

EUSKERA, LANGUAGE OF THE PYRENEES: THE CASE OF ANSÓ (ARAGON) AND RONCAL (NAVARRÉ)

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Abstract*

The valleys of Ansó and Roncal are located in a multilingual enclave in which, in addition to the presence of Aragonese and Euskera, Gascon is also much in evidence in its Béarnaise variety. The Ansó Valley joins the Roncal Valley at this point in the Pyrenees - the latter being the last Basque-speaking boundary of Basque-speaking Navarre. The outer borders of the Ansó Valley would appear to be dotted with lands that either know Euskera or have been considered part of Vasconia. We do not know what the Euskera spoken in Aragon was like, although it is also true to say that it would seem logical for there to have been some link with the nearest Basque dialects. There are no texts existing that could help us to understand what the Euskera from Aragon was like, but the presence of Euskera in Aragon is backed up mainly by toponymy. Indeed, toponymy is the only living linguistic witness that remains of Aragonese Euskera. The study of surnames from Ansó Valley and Roncal Valley is proof that the relationship between these two communities has been intense. So many centuries of close neighbourly relations with constant migratory movements in both directions, with marriages between people from both valleys, sharing common drover's road, was necessarily reflected in the languages of the place. In this article we study this common lexicon backed by toponymy and, also, the presence of Basque language in the Ansó's toponymy. We added the most important suffixes from the Euskera substratum in the toponymy of this area, and also, some Basque names used in composition and parasynthesis in the toponymy of Ansó (Aragon). We try to explain some phonetic matters of the Basque toponymy of Ansó through the toponymy of the Roncal Valley in Navarre, but the material available unables us to establish a direct relation between the toponymy of Roncal and Ansó, as the most characteristic Roncalese features have not been reflected in Ansó's toponymy. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that the place names of the two valleys have in common many phonetic and morphological features.

1. Introduction

The valleys of Ansó and Roncal are located in a multilingual enclave in which, in addition to the presence of Aragonese and Euskera, Gascon is also much in evidence

* Abbreviations: ADPA, Archives of the Department of Pyrenees Atlantiques; AHBRV, Archives of the House Board of the Roncal Valley; EAT, *Erronkari eta Ansoko Toponimiaz*, PhD thesis; MAA, Municipal Archives of Ansó; NPAN, Notarial Protocols Archive of Navarre.

in its Béarnaise variety. The former Manor of Béarn shares many kilometres of border with Aragon and has bestowed the summits of Guarrinza and other emblematic mountains from this area with Gascon toponymy such as *Era Tabla d'Eths Tros Rouyes* (The *Tabla* 'strip of land' of the *Tros* 'pieces, plots of land' *Rouyes* 'reds or treeless'), translated in French by popular etymology as *La Table des Tois Rois* and in Spanish as *La Mesa de los Tres Reyes* ('The Table of the Three Kings').

The Béarnaise influence is also apparent in Ansó and there are many words of Gascon origin that can still be heard nowadays in this corner of the Pyrenees; thus, according to Vicén and Moncayola (1991), *beroyas* denotes 'pretty young girls', *ca-perán* is a type of wild mushroom and money is referred to as *cauquerré* (Latin [Lat.] *qualque res* 'something, anything').

There are also some words common to the three languages that are in contact, such as the Béarnaise word *camou* ('field close to a spring or water channel') which is found as *camón* in Ansó and Bal d'Echo, *cambón* in Aragüés del Puerto and Lescun, and *cambot* in Lèès-Athas, Issor, Féas, Borce and Sarraltzune (a Basque-speaking neighbourhood of Lanne-en-Barétous). In the heart of Larra, within the jurisdiction of Isaba, we find the toponym *Camalonga*, which provides us with a link to the Aragonese toponym *Camón Luengo* ('long field'), on the border between Ansó and Echo. The Aragonese word *camón* and the Béarnaise word *camou* have their equivalent in Euskera, with the double variant *gamo* or *ganbo*. The surname *Ganboa* and the town of *Kanbo* in Labourd are examples of this equivalence. In Zuberoa (the French Basque Country) we have the toponym *Gam(u)eta* (Fr. *Gamette*) in Liginaga-Astüe, and in the Roncal Valley, *Ganboa* in Burgui, *Ganbuluzea* (var. [variant] *Gamuluzea*) in Garde and *Gamuluzeandia* in Urzainqui. *Gamueta* is a mountain in Ansó. *Camou* is the Gascon name of the town of *Gamere* in Soule (*Gamuere*, by *Gamuere*, in the documentation consulted: "el lug(a)r de *gamuer* de la tierra de sola de fra(nçi)a", 1625 NPAN).

The Ansó Valley joins the Roncal Valley at this point in the Pyrenees, the latter being the last Basque-speaking boundary of Basque-speaking Navarre, and the Aspe Valley, part of the former Manor of Béarn and, in turn, part of what was known as the *Duchy of Vasconia* and which, owing to phonetic derivation, gave the name *Gascony*. In the 13th century, these lands of ultra-Pyrenean Vasconia belonged to the Kingdom of England. On 20th June 1294, King Edward I of England requested help from all jurists, consuls, honourable men and in general all subjects from the community of the land of Aspe to defend themselves against the King of France who "was maliciously attempting to trick him and separate him from his good subjects from the Aspe Valley", a place he expressly refers to as *terra nostra Vasconiae*, that is, 'our land of Vasconia':

Juratis, consulibus, probis hominibus et toti communitati terrae de Aspe. Satis bene audistis et nostris discordiam habitam inter Regem Franciae et nos et qualiter idem rex de nostris bonis gentibus et terra nostra Vasconiae nos malitiose decepit.

The text proclaimed by the King in "Portesmouth" (*Portsmouth*) has been gathered by Thomas Rymer and published by Michel Grosclaude (1986). The full text and a Spanish translation can also be found in the article I published in the joint work *Vasconce y Romance* (Lopez-Mugartza 2004).

The current territory of Gascony (which shared lands with the former French province of *Guyena* (Fr. *Guyenne*, Gasc. *Guiana*) was part of the Roman province

known as *Aquitania Propria* or *Aquitania Novempopulana* (Aquitaine), which Julius Caesar, in his work “*De Bello Gallico*”, did not consider to be part of *Gallia* (Gaul) and understood its inhabitants to be more closely related to the inhabitants of the other side of the Pyrenees than to the Gauls themselves.

It is precisely in *Aquitania Novempopulana* where different inscriptions from the Roman era have been found, on which some names can be read that would appear to be easily explained by Euskera as *Harbelex* (Basq. *harbel* ‘slate’, *harri beltz* ‘black stone’), *Bihoscinnis* (Basq. *bihotz* ‘heart’), *Ilurberrixo* (Basq. *berri* ‘new’), *Nescato* (Basq. *neskato* ‘girl’), *Cisson* (Basq. *gizon* ‘man’), *Anderexo* (Basq. *andere* ‘woman’) *Ahersbelse deo* (Basq. *akerbeltz* ‘black billy-goat’) and others.

As Rohlf's demonstrates (1935), the word *Aquitania* is closely linked to *Guyena* and its variants (*Guayana*, *Guinea*, etc.), names that, according to the author, derived from the former: AQUITANIA > *AGUIDANIA > GUIAINE (in Old French) > *Guyenne*. On the other hand, the name *Gascony*—an integral part of the *Aquitania Novempopulana*— is also, as has been pointed out above, the fruits of phonetic evolution: VASCONIA > WASCONIA > GUASCONIA > *Gascuña* (Germanic development), *Gascueña* (in Old Spanish). With this it would seem that the circle is completed and the pairs of terms *Aquitania* and *Guyena*, on the one hand, and *Vasconia* and *Gascuña*, on the other, are almost symmetrically evenly-matched, and lastly, *lato sensu*, all of them between each other.

Thus, the outer borders of Aragon in this area would appear to be dotted with lands that either know Euskera or have been considered part of Vasconia. The Ansó Valley is also located just a few kilometres from the French Basque province of Zuberoa (Soule), whereby the valley is closely linked to this province of *Ultrapuertos* (Basque region that is on the north side of the mountain passes of the Pyrenees) because, in particular, young girls from Ansó—together with those of the neighbouring valleys of Salazar and Roncal— would cross over to the towns of Mauleón and Tardets to work for the rope-soled sandal makers of the region. These young people who emigrated to Zuberoa became known as “swallows” (*ainarak* in Euskera), as both their journey to work and their return home appeared to imitate the migratory flight of these birds: they would go in autumn around the time of Michaelmas and return in spring, when the birds and the cattle returned.

2. About the existence of Basque-Aragonese subdialects

Caro Baroja recalls in his work *Materiales* (1945: 21-22) that “one who had such a practical knowledge of the Basque language” as Aingeru Irigaray considered that the Roncalese dialect of Euskera might be more closely related to former Basque-Aragonese subdialects than to the subdialects of Zuberoa, whereby the similarities are so convincing that in the first dialectal classifications made by Prince Bonaparte, all were considered—the Roncalese *uskara* included—as varieties of the same dialect: Suletine (the Basque dialect of Zuberoa).

Despite everything, Irigaray had a feeling that the relationship of Roncalese should have been even stronger with the Basque-Aragonese subdialects than with the Suletine dialects. He also used the word subdialect to refer to the Basque-Aragonese

variants, without managing to specify which dialect from the past those ancient sub-dialects belonged to.

We do not have a *Rosetta* stone to explain to us what the Euskera spoken in Aragon was like, although it is also true to say that it would seem logical for there to have been some link with the nearest dialects. The attention of such a researcher of the stature of Koldo Mitxelena was so powerfully drawn to the fact that Roncalese had a very marked accent “almost as clear as Castilian Spanish,” (quoted by Satrustegi 1999) although he distinguished them apart because it possessed a “musical element” that Spanish lacked, and because it seemed that the Roncalese accent was “more moveable and more subject to general intonation of the sentence.”

Mitxelena acknowledged that the type of accentuation bore great similarities to Suletine, as the accent fell on the penultimate syllable, although it had its own features that made it different from the latter, for instance, in Roncalese, unlike Suletine, the accent did not change position when a declinative suffix was added to it. Mitxelena gave the example of the word *gizon* (‘man’), pronounced in Roncal as *gizon* and in Zuberoa in the same way, Sul. *gizun*. However, as it appeared declined, it remains in Roncal with accentuation on the same syllable, Ronc. *gizona* (absolute case), and changes in Zuberoa, sul. *gizúna*.

Thus, still acknowledging the apparent similarities between the Euskera of Roncal and that of Zuberoa, the fact that Mitxelena states that the similarity with Suletine is far less than was originally thought and cites Castilian albeit tangentially, to refer to a specific aspects of the Roncalese accent, he makes us stop and think that, at least within that specific phonological context, there are elements that bring Roncalese closer to the south side of the Pyrenees —not only Navarrese, but also Aragonese— territories in which, lest we forget, Euskera and the Aragonese Romance language have historically coexisted.

The presence of Euskera in Aragon is backed up mainly by toponymy. There are no texts existing that could help us to understand what the Euskera from Aragon was like. Only the intuition of some linguists who, like Irigaray, spoke of the possibility that those variants of Euskera had some type of relation with Roncalese, the variety of Euskera that has been in contact in a secular form with Aragon. This is a hypothesis that would seem logical, as the dialectal varieties of a language are always more similar to those of neighbouring valleys than those of faraway ones. The differences increase and speech becomes more different and diverse as the geographic area becomes larger and the distances become greater.

Nevertheless, toponymy is the only living linguistic witness that remains of Aragonese Euskera. It has no element that might definitively establish this relationship, at least not with Roncalese in the form in which it has survived to our times: no Anotano toponym in *-alde* (Basque *-alde* ‘to the part of’), no Anotano toponym that evidences forms in *itur-* (Basque *itur* ‘spring’), and no Anotano toponym that echoes the most obvious defining features of the Roncalese dialect.

Apart from toponymy, there are also some elements that tell us clearly of the relationship of Aragon with Euskera. The municipal bylaws of Huesca from the year 1349 are very well-known, in which goods agents who ignored the ban on con-

ducting buying or selling in Arabic, Hebrew or Basque would be subject to a fine of thirty salaries (Del Arco 1913):¹

Item nuyl corredor nonsia usado que faga mercaderia ninguna que compre nin venda entre ningunas personas, faulando en algaravia, ni en abraych, nin en basquenc; et qui lo fara pague por coto xxx sol.

This quote in itself is no proof that Euskera was the customary language of use in Huesca, although it does indicate that, irrespective of whoever happened to actually use it, Euskera could be heard on market days in Huesca in the 14th century. Elaborating on this idea, Vicente Latiegui (2002) published a text in 1561 by the Guild of Merchants of the City of Huesca in which, surprisingly, all jargon, Biscayan, Navarrese, Arabic and any other foreign language other than what was referred to as “our mother tongue” was banned, clearly referring to the Castilian Spanish language in which the guild’s regulations were drafted. What is not clear is which languages were being referred to by jargon, Navarrese or any other foreign language. It would seem apparent, however, that he meant Euskera when referring to Biscayan.

The situation of Huesca with regard to Euskera is unique insofar as there are documentary references existing that relate it in some way to the language, even when this was to ban its use. In other places in Aragon, we do not find evidence of this type, although a quick look at the map once again brings us face-to-face with toponymy the last resort when express documentation fails, the silent witness to the past, the linguistic fossil that reveals a great number of Basque-speaking names or names that would seem to be related, albeit tangentially, to this linguistic group (Múgica 1966): *Alastuey*,² *Alcubierre*, *Alguerre*, *Ayerbe*, *Biscarrués*, *Balaguerre*, *Benabarre*, *Bescós* (cf. in Labourd, French [Fr.] *Brisous*, Basque [basq] *Beskoitze* or *Beraskoitze*), *Espierre* (Jaca), *Ligüerre* (one in Cinca, another in Ara Boltaña), *Lascuarre* (cf. Ubieto 1972, in the 11th century cited as *Alascorre*, *Alascorri*, *Alascorr*, *Lascor*, *Lascuerri*; cf. also the minor toponym of the Lower Navarrese town of Jaso (Basq. *Jatsu*), the ancestral home of the family of St. Francisco Javier.³ Cf. also, *Aragüés del Puerto* (Ubieto 1972, *Araost*, *Araoste*, *Arahost*), *Aragués del Solano*, *Araguás* (Boltaña), *Arascués* (id., *Arascuesse*), *Angüés* (id., *Anguesse*), *Ardanuy*, *Berroy* (Boltaña; cf. *Berroia* in Navarre), etc.

There are surprising toponyms that sound as fine to Basque ears as *Izarbe* and *Olate* in Cartirana. Professor Txomin Peillen⁴ (University of Pau) defends the exist-

¹ Gathered by Gartzzen Lacasta Estaun (1994). There are two articles by Gartzzen Lacasta Estaun about the relationship between Euskera and Aragon which must be taken into account: both bear the title «El Euskera en el Alto Aragón» (Basque Language in Upper Aragon), although one of them is published in the Section Notebooks (*Cuadernos de Sección*, Hizkuntza eta Literatura-Language and Literature, 12, 1994) published by Eusko Ikaskuntza, and the other is a paper presented at the 3rd Onomastics Conference (*III Jornadas de Onomástica*) organised by Euskaltzaindia in Estella in September 1990 and which is basically the source of the 1994 article. The text referred to has also been published by D. Fernando González Ollé (1970).

² Cf. in Zuberoa, *halztoi* ‘place of alder trees’.

³ *Laskorria* or *Laskorrea* is a toponym for Jaso, a town close to St. Jean Pied-de-Port (Basque *Donibane Garazi*). *La Casa Laskorrea* or “Lascorre” is mentioned in 1347 and 1366 in the list of fires during the Kingdom of Navarre. It was owned by the Jaso family, ancestors of St. Francisco Javier (cf. Múgica 1966).

⁴ Oral information.

ence of a common basis for the different forms of Pyrenean speech from which modern-day Basque would have derived, together with other languages that would have died out with the advent of Romanization but which have had enough time to leave their mark on the toponymy.⁵

Indeed, in Jacetania is concentrated a large number of minor toponyms that would appear to be related to this common pre-Roman Pyrenean substratum with more or less controversial resonance in Euskera: *Aratorés* (Castiello de Jaca), *Bisaurri* (Aragüés), *Acher* (Echo), *Iguarda* (Villarreal de la Canal), *Izabal* (Binacua and Santa Cilia de Jaca), *Lubierre* (Borau and Novés), *Punta Agüerri* (Echo), *San Xavierre de Martes* (Martes), *Chandri* (Sigüés) or *Zunzurrunera* (Jaca). On the other hand, there are some place names in Val d'Onsella and in the Five *Villas* of Aragon such as *Undués* or *Bagüés* that form part of the Pyrenean group, owing to their endings with the suffix *-os*, *-ose*. This is a suffix which, in any event and although common in Basque toponymy, cannot be explained via modern-day Euskera, which is why other options need to be sought out. There are also other toponyms which, owing to their morpho-phonetic appearance, would seem in some cases to be clearly Euskera-like, and in others very close to it: *Navardún*, *Layana*, *Sádaba*, *Biota*, *Asín*, *Gordués*, *Gordún*, *Isuerre* (or *Isorre*, *Yssor*; cf. Ubieto 1972: 928), *Bizcarra* in Ruesta or *Chapalangarra* and, once again, *Isuerre* in Urriés.

In the Alto Gállego county may be found various toponyms that contain types of resonance that are more or less related to this pre-Roman, Euskera substratum: ranging from names such as *Arriaga* in Javarrella (Sabiñánigo county), to names such as *Larraz* in Panticosa (and perhaps *Larraca*, most probably from *Larraça*, from Canfranc), or *Escarra* in Tramacastilla. There is also the toponym *Igüés* in Sabiñánigo, which can be added to the list of Pyrenean toponyms ending in *-os*.

As for Sobrarbe county, toponyms such as *Aran* (Boltaña, Broto) continue to be the object of discussion as to whether this is a widely-used word in Euskera in the Pyrenees or whether, conversely, it is a Pyrenean name that is widely-used in Euskera. Nevertheless, there continue to be numerous examples that would seem to point time and time again towards an Euskera-type language, either a similar one to it or a different one that has been strongly contaminated via adstratum or contact throughout the region.

Without accepting the presence of a language of this type, toponyms such as *Arbea* (Bolea), *Atarri* (Boltaña), *Basa* (Gistain and Plan), *Batoua* (on the border of Gistain with Val de Louron) *Escun* (Plan), *Igüerra* (Gistain), *Irués* (Plan), *Javierre* (Bielsa), *Lavasar* (Plan) or *Larraga* (Bielsa; there is a town in Navarre with the same name) cannot be understood.

All these toponyms, although many of them may be utterly obscure, would seem to speak to us in Euskera. Some of them also appear to be easily possible to relate to places in the present-day Basque Country; thus, to give an example, places such as *Ordiceto* in Bielsa or *Ordesa* in Torla bring to mind the Guipuzcoan town of *Ordizia*. Nevertheless, the fact that a toponym may have a homonym in current Basque

⁵ This subject was dealt with at the 5th *Trobada* organised by the Institute of Aragonese Studies and was subject to review at the Euskaltzaindia Congress on Pyrenean languages given in Pamplona in October 2008 by Professor Albert Turull from the University of Lleida who, like Professor Peillen, puts forward the notion of a common pre-Roman substratum that he refers to as "Vascoide" (?) in brackets and with a question mark.

territory does not necessarily mean that it is of Basque origin, but rather that it is related to the latter and is a branch of the same common family tree.

3. Discussion about bilingualism in the Pyrenees

Coromines (1965), in referring to the work carried out by Menéndez Pidal entitled *Toponimia Prerrománica Hispana* (1968: 34-5), to a certain extent laments the fact that work has been confined to pointing out masses of Basque place names throughout Upper Aragon and in Pallars without having stopped to analyse the widespread and little qualified belief that the Eastern limits of Euskera in Roman times coincided with the current limits of Navarre (cf. *Estudis de Toponímia Catalana*, I, 113).

The map itself that Menéndez Pidal (1950) proposes as regards the maximum extent of Iberian dialects is extremely cautious in terms of dates, and would somehow seem to imply that the extent of use of Romance in the Pyrenean valleys automatically entailed replacing the pre-Roman language with the recently-arrived one, which would go on to become established and evolve in diverse ways in the different valleys where it developed, it would then go on to attain extraordinary force and vitality, in so doing putting the indigenous language in the shade. However, it is no less proven that it made the language die out at its roots, and even less so to be able to put a clear, safe chronological limit on its replacement.

On the map drawn by Menéndez Pidal, there is a leap forward of many centuries between what he refers to as the “limit of late Romanization towards the 6th-7th centuries” and the “limit of the Basque language at the end of the 16th century.” Well, the latter limit coincides exactly with the line of Navarre and is the place through which the first limit also passes indicated by late Romanization. Reading the map implies that the Pyrenean valleys within that line that Romance language was absolutely predominant by the 6th-7th centuries over Basque, although one thing is that Romanization reached these valleys and another very different one is that the first language died out completely.

Still basing ourselves on the dates marked out on the map, the objection should be made that, although it may well be true that the limit of the Basque language at the end of the 16th century coincides metre per metre with the border of Navarre, this does not mean that this was necessarily the case in the middle or the beginning of that century or in any other previous period. In other words, since the dawn of late Romanization until the end of the 16th century, there are ten centuries, enough time for Euskera to gradually retire from the scene without there being any sudden changes from one day to the next.

Coromines (1965: 114-5) maintains that a Basque Catalan dialect (quite possibly with very different features to the Basque we know today), might have been able to persist until the mid-Middle Ages in the central Pyrenees.

Coromines understands the reasons why Menéndez considers that Pyrenean Romanization must have been a *fait accompli* by the 7th century;⁶ nevertheless,

⁶ On the one hand, the fact is that the short accentuated brief vowels *ē* and *ō* are diphthongized in Aragonese Basque toponyms, where diphthongization had already become a closed process by the end of the Visigoth era; on the other, the fact that there is sufficient evidence to suggest that Aragon at the time of the Reconquest was already a country where essentially the Roman language was spoken.

there are some aspects of Menéndez's theory about which Coromines has some reservations. Firstly, it would appear that not enough importance has been given to the fact that Roman languages reached the highest passes of the Aragonese Pyrenees (Somport, Boltaña, Benasque and Roda) before they reached the highest passes of north-western Catalonia, which meant that two groups of inhabitants ("deux poches basques") remained on both sides of these places where pre-Roman language was still spoken, one to the north-west of Jaca and another in the high valleys of Pallars. Coromines provides statistical data about the toponymy to back up his theory. Secondly, Coromines (1965: 119) objects to the fact that the theory put forward by Menéndez Pidal reveals itself to be too simple a notion of Romanization: "on semble croire que tout le monde s'est mis à parler latin ou roman tout à coup et en abandonnant la langue préromane pour de bon".

Coromines therefore rejects the notion of a sudden and immediate replacement by one language of another and, in the light of modern socio-linguistics, prefers to think of a gradual process of replacement on an absolutely identical level in all areas, as those factors that have a bearing on the different places are not the same in each case. Coromines refers to a generational linguistic change in which children would have adopted Latin more easily than their parents, who would have continued using their mother tongue. Only in this way can one speak of a sudden change, that experienced by new generations who know and use the new language. Yet it is quite possible that those who experienced the arrival of new linguistic trends when advanced in years never managed to articulate even a single correct sentence in the new language of civilization.

We can see the most recent example of this type of linguistic replacement in the "Pays Basco-Navarrais" referred to by Coromines. Both languages coexisted for centuries and the fact is it can be said that monolingual Basque speakers have now died out completely.

Coromines acknowledges that Menéndez Pidal himself has, in view of these irrefutable facts regarding bilingualism, accepted the evidence of bilingual pockets in the case of Navarre. In places such as Romanzado where the Romance language has been strongly in evidence since the Middle Ages, many centuries have been needed to displace Euskera from these lands.

The Ansó Valley might have also taken part in this same phenomenon. There is a great deal of data relating the situation of this valley to that of the neighbouring ones. Ansó is included on the map drawn by Menéndez Pidal within the area of late Romanization of the 6th and 7th centuries, an area it shares with neighbouring Navarre and Gascony in terms of the survival of toponyms ending in *-ués*, *-uas*, *-os* (continuers of the suffix *-os*⁷ such as the medieval *Arbuas*, *Baos*, *Banaguasse*, *Baraos*, *Biscarrose*, *Larros*, cited by García Blanco (1949), and the present-day *Biscarrués*, *Bastarrós*, *Aragüés*, *Barbués*, cited by Irigaray 1949), in *-ué* (such as *Aquilué*, *Bentué*, *Sengüé*, *Sesué*, cited by Irigaray), phonetic variations of those ending in *-uy* (*Beranuy*, *Serraduy*, *Azanuy*, *Montanuy*, *Llesuy*), related by Menéndez Pidal to the suffix *-doi* (used to de-

⁷ Lespy (1880) considers the endings *-os* to be varieties of the older ending *-oze*, which is still used in the Basque Country in major toponyms (*Aloze*, whose official name is *Alos*).

note plural forms, mainly in names of plants and trees), and the survival of continuer toponyms from the Basque *Etxaberi* ('new house') throughout the area of late Romanization. This tells us clearly of the interconnection and common ground existing between these areas of the Pyrenees, and also possibly something about the bilingual situation.

4. Surnames, an example of the mobility of the inhabitants of these lands

The study of surnames from these valleys is proof that the relationship between these two communities has been intense and that there must have been a great deal of mobility for reasons of marriage or work. The following tables contain the surnames from the valleys subject to study. On the one hand, the Basque surnames from Ansó and, on the other, the Roncalese surnames that are of a noticeable Aragonese or Romance nature, or that, while still being of Basque origin, are mainly used in Ansó.

4.1. Basque surnames from Ansó (Huesca, Aragon)

<i>Arotza</i>	"Pedro Aroca", 1369 MAA (Municipal Archives of Ansó).
<i>Arregi</i>	"Joan periz de arregui", 1568 id.; "domingo de arreguy", 1646 id.
<i>Baratea</i>	"domingo baratea", 1620 id.
<i>Barkoxe</i>	Family name of Fago (Ansó Valley): "jn.o barcoxe de fago", 1591 id.; cf. Zuberoa (French Basque Country), town name, <i>Barkoxe</i> ; cf. Ansó, variants <i>Barcos</i> , <i>Barcox</i> (surnames): "Lorenzo Barcos" 1650 id.; "[pedr]o lorenzo Barcox", 1658 id.
<i>Barrena</i>	"matias barrena", 1657 id.
<i>Belat</i>	"ju[anc]o de belat", 1657 id.
<i>Beleterra</i>	"sebastian beleterra", 1624 id.
<i>Bereterra</i>	"sebas[ti]an de bereterra Sindicos y prores. de la v.a de ansso", 1624; <i>Vereterra</i> : "seustian vereterra pr[ocurad]or de la Valle de ansso", Sept. 29, 1626, NPAN (Notarial Protocols Archive of Navarre).
<i>Ederra</i>	"Philipe Derra Domiciliado en la Villa de Isaba de la Valle de Roncal", 1647, MAA.
<i>Enedrok</i>	"lope enedroc alias nagusi", 1369 id. (1847, copy).
<i>Eneko</i>	Proper noun: "eneco sanchiz", 1375 (Idoate 1977: 185).
<i>(E)txaberría</i>	"jusepe chaberría", 1656, MAA.
<i>Etxarri</i>	"joan de hecharri... dicho e[c]harri", 1656 id.
<i>(E)txarte</i>	"diego de charte... diego de echarte", 1668 id.
<i>Gale</i>	"domingo gale", 1627 id.

<i>Garzes</i>	“lope garces... lopez garces”, 1369 id. (1847 copy).
<i>Garde</i>	“lope garde Jurado de la billa de anso”, 1468, AHBV (Archives of the House Board of the Roncal Valley).
<i>Gaiarre, Galbarre</i>	“el dicho Sr. Pedro Gayarre arrienda el Puerto y Borregaril de Arguibela por tiempo de cuatro años”, 1652, MAA. Larraine (Zuberoa), top. <i>Galharreco ungan</i> (1832 ADPA, Archives of the Department of Pyrenees Atlantiques).
<i>Gorria</i>	“En la Sierra de puyeta donde se dibidē y es mojō y Ra[ya] de nabarra y aragon... jn.o sendoa al[ca][d]e de garde j[ua]n[c]o petroch vez[in]o de ysaba blas urcāqui vez.o de Roncal Jugane gurria vez.o de burgui y fran[cis]co Romeo alle. Sancho puyo mayor y <i>garciagorria</i> vez.os de la villa y valle de anso y jn.o bernart...”, July 6, 1562, AHBV; “Ju[a]n <i>Gorria</i> Criado de p.o Lopez vezinos de la villa de anso del Reyno de aragon”, March 13, 1647, NPAN.
1. var. <i>Guorria</i>	“los muy mag.cos señores jn.o Sendoa alle. de garde jn.o petroch vezio. de ysaba blas urçainquj vezio. de Roncal Joanneguorria vezio. de burguj por la parte de la valle de Roncal vezinos y gabitadores y fran.co Romeo lugartenjete de alle. de la villa y valle de anso Sancho puyo y <i>garciaguorria</i> vezinos de la villa de anso Jn.o bernart vezino del lugar de fago de la dga. valle por la pte. de la valle de anso”, July 24, 1562, AHBV.
2. var. <i>Gurria</i>	“domingo <i>gurria</i> villot... antonio <i>gurria</i> ”, 1691, AHBV; “loma de Pedro Marco <i>Gurria</i> ”, 1750, MAA; “Francois <i>Gurria</i> Escolies Et habitans de lou dg. ville danso procureaire de ladg, ville danso”, Sept. 4, 1739, ADPA.
<i>Gebara</i>	“don Pedro Guebara”, 1650, MAA.
<i>Hualde</i>	“arriendan al dicho Iñigo Hualde el Puerto de Alano de esta valle por tiempo de quatro años”, 1661 id.
<i>Huarte</i>	“bar[tolo]me de Huarte Clabario de la valle de anso”, Nov. 29, 1615, APN.
1. var. <i>Guarte</i>	“bar[tolo]me de Guarte Como pror. de la valle de anso”, Sept. 29, 1624, NPAN.
2. var. <i>Duarte</i>	“bar[tolome] duarte juntero y pro[curado]r”, 1624, MAA.
<i>Ilaria</i>	“florencio de ilaria”, 1369 id. (1847 copy).
<i>Insausti</i>	“Ills.e Señor ns. Juan martinez de insausti”, 1586 id.
<i>Larretxe</i> var. <i>Lartxe</i>	“Juan de Larche de anSSo... Juan Larche vez.o de la v[ill]a de anSso del Reyno de aragon”, 1626, NPAN.
<i>Larruiegi</i>	“Aznar Laruyegui”, 1369 (1847 copy), MAA.
<i>Mendiara</i>	“domingo mendiara y p.o aznarez Jurados de la Villa de anso”, 1608, NPAN; “Ju.o puyo alias Mendiara pr[ocurad]or de la dicha valle de anSSo” 1625 id.; “Ju.o Mendiara Jurados del lug.r de fago de la mesma V.a”, 1657, MAA.
<i>Mendibe</i>	“Manuel Mendibe... Manuel Mendive”, 1859 id.

<i>Nagusi</i>	Nickname: “Lope Enedroc alias <i>Nagusi</i> ”, July 21, 1369 (1847 copy), MAA.
<i>Navascues</i>	“riendan el Puerto de Blasco Salboch y la ralla de Tortiella por tiempo de un año Ynclusos el comun de Areclusa y Forcal de la Serbiella y dichos Domingo Lopez y Francisco <i>Navascues</i> dan del goco del puerto de Blasco Salboch es a saber nobenta escudos y del puerto de tortiella diez y seys escudos”, July 4, 1663, MAA. Cf. <i>Navas</i> , place name of Ruesta (Aragon), but included in the documentation of Ansó: “Fra[n]cisco Navas del lugar de Ruesta”, 1648, MAA.
<i>Orbara</i>	See the name of the town called <i>Orbara</i> belonging to the Aezkoa Valley (Navarre)
1. var. <i>Obrara</i>	“Juan Obrara lugar teniente de Jurado del lugar de Ciresa”, June 30, 1604, MAA.
2. var. <i>Olbara</i>	“Pedro Olbara... Domingo Olvara”, June 30, 1604, MAA.
<i>Ollozkariketa</i>	“Primeramente dhos. ss. Justicia y Jurado Arriendan a los dhos. ollozcariqueta Beti y Martiniz el puerto llamado de estibiella y tortiella y el Puerto de Linça”, June 24, 1665, MAA; cf. <i>Ollakarizketa</i> , town name of Navarre.
<i>Orradre</i>	“Juan de Orradre”, 1667 id.
<i>Urdin</i>	“Bartholome Urdin”, 1668 id.
<i>Zamargilea</i>	“garcia camarguilea”, 1369 id. (1847, copy).
<i>Ziriza</i>	“El fiscal Rl. carlos de çiriça pror. de domingo fuertes y blasco lopez vez.os del lugar de fago del rreyno de aragon”, 1563 id.

4.2. Aragonese, Castilian Spanish and Pyrenean surnames from Roncal (Navarre, Basque Country)

<i>Abadía, Adrián, Aguado, Aguayo, Aguau, Agüero, Agusta, Aisa, Alaman, Alcazaba, Amiñanos, Andres, Andreu, Ansa, Ansó, Anchú, Añanos, Añaños, Ara, Araguás, Aragüés, Aracué, Aramas, Arcal, Armentero, Arralla, Aso, Aspa, Aznar, Aznaret, Aznarez, Aznariz</i>
<i>Babil, Baguería, Bages, Baiber, Baile, Bailon, Baines, Baistero, Balanza, Baldán, Ballén, Balles-tero, Bañes, Bargallo, Baron, Bastero, Bayo, Begino, Belio, Beltrán, Berdún, Berga, Bernart, Bernat, Bertol, Bescós, Bielsa, Bita, Blasco, Blascuts, Blascoch, Blasquez, Blasquiz, Blaxut, Blazquez, Blazquiz, Bolant, Bon, Bradina, Bueno, Buey, Busto</i>
<i>Cabodevilla, Cajal, Cajales, Calvo, Callerín, Callizo, Camín, Cantero, Carboñero, Cardenal, Cardona, Casado, Casamayor, Casanova, Casaviella, Castillejo, Caxal, Caxales, Cortés, Coso, Costas, Cubeles</i>
<i>DAnsó, Daspa, Datotx, Dausoa, De Miguel, Del Bayo, Desparza (D + Esparza = roman prefix + Basque name)</i>
<i>Ejeano, Ermitaño, Escudero, Esquilano</i>
<i>Fayanás, Ferminico, Ferrero, Fillo, Fiz, Forca, Forchuna, Fortán, Fraile, Francés, Francho, Fraya, Fuensanta, Fuertes</i>

<i>Gabas, Galán, Gallardo, Gil, Grande</i>
<i>Herrero, Hilarión</i>
<i>Ibañez, Indiano</i>
<i>Jaime, Josef, Juanico, Juanillo, Juanrosillo, Jurando</i>
<i>Lacasia, Lacasta, Lagarda, Laguardia, Lamarca, Lamperez, Laplaza, Laporta, Larriva, Lasala, Le-trado, Linares, Lobera, Loesia, Lope, Lorbes, Lorca, Lorce, Loren, Lorensa, Lorente, Lorenz, Lorenzo, Luceno, Luengo, Luesma, Lupercio, Lurbes, Llargo, Llorens</i>
<i>Macareno, Macollas, Machorro, Maestro, Malarrés, Malcarado, Malduermes, ManolAnsó, Man-tetas, Manchonera, Manuelico, Manzanas, Marengo, Marqués, Marracos, Martinico, Mateo, Matias, Melero, Micolau, Milombres, Minina, Miranda, Mirasol, Modesto, Modisto, Mojetes, Molin, Monzón, Moreno, Morillo, Murillo</i>
<i>Navarrico, Nicolao, Nicolau, Nieto</i>
<i>Oliva, Oliver, Olmo, Ortiz</i>
<i>Palacios, Paletas, Palicas, Palotes, Pastora, Peceta, Pedraz, Pedregón, Pedromonte, Pelagallo, Pelacachos, Pelayo, Perez, Perropresa, Petillano, Petronila, Portillo, Pueyo, Puyal, Puyo</i>
<i>Quintín</i>
<i>Rafaelico, Ralla, Ramón, Redondo, Remón, Rey, Ribé, Rioja, Riva, Roda, Romeo, Roscas, Rosé, Royo, Ruano, Rubio, Rumbó</i>
<i>Sabina, Sacristán, Salvador, Salvarrey, Santamaria, Sastre, Secretario, Sereno, Sigüesano, Solana, Solanilla, Sordo, Sotera</i>
<i>Tablajero, Tanborin, Tapaculo, Tartamudo, Tártaro, Tejedor, Telesforo, Tolosana, Tomas, Ton-tico, Trujalero, Tuter, Tutora</i>
<i>Valdán, Valentín, Valeriana, Valero, Valverde, Ventura, Vicente, Vidal, Vila, Villacampa, Villa-nueva, Viñuales, Vita, Vitor</i>

4.3. Surnames from Ansó of Gascon-Béarnaise origin

Bareton, Bax, Berbiela, Calsuan, Cativiela, Coarassa, Escolies, Larqué, Peyrausanz, Portarrica, Vil-lot

4.4. Surnames from Barétous (Béarn, Gascony) of Aragonese origin

Acin (Añce), Ananos (Arette), Borau (Arette), Brun (Arette), Ipas (Arette)

4.5. Surnames from Zuberoa of Aragonese origin

Aguiar (St. Engrâce), Blanco (id.), Claver (id.), Duque (id.).

4.6. Surnames from Roncal of Béarnaise origin

Acos, Adamiz, Amigot, Anaut, Arnalt, Arnaut, Artuch, Aspa, Auger, Aussa, Baron, Barotona, Barbiela, Baque, Berbiela, Bernat, Bertich, Bertol, Beyloc, Bilioch, Birach, Blascuts, Bon, Casset, Caxau, Conget, Daspa, Durronda, Dronda, Monaut, Nicolau, Noque, Pachaban, Petroch, Salboch, Samper

4.7. Surnames from Barétous of Basque origin

Andion, Barricata, Sanche Saurto Mendigacha, Arraquouats, Biscay, Cholarry, Chouerry

5. Reflection in the language of this close historical link

So many centuries of close neighbourly relations with constant migratory movements in both directions, with marriages between people from both valleys, sharing common drover's road, was necessarily reflected in the languages of the place. Indeed, the languages that have been spoken in the region would seem to be a response to common needs for expression, and this is especially apparent in the field of toponymy and plant and tree names.

Every word in a language from the region has its corresponding correlatum in the neighbouring languages of that same region. There is a word in Aragonese *fábla* for each word in Euskera or in Gascon and vice-versa. It is even common to find toponyms constructed from one language or another within the same valley without this appearing to have entailed a serious communication problem or imposition of one language on another.

To give an example in the Roncal Valley, there are two places called *Peñarroya* —‘red crag or bare walls crag’— one in Burgui and the other in Urzainki; curiously, the name *Peñarroya* in Navarro-Aragonese has been used indiscriminately until recent times in Urzainki together with *Peñagorria*, its Basque variant. The question that comes to mind is therefore, when did speakers choose the Romance language solution and when the Basque one and also, why did the two variants coexist without one displacing the other. The answer may lie in the fact that perhaps in Roncal we find a case of historically balanced bilingualism that has enabled both languages to survive on an equal footing, with linguistic areas of use being arranged in a balanced way.

5.1. Common lexicon

Below I list some very widely-used Aragonese words in toponymy and plant and tree names from the area, and then point out their equivalents in Basque toponymy and plant and tree names from these same valleys (in the case of Gascon, I take the following as models: the valleys of Barétous and Aspe; the Barétous border with Roncal and Aspe with Roncal and Ansó, sharing with the latter a long common border of over twenty-five kilometres in length, dotted with Gascon and Aragonese toponyms

used indiscriminately by all of them without any solution of continuity being in evidence.

- (1) Arag. *arrigo* ('river'; Salvatierra de Esca, Arag. *la simiente se arrigaba* 'the seed was watered'; Basq. *erreka, ugatxa, egutxa*; Gasc. *arrec*; Sp. *La Agua Mayor* 'The Main Water', *El Río Mayor* 'The Main River').
- (2) Arag. *buxo* ('boxwood'; Basq. *ezpel*).
- (3) Arag. *castiello* ('castle'; Basq. Roncal *gaztulu*; Gasc. *casteth*).
- (4) Nav.-Arag. *cabezo, corona* ('round hill'; Basq. *buru, gain*; Basq. Roncal *kukula*; Gasc. *cap*).
- (5) Arag. *espelunga* ('cave'; Basq. *leize, leze*; Sp. *cueva*).
- (6) Arag. *forado* ('perforated crag'; Basq. Roncal *zilo*; Gasc. *horat*).
- (7) Arag. *foya* ('gully'; Basq. *hobi*; Sp. *hoya*).
- (8) Nav.-Arag. *gorrillón, gurrillón* ('common hawthorn'; Basq. *elorri*, var. *illurri*).
- (9) Nav.-Arag. *paco* ('shady place, north-facing place which the sun does not reach the whole day'; Basq. *oxezki*, Burgi top. *Opakua*, var. *Opakia*; Gasc. *ubàc, cap-bat, paguèro*).
- (10) Arag. *petra, pedra* ('stone'; Basq. *harri*; Gasc. *peira, peire*).
- (11) Nav.-Arag. *portillo* ('pass between mountains'; Ansó *achar, achart*; Basq. *ate, atarte*; Gasc. *portalet, portau*; on the border of Isaba and St. Engrâce, *portillua*).
- (12) Nav.-Arag. *plano, plana* ('flat place'; 1. Basq. *ordoki, zelai, zabal, naba*; Sp. *llano, llana*. - 2. 'small plain in the middle of a hill'; Basq. Roncal *xabalko*; Sp. *rellano*).
- (13) Sp., Nav.-Arag. *solano, solana, carasol, sol saliente* ('sunny spot, place that faces the midday sun and which the sun reaches the whole day'; Basq. *eki-alte*; Gasc. *solà, soulè*).
- (14) Arag. *yusano, -a* ('the low part of a place'; Basq. *beiti*).
- (15) Arag. *susano, -a* ('the high part of a place'; Basq. *goiti*).
- (16) Nav.-Arag. *royo, -a* ('red, without vegetation'; Basq. *gorri*; Gasc. *rouy, arroüy, rouye -roaye-*).

5.2. Some features of the languages of the Ansó-Roncal region

Francho Nagore (2004) is the author of an essential article about relationships between the Aragonese and Basque languages, in which the elements that bring both languages together are examined in great detail. The lines that follow serve as a reminder of the best-known meeting points between Gascon, Euskera and Aragonese *fabla*:

Protasis of the a before the initial r

Aragonese, Euskera and Gascon reject the vibrant consonants in the initial position and, therefore, in the case of words deriving from Latin that do contain a vibrant consonant at the beginning of the word, add a prothetic vowel which, in the case of Aragonese and Gascon, is always the vowel *a* and in the case of Euskera, tends to vary between the *a* and the *e*; thus, for instance, the following derive from the

Latin word *rancor*, *-oris* in the languages of our region: Arag. *arrancura* ('complaint, lament'), Gasc. *arrancurà*, and Basq. *arrenkura*, *arrangura* (id.). In Castilian Spanish [Cast.] and French [Fr.], however, there is no protasis and, moreover, it is curious to note we have chosen as a model in this case, the same meaning of the word changes in these languages in opposition to the previous ones Cast. *rencor* ('rancour'), Fr. *rancœur* (id.).

Nevertheless, there are some exceptions such as that referring to the colour red, which both in the Aragonese (*royo*, *-a*) and Gascon (*roy*, *roaye*, *rouye*) from the region tends to appear without protasis. This word is especially common in toponymy because, as has been shown above, it is used to name those places where the land is bare, without vegetation.

This is the most likely explanation based on the toponym *La Mesa de Los Tres Reyes* 'The Table of the Three Kings' already referred to previously at the beginning of this article. This is a very recent toponym that never appears in old documentation. It was most likely created thanks to the translation of its corresponding form in French (*La Table des Trois Rois*) which, in turn, is necessarily reconstructed by popular etymology from the original Gascon-Béarnaise undocumented name *Tabla d'eths Tros Rouy(e)s*, which literally means 'Slab of Bare Pieces', in which *tabla* refers to a long strip of land with a more or less rectangular base. Given the location of the term on the border, it may well refer to the existence of control points manned by soldiers who watched over the border and blocked routes, as the name *tabla* in this area is used to denominate customs post, as well as being used in the sense already referred to above.

Aspiration

Aragonese, like the southern dialects of Euskera, have no aspiration (Arag. *fabla* 'speech', Ronc.-Basq. *aigári* 'dinner', common, *afári*); conversely, Gascon and the northern dialects of Euskera *do* have aspiration (Gasc. *hount*, *hounta* 'spring', Lower Navarrese Basq. *auhari* 'dinner', Basque of Zuberoa [Suletin Basq.] *aihári* 'id.'). Aspiration was a constant in Euskera prior to Romanization; indeed, it has been one of the most characteristic elements that have helped linguists to consider the possible attachment to the common Basque or *Vascoide* family tree of a word.

In contrast, with the Romanization process, aspiration gradually disappeared in the southern dialects of Euskera, as occurred in Aragonese Romance. However, in the languages of the north, both in the case of Euskera and in that of Romance, aspiration was maintained, which curiously tells us of the split of the north-south axis which, on other occasions, has been maintained so well, moving towards another type of interlingual phonetic relationship that evidences east to west relationships. This makes a distinction between two clear types of phonetic behaviour, one on the continent that maintains aspiration and another peninsular model that loses it.

Aragonese preserves the intervowel n

We are trying to point out the features common to languages from this part of the Pyrenees, although in all the cases we have so far cited and in the one we are go-

ing to study now, Gascon, Euskera and Aragonese do not all behave in the same way. Rather, there is a clear tendency to group them together according to cases by following the north-south or east-west axes as we have stated above. In the case of the intervowel nasal sound, the north-south axis follows the pattern systematically and, with certain exceptions, this is also the general norm in Euskera (Lat. *terminus* > Basq. *dermioa*). This also coincides with the behaviour of Gascon, which reveals the existence in this case of an east-west area of influence and a supralingual phonetic relationship (Gasc. *hiestre* ‘window’, *tèrmi* ‘term’). Conversely, Aragonese evidences a different behaviour in this case and preserves the intervowel nasal sound, despite the fact that its solution is not the main one in its neighbouring languages (Lat. *fenestra* > Arag. *finestra*).

The b and v in Gascon, Euskera and Aragonese fabla become confused

It is well-known that in all the languages existing in our environment (Gascon, Euskera and Aragonese *fabla*), and also in Castilian Spanish, the original Latin consonants *b* and *v* are developed in all cases as bilabial occlusive consonants, with the articulation points being complete (Gasc. *baque* ‘vaca’; Ansó, *bacal* ‘cow hide’; *bal* ‘valley’; Lat. *virginem* > Basq. *birjina* ‘virgin’).

6. Navarro-Aragonese⁸ presence in Roncal

After establishing the main similarities and some of the differences existing between the spoken languages in the region of Ansó and Roncal, we shall now superficially examine the influence of these languages on the neighbouring valleys: on the one hand, some words in Euskera that have been used in the speech of Ansó and toponyms from the latter related to Euskera and, on the other, Aragonese words and toponyms used in the past or nowadays in the Roncal Valley.

In this respect, the dictionary compiled by Moncayola and Vicén (1991) gathers together various words from Ansó that may be easily related to Euskera; for instance, *bizcarrera* ‘top beam’, *borzarins* ‘footwear for the snow’, *buga*, *bua* ‘border’, *cascabilllo* ‘small plum’, *chandra* ‘lazy woman’, *chiquín* ‘little’ and *gorrillón*, *gurrillón* ‘hawthorn’.

As far as Aragonese Romance language is concerned, still very much in evidence in the toponyms from Roncal that are very interspersed with Castilian Spanish, the list of place names of this origin is a very long one, proof of the vitality of this Romance language in the Roncal Valley. Let us see some examples below:

- (1) *La Aisa de la Corsera* (*corsera*: ‘field near the village where the animals are kept’; a place name in Uztárroz, Basq. *Uztarroze* [Uzt]).
- (2) *El Arvejar* (‘field of vetch or carob’; a place name in Burgui, Basq. *Burgi* [Bur]).

⁸ As Fernando González Ollé (1970) demonstrates, the Navarro-Aragonese Romance doesn’t exist. In fact, they are two different Romance languages or dialects, but here I use this name because it is precisely in this area where the Navarrese and Aragonese Romances seem to be closer to each other.

- (3) *La Artiga* ('ploughed land'; a place name in Burgui [Bur], Garde (Basq. *id.* [Gar]), Isaba (Basq. *Izaba* [Izb]) and in the village called Roncal (Basq. *Erronkari* [Err]) belonging to the valley of the same name).
- (4) *El Asistiadero* (related to the word *siesta*; place where cattle take a siesta or rest at the hottest times of the day; Garde [Gar]).
- (5) *Las Bacías* ('wooden drinking troughs; empty trunks for cattle to drink water from'; Burgui [Bur], Roncal [Err], Urzainqui, Basq. *Urzainki* [Urz]); variant [var.] *Las Bacibas* (Urz).
- (6) *La Badina* ('pond or pool'; Bur, Izb).
- (7) *El Bagüeso* ('the owl'; Err).
- (8) *La Bal* ('The Valley'; Bur, Gar, Urz), *Balderrey* ('the valley of the king'; Err). *La Baleta* ('diminutive form of valley'; Err), *La Balle Alta*, *La Balle Baxa* ('the high valley, the low valley'; Gar), *La Balletuela* ('diminutive form of valley'; Uzt).
- (9) *La Barbacana* ('small spring, stream or ravine'; Izb).
- (10) *El Barellón* ('valley or small stream'; Bur), *La Barilla* ('id.'; Bur), *La Baritica* ('id.'; Err).
- (11) *La Basa de Ollat* ('the Ollate pond'; Bur).
- (12) *Basilipueyo* (*pueyo*: 'hill'; Bur).
- (13) *Las Saleras del Bastero* ('saltworks, place where salt is given to cattle'; Bur).
- (14) *El Batán* ('hydraulic windmill machine, comprising thick wooden mallets moved by a shaft, to hit, degrease and full cloths'; Gar, Izb); *Los Batanes del Batanar* ('id.'; Urz).
- (15) *El Bedado Boyaraz* ('place where grazing is banned and cattle are banned at a certain time of the year'; Gar), *El Bedado Casalenco* ('pastureland administered by the town where grazing is often banned when so determined by the local authority'; Err, Urz).
- (16) *La Belena* ('space between two houses, also known as *rekarte* or *regacho*'; Err, Izb).
- (17) *El Berguizal* ('place of hazelnut trees'; Urz).
- (18) *La Bochasca* ('small gorge'; Bur), *Los Boches* ('gorges'; Uzt), *La Bochueta* ('diminutive form of gorge'; Bur, Err).
- (19) *El Bojacar* ('boxwood grove'; Gar), *El Bojecar* ('id.'; Izb), *El Bojeral* ('id.'; Bur).
- (20) *El Boquero* ('tributaries of the main ravine towards the hillsides', 'gullies that are tributaries of ravines', 'flat place at the end of a hill into which ravines flow'; a place name in Vidángoz, Basq. *Bidankoze* [Bid], Burgui [Bur] and Roncal [Err]), *El Boquero Francisco* ('small ravine within another, larger one'; Bur), *El Boquete* (Synonym for *boquero*; Bur).
- (21) *El Bordal* ('place where a hut is located, generally with its threshing floor'; Bid, Bur, Err, Gar, Izb, Urz, Uzt), *El Bordar* (Synonym for *bordal*; Izb).
- (22) *El Borreguil* ('sheepfold for yearling lambs'; Bur).
- (23) *La Bua de La Cañada* ('the border of the drover's road'; Izb), *La Buca* (cf. Basq. *muga* 'border'; Err), *La Buga* ('id.'; Bur), *Las Bugas* ('borders'; Izb).
- (24) *El Cabañizo* ('hut'; Gar, Izb).

- (25) *La Cabeza* ('small round summit'; Gar), *La Cabezada* ('high part of a place', 'chain of small summits'; Err), *El Cabezo* ('small round summit'; Bid, Bur, Izb, Uzt).
- (26) *El Cabo Alto* ('the highest part'; Bur, Gar, Err), *Cabo Ardanbidea* ('beside *Ardanbidea* (the wine route)'; Bur), *El Cabo Bajo* ('the low part'; Bur), *Cabo Belza* ('beside *Belza* (black)'; Uzt), *Cabo de Villa* ('far end of the town, generally with a cross'; Izb), *Kabila* (Synonym for *cap de vila*, or *cabo de villa*; Uzt).
- (27) *El Calvario* ('place with one or more crosses', 'land belonging to the *Calvario* (or church warden) or the church office itself'; Bur, Uzt).
- (28) *Calveira* ('treeless mountain'; Err, Gar).
- (29) *El Cantón dentre Garde* ('the corner or part that is inside Garde'; Err), *La Cantonada* ('the corner'; Urz).
- (30) *El Cantalar de Arrakogoiti* (*cantalar*: 'land of slabs of stone'; Izb).
- (31) *La Cantarilla* ('place of small pebbles'; Bur, Err).
- (32) *El Carasol* ('sunny spot, place exposed to the sun the whole day', common [comm] term used in all the towns in the valley).
- (33) *Cardonerel* ('place of teasel', can also be used to denote holly; Err).
- (34) *El Carretil* ('wagon track'; Bid, Izb, Uzt).
- (35) *El Casal* ('house used for storing straw and equipment'; Bid, Err, Gar, Izb, Uzt), *El Casalenco* ('pastureland belonging to the town hall'; Bid, Bur, Err, Izb, Urz, Uzt).
- (36) *Castelpintano* ('Pintano castle'; Uzt), *Castiel Pintano* ('id.'; Izb), *Castilpintano* ('id.'; Gar), *El Pueyo de Castilpintano* ('the hill of Pintano castle'; Bur), *El Castillo* (comm).
- (37) *El Caverro* ('hollow or ditch'; Err).
- (38) *Los Caxecos* ('gall-oaks'; Bur.).
- (39) *La Cingla* ('row of crags descending to the ravine'; Izb, Urz).
- (40) *La Clavería* ('lands belonging to the church office or church warden' (synonymous [syn] *clavario*); Err).
- (41) *La Cochera* ('pigsty'; Izb).
- (42) *La Collada* ('mountain pass'; Bid, Bur, Izb).
- (43) *La Coma* ('point, hill, summit'; Izb).
- (44) *La Contienda de Ylurriaga* ('place which has been subject to dispute between towns', 'contentious land'; Gar, 1615).
- (45) *La Corona* ('round point'; Bur, Err, Gar, Izb, Urz).
- (46) *La Corredera* ('cliff or precipice for wood, very steep place from which logs would be thrown downhill'; Izb, Uzt).
- (47) *La Corsera* ('fields close to the town where sheep graze and which are also used for shearing'; Bur, Gar, Err, Izb, Urz, Uzt), *La Cosera* ('id.'; Gar), *Las Coseras* ('id.'; Bur, Uzt).
- (48) *La Costalada* ('the side', 'the part of the hill'; Bur), *El Costalado* ('the side'; Bur), *La Costera* ('place on a hill'; Bid, Bur, Izb, Uzt), *La Costerilla* (Diminutive form of *costera*; Bur), *El Costero* ('sloping place'; Bur).
- (49) *El Cubilar* ('sheep pen', 'grazing area on the mountain where cattle gather to sleep'; Bid, Bur, Gar, Izb, Uzt).

- (50) *La Cuma* (syn. *coma*: ‘point’, ‘hill’; Gar), *La Cuma de Ansú* (‘The Ansó Point’; Izb).
- (51) *El Pozo los Curas* (‘The well of the priests’; *pozo*: ‘pool in the river, place in the river that is sufficiently deep for bathing’; Bur).
- (52) *La Chaparrilla* (‘thicket’, ‘place of kermes oaks’; Uzt).
- (53) *La Foz del Chesó* (‘Cheso’s gorge’; *cheso*: ‘native of the Hecho Valley’; Bur).
- (54) *La Chiminea* (‘fireplace’; Bur).
- (55) *Los Chotos* (*choto*: ‘kid, billy-goat’; Bur).
- (56) *La Chucarrada* (‘charred forest’; Bur).
- (57) *La Endrecera* (Synonym for ‘boundary’ or ‘place’; comm.), *La Endrecha* (Synonym for *endrecera*; Izb, Urz, Uzt).
- (58) *El Gargaro de la Bochuela* (‘the gorge of the *bochuela* [small gorge]’; Err).
- (59) *La Hoya* (‘gully’; Gar, Err, Izb, Urz, Uzt).
- (60) *El Ibón* (‘source of cold water which gushes out mainly during periods of thaw’; in Ansó: 1. ‘pool of water that dries out in summer’; 2. ‘small mountain lake’; Bur, Err, Izb).
- (61) *La Landa* (‘field’, cf. English *land*; Bur, Gar, Urz).
- (62) *La Lapiza del Abetar* (‘the limestone of the fir’; *lapiza*: ‘small stone, limestone, easily breakable’; Izb), *Las Lapizas* (Izb).
- (63) *El Libón* (vide. *ibón*; Bur, Izb).
- (64) *El Lieco* (‘non-productive land’; Bid, Bur, Izb).
- (65) *La Majada* (vide. *cubilar*; Bur, Err, Izb, Uzt).
- (66) *El Ordial* (‘barley field’; Izb).
- (67) *Peñablanca* (Err), *Peñaburua* (‘high or main part or summit of the crag’; Gar), *Peñalisa* (‘smooth crag’; Bur), *Peñarroya* (‘red crag’; Urz), *Peñagorria* (Basq. *gorri*: ‘red’; ‘red crag’, also used in the sense of ‘treeless crag’; Urz.).
- (68) *El Portillo* (‘the mountain pass’; comm.), *El Portiello de Aurrenatea* (Basq. *atea*: ‘door’, ‘narrow pass’; by extension: ‘mountain pass’; Bid).
- (69) *El Pueyo* (‘hill’; comm.).
- (70) *La Queleta* (‘gates made of wooden sticks to prevent cattle from passing’; Bur, Err, Izb).
- (71) *Los Quiñones* (*quiñón*: ‘plot of land belonging to the town hall on common town land which was divided up into lots and awarded to local residents for them to use’; comm.).
- (72) *La Restrera* (‘row of crags’; Izb).
- (73) *La Selva* (‘beech or pine forest’; Bid, Gar, Izb, Urz, Uzt).
- (74) *La Tosca* (‘very resistant type of stone, especially for building fireplaces’; Bid, Err, Izb, Urz).
- (75) *El Trozo* (‘each part into which the land of Larra in Isaba is divided’; ‘plot of land’; comm.).
- (76) *El Vedado Casalenco* (‘municipally-owned pastureland on which cattle are banned until Michaelmas’; Bur, Err, Uzt).

Generally speaking, the presence of the Aragonese language in Romance toponymy in Roncal would seem to be mixed with Castilian Spanish, the learned language used in documents and administration in the valley. Nevertheless, toponyms such as

El Falagueral in Uztárroz, or *Fraxinito* in Burgui, to mention two examples, provide unequivocal evidence of the Navarro-Aragonese past of this valley in Navarre. This situation, together with the age-old presence of Euskera, tells us of a linguistic situation in the past in this valley that was at least one of bilingualism (if we leave out the omnipresence of Castilian or the less systematic, but still worth taking into account, Gascon).

7. The presence of Euskera in Ansó

The case of Ansó puts us on the other side of the mirror. In this Aragonese valley, the main language has until recent times been *Ansotano* (a living dialect of Aragonese or *fabla* as it has been known in modern times). Euskera has coexisted alongside the Aragonese language, the latter leaving traces in the toponymy of the region, and Béarnaise Gascon, whose presence is apparent (things could not be any other way) in the areas bordering the Aspe Valley. An examination of the type of suffixation used in the Basque toponyms of Ansó reveals that, generally speaking, it follows the common suffixation, although in cases such as the genitive in *-rna* (from *-r(e)na*) or in plural forms such as *-doi* it coincides with the suffix used in the Roncal Valley. Suffixes of Basque origin that have been traced in Ansó are compared in the following section with their corresponding Roncalesse suffixes.

7.1. Suffixes from the Euskera substratum in the toponymy of Ansó and Roncal

- (1) *-aga*, locative plural suffix: Ansó (Aragon), top. *Lurriaga* ‘hawthorn thicket’ (*elorri*: hawthorn). Roncal Valley (RoncV): Vidángoz / Bidankoze, top. *Sagarraga*; Burgui / Burgi, top. *Armutilaga*; Garde, top. *Kruxelaga*; Roncal / Erronkari (village), top. *Barazeaga*; Urzainqui / Urzainki, top. *Orriarriaga*; Isaba / Izaba, top. *Aispilaga*; Ustárroz / Uztarroze, top. *Amasunaga*.
- (2) *-ain*, possessive suffix deriving from the Latin *-anus*: Ansó, top. *Zapatain*, *Zapataine*; RoncV: Burgi, Garde, top. *Sansoain*.
- (3) *-arte* ‘between’: Ansó, top. *Achart*; RoncV: Uztarroze, top. *Burgiart*.
- (4) *-doi* (*-toi*), plural form suffix, especially used in names of plants and trees: Ansó, top. *Ezpildoia* ‘boxwood grove’ (*ezpel*: boxwood); RoncV: Bidankoze, top. *Igadoia*; Burgi, top. *Lexardoia*; Garde, top. var. *Lixardoia*; Erronkari, top. *Lerdoia*; Urzainki, top. *Arandoia*; Izaba, top. *Idoia*; Uztarroze, top. *Mullidoia*.

In the toponymy of this area there seems to be a suffix *-dogi* that could be explained as a voiced development of the common *-(t)oki* (*-toki* > *-doki* > *-dogi*): *Cotdoguy* (Gasc. *cot* ‘pass between mountains’),⁹ *Maridugui*, *Maidogui*; RoncV: Isaba / Izaba, top. *Budogia* (Arag. *bua*, *buga*, Basq. *muga* ‘border’).

⁹ Cf. Gasc. Béarnese *cotch*, *coigt*: «col étroit en montagne» (personal note from the Honorary Mayor of Arette, Mr. Jean-Marie Lonné-Peyret). Cf. Isaba-Arette border, top. *La Côte d'Arrau*, and Arette (Barétous Valley, Béarn, France): *Cot de Grabet*, *Trembla de la Côte de Chousse*.

Variants can be produced by sonorization of the consonant (*-doki* / *-dogi*), like in Lintzoain (Erro, Navarre, top. *Kazordoki*, *Kaxurdogi*) Antxoritz and Zurian (top. *Andoki*, *Andogi*) or Irotz (top. *Kalbatoki*, *Kalbattogi*), but also can be produced by vocalic alternation *-e* / *-o* (*-degi* / *-dogi*; cf. *-(t)egi*, *-(d)egi*, see also the suffix *-(h)egi*: Orondritz (Erro, Navarre), top. *Ezperrendegi*, *Esparrandogi*; *Buztindeg*, *Buztindogi*). Finally, this suffix *-dogi* might be related to the plural form suffix *-do.i* (*-dogi* > *-do.i*; cf. *logi* > *lohi*): Orondritz (Erro), top. *Esparrandogi*, but in Uztarroze (Roncal Valley) *Esparandoia* is the name of a neighborhood; Lusarreta (Artzi, Navarre), top. *Bizkandogi*, var. *Bizkandoi*; Zilbeti (Erro, Navarre), top. *Sardogi*, var. *Sardo*.

Moreover, there has been a case of reduction *-(or)dogi* > *-(or)di* in the documents of St. Engrâce, top. *Elgordoquia*, var. *Elgordogua* and *Elgordia* (1838 EAT). Izaba, var. *-dokigua*: *Bichitoçallurydoquigua* (1563 EAT), *Belagua en luridoquigua* (1568 id.), *Belagua Urreydoquigua* (1573, 1575 id.), *Urreydoquigua* (1584, 1587 id.), *Belagoa vrridoquigua* (1590). Cf. Izaba, top. *Ukerdi*, very possibly related to *Urkidoi* (**Ur(re)kidoi*), and even to *Urreidokigua* (> (metathesis) **Urrekidogua* > **Urrekidogia* > **Urrekidogi* > **Urrekidoi* > **Urrekidi* > (metathesis) **Ukerri* > *Uker(ri)di* > *Ukerdi*). In the same way, cf. Larraine / Larrau (Zuberoa), top. *Edugi* (*Edugui*, 1832 EAT).

Eugi is the name of a village of Navarre. Since the alternation *-dugi* / *-dogi* is common, cf. *Edogi(a)*. *Endoia* (var. *Edoia*) is a neighborhood midway between Deva (Basq. *Deba*) and Cestona (Basq. *Zestoia*) belonging to the parish of Arroa, hometown of the prestigious Basque *bertsolari* Uztapide. All this variants can be possibly related to the word *idoia* 'pond'. *Idoia* is toponym of Isaba (Roncal Valley) and Ansó (Aragon).

- (5) *-(e)-a*, rest of the old inesive case that tends to be preserved in toponymy. The final nasal consonant is elided that forms part of the declension, although the *-e-* vowel goes unnoticed and is maintained despite also being an element that has emerged as part of the inesive declension: *ibar* 'valley', *ibarrean* 'in the valley', *Ibarrea* (place name, preserving the vowel that has forged the inesive case; the normal situation would be for it to also disappear when returning to the absolutive case, which would give us *Ibarra*):

Ansó top. *La Yñcea* (cf. Basq. *ih* < **ini* 'rush, reed' + *tza* 'locative plural suffix'; surname and place name *Intza*); RoncV: Bidankoze, top. *Kubilea* (Sp. *cubil* 'a place in the mountain where livestock sleep'); Burgi, top. *Zabalea* (Basq. *zabal* 'wide', comm. + determinative, *zabala*); Garde, top. *Araña* (Basq. *haran* 'valley', comm. + det., *harana*); Urzainki, top. *Arizbakotxea* (Basq. *haritz* 'oak', *bakoitz* 'the only', comm. + det. *haritz bakoitza*).

- (6) *-(h)egi* 'place': Ansó, top. *La Carreguia*; RoncV: *Akarregia*.
 (7) *-eta*, locative suffix: Ansó, top. *Azapparreta* (var. *Zapparreta*, *Acaparreta*), *Ornagueta*, *Luqueta*; RoncV: Bidankoze, top. *Bidagaieta*; Burgi, top. *Agorzeta*; Garde, top. *Iturzarreta*; Erronkari, top. *Zabaleta*; Urzainki, top. *Abaxueta*; Izaba, top. *Arrizibieta*; Uztarroze, top. *Krutxeta*.
 (8) *-gu*, *-gi* (*gu* + *a*), suffix that tends to appear linked to verb forms and which in toponymy often appears joined to the verb *sar(tu)* 'enter' to form the

- verb *sargua*, *sargia* ‘entrance’: Ansó, top. *Mozurguia*; RoncV: Erronkari, top. *Barrargia*; Urzainki, top. *Moztrugia*; Izaba, top. *Bagargia*; Uztarroze, top. *Landasargia*.
- (9) *-iri* ‘near’: Ansó, top. *Arandari* (*arandoi* ‘place of cherries’); RoncV: Burgi, top. *Arandari*; Erronkari, top. *Aranezkairia*; Urzainki, top. *Lapiziria*; Izaba, top. *Belagoa Ibiria*.
- (10) *-ko* (1), as a declinative suffix in the locative genitive (‘of’): Ansó, top. *Arracona*; RoncV: Bidankoze, top. *Irasokoatea*; Burgi, top. Garde, top. *Artekolarra*; Erronkari, top. *Agrakozokoa* (Urzainki, var. *Agerakozokoa*); Izaba, top. *Arrakozokoa*; Uztarroze, top. *Artekopasia*.
- (11) *-ko* (2), as a derivative suffix, it tends to be used as a diminutive: Ansó, top. *Narancoa* (prothetic nasal consonant arose by duplication: *haranko* ‘small valley’); RoncV. Bidankoze, top. *Barako*; Burgi, top. *Ibarko*; Garde, top. *Aranko*;¹⁰ Urzainki, top. *Amuluxanko*; Izaba, top. *Xabalkoa*; Uztarroze, top. *Arankogatxa*.
- (12) *-pe* ‘beneath’: Ansó, top. *Lizapea* ‘beneath the church’ (Basq. *eliza*: ‘church’); RoncV. Bidankoze, top. *Lurtepea*; Burgi, top. *Biniesepea*; Garde, top. *Lezapea*; Erronkari, top. *Lapizpea*; Urzainki, top. *Korostipea*; Izaba, top. *Bormapea*; Uztarroze, top. *Burgipea*.
- (13) *-ren*, is a declinative suffix of a possessive genitive nature (‘of’): Ansó, top. *Bicharena*; RoncV: Bidankoze, top. *Elizarena*; Burgi, top. *Abexarena*; Garde, top. *Axerarena*; Erronkari, top. *Aluarena*; Urzainki, top. *Zaldunaren lezea*; Izaba, top. *Trulluarena*.
- (14) *-rn(e)a*, is a variant of the previous suffix *-(r)en* with the addition of a determinant (*-a*) and which has been affected by metathesis. It is a common variant in Roncal and Ansó. Possessive declinative suffix: Ansó, top. *Ayerna*, *Osarna*, *Usarna*; RoncV: Bidankoze, top. *Lengorna*; Garde, top. *Xirarnea*; Erronkari, top. *Uhalderna*.
- (15) *-to*, diminutive suffix: Ansó, top. *Lexarito*; RoncV: Erronkari, top. *Baratxintoa*.
- (16) *-txo*, *-txu*, diminutive suffix: Ansó top. *Berricho*, *Berrechu*; RoncV: Bidankoze, top. *Atxupea*; Burgi, top. *Larretxo(e)derreta*; Urzainki, top. *Amatxo*.
- (17) *-tza*, locative plural suffix: Ansó, top. *Guarrinza* (var. *Gorriñça*), *Zuriza*, *La Yñça* (vid. supra); RoncV: Garde, top. *Bizkartza*, Urzainki and Izaba, top. *In(t)zaga*; Izaba, top. *Soriza*.
- (18) *-tx*, (*-iz*, *-is*), a patronimical suffix used in surnames (*Beleis*, *Zalboch*, *Zabalcoch*, Ansó). A patronimical genitive suffix (cf. Sp. *-ez*) that is often confused in our region with derivate forms of the Basque *-etxe* ‘house’.

As far as this last-mentioned suffix is concerned, used to create surnames, some considerations should be taken into account. On the one hand, the surname *Beleis* from Ansó would seem to correspond to the same morphology as the surname *Barneix*, *Berterreix*, usual in St. Engrâce / Santa Grazi-Urdaitx and Larrau / Lar-

¹⁰ The place names *Barako* and *Ibarko* appear to be related, just as *Barako* and *Aranko* also appear to be related and, in turn, they all seem to be related to Sp. *barranco* ‘gorge, ravine’.

raine in Zuberoa (French Basque Country). We should recall that in Gascon script, the groups *-is*, *-ix* tend to be used to express the fricative sound [ʃ] or even its affricate equivalent [tʃ]. On the other hand, the second compositive element of *Barnetx* (*barne*, *barren* ‘below, within, inside’) or *Berterretx* (*bereter* ‘priest’), gives us the word *etxe* ‘house’, used as a parasuffix. The same occurs in *Barnetsborda* (Larrau) and, therefore, the same applies with the surname *Barnes* from Sangüesa (Navarre).

Nevertheless, there are cases in which it would seem that the parasuffix *-etxe* clashes with the genitive patronimical suffix of the common substratum *-iz*, sometimes reinterpreted as *-ich* or as *-ez*, *-es*, and even as a mere affricate consonant that is directly added to the main name. Thus, while the adscription of *Barnetchia* (St. Engrâce / Santa Grazi-Urdaitx) or *Barnetche* (Barcus / Barkoxe, Zuberoa) to surnames related to *-etxe* is clear, this is not the case with *Garceche* (surname from Roncal) as, together with this spelling we have the variants *Garcés*, *Garcez* and *Garchez*, in addition to other ones that are closer to the model such as *Garcech*, or more divergent ones, such as *Garceiz* (Uztárróz / Uztarroze, 1407: “pascual *Garceyz* Dito boronte... garcia *garceyz* dito palacio”, AHBRV).

All surnames from Ansó and Roncal that end in the more palatal affricate vowel *-(v)ch* are representatives of this group (Ansó, *Zalboch*, *Zabalcoch*; Roncal, *Bertitx*, *Bortitx*, *Galetx*, *Garzetx*, *Lopetx*, *Lopitxegia*, *Martitx*, *Martitxa*, *Murdukotx*, *Nekotx*). In fact, Ansó surnames *Martiniz*, *Sanchiz*, *Periz*, *Lopiz*, *Petriz*, *Aznariz* and Roncalese surnames *Blasquiz* and *Xemeniz* are continuers of the patronimical suffix *-iz*, but at the same time the relationship with the previous examples it seems clear.

7.2. Composition and parasynthesis in the toponymy of Ansó and Roncal

Now that we are familiar with the suffixes used in Ansó toponymy, we can move on to comparing the words or lexemes of Basque origin from the Ansó Valley with those used in the neighbouring valleys of Roncal, Béarn and Zuberoa. The words and lexemes that follow form part of the rich lexicon of this region that is incorporated in its toponymy:

- (1) *agor* ‘dry, arid’, Ansó top. *A Gorreta*.
- (2) *haitz pe*, *aspe* ‘beneath the crag’, Ansó and Béarn, top. *Aspe*.
- (3) *akar*, *aker* ‘billy-goat’; cf., perhaps, *lakar* ‘rough’, Ansó top. *La Carreguia*, Biddankoze (RoncV) top. *Akarregia*, *Akerregia*, Ochagavía / Otsagabia (Salazar Valley / Basq. *Zaraitzu*) top. *Akerreteria*, Lekunberri (Lower Navarre, French Basque Country) top. *Akerharri*.
- (4) *andere* ‘lady’, Ans. top. *Anderemaria*, *Entremaria*.
- (5) *handi* ‘big’, Ans. top. *Arandi*.
- (6) *haran* ‘valley’, Ans. top. *Macaran*, *Narancoba*; cf. Ansó, top. cit. *Arandi* and Leranotz (Navarre), top. *Aranandi*, var. *Arandi*.
- (7) *ardi* ‘sheep’, Ansó top. *Arvidia*, Uztarroze top. *Ardibidea*, Izaba top. *Ardibide*.
- (8) *artxintxa* ‘place of small stone’, Ansó top. *Archincha*, Uztarroze top. *Artxin-txa*, Urzainki top. *Arrixintxa*.
- (9) *arte* ‘between’, Ansó top. *Achar*, *Achart*, Burgi top. *Burgiart*.

- (10) *ate* ‘door’, Ansó top. *Ainzate*, Uztarroze top. *Mintxate*, Erronkari top. *Atazabala*.
- (11) *ahuntz* ‘goat’, Ansó top. *Ainzate*, *Aunzate*; St. Engrâce, Arette, top. *Abüzthégia*.
- (12) *barne* ‘beneath, inside’, Ansó (hut name) *Borda de Echevarne*, *Chivarne*, Izaba, (id.) *Borda de Chiverri*, *Borda de Chivarro*.
- (13) *belar* ‘grass’, Ansó top. *Velezcarra*, *Velordoqui* (cf., perhaps, *bele* ‘crow’, Ansó surname, *Belat*), Urzainki top. *Belozkarre*, Izaba top. *Belagoa*, *Belozkarre*, *Belazkorre*, on the border of Uztarroze, top. *Belai*.
- (14) *berri* ‘new’, Ansó top. *Berricho*.
- (15) *berro* ‘ploughed’, Ansó top. *Mondaverro*, Uztarroze top. *Asperro*, Garde top. *Ibanberro*.
- (16) *bide* ‘path’, Ansó top. *Arvidia*, *Rospedea*; Uztarroze top. *Ardibidea*, Izaba top. *Auxpidea*, Garde top. *Altxunbidea*, Burgi top. *Altxonbide*.
- (17) *buru* ‘head, main place’, Ansó top. *Apaburua*, Urzainki top. *Egiburua*, Izaba top. *Uturburua*, Garde top. *Larreburua*, Burgi top. *Arburua*, Bidankoze top. *Sasariburua*.
- (18) *eder* ‘beautiful’, Ansó top. *Landaderra*, *La Andaderra*, Uztarroze top. *Ekiderra*, Urzainki and Izaba top. *Saisederra*, Erronkari top. *Amugaederra*, Garde top. *Mugaederra*, Bidankoze top. *Ekiderra*.
- (19) *hegi* ‘place’, Ansó top. *La Carreguia*.
- (20) *elorri* ‘hawthorn’, Ansó top. *Lurriaga*, Izaba top. *Elurriaga*, Garde top. *Elurriaga*, *Ilurriaga*.
- (21) *erregina* ‘queen’, Ansó top. *Reguia*, Izaba top. *Erregiabortusoroa*, Burgi top. *Erregisargieta*.
- (22) *herri* ‘town’, Ansó top. *Sansorria*, Garde top. *Txatxorria*.
- (23) *etxe* ‘house’, vide supra Ansó (hut name) *Echevarne*, *Chivarne*.
- (24) *ezpata* (cf. Sp. *espada* ‘sword’, but in Aragon is related to the wooden plough), Ansó top. *A loma d’Espata*, Larraine (Zuberoa) *Ezpatagaña*, *Ezpatagaina*, Erronkari top. *Arrezpata*.
- (25) *ezpel*, var. *ezpil* ‘boxwood’, Ansó top. *Ezpelat*, *Ezpildoya*, St. Engrâce / Santa Grazi (Zuberoa) top. *Ezpel*, *Ezpil*, *Ezpildo*, Larraine (Zuberoa) top. *Ezpeldoi*.
- (26) *garai* ‘high’, on the border of Ansó and Borce (Béarn, Gascony) top. *Couchet de Garay*, Asasp-Arros d’Oloron (Béarn, Gascony) top. *Bois de Garay*. Cf. also, Ansó top. *Garatea*.
- (27) *gesal* ‘salt works, place where salt is given to cattle’, on the border of Ansó and Izaba, top. *Guesala*: “aztaparreta por otro non.e guesala” (1619 NPAN).
- (28) *gibel* ‘back, liver’, Ansó top. *Arguibela* (var. *Arguibiela*), Izaba and Erronkari top. *Argibela*.
- (29) *gorri* ‘red, treeless, bare’, Ansó top. *Guarrinza* (var. *Gorrinça*, 1242 MAA), Larraine (Zuberoa) top. *Gorrinça chocoua* (1832 ADPA).
- (30) *ibar* ‘valley, ravine’, Ansó top. *Sanchiborra* (var. *Sonibarra*).
- (31) *ibón* ‘spring, pond, mountain lake’, Pyrenean word related to hydronomy, Ansó top. *Ibón de Estanés*, Izaba top. *Ibón de Ezkaurre*, *La Cueva del Ibón*, Erronkari top. *Los Ibones*, Burgi top. *El Ibón de Melluga*.

- (32) *idoi* 'pond', Ansó top. *Idoya*, Izaba top. *Idoia*.
- (33) *i(h)intza* 'reed bed', Ansó top. *La Ynçea*, Uztarroze top. *In(t)za*, Izaba top. *In(t)zaga*.
- (34) *iturri* (ronc. *uturri*) 'spring', Ansó top. *Turrieta*.
- (35) *izar* 'star' (cf., perhaps, *itzal* 'shade', or *lizar* 'ash', or *zehir* 'cross, crossways'), Ansó top. *Izarra*, St. Engrâce / Santa Grazi (Zuberoa) top. *Izarbe*, Bidankoze top. *Zazpizarra*.
- (36) *landa* 'field', Central European origin (cf. English *land*), Ansó top. *Landaderra*, Uztarroze top. *Landalonga*, Urzainki top. *Landaordoki*, Izaba top. *Landandia*, Burgi top. *Landeta*.
- (37) *larre* 'field', Ansó top. *Gamueta Larrerria*, Izaba top. *Collado de Larrerria* ('mountain pass'), *Carasol de Larrerria* ('suntrap'), *Cueva de Larrerria* ('cave').
- (38) *lats* 'stream', Ansó top. *Laxerito*, *Laxurik*, Uztarroze top. *Lasa*, Garde top. *Gardelatse*, Burgi top. *Etselaxe*.
- (39) *lizar* 'ash', Ansó top. *Lajardoya*, Garde top. *Lexardoia* (var. *Lixardoia*), Burgi top. *Lexardoia*.
- (40) *leze* 'cave', Ansó top. *Lizapea*, Uztarroze top. *Leizapea*, Garde top. *Lezapea*.
- (41) *lohi* 'mud, mire', Ansó top. *Loigrea*, *Luzola*, Erronkari top. *Loizeta*, Burgi top. *Beltzaloia*.
- (42) *mendi* 'mountain', Ansó top. *Romendia*, *Mendiver*, *Mondaverro*.
- (43) *hobi* 'ditch' (however, cf. *ibi* 'ford'), Ansó top. *Vusobia*, *Osobia*, Garde top. *Osobia*, Izaba and Bidankoze top. *Osobieta*.
- (44) *hodi* 'pit, conduit, pipe, canal', Ansó top. *Hezprodi*, Garde top. *Espenodia*.
- (45) *ola* 'type of hut', Ansó top. *Cubillarrola*, *Zotalola* (and, may be, *Arcayola*, in other words *artzain ola* 'shepherd's hut'; cf. however, Basq. *kaiola* related to french *cage*, *cageole* 'cage').
- (46) *ordoki* 'flat', Ansó top. *Belordoqui* (var. *Berdoloqui*), *Zordoqui*, Uztarroze top. *Kokordoki*, Urzainki top. *Larratzordoki*, Izaba top. *Izeiordoki*, Bidankoze top. *Bagordoki*.
- (47) *otso* 'wolf', Ansó top. *Osobia*, Uztarroze top. *Osagorria*.
- (48) *oxezki* 'place that does not receive sunlight the whole day', Ansó top. *Soasqui*, Urzainki top. *Oiezkia*, Erronkari top. *Oxezkiederra*, Garde top. *Oskia*, Santa Grazi (Zuberoa) top. *Oiheskia*, Issor (Barétous Valley, Béarn) top. *Oyhesqui*, Beorlegi (French Navarre) top. *Xahaski*.
- (49) *piko* 'steep', Ansó top. *Picoya*, Urzainki top. *Belinpikoa*, *La Pikoa Txikota*, *Betatuko Pikoa*, Izaba top. *Pikua*, *Ardibidepikua*.
- (50) *sagar* 'apple' (cf. however, *zehir* 'place that is crossed' and *haize agerre* 'exposed to the wind'), Anso top. *Sagarra* (var. *Segarra*), Larraine (Zuberoa) top. *Aysagarra* (1832 ADPA), *Aysagarria* (id.), *Aysegarra* (id.), *Aycegarra* (id.), Burgi top. *Sagarra*, *Zegarra*, *Zegarrondoa*, Bidankoze top. *Sagarraga*.
- (51) *saihets* 'side', Ansó top. *Sayéstico*.
- (52) *saroi* 'sheepfold', related to Ansó top. *Sayola* and Garde top. *Saïora* (cf. however, *sai* 'vulture').
- (53) *soro* 'field', Ansó top. *Gorriñça soroa* (1272, copy of 1585, MAA), *Gorriñça soroia* (id.), Uztarroze top. *Belzunzesoroa*, Urzainki top. *Airagasoroa*, Izaba top. *Aragiasoroa*.

- (54) *toki* 'place', Ansó top. *Sayestoqui* (vars. *Sayestoqui*, *Saystoqui*).
- (55) *txiki* 'little', Ansó top. *Chiquea*.
- (56) *ullin* 'far', Ansó top. *Ullirreguia*, Burgi top. *Mallilua Xede Ullina*.
- (57) *ur* 'water', Ansó top. *Urania*, Uztarroze top. *Urona*; cf. also Ansó top. *Urzukaka*, Garde top. *Urzunañe* (perhaps *urzo* 'dove, pigeon', Roncal (village, Basq. Erronkari) top. *Uzurtegia*).
- (58) *urdin* 'blue, mouldy, grey', Ansó top. *Ordin* (river), Bidankoze and Urzainki, surname *Urdin*, Izaba top. *Arriurdineta*, Uztarroze top. *Utururdineta*, Lèès-Athas (Aspe Valley, Béarn) top. *Ardinet*, Lorraine (Zuberoa, French Basque Country) top. *Harrigurdina*, Huértalo (Huesca, Aragon) top. *Barranco de Regordín*.
- (59) *urri* 'scarce' (but in Roncal Valley has the opposite meaning: 'abundant, full'; cf. also, *urru* 'rounded hill'), Ansó top. *Urriagueta*, Uztarroze top. *Errotaurrieta*, Urzainki top. *Orabaleurria*, Izaba top. *Mintxateurria*, Erronkari top. *Mendiurrieia*, Burgi top. *Urriandia*.
- (60) *urritz* 'hazelnut tree', Ansó top. *Urristi* (vars. *Urriste*, *O Risté*), Izaba top. *Urriskoa*, *Urrskueta*, Erronkari top. *Urristoia*.
- (61) *zabal* 'wide', Ansó top. *Zabalcochs*, Santa Grazi (Zuberoa) top. *Zabalkotx*, Uztarroze top. *Xabalkoa*, Izaba top. *Zipidexabalkoa*, Burgi top. *Xabalko*.
- (62) *zar* (*zabar*) 'old, ancient', probably Ansó top. *Linzarra*, Uztarroze top. *Uturrixarra*, Urzainki top. *Bordazarra*, Izaba top. *Bagadoizarra*, Erronkari top. *Donepetrizarra*, Burgi, top. *Iturrizarra*.
- (63) *zohi* (in composition, *zot-*) 'patch of grass, turf', Ansó top. *Zotalola*, Santa Grazi top. *Zotholatze*, Uztarroze top. *Zotrapea*.
- (64) *zubi* (var. *zibi*) 'bridge', Ansó top. *Zuberria*, Bidankoze top. *Zibiberria*.
- (65) *zuri* 'white', Ansó top. *Zuriza*, Izaba top. *Soriza*.

8. Some phonetic features of the Basque toponymy of Ansó

The material available enables us to establish a direct relation between the toponymy of Roncal and Ansó, as the most characteristic Roncalese features have not been reflected in Ansotano toponymy: no toponym in *-alte* (common *alde*, 'to the part of'), no toponym that keeps the *itur-* or *utur-* ('spring') group intact, no example, in short, that enables us to deduce without any doubt what logic tells us, that the Euskera of Ansó and Roncal should necessarily be related to the past.

Moreover, Euskera died out in Ansó at a time when Euskera in Roncal still had an enviable vitality and was fully immersed in phonetic changes and constant evolution. Its premature death would have prevented the Euskera of Ansó from evolving at the same rate as the Roncalese one and internalized the changes that took place in the neighbouring valley. Something similar occurred in the case of Béarn, where we find examples of the Basque *iturri* 'spring' (*Ithurrito* 'little spring', place name in Lanne-en-Barétous) evolving in toponymy, while in neighbouring Zuberoa the move on to *ütthürri* is systematic.

8.1. Vowel opening, closing and development: similarities with Roncal

If we examine the behaviour of the vowels contained in Ansó place names, regardless of whether they are Basque-type toponyms or not, we find that it is very likely that, as in the case with Euskera, there were nasal vowels (*Ásso Veral*, 16th century, MAA); nevertheless, the accent does not always necessarily indicate the existence of a nasal vowel, it may simply denote the elision of the nasal consonant for reasons of linguistic economy or on account of wishing to write more quickly. However, in this case, the existence of a nasal vowel would seem to be justified as, in the case of the example given, that is now precisely the official name of the town of Asso-Veral, in which it is clear that the loss of the nasal form has been lost. This is perhaps the town referred to by Oihenart when he speaks of *Berari* as the Basque name for Ansó.

In the vowel system of Ansó, vowels are closed in the toponym *Ezpildoya* (the common, non-closed form is *Ezpeldoia*) and opened in *Chaberria* (the common, non-open form is *Etxeberry*, also a widespread form throughout the Roncal Valley). The behaviour of vowels in the Basque toponymy of Ansó is similar to that of the neighbouring Basque valleys, and so in Larrau we find the toponym *Ezpildoia*, and in Ligi, *Ezpildoia*. Both contain a closed vowel like in Ansó. As for vowel opening, the toponym *Etxeberry* from Isaba behaves in a similar way to the Ansotano toponym *Chaberria* referred to above.

Without any determinant data regarding assimilation in Ansó, it would seem that it has occurred in some cases (cf. *o-u / u-u*, *Mozurguia* 1657 MAA, *Mozurguea* 1664 id. but *Muzurguea* 1651 id.), although there is no noteworthy example referring to Roncalese solutions either in the case of more general, older assimilations such as *i-u / u-u* (as the sole example of this series available to us is affected by aphaeresis: Ansó, top. *Turrieta*; cf. common *Iturrieta* ‘place of spring(s)’, and Roncalese *Uturrieta*), or in others of a modern type, albeit one of great vitality, in Roncal: *e-u / u-u* (common *gatzelu* ‘castle’, Ronc. *gatzulu*), *e-i / i-i* (*ekialte / ikialte* ‘sunny spot’), *u-i / i-i* (*zubi / zibi* ‘bridge’), *u-i / u-u* (*zubi / zubu* ‘bridge’, *urritz / urruts* ‘hazelnut tree’), *u-e / u-u* (*krutxe /* in composition, *krutxu-* ‘cross’), *o-i / *u-i / u-u* (*osin / usun* ‘well, ditch, chasm’).

As far as syncope is concerned, this is a very characteristic phenomenon of the Roncalese dialect and would also seem to have been so in the Euskera of Ansó: *Andredonamaria Urria* which would end up meaning ‘Hill of Lady St. Mary’; a toponym located on the border of Ansó and Isaba, 1691 AHBRV). The toponym derived in Ansó in the form *Entremaria*. In Garde, the Roncal Valley, there is the toponym *Andregia*. In all cases, *andre* is the result of the syncope of *andere*. We once again find ourselves looking at syncope in the toponyms *Ayerna* and *Usarna*, in which the atonic vowel of the genitive *-r(e)na* has clearly been elided. On the other hand, in the toponym *Arrakona* it would seem to have been the whole syllable that has been syncopated: *Arrako(re)na*.

To conclude this section, it should be pointed out that those solutions with a paragoge at the end of the word are a phenomenon common to all the toponymy of the region. There have been continuers of the Aquitaine-Pyrenean suffix *-os* in the Navarro-Aragonese *-ués*, and the *-o(t)z* in Euskera and, most of the time, *-oze*,

with paragoge. In Roncal, the pronunciation in *-oze* is characteristic, and the names of several towns contain this ending. The final whistled consonant also tends to develop a paragogic vowel in Ansó (top. *Salboche*, 1666 MAA) and in neighbouring valleys: in Béarn, Borce, top. *Lacarroche*, *Banasse*; Lescun, top. *Ourtasse*; in the Roncal Valley Isaba, top. *Murducoche* (1662 NPAN), *Baticoche* (1856 id.); Garde, top. *Pantxarase*; Vidángoz, top. *Goldarase*, *Viñosse* (1561 id.). Similarly, the paragogic solution following a final nasal consonant is common both in Ansó (top. *Zapataine*), and in neighbouring places: Borce (Aspe, Béarn), top. *Sansane*; in the Roncal Valley, Garde, top. *Sansoañe*, *Sansuañe*, *Sansoaine*: “Sansoayne” (1644 NPAN); in Zuberoa, Lorraine, surname, *Danduraine* (1832 ADPA); and once again in the Aspe Valley, Béarn, Lèès-Athas, surname *Allamane* (1914 id.; also *Allaman* 1838 id.).

8.2. Diphthongs

In the case of diphthongs, in Ansó the alternation of the diphthongs *-au* / *-ai* has been documented in the toponym *Aunzate* / *Ainzate* (1272 MAA). This evolution of diphthongs in *-au* > *-ai* also occurs in Roncal (*aintz*) and Zuberoa (*abüntz*). In the case of Mt. *Anie*, the mountain is known as *Abüñe* (zub. ‘kid’) in the Basque dialect of Zuberoa, from where the name *Auñamendi* has derived, which popular etymology has explained as ‘kid mountain’. This name has allowed popular imagination to run riot and witches’ covens are said to have taken place on the summit of *Anie*. In Lescún, according to Barandiarán (1972), this mountain appears to be related to a numen known as *Ionagorri*, which seemingly was a depiction of the Basque mythological deity *Mari*. This mountain known as *Abüñe* in Suletine is called *Añe* in Roncal which, curiously, also means ‘kid’ in this dialect. This Roncales form *añe* implies the existence of a previous diphthong *au-* which has derived from *ai-* until arriving at its definitive monoptongation (cf. Mitxelena, *FHV* § 4.1, page 88).

In his work *Toponimia Aragonesa Medieval*, Ubieta (1972) includes the medieval variant *Ainso* for the name Ansó, which brings the name of the valley and of its main town close to the name of another Pyrenean Huescan town: *Ainsa*. Moreover, this perhaps indicates to us that the name *Ainzate* / *Aunzate*, more than being linked to a narrow pass for goats or kids, may have had more to do with a narrow pass leading to *Ainso* or *Ansó*. In other words, *Ainzate* would not so much be *abuntz ate* ‘gateway or narrow pass of the goat’, as *Ainso ate* ‘gateway or narrow pass of Ansó’.

Apart from this typically eastern evolution *au* > *ai*, beyond the limits of Ansó, albeit very few kilometres from it, have been found other examples of another alternation that is also common in Roncal, I am referring to the alternation *ai* / *ei*. Bordering the Béarnaise town of Urdos (Aspe) and the Astún Valley, we find the municipality of *Belonseiche*. In Roncal, we find continuers of this same ending [séiše], in alternation with the variant [sáíša]. *Belauseisa* is, to be precise, the way in which Don Timoteo Karrikiri, the bailiff of Isaba, refers to the mountain that Don Justo Baqué Salvoch calls *Belausaisa* and which in documentation appears as *Belaybarsaysa* (1584 NPAN), *Belabarsaysa* (1588 id.) or *Belabarseisa* (1724 EAT). *Gardaseisea* and *Gardaseisa* are variants of a toponym from Roncal that is very close to Garde, and *Seisea* is the name of a place in this last-mentioned town. This lexeme is derived from the Euskera *saihets* ‘side’ and is used to denote sloping, sunny pas-

tureland for cattle.¹¹ It is very widespread and tends to evidence alternation in nearly all cases; for instance, with a diphthong in *-ai* (*Ezcaursaysa* 1568 Isaba NPAN, *Ezcaurresaysa* 1599 id., *Escabarsaisa* 1828 EAT) and with a diphthong in *-ei* (*Ezcurrseisa* 1664, Isaba NPAN), *Escabaseisa* (1916 EAT).

8.3. Hiatus at the end of the word

(1) *-ea*

Despite the few examples of what we have available regarding the behaviour of the hiatus *-ea* at the end of the word, it can be stated that it was an unstable hiatus in Ansó as, although we only have two examples, it is maintained in one of them (Ansó, top. *Garatea*), while in the other it is clearly closed and evolves towards *-ia* (top. *Arvidia*). This trend recurs in Roncal, with toponyms that on some occasions maintain the original hiatus without evolving (Bidankoze, top. *Bilitxea*, *Kartxerea*, *Kartxelea*; Garde, top. *Altxunbidea*; Izaba, top. *Auxpidea*; Uztarroze, top. *Ardibidea*), while becoming closed on other occasions (Burgi, top. *Bilitxia*; Bidankoze, top. *Kartxiria*).

In Zuberoa and in Béarn, the vowel closure (*-ea > -ia*) is developed in all the cases gathered. In the case of Zuberoa: Larrau / Lorraine, top. *Bidepia*, *Lagapia*, *Luramagapia*, *Sagartzepia*; Santa Grazi, top. *Garatia*, *Utziapia*, *Errekaltia*, *Baratzia*, *Basagaitzpia*. In the case of Béarn: Arette (Barétous Valley), top. *Arpidia*; Léès-Athas (Aspe Valley), top. *Las Lucies*, (*A*)*napia*.

(2) *-ua*

The hiatus *-ua* is unstable in Roncal and tends to evolve into *-ia*, although it often preserves original forms in *-ua*: Garde, top. *Iriburua* or *Iriburia*; Uztárróz, top. *Basaxeinburua*, but *Basaxein Uturburia*; Izaba, top. *Mazekomurua*, but *Arrasargia*, *Bagargia*; Urzainqui, top. *Bagargia*. Nevertheless, the evolution *-ua > -ia* is not the only one occurring in the region: in Garde I have collected a curious toponym known as *La Errebiroa* (derived from *Larreburua* ‘main part of the field’), in which a feminine article which has disfigured its original form has been attached to it as a result of the Romance influence. The unexpected development towards *-oa* experienced by the hiatus *-ua* at the end of the word has also contributed to this disfiguration process.

Another possible evolution is that which occurs thanks to the palatalization of the hiatus that may develop forms with yod that maintain the hiatus (*-ua > -uia*): Burgi, top. *Opakuia*. We find this same trend in Ansó, where a derivative of the Euskera *muga > buga > bua* has evolved into the palatalized form *buya*, *vuya* “Vuya de Chipeta” (1662 MAA). On the other hand, in Ansó there exists the toponym *Burguia*, which could perhaps be added to this section, although it would seem that in this case we have *burgi* at the base and we have only sporadically documented *burgu* in the Roncal Valley (“barrio llamado burgu berria”, Isaba 1663 NPAN), which proves

¹¹ Cf. Dictionary by Azkue: «side: *côté*, *flanc*. Var. of *Saiets*. side door, *porte latérale*». Cf. Also the work by Iribarren *VN*: «sunny or hot spots where oxen from the valley graze [Roncal]».

that the variant *burgi* is very old, the very existence of the major toponym *Burgui* backs up this theory.

As for the bordering lands of Zuberoa with Roncal, the hiatus *-ua* at the end of the word evolves into *-ia* in all cases: Santa Grazi, top. *Etxabüria*, *Aphezjauuskagia*, *Üthürsorgia*; Larrau / Lorraine, top. *Bazkagia*, *Bagargia*, *Eihera Sargia*. Development of the hiatus also occurs in Béarn, although it features some conservative elements: Aramits (Barétous Valley), top. *Arrec Cerraburia*; Lanne-en-Barétous / Landa, top. *Arrec d'Isiburie*; Arette (Barétous), top. *Belatch Paoussagia* (on the border with Santa Grazi), but *Bagua* in the same town, or *Baraqua* in Lourdios, Aspe Valley.

(3) *-oa*

In the case of the hiatus *-oa* at the end of the word, there are two different phenomena occurring that affect both the Ansó and Roncal valleys in equal measure: I am referring to the labialization or the palatalization of the hiatus. Labialization of the hiatus as a means of preserving it is common in both Ansó (top. *Narancoba*) and in Roncal (Garde, top. *Poitondoba*; Burgi, top. *Izabarroba*, *Isabanoba*; Burgi, top. *Las Litoas*, *Las Litobas*). Similarly, palatalization is also a common solution in Ansó (top. *Picoya*) and Roncal (*Uturgastoa*, var. *Uturgastoia* is a toponym from the municipality of the town of Roncal).

8.4. The nasal + occlusive consonant groups

As far as consonantism is concerned, the study of occlusive forms in contact with nasal consonants sheds a certain amount of light on the similar behaviour of toponyms from Roncal and Ansó. Divided into three blocks, we are now going to examine the behaviour of the three *nasal + occlusive* groups:

(1) *nasal + bilabial*

It would seem that this *nasal + bilabial* Group has been better preserved in Roncal than in Ansó. Let us examine in more detail a case that has already been referred to at the beginning of my exposition: that of the *ganbo-*, *gamo-* group, which we document in Roncal:

- a) In Burgi there is a place called *Ganboa*: “la agua de benies e termino clamado *ganboa*” (1439 EAT), “el termino llamado *Gamboa*” (1441 id.); Urzainki top. “el termino llamado *ganbulucandia*” (1574 NPAN).
- b) Nevertheless, the evolution *nb > m* (*gamo-*, *gamu-*) also frequently occurs: Urzainki top. *Gamulucandia* (1573 NPAN); Garde top. *Gamuluzea* (id.).

In Ansó, we only have at our disposal examples in which the evolution *nb > m*, has occurred, both in toponymy of Basque origin (top. *Gamueta*, *Gamueta chiquea*, *Gamoeta chiquea*, *Gamueta Carreria*, *Gamueta Chinebral*, *Vua de Gamueta*) and in Romance toponymy (top. *El Camón Luengo*, *El Camón Redondo*, *El Camón de Garriromal*, *El Camón de Irós*, *El Camón de Arruzquía*, *El Camón de las Fitas*).

In this last-mentioned case, the Romance toponyms evidence a voiceless initial velar consonant, whereas those toponyms more closely linked to the Basque language have a voiced consonant. Nevertheless, Rohlfs (1935) cites the name of the French

Basque town of *Kanbo*. The author uses the spelling *Cambo* to point out with the double vowel that the last syllable is nasal, as is the case with the minor toponym *Cambon* from the town of Borce, in the Aspe Valley.

It would seem that in the Barétous Valley there is a certain hesitation in maintaining the *-nb-* group or in making it evolve into *-m-*; indeed, examples from Arette are the toponym *Et Cambulat*, but also *Ets Camous*. In Aramits (Barétous), the group is maintained (top. *Cambot*); however, in Isaba, on the border with Barétous, it evolves (top. *Fuente de Pescamú[n]*). The same behaviour is noted in the toponymy of Larra (Isaba, top. *El Puerto llamado Camalonga, El Portillo de Camalonga*).

(2) *nasal + dental*

The *nasal + dental* group is maintained in Basque toponyms from Ansó and Roncal (Ansó, top. *Landaderra*; Isaba, top. *Landazuria*), although the dental consonant tends to become lost in Aragonese and Gascon toponyms (Ansó, top. *La Lana llamada de La Contienda*; Issor, Barétous, top. *Lanerres*). The case of the major toponym of the town of *Lanne-en-Barétous* can be an example, as its name in Euskera is *Landa*, and in Gascon *Lana*.

(3) *nasal + velar*

The *nasal + voiceless velar* group is maintained in toponymy of a Basque nature (Ansó top. *Narancoa, Pesenca, Espelunca*; Garde, top. *Ezpelunkondoa*; Lat. *spelunca*) but voiced in the case of Romance toponymy (Ansó, top. *Espelunga, Espelunguera*; Borce, top. *Espelunga*; Lourdios, Sarrance, top. *l'Espalungue*).

8.5. The fricative consonants

One of the most characteristic features of the Roncalese dialect is the general conversion of the intervowel yod into a palatal fricative form (*vjv > vxv*): Garde, top. *Oxanondoa, Oxanea* (cf. *oihana* 'forest'), Larrau / Larraine, top. *Loxea (lohi* 'mire'), *Loxepia* 'bottom part of the mire', *Loxibar* 'the valley of the mire'.

This trend would also seem to be a feature in the Ansó Valley although, in this case, the intervowel yod becomes fricative dorso-alveolar (*VjV > VzV*): Ansó, top. *Luzola (lohi* 'mud, mire' and *ola* 'hut'); cf. Roncal, top. *Loizeta* 'mire, quagmire'. The toponym from the Echo Valley *Oza* might be the fruits of this evolution: **ozā < oihan*.

On some occasions, the intervowel yod has become apico-alveolar fricative (*vjv > vsv*): Izaba, top. *Osanea, Usanea*. With some reservations, to this group should perhaps be added the toponym from Echo, *O Sea, Lo Sea* (Cast. *El Sea*). In the neighbouring Barétous valley, there is also a toponym *Louya* (Arette) in which the *VjV* group has been maintained without any type of evolution, which would seem to indicate that fricative consonantization would not have taken place in Béarn.

8.6. The palatal consonants

We also find similarities in the palatal series. Indeed, it would seem that in Ansó, as in Roncal, the dorso-alveolar affricated consonants tended to develop as pala-

tal ones after the *i*- (anterior vowel): $i + tz > tx$; for example, (*h*)*aitz*- ‘crag’ $> atx-$ $> tx-$, Ansó, top. *Achar*, *Achart* (*h**aitz* ‘crag’ + *arte* ‘between, in the middle’), *Chipeta* (*h**aitz* + *pe*- ‘beneath’ + *-eta*); Bidankoze, top. *Atxupe*, *Atxpea*.

Another possible development from the first compositive element involves its simplification and reinterpretation as a fricative consonant of any type, regardless of whether it is alveolar or palatal: $i + tz > s, x, z$; for example, (*h*)*aitz*- $> as-$, $ax-$, az , Ansó, top. *Aspe*, *Aspa*, *Azpa*; Burgi, top. *Axpe*, *Aspea*, *Azpea*; Erronkari, top. *Axpea*, *Aspea*, *Azpea*; Uztarroze, top. *Axpia*, *Aspea*.

8.7. Accentuation

The Aragonese Romance, like the Suletine Basque dialect, tends to avoid proparoxytone accentuation (Salvatierra *parpádo*; Sigüés *parpáro*, *pertíga*, *sabána*; cf. Alvar 1956-57). On this occasion, Roncalese does not share this behaviour with its neighbours. Indeed, in Roncalese, unlike the Suletine dialect, proparoxytone accentuation is widespread: *Bordéberro* (‘ploughed land attached to the hut’; Urz.), *Arisbáko-txa* (‘the solitary oak’; Urz.), *Berrobákotxa* (‘isolated ploughed land’; Uzt.). Its use has been so widespread in Roncal speech that it has even been heard in cases in which we would expect accentuation with the stress on the penultimate syllable; thus, Koldo Artola (1977) was able to hear these words uttered from the lips of Antonia Anaut from Isaba: *Ságarra* (common *sagárra* ‘apple’), *Zánkoza* (common *Zankóza* ‘Sangüesa’) or, in Castilian, *Mánzana*.

This type of accentuation is not customary in Aragonese, as has been stated previously; however, it does not prevent this type of accentuation from being found in the toponymy of Ansó. It occurs in the pronunciation of the toponym of Basque origin, *Sayéstico* (*saihets* ‘side’, by extension, ‘place on a hill’).

9. Conclusions

To carry out my PhD thesis, the documentation available (mainly from the 16th century to the present) was consulted in several archives, including the Notarial Protocols Archive of Navarre and the Municipal Archive of Ansó. Once this documentation had been examined, the conclusion was drawn that there is a large number of Basque toponyms in the Ansó Valley, mainly to the north of the town, and in the valleys of Zuriza and Linza. The existence of this toponymy of Basque origin also means that the birth of Aragonese did not necessarily mean the immediate dying out of Euskera in the region.

In my thesis, 7,222 total toponymical entries have been taken into consideration. Of these, 1,565 may be related to forms in Euskera. This means 21.6% of Ansotano toponymy is related to Euskera.

Mention should be made here of the study carried out by Belasko (2004) in the book *Vascuence y Romance: Ebro Garona un espacio de Comunicación* in which, in the case of Navarre (which is not necessarily valid in the case of Aragon), he relates the percentage of Basque toponymy of a specific area with the period of history in which Euskera died out from that same area. Thus, those towns in which a percentage of Basque toponyms nowadays accounts for nearly 100% of place names

tend to be—in all the cases studied— towns which are now Basque-speaking (this is the case of Villanueva de Aezkoa, Muskitz en Imotz, Urdiain and Etxarri-Aratz).

On the other hand, those towns that evidence a frequency of Basque toponymy of around 60 to 70% tend to be places where Euskera died out in the second half of the 19th century (it is documented that Euskera died out in Pamplona and in Valdorba around 1870; it also died out around that time in Eulate and in Uscarrés, with 65% toponymical frequency, and in Abartzutza, with a frequency of around 60%, Euskera died out around the middle of the aforementioned century).

According to Belasko, in those places that evidence a frequency of around 40%, it seems that Euskera died out around the end of the 18th century (in the Lana Valley, Euskera died out between the years 1750 and 1800; in Lumbier, with 41% Basque toponymy, Euskera died out in the first half of the 18th century).

In the Ega Valley we currently find a toponymical presence of around 25% and, according to the aforementioned study, it was at the end of the 17th century when Euskera died out in the area. A clear distinction should be made between the situation of the Ega Valley, within a common administrative area of Navarre and a place in which Euskera still remained a force to be reckoned with, and the situation of Ansó, within a different area with different conditions and where Euskera had ceased to be a common mark of identity. Yet the fact is that in the Ansó Valley the percentages of Basque or *Vascoide* toponymy or toponymy related to Euskera reaches 21.6%, a very significant figure which, using a fairly unorthodox term in statistics, may to a certain extent be considered overwhelming in the sense that we would not *a priori* expect such percentages in Aragon. These figures bring the situation regarding of Euskera in Ansó close to that of places in neighbouring Navarre, where Euskera died out much later.

Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that, despite the fact that some phonetic features have been found that could bring the Basque toponymy of Ansó closer to that of the neighbouring Roncal Valley, Ansotano toponymy lacks the most defining elements that have characterized the Roncalese dialect. This is the case with the assimilation or some lexical features that have been able to be included in Ansotano toponymy: *-alte* (common *alde*), *-gastulu*, *utur*, *zibi*...

As far as the toponymy of Romance origin is concerned, it has clear features in common with Roncalese toponymy in the naming of generic forms. In this respect, Manuel Alvar (1956) spoke in favour of the *linguistic unity of the Pyrenean domain* when studying the Romance lexicon of Salazar, Roncal, Salvatierra de Esca, Ansó and Canal de Berdún. One must continue to explore the real possibility that this linguistic unity may also be valid in the case of the Euskera from this part of the Pyrenean domain, in the hope of finding more conclusive data.

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