

## On the relation between toponymy and syntax: Basque and Spanish place names based on relative clauses<sup>1</sup>

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### Summary

In this work I offer first an overview of what has been written on Basque relative-based toponyms, and then I talk about the structure and evolution of Basque *Satznamen*, especially about the ones consisting of a noun in absolutive singular, a verbal form, the relative marker *-(e)n* and the article. In the following section I comment on the structure and evolution of Romance *Satznamen*, starting with the first testimony that we know of (CE 1197). In the next point I deal with of the geographical distribution of Basque relative-toponyms and then I draw some outlines about the bases of Basque and Spanish *Satznamen*. Finally, I summarize the conclusions that I draw from the data and point out the future tasks.

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### 1. Introduction: a historical review

As Michelena (1982, 301) claims Gorostiaga was the first author who mentioned the existence in Basque of toponyms that are based on relative clauses, that is to say, of the so-called *Satznamen*, although not all of them contain a relative clause. By this I mean that the base of the sentence-place name can be of another kind, not necessarily a relative, even though these clauses are the most common. After Gorostiaga, Michelena mentioned again—and examined to a certain extent—the subject of *Satznamen* toponyms, in 1971 (266-267), 1982 (301-302) and 1985 (596-600).

The Gipuzkoan linguist, in the 1971 article, makes reference to some toponyms located in the border between Álava and Navarre, in the Lokiz mountains: *Euridacar* (1540) 'it brings rain', *Euridacarbea* (1749) 'the (place) under it brings rain' and *Euridacargaina* (1540) 'the (place) above it brings rain', but, seemingly, he did not know at the time the relative based variant of these place names that he examined later, in 1985 (*Uridacarrena*, 1694, *Ebridacarrena*, 1786 'the (hill) that brings rain'). It is interesting to note that in all these testimonies the noun *euri* 'rain' does not have an attached definite article *-a*, in contrast to the modern use, since in current speech the common way of expressing things would be *Euria dakar*, *Euriadakarbea*, *Euriadakargaina*, *Euria dakarrena* (*vide infra*). However, in the sixteenth century, in Álava too, the norm in Basque texts was the usage of the article (*usaia dakar* 'he/she/it stinks', *lurruina dakar* 'it steams', Michelena, 1971, 266), which means that the toponyms cited above show a degree of lexicalization or follow the supposedly old usage of the language.

In his 1985 work Michelena cites the place name of Urkiola *hila datzan zelaia* 'the meadow, the flat area where the dead (man, woman...) lies' and realises, based on López de Guereñu's data, that the place names ended in *-adana* (*Aizluceadana*, *Azcarradana*, *Goicoeliseadana*...) must be interpreted as (*noun* +) *definite article* + *verb* + *relative* + *definite article*: *Aizluceadana* '(that) which the long rock is', '(the place) where the long rock is', *Azcarradana* 'the (place) where the maple tree is', *Goicoeliseadana* 'the (place) where the upper church is'.

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The plural is also possible: *Urcaacdirana* 'urkaak dirana', 'lo que son las horcas', 'donde están las horcas', 'the (place) where the gallows are'.

After Michelena, Seguro (1987) was the next linguist who wrote about relative-based *Satznamen*, when he examined the place names of Ameskoa (Navarre). Among others, he analyses the toponym *Aizhunztuna* cited by Lapuente (1975) some years before (*la piedra de la yedra, en bulgar aizhunztuna* 'the ivy stone, vulgarly Aizhunztuna'), and says that it is interesting, due especially to the order of the components (the usual order was and still is *huntza duen haitza* 'the rock that has got [the] ivy', literally *ivy the has got that rock the*).

Another remarkable place name that Seguro examines is *Guibeladaizecana* (*Gibela daizekana* in modern orthography). I consider that the author's interpretation, in this case, is not correct and that the toponym must be understood as *Gibela daizekan lekua*, that is to say, 'the place whose back is on fire', from *lekuari gibela daizeka* + *-n lekua* >  $\emptyset$  *gibela daizekan lekua* >  $\emptyset$  *gibela daizekan*  $\emptyset$  *a*, even if Seguro is right when saying that *daizeka* is a bipersonal intransitive verbal form of *izeki* 'to be on fire', with the dative of the third person in singular.

A further researcher who investigated *Satznamen* was Salaberri (1992, 1996, 1998). In the first articles the author cites some Navarrese place names that are based on relative clauses, among others the historical toponyms *Aricedenecoa* (*Haritza denekoa*) 'the (place) where the oak is', *Capanacenecoa* (*Kapana zenekoa*) 'the (place) where the vineyard hut was' and *Lezea denea* (*Lezea dena*) 'the (place) where the cave is'. Some of the present-day testimonies that the author cites are the following: *Diegoren karroa bota zana* 'the (place) where Diego's cart fell', *Otsoa hil zaneko barga* 'the rock where the wolf died', *Urdenazko ura sortzen dena* 'the place where the water from Urdenatz (toponym) flows', *Larrañagako txaraka txikitzen dena* 'the (place) where the *txaraka* (most common kind of wood in a forest) from Larrañaga (toponym) is cut into pieces', etc.

An interesting point for Basque dialectology that Salaberri reveals is the existence of toponyms like *Espelabayta* (*Ezpela baita*) '(the place) where the box is', *Udarea bayta* (*Udarea baitakoa*) 'the (place) where the pear tree is', *Gurbeabaita* '(the place) where the *Sorbus terminalis* is', *Guerezibaitakoa* (*Gerezibaitakoa*) 'the (place) where the cherry tree is', *Pasacabaita* (*Paxaka baita*) '(the place) where the wild apple tree is' and *Arizabaitakoa* (*Haritza baitakoa*) 'the (place) where the oak is', similar to the examples *Pasacadena* or *Pasaca denecoa* (*Paxaka dena*, *Paxaka denekoa*) and *Aricedenecoa* (*Haritza denekoa*) cited above, all of them from eastern Navarre, due to the normal usage in the oriental dialects of relative sentences constructed with the subordinative element *bait-* —instead of the more widespread *-(e)n-*— and a verb, *da* 'is' in the mentioned testimonies, in which a devoicing rule turns *bait-* + *da* into *baita*.

In 1994 García de Albizu, in the wake of Michelena's works, published an article on the place names containing *dana* and *dirana* in the Ameskoan toponymy (Navarre), but the point of view from which the topic is studied here is more historical than linguistic, and the main contribution of the work is the *Satzname* list that is given in it. However, the author realises that the base of the toponyms is mostly a phytonym, a tree: *Albiçuren Inzaurradana* (*Albizuren intzaurra dana*) 'the (place) where Albizu's walnut-tree is', *Arteadana* 'the (place) where the ilex is', or a bush name: *Corostiadana* (*Korostia dana*) 'the (place) where the holly is', *Ezpeladana* (*Ezpela dana*) 'the (place) where the box is', although not all of the Ameskoan *Satznamen* are phytotoponyms: *Bideparticedirana* (*Bidepartitzedirana*) 'the (place) where the paths split', *Burnigruceadana* (*Burnigrutzea dana*) 'the (place) where the iron cross is',

*Erenza[u]colezeadana* (*Erentzauko lezea dana*) 'the (place) where the cave of Erentzau (toponym) is', *Gonzalicozensoroadana* (*Gonzalikoren soroa dana*) 'the (place) where Gonzaliko's field is', *Idiacetzatendirana* (*Idiak etzaten dirana*) 'the (place) where the oxen lie', translated into Spanish as *La siesta de los bueyes* 'the oxen's nap' (today *La Siesta* 'the nap' or *El Barranco del Asestadero* 'the little stream of the nap-place'), *Ilarriadana* (*Hilarria dana*) 'the (place) where the tombstone is', *Zuficoadana* (*Zufikoa dana*) 'the (place) where the little bridge is', etc.

In 1995 Ugarte, in a short article, examines briefly the documented Gipuzkoan toponym *Donde murió el oso* '(the place) where the bear died' and considers it to be an equivalent of Basque *Arçaeraena* (*Hartza eraena*), consisting in his opinion of *hartza* 'the bear' and *eraena*, a transitive verbal form of *erain* 'kill' plus the article *-a*. He cites, at the same time, the very similar *Jaunaeraena* place name, documented in the region that still exists under the evolved form *Jaondo* (Oñati), *Jandoain* (Legazpi); the components of the *Satzname* are *jauna* 'the lord' and the verbal form *eraena* cited above, with the global meaning of '(the place) where the lord was killed'.

Ugarte also mentions some other descriptive toponyms or *Satznamen* taken from the documents of Legazpi (Gipuzkoa): *el cerro que se llama «el cerro donde suelen estar los lobos»* 'the hill called «the hill where the wolves usually are», *mojón donde iasya la biga del lagar* 'the boundary stone where the beam of the cider press lay', *campollano donde iasían las maderas* 'the flat area where the logs lay', *donde se juntan los arroyos* '(the place) where the streams join' and *en la orilla do solían iaser los bueyes* 'on the (river) bank where the oxen used to lie'. The author asserts that, undoubtedly, those *Satznamen* are translated from Basque, but that the original versions are not necessarily sentence toponyms, since, for instance, the attested *cerro donde suelen estar los lobos* is still named *Otsamuño*, literally 'wolf-hill', *donde se juntan los arroyos* is called today *Trukullu*, probably from *Ururkullu*. There are longer place names like *Idi:n deskantsalekue* (< *Idien deskantsalekua*) 'the resting place of the oxen' which corresponds to the documented *do solían iaser los bueyes*.

## 2. About the structure and evolution of Basque *Satznamen*

In 2008 Salaberri examined the subject again and wrote that the structure of the Basque *Satznamen* is usually the following: *noun in absolutive singular + verbal form + relative – (e)n + article -a*, as in *Gatza ematen dakion iturria* 'the source where [the flock] is given salt', *Haitza denea* '(the place) where the rock is', *Amurgingo eliza denea* '(the place) where the church of Amurgin (toponym) is'. As can be observed, in the last two examples, by virtue of its usage in the inessive case, the original *dena* '(the place) where is' has turned into *denea*. That is to say, the original (*alorra, soroa*) *haitza denean da* '(the field, the meadow) is (in the place) where the rock is' has resulted in *Haitza denea* '(the place) where the rock is', instead of turning into *Haitza dena*, as a consequence of the false interpretation of the noun phrase *denean*. The ground for confusion lies in the different behaviour of Basque words, depending on their ending: *etxean* 'at home', 'in the house' by removing the inessive *-(e)(a)n* 'at', 'in' becomes *etxea* 'a house', 'the house'; *kalean* 'on the street', when we take the case ending off, it results in *kalea* 'a street', 'the street', but *denean* minus the inessive marker turns into *dena*, in the same way as *kokotsean* 'in the chin' without the cited case becomes *kokotsa* 'a chin', 'the chin', not *\*kokotsea*, and *sudurrean* 'in the nose' results in *sudurra* 'a nose', 'the nose', not *\*sudurrea*.

The problem that we have to deal with when analysing place names based on relative clauses can be summarized as follows: some vasconists think that the oldest structure of Basque

relative clauses is *indefinite noun + verbal form + -en* (the relative subordinative) + *-a*, as in *gizon etorri dena* 'the man who has come', literally 'man come has who the'. This structure will have evolved into *etorri den gizona*, literally 'come has who man the', the common order in relative clauses, although this is not the only possibility existing in Basque.

The structure mentioned first is well known in Basque classical literature when the sentence is not too short, as in *oh haurreko egun berriz jinen ez zaretanak!* 'ah you days of my childhood that will not come back again', literally 'ah childhood of day again come will not are (you, plural) that the -s (the pluralizer)', which is a sentence that is mostly expressed by *oh berriz jinen ez zaretan haurreko egunak!* 'Oh again come will not are (you, plural) that childhood day the -s'. The noun without the article is found on the base of toponyms that do not contain a relative, as *Veydacar (Behidakar)* 'it brings cow' (1313) or *Gari dario* 'it flows wheat' (1576) probably meaning 'a meadow that provides a lot of grass' and 'a field that produces a lot of wheat', and it is common in current speech, especially with nominalized verbs: *belar ebaterna noa* 'I am going to mow grass', *egur egiten ibili dira* 'they have been chopping wood', etc.

This is the structure present in the above-mentioned *Euridacar* (1540) 'it brings rain', *Euridacarbea* (1749) 'the (place) under it brings rain' and *Euridacargaina* (1540) 'the (place) above it brings rain', *Uridacarrena* (1694), *Ebridacarrena* (1786) 'the (hill) that brings rain'. Nevertheless, beside *Euridacarrena (Euridakarrena)* (1694) I have attested, on the same date, the variant *Euriadacarrengaina (Euriadakarrengaina)* 'the hill that brings rain', or, more precisely, 'the hill that brings the rain', that is to say, the variant containing the definite article, even if in Basque this does not "define" as much as in English or Spanish (*El alto que trae lluvia*). In fact, we could say that Basque *-a* is similar, very often, to English *a* in *a man has come*, which is a sentence expressed in Basque as *gizona etorri da* or *gizon bat etorri da* and in Spanish necessarily as *un hombre ha venido*.

*Satznamen* that are devoid of the article are frequent in Basque toponymy, but I consider that they are, usually, secondary with regard to the place names that have the article, that is to say, in my judgement *Emasteilcena (Emaztehilzena)* '(the place) where the woman / wife died' (1641) has its source in *\*Emaztea hil zena* in the same way that *Arizcoadena (Harizkoa dena)* 'the (place) where the little oak is' (1686) has turned these days into *Harizkodenea*, showing the end *-ea* mentioned earlier. Similarly, *Gurbeadenecoa* (1712) (*Gurbea denekoa*) 'the (place) where the *Sorbus terminalis* is' and *Lizarradenea* (1893) (*Lizarra denea*) 'the (place) where the ash tree is' became *Gurbedenea* (1893) and *Lizardenea* (1901).

The loss of the definite article has been aided by the oral evolution of Basque toponyms, that is to say, by the loss of the intervocalic voiced dental fricative ([ð]): *Arizadenea (Haritza denea)* 'the (place) where the oak is' > *Ari(t)zenia*; *Zubia dena, Zubia denea* 'the (place) where the bridge is' > *Zubeeni, Zubene*, etc.

I think that if the original structure were *indefinite noun + verbal form + -en* (the relative subordinative) + *-a* (the article) it would not be easy to explain toponyms like *Bideparticedirana* (1719) 'the (place) where the paths split', in which the noun is an indefinite absolutive and the verb is plural. What I mean is that the verb in the plural is due to the subject in the plural: *Bideak partitzen dira* 'the paths split' + *-en* 'that' + *lekua* 'the place' > *Bideak partitzen diren lekua* > *Bideak partitzen direnØa* > *BideØpartitzendirenØa*.

However, this evolution is not so clear in *Satznamen* in which the verb is not *izan* ('ser' in Spanish) but *egon* ('estar' in the same language), like for example *Unce erriaren ondoan*

*dagona* ([E]untze herriaren ondoan dagona) 'the meadow that is next to the village' (1683), equivalent to Spanish *Prado cerca del lugar* and *Soto contiguo al lugar*, both translations of the Basque original form, as the Spanish learned word *contiguo* indicates. An explanation as *\*Euntzea herriaren ondoan dagoen lekua* can not be proposed, due to the fact that the head of the relative clause and the relativized noun must always be the same. Thus, the only possible explanation that we can give to the cited toponym is *\*Euntzea herriaren ondoan dagoen euntzea* > *Euntzea herriaren ondoan dagoenØa* > *EuntzeØ herriaren ondoan dagoenØa*, in which the elided noun is the head instead of the first one, in contrast to the usual way of constructing these clauses: *\*Euntzea herriaren ondoan dagoen euntzea* > *Ø herriaren ondoan dagoen euntzea* (> *Ø herriaren ondoan dagoenØa*). I assume that the official language, Spanish, can sometimes be the reason for the mentioned anomaly, since the head noun is here not postposed, like in Basque, but appears at the beginning of the clause (*El prado que está al lado del pueblo*).

Nevertheless, as we have seen, *hark eztitzen zuen eguzki ageri zenaren distira* 'it softened (sweetened) the brightness of the sun that appeared' is a familiar way of constructing relatives in Basque literature, and also the variant containing the article: *Nik neronek ere ezagutzen ditut eskuizkribu lodixkak edo arras lodiak argitara irten ez direnak* 'I know myself some quite or very thick manuscripts that have not been published', instead of *nik neronek ere ezagutzen ditut argitara irten ez diren eskuizkribu lodixkak edo arras lodiak*. As I have said, these constructions are usual when the sentence is long or at least not very short, even though measuring their length, in these cases, is not a simple task.

In the case of relative toponyms, I suppose that head nouns like *lekua* 'a place, the place' are easy to be elided, while others like *euntzea* 'the meadow' are much harder to understand when omitted. This can be the reason for the preservation, in these occasions, of the noun, be it the usually suppressed one (the relativized noun), or the one that is more frequently kept (the head).

Another interesting subject when analyzing *Satznamen* based on relative clauses is the one concerning the segment *-koa* that is present in some of the examples given above (*Haritza baitakoa*, *Gerezibaitakoa*, *Haritza denekoa*...). It is composed of the linking suffix *-ko* and the definite article *-a*, which stands by an elided noun as *euntzea*, *soroa* 'the meadow', *alorra* 'the field' or something alike: *Haritza baita* + *-ko* + *euntzea* 'the meadow where the oak is', *Gerezia baitako alorra* > *Gerezibaitako alorra* 'the field where the cherry tree is'. Needless to say, this construction is very common in current Basque speech. The same *-ko* can appear not at the end of the toponym, but inside it, that is to say, the head noun can be present, as in *Otsoa hil zaneke barga* cited above (in this case with a linking *e*). However, this *-ko* is not indispensable, as the Gipuzkoan toponym *Haurra galdu zan harria* 'the stone, the rock where the child got lost' shows. The same duality can be observed in Basque literature, both ancient and modern, and in current speech as well.

There are other *Satznamen* that can be considered to be purpose clauses, but which can also be taken to be relative clauses, when closely analysed. Their structure is the following: *noun phrase* + *nominalized verb* + *suffix -ko* + *noun* + *article -a*: *Ardien dutxatzeko lekua* 'the place to shower the sheep' or 'the place where the sheep are given a shower', *Errezatzeko bargagaina* 'the top of the rock to pray', that is to say, 'the top of the rock where people pray', *Golfean aritzeko lekua* 'the place to play golf' or 'the place where one can play golf', *Harri botatzeko muinoa* 'the mound to throw stones' or 'the mound from which stones are thrown', *Harri deskargatzeko zelaia* 'the flat area to unload stones' or 'the flat area where stones are

unloaded', *Txara botatzeko gaina* 'the hill to throw the *txaraka* (most common kind of wood in a forest)' or 'the hill from which the *txaraka* is thrown', *Zekor apartatzeko harri* '(the) stone / rock to separate / set apart (the) calves' or 'the stone / rock where the calves are separated / set apart', etc.

### 3. On the structure and evolution of Romance *Satznamen*

The oldest testimony of Romance *Satznamen* is, as Michelena (1971, 267) points out, *dont sayllio el can con el cieruo* or *o sayllio el can con el ciervo* (Jimeno, 1970, 263) '(the place) where the hound went (jumped) out with the deer' attested in 1197, which reminds us of the microtoponym *El salto del ciervo* (Gallipienzo / Galipentzu, Navarre) that gives name to a narrow spot in the Aragón river. This toponym is related to *Saltalagua* (Álava), *Saltacaballo*, a village in Cantabria, a Spanish region in which other *Satznamen* are found, *Correpoco* 'it runs little', *Aguanaz* < *agua nace* '(the) water is born', *Manalagua* < *mana el agua* 'the water flows', and *Guardamino* < \**Guarda camino* 'it protects the way' (González, 1999, 51, 141, 183-184), in which, obviously, a segment like *el lugar en que*, *el sitio donde* must be understood: (*el lugar donde*) (*el*) *agua nace*, (*el sitio en el que*) *mana el agua*, etc. With regard to *Guardamino*, if this form derives, as González says, from \**Guardacamino*, we ought to think that the original form was something like (*el lugar*, *el pueblo que*) *guarda (el) camino*, similar to Basque *Zaitegi*, from *zaitu*, *zaindu* 'to guard' and *-tegi* 'place' or the Romance *Laguardia* / *Guardia*, both found in Álava / Araba, in the same way as the original *Donde murió el mozo* (1749) '(the place) where the lad died' became *Murió el mozo* first (1800) and then *Muriomozo* (nowadays), in San Martín de Unx (Navarre).

Similarly, *Saltalagua* (Bikuña and Munain, in Álava) derives in all likelihood from \**Donde salta el agua*, in the same manner as present-day *Saltalagua* (Arzotz, Navarre) derives from *Donde salta el agua* (1808), probably a translation of the unattested Basque toponym \**Ura sortzen dena* '(the place) where the water flows' (cf. *Urdenazko ura sortzen dena* cited above). Nevertheless, another possibility is that the source of *Saltalagua* or *Saltacaballo* lies in *El salto del agua* or *El salto del caballo*, similar to *El salto del ciervo* that we have seen.

Two other Navarrese *Satznamen* are *Cantarranas* (Genevilla) '(the place) where frogs croak' (< \**Cantan ranas*; cf. *Pasalobos* < \**Pasanlobos*) and *Galloscantan* (Berbinzana, Tafalla) '(the place) where cocks crow', which are the equivalent of Basque *Motxilukantoa* 'the song of the little owl' (Ayesa), *Txorikantari* or *Txorikantariaga* '(the place of the) singer bird' (Goizueta), since these need to be understood as 'the place where the little owl sings / sang' and 'the place where bird(s) sing(s) / sang'.

A rather widespread pattern is the one consisting of the verbal form *mira* 'it looks at / upon' and an adjective or a noun: *Mirabuena*, *Mirabueno*, *Mirabuenos*, *Mirabuenas*, *Miralasbuenas*, *Miralbueno* '(the mound) that looks on good lands / on the good place', *Miracielos* (Arguiñano, Artazu) '(the hill) that looks at the skies', *Miraflores* (Buñuel, Tudela) '(the place) that looks on flowers', *Miravalles* (Abaigar, Bidaurreta, Uharte) '(the hill) that looks upon the valleys'. In *Miralobos* (Armañanzas), like in *Pasalobos* or *Cantagallos*, I think that the etymon had a plural verb, in the same way as in *Galloscantan*, that is to say, that the former structure was \**Miran lobos* '(the place, mound) from which the wolves look'. The evolution \**Cantangallos* > *Cantagallos*, \**Miranlobos* > *Miralobos* and \**Pasanlobos* > *Pasalobos* might be due to the relative difficulty to pronounce the clusters *-ng-* and *-nl-*, which is why they have been reduced to *-g-* and *-l-*.

It seems to me necessary to consider that the base of *Pasalobos* (Gallipienzo / Galipentzu) is (*el lugar, el sitio*) *por el que pasan los lobos* 'the place wolves go through', similar, regarding the original meaning, to *Otsopasaje* (Latasa Imotz, Uharte Arakil) and *Otsopasaketa* (Etxaleku), in which noun composition (*Otsopasaje* 'the wolves' pass') and noun composition + suffix (*Otsopasaketa*) have been, apparently, chosen. In fact, the base of the last toponym can be *otso* + *pasaje* (where [x] is pronounced [k]) + *-eta* (cf. the Navarrese village name *Arteta* 'the place of the ilex', 'the place where the ilex abounds', from *arte* 'ilex' + the suffix *-eta*, which expresses location or abundance) or, alternatively, *otso* + *pasaketa*, a deverbal form of *pasatu* 'to pass'. This is frequent, especially, in some western Basque dialects, but it is also known in the eastern ones (*jostatu* 'to play' -> *jostetan, jostaketan* 'playing', for instance).

Another widespread pattern is the one consisting of *mata* 'it kills' and a noun: *Matabueyes* '(the hill that) kills oxen', *Mataburros* '(the slope that) kills donkeys', similar to *Capaburros* '(the hill) that castrates donkeys', *Matacuras* '(the slope that) kills priests', *Matagallinas* '(the place that) kills hens', *Matamujeres* '(the source) that kills women', *Matanovias* '(the slope that) kills brides', *Mataperros* '(the slope that) kills dogs' (cf. *Despeñaperros*, a gorge and a river in Andalusia), *Matapiojos* '(the place that) kills lice'. The motivation is usually the steepness of the slope designated by the place-names, but sporadically the toponym can refer to the infertility of the land, like in *Matarrenteros* (Iguzkitza) '(the place that) kills tenants' or can be of another kind: *Matahambre* literally '(the place that) kills hunger', *Matafuegos* '(the place that) kills fires', *Matamoros* '(the place) that kills moors', *Matasanos* '(the source) that kills healthy people'. However, in some cases the word *mata* can be understood as 'bush', 'shrub', instead of being interpreted as a verbal form.

Some other *Satznamen* are *Aguilaposa* (San Martín Unx), '(the high place where the) eagle lands', *El Pueyo Rompesacos* 'the hill that breaks sacks' (Petilla de Aragón; there was a *Rompesacos* in high Aragón in 992), *La Cuesta Arrancapedos* 'the slope (that) makes (one) fart', *Remojapán* (Mués, Sorlada) literally '(he, she, it) dips bread' or perhaps '(they) dip bread', *Manacaracoles* (Asarta) literally '(the place out of which) snails flow', which is an exact Romance equivalent of the above seen Basque *Garidaio*.

Concerning the Romance *Satznamen*, we can say that the main pattern is that in which the original relative-clause has been shortened, in such a way that the present-day form, or the only one that we know, consists, usually, of a singular verb and a plural noun: *Mataburros*, *Miraflores*, although I consider that sometimes the verb has been reduced, in order to make the pronunciation of the cluster easier: *\*Cantangallos* > *Cantagallos*, *\*Miranlobos* > *Miralobos*. In some cases the noun, or the nominalized adjective, can be in the singular: *Mirabueno*, *Mirabuena*. In a few examples the noun goes first: *Aguanace*, *Aguilaposa*, *Galloscantan*.

Two more widespread patterns of *Satznamen* are the ones composed of *donde* 'where' + *definite article* + *noun* or *donde* + *clause*. Testimonies of the first are *Donde el gurbe* '(the place) where the *Serbus terminalis* is', *Donde el nogal* '(the place) where the walnut tree is', *Donde la fuente* '(the) place where the water source is', and examples of the second are *Donde salió el can con el ciervo*, *Donde murió el oso*, *Donde murió el mozo* mentioned earlier, and also *Donde se echa el agua* '(the place) where the water is poured down', *Donde cayeron los bueyes de Otegi* '(the place) where Otegi's oxen fell', *Donde crió la loba* '(the place) where the she-wolf breast-fed her babies', *Donde para el auto* '(the place) where the bus stops', *Donde se reza la Salve* '(the place) where *la Salve* (a prayer) is said', which is equivalent to the Basque *Errezatzeko bargaina* (Lizarraga Ergoiena, Navarre), literally 'the top of the

rock to pray'. Sometimes the mentioned structure *donde* + *clause* can be preceded by a noun, like in *El río donde los paños lavan* (Itsaso, Navarre, 1522), undoubtedly a translation of a Basque *Satzname* similar to *Oialac ycuztendirana (Oihalak ikuzten dirana)* '(the river, the stream...) where the clothes are washed' (Zudaire, Navarre, 1687).

In the documentation of the Basque Country written integrally in *erdara*, that is to say, in a language other than Basque, we occasionally find the structure *en el sitio de* 'at the place of' + *definite article* + *noun*: *en el sitio del pomal* 'at the place of the *Serbus terminalis*' (San Martín, Ameskoa, Navarre, 1825), the Romance version of the Basque *Gurbea dana* (Aranaratxe, Ameskoa, Navarre, 1743, 1853...), but this is rather sporadic and clearly a translation of Basque *danean*, *denean* 'at the place (of)'

In Spanish there are some testimonies of a pattern that is most common in Basque (*Donde cayeron los bueyes de Otegi, Donde murió el maestro, Donde murió el mozo, Donde murió el oso*, etc.), but the pattern represented by *Cantarranas, Matanovias, Mirabuenos* is much more frequent, and unique to this language, since in Basque it is not productive and the testimonies are reduced to toponyms in which both elements are nouns, like *Motxilokantua, Otsamuño, Txorikantari(aga)* and so on. It is necessary to mention at this point, that Basque is a (S)OV language and that clauses in which the verb goes first are not very frequent, although they are in no way unknown, while in Spanish, a (S)VO language, they are the norm, since the subject, when it is a pronoun, is usually elided.

#### 4. Geographical distribution of Basque *Satznamen*

It is too early yet to describe the exact geographical distribution of *Satznamen* in the Basque Country, that is to say, in the area in which Basque is spoken today or has been spoken before, but we can say that the claim according to which Basque *Satznamen* are few in toponymy must be rejected. It is clear that in many places the lack of data is, to a great extent, consequence of the lack of research, not due to the scarcity of such names, and that the more researchers work, the more *Satznamen* they find. However, we know with certainty that the number of *Satznamen* is not even across the Basque Country and that, for instance, in Bizkaia they are scant, even if there are some testimonies like *Ura dariona* '(the place) where the water flows' (Bakio-Lemoiz), *Atxik ez daukan aldea* 'the area that is devoid of rocks' (Aulesti), etc. In other regions *Satznamen* abound in some valleys and villages and are scarce in others, perhaps due to the different orography or to other reasons still unknown to us.

#### 5. On the bases of *Satznamen*

It seems to me that there is no limitation regarding the bases that can appear in sentence toponyms and that almost any element can be found in them. The only restriction to be pointed out is the one imposed by the very character of place names, mainly related to the environment in which they have been created, that is to say, based mostly on phytonyms, zoonyms, hydronyms and also on anthroponyms, and names concerning industry, agriculture, farming, etc.

Nevertheless, there is a clear tendency to create *Satznamen* based on certain terrible events that were kept safe in the onomastic inventory of a specific village. Among many others, we can highlight the *Satznamen* containing a verb like *erori* 'fall (and die)', *ero* 'kill', *galdu* 'get lost', 'disappear', 'die', *hil* 'die' and sometimes a noun that designates a wild animal: *Abadealsasuaerorizaneozuloa (Abade Al[t]sasua erori zanezo zuloa)* 'the hole where the priest (called) Alsasua fell', *Andrea galdu zan erreka* 'the stream in which the woman went lost', *Andres bota zanezo barga* 'the rock from which Andrew fell', *Basaurdea galdu zan*

*errekea* 'the stream where the boar disappeared', *Emaztehilzena* '(the place) where the woman / wife died', *Gizona galdu zan errekea* 'the stream in which the man got lost', *Gizona galdu zana* '(the place) where the man disappeared / died', *Gizona hil zaneke pagoa* 'the beech where the man died', *Hartza eraena* '(the place) where the bear was killed', *Hila datzan zabala* or *Hila datzan zelaia* 'the meadow / the flat area where the dead (man, woman...) lies', *Jauna eraena* 'the place in which the lord was killed', *Jauna zenarena* 'the property of the late lord', *Kokoaren behorra galdu zeneko gaina* 'the hill where the lowlander's mare disappeared', *Osaba zenarena* 'the property of the, a... deceased uncle', *Otsoa hil zana* '(the place) where the wolf died / was killed', *Otsoa hil zaneke barga* 'the rock where the wolf died / was killed'...

Not only events related to death, accident and disappearance are recalled in place names, but also others that were notorious for some reason, like *Idiak kurri zitezkean zelaia* (a historical *Satzname* found in Arrasate, Gipuzkoa) 'the meadow, the flat area where the oxen were fought' whose motivation may be the fact that fighting oxen instead of bulls was certainly not considered to be a very honourable act.

In Spanish there are some similar toponyms: *Donde cayeron los bueyes de Otegi*, *Donde murió el maestro*, *Donde murió el mozo*, *Donde murió el oso*, etc., and, on the other hand, *Despeñaperros*, *Mataburros*, *Matanovias* and the like are very common.

## 6. Conclusions

To summarize, we can claim that the structures of Basque and Romance *Satznamen* are partially similar, when dealing with the ones that do present the relative, if we do not take into consideration the differences that exist between both languages: backing of the Basque relative subordinative *-en* regarding the verb vs. initial position of the Romance *que*, clause-final position of *-(e)n* in contrast to the Romance clause-initial *que*, usage of prepositions that clarify the function of the relative noun in Romance vs. the subsuming of the different cases that Basque has in the subordinative *-(e)n*.

On the other hand, Basque has another preverbal subordinative (*bait-*) (*bait-* + *da* > *baita*), in contrast to the more usual *-en*, which is postverbal (*da* + *-en* > *den*, *dan*). In this language there are, as well, clauses consisting of *nominalized verb* + *linking suffix -ko* + *noun* (*Errezatzeko bargaina*), structure whose equivalent is not very frequent, apparently, in Romance. I believe that these clauses can be equivalent, in a way and partially, of the Romance toponyms consisting usually of a verb and a plural noun (*Tiracabras* '(it) throws goats down' vs. *Harri botatzeko muinoa* 'the mound to throw down stones', for example), since Basque does not have the possibility of constructing these kind of place-names. In my view, the Basque language, due to its own characteristics, has usually chosen noun composition in these and other cases (*Arranomendia* 'the mountain of the eagles', *Otsagaña* '[the] wolf hill', etc.), even if constructions like *Zubia dena* '(the place) where the bridge is' are, as we have seen, very common in some regions, but not in others.

Another feature that sets apart, to a certain extent, both languages is the existence of three lexemes found in relative-based Basque *Satznamen* (*ero*, *galdu*, *hil*), in contrast to the scarcity of Spanish (*morir*). However, the pattern represented by *Mataburros* '(the slope that) kills donkeys' shows the verbal form *mata* of *matar* 'to kill' and many other verbs (*capar* 'to castrate', *mirar* 'to look', *posar* 'to perch', 'to land', etc.) not found in Basque. On the other hand, the motivation of the *Satznamen* is similar in both languages, and there are plenty of

Basque place names translated into Spanish, in the official documents (*Urdeak etzaten direnekoa* vs. *Donde yace el ganado de cerda*, by way of example).

Regarding the original form of Romance *Satznamen*, I think that when the verb is transitive and takes a direct object, like in *Arrancapedos* '(the place) that makes (one) fart', it is not necessary to consider that there is a relative clause on the base of the toponym. That is to say, we can assume that the place-name was in origin *Arrancapedos*, and not inevitably *\*El lugar que arranca pedos*, but when we see that the whole toponym is *La Cuesta Arrancapedos*, it is not difficult to suspect that the base of the *Satzname* is *\*La Cuesta que arranca pedos*, even though this form is not attested. The same is valid for many other toponyms like *El Alto Capaburros* < *\*El alto que capa los burros* 'the hill that castrates donkeys', that is to say, 'the hill that takes the strength out of donkeys' or *La Fuente Matasanos* < *\*La fuente que mata a los sanos* 'the source that kills healthy people'.

On the other hand, the consideration that *Satznamen* containing intransitive verbs are based on relative clauses is inevitable in examples like *Aguilaposa* < *(el alto) donde el águila (se) posa*, *Agua nace* < *\*(El lugar) donde el agua nace*, *Pasalobos* < *\*(El lugar) por donde pasan los lobos*, etc. This is a fact in place-names like *Muriomozo* or *Saltalagua* attested as *Donde murió el mozo* and *Donde salta el agua*.

## 7. Future tasks

The main pending task with regard to Basque *Satznamen* is to explain the geographical distribution of such toponyms and to shed light on the reasons why in some regions, valleys and villages they are more abundant or scarcer than in others. I suspect that the orography can be one of those reasons, but it is, in no way, the only one.

A second task for the future is the study of relative *Satznamen* based on verb participles like Basque *Errerikakoa* '(the place) that has been burnt' and its equivalents in Spanish (*El quemado*, *La quemada*, etc.), and a third one the analysis of the use of toponymic suffixes instead of relative *Satznamen* (cf. *Bidepartikune*, *Bidepartitza* vs. *Bidepartitzendirana* '[the place] where the paths split'). The fourth point that remains to be researched is the relation between *Satznamen* and noun composition (*cerro donde suelen estar los lobos* vs. *Otsamuño*, literally 'wolf-hill', *donde se juntan los arroyos* '[the place] where the streams join' vs. *Ururkullu*, literally 'water fork'). Finally, there are still some points about Basque relative clauses that need to be clarified, but this concerns grammarians rather than onomasts.

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