

Basque legacy in the New World 2: on the surnames of North American and Philippine rulers

PATXI SALABERRI ZARATIEGI
Public University of Navarre

IKER SALABERRI IZKO
University of the Basque Country

Abstract:

This paper explains the etymology of surnames of Basque origin borne by North American (American, Canadian), Puerto Rican and Philippine rulers past and present. The study is thus conceived as a complementary addition to the analysis of Basque surnames in Latin American countries carried out a decade ago. These family names were created in the language called euskara, in the Basque Country (Europe), but at present they are also found in the New World, since they were brought there by Basque migrants bearing the surnames in question. Among the relevant sources of the family names under study here two may be particularly mentioned: toponyms in the first place and house names in the second, albeit the latter mainly derive from what we have called «house nicknames», which subsequently changed into family names. To the extent possible, we have related each surname whose origin is oikonymic or toponymic to its place of origin, i.e., to the house or place where it was created.

Key words: Basque. Etymology. New World (Canada-Philippines-Puerto Rico-United States). Onyms.

Resumen:

En este trabajo se explica la etimología de los apellidos de origen vasco de gobernantes norteamericanos (canadienses, estadounidenses), puertorriqueños y filipinos del pasado y presente. Este estudio está concebido, así pues, como una nueva contribución al análisis de apellidos vascos en países de Centroamérica y América del Sur realizado hace una década. Los apellidos en cuestión se originaron en la lengua vasca, en Vasconia (Europa), pero en la actualidad se pueden encontrar también en el Nuevo Mundo, ya que fueron llevados allí por los emigrantes vascos portadores de los mismos. Entre las fuentes relevantes de los apellidos aquí sometidos a análisis podemos mencionar especialmente dos: los topónimos y los nombres de casa, si bien estos últimos generalmente proceden de los que hemos llamado «sobrenombres oiconímicos», convertidos posteriormente en apellidos. En la medida de lo posible, hemos relacionado cada apellido de origen oiconímico o toponímico con su lugar de origen, con la casa o el sitio en el que se creó.

Palabras clave: euskera. Etimología. Nuevo Mundo (Canadá-Filipinas-Puerto Rico-Estados Unidos). Ónimos.

Laburpena:

Lan honetan Ipar Amerikako herrialdeetan (Kanadan, Estatu Batuetan), Puerto Ricon eta Filipinetan diren eta izan diren agintarien euskal jatorriko deituren etimologia azaltzen dugu. Hortaz, ikerketa hau orain hamar urte argitaratu Erdialdeko eta Hego Amerikako herrialdeetako presidenteen euskal abizenen azterketari egiten diogun ekarpen berria da. Deiturok euskararen barnean sortu ziren, Euskal Herrian (Europan), baina egun Mundu Berrian ere badira, abizenok zeuzkaten euskaldun migratzaileek hara eraman baitzituzten. Hemen aztertu diren deituren iturri nagusietatik batez ere bi aipa ditzakegu: toponimoak eta etxe izenak, azken hauek maiz «etxe izengoiti» deitu ditugunetatik badatoz ere, ondoren abizen bihurtuak diren etatik. Ahal izan dugunean abizena, etorkiz etxe edo leku izena zenean, bere jatorriarekin, sortu zen etxe edo lekuarekin, batu dugu.

Gako hitzak: euskara. Etimologia. Mundu Berria (Estatu Batuak-Filipinak-Kanada-Puerto Rico). Onimoak.

1. Introduction: scope, aims and sources of the study¹

Over ten years have gone by since we published “Basque legacy in the New World: on the surnames of Latin American presidents” (SALABERRI & SALABERRI, 2011), a paper that aroused great interest particularly among American readers². This paper is meant to complement that one by studying Basque names in North America (Canada, the United States including Puerto Rico) and the Philippines³.

The scope of this study is broader than the previous one, as we look not only at former and current presidents’ surnames, but also at those of the following politicians and public employees: state and lieutenant governors including their spouses, governors general, governors’ office staff directories, mayors of capital cities, cabinet members, commissioners, senators and secretaries of state. The names have been collected from various sources, including GARNEAUX (1860) for Canada, TOTORICAGÜENA (2004, 2005) for the United States, LEWIS (1963) and KANELLOS (1993) for Puerto Rico, and HALILI (2004), SIMBULAN (2005) and LUCERO (2018) for the Philippines. We have also looked into a number of digital sources (see «*Digital sources*» in the reference list).

This paper does not aim to provide the genealogy or the personal histories of the name bearers in question. Its purpose is to explain the etymologies of the Basque family names borne by rulers in Canada, the Philippines, Puerto Rico and the United States past and present. The paper’s focus is therefore not historical. Rather, it is informed by linguistics and onomastics. Whenever possible, an attempt is made to relate the names with the specific geographic area they originate in. The feasibility of locating names partly depends on their extension: onyms such as *Agirre* and *Zabala* are widespread throughout the whole Basque-speaking area and thus impossible to pinpoint, as opposed to *Legazpi* and *Ustáriz*, which stem from very specific places. For the sake of clarity and explanatory brevity, whenever two or more rulers from the same country bear the same family name, a single etymological explanation is provided for all of them, regardless of when the name-bearers ruled.

(1) This publication is part of the I+D+i PID2020-114216RB-C64 project *Toponimia del País Vasco y Navarra*, which is funded by the Agencia Estatal de Investigación.

(2) A paper’s impact can be measured by various criteria. In this case, we mean number of readings in online academic platforms.

(3) The term «*New World*» is used in this paper in a broader sense than usual, so as to encompass the Philippines.

This study is structured as follows: Section 2 presents a general overview of the Basque surname system, typical components of family names and the mechanisms by which they arose, followed in Section 3 by an analysis of the individual surnames in the aforementioned countries. Finally, in Section 4 we draw a number of conclusions based on the previous analysis. An appendix ensues with a classification of surnames according to their origin.

2. On the sources of Basque surnames

2.1. *Patronymic system*⁴

2.1.1. What was a patronymic?

A patronymic indicated that its bearer was the son or daughter of the one named in said «*identifier*»⁵: «*Auria Semenoiz [...] pro anima de patre meo Semeno Açenariz*», «*Azari Sanuz, filio Sanz Domikuz*», «*Domico Sanoiz filius Sanzo cecondi*», «*Eneco Arcez, filius Garcia Capeza*», «*Furtun Peres de Goenaga, et Iohan Urtis, su fijo*». These are almost entirely denominative systems based on the father's name, not the mother's, i.e., they are not matronymics.

2.1.2. Origin

This system arose in the Middle Ages and resembles the one developed by the Romance languages that neighbor Basque, which this latter language has coexisted with for centuries. Patronymics were created due to the need for identifying people better, since a number of first names occurred frequently and there was no other way of distinguishing the many *Garzes*, *Marias*, *Ortis*, etc.

This is a system that originated in Latin. Without a doubt, it comes from this language's genitive marker, in the Basque case most probably from the third-conjugation genitives based on the *-o*, *-onis* pattern, although

(4) This section is based on P. SALABERRI (2003). We have left out the dates and places, so as not to lengthen the article. They are available in the above-mentioned paper, which can be consulted on Academia.edu. Broadly speaking, we deal with denominations attested between the 11th and 15th centuries.

(5) We use the term «*identifier*» here instead of «*surname*» given that the medieval system differs considerably from the one that has been in use during the last centuries. Proof of this is its variability, which is nowadays unthinkable.

it may perhaps not be possible to exclude the genitives in *-ici* completely (MITXELENA, 1957a; MENÉNDEZ PIDAL & TOVAR, 1962; IRIGOIEN, 1987; SALABERRI, 2003).

2.1.3. Development

In the Basque-speaking area *-onis* shifted to *-oitz*, with loss of the lenis intervocalic nasal and affrication of the final sibilant, a common development in Latin borrowings into Basque such as *fortis* > *bortitz* ‘violent’, ‘strong’, ‘hard’. A well-known example involves the first name *Enneco*, which is attested in medieval records in a genitive form *Enneconis* ‘of Eneko’ and which in Basque changed to *Enekoitz* first and *Enekotz* later. We mention *Enneco* because this is probably a name of Basque origin consisting of *enne* ‘mine’ together with the old and well-known hypocoristic suffix *-ko* (see GORROTXATEGI, 1984: 147-148, 1986: 530 y 2003: 31), a fact that proves that the hypocoristic suffix was used with indigenous names. This also demonstrates that, after a certain point in time, early on, said suffix had severed ties with the Latin etymon and had become a well-functioning device within Basque as well as, clearly, within the neighboring Romance languages, even if with remarkable differences (see MITXELENA, 1957a).

Other instances of this suffix co-occurring with Basque onyms are *Garzandoiz* (*Asnar Garzandoiz*), on the basis of *Garzando* —a hypocoristic for *Garze(a)*, a name which is very likely related to a form **gar(t)ze*, in turn the source for current Basque *gazte* ‘young’—, and *Otxokoitz* (*Sancha Ochoquoytz*), with a basis *Otxoko*, a hypocoristic of *Otso(a)*, *Otxo(a)* which itself comes from *otso* ‘wolf’, in a manner similar to Spanish *Lope*, ultimately from *lupu(m)* ‘wolf’.

2.1.4. Form of the patronymic suffix

The names that constituted the basis for patronymics could bear different endings: these include *-o* in aforementioned *Eneko* as well as *Galindo* (*Orti Galindoytz*), *Garindo* (*Fortuin Garindoiz de Aparduass*) and *Otsando* (*Lope Ossandoiz*), *-a* in *Garzea* (*Orti Garçeaç*, *Fortun Garceaz*, *Sancho Arceartz*, etc.), *-e* in *Bazkoare* (*Tota Bazcoareiz*) and *Gardele* (*Auriolo Gardeleiz*), *-i* in *Azeari* (*Orti Aceariz*) and *Zuri* (*Petri Curitz*), *-u* in *Domiku* (*Garcia Domicuitz de Aratzaragui*), and so on.

Furthermore, may it be borne in mind that first names could, in proclitic position, drop the final vowel, by which they became names ending

in a consonant. This is the case of recurrent *Lop* and *Martin*, the first of these in variation with *Lope*, *Lopo* and *Lupo*, and consequently also patronymics such as (*Pero*) *Lopeitz*, (*Iaun Orti*) *Lopeiz*, (*Maria*) *Lopeitç*, which alternated with variants like (*Otxoa*) *Lopitz d'Ureta*, (*Enneco*) *Lupiç (de) Laçcannu*, (*Garçia*) *Lopetz* and (*Rui*) *Lopez* («*Rui Lopez, fixo de don Lope de Mendoza*»).

To take another example, the name *Fernando* had different variants, some with *F-* (*Fernand*, *Fernant*, *Fernan*, *Ferlan*, *Ferrando*, *Ferrand*, *Ferrant*, etc.) and others with an onset aspirate or vowel (*Hernando*, *Hernand*, *Hernan*, (*H*)*errando*, (*H*)*erran*, etc.). Given the fact that the patronymic system was in use and had lost every link with the suffix from the Latin declension, which had disappeared some centuries ago, it is not surprising that each of the variants yielded a different patronymic: *Fernandiz*, *Fernandez*, *Ferrandeitz*, *Ferrandez*, *Ferranditz*, *Errandoitz*, *Hernandiz*, *Hernandez*, *Herrandiz*, etc.

This state of affairs brought about the suffix's variability, together with the fact that for Basque speakers it took the form *-(i)(t)z*, i.e., basically the final sibilant. This sound seems to have been an affricate in the eastern part of the Basque-speaking area, as opposed to the western part, where it may have been a fricative, as is suggested by the records and the pronunciation of toponyms with a similar make-up, that is to say, with an ending that also comes from the Latin genitive (see now SALABERRI & SALABERRI, 2020).

Proof of the aforementioned variability stems from the fact that one and the same person could bear different forms of the same patronymic: *Auriol Sanz* or *Auriol Sansoiç* (Tafalla, N), *Bonifase Rodrigues de San Pelayo* or *Vonifaz Ruiz de San Pelayo* (Oñati, G), *Garçi Gutyarri*, *Garci Gutyarri* de *Gorgollo* or *Garçia Gutierrez de Gorgollo* (Bilbao, B), *Johan Martijnetz de Merifuentes* or *Johan Martjnitx de Merifuentes* (Estella-Lizarra, N), *Juan Saenz de Lariz*, *Juan Sanchez de Lariz* or *Juan Saes de Laris* (Ziortza, B), *Orti Semenez de Azqueta*, *Orti Semeroz de Azqueta*, *Fortun Semeneiz de Azqueta*, *Forti Semeroiz de Azqueta* or *Fortius Semeroiz d'Azqueta* (Artajona / Artaxoa, N), *Pero Semenetz de Gatzçolatz* or *Pero Semeneitz de Gaçolatz* (Grocín / Grozin, N), *Sancho Munioz* or *Sancho Munioiz* (Uharte Garazi, LN), etc. There is no need to point out that this variability is inconceivable in current society.

2.1.5. Vitality of the patronymic system

The data available to us indicate that the patronymic system was in use in the Basque-speaking area until the first quarter of the 16th century, but already before that there were signs that the system was losing productivity: sometimes the patronymic no longer changed, on the basis of the father's name, from one generation to the next. Instead, it was used in the same way as surnames are currently used.

2.1.6. Identifiers consisting of patronymic and toponym

We have seen that the patronymic system arose due to the need to better identify the name bearers, because first names were frequently recurrent and it was thus difficult to clearly distinguish one person from another. However, patronymics also occurred often, and a means of telling apart those who bore the same identifier—or surname, depending on the times—was the use of a second toponymic element, which could be an oikonym (*Garcia Yuainnes Guaraycoecheco* ‘García Juárez from the house called *Garaikoetxea*’, in Gartzain, N; *Juan de Armendariz Beltranikorena* ‘from the house by the name *Beltranikorena*’, *Juan de Armendariz Migueltorena*, *Juan de Armendariz Miquelerena* and *Juan de Armendariz Perusquirena*, in Subitza, N; JIMENO, 1987: 373), the name of a neighborhood (*Eneco Arceiz Iriarteco*, ‘from the central neighborhood’, Artajona / Artaxoa, N) or, outside the village in question, the name bearer's place of birth (*Pero Periz Amillauc*, ‘from Amillano / Amillao’, Eraul, N), valley of birth (*Pero Lopiz Baztango*, ‘from Baztan’, Oteitza de la Solana, N) and even the region (s)he came from (*Pero Arçeiz Yputça*, ‘the Gipuzkoan [linguistically speaking]’, Olite / Erriberri, N).

At present surnames consisting of *patronymic + toponym* such as *Diaz de Zerio*, *Gonzalez de Viñaspre*, *Lopez de Arregi*, *Lopez de Goikoetxea*, *Martinez de Eulate*, *Martinez de Iruxo*, *Martinez de Morentin*, *Ortiz de Urbina*, *Perez de Ziritza*, *Perez de Obanos*, *Ruiz de Alda*, *Ruiz de Elexalde* and others are in general considered to be Araban, since they occur most frequently in said region. However, as the examples illustrate, such family names are also found in High Navarre, particularly in Estella-Lizarrá Country, that is to say, in an area bordering Araba.

The reason why these surnames have been better preserved in said region, instead of in the rest of Navarre, or in Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa, is not completely clear, as in ancient records there is no great difference between these lands concerning the occurrence of composite identifiers. By contrast,

there was clearly a tendency of favoring the toponymic constituent, since the patronymic recurred exceedingly, even though cases can also be observed which involve loss of the toponymic constituent and preservation of the patronymic: *Pérez de Iriarte* -> *Pérez* (Sada / Zare, N, a recent change, apparently). In any case, this topic has not been sufficiently studied.

2.2. Toponyms

We have seen in the previous point that, together with the patronymic constituent, a second toponymic element may often occur. This second onym was meant to specify the provenance of the person bearing the patronymic, which was highly recurrent, a fact that made it necessary to specify the name bearer's place of origin. At a later time reduction of said composite identifiers lead to a rise in the number of toponymic surnames.

Nevertheless, already since the older records we encounter toponymic identifiers without the patronymic constituent: *Blasco Ariamango* 'Blasco from Ariamain' (14th century), *Domiku Lapurdico* 'Domingo from Lapurdi' (13th century), *Sandor Mendigorrico* 'Santos from Mendigorria' (14th century), *Sanso Ainnorveco* 'Sancho from Añorbe' (13th century), *Semero Erassungo* 'Semero or Jimeno from Eratsun' (13th century), *Teresa Beorburuco* ('Teresa from Beorburu', 14th century). As can be seen by the examples, all of them bear the so-called Basque genitive locative ending *-ko* (*-go* after a nasal), which is equivalent to the preposition *de*, a very frequent element in written Romance records: *Miguell de Vergara* (Legazpi, G, 13th century), *Pero de Vicunna* (Legazpi, G, 14th century), *Garçia de Onnati* (Segura, G, 15th century), *Ochoa de Larrabeçua* (Markina, B, 15th century), *Pedro de Horosco* (Markina, B, 15th century). This preposition occurs in surnames generally referring to the name bearer's or some close relative's place of birth: Oñati (G), Larrabetzu (B), Bergara (G), Orozko (B), Bikuña (A).

A certain tendency can be observed towards using the locative genitive together with the definite article in oikonoms, and the same is true of toponyms, whether they name neighborhoods, villages or valleys. We have *Anso Gascueco* 'Sancho from Gaskue' (13th century, documented in Romance as *Sancho Gascue*), *Domeca Navazco* 'Dominga from Nabatz' (13th century), *Lop Olcozco* 'Lope, the one from Olkots' (12th century), *Orti Erroco* 'Fortún from Erro' (12th century), on the one hand, and *Domeca Gamaracoa* 'Dominga, the one from Cambra, from the Chamber' (13th century), *Miguel Periz d'Indacoa* (14th century) on the other, all of

them in Navarre. This tendency is not, in any case, fully developed in old records, given the fact that names such as *Orti Sanoiz Ostatuco* (Salinas de Galar, N, 13th century) ‘Fortún Sánchez from the Inn’ and *Martin Sanchiz Goyenecheco*, *Michel Gortayrico* (Arizkun, N, 14th century; we find *Goyenechea* in 1826 and *Gortaria* in 1825, oikonyms that are still in use nowadays) are frequent, that is to say, composite forms consisting of *oikonym* + *-ko*, without a definite article. Compare the mentioned *Martin Sanchiz Goyenecheco* from Arizkun with its Romanized version *Johanche de Goyenechea* from the neighboring village Azpilkueta (14th century; the oikonym is currently still in use).

In turn, during the last centuries onyms bearing the definite article are the most frequent ones: *Catalin Michelarenecoa*, *Gracia Domequarenecoa*, *Joanes Jaureguicoa*, *Jurdana Michelecoa* (Etxaleku, 16th century), *Inigo Dindacoa* (Gerendiain, Erro Valley, N, 16th century), etc. At present this is a manner of introducing people, whenever it is necessary to mention the house, in any given town.

In some cases it is unclear whether we are dealing with an oikonym or a neighborhood name: *Lope Periz Yriartecoa* (Bidaurre, 14th century) ‘Lope Pérez from Iriarte’, an onym whereby *Iriarte* may mean ‘the middle neighborhood’ (as opposed to *Irigoieta* ‘the upper neighborhood’) or refer to a house or farmhouse called *Iriarte* and located in between two others, one of which is higher and the other lower above ground: «*la casa de Yriarte*» (Erbiti, N, 1593). Here it is most suitable to look at what kind of built-up area is being named. On occasion we find the original Basque form translated into Romance: *Eneco Arceiz Iriarteco* vs. *Sanso Velza Media Villa* (Artajona / Artaxoa, N, 12th century).

A similar sort of situation obtains with regard to *Pero Periz Hurruticcoa* ‘Pedro Pérez from Urrutia’ (Bidaurre, N, 14th century), whereby *Urrutia* may mean ‘neighborhood located on the other side (of the river or stream of the town in question)’ rather than ‘house located on the other side (of the river or stream of the town in question)’. In fact, for the latter we have *Urrutikoetxea* («*Juanot de Alcoz de la casa de Urruticoechea*», Oskotz, N, 1606), which has given rise to the well-known family name in the Basque-speaking area.

Nonetheless, we know that in the records *Urruticcoa* frequently refers to the house, and not the neighborhood: «...*Ambrosio de Martie* [...] *Juanes Ubitarte* [...] *Miguel de Urruticcoa*» (Intza, N, 16th century; *Martirena*, *Urbitarite* and *Urrutia* were all local houses in the 18th century), «...*con pieza de los de Aroz carra y con pieza de los de Urruticcoa*» (Izurdiaga, N, 16th cen-

tury), «...*la casa vecinal llamada Urruticoa*» (Arrarats, N, 18th century). On occasion we find *Urrutikoa* next to *Urrutikoetxea*: «*Joanes de Urrutico echea Çiganda*» is the same person as «*Joanes de Çiganda Urruticoa*» (Oskotz, N, 17th century). In 1678 «*Urrutia dueño de Urruticoechea*» is documented in Ezkurra (N) (ETXEBERRIA & SUKUNZA, 2009: 23). The current family names are, generally speaking, *Urruti*, *Urrutia* and *Urrutikoetxea*, even though there is a great number of composite surnames that bear this onym (see EUSKALTZAINDIA, 1998 and EODA).

In the same vein, *goikoa* in *Andre Maria Goycoa* (Ganuza / Gauza, 14th century) or *Garcia Goycoa* (Egues, N, 14th century), *Martinico Goycoa* (Satrustegi, N, 1567) and *Anso Goycoa* (Azantza, N, 1577) should refer to a woman called *Maria*, to *Garzia*, *Martiniko* and *An(t)so* respectively, all inhabitants of the upper neighborhood in their correspondong hometowns, as otherwise we would probably have *Goikoetxea* (*Mig[ue]lto de Goycoechea*, Goldaratz, N, 1587). In a few records aforementioned *goikoa* has been translated as *de arriba*: «*pieza de Rodrigo de Oreyan el de arriba*» (Oreien, N, 1594).

Much the same is true of *barrena* in *Garcia Barrena* (Larraingoa, N, 14th century), which must refer to the person called Garcia who lived in the town's lower part, or else we might have *Barrenetxe(a)*, as in *Barreneche* (Buztintze, Duzunaritze, Lakarra, Uharte Garazi, LN, 14th century) or *Garcia de Barrenesea*, *Pero Lasterra de Barrenechea* (Artajona / Artaxoa, N, 14th century).

Bazterreco, which is frequently attested in the records, seems likewise to be a neighborhood name, and it probably named someone who lives in the town's outskirts: *Pero Martiniz Bazterreco* (Arróniz / Arroitz, N, 14th century), *Maria Sanz Bazterrequa* (Azantza, N, 14th century), *Miguel Yuaynnes Bazterrequa* (Salinas de Oro / Jaiz, N, 14th century), *Pero Martiniz Bazterreco* (Ubani, N, 14th century), *Sebastian Bazterreco* (Ujué / Uxue, N, 14th century), *Perusqui Vazterrecoa* (Etxabarri Allin, N, 1545), «*las casas de Garay, Bazterrecoa [...]*» (Ongotz, N, 17th century). This onym alternates with *Bazterra* (*Johan Yuaynes Bazterra*, Bernedo, A, 14th century; «*la casa de Vazterra*», Ongotz, N, 17th century), which is devoid of the locative genitive ending and is the source of the current surnames *Basterra*, *Bazter* and *Bazterra*. In this case there are (or have been) the oikonyms *Basterretxea* («*una casa llamada Basterrechea*», Barasoain, N, 1607) and *Bazterretxea* (Arizkun, N, current), which are the sources for homonymic surnames.

2.3. Nicknames

A further means for telling people apart has been the use of nicknames or aliases, either bare (*Gorria* ‘(the) red (one)’ (San Vicente, La Rioja, 14th century) or accompanied by one or more elements. Nicknames can accompany first names: *Aznar Berdea* ‘Aznar (the) green (one)’ (N, 13th century), *Pero Uelça* ‘Pedro (the) black (one)’ (Oteitza de la Solana, N, 14th century). They can also come together with combinations of first name and patronymic: *Pere Santz Çuria* ‘Pedro Sánchez (the) white (one)’ (Pamplona / Iruñea, 13th century), *Pero Periz Apezgayz* ‘Pedro Pérez the big priest’ (Estella-Lizarrza, N, 14th century). Whenever a toponym is involved the first name tends to come first, followed by the nickname and the toponym: *Lope Belza de Astigarraga* ‘Lope (the) black (one) from Astigarraga’ (Ataun, G, 14th century), *Juan Çuri de Narbaxa* ‘Juan (the) white (one) from Narbaxa’ (Narbaxa, A, 15th century), *Martin Balça de Sagarberria* ‘Martín (the) black (one) from Sagarberria’ (Lekeitio, B, 16th century), *Pero Abadea d’Arexqueta* ‘Pedro the priest from Arexketa’ (Bilbao, B, 15th century).

There are also more complex names: *Pedro Martinez el cano de Anunceta* (Anúncita / Anuntzeta, A, 12th century; this may perhaps be a wrong interpretation of *Elcano*). Some of them are accompanied by the introductory elements *dicho*, *llamado* or a similar one: *Juan Martinez de la Plaza, dicho Churio* ‘(the) white (one)’ (Elgoibar, G, 15th century), *Martin Martinez de Garay llamado Gorria* ‘(the) red (one)’ (Tolosa, G, 15th century), *Miguel de Maspela dicho Velchico* ‘(the) little black (one)’ (Aretxabaleta, G, 15th century). There are also double nicknames: *Orti Sey Uelça* ‘Fortún (the) black servant’ (Sorauen, N, 13th century).

Nicknames can be classified according to more than one criterion (see P. SALABERRI & ZUBIRI, 2009). For example, one may discriminate between (a) oikonymic nicknames, (b) social nicknames (*Eskutari* ‘squire’, *Lander* ‘poor person’, *Senar* ‘husband’) and (c) lexical nicknames, which are based on a specific physical trait (*Arin* ‘(the) lightweight, (the) swift (one)’, *Begibeltz* ‘(the) black-eyed (one)’, *Begiurdina* ‘(the) gray-eyed (one)’, *Ederra* ‘(the) beautiful (one)’, *Eskubi* ‘(the) right-handed (one)’, *Eskuxuri* ‘(the) white-handed (one)’, *Ezker* ‘(the) left-handed (one)’, *Gorritxo* ‘(the) little red-headed (one)’, *Gurena* ‘(the) healthy (one)’, *Hagina* ‘(the) molar, back tooth’, *Makua* ‘(the) lame (one)’, *Sendoa* ‘(the) strong (one)’, *Zarlarruki* ‘(the one with) old-man’s skin’, on the name bearer’s size (*Andia* ‘(the) big (one)’, *Gixon(toa)* ‘(the) little man’, *Gutia* ‘(the) little (one)’, *Txikirrin* ‘(the) tiny (one), (the) little fellow’), on his or her kind of hair or absence of it (*Galbarra, Garbala* ‘baldie, (the) bald (one)’, *Ixurko* ‘(the) curly (one)’, ‘(the) curly-

haired (one)’, on his or her character (*Begizabal* ‘(the) nosy (one), onlooker’, *Garratza* ‘(the) bitter (one)’, *Gezurti* ‘liar’, *Gogorra* ‘(the) tough (one)’, *Ona* ‘(the) good (one)’, *Ongai* ‘(the one who is) striving to be good’), etc. Most of these nicknames have become surnames eventually, occasionally after having changed (*Zarlarruki* > *Zarraluki*).

As far as oikonym-based nicknames are concerned, there are many resources for generating them, which can be roughly subsumed under the following: (a) palatalization of some element (*Aldalurra* > *Alldalur*, *Alduntzin* -> *Alduntxin*), (b) deletion of part of the oikonym (*Albinea* -> *Albine*, *Arginenea* -> *Argin*, *Doraia* -> *Dorai*, *Kaxaurenea* -> *Kaxau*, *Parisea* -> *Paris*, *Salaberria* -> *Salaberri*, *Zubiria* -> *Zubiri*), (c) palatalization plus reduction (*Artenea* -> *Artene*, *Errandonea* -> *Errando*), (d) stress shift (*Oláso* -> *Olasó*) and (e) stress shift plus palatalization (*Karréto* -> *Karretó*). It should be added that, in some cases, nicknames overlap with the corresponding oikonym (although stress can shift): *Bartzelona* -> *Bartzelona*, *Erreka* -> *Erreka*, *Martinenea* -> *Martinenea*. A number of these nicknames have become surnames (*Dorai*, *Paris*, *Salaberri*, *Zubiri*), but others have not, sometimes likely due to the distance separating Basque from Spanish, for instance *Karretto* (which contains a palatal sound, /c/, foreign to Spanish ears).

2.4. Others

To conclude this section, it is worth noting that some family names of Canadian, Philippine, Puerto Rican and U.S. rulers may or may not be considered Basque, depending on what is understood by that. This is true in the following cases:

(a) Onyms from the Basque Country which bear etymologically obscure elements:

Gaspar de la Torre y Ayala (governor general, 1739-1745) (Philippines)
Guillermo Cambos Ayala (mayor of Bayamón, 1968-1972) (Puerto Rico)

(b) Onyms with a Latin root which have, however, evolved according to Basque phonological rules:

Jerry Apodaca (governor of New Mexico, 1975-1979) (United States)
José Antonio de Cucullu (mayor of Mayagüez, 1837, 1848, 1857) (Puerto Rico)

(c) Onyms with a Latin root which are, in most cases, common for those areas of the Basque Country where Romance has long been spoken, and which have evolved according to non-Basque (Romance) phonological rules:

*Jacobo de Araoz y **Balmaceda** (mayor of Ponce, 1868) (Puerto Rico)*
*Cornelio **Balmaceda** (secretary of commerce and industry, 1947-1948, 1949-1953, 1963-1965) (Philippines)*
*Yolanda **Cabodevilla** Bryan (spouse of Albert Bryan, governor of Virgin Islands, 2019-present) (United States)*

(d) Onyms deriving from a Romance evolution of forms whose structures are typically used in the Basque-speaking area, whatever their origin:

*Nicasio de **Navascués** y Asia (mayor of Ponce, 1868) (Puerto Rico)*
*Juan Martin y **Zuñiga** (gobernadorcillo-Cabeza de Barangay of Valenzuela, 1743-1751) (Philippines)*

(e) Onyms which evidently stem from Basque, but which have been distorted:

*Rommel A. **Gecolea** (mayor of the City of Cabuyao, 2016-present) (Philippines)*
*Enrico **Echiverri** (mayor of the City of Caloocan, 2004-2013) (Philippines)*

(f) Onyms of uncertain origin which resemble Basque forms, but where it is impossible to determine whether they are Basque, Latinate, or something else:

*Sergio **Suico** Osmeña, Sr. (president of the Philippines, 1944-1946) (Philippines)*
*Emmanuel **Esguerra** (head of the national economic and development authority, 2016) (Philippines)*
*Salvador Campo **Medialdea** (executive secretary, 2016-present) (Philippines)*

(g) Concerning *Salazar*, this surname may stem from the Navarrese valley thus called in Spanish (*Zaraitzu* in Basque, which is documented as *Saresaço* in 924, *Sarasaço* in about 1032, *Sarasazu* in 1055), or from the homonymous municipality found in Burgos province.

Because it is debatable whether the onyms in (c), (f) and (g) can be considered Basque, we have excluded them from our analysis.

3. Surnames of North American and Philippine rulers

3.1. *Canada*

Victor de Bedia Oland (lieutenant governor, Nova Scotia, 1968-1973)

The first of these surnames is of Basque origin. *Bedia* is the name of a village in Bizkaia and, as we claim in SALABERRI & ZALDUA (2019: 134), we believe it to be an anthroponym, i.e., a toponym based on a first name. In our opinion it might originate in *Fidius*, which is attested in Lusitania (EDH). The outset and its subsequent Basque development may have been the following: **(uilla) fidiana* ‘land belonging to the person called Fidius’, ‘the property, farmhouse of Fidius’ > **Bidiana* (Latin *f* often yields *b* in Basque) > **Bediana* (by dissimilation) > ***Bediãñã* > **Bediãñã* > **Bediãñ* > *Bedia*. On the evolution of the nasal, see MITXELENA (1977: 145) and IGARTUA (2008, 2015). HUALDE (2018) recently provided an alternative account, as put forth by CHAMBON & GREUB (2002: 477-478) for Gascon. Here we favor the former explanation.

Judith Guichon (lieutenant governor, British Columbia, 2012-2018)

Guichon could be a Basque surname, either anthroponymic or toponymic in origin. First of all, *gixon* (*guichon*) may be the diminutive form of the Basque common noun *gizon* ‘man’, or the hypocoristic of the first name *Gizon*, which is based on the above-mentioned common noun: *Guiçon* (Eihalarre, LN, 1350-1353, CIÉRBIDE, 1993: 71; Bilbao / Bilbo, B, 1470, ENRÍQUEZ, HIDALGO DE CISNEROS, MARTÍNEZ, 1996: 197 [FDMPV 71]), *Guisson* (Saragüeta, N, 1366; CARRASCO, 1973: 471), *Guixon de Valingan* (Donostia / San Sebastián, G, 1495; CRESPO, CRUZ, y GÓMEZ, 1997: 146), etc.

Second, *Guichon* may also have a toponymic origin, since it might be rooted in the Lapurdian place name *Gixune* (in Basque) / *Guiche* (in French, even though its evolution is likely to have been Gascon). It would seem that the bridging element between both may have been something like **Gixene*, because in 1083 *villa Guissen* is attested (BIDACHE, 1906: 27), and *Guisen* in 1413 (CASTRO, 1952-1970: 365). This name can be compared with the Low Navarrese pair *Bidaxune* (Basque) / *Bidache* (French), *Bidaxen* in 1293, *Bidaxun*, *Bidaischen* in 1328, *Bidayssso* in 1329, *Vidayxon* in 1329 and 1342, and *Bidaxe* in 1415 (see SALABERRI, 2004: 321-324).

Final *-e* in the Basque form is the result of reanalysis: compare, for example, *Azkain* > *Azkaine*, *Urepel* > *Urepele* and *Paris* > *Parise*. Whether

in the basis we find *gisu* ‘lime’, as claimed by TOURNIER (1949: 160), or something else is a different matter.

3.2. *United States*

3.2.1. U.S. state governors

Octaviano Ambrosio Larrazolo (governor of New Mexico, 1919-1921)

The *z* in *Larrazolo* is probably the result of neutralization of *s* (/ʃ/) and *z* (/θ/), which occurred in some Spanish varieties. This process can favor either one or the other sound, depending on each case. Neutralization may, however, also have taken place within Basque, in this instance between *s* (/ʃ/) and *z* (/θ/), since the surname seems to correspond to a western Basque form, as the second constituent *solo* indicates (see MITXELENA, 1987-2005, entry *soro*). The surname might be a compound consisting of *larra*- ‘unfenced meadow’, a compound variety of *larre* —in western varieties the original *larre* has become *larra* via reanalysis, in the same manner as *lore* has turned into *lora*— and *solo* ‘farmed field’, with an original meaning ‘farming field in the meadow(s)’, ‘piece of cropland in the meadows’.

Toney Anaya (governor of New Mexico, 1983-1987)

Anaia is a kinship term in Basque that means ‘(brother’s) brother’ and comes from an older form *annaie* (plus the article *-a*). In the Middle Ages the noun was adapted from Basque into Romance as *praenomen*, and hence its posterior usage as family name.

William Larrabee (governor of Iowa, 1886-1890)

There is no doubt that *Larrabee* is a Basque family name. It consists of the common noun *larre* ‘unfenced meadow, pasture’, whose form in compounds is *larra*-, and *behe* ‘bottom, underside, lower part’. The original meaning might have been ‘the area at the foot of the pasture’, ‘the place below the pasture’.

Norman Arthur Erbe (governor of Iowa, 1961-1963)

Erbe might be a surname of Basque origin, even though this is not certain. The microtoponym *Arbe(a)* is well known, and *Erbi* (Aiara) and *Eribe* (Zigoitia) are names of inhabited areas (A). However, it is not a frequent top-

onym in the Basque Country: we only know of the microtoponym *Erbea* (which is documented since 1581 and still in use) in Legaria and Piedramillera (N).

Final *-a* is the definite article in Basque, and therefore there is no difficulty in linguistically relating the surname *Erbe* with the aforementioned toponym *Erbea*. Regarding the toponym's make-up, the second element may be *-be*, which we pointed out in the former entry (*Larrabee*), and which comes up very often in Basque toponymy. What must be an initial component *er-* is not, however, transparent; it may be related to Basque *herri* 'land', but this noun usually denotes wide areas (*Beterri*, *Goierrri*, *Iruñerria* etc.). Be that as it may, *herri* is also frequently preceded by plant names: *baberrri* 'field of broad beans', *pataterri* 'potato field', *tipulerrri* 'onion field', *txitxirioerri* 'chickpea field', etc.

Paul Dominique Laxalt (governor of Nevada, 1967-1971)

Laxalt is a Basque surname, as clearly pointed out by MITXELENA (1973: 120-121, entry 398). The oikonym *La(t)saldea* seems to form its basis, that is to say, the house name whose constituents are *lats* 'stream', 'brook', *alde* 'side', 'nearby area' and the definite article *-a*. The original meaning might thus have been 'house by the brook'. Its source is almost certainly to be found in the continental Basque Country, and the grapheme <x>, as in other cases (cf. the nickname *Oxobi* for the Low Navarrese writer Jules Moulier, which we would nowadays spell *Otsobi*) most likely represents a voiceless alveolar affricate (tʃ). In order to move from *Latsaldea* to *Latsalt* (written *Laxalt*) one must think of a house nickname⁶ (SALABERRI & ZUBIRI, 2009). That is to say, the house owner, the house owner's son or a man married to the house owner's daughter must have been called *Latsalt*, and later on, as soon as house nicknames were established as surnames, what used to be a nickname became a family name, as has been the case so many times. We see in Géoportail that there are houses by the name *Latsaldea* in Bardoze, Larresoro and Lehuntze, next to *Latsaldeko borda*⁷ in Kanbo, all four in Labourd / Lapurdi.

Nevertheless, in the same way as *Larralde* (Baztan, N, SALABURU, 1984: 312) comes from *Larralde*, we would expect **Latsalde* from

(6) This use of the term «house nickname» should be kept apart from the one by WESLAGER (1956), which refers to nicknames given to houses.

(7) The Basque word *borda* conveys a building owned by a shepherd and serves the purpose of sheltering cattle, mostly cows and sheep. Over time, some *bordas* became permanently inhabited, i.e., they turned into farmhouses.

Latsaldea, not *Latsalt*, but Gallo-Romance influence might have played a role here. Compare this onym, in any case, with *Indartea* → *Indart*, *Ormartea* → *Ormart* in Baztan (*ibid.*) and *Bidartea* → *Bidart* in Luzaide, all of which, however, stem from oikonyms bearing a voiceless dental plosive.

Theodore Gilmore Bilbo (governor of Mississippi, 1916-1920, 1928-1932)

The name *Bilbo*, which is attested for the first time around the year 1600, is the variant used in Basque for *Bilbao*, the name of the Bizkaian capital. More than one etymology has been put forth for this name: HUMBOLDT (1821: 41-42) relates *Bilbao* with the roots *pil*, *bil* and the latter with the verbs *pillatu* ‘to pile up’ and *bildu* ‘to pile up’, ‘to accumulate’, ‘to put together’. In line with the Prussian author, TOVAR (1970: 8) also relates the name with the root *bil* found in the adjective *biribil* ‘round, circular’ and in aforementioned *bildu*. IRIGOIEN (1986: 72-76, 158-159 and 1991: 168), on the contrary, considers *bilbe* ‘weft’ and *aho* ‘mouth (of a river)’ as the toponym’s constituents and mentions *Bilbatu* from Galdames (actually, this is a toponym from Zalla, as was pointed out to us by Mikel Gorrotategi), *Tramarria* from Mena valley and *Askao* from Bilbao itself as support for his proposal.

As opposed to this, we (SALABERRI, 2014: 380), in accordance with AZKUE (1925: 30), prefer to observe an anthrotoponym, the basis for which might be the variant **Vilbus* of the documented anthroponym *Vilbius*, given that there are numerous Roman-time names with variants ending in *-us* and *-ius*. In our view, the etymon is **(fundu) vilbanu* ‘**Vilbus*’ property’, ‘**Vilbus*’ farmhouse’, which must have been **Bilbano* by the time it was adopted by Basque, as otherwise we would have *-u*, not *-o*. The subsequent evolution might have been **Bilbãñhō* > **Bilbãñhō* > *Bilbao* > *Bilbo*; on aspiration of the intervocalic lenis nasal see SALABERRI & SALABERRI (2016).

Another possibility is to draw directly from documented *Vilbius*: initial **(fundu) vilbianu* would have become, by the time it came to be used in Basque, first **Bilbiano*, which would then evolve as follows: **Bilbiãñhō* > **Bilbiãñhō* > **Bilbiao* or **Bilbjao* > *Bilbao* (by palatal dissimilation) > *Bilbo*, the latter only in Basque and as of a specific period (*cf.* *Juan de Bilbaoçarra* ‘Juan from Old Bilbao’, Bilbao, 1511). Compare Araban *Zeriano* > *Ziriano* > **Ziriãñhō* > **Ziriãñhō* > *Çiriao*⁸ > *Zirao* (see SALABERRI, 2015:

(8) Here the graph <ç> represents a voiceless dental laminal sibilant (/s̺/), which is spelled <z> in present-day Basque.

396 and 399). One argument —not the only one— that speaks in favor of having an anthroponym here is the abundance of place names with the same origin and ending in the southern Basque Country.

3.2.2. Members of U.S. state governors' office staff directories

Helen Aguirre Ferré (communications director for Ron DeSantis, governor of Florida, 2019-present)

Agirre, just like *Aguerre*, is an extremely common Basque surname, as well as a variant of *Agerri*. All three are apparently related to *ageri* ‘that which is evident’, ‘that which is visible’, ‘that which is felt’ (*agerri* ← *ageri* + *herri* ‘place’ (?), as in *entzuerrri* ‘place where something can be heard’, which comes from *entzun* ‘to hear’ plus *herri*, MITXELENA, 1977: 62 and 1987-2005, entry for *agerri*; see also LAKARRA, MANTEROLA, SEGUROLA, 2019: 205 [EHHE], entry for *entzun*). *Iparragerri*, *Iparragerre* ‘place or house facing north’ is quite widespread in Basque toponymy and oikonymy, certainly more so than the antonymous *Iguzkiagerri*, *Iguzkiagerre* ‘place or house facing the sun (facing the south or southwest)’.

Courtney Arango (communications director for Eric Holcomb, governor of Indiana, 2017-present)

Arangoa, *Arankoa* are well known in Basque onomastics. They are derived by means of the diminutive suffix *-ko* (with a variant *-go* after nasals) and the definite article *-a* from *haran* (*Harana*, *Arana*), the basis for *Arangoa*, *Arankoa*. We document *Arango* for the first time in 1630; it is, in fact, a diminutive form of aforementioned *haran*, that is to say, we are dealing with *harango*, *haranko* ‘little valley’ (cf. the Spanish surname *Vallejo*).

3.2.3. Mayors of major U. S. capital cities

Gustavo L. Garcia (mayor of Austin, 2001-2003)

Robert Garcia (mayor of Long Beach, 2014-present)

García is probably the most widespread surname in the Hispanic world, but we believe it to be of Basque origin. Its source is *hartz(a)* ‘(the) bear’ according to LUCHAIRE (1881: 164-165, where he comments on the patronymic *Arceiz*) and MENÉNDEZ PIDAL & TOVAR (1962: 425). Díez MELCÓN (1957: 124-125) believes this name to be of Basque origin, but

does not specify it further; MITXELENA (1957b: 373), in a review of Díez Melcón's work, rejects this etymology.

IRIGOIEN (1982: 625-626, 632, 634), on the other hand, prefers to relate *García* to *Gartzea*, a possible forerunner of *Gazte* '(the) young (one)' (as in *bertze* > *beste* '(the) other (one)' and *ortzegun* > *ostegun* 'Thursday'). ORPUSTAN (2000: 210-211) mentions both etymologies —that is to say, the one that relates *García* to the common noun *harza* (sic) '(the) bear' and the one that puts *gazte* '(the) young (one)' forth as the basis— and concludes that the surname's origin is yet to be determined on grounds of the following attestation, which is to be found in the Sorde chartulary: «*Garcie belce de Aurt et Orcuit [...], Lope Harse filius ejus*».

In line with MITXELENA and IRIGOIEN, we (see SALABERRI, 2003: 192-197) find the connection with the common noun *hartz* (*hartz*_a, with the definite article) to be very doubtful: in order to admit this view, one should first of all believe that initial *h-* has left *g-* as a trace or vestige. This is uncommon in onset position, despite the fact that *-h-* > *-g-* is frequent in central intervocalic position. Notice, in any case, that it is our own view to consider intervocalic *-g-* as a direct outcome of *-h-*, as in *aho* > *ago* 'mouth', *behor* > *begor* 'mare' and *ehun* > *egun* '(one) hundred' (compare with Standard Basque *ó[h]e* vs. *ó[f]e* 'bed' in the Luzaide variety [KAMINO & SALABERRI, 2007: 146]). By comparison, authors such as TRASK (1997: 159-160) and LAKARRA (2009: 574-575), among others, believe aspiration to have been lost in intervocalic position first, and *-g-* to have been inserted only later in order to reinforce the hiatus and avoid the emergence of diphthongs, e.g. *aho* > *ao* > *ago* and *behor* > *beor* > *begor*.

Second, what is now a prevalent surname used to end in *-e(a)*, *-i(a)*, *-io* in medieval attestations, and this cannot be accounted for on the basis of *hartz*. By contrast, **gartze* '(the) young (one)', which is put forward by IRIGOIEN in the aforementioned paper, is suitable as an etymon, bearing in mind that changes of the kind *bertze* > *beste*, *hertze* > *heste* 'bowel(s)', 'gut(s)', *ortzegun* > *ostegun*, *ortziral* > *ostiral* 'Friday' are frequent. Moreover, *gazte* is appropriate as a first name considering that *Haurra* '(the) child', *Haur gazte* '(the) young child', *Haur guti* '(the one with) few children', *Zaharra* '(the) old (one)', *Zarkin*, *Zarko* '(the) little old (one)' and others are found in our catalog of names. *Gaste(a)*, which may have the same origin as *Gartze(a)*, is also common in the medieval Basque-speaking area. Concerning this name's ending, *-a* is the distal definite article, as opposed to the proximal article *-o*, a fact that does not make it easy to account for the changes *-ea* > *-ia* and *-eo* > *-io*, since these usually occur later in time.

3.3. Puerto Rico

3.3.1. Governors of Puerto Rico

Sancho Ochoa de Castro (governor of Puerto Rico, 1602-1608)

Otsoa, *Otxoa* are the equivalents of well-known Spanish *Lope*. At their base lies *otsoa* ‘(the) wolf’, together with the article (-a). Therefore, here we are dealing with a first name that has become a surname, as in other cases. For more details, see the entry for *Federico Ochando* below.

Diego de Aguilera y Gamboa (governor of Puerto Rico, 1649-1655)

Ganboa is the name of an area in Álava that came partially under water when the *Uribarri Ganboa* dam was built. The villages in that area have since then become part of other municipalities. Concerning this name’s etymology, *Ganbo*, *Kanbo* is a recurrent toponym which, according to MITXELENA (1950: 479-480), means ‘spring of metal- or iron-laden water’. In a later study (1973: 91-92, entry 255) the same author contends that it could be the Basque rendering of Latin *campus* ‘plain’, ‘field’ or, alternatively, but with a question mark, of Celtic *cambo* ‘curve’, ‘meander’.

KRAHE (1964: 10), when studying the old toponym *Cambodunum* (current *Kempten*, in Germany) claims the second constituent to be the ending *-dunum* ‘(approximately) fortified place’ («*etwa* befestigter Platz») frequently found in toponyms of Celtic origin, whereas the first is *kambo* ‘bent’, ‘crooked’ («*krumm*»). He concludes that the toponym means ‘(fortified) place at a river bend’, that is to say, a place located in a river turn.

Nowadays we have *Kambo* in Lapurdi, what used to be called *Ganboa* in Amaiur, and what appears as *Ganbo* in letters written in Basque (Goizueta - Oiartzun) from around the year 1800 (SALABERRI, ZUBIRI y SALABERRI, 2021: 196). Furthermore, the Lapurdian village *Kambo* is located, from a bird’s-eye view —or a drone’s-eye view, to put it differently—, in a turn of the river Errobi (*Nive* in French). Therefore, in the Lapurdian village’s case there are enough grounds for *cambo*- ‘(river) bend’ to be associated with Celtic languages, or with Irish *camm* ‘curve’, ‘bent’ («*courbe*, *tordu*», LAMBERT, 2003: 159). No such claim can be made regarding the Araban municipality *Ganboa*, since it currently and to a certain extent lies, as mentioned above, under the reservoir’s water. Consequently, we are at present unable to determine whether this municipality is indeed located at a river bend. See SALABERRI (2015: 192-193).

Gaspar de Arteaga y Aunavidao (governor of Puerto Rico, 1670-1674)

The constituents of this onym are the tree name *arte* ‘holm oak’ and the locative abundance suffix *-aga*. The name’s original meaning is thus ‘place of holm oaks’, ‘area where holm oaks abound’. Places by the name *Arteaga* are very frequent in microtoponymy, and so are farmhouses built on them: examples of the latter are found in Atxondo, Gamiz-Fika, Getxo, Iurreta, Zeanuri etc. (B), and in Azpeitia, Elgoibar, Oiartzun, Zestoa (G), among others. In Navarre *Arteaga* names a village in the valley of Allin, and in Bizkaia we find *Gautegiz Arteaga*. In the latter region *Arteaga* is likewise the name of respective neighborhoods in Derio and Zamudio.

José Antonio de Mendizabal y Azcue (governor of Puerto Rico, 1724-1730)

Mendizabal is an extremely widespread toponym and family name in the Basque-speaking area. Its constituents are the common noun *mendi* ‘mountain’ and the adjective *zabal* ‘broad’, ‘wide’. Houses and farmhouses by that name are likewise numerous, particularly in Gipuzkoa: Arama, Asteasu, Azkoitia, Azpeitia, Beasain, Bergara, Bidania-Goiatz, Ezkio-Itsaso, Gaintza, Lazkao, Mutiloa, Ormaiztegi, Soraluze, Urretxu, Zaldibia, Zarautz, Zestoa and Zumarraga (G).

Azcue is a Basque surname, *Azku*e according to current spelling. In it we find *az-*, a variant of the common noun *haitz* ‘rock’, ‘crag’ that is usually found in compound toponyms, and the suffix *-gue*, which turns into *-kue* after voiceless obstruents (see *Etxague* below). This is to say that the toponym’s original meaning must have been ‘place of the rock’, ‘place of rocks’, ‘rocky area’. Farmhouses by this name are well-known, particularly in Gipuzkoa, since we encounter them in Aia, Antzuola, Ibarra, Oiartzun, Tolosa, etc.

Marcos de Vergara (governor of Puerto Rico, 1766)

Vergara, spelled *Bergara* in Basque, is the name of a town in Gipuzkoa and a neighborhood in Arizkun (Baztan, N). It has been related with the Araban toponym *Birgara* (*Virgala* in Spanish), and it has been proposed that *Birgara* stems from *Virgala*: the shift *-l- > -r-* is common in intervocalic position in Basque whenever the lateral is originally a lenis sound (MITXELENA, 1973: 92, entry 257). SALABERRI (2015: 139) contends that, in view of the records and the chronology of attestations that are known to us, *Birgara* is probably the toponym’s older form, and that *Virgala* might stem from it, by dissimilation of the trills.

Concerning the origin of *Bergara*, SALABERRI & ZALDUA (2019: 126) consider that this name may be a representative of the Indo-European root *briga* ‘hill’, ‘stronghold’ that is so frequently attested in the Iberian Peninsula. The greatest obstacle for this proposal is final *-ara*, which we know, however, to come up in many toponyms (*Haiztara* > *Aistra*, *Alçuara*, *Larrahara*) and to be possibly related to the common noun *haran* ‘valley’, since *Bergara*, *Birgara* are found in flat areas surrounded by mountains.

Miguel Antonio de Ustáriz (governor of Puerto Rico, 1789-1792)

Uztaritze (*Ustaritz* in French) is the name of a village in Lapurdi. The family name’s spelling with *-z*, which replaces *-tz* in the toponym, might be attributed to Spanish, as *Ustaritz* is documented with final *-tz* already by 1274. Concerning this toponym’s etymology, in it VINSON (1909: 354) observes the hydronym *itz*, *iz*; according to this author, neither *uzta* ‘harvest’ nor *haritz* ‘oak tree’ are constituents of *Uztaritze*.

By contrast, CARO BAROJA (1945: 109-110) contends that in the continental Basque Country there are village names such as *Ustariz* which are related to *Arroniz*, *Lemoniz* from the peninsular Basque Country, among others, and «*which Basque speakers end in -tze*»⁹ despite having *-itz* or *-its* in French. This author sees a patronymic ending *-iz* in the name, that is to say, the genitive *-ici* of the Latin suffix *-icus*, and considers that the name underlying *Ustaritz* is *Ahostar*. However, he fails to account for the toponym’s change, nor does he explain what happens with initial *a-* and medial *-h-*, i.e., what comes of these sounds.

MENÉNDEZ PIDAL & TOVAR (1962: 439-440) believe—even though they do not analyze this toponym in detail—the «*pseudo-genitive*» ending *-is* found in Aquitanian inscriptions to be the same as *-iz* in *Ustaritz*. However this may be, the Iberian language might also have had some bearing, according to these authors, in the toponym’s preference for *-z*: these linguists reject a Vasconic provenance of said *-z* and reckon that Basque merely adopted this ending. Its origin may be found, according to the abovementioned authors, in a Mediterranean language that left trace derivatives (mostly toponyms) in the French, Italian and Swiss Alps (*ibid.*, 448). In turn, ORPUSTAN (1990: 36) sees a base constituent *urd-*, *urz-* (*sic*, without an asterisk) and (*h*)*aritz* ‘oak

(9) Our translation. The original reads: «[...] *que los que hablan vasco hacen concluir en -tze*».

tree’ in the toponym. Its original meaning, according to this author’s opinion, might have been ‘plain oak tree(s)’ (‘chêne(s) de la plaine’), but this explanation lacks, in our view, a solid grounding.

IGLESIAS (1999: 145, 2000: 133, 2001: 333) derives *Ustariz* in Lugo, *Ustaritz* / *Uztaritze* in Lapurdi, *Osteritz* / *Ostériz* in Esteribar (N) and *Ustaize* / *Ustés* in the Almiradío of Nabaskoze / Navascués (N) from the Germanic anthroponym *Austericus*, *Ostericus*. In the case of *Ustaize*, this author thinks that the tap (/r/) was dropped: *Ustari(t)z* > *Usta(r)iz* > *Ustaize* (*ibid.*, 325). According to the Lapurdian researcher, the toponym’s development has been the following (*ibid.*, 324): **uilla Osterici* > **Osterici* > *Osteriz* > **Ostariz* > *Ustariz* / *Ustaritz*.

We also believe that this may be an anthroponym, but for this to be correct a first name **Ustan(i)us*, **Ustar(i)us* would be necessary, which is, however, nowhere to be found, despite having, for example, *Mustarus* (*Mustari* in the genitive). Most likely, *Uztaritze* is a deanthroponymic toponym comparable, in terms of structure, to *Armendaritz(e)* (i.e. the first name *Armentari* and the Latin genitive-derived ending *-itz*; final *-e* is due to reanalysis). For details, see SALABERRI & SALABERRI (2020).

Gonzalo Arostegui y Herrera (governor of Puerto Rico, 1820-1822)

Arostegui is clearly a Basque family name. Its origin probably lies in the village name *Aroztegi* (*Arostegui* in Spanish) in Atetz valley (N). Nevertheless, the house name *Aroztegia* (‘(the) blacksmith’s house’, ‘(the) carpenter’s house’, from *arotz* ‘blacksmith’ or ‘carpenter’, depending on the dialect, plus the suffix *-(t)egi* and the definite article *-a*) is also common: the inhabitants of the house(s) by that name used to bear the house nickname *Aroztegi* first, which would become a family name over time. A house by the name *Aroztegi* is found in Uztegi (N), and *Aroztegia* in Irurita and Narbarte (N). There are moreover farmhouses called *Aroztegi* in Azpeitia and Lizartza (G), and *Arostegi* in Amoroto, Gernika (B), Elgoibar, Eskoriatza and Ormaiztegi (G), among others.

Rafael de Aristegui y Vélez (governor of Puerto Rico, 1844-1847)

Aristegui is the result of adapting the Basque surname *Ariztegi* into Spanish. Its easily distinguishable constituents are the tree name *haritz* ‘oak tree’ and the locative suffix *-egi*, *-tegi*. This is the name of a neighborhood in Gartzain (Baztan, N) that comes up frequently in microtoponymy. *Ariztegi*

moreover names many farmhouses, and so the family name of the Puerto Rican governor may be traced back to one of them.

Fernando Maria Felix Mateo Juan Nepomuceno de Norzagaray y Escudero (Fernando Norzagaray y Escudero) (governor of Puerto Rico, 1852-1855, governor of the Philippines, 1857-1860)

There is no doubt that *Norzagaray* is a Basque onym, since the second constituent *garai* is clearly a Basque adjective meaning ‘upper’, ‘superior’. MITXELENA (1973: 93, entry 259) looks into that second constituent, but he does not examine initial *Norza-*. In fact, *Norza-* is rather obscure and somewhat peculiar, among other reasons because of initial *n-*. This may be, even though this is a completely speculative explanation, a result of deformation of something like **Elortzagarai* ‘upper Elortza’, via intermediate **Lortzagarai*.

Jose Nicolas Francisco Pablo Lemery e Ibarrola Ney y Gonzalez (Jose Lemery Ibarrola Ney y Gonzalez) (governor of Puerto Rico, 1855-1857, governor of the Philippines, 1861-1862)

Ibarrola is a common Basque surname. Its origin may be traced back to the many Bizkaian and Gipuzkoan farmhouses under that name, although it should not be overseen that *Ibarrola* also names a village in Low Navarre, and that this is often the source for the High Navarrese surname *Ibarrola*. Its constituents are *ibar* ‘valley’ and *ola* ‘shepherd(s) hut’, ‘ironworks’ (see SALABERRI, 2004: 199-201).

Rafael de Echagüe y Bermingham (governor of Puerto Rico, 1860-1862, governor of the Philippines, 1862-1865)

Etxague names a village in Valdorba / Orbaibar (N). Its constituents are *etxa-*, a compound variant of *etxe* ‘house’, and *-gue*, a version of the locative suffix *-une*, *-gune* found, for example, in *Olague* (< *ola* + *-gue*, N). Therefore, the name’s original meaning must have been ‘house area’, ‘site of houses’, i.e. similar to *Etxaleku*, the name of a village in Imotz (N) as well as a surname.

José María Marchessi y Oleaga (governor of Puerto Rico, 1865-1867)

Oleaga is a Basque family name that stems from the west of the Basque Country, as shown by the dissimilation *-a* + *-a* > *-ea-*. Its constituents are

ola ‘shepherd(‘s) hut’, ‘ironworks’ and the locative abundance suffix *-aga*. Compare this name with *Garci Olhea*, which is documented in La Rioja by around 1156. *Oleaga* is the name of many farmhouses in Bizkaia and western Gipuzkoa, and the surname under study here may stem from any one of them.

Simón de la Torre Ormazá (governor of Puerto Rico, 1872)

Ormatza is the name of a neighborhood and a farmhouse in Getxo (B), a palace in Bakio (B) and a setting in Amezketa (G). In the latter we also find the hydronym *Ormatzako iturria* ‘the fountain of Ormatza’. In Basque *horma* means ‘wall’, yet MENÉNDEZ PIDAL (1986 [1926]: 216-217) attributes the sense ‘waterway’, ‘canal’, ‘pipeline’ to Basque *borma*, *horma* derived from Latin *fōrma* (see also MITXELENA, 1973: 141, entry 499 and EHHE, entry for *horma*).

3.3.2. Cabinet members (after 1949)

Antonio Sagardia (attorney general of Puerto Rico, 2009)

Sagardia is a common noun in Basque, which means ‘apple orchard, field planted with apple trees’. The basis for this name is *sagar* ‘apple (tree)’, in addition to the collective suffix *-di* and the definite article *-a*. As should be expected, it is also found in toponymy.

3.3.3. United States commissioners to Puerto Rico (after 1898)

Tulio Larrinaga (United States commissioner to Puerto Rico, 1905-1911)

Larrin is a western Basque variant for the central-eastern noun *larrain*. *Larrain* frequently conveys a flat and circular area which until some decades ago was commonly used for threshing, i.e. it means ‘threshing floor’. The name is accompanied by the well-known locative abundance suffix *-aga* and, therefore, its source toponym originally means ‘place of threshing floors’, ‘place for threshing’. The family name’s origin should be traced back to some toponym in the western Basque Country: *Larrinaga* names a neighborhood in Ispaster as well as many houses and farmhouses in Abadiño, Arrigorriaga, Dima, Durango, Errigoiti, Garai, Iurreta, Nabarniz, etc.

3.3.4. Secretaries of state to Puerto Rico (after 1949)

Guillermo Irizarry (secretary of state, 1966-1969)

By its appearance, *Irizarry* seems to stem from the northern Basque Country: final -y is common in Basque onyms from that area (compare with *Sallaberry* for *Salaberri*, for instance), whereas medial -z-, unless it is the result of confusion between <s> and <z> in American Spanish, and bearing in mind the internal opposition of the French graphic system between <ss> (which represents a voiceless sibilant), and <s> (which indicates a voiced sibilant), this could be a means of representing the former, that is to say, a voiceless sibilant.

Irisarri is the name of a village in Low Navarre whose French spelling is *Irissarry*. Its constituents are *hiri* ‘village’, ‘hamlet’, ‘inhabited area’ (currently, in Standard Basque, ‘city’) and *sarri* ‘thick forest’, and the name originally meant ‘thick forest by the village’, ‘dense forest that belongs to the town’. The common noun *sarri* is not used in present-day Basque, but in view of documented attestations we know it was in use three-to-four centuries ago.

3.3.5. Senators of Puerto Rico (after 1949)

Lucy Arce Ferrer (senator of Puerto Rico, 1996-2013)

Francisco Arce y Romero (mayor of Ponce, 1867)

Artze is the name of a neighborhood in Donamaria (N), and it initially meant ‘place of stones’, ‘rocky area’. Its constituents are *har-*, a variant of *harri* ‘stone’ found in compounds, and the locative abundance suffix *-tze*.

At any rate, still in Navarre we find *Artzi*, the name of a small village, next to *Artzibar* (the name of the valley where *Artzi* is located, from *Artzi* plus *ibar* ‘valley’, *valle de Arce* in Spanish)¹⁰. The provenance of the first of these is rather obscure, and in any case it is clear that it does not fall together with aforementioned *Artze*, which is of different origin. Final -i might be an ending or suffix that is no longer in use in present-day Basque, the same we encounter in *Nabarzi*, *Olozi* and *Urdazi* (all three names of no longer inhabited hamlets

(10) Except for in loanwords, there are no high vowels in word-final position in Spanish. This is why many Spanish counterparts of Basque toponyms bear open vowels in final position: *Mugairi* > *Mugaire*, *Zudairi* > *Zudaire* (N), *Olhabarri* > *Olabarri* and *Ollábarre* (A), etc.

in N). What is more, one could even think of an ending consisting of sibilant + *-i*, since plain *-i* is found in other village names such as *Erronkari*, *Igari*, etc., although here the ending is originally *-li*.

3.3.6. Mayors of major Puerto Rican cities

José María Marxuach Echavarria (mayor of San Juan, 1897, 1900-1901)

José Lloréns Echevarria (mayor of Ponce, 1898)

José Chavarri (mayor of Mayagüez, 1863)

Etxabarri(a) is an oikonym which is found frequently in the Basque Country and which in some cases has become a village name. Its constituents are *etxe* ‘house’ and *barri* ‘new’, the latter a variant of original *berri*. Moreover, this name occasionally bears the definite article *-a*. *Etxabarri(a)* shares its provenance with *Etxeberri*, *Etxeberria*, *Etxebarri* and *Etseberri*, among others. Furthermore, here the toponym and person name *Xabier* is worth mentioning, due to its extent: in spite of having the same ancestry as *Etseberri*, *Etxeberri*, *Etxabarri* etc., *Xabier* is the result of the name’s Romance development.

Manuel Egozcue Cintrón (mayor of San Juan, 1900, 1901-1903)

Egozkue is the name of a village in Anue (N), in addition to a no longer inhabited hamlet in the Basaburua valley of the same region. The toponym’s ending is, as in *Leazkue* and *Olague* (which are located in the same valley), locative *-gue* or, more specifically, its variant *-kue* found after voiceless obstruents. In Basque we find this name for the first time in 1236 as *Semeno Çalquea Egoçquueco*, that is to say, in what would currently be spelled as *Semeno Zalkea Egozkueko* ‘Jimeno (thus called) the Vetch from Egozkue’. Among old Basque onyms we also encounter *Egozkune*, the twin counterpart of *Egozkue*, with the variant *-kune*.

The base constituent in *Egozkue* may be *egotzi* ‘to throw’, ‘to cast’, perhaps originally a nominal form of the kind we find in *Arrixauzkuneta*, *Xauzgun*, i.e. ‘(land)fall’, ‘landslide’, ‘place where land has slid’. Recall that *Egozkue* is found at the foot of a well-known mountain (*Alto de Egozkue* ~ *Baratxueta* / *Usetximendi*) and that *Jausqueta*, which has a similar meaning, is occasionally documented near *Egozkue*.

Joaquín Tellechea (mayor of Ponce, 1821)

Telletxea is a common family name in the Basque Country whose origin is oikonymic. At first, when rooftops were usually not made of tiles (*teila* in Basque), naming a house *Telletxea* was a way of pointing out that a house had a tiled rooftop, in the same manner as calling a house *Arretxea* (literally ‘stone house’) is due to the fact that at the time houses as a rule used to be made out of wood, and being built in stone was remarkable.

Alejandro Albizu (mayor of Ponce, 1872)

Antonio Albizu (mayor of Ponce, 1836)

Albizu, *Albitzu* in Basque, is common in Basque microtoponymy and oikonymy. This name’s constituents are the plant name *albitz* (a kind of coarse grass) and the abundance suffix *-zu*, that is to say, originally it indicated the place where there is plenty of that kind of grass.

Francisco Olazarra (mayor of Ponce, 1865)

The clearly recognizable constituents in *Olazarra* are *ola* ‘shepherd(‘s) hut’, ‘ironworks’, the adjective *zahar* ‘old’ and the definite article *-a*. *Olazar* and *Olazarra* are very frequent in Basque toponymy and oikonymy.

Jacobo de Araoz y Balmaceda (mayor of Ponce, 1868)

Araotz is the name of a neighborhood in Oñati (G), whose constituents, according to the authors who have studied this toponym, are the common noun *haran* ‘valley’ and the adjective *hotz* ‘cold’ (MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, 1918: 232-234; MITXELENA, 1973: 50-51, 144-145, entries 69 and 512). For more on *Balmaceda*, see Section 2.

Elicio Berriz (mayor of Ponce, 1872)

Berriz is the name of a Bizkaian municipality. MITXELENA (1973: 67, entry 134) looks into this name when analyzing the adjective *barri*, *berri* ‘new’ and contends that, strangely enough, *Berriz* does not display the dialectal variation found in said adjective or in *gerri* ~ *garri* ‘waist’, *txerri* ~ *txarri* ‘pig’. Further on he (MITXELENA 1973: 108-110, entry 347) mentions the place and family names *Ajanguiz*, *Betriquiz*, *Berriz*, *Eneritz*, *Gauteguiz*, *Mandaluniz*, *Ocariz*, *Olondriz*, *Oloriz*, *Sangroniz*, etc. and contends that,

according to ARANA (1930 [1897]: 25-27, 77-79), the ending *-iz* is the same found in Spanish patronymics such as *Sánchez*, *Sánchiz*, *Sanchis*. As noted by MITXELENA (1973: 109, entry 347), CARO BAROJA (1945: 102-106) claims, in the same vein, that a great number of settlement names in *-iz* stem from the genitive variant *-ici* of anthroponym-based toponyms in *-icus*: *Albeniz* (*Albinus*), *Apellaniz* (*Ampellius*), *Apraiz* (*Aper*, *Apraicus*), *Belendiz* (*Plend[i]*), *Gordeliz* (*Gordelius*), *Trocóniz* (*Troconius*), etc.

Mitxelena adds that the toponymic suffix in question «*seems to have been used quite often, in relatively recent times, in order to create derivatives of other toponyms or family names: Aldama / Aldamiz, Arrona / Arroniz, Echano / Echaniz, Garro / Garriz, Garroiz; Guereca / Guerequiz, Lemona / Lemoniz, Lezama / Lezamiz, Marquina / Marquinez, Munita / Munitiz, Orba / Orbaiz, Orbaiceta, etc.*»¹¹. To summarize, the same author writes that «*to my understanding, most names mentioned here have to date no etymological account in terms of Basque, nor do they necessarily have an explanation in terms of Latin-Romance*»¹². By contrast, IRIGOIEN (1986: 46-47) believes an anthroponym to be the basis of *Berriz*, which he relates with *Berrio* in Navarre (*Berriozar*, *Berriobeiti* / *Berrioplano* and *Berriogoiti* / *Berrioso*; see the entry for *Antonio Moltó y Díaz Berrio* below) and *Berrio* in Elorrio (B) and Laudio (A).

It is our understanding that Irigoien is on the right track, given the fact that toponyms ending in *-i(t)z* tend to be deanthroponymic. The anthroponym might be *Verrius*, which is documented in Portugal and Albacete (see SALABERRI & SALABERRI, 2020), and more specifically its variant **Berri-* (cfr. *Armentarius* > *Armentari*, N). The ending is the suffix *-(i)z*, which indicates possession and whose eastern Basque counterpart tends to be *-(i)tz*. Thus the toponym's original meaning might have been 'Verrius's possession, field, farmhouse'.

(11) Our translation. The original reads: «*El sufijo parece haberse empleado bastante, en tiempos relativamente recientes, para formar derivados de otros topónimos o apellidos: Aldama / Aldamiz, Arrona / Arroniz, Echano / Echaniz, Garro / Garriz, Garroiz; Guereca / Guerequiz, Lemona / Lemoniz, Lezama / Lezamiz, Marquina / Marquinez, Munita / Munitiz, Orba / Orbaiz, Orbaiceta, etc.*».

(12) Our translation. The original reads: «*A mi entender, la mayoría de los nombres aquí mencionados no tienen, hasta ahora, explicación vasca; tampoco la tienen a fortiori, latino-románica*».

Rafael León y García (mayor of Ponce, 1874-1875)

Isidro García (mayor of Carolina, 1864-1865)

Justo García (mayor of Guaynabo, 1852-1856)

Gervasio García (mayor of Caguas, 1900, 1911)

Juan Jiménez García (mayor of Caguas, 1918, 1933)

See the entry for Gustavo L. Garcia above.

Máximo de Meana y Guridi (mayor of Ponce, 1882-1884)

Meana is the name of a hamlet in Treviño / Trebiñu and that of a no longer inhabited village in Gaztelu (A). Following MENÉNDEZ PIDAL (1952: 138), ALBERTOS (1970: 214) puts forth an etymon *mediana*, a proposal MITXELENA (1972: 23) seems to agree with. In our view, and without completely rejecting that proposal, *Meana* may be related with an anthroponym *Meus* or *Meius* (see SALABERRI 2015: 276-277). If this were the case, then one would be dealing with one of the many toponyms ending in *-ana* (*Andetxa* / *Antezana*, *Audika* / *Audikana*, *Baternia* / *Paterniana*, *Subilla* / *Subijana*, A, *Sopela* / *Sopelana*, B), that is to say, its original meaning would be ‘Me(i)us’s villa, farmhouse, terrain’. Recall that in Navarre there is a village by the name *Meano* that may have the same origin as *Meana*, i.e., which bears a more evolved variant *-ano* of Latin masculine *-anu*. Compare *Meotz* (also documented as *Meatz*), the name of a hamlet from the same region.

According to MITXELENA (1973: 78-79, entry 185), the surname *Guridi* bears the abundance suffix *-di*. However, this author fails to specify its base constituent. In light of *Areaduia*, *Legardia* and others, it could be *guri* ‘tender’, ‘soft’. In order to approve of this, though, one should assume that the basis common noun (something like *lur* ‘earth’) must have been elided. This is by no means a rare phenomenon in Basque toponymy: *Gorza* and *Gogortza* ‘place of hard (earth)’, *Berdeaga* ‘green (soil) setting’, *Leortza* ‘dry (land) area’, etc. Consequently, here we may be dealing with something similar to *Beratz* ‘soft (land) area’ (see SALABERRI, 1997: 21-22).

Rafael de Zárate y Sequera (mayor of Ponce, 1884-1886)

Octavio Ortiz Zárate (mayor of Bayamón, 1870)

Zarate is the name of a village in Zuia (A). In MITXELENA’s (1973: 164, entry 605 and name index) view, this toponym comprises two constituents, the first of which is *zara* ‘forest’, ‘rockrose grove’ and the second

ate ‘door’, ‘gate’, ‘gorge or narrowing of a valley’, ‘(mountain) pass’. This may be correct, but the fact that the toponym’s base constituent used to be *zahar(a)*- during the 13th century (see SALABERRI, 2015: 394-395) poses, in our view, a challenge to Mitxelena’s explanation. In the Navarrese Imotz valley there existed an abandoned village called *Zarate*.

Fernando Díez de Ulzurruín y Somellera (mayor of Ponce, 1887-1888)

The surname *Díez de Ulzurrun* has the structure *patronymic + de + toponym*, which is very common in medieval documents. In most cases the patronymic has been subsequently lost because these were extremely recurrent and thus had little value as identifiers of people. In others the toponymic constituent is no longer used. In any case, family names by that structure are still quite frequent in Araba / Álava and in Tierra Estella / Estellerria (N).

Regarding this name’s constituents, *Díez* is one of the patronymics (together with *Didaz*, *Didoz*, *Diaiz*, *Diaz*, etc., see SALABERRI, 2003: 168-170) for the name *Diego*, *Diago*, which is to say that it designated Diego’s or Diago’s son or daughter as long as the patronymic system was in use (approximately up to the beginning of the 16th century). Concerning the family name’s toponymic constituent, in Basque, as well as in Spanish as spoken in the Basque Country, its pronunciation is paroxytonic (*Ultrúrrun* / *Ultrúrrun*), not oxytonic.

Ultrurrun is the name of a village in Valle de Olló / Ollóibar (N) for whose etymological account MITXELENA (1973: 171, entry 633) relates the surnames and toponyms *Ultrurrun*, *Unzurribi*, *Unzurrunzaga* and *Uzurrunzaga* with *zurrun*, which can be a common noun (‘rod’, ‘stick’, ‘[main] beam’) and an adjective (‘rigid’, ‘stiff’, ‘inflexible’). Furthermore, the same author seems to contend that the first constituent of the aforementioned surnames and toponyms is unclear. Apparently, he believes the first constituent to be the same in all. For an updated and extended version of MITXELENA’s account, see LAKARRA, MANTEROLA, SEGUROLA (2019: 596, EHHE, entry *zurrun*, in addition to pages 401-403, entries *urrun* and *urruti*).

We consider the link between *Ultrurrun* and *zurrun* quite doubtful. The first attestation of *Ultrurrun* is *Orçurrun*, in 1170; we have *Urçurrun* and *Urçurrun* later in the 13th century and *Vrçurru*, *Vrçurrun*, *Hurçurrun* in the 14th. IÑIGO (1996: 304-305 and 405) looks into present-day *Ultrórtza* (Ituren, N) / *Eltrórtza* (Zubieta, N), which are first attested as *Ocorroz*,

Orçorroz, and claims that the second constituent may be the adjective *zorrotz* ‘sharp’, ‘acute’, ‘pointed’. He also mentions *Untzorrotz* in Goizueta (N, *Untzorrotz-Azkote*, ETXEBERRIA, 1988: 116) and *Ontzorrotz* in Arano (N), among others. This toponym is moreover documented in Luzaide / Valcarlos (N) in 1526: «[...] *los guio por la endrecera llamada Adarça y yendo por los terminos de Alduyde en la endrecera llamada Orcorroz* [...]». May it be pointed out that *Adartza* names a high mountain located between the aforementioned Navarrese village and Low Navarrese Banka. Consequently and in view of the setting described in the Luzaide record, the first constituent in *Orcorroz* may be the common noun *hortz* ‘(canine) tooth’, ‘fang’, ‘tusk’ used in reference to the peaked and sharp-pointed mountain summit (compare the microtoponyms *Mendizorrotza*, *Mendikozorrotza*).

As far as the toponym’s second constituent is concerned, one should not forget that *urru* bears the meaning ‘summit’, ‘mountain’ in the toponymy of the Zaraitzu/Salazar area (see JIMENO dir., 1995; according to IRIBARREN, 1984: 533, «*a rounded or crown-shaped mountain summit [Zaraitzu/Salazar]*»¹³), and that here one could think of a structure *hortz* + *urru* + *-un* ‘site’, ‘area’, provided that the change **Hortzurrun* > *Urtzurrun* (by vowel assimilation) > *Ultzurrun* (by vibrant dissimilation) is assumed to have occurred. We also find the oronym *Mendurru* with various forms in various places (particularly *Mendurro*; also *Cerro Mandurro* in Ayesa / Ageza (N), a distorted form; SALABERRI, 1994: 118). Its constituents are probably *mendi* ‘mountain’ and *urru*, and that must be the reason for its occasional palatalized variants, for instance *Menddur* in Arraioz (JIMENO dir., 1999: 161) and *Menddurru* in Orotz-Betelu (URTASUN, 1971: 339 and 345; see SALABERRI, 1994: 118). We ignore whether *urru* is related to *urrun*, *urruti* ‘yonder side of the river’. In any case, the toponym *Mendiurru* is not recent, since *Garcia Mendi Urrucoa* is recorded in Aristregi (N) in the 13th century (GARCÍA LARRAGUETA 1957: 117).

To conclude, let us mention that compound names of this kind used to bear the locative genitive ending *-ko* in Basque: *Pero Lopiz Baztango* ‘Pero Lopiz from Baztan valley’, *Pero Periz Amilauco* ‘Pero Periz from Amillau / Amillano village’ (1350), and so on (see SALABERRI, 2003: 120-121).

(13) Our translation. The original reads: «*cumbre redondeada o en forma de corona de una montaña*».

“Lorenzo” Laurenó Antonio Marí Vizcarrondo Ortiz de Zárate (mayor of Carolina, 1857, 1877)

Epifanio Vizcarrondo (mayor of Carolina, 1918)

Augusto Valentín Vizcarrondo (mayor of Mayagüez, 1953-1956)

Vizcarrondo, *Bizkarrondo* according to current Basque spelling, is a microtoponym as well as the name of two farmhouses, both probably owing to their location. One of these is located in Gernika (B) and the other in Oiartzun (G). The name’s constituents are the common noun *bizkar* ‘back’, ‘spine’ and *ondo* ‘side’, ‘flank’. Strictly speaking, *Bizkar* means ‘back (of the human body)’, and its use is metaphoric, just like in other body-part nouns that we also encounter in toponyms: *aho* ‘mouth’, *begi* ‘eye’, *belar* ‘forehead’, *bular* ‘chest’, *lepo* ‘neck’ and many others. Sometimes it bears the same meaning as *bizkai* ‘mountain range’ and *bortu* ‘mountain (pass)’, ‘mountain meadow’ in toponymy (*Garazbizkar* = *Garazbizkai* = *Garazbortu*, approximately ‘mountain area by / in Garazi / Cize’). Frequently *bizkar* conveys ‘upper part of a mountain’, particularly of a broad one, ‘hump-shaped bulge on a mountain slope’.

Concerning *Ortiz de Zárate*, this family name has the same structure as *Díez de Ulzurrun* (see above), that is to say, it consists of a patronymic and a toponym linked together in Spanish by the preposition *de*, whereas in Basque these constituents are linked by a final locative genitive ending *-ko*. For more details on *Zárate*, see the entry *Rafael de Zárate y Sequera* above.

On the other hand, *Ortiz*, *Ortitz* is a patronymic for *Orti* (also *Urti*, *Forti*, etc.), which is the Basque rendering of Romance *Fortún* or *Ortuño*, *Orti* being result of earlier *Fortuni* (see MITXELENA & IRIGARAI, 1955: 419; MITXELENA, 1956: 331, 1957b: 374 and SALABERRI, 2003: 225-227).

Juan Manuel de Sárraga (mayor of Carolina, 1867-1869)

MITXELENA (1973: 36-37, 149, entries 10 and 540) believes that *Sárraga* consists of the common noun *sarri* ‘dense forest’ and the locative suffix *-aga*, whereas *Zárraga* might be made up of a different common noun, *zarra* ‘iron slag’, together with the same suffix. We wonder whether confusion between initial *s-* and *z-* might not have occurred here, as in *Irisarri* vs. *Irizarry*. This confusion is likely to be external to Basque, despite the fact that from a point in time on it also involves some Basque dialects; the result of this mix-up in each one of them is a different matter. Nevertheless, *Sarriaga*, not *Sárraga*, is the usual and expectable outcome of *Sarri* + *-aga*, since the

name does not drop its final palatal vowel when taking the suffix *-aga*. At any rate, we are not familiar with the use that *zarra* ‘iron slag’ may have had in Basque. MITXELENA’s (1987-2005) *Diccionario General Vasco / Orotariko Euskal Hiztegia*, for example, fails to gather or mention it.

Juan José Machicote (mayor of Carolina, 1871-1872, 1874)

Matxikote is a hypocoristic for the well-known first name *Marti*, *Martie*, *Martia*, with phonosymbolic palatalization (*Matxi*) and a compound suffix (*-iko* or *-ko* plus *-ote* or *-te*) (see SALABERRI, 2009: 63, 159, 193). In any case, *Matxikote* must have been a house nickname before turning into a family name, i.e., it must have named a person born in the house called *Matxikoterena*, *Matxikotenea* (originally ‘house of (the one called) *Matxikote*’), which we encounter, for instance, in Bera (N).

Isidoro Uriarte (mayor of Carolina, 1885-1887)

Uriarte is an extremely frequent family name in the western Basque Country, and it is a variant of central *Iriarte* and eastern *Hiriarte* on account of the shift *hiri* > *huri* that ensued in western dialects. The name’s constituents are thus the *huri* variant of *hiri* ‘settlement’ plus the common noun *arte*, which conveys ‘middle, center’. In a wide area in Navarre *Irigoiena* indicates the upper neighborhood of a village located on a slope (see *Cabodevilla* in Section 2), *Iriarte* refers to the middle one, and *Iribarrena* to the lower one. Consequently, *Irigoien*, *Iriarte* and *Iribarren* might have been originally nicknames for people who owned and inhabited houses located in those neighborhoods, and they eventually became family names.

Uriarte can be accounted for in the same way as *Iriarte*, even though it sometimes names not town houses, but farmhouses. There are many farmhouses called *Uriarte* in the western part of the Basque Country, particularly in Bizkaia but also in Araba and western Gipuzkoa. The surname *Uriarte* could have thus originated in any of those places.

Antonio Acha (mayor of Carolina, 1887-1890)

Atxa is the result of the change of *haitz* ‘rock’, ‘crag’, which mostly takes place in western dialects: the sibilant standing next to the palatal sound is palatalized and the diphthong is simplified (MITXELENA, 1977: 487, entry 103), as in *gaitz* > *gatx* ‘misfortune’, ‘harm’, ‘disease’, ‘evil’ and *bakoitz* > *bakotx* ‘sole’, ‘unique’. The family name probably stems from the name

of a farmhouse located on or near a rock. Farmhouses by the name *Atxa* are found in Laudio (A), Atxondo and Urduliz (B), among others.

Joaquín Goyena (mayor of Guaynabo, 1821-1822, of Caguas, 1831 and of Bayamón, 1832)

In medieval documents *Goien(a)* seems to have been used with the aim of referring to the one who lived in the upper neighborhood of a town (see *Hirigoien* in the entry for *Isidoro Uriarte* above). Accordingly, the one living in the lower neighborhood would be called *Barren(a)*. For instance, in 1366 we find *Peroch Goyena* in Otsagabia (Salazar / Zaraitzu, N) (CARRASCO, 1973: 475) and *García Barrena* in Ezcároz / Ezkaroze, in the same valley (*ibid.*). Still in the same dale and in that year we encounter *Ochoa Goyena* in Oronz / Orontze (*ibid.*, 476), *Arnalt Goyena* in Esparza / Espartza (*ibid.*), *Sancho Goyena* in Ibilcieta / Ibiltzieta (*ibid.*), *Miguel Goyena* in Sarriés / Sartze (*ibid.*), *García Goyena* in Igal / Igari (*ibid.*) and *Petro Goyena* in Izal / Itzalle (*ibid.*). Final *-a*, which in Basque is the definite article, can be dropped (*Goien* vs. *Goiena*).

José Tomás Sagarra (mayor of Guaynabo, 1856-1857)

In Basque *Sagarra* denotes a fruit ('apple'), and in toponymy it usually refers to the tree, i.e., to the apple tree. Apples have been (and still are) quite a common fruit in the Basque Country. Moreover, there are countless toponyms based on this tree, and it is therefore reasonable to find it in certain Basque identifiers that subsequently turned into surnames. *Sagarra* is documented for the first time in the name *Orti Sagarra* (Oteitza, N, 1330), where *Sagarra* might be a nickname possibly owing to the fact that the name-bearer, so-called *Orti*, sold apples, liked them very much and ate them frequently, or some other reason.

Segundo de Echeverte (mayor of Guaynabo, 1862)

This Basque family name always has the form *Etxebeste* or *Etxebertze*; *Echeverte* is probably the result of slight distortion of one of these forms. When analyzing the oikonym *Etxebertzea* in Etxalar (N) we mention the following (APEZETXEA & SALABERRI, 2009: 81):

Its constituents are *etxe* ['house'] and *bertzea* ['(the) other (one)'], and it means 'a secondary house belonging to the main house', 'house other than the main one', according to VINSON (1925: 631-632) (liter-

ally «*the other house, (the) accessory, secondary (one), (the one) depending on the main house*»). GAVEL (1920: 229-230), by contrast, relates *Etxebestea* to *Etxeberria* [...] This is an equivalent of *Bertzetxea* in Ituren (IÑIGO, 1996: 513), Beuntza and Arnegi, regardless of the inverse constituent order. The one in Beuntza is a little house, which is attached to adjacent large *Ernautenea*, a fact that speaks in favor of Vinson's account¹⁴.

Antonio de Aramburu (mayor of Bayamón, 1863-1864)

Aramburu, Aranburu in Basque spelling, is a very widespread family name in the Basque Country. It is a descriptive microtoponym that refers to the location of a certain municipality or house. Its constituents are *haran* 'valley' and *buru* 'head', 'top', 'upper area'. *Aranburu* names a farmhouse and a neighborhood in Mundaka (B) and a farmhouse in Bermeo (B), as well as others in Aia, Antzuola, Oiartzun, Zestoa (G), and so on. In the continental Basque Country this name tends to take the form *Haranburu(a)*.

Pedro José de Olaguibel (mayor of Mayagüez, 1862, 1879, 1887)

The constituents in this family name are *ola* 'shepherd(s) hut', 'ironworks' (see the entry for *Lorenzo de Olaza y Lecubarri* below) and *gibel* 'rear', 'back (side)', which is to say that *Olagibel* means 'shepherd's hut's rear', 'back (side) of the ironworks'.

3.4. Philippines

3.4.1. Governors general of the Philippines (colonial period)

Miguel Lopez de Legazpi (governor general, 1565-1571)

This surname bears the well-known and aforementioned structure *patronymic + de* (preposition) + *toponym*, which in Basque tends to be *patronymic + toponym + -ko(a)*: *Johan Periz Sarrico, Miguel Sanz Lauçacoo, Pero*

(14) Our translation. The original reads: «*Honen osagaiak etxe eta bertzea ditugu, eta adiera "etxe nagusiak duen bigarren mailako etxea, nagusia bera ez dena", Vinsonen arabera («*maison autre, accessoire, secondaire, dépendant de la principale*») hitzez hitz, 1925: 631-632). *Gavelek, berriz, Etxeberria-rekin identifikatzen du Etxebestea (1920: 229-230) [...] Iturengo (Iñigo, 1996: 513), Beuntzako eta Arnegiko Bertzetxea-ren baliokidea da, osagaien hurrenkera alderantzikoa izanagatik ere. Beuntzako etxe ttipi bat da, ondoko Ernautenea handiari datxe-kiola dagoena; hau Vinsonen azalpenaren alde mintzo da*».*

Martiniz Bazterreco, *Sancha Xemeniz Yurricco*, etc. The first constituent (the patronymic) was used to indicate the name-bearer's descent, but since first names and patronymics were frequent, a toponymic constituent naming a house, a district, a town or a valley together with a final locative genitive suffix *-(e)ko* and, mostly in oikonyms, the definite article *-a* were often added in order to distinguish name-bearers from one another. It goes without saying that the Romance-speaking administrations did not allow for Basque forms, which is why our surnames, in the same way as first names and toponyms, are mostly adapted to Romance, often with preposition *de* instead of ending *-(e)ko(a)*. More on this topic can be found in Section 2 and SALABERRI (2003: 119 and later).

Legazpi, on the other hand, is a town in Gipuzkoa that is first documented as *Legazia* (see SALABERRI & ZALDUA, 2019: 249-250), even though a variant lacking what seems to be the article and which is in common use in present-day Basque is recorded already by 1349: *Ferrand Yuannez de Legazpy*.

Concerning the provenance of *Legazpi(a)*, MITXELENA (1973: 121-122, entry 403) believes that its constituents are *legar* 'gravel' and *azpi* 'beneath', 'lower area', but he does not rule out *le(i)a* as a basis. We find two issues with this view: first, *azpi* does not come up in old Basque toponymy, even though we ignore when it is first recorded, and concerning *le(i)a*, this form should be excluded, because since the first records it has been documented as *le(i)a*, not *lega-*.

In our view (SALABERRI & ZALDUA, 2019: 259), the name's constituents might be *legar*, the locative abundance suffix *-tze* and **pi(a)*, even if the latter cannot be clearly accounted for (cfr. *Intxausti* ← *intxaur* 'walnut (tree)' + *-tze* + *-di*). It could perhaps be identified with the quantifier or numeral *bi* 'two', but the presence of *-a*, if it is the definite article, does not support this view. Furthermore, we do not know whether such a pattern is grammatical in Basque toponymy; it is certainly not common.

Lorenzo de Olaza y Lecubarri (governor general, 1632-1633)

The constituents in *Olatza* are *ola* 'shepherd(s) hut', 'ironworks' and the locative abundance suffix *-tza*. Therefore, the name's initial meaning is probably 'the place where the shepherd's hut is found' or 'the place where the ironworks is found'. Our experience tells us that, except for Zuberoan toponyms bearing *olha*, *ola* most frequently means 'ironworks' in Basque place names.

Lekubarri, on the other hand, seems without further ado to convey ‘new place’, that is to say, an area that has been newly prepared and adapted for cultivating or living in it. This is likely to be a synonym of *luberri* or *lubarri* ‘cleared ground’, ‘breaking of the ground’ (literally ‘new land’), as *barri* is simply a western Basque variant of the adjective *berri* ‘new’. Such observations may perhaps lead us to identify the same form in *Lekunberri*, which is the name of two villages (N, LN), as in *Lekubarri*, but that would leave the central nasal *-n-* unexplained. *Lekubarri* also names a neighborhood in Gordexola and another one in Orozko (B), a farmhouse in the former village and another one in Amurrio (A). See also the entry for *Marcelino de Oraá Lecumberri* below.

Gabriel de Curuzealegui y Arriola (governor general, 1684-1689)

There is little doubt that the first constituent in *Curuzealegui* is *kurutze* ‘cross’, despite the fact that sometimes it bears the meaning ‘crossroads’, ‘intersection’. The last constituent in the surname seems to be the locative suffix *-egi*, which is extremely frequent in Basque onomastics, but the part in between *kurutze* and *-egi* is unclear. The oikonym *Salegi* is familiar, and it is not inconceivable to think that we may be dealing here with a distorted variant of **Kurutzesalegi*, but this is just an assumption, since such a name is unattested.

By contrast, *Arriola* is transparent: its components are the noun *harri* ‘stone’, ‘rock’ and above-mentioned *ola*, i.e., the name’s original meaning is ‘hut on/by the rock’, ‘hut next to the rock’, ‘ironworks by the rock’. For details, see SALABERRI (2015: 103-104).

Domingo Zabalburu de Echevarri (governor general, 1701-1709)

Zabalburu is a recurrent place name (Gordexola, B, Elgeta, G) and house name (in Gordexola and Gernika-Lumo-Arratzu, B) in Basque toponymy. We encounter it with different constituents as well: *Garaiko zabalburua* (Alkiza, G), *Bidezabalburu* (Oñati, G). *Zabal* ‘wide’ is an adjective that can be used as a noun in the sense ‘wide area’, ‘breadth’, since something like *leku zabala* ‘wide place’ might underlie it here. Compare this with aforementioned *Bidezabalburu*, where we do not have *leku* ‘place’, but rather *bide* ‘path’ and *zabal*.

Originally *Zabalburu* means ‘head of the wide area’, that is to say, the upper part of that wide area, similar to the common *Bidaburu* ‘head, upper

part of path'. *Zabalburu* can, depending on context, also denote a hill, mound or hillock found in a wide area.

For details concerning *Echevarri*, see the entry *José María Marxuach Echavarría* above.

Martin de Urzua y Arizmendi, Count of Lizarraga (governor general, 1709-1715)

Apparently *Urzua* comes from the surname *Ursua*, whose origin goes back to the Arizkun (Baztan, N) palace *Urtsua*, with a change in the spelling of sibilants along the way due to the merger between *s* and *z* that occurs in certain dialects of Spanish. An etymon *Urzua* cannot, however, be ruled out completely given the fact that the suffixes *-zu* and *-tsu*, which share their meaning (and origin), often co-occur with the same name. Concerning *Urtsua*, the common noun *ur* 'water' lies at its base, together with the abundance suffix *-tsu*; final *-a* is the definite article. Thus the oikonym's original meaning might be something like 'place where there is plenty of water'. According to Fernando Iribarren (personal communication), a brook used to flow by the Arizkun *Urtsua* palace, but it subsequently dried up and disappeared, probably due to climate change, in the same way as other brooks in that valley. Moreover, there used to be a well next to the palace, thus it was clearly a watery place.

Arizmendi is a well-known toponym in the Basque Country. Its constituents are the common nouns *haritz* 'oak' and *mendi* 'mountain', and its source meaning is therefore 'oak mountain', 'oak-covered mountain'. Some of the houses built in the corresponding area would have adopted the place's name eventually (farmhouses named *Arizmendi* are numerous in Gipuzkoa). The shift from oikonym to surname must have ensued via a house nickname: *Arizmendi* (top.) → *Arizmendi* (house name) → *Arizmendi* (house nickname for the house dwellers) → *Arizmendi* (surname).

Archbishop Juan Archederra (governor general, 1745-1750)

One might believe this name to consist of the common noun *harretxe* 'stone house' (< *harri* + *etxe*), the adjective *eder* 'beautiful' and the definite article *-a*, since the oikonym *Arretxea* is common in many towns (in Navarre: Amaiur, Elizondo, Irurita, etc.), just like the house nickname and its ensuing family name: *Arretxe*. The oikonym's *raison d'être* is to be sought in the times when houses used to be built out of wood, in the same way as for

instance *Telletxea* ‘tile house’, ‘house with tiles’, whose origin goes back to the times when houses’ rooftops usually had no tiles.

However this may be, we find the toponym *Aretxederra* to be a more plausible source, that is to say, a name consisting of the common noun *aretx* ‘oak’, the adjective *eder* ‘beautiful’ and the definite article *-a*. A house built in the area would subsequently be referred to as *Aretxederra*. In order to derive *Arretxederra* from *Aretxederra* we only need vibrant assimilation (*/r/* > */r̥/*).

Pedro Manuel de Arandía Santisteban (governor general, 1754-1759)

The sources for *Arandía* could be *haran* ‘valley, dale’ and *handia* ‘big, large’, that is to say, it may derive from **Aranandia*, by haplology (MITXELENA, 1973: 50, entry 68). Nevertheless, in our view there is a more plausible explanation: there is the family name *Onaindia*, which derives from a farmhouse or neighborhood located *honaindian*, meaning ‘on this side (of the water current)’, as opposed to another farmhouse or neighborhood found *haraindian* ‘on the other side (of the water current)’. The naming point of view is relative, and thus *honaindia* and *haraindia* can change depending on where the observer is standing. This is to say that what is *honaindia* for someone on one side of the river would be *haraindia* for a person standing on the other side. If this turned out to be the source, then *Arandia* would equate to Spanish *Allende* (which is the counterpart of *aguende*).

Bishop Miguel Lino de Ezpeleta (governor general, 1759-1761)

In Basque *ezpel* means ‘box (tree)’. Box tree wood is highly esteemed as a raw material for making spoons, forks and ladles, among other tools, because its yellow wood does not blacken with use. The suffix *-eta* conveys locative abundance, i.e. sometimes it merely denotes abundance, and sometimes it denotes location. In general terms, the toponym *Ezpeleta* means ‘box tree area’, ‘place where box trees abound’. Nonetheless, let it be noted that *Ezpeleta* is the name of a Lapurdian village, which probably serves as the basis for the well-known Navarrese surname *Ezpeleta*.

Simón de Anda y Salazar (governor general, 1762-1764, 1770-1776)

Anda and *Andagoia* are the names of corresponding hamlets in Kuartango (A). SALABERRI (2015: 67) proposes **(uilla) antana* ‘Antus’s

land, farmhouse’ as their etymon, a form that is based on the Latin-era first name *Antus*. This anthroponym is documented in Tarragona and Coimbra within the Iberian Peninsula (HE), and in Germany, Hungary and Tunisia outside the peninsula (EDH). *Andagoia* means ‘upper *Anda*’. For more on *Salazar*, see Section 2.

Felix Berenguer de Marquina (governor general, 1788-1793)

Markina is a town in Bizkaia, which is documented with an ending in *-iña* already by 1864. In addition, *Marquina* (in Spanish), *Markia* (in Basque) names a hamlet in Zuia (A). It is also the old variant of present-day *Marquínez* (in Spanish), *Markiz* (in Basque), the name of a village in Bernedo (A). SALABERRI (2015: 272) puts **(uilla) marcina* ‘property of the one called Marcus or Marcius’ forward as its etymon. There is no need to mention that *Marcus* or *Marcius* was an extremely common first name in Roman-era Hispania, Italy and elsewhere. The palatal nasal in the Bizkaian village name seems to be secondary, that is to say, the result of nasalization of the vowels surrounding the original lenis nasal, which must have occurred before the latter was dropped, as in *Abadiano* > *Abadiãñõ* > **Abadiãñõ* > **Abadiãõ* > **Abadiõ* (written *Abadio*) > *Abadiño*. According to this process, the toponym’s development must have been *Markina* > *Markiãñã* > **Markiãñã* > **Markiãã* > **Markiã* (written *Marquia*) > *Markiña*.

Jose Gardoqui Jaraveitia (governor general, 1813-1816)

According to MITXELENA (1973: 93, 136-137, entries 263 and 481), the components in *Gardoki* are *gardu*, the Basque name for the thorny thistle plant called *cardo* in Spanish, and *-oki* ‘place’, ‘area’, that is to say, the name’s original meaning might have been ‘place of thistles’. *Jaraveitia*, in turn, equates to what one would write *Xaraveitia* in Basque, i.e. *xara* or *txara* ‘young tree’, ‘area where young trees sprout’ plus *beitia* ‘lower’, ‘nether’. Accordingly, the toponym’s original meaning must have been ‘lower young tree grove’.

Andres Garcia Camba (governor general, 1837-1838)

Carlos Polistico Garcia (president of the Philippines, 1957-1961)

Leonila “Inday” de la Serna Dimataga Garcia (spouse of Carlos Polistico Garcia, president of the Philippines, 1957-1961)

Jesus Garcia, Jr. (secretary of transportation and communications, 1992-1996)

Leon A. Garcia (mayor of Davao City, 1947-1949)

Nicanor F. Garcia (mayor of the City of Makati, 1922-1934)

See the entry for Gustavo L. Garcia above.

Luis Lardizabal (governor general, 1838-1841)

Luis L. Lardizabal (mayor of the City of Baguio, 1960-1963, 1967-1979)

MITXELENA (1973: 117-118, entry 381) contends that the common noun *lahar* ‘bramble’, ‘blackberry bush’ is the basis for *Lardizabal* together with the collective suffix *-di*, that is to say, the first part of the name (*Lardi-*) means ‘place of brambles’, ‘bramble patch’ (cf. *Amézqueta-lardi* in Aia, *Lardi-chiqui* in Ataun in 1857; NOPGI, pages 2 and 87). The other component is well-known *zabal*, which can function as an adjective as well as a common noun; therefore, the toponym’s original meaning might be ‘wide bramble patch’ or ‘wide bramble patch area’, ‘plain next to the bramble patch’. In Idiazabal (G) we find farmhouses called *Lardizabalaundia* ‘big Lardizabal’ and *Lardizabaltxikia* ‘small Lardizabal’; the surname *Lardizabal* may derive from either one, i.e. from the base form *Lardizabal(a)*.

Marcelino de Oraá Lecumberri (governor general, 1841-1843)

MITXELENA (1973: 35, entry 1) contends that the names *Alzáa* and *Oráa* are made up of a base form plus the definite article *-a*, that is to say, the dissimilation *-a + -a > -ea* has not occurred, as opposed to western dialects, where this phenomenon is common (*ola + -a > olea*, for example). The same author prefers that proposal rather than to think that, in the first case, *Alzáa* derives from *Alzaga* (*Altzaga*). Nonetheless, he neither specifies any basis form for *Oráa*, nor does he explain what **ora* is and what it derives from. Moreover, he infers *Celáa*, *Zela* directly from *Zelaia* ‘the meadow’ but does not offer any further explanation, i.e., whether this case falls together with *Alzáa* and *Oráa* or whether it is the result of loss of *yod* (voiced palatal

approximant). A toponym that is close to *Oráa* is *Oraien* (a neighborhood in Larunbe, N), but the latter is not clear either, and it has, additionally, a variant *Oreien*.

Lekunberri names a town in Navarre and another one in Low Navarre. It is clear that the final part of this name is the adjective *berri* ‘new’, and initial *leku* ‘place’ also seems quite obvious. However, the difficulty lies in explaining the in-between nasal, and even though the constituents might be *leku* + *on* + *berri*, the name is never thus documented. We know that the change *m* > *mb* has rarely occurred in Basque, for instance in *kamio* > *ganbio* ‘path’. See also the entry for *Lorenzo de Olaza y Lecubarri* above.

Antonio de Urbistondo y Eguia (governor general, 1850-1853)

MITXELENA (1973: 97, 139-140, 158, entries 293, 491 and 584) sees **urbitz*, a possible variant of the tree name *gurbitz* ‘strawberry tree’, and *ondo* ‘side’, ‘nearby area’ in *Urbistondo*. This is currently the name of a farmhouse in Segura (G).

Hegi is a common noun meaning ‘long, longish summit’, but it can also denote ‘mountain slope’. This constituent is found by the hundreds in Basque toponymy, e.g. *Egia*, a neighborhood name in Deba, Donostia / San Sebastián (G) and Zeberio (B). Among the farmhouses whose names may constitute the basis for this family name we can mention those in Bermeo, Güeñes, Mallabia (B) and in Elgoibar, Ibarra and Zumarraga (G).

Juan de Lara e Irigoyen (governor general, 1865-1866)

See the entry for *Isidoro Uriarte* above.

Antonio Moltó y Diaz Berrio (governor general, 1888)

Berrio is the name of three closely located villages near Pamplona / Iruñea (N), whereby a second constituent was added to each in order to distinguish them from one another: *Berriozar* ‘old Berrio’, *Berriobeiti* ‘lower Berrio’ and *Berriogoiti* ‘upper Berrio’. Their Romance counterparts are *Berrioplano* and *Berriosuso*, respectively. *Berriozar* does not change form, despite its pronunciation being different for each language. *Berrio* is found in other parts of the Basque Country as well: it names a neighborhood in Elorrio (B) and a farmhouse in Laudio (A) (see IRIGOIEN, 1986: 46-47).

Concerning etymology, we are probably dealing with an anthrotoponym (see *Berrioplano/Berriobeiti*, SALABERRI, 2010: 421-426) of the same kind found in *Labio* (N), *Laudio* (A), *Otxandio* and *Zamudio* (B). The base person name might be *Verrius*, which is documented in Portugal (GRUPO MÉRIDA, 2003: 339) and Albacete (HE), that is to say, the anthrotoponym's original form may have been **(fundus) verrianus* 'Verrius's property', 'Verrius's land', **Berriano* by the time it was picked up by Basque. The evolution might have been as follows: **Berriãñhõ* > **Berriãñhõ* > **Berriãñ* > *Berrio*. Compare with the toponym *Otxandiano* > *Ochandiano* (in Spanish) / *Otxandio* (in Basque). See also *Berriz* above.

Federico Ochoa (governor general, 1893)

Paquito Ochoa, Jr. (executive secretary, 2010-2016, secretary of the interior and local capacity, 2012)

The male first name *Otsando*, *Otxando* and female *Otsanda*, *Otxanda* were widespread in the Basque-speaking area up until and including the 16th century. Both are hypocoristics of the male name *Otsoa*, *Otxoa*, which is an equivalent of well-known *Lope* in Spanish (see SALABERRI, 2009: 64, 105-106 and 2018: 725). For more details, see the entry for *Sancho Ochoa de Castro* above.

3.4.2. Presidential spouses (after 1901)

Estefania Chiong Veloso-Osmeña (spouse of Sergio Suico Osmeña, president of the Philippines, 1944-1946)

Beloso is not frequently found as a family name, but it is attested in Basque microtoponymy, for instance in Pamplona / Iruñea (JIMENO & SALABERRI, 2006: 145 and following). At its base is the plant name *elorri* 'hawthorn' plus an abundance suffix *-so*, which seems to be related to its equivalent *-zu*. Initial *b-* is the result of prothesis, which occurs occasionally in Basque, similar to *uztarri* ~ *buztarri* 'yoke' (though see LAKARRA, MANTEROLA, SEGUROLA, 2019: 560, EHHE, entry *ustel*) and *altzairu* ~ *galtzairu* 'steel' (MITXELENA, 1977: 252-253).

3.4.3. Cabinet members (after 1898)

Gregorio Araneta (secretary of justice, 1898-1899)

Salvador Araneta (secretary of agriculture and natural resources, 1953-1955)

Gemma Cruz-Araneta (secretary of tourism, 1998-2001)

Araneta is clearly a Basque family name: its constituents are *haran* ‘valley’ and the suffix of locative abundance *-eta*. This is also the name of a farmhouse in Soraluze (G). Nevertheless, a base noun *aran* ‘plum tree’ and an original meaning ‘place of plum trees’ cannot be ruled out.

Joaquin Miguel Elizalde (resident commissioner to the U. S. House of Representatives, 1938-1941, 1941-1944 and secretary of foreign affairs, 1948, 1952-1953)

Elizalde tends to name a house found next to the church (*eliza* ‘church’, *alde* ‘nearby area’ and *-a*, definite article), whereas *Elizalde* is the house nickname for those inhabiting that house. Compare with *Elizondoa* (house located next to the church), *Elizgibela* (house standing behind the church), and *Elizetxea* (house attached to the church or found in the same building as the church). In Basque villages the church building is one of the important places and a point of reference, which is why it has given rise to much oikonymy, just like *iturri* ‘fountain’, *plaza* ‘(town) square’ and others. In order to shift from *Elizalde* to *Elizalde*, as has been argued above, the involvement of a house nickname seems to be most likely, even though the possibility of a former intermediate and eventually elided *-ko* suffix cannot be completely ruled out (in *Joanes Elizaldekoa* for instance; for details on this name, see SALABERRI & ZUBIRI, 2009).

There are houses by the name *Elizalde* in Haltsu, Bardoze, Makea (L), Larzabale-Arroze-Zibitze (LN), Zubieta (N, IÑIGO, 1996: 561) and Ezkurra (N, now in ruins, but a *borda* by that name is still standing, ETXEBERRIA & SUKUNZA, 2009: 38, 45) and *Elizaldekoa* in Abaurregaina (N). *Elizalde* ‘church neighborhood’, ‘neighborhood where the church is found’ also names respective neighborhoods in Oiartzun (as well as two former houses, GOIKOETXEA & LEKUONA, 2007: 121), Luzaide (officially *Elizalde*, but people simply call it *Karrika* ‘the street’, KAMINO & SALABERRI, to appear), Orbaizeta (also called *Elizaldekoa*, BUCES, 2011: 203 and following), in other villages in Aezkoa valley (BUCES, 2011: 204) and in Guéthary / Getaria (L).

Jose Zulueta (home secretary, 1946-1948)

Zulueta is the name of a hamlet in Elorz / Elortzibar (N), and this family name must have been originally borne by someone from that hamlet, since—as has been previously mentioned—it has been common in the Basque-speaking area for house names (house nicknames) and names for towns of birth to be used as identifiers and to become family names over time: *Joanes Zulueta* ‘Joanes, born in (the town called) Zulueta’ > *Joanes Zulueta*; see SALABERRI (2003: 113 and following). There are also farmhouses and neighborhoods by the name *Zuloeta*, *Zulueta* in Amurrio (A), Amoroto, Bermeo, Etxebarria, Mendexa (B), Azkoitia, Elgoibar, Urnieta, Zaldibia (G), etc. (see ZALDUA, 2012: 1244 and following). The constituents of this name are the common noun *zulo* ‘hole’, ‘hollow’ and the locative abundance suffix *-eta*. The shift *-oeta* > *-ueta*, *-weta* is well known in Basque.

Ramon Ozaeta (secretary of justice, 1946-1948)

Ozaeta, which has subsequently changed to *Ozeta* (the change *-ae-* > *-e-* is frequent in Basque), is the name of a village in Barrundia (A). This name bears the suffix of locative abundance *-eta*, but the basis *oza-* is obscure (see SALABERRI 2015: 325). This may be a lost common noun, as *Oçeta* is documented in Oiartzun (G) in 1499.

Mariano Garchitorena (secretary of agriculture and natural resources, 1946-1948)

Gartxitorena is an oikonym based on the hypocoristic *Gartxo*, although the first name *Garzia*’s equally hypocoristic *Gartxia* cannot be completely excluded as a source (see SALABERRI, 2009: 137). The suffix is the same *-ito* we find in *Antxito* and *Ferrandito*, for instance. *Gartxitorena* is mostly documented in the Baztan (N) area: for example, in Lekaroz *Garchittorena* is attested in 1727 (ONDARRA, 1984: 27), currently *Gartxitón[j]a*. In Etxartea (Baztan - Urdazubi - Zugarramurdi, N) we find *Gartxitoneko beheitiko borda* ‘lower temporary roofed shelter for cattle belonging to Gartxitonea (see definition for *borda* above)’ (JIMENO dir., 1998: 11).

Victor Ziga (minister of general services, 1986-1987)

Ziga is the name of a village in the Basaburua area of Baztan valley (N), and it is documented as *Cihiga* in the 16th century. There is therefore no doubt

that it has the same origin as *Zihiga*, a village in Zuberoa. Aspiration was lost in Navarre as of a specific point in time (approximately in the 16th century in the case of Baztan valley), which led to the merging of adjacent equal vowels (*Ziga* < **Ziiga* < *Zihiga*). *Ziga* is probably related to the current village name *Zia* (formerly part of Gulina / Gulibar valley, currently within Cendea de Itza, in Navarre), since this name is documented as *Çiia*, *Ciia*, *Ciya* as of the 12th century.

The basic constituent within the toponym/family name under study might be *zihi* ‘acorn fruit of some trees’, perhaps with the same meaning as *ezkur* in the toponym *Ezkurra* (a village in Navarre), namely ‘tree’. The ending *-ga* is attested in other toponyms as well, for instance in *Lerga*, whose basis may perhaps be *ler* ‘(wild) pine tree’. The less transparent *Uterga* might bear the same suffix, just like the oronym *Ihiga* > *Iga*, whose fundament may be *ih* ‘rush’, ‘reed’ (see SALABERRI, 2005: 96).

Alexander Aguirre (executive secretary, 1998)

Vitalino Aguirre II (secretary of justice, 2016-2018)

Eusebio Aguirre (mayor of the City of San Jose del Monte, 1956-1963)

Constantino Aguirre (mayor of the City of San Jose del Monte, 1968-1973)

See the entry for *Helen Aguirre Ferré* above.

Filemino Uriarte (secretary of science and technology, 1999-2001)

See the entry for *Isidoro Uriarte* above.

Jose Ibazeta (secretary of energy, 2010)

Ibazeta is likely to be a variant —or a slight distortion— of the family name *Ibaizeta*. According to MITXELENA (1973: 87, 101, 155, entries 235, 308 and 569), the constituents of *Ibaizeta* are the common noun *ibai* ‘river’, the abundance suffix *-tza* and a second suffix *-eta*. In our view, however, *-tza* indicates not only abundance, but location as well (cf. the village names and surnames *Beintza*, *Gaintza*, etc. and the common noun *erortza* ‘landslide’, ‘landfall’, ‘place where land slides, falls’; see SALABERRI, 1997). The suffix *-eta* likewise often conveys location. Consequently, this name’s original meaning might have been approximately ‘river site’, ‘river area’ (compare with *Ibiltzieta* < *Ubiltzieta*; see SALABERRI, 1997: 22 and following).

Enrique Tangonan Ona (secretary of health, 2010-2014)

Ona could be a Basque family name, as it is common in the Basque Country. The name draws on a nickname, itself based on the adjective *on* ‘good’, ‘kind’, that is to say, originally it used to name a good or kind person, despite the notoriety of antiphrasis in nicknames. Next to *Ona*, *Ongai* ‘(the one) striving to be good’ is also well-known in the Basque-speaking area.

Menardo Guevarra (secretary of justice, 2018-present)

The Basque family name is *Gebara* (*Guevara* according to Spanish writing conventions), not *Gebarra* or *Guevarra*. *Gebara* is the name of a village in Berrundia (A), which according to MITXELENA (1950: 478-479; 1973: 94, entry 272; 1982: 148) is related to Gothic *gibla* ‘gable, pinnacle’ and Greek κεφαλή (*kefalē*) ‘head’. MITXELENA (1956: 184) reminds us that Ptolemy in his work picks up the Vardulian city name Γέβαλα. GORROTXATEGI (2000: 146) contends that in this toponym the shift *-l- > -r-* has occurred, which is common in intervocalic position in Basque. See also SALABERRI (2015: 200-201).

3.4.4. Gobernadorcillos and Cabezas de Barangay (mayors during Spanish rule)

Miguel Alday (gobernadorcillo-Cabeza de Barangay of Santa Maria, 1842)

Aldai is a well-known toponym in the Basque-speaking area: in Ameskoa (N) *aldaia* is a common noun meaning ‘slope’, ‘hillside’, and in toponymy *Aldai*, *Aldaia*, *Aldaiburu*, *Murgialdai* are frequent as names of sites, neighborhoods or farmhouses. The toponym’s constituents are *alde* ‘side’ (cf. *aldapa*, *Aldabea*, etc.) and *-ai* (cf. the well-known toponym *Ikai*, also *Aia*, *Aiegi* and others), and one can claim that it conveys aforementioned ‘slope’ or ‘hillside’.

3.4.5. Mayors and vice-mayors of major Philippine cities

Antolin Oreta (mayor of the City of Malabon, 2012-present)

Oreta looks like a Basque family name, but this is not certain. Its constituents may be an undocumented root **ora* (see the analysis of *Oraa* above) plus the locative abundance suffix *-eta*, but this is very dubious. There is a farmhouse called *Orueta* in Laudio (A), which is pronounced *Oreta* in oral language (Mikel Gorrotxategi, p. c.), and this may be the source, but we are not certain at all about this.

Santiago Artiaga (mayor of Davao City, 1937-1938)

See *Gaspar de Arteaga y Aunavidao* above.

Bernardo M. Vergara (mayor of the City of Baguio, 2001-2004)

See the entry for *Marcos de Vergara* above.

Miguel Garces Raffiñan (mayor of Cebu City, 1947-1951)

Garcés is a well-known family name in the Basque-speaking area: it is a patronymic of *Garze*, *Garzea*, *Garzia*, just like *Garzetz*, *Garzez* and others, that is to say, it is originally the identifier for someone whose father was called *Garze* or *Garzea*. For details one may see SALABERRI (2003: 192-196).

Pedro Bernal Elizalde (mayor of Cebu City, 1951-1952)

See the entry for *Joaquin Miguel Elizalde* above.

Joaquin Gamboa (mayor of Manila, 1762)

See the entry for *Diego de Aguilera y Gamboa* above.

James Zabala Barbers (vice-mayor of Manila, 1976-1986)

Amado Zabala (mayor of Quezon City, 1987-1988)

For details concerning the meaning of *Zabala* see the entry for *Domingo Zabalburu de Echevarri* above. *Zabala* can also be a nickname, that is to say, it can bear the meaning ‘wide person’, as in *Sancho Çaulala*, attested in Arróniz / Arroitz (N) in 1330. *Zabala* is also the name of a considerable number of farmhouses: Laudio (A), Bakio, Berriz, Elorrio, Gernika-Lumo, Igorre, Ispaster, Morga, Orozko, Sopela, Urduliz, Zeanuri (B), Arrasate, Deba, Eskoriatza, Mutriku, Ordizia, Soraluze (G), Haltsu (L), Bertiz and Goizueta (N). Moreover, *Zabala* names neighborhoods in Arratzu, Galdakao, Muxika and Zeberio (B), and it is extremely common in microtoponymy.

Genaro Visarra (mayor of Tagbilaran, 1931-1938)

Visarra may correspond to Basque *Bizarra* (or *Bixarra*), originally a nickname due to the bearer having a particularly bushy beard, a small beard or a somehow remarkable beard. However, the contrary may also apply,

i.e., it may be due to the bearer not having a beard. In the Basque-speaking area we find *Bizarra* starting in the Middle Ages: *Bizarra Tota* (Artajona / Artaxoa, N, 1156), *Juan Bizar* (Ziortza, B, 1467) and «*Bernardo Elizondo alias Vizargorri*» ('Red Beard', Erroibar - Urepele, N - LN, 1824).

4. Conclusions

This study has shown that most Basque family names found among former and current presidents, governors, mayors, commissioners and other kinds of rulers in North America (Canada, Puerto Rico, United States) and the Philippines can be traced back to either toponyms (names of places) or oikonyms (house names). Furthermore, nearly all of them are still extant in the Basque Country. This shows that the toponyms and oikonyms in question resulted in family names first and were subsequently brought to the New World by emigrants who left Europe.

The analysis of family names indicates that many of these developed out of so-called house nicknames, i.e., nicknames bestowed upon inhabitants of specific houses and farmhouses due to living in them. For instance, dwellers of houses called *Latsaldea*, *Arizmendi* and *Elizaldea* would be known by their nicknames *Latsalt*, *Arizmendi*, *Elizalde*, and these nicknames would eventually be established as family names. Stated differently, many of the Basque oikonymic family names are anthroponymic in origin.

Furthermore, several oikonymic family names developed out of previous toponyms: the *Urtsua* palace in Arizkun owes its name to the building's watery surroundings, (farm)houses by the name *Albitzu* are located in areas with much heath false brome or tor-grass, and those called *Iparragerri*, *Iparragerre* and *Iguzkiagerri* are related to settings that face north (in the case of the former two) and are frequently bathed by the sun (in the latter case). This system cross-cuts with house nicknames. Thus Basque family names often evolve in the following manner: *toponym* > *oikonym* > *house nickname* > *family name*. Some place names such as *Arteaga* and *Murgialdai* are polyvalent, as they can indistinctly name microtoponymic settings, farmhouses, neighborhoods and even whole villages.

Another relevant observation of this study is that some of the family names analyzed display dialectal variants of the same etymon: this is the case of *Uriarte* (western) as opposed to *Iriarte* (central), *Hiriarte* (eastern); *Larrin* (central-western) vis-à-vis *Larrain* (central-eastern) and *Etxabarri* (western) in opposition to *Etxeberri* (central-eastern), among others. This dia-

lectal information can be useful at the time of pinpointing the Basque emigrant's precise geographic origin. Notwithstanding, some of this information, together with other general traits of the Basque language, has been distorted over time as the result of recurrent pronunciation and use of Basque family names in English, Spanish or some other language. This is true of *Guevarra* (*Gebara*), *Ulzurrun* (*Ultzurrun*), etc.¹⁵.

Finally, it should be pointed out that the etymological analysis carried out here suggests that *García*, a family name with tens of millions of bearers in the Spanish-speaking world, may in fact have a Basque origin. Different proposals exist concerning its original meaning but, as has been explained in this paper, we contend that it may originate in *Gartzea*, from **gartze* '(the) young (one)', *garte* in current Basque.

Abbreviations

A	Araba / Álava
B	Bizkaia
EDH	ALFÖLDY & WITSCHERL (1997)
EHHE	Euskal hiztegi historiko-etimologikoa (LAKARRA, MANTEROLA, SEGUROLA, 2019)
FDMPV	Fuentes documentales medievales del País Vasco (ENRÍQUEZ, HIDALGO DE CISNEROS, MARTÍNEZ, 1996 [71], CRESPO, CRUZ, GÓMEZ, 1997 [72])
G	Gipuzkoa
HE	GÓMEZ-PANTOJA (2013)
L	Lapurdi
LN	Low Navarre
N	Navarre
NOPGI	Nomenclátor de la Provincia de Guipúzcoa (ANONYMOUS, 1867)

(15) A parallel of prosodic distortion due to foreign pronunciation and use (as in *Ultzurrun* > *Ulzurrun*) among Basque names of Latin America may be that of former Uruguayan president José Alberto «Pepe» Mujica, whose family name has undergone a comparative development (*Mixika* > *Múgica* > *Mujica*). For details on this family name's provenance, see SALABERRI (2011: 157).

Appendix: classification of Basque surnames according to their origin¹⁶

Anthroponymic	Oikonymic	Oikonymic and/or toponymic	Toponymic
Anaya (Anaia)	Acha (Atxa)	Aguirre (Agirre)	Alday (Aldai)
Garcés (Garzetx, Garzez)	Arriola	Albizu (Albitzu)	Anda
García (Garzia)	Echeverte (Etxebeste, Etxebertze)	Arandía	Apodaca (Apodaka)
Goyena (Goiena)	Elizalde	Aramburu (Aranburu)	Arangoa
Guichon (Gixon) (?)	Garchitorea (Gartxitorea)	Araneta	Araoz (Araotz)
Ochando (Otxando)	Laxalt (La(t)salde, Latsalt)	Aristegui (Ariztegi)	Arce (Artze, Artzi)
Ochoa (Otxoa)	Mendizabal	Arizmendi	Asia (Asiain, Aziain) (?)
Ona	Olaguibel (Olagibel)	Arostegui (Aroztegi)	Bedia
Sagarra (?)	Olaza (Olatza)	Arrecherra (Aretxerra?)	Berrio
Visarra (Bizarra, Bixarra)	Oleaga	Arteaga, Artiaga	Berriz
	Tellechea (Telletxea)	Azcue (Azcue)	Bilbo
	Urbistondo	Chavarri, Echavarría, Echevarri, Echevarría (Etxabarri, Etxabarria, Etxebarri, Etxebarria)	Ciga (Ziga)

(16) As has been repeatedly mentioned in the paper, Basque names often denote, due to their development, more than one of the categories in the Appendix. Therefore, many of the names can be fitted into more than one column.

BASQUE LEGACY IN THE NEW WORLD 2:
ON THE SURNAMES OF NORTH AMERICAN AND PHILIPPINE RULERS

Anthroponymic	Oikonymic	Oikonymic and/or toponymic	Toponymic
	Urzua (Urtsua)	Curuzealegui (?)	Egozcue (Egozkue)
		Eguia (Egia)	Echagüe (Etxague)
		Lardizabal	Erbe (?)
		Larrínaga (Larrinaga)	Ezpeleta
		Lecubarri (Lekubarri)	Gamboa (Ganboa)
		Olazarra	Gardoqui (Gardoki)
		Uriarte	Guevarra (Gebara)
		Vizcarrondo (Bizkarrondo)	Guridi
		Zabala	Ibarrola
		Zabalburu	Ibazeta
		Zulueta	Irizarry (Irisarri)
			Jaraveitia (Xarabeitia)
			Larrabee (Larrabehe)
			Larrazolo (Larrasolo)
			Lecumberri (Lekunberri)
			Legazpi
			Marquina (Markina)
			Meana (?)
			Norzagaray (Norzagarai)
			Oraá (Oraa)
			Ozaeta
			Sagardia

Anthroponymic	Oikonymic	Oikonymic and/or toponymic	Toponymic
			Sárraga (Sarraga, Zarraga (?))
			Ustariz (Ustaritz, Uztaritz)
			Veloso (Beloso)
			Vergara (Bergara)
			Zárate (Zarate)

References

Digital sources

Cabinet members with dates of appointment: <https://www.infoplease.com/us/government/executive-branch/cabinet-members-with-dates-of-appointment>

Euskal onomastikaren datutegia (EODA). <https://www.euskaltzaindia.eus/hizkuntza-baliabideak>

Euskararen corpora. Toponimia: <https://www.euskadi.eus/eaeko-toponimia-onomastika/web01-a2corpus/eu/>

First ladies: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/about-the-white-house/first-ladies/>

Former governors general of Canada: <http://www.craigmarlatt.com/canada/government/ggs.html>

Géoportail: <https://www.geoportail.gouv.fr/>

Lieutenant governors of Canada: <https://www.canada.ca/en/canadian-heritage/services/crown-canada/lieutenant-governors.html>

Mayors of U. S. cities: https://www.worldstatesmen.org/US_Mayors.html

Meet the city of Manila: <https://coconuts.co/manila/features/meet-city-manila/>

National Governors Association: <https://www.nga.org/>

Presidents of the Philippines: <https://www.geni.com/projects/Presidents-of-the-Philippines/595>

The governors of Puerto Rico: <https://www.puertoricoreport.com/the-governors-of-puerto-rico/#.Xk5vo81RfIV>

Other sources

- ALBERTOS, M. L. “Álava prerromana y romana: estudio lingüístico”. *Estudios de Arqueología Alavesa* n.º 4 (1970), 107-324.
- ALFÖLDY, G.; WITSCHERL, C. (Eds.). *Epigraphic Database Heidelberg*. <https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/home>, 1997.
- ANONYMOUS. *Nomenclátor de la provincia de Guipúzcoa*. 1867.
- APEZETXEA, P.; SALABERRI, P. *Etxalarko etxeen izenak* [Names of Etxalar houses]. Etxalar City Council, Etxalar. 2009.
- ARANA, S. *Tratado etimológico de los apellidos euzkéricos*. Publicaciones de Pizkundia, Bilbo/Bilbao. 1930 [1897].
- AZKUE, R. M. *Morfología vasca*. Editorial Vasca, Bilbo/Bilbao. 1925.
- BIDACHE, J. *Livre d'or de Bayonne: textes latins et gascons du Xe au XIVe siècles*. G. Lescher-Moutoué, Pau. 1906.
- BUCES, J. *Orbaizetako etxeak: la historia de Orbaizeta a través de sus casas*. Orbaizeta City Council; Aranzadi Zientzi Elkarte, Donostia/San Sebastián. 2011.
- CARO BAROJA, J. *Materiales para una historia de la lengua vasca en su relación con la latina*. Salamanca University, Salamanca. 1945.
- CARRASCO, J. *La población de Navarra en el siglo XIV*. University of Navarre, Iruñea/Pamplona. 1973.
- CASTRO, J. R. *Catálogo del Archivo General de Navarra: sección de Comptos, Volumes I-L (1952-1970)*. Navarrese Provincial Government, Iruñea/Pamplona.
- CHAMBON, J-P.; GREUB, Y. “Note sur l'âge du proto-gascon”. *Revue de Linguistique Romane* n.º 66 (2002), 473-495.
- CIÉRBIDE, R. *Censos de la población de la Baja Navarra*. Max Niemeyer, Tübingen. 1993.
- CRESPO, M. A.; CRUZ, J. M.; GÓMEZ, J. M. *Colección documental del archivo municipal de Rentería, tomo II (1470-1500)*. «Fuentes documentales medievales del País Vasco» 72 (1997), Eusko Ikaskuntza, Donostia/San Sebastián.
- DÍEZ MELCÓN, G. *Apellidos castellano-leoneses (siglos IX-XIII, ambos inclusive)*. University of Granada, Granada. 1957.
- ENRÍQUEZ, J. C.; HIDALGO DE CISNEROS, A. L.; MARTÍNEZ, A. *Repartimientos y foguera-vecindario de Bilbao (1464-1492)*. «Fuentes documentales medievales del País Vasco» 71 (1996), Eusko Ikaskuntza, Donostia/San Sebastián.

- ETXEBERRIA, L. F. “Goizuetako toponimia, Artikutzakoa ezik” [Goizueta toponymy, except for Artikutza]. *Fontes Linguae Vasconum* n.º 51 (1988), 77-118.
- ETXEBERRIA, F.; SUKUNZA, J. J. *Recopilación fotográfica de las casas, caseríos y bordas de Ezkurra / Ezkurrako etxe, baserri eta borden argazki bilketa*. Ezkurra city council, Ezkurra. 2009.
- EUSKALTZAINDIA. *Nomenclátor de apellidos vascos / Euskal deituren izendegia*. Ministry of Justice; Basque Government; Euskaltzaindia, Madrid. 1998.
- GARCÍA LARRAGUETA, S. *El Gran Priorado de la Orden de San Juan de Jerusalén. Siglos XII-XIII: colección diplomática*. Príncipe de Viana, Iruñea/Pamplona. 1957.
- GARNEAUX, F-X. *History of Canada, from the time of its discovery till the Union Year (1840-1)*, Translated by A. Bell, Volume III (1860). John Lovell, Montreal.
- GAVEL, H. “Éléments de phonétique basque”. *Revista Internacional de los Estudios Vascos* n.º 12, 1 (1920), 1-542.
- GOIKOETXEA, I.; LEKUONA, I. *Oiartzungo toponimia / Toponimia de Oiartzun*. Oiartzun City Council, Donostia/San Sebastián. 2007.
- GÓMEZ-PANTOJA, J. *Hispania Epigraphica*. <http://eda-bea.es>, 2013.
- GORROTXATEGI, J. *Onomástica indígena de Aquitania*. University of the Basque Country, Bilbo/Bilbao. 1984.
- GORROTXATEGI, J. “Sobre lengua e historia: comentarios de lingüística diacrónica, vasca y paleohispánica”. *Anuario del Seminario de Filología Vasca «Julio de Urquijo»* n.º 20, 2 (1986), 507-531.
- GORROTXATEGI, J. “Ptolemy’s Aquitania and the Ebro Valley”. In: Parsons, D. N.; Sims-Williams, P. (Eds.), *Ptolemy: towards a linguistic atlas of the earliest Celtic place-names of Europe* (2000), 143-157. CMCS Publications, Aberystwyth.
- GORROTXATEGI, J. “Las placas votivas de plata de origen aquitano halladas en Hagenbach (Renania-Palatinado, Alemania)”. *Aquitania* n.º 19 (2003), 25-47.
- GRUPO MÉRIDA. *Atlas antroponímico de la Lusitania romana*. In: Navarro, M.; Ramírez, J. L. (Coords.), 2003. Fundación de Estudios Romanos; Ausonius Éditions, Mérida - Bordeaux.
- HALILI, M. *Philippine history*. REX Book Store, Manila. 2004.
- HUALDE, J. I. “Aspiration in Basque”. *Papers in Historical Phonology* n.º 3 (2018), 1-27.
- HUMBOLDT, W. v. *Prüfung der Untersuchungen über die Urbewohner Hispaniens mittelst der Vaskischen Sprache*. Ferdinand Dümmler, Berlin. 1821.

- IGARTUA, I. “La aspiración de origen nasal en la evolución fonológica del euskera: un caso de rhinoglottophilia”. *Anuario del Seminario de Filología Vasca «Julio de Urquijo»* n.º 42, 1 (2008), 171-190.
- IGARTUA, I. “Diachronic effects of rhinoglottophilia, symmetries in sound change, and the curious case of Basque”. *Studies in Language* n.º 39, 3 (2015), 635-663.
- IGLESIAS, H. “Affinités toponymiques cantabropyréneens et énigmes historiques”. *Lapurdum* n.º 4 (1999), 123-166.
- IGLESIAS, H. *Noms de lieux et de personnes à Bayonne, Anglet et Biarritz au XVIII^e siècle: origine, signification, localisation, proportion et fréquence des normes recensés*. Elkarlanean, Baiona/Bayonne; Donostia/San Sebastián. 2000.
- IGLESIAS, H. “Aztarna germanikoa Euskal Herriko toponimia historikoan” [The Germanic trace in the historical toponymy of the Basque Country]. *Fontes Linguae Vasconum* n.º 87 (2001), 317-335.
- IÑIGO, A. *Toponomástica Histórica del Valle de Santesteban de Lerín*. Navarrese Government, Iruñea/Pamplona. 1996.
- IRIBARREN, J. M^a. *Vocabulario navarro*, 2nd edition. Navarrese Government, Iruñea/Pamplona. 1984.
- IRIGOIEN, A. “Sobre el topónimo *Gasteiz* y su entorno antroponímico”. In: Orella Unzue, J. L. (Ed.), *Vitoria en la Edad Media: Actas del I Congreso de Estudios Históricos celebrado en esta ciudad del 21 al 26 de septiembre de 1981, en conmemoración del 800 aniversario de su fundación* (1982), 621-652. Vitoria-Gasteiz City Council, Vitoria-Gasteiz.
- IRIGOIEN, A. *En torno a la toponimia vasca y circumpirenaica*. University of Deusto, Bilbo/Bilbao. 1986.
- IRIGOIEN, A. “Sobre el origen de los patronímicos y de ciertos topónimos terminados en *-ain*, *-ein*, sul. *-añe*”. In: Irigoien, A. (Ed.), *De re philologica linguae uasconicae*, Volume II (1987), 193-207. University of Deusto, Bilbo/Bilbao.
- IRIGOIEN, A. “Problemas de nomenclatura en la elaboración de mapas topográficos en áreas vascófonas de administración romanizante hasta el presente. In: Líbano, Á.; Knörr, H. (Eds.), *Actas de las I Jornadas de Onomástica* (1991), 159-171. Euskaltzaindia, Bilbo/Bilbao.
- JIMENO, J. M. *Toponimia de la Cuenca de Pamplona. Cendea de Galar*. Euskaltzaindia, Bilbo/Bilbao. 1987.
- JIMENO, J. M. (Dir.). *Nafarroako Toponimia eta Mapagintza / Toponimia y cartografía de Navarra*, Volume XXX (1995): *Salazar*. Navarrese Government, Iruñea/Pamplona.

- JIMENO, J. M. (Dir.). *Nafarroako Toponimia eta Mapagintza / Toponimia y cartografía de Navarra*, Volume XLIV (1998): *Basaburua*, Imotz. Navarrese Government, Iruñea/Pamplona.
- JIMENO, J. M. (Dir.). *Nafarroako Toponimia eta Mapagintza / Toponimia y cartografía de Navarra*, Volume LII (1999): *Baztán, Urdazubi/Urdax, Zugarramurdi*. Navarrese Government, Iruñea/Pamplona.
- JIMENO, J. M.; SALABERRI, P. *Toponimia navarra VIII: Cuenca de Pamplona, Pamplona/Iruña*. Udalbide; Pamiela; Euskal Kultur Elkargoa, Iruñea/Pamplona. 2006.
- KAMINO, P.; SALABERRI, P. *Luzaideko Euskararen Hiztegia* [Dictionary of Luzaide Basque]. Navarrese Government; Euskaltzaindia, Iruñea/Pamplona. 2007.
- KAMINO, P.; SALABERRI, P. *Luzaideko etxeen izenak* [Names of Luzaide houses]. Ms. To appear.
- KANELLOS, N. *Reference library of Hispanic America*, Volumes I-III (1993). Gale, Farmington Hills.
- KRAHE, H. *Unsere ältesten Flussnamen*. Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden. 1964.
- KREMER, D.; COLOMER, R. S. “Spanish, Portuguese, Amerindian, and Filipino family names”. In: Hanks, P. (Ed.), *Dictionary of American family names*, Volume I (2003): *A-F*, xv-xix. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- LAKARRA, J. A. “Adabakiak /h/-aren balio etimologikoaz” [Patches on the etymological value of /h/]. *Anuario del Seminario de Filología Vasca «Julio de Urquijo»* n.º 43, 1/2 (2009), 565-596.
- LAKARRA, J. A.; MANTEROLA, J.; SEGUROLA, I. *Euskal Hiztegi Historiko-Etimologikoa* [Basque historic-etymological dictionary]. Euskaltzaindia, Bilbo/Bilbao. 2019. Now available online at: <https://www.euskaltzaindia.eus>
- LAMBERT, P-Y. *La langue gauloise: description linguistique, commentaire d'inscriptions choisies*. Éditions Errance, Paris. 2003.
- LEWIS, G. *Puerto Rico: freedom and power in the Caribbean*. Monthly Reviews Press, New York; London. 1963.
- LUCERO, T. S. *A dictionary of Philippine presidential surnames (1896-present)*. Lulu, Manila. 2018.
- LUCHAIRE, A. “Sur les noms propres basques contenus dans quelques documents pyrénéens des XIe, XIIe et XIIIe siècles”. *Revue de Linguistique et de Philologie Comparée* n.º 14 (1881), 150-171.
- MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, R. “Sobre las vocales ibéricas e y o en los nombres toponímicos”. *Revista de Filología Española* n.º 5 (1918), 225-255.

- MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, R. *Toponimia prerrománica hispana*. Gredos, Madrid. 1952.
- MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, R. *Orígenes del español*, 11th edition. Espasa-Calpe, Madrid. 1986 [1926].
- MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, R.; TOVAR, A. “Los sufijos españoles en -z y especialmente los patronímicos”. *Boletín de la Real Academia Española* n.º 62 (1962), 371-460.
- MITXELENA, K. “Notas etimológicas vascas”. *Emerita* n.º 18 (1950). 467-481.
- MITXELENA, K. “La teoría del sustrato y los dialectos hispano-romances y gascones, por Frederick Jungemann”. *Boletín de la Real Sociedad Bascongada de Amigos del País* n.º 12, 1 (1956), 117-129.
- MITXELENA, K. “El genitivo en la onomástica medieval”. *Emerita* n.º 25 (1957a), 134-148.
- MITXELENA, K. “R. P. Gonzalo Díez Melcón, agustino recoleto: *Apellidos castellano-leoneses (siglos IX-XIII, ambos inclusive)*. Universidad de Granada, 1957”. *Boletín de la Real Sociedad Bascongada de Amigos del País* n.º 13, 3 (1957b), 372-375.
- MITXELENA, K. “Nota marginal sobre la huella latina en la lengua vasca”. *Fontes Linguae Vasconum* n.º 10 (1972), 5-25.
- MITXELENA, K. *Apellidos Vascos*, 3rd edition. Editorial Txertoa, Donostia/San Sebastián. 1973.
- MITXELENA, K. *Fonética Histórica Vasca*. Gipuzkoan Chartered Provincial Council; Publications of the Seminar «Julio de Urquijo», Donostia/San Sebastián. 1977.
- MITXELENA, K. “Sobre la historia de la lengua vasca”. *Anuario del Seminario de Filología Vasca «Julio de Urquijo»* n.º 16 (1982), 141-156.
- MITXELENA, K. *Diccionario General Vasco / Orotariko Euskal Hiztegia*. Desclée de Brouwer; Euskaltzaindia; Ediciones Mensajero, Bilbo/Bilbao. 1987-2005. Now also available at: <https://www.euskaltzaindia.eus>.
- MITXELENA, K.; IRIGARAI, A. “Nombres vascos de persona”. *Boletín de la Real Sociedad Bascongada de Amigos del País* n.º 11 (1955), 3-4, 405-425.
- ONDARRA, F. “Apeo de Baztán (1726-1727)”. *Cuadernos de Etnología y Etnografía de Navarra* n.º 44 (1984), 5-48.
- ORPUSTAN, J-B. *Toponymie basque*. Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, Bordeaux. 1990.
- ORPUSTAN, J-B. “Anthroponomastique médiévale en Pays Basque: prénoms et surnoms en Basse-Navarre et Soule au début du XIV^e siècle (1305-1350)”. *Lapurdum* n.º 5 (2000), 183-221.

- SALABERRI, P. *Eslaba aldeko euskararen azterketa toponimiaren bidez* [Analysis of the Basque language of the Eslaba area by means of toponymy]. Euskaltzaindia, Bilbo/Bilbao. 1994.
- SALABERRI, P. “Euskal toponimiaz mintzo (Nafarroakoaz bereziki)” [On Basque (particularly Navarrese) toponymy]. *Fontes Linguae Vasconum* n.º 74 (1997), 7-40.
- SALABERRI, P. *Euskal deiturategia: patronimia* [Basque surnames: patronymy]. Udako Euskal Unibertsitatea, Bilbo/Bilbao. 2003.
- SALABERRI, P. *Nafarroa Behereko herrien izenak: lekukotasunak eta etimologia* [The names of Low Navarre villages: attestations and etymology]. Navarrese Government, Iruñea/Pamplona. 2004.
- SALABERRI, P. “Origen y significado de la toponimia de Navarra”. In: Ramírez Sádaba, J. L. (Ed.), *La onomástica en Navarra y su relación con la de España: actas de las primeras Jornadas de Onomástica (Pamplona 2003)* (2005), 91-128. Public University of Navarre, Iruñea/Pamplona.
- SALABERRI, P. *Izen ttipiak euskaraz* [Hypocoristics in Basque]. Euskaltzaindia, Bilbo/Bilbao. 2009.
- SALABERRI, P. “Berrioplano / Berriobeiti”. *Euskera* n.º 55, 1 (2010), 421-426.
- SALABERRI, P. “Sobre el sufijo occidental *-ika* y otras cuestiones de toponimia vasca”. *Fontes Linguae Vasconum* n.º 113 (2011), 139-176.
- SALABERRI, P. “Topónimos alaveses de base antroponímica que tienen *huri* o *villa* como formante”. *Fontes Linguae Vasconum* n.º 118 (2014), 367-392.
- SALABERRI, P. *Araba / Álava: los nombres de nuestros pueblos*. Euskaltzaindia; Araban Chartered Provincial Council, Vitoria-Gasteiz. 2015.
- SALABERRI, P. “Izen ttipiak euskaraz: *addenda, confirmanda et corrigenda*”. [Hypocoristics in Basque: *addenda, confirmanda et corrigenda*]. *Anuario del Seminario de Filología Vasca «Julio de Urquijo»* n.º 52, 1/2 (2018), 713-732.
- SALABERRI, P.; SALABERRI, I. “Basque legacy in the New World: on the surnames of Latin American presidents”. *Anuario del Seminario de Filología Vasca «Julio de Urquijo»* n.º 45, 2 (2011), 115-151.
- SALABERRI, P.; SALABERRI, I. “An introduction to Basque aspiration: the contribution to onomastics”. *Fontes Linguae Vasconum* n.º 122 (2016), 365-391.
- SALABERRI, P.; SALABERRI, I. “Nafarroako toponimia nagusia aztergai: *-oi(t)z, -o(t)z, -(i)(t)z* duten herri izenen inguruan” [Study of major Navarrese toponymy: concerning village names ending in *-oi(t)z, -o(t)z, -(i)(t)z*]. *Fontes Linguae Vasconum* n.º 129 (2020), 7-38.

- SALABERRI, P.; ZUBIRI, J. J. “Euskal deituren jatorria eta etxe izengoitiak” [On the origin of Basque surnames and house nicknames]. *Anuario del Seminario de Filología Vasca «Julio de Urquijo»* n.º 43 (2009), 819-830.
- SALABERRI, P.; ZALDUA, L. M. *Gipuzkoako herrien izenak: lekukotasunak eta etimologia* [Names of Gipuzkoan villages: attestations and etymology]. Euskaltzaindia; Gipuzkoan Chartered Province Council, Bilbo/Bilbao. 2019.
- SALABERRI, P.; ZUBIRI, J. J.; SALABERRI, I. *Jose Ramon Minondo goizuetarren gutunak. Olaberria (Oiartzun). 1790-1807. Hizkuntza azterketa* [Letters by Goizuetan Jose Ramon Minondo. Olaberria (Oiartzun). 1790-1807. Linguistic analysis]. Euskaltzaindia, Bilbo/Bilbao. 2021.
- SALABURU, P. *Arau fonologikoak. Hizkuntza teoria eta Baztango euskalkia: fonetika eta fonologia (II)* [Phonological rules. Linguistic theory and the Baztan dialect: phonetics and phonology (II)]. University of the Basque Country Publishing Service, Bilbo/Bilbao. 1984.
- SIMBULAN, D. *The modern principalia: the historical evolution of the Philippine ruling oligarchy*. University of the Philippines Press, Quezon City. 2005.
- TOTORICAGÜENA, G. *Boise Basques: dreamers and doers*. Center for Basque Studies Press, Reno. 2004.
- TOTORICAGÜENA, G. *Basque migration and diaspora: transnational identity*. Center for Basque Studies Press, Reno. 2005.
- TOURNIER, M. “L’usure du Basque”. *Eusko Jakintza* n.º 3, 2/3 (1949), 159-162.
- TOVAR, A. “Hidronimia europea antigua: Jarama, Balsa”. *Habis* n.º 1 (1970), 5-9.
- TRASK, R. L. *The history of Basque*. Routledge, London; New York. 1997.
- URTASUN, B. “Toponimia de Oroz-Betelu”. *Fontes Linguae Vasconum* n.º 9 (1971), 333-347.
- VINSON, J. “Importance des noms topographiques, lieux-dits, etc., pour l’étude de la langue basque”. *Revista Internacional de los Estudios Vascos* n.º 3 (1909), 349-356.
- VINSON, J. “Les lieux-dites et la grammaire basque”. *Gure Herria* n.º 5, 11 (1925), 625-632.
- WESLAGER, C. A. “House nicknames”. *Names: A Journal of Onomastics* n.º 4, 2 (1956), 83-85.
- ZALDUA, L. M. *Urumeako zilegimendietako toponimia* [Toponymy of the Urumea frank mountains]. Hernani and Urnieta City Councils, Hernani; Urnieta. 2012.

