

Word migration from Dutch to Basque

Nederlanderatik euskararako hitz maileguak

Préstamos lingüísticos del holandés al euskera

Emprunts linguistiques du néerlandais vers le basque

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This paper addresses the migration of words of Dutch origin to Basque, either directly or via relay languages like French and Spanish. The identification of more than 80 Dutch loans in Basque demonstrates that direct or indirect social and commercial contacts between the Low Countries and the Basque Country have existed for more than a thousand years. Further study of this phenomenon is proposed to identify with greater precision the nature and temporal distribution of these contacts.

Keywords: Basque, Dutch, language contact, loanwords.

Artikulu honek euskarak jaso dituen nederlanderazko hitzen berri ematen du. Mailegu horiek zuzenean edo beste hizkuntza batzuen bidez, dela gaztelania dela frantsesa, jaso ditu euskarak. Zerrendaturiko laurogeitik gora maileguk argi adierazten dute Herbehereen eta Euskal Herriaren harreman sozial eta komertzialak mila urte baino aspaldikokoak direla. Fenomeno hau zehatz aztertzea proposatzen da, kontaktu horiek noiz eta nola eman ziren, zehaztasun handiz jakin ahal izateko.

Hitz-gakoak: Euskara, Nederlandera, hizkuntza ukipena, hitz-maileguak.

Este artículo refiere los préstamos lingüísticos que el euskera ha asimilado del holandés. Bien directamente o bien a través de otros idiomas, básicamente el francés y el castellano. Los más de 80 prestamos identificados demuestran que las relaciones sociales y comerciales entre los Países Bajos y Euskal Herria han existido por lo menos desde hace mil años a esta parte. Se propone un estudio más profundo de este fenómeno, para detallar con mayor precisión la naturaleza y la distribución temporal de dichos contactos.

Palabras clave: Euskera, Holandés, contacto lingüístico, préstamos lingüísticos.

Cet article présente les emprunts linguistiques faits par le basque au néerlandais. Soit directement soit par le biais d'autres langues, surtout le français et l'espagnol. Les 80 emprunts identifiés montrent que les relations sociales et commerciales entre les Pays-Bas et le Pays Basque existent depuis plus de mille ans. On propose une étude plus profonde de ce phénomène, pour analyser de manière plus précise quels furent la nature de ces contacts et leur situation dans le temps.

Mots-clés : Basque, Néerlandais, contact linguistique, emprunts linguistiques.

Introduction

Loanwords are words which are transferred from one language to another. When investigating loanwords, it is often enough to go one step back in history, and identify the immediate source of some foreign element in the language under study. Thus, Basque *bake* ‘peace’ is found to derive from Latin *pax*, in particular its ablative form *pace*, which entered Basque as a result of the Basque-Roman cohabitation during the first centuries of our era. In terms of understanding what *bake* means, and in what contexts it is used, it does not make sense to go back further than Latin. Sometimes, however, it may be enlightening to go more steps back (if possible). This happens when we know that the only thing the source language of a loan element in our language did was to transfer a combination of form and meaning which had clearly been coined in some other language, and at an earlier stage. This allows us to identify a longer, and more complex, migration route between what now becomes the new source language, the intermediate relay language and the target language. E.g., Basque *amarratu* ‘to moor’ was not simply borrowed from French *amarrer*, but relayed by French from Dutch *aanmeren*, which lent its form and meaning to French first. The existence of more words following the same route may point to a pattern of terms that migrated from Dutch to Basque, either directly or via French or Spanish. This knowledge improves our understanding of language interaction as such, and acts as a direct support to studies of Basque-Dutch commercial and cultural interaction in a historic perspective.

This paper is a continuation and refinement of earlier studies. It lists a total of 82 words in Basque which are claimed to be of probable Dutch origin. These words are (in alphabetical order and in their dictionary citation form):

Ababor, Abra, Alatu, Alkabuz, Amarratu, Arrabota, Arribant, Bagoi, Bakailao, Bala, Ban(ak), Banda, Baranga, Bastitu, Blu, Bolina, Borda, Bota, Brabante, Brus, Buia, Dringatatu, Droga, Drola/Drole, Erlinga, Eskarda, Eskora, Eskota, Eskote, Fletan, Galga, Galopatu, Garba, Garlopa, Gerizatu, Gerla, Gerra, Ginbalet, Gindax, Gisa, Godale, Grabatu, Gripatu, Gris, Gurma, Harbre, Harpa, Istribor, Kanika, Kila, Korbeta, Lai, Lasta, Lista, Lursagar, Mala, Makaela, Masta, Moka, Mustuka, Netsonde, Olanda, Olandes, Paket, Pika,

Pispot/Pixaḡpot, Plaka, Pok, Poka, Polder, Ponḡa, Potasa, Potasio, Sala, Taket, Tapa, Tolda, Trikotatu, Troḡa, Tropel(a), Truskin, Xopa.

Section 1 provides details on the forerunner publications of this paper and puts the present results in a broader perspective. Section 2 recapitulates what is understood as a ‘loan from or through Dutch’. Section 3 gives a short summary of the historic development of Dutch within the West Germanic group of languages, with some emphasis on those aspects which are relevant in terms of language contact. Section 4 gives the reader some practical guidelines on how to use the dictionary part of this paper.

1. Background and scope of this paper

Loanwords or loans exist in many languages¹. They are those words in a given language which are more or less clearly identifiable as being of foreign origin. Because of their original sound structure, such words often present particular spelling problems to speakers of the borrowing language. Loans may have synonyms or quasi-synonyms in the autochthonous word stock of a borrowing language, but cannot always be used in the same context. They are sometimes shunned by people as undesirable intruders which are said to threaten the purity of the mother tongue.

The loanwords mentioned above are by tacit consent words that were *imported* at some stage in the history of a language. Imported loans are the linguist’s or language teacher’s daily bread, and loanword dictionaries have been published in many languages. However, just like ‘take’ is the complement of ‘give’, and ‘buy’ the complement of ‘sell’, ‘import’ has a complement, which is called ‘export’. *Exported* loans enjoy much less interest, if any at all, than imported loans. How a newcomer is assimilated in a foreign environment is not the loaner’s or exporter’s, but the borrower’s or importer’s concern. It should, therefore, not be surprising that dictionaries of exported loans are difficult to

¹ I use the term ‘loanword’ or ‘loan’ because it is conventional. In reality, words which are *loaned* (by ‘us’ to another speech community) or *borrowed* (by ‘us’ from another speech community) are never claimed back by the original owners. They are simply *transferred*.

find. If a dictionary of exported loans is less interesting in terms of linguistic aspects of transfer, it may prove to be very helpful and enlightening in reconstructing and understanding patterns of cultural, commercial and other relations between different speech communities at different times in history.

One such dictionary, perhaps unique in its size and geographical coverage, is the more than 700 page monolingual *Nederlandse Woorden Wereldwijd* ‘Dutch Words Worldwide’, edited by the expert in historical linguistics Nicoline van der Sijs, which was published in 2010 and which is referred to in the literature list under Sijs2. Sijs2 contains an export volume of 17,560 Dutch words loaned to 138 languages across the globe, from which have sprung 46,310 ‘Dutch loans’ in these languages (i.e., on the average, each Dutch source word is represented in 2.6 different target languages)². For reasons which are easy to understand, some languages borrowed massively (e.g., Indonesian with 5,568 words), others just a few (e.g., Welsh only 5). Under the editorship of Van der Sijs, scores of volunteers collected candidate items from the languages of their competence for further scientific screening and filtering. I myself was responsible for two potential target languages, Basque and the international language Esperanto. The procedure I followed was to investigate word by word the inventories of Dutch loans in French and Spanish, which were at that time available in a state of relative maturity, and compare those in detail with entries in authoritative Basque dictionaries and descriptions in other scholarly works in or about Basque. The subsequent filtering of these candidates involved a verification of the phonologically-based changes one may expect when a particular word travels from French or Spanish to Basque, a check on the semantics of each candidate loan during its migration, and on the temporal compatibility of the different passages. At the end, 96 plausible loans from Dutch to Basque were established, producing 100 loanwords in Basque (Sijs2: p. 136).

Each researcher will understand that the thus attained result is nothing more than the best one can produce in a first attempt. It is necessarily incomplete because, due to the method followed, many unexpected candidates may have been missed out. But the material is well documented and easily acces-

² Sijs3 has 4–5% higher figures for the same number of languages worldwide, but no changes for Basque.

sible, and can be verified and contested at any time. In 2015 the content of Sijs2 was made accessible on the internet. It is referred to as Sijs3 in the attached Literature: <http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/uitleenwoordenbank/index.php/uitleen>. The internet version includes a search robot which can handle different search criteria. Still, the 17,560 entries in the dictionary part of Sijs2 and in Sijs3 are *Dutch* entries, and the specific subset of 100 putative loans in Basque (produced by 96 source words in Dutch) is likely to remain unknown to Basque researchers unless the perspective is turned around and a dedicated analysis of this subset is presented.

I therefore decided to reopen my files and redid the entire exercise the other way round, treating each previously identified putative *exported* loan to Basque as a putative *imported* loan in Basque from a suspected source (French, Spanish or other), and working my way back through these relay languages toward Dutch. This implied a cross-check in detail of the intermediate steps which, in the earlier work, had been performed by others. This procedure caused a number of earlier hypothesized loans to be questioned or rejected, and others to be reconfirmed, or even reinforced and supported by more detailed evidence. Table 1 below provides a numerical overview of the results arrived at for presentation in this paper. The numbers quoted are *loanwords in Basque*, not source words in Dutch:

Table 1: Word migration from Dutch to Basque

Migration route	Number of words in Basque
Through French	58
Through French first and then Spanish	12
Direct from Dutch	4
Through English first and then (French and) Spanish	3
Uncertain*	3
Through Spanish	2
Total	82

* The uncertainties are *bota* (either direct or through French or through Spanish), *pika* and *poka* (both through French or Spanish).

2. Dutch loans in Basque

I classify as Dutch loans in Basque those words which are used in Unified Basque (*Euskara Batua*) or any contemporary Basque dialect, and of which it can be demonstrated, or at least made plausible, that they originated in Dutch. This definition includes those Basque words which were hitherto perhaps classified as loans from French, Spanish or from some other language which, in reality, did no more than relay them to Basque. E.g., the Basque verb *grabatu* with its obvious similarity to Spanish *grabar*, is found to be a loan from Middle Dutch *graven* to French *graver* around 1200, from where it was relayed to Spanish *grabar* (not later than 1588) and, in the end, to Basque *grabatu*.

Hence, we are dealing with two types of potential loans, the direct loan from Dutch to Basque, and the indirect loan via one or more intermediate or relay languages. The search for both types is subject to standards of the same rigor and discipline. First of all, the evolution between a potential source word form in Dutch and its target in Basque must be in conformity with the phonological laws that govern all languages involved, i.e. not only Dutch and Basque, but also any intermediate language. This is a linguistic requirement. Secondly, the direct or indirect passage from the source to the target must be the result of a credible cultural, commercial or other contact between the participating speech communities. This is an extra-linguistic requirement. As we'll see, we are talking here about a period longer than one thousand years during which word migration may have taken place, and did take place, between a documented form of Dutch and Basque, the results of which we find in some form of contemporary Basque, somewhere in the Basque speaking area between France and Spain.

The etymology of a putative loan from or through Dutch may take us further down into history, e.g., beyond Old Dutch to Latin. An example is Basque *truskin*, borrowed from French *trusquin*, which in turn derives from Dutch (Flemish) *kruiske(n)* 'small cross' and, further down the road, from Latin *crux*, *crucis*. Its meaning as a carpenter's tool, however, comes from Dutch and not from the Latin diminutive. This determines the migration route as Latin – Dutch – French – Basque, with Dutch as the semantic determiner in this sequence. It nicely illustrates that our research question is

not «Which is the remotest source of this or that word in Basque that we can find?», but rather «Which is the migration route this word took from where it came, designating what it now designates in contemporary Basque?» — or, at least, paving the way that led to this modern designation. In the case of Dutch *laeye* ‘box, case’ – French *layette* ‘layette’ – Basque *laia* with the same meaning as in French, there is no clear history of the form beyond Middle Dutch, but it is this form and the original Dutch meaning that paved the way for the *pars pro toto* in French, which was passed on to Basque. A special category concerns those terms which were simply copied in form and meaning by Dutch colonizers from some Indonesian or other Asian or African language, to designate elements of the local culture or natural environment. In a number of cases, these were passed on to other European languages. One example is the Basque *gekoa* ‘gecko’, i.e., a certain type of lizard, which is of Indonesian origin. It was borrowed by Dutch and eventually made its way to Basque too. In such cases Dutch played no other part in the transfer than that of a relay language, and — although the migration route itself remains of interest — this category is not yet addressed in the present paper.

3. The Dutch language through the centuries³

It was pointed out above that documented evidence about the Dutch language dates back more than a thousand years. A common distinction which is made in the historical evolution of Dutch is the following according to Phil1 (p. 31–32):

Old Dutch	before 1200
Middle Dutch	1200–1500
Early New Dutch	1500–1700
New Dutch	after 1700

³ The following text only serves the purpose to give the reader a minimum guidance through the history of Dutch. It is based on information from Wal (1994), Sij1 (2001) and Phil1 (2003).

Contiguous phases — e.g., Old and Middle Dutch — are separated by certain fundamental and clearly identifiable changes in the language structure that took place between them. Inside each phase the changes are much less radical. The above defined periods are approximate since, obviously, not all changes in the language occurred at exactly the same time and at the same speed.

In modern terms, the homeland of Dutch is the Southern part of The Netherlands, including Belgium and the Westernmost border districts of Germany (in a timeless expression: the Low Countries). After the fall of the Roman Empire, Germanic speaking Franconian and Saxon tribes settled in this area, the latter ones in the North-East, where Saxon dialects are still spoken today. The Franconians occupied the center and the South. Their language survives most clearly in the border region between The Netherlands and Belgium. Between 430 and 751 the Franconians were ruled by the Merovingian dynasty whose center of power was in the Low Countries. King Clovis (466–511), who converted to Christianity in 496, moved the center of his kingdom to Northern France. The members of the Merovingian dynasty, who all came from the Low Countries, spoke Low Franconian, which Sijtsma (p. 104) identifies with Old Dutch. In 751 the Franconian throne passed to the Carolingians who spoke a different variant of Franconian, i.e. Old High German.

Around 1200 we notice a substantial growth of the written corpus in a language form which clearly differs from Old Dutch. A major landmark between Old and Middle Dutch is the reduction of unaccented vowels to schwa, e.g., the Old Dutch verb *hebban* [‘hɛbɑn] ‘to have’, which then begins to appear as *hebben* [‘hɛbən], the way it has survived in today’s [‘hɛbə(n)]. New Dutch arose after 1500 as a result of the gradual move of the cultural and commercial center of the Low Countries from the South (Flanders, Brabant) to the North (Holland), and as part of the local Renaissance-inspired movement to create a standard interregional language. The production of literary and scientific works in this language flourished during this period.

Why so much emphasis on Old Dutch and just a few lines on Middle and New Dutch together? This is justified by the fact that the latter

stages of Dutch are relatively easily identifiable as ‘Dutch’ in the loan context of this paper. Even in the case of Middle Dutch, the risk of confusion with loans from Middle Low German is contained, contrary to the situation of loans to Central European or Scandinavian languages in that period. But, with respect to Old Dutch compared with Old High German, care must be taken. The documentary evidence is scarce and one often relies on regional indicators (if Old Dutch and Old High German offer identical candidates, a Merovingian context points to Old Dutch) or on the presence or absence of the impact of the High German Sound Shift (present in Old High German and later stages, but absent in all stages of Dutch).

4. How to use this paper

In order to respect the authenticity of the quoted sources, the original spelling used in the quotations is maintained in this paper. An exception is made for those cases (mostly Azkue [1969 (1905–1906)], occasionally also Lhande [1926]) where an *l* or *s* with a superposed tilde or horizontal stroke is used in a long superseded Basque spelling variant. In such cases, the official spelling of the Basque Academy is adopted. With respect to the spelling of Old and Middle Dutch words retrieved from the on-line *Integrated Language Bank* (GTB), the standardized spelling variants proposed in there are used. Words which are not actually attested in Old Dutch, but reconstructed on the basis of, e.g., French or Medieval Latin sources, are marked by an asterisk (*).

Sarasola (1984–1995) and the OEH (1987–2005) series, now accessible on the Internet, were primarily used to find the first attestation of a word in Basque. ‘First’ is to be understood here as the earliest documented evidence of a word, be it embedded in a text or in a dictionary. In some cases where the attestation is unknown, the source in which the word was found by Lhande (1926) is mentioned. English translations are provided whenever considered useful, but translations from Azkue are always given

in the sequence Spanish/French, and usually without any further translation in English.

Each Basque entry in the official spelling of Euskara Batua in the list is immediately followed by the Dutch origin in its contemporary form, and provided with a phonetic representation in square brackets. This is based on the IPA notation system, but is simplified and serves no other purpose than to be of some guidance to readers who are unfamiliar with Dutch. Voiced [ɣ] and voiceless [χ] are neutralized and rendered as the voiceless [χ].

The English names of Basque dialects follow the system used by De Rijk (2008: 2), referred to in the Literature as DeR.

Each source reference in the dictionary part of this paper consists of an abbreviated author's name, followed, if necessary, by a sequential number (as listed in the Literature), then followed by a page number. Page numbers are consistently preceded by the abbreviation 'p.' in order to assist the reader in distinguishing them at first sight from attestation dates, which are as frequent as page numbers, and often of the same magnitude. See, e.g., under the first entry *Ababor* the explanation «According to Rey1 (p. 1136), French *bâbord* was borrowed (1484) from Dutch *bakboord* 'port side'. Cor1 (p. 358) states that Spanish borrowed *abor* (1526) from Dutch via French», in which 1136 is a page number, and 1484 and 1526, of the same order of magnitude, are two attestation years.

How to read an entry in the dictionary part of this paper (the explanations are given in a different font type and size):

Ababor	<i>bakboord</i>	['bagbort]	through French first and then Spanish
Modern Basque	Modern Dutch	Pronunciation aid	Migration route
<p>Follows a paragraph dedicated to the etymology of the Dutch source word and the Sijs2/3 reference: According to Phil1 (p. 203), contemporary Dutch <i>bakboord</i> 'port side of a ship' continues Early New Dutch <i>back boord</i> (1599), but is probably of a much older date, with the same meaning. Sijs2 (p. 192) and Sijs3 have <i>bakboord</i> as a loan to Basque via Spanish.</p> <p>Follows a paragraph with details concerning the migration route: According to Rey1 (p. 1136), French <i>bâbord</i> was borrowed (1484) from Dutch <i>bakboord</i> 'port side'. Cor1 (p. 358) states that Spanish borrowed <i>abor</i> (1526) from Dutch via French.</p> <p>Follows a paragraph with sources describing the Basque word: Sar1 (p. 49) has the entry <i>ababor</i>, which is not geographically marked, and describes it as the left-hand side of a ship. The term is not mentioned in Azk or in Lh, but is covered in AH (p. 38), translated as <i>abor/bâbor</i>. Barr (p. 122) has <i>abor</i> and other variants in Biscayan. The attestation of <i>ababor</i> in Basque (1677) is given at a time when 'port' and 'starboard' had long been incorporated into the vocabularies of French and Spanish. The specific form <i>ababor</i> may suggest a reinterpretation of the order or outcry <i>A abor!</i> 'To port!'.</p> <p>Follows a closing statement concerning the first attestation of the word in Basque, and sometimes a special note. According to Sar, <i>ababor</i> was first attested in Basque in 1677.</p>			

Ababor *bakboord* ['bagbort] through French first and then Spanish

According to Phil1 (p. 203), contemporary Dutch *bakboord* 'port side of a ship' continues Early New Dutch *back boord* (1599), but is probably of a much older date, with the same meaning. Sijs2 (p. 192) and Sijs3 have *bakboord* as a loan to Basque via Spanish.

According to Rey1 (p. 1136), French *bâbord* was borrowed (1484) from Dutch *bakboord* 'port side'. Cor1 (p. 358) states that Spanish borrowed *abor* (1526) from Dutch via French.

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According to Sar, *ababor* was first attested in Basque in 1677.

Abra *haven* [‘havə(n)] through French first and then Spanish

According to Phil2 (p. 390), contemporary Dutch *haven* ‘port’ continues Middle Dutch *havene* ‘mooring, port’ (1240). Sijs2 (p. 340) and Sijs3 have *haven* as a loan to Basque via Spanish.

According to Rey3 (p. 1732), French *havre* was borrowed (1160) from Middle Dutch *havene*. Cor1 (p. 11) has *abra*, Spanish *ensenada* ‘bay’ as a loan (1478) from French *havre* ‘sea port’ which, in turn, continues Middle Dutch *havene* ‘harbour, port’.

According to Azk1 (p. 8), *abra* is attested only in Biscayan Basque and is of foreign origin. *Abra* is not mentioned in Lh or Sar, but is contained in Barr (p. 87) with Spanish *abra* and French *havre*.

The date and source of the first attestation of *abra* in Basque are unknown.

Alatu *halen* [‘halə(n)] through French first and then Spanish

Phil2 (p. 369) has contemporary Dutch *halen* ‘to fetch, to get, to bring’ which continues Middle Dutch *halen* (1263–1270) in which it was also used in the expression *seil halen* ‘to hoist the sail’. The nautical connotation was borrowed a.o. by French *haler* and Spanish *halar*. Sijs2 (p. 334) and Sijs3 have *halen* as a loan to Basque via Spanish.

Rey3 (p. 1664) has *haler* ‘to pull something’ as a loan from West Germanic, attested in French in 1138. Cor2 (p. 870) has *halar* ‘to pull something with a cable’ as a loan from French *haler*, which Cor describes as a derivation from Germanic **halōn*. Cor identifies Old Dutch as the most probable source of the French loan. *Halar* was first attested in Spanish in 1573.

AH (p. 38) has *alatu* translated as Spanish *cobrar*, *halar*, *virar* and French *haler*, *virer* ‘to haul, to pull’. Barr (p. 91) has the verbal root *ala* in Biscayan translated as *halar* ‘to haul, to pull, to tow’. No entry of this kind is found in Lh, Azk or Sar.

According to OEH, *alatu*, recorded as *halatu*, was first attested in Basque around 1720.

Alkabuz *haakbus* [‘hakbʌs] through French

Sijs2 (p. 333) and Sijs3 have it as a loan to Basque via French.

Rey1 (p. 779) states that French *arquebuse* was borrowed (1475) from German *Hakenbüchse*, but FEW16 (p. 126) stresses that the source is Dutch

hakebusse, *haecbusse* as it was used in Flanders and Burgundy (the French loan was attested in Lille, 1475), and not the German form which was attested in Freiburg. Because of the level of detail in the determination of the location, preference is given to FEW, and to Dutch as the source language.

Lh mentions in addition to *arkhabuza* (of foreign origin) the Labourdin *alkabuza*, the Souletin *arkabüsa*, and the regionally unmarked (but still Northern) *arkabos*, all translated by *arquebuse* or *fusil*. Sar1 (p. 91) has the root *alkabuz* meaning both ‘hackbut’ and, at a later stage, ‘rifle’.

According to Sar, *alkabuz* was first attested in Basque around 1600 as ‘hackbut’ and in 1847 as a ‘rifle’.

Amarratu *aanmeren* [‘anmerə(n)] through French (Gascon)

Contemporary Dutch *aanmeren* is attested as Early New Dutch *aanmeren* (1660) and derives from Middle Dutch *meren* (1286), incorporating the locational preposition *aan* ‘at, to’ as a prefix (Phil3: p. 337). The parallel form *maren* (1464) is the North Sea Germanic variant. The verb meant and still means ‘to tie a ship to the quay or shore’. Sijs2 (p. 165) and Sijs3 have *aanmeren* as a loan to Basque via French.

According to Rey1 (p. 412), (*aen*)*marren* [W]: is (*aen*)*maren* meant?] was borrowed in the 14th century from Middle Dutch by French *amarrer*, which passed it on to Basque. http://www.lexilogos.com/gascon_dictionnaire.htm gives *amarrar* in different varieties of Gascon.

Lh (p. 38) classifies *amarratu* as Labourdin and gives *lier* as the French translation. Azk1 (p. 37) indicates that the word has spread both through the North and through the South, and gives *atar/attacher* as translations. Sar1 (p. 94) comments that *amarratu*, described as *estekatu* or *lotu*, is not much used outside the Northern area. Nevertheless, it is mentioned in AH (p. 39) and in Barr (p. 96) in the Biscayan dialect.

According to Sar, *amarratu* was first attested in Basque in 1643.

Note: the pronunciation of *aanmeren* in contemporary Dutch spoken at normal speed is [‘amerə], with the assimilation of word-internal *nm* to *m*, which is reflected also in all loans in Gascon, French, Spanish and Basque.

Arrabota *rob* [rəp] through French

Sijs2 (p. 554) and Sijs3 have *rob* as a loan to Basque via French.

FEW16 (p. 730) has French *rabot* (1368) as a loan from Middle Dutch *robbe* ‘rabbit’. Rey5 (p. 1510) follows the argumentation in FEW. *Rabot* is described as a carpenter’s plane with the shape of a sitting rabbit.

According to Lh (p. 68), *arrabota* is common Northern Basque, in addition to Souletin *arrabotü* and Labourdin *errebote*, all of them said to be of foreign origin. Lh also gives *errabota* for Northern Basque, but without any explanation. Azk1 (p. 71) only has *arrabota* in Northern Basque (foreign origin).

The date and source of the first attestation of *arrabota* in Basque are unknown.

Arribant *ringband* [ˈrɪŋbant] through French

Ringband is a compound in contemporary Dutch consisting of the head element *band* ‘band, binding’ and the modifier *ring* ‘circular object’, originally denoting a dog’s collar. According to GTB, Phil1 (p. 215) and Phil3 (p. 669), *band* continues Middle Dutch *bant* (1240), whereas *ring* dates back to Old Dutch *rink* (10th century), with meaning definitions as above. No attestation date for *ringband* can be found. Sijs2 (p. 553) and Sijs3 have *ringband* as a loan to Basque via French.

Rey6 (p. 60) has *ruban*, attested in French in this form in 1260. An older form is *riban*, borrowed from Middle Dutch *ringhband* ‘collar’. Gascon has, next to *rubàn* and *ribàn*, also *arribàn*, see Est2 (p. 734).

Lh (p. 75) has *arribant*, French *ruban* ‘ribbon’, as a Souletin word of foreign origin. There are no entries of this kind in either Azk or Sar.

The date and source of the first occurrence of *arribant* in Basque are not known, but Lh mentions Foix as his source.

Bagoi *wagen* [ˈwaχə(n)] through English first and then Spanish

According to Phil4 (p. 587), contemporary Dutch *wagen* ‘car, cart’ continues Old Dutch *wagan* (838) ‘cart’. In the 15th century, Middle Dutch *wagen* was borrowed by English as *wagon*. Sijs2 (p. 692) and Sijs3 have *wagen* as a loan to Basque via Spanish.

Cor3 (p. 663) has *vagón* as a loan from English *waggon*, attested in Spanish in 1884.

Sar2 (p. 153) has *bagoi*, described as ‘train car, railway coach’, which developed from the earlier introduced form *bagon*. There is no entry of this kind in Lh or Azk en Lh.

According to Sar, the earlier *bagon* was first attested in Basque in 1900.

Bakailao *kabeljauw* [‘kabeljau] direct loan

According to Phil2 (p. 598), contemporary Dutch *kabeljauw* (which continues 12th century Old Dutch *cabillaw*) or ‘cod’ (*Gadus morrhua*) had the parallel form *bakkelaauw* in Early New Dutch (1681). *Bakkelaauw* was the specific species, which were caught in the waters around Greenland. Sijs2 (p. 192) and Sijs3 have the variant *bakeljauw* as a loan to Basque via Spanish.

Rey1 (p. 1775) has *cabillaud* (1762), French *morue fraîche* ‘fresh cod’, which continues *cabillau(t)* (1278) and *cabillau* (~1250), borrowed from Dutch *kabeljau*. Rey has no entry like **bac(c)ala*. Cor1 (p. 358) has the entry *bacalao*, first used in Spain in 1516 and entered in a Castilian dictionary in 1599. According to Cor, Dutch *bakeljauw* was borrowed from Basque fishermen who were active in cod fishing in the waters of Greenland during the 16th and 17th centuries and called cod *bakailao* or something similar depending on the dialect they spoke. Cor states that from then on, *bakeljauw* in Dutch faced a competition with the autochthonous *kabeljauw*, which had, in the meantime, spread to other Germanic languages. However, Cor admits that the required Basque etymology of *bakailao* is far from convincing. As an alternative, a Gascon origin is hypothesized by Cor, involving Gascon *cap* ‘head’, or its diminutive *cabilh/cabelh*, in a designation like ‘big headed fish’, which was supposedly taken over by French *cabillau* (see Rey above), and eventually ended up in Basque *bakailao* as the result of a metathesis $k-b > b-k$. But Gascon *cabillau* is claimed by Rey to be an Old Dutch loan, based on a term which had been in circulation since 1163 (used in Flanders according to Cor), confirming the Phil data which refer to the 12th century. In such a scenario, the 16th century contact between (Spanish) Basques and Dutch may well have caused a loan the other way round, i.e. the Basques borrowing *kabeljauw* from the Dutch and applying their metathesis to the term. Because of the relative frequency and intensity of Basque-Dutch language contacts at sea, the original *kabeljauw* and a

backborrowed *bakeljauw* may well have coexisted for some time, but the latter form soon became extinct in Dutch.

Lh (p. 102) mentions Labourdin *bakailau*, French *morue*, and a parallel form *bakalau* also in Souletin, and relates them to Spanish *bacalau*. Only *bakalau* is classified by Lh as being of foreign origin. Azk1 (p. 127) has *bakailao* in Guipuzcoan and *bakailo* in High Navarrese, and classifies them as being of known foreign origin. Sar2 (p. 156) has the entry *bakailao* without a specific regional assignment.

Because *bacallao* has been used in Castilian since 1516 (Cor) and the first attestation in Basque is in a Castilian textbook of Biscayan Basque, we may assume that *bakailao* entered Basque directly and perhaps more or less at the same time as Castilian Spanish. The quotations from Southern Basque in Azk and Lh may be taken to support this hypothesis. The fact that the attestation in Basque (1653) is much later than the one in Spanish (1516) should not be too much of a concern: Sar only lists 15 source documents in Basque before 1653, and 13–14 of them have a strictly clerical content.

According to Sar, *bakailao* was first attested in Basque in 1653.

Bala *baal* [bal] through French

According to Phil1 (p. 194), contemporary Dutch *baal* continues Middle-Dutch *bale* (1427), borrowed from Old French *bale* (1268) which in turn dates back to Old Dutch **balla* ‘something round’. Sijs2 (p. 189) and Sijs3 have *baal* as a loan to Basque via French.

According to Rey1 (p. 1184), Franconian *balla* was borrowed by French as *bale* ‘bundle’, attested in 1268. The identity between Old Dutch **balla* (Phil) and Franconian *balla* (Rey) leads to the assumption that indeed Low Franconian or Old Dutch is at the base of French *bale*.

Lh (p. 103) classifies *bala* as Low Navarrese of non-Basque origin and translates it as *gerbe*, *balle*, *ballot*. Sar2 (p. 159) does not identify *bala*, described as *uzta-sorta lotua*, as confined to a specific dialect area.

According to OEH, *bala* was first attested in Basque in 1658.

Banak *ban* [ban] through French

Contemporary Dutch *ban* ‘punishment, ban, spell’ is found in an Old Dutch place name and in Middle Dutch *ban* (1237) with the meaning ‘justice, jurisdiction’. Phil1 (p. 214) reconstructs the earliest meaning of *ban* as ‘sol-

emn proclamation'. Sijs2 (p. 194) and Sijs3 have *ban* as a loan to Basque via French.

According to Rey1 (p. 1192), *ban* was borrowed in the 12th century from Franconian by French as *ban* 'proclamation', and is assumed to have migrated from there to Basque *ban(ak)*.

Lh (p. 106) classifies *banak* as Labourdin of foreign origin, synonym of the common Northern Basque *deiak*, the Labourdin *gridak* and the Souletin *kridak* (all forms are plural).

According to OEH, *banak* was first attested in Basque in 1675.

Banda *band* [bant] through French

According to Phil1 (p. 215), contemporary Dutch *band* 'band, binding, wheel band' derives from Middle Dutch *bant* (1240), which, according to Rey1 (p. 1198), is the successor of Franconian **binda* 'band, binding'. Sijs2 (p. 194) and Sijs3 have *band* as a loan to Basque via French.

According to Rey, Franconian **binda* 'band, binding' was borrowed by French as *bende*. From there it is assumed to have been taken over by Basque.

Lh (p. 106) classifies *banda* 'to bind' as a verbal root of foreign origin, commonly used in Northern Basque. Under the entry *banda*, Azk1 (p. 130) lists the Biscayan meaning of 'wheel band', i.e. 'iron band to protect a wooden wheel'. Azk also gives *bandato* (of unknown origin), perhaps the diminutive of *banda*, and translates it as *pañal/lange*, *layette*. All translations of *banda(to)* by Azkue are plausible continuations in the line of Old Dutch (Low Franconian)-French. Sar2 (p. 164) lists only *bandatu* (attested in 1712), but with the meaning *balezta eta antzeko armak tiro egiteko prestatu* 'prepare a crossbow or similar weapon for shooting', which seems unrelated to that of *banda(tu)* in the present context.

The date and source of the first occurrence of *banda* in Basque are not known.

Baranga *wrang* or *wrang* [vraŋ] through French

GTB defines contemporary Dutch *wrang* as a curved or V-shaped structure which forms the lower transverse load-carrying part of a ship's bulkhead. Attested in Early New Dutch (1697), it continues Middle Dutch *wrange*. Sijs2 (p. 707) and Sijs3 have *wrang* as a loan to Basque via French.

Rey6 (p. 1697) has French *varangue* (1573) and an earlier form *varengue* (1382), claimed to be of Germanic origin with a first reference to Dutch *wrang*. Sijs2 (p. 707) and Sijs3 have *wrang* as a loan from Dutch to French, but do not mention Spanish.

Azk1 (p. 131) has *baranga*, translated as *varengas/varangues*, in the High Navarrese variant of Hondarribia. AH (p. 58) mentions *baranga* with the same translations, and Barr (p. 128) has *barenga* and other variants in Biscayan. There is no entry of this kind in Sar or in Lh.

The date and source of the first occurrence of *baranga* in Basque are not known.

Bastitu *bast* [bast] through French

According to Phil1 (p. 231), contemporary Dutch *bast* ‘bark’ derives from Middle Dutch *bast* (1290) with the same meaning. Sijs2 (p. 197) and Sijs3 have *bast* as a loan to Basque via French.

According to Rey1 (p. 1274), French *bâtir* was probably borrowed in the mid 12th century as *bastir* from Franconian **bastjan* ‘to assemble using *bast* or bark rope’. Basque is assumed to have borrowed its *bastitu* from French *bastir*.

Lh (p. 117) classifies *bastitu* as Labourdin and Low Navarrese of foreign origin, and provides the translation *bâtir* and synonyms *eraiki* and *altxatu*. Azk and Sar do not mention *bastitu*.

According to OEH, *bastitu* was first attested in Basque in 1666.

Blu *blauw* [blau] through French

According to Phil1 (p. 324), contemporary Dutch *blauw* ‘blue’ derives from Middle Dutch *blau* (1240) for the same color. The reconstructed form in Old Dutch is according to GTB: **blāo*. Sijs2 (p. 220) and Sijs3 have *blauw* as a loan to Basque via French.

According to Rey1 (p. 1475), French *bleu* was borrowed (1121) as *bloe*, *blo*, *blef* from Franconian **blao* ‘pale blue, whitish’. Rey mentions German *blau*. *Bleu* was then taken over by Basque as *blu*.

Lh (p. 178) classifies *blu* as Souletin of foreign origin, and provides the translation *bleu* and common Basque synonym *urdin*. Azk and Sar do not mention *blu*.

According to OEH, *blu* was first attested in Basque in 1672.

Bolina *boeglijn* [ˈbʊχlɛin] through English and French first, then Spanish. According to Phil1 (p. 338), contemporary Dutch *boeglijn* ‘bowline’ derives from Middle Dutch *boechline* (1466). Sijs2 (p. 226) and Sijs3 have *boeglijn* as a loan to Basque via Spanish.

According to Sijs2 (p. 226), *boeglijn* was borrowed from Dutch as English ‘bowline’. Rey1 (p. 1598) gives French *bouline* as a probable loan from Middle English ‘bowe-line’ (1155). Cor1 (p. 484) states that French *bouline* was borrowed as Spanish *bolina* (1492).

Azk1 (p. 177) mentions *bolin/boliña* in Biscayan and Guipuzcoan Basque, and classifies it as being of foreign origin. Sar2 (p. 235) has *bolina*, but there is no such entry in Lh. Because of its presence in Southern Basque, the migration route via Spanish seems the most plausible.

Sar dates the first occurrence of *bolina* in Basque around 1875.

Borda *bord* [bɔrt] through French

Contemporary Dutch *bord*, which is a common designation of many flat objects, is attested in its plural form *borde* in Middle Dutch (1286). The reconstructed form in Old Dutch is, according to GTB, **bord* (1007). Sijs2 (p. 233) and Sijs3 have *bord* as a loan to Basque via French.

According to Rey1 (p. 1543), French *borde* was borrowed (1172) from Franconian **borda* ‘cabin built from wooden boards’. Rey states that *borde* is predominantly frequent in the South-West of France. This suggests a migration route via Low Franconian.

Lh (p. 179) classifies *borda* as a common Northern Basque term of foreign origin. According to Azk1 (p. 177) *borda* is present in the Northern Basque region and in Roncalese, the compound *bordalde* ‘land’ in Labourd, *bordalte* in Souletin and Roncalese, and the derivation *bordari* ‘tenant’ in Labourdin and in the Southern areas of Guipuzcoa and High-Navarre. Sar2 (p. 235) does not identify the term as being confined to a specific dialect area. *Borda* is attested in all extinct dialects in the Southern area whose vocabularies are at least partly preserved (Ar1: p. 72, Ar2: p. 27, Ar3: p. 38, Ar4: p. 32, Ar5: p. 25, Ar6: p. 15, Ar7: p. 12, Ar8: p. 36).

Sar dates the first occurrence of *borda* in Basque in 1571.

Bota *boten* ['botə(n)] either directly or through French (Gascon) or through Spanish

According to GTB, the New Dutch verb *bo(o)ten* 'to hit with the hands or with a hammer' is the descendant of the reconstructed form in Old Dutch **bōtan* (1091–1100). *Boten* is still in use with this meaning in contemporary Southern Dutch. Sijs2 (p. 235) and Sijs3 have *boten* as a loan to Basque via Spanish.

According to Cor1 (p. 500), Gascon *botar* and French *boter* were borrowed from Franconian **botan* ['bo:tan] 'to push, hit', originally 'to launch, throw' (1250), with references to English 'beat' and Middle High German *bōzen*. At the next migration stage, Spanish *botar* was borrowed from the Gascon/French source, and finally, Basque borrowed this as *bota*. Cor mentions the widespread presence of the stem *bot-* along the entire Atlantic coast of Spain and France, indicating that it must have entered the local languages in Spain through France. Because of this, and because of the maintenance of the intervocalic *t*, unaffected by the High German Sound shift, it is proposed that a direct migration from Low Franconian or Old Dutch to Basque should not be excluded as an alternative to the French Gascon or Spanish route.

Lh (p. 181) quotes Spanish *botar* as the source of the common Northern Basque *bota*. According to Azk1 (p. 179), *bota* is used both in the Northern and Southern dialect areas. Sar2 (p. 237) does not identify the term as being confined to a specific dialect area. *Bota(tu)* is attested in most of the extinct dialects in the Southern area whose vocabularies are at least partly preserved (Ar2: p. 27, Ar3: p. 39, Ar4: p. 32, Ar5: p. 26, Ar6: p. 15, Ar8: p. 36).

Sar dates the first occurrence of *bota* in Basque in 1656.

Brabante *Brabant* ['brabant] through French

According to GTB, *Brabant* originally designated a duchy in the Southern Low Countries and was first attested in Middle Dutch (1266–67). Sijs2 (p. 237) and Sijs3 have *Brabant* as a loan to Basque via French.

Basque *brabante* was borrowed through French *brabant*, a particular type of plough which, itself, was derived (1835) from *Brabant* (Reyl1: p. 1642), nowadays the name of a province in the Southern part of The Netherlands,

and one in the North of Belgium, where this tool was originally fabricated. *Brabante* is attested in the extinct Southern dialect of Artzibar (Ar3: p. 39). Lh: p. 107 classifies the variant *barabanta*, which has the same meaning, as a Souletin term of foreign origin.

The date and source of the first occurrence of *brabante* in Basque are not known.

Brus *bros* [brɔs] through French

Phil1 (p. 389) defines *bros* ‘fragile’ as the Early New Dutch shortened form of *broos* [brɔs], which continues Middle Dutch *broesch* ‘weak, fragile, defective’ (1287). Sijs2 (p. 245) and Sijs3 have Flemish *bru(i)s* as a loan to Basque via French.

According to Rey1 (p. 1717), French *brosse* (contemporary French: *brousse*) may be a loan from Franconian **brukja* ‘which is broken’. Basque *brus* ‘rotten’ is assumed to have borrowed this from French.

Lh (p. 183) qualifies *brus* as Low Navarrese and describes the meaning as *qualification donnée à un corps sans consistance ou disposé à se gâter*. Azk1 (p. 182) gives the same meaning definition, both in French and Spanish, and mentions the spread of the term in Low Navarrese and Salazarese with a specific example of ‘rotten wood’. Both Lh and Azk have the entry *bruxka*, with *x* [ʃ], qualified by Lh as Labourdin and Souletin, by Azk as Labourdin, meaning *quebradizo/cassant, cassé*, again specifically applied to wood. Lh points to Romance *brousto* as the possible direct source of *bruxka*.

According to OEH, *brus* was first attested in Basque in the Duvoisin dictionary manuscript of the mid 19th century.

Buia *boei* [buj] through French (and possibly later Spanish)

According to Phil1 (p. 339), contemporary Dutch *boei* ‘floating beacon’ is attested in Early New Dutch as *bo(e)ye* (1563, 1599) and may be the continuation of Old Dutch **bokan* ‘beacon’. Sijs2 (p. 226) and Sijs3 have *boei* as a loan to Basque via French.

If this diachrony is accepted, then contemporary French *bouée* was probably derived (1394) from Middle Dutch *boeye* (Rey1: p. 1577). According to Cor1 (p. 505), Spanish *boya* was borrowed (1528) from French *bouée*, which, in turn, is believed to derive from Franconian **baukan*. Cor quotes English ‘beacon’, but fails to mention Dutch *baken*.

Lh (p. 184) has *bui* in Labourdin as a term of foreign origin. Azk1 (p. 182) mentions *bui* in Biscayan, Guipuzcoan and Labourdin, translated as *boya/bouée*. The forms *buia* and *boia* in Sar2 (p. 239) with their final *-a* may be the result of a secondary loan to Basque of Spanish *boya*. In apparent conformity with this hypothesis, both AH and Barr have *buia* as dictionary entries, treating the final *-a* as part of the root, not as the definite article.

According to OEH, *buia* was first attested in Basque in 1677.

Dringatu *drinken* ['drɪŋkə(n)] through French

According to Phil1 (p. 631), contemporary Dutch *drinken* 'to drink' continues Middle Dutch *drinken* (1230–1231) and Old Dutch *drinkan* (10th century). Sijs2 (p. 284) and Sijs3 have *drinken* as a loan to Basque via French.

Rey6 (p. 1492) mentions the use of *trinquer*, attested in 16th century French, meaning 'to drink excessively', later to be extended to 'to toast'. Rey mentions a 16th century variant *drinquer* of Dutch origin. On the basis of these data it is plausible to assume that *drinquer* was borrowed from Middle or Early New Dutch.

Lh (p. 213) classifies *dringa(tu)* as Souletin and of foreign origin (related to French *trinquer*), and translates this as *choquer les verres*, hence a probable loan from French to Basque. Azk1 (p. 206) has the entry *dringa edan* (Souletin) together with *dringez edan* (Low Navarrese), meaning again 'to drink excessively'.

The date and source of the first occurrence of *dringatu* in Basque are not known.

Droga *droog* [droɣ] through French

Contemporary Dutch *droog* 'dry' continues Middle Dutch *droge* which, according to GTB, dates back to Old Dutch *drugī* (1100). Phil1 (p. 635) mentions *droge* in Middle Dutch (1240) whose original meaning was probably 'something from which the water has leaked away'. Sijs2 (p. 285) and Sijs3 have *droog* as a loan to Basque via French.

In the 14th century French *drogue* was possibly borrowed from Middle Dutch, meaning 'something dried', 'ingredient for a medicine or drug', later to be extended to 'medicine prepared by a quack' (Rey2: p. 1708). *Droque* is assumed to have been taken over by Basque as *droga*.

Lh (p. 213) has the root *droga* and the verb *drogatü* in Souletin and translates this as *dénaturer* and relates it to French *droguer*. Sar2 (p. 268) has *droga* with the meaning of ‘medicine, drug’.

According to Sar, the first attestation of *droga* ‘medicine, drug’ in Basque is found in 1691.

Drola, drole *drol* [drɔl] through French

According to Phil1 (p. 633), contemporary Dutch *drol* ‘turd, chubby little child’, continues Early New Dutch *drol* with the additional meaning ‘gnome, little funny man’ (1599) from Middle Dutch *drol(le)* ‘gnome’ (1477). Sijs2 (p. 285) and Sijs3 have *drol* as a loan to Basque via French.

Drolle appeared (1584) in French (contemporary French has *drôle*) as a loan from Early New Dutch *drol* meaning *petit bonhomme, lutin* (Rey2: p. 1719). From French it migrated into Basque as *drola/drole*.

Azk1 (p. 206) calls *drola* Biscayan and *drole* High Navarrese, both with the meaning *bromista/plaisant, railleur*, and mentions French *drôle* as the possible origin, despite the citation from two Southern Basque dialects. The absence of *drola/drole* in Lh is also surprising in this respect.

The date and source of the first occurrence of *drola/drole* in Basque are not known.

Erlinga *ralijk* [‘raleik] through French first and then Spanish

Ralijk is a compound in contemporary Dutch consisting of the head element *lijk* ‘rope sewn around the rim of a sail’ and the modifier *ra* ‘yard’, denoting the rope that is sewn around the yard side rim of a rectangular sail to prevent this from being torn in high winds. According to Phil3 (p. 230, 614), *lijk* continues Early New Dutch *lijc* (1569) with the meaning definition as above, whereas *ra* is attested as such in Middle Dutch (1285). Sijs2 (p. 540) and Sijs3 have *ralijk* as a loan to Basque via Spanish.

Rey5 (p. 1582) has *ralingue* as a loan from Dutch *ralijk*, attested in French in this form in 1379. Cor3 (p. 1082) has *relinga* as a loan through French *ralingue* from Dutch. The older form *ralinga* was first attested in Spanish in 1493. It is assumed that Basque *erlinga* was borrowed from Spanish *relinga*, whereby the metathesis *re-* > *-er* results from the near-impossibility in Basque to have *r* as a word-initial consonant.

Azk1 (p. 259) has the entry *erlinga* as a term of foreign origin, translated as *relinga/ralingue*. Barr (p. 170) has *erlinga* and other variants in Biscayan with the same translation *relinga* in Spanish. There are no entries of this kind in either Lh or Sar.

The date and source of the first occurrence of *erlinga* in Basque are not known.

Eskarda *schaarde* [ˈsɣardə] through French

According to GTB, *schaarde* ‘broken piece’ is an archaism in contemporary Dutch. It continues Middle Dutch *scaerde* (1285) which includes the same meaning, and Old Dutch *skardo* (1165) meaning ‘broken piece, splinter’, borrowed by Old French as *escherde*. Sijs2 (p. 564) and Sijs3 have *schaarde* as a loan to Basque via French.

Rey2 (p. 1793) has *écharde* ‘splinter’ as a continuation of 13th century French *écherde* from Franconian **skarda* ‘wood splinter’. Because of the uninterrupted chain of similar forms and meanings from Old to New Dutch, it is assumed that the source was Low Franconian or Old Dutch.

Lh (p. 275) has *eskarda*, French *écharde*, *petit éclat de bois* ‘splinter’, classified as a term of foreign origin. There are no entries of this kind in Azk or Sar.

According to OEH, *eskarda* was first attested in Basque in the second half of the 16th century.

Eskora *schoor* [sɣor] through French first and then Spanish

According to GTB, contemporary Dutch has *schoor* ‘inclined pole or beam supporting another structure’ which continues Middle Dutch *schore* with the same meaning. Sijs2 (p. 573) and Sijs3 have *schoor* as a loan to Basque via Spanish.

Rey1 (p. 93) has *accore* ‘(structural) support’ as a continuation of *escore* (1382), a loan from Middle Dutch *schore* and contemporary Dutch *schoor* with the same meaning. Cor2 (p. 358) has *escora* as a loan from Old French *escore* which is claimed to be of Germanic origin. Dutch *schoor* is quoted in the first place. The term was first attested in Spanish in 1587. It is assumed that the Old French loan was first passed on to Spanish and from there to Basque.

Lh (p. 277) has *eskora*, French *étai*, *appui*, *soutien* ‘support’ without any indication as to its autochthonous or foreign origin. Azk1 (p. 278) has the

same, including Spanish *puntal*, *apoyo*, *sostén*. Sar does not have any entry like *eskora*. Neither Lh nor Azk mentions a geographical specificity, but Lh has the verb *eskoratu* ‘to strengthen’ as Labourdin.

The date and source of the first occurrence of *eskora* in Basque are not known, but Lh refers to the Silvain Pouvreau manuscript (17th century) as one of his sources.

Eskota *schoot* [sxot] through French first and then Spanish

Phil4 (p. 106–107) defines contemporary Dutch *schoot* as ‘line used to tighten a sail’. This continues Middle Dutch *sc(h)oot* and Old Dutch **skōta* (1155) ‘line attached to a corner of the sail to pull it tight’, borrowed by Old French as *escote* (GTB). Sijs2 (p. 573) and Sijs3 have *schoot* as a loan to Basque via Spanish.

Rey2 (p. 1847) has *écoute* ‘lower corner of a sail’ or, by extension, ‘line fixed to that corner’ as a loan from Old Nordic *skaut*. Cor2 (p. 360) has *escota* as a loan from Old French *escote* which is claimed to be of Franco-nian origin **skōta*, with a first reference to contemporary Dutch *schoot*. The term was first attested in Spanish in 1539. Because of the uninterrupted chain of similar forms and meanings from Old to New Dutch, it is assumed that the source of *écoute/escota* was Low Franconian or Old Dutch. It is assumed that the Old French loan was first passed on to Spanish and from there to Basque.

Azk1 (p. 278) has *eskota*, translated as *escota/écoute* ‘sheet’, and classifies it as Biscayan and Guipuzcoan, and of foreign origin. Barr (p. 179) has *eskota* and other local variants of Biscayan. There is no such entry in Lh or Sar.

According to OEH, *eskota* was first attested in Basque in 1745.

Eskote *scheut* [sxot] through French

According to Phil4 (p. 88), contemporary Dutch *scheut* ‘small drink or quantity of poured liquid’ continues Middle Dutch *sc(h)ote* (1285); a parallel development can be observed between the contemporary adjective *scheutig* and its Middle Dutch predecessor *schotich* (1485) meaning ‘generous, willing to spend a round of drinks’. Sijs2 (p. 574) and Sijs3 have *schot* as a loan to Basque via French.

Rey2 (p. 1843) has *écot* ‘one’s contribution (in particular to pay for a common meal)’ as a continuation of Franconian **skot* ‘contribution’. Be-

cause of the uninterrupted chain of similar forms and meanings from Old to New Dutch, it is assumed that the source was Low Franconian or Old Dutch. The shift from an originally financial contribution to a contribution in kind, e.g., a free round of drinks, looks acceptable.

According to Lh (p. 277), *eskote*, French *écot*, *petit verre* (*de rhum*, etc.) ‘small drink, shot’ is local Souletin and of foreign origin. There is no such entry in Azk or Sar.

According to OEH, *eskote* was first attested in Basque in 1843.

Fletan *vleting* [‘vletɪŋ] through French

GTB mentions Middle Dutch *vlete* ‘big flat fish, ray (*Raja batis* L.)’, but has no *vleting*. Phil has no entry for *vleet*, the contemporary Dutch continuation of *vlete* or *vleting*. Sijs2 (p. 676) and Sijs3 have *vleting* as a loan to Basque via French.

Rey3 (p. 824) has *flétan* as a loan from Dutch *vleting*, *vlete*, attested in French *flettan* in 1554. On the website of the *Encyclopédie Universelle* we find French *flétan* ‘halibut’, attested as *flettan* (1554) and claimed to be a loan from Dutch *vleting*, a variant of Middle Dutch *vlete*.

Lh (p. 309) has Labourdin *fletan*, French *limande* ‘common dab’, not marked as a term of foreign origin. There is no entry of this kind in Azk or Sar.

The date and source of the first occurrence of *fletan* in Basque are not known, but Lh refers to Giménés as his source.

Galga *galg* [χalχ] through French (Gascon)

According to Phil2 (p. 156), contemporary Dutch *galg* ‘gallows’ continues Middle Dutch *galge* ‘cross beam, gallows’ (1240). Sijs2 (p. 311) and Sijs3 have *galg* as a loan to Basque via French.

According to Rey4 (p. 455), Old French *gauge* is attested in 1268 with the meaning ‘measure, yard stick’ and is a continuation of Franconian *galga*, the plural of *galgo* ‘stick’. The term *galga* is believed to have passed from Old French into Basque.

In the field of measurements, measurement tools and dimensions, Lh (p. 329) has a.o. *galga* ‘(water) level’ or ‘marking gauge’ in Labourdin, identical to Azk1 (p. 321). *Galga* is also registered in the extinct Southern Basque dialect of Ameskoa (Ar7: p. 22) as the equivalent of Batua *galga*. Sar4 (p. 385) mentions only ‘(water) level’ without indicating a specific regional focus.

According to Sar, *galga* was first attested in Basque in 1905.

Note: none of the Basque dictionary sources marks *galga* as a possible loan of foreign origin, but its relation to ‘yard stick’ in French deserves attention. Because in contemporary French the term *jauge* is pronounced with an initial [ʒ], in contrast with Gascon *gauje* that has an initial [g], the passage to Basque may well have occurred from Gascon and/or a much older form of French at a much earlier stage than 1905.

Galopatu *wel lopen* [wɛl 'lopə(n)] or *walop!* [wa'lop!] through French

The contemporary Dutch verb *galopperen* is a 12th century loan from French *galoper* (Phil2: p. 159), but the origin of this is unclear. However, the two lines of descendance traced by Phil both point to an Old Dutch link. According to one hypothesis, Picardian borrowed the phrase *wel lopen* ‘to run well/properly’ and turned it into a single verb *waloper*, later to become *galoper* in French. The other hypothesis says that the interjection *walop!* ‘come on!, get going!’ was lexicalized in Old Dutch as the verb *waloppen*, to be taken over by Picardian and, later, French *galopper*. Sijs2 (p. 699) and Sijs 3 have *wel lopen* as a loan to Basque via French.

Rey3 (p. 1184) has *galopper* (1135) ‘to gallop’ as a continuation of Franconian **wala-hlaupan* ‘to run well’. Our assessment is that, because of the absence of any trace of the Old High German sound shift (here: *p* > *f*, cfr. German *laufen*, Dutch *lopen*), this points to Low Franconian.

According to Lh (p. 330), *galopatu*, French *galoper* ‘to gallop’, is derived from *galopa* ‘gallop’, which is Northern Basque and a term of foreign origin. There is no entry like *galopatu* in Azk or in Sar.

The date and source of the first occurrence of *galopatu* in Basque are not known.

Garba garf [χarf] through French

Phil2 (p. 172) defines contemporary Dutch *garf* as the successor of Old Dutch, in which the plural *garauon*, *garouon* ‘bundles, sheaves’ is attested (10th century). Sijs2 (p. 311) and Sijs3 have *garf* as a loan to Basque via French.

According to Rey3 (p. 1314), Old French borrowed (1170) *garbe* from Franconian *garba*. Contemporary French has *gerbe* ‘bundle of mown corn’.

Lh (p. 335) classifies *garba* as common Northern Basque of foreign origin with a reference to *garbe* in Bearnese, as it appears, borrowed from Old Dutch. Azk1 (p. 328) identifies *garba* with the meaning *fajo*, *gavilla/fagot*, *javelle* as Labourdin. Sar4 (p. 391) defines it with the same meaning as Northern Basque, but infrequently used.

According to Sar, *garba* was first attested in Basque in 1630.

Garlopa *voorloper* [‘vorlopər] through French (and then Spanish?)

GTB has the entry *voorlooper* ‘big carpenter’s plane’, attested in 1555, but states that the term must be older than that because it appears as the loan *varlope* in French at the end of the 15th century. Sijs2 (p. 682) and Sijs3 have *voorloper* as a loan to Basque via Spanish.

Rey6 (p. 1703) has French *varlope* (1660) and earlier variants dating back to the end of the 15th century as a loan from Dutch *voorloper*. Est2 (p. 874) has *garlòpe* in Gascon. Cor2 (p. 684) has *garlopa* as a loan from Flemish *voorlooper* via French. The term was first attested in Spanish in 1604.

According to Lh (p. 339), *garlopa*, French *varlope* ‘(carpenter’s) plane’ is Low Navarrese and Labourdin, and is marked as a term of foreign origin. Azk1 (p. 331) extends the use of *garlopa*, translated as *garlopa/varlope* to all Basque dialects, except High Navarrese. Sar4 (p. 393) has *garlopa* without any regional bias.

According to Sar, *garlopa* was first attested in Basque in the middle of the 17th century.

Gerizatu *weren* [‘werə(n)] through French

According to Phil4 (p. 612), contemporary Dutch *weren* ‘to resist, defend’ continues Middle Dutch *weren* (1220) with the same meaning. Sijs2 (p. 699) and Sijs3 have *weren* as a loan to Basque via French.

Rey3 (p. 1592) has French *guérir* ‘to heal’ and its older form *guarir* (1050) as a derivation of Germanic *warjan* ‘to suppress, to protect’. Sijs2 (p. 699) and Sijs3 have *weren* as a loan from Dutch to French, but do not mention Spanish.

Lh (p. 351) has *gerizatu*, French *mettre à l’abri*, *défendre*, *protéger* ‘to shelter, to defend, to protect’ as common Northern Basque and of foreign ori-

gin. Azk1 (p. 341) has *gerizatu* as Labourdin and without any indication of a foreign origin. According to Sar4 (p. 405), *gerizatu* ‘to protect’ is common Basque, but Northern when meaning ‘to shelter, to hide’.

According to Sar, *gerizatu* was first attested in Basque in 1630.

Gerla *weer* [wer] through French

According to Phil4: p. 604, contemporary Dutch *weer* ‘defense, resistance’ (almost exclusively used in some fixed expressions and compounds) continues Old Dutch *weri* (~1100) with the same meaning. Sijs2: p. 699 and Sijs3 have the verbal entry *weren* as a loan to Basque via French.

Rey3: p. 1594 has *guerre* (1080) ‘war’ as a continuation of Franconian **werra*. Sijs2 (p. 699) and Sijs3 have *weren* as a loan from Dutch to French, but do not mention Spanish.

According to Lh: p. 351, *gerla*, French *guerre* ‘war’ is common Northern Basque and a term of foreign origin. *Gerla* is mentioned in Azk1: p. 341 as Northern Basque, but is also locally attested in High Navarre. The term is identified as being of foreign origin. According to Sar4: p. 405, *gerla* is the Northern variant of *gerra* ‘war’.

According to Sar, *gerla* was first attested in Basque in 1545.

Gerra *weer* [wer] through Spanish

According to Phil4 (p. 604), contemporary Dutch *weer* ‘defense, resistance’ (almost exclusively used in some fixed expressions and compounds) continues Old Dutch *weri* (~1100) with the same meaning.

Cor2 (p. 826) quotes Spanish *guerra* (1037) as a continuation of West Germanic *werra*, taken over by speakers of Romance by the end of the Roman empire. Cor quotes examples from Old and Middle High German, and Middle and New Dutch, but is unconvincing in focussing on the meaning ‘disorder, confusion’ rather than ‘defense, resistance’.

According to Sar4 (p. 406), *gerra* ‘war’ is Southern Basque. *Gerra* is also found in a number of extinct Southern dialects of which parts of their vocabularies are registered: Ar2 (p. 48), Ar3 (p. 75) and Ar5 (p. 48). There is no entry *gerra* in either Lh or Azk.

According to Sar, *gerra* was first attested in Basque in 1562.

Ginbalet *wimpel* ['wimpəl] through French

According to GTB, Middle Dutch *wimmel* denoted a small drill or, in Flemish, a soil drill used to dig out a cavity in the ground for planting purposes, possibly related to Old English *wimble*. Sijs2 (p. 704) and Sijs3 have *wimpel* as a loan to Basque via French.

Rey3 (p. 1331) has the variants *gibelet* (1614), *guiblet* (1549) and 15th century *gui(n)belet* as loans from Flemish *wimbelkin*, diminutive of *wimbel* 'small drill'.

According to Lh (p. 359), *ginbalet*, French *petite vrille* 'small drill', is Low Navarrese and of foreign origin, related by Lh to Bearnese *guimbalet*. Azk1 (p. 347) has *ginbalet* and *ginbelet*, translated as *barreno pequeño/petite vrille* 'small drill', and extends its use to High Navarrese and Guipuzcoan. Azk relates the term to English *ginbelet*. Sar4 (p. 412) adds to *ginbalet* the variants *ginbelet* and *gimalet*. Sijs2 (p. 704) and Sijs3 have *wimpel* as a loan from Dutch to French, and from French relayed to Spanish. The Spanish line to the borrowing *berbiquí*, however, does not seem to have had anything to do with the French *ginbalet* type forms.

According to Sar, *gimalet* was first attested in Basque in 1653, *ginbalet* in the middle of the 17th century, and *ginbelet* in 1899.

Gindax *windas* ['windas] through French

GTB quotes contemporary Dutch *windas* 'winch' which continues Middle Dutch *wintas/windas* (1286) with the same meaning. Sijs2 (p. 704) and Sijs3 have *windas* as a loan to Basque via French.

Rey6 (p. 1850) has French *windas* with its variant *guindas*, attested in the 12th century, without any etymological information.

Lh (p. 359) has Labourdin *gindax*, French *espèce de treuil servant à hisser des fardeaux* 'winch' and classified as being of foreign origin, related to Dutch *windasch* (modern spelling: *windas*). Azk1 (p. 347) has *gindax* as *potro/travail* 'hoisting machine for cattle' without a regional focus. According to Sar4 (p. 412), *gindax* as a 'tool to hoist cattle' or 'crane' is Northern Basque.

According to Sar, *gindax* was first attested in Basque in the middle of the 17th century.

Gisa *wijze* ['weizə] through French

Contemporary Dutch *wijze* 'manner' continues Old Dutch *wīsa* (~1100) with the same meaning (Phil4: p. 624). Sijs2 (p. 703) and Sijs3 have the variant *wijs* as a loan to Basque via French.

Rey3 (p. 1621) has *guise* (1050) 'manner' as a continuation of Germanic *wīsa*.

Lh (p. 360) has *gisa*, French *manière*, *mode* 'manner, way' as common Northern Basque of foreign origin. The Souletin variant *gisa*, French *charge*, *soin* 'charge, care' is related by Lh to French *guise*. Azk1 (p. 348) *gisa* has identical definitions, but extends the former one to both Northern and Southern Basque, and the latter one to Low Navarrese and Roncalese. Sar4 (p. 413) restricts its definitions to the former, more common one. *Gisa* is also found in a number of extinct Southern dialects of which parts of their vocabularies are registered: Ar1 (p. 130), Ar3 (p. 76), Ar5 (*gixa* on p. 49) and Ar8 (p. 68). Sijs2 (p. 703) and Sijs3 have the variant *wijs* as a loan from Dutch to French, but without mentioning Spanish. Therefore, preference is given to the migration route via French. For the sake of completeness we mention that, according to Rom (p. 214), *gisa* relates to Iberian *gis*.

According to Sar, *gisa* was first attested in Basque in 1537.

Godale *goed aal* ['χud al] through French

According to Phil1 (p. 67), contemporary (rarely used) Dutch *aal* 'ale' continues Middle Dutch *ale*, attested in 1280; the contemporary Dutch qualifier *goed* 'good' has existed in different forms since the 10th century Old Dutch *guot* (Phil2: p. 301). The noun phrase *goed aal* means 'good ale/beer'. Sijs2 (p. 324) and Sijs3 have *goed aal* as a loan to Basque via French.

According to Rey3 (p. 1393), it is supposed that French borrowed *goede ale* in the form of *goudale* (1223) from Middle Dutch (this developed into contemporary French *godaille*, 1808, with its present meaning).

Lh (p. 364) mentions *godale* and a variant *godalia*, both in Souletin, as being of foreign origin. Lh calls up *godale* as an older form of French. Azk1 (p. 352) identifies *godale* as Souletin and Roncalese of unknown origin.

The date and source of the first occurrence of *godale* in Basque are not known.

Grabatu *graven* [ˈχravə(n)] through French first and then Spanish Phil2 (p. 326) defines contemporary Dutch *graven* ‘to dig’ as the successor of Middle Dutch *grauen/graven* (13th century) and Old Dutch (attested only in a past tense expression of the 10th century). GTB also quotes the specialized meaning ‘to carve in some hard material, to engrave’ (1236). Sijs2 (p. 327) and Sijs3 have *graven* as a loan to Basque via Spanish.

The specialized meaning of Middle Dutch *graven* was borrowed by French as *graver*, attested in the form (*re*)*graver* in the 14th century (Rey3: p. 1508). From there, and with this specialized meaning, it was borrowed by Spanish as *grabar* (Cor2: p. 761), who gives Franconian as the source language, attested in 1588. Following Rey, we take Middle Dutch as the origin, French as the relay language, and eventually Spanish as the language from which Basque borrowed the term. *Grabatu* is not mentioned in Lh, Azk or Sar.

The date and source of the first occurrence of *grabatu* in Basque are not known.

Gripatu *grijpen* [ˈχreiɸə(n)] through French

According to Phil2 (p. 334), contemporary Dutch *grijpen* ‘to grab, grip, seize’ continues Middle Dutch *gripen* (1240). Sijs2 (p. 327) and Sijs3 have *grijpen* as a loan to Basque via French.

Rey3 (p. 1553) mentions French *gripper* (1425) ‘to seize with claws’ as a loan that dates back to Franconian *grīpan*. Because of the stem-final *p*, which is not affected by the High German Sound Shift and has not become *f* (cf. contemporary German *greifen*), Low Franconian is assumed to be the source. The attestation date suggests, however, that the word was taken over from the Middle Dutch stage *gripen*.

Basque *gripatu* is assumed to be borrowed from the French reflexive form *se gripper*. Lh (p. 389) defines *gripatu* as common Northern Basque of foreign origin, and translates it as *se gripper* ‘to seize up’.

The date and source of the first attestation of *gripatu* in Basque are unknown.

Gris *grijs* [χreis] through French

According to Phil2 (p. 334), contemporary Dutch *grijs* ‘the color grey’ continues Middle Dutch *grijs, grise* (1236). Sijs2 (p. 328) and Sijs3 have *grijs* as a loan to Basque via French.

According to Rey3 (p. 1554) French *gris* was borrowed from Franconian *gris* (1150). It is supposed that Basque *gris* was borrowed from French.

Lh (p. 389) defines *gris* as Northern Basque of foreign origin, both in its original meaning of ‘grey color’ and in its metaphorical meaning ‘slightly drunk, tipsy’. Lh and Azk1 (p. 367) both give the verbal derivation *gristü* in Souletin, carrying the meaning ‘to become slightly drunk’. Sar4 (p. 435) gives *gris* without a regional focus and only quotes the literal meaning as a synonym of *uridin*, which is used to signify both light blue and grey.

According to Sar, the term *gris* was first attested in Basque around 1640.

Gurma *worm* [wɔrm] through French

Contemporary Dutch *worm* ‘(earth)worm’ continues Old Dutch *worm* (801–810) that designated not only earthworms, but any kind of creeping vermin. A parallel form *wurm* [wɔrm] developed in 15th century Dutch. Sijs2 (p. 706) and Sijs3 have *worm* as a loan to Basque via French.

Rey3 (p. 1431) has *gourme* ‘atopic eczema’ as a loan from Franconian *worm* (1228), assumed to be Low Franconian or Old Dutch. High German designations of this form of eczema bear no resemblance to *worm*.

According to Lh (p. 392), *gurma*, French *gourme* ‘worm’, is Labourdin and of foreign origin. There is no entry of this kind in either Azk or Sar.

The date and source of the first occurrence of *gurma* in Basque are not known, but Lh refers to his informant Chaho as his source (mentioned in passing only in Lh: p. XIX-XX).

Habre *haven* [‘havə(n)] through French

According to Phil2 (p. 390), contemporary Dutch *haven* ‘port’ continues Middle Dutch *havene* ‘mooring, port’ (1240). Sijs2 (p. 340) and Sijs3 have *haven* as a loan to Basque via French.

According to Rey3 (p. 1732), French borrowed Middle Dutch *havene* as *havre* (1160), a form which, according to Phil, dates back to Old Dutch. It is supposed that Basque took this over in the form of *habre*.

Lh (p. 395) gives *habre* ‘estuary’ as Souletin of non-Basque origin, but related to French *havre*. There are no equivalent citations in Azk or in Sar.

The date and source of the first occurrence of *habre* in Basque are not known.

Harpa *harp* [harp] through French

According to Phil2 (p. 387), contemporary Dutch *harp* ‘harp’ (string instrument) continues Middle Dutch *harpe* (1240). Sijs2 (p. 339) and Sijs3 have *harp* as a loan to Basque via French.

According to Rey3 (p. 1704) French *harpe* (string instrument) was borrowed from Germanic *harpa* (1080). Phil states that the loan to French occurred through Medieval Latin which had borrowed *harpa* from Germanic in the sixth century. The *p* sound in *harpa* suggests that it was rather Old Dutch than Old High German that passed the term to French. It is supposed that Basque *harpa*, which maintains the word initial aspiration (or, at least, the graphical reminder of it), was borrowed from French. Cor1 (p. 273) states that Spanish *arpa* derives from Franconian *harpa* and was borrowed from French, but in the form of *farpa* (1525). This makes a possible migration route via Spanish to Basque less plausible.

Lh (p. 412) defines *harpa* as common Northern Basque of foreign origin, but Sar4 (p. 463) gives no regional focus.

Sar mentions 1571 for the first attestation of the term in Basque.

Istribor *stuurboord* [‘styrbort] through French first and then Spanish

According to Phil4 (p. 317), contemporary Dutch *stuurboord* ‘right-hand side of a ship’ continues Early New Dutch *stuurboord*, *stuerboort* (1532) with the same meaning. Sijs2 (p. 621) and Sijs3 have *stuurboord* as a loan to Basque via Spanish.

Rey6 (p. 1472) has *tribord* as a loan from Middle Dutch *stierboord* (1484). Other forms are *estribord* (1573) and *stribord* (1678). Cor2 (p. 450) has *estribor* as a loan from Old French *estribor* and classifies it as being of Germanic, probably Dutch, origin (*stierboord*). The term was first attested in Spanish in 1526.

Sar5 (p. 591) has the entry *istribor* which is described as the right-hand side of a ship. *Istribor* is not geographically marked. The term is not mentioned in Azk or in Lh, but is covered in AH (p. 85), translated as *estribor/tribord*. Barr (p. 183) has *estibor* and other variants in Biscayan.

The attestation of *istribor* in Basque (Sar: 1677) is at a time when the equivalents of ‘port’ and ‘starboard’ had long been incorporated into the vocabularies of French and Spanish.

Kanika *knikker* ['knikər] through French (Bearnese)

According to Phil3 (p. 92), contemporary Dutch *knikker* 'marble, bonce, taw' continues Early New Dutch (1607) *knicker* 'ivory bullet', probably an onomatopoeia, imitating the sound of bouncing marbles. Sijs2 (p. 400) and Sijs3 have *knikker* as a loan to Basque via (dialectal) French.

A number of sources (e.g., http://www.lexilogos.com/gascon_dictionnaire.htm, <https://francaisdenosregions.com>, Lecomte (1910) and Bonm (2005) quote *canique*, *canica* and similar forms with the meaning 'marble' as dialectal words from Normandy to Gascogne. It is assumed that the term passed through Bearnese to Basque.

Lh (p. 581) classifies *kanika*, French *bille*, *boule*, as Souletin, related to Bearnese *canique*. Azk 1 (p. 465) only gives the compound *kanika-mailla* (Souletin) 'acorn' used as a marble by playing children.

According to OEH, *kanika* was first attested in Basque in 1858.

Kila *kiel* [kil] through French

According to Phil3 (p. 55), contemporary Dutch *kiel* 'keel, careen' continues Middle Dutch *kiel* (1291–1300) with the same meaning. Sijs2 (p. 389) and Sijs3 have *kiel* as a loan to Basque via French.

Rey5 (p. 1485) has *quille* as a probable loan from Norwegian (15th century). Sijs2 (p. 389) classifies French *quille* as a loan from Dutch, but does not mention a Spanish borrowing from Dutch.

Lh (p. 610) classifies *killla* (same entry as above) 'keel, careen' as Souletin of foreign origin. The term appears in AH (p. 77) as *gila* and in Barr (p. 195) as Biscayan *gilla*. The migration route from Dutch rather than from the more remote Norwegian seems more plausible.

The date and source of the first occurrence of *kil(l)a* for 'keel' in Basque are not known, but Lh has the Hiribarren manuscript as his source (second half 19th century).

Korbeta *korver* ['kɔrvər] through French first and then Spanish

GTB has Middle Dutch *korver* 'herring hunter (ship)', unknown in contemporary Dutch. Sijs2 (p. 410) and Sijs3 have *korver* as a loan to Basque via Spanish.

Rey2 (p. 642) has *corvette* as a possible loan from Middle Dutch *korver* (1476). According to Cor1 (p. 899), Spanish *corbeta* was borrowed from

French *corvette*. No date for Spanish is given. It is supposed to be of Germanic origin. Cor mentions *corbe* as a type of ship used in the Low Countries (16th century), and Middle Low German *korf* and Middle Dutch *korver* as denominations of a type of ship that may have been at the base of *corvette/corbeta*. It is assumed that the French loan *corvette* from Middle Dutch was passed to Spanish first and from there to Basque.

Lab-Eu (p. 36) has *korbeta* under the entry in Spanish *corbeta* with the definition of the small warship ‘corvette’ (the same definition is given in Lab-Es: p. 35). There is no entry like *korbeta* in Lh, Azk or Sar.

The date and source of the first occurrence of *korbeta* in Basque are not known.

Lai *lade* [ˈladə] through French

According to Phil3 (p. 168), contemporary Dutch *lade* ‘drawer’ continues Middle Dutch *lade* (1327) with the same meaning. The shortened form *la* appeared in Early New Dutch (1539), together with a parallel form *laeye* [ˈləjə] with a transitional [j] after the [d]-syncope. Substandard Dutch still has forms like [ˈləjə] and [ləj]. Sijs2 (p. 425) and Sijs3 have *lade* as a loan to Basque via French.

Rey4 (p. 624) has *laie* ‘box, case’ as a loan from Middle Dutch *laeye* (1357). According to Phil, the shift from ‘case’ to ‘content of the case’ occurred in New French *layette*.

According to Lh (p. 644), *lai*, translated as *layette* ‘layette’ is Low Navarrese and of foreign origin. *Lai* does not appear in Azk or Sar.

The date and source of the first occurrence of *lai* in Basque are not known, but Lh mentions the Hiribarren manuscript (second half 19th century) as his source.

Lasta *last* [last] through French

Contemporary Dutch *last* ‘charge, weight’ continues Middle Dutch *last* (1285) which includes the same meaning, and Old Dutch *last* (1107) ‘freight, unit of weight’ (Phil3: p. 183). Sijs2 (p. 429) and Sijs3 have *last* as a loan to Basque via French.

Rey4 (p.756) has *lest* ‘weight, ballast’ as a loan from Dutch, first attested as *last* in French in 1208.

According to Lh (p. 658), *lasta*, translated as *lest* ‘ballast’, is Labourdin and of foreign origin. Azk1 (p. 530) mentions its occurrence in two local variants of the Southern Guipuzcoan dialect and translates it as *lastre/lest*. Azk classifies it too as being of foreign origin. According to Sijs2 (p. 429) and Sijs3, Spanish *lastre* was borrowed from French. *Lasta* is not mentioned in Sar.

The date and source of the first occurrence of *lasta* in Basque are not known, but Lh mentions the Hiribarren manuscript (second half 19th century) as his source.

Lista *lijst* [leist] through Spanish

According to Phil3 (p. 232), contemporary Dutch *lijst* ‘border, frame’ continues Middle Dutch *lijste* (1277) which included the meaning of ‘fence’. Sijs2 (p. 437) and Sijs3 have *lijst* as a loan to Basque via French.

Rey4 (p. 796) has *lice* (1538) ‘fenced ground reserved for competitions and tournaments’ as a continuation of Franconian **listja* ‘barrier’. Cor3 (p. 110) has Spanish *lista*, said to derive from West Germanic, but quotes only one source in which it has the «dubious» meaning of ‘line, barrier’. Since the lexicon described in there dates back to the 6th century, it may be taken to support a possible Low Franconian or Old Dutch origin.

Only Lh (p. 681) has *lista* translated as *lice* ‘lists, fenced ground’, and classifies it as common Northern Basque related to Spanish *lista*. The formal identity between the Spanish borrowing from Old Dutch and the final citation in Lh (*lista*) seems to suggest a migration route from Dutch via Spanish to Basque, despite its ‘Northern’ registration by Lh.

The date and source of the first occurrence of *lista* with this meaning in Basque are not known.

Lursagar *aardappel* [‘ardapəl] calqued through French

Aardappel is an Early New Dutch compound consisting of *aard(e)* ‘earth, ground, soil’ and *appel* ‘apple’, known since 1514 as the common designation of certain tubers, but not attested with its present meaning of *Solanum tuberosum* ‘potato’ until 1712 (Phil1: p. 79). The compound has been known in French as *pomme de terre* since 1716, an obvious calque from Dutch. Sijs2 (p. 167) and Sijs3 have *aardappel* as a loan to Basque via French.

The French *pomme de terre* was calqued into Basque as the equivalent compound *lur-sagar* (Sar7: p. 748). Lh (p. 692) classifies *lursagar* as common Northern Basque consisting of the autochthonous elements *lur* and *sagar*. Azk1 (p. 559) defines *lursagar* as common Northern Basque, and mentions the variant *lusagar* a.o. as an archaism in Biscayan. Azkue's sample in Biscayan refers to the use of *lursagar* in Southern Basque at the time of Napoleon's Spanish campaign. Sar classifies *lusagar* as an objectionable variant of *lursagar*.

According to Sar, *lur-sagar* was first attested in 1856.

Mala *maal* [mal] through French

According to GTB, Middle Dutch *male* (1220–1240) 'purse' and *male* (1320–1340) 'travel bag, leather suitcase' continued Old Dutch *mala* (634). Contemporary Dutch *maal* as a bag or case (*maal* has many more meanings) is an archaism; it does not appear in Phil. GTB mentions the loan of the Middle Dutch term to English 'mail' and of Old Dutch to French *mal(l)e*. Sijs2 (p. 445) and Sijs3 have *maal* as a loan to Basque via French.

Rey4 (p. 1102) has *male* 'suitcase' (contemporary French: *malle*) as a continuation of Franconian **malha* (end of 9th century).

Lh (p. 706) has *mala*, French *malle* 'suitcase' as a term of foreign origin and synonym of *khutxa*.

The date and source of the first occurrence of *mala* in Basque are not known.

Makaela *makelaar* ['makəlar] through French

According to Phil3 (p. 291), contemporary Dutch *makelaar* 'broker, mediator' continues Middle Dutch *makelare* (1270) with the same meaning. Phil states that French *maquereau* 'procurer, pimp' was borrowed from Middle Low German or from Middle Dutch. Sijs2 (p. 448) and Sijs3 have *makelaar* as a loan to Basque via French.

Rey4 (p. 1162) has *maquereau* (15th century) as a loan from Middle Dutch *makelâre*.

Only Lh (p. 705) has *makaela* 'procurer, pimp' in Labourdin and classifies it as a term of foreign origin.

The date and source of the first occurrence of *makaela* in Basque are not known, but Lh mentions the Hiribarren manuscript (second half 19th century) as his source.

Masta *mast* [mast] through French

Contemporary Dutch *mast* ‘long pole, mast’ continuous Middle Dutch *mast* (1240) with the same meaning (Phil3: p. 314). Sijs2 (p. 455) and Sijs3 have *mast* as a loan to Basque via French.

Rey4 (p. 1246) has *mât* (1080) as a continuation of Franconian **mast*.

According to Lh (p. 719), *masta*, translated as *mât de vaisseau* ‘ship’s mast’, is common Northern Basque of foreign origin and related to Old French *mast*. Azk2 (p. 22) has *masta* translated as *mástil/mât de la barque* ‘mast’, and classifies it as Labourdin, Guipuzcoan and Biscayan. Sar7 (p. 775) describes *masta* as ‘mast’ without any regional bias. *Masta* also appears in AH (p. 109).

According to Sar, *masta* was first attested in Basque in the middle of the 17th century.

Moka *mok* [møk] through French

According to Phil3 (p. 370), contemporary Dutch *mok* ‘mug, beaker, can’ probably continues Old Dutch **mokka* ‘unwieldy, round object’. Phil mentions the New French loan *moque* ‘measuring can’ in coastal dialects. Sijs2 (p. 466) and Sijs3 have *mok* as a loan to Basque via French.

Rey4 (p. 1635) quotes *moque* (1780) as a regional and maritime term derived from Dutch or Picardian *mok* ‘pitcher’, denoting a recipient to weigh liquids or drink from.

Only Lh (p. 739) has *moka*, translated as *vase en fer blanc d'environ un litre* ‘tin can’ without any regional assignment or indication as to its origin. The phonetic resemblance with the above mentioned *moque* in French coastal dialects is obvious.

The date and source of the first occurrence of *moka* in Basque are not known, but Lh mentions the Hiribarren manuscript (second half 19th century) as his source.

Mustuka *poetsdoek* [ˈputsdok] direct loan

See the article «*Mustuka*»: *Nederlanderatik mailegatutako hitza?* ‘«*Mustuka*»: A loan from Dutch?’ in BMB (2016), in which it is argued that *mustuka*, which has no satisfactory etymology in the existing literature, may be a direct loan from Dutch. In this paper, a plausible chain of phonetic changes between Dutch *poetsdoek* and Basque *mustuka* ‘mop, rag’ is developed. In support of this, it is proposed that the term may have been borrowed by

Basque instructors who were contracted by the Dutch Nordic Company to teach their crews how to hunt whales and process them. Close professional contacts between Dutch and Basque crews at sea were maintained during the period 1612–1669, and it is assumed that the putative *poetsdoek-mustuka* transfer occurred during this period.

Netsonde *netsonde* [ˈnɛtsɔndə] direct loan or calque

The compound term *netsonde* (*net* ‘net’ + *sonde* ‘sounder’) in Dutch refers to ‘a device used to monitor the fish entering the net’. Sijs2 (p. 476) and Sijs3 have *netsonde* as a direct loan to Basque.

The modern Dutch term *netsonde* appears to have been calqued in various languages, e.g., English ‘net sounder’, French *sondeur de filet* and Spanish *sonda de red*. AH (p. 112) has it as a loan *netsonde*, but also as the calque *sare-zunda*.

The date and source of the first occurrence of the direct loan *netsonde* or the calque *sare-zunda* in Basque are not known.

Olanda *Holland* [ˈhɔlant] **through French**

The contemporary Dutch geographical designation *Holland* continues Middle Dutch *Holland/Hollant* (1254), probably meaning ‘hollow or low-lying land’. Sijs2 (p. 348) and Sijs3 have *Holland* as a loan to Basque via French.

According to Rey3 (p. 1847), the French common noun *hollande* (1598) designates a fine linen fabric manufactured in Holland. The first attestation of *holanda* with this meaning in Spanish is in 1526 (Cor2: p. 930).

Lh (p. 803) defines *olanda* as common Northern Basque and carrying both meanings, i.e. the country name and the cloth. There are no equivalent citations in Azk or in Sar. *Olanda*, though apparently only occurring in Northern Basque, looks very much like a loan from Spanish, but it is in the South where this form is *not* attested. Alternatively, a putative loan through French *hollande* cannot be excluded.

The date and source of the first occurrence of *olanda* in Basque are not known.

Olandes *Hollands* [ˈhɔlan(t)s] **through French**

The contemporary Dutch genitive *Hollands*, used as an adjective or as a noun to designate the language, continues Middle Dutch *Hollands/Hollants*

(1268). Sijs2 (p. 348) and Sijs3 have *Hollands* as a loan to Basque via French.

According to Rey3 (p. 1847) the French *hollandais* (13th century) was borrowed from Middle Dutch *Hollands*. The Spanish derivation *holandés* is not discussed in Cor2 under the entry *Holanda*.

Lh (p. 803) defines *olandés* as common Northern Basque and having the meaning of the adjective ‘Dutch’, and gives in addition the variant *olandres*. There are no equivalent citations in Azk or in Sar. Despite its formal similarity to Spanish *holandés*, there is no reason to assume that the Northern Basque *olandés* was borrowed through Spanish rather than directly from French.

The date and source of the first occurrence of *olandés* in Basque are not known.

Paket *pak* [pak] through French

Contemporary Dutch has both *pak* ‘bundle, package’ and *pakket* ‘small parcel, bundle’. According to Phil3 (p. 490), *pakket*, attested in Early New Dutch (1551), was borrowed back from Middle French *paquet* which, itself, had been borrowed from Middle Dutch *pac* [pak] (1252), a continuation of Old Dutch *pac* [pak] (1159) ‘bundle of merchandise’ (Phil3: p. 489). Phil ascribes the migration of Dutch-based forms of *pak* into Romance languages to the powerful Flemish wool and cloth trade during the Middle Ages. Sijs2 (p. 502) and Sijs3 have *pak* as a loan to Basque via French.

Rey5 (p. 182) has *pacquet* (1538) as a loan from Flemish which, in the end, derives from Dutch *pak*, supporting the migration route described by Phil.

Lh (p. 839) classifies *paket*, translated as *paquet* ‘bundle, package’, as common Northern Basque of foreign origin and synonym of the autochthonous Basque *bilgo*. According to Sar8 (p. 912), *paket* is Northern Basque, whereas *pakete* is Southern. Both are described as *bilgoa*.

According to Sar, *paket* was first attested around 1640, and *pakete* in 1908.

Pika *piek* [pik] through French or Spanish

Contemporary Dutch *piek* ‘peak, lance, spear’ continues Middle Dutch *pike* (1275) ‘sharp object, lance point’ (Phil3: p. 535). Phil claims the migration

is from Dutch *pike* to French *pique*, and not the other way round. Sijs2 (p. 514) has *piek* as a loan to Basque via Spanish.

Rey5 (p. 697) has *pique* (1376) as a loan from Dutch *pike*. Cor3 (p. 767) has *pica* ‘type of long lance’ and classifies it as a common Western Romance derivation from the verb *picar* which is also claimed to be common Western Romance and to have an expressive background. FEW16 (p. 623–624) states that the attestation date of Middle Dutch *pike* (1290) and the original designation of this type of lance as *pique de Flandres* indicate that French borrowed the term from Dutch.

Lh (p. 865) translates *pika* as *pique, arme* ‘peak as a weapon’ and classifies it as a term of foreign origin. Sar8 (p. 929) describes it a ‘lance’ and classifies it as predominantly Southern.

According to Sar, *pika* was first attested in 1745.

Pispot, pixapot *pispot* [ˈpispot] through French (Bearnese)

The contemporary Dutch compound *pispot* consists of the head element *pot* ‘pot, jar, container’ (GTB: possibly from Old French) and the modifier *pis*, root of the verb *pissen* ‘to pee’ (GTB: possibly from Old French or onomatopoeic), both attested in these forms and with these meanings in Middle Dutch, *pot* also in an Old Dutch toponym (1184) (Phil3: p. 547, 584). According to GTB, the compound *pispot* is Middle Dutch. Sijs2 (p. 517) and Sijs3 have *pispot* as a loan to Basque via French.

Rey5 (p. 711) has the verb *pisser* as a derivation from vulgar Latin *pissiare* (1180), and Rey5 (p. 1016) has *pot* as a derivation from vulgar Latin *pottus* (1155) of pre-Celtic origin. FEW16 (p. 624) has *pispot* as a loan from Middle Dutch in various variants of Walloon and with adaptations like *pichepot*. It is also attested as *pichepot* in Old Bearnese, and was spoken in Bayonne (Lesp2: p. 408).

Lh (p. 874) mentions *pixapot* and its variant *pispot* as synonyms of the more autochthonous *pixontzi*, all translated as *pot de chambre* ‘chamber pot, potty’. All components, *pixa*, *pis* and *pot* are claimed to be of foreign origin, thus confirming Rey. Azk2 (p. 172) gives *pixontzi* in Guipuzcoan and Roncalese, and *pixuntzi* in Navarrese and Souletin, in all cases translated as *orinal/pot de chambre* ‘chamber pot, potty’. Azk2 (p. 174) has *pispot* in Guipuzcoan. Sar8 (p. 935) only has *pixontzi* and the more modern

variants *pitxuntzi* and *pixuntzi*. Basque *pot*, French *pot*, *vase* ‘pot’ being typically Northern (Lh: p. 881), *pispot/pixapot* seem to be typically Northern Basque forms, but borrowed as unsegmentable, but easily understandable units. They do not conform to the rules of compounding in Basque and could not be the result of putting together the separately borrowed components *pis/pixa* and *pot*, which is why the migration route from Middle Dutch seems acceptable.

The date and source of the first occurrence of *pispot/pixapot* in Basque are not known.

Plaka *plak* [plak] through French

According to Phil3 (p. 551), contemporary Dutch *plak* ‘slice, plate, disk’ continues Middle Dutch *placke* ‘coin’ (1371). Sijs2 (p. 518) and Sijs3 have *plak* as a loan to Basque via French.

Rey5 (p. 769) defines *plaque* (1562) as a coin, derived from the verb *plaquer* (13th century) which, in turn, is a loan from Middle Dutch *placken* ‘to patch up’ (Rey5: p. 770).

According to Lh (p. 875), *plaka*, French *plaque* ‘plaque, plate’, is common Northern Basque of foreign origin. Neither Azk nor Sar has the entry *plaka*.

The date and source of the first occurrence of *plaka* in Basque are not known.

Pok *pok* [pøk] through French

Contemporary Dutch *pok* ‘sore, pustule’ continues Middle Dutch *poc(ke)* (1450) with the same meaning, in its plural form *pocken* denoting the disease smallpox. *Poc(ke)* is sometimes related to Proto-Germanic **puka* ‘something round’ (Phil3: p. 567). Sijs2 (p. 523) and Sijs3 have *pok* as a loan to Basque via French.

Rey5 (p. 955) has *poquet* (1849) as a derivation from Picardian *poque* (Standard French: *poche* ‘pocket’). It defines it as a small hole in the ground to put in seeds. French *poche* (Rey5: p. 839) is described as derived from Franconian **pokka*. The continuation of root-final *k* in Franconian points to Low Franconian.

Lh (p. 877) translates *pok* as *poque(tte)*, *fossette*, *petit trou rond* ‘pit, small circular hole’ and classifies it as local Navarese and of foreign origin. The

information in Azk2 (p. 175) is identical, but Sar does not contain the entry *pok*.

The date and source of the first occurrence of *pok* in Basque are not known.

Poka *fok* [fók] through French or Spanish

According to Phil2 (p. 107), contemporary Dutch *fok* ‘foresail’ continues Middle and Early New Dutch *focke* ‘small sail’ (1438, 1599). Sijs2 (p. 304) and Sijs3 have *fok* as a loan to Basque via French.

Rey3 (p. 859) has *foque*, *foc* (1702) as a loan from Dutch *focke*. Cor2 (p. 5540) has *foque* as a loan from Dutch *fok*, probably via French *foc*. The term was first attested in Spanish in 1696, close to the attestation date in French.

Lab-Eu (p. 114) gives *poka* as the Basque translation of Spanish *velas de foque*. Barr (p. 313) has *poje* and refers to *foka* (p. 189) and various other dialectal forms in local Biscayan, all meaning ‘fore staysail’. The hesitation between word-initial *f* and *p* is well known in Basque. Entries like *poka/foka* with the meaning ‘foresail’ are missing in Azk and Sar.

The date and source of the first occurrence of *poka* in Basque are not known.

Polder *polder* [ˈpɔldər] direct loan

According to Phil3 (p. 568), contemporary Dutch *polder* is already attested in Old Dutch as *polre* (1130–1161), which was to incorporate an epenthetic *d* at a later stage (*poldre* > *polder*). Between the 13th and 19th century the term was borrowed by many European languages, a.o. by French and Spanish. Sijs2 (p. 524) and Sijs3 have it as a direct loan to Basque.

FEW16 (p. 644) states that Dutch *polder* was borrowed twice by French, i.e., the first time from Old Flemish *polre* (1269-1331) ‘marais désséché’, and later from New Dutch as *poldre* (1805) ‘étendue de pays plat entourée de digues’, then changed to *polder* (1835). Cor3 has no entry *polder* in Spanish.

Polder does not appear in any of the major monolingual Basque dictionaries, nor is the term mentioned in the leading dictionaries between Basque and, e.g., English, French, German or Spanish. It does, however, figure as

an entry in EHE (p. 969). For want of better information it is supposed that Basque *polder* was borrowed directly from Dutch.

The date and source of the first occurrence of *polder* in Basque are not known.

Ponpa *pomp* [pɔmp] through French

According to Phil3 (p. 572), contemporary Dutch *pomp* ‘pump’ continues Middle Dutch *pomp(e)* (1463) which meant ‘water duct under a dike or dam’. The denotation of a piston-driven machine to displace water’ developed only in Early New Dutch (1557). Phil claims the probability of a loan of *pomp* from Dutch and/or Low German to French, English and Swedish. Sijs2 (p. 525) and Sijs3 have *pomp* as a probable loan to Basque via French.

Rey5 (p. 935) has *pompe* (1517) and emphasizes the ubiquity of the expressive syllable *pVp* (V = Vowel) in all Germanic languages. Dutch *pompe* (15th century) and English *pump* (1444) are specifically mentioned. Under the entry *bomba*, Cor1 (p. 484) does not contain any indication as to a possible migration of the term from a specific source, but quotes French, English and German equivalents with *p*.

There are no entries of this kind in either Lh or Azk. Sar8 (p. 941) mentions *ponpa* with a description that fits ‘pump’, and the slightly older form *punpa*, which is now disapproved. With a view to Spanish *bomba* and French *pompe*, a loan from Dutch via French looks plausible.

According to Sar, *punpa* was first attested in 1953, *ponpa* in 1965.

Note: according to Michelena (1985: 276) the dissimilation *mp* > *np* is normal in Basque.

Potasa *potas* [ˈpɔtas] through French first and then Spanish

Potas is a compound in contemporary Dutch consisting of the head element *as* ‘ashes’ and the modifier *pot* ‘pot, jar’, and meaning ‘ashes of burnt organic material stored and kept dry in a jar’, i.e. the chemical compound K_2CO_3 . *Potas* continues Middle Dutch *potasch* (1447) with the same meaning and exported to French and other languages (Phil2: p. 609, under the entry *kalium* ‘K’). Sijs2 (p. 528) and Sijs3 have *potas*, the compound KOH or K_2CO_3 , as a loan from Dutch *potas* to Basque via Spanish.

Rey5 (p. 1019) has *potasse* (1690) as KOH or K_2CO_3 , first attested as *pottas* (1577) in Walloon, and borrowed from Dutch *potasch*. *Potasse* was

attested in French as early as in 1577, and *potasa* in Spanish only in 1843. Cor3 has no entry *potasa*.

There are no entries of this kind in either Lh or Azk. Sar8 (p. 943) mentions *potasa* and describes it as K_2CO_3 .

According to Sar, *potasa*, meaning KOH or K_2CO_3 , was first attested in 1916.

Note: since the first attestation in Basque (1916) comes only after the attestation of the term in Spanish (1843), and because *potasa* is formally closer than French to the Basque form, it is assumed that Basque *potasa* was borrowed from Dutch in the sequence French-Spanish.

Potasio *potas* [ˈpɔtas] through English first and then Spanish

Potas is a compound in contemporary Dutch consisting of the head element *as* ‘ashes’ and the modifier *pot* ‘pot, jar’, and meaning ‘ashes of burnt organic material stored and kept dry in a jar’, i.e. the chemical compound K_2CO_3 (see for more under the Basque entry *potasa*). Sijs2 (p. 528) and Sijs3 have *potasio*, the element K, as a loan from Dutch *potas* to Basque via English.

Cor3 has no entry *potasio*. There are no entries of this kind in either Lh or Azk. Sar8 (p. 943) mentions *potasio* (1935) together with *potasi* (1965), *potaza* (1934) en *kali* (1935) and describes it not as the compound K_2CO_3 , but as the element K. This is in line with the indications in Phil2 (p. 609–610), according to whom English *potassium* was borrowed from Dutch *potas* and coined by the chemist Sir Humphry Davy to designate the element K. From here it was borrowed by Spanish and Basque.

According to OEH, the derivation *potasiodun* ‘containing *potasio*’ was first attested in 1916. According to Sar, *potasio* meaning the element K was first attested in 1935.

Sala *zaal* [zal] through French

According to Phil4 (p. 646), contemporary Dutch *zaal* ‘hall, large room’ continues Old Dutch *sala* (8th century) ‘main building’ or ‘dwelling place’ in toponyms. Phil states that French *salle* was borrowed from Germanic. Sijs2 (p. 709) and Sijs3 have *zaal* as a loan to Basque via French.

Rey6 (p. 144) has French *salle* (1080), said to be of Franconian origin (**sal*).

According to Lh (p. 905), *sala/salha*, French *salle* ‘hall’ is of foreign origin. Lh also mentions the meaning variants *maison* and *entrée d’une maison*, common Northern Basque and equally of foreign origin. Lh relates these to Gothic *sala*. Azk2 (p. 202) has *salha* translated as *entrada de una casa/entrée d’une maison* in Low Navarrese and Labourdin. Azk disapproves of the use of *sala* meaning ‘hall’, which he claims to derive from Old High German *Sal*. Arb (p. 127) quotes *sal(h)a* from Michelena, meaning ‘(farm)house, palace’. Sar8 (p. 965) only has *sala* ‘hall’, and states this is rarely used nowadays. *Sala* is also found in the extinct Southern dialect of Ameskoa (Ar7: p. 48).

According to Sar, *sala* ‘hall’ was first attested in 1562.

Taket *staak* [stak] through French

Phil4 (p. 254) gives contemporary Dutch *staak* ‘slender pole’ as the successor of Middle Dutch *stake* (1240). GTB has Old Dutch *stako* (1193). According to GTB, Old French borrowed *stako* as *estai*, contemporary French *étai*. Sijs2 (p. 604) and Sijs3 have *staak* as a loan to Basque via French.

Rey6 (p. 1019) has French *taquet* (1643) and its older variant *taquiet* (1459), possibly derived from Norman *(es)taque* which in turn relates to Franconian *stakka* ‘pole’. The Norman route points to Low Franconian or Old Dutch as the origin of Basque *taket*. Cor2 (p. 410) has *estaca* as a probable loan from Gothic **stakka*, but quotes a number of medieval occurrences in West and North Germanic languages. *Estaca* was first attested in Spanish in 1403. Sijs2 (p. 604) and Sijs3 have *staak* as a loan from Dutch to French, but do not mention Spanish. Also the formal similarity with older variants in French points to a plausible migration route via French.

Lh (p. 953) has *taket*, translated as the carpenter’s tool *taquet* ‘wedge’ and classifies it as a foreign term without a regional focus. Azk2 (p. 264) *taket* has as its first meaning *estaca/pieu* ‘pole’, defined as Guipuzcoan and Biscayan, and as its third meaning *cuña/taquet* ‘wedge’ only in a local Biscayan variant. It is marked as a term of foreign origin. Neither GTB nor Phil has any reference to the meaning ‘wedge’. According to Sar8 (p. 1014), *taket* ‘stick, pole’ is typically Biscayan.

According to OEH, *taket* was first attested in Basque in 1847.

Tapa *tap* [tap] through French

According to Phil4 (p. 346), contemporary Dutch *tap* ‘tap, plug’ continues Middle Dutch *tap* (1233) with the same meaning. Sijs2 (p. 627) and Sijs3 have *tap* as a loan to Basque via French.

Rey6 (p. 1010) has French *tape* (1752) as a maritime term, derived from the verb *taper* and meaning ‘plug’, but Rey6 (p. 1012) quotes the French verb *taper* ‘to plug’ with attestations as early as 1382 and 1611, related to the Germanic verb *tappôn* and, in particular, to the Dutch noun *tap* ‘plug’. Cor4 (p. 372) has *tapa* of probable Germanic (Gothic) origin and quotes a.o. Middle Dutch *tappe*, which is a more likely source than High German *Zapfen*, which incorporates two effects of the High German Sound Shift, neither found in Dutch, nor in Basque.

According to Lh (p. 955), *tapa*, French *couvercle*, *tape*, *bouchon* ‘cap, lid, plug’ is common Northern Basque and of foreign origin. Azk2 (p. 267) has the translations *tapa/couvercle*, *tape* and adds Southern Basque dialects to the area of usage, and confirms the foreign origin of the term. Sar8 (p. 1016) translates *tapa* as *estalkia* ‘cover’ and gives no regional focus.

According to Sar, *tapa* was first attested in Basque in the middle of the 17th century.

Tolda *tent* [tɛnt] through French first and then Spanish

According to Phil4 (p. 369), contemporary Dutch *tent* continues Middle Dutch *tente*, which in turn was borrowed from French *tente* ‘shelter formed by stretched canvas sheets’. Phil does not mention the variant *telt* or *telde*, but GTB has both *telt* and *getelt* as equivalents of *tent*. The relation between *tent* and *telt* remains unclear in these sources. Sijs2 (p. 630) and Sijs3 have *tent* as a loan to Basque via Spanish.

Cor4 (p. 483) has *toldo* as a word of probable Germanic origin, reminiscent of Middle Dutch *telt* ‘tent’, Old High German *zēlt* (although the latter form incorporates the result of the High German sound shift) and Old Scandinavian *tjald*. Cor classifies it as an old nautical term, borrowed from Germanic through Old French, with the meaning *toldo de barco* ‘tarpaulin on a ship’.

Azk2 (p. 282) has *tolda* ‘tarpaulin’ in Bizcayan or ‘bench in a small boat’ in Guipuzcoan, i.e. nautical terms of unknown origin.

The date and source of the first occurrence of *tolda* in Basque are not known.

Trikotatu *strikken* ['stri:kə(n)] through French

According to Phil4 (p. 304), contemporary Dutch *strikken* 'to tie, to knot' continues Middle Dutch *stricken*, *strecken* (1287) with the same meaning. Sijs2 (p. 619) and Sijs3 have *strikken* as a loan to Basque via French.

Rey6 (p. 1481) quotes French *tricoter*, attested in the 14th century, and relates it to Franconian *strikan* 'caresser, frotter', but this seems a misreading between Dutch *striken* ['stri:kə(n)] 'to smooth, to brush, to iron' and *strikken* ['stri:kə(n)] 'to tie, to knot'.

Lh (p. 978) has *trikotatu*, French *tricoter* 'to knit', derived from *trikota*, French *tricot* 'jumper, pullover, sweater', and classifies it as a term of foreign origin. There is no entry of this kind in Azk. Sar9 (p. 1037) classifies *trikotatu* as Northern Basque.

According to Sar, *trikotatu* was first attested in Basque in 1926.

Tropa *dorþ* [dɔrþ] through French

According to Phil1 (p. 614), contemporary Dutch *dorþ* 'village' can be traced back to Old Dutch *thorþ* (8th century) meaning not only 'village', but, according to GTB, originally also 'crowd, herd'. The reconstruction of *thorþ* was possible on the basis of the loan *trop* 'too much' in Old French, itself borrowed from an older form of Old Dutch (GTB). Sijs2 (p. 280) and Sijs3 have *dorþ* as a loan to Basque via French.

Rey6 (p. 1541) quotes French *troupe* (1538), attested in the earlier form *trope* on 1180, related to Franconian *thorþ* 'village, herd, heap, pile'.

Lh (p. 980) has *tropa*, translated as *troupe*, *troupeau* 'crowd, bunch, herd' as common Northern Basque and classifies it as being of foreign origin. There is no such entry in Azk. Sar9 (p. 1039) describes *tropa* as a local (popular) term with the same meaning as in Lh.

According to Sar, *tropa* was first attested in Basque in 1677.

Tropel(a) *dorþ* [dɔrþ] through French and then Spanish

According to Phil1: p. 614, contemporary Dutch *dorþ* 'village' can be traced back to Old Dutch *thorþ* (8th century) meaning not only 'village', but, according to GTB, originally also 'crowd, herd'. The reconstruction of *thorþ*

was possible on the basis of the loan *trop* ‘too much’ in Old French, itself borrowed from an older form of Old Dutch (GTB). Sijs2 (p. 280) and Sijs3 have *dorþ* as a loan to Basque via French. See for this introduction also the Basque entry *tropa*.

Rey6 (p. 1542) quotes French *troupeau* (1530), attested in the earlier form *tropel* at the end of the 13th century, related to Franconian *throp*. Cor4 (p. 603) has *tropa* as a loan from French *troupe* which is thought to be the continuation of *troupeau* and Old French *tropel*, of which Spanish *tropel* is a direct descendant. Cor defines Franconian **throp* as the probable source word in this chain. The continuation of the original word final *p* suggests a transmission through Low Franconian rather than precursor forms of High German in which the sound shift caused *p* to become *f* (cf. ‘village’ *Dorf* in High German, *dorþ* in Dutch).

Lh (p. 980) has *tropel*, translated as *rassemblement de gens* ‘crowd of people’ as Labourdin of foreign origin, and as *troupeau* ‘herd’, related to Spanish *tropel* als de bron. Azk2 (p. 293) mentions *tropel* as possibly Labourdin and Biscayan *tropal*, both translated as *rassemblement de gens*, *tropel* ‘crowd of people’ and classified as a foreign term. Sar9 (p. 1039) calls *tropela* archaic Northern Basque.

According to Sar, *tropel* was first attested in Basque in 1571.

Truskin *kruiske* [‘krœyskə] through French

Kruiske is the Flemish variant of the diminutive of contemporary Dutch *kruis* ‘cross’ (the standard diminutive being *kruisje* [‘krœysfə]. *Kruis* continues Middle Dutch (1220–40) *cruce* and Old Dutch (~1100) *cruce* (Phil3: p. 139). Although historically derived from Latin *crux*, *crucis*, it is the Dutch origin of *kruiske* as the carpenter’s tool ‘gauge marker’ which is relevant for subsequent migrations of the term with this particular connotation. Sijs2 (p. 419) and Sijs3 have *kruiske* as a loan to Basque via French.

Rey6 (p. 1555) has *trusquin* (1676), derived by dissimilation from Walloon *crusquin* which in turn derives from Flemish *kruisken* ‘small cross’.

According to Lh (p. 981), *truskin*, French *trusquin*, is of foreign origin. Azk2 (p. 294) only has the Guipuzcoan *truskin* ‘boorish, ungainly person’, also mentioned by Lh and translated as *mal fait*, *malotru*, or as *labin* ‘dawdler’

in Labourdin. It is unclear whether there is a relation between these pejoratives and the tool meaning.

The date and source of the first occurrence of *truskin* in Basque are not known.

Xopa *schop* [sʰɔp] through French

According to GTB, contemporary Dutch *schop* continues Middle Dutch *scoppe*, which in turn derives from Low German. *Schop* is also known in the Eastern dialects of the Low Countries which are close cognates of Low German. Sijs2 (p. 574) and Sijs3 have *schop* as a loan to Basque via French.

Rey2 (p. 1810) has *échoppe* as a loan from Dutch *schoppe*, attested as *escope* (1230) *petite boutique parfois en planches* ‘small shop built up from wooden boards’. FEW17 (p. 53) has Middle Dutch *schoppe*, originally meaning ‘small shop at a fair’, encountered also in Middle English ‘schoppe’ and from there in Old Gascon *chopa* (1409).

Lh (p. 1049) classifies *xopa* as Labourdin and describes it as the stern side of a ship, where the captain’s hut is located and the crew’s food supplies are stored. Lh relates the term to French *échoppe*. Azk2 (p. 254) also has *xopa* as Labourdin, but with the more limited meaning definition as ‘stern’ and without reference to a possible foreign origin. *Xopa* is not mentioned in Sar. The references to Middle Dutch and the additional nuance of a ‘shop on a ship’ point to Dutch-French as a plausible migration route.

The date and location of the first occurrence of *xopa* are unknown, but Lh mentions the Harriet manuscript as his source (early 20th century). According to OEH, *xopa* (quoted under *txopa*) was attested in Basque as ‘stern’ around 1720, but as ‘food storage near the ship’s stern’ in the Harriet and Duvoisin manuscripts of the 19th century.

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