

Towards a history of Basque anthroponymy¹

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ABSTRACT: In this paper, a short history of Basque anthroponymy is made, starting from Antiquity and going through the Roman period, the Middle Ages, the Modern Age and the Contemporary Age. For each of these periods, the stock of the most frequent person names is presented, by synthesizing a variety of works by other authors, who in turn depend on the kind of sources that we have for each period. As in other parts of Europe, an autochthonous repertoire of anthroponyms dominates until the 11th century, either of Aquitanian/Basque etymology or borrowed (mainly from Romance), but deep-rooted in the Basque-speaking areas and particularly in the Kingdom of Pamplona.

From the 11th century, the centralizing reforms undertaken by the Catholic Church brought about a gradual substitution of those ancient person names by some others taken from saints, evangelists, characters of the New Testament, a tendency brought to the extreme by the previsions fostered by the Council of Trent. However, as any other European language, Basque developed vernacular versions of these names, as well as an ample array of hypocoristic variants, in which the autochthonous processes of the language such as suffixation, palatalization, etc., are profusely employed.

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As against some previous accounts of Basque anthroponymy, which have focused exclusively on the analysis of separate anthroponymic units (basically idionyms and patronyms), this paper aims at a global description of the anthroponymic system, considering also social aspects like the development of naming structures as a whole (e.g. idionym + patronym + toponym), and the motivation for giving children particular names (according to relatives, ancestors, patron saints, calendars...).

KEYWORDS: anthroponymy, Basque, given names, personal names, surnames.

1. Introduction

This paper is the written version of the talk I held in Basque at the 3rd Conference of *Monumenta Linguae Vasconum*, which took place in Vitoria-Gasteiz, at the Faculty of Letters of the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU), on 15th and 16th of December 2016. The talk was a summary of a monograph I am working on, in which I attempt to make a history of Basque anthroponymy comprehending all the periods and all the issues concerning the question (not only the study of the most frequent given names and their formal analysis, but also of the appellation formulas employed in each period, systems of name transmission, etc.). By means of this paper, I intend to present the same summary in English, thus making up a short report of Basque given names.²

There is as yet no thorough history of Basque anthroponymy parallel to, say, Dauzat's *Les noms de personnes...* for French (see Dauzat 1944). One reason for it may be that most interest sparked by Basque given names has come from the fact that they are, at least for Antiquity and the Middle Ages, a crucial source for the study of the language. This has made research focus on formal and linguistic questions, leaving historical, anthropological and sociological aspects for historians.

There are, however, excellent works —either papers or monographs— on different aspects of Basque anthroponymy, some of which are recent and are bringing swift progress to the field. To mention but a few, a classical introductory paper is Mitxelena & Irigaray (1988 [1955]), still very useful today. As is Knörr (1999). In two specialized monographs, Salaberri (2003) and (2009), a thorough research is made first into Basque patronymics —but also into masculine names in the medieval period in general—, and into popular variants or hypocoristics of standard names. In English, Gorrochategui (1995a) is a useful introduction.

² The abbreviations employed —leaving the obvious ones aside— are the following: CSM = Cartulary of San Millán; DK = dokuklik, a digital file of all the surviving sacramental registers in Biscay, Araba and Gipuzkoa since the 16th century (at <https://dokuklik.euskadi.eus/>; 07/10/2018); SOSJJ = Statutes of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem; SJPeña = San Juan de la Peña.

2. Bascoïd anthroponymy in Antiquity

2.1. The Romanization around the Western Pyrenees and the nature of the sources

We cannot speak about a «Basque» anthroponymy in Antiquity, in as much as the scarcity of sources do not allow us to exactly determine the degree of relationship of the attested anthroponyms with the direct ancestor of historical Basque, hence the term «Bascoïd» in this section.

In fact, we cannot even establish the degree of «Basqueness» of the tribes in the historical Basque Country³ and neighboring regions in which Basque or Bascoïd languages have ever been spoken. Moreover, the names of those tribes have been transmitted to us by Graeco-Roman authors who relied on testimonies of travellers, works by previous authors, official documents, etc., and made classifications based on criteria set up from a Roman perspective.

The Romans penetrated the Ebro Valley during the 2nd century BC, after their victory in the 2nd Punic War (see Gorrochategui 1995b: 34-37). By 179 BC Sempronius Gracchus founded Gracchurris (= Alfaro, in La Rioja), in the middle valley. The conquest, however, was not straightforward. During the war against the Celtiberians (not defeated until 133 BC), the Vascones—who roughly occupied the territory between the Ebro and the Pyrenees corresponding to modern Navarre—may have been neutral or allies of Rome. Be it as it may, they do not appear in history until the Sertorian Wars. In these, according to the traditional—but lately increasingly questioned—view they sided with Pompey, traditionally considered the founder of Pompaelo (the modern Pamplona/Iruñea) around 75 BC, in the middle of the territory of the Vascones. After all the upheavals, both external and internal, that Rome had to undergo in the 1st century BC, eventually Augustus defeated the last foci of resistance in the north of the Iberian Peninsula (Cantabrian wars), and his administrative reforms paved the way to an integration of all the territories we are going to discuss into the Roman Empire.

Immediately to the north of the central Pyrenees, the capital of the *Civitas Conu-enarum*, Lugdunum (= Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges), is said by Saint Jerome to have been founded by Pompey with people from Hispania, after the Sertorian conflict. This report is too late, however, and the foundation may well have not occurred until the Augustan period (see Esmonde Cleary 2008: 15-27, for an account of the question). In any case, Aquitania as a whole was conquered by the Romans in 56 BC, in the course of the Gallic Wars, and Gallia Aquitania—enlarged from the Garonne to the Loire—established as a province of the Roman Empire in 27 BC by Augustus. The control of both sides of the territories enabled the construction, during the Empire, of a road from Burdigala (= Bordeaux) to Asturica (= Astorga, in León) which crossed the Pyrenees through Orreaga, reached Pamplona/Iruñea, and led to the west of the peninsula through the Alavesse Plain.

³ Let this term be understood in its cultural sense (approximately: the territory where Basque has been spoken from the Early Middle Ages onwards), as no political Basque Country has ever existed, although the Kingdom of Navarre was something close to it during most of the 11th and 12th centuries.

While some toponyms and ethnonyms of the territory are recorded in works written by Graeco-Roman authors—with the consequent problems of textual transmission—the anthroponyms are found in inscriptions of the Imperial period. Most of them are to be dated to the 1st, 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. These inscriptions are written in Latin and are mainly of two types: a) funerary stelae, typically dedicated to a person or more than one person in dative, and indicating the name of the person who dedicates the stela to the deceased in nominative; and b) votive altars, dedicated to a God or divinity in dative, and indicating the name of the person who makes the offering, also in nominative. From the point of view of modern Bascology, the most fortunate cases are those in which the individuals appearing in these inscriptions are *peregrini* who have adopted neither Latin *nomen-s* nor the formula of *duo nomina* or *truo nomina* as a whole. In such cases, an autochthonous patronymic in the genitive can accompany any given name. This occurs in numerous cases of the High Garonne as well as in a few inscriptions of the territory of the Vascones (e.g. the one of Lerga; see below).

2.2. Some representative attestations, region by region⁴

By far the region with the greatest abundance of Bascoïd anthroponyms is the Aquitania of Antiquity. Within this, the highest density of them is on the left bank of the High Basin of the Garonne River, in the territory referred to as the *civitas Convenarum* in ancient sources, with two particularly dense spots in the surroundings of Bagnères-de-Luchon and of Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges (both in Haute-Garonne). Sparser are the attestations further to the north, in the basins of tributaries of the Garonne on the left bank, the northernmost one being in Sos (in Lot-et-Garonne). Most anthroponyms and theonyms recorded in this area are linguistically Aquitanian, a name given by the geographical location but by extension usually also applied to anthroponyms and theonyms of the same linguistic filiation in areas outside Aquitania, such as Navarre or Soria. Aquitanian is clearly related to historical Basque, yet the exact nature of that relationship cannot be established because we only know Aquitanian proper names which correspond to common nouns of Basque. They are similar enough to think of Aquitanian as the direct ancestor of historical Basque, but some knowledge of the grammar would be required for this to be proved. Moreover, some Aquitanian elements (e.g. the suffix *-TEN*) have no convincing parallel in Basque, and hence a relationship of the aunt-niece type rather than mother-daughter cannot be ruled out.

It must be noted that Aquitanian anthroponymy is interwoven with Gaulish anthroponymy. The right bank of the Garonne was Gaulish, but there are also areas in basins of tributaries from the left where either all anthroponyms are Gaulish (as in the region of Lectoure, in Gers, to the east of the Gelise River), or there are both Gaulish and Aquitanian anthroponyms (as in Auch, in Gers, or in the subpyrenean stretch of the Garonne Valley and, to the right of the Garonne, in the

⁴ In the analysis which follows, I shall leave aside Iberian names, such as the ones of the Bronze of Ascoli—some horse-men of which are probably to be located within Navarre—and of two texts written in Iberian script found in recent years (see Gorrochategui 2004: 115-116).

Salat Valley) (see Gorrochategui 1984: 55-58). According to Gorrochategui, these anthroponyms can be interpreted as emanations of more northeastern Gaulish neuralgic centers, such as Aginum (mod. Agen) in the case of the Lectoure, Toulouse in the case of the High Garonne and the Salat Valley. In some of these areas bilingualism can be assumed, the majority of the population being Aquitanian, but urban nuclei being dominated by Gauls, who made up a ruling class. It is in this context that the prototypical Celtic toponym of *Lugdunum* can be best understood, in a region where anthroponyms are primarily Aquitanian. There are even some few hybrids like the patronymic *Belheio-rig-is* (in Gourdan, Haute-Garonne), with the Gaulish onomastic element *-rix, -rigis* 'king' attached to an Aquitanian element with aspiration.

The study of Aquitanian anthroponyms in modern terms started with the works by Luchaire (1875-77, 1973 [1879]), another milestone in the question being Mixtelena (1985 [1954]), and the most complete study Gorrochategui (1984), who also introduces «Aquitanian» anthroponymy from other regions. Here are two representative inscriptions from Aquitania (both from Haute-Garonne), a funerary stela and a votive altar.

- (1) HOTARRI · ORCOTARRIS · F (CIL XIII, 342; Cazaril-Laspènes, HG)
SENTARRI · ELONI · FILIAE
BONTAR · HOTARRIS · F · EX · TESTAMENTO
'To Hotar, son of Orcotar, to Sentar, daughter of Elo; Bontar, son of Hotar, according to the testament'
- (2) ABELLIONNI (CIL XIII, 337; Saint-Aventin, Larboust, HG)
CISONTEN
CISSONBON
IS FIL
V · S · L · M
'To Abellion; Cisonten, son of Cissonbon, has fulfilled his vow freely as merited'

Moving on⁵ now to the territory of the Vascones of Antiquity, which approximately corresponded to the modern Navarre, it must be stated that the Aquitanian element in anthroponyms is much scarcer and less transparent than in Aquitania proper. According to Castillo's (1992: 126) count, referring to inscriptions found in Navarre, out of the 174 anthroponymic units⁶ only 36 are indigenous (non-Latin), and out of these 36 nearly all are Indo-European. Some have interpreted these data

⁵ The corpus of Aquitanian anthroponyms has been enlarged by the discovery of a treasure found on the riverbed of the Rhine River, near the German town of Hagenbach. It comes from the wreck of a ship laden with raiders and their booty returning from incursions into Gaul, perhaps in the 260s or the 270s (see Esmonde Cleary 2008: 91). The treasure contains, among other things, 34 votive sheets of silver with Aquitanian anthroponyms. These were made known —not properly edited— in 1990, and studied by Gorrochategui (2003), who proposes the Sanctuary of Ardiège as a possible origin of the sheets. An example is the following offering to Mars: *D(omino) MARTI / BEREXE SEMBI FILIA / V · S · L · M* (AE 1999, 01128; Hagenbach) 'To Lord Mars; Berexe, daughter of Sembus', the latter being a Latinization of Aq. *SEMBE-* = Bq. *seme* 'son'.

⁶ That is, names or name structures corresponding to a single individual.

as evidence that the territory was not Basque-speaking in Antiquity. Certainly, the territory must have been far from being monolingual, but the preponderance of Latin names is of course due to the intensive Romanization of the Ebro Valley. As for the pre-Latin ones, the etymology of an anthroponym is not the only criterion to establish the linguistic filiation of the individual corresponding to it, and according to Gorrochategui (2004, 2009b), behind at least some of the Indo-European anthroponyms there could be speakers of Basque who had undergone a Celtization of the anthroponymic system in previous generations. A significant fact is that, in the area around Lizarra, whereas anthroponyms are of Celtic origin (*Ambata*, *Segontius*...), theonyms are Bascoïd (*Loxae*, *Selatse*...). According to Gorrochategui (2009b: 76), this could point to the well-known tendency for names of person to be more labile and subject to fashions than names of divinities.

A further piece of evidence in favor of the presence of Basque also pointed out by Gorrochategui (2004: 119) is the fact that some anthroponyms which are not etymologically Basque do show traces of Basque phonetic treatment, like the *cognomen* in dative (*Aemilio*) *Or[du]nets-i* (in Muetz), with stem-final affricate, and (*Calpurniae*) *Vrchatetell-i* (in Muruzabal Andion), in dative, also with a stem-final fortis lateral. Both features are expected in Aquitanian and Basque, although both appear to be etymologically Iberian.⁷

An inscription which is Aquitanian in every respect was found in about 1960. Its discovery in the heart of the territory of the Vascones came as a surprise. Here is its text and a possible interpretation (see Mitxelena 1985 [1961-62]):

- (3) VM.ME.SA.HARFI (Lerga, Navarre)
 NAR.HVN.GE.SI.A.BI
 SVN.HA.RI.FI.LIO
 ANN. XXV.T.P.S.S.
 ‘Umme Sahar son of Narhungen, to his son Abisunhar, who died at the age of 25’ (?)

According to Gorrochategui’s interpretation (1984: 238), the funerary stela would attest three generations.⁸ The name of the man of the second, *Umme Sahar* ‘Old Boy, perhaps > First-Born Son’, corresponds to a common noun-adjective juncture in historical Basque (*ume* ‘child’, *zahar* ‘old’), and *VM.ME* has a parallel in three cases of *OMBE-* in Aquitania. *Narhungen* and *Abisunhar* have no clear match in Basque, but the former can be related to a *Narbons-us* of an altar from Montsérié (in Hautes-Pyrénées) and perhaps to the Iberian suffix *-ges*, and the latter to the first element of *Abisun-so-nis* (gen.), of an altar from Izkue (also in Navarre). In addition, both have aspiration —as does *Sahar*—, a feature exclusive of Basque and Aquitanian.

At the northern end of the Vascones’ territory, next to Oiartzun (today Gipuzkoa) and near the coast, another inscription was found with the figure of a rider on

⁷ A last piece of evidence is the fact that Graeco-Roman authors attest some toponyms which are —with varying degrees of certainty— of Basque etymology, like *Oiasso*, *Iturissa*, *Pompa-elo* (‘Pompey’s city’; what is Basque is the order of both elements), *Andelo*, and —less certain— *Calagurris*.

⁸ The interpretation of this inscription is complicated and Gorrochategui himself is ready to revise it today. In any case, the formal observations of the elements made here would not change.

horse and beneath it: *VALBELTESONIS*. Whatever *VAL-* may be (apparently something in connection with the Roman *nomen VALERIVS*), *BELTESO-N-IS* seems to be a patronymic in genitive, the stem of which is segmentable into Aquitanian and/or Basque elements (see Gorrochategui 1984: 162, for details).

Another astonishing discovery within Aquitanian studies occurred in the final years of the 20th century, when a set of inscriptions was found in the high lands of Soria, outside Navarre and south of the Ebro River. In some of these inscriptions clearly Aquitanian and/or Basque anthroponyms were found (see Gómez-Pantoja & Alfaro Peña 2001). A very representative one was the following:

- (4) ANTESTIVS (Villar del Río, Soria)
 SESENCO
 PATERNI F(ilius)
 AN(norum) XX H(ic) S(epultus) E(st)
 'Antestius «Sesenco» son of Paternus, was buried here at the age of 20'

Sesenco is not attested in Aquitania but is a crystal-clear Basque common noun: 'Little Bull' (*zezen* 'bull', plus diminutive suffix *-ko*). In fact, beneath the inscription there is a schematic representation of a bull. Note that, in this inscription, *Sesenco* is the *cognomen* of a Roman citizen who has adopted the *nomen* of *Antestius*. The same holds true for other indigenous names of the same set. Some other Aquitanian and/or Basque elements present in some of these *cognomen*-s are: the stem *On-* (Aq. *Bon-*, or *Hon-*), the suffix *-thar* (Bq. *-(t)ar*, suffix indicating geographic origin, Aq. *-t(h)ar*), the grammatical alternation masc. *-so* / fem. *-se* (just as in Aquitanian). The presence of such clear Aquitanian anthroponyms in an area so distant from Aquitania and even Navarre is usually explained by the immigration of a population from the Basque-speaking areas on the left bank of the Ebro, perhaps exploiting transhumance routes and/or taking advantage of a weakening of the Celtiberians in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC.

To the west of the Vascones' territory, according to Ptolemy's classical classification (of the 2nd century AD), we have to locate the Vardulians, occupying modern Gipuzkoa and the east of the Alavesse Plain, and the Caristians, occupying modern Biscay and the west of the Alavesse Plain. In spite of being historically Basque-speaking, in all this territory no unequivocal Aquitanian anthroponym has been found so far, the reasons being again controversial.⁹ Biscay is poor in inscriptions, and Gipuzkoa practically void, but in Araba there are many. All of them are Indo-European (whether Roman, Celtic, or pre-Celtic Indo-European). There are two main foci of inscriptions. The ones in the northeast of Araba would be earlier, from the 1st century AD, with abundance of Indo-European names such as *Ambatus*, *Segontius*, *Ela-*

⁹ One theonym found in the middle of the Alavesse Plain, *Helass-e*, has three features diagnostic of Aquitanian filiation: aspiration, stem-final affricate written as <SS>, and a dative ending *-e* exclusive of Aquitanian divinities. It might be a cognate of the divinity *S(t?)ela(i)ts-e*, found in the Lizarra area. On the other hand, in Araba no unequivocal Aquitanian anthroponym has been found (*Lutbelscottio* and *Lutbelsar* from northeastern Araba might be, but an Iberian filiation cannot be ruled out), nor has any Aquitanian phonetic treatment in names of other filiations, nor has any Bascoïd theonym been attested in Antiquity. The presence of a Bascoïd language, then, has to be argued for by means of reasonings different from the ones used for Navarre (see Gorrochategui 2009a).

vus, etc. The other focus is in Iruña Oka, in the ancient town of Veleja, and is anthroponomically more Romanized.

The *nomen-s* most frequently attested in these territories —nearly all in Araba— are *Sempronius* (10), *Aemilius* (4), *Porcius* (3), *Licinius* (3), out of 48 individuals (with some oscillations in these estimates, due to problematic readings; see Ciprés 2006: 105-107). The top two are the same in Navarre, with 16 *Semproni(an)us* and 11 *Aemili(an)us* (Castillo 1992: 126). The former is usually linked to the figure of T. Sempronius Gracchus, founder of Gracchurris (see § 2.1). *Aemilius* and some others are perhaps related to bonds of patronage established by some magistrates who acted in the province.

2.3. Some formal and semantic features of Aquitanian anthroponyms

Prototypical Aquitanian anthroponyms tend to have the following structure:

- | | | | | |
|-----|---------------|--------------------|---------------------|------------------------------|
| (5) | <i>BELEX-</i> | <i>(-SAHAR-)</i> | <i>(-CO(N)-)</i> | <i>-IS</i> |
| | lexeme (noun) | lexeme (adjective) | derivational suffix | declensional suffix in Latin |

The parentheses indicate the non-obligatory nature of the element. The initial lexeme is commonly disyllabic and has often (sometimes identical) parallels in Basque common nouns. The second lexeme, if there is one, can be best interpreted as an adjective in most cases. Some elements, like *Belex*, *Silex* and *Bon*, can appear as a first or second lexeme. The derivational suffix is often diminutive: *-c(c)o*, *-to*, *-xso*, with parallels in Basque. Some derivational suffixes form (almost) exclusively masculine names (*-c(c)o*, *-t(h)ar*, *-so*), some others form only feminine names (*-eia*, *-se*), and some others either (*-to*, *-xso*, *-t(t)en*). The declensional suffix is most often inflected according to the first declension with feminine names, to the second or third ones with masculine names, often depending on where the resulting form fits best (e.g. the primary *SENI-VS* is Latinized into the second declension, whereas the derived *SENI-CCO* inflects according to the third one).

Some phonetic traits important for the study of the history of Basque are the following.¹⁰

- a) Aquitanian has aspiration, both as a phoneme in itself (*Habanten*, *Halsconis*, *Halscotarris*, *Hotarri*, *Bihoxus*, *Aboissi*...) as well as a feature of voiceless stops (at least of /t/: *Hontharris*, *Baisothar*...). It also appears after sonorants (*Belheiorigis*, *Berbaxis*...), although it is hard to tell whether in these cases the cluster is old or the aspiration is secondary. This feature is exclusive of Aquitanian within the surroundings, but is shared by historical Basque. Unlike in continental dialects but like in 11th and 12th century documentation of the Peninsula, there is no restriction regarding two aspirations occurring in the same accent unit (*Habanten*, *Hahanni*, *Hontharris*...), nor regarding an aspiration occurring beyond the second syllable (*Baisothar*, *Uloboxo*...).
- b) The syntagmatic distribution of consonants postulated by Mitxelena for Old Basque, according to which in word-initial position only lenis consonants

¹⁰ I have to go through them quickly. They are studied in more detail in Gorrochategui (1995b: 44-49), who includes theonyms in his analysis.

could appear, in word-final only fortis ones, and word-medially the opposition was possible, is better preserved in Aquitanian than in historical Basque. Aquitanian attests that this system was alive not only for sibilants (*Sembe*, *Soson-* / *Oxson*, *Belex*, affricates being written <SS>, <X> or <XS>, much more rarely <TS>), but also for the sonorants /n, l/ (*Nescato*, *Senius* / *Hanna-*, *Habann-i*). This is particularly significant, as it bears out the changes -VnV- > -VhV- and -VnnV- > -VnV- —occurred in medieval Basque as we know from Latin loans— also in autochthonous words (Aq. *Seni-* vs Bq. *sehi* ‘servant’, west. *sein* ‘child’).

- c) Aquitanian maintains some consonant clusters simplified in historical Basque: *Sembe-* (Bq. *seme* ‘son’), *Ombe-* (Bq. *ume* ‘child’). In the latter, the *VM.ME* of *Lerga* appears to attest an intermediate step, with the closing of the back vowel and assimilation -mb- > -mm-, but with the preservation of the geminate.

Let us turn to consider what names Aquitanians used to have. A surprising feature of the repertoire as a whole is that many of them are interpretable as common nouns in historical Basque, and presumably they were also common nouns in their language. This blurred boundary between common vocabulary and proper names was far from the Roman anthroponymic system —leaving *cognomen-s* aside—, but was closer to the Celtic one. Unlike in the latter, however, Aquitanians had no names making reference to a ruling class (compare -*rig*) or related to war. Some definable semantic realms one can discern in the Aquitanian repertoire are the following.¹¹

- a) Common nouns which we could label as «descriptive», such as *Andere-* (Bq. *andere* ‘lady’), *Nescato* (Bq. *neskato* ‘little girl’), *Cis(s)on(-)* (Bq. *gizon* ‘man’), *Seni-* (Bq. *sehi* - *sein* ‘servant; child’). In some of these, a family relationship is implied: *Atta-* (Bq. *aita* ‘father’), *Sembe-* (Bq. *seme* ‘son’), perhaps even *Ombe-* - *Lerga VM.ME (SA.HAR)* (Bq. *ume* ‘child; offspring’). These are not only common nouns, but designations of the individuals according to what they are in reality, without even any metaphorical or fictional transference, as occurs with animal names. Bähr (*apud* Mitxelena 1985 [1961-62]: 454) was surprised about this designating simplicity, related it to some attestations in Frisia, and suggested that it could hint at a certain lack of imagination among Aquitanians, inherited by Basques. The custom is attested, however, among other peoples and languages, as in Bengali, where originally nick-names like *Khokon* ‘child’ or *Khuki* ‘girl child’ can become official (Kachru 1995).
- b) Animal names, such as *Osso(n)* (Bq. *otso* ‘wolf’), *Belex-* (Bq. *bele* ‘crow’, *belatz* ‘falcon’),¹² *Soria Sesenco* (Bq. *zezenko* ‘little bull’), perhaps also *Hars-* (Bq. *hartz* ‘bear’) and *Sosonn-* (Bq. *zozo* ‘thrush’). Zooanthroponyms are amply attested, e.g. among old Germanic names, most often as the first two

¹¹ In most cases, I restrict this analysis to anthroponymic stems, which can combine with derivational suffixes or another lexeme.

¹² These connections, however, raise some formal problems, as from Aq. *Belex-* we would expect Bq. ***beretz* (see Gorrochategui 1984: 159).

elements (*Arn-hild* = ‘arrano-borroka’, *Ram-bod* = ‘crow-messenger’, *Bern-hard* ‘bear-strong’, *Wolf-gang* ‘wolf-armed encounter’, etc.).

- c) Ordinal numbers as names, as in *Laur-co*, *Laur-eia* (Bq. *laur* ‘4’), *Bors-* (Bq. *bortz* ‘5’). These may have been references to the relative position in the birth sequence of children, and have parallels in Antiquity, to begin with among the Romans, especially among women (*Prima*, *Secunda*, *Tertia*...).

Some other names are more difficult to categorize semantically. Two offering connections to Basque common nouns are: *Bibox-* (Bq. *bihotz* ‘heart’), *Lohi-* (Bq. *lohi* ‘mud, arch. body’). A very productive anthroponymic element was Aq. *Bon*, perhaps relatable to Bq. *on* - *hun* ‘good’ (although the aspiration is a serious problem for this equivalence). It appears in both first position (*Bon-tar*, *Bon-ten*, *Bon-belex*, *Bon-silex*, *Bonn-ae*, *Bon-x-us*, *Bonn-ex-is*...) and in second (*Cisson-bonn-*, *Andox-ponn-*, *Seni-ponn-*...). With loss of *B-*, perhaps it also appears in the *cognomen-s* *On-so* (masc.) and *On-se* (fem.) from Soria.

A controversial stem is *Andox-*. Considering its use three times as an epithet of a divinity (as in *Herculi Toli Andosso*, in Saint-Elix-sur-Base) and the parallelism between *And-* + *-ots* and *And-* + *-er(h)e* ‘lady’, Gorrochategui (1995b: 42) suggests the meaning ‘lord, sir’. Lakarra (2002: 431) prefers a segmentation *An-* (< **han*, a certain animal) + *-dots* (masc. suffix, as in Bq. *bil-dots* ‘lamb’, *or-dots* ‘boar’). Some other anthroponyms offering dubious connections or no connection at all but which still appear to be Aquitanian—in the sense of Bascoïd—are *Enne-box* (~ *Eneco*, medieval given name), *Hahan-*, *Hahan-ten*, *Hals-co-*, *Hals-co-tarr-*, *Tals-co-* (masc.), *Tals-eia* (fem.), *Hauten-so-* (masc.), *Hauten-se* (fem.), etc.

The clearness and freshness of some of these names suggests that they were still speakers of Aquitanian, that some names were clearly understandable in that language, and perhaps even that some of them made reference to reality. The abundance of diminutive suffixes, however, might also have a distinctive function, as occurs today. From *Seni-*, for instance, apart from *Seni-ponn-*, *Seni-tenn-* and the Latinized *Seni-us*, we find *Seni-cco* and *Seni-xso-*. On the other hand, as I said above Aquitanian anthroponymy undergoes syncretism with Gaulish at various levels (a morphological one in hybrids such as *Belheio-rig-*, but also an intergenerational one, perhaps as in *Taurinus Bone-co(n)-is*, in Saint-Aventin), as it does with Latin (as in *Andosten Licini F(i)lius*, from Cier-de-Rivière).

2.4. Appellation formulae

In the great majority of cases, the formula where Aquitanian anthroponyms are found is of this type: ‘name + patronymic’. The patronymic is most often formed by attaching *-is*, the genitive of the Latin 3rd declension, to the name of the father: *Cisonten Cissonbonn-is*, *Bontar Hotarr-is*, *Belex Belexco(n)-is*... In the inscription of Lerga (see § 2.2 above), by contrast, the patronymic is formed by the 2nd declension (if the interpretation offered is right). In some cases, no patronymic accompanies the name, as on an altar of unknown origin where we read *DEO / SILVAN- / O OMBE- / CCO / V S L M* (CIL XII,5381).

The formula ‘name + patronymic’ was actually the most common in the surroundings on the arrival of the Romans. It is employed in the Bronze of Ascoli (*Beles*

Umarbeles f, Turinnus Adimels f...), and, whatever their language was, in the Indo-Europeans anthroponyms from the northeast of Araba (*Ambata App-ae Filia, Segontius Ambat-i...*). Obviously, these attestations have come down to us in Roman sources, and hence it cannot be ascertained that they are free of any foreign influence. In the case of Aquitanian, it is most remarkable that the construction employed to represent the formula —the *-is* of the 3rd declension— was borrowed from Latin, and yet became a vernacular procedure to form patronymics in the western Pyrenees (see § 3.4 below).

The consolidation of Romanization in the Imperial period brought the sophistication of appellation formulae in inscriptions, particularly from the extension of the *ius Latii* to Hispania under Vespasian onwards, and specially in urban nuclei. Romans could have up to five elements in this formula: *praenomen*, *nomen*, *cognomen*, filiation (father's name), tribe indication (originally the census district). The five of them, however, rarely appeared together. The *nomen* was important because it indicated citizenship status, and it could be acquired in a number of ways. The individuals designated by the formula 'name + patronymic' were, then, (in principle autochthonous) *peregrini*. If one of these became a citizen, he acquired a Roman *nomen* and a typical development was that his autochthonous name should be relegated to the *cognomen* position, as is presumably the case of the *Antestius Sesenco* of Villar del Río (see § 2.2). In both the territory of the Vascones and modern Araba and Biscay, the two most frequent formulae are the *duo domina* (*nomen* + *cognomen*; 64 cases, 35,16% of all, in the Vascones' territory, 24 out of 107 in Araba and Biscay) and the single name (55 cases, 30,21%, and 28 out of 107, respectively). The areal distribution and the vicissitudes of these data cannot be discussed here (see Cantón Serrano 2009 and Ciprés 2006, from which the data have been taken, for details).

3. Basque anthroponymy in the Middle Ages

3.1. The Middle Ages and its sources

The decline of the Roman Empire brought the silence of sources, as no inscriptions were made from the 4th century onwards. During the Visigothic period, few anthroponyms are recorded within the Basque Country beyond the names of some bishops of Pamplona/Iruñea, which in any case are not autochthonous.

In this period, Aquitania, split into several entities and named in different forms until the Duchy of Gascony (created in 602), became linguistically Romance, perhaps with some Bascoïd spots in or near the mountains. Leaving aside some inscriptions, especially from Biscay, dating from the Early Middle Ages, we have to wait until around 800 to find Basque anthroponyms again. Some of these are recorded in chronicles penned by the Carolingians, which mostly attest, in archaic forms, names of Vasconic leaders or princes to the north of the Pyrenees. Arabian sources, which mention kings and important figures of the early Kingdom of Pamplona, are also old, but they often distort the form of names. A very important document is the so-called *Genealogies of Roda*, written by the end of the 10th century by somebody within the chancery of the Kingdom of Pamplona, which contains the royal lists of

the kingdom until that time, as well as of the counts of Aragón, Ribagorza, Gasconne and Toulouse.

Also from the 10th century onwards, diplomatic sources start to appear in a significant amount. Many of these are related to the administration of the monasteries founded within the kingdom and neighbouring areas (Leire, San Juan de la Peña, Saint-Jean de Sorde in Gascony, San Millán de la Cogolla in modern La Rioja but under control of Pamplona from the second half of the 10th century until 1076, etc.), and have come down to us in copies compiled in cartularies, some of them written in the 12th century. Although they attest the upper layers of society much better (kings, bishops, land-owners...), a few documents give lists of tax-paying peasants from a particular village which allow us to get a glimpse of the anthroponyms used by ordinary people.

All the documents mentioned so far were in medieval Latin.¹³ From the first half of the 13th century on, they start to be written in Romance, whether Navarrese-Aragonese, Gascon, Occitan *koiné*, Castilian or even French. This favours the emergence of autochthonous variants in documents, as Latin diplomatic writing tended to lematize names. Moreover, the amount of documents increases and sources become more varied. An important set of documents are the *censi* ordered by the Navarrese monarchs of the French House of Evreux, and particularly the census of 1366 ordered by Charles the Bad, as in it all the household heads of the High Navarre are mentioned regardless of their social layer. For the provinces of Biscay, Gipuzkoa and Araba—separated in 1200 from Navarre and annexed to Castile—, an important source is the work usually referred to as the *Bienandanzas e Fortunas* penned by the chronicler Lope Garcia de Salazar in 1470-76. It not only gives a large amount of anthroponymic material of the generations of the previous centuries, but also genealogical relations of the main lineages of the territory, which provides us with information about how given names as well as surnames were chosen.

3.2. The most frequent given names in the 9th-13th centuries

Although they only represent individuals related to the royal house of the Kingdom of Pamplona or of the aforementioned counties, the *Genealogies of Roda* give us a hint at the anthroponymic preferences in the surroundings of the western Pyrenees from the beginning of the 9th century to the end of the 10th.¹⁴ Tables 1 and 2 display respectively the male and female given names appearing in that document, generation by generation.

¹³ To these, as a source of anthroponymic information in the Early Middle Ages and even earlier periods, we should add toponymy. Many Basque toponyms are formed by an old anthroponym to which an element, which varies depending on the region, is attached. Thus, the toponym *Guendulain* from Navarre is formed by the anthroponym *Guendule* plus the suffix *-ain*, whereas in the *Antezana* from Araba, already attested in 1025, we appear to have the old Latin *nomen Antestius* plus *-ana* (it must come from something like **(villa) antestiana > *Antetz(j)ana > *Antetzana > Antezana*).

¹⁴ For reasons of space, I have to leave out of consideration a number of High Medieval inscriptions (from the 8th to the 11th centuries), most of them in Biscay and particularly in the region around Durango, where an interesting set of anthroponyms is attested, among them *Aghostar*, *Belaco*, *Centule*, *Hobeconi*, *Lehoari*, *Momus*, *Munnio*, *Paterna*. Although most of them are in Biscay and in spite of the early date, they combine Navarrese with Alavese attestations (see Table 3). They were published by Azkarate & García Camino (1996), and studied and compared to diplomatic attestations by Peterson (2012).

Table 1

Male anthroponyms in the *Genealogies of Roda*
 (including the ones deduced from patronymics) [Source: Martín Duque (2008: 414)]

Male given names	Generations							Total
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	
Asnari, Asnario, Azenari		1		1	3	1		6
Banzo						1		1
Belasco	1				2	1		4
Cardelle						1		1
Centolle			1					1
Enneco		1		1	3	2	1	8
Furtunio, Furtuni, Fortunio				1		4		5
Galindo	1	1	1		3	1		7
Garsea			2	1	2/3	5	2	12/13
Gutislo						1		1
Ihoannes						1		1
Lope, Lupus, Lupe					3			3
Mancius					1			1
Miro						1		1
Munio						1		1
Muza						1		1
Redemptus						1		1
Sanzio, Santio				1	1	5		7
Scemeno			1		2	2		5
Total	2	3	5	5	20/21	29	3	67/68

Table 2

Female anthroponyms in the *Genealogies of Roda*
 [Source: Martín Duque (2008: 417-418)]

Female given names	Generations							Total
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	
Andregoto						1		1
Assona			1					1
Belasquita						2		2
Comitissa						1		1
Dadildis						1		1
Fakilo		1						1
Lopa						2		2
Matrona			1					1
Onneca				2	1	1		4
Orbita						1		1
Oria, Auria				1		2		3
Quissilo						1		1
Sanzia					2	3	1	6
Tota, Tuta						4		4
Urraca						1		1
Total		1	2	3	3	20	1	30

Now, if we want to make a ranking of the most frequent anthroponyms in diplomatic sources, I believe the most reliable is the one made by Peterson (2010). Unlike other works, he counts individuals instead of appearances of a given name. Moreover, he limits his query to male individuals located in Araba on one hand, in Navarre on the other, in the Cartulary of San Millán, and until 1050 chronologically. This way, his research is free of methodological shortcomings like not considering the overrepresentation of a name by recurrent repetition, and disregarding Navarrese political influence upon Araba and Biscay from the second half of the 11th century onwards as a factor for oscillation in anthroponymic frequencies. His results are displayed in Table 3 (the numbers in parentheses indicate the total amount of individuals who appear in the whole corpus).

Table 3

Rankings of the most frequent male anthroponyms attested in the Cartulary of San Millán, corresponding to individuals located in Araba and in Navarre, respectively

[Source: Peterson (2010: 109-110)]

	Araba (219 individuals)	Navarre (163 individuals)
1st	M/Nuño 49	Sancho 24
2nd	Tello 18	Fortun 20
3rd	Beila 17	García 18
4th	Oveco 12	Aznar 14
5th	Álvaro 9	Galindo 10
6th	Ulaquide 8	Enneco 8
7th	Diego 7	Jimeno 8
8th	Sarrazin 6	Blasco 7
9th	Ferruzo 4	Lope 6
10th	Juan 4	Mancius 4

As can be seen, among the top ten, there is not a single coincidence! This is most striking, and shows that, whatever the reason, Araba constitutes an anthroponymic *continuum* with Castile rather than with the Pyrenees, in spite of linguistic affinities.

Women appear much less frequently in medieval documents. For Araba, Biscay and Gipuzkoa, Líbano Zumalacárregui (1995) analyzes the documents of San Juan de la Peña and San Millán between 950 and 1250. She counts appearances, although her figures can help us to get an approximate idea: *Toda* (17), *Urraca* (7), *Leguntia* (4), *Maria* (4), *Sancia* (4), *Aldoncia* (3), *B(e)lasquita* (3), *Anderazo* (2), *Mencia* (2), *Zianna* (2). For Navarre and modern La Rioja —within Navarre at the time considered—, in turn, García de Cortázar (1995) analyzes the documents of Leire and San Millán between 920 and 1160, and obtains the following figures: *Sancia* (50), *Urraca* (44), *Tota* (43), *Auria* (24), *Eximina* (19), *Amunna* (16), *Maria* (11), *Blaskita* (9), *Anderazo* (8), *Andregoto* (7), *Maior* (7), *Monnoza* (7), *Elo* (6), *Lopa* (3).

For the continental Basque Country (in French territory), we have the data collected by Goyheneche (2011 [1966]), analyzing a number of sources from the 11th

to the 15th century. They are shown in Table 4. Note that all of them appear among the ten most frequent ones given by Peterson (2010) for Navarre.

Table 4
 Frequency of appearance of anthroponyms
 in the continental Basque Country from the 11th to the 15th centuries
 [Source: Goyheneche (1966/2011: 576)]

Male anthroponyms	Number of appearances
Garzia (isolated (350) or before Arnaud (130))	480
Santz	469
Otxoa (or the Romance Lope, also rooted in the Basque Country)	186
Eneko	78
Xemen	65
Berasko	29

3.3. Some features of this anthroponymy

The anthroponymic repertoire given in § 3.2 for Navarre and the continental Basque Country has to be analyzed separately because it retains some archaic traits which involve a continuity with the old Bascoïd pre-Christian anthroponymy of the western Pyrenees attested in the Aquitanian inscriptions. Over the Late Middle Ages, most of these traits fade, pushed aside by Christian names, which are still very low in Tables 1-4 of § 3.2.

Two of the semantic realms which I have drawn in § 2.3 for Aquitanian anthroponymy are still discernible in the western Pyrenean anthroponymy. Only in a couple of cases, however, are one-to-one correspondences possible.

a) «Descriptive» common nouns, often implying a family relationship. In some cases, these appear as generic nouns accompanying proper names (as in *Aita Bellico*; Leire, 991), but in some others —as the ones given below— their specific nature is unequivocal. A clear match is Aq. *Andere* ~ med. *And(e)re* ‘lady’. It can appear with a diminutive suffix in *Andere-co* (Leire, 11th c.); with another suffix in *Ander-quin-a* (in a document of 759), of uncertain meaning and perhaps related to the suffix of Aq. *Bihos-cinn-*; or as *Andre-goto* (see Table 2), probably an agglutination of *Andre-* as a generic plus the Germanic proper name *-goto* (i.e. < ‘Lady Goto’).

Another match is Aq. *Atta-* ~ med. *Aita* ‘father’, *Eita*, *Egga* (and some other variants), *Aita* > *Eita* being a Romance development. It is extremely frequent in the documents of San Millán, in most cases as a generic accompanying a proper name, but in some cases it seems to be a specific (*Eita Obecoz*; CSM, 1063). Moreover, the generic was very common among the first Basque-speaking populators of Castile, and Peterson (2013: 426) suggests that the change of language of these speakers —who became Romance— came along with a reinterpretation of *Eita* as an autochthonous and specific first element.¹⁵ In this function, and with palatalization and/or apher-

¹⁵ Just as *Andre-goto*, in the male name *Echa-vita* the juncture generic-specific must have been reinterpreted as a single specific.

esis, early populators of more western and southern areas have left traces in anthroponymic toponyms such as *Cha-herrero* (< ‘father smith’, in Ávila) or *Cha-martín* (< ‘father Martin’, in Madrid).

A third match might be Aq. *Sembe-* (which as we said corresponds to Bq. *seme* ‘son’) - med. *S(c)emeno*, *S(c)emero*, *Ximeno* (and some other variants), which was already mentioned by Mitxelena as a possibility (1985 [1954]: 427; see also Gorrochategui 1995b: 45). Were this correspondence true, we would have to accept expressive palatalization of the sibilant, /ʃe-/ > /ʃi-/ (a closing perhaps also favoured by the following nasal), and diminutive suffixation with *-no*, which in turn can undergo nasal dissimilation and become *-ro*. This name was most frequent in Navarre, but, due to migration, it spread all over the Iberian geography, and survives in the surname *Jiménez*.

As for anthroponyms of this type with no matches in Aquitanian, we might include *Garsea*, *García* (and other variants) here, provided it could be related to (1) the anthroponym *Gaste(a)* of attestations like *Gastea de Laharhague* (Ortzaitze, 1381), or even the Basque name of Vitoria, *Gaste-iz* (in genitive), and (2) the common noun Bq. *gazte* ‘youth’. Assumption (1) might be conceivable starting from something like *Garz(e)* + *-te* (a suffix, or perhaps *-t-* being a segment appearing in compounding and derivation), a development supported by pairs with dialectal variation of the type *ber(t)ze* vs *beste* ‘other’, *bor(t)z* vs *bost* ‘five’, *or(t)zegun* vs *ostegun* ‘Thursday’. In these pairs, the former members are archaic, whereas the latter arose through *rzt* > **rst* > *st* in compounds, the stop passing its apical nature to the sibilant. Assumption (2), though anthroponymically very appealing (compare family names like Eng. *Young*, German *Jung*, Sp. *Garzón*), has the hardly surmountable formal shortcoming that *gazte* ‘youth’ —in fact with a dorso-alveolar *z*— is common to all dialects (including Old Biscayan).¹⁶ Some other etymologizing attempts, like relating it to the common noun Sp. (< Fr.) *garzón* ‘youth’, or to the common noun Bq. (*h*)*artz* ‘bear’ (which would oblige us to switch it to the group of zooanthroponyms, continuing Aq. *Hars-*, see § 2.3), also have formal problems. Whatever its etymology, the irradiation focus of this name, again, was the Kingdom of Pamplona, but due to populating processes *García* is nowadays the most frequent surname in Spain.

Some other names which can possibly be included in this group are: *Ama* ‘mother’, albeit not with many clear cases as specific (perhaps *cum uxore mea que uocatur Ama*, Oña, 1203; *Amagota*, CSM, 1086; the latter being an agglutination of the generic plus *-goto* plus female gender motion), *Iaun* ‘lord’ (as such, specific only in doubtful cases like *Iaun Sanz*, CSM, 1147; but suffixed by *-ti* it is clearly specific in *Iaundi, et Lachendi*, CSM, ca. 1084; *et Ionti, suo germano*, CSM, 1062; both from the north of Araba), *An(n)aya* ‘brother’ (as in *Anaya Bragoloyz de Sancta Maria*; Leire, 1065).¹⁷

¹⁶ I personally believe that attestations like the *Gastea de Laharhague* just mentioned and the place-name *Gasteiz* actually derive from the common noun *gazte* ‘youth’. If this is the case, the problems for assumption (2) would hold true for assumption (1) as well.

¹⁷ Peterson (2008), however, has rejected a Basque etymology for this anthroponym, arguing that, if we observe its appearances chronologically, its irradiation focus is León, not Navarre or Araba.

b) Animal names or zooanthroponyms. An exact match with Aquitanian is apparently Aq. *Belexco(n)-is* – med. *Berasco-iz* (both patronymics), although the precise connection with a common noun is not clear. Bq. *bele* ‘crow’ must come from **beLe* (perhaps connected to the Alavese *Bela*, *Bela-co*, although a better option for these is the connection to Goth. *Vigila*). There is Bq. *belatz* ‘falcon; goshawk’ (compare Aq. *Belex* – med. (*Nunnu*) *Belagga*; Cardeña, 991), although this connection leaves at least the lenis lateral of Aq. *Belex*– unexplained (see Gorrochategui 1984: 158-159, as for why both Bq. *bele* and *belatz* require, in principle, the reconstruction of a pre-medieval fortis **L*).

Another match is Aq. *Ossco(n)* – med. *Ossoa*, if the former indeed corresponds to Bq. *otso* ‘wolf’. The idea of ‘wolf’ as a male anthroponym was apparently deeply rooted in the western Pyrenees and their surroundings, but it emerged not only in the autochthonous language. The Latin *cognomen Lupus* was particularly successful in the area. There are also several *Lupus/-o-s* in Gascony or Aquitaine mentioned in Frankish sources, and the name is also frequent in the earliest cartularies. In some of these cases we could have a hidden *Ocho-* given in Romance, but the Romance version, and particularly *Lope*, with *-ŷ-* > *-o-* but maintenance of the voiceless stop (and perhaps from the vocative), is fully vernacular, and in fact Navarre is the irradiating point from which the name *Lope* and its patronymic *López*—again, one of the most frequent Spanish surnames— spread in the Middle Ages.

Another western Pyrenean anthroponym without any Aquitanian equivalence but related to animals is *Azeari* (as in *Azeari de Isça*; Lapurdi, 1249). It apparently comes from Lat. *asinus* ‘donkey’ plus the agentive suffix *-arius* (i.e. from Lat. *Asinarius*, a «Hirtename» meaning ‘donkey herdsman’). It has yielded *Aznar* in Romance of Navarre and Aragón, and *Aner* of Gascony, but also the common noun *azeri* ‘fox’ in Basque, most probably derived from the anthroponym (as is the case with *Urraca*, see below). In Latin documents of the High Middle Ages, a frequent form corresponding to Navarrese individuals is *Asenari(us)*. This suggests that the anthroponym entered Basque after Lat. *-ŷ-* had become *-e-*, with the Romance sibilant significantly matching the Basque dorsal—not the apical— sibilant. We should also note the dropping out of the intervocalic *-n-*, regular in medieval Basque.

A female zooanthroponym present in Navarre in the Middle Ages is *Ussoa* (Bq. *uso*, *urzo* ‘dove’), as in *uxore sua nomine Ussoa* (Iratxe, 1145).

Apart from these two semantic realms, there are some anthroponyms of difficult etymology. An important one is *En(n)eco*, frequent in the western Pyrenees. The intervocalic nasal is originally fortis and the accent was on the first syllable, as shown by the regular Romance development *Yéñego* > *Íñigo*. The corresponding female was *On(n)eca*, in Romance *Huénega*. The second element appears to be the diminutive suffix *-ko*. The first has been related to the first element of Aq. *Enne-box*, and of (*Elandus*) *Enneges* (*f*) (among the Segienses, with an Iberian suffix) as well as of *Ennegensis* (detonymic adjective corresponding to a group of horsemen), both in the Bronze of Ascoli, and even to the Basque pronoun *ene* ‘my, mine’ (< **eN-e*), by Eleizalde and Mitxelena (*apud* Salaberri 2003: 176). If correct, *En(n)eco* would mean ‘my little one’ in origin.

A female name of unknown origin but with the Kingdom of Pamplona as its irradiating focus is *Urraca* (see Salazar y Acha 2006). This means ‘magpie’ in Spanish.

However, the name —attested since the 10th century and spread over several kingdoms in the Middle Ages— does not come from the common noun (first attested centuries later), but the other way round. There are similar cases in other parts of Europe (*Margot* and *Jacquette* in French, *Berta* in Italian...).

Another set of anthroponyms have Latin or Germanic origin, but they are particularly rooted in —or even exclusive of— the western Pyrenees, and within the Basque-speaking territory they undergo the phonetic developments regular in Basque. Though not etymologically Basque, these can be considered culturally Basque. One is *Sancho* (< Lat. *Sanct(i)us*), which often dissimilates into *Ancho* (the sibilant, however, does not enter Basque as a dorsal *z-*, but as an apical). In Gascony, it developed regularly into *San(t)z* (variously spelt; Orpustan 2008: 481). Another such anthroponym is *Fortun*, *Fortuño*, *Ortun*, *Ortuño* and similar variants (the ones which have undergone *f* > *Ø*- are late and reveal Castilian influence). They come from the Lat. *cognomen Fortunius*, actually attested in Ledeá (eastern Navarre) in an inscription of Antiquity. The vernacular version of the name is *Orti* (compare the common surname *Ortiz*), according to Mitxelena (*apud* Knörr 1999: 140) from the Latin genitive: **Fortuni* > **Bortuni* > **Bortui* > **Borti* > *Orti*. An anthroponym to which Germanic origin is commonly assigned,¹⁸ very frequent in the western Pyrenees in the earliest period, is *Galindo*. Within Basque, the lateral undergoes intervocalic rhotacism (> *Garindo*, patronymic *Garindoiz*, etc.), the initial stop may drop (> *Arindoiz*), and/or the group *-nd-* can turn into *-n-* (> *Garino*).

Most traits of the morphological structure we saw in Aquitanian anthroponyms survive in 9th-12th century anthroponyms, although, like the vernacular repertoire itself, it seems that the zenith of their vitality is over. Diminutive suffixes are frequent. Some were already productive in Aquitanian, and are fossilized in historical Basque: *Oso-co* (but *Oso-a*, with article), *Lope-co*, *Ene-co*, *Bela-co...*; *Nunnu-to* (Elorrio, 1013), *Allaua-to Ortiz* (Iratxe, 1080). The first of these had and continued to have productivity among anthroponyms, and not only among autochthonous ones (see *Juan-co*, *Maria-co...*). The suffix *-t(h)ar*, in turn, has lost its productivity and shows up in only a few cases (e.g. *Belas-tar*, *Ralis-tar*, both in CSM, 952), although the corresponding *-(t)ar* has become very productive in the Basque common lexicon. A morphological innovation which first appears in this period is the possibility of deriving female names from male ones by means of the gender motion typical of Romance: *Sancho* → *Sancha*, *Ximeno* → *Ximena*, *Ochando* → *Ochanda*, etc.

3.4. The patronymic suffixes *-(n)is* and *-ez*

The indication of filiation or patronymic is the element which most often accompanies the given name over the world. Although it existed in Antiquity in many parts of western Europe —as we saw in § 2.4—, in some regions it emerged, from the Early Middle Ages onwards, as one of the possible devices for distinguishing individuals and making up for the functional deficiencies of the *nomen unicum*, pre-

¹⁸ It is commonly related to the Prusian region of Galinden (close to the Goths' homeland), but this is considered very speculative by authors such as Piel & Kremer (*apud* Salaberri 2003: 188-189).

dominant since the Low Empire (Dauzat 1944: 40-51). The patronymic can be built in a number of ways: by the element 'son' (*Johnson, Johansen, MacArthur...*), by the genitive idea in the vernacular language (*Dejean* in France, *De Miguel* in Spain, *Mertens < Martins* in Germany...), by the specialization of a popular or hypocoristic variant as a patronymic (in Spain: *Hernando, Alonso, Illanes - Julián...*), by the father's name with no further indication (*Arnold, Tomás...*), etc. In the course of the Late Middle Ages, the patronymic tended to become a fixed family name, although in Iceland the patronymic rule has survived all the way down to the present day.

In the Iberian Peninsula, the most productive device to build the patronymic was suffixing. Yet we have to distinguish at least two different suffixes. One appears in the earliest documents of Navarre and Aragón, and was the productive patronymic at least of these areas in the Middle Ages. From *Ēn(n)eco*, the patronymic *En(n)ecón-īs* was derived. This is arguably a continuation of the patronymic most frequent in Aquitanian inscriptions (see Mitxelena 1988 [1957]), formed by attaching the 3rd declension genitive *-is* to the father's name (*Hotar* → *Hotarr-is*), inserting an *-n* if this ended in a vowel (*Belexco* → *Belexco-n-is*). This procedure became the productive way of forming patronymics in the surroundings of the western Pyrenees (although in Gascony it declined from the 11th century onwards). However, in this territory there were two linguistic areas: a Basque one, and a Romance one. In the Basque-speaking area, *Enecó-n-īs* regularly became *Enecoiz* by dropping out of the intervocalic nasal and the maintenance of the short vowel.¹⁹ In the Aragonese-speaking area, by contrast, *Enecó-n-is* regularly became *Enecón-es* and later *Enecóns*. The three stages are attested, although the first must be regarded as notarial Latin.

The other suffix is the one which yields the Spanish *-ez* (*Martínez, López...*), and possibly also the Portuguese *-es*, Catalan *-is/-es*, etc. The origin of this is controversial (Germanic, Arabian and other origins have been proposed; see Salaberry 2003 for a thorough discussion). A proposal considered viable by some scholars is that, say, *López* comes from *Lop-īc-ī*, i.e. father's name + derivational suffix (indicating relationship) + 2nd declension genitive suffix, both Latin. The last *-ī* would have apocopated (there are non-apocopated attestations like *Aprez Lequentize*, *Tellu Vinquentize*; CSM, 952), but not without having palatalized /k/, which eventually became labio-dental fricative /θ/. Be this right or not, this suffix was much more widespread than *-(n)is*, extending at least over the northern strip of the Peninsula in the centuries after the Muslim conquest. On the other hand, unlike *-(n)is*, it does not show any continuity with any patronymic structure attested in Antiquity, and its earliest attestation dates from the 9th century.

The first *ī* of *-īc-ī* becomes *e*, but is often written <i> in medieval Latin. Since *-(n)is* shows up as *-iz* in Basque but this dorsal sibilant of Basque matched the pre-dorso-dento-alveolar sibilant of Castilian (/ts/ > /s/, which eventually > /θ/) in the Romance territory to the south, there are cases in which a given attestation can come from either patronymic form. The original division within the territory considered,

¹⁹ The *-z* is a dorsal fricative sibilant, and the fact that this is not apical—in Basque there is phonemic contrast between both—speaks in favour of the dorsal nature of the Latin sibilant itself (at least of the Latin Basques had contact with) (see Mitxelena 1985 [1968]).

however, was: *-(n)is* (*-iz* in Basque territory) within Aragón and Navarre, *-eliz* (perhaps < Lat. *-īc-i*) in Araba, Biscay and Castile. This is clear in the *Genealogies of Roda*, where, out of the only three patronymics which are not of the *-(n)el/is* type, two are to be located in Araba (*Harramel-iz*) and Biscay (*Mom-iz*).

The Reconquest, as well as the Castilian influence and later conquest of Navarre made the *-eliz* patronymic prevail, and several family names so formed are among the most frequent ones in Spain (*González, Fernández...*). Family names such as *Enecoiz* or *Semberoiz*, remnants of the western Pyrenean patronymic, are residual today, even in Navarre.

3.5. More appellation formulae and their development

Apart from the patronymic, some other elements which can accompany the given name are (some examples are borrowed from Gorrochategui 1995a: 748-751):

- a) Toponymics. *Presbiter Sancio de Lizarraga* (SJPaña, 928), *Pero de Elizalde* (Navarre, 1224)... In some cases, the precedence is expressed by the Basque local genitive: *Domicu Iturr Aldeco* (Leire, 1203; *iturr alde* 'vicinity of the fountain', *-ko*: loc.-gen. sg. suffix), *Azeari Zalduetaco* (Iratxe, 1195; *zaldu* 'grove', *-etako*: loc.-gen. pl.)...
- b) Nick-names (or descriptive *cognomen*-s). These can be of various types, among others:
 - b.1) Body parts: *don Pere Beatça* (Navarre, 1266; *behatz* 'finger; toe', in this case 'thumb'), *Petrus Orça* (Artaxoa, 1295; *hortz* 'tooth')...
 - b.2) Physical features: *Orti Belça* (Artaxoa, 1137; *beltz* 'black; dark-skinned/haired'), *Miguel Laburra* (Navarre, 1330; *labur* 'short'), *Pascual Moca* (Navarre, 1366; *motz* 'short'), *Sancho Lucea* (Iratxe, 1204; *luze* 'long ~ tall')...
 - b.3) Moral features: *domna Apalla* (CSM, 1079; *apal* 'humble'), *Garcia Uicinaya* (Iratxe, 1203; *bizinahi* 'fond of the good life'), *Samurco Ortiz* (Navarre, 1072; *samur* 'tender')²⁰...
 - b.4) Professions: *Eneco Arçaia* (SOSJJ, 1200; *artzain* 'shepherd'), *Pero Arguiña* (Navarre, 1360; *hargin* 'quarry worker')...
 - b.5) Animals: *Eneco Beya* (SOSJJ, 1228; *behi* 'cow'), *Garcia Errlea* (SOSJJ, 1243; *erle* 'bee'), *Maria Hussoa* (Iratxe, 1283; *uso* 'dove'), *Miguel Arza* (1266; *hartz* 'bear')²¹...
- c) Combinations of the previous types. For instance:
 - c.1) Patronymic + nick-name: *Juan Orti Sudurra* (SOSJJ, 1121; *sudur* 'nose'), *Martin Sanchiz Argala* (Navarre, 1330; *argal* 'thin')...

²⁰ In fact, in both *domna Apalla* 'Miss/Mrs. Humble' and *Samurco Ortiz* the nick-name has taken over the given name position.

²¹ Recall Aq. *Hars-* (§ 2.3). Even if this were really 'bear', a continuity between it and the medieval nick-name is unlikely. It seems more plausible to think of a recursive tendency to generate animal-like nick-names.

- c.2) Patronymic + toponymic: *Lope Lopeiz de Opaco* (Leire, 1171), *Tota Semenones de Elizaberría* (Leire, 1035), *Eneco Arceiz Iriarteco* (Artaxoa, 1110)...

In theory, the sophistication of the appellation formulae starting from the *nomen unicum* is a result of the increasing complexity of society, its demographic growth, the foundation of towns from the 12th century onwards —where several homonym individuals might live—, etc. Yet the expected gradual development of formulae is vague. The formula ‘name + patronymic + toponymic’, in principle the culmination of the process, shows up in a significant amount already by the 11th century, according to the data in García de Cortázar (1995: 287-289) and Líbano Zumalacárregui (1995: 270) (see here tables for the periods between the 10th century and the 12th or 13th ones).

In the course of the Middle Ages, the element accompanying the given name tends to become fixed, although this process varies depending on the social layer and the region (of Europe). If we stick to the Basque Country and to patronymic surnames, the patronymic rule —the patronymic corresponds to the father’s name— works almost systematically until the 13th century, whereas from the 16th century onwards, it appears as a fixed family name to be transmitted down through the generations. In the three centuries between both periods, very often there is no clear norm which can predict what a given individual will take as a surname, either in documents or in later chronicles. Siblings sometimes show different surnames. Furthermore, the 13th-15th centuries are a period of increasing conflict, particularly in Biscay, Gipuzkoa and Araba. Lineages have a strong sense of agnatic solidarity. According to Dacosta (2001), one means of expressing that solidarity is the use of «onomastic reserves», a set of names or patronymics exclusive or characteristic of the lineages which recur over generations. There is no clear rule as for their usage. In the Biscayan lineage of the Artega-s, the first-born sons alternate *Fortun García* and *Martin Ruiz* —both ‘name + patronymic’— over six generations (see Aguirre Gandarías 1994), with neither patronymic rule nor fixation of it as a family name.

The prevailing formula in many areas is ‘name + patronymic + toponymic’, which makes up a kind of new *tria nomina* typical —though not exclusive— of the Basque Country. Though not always in the earliest texts, the toponymic of such anthroponymic units indicates the ancestral house (or oikonym). The patronymic of that formula, however, will tend to drop out, leaving the toponymic (more specifically oikonymic) as the only family name in the «Atlantic» Basque Country (Biscay, Gipuzkoa, northern Navarre, and the continental Basque Country except for urbanized foci, mainly Donibane Garazi; see Goyheneche 1991: 298), or those of strong Gascon influence. In Araba (above all), however, compound surnames like *Díaz de Durana*, *Ortiz de Zarate*, etc... have survived until the present day (of course, with the patronymic rule no longer functioning), although here the original toponym usually corresponds to a village or hamlet.

An interesting development is what happens precisely in the continental Basque Country —and in other parts of Gascony— with this formula (see Goyheneche 2012 [1966]: 576, Orpustan 2008: 452-458). From the 13th century onwards, the patronymic rule declines, but in such a way that the name and the patronymic make up a «double name». Eventually, the possible combinations of double names end up

forming a closed stock, with 39 possible names (many of them modern names of the Christian cult like *Pes* 'Peter') in the first position and 14 possible ones (in general autochthonous profane names, whether Basque like *Sanç* or Germanic like *Arnalt*, *Guillen/Willem...*) in the second. The most frequent combinations are *Pes Arnalt*, *Arnalt Sanç*, *Guillen Arnalt*, *Garcia Arnalt*, *Sanç Arnalt*. Shortly after, some of these pairs will merge into a monothematic anthroponym in processes like: *Garzia + Arnaud* > *Gasernaut*, *Pierre + Arnaud* (+ dim. suffix) > *Pernauton*, *Bernard + Santz* > *Benassantz*, etc. The toponymic (= oikonymic) remains as the only accompanying element.

3.6. Anthroponymic trends over the Late Middle Ages

The tables in § 3.2 show an archaic repertoire which has not been penetrated yet by the Christian anthroponymy fostered by the great reforms carried out by the Catholic Church in the 11th century (like the imposition of the Roman Rite) and the extension of the monastic orders. Over the Late Middle Ages, Christian names rise in anthroponymic rankings, in a process which culminates in the guidelines favoured by the Council of Trent. I will tackle this in § 4.2.

A consequence of the decline of the autochthonous repertoire and the incursion of Christian names —of unequal frequency— is the concentration of growing percentages of the population having one of a few names. As a result, a feature which emerges in this period is the proliferation of popular and/or hypocoristic variants of standard given names, fulfilling a distinctive function (again to avoid repetition, this issue will be taken up in § 4.3). Nevertheless, some 15th and 16th century documents still attest (especially female) names of the Basque popular heritage. In documents of the last third of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th from Oñati (Gipuzkoa), Guerra (1919: 699; also cited in Knörr 1999: 142-143) finds *Gabon* ('nativity' in Basque, literally 'good night'), *Ochanda* (← *otso* 'wolf'; see § 2.3, § 3.3), and in deeds of the 15th century from the same territory *Doña Urdina* (*urdin* 'blue'), *Doña Landerra* (*lander* 'indigent'), *Doña Edur* (variant of *elur* 'snow'). A well-known practice adopted by some men and fostered by the faction-wars (*guerras de bandos*) in Biscay, Gipuzkoa and Araba which reached their zenith in the middle of the 15th century, was the use of anthroponyms taken from books of chivalry. At least *Floristan*, *Galas*, *Montesin*, *Presebal* and *Tristan* are recorded.

A phenomenon which is specifically medieval is the settlement of *francos* of diverse origin —Gascons, Provençals, Bretons, Lombards...— in Navarre and Aragón, due to monastic activity undertaken by Cluny as well as to the reconquest of territories from the Muslims, which had to be populated. This populating process reached its peak in the first half of the 12th century, and consisted in the building of urban nuclei (*burgos*), typically annexed to existing towns or villages, in which a mass of free immigrants (*francos*) was established. These brought many hitherto unknown anthroponyms, or different variants of known ones, to Navarre, albeit at first localized in particular spots.²² In Lizarra (founded as a town in 1090), among those with

²² See Ciérbide (2004) for a general overview of the phenomenon, (1996a) for an analysis of the anthroponyms from Pamplona/Iruñea, and (2008) from those of Lizarra.

a structure 'name + surname' within a corpus of 1090-1222 analyzed by Ciérbide (2008), we have names of apostles and saints like *Petrus* (but also in different variants like *Pedro*, *Peire*, *Per*, *Pere*, *Perrot*, the last one with a diminutive suffix; 34), *Johannes-Johan* (14), *Stephanus-Stevan* (7)... There are also names of saints whose cult was spread in (some region of) France, like *Egidius*, var. *Gil* (< Saint Gilles; 2), or *Forz* (perhaps < Saint Fort). The most abundant given names, however, are of Germanic origin, such as *Guillem*, var. *Wilem* (17), *Arnalt*, var. *Arnald*, *Arnaldo* (9), *Bernart-Bernald* (7), *Rogertus-Rogert-Rogel* (3), *Rainalt-Reinol-Renal* (3). There are also anthroponyms of the old Pyrenean stock but attested in variants which reflect a northern origin, like *Sanz-Sanç*, or *Gassion*, Bearnese variant of *Garcia*.

In the same corpus, the elements accompanying the given name also show some peculiarities. Unlike in the Iberian Peninsula, patronymics are virtually always formed by the simple apposition of the name of the father (*Ponz Guillem*, *Peire Julian*...). On the other hand, among this population two surname-types are particularly frequent: the toponymic one (which undergoes a rise all over Europe in around the 12th century, related to the migration to towns), and the indication of profession (as most of these immigrants are traders, craftsmen, etc.). The surnames of the former type are an invaluable source of information for historians, as they reveal the origin of immigrating individuals. In the corpus we are considering, we have *Alaman de Burgs* (Dép. Gers), *Arnalt de Cahues* (= Cahors, Dép. Lot), *Aimeric de Chartras*, *Johan de Lemoges*, *Petro Lombard*, *Bertran de Oloron*... Some others indicate Occitan origin, with no further precision: *Johan de França*, *Domingo Gascon*... Likewise, the surnames indicating profession provide a vivid image of the socio-economic life that emerged in these nuclei. In Lizarra we have: *Johan Sabater* 'shoemaker',²³ *Bernart Ferrer* 'smith', *Arnalt Barbeador* 'barber', *Petrus Calderer* 'boilermaker', etc.

There were also Hebrew names in the Jewish quarters, numerous in the middle and southern Navarre. By analyzing the names of the Jews who appear in a number of documents of the 14th century,²⁴ Ciérbide (1996b) counts 179 *Gento*, 163 *Abraham*, 131 *Açach*, 105 *Jocef*, 92 *Salomon*, 88 *Samuel*, as the most frequent male names. Female names are more sparsely attested, and among them Romance names are more frequent. Nevertheless, Ciérbide finds 7 *Cima* and 4 *Esther*.

In the continental Basque Country, the Germanic —specifically Frankish— and Gascon/Occitan elements are even stronger in anthroponyms (see Goyheneche 2011 [1966], 1991, Orpustan 2008), due to its closer dependence on the political events in the territories of modern France since Antiquity (without going into details, let us also recall that in 1032 the ducal family of Poitiers came to power in Gascony, which had an impact at several levels). Nobles tended to have a preference for Germanic names. In addition, the area was a starting point for the Way of St. James, and nuclei like Donibane Garazi were a magnet for merchants. In general, foreign names —Germanic like *Arnalt* or Christian names with Gascon or Occitan treatment like *Pes* 'Peter'— are more frequent in the outer areas with stronger Romance influence

²³ This guild was the largest one, which is not surprising if we consider that Lizarra was a stopping point for most pilgrims on the Way of St. James.

²⁴ I leave out variants of each name.

(Amikuze, Garazi, Erango, Bastidaldea, Oztibarre...), whereas the inner valleys closer to the Pyrenees (Arberoa, Baigorri) have held on better to the old Basque stock. Let it suffice to show the figures given by Orpustan (2008: 445-448) in a corpus of documents from 1305 to 1350 for the single or given names (see § 3.5) in Amikuze (outer area) and Baigorri (inner valley), both in Basse Navarre.

- a) Amikuze: 40 → *Pes* (35, out of them 4 nobles), *Petiri* (2), *Petri* (2), *Peyrot* (1); 32 → *Bernart* (2 nobles); 29 → *Guillen* (2 nobles); 27 → *Arnalt* (26, 2 nobles), *Aynaut* (1); 12 → *Menaute* (2 nobles); 10 → *Remon* (9), *Arremon* (1); 10 → *Sanç* (8, 1 noble), *Sancho* (2); 7 → *Johan* (6, 1 noble), *Johanot* (1); 6 *Garcia* (1 noble).
- b) Baigorri: 17 → *Sanç* (9, 1 noble), *Sancho* (8, 2 nobles); 12 → *Garcia* (4 nobles); 10 → *Pes* (7, 2 nobles), *Petiri* (2), *Petri* (1); 7 → *Johan* (6, 3 nobles), *Johanet* (1); 5 → *Arnalt* (2 nobles); 3 → *Bernart* (2 nobles); 3 → *Guillen* (1 noble); 3 → *Miguel* (2, 1 noble), *Miqueu* (1); 2 → *Anto* (1 noble); 2 → *Domingo* (1 noble); 2 → *Guiralt*; 2 → *Lope* (1), *Ochoa* (1 noble).

4. Basque anthroponymy in the Modern and Contemporary Ages

4.1. Sources. Sacramental books, Trent, and the rise of the Civil Register

In the Modern Period, sources increase exponentially: certificates of nobility, notarial records, censi of hearths (*fogueraciones*), among many others. Yet the most outstanding novelty in this respect is the proliferation of the sacramental books elaborated in parishes. In Spain, these started to spread from the synod called by Cardinal Cisneros in 1498 onwards, and in France from the royal edict of *Villers-Cotterêts* (1539) onwards. The provisions of the Council of Trent (1545-63) fostered the generalization and regularization of these books. Although the process was gradual and the amount of information may vary depending on region and period, sacramental books eventually contained records of every baptism, marriage and decease, with indication of name and family name(s), the baptism document also indicating the names and family name of parents. In Spain, the rule standardized by the 17th century was the indication of two family names, the first one of the father, the second one of the mother. The specifically new feature of this as opposed to previous periods is that, in spite of the fact that some registers or set of registers have disappeared or been destroyed, in general, sacramental registers provide a universal record of individuals regardless of their social layer, sex, etc.

Sacramental records, however, also have some shortcomings. They tended to the standardization of given names (e.g. *Pedro* to the south of the Pyrenees, *Pierre* to the north), and popular or hyporic variants are to be sought in other kinds of sources. One of these is literature. The Occitan, Catalan and Castilian languages had rich literary traditions since the Middle Ages, but the Basque literature did not arise until the 16th century, and then and at least in the following century only sparsely and with a geographically defective distribution.

Civil registers came about in 1792 in France, and in 1870 in Spain (with a failed attempt at the beginning of the Isabelian period), respectively. Thereby, administrative functions were taken over by the state, and this brought more strictness in the

regularization and standardization of names and onomastic formulae (e.g. the procedure to change first or family names became more sophisticated).

4.2. Trends in given names and standardization of names

Although from the Council of Trent onwards the Church recommended Christian names —particularly of evangelists, saints, and founders of monastic orders like San Francisco, San Antonio and Santo Domingo— as given names, there was no explicit prohibition against non-Christian names. Rather than an abrupt disappearance of these, we have a progressive rise of Christian names to the top positions of frequency rankings, continuing a tendency already constatable in the Late Middle Ages. A triad standing out from the others is the one made up by *Juan* (Fr. *Jean*), *Martín* (Fr. *Martin*) and *Pedro* (Fr. *Pierre*) for men. *José* (Fr. *Joseph*), by contrast, did not become popular until the 18th century (Guerra 1919: 699). For women, in some places of the peninsular Basque Country the outstanding top two names are *María* and *Catalina*. The old male given names *Ochoa*, *García*, *Lope*, *Rodrigo*, *Sancho*, *Gonzalo*, *Fortún*, *Íñigo*, *Fernando* and *Estibaliz* declined from the 17th century onwards, as did the female *Águeda*, *Lucía*, *Inés*, *Cecilia*, *Marina* and *Ochanda* (Guerra 1919: 699). In the Modern Period, names from the Old Testament were very scarce in Catholic countries, perhaps due to their association with Jews.

The given name could be determined by the saint of the day or other Christian festivities, and this custom created new names such as the male *Pascual* (and its derived feminine *Pascuala*; from Easter Sunday), or the females *Natividad* and *Ramos* (from Palm Sunday). It could also be determined by the devotion —whether local, familiar, or sentimental— to a particular saint. There were also profane motivations like giving the name of the father, the mother, a grandfather or grandmother —all of them with the purpose of «recreating the ancestor»—, a beloved and/or deceased uncle, of the patron-saint of a given guild (e.g. Zabalza Seguín 1999: 324 reports the use of *Cosme* and *Damián* among craftsmen from the town of Agoitz in the 16th century). All these tendencies have competed and interacted in some way or other from the beginning of the Modern Age until relatively recently.²⁵

If in the Middle Ages the Kingdom of Navarre irradiated —mainly by means of repopulations over the Peninsula— given names like *Jimeno*, *Sancho*, and *Lope* (whether etymologically Basque or not), the two main given names exported from the Basque Country in the Modern and Contemporary periods are *Ignatius* and *Javier*. The success of the former is due to Saint Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556), Basque from Azpeitia and founder of the Society of Jesus (Jesuits). His real name

²⁵ According to Omaechevarría (1957: 119), the custom of acquiring the given name from the saint of the day did not catch on until the 18th century. If we type male names like *Miguel* or *Martin* in baptism documents in *DK* (Biscay, Gipuzkoa and Araba), and truncate them by periods (e.g. 1580-1600, 1600-1620, etc.), the concentration of appearances —in the sense of ratio higher than the average of all dates— on the days of the saints (29th of September and 11th of November, respectively) is very vague, but it appears to grow over the course of the 17th century. Similarly, names like the female *Ramos*, which has its origin in the calendar (although once arisen it may be transmitted through other tracks, like giving the mother's name, etc.), are rare at the end of the 16th century, but their frequency grows over the 17th century, in most cases corresponding to a date of birth in March or April.

was Íñigo López de Loyola, *Íñigo* being the Romance evolution of the Pyrenean *Enneco* discussed in § 3.3. However, he adopted the name *Ignatius*, perhaps evoking Saint Ignatius of Antioch (ca. 35-ca. 108), an important figure of early Christianity and Church Father. Although this saint appears as *Ignátios Theophóros* (in Greek alphabet) and was a Hellenized Syrian, his given name was Roman, perhaps related to *gnatus* ‘born, son’, but in any case certainly unrelated to Lat. *ignis* ‘fire’ (see Verd 1989, for a thorough discussion). *Ignacio* soon spread in the Basque Country and the peninsula (the hypocoristic variant *Nacho* is extremely popular in Spain), and much more moderately in Western Europe (Fr. *Ignace*, It. *Ignàziola*, Eng. *Ignatius*, Germ. *Ignatz*, etc.), especially in Catholic families.

Javier is due to Saint Francisco Xavier (1506-1552), born Francisco de Jasso y Azpilicueta, Navarrese from Javier, co-founder of the Society of Jesus and pioneer of the Jesuitic missionary labour (in India and Japan). He adopted *Javier* as his surname after his town of birth, where his family owned a castle. The toponym *Javier* is the Navarrese-Aragonese development of Bq. *etxe-berri* ‘new house’ (frequent in minor toponymy in Basque), with *etxe* > *etxa-* in compounding, apheresis, *-é* > *-jé-*, apocope, and eventual > /x/ of the palatal sibilant in Castilian (most intermediate steps are attested; see Verd 2013). Interpreted as a given name, it spread over Spain and today it is one of the most popular ones (hyp. *Javi*; Bq. Gal. *Xabier*, Cat. *Xavierla*, Port. *Javier*). Though not so popular, it is not unknown in France (Fr. *Xavier*) and Italy (It. *Savèrio*).

Further devotions to male saints who have generated local foci of the corresponding name are the one to San Prudencio (perhaps born in Armentia, close to Gasteiz, Bishop of Tarazona at some point of the Late Antiquity, and today’s patron saint of Araba), and San Fermín, patron saint of Pamplona/Iruñea, who according to a (most probably apocryphal) tradition was baptized by the Bishop of Toulouse Saint Saturninus—in turn patron saint of Pamplona/Iruñea—in Pamplona/Iruñea in the 3rd century. Though, as referred by the poet Prudentius in ca. 400, the soldiers Emeterio and Celedonio were martirized, about one century earlier, in Calahorra (today in La Rioja, outside but very close to the Basque Country), their anthroponymic area of influence has also penetrated into the Basque Country, although they have never been very common names.

In the female sphere, saints are not such a rich direct source of anthroponyms, perhaps with some exceptions like *Catalina*, *Águeda*, *Magdalena*, *Ana* (the mother of the virgin, in the narration of two apochryphal gospels), and of course *Maria*. A productive procedure, though, was to derive female names from male saints by means of gender motion: *Juana*, *Martina*, *Petra*, *Antonia*...

The name *Maria* could be accompanied by a number of elements. For the data of Agoitz between 1550 and 1725, Zabalza Seguí (1999: 326-327) reports a relative frequency of women using *María* or *Mari* plus a male name: *Mari(a) Martín*, *Mari(a) Juan*, *Mari(a) Miguel*... They appear regularly over the whole period in all social layers (except in the high nobility), in both the town and the country. In the majority of cases, the second name is the name of neither her father nor her husband, as one might expect. This custom is also observable in *DK* for Biscay, Gipuzkoa and Araba (*Maria Martín*, *María Miguel*...), although over the course of the 17th century it is gradually replaced by the formula of the standard double name (see § 4.3).

A further source of female names is that originated from Marian cults or the devotion to a mystery having to do with Jesus' or the Virgin Mary's life. At the beginning (see García Gallarín 2009: 99-102), this procedure was used to name ships, or towns founded in Latin America, but it was also employed by theologians, poets and erudites. By the second half of the 16th century, though, some lay people borrowed it, choosing such elements—which could be determined by the calendar, the local cult, etc.—for their daughters as an addition to *María*. This is the origin of names like *María de la Concepción*, *María de la Anunciación*, etc. Since, also from the 16th century on, standard double names were spreading (see § 4.3), the way was paved to analyze *Concepción*, *Anunciación*, *Asunción*, *Dolores*, etc., as normal given names. In *DK*, we find numerous cases of (*María*) (*de*) (*la*) *Concepcion* from 1602 onwards, and of *María* (*de*) (*la*) *Asuncion* from 1670 onwards (in both cases earlier instances are few and far between). As for Marian cults, we find many instances of *Juan de Oro* (masculine!) or *María de Oro* in the vicinity of the Sanctuary of the Virgin of Oro (close to Murgia, in northwestern Araba) since the 16th century, and four cases of *María Valb/vanera* in the South of Araba in the 18th century (from the Monastery of Valvanera, in La Rioja). Yet the names based on classical advocations within Biscay and Gipuzkoa are late. The first case of *Begoña* (patron saint of Bilbao) is *María Dolores carmen de Begoña* (Muskiz, 1780). The real take-off of *María* (*de*) *Begoña* as a double name, however, occurs in the last decade of the 19th century. Between both, there are also cases where *de Begoña* is added to male names as well. The same is true for *María* (*de*) *Aranzazu* (patron saint of Gipuzkoa), with all but one case (1889) turning up in the same decade. There is a unique case of *María Iciar* (Azpeitia, 1889), near the Sanctuary of Itziar, in northwestern Gipuzkoa.

Let's sum up by an anthroponymic ranking. For the sake of both simplicity and clarity, and because Agoitz represents a typical place of the mountainous Basque Country (it was Basque-speaking in the Modern Age, although it is not today), I will limit myself to the rankings made by Zabalza Seguín (1999), who analyzed 7,600 names (not corresponding to individuals, as some of these appear more than once), from marriage contracts of the notary of Agoitz (28 km to the northeast of Pamplona/Iruñea) between 1550 and 1725. These are put forward in Tables 5 (male names) and 6 (female names).

Most of the general traits of this period mentioned above appear in both tables. The presence of *Carlos*, *Luis* and *Luisa*, however, are perhaps due to French influence, to be expected after nearly three centuries of French royal dynasties in Navarre from 1234 on.

Along with all the factors mentioned so far, the anthroponymic evolution in the Modern Age can not be understood without considering the phase language itself is undergoing. In Spain, the period from 1450 to 1650 has been called «fase media de la historia del español» by some Hispanists (see García Gallarín 2009: 74-77), and is characterized by a certain awakening of linguistic consciousness which sparks the need for phonological and morphosyntactic readjustments, unity of orthographic criteria, elimination of variants or creating a redistribution of the existing ones. The implication of this in the anthroponymic realm was that the many variants of the same name often coexisting in medieval documents disappeared or were specialized as patronyms (e.g. *Hernando*, originally a variant of *Fernando*). The problem is complex and depends on many factors. In the peninsular Basque Country, the Castilian

administration fostered the generalization of the standard Spanish form of each given name in official documents, although this process might vary from name to name.

Table 5
 Frequency of the most used male given names,
 in the marriage contracts of the notary of Agoitz (1550-1725)
 [Source: Zabalza Seguí (1999: 322)]

Given name	Nr. of appearances	Percentage over the totality of male given names
1. Juan	847	26.62%
2. Martín	793	24.92%
3. Pedro	480	15.08%
4. José	115	3.61%
5. Carlos (Charles)	92	2.89%
6. Francisco (Francés)	86	2.70%
7. Sancho	76	2.38%
8. Lope	74	2.32%
9. Antonio	50	1.57%
10. Bernardo	47	1.47%
11. Luis	39	1.22%
12. Simón	36	1.13%
13. García	35	1.10%
14. Fermín	33	1.03%
15. Nicolás	30	0.94%
16. Pascual	28	0.88%
17. Domingo	24	0.75%
18. Esteban	22	0.69%
19. Fernando	22	0.69%
20. Ramón	22	0.69%
21. Gracián	20	0.62%
22. Lorenzo (Lorenz)	20	0.62%
23. Gabriel	19	0.59%
24. Joaquín	17	0.53%
25. Lucas	17	0.53%
26. Hernando	14	0.44%
27. Ignacio	14	0.44%
28. Beltrán	13	0.40%
29. Gil	12	0.37%
30. Felipe	11	0.34%
31. Íñigo	11	0.34%
32. Rafael	11	0.34%
33. Sebastián	11	0.34%
34. Antón	10	0.31%
35. Andrés	10	0.31%
36. Gaspar	10	0.31%
37. Gregorio	10	0.31%
Total	3,181	99.82%

Table 6

Frequency of the most used female given names,
in the marriage contracts of the notary of Agoitz (1550-1725)
[Source: Zabalza Seguín (1999: 322)]

Given name	Nr. of appearances	Percentage over the totality of female given names
1. María (and compounds, except male ones)	410	25.07%
2. Catalina	373	22.81%
3. Juana (Joana)	139	8.5%
4. Graciana	120	7.33%
5. Graciosa	90	5.50%
6. Josefa (and compounds)	80	4.89%
7. Mari Martín	53	3.24%
8. Mari Juan	44	2.69%
9. Francisca	42	2.56%
10. Mariana	40	2.44%
11. Águeda	31	1.89%
12. Luisa	27	1.65%
13. Teresa	27	1.65%
14. Mari Miguel	22	1.34%
15. Antonia	21	1.28%
16. Martina	20	1.22%
17. Lucía	18	1.10%
18. Isabel	17	1.03%
19. Ana	14	0.85%
20. Ángela	12	0.73%
21. Jerónima	12	0.73%
22. Margarita	12	0.73%
23. Joaquina	11	0.67%
Total	1.635	99.9%

If we type %Peru% in baptism documents of *DK*, we only find one *Perusqui* (1541), one *Peru symon* (1542), and one *Peruxco* (1564), along with hundreds of *Pedro-s* in the 16th century itself. However, leaving aside other popular variants, the fact that *Peru* was the patrimonial variant in Biscay, Araba and Gipuzkoa²⁶ —at least in many areas of these regions and as long as Basque was spoken— is attested by literature (in the *Refranes y Sentencias* of 1596, in the Alavese Lazarraga' manuscript of ca. 1600, in Barrutia's play *Acto para la Nochebuena* of the 1st half of the 18th century, and of course in Moguel's *Peru Abarca*, written in about 1800). *Peru* and derivatives are preserved in oikonyms, family names (*Perurena*, *Peruchorena*, *Peruandia*,

²⁶ Let it be noticed that the *-u* of Bq. *Peru* is not a remnant of the short *-ũ-* of Lat. *Petrus* (which until the Low Middle Age is absolutely marginal as an anthroponym, as I said in § 4.2). Instead, it is an adaptation of the medieval Spanish variant *Pero* through the synchronic change Romance *-o* → Bq. *-u*, which occurs in many loan words even today.

etc.),²⁷ and other sources. We have also the mentions of the hagnonym ‘St. Peter’ as *I/Jandone Peria-* in the late-16th-century Alavese Betolaza, in Lazarraga and in the Duranguese Capanaga (1656). By contrast, in the case of *Juan/-a*, these standard forms do not become exclusive in Church registers until the 19th century. Until then, we also have the male variants *Joanes*, *Joan*, even *San Joan*, and the females *Joana* and *Joaniza*. The dorsal sibilant, which should be regarded as an old feature, is also preserved in the hagnonym *Jandoneanez* (< **Jaun* ‘Lord’ + *Done* ‘Saint’ + *Joanez*) in Lazarraga (and similar variants in other old authors, and in toponyms).²⁸

4.3. Hypocoristic variants and double names

As I said in § 3.6, the promotion of Christian names since the 11th century, strengthened by the Council of Trent in the 16th, brought about a simplification of the anthroponymic stock and an increasing concentration of individuals in a few names. This, in turn, generated functional problems, as given names lost distinctive force. This tendency has been strengthened by some anthropological customs well rooted in certain areas of the Basque Country —especially in the Pyrenean Navarre— until the Modern Period, like giving several sons or daughters the same given name with the purpose of «recreating the ancestor more than once», thus guaranteeing the anthroponymic continuity of the lineage, represented in the house as an institution. Thus, if a Pedro —or a Catalina—, son of Pedro, was the inheritor of the house and its estate,²⁹ but died prematurely (or was blind, or deaf), the *mayorazgo* could be passed over to another Pedro without cutting off the anthroponymic chain. Satrústegui (2001) and Zabalza Seguíñ (1999) attest several such cases in northern Navarre.

To make up for all this, some compensatory strategies have been developed, such as the proliferation of hypocoristic variants of standard names, or, in the Modern Period, double names.

Hypocoristic variants were the ones people really used and by which individuals were distinguished, as opposed to the standard variant of the official documents.³⁰ In the Basque-speaking areas, most of them are vernacular and undergo the phonetic processes typical of Basque, although there may be hybrids like *Piarreño* in Luzaide, with the Basque suffix *-ño* attached to a French variant of the name). Formally, their

²⁷ These are not patronymics in origin, at least in most cases, but family names given by the name of the house.

²⁸ I have based my analysis of the standardization in Church registers on Biscay, Araba and Gipuzkoa, because *DK* provides an efficient device to study sources. However, after briefly consulting the data from Church registers of the continental Basque Country given by Elosegi (2005), I believe that a detailed research would yield similar results in that region, albeit with French standard variants (*Pierre*, *Jean*, *Etienne*...).

²⁹ The so-called *mayorazgo*. In the customary law of northern Navarre, any of the sons or the daughters could be chosen as the heir, regardless of sex and order of birth.

³⁰ However, hypocoristic variants often sneak into official documents, especially in the 16th century. In the marriage contracts of Agoitz, Zabalza Seguíñ (1999: 320-321) attests *Miguelico* (1561), *Marianica*, younger sister of a María (1632), *Anica* (1578), etc. In other cases, homonymous sibilings are distinguished by specifying *Martín mayor*, *Martín menor*, *Martín mínimo*.

formation can involve a number of devices, such as apheresis, apocope, expressive palatalization (even of phonemes which are not palatalized in the common lexicon, e.g. *Peru* → *Txeru*), addition of suffixes (especially diminutives: *-ko*, *-t(t)o*, *-txo*, *-txu*, *-ot(e)*...), and combinations of several of these. The following selection is restricted to the top three male names in Table 5 above and the top two female names in Table 6. It puts forward data collected by Mitxelena & Irigaray (1955) and Salaberri (2009):³¹

- a) *Catalina*. *Chatalin* (Bergara, 1547), *Chetalinena* (oikonym in Azpirotz, 1726), *Kattalín* (Beruete, Etxarri Aranatz, Luzaide), *Kátti* (Etxarri Aranatz), *Kattálinà* (Goizueta), *Káttalinà* (Leitza), *Kattalín* (Leitza, Perurena), *Cathalínco* (Lantz, 1537), *Catelinto* (Ihabar, 1587), *Catalinche* (Bilbao, 1470), *Catelinacho* (in Lazarraga's manuscript, ca. 1600).
- b) *Juan*. There is a plethora of popular variants, starting from medieval *Jo(h)annes -is*. Leaving hagionyms —which pose special problems (see above)— and toponyms derived from *Jo(h)annelis* aside, the given name has *-s* in Lapurdian and Low Navarrese, as attested by several Lapurdian authors of this name in the 16th and 17th centuries, starting from *Ioannes Leïçarraga Berascoizcoac* «Jean de Liçarrague de Briscous» (1571). It has no *-s*, by contrast, in Zuberoan (mod. *Joháne*, *Joháñe*, although there is also *Juanés*). A variant without *-s* is also attested for Biscayan in literature (*Joane Xauna* «Don Juan», in Mikoleta, 1653; *Yoane* in the fables of Moguel-Zabala, 1804). In *DK*, we have the males *Joanes* and *Joan*, and the females *Joaniza* (rare, the last one baptized in 1716) and *Joana*. We have *Joana* also in Leizarraga (*Joanna Albrete* «Jeanne d'Albret») and in Oihenart's poems (*Ioana*). In coastal Lapurdian, **jo-* > [jw-] > *g-* (as in *gan* 'go' < *joan*) in about the 17th century, and hence *Joan-* > *Ganis*, and diminutives *Ganex*, *Ganix*, attested in literature. In Low Navarre, we have the variant *Manex/z* (with assimilation of nasalization), and *manex-ak* 'the manex' is the nickname given by Zuberoans to other continental Basques.
Diminutive variants by means of suffixation, palatalization, or both, are countless: *Joango su hijo* (Zizurkil-Aduna, 1470), *Chachu Arrona* (Deba, 1436), *Xaneton* (Maule, 1377), *Xuan Lopez Monnago* (Durango, 1490), *Máñe* (Amikuze), *Johanet* (Pamplona/Iruñea, 1253), *Johango d'Ascue* (Hondarribia, 1384), *Johangoxe de Erreten* (Deba, 1482), *Johanico d'Arecalde* (Donibane Garazi, 1391), *Joanicote* (in the chants of the fire of Arrasate, an event occurred in 1448), etc.
- c) *Maria*. *Marico d'Iriart* (Orbaizeta, 1366), *Mariaco* (Elizondo, 1529), *Chariaco* (Bergara, 1516). The apocopated *Mari* is hypocoristic, but also a common procedure to turn a male name into female (→ *Mari Martín*, etc.).
- d) *Martín*. *Machin de Lanz* (1366), *Machin* (in the *Refranes y Sentencias* of 1596), *Machico* (in the family name *Machicorena*), *Martingo garaycoa* (1366), *Marticho Errementarico* (Leitza, 1530), *Marticot de Rivera* (Hondarribia, in Isasti, 1st half of the 17th century).

³¹ When no year is indicated, the variant has been gathered in the research of recent decades.

- e) *Pedro*. Two productive vernacular variants are *Betiri*, < gen. *Petri* (with initial voicing and elimination of the consonant cluster by anaptyxis of a vowel with the same timbre as the following), and *Peru* (with a simplified consonant cluster, like Old Sp. *Pero*). Not all attestations of the former, however, undergo both processes. That being said, variants derived from these two are: *Betri Martiniz de Sant Esteuen* (Pamplona/Iruñea, 1350), *Petriquo* (Lerga, 1428), *Bettiriño* (Lapurdian character of a religious dialogue in the mid-18th century), *Peruco deliçaondo* (1366), *Perute de garcia çuri* (1366). The palatalized *Cheru* and *Cheruco* have survived in Biscay until today.

There is also *Pello*, especially in Gipuzkoa (which must come from *Pero* or *Pedro*), and Old Biscayan *Peri(a)*, as a hagionym supported by toponymy (there is also *Periza* in Gipuzkoa in the 16th century). In the continental Basque Contry, variants of Fr. *Pierre* have somehow become patrimonial, like *Pierris* (already in Leizarraga), *Pierres* (in Axular), etc.

With some precedents in southwestern France (see § 3.5), double—or triple, etc.—names spread in the Renaissance (see Dauzat 1944: 70-71), from nobles to the bulk of the population. This procedure enabled the perpetuation of more than one ancestor or godparent, or the honouring of more than one patron saint, or any combination. In the end, the male *Jose*—or the variants *Josef*, *Josephe*, etc.—and the female *Mari(a)* tended to become filler names, usually in the first slot. In *DK*, this use of *Jose(fl)phe* is not generalized before the 18th century (that of *Mari(a)* somewhat earlier, as its original function was to give women male names or accompany advocations).

By changing variants, combining languages or inverting the order, double names can also make up multiple combinations, thus increasing their distinctive potential. In Luzaide (northern Navarre, next to the French border), Satrústegui (1961: 226) records the following combinations of *Juan/Jean* + *Pedro/Pierre*: *Juan Pedro*, *Juan Peyo*, *Juan Pello*, *Juan Pello*, *Pello Juan*, *Peyo Juan*, *Pedro Juan*. They can also merge into a single hypocoristic name conceived as unitary. In Luzaide, resulting from the same combination, Satrústegui records: *Yanpier*, *Sanpier*, *Amper*. In Urdiain (western Navarre, next to the border with Araba), Satrústegui (2001: 6) records the following oikonyms derived from merged double names: *Migel Esteban* > *Mielestuen*, *Esteban Diego* > *Eztudio*, *Miguel Frantzisko* > *Milintxiko*, *Juan Bautista* > *Fanbesta*, *Migel I(g)nazio* > *Milixu*. Two such female names in Biscay are *Maria Ignacia* > *Mañasi* (as the protagonist of Domingo Aguirre's novel *Kresala*), and *Josefa/Pepa Ignacia* > *Pepiñasi* (as the protagonist's mother in Unamuno's novel *Paz en la guerra*).

4.4. The development of appellation formulae in the Modern and Contemporary Periods

The systematization of the Church registers fostered by the Council of Trent brought about the regularization of appellation formulae or personal names, which in Spain would consist in 'given name + father's surname + mother's surname', and in France in 'given name + father's surname'. These procedures, which are the legal ones since the civil registers arose, were generalized after Trent, albeit with different rhythms depending on the type of document. In *DK*, the expected former formula

is practically general by the last third of the 16th century. By contrast, in more eastern regions of the Atlantic Basque Country, the old system (individual's surname = name of the house where (s)he lives) does not give way to the new system (individual's surname = father's surname) until the first half of the 17th century, as Elosegi (2005: 346-356) reports for Sara and Goyheneche (2011 [1966]: 575) for Uztaritze, both being small towns in Lapurdi. Regarding Agoitz in Navarre, according to Zabalza Seguín (2008: 606), 1600-1630 are the critical years for a set of transformations which are somewhat more complicated than the simple transition from the old system to the new one just described, and which include also the elimination of the practice of acquiring the surname from the mother (and, beyond the onomastic realm, of matrilineal practices in general). Unlike Elosegi and Goyheneche, Zabalza Seguín refers to civil sources, and insists that the new surname-assigning system prevailed thanks to Castilian notaries, unfamiliar with the Navarrese customs, who first tried different options to adapt these to the reforms imposed by the Castilian administration.

In fact, the formula 'given name + house name' stopped being used only in registers intended to reflect the individual as a legal entity. At a popular level, the real or «vernacular» surname of Basques living in non-industrialized villages of the areas we are considering has been and still is the house name. In some Navarrese municipalities like Elizondo, the local council has even published phone directories registering residents according to their house name, as they were not recognized by their official surname.

In some civil documents of the peninsular Basque Country, different procedures to combine the two-surname rule with the popular formula can be found. Thus, in some 18th century lists of owners from Erandio and Loiu (northwestern Biscay), Ros (2015) reports the dominant formula to be 'given name + father's surname + house name' (e.g. *Bautista Aguirre Rodrigoena*, owner of the house Rodrigoena, in Erandio, and son of an Aguirre). In Navarre, the combinations are countless, the possibility of using larger toponyms (village or valley of origin) is also resorted to, and, as Zabalza Seguín (2008: 611) says, the transmission of the surname does not follow fixed rules until the rise of the Civil Register.

In the continental Basque Country, the official formula will be 'given name + father's surname', but in Zuberoa the latter is often accompanied by the name of the village or quarter of origin (Haritschelhar 1970: 214). Thus, the poet Etxahun refers to the dignitary from Barkoxe —as was Etxahun himself— Jean Alcat as: *Musde Alkhat Barkoxe, zütan dizüt sinheste* 'Mr Alkhat Barkoxe, in you I have my trust' (*Biberset dolorusik*, 16, 1).³²

4.5. Basque oikonyms and nicknames derived from them

The importance of the house (Bq. *etxe*) as the socio-economic cell is not an exclusive feature of the Atlantic Basque Country (it spreads over the whole Pyrenean

³² He also refers to himself, at least once, as *Etxahun-Barkoxe, doha gabia* 'Etxahun-Barkoxe, you miserable one' (*Musde Deffis*, 9, 1), although *Etxahun* was actually his mother's surname.

area), nor is the onomastic custom of using the name of the house as a popular surname (this is also done at least in Gascony). Yet the latter is an outstanding feature of Basque anthroponymy (and toponymy). In Biscay and Gipuzkoa, nearly all official native surnames are of oikonymic origin. As Omaechevarría (1949: 173) observed, the main reason for this might be socio-political. At the beginning of the Modern Period, Biscayans were granted the so-called *hidalguía universal* (universal nobility), an important legal recognition in a period in which, after the expulsion of the Jews and the Muslims, Spaniards had to prove their cleanliness of blood to be considered *hidalgos* or old Christians. The *hidalguía universal*, made explicit in the *Fuero Nuevo* of Biscay (1526), stated that any citizen stemming from a known ancestral home or house within the Estate of Biscay was automatically *hidalgo*. This was *de facto* valid also for Gipuzkoans. Thus, using the house name as surname was a label which immediately guaranteed the *hidalguía* of Biscayans and Gipuzkoans, hence the nearly exclusiveness of oikonymic surnames among these. By contrast, in Navarre, even in the north, Basque native surnames include some of patronymic origin like *Ochoa* (see § 3.3), original nicknames like *Gorri* ('red'), or surnames of toponymic origin making reference to an entity much larger than the house, like the village (*Orbaiz, Nagore, Salazar, Urzainki...*).

Oikonymic surnames are extremely interesting, as, most of them being minor toponyms, they make reference to the specific location of houses or to their surroundings. Trask (1997: 349) regretted that this realm of Bascology was unexplored, but since then many important works have reverted this situation, such as Orpustan's (2000) monograph for the continental Basque Country, Salaberri (2006) for Navarre, as well as many monographs on the oikonymy of different villages or valleys, especially in Navarre. I cannot go into details of an issue which belongs to toponymy rather than to anthroponymy, but one anthroponymic procedure characteristic of the Atlantic Basque Country should not be left unmentioned.

I am referring to how, in addition to the «popular surname», in many villages the name of the house provides the individual with a «popular given name», which is derived from the oikonym by means of procedures which can include (what follows is a selection of Salaberri 2006: 884-887):³³

- a) Palatalization: *Bénta* → *Béntta* (Aniz), *Pertaláts* → *Pertalátx* (Arizkun).
- b) Dropping of a final element, which can be the genitive suffix typical of oikonyms: *Antonjóinja* → m. *Antónjo* / f. *Antonjosa* (Ondarrota, Arnegi), *Errándenià* → *Errándo* (Ituren); or the article *-a*: *Albérruà* → *Albérrro* (Amaiur), *Kamíuà* → *Kamío* (Ituren); or any other element constitutive of the oikonym: *Xurtotegia* → *Xurto*.
- c) Dropping of the article plus palatalization: *Batzabaléa* → *Batxábal*, *Batxabál* (Arizkun).
- d) Dropping of the genitive plus addition of a diminutive suffix: *Arginénja* → *Argíntto* (Amaiur).

³³ The name in parentheses indicates the village where the nickname occurs.

There are, of course, more combinations. Note that sometimes the procedure also implies accent shift.

4.6. Basque neo-anthroponymy

The repertoire of given names established at the beginning of the Modern Period did not suffer any abrupt change until the 70s of the 20th century. Then, along with the socio-cultural shift brought about by the transition from Franco's dictatorship to democracy, an onomastic revolution occurred which, in the course of a few generations, profoundly remodeled the repertoire of Basque names in Biscay, Gipuzkoa, and Araba, by introducing new given names or creating completely new versions of the old ones. This anthroponymic drift has been more moderate—or at least more gradual—in Navarre, and its impact on the continental Basque Country has been only tangential.

Since this repertoire was the work of two Bascologists, and most of its names were creations with no tradition, they are in fact neo-anthroponyms. Their sudden success in the 70s and 80s may have had, in origin, sociological motivations (adherence to a Basque identity, vindication of a culture which had been repressed...), but very soon it went beyond the borders delimited by any ideological contour, and in fact also beyond the geographical borders of the Basque Country, as some names like the male *Iker* or the female *Ainhoa* have been successful all over Spain.³⁴

The first of these Bascologists was Sabino Arana (1865-1903), politician and ideologist from Abando (today Bilbao), founder of the Partido Nacionalista Vasco in 1895. His prolific proposals on onomastics, gathered in his *Egutegi Bizkaitarra* ('Biscayan Calendar') of 1897, were reedited by Luis Eleizalde and published posthumously as *Deun-Ixendegi Euzkotarra* ('The Basque Catalogue of Saints' names'), in 1910. In line with his purism for the lexicon, he proposed mostly arbitrary given names intended to fit with his ideas on Basque phonetics rather than to standardize a set of forms attested by tradition. In many cases, he proposed to take names from their original source, adapting them to his preconceived rules. Thus, for *Pedro* he created *Kepa*, from the presumably original Aramaic form *Cephas* 'stone' cited in John 1, 42, dropping the *-s* and turning the *f* into *p*. For *Luis*, in turn, he resorted to the form *Chlodovichus* of some Merovingian chronicles, but metathesizing *-lo-* to avoid the initial consonant cluster and adding *-a* of male names: *Koldobika*. Many of the given names created by him end in *-a* if they are masculine and in *-e* if they are feminine (*Koldobikal-e*, *Josebal-e* 'Joseph/-ine', *Karlal-e* 'Charles/-otte', etc.), drawing on the (inherited) idea that, when they were born, male babies cried making an *a* sound, female babies an *e* sound. He even invented the suffix *-ne*, which allowed the inclusion into this pattern of (especially religious) female names which otherwise would not fit, such as *Jaione* ('Nativity', Bq. *jaio* 'be born'), *Jasone* ('Assumption', Bq. *jaso* 'lift'), *Irunne* ('Trinity', Bq. *hiru* '3'), etc.

³⁴ The boom of the name *Iker* from 2000 onwards, after the goalkeeper Iker Casillas, is paradigmatic. Both he and his brother Unai were given Basque names because their father, who was a civil guard, was stationed in Bilbao for some time.

Some phonetic rules applied by Arana were (see Knörr 1999: 144, Arana & Eleizalde 1910: 12-15): 1) *muta cum liquida* groups should be avoided (*Adrián* → *Adiran*); 2) *f* becomes *p* in Basque (*Félix* → *Peri*);³⁵ 3) voiceless stops become voiced after *n*, *l* (*Antonio* → *Andoni*); 4) *s*, *z* become palatalized after *i* (*Elisabet* → *Elixabete*); 5) diphthongs should be avoided (*Ignacio* → *Iñaki*). Some of these rules had some basis, but were misconceived, or generalized the Biscayan pattern (the fourth one).

Two more well-known and successful names invented by Arana are: *Jorge* → *Gorka*,³⁶ *Ángel*-*a* → *Gotzon*-*e* (perhaps from *gogo*- 'spirit' + *huts* 'pure' + *on* 'good'). In a few cases, he preferred attested forms rather than inventing anything: *Miguel* → *Mikel*, *Gonzalo* → *Gontzal*, *Domingo* → *Txomin* (a hypocoristic form).

Another innovation proposed and fostered by Arana involved the manner of giving the personal name (i.e., the whole name structure). Instead of 'given name + surname(s)', he favoured the formula 'surname(s) + *-tar* + given name'. Thus, in Arana & Eleizalde (1910), the personal name which appears on the title page is *Arana-Goiri'tar Sabin*. This procedure never caught on at a popular level, but was used by some pro-aranist authors to sign their works in the course of the 20th century.

In fact, when we talk about the success of Arana's names we are referring to the boom they underwent from the 70s on. During his lifetime they remained at a programmatic level, and in the following decades they were very rarely employed, due either to disagreements among pro-aranist and anti-aranist Bascologists or to onomastic prohibitions during some periods of the 20th century, especially during the post-war period.³⁷ In 1957, the prohibition was softened a bit, but it was not until a law of 1977 that all Basque names were legalized (with retroactive effects for people born earlier who wanted to change their name).

The other figure crucial in the shaping of Basque neo-anthroponyms was José María Satrústegui (1930-2003), a Navarrese priest from Arruazu. At the end of the dictatorship, he was entrusted by Euskaltzaindia, to which he belonged, with the creation of a catalogue of Basque given names. As a result, he published his *Nomenclátor Onomástico Vasco* or *Euskal Izendegia* in 1972, with two reeditions enlarged and adapted to the current legislation in 1977 and 1983. An Onomastics Commission of Euskaltzaindia has made some later enlargements and amendments, and a digital device establishes which names are regularized.³⁸

Satrústegui created his catalogue from several sources, the most important of which are:

- a) He rescued and regularized what could be deemed reasonable from Arana's *Deun-Ixendegia*. Thus, he rejected m. *Begoña*, *Eneka* / f. *Begoñe*, *Eneke*, and standardized instead the attested *Begoña* as female (§ 4.2) and m. *Eneko* / f. *Eneka*, *Oneka*.

³⁵ In fact, there is a patrimonial *Eriz* (< *Felice(m)*).

³⁶ In fact, there is also a patrimonial and elegant *Jurgi*.

³⁷ Both issues are explained in detail in Knörr (1999: 146-150).

³⁸ In: https://www.euskaltzaindia.eus/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=253&Itemid=469&lang=eu.

- b) He resorted to historical sources, and thence he took names like m. *Alain* (1570), m. *Oier* (Leire, 1110), f. *Aiora* (Leire, 1068), *Andregoto* (Leire, 970), etc.
- c) He took some few but very successful neo-anthroponyms from the 19th century Romantic literature. From Navarro Villoslada's novel *Amaya o los vascos en el siglo VIII*, he took *Amaia* (the symbolic name of the protagonist, meaning 'End'), *Amagoia* ('Mother from Above', a pre-Christian fortune-teller and mother of Amaia), and *Aitor*. In the novel, he was the ancient patriarch of Basques. Both the character and the name had been actually invented by the Zuberoan author J. A. Xaho in his *La légend d'Aitor*, where he fantasized with the idea that the Zuberoan phrase *aitoren seme* 'noble' (< *aita onen seme* 'son of good fathers') was in fact a proper name indicating the mythical patriarch of his imagination.
- d) To make up for the poor tradition of using names based on local and mystical cults to the Virgin (§ 4.2), he proposed numerous female names from beautiful and euphonic names of monasteries, shrines and hermitages scattered all over the Basque Country, like *Leire*, *Iratxe*, *Irantzu*, *Irati*, *Ainhoa*, *Estibaliz*, etc.
- e) He turned some natural elements, animals, tree species, etc., into proper names, such as f. *Haizea* (*haize* 'wind'), m. *Hodei* 'cloud', m. *Ibai* 'river', m. *Aritz* 'oak', m. *Izei* 'fir tree', f. *Lorea* (*lore* 'flower'), etc.

5. Conclusion

By and large, the repertoire of Basque anthroponyms has gone hand in hand with the ones from neighbouring regions in Europe. A stock which contained animals, descriptive common nouns and some other pre-Christian names received a very strong formal influence through Romanization, as well as, in the course of time, influence in the stock itself through Christianization. Like in other western European regions, in the Basque Country patrimonial variants of Christian names were developed in a process which spreads over the whole 2nd millennium AD. The neo-anthroponyms created by Arana and Satrústegui are indeed a peculiar feature, which provide the traditional Christian catalogue with a breath of fresh air, but also—in the case of Satrústegui's fifth source—reincorporate pagan or even «animistic» elements. Although no particular given name of the old Aquitanian stock has succeeded in reviving, at least the divinity name *Xuban* has done so (as a male given name).

Even if the Pyrenean area of the Basque Country developed a patronymic suffix inherited from Antiquity—and of Latin origin—, it was pushed aside by the one in *-ez*. As for appellation formulae, the history of these is not different from that of the rest of western Europe, from the Modern Period on the peninsular Basque Country being heavily influenced by Spain, the continental one by France. Perhaps a peculiar feature is the overwhelming preponderance of oikonymic surnames in the Atlantic areas and, in Araba (and in western parts of Navarre, particularly in the region around Lizarra), of compound surnames of the type 'patronymic + toponymic'.

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