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## Basque Copulative Compounds: A Problem in Irreversible Binomials

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O. Yakov Malkiel's writings have continually been concerned with the manifold forces acting on linguistic forms, emphasizing the many minor factors that are at play in controlling the historical development of words and phrases, in addition to the well-recognized major ones. These characteristics are well illustrated by his memorable article "Studies in Irreversible Binomials" (1959), a work which perhaps finds its closest relatives in the Malkielian oeuvre in studies of lexical polarization (1951) and diachronic hypercharacterization (1957-58).

Irreversible binomials are phrases such as English bread and butter, pins and needles, law and order, that always occur with a fixed ordering of their parts. After examining many characteristics of such formations in a goodly sampling of European languages, Malkiel addresses the reasons for their specific ordering, and manages to isolate six broad forces of semantic, phonological, and historical nature, whose interplay he goes on to elucidate. Most of the phonological and semantic factors will come into account in what follows.

There is a limited amount of additional literature on these questions, of which I would mention especially Richard D. Abraham's "Fixed Order of Coordinates: A Study in Comparative Lexicography" (1950) and the more recent searching study of William E. Cooper and John Robert Ross entitled "World Order" (1975), which is largely restricted to English materials illustrating fixed orderings that they label "freezes".<sup>1</sup>

1. I wish to consider evidence of a somewhat different sort from that primarily treated by these sources, in that it comes from the copulative compounds of Basque, and thus concerns the ordering of the parts within single words. I hasten to add that the irreversible binomials of Malkiel were defined as being limited to phrases, although their close relationship to copulative compounds such as English composer-critic, teacher-scholar, and bittersweet was pointed out (1959:139). Cooper and Ross's "freezes" subsume both phrasal and intra-word phenomena.

Basque exhibits a moderately productive pattern of copulative (or *dvandva*) compounds, made by combining two nouns, or occasionally other parts of speech, adjectives, verbs, or adverbs. In any case the resulting word is a substantive--noun or adjective. Its meaning is that of a group consisting of one or more of each of the two entities, the indication of the number of each part being neutralized.<sup>2</sup> Most of these words count as plurals, and usually take a plural case ending, such as the absolutive-ergative -ak seen on most of my examples. Compounds where the parts are words for liquids or substances such as metals, and sometimes verbs, count as singular and may take the definite singular absolutive

ending -a. In accordance with patterns of Basque syntax, such suffixes are, however, not always present.

2. Many of these words are completely frozen formations, shared by the speakers of the language, while others are more ephemeral nonce-forms.<sup>3</sup> The informants disagree considerably as to whether certain collocations are appropriately compounds rather than phrases formed with the conjunction eta, ta 'and', but there is less disagreement about the orderings of the parts. In any case the entities labeled by the two members of the compound must belong to the same semantic category from some point of view.

The collocations are seemingly best established when they involve persons, categorized either as to age and sex:

neska-mutifak 'girls and boys'  
jaun-andreak 'gentlemen and ladies'

or by kinship relationships:

anai-añebak 'brothers and sisters'  
seme-alabak 'sons and daughters'.

Other representative categories for which these compounds occur may be illustrated:

roles: arotz-dendariak 'carpenters and storekeepers'  
ikusle-jokalariak 'spectators and players'  
body parts: begi-belafiak 'eyes and ears'  
oin-eskuak 'feet and hands'  
animals: ari-ardiak 'rams and ewes'  
ardi-bildotsak 'ewes and lambs'  
foodstuffs: sagar-udareak 'apples and pears'  
jan-edanak 'food and drinks'  
liquids: ur-ardaoa 'water and wine'  
kafêsnea 'coffee with milk'  
metals: uñe-zilara 'gold and silver'  
artifacts: ate-leioak 'doors and windows'  
luma-lapitzak 'pens and pencils'  
natural objects: eguzkilarriak 'sun and moon'  
ibai-erreak 'rivers and streams'  
places: mendi-zelaiak 'mountains and plains'  
zeru-lurak 'heaven and earth'  
transactions: sal-erosi (saldu-erosietan, sal-erosketa) 'selling and buying'  
ar-eman (ar-emanak, artu-emonak, artu-emonetan) 'taking and giving'  
motions: joan-etorria (joan-jin, fan-txin) 'going and coming'  
speech: galdêrantzunak 'questions and answers'  
izen-deiturak 'name and surname'  
time: gaur-biañetan 'today and tomorrow'  
goiz-añatsaldetan 'mornings and afternoons'  
colors: txuri-goñi 'white and red'.

My English translations show the literal meanings of the parts in the order in which they occur, which may or may not correspond to that of the corresponding natural English binomial. The meanings of a few of these words are somewhat specialized or idiomatic:

andra-gizonak 'married couple', lit. 'woman and man'  
 gora-berak 'problems', lit. 'ups and downs'  
 begi-belafiak 'attentive', lit. 'eyes and ears'  
 ar-emanak 'relationships', lit. 'taking and giving'  
 biñuz-gofi 'nude', lit. 'undressed and red'  
 luze-labur 'size', lit. 'long and short'  
 ori-baltzak 'cakes from Guernica', lit. 'yellow and blacks'  
 txuri-urdiñak 'soccer team from San Sebastián', lit. 'the white and blues'.

3. Most synchronic explanations for the orderings of irreversible binomials fall into two categories, phonological and semantic, of which we will first consider the former. Malkiel notes, in connection with his category of "patterns of formal preferences", that "Modern English displays a very marked partiality to short plus long" (1959:149). Other workers including Abraham (1950:279-283) and predecessors such as Jespersen (1905:233) and Behaghel (1909) have also noted this strong rhythmic tendency. Cooper and Ross (1975:78) point out that this principle was adduced already by Pāṇini in his treatment of Sanskrit dvandva compounds, who states (2.2.34) that, after a few other grammatical factors are excluded, "[in a dvandva] a stem with fewer syllables [goes first]" (Böhtlingk 1887:55). This factor clearly applies strongly to our Basque copulative compounds also, although here it seems clear that the inflectional suffix usually present enters into the accounting to the extent of at least one syllable.

4. Unlike the situation regarding the phrasal irreversible binomials of English or other languages, when considering an explanation in terms of rhythmic ordering, it does not suffice to merely specify the relative lengths, such as shorter before longer, for here one must consider carefully what the alternative would be. That is, the reverse ordering of a Basque copulative compound, due to the action of certain morphophonemic rules, will sometimes yield a word with a different number of syllables, and will not necessarily yield the opposite ordering of the length of the parts.

There are two main reasons for differing word lengths. When the most common definite absolutive or ergative suffixes, such as plural *-ak*, are added to stems with final *a*, no additional syllable is added to the word, as one is with other stem finals. Thus the following compound, with its second part an *a*-stem, has five syllables, whereas its potential reversed counterpart would have six, with an additional syllable contributed by the suffix:

seme-alabak (5) 'sons and daughters': \*alaba-semeak (6).

The other morphophonemic rule accounting for differing lengths of

corresponding words with alternative orderings is one of the contraction of two identical vowels into a single vowel when they come together at the junction of the two parts. This contraction is not always indicated in the orthography, which may write the two separate vowels with an intervening hyphen, but it is usual in ordinary speech. In these examples such coalesced vowels are indicated by a circumflex accent, as the -â- in:

nebâfëbak (4) 'brothers and sisters': \*áfëba-nebak (5).

Since the potential alternative order here would not bring together two identical vowels, this would have an additional syllable, five as opposed to four. In counting the number of syllables in each part of a word, it seems appropriate to assign syllables containing such contracted vowels to the second part. Comparable to this phenomenon, although not so clearly a morphophonemic change, is the development of diphthongs ai, ei, oi as these vowels are brought together in a compound. A hyphen would usually be written in this case, but I will also write the circumflex accent over the first part of the diphthong (-âi-, etc.) as a reminder of the reduced syllable count, and will correspondingly assign these diphthongs to the second part of the word:

osabâizebak (5) 'uncles and aunts': \*izeba-osabak (6).

5. We may also illustrate typical cases wherein the lengths of the individual parts of words do or do not vary when the parts are reversed. These words are of medium length, wherein, in at least one of the potential orderings, each part is of two or three syllables, as indicated by the numerals preceding each example. In this example both parts are a-stems, so that their lengths would not change with reordering:

22:22 gora-berak 'ups and downs' (= 'problems'): \*bera-gorak.

Our next example illustrates the common case wherein the second part would be longer with either ordering, as it bears the added inflectional suffix:

23:23 andre-gizonak 'women and men' (= 'married couples'):  
\*gizon-andreak.

Another example shows this same effect as counterbalancing shortening of a-stems and vowel contraction cancel each other out:

23:23 anai-áfëbak 'brothers and sisters': \*áfëbânaiak.

In our next examples the preferred arrangement has an unequal number of syllables, the second part being longer, whereas in the alternative both parts would be of equal length. In these two the a-final stems enter into this equalizing, in one or the other di-

rection:

23:33 seme-alabak 'sons and daughters': \*alaba-semeak  
 23:22 aita-semeak 'father and sons': \*seme-aitak.

In these others, it is merely the final suffix that accounts for the difference:

13:22 jaun-andreak 'gentlemen and ladies': \*andre-jaunak  
 24:33 senar-emazteak 'husband and wife': \*emazte-senařak.

In a final case the parts in the preferred arrangement are of equal length, but would be unequal in the rearrangement; here again it is the added suffix that makes the difference:

22:13 zeru-luřak 'heaven and earth': \*lur-zeruak.

6. The next data that we will examine addresses directly our hypothesis that a predominant factor is a rhythmic one, encouraging the arrangement in which the parts will contain an unequal number of syllables, and the longer part will come last. Our first examples include the majority of cases, in which the two parts indeed differ in this way, but whether and to what extent they support this hypothesis depends on what the alternative would be.

There are only a few isolated counter-examples in which the alternative version would have a greater differentiation of length. In the following it is because of vowel contraction:

23:13 oġi-ardoak 'bread and wine': \*ardôġiak.

In this it is because of the presence of an a-stem in the second part:

23:24 izekôĩlobak 'aunts and nephews': \*ĩlobâizekoak.

And in this last example, in addition to vowel contraction, the greater differentiation depends on the allomorphs of the locative suffix that it contains, which contributes an extra syllable when after a consonant-final stem:

23:14 iřun-argitan 'in the dark and the light': \*argiřunetan.

Such a difference in the length of the suffix beyond one added syllable seems never to be relevant.

Examples of the next type are fairly numerous, in which the word would have the same shape and length under either ordering of the parts, so that the rhythmic factor alone cannot be controlling their ordering:

12:12 aitâmak 'father and mother': \*amâitak

- on-gaitzak 'advantages and disadvantages': \*gaitz-onak  
 23:23 anai-afebak 'brothers and sisters': \*afebânaiak  
 aitonâmonak 'grandfather and grandmother': \*amonâitonak  
 ari-ardiak 'rams and ewes': \*ardi-ariak  
 ardi-bildotsak 'ewes and lambs': \*bildots-ardiak  
 izen-deiturak 'name and surname': \*deiturâizenak  
 ate-leioak 'doors and windows': \*leio-ateak.

Examples like the following, wherein the alternative would have a lesser differentiation of length, are neither numerous nor strongly supportive:

- 14:23 gaur-biafetan 'today and tomorrow': \*biar-gauetan  
 13:23 kafêsnea 'coffee with milk': \*esne-kafea  
 24:34 ezker-eskumara 'to the left and right': \*eskuma-ezkefera  
 24:23 osabâizekoak 'uncle and aunt': \*izekôsabak  
 25:34 ikaslêirakasleak 'students and teacher': \*irakaslêikasleak  
 35:34 ikusle-jokalaria 'spectators and players': \*jokalarfikusleak.

They will be seen to depend on factors of differential stem length, vowel contraction, and allomorphs *-ra/-era* of the allative suffix.

Our next examples show the preferred differentiation of length of their parts, whereas the alternative ordering would present parts of equal length. The preponderance of the examples noted belong to some of these patterns, which supports our hypothesis:

- 13:22 amâlabak 'mother and daughters': \*alabâmak  
 jaun-andreak 'gentlemen and ladies': \*andre-jaunak  
 jan-edanak 'food and drink': \*edan-janak  
 ur-ardaoa 'water and wine': \*ardao-ura  
 gau-egunak 'night and day': \*egun-gauak  
 23:22 aita-semeak 'father and sons': \*seme-aitak  
 andra-gizonak 'women and men': \*gizon-andrak  
 neska-mutiĭak 'girls and boys': \*mutiĭ-neskak  
 luma-lapitzak 'pens and pencils': \*lapitz-lumak  
 14:33 galdêrantzunak 'questions and answers': \*erantzun-galdeak  
 24:33 senar-emazteak 'husband and wife': \*emazte-senařak  
 sagar-udareak 'apples and pears': \*udare-sagařak  
 begi-belařiak 'eyes and ears': \*belaři-begiak  
 lapitz-liburuak 'pencils and books': \*liburu-lapitzak  
 arotz-dendariak 'carpenters and storekeepers':  
 \*dendari-arotzak  
 23:33 seme-alabak 'sons and daughters': \*alaba-semeak  
 osabâizebak 'uncle and aunt': \*izeba-osabak  
 kriau-kriadak 'manservants and maidservants': \*kriada-kriauak  
 34:33 koĭlara-tenedorak 'spoon and fork': \*tenedor-koĭarak  
 24:44 eřegêregiņak 'king and queen': \*eřegiņa-eřegeak

- 35:44 mediku-abogaduak 'doctors and lawyers': \*abogadu-medikuak  
askazi-adiskideak 'relatives and friends': \*adiskide-askaziak.

And finally, in the following, the alternative would have its first part as the longer one; such examples are not very numerous:

- 13:32 nebâñebak 'brothers and sisters': \*añeba-nebak  
23:32 ezker-eskuma 'left and right': \*eskuma-ezker  
24:43 mutil-neskatilak 'boys and girls': \*neskatila-mutilak  
15:43 goiz-añatsaldetan 'mornings and afternoons':  
\*añatsalde-goizetan  
25:43 gizon-emakumeak 'men and women': \*emakume-gizonak.

In the next groups of examples, the compound in the preferred arrangement has parts of equal length. In the following the alternative arrangement would give a word with a shorter first part, so that these are counter-examples to our hypothesis:

- 22:13 zeru-lufak 'heaven and earth': \*lur-zeruak  
ori-baltzak 'yellow and blacks' (= cakes from Guernica):  
\*baltz-oriak  
22:23 eske-opak 'petitions and offerings': \*opa-eskeak  
33:15 atzapar-ortzekin 'with claws and teeth': \*ortz-atzapañekin  
44:34 ugazaba-langileak 'bosses and workers': \*langile-ugazabak.

Such examples are also not numerous, and most of them correspond to semantic tendencies that will be discussed. A few additional ones have occurred as alternatives that were not preferred by most informants; these are discussed below (sec. 10). Examples where the two parts would be of equal length with either ordering are few:

- 22:22 gora-berak (gora-beerak, gora-beherak) 'ups and downs'  
(= 'problems'): \*bera-gorak.

(It will be seen that the parts are not equal here in all dialects). And there are none noted where the alternative would have its first part longer.

There are hardly any examples wherein the first part is the longer one; the following, where the alternative would have the first part shorter, is also explainable on semantic grounds:

- 43:24 ugazaba-otseñak 'master and servant': \*otsein-ugazabak.

Thus the statistical preponderance of the examples strongly favors our rhythmic hypothesis.

7. We may next consider the question of whether there might



be a tendency toward economy or its reverse entering into the choice of the preferred order, in examples that are in conformity with the rhythmic hypothesis. As explained in sec. 4, alternative orderings may yield different lengths of the word in terms of number of syllables; these lengths are indicated here by the numerals preceding the examples. In the following the preferred arrangement gives a shorter word:

- 4:5 nebâřebak 'brothers and sisters': \*ařeba-nebak  
 kafêsnea 'coffee with milk': \*esne-kafea  
 5:6 seme-alabak 'sons and daughters': \*alaba-semeak  
 osabâilobak 'uncles and nephews': \*iloba-osabak  
 6:7 mutil-neskatilak 'boys and girls': \*neskatila-mutiľak  
 6:8 eřegêřegiňak 'king and queen': \*eřegiňa-eřegeak;

in these the length would be the same either way:

- 3:3 aitâmak 'father and mother': \*amâitak  
 4:4 jaun-andreak 'gentlemen and ladies': \*andre-jaunak  
 amâlabak 'mother and daughters': \*alabâmak  
 5:5 anai-ařebak 'brothers and sisters': \*ařebânaiak  
 6:6 senar-emazteak 'husband and wife': \*emazte-senařak  
 7:7 gizon-emakumeak 'men and women': \*emakume-gizonak  
 8:8 mediku-abogaduak 'doctors and lawyers': \*abogadu-medikuak;

and in this final group the preferred version is actually longer:

- 5:4 neska-mutiľak 'girls and boys': \*mutil-neskak  
 luma-lapitzak 'pens and pencils': \*lapitz-lumak  
 5:3 uda-neguak 'summer and winter': \*negûdak  
 6:5 osabâizekoak 'uncle and aunt': \*izekôsabak  
 7:6 koľara-tenedorak 'spoon and fork': \*tenedor-koľarak.

These latter examples, especially, demonstrate that the tendency towards rhythmic differentiation overrides any towards mere economy.

8. We turn now to the consideration of some semantic factors which may either reinforce or counteract the rhythmic tendency. The first several categories displayed fall under Malkiel's category of "priorities inherent in the structure of a society" (1959: 145-147).

Our first examples are concerned with ordering in terms of the sexes of the persons or animals that are combined. Here we see the predominant type, in which the male precedes the female (cf. Abraham's [1950:284] "masculine and feminine" category, Cooper and Ross's [1975:65] "male"):

- jaun-andreak 'gentlemen and ladies'  
 senar-emazteak 'husband and wife'  
 seme-alabak 'sons and daughters'  
 nebâřebak 'brothers and sisters'

sui-eṛaiñak 'son-in-law and daughter-in-law'  
 aitâmak 'father and mother'  
 anai-aṛebak 'brothers and sisters'  
 ari-ardiak 'rams and ewes'.

All the orderings here are either in accord with the rhythmic principle or (the last three) neutral with respect to it. The following are the limited number of exceptional cases noted in which female precedes male. They are clearly encouraged by the rhythmic tendency, which overrides this semantic one:<sup>4</sup>

neska-mutiñlak 'girls and boys'  
 andra-gizonak (andre-gizonak) 'women and men' (= 'married couples')

There is an apparently exceptionless tendency, when dealing with kinship relationships of persons or animals, to have the term for the member of the older generation come first (cf. Cooper and Ross's [1975:65] "adult", partly Abraham's [1950:284] "the more important-the less important"):

aita-semeak 'father and sons'  
 amâlabak 'mother and daughters'  
 osabâilobak 'uncle and nephews'  
 ardi-bildotsak 'ewes and lambs'  
 izekôilobak 'aunt and nephews'.

Again most examples are compatible with or neutral to the rhythmic principle, although the last example (a Vizcayan dialect form) goes against it. This tendency will override that of ordering with male first, as in:

ama-semeak 'mother and sons'.

There is also a strong tendency to place the term for a social superior before that of his inferior (cf. Abraham's "the more important-the less important"):

ugazaba-otseñak 'master and servant'  
 ugazaba-langiñleak 'bosses and workers'.

These examples go against the rhythmic tendency, whereas in the following the latter takes precedence:

ikaslêirakasleak 'students and teachers'.

Our remaining categories would largely fall under Malkiel's broader category of "precedence of the stronger of two polarized traits" (1959:147-149) (cf. again Abraham's "the more important-the less important", overlapping with his "light and dark" [284]). Here we see stronger before weaker as applied to two rhythmically

neutral forms:

eguzkĩl̃argiak 'sun and moon'  
ufe-zĩl̃afa 'gold and silver'.

The strong spatial semantic tendency to order higher before lower is seen in the following:

gora-berak 'ups and downs' (= 'problems')  
zeru-lufak 'heaven and earth'.

In the latter this overrides the rhythmic tendency. Cooper and Ross (1975:82-84) also note this as a powerful tendency that overrides other factors. The former would overlap with Abraham's (1950:285) "positive-negative" category, to which also belongs:

on-gaitzak 'advantages and disadvantages'.

Finally, these examples show an ordering of time categories in correspondence with chronological sequence (Abraham's [1950:285] "temporal sequence" category):

gaur-biafetan 'today and tomorrow'  
goiz-afatsaldetan 'mornings and afternoons'  
biar-etzieta 'tomorrow and the day after tomorrow'  
atzo-gaufetan 'yesterday and today'.

These vary in their fit with the rhythmic principle; the last is weakly contrary to it. The following works backwards in time while being rhythmically appropriate (it still fits within Cooper and Ross's [1975:65] "now" type):

atzo-eranegunetan 'yesterday and the day before yesterday'.

Iconic modeling of sequential relationship is also seen in:

izen-deiturak 'name and surname'.

9. We may also illustrate another factor, on the borderline between grammar and semantics, that probably enters into the ordering of these copulative compounds. Basque also has very productive patterns of non-copulative compounds, wherein one member is subordinate to or governed by the other, especially with the first member modifying the second, as in (Ormaechea "Orixe" and Oyarzábal 1963:15):

esne-bei 'milk cow'  
bei-esne 'cow's milk'.

Thus the ordering of the parts of a copulative compound may be such as to avoid this alternative interpretation as a governing compound:

ate-leioak 'doors and windows': leio-ateak 'doors with windows  
 ur-ardaoa 'water and wine': ardao-ura 'wine-water, watery wine  
 gizon-emakumeak 'men and women': emakume-gizonak 'ladies' men'

Correspondingly, it seems likely that rhythm is part of the evidence for semantic interpretation of compounds. That is, if they are arranged in violation of the rhythmic principle, this will encourage an interpretation as a governing, rather than copulative, compound.

10. An examination of the few cases where alternative orderings have been observed will also be instructive. For the following the ordering putting the social superior first was noted in an explanatory passage in a textbook (Altuna 1972:7), whereas the alternative ordering in accordance with the rhythmic principle was favored by several informants:

ikaslêirakasleak 'students and teacher': irakaslêikasleak  
 'teacher and students'

For this next, informants differed as between the former (also in Uhlenbeck 1911:6), which favors the rhythmic principle, and the latter, which embodies the strong semantic tendency toward higher before lower:

oin-eskuak 'feet and hands': esku-oiñak 'hands and feet'.

The latter of the following pair is explicitly discussed in an older source (Azkue 1920:165, fn. 1; 1923-25:397, fn. 1) as a semantic minority type; informants understandably favored the former on both rhythmic and semantic grounds:

mofoi-neskameak 'manservants and maidservants': neskame-  
 mofoiak 'maidservants and manservants'.

And for this last, some informants preferred the former version, while another felt either ordering to be possible. Here the rhythmic principle is neutral. One, however, felt the latter would have a different meaning, 'mountains which are flat':

mendi-zelaiak 'mountains and plains': zelai-mendiak 'plains  
 and mountains'.

11. Thus this examination of a class of compounds the ordering of whose parts is not grammatically prescribed adds to previous discussion of irreversible binomials or "freezes" data of a popular type not generally available in European languages.<sup>5</sup> Irreversible compounds were only briefly mentioned by Malkiel (1959) and were not studied by Cooper and Ross (1975) because of their rarity in English. But this confirms the relevance and strength of several phonological and semantic factors noted by earlier workers, especially the rhythmic tendency or Pāṇini's principle. Cooper and Ross (1975:78) find this to be the most powerful of several phono-

logical factors that they isolate, but it is clearly operative in English (phrasal) freezes only when the first element is monosyllabic. In these compounds, however, we see it operating as a differential between stretches, the shorter of which may contain as many as three syllables. On the other hand, this seems to support Cooper and Ross's (1975:93) hierarchy that finds stronger restrictions on the order of morphemes within a word than on the order of conjuncts within a phrasal coordinate structure.<sup>6</sup> It may also be the case as regards the relative prominence of phonological and semantic factors, that the former become relatively stronger when the parts of a single word are in question.

12. To summarize with cheek in tongue, I have tried to weigh the cons and pros and the outs and ins of this matter, while minding my q's and p's; the theory has its downs and ups, although it is hardly a matter of death and life, not a swim or sink proposition.<sup>7</sup>

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>See Abraham (1950:279-283) for a good summary of older suggestions of phonological reasons for ordering. Note also Hetzron's (1972:254-255) brief treatment, with reference to Behaghel (1909) and successors (including Malkiel). Recently Ashley (1982) has discussed the fact that such pairs in English often combine words coming from different sources (Latin and French, French and English, French and Old Norse, Old Norse and English, etc.).

<sup>2</sup>As pointed out, e.g., by Zamarripa 1931:199.

<sup>3</sup>My sources are rather eclectic, but emphasis has been put on the widely shared and contemporaneous examples. There are probably a handful of obsolescent or non-recurrent forms present, but the sources show much overlap in the examples offered. The most useful compilations, including extracts from older literature, are Uhlenbeck 1911:6-7, Azkue 1920:165-166, largely repeated in 1923-25:396-399 and 1945:349-351, and Villasante 1974:9, 11, 14, 17-18. More fragmentary sources include Zamarripa 1931:198-199, Uhlenbeck 1947:70, Lafitte 1962:38-40, Peña 1963:85, and Ormaechea "Orixe" and Oyarzábal 1963:15. Most of my data from informants represents dialects in the vicinity of the Vizcayan-Guipúzcoan boundary, and the spellings adopted for cited forms are, with a few exceptions, representative of western (Spanish) varieties of Basque. Other dialects are sporadically represented. The symbol  $\underset{\sim}{r}$  represents the apical trill often spelled rr, and the  $\underset{\sim}{l}$  represents the palatal lateral often spelled ll (or, since largely predictable, just l). I follow a common convention in writing r for  $\underset{\sim}{r}$  stem- and syllable-finally. The tonal accents that many of these dialects have on compound words seem not to be relevant to the ordering of their parts and are, as is customary, not indicated. I am indebted to Joseba Zulaika, Juan Oñatibia, Miren Azkarate, Txomin Arratibel, and especially Gorka Aulestia for sharing their Sprachgefühl with me. I am also indebted to Miren Azkarate and Kathryn Klingebiel for bibliographic suggestions.

<sup>4</sup>There is hardly any discussion of the ordering of these compounds in the Basque descriptive sources, but there is awareness indicated of this male-before-female pattern. Thus Azkue (1920:165, fn. 1; 1923-25:397, fn. 1) comments that the formation andre-jaunak 'ladies and gentlemen' used by speakers on a certain public occasion reflected an excess of politesse, and he goes on to exemplify the pattern along with two exceptions to it (one of them discussed in sec. 10). Similarly, Zamarripa (1931:199) mentions that the two exceptions shown here might be found surprising.

<sup>5</sup>From Hatcher's (1951) admirably thorough study of dvandva compounds in western Europe we learn (1-2) that Old English documents still attest a few survivals of the Indo-European pattern, especially with kinship terms. Hatcher isolates two later "waves" of translations or adaptations of foreign patterns. She mentions (13, fn. 4) the occurrence of such compounds in Basque (after Uhlenbeck 1947:70), as well as in Finno-Ugric (after Lewy 1911); the latter is also attested to by Collinder 1965:49. There are few survivals of the Indo-European pattern in Greek or Latin (Hatcher 1951: 2-3), but examples are reported for Old Irish (Thurneysen 1946:164). They are said to be very rare in Welsh (Jones 1931:25).

<sup>6</sup>Cooper and Ross (1975:73-77) use perforce for evidence of constraints within words in English examples such as wigwag, zigzag, riffraff, mishmash (with vowel change), and wingding, rumdum, hobnob (with initial consonant change), where the parts have a dubious independent existence. Parallel cases with onomatopoeic flavor also exist in Basque, such as fristi-frasta 'any old way', kiriz-kařaz 'noise of shoes in walking', tiki-taka 'walking step by step', dinbi-danba 'hitting with blows', zirti-zarta 'helter-skelter', kili-kolo 'insecure, indecisive' (with vowel change), and aiko-maiko 'indecisive', zafa-mafa 'rubbish', ziri-miri 'drizzle', zufu-mufu 'rumble' (with initial consonant change, usually to m). The latter pattern also occurs applied to morphemes and with a plural ending, making them more like the copulative compounds: azur-mazufak 'remains of a meal' (azur 'bone'), kako-makoak 'schemes' (kako 'hook'). Cf. Azkue 1920:167-170; 1923-25:401-405; Lafitte 1962:40; Peřa 1963:85; Villasante 1974:26-27.

<sup>7</sup>This summary is highly indebted to Anon. 1981, outlining the program of the Pepper and Salt Association, which wants to turn the language outside in, changing phrases kaboodle and kit.

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