo ‘mom’s kid’ (Ama ‘mother’ + solu ‘hole’)
Aitabixi ‘godfather’ (Aita ‘father’ + bitxi ‘adornment’)
Amabixi ‘godmother’ (Ama ‘mother’ + bitxi ‘adornment’)
Bélarrondoko ‘blow on face’ (Bélarri ‘ear’ + ondoko ‘next, gen. loc.’)
Eméoko ‘snot-nosed kid’ (Eme ‘child’ + moko ‘mucus’)

8.4.1.2. Noun+adjective compounds

(198) N+A sub-compounds

Aitzesantu ‘Pope’ (Aita ‘father’ + santu ‘saint’)
Aitágabea ‘Our Father’ (Aita ‘father’ + gure ‘our’)
Arrozar ‘old woman’ (Arzo ‘old woman’ + sar ‘old’)
Mutxulsar ‘old bachelor’ (Mutx ‘boy’ + sar ‘old’)
Neskeitar ‘spinstre’ (Nesk ‘girl’ + sar ‘old’)
Ikraftsa ‘type of fig’ (Iko ‘fig’ + artx ‘rough’)
Pipergorri ‘red pepper’ (Piper ‘pepper’ + gorri ‘red’)

(199) N+A exocentric compounds

Burríndi ‘big headed’ (Buru ‘head’ + andi ‘big’)
Burrábako ‘mindless’ (Buru ‘head’ + bako ‘without’)
Burrúgor ‘stubborn’ (Buru ‘head’ + gorr ‘hard’)
Domítsantu ‘Halloween’ (Domu ‘?’ + sántu ‘holy’)

8.4.1.3. Verb+noun sub-compounds

Among the noun subcompounds consisting of two nouns given above in (196), there are several whose first component could ambiguously be a verb. In addition there are some examples that clearly show that the first member of a compound noun can be a verb:

(200) V+N sub-compounds

Yakingu ‘curiosity’ (Yakin ‘to know’ + guere ‘desire’)
Yatóndu ‘eating time’ (Yan ‘eat’ + ordu ‘hour’)

8.4.2. Compound verbs

A great number of compound verbs are formed with in ‘to do, make’ preceded by a noun in its uninflected form:

(24) Very likely from omnium sanctorum crossed with dominus (Agud and Tovar 1990).
9. Vocabulary

Nouns and adjectives are listed both in their uninflacted and absolutive singular forms when these two are not identical. Verbs are listed by their periphrastic particle. Words not provided with an accent mark are unaccented and receive stress on their final syllable when phrase-final.
akordu or akordua (N.) idea, thought / ocurrencia, idea; “umek estauke akordu onik” children do not have good ideas / los niños no tienen ideas buenas.
akostunbara (V.) to get; used to / acostumbrarse.
akulu (N.) goad / aguijona, vara para azuzar al ganado.

al (V.) to be able / poder; “ekasu al dōsune era gārikō iri” bring whatever you can, and leave the rest / trae lo que puedas y deja lo demás.
al, ala (N.) power / poder.
alaba, alabe (N.) daughter / hija.
alargun, alargune (N.) widow(er) / viudo, -a.
al, ala (Conj.) or / o.
ala or ela (Adv.) perhaps / acaso; “belu da ela?” is it late perhaps? / ¿es tarde o qué?.
dian (Adv.) thus, in that manner / así, de esa manera; “danxue in ber dā” it must be done like that / así hay que hacerlo.
albata (N.) side door / puerta lateral del camarín, o puerta grande de la cuadra.
aloe (N.) side / costado.
alboratua (V.) to take aside / apartar, echar a un lado.
aldeatza (N.) slope / cuesta, pendiente.
aldia (N.) side / lado.
aldeak (N.) farmer / aldeano, labrador.
aldia, alderia (Adv.) compared with / en comparación; “Anton nire aldian nagosia da” Anton is old compared with me / Antón es viejo comparado conmigo.
aldeialde (N.) active / esfuerzo.
aldeialdak (Adj.) happy / alegre.
aldeialdago (N.) happiness / alegria.
aldeialdago (V.) to become or render happy / alegrar(se).
dik era (Conj.) as (much) as possible / lo más posible.
alboratiko (V.) to get together, to gather / junta(rse).
algabe (N.) mayor / alcalde.
alkeitza (N.) mayorship / alcaldía, puesto de alcalde.
alchako, -e (N.) arichoke / alcachofa.
alde (N.) arister / anís.
aldea (N.) anise / anís.
aldeak (V.) to encourage / animar.
aldeak, aldeak (N.) leg / pierna, pato.
aldarya (N.) eye glasses / anteojos(0), gafas.
aldeia (Adj.) disagreeable, antiapatic / antipático.
aldeak (N.) priggishness / melindres, reparo.
aldeak, aldeak (N.) anchovy / anchoa.
aldeak, aldeak (N.) aspect, appearance / aspecto.
aldeak (V.) to park / aparcar.
aldeak (V.) to put aside / apartar.
aldeak (Adv.) apart, aside / aparete.
aldeakoa (V.) to sit down (baby talk) / sentarse (lenguaje infantil); “ia, apațxe emen!” come on, sit down here! / venga, siéntate aquí.
aldeakoa (V.) to sit down (baby talk) / sentarse (lenguaje infantil).
aldeakoa (N.) family name / apellido.
aldeakoa (V.) to break / tomar.
ar (V.) worm / gusano.
ar, arra (Adv.) male / macho.
ara (V.) (Excl.) expression of surprise, pointing expression / expresión de sorpresa, o exclamación para señalar; “ara nōdi datōren!” look where (s)he is coming! / ¡mira por dónde viene!.
ara (N.) meat / carne.
árboles, árbol (N.) tree / árbol.
ardatz, ardatzak (N.) axis / eje.
arrastre: (V.) a drag / arrastrar.  
arrastro: (Excl.) giddyup! / jarre!  
arrégla: (V.) to repair, to fix / arreglar.  
arri: (N.) 1. stone, rock, 2. sink, 3. hall / 1. piedra, 2. fregadera, 3. pedrero.  
arribas: (V.) to get close, to approach / arribar(se), acercar(se).  
arro: (Adj.) proud, vain / orgulloso.  
arros, arroso: (N.) rice / arroz.  
arroso: (V.) to become proud or vain / enorgullecerse.  
arrosada / ararsabe: (N.) 1. ear of corn, 2. idiot / 1. borona, 2. inconsciente, palurd.  
arrepitan: (N.) acorn / bellota.  
arretxoki / arretxori: (N.) sparrow / gorrión.  
drte: (N.) 1. evergreen oak, 2. art / 1. encina, 2. arte.  
drten; or arten: (Adv.) between / entre.  
artes: (Adv.) directly, straightforwardly / directamente.  
artila: (N.) trough / artesa.  
artria or artistre: (V.) to straighten up / enderezar.  
artriaz(k) or artziak(k): (N.) scissors / tijeras.  
artrisia, artrista: (N.) artist / artista.  
arte: (N.) 1. corn, 2. corn cake / 1. maíz, 2. talo, torta de maíz.  
artritik or artxotiri: (N.) 1. corn cake piece, 2. careless, slovenly / 1. trozo de torta de maíz, 2. descuidado, calzonazos.  
artse: (V.) to take / tomar, coger.  
asa, asa: (N.) cabbage / col, berza.  
asal, asala: (N.) skin / pellejo, piel.  
asare: (Adv.) angry / enfadado.  
asarrakontze: (N.) anger / enfado.  
asyatu: (Adv.) far / lejos.  
asi: (V.) 1. to begin, 2. to grow (intr.), 3. to grow / to raise (trans.) / 1. empezar 2. crecer 3. criar, cultivar.  
asit: (N.) seed / semilla.  
askara, askhore or askhara, -e: (N.) beginning / comienzo.  
askensko: (Adj.) last, final / último.  
aslo: (Adj.) much, many / mucho.  
askora, askhrè: (N.) ax / hacha.  
akostan: (Adj.) often / frecuentemente.  

\[ \text{drtse: (N.) back / parte trasera.} \]  
drtzakide or drtzelade: (N.) backside / parte, lado trasero.  
drtzera: (Adv.) again / otra vez, de nuevo.  
drtzera: (V.) to delay, to get delayed / atrastar(se).  
drtzera: (Adv.) backwards, towards the back / hacia atrás.  
drtzor (V.): yesterday / ayer.  
drtzohar, dorxiria: (N.) old woman / vieja, anciana.  
drtzotz: (N.) to age / age (a woman) / envejecer una mujer, hacerse vieja.  
are: (Pro.) this, este, esta.  
anza: (N.) mouth / boca.  
asena: (N.) mother in law / suegra.  
saik or saiki: (V.) to have, to contain, to hold / tener, contener.  
asi: (V.) fly / mosca.  

\[ \text{aumenta: (V.) to mention / mencionar; "es-} \]  
\[ \text{tanta vez aumenta aban gátera" he} \]  
\[ \text{has not mentioned anything to me about his} \]  
\[ \text{daughter / no me ha mencionado nada} \]  
\[ \text{sobre su hija.} \]  
dupa or dupa or dup: (Excl.) Howdy! go / supa, exclamation of saludo o ánimo.  
arrai: (N.) rain / lluvia.  
murde: (N.) front / parte delantera.  
arroute: (N.) to take the lead, to surpass / tomar delantera.  
murde: (N.) to confront / hacer frente.  
arrukaldile: or arukaldile: (N.) front part / parte, lado delantero.  
arrure: (Adj.) of before (temporal or spacial) / 1. lo de delante 2. lo pasado, lo de antes.  
arrurrutatx: (V.) to advance / adelantar(se).  
arrure: (Adv.) this present year / este año.  
durs: (N.) bark (of dog) / ladrillo.  
durs: (V.) to bark / ladrar.  
durs: (V.)Romper.  
durskera, dursker or durskera, -a: (N.) Basque language / lengua vasca, vascuence.  
asum: (N.) neighborhood / vecindario, barrio.  
asukoa: (N.) neighbor / vecino.  
asupa: (N.) bellows / fueles.  
duza: (N.) car / auto, automóvil.  
autobus, autobus: (N.) bus / autobús.  
automobil, automóobile: (N.) car / automóvil.  
autumna: (N.) September / septiembre.  
autu, autua: (N.) dust / polvo.  
dutzi: (Excl.) here, take it! / toma; "dutzi, emen dekosu diru!" here! here is your money / toma, aquí tienes el dinero.  
aon: (N.) wind / viento; lurrukoe aox: south wind (lit. land wind) / viento sureo (viento de tierra adentro); izaskox aox: north wind (lit. sea wind) / viento del norte, viento marin.  
ayuntasuna or ayuntamientz: (N.) City Hall / ayuntamiento.  

\[ \text{ba: ( Conj.) well, discourse marker / pues, parética discursiva; "érdo da, ba!" well,} \]  
\[ \text{it's about time! / ¡ya es hora, pues!; "ba,} \]  
\[ \text{esfrit nora yón dan" well, I don't know} \]  
\[ \text{where he has gone / pues no sé a donde} \]  
\[ \text{ha ido.} \]  

ba:-(Af) prefix that marks a synthetic verb form as focus / prefijo con verbos sintéticos como elemento inquirido; "badaror esenedune" the milkman is coming / ya viene el lechero.  
bá:-(Af) verb prefix in conditional sentences and in indirect questions / prefijo en condicionales e interrogativas indirectas; "esenedune bádatar..." if the milkman comes... / si viene el lechero...  
baba, bab: (N.) fava bean / haba.  
babestypad: (Adv.) just in case / por si acaso.  
bac: (N.) sieve / cedazo, criba.  
bah: (N.) June / junio.  
bagi: bagoxa: (N.) wagon / vagón.  
bat: (Adv.) yes / sí.  
bajamar, bajamara: (N.) low tide / bajamar.  
bakurririk: (Adv.) only / solamente, sólo.  
bak: (N.) peace / paz.  
bakete: (V.) to pacify / pacificar.  
bakid: (Adv.) to make peace / hacer las paces.
barkoto, bakotxoa: (Pro.) each, each one / cada uno.
balda, balda: (N.) shelf / balda, anaquele, estante.
baldio: (N.) pail, bucket / balde, cubo.
balién: (Adj.) courageous / valiente, atrevido; "áupa baliénite, etorri amstxues" come on, big boy, come to mommy! / yenga valiente, ven con tu madre!
balo or balio: (V.) to be worth, to cost / valor, costar.
balo or balio: (N.) value / valor, costo.
balkoko: (Adj.) valuable, worthy / valioso.
balkóiko, bálkojya or bálkojya: (N.) balcony / balcón.
balo, baloya: (N.) ball / balón.
baloro: (N.) value / valor.
balzo, balzita: (N.) black / negro.
balzakin, balzakitiako: (Adj.) swarthy, dark haired or dark skinned / moreno.
balzatxir: (V.) to blacken / ennegrecer.
bananadu: (V.) to distribute / repartir.
banada: ( Adv. ) one for / one for cada uno.
banasadu: (Adv.) one by one / de uno en uno.
banadre, bandre: (N.) flag / bandera.
bandaliko or bandialiko: (N.) bandit / bandido.
banuku or banku: (N.) 1. bank, 2. bench / banco.
baiñora: (N.) life guard / bañero (socorrista, vigilante de playa).
bañón o bañito: (Conj.) 1. than, 2. but / 1. comparativamente, 2. sino; "au lusesu da ori baño" this is longer than that / este es más largo que ése; "ori estorik esan, berak baikó" I didn’t say that, he did / eso no le hizo dicho yo, sino él; "estus atara lau piper baikó" we didn’t get but four peppers / no hemos cosechado sino cuatro pimientos.
bafita or bafitu: (N.) bath / baño.
barasa o barasa: (N.) fast / ayuno.
baraurik: (Adv.) on an empty stomach / en ayunas.
bara: (V.) to fast / ayunar.
bara-aitsu: (V.) to have breakfast / desayunar.
barbera: (N.) barber / barbero.
bardin, bardille: (Adj.) same / igual.
bardinda: (V.) 1. to make equal, to equalize, 2. to level / 1. igualar, 2. nivelar, igualar.
bardin: (Adv.) likewise / igualmente.
barik: (Adv.) without / sin.
barikatu: (N.) Friday / viernes.
barko o baruko: (N.) boat, ship / barco.
barrak: barrakatu: (Adj.) miscellaneous, naughty / malvado, maldandritik, barrabás (esp. con niños); "etorri ona, une barrabás!" come here, naughty boy! / ven aquí, demonio de criollo!
barrakatuak: (Adj.) mischief / barrabasadas, travesura.
bärreka: (N.) laughter / risa.
barreko in: (V.) to laugh / reír.
barragure or barragurea: (N.) urge to laugh / ganas de reír.
bärreka: (Adv.) laughing / riendo.
barradè: (Adv.) cheerful / tisueño, que ríe mucho.
barri: (Adj.) new / nuevo.
barriko: (Adv.) again / de nuevo, otra vez.
barriko: (Adv.) again / de nuevo, otra vez.
barrista: (V.) to renew / renovar.
barria: (N.) inside / parte de dentro.
barrianto: (V.) to notice, to surmise / notar, barruntar.
barriatua: (V.) to penetrate, to go or take inside / adentrarse.
bar: (Adj.) last night / anoche.
basa, bate: (N.) mud, clay / barro.
basti: (Adj.) wild, savage / salvaje.
bastatx, bastata: (N.) mud / barro.
baskeri or baskerri: (N.) farm / caserío.
baskarkerit or baskerritako: (N.) farmer / casero.
bas: (N.) sauce / salsa.
bas in: (V.) to dip bread in sauce / untar (el pan en la salsa).
baskaldea: (V.) to have dinner (midday meal) / comer (al mediodía), almorzar.
baskaldeko or baskaldeko: (N.) after dinner / sobremesa.
baldaguna: (N.) dinner (midday meal) / comida del mediodía, almuerzo.
basa: (N.) forest / bosque, monte.
bastar, bastare: (N.) corner / rincón.
bastara: (V.) to corner / arrinconar.
basti: (N.) drinking glass / vaso.
bider: (N.) time, occasion / vez, ocasión; “iru bider” three times / tres veces.
bidoi, bideya: (N.) barrel / bidón.
bior: (Adv.) tomorrow / mañana, el día de mañana.
bigu, bigune: (N.) soft / blando.
bigundu: (V.) to soften / ablandar.
biko: (N.) the number two / el dos.
bikotx, bikorta: (N.) twin / gemelo.
bildu, bildarrer: (N.) fear / miedo.
bildarrer: (Adj.) fearful / miedoso.

bile: (Adv.) looking for / buscando, en busca; “bíle ibi nas baya estot ofetakorik topa” I have been looking for them, but I haven’t found any shoes / he andado buscando pero no he encontrado ningún zapato.

billistik or billuntzik: (Adv.) naked / desnudo.

billustu: (V.) to strip, undress / desnudarse.
bien-biten or bien-bien: (Adv.) two by two / dos de dos en dos.
bione: (V.) to twist / doblar, torcer.
bizak, bizara: (N.) heart / corazón.

biribil, birihile: or biribil, -ile: 1. (N.) circle, círculo 2. (Adj.) round / círculo 2. (Adj.) redondo.
birribitx: (N.) great-grandfather / bisabuelo.
birribunama: (N.) great-grandmother / bisabuela.

birri: (N.) twice / dos veces.
birriko, birriko: (N.) spinner / solterona.
biskorka: -a: (N.) way of life / modo de vida.

biskokoa, biskokoa: (N.) bicycle / bicicleta.
bismokoa o bisakoa: (N.) way of life / modo de vida.
bixe: (N.) vice, whim, craving / vicio, capricho.

bixirik: (Adv.) alive / vivo.
bixita, bixite: (N.) visit / visita.
bixitx: (N.) life, living / vida.
bixi: (V.) to live / vivir

biad: (Adj.) live / vivo, encendido.

Biskai, Biskiak: (N.) Biscay (a Basque province) / Bizkaia, Biskai.

biskaitser, biskaitzer; or biskaitzara: (Adj.) Biscayan / vizcaíno.
biskayera, biskayere; or biskayera, -e: (N.) Biscayan dialect / dialecto vizcaíno.

biskor, biskorra: (Adj.) live, quick / vivo, esplendido.
biskorta: (V.) to perk up, to rouse / espabilarse.
bista, biste: (N.) sight, vision, view / vista

bista: (V.) to light / encender.
bistare: (N.) intermediary, interlude / intermedio (temporal o espacial).

bistx: (N.) decoration, toy / adorno, juguete.
bisxoa, bisxeta: or bisxetu, -a: (N.) twist / torcedura.
bisxar, bisxera: (N.) beard / barba.
bixerdun, bixerdane; or bixerdun, -a: (Adj.) bearded / barbudo.
bixoa, bixite: or bixita, -a: (N.) blouse / blusa.
bixoa, bixite: or bixita, -a: (N.) wedding / boda.
bolandetxe, bollakoa: (N.) type of firecracker / volantina, cohete festivo.
bolitz, bolitza: (N.) purse, bag / bolsa, bolso.
bolitza: (N.) bonito (type of fish) / bonito (pescado).
bordaketa: (N.) will / voluntad.
boi, bosa: (N.) voice / voz.
boi: (N.) room / habitación.
boseka: (N.) number / número.

bokoa: (V.) to throw (away) / echar, lanzar, tirar.

boka, bota; or bota, -a: (N.) winebag, 2. boot / bota de vino, 2. bota, calzado.

bokora in: (V.) to vomit / vomitar.

bona: (N.) boat / bote (tipo de embarcación).
bontxa, bintza: (N.) medicine / medicina.
bondia, bondia: (N.) bottle / botella.
bona, bona: (N.) button / botón.
bona: (N.) vote / voto.

brima, bromia: (N.) joke / broma.
brimakoa: (Adj.) jokingly / en broma.

bulletx, bultita: (N.) turn / vuelta.

bulletxak: (Adj.) rolling / a vueltas.
burin, burutza: (N.) chest, breast / pecho.
bulzka, bulzka: (N.) push / empujar.
bulzka edo emon: (V.) to push / empujar.
bura: (N.) iron / hierro.

burinoko: (Adj.) of iron / de hierro.
burrar: (N.) 1. head, 2. tip / 1. cabeza 2. cabo.

D

dak: (Onom.) sudden action / acción repentina; “dak! beiong esetu nendun” I knew who he was right away / ¡zas! le conocí al momento.

dam: (N.) repentance / arrepentimiento.

damatu: (V.) to repent / arrepentirse.

danbilak, danbile: (N.) type of drum / tambor (tambor típico vasco).

dandarrak, dandarra: (Adj.) hanging, dangling / colgando.

dedio: (N.) devotion / devoción.

dekila: (V.) to dedicate, to devote oneself / dedicar(se).
dejenda: (V.) 1. to defend, 2. to manage / defender(se); “ni gixxes defenduteng nas” I manage with little / yo me arreglo con poco.

demonito or demoni: (Adj.) 1. devil, demon, 2. (Excl.) hell, heck / 1. (N.) demonio, diablo, 2. (Excl.) demon, demonios, “se demonitio! what the heck! ¡qué demonios!”

demoninor es demonitza: (Excl.) hell, heck / demonitza; “non demonitza irix dot be” where the heck can I have left it? / ¿dónde demonitza le habré dejado?

denda, denda: (N.) store / shop, tienda.
dendar: (N.) store clerk / tendero.
denpora, denapore: (N.) 1. time, 2. weather / tiempo.
dentista, dentiste: (N.) dentist / dentista.
derexoa: (N.) 1. Law, 2. right(s) / derecho.

derrigor: (Adv.) perforce, necessarily / de rigor, forzosamente.
desafio or desafío: (N.) challenge / desafío.
desaparecida: (V.) disappear / desaparecer.
desarmo: (V.) to disarm / desarmar.
desastrear: (V.) to stop being angry, to calm down / quitarse el enojo.
desak: (V.) to desire / desear.
desgasta: (V.) to worn away / desgastar.
desilusio: (N.) disillusionment / desilusión.
desitio: (N.) decision / decisión.
deslúgara: (V.) to unload / descargar.
deskonfuntsa, deskonfuntxe: (N.) mistrust / desconfianza.
deskonatza: (V.) to lose heart, to grieve / desconsolar(se).
dekontua or dekontu: (N.) discount / descuento.
desmonta: (V.) to dismount / desmontar.
deslibial, deslibia: (N.) unevenness, gradient / desnivel.
deslibialak: (V.) to make uneven / desnivar.
desobediente: (Adj.) disobedient / desobediente.
desordura: (V.) to disarrange, to make a mess / desordenar.
desollga: (V.) to make or become uneasy / desasosegar(se); intranqulizar(se).
despula: (V.) 1. to bid farewell, 2. to dismiss / despedir(se).
destina or destina: (N.) destination / destino.
dibori: (V.) to divorce, to get a divorce / divorciarse.
diboris: (N.) divorce / divorcio.
differente: (Adj.) different / diferente.
difuntza or difuntza: (Adj.) dead / difunto.
digestio: (N.) digestion / digestión.
diputasio: (N.) reputation, provincial government / diputación.
diru: (N.) money / dinero.
disgasta: (V.) displeasure, annoyance / disgust.
dismala: (V.) simulate / dissimilar.
dispulu: (N.) disciple / discípulo.
disku: (N.) disc, record / disco.
dishulpa, dishulpa: (N.) apology / disculpa.
dishusio: (N.) discussion / discusión.
dishutza: (V.) to debate / discutir.
erain" I don't know who is coming / no sé quién viene.

embidi: (N.) envy / envidia.

enbira, enbre: (N.) woman / mujer.

erasa, erája: (N.) race / raza, casta.

erardoa or erarda: (V.) to make a mess, to tangle / liar, enredar.

erardoa: (N.) mess, tangle / lío.

erardoño erikendi: (V.) to embroil / enredar.

erietxu: (Excl.) expression of surprise / exclamación de sorpresa; "¡me he dejado donairri!

Entonces, now he says no / jahi va! ahora dice que no.

erabada, di erabada: (Excl.) expression that indicates tiredness / suspiro, expresión de cansancio.

-eranzko: (Af.) for when, suffix in time adverbial clauses / para cuando, sujeto subordinante temporal; "úasba datxórranerako liskó egoron", Be ready for when the boss comes / estaremos aquí cuando venga el dueño.

-eseireten: (Af.) until, suffix in time adverbial clauses / hasta que, sujeto subordinante temporal; "úasba datxórraneraten ongo gara emen", we will be here until the boss comes / estaremos aquí cuando venga el dueño.

-esei: (Af.) since, suffix in time adverbial clauses / desde que, sujeto subordinante temporal; "yone freneteni estus ikusi", we haven't seen them since they left / no los hemos visto desde que se fueron.

engeltu or engañan: (N.) deceive, fraud / engañar, timo.

engan: (V.) to deceive / engañar, tinar.

-errik: (Af.) that, suffix in object clauses of a negative main verb / sujeto subordinante de complejos usados con la oración principal es negativa; "aitze datxorri sakaste osan" they haven't told me that father is coming / no me han dicho que vaya a venir el padre.

enkargua: (N.) person in charge, foreman / persona encargada, capataz.

enkargua or enkarrixa: (N.) commission / encargo.

enpadar or enpatsua: (N.) indigestion / empaño.
errontzi or erontzi: (V.) to undress / quitar(se) o cambiar(se) la ropa.
error: (V.) to buy / comprar.
erremuita, erramuita: (N.) tool / herramienta.
errante or errante: (N.) bump / ramo.
erran, errama: (N.) daughter-in-law / nuera.
erripe: (N.) udder / ubre.
erassoi, erraiositya: (N.) reason / razón.
erratocii, erratoseya: (N.) rat, mouse / rata, ratón.
error: (V.) to burn, to get burned / quemar(se).
(v)rodisa: (V.) to revise, to review / revisar.
erregula: (N.) present, gift / regalo.
erregue: (N.) king / rey.
erregiha, erregiha; or erregiña, -c: (N.) queen / reina.
eriha, erriki: (N.) river, creek / río, riachuelo.
errekada: (N.) commission, errand / recado.
erekdama: (V.) to complain / reclamar.
erehiñioko: (N.) religion / religión.
erehiñioko: (Adj.) religious / religioso.
erehiñatokoa: (N.) finishing stroke / remate.
erehiñoko: (V.) to give the finishing stroke / rematar.
erehiñoko: (N.) solution, remedy / remedio.
erren, errenga: (Adj.) lame / cojo.
(ér)riata, errate: (N.) rent / renta.
erepublikoa, errepública: (N.) republic (esp. the Spanish Rep.) / republica.
erriki: (V.) to pray / rezar.
erriki, erraiko: (N.) surge, undertow / resaca, mar de fondo.
(ér)rikiak, errikiak: (N.) reception / recibimiento.
(ér)rikiak, errikiak: (N.) respect / respeto.
erriki: (N.) prayer / rezó.
(ér)rikiak, errikiak: (N.) result / resultado.
(ér)retxura: (N.) retirement / retiro, jubilación.
(ér)retxi: (N.) to retire / retirarse / jubilarse.
erratikoa: (N.) photo / foro.
(ér)retxura, erretxura: (N.) schematism / retoma.
errita: (N.) 1. village, 2. community, people, 3. country / 1. pueblo, 2. comunidad, gente, pueblo, 3. país.
errita, errreta, -c: (N.) scold / bronca.
errestoa: (N.) scowl / ceño.
errazoa: (N.) to scold / chillar, echar la bronca.
(ér)romerii: (N.) religious festival / romería.
erropa, erropa: (N.) clothing / ropa.
errosoaria: (N.) rosary / rosario.
errota, errota: (N.) mill / molino.
eroart: (N.) miler / molinero.
erriko: (N.) fault / culpa.
errakaboko or errikaboko: (Adj.) innocent / caren.
(ér)rusti: (V.) to revise, to review / revisar.
erruda, errundame: (Adj.) culpable, blameworthy / guilty / culpable.
es: (Adv.) no / no.
es, eza: (N.) negation, denial / negación.
estarka, estarka, -e: (N.) 1. saying, 2. proverb / dicho, refrán.
estanoko: (Adj.) obedient / obediente.
estan: (V.) to say / decir.
estar, estor: (N.) something / algo.
estarrabakoa, estarrakoa: (N.) nothing / nada.
esta or etsa: (V.) to know, to become familiar / conocer.
estuko: (Adj.) familiar, known / conocido.
estu, esztu: (N.) no / que no; "esez diño" (s)he says no / dice que no.
esturriz: (N.) effort / esfuerzo.
estu, esti: (N.) impossibility / el no poder.
estu: (Adj.) except / menos, salvo: "dástik yon dire su eskik" everybody left except you / se han ido todos menos tú.
estandakoa: (N.) 1. scandal / tumult / escándalo.
estan: (V.) to escape / escapar.
estu, estu: (Adj.) of little value / de poco valor.
estua: (V.) to tighten one's belt / esquitari.
estu, estu: (N.) to ask / pedir.
estu: (V.) to hang / colgar.
estuko: (N.) beggat / mendigo.
estu, eskela: (N.) notice of death or burial / esquela.
estu, eskeroa: (N.) 1. left side or hand 2. gratitude / 1. izquierda / 2. agradecimiento.
estu: (Adj.) left handed / zurdo.
estu: (V.) to thank / agradecer.
estu, estu: (N.) spirit, soul / espíritu.
estu: (V.) to explain / explicar.
estu: (V.) 1. to exploit 2. to explode / explotar.
estu, estu: (N.) sponge / espuma.
estu, estu: (N.) track / estrada, camino vecinal.
estu, estu: (N.) station / estación de (parada).
estu: (N.) intestine / intestino.
estu: (N.) honey / mel.
estu: (V.) to appreciate / agradecer, estimar.
estu: (N.) hindrance, nuisance / estorbo.
estu: (V.) to hinder, to obstruct / estorbar.
estu: (Adj.) 1. narrow 2. tight / 1. estrecho 2. apretado.
estu: (V.) to study / estudiar.
estu: (N.) student / estudiante.
estu: (V.) to narrow 2. to tighten / 1. estrechar 2. apretar.
estu: (N.) nickname / sobrenombre, apodo.
esta, eza: (N.) 1. and, link word 2. causal particle / 1. y, cópula 2. partícula causal; "aú eta orí." this and that / esto y eso; "posik daus, yaye da eta" they are happy, since it is a holiday / están contentos porque es fiesta.
etu: (Adj.) hidden / escondido.
estukur: (N.) wrist / muñeca de la mano.
estu, estu: (N.) milk / leche.
estukoa, estukoa: (N.) milkman / lechero.
estukoa, estukoa: (N.) cream (lit. milk top) / nata de la leche.
estukoa, estukoa: (N.) a bowl of milk with bread pieces (traditional for breakfast) / sopas de leche, (tzon de) leche con trozos de pan.
estukoa, estukoa: (Adj.) otherwise / sino, de otro modo.
estukoa, estukoa: (N.) lip / labio.
estukoa, estukoa: (N.) espadrille / alpargata.
estu, estu: (N.) sword / espada.
estukoa, estukoa: (N.) head of the household (male) / hombre de la casa.
estu, estu: (N.) member of the household (person) de casa, familiar.
estu, estu: (N.) housewife / ama de casa.
estu, estu: (N.) shelter provided by house / al cobijo de la casa.
ózondo or etzondo: (N.) side of a house / parte de al lado de la casa.
etzate: (N.) back of house / parte de detrás de la casa.
euskaldun, euskaldune; or euskaldun, -e: (Adj.) Basque (speaker) / vasco, vascohablante.
euskara, euskera; or euskera, -e: (N.) Euskara, the Basque language / euskara, lengua vasca.

fábrika, fábrica: (N.) factory / fábrica.
fábil, fábico: (N.) lack, scarcity / falta, escasez.
falta or falta: (V.) to lack / faltar, escasear.
fama, fama: (N.) fame, reputation / fama.
familia: (N.) family / familia.
famoso: (Adj.) famous / famoso.
fantástico: (Adj.) fantastic / fantástico.
fandango or fandango: (N.) fandango (type of dance) / fandango (tipo de danza).
fandeta, fandik: (N.) (pout (type of fish) / fandea (tipo de pescado).
fanfarri, fanfarria: (Adj.) braggart / vanidoso, fanfarrón.
faro: (N.) lighthouse / faro.
fasel, faisible: (Adj.) easy / fácil.
fede: (N.) faith / fé.
fedalako or fedelako: (Adj.) non-Christian, infidel / carente de fe, no creyente.
fedetsun, fedetaun; or fedetuna: (Adj.) Christian, faithful / creyente.
fia: (V.) to trust / fiar(se).
fin, fiése: (Adj.) 1. thin, 2. industrious / 1. fino, delgado, 2. laborioso; “neskáto fiése da orí” that one is an industrious girl / ésa es una chica laboriosa.
firmada, firmada; or firmada, -e: (N.) signaturza / firma.

frivin-friviren: (Adv.) thoughtlessly, in an irresponsible manner (often about spending money) / sin pensar, inconscientemente (frecuentemente acerca de gastar el dinero); “frivin-friviren, gasta daude dana” they have wasted all their money / han gastado todo sin pensar.
frua: (N.) thread / hilo.
flota: (V.) to float / florar.

formal, formaliza: (Adj.) well mannered / formal, de buenos modales.
formaliza: (V.) to improve manners / formalizatxe, asentar(se).
fraksa, fraka: (N.) trousers / pantalón.
frakstua: (V.) to cool down (the weather) / refrescar (el tiempo).
fraksa: (Adj.) cool (temperature) / fresco.
fraksturua (N.) coolness / frescor.
frizio or frizua: (V.) to fry / fritir.
fronto, fronto: (N.) handball court / frontón.
fruta, fruta: (N.) fruit / fruta.
fruta: (V.) result / fruto, resultado.
futbol o futbola: (N.) football (soccer) / fútbol.
fundamentua: (N.) 1. basis, reason / 2. good behavior (of children) / hueco, fundamento.
fusel, fusile: (N.) rifle / fusil.
fusila: (V.) to execute by shooting / fusilar.

G

gaharri, gaharri: (N.) trenchcoat / gabardina.
gabarrako, gabarrarreko: (N.) narrow, gabbard / gabarra.
gabon: good evening, good night / buenas noches.
gabonar, gabonarreko; or gabonarreko: (N.) New Year’s Eve / nochevieja.
gaban, gabonake: (N.) Christmas / Navidad.
gai, gai or gai, geye, (N.) call / llamada.
gai: (Adj.) wicked / malvado.
gaietxingarri, gaietxingarri; or gaietxingarri: (N.) wicked act / acto malvado.
gaietxe, or gaietxe: (V.) to call / llamar.
gaiatu: (V.) to lose / perder.
gaietxe, gaietxe: (N.) stormy wind / galea (viento de tormenta).
gaietxe: (N.) hay from wheat / paja de trigo.
gaiak, gana: (N.) desire, urge / gana.
ganakuko: (N.) cartile / ganado.
gana: (N.) part of above, top / (parte de) encima.
ganera: (Adv.) besides / encima, ademáis.
gandile, gandile: (Adj.) idlet / gandul.
gandira, gandora, or ganora, -e: (N.) basis, reason / care / hueco, fundamento.
gogortasun, gogortasuna: (N.) hardiness / dureza.
gogorta: (V.) to harden / endurecer.
goi, goye: (N.) upper part / parte de arriba.
gobel, gobela: (Adj.) dark, cloudy sky / nublado, oscurio.
goikádel: (N.) upper side / parte de arriba.
goiz, goxe: (N.) morning / mañana (comienzo del día).
goitibera, goitiibera: (N.) go-cart / goitiibera (arrilugio rodante que construyen los chavales).
goile: (N.) plow / arado.
goîpe: (N.) hit / golpe.
gôna, gône: (N.) skirt / falda.
gor, gorra: (Adj.) deer / sordo.
gorbera o gorbera: (Adv.) more or less / más o menos; "lau dosena ekar doas, gitxu gônera" I’ve brought four dozen, more or less / he traído cuatro docenas, más o menos.
gôndzitz(k) o gôndzitz(k): (N.) regards / recuerdos.
goratu o goratu: (V.) to praise / to cheer / ensalzar, vitorear.
gore: 1. (V.) to keep 2. (Adj.) hidden / 1. guardar 2. (Adj.) guardado, escondido.
gordin, gordine: (Adj.) raw / crudo.
gordikik: (Adv.) raw / crudo.
goros, gorotza; or gorotza, gorotza: (N.) animal excrement, manure / excremento de animales.
gorpiau, gorpiau: (N.) body / cuerpo.
gori: (Adj.) red / rojo.
gorringo: (N.) yokl / yema de huevo.
gorrira: (V.) to become red / enrojecer.
gorrone: (N.) anger, rage / rabia, ira.
gôria, gôre: (N.) stable / cuadra.
gorua: (Adj.) to become deaf / ensordecedor(se).
goruda: (V.) to break / desayunar.
gôsari o gôsari: (N.) breakfast / desayuno.
gose: (N.) hunger, appetite / hambre, apetito.
gostua: (V.) to become hungry / dar hambre, abrísse el apetito.
gos: (Adj.) exquisite / rico, sabroso.
goxêre, goxere: (N.) morning / mañana (comienzo del día).
goikirik: (Adv.) from the early morning / de mañana; “goxêrik yon dire solon bear
iten” they went to work the land in the early morning / han ido de mañana a trabajar en la huerta.
goxeitza: (Adj.) early / temprano.
gôyari: (N.) a zone of St. Mary of Getxos / zona de Sta. María de Getxos.
gôzadu o gôzada: (N.) degree (of temperature) / grado (de temperatura).
gôzaski o gôzaski: (Adj.) thanks that... , fortunately / gracias a que..., más mal que mal; “gazisk auririk staual en” fortunately it hasn’t rained / menos mal que no ha lluvio.
grasí: (N.) 1. good taste 2. humor / gracia.
grasihiako o grasihiako: (Adj.) 1. tasteless 2. dull / sin gracia, sosío.
gris, gris; gris: (Adj.) grey / gris.
guardia, guárdia: (N.) guard, policeman / guardia.
gûrdiassibil, guárdiassible; or guárdiassiblei: (N.) civil guard (a variety of Spanish police) / guardiaceivil.
guárdia: (N.) desire / deseo.
gurdi: (N.) cart / carro.
gûri: (N., V.) desire / querer, desire; “ámeke ñegiñe gure deure” children just want to play / los niños quieren jugar.
guereta, guereta: (N.) careful / carretada.
gus: (V.) to like / gustar.
gusi o gus: (Adj.) all, everything / todo.
gusio o gusio: (N.) taste / gusto.
gusio: (V.) a variety of fig / de higo.
guso: (V.) to learn / aprender.
iténtx: (V.) to see / ver.
iténtx o íkentx: (V.) to touch / tocarse.
ila: (N.) month / meses.
ilana: (Adj.) monthly / cada mes, mensualmente.
ila: (N.) mouth / mes.
ila: (Adj.) dark / oscuro.
ila: (N.) dusk / anochecer.
ilanda: (V.) to grow dark / oscurecer.
ilatza: (N.) hope / ilusión.
imiiñi: (V.) to put / poner.
imia: (V.) to do, to make / hacer.
indabu, indabu: (N.) bean / alubia.
indara, indara: (N.) strength / fuerza.
indartzia: (Adj.) strong / fuerte.
indetsu: (N.) injection / inyección.
ínkia: (N.) area / área, alrededor.
ínor: (Pro.) somewhere / en algún lugar.
inorgi: (Pro.) somebody / alguien.
inorgi: (Pro.) sometime / alguna vez.
inor: (Pro.) someone / alguien.
inor: (Pro.) oil / aceite.
inorta, inortza: (V.) 1. to care about 2. to matter / importar; “esta inórta orí” that doesn’t matter / eso no importa.
inportasa: (Adj.) 1. important 2. proud, conceived / 1. importante 2. orgulloso, engreído.
inportatsi: (N.) importance / importancia.
inpresio: (N.) impression / impresión.
imetsu, imetsu: (N.) interest / interés.
imetsete: (Adj.) interesting / interesante.
imetsu or inmetsete: (N.) important / interesante.
imetsu, inmetsete: (N.) type of sauce made with walnuts / salsa de nueces.
iiñate: (Adj.) silly / tonto.
iiñatekiri or iiñatekiri: (N.) silly action / tontería.
ikiari: (N.) horn / corniceta.
ikiabas: (V.) 1. to win 2. to earn / ganar.
ikiatari: (N.) moon / luna; ikiatari bere: full / luna llena.
ikiatsi: (V.) to stir / batir.
iki: (V.) to boil / hervir.
ikiatsor: (N.) smile / sonrisa.
iki: (N.) (Num.) number three / tres, el tres.
kintzi: (V.) to swallow / tragarse.
kida, kirka; or kirka, -er (N.) sheet / sábana.
kintzi: (V.) to become wet with sweat / mojar(se) de sudor.
sihi: (V.) to shut up / callarse.
sihi, sihik, or sihik (int. sihik): (Adv.) quiet, in silence / callando.
sihi: (V.) to freeze / helar.
sihi: (V.) 1. ice 2. frost / 1. helio 2. helada.
sihi or ahi: (N.) mirror / espejo.
isier, isiera: (N.) leg / pierna.
itarrer: (N.) front de yoke / (parte de) delante de los bueyes.
itarrer en: (V.) to lead the oxen / guiar a los bueyes; “exixerraran itarreren in ber hez-
ten gendun solon lagînduteko” when we were children we had to lead the oxen to help work the land / de pequeños solían tener que guiar a los bueyes para ayudar en la huerta.
iste: (V.) to drown / ahogar(se).
iti: (N.) bottle stopper / tapón de botella.
itutu: (N.) fountain / fuente.
ixuatu: (N.) sea / mar.
ixedud: (V.) to wait / esperar.
ixi: (V.) 1. to let 2. to leave (trans.) / dejar.
ixiare: (Adj.) appearance / aspecto.
ixuant: (V.) to lie down / tumbar(se).
ixal, ixal: (Adj.) huge / enorme / enorme.
ixalako: (Adj.) enormous / enorme, asombroso.
ixar: (Adj.) blind / ciego.
ixon er ioxen: (V.) to be / ser.
ixekor or ixeke: (N.) sunt / tía.
ixerdi bòua: (V.) to sweat / sudar.
ixerdi or ixeiti: (N.) sweat / sudor.
ixein: (V.) to wake up / despertar(se).
ixi: (V.) to close / cerrar.
ixon: (V.) to go up / subir.
ixierr: (V.) to notice / notar.
xier: (Adv.) last year / el año pasado.
ixo: (V.) to grind / moler.

J
Jainko: (N.) God / Dios.
jaun, jaune: (N.) sir / señor.
Jangiko or Jangike: (N.) God / Dios (señor de las alturas).
jénero: (N.) 1. merchandise 2. produce of the earth / 1. mercancía 2. fruto del campo; “jénero naye érotegundun plaisa slêt-
tzen” we used to carry abundant mer-
chandise to sell at the fair / solíamos llevar abundante mercancía para vender-
la en la feria; “aurten estu koxi jénero askorik” this year we haven’t reaped much from the land / este año no hemos recogido gran cosa (del huerto).
jentxe: (N.) people / gente.
jese: (N.) sweater / jersey.
jitxu: (N.) gypsy / gitano.
jota, jotxe: (N.) jota (a type of dance) / jota (baile).
juvenil: (N.) retirement / jubilación.
jubila: (V.) to retire / jubilarte.
justa, jutxe: (N.) commission / junta.
jusculut: (N.) court / juzgado.
justiti or justi: (N.) justice / justicia.
justi for justa: 1. (Adj.) Just 2. (Adv.) barely, tightly / 1. justo 2. (Adv.) con justiza, apretadamente; “justi-justi sartu da” it barely fit / ha entrado por poco.

K
kadéra, kadère: (N.) 1. table leg 2. hip / 1. pata de mesa 2. cadera.
kafe: (N.) coffee / café.
kafeokoloxe: (N.) coffee with milk / café con leche.
kaixa, kaie: (N.) box / caja.
kaia: (N.) shit, excrement / caca, excremento.
kakalari or kakalarri: 1. (N.) need to defe-
cate 2. (Adj.) (coll.) impatient / 1. neces-
de de defecar 2. impaciente, cagaprisas; “esates kakalari ixen, ixé-
dois apur beten” don’t be so impatient, wait just a second / no seas cagaprisas, espera un momento.
kakararru or kakararru: (Adj.) diarrheic / car-
ajo.
kakasante or kakasaste: (N.) mess / jaleo, embrollo.
kakarraldoko or kakarraldu: 1. (N.) beetle 2. (Adj.) diarrheic / 1. escarabajo 2. carajo.
kaiazi: (N.) shitlet / cagón.
kaio: (N.) hoe with two prongs / azada de dos puntas.
kalabañasa, kalabañase: (N.) pumpkin / calabaza.
kalabasín, kalabasite: (N.) squash / calaba-
cín.
kalai: (N.) street / calle.
kalentore or kalentura, -e: (N.) fever / calen-
tura, fiebre.
kalitade: (N.) quality / calidad.
kalsi or kalsite: kalise: (N.) chalice / cálice.
kalkula: (N.) calculation / cálculo.
kalkula: (V.) to calculate / calcular.
kalpe: (N.) damage, harm / perjuicio.
kalegarrir: (Adj.) harmful / perjudicial.
kaltzerriri: (N.) stocking / media.
kaltzitzen, kaltsitei: (N.) shock / calcefn.
kalmarra, kalmarre: (N.) spare room / camarote.
kamiñor, kamiñor: (N.) path / sendero.
kanior, kamioya: (N.) truck / camión.
kandal, kanala: (N.) channel / canal.
kantxo or kanbia: (N.) change / cambio.
kantxoa o kanbiak: (V.) to exchange / cambiar.
kandela, kandle: (N.) candle / candela, vela.
kandela, kandle: (N.) cinnamon / canela.
kankaoro: (N.) any metallic container of good size / recipiente metálico de tamaño.
kantxai, kantxaia: (N.) bell / campana.
kantxaportoe or kantxaportu: (N.) bell tower / campanario.
kantxo: (N.) outside, exterior, abroad / afuera, exterior, tierra extranjera.
kantxasun, o kantxasun, o kantxasun, o kantxasun: (N.) cemetery / cementerio.
kantxotar, kantxotara: (Adj.) foreign, foreign-
et / foráneo, extranjero.
kantxa: (V.) to sing / cantar.
kantxidatze: (N.) quantity / cantidad.
kantxika: (N.) song / canto.
kantxiñe: (N.) milk can / cantina para la leche.
kantxo o kantxa: (N.) song / canto, canción.
kantxa: (V.) to become tired / cansar(se).
kantxagorri o kantxazagorri: (Adj.) tiresome person / pesado, pelma.
kantzardorri o kantzardorri: (N.) tiredness / cansancio.
kañbera, kañberre: o kañbera: (N.) cane / caña.
kañari, kañari: (N.) cannon / cañón.
kapaz, kapasz: (Adj.) able / capaz.
kapástia, kapaltia: (N.) chapel / capilla.
kapitani, kapitana: (N.) captain / capitán.
karamelua: (N.) candy, sweet / caramelo.
kare: (N.) lime / cal.
kaña, -e or karga, -e: (N.) load / carga.
karga: (V.) to load / cargar.
kargamantu: (N.) 1. load, cargo 2. excessive load / 1. cargamento 2. carga exagerada; “a se kargamantu imin dotzestu asto gixojiri!” that is quite a load that you put on the poor donkey / vaya carga-
mento que le habéis puesto encima al pobre burro.
karau or karga: (N.) charge, responsibility / cargo, responsabilidad.
kargak: (V.) to realize / darse cuenta.
kardidad, karditad: (N.) charity / caridad.
karnabak, karnaba: (N.) carnival / carnaval.
karrak or karradaren: (Adv.) running / co-
trierdi; “karradaran etor da." (s)he came running / ha venido corriendo.
karramarro or karramurro: (N.) cab / cangrejo.
karrera, karrerre; o karrera, -e: (N.) race (sp.
cyclist) / carrera (esp. ciclista).
karrería, karrerre: (N.) road / carretera.
karta, kartea: (N.) letter / carta.
kartasyo or kartasayo: (N.) card game / jue-
go de cartas.
kartel, kartela: (N.) notice, sign / cartel.
kartezor o kartura: (N.) postman / cartero.
Karțiel, Karțieza: (N.) jail / cárcel.
karrtio, kartioya o kartioi: -e: (N.) cardboard / cartón.
kari: (Adj.) expensive / caro.
kasi: (Adv.) almost, nearly / casi.
hasiñu o kanstio: (N.) mind, attention / ca-
so, atención; “esas dorzet baya, estauska fisuriperek in' I told him/her but (s)he didn’t pay any attention at all / ya se lo he dicho, pero no me ha hecho caso.
hasiñara: (N.) nail, hailstorm / granizo.
hasiñu, kastiñe: (N.) chestnut / castaña.
kastu o kaxii: (N.) matter, case 2. atten-
tion, mind / 1. caso, asunto 2. caso, atención.
kasialdeak: (N.) coincidence / casualidad.
kate: (N.) chain / cadena.
katego: (N. category / categoría.
kategoriko: (Adj.) of good quality, of high class (freq. with irony) / de categoría (frecuentemente con ironía): “fo, kate-
goriko sonbretu imin dorzeku astori” well, the donkey’s got quite an elegant hat / vaya, le habéis puesto un sombrero de categoría al burro.
kastilla: (N.) large bowl / tazón.
katu: (N.) cat / gato.
kat: (N.) smoke / humo.
kendu: (V.) to take off / quitar(se).
koltsoi, koltsoya: (N.) matress / colchón.
konsolasi: (N.) consolation, comfort / consolación.
konsolasi: (Af.) to consult / consultar.
kontsa: (N.) to count / contar.
kôrta: (Adv.) 1. against, opposing 2. (to)
learn against, on / contra (opiñondoa)
2. contra (apoyándose).
kôrentzatua: (N.) contrast / contraste.
kôrentzatua or kontrastua: (N.) contrast / contrasto.
kôrentza: (N.) hire / contratar.
kôrentza: (N.) control / control.
kôrentza: (V.) to control / controlar.
kôntua: (N.) 1. care, attention / cuidado, atención;
“kôntua auki ber da oingo gätekas
one has to be careful with today’s young
people / hay que tener cuidado con los
jóvenes de ahora a 2. tale, story 3. bill / 2.
cuento 3. cuenta, recibio.
kônturua: (V.) to notice, to realize / darse
 cuenta.
kônturua: (Af.) with care / con cuidado.
kontseztua or konzentzua: (N.) conscience / conciencia.
kôntxia: (N.) paper / papel.
neha, neha: (N.) paperbag / bolso.
nepa: (N.) coat / chaqueta.
kôppa: (N.) cup / taza.
neppi: (N.) cup / taza.
kôppa: (V.) to copy / copiar.
kôppa: (N.) unjuiftified complaint, tri-
file (esp. of children) / plamplina, queja
injustificada (esp. infantil) “yaisu orí
diAnne kôplakas asi barik” eat that right
now and quit whining / cómo eso ahora
mismo y no empieces con plamplinas.
kôppi: (Adj.) complainer / quejica.
kôrpa, kôrba: (N.) necklace / corbata.
kôrda: (N.) rope / cuerda.
kôrba: (N.) crown / corona.
kôrba: (V.) good disposition, will
energy / disposición, ganas, energía;
“kôrba auki ber da soñon bear írekó”
you need some energy to work the land /
hay que echarle ganas para trabajar en
la huerta.
kôrro, kôrro: (N.) racer (sp. cyclist) /
corredor (esp. ciclista).
kôntse: (N.) 1. electricity 2. current, run-
ing air 3. (Adj.) regular, ordinary / 1.
electricidad 2. corriente de aire 3. (Adj.)
normal, corriente.
kôrtema: (N.) curtain / cortina.
kôrto: (N.) cork / corcho.
kôrto: (N.) coir / corte.
kôrto: (V.) to take / coger.
kôrto: (N.) cost / costo.
kôrto: (N.) custom, way / costumbre.
nekôrto: (N.) auto, car / coche, automóvil.
kôrto: (V.) to take / coger.
kôrto: (N.) lace / cordon.
kôrto: (N.) lane / camino.
kôrto in, or kôrto atara: (V.) to realize,
to calculate / sacar cuentas; “kôrto atara,
siñet kôstaren dan oin bisetz” just
realize how expensive life is nowadays /
luz cuentas, ciúnto cuenta ahora la vida.
kristel, kristela: (N.) glass / cristal.
kristela: (V.) to criticize / criticar.
kôdradua or kôdradua: (N., Adj.) square
form / cuadrado.
kôdrada: (N.) painting / cuadro.
kuartel, kuartela: (N.) quarter, barracks /
cuartel.
kôloka: (N.) cuckoo / cuco, cuelillo.
kôloku: (V.) to hide (child lang.) / escon-
der-se (leng. infantil).
kôloro: (N.) breathe / braga.
kôlôeta: (N.) to satisfy (an obligation) /
cumplir.
kônrzuarren, kôntzuarraren: (N.) kidney / riñón.
kôporo, kôporo: (N.) coupon / cupón.
kôrios: (1. Adj.) noisy 2. (Adv.) tidy, neat / 1.
curious, persona entermetida 2. ase-
do, ordenado; “kôrios-kôrios irixi gero
errope, edonon bôta barik” leave your
clothes in a neat way, and not scattered
around / después deja la ropa bien orde-
nada, y no tirada por ahí.
kôrzu: (N.) cross / cruz.
kôrzu (or kôrzia): (N.) crossroads / cruce.
kôketa, kôketa: (N.) box, chest / caja, arcón.

-L- (Af.) 1. subordinating suffix of comple-
tives / sujifo subordinante de comple-
tivas: “belu dala ta segidun datorreia
difo” (s)he says that it is late and is
coming right away / dice que es tarde y que viene en seguida 2, it conveys a temporal or modal meaning when attached to synthetic verbs / significado temporal o modal con verbos sintéticos: "gortara nóala yáusi nas" I fell down on my way to the stable / me he caído al ir a la cuadra.

labo: (N.) oven / horno.
laborde: (N.) washing place, artificial pond or pit where women used to wash the clothes / lavadero, estanque artificial donde se lavaba la ropa antaño.
labín en: (V.) to slide / resbalar.
labrastada, labrastade: (N.) slipping / resbaldón.
labrizar: (V.) to slide / resbalar.
labur, laburr: (Adj.) short / corto.
lagun, laguna: (N.) friend / amigo, -a.
lagunada: (V.) to help / ayudar.
laguntasño: (N.) help / ayuda.
laguntzize: (N.) help / ayuda.
laíatu: (V.) to till the soil with "laia"s (a type of labouring tool) / voltear la tierra con layas.
-lako, -lakon: (Af.) because; particle of causal subordinate sentences / porque; partícula subordinante causal: "lari daus amat sokoantu ingo durtzelakon" they are worried because their mother is going to yell at them / están preocupados porque les va a chillar su madre.
lan, lana: (N.) work / trabajo.
lín en: (V.) to work / trabajar.
lánda, landa: (N.) field, meadow / campo, prado.
lándara, lándare: (N.) plant / planta.
langile or langile: (N.) worker / trabajador.
lantzán-beihet: (Adv.) once in a while / de vez en cuando.
latio: (N.) fog, mist / niebla.
laitidea: (V.) to become foggy / caer la niebla.
laitoruen: (Adj.) foggy, misty / nublado, con niebla.
lapa, lage: (N.) a type of mollusk / lapa (tipo de molusco).
lapiko: (N.) stewing pan, crock / cazuela, olla.
lapikoko: (N.) stew / cocido.
neko: (Adj.) weakling / débiluchó, genio de energía.
nemori: (N.N.) memory / memoria.
mendi: (N.N.) mountain / monte.
mendillde: (N.N.) mountain area / montaña, zona montañosa.
mosi: (V.) to deserve / merecer.
mourismutsuk: (N.N.) merit / merecido, merecimiento.
muridradi: (N.N.) snack, light meal of the late afternoon / merienda.
ámitzuk: (N.N.) merit, value / mérito.
merkada: (N.N.) market / mercado.
merke: (Ad.) cheap / barato.
morkutsu: (V.) to cheapen / abaratarse.
mena, mena: (M.N.) Mass / masa.
mesak: (N.N.) favor / favor.
mesadore: (Ad.) please / por favor.
metal, metal: (N.N.) metal / metal.
maliku: (Ad.) metallic / metálico.
médro o médro: (N.N.) mete / metro.
mängoku: (N.N.) miracle / milagro.
milka, milkse: (Num.) thousand, group of thousand / mil, millar.
muna: (N.N.) whining, children’s complaining / quiero, lloriqueo.
mikou: (N.M.) whining, children’s whining / maña, lloriqueo.
mäño o mäño: (Ad.) whiner, crying baby / maño, llorón.
mäms: (N.M.) tide / marea.
marmita, marma: (N.M.) pot, boiler / marmita.
mardimtakó: (N.N.) a type of stew / marmitako (tipo de cocido).
marrakittle: (N.M.) snail / caracol.
morro, morro: (Adj.) brown / marrón.
mari: (N.N.) March / marzo.
marrilko: (N.M.) hammer / marrillo.
marrznik, marrznik: (N.M.) Tuesday / martes.
mártexa, mártex: (N.M.) speed, pace / marcha, paso.
maspatia, mspatia: (N.M.) raisin / uva pasa.
material, materia: (N.M.) material / material.
marril, marrile: (N.M.) cheek / mejilla.
marrñagin, marrñagin: (N.M.) molar teeth / muela.
matalen: (N.M.) married couple / matrimonio, pareja.
mats, matsa: (N.M.) grape / uva.
mazondo: (N.M.) vine / vid.
mayera, mayera: (N.M.) May / mayo.
me, mea: (Adj.) narrow / estrecho.
medida, midde: (N.M.) measure / medida.
médecuntu, medikentu: (N.M.) medicine / medicamento.
médiku: (N.M.) doctor / médico.
méndakiku: (N.M.) mechanic / mecánico.
nártzanuko: (Q.) for whom (abs. pl.) / para quiénes.
nártzurri: (Q.) to whom (dat. pl.) / a quiénes.
nos: (Q.) when / cuándo.
noskú: (Q.) by whom / para cuándo.
noskan or noska: (Adv) sometime / alguna vez.
nostizk: (Q.) since when / desde cuándo.
nostari: (N.) teacher’s office / oficina.
nostki: (Q.) since when / desde cuándo.
notzak: (N.) piece of news / noticia.
notzak ein or notzakine: (Adv) from time to time / de vez en cuando.
númeroa: (N.) number / número.
ño: (Eusk.) expression of amazement / expresión de asombro; “ño, patata naye atara daure aurren ñórekk” crumb! they got a truly good potato crop this year / caramba este año esos han cosechado mucha pataña.
ño or nörta: (Q.) who / de quién.
nok: (Q.) who (erg) / de quién (erg).
nor: (Q.) where (enes) / en donde.
nóndik: (Q.) from where / de donde.
nónek: (Q.) somewhere (enes) / en algún sitio.
nónero: (Pro.) somewhere (adl.) / en algún sitio.
nórke: (Q.) one, oneself (erg) / cada cual, uno mismo (erg).
nor: (Q.) who (abs) / quién (nom).
nor: (Q.) where (adl.) / a dónde.
nórko: (Q.) up to where (adl.) / hasta dónde.
norrako: (Pro.) one, oneself (abs) / cada cual, uno mismo (abs).
noki: (Q.) to whom (dat) / a quién.
normak: (Adj) normal / normal.
nortzak: (Q.) who (abs pl.) / quiénes.
nortza: (Q.) whose (abs pl.) / de quiénes.
paella, paëlla: (N.) paella (dish made with rice) / paëlla.

casa: (V.) to pass / pasar.

casa: (N.) beech tree / haya.

pájaro: (N.) payment / pago.

cabar, caba: (N.) house / caber.
cabarida, cabarida: (N.) houseful / cabarida.
cabar: (N.) stick / palo.

cabarida, cabarida: (N.) blow with a stick / palazo, golpe dado con un palo.
cabar: (N.) handkerchief / pañuelo.

pelotazos o pelotaz: 1. (Adj.) silly 2. (N.) ghost, boogie man / 1. atontado 2. fantasmas, coco.

papel, papel: (N.) paper / papel.

parada, parada: (N.) 1. stop, action of stopping 2. station / 1. parada, acción de parar 2. estación.

paraje: (N.) place, area / lugar, zona; “paraje ederar dekeso etze gero e?” your house is really in a beautiful area, isn’t it? / s’que tenéis la casa en una zona hermosa.

paraje: (Adv.) close, near / cerca.

pars: (N.) pair / par.

paréja, pareja: (N.) 1. couple 2. pair / pareja.

pareja: (Adj.) comparable, similar / comparable, del mismo nivel.

parásito: (N.) forgiveness / perdón.

parásito: (V.) to forgive / perdonar.

parandústa, parandústa: (N.) partying / paranda, juerga.

parandústa, parandústa: (Adj.) one who has the habit of partying / parandústa, juerguista.

parroqui: (N.) parish church / parroquia.

parroqui: (N.) priest / pároco.

parétes: (Adv.) on behalf of / de parte de; “górntzak, ixkon parés” best wishes on behalf of your aunt / recuerdos de parte de vuestra tía.

pase: (V.) to pass / pasar.

pasea: (V.) to take a walk / pasear.

pasión: (N.) patience / paciencia.

pasillo: (N.) walk, stroll / paseo.

pasillo: (N.) Easter / Pascua.

pastel, pasteles: (N.) pie, cake / pastel.

pastores, pastor: (N.) shepherd / pastor.

pás (N.) 1. step / paso 2. pass / paso.

paseo, pasea: (N.) potato / pata.".

pasea, pasea: (N.) to dish in sauce / patata".

pasea, pasea: (N.) to dish in sauce / patata, patatas en salsa.

pasea, pasea: (N.) boss / patrón.

pata (N.) duck / pato.

pata (V.) to kiss (baby talk) / besar (lengua infantil).

pata (V.) to stick / pegar.

pata (N.) freckle, speck / peco.

pata (Adj.) freckly / pecoso.

pata (N.) sin / pecado

pata (N.) dangerous / peligroso.

pata (N.) danger / peligro.

pata (N.) film, movie / película.

pata (N.) ball / pelota.

pelotari (N.) handball player / pelotari, jugador de pelota.

pata (N.) plate / plato.

pata (N.) plate / plato.

pata (N.) plate / plato.

pata (N.) plant / plan.

pata (N.) to stop, to stay / plantarse, quedarse; “an planta da eser en barik” there s/he stayed, doing nothing / allí se ha quedado sin hacer nada.

planta, plano: (N.) town square 2. market, fair / 1. plaza 2. mercado, feria.

plastidako: (N.) slap in the face / bofetada.

plastikas: (N.) plastic / plástico.

plátano o plátano: (N.) 1. term 2. installment / plazo.

plata, platería: (N.) plate / plato.

plata, plata: (N.) beach / playa.

plata (N.) noise produced when something falls down / ruido de caerse algo o alguien.

plata, plata: (N.) to fold / plegar.

políti o polisiti: (N.) police / policía.

política o politico: (Adj.) pretty / bonito.

política, politika: (N.) politics / política.

política: (N.) politician / político.

política o politico: (Adv.) neatly, carefully / bonitamente, cuidadosamente.

perri, porrón: (N.) a type of wine bottle / porrón.

perri, porrón: (N.) seek / puerro.

portal, portalina: (N.) entrance, porch / portal.

párrafo, párrafo: (N.) painting / pintura.

pirata: (N.) pirate / pirata.

pícaro o pícaro: (N.) pipe / pica.

pícaro o pícaro: (N.) to pipe / pica.

pícaro o pícaro: (N.) piper / peine.

pícaro o pícaro: (N.) red pepper / pimiento rojo.

pícaro o pícaro: (N.) to weigh / pesar.

pícaro o pícaro: (N.) beast, wild animal / bestia, animal salvaje.

pícaro o pícaro: (N.) pistol / pistola.

pícaro o pícaro: (N.) weight / peso.

pícaro o pícaro: (N.) flat, apartment / piso.

plan, plan: (N.) plan / plan.

planea: (V.) to stop, to stay / plantarse, quedarse; “an planta da eser en barik” there s/he stayed, doing nothing / allí se ha quedado sin hacer nada.

plano, planta: (N.) town square 2. market, fair / 1. plaza 2. mercado, feria.

plastidako: (N.) slap in the face / bofetada.

plástikas: (N.) plastic / plástico.

plátanos o plátanos: (N.) term 2. installment / plazo.

plata, plata: (N.) plate / plato.

plata, plata: (N.) beach / playa.

plata (N.) noise produced when something falls down / ruido de caerse algo o alguien.

plata, plata: (N.) to fold / plegar.

político o politico: (N.) police / policía.

política o politico: (Adj.) pretty / bonito.

política, politika: (N.) politics / política.

política: (N.) politician / político.

política o politico: (Adv.) neatly, carefully / bonitamente, cuidadosamente.

porri, porrón: (N.) a type of wine bottle / porrón.

porri, porrón: (N.) seek / puerro.

portal, portalina: (N.) entrance, porch / portal.

párrafo, párrafo: (N.) painting / pintura.

pirata: (N.) pirate / pirata.

pirata: (N.) port / puerto.

pos, posa: (N.) joy / alegría.

posa (V.) happily / contento.

posasam, posassam: (N.) joy / alegría.

posta (V.) to become happy, or to make someone happy / 2. to inflate / 1. alegrar(se) 2. inflar.

posta: (N.) post / puesto.

posta (Adj.) plump / potolo, gordo.

posta (Adj.) chubby, plump / regordete, simpático.

posta (N.) monk / fraile.

posta (N.) monk / fraile.

posta (N.) public proclamation / common cry / pregón.

posta (V.) to proclaim / pregonar.

posta (V.) to ask / preguntar.

posta (N.) question / pregunta.

presidente: (N.) president / presidente.

presidenta: (N.) presidency / presidencia.

presidio: (N.) pressure / presión.

presio o presio: (N.) price / precio.

preso (N.) prisoner / preso.

pro (Adj.) ready / dispuesto.

probadora, probadora: (N.) try, test / prueba.

probador: (N.) field for ox competitions / probador, pista para pruebas de bueyes.

probadora: (N.) field for ox competitions / probador, pista para pruebas de bueyes.

proba: (V.) to try, to test / probar.

probar: (Adj.) to prove / provecho.

probabilidad: (N.) province / provincia.

probabilidad: (N.) problem / problema.

propiedad: (N.) property / propiedad.

procesión: (N.) procession / procesión.

protestar: (V.) to complain, to protest / quejar, protestar.

protestar, protesta: (N.) complaint, protest / protesta.

publiko: (N.) public / público.

publico: (N.) pulpit / púlpito.

publico: (N.) pulse / pulso.

púnta, puntada: (N.) end, tip / punta.

puntada o puntada: (N.) point, dot / punto.

puntada: (N.) to knit / hacer punto.

puntada: (N.) sore, pain, owie (child language) / dolor, daño (lenguaje infantil).

puntada: (N.) to hurt (oneself) (baby talk) / hacer(se) daño (lenguaje infantil).

purgar (V.) to purge / purgar.

purgar, purga: (N.) purge / purga.

púlsas: (N.) blowing, blast / soplo.

púlsas: (N.) to blow / soplar.

pulcra, pulcra: (N.) bladder (esp. inflated pig bladder that certain traditional para-
de characters use to hit) / vejiga (esp.) vejiga de cerdo hinchada con la que los cabezudos pegan.

R

radie: (N.) radio / radio.
raro: (Adj.) strange / raro, extraño.

reglamenta: (N.) regulations / reglamento.

reporte: (V.) to distribute / repartir.

residuo: (V.) to receive / recibir.

responda: (V.) to answer / responder, contestar.

respueta, respuesta: (N.) answer / respuesta.

resulta: (V.) to result / resultar.

reniih: (N.) reunion, meeting / reunión.

S

sabai, sabaya: (N.) ceiling / techo.

sablu, sabala: (Adj.) wide / ancho.

sabaldu: (V.) to open 2. to widen / 1. to open 2.

sabdalik: (Adv.) open / abierito.

saban, saborre: (N.) driftwood / madera de deriva.

sagar, sagarra: (N.) apple / manzana.

sagarden: (N.) cider / sidra.

sidgi, sidgi: (N.) wine skin / pellejo (de vino).

sagrad: (Adj.) sacred / sagrado.

sagas: (N.) mouse / ratón.

sagisad, sagisarras; or sagisarrasa: (N.) bat / murciélago.

sákhe: (N.) 1. serve (spores) 2. good appetizer / 1. saque (en el juego) 2. apetito.

sakbel, sakala: (N.) pocket / bolsillo.

sakon, sakona: (N.) deep / profundo.

sakonda: (V.) to deepen / profundizar.

sakonka, -è: (N.) depth / profundidad.

sakontasia, sakontasunen: (N.) depth / profundidad.

sakramentsa, sakramentua: (N.) sacrament / sacramento.

sakrificial or sakristia: (N.) sacrifice / sacrificio.

sakristia: (N.) sacrality, vestry / sacristía.

sakku or sakku: (N.) sack / saco.

sakku: (V.) to save / rescatar.


salbastaño: (N.) rescue, salvation / salvación.

saldu, salda: (N.) broth / caldo.

saldu: (N.) horse / caballo.

saldu: (V.) to sell / vender.

salget: (Adv.) for sale / en venta.

salu, salu: (N.) piece of working land / terreno, trozo de terreno.

salu: (V.) to jump / saltar.

salu atau salut: (N.) jump / saltar.

salu in: (V.) to jump / saltar.

salzio, salzio: (N.) sauce / salsa.

salzio: (N.) chest / garganta.

salzio, salzio: (N.) vein / vena.

salbaspia, salbaspia: (N.) carrot / zanahoria.

sako: (Adv.) hard / fuerte, duramente; “sán in ber da putz puixke pôstekute” yo have to blow hard in order to inflate the puixke (pig bladder) / hay que soplar fuerte para inflar la vejiga.

salbastaño: (N.) 1. picture, illustration 2. sain, una.

salu: (N.) 1. dibujo, ilustración 2. santo.

salpalk: (N.) entangled hair / greñas.

salparrara, or salpurara: (N.) tadpole / renacuajo.

salpurara: (V.) to step on / pisar.

salpuzio: (N.) disheveled / grieñoso.

salputa: (N.) shoe / zapato.

salputara, or salputara: (N.) shoemaker / zapatero.

salputa: (N.) Saturday / sábado.

salputra, (N.) rag, tatter / trapo.

salputra: (Excl.) interjection used to drive cats away / voz para espantar a los gatos.

sala: (N.) room / patio.

sare, sare: (Adj.) old / viejo.

saria, sarasa: (N.) noise / ruido.

sardita, sarditae: (N.) sardine / sardina.

sare: (N.) net / red.

sarrora: (N.) sultry weather / bochorno.

sarrora: (N.) prize / premio.

saritza, sarritza: (N.) type of brush used on horses and cattle / cepillo para el ganado.

sarrarita: 1. (V.) to close 2. (Adj.) closed 3. (V.) cerrar 2. (Adj.) cerrado.

sarritza: (Adv.) often / frecuentemente.

sarrira: (Adv.) often / frecuentemente.

sarrun, sarrua: (N.) frying pan / sartén.

sartxoko: (N.) fried food / (esp. pork) / fritada.

sartxu: (V.) to come in, enter 2. to put in, insert 3. to become old / 1. entrar 2. meter 3. envejecer.

sartxu: (N.) blackberry bush / zarza.

sartxu or sartxare: (N.) blackberry bush / zarzal.

saskel, saskela: (Adv.) untidy, filthy person / sucio, asqueroso.

saskela: (Adv.) untidy, filthy person / persona sucia.

saskiller: (N.) nastiness, filth / porquería.

saskin: (N.) time, era / época, sazón.

saskin: (V.) to season / sazonar.

saski, saskiko: (Numer.) seven, group of seven / seite, el siete.

saski: (Adj.) 1. premature baby / 2. impatient / 1. sitemeseno, niño prematuro 2. impaciente.

saskerras: (N.) scarecrow / espantapájaros.

sask rav: (V.) to cut into pieces / partir, trocar.

saskor, saskorra: (N.) mole / topo.

sasko, saskora: (N.) manure / abono, estiércol.

sasko: (N.) 2. what / 2. Con) so that, since / 1. qué 2. pues; nexo de carácter causal; “enas súkak yoko, se óndibo bera da deko iteko” I’ m not going with you, since I still have work to do / no voy a ir con vosotros, que todavía tengo trabajo que hacer.

segund: (Adv.) immediately / en seguida.

segur: (Adj.) 1. for sure 2. safe / seguro.

seguran bere: (Adv.) apparently / según parece; “seguran bere yon in ber iñen dau, se errénte estau pagaten iñen” it appears that he had to leave because he didn’t pay the rent / según parece se ha tenido que marchar porque no pagaba la renta.

segurar or segun: (V.) to continue / seguir.

seit, seih, seihoa: (Numer.) six / seis, el seis.

seit: (N.) which / cuál.

seit, seih, seihoa: (N.) baby, child / niño, - a pequeñito, bebé.

sintxuk: (Q.) which (pl.) / cuáles.

sintxir: (Q.) why / por qué.

sintxu or sintxi: (Q.) why / por qué.

sarak, sakora: (N.) young bull / novillo.

sarkor, sarkore: (N.) secret / secreto.

sakor: (Adv.) ever / alguna vez; “estáit sékuk-

le bere etor bada” I wonder if (s)he ever came at all / no sé si habrá venido alguna vez.

shakela: (Adj.) huge / grandísimo, enorme.

selador, selada: (N.) merchantinspector / celador, tipo de controlador de mercancías de antaño.

selan: (Q.) how / cómo, de qué manera.

seltu: (Q.) what kind / cómo, de qué tipo.

selbar: (V.) to celebrate / celebrar.

selo: (N.) stamp / sello.

sene: (N.) son / hijo.

sonmaialak or sonmaialak: (N.) children, offspring (lit. sons-and-daughters) / hijos (lit. hijos e hijas).

sintak or sintak: (Q.) how many / cuántos.

sentilla, sentielle: (N.) expression of disgust / expresión de disgusto; “se spur benen ta se sentielle barrabasa... sás nire aurrei” what the devil do you mean a little bit longer... get moving! / qué un poco ni qué demonios.sentiu: 1. (N.) sense 2. (Adj.) sensitive, susceptible 3. (V.) to sense, to notice / 1. (N.) sentido 2. (Adj.) sensible, susceptible 3. (V.) sentir, notar.

sentimentsa: (N.) sentiment, feeling / sentimiento.

sentzunbako or sentzunbako: (N.) unconscious, irresponsible / insensible, irresponsable.

señal, señala: (N.) signal, sign / señal.

señal: (N.) 1. signal, sign 2. indication, proof / 1. señal 2. signo, muestra; “orí kontessta dotau? señal=berak bere estakile” that’s what she told you? That’s proof that she doesn’t know either / te ha contestado eso? eso es señal de que ella tampoco sabe.

señal: (V.) to point / señalar.

sdoer: (Pro.) something / algo.

sderoa: (V.) to separate / separar.

seppuritu or seppuruta: (N.) seppurutu / seppuruta.

sere: (N.) well... ummm... esto... “ in ber dôsune da, sere... ganadu atara kánporra” and you also have to... umm... take out the carle / lo que tienes que hacer es... esto... sacar el ganado afuera.
sibxetza, sibxetxe: (N.) beets / cerveza.
sibxetza or sibxetzia: (N.) service (sp. military) / servicio (esp. militar).
siru: (Adj.) serious / serio.
senroi, senroya: (N.) sermon / sermón.
sorria, sorre: (N.) 1. saw 2. sickle / 1. sierra 2. hoz.
sorria: (N.) 1. sky 2. heaven / cielo.
sorria, sorrolla: (N.) February / febrero.
sorrua, sorruas: (N.) bull / toro.
s orbak: (N.) session / sesión.
sorbako, sorbarrakoko: (Q.) what for / para qué.
sorritik: (Q.) what for / a qué para qué.
sorka, sirketa, -e: (N.) siesta, nap / siestas.
sigarror: (N.) cigarette / cigarro.
sigarror, sigarrora: (N.) punishment / castigo.
sigarror: (N.) to punish / castigar.
sirketa: (N.) drought / sequía.
sirketako, -e: (N.) dry (up/out) / seca/seco.
sire: (Adj.) dry / seco.
sindikalea: (N.) labour union (in Getxo, esp. the former farmer's union building) / sindicato (en Getxo, el antiguo sindicato de labradores).
sin: (N.) cinema / cine.
sintuo: (Adj.) sincere / sincero, honrado.
sintzau: (V.) to believe / creer.
situ: (N.) 1. signal 2. grimace / 1. señalar 2. mueca.
sipel-tapako: (nom.) moving quickly / ligero, sin parar; “ala, sipelaka yon, bela da ta” okay, go quickly, or you’ll be late / democrat, que es tarde.
sitka: (N.) circus / circo.
sitzu: (N.) moth / polilla.
sitzau: (V.) to blow one’s nose / sonarse la nariz.
sitzau: (V.) 1. to make signals 2. to make grimaces / 1. hacer señas 2. hacer muecas.
sibharam: (Adv.) in excess / de sobra.
sibhara: (V.) to exceed / sobrar.
sokoa, sokoa: (N.) rope / cuerda, soga.
sokolare or sokolartza: (N.) tug of war / competicion de tiro de cuerda.
soko: (N.) scream / gritar.
soko: (V.) 1. to scream 2. to scold / 1. gritar 2. reprender, regañar.
sokorrak: (Adv.) screaming / gritando.
sokalditea: (N.) military service / servicio militar.
sokaldaitza: (N.) military service / servicio militar.
sokaldia: (N.) soldier / soldado.
sokaldia: (N.) military service / servicio militar.
sokaldia, sokaldita: (N.) salary / sueldo.
sokoa: (N.) orchard / huerto.
sokoa: (V.) to release / soltar.
sokoa: (N.) clothing / vestimenta.
sokoa: (Adv.) to carry on / (llevar) encima.
pusto.
sopoa, sopoa: (N.) soup / sopa.
sopoa: (V.) to soak bread in milk / mojar el pan en la leche (lit. hacer sopas).
sopoa: (N.) hole / agujero.
sopoa: (V.) to pierce, to perforate / agujerear.
sopoa: (N.) sink / hedor.
sor, sorra: (N.) nose 2. (Adj.) bright, smart / 1. (N.) nariz 2. (Adj.) vivir, atento.
soria: (Adj.) left-handed / zurdo.
soriko: (N.) white / blanco.
soriko: (N.) white / blanco.
sorlakoa, sorlakokoa: (N.) small lizard / lagartija.
sorlakoa, sorlakoe: (N.) beck, shoulders / espalda.
sorjina, sorjintza: (N.) 1. witch 2. nusty woman / bruja.
sorjintzakoa: (N.) 1. nusty action of (a female) / buena actuación de bruja.
sorjina, sorjintza: (N.) congratulations, good luck / felicitación, bonito.
soro: (Adj.) mad, insane / loco.
soroa: (V.) to become insane / enloquecer.
soroa: (V.) to become insane / enloquecer.
soroa: (N.) house / piso.
sorrika, sorrika: (Adj.) lousy / piojoso, asqueroso.
sorritas: (V.) to sharpen / afilar.
sorrita, sorritazko: (Adj.) sharp / agudo, puntiagudo.
soroa: (N.) leather / cuero.
sorritako: (Adj.) made of leather / de cuero.
sorritako: (N.) tranquility / tranquilidad.
sorritako: (V.) to calm, to relax / tranquilizar.
sorritako: (N.) to hold, to maintain / sostener, aguantar.
sorritako: (N.) cassock / cotona.
sorritako: (N.) toothpick / palillo.
sorritako: (N.) fire / fuego.

T

taberna, taberña, ox taberña, -e: (N.) tavern / taberna.
takoi, takowy: (N.) heel / tacón.
talde: (N.) group / grupo.
talde: (N.) corn cake / talo, torta de maíz.
talbarrun or talbarruna: (N.) metallic plate on which talo is cooked / plancha metálica sobre la que se calienta el talo.
tămán, tamánia: (N.) size / tamaño.
tambolín, tambolita: (N.) a type of drum / tambolín, tipo de tambor.
tambor, tamborra: (N.) drum / tambor.
úsaha: (N.) owner / dueño, -a.
usar: (V.) 1. to use, utilize 2. to familiarize, to become accustomed / 1. usar, utilizar 2. acostumbrar(se); "usara egon giztzen orduan lâyarten" then we were used to working the land with "layas" / entonces estabamos acostumbrados a lazar los campos.
usan, usena; or ina, isena: (N.) name / nombre.
usin, usine: (N.) smell / olor.
usatxa bidea: (V.) to smell (intr.) / oler (intr.).
usetila in: (V.) to smell (trans.) / oler (trans.).
uskor, uskeria: (N.) fart / pedo, ventosiadad.
usitel, usetela: (Adj.) rotten / podrido.
ustelulo: (V.) to rot / padrir(se).
usatxu: (Adj.) empty / vacío.
usatxu: (V.) to empty / vaciar.
usatxu: (Adj.) 1. empty, 2. (Adv.) thoroughly, completely, 3. (N.) zero / 1. (Adj.) vacío, 2. (Adv.) el todo, 3. (N.) cero; "itékote uzte da" (ghie is a complete fool / es tonto del todo.
usatxa: (Adj.) empty / vacío.
yabon: (V.) to take care of, to look after / cuidar, guardar.
yai, yaxe: (N.) holiday, celebration / fiesta.
yaka, yake: (N.) jacket / chaqueta.
yakin: (V.) to know / saber.
yakingue / yakingue: (N.) curiosity, desire to know / curiosidad, deseo de saber.
yakitsua, yakitsua: (Adj.) wise person, learned person / sabio.
yan: (V.) to eat / comer.
yañari: (N.) food / comida, alimento.
yántzika, yántzke: (N.) dance / danza, baile.
yántzai in: (V.) to dance / bailar.

yantzari: (N.) dancer (esp. of Basque dances / bailarín (esp. de danzas vascas).
yantzai: (V.) to dress (oneself) / vestir(se).
yarán: (N.) attention / caso, atención.
yarán in: (V.) to pay attention / hacer caso, prestar atención.
yarri: (V.) to put, to sit / colocar(se), sentar(se).
yáskera, -e or yáskera, -e: (N.) fashion in clothes / modo de vestir.
yáskete: (N.) dress / vestido.
yatzdiki: (N.) meal, time spent eating / comida (tiempo pasado comiendo).
yáztoko: (N.) food / comida, alimento.
yáztodu or yáztodu: (N.) meal time / hora de comida.
yautua, yautua: (Adj.) of healthy appetite / de buen apetito.
yautua: (N.) owner / dueño, -a.
yautua: (V.) to eat / caer(se).
yaygune, aygune or aygune, -e: (N.) holiday / día de fiesta.
yayo o yaya: (V.) to be born / nacer.
yelte: (N.) plaster, gypsum / yeso.
yentarri: (V.) to sit down / sentar(se).
ye: (V.) to hit / golpear.
yokatsu: (V.) 1. to gamble 2. to play / jugar(se).
yoko: (N.) 1. game 2. gambling / juego.
yokon in: (V.) to gamble / jugar (esp. con apuesta de por medio).
yolas, yolas: (N.) party, dancing / fiesta, baile.
yon: (V.) to go / ir, marchar.
yorrak: (Adv.) weeding / escardando.
yorratu or yorratu: (V.) to weed / escardar.
yori: (V.) to sew / coser.
yoskile or yoskile: (N.) seamstress / costurera.

References