

Chapter 12

A Fourth Basque-Icelandic Glossary

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Our knowledge of Basque-Icelandic contacts during the seventeenth century is increasing steadily,¹ judging from the growing number of specialized works being devoted to the subject from different points of view.² The consequence of this growing body of scholarship is, in some cases, a shift in our understanding of the relations between Icelanders and Basque visitors that may force us to rethink some of the received ideas on the subject. For instance, archaeological research carried out and discussed by Edvarsson and Rafnsson (2005) attests to the existence in the Icelandic West Fjords of a whaling station, which presents remarkable similarities to the one excavated at Red Bay in Newfoundland, and were it found to be indeed of Basque origin, it would imply a long-term relation between Icelanders and a small number of Basque fishermen.³ The continuous presence of a Basque population on Icelandic soil, or in proximity thereof, on the other hand, may provide a window from which to reassess some of the hypotheses put forth concerning the elaboration of Basque-Icelandic glossaries.

¹ We would like to thank Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson specifically for the extensive help in discussing the manuscript and its palaeographical aspects, as well as Guðrún Ingólfssdóttir, Margrét Eggertsdóttir, Már Jónsson and Magnús Rafnsson for lengthy discussions of thorny points of spelling and handwriting, as well as general discussion on literacy in Iceland, and the value and the interpretation of the forth glossary. Special thanks to Óskar Halldórsson Holm for being ever ready to discuss translations and interpretations, often with very short notice. Needless to say they are not responsible for any of the views expressed in this paper, or any of the remaining mistakes.

² See Guðmundsson 1979, Hualde 1984, Huxley 1987, Bilbao 1991, Erlingsson 1995, Knörr 2006, Miglio 2008.

³ See Miglio 2008, Edvardsson and Rafnsson, this volume.

In this chapter, we will focus on a new Basque-Icelandic glossary found in Harvard's Houghton Library, as part of a manuscript containing heterogeneous Icelandic material. Our aim will be mostly philological, as we will try to elucidate the content of the glossary (not always an easy task), and the points of contact with the glossaries edited by Deen (1937), which constituted, until today, the only available evidence of linguistic contact.⁴ As we will show, the new manuscript is clearly not a copy of the glossaries edited by Deen, for reasons we will make clear below. All of glossaries, however, have many aspects in common: the mixed dialectal origin of the Basque words, the pidgin-like character of some of the Basque entries (as in the second glossary edited by Deen), and the heterogeneous nature of the lexical entries gathered in the glossary.

At the end of the chapter, we will put the new evidence to task, by offering a new cultural perspective on the glossaries, and a reassessment of the received view concerning the elaboration of those glossaries, along the lines of Miglio (2008).

1. Literacy, glossaries and manuscripts in the Icelandic tradition

A Basque-Icelandic glossary is undoubtedly an exotic item, it is perhaps surprising to find therefore, not one, but four of them, not counting the manuscripts that surely preceded at least the second, third and fourth glossary, and on which these last three are based. Grunnavíkur-Jón (see below), who copied the second glossary, states that he had copied it from a manuscript that was lost in the great fire of Copenhagen in 1728; Sveinbjörn Egilsson, who copied the third glossary, also states that he was copying it from a 1685 original; and it is clear from the content of the fourth glossary that it was copied from an older original that is now lost. Iceland's medieval literature produced an impressive number of masterpieces and they enjoyed significant popularity in the form of manuscripts throughout the ages, which we may assume had wide circulation in the country.⁵

The culture that brought manuscript writing and reading to Iceland is, as in other parts of north-western Europe, the Christian culture of monks

⁴ Jón lærði (see the translation of *A True Account* in this volume) hints at linguistic misunderstandings and difficulties of communication between Icelanders and Basque sailors as one of the aggravating factors leading up to the massacre of 1615, which he reports on from eyewitnesses' accounts.

⁵ See Eggertsdóttir (2006).

and cloisters, as Loftur Guttormsson points out.⁶ It is difficult to reconstruct with any precision how widespread manuscript ownership, circulation and literacy were before the 18th century in Iceland. However, we know from secondary sources, reports, chronicles, and private letters that except for priests and clerics, few people could read and write in Iceland before the end of the eighteenth century.⁷ There is a long Icelandic tradition of scholarship that believes that literacy was widespread even before then,⁸ essentially because we know from indirect sources that many manuscripts circulated among farms and communal reading out loud from either religious texts or the family sagas was often practiced, especially in the long winter evenings, at least at the most affluent farms.⁹ Guttormsson points to an increase in the production of manuscripts in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which may be connected to a further spread of literacy, also to less affluent farms (this is deduced by the existence of manuscripts of lesser value side by side with more precious ones that indicates that the former may have been owned by simple farmers¹⁰).

⁶ Loftur Guttormsson (1989: 119, 121).

⁷ Guðrún Nordal (1999: 8) maintains that the ability to write in the Middle Ages was shared by a very small community, a view also shared by James Knirk (1993:551). Knirk states, for instance, that recent finds demonstrate that runes were used for a wide variety of activities. He draws a distinction between the temporary nature of messages written in runes, and the permanence of documents written in the Latin alphabet (deeds, literature). The knowledge of runes was probably more widespread than the Latin alphabet, which in turn was the domain of a restricted elite (clerics and nobility). Bauer (2011:198-9) also supports this dichotomy: runes had a magical, ritual function, rather than a practical one and -at least in Iceland- messages were of a more ephemeral nature. Monks had the monopoly of writing in the Latin alphabet, and works of art such as the Icelandic sagas, on parchment, were destined to resist the vagaries of time, whereas the perishable pieces of wood (*kefli*) on which we find the few Icelandic items inscribed with runes were etched by laymen, private citizens with whatever interested them at the moment of writing, without any systematicity (*ibid.*). But see Eggertsdóttir 2006: 175.

⁸ See for instance Páll E. Ólason (1926), Einar Ólafur Sveinsson (1944).

⁹ See Eggertsdóttir (2006: 175) about the tradition of communal reading called *kvöldvaka*, and Guttormsson (1989: 124).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

Icelandic manuscripts in the late Middle Ages did not only include the lives of saints and Icelandic sagas, but many were legal codes, and we know from *graffiti* on the margins of such manuscripts¹¹ that they were used to learn to read, as well as – one assumes- to know the laws of the country, which given the popularity of such manuscripts, must have been the main reason.¹² If we assume that on average, one person must have known how to read on every farm (even if not all farms had a reader, it is likely that on bigger farms there would be more than one) of the 50,000-60,000 Icelanders from the Settlement to the early twentieth century, and assuming an average of 10 people per farm, we can perhaps postulate that about five or six percent of the population was literate. However, it should be pointed out that the district that the Basque whalers visited (see map below in Fig. 1) covered an extended area and was the least populated in Iceland in the seventeenth century.¹³ the Strandir Administrative District, in fact, stretches out for about 200 km, and it would have taken a man on foot six to seven days to travel from one end to the other. Moreover, we know from the census in 1703, that there were 1036 inhabitants in the District, distributed over 123 farms (estates).¹⁴ So that there were on average 8.5 inhabitants per estate over a very wide area, 160 men were registered as ‘farmers’ (in other words, one running a farm, rather than simply working on someone else’s farm as a farmhand).



Fig. 1 - The Strandir district in the Westfjords of Iceland.

¹¹ Ibid:125.

¹² A tradition of true passion for legal discussion and knowledge is also gleaned from the Family Sagas, see for instance many disquisitions on legal procedure and tactics in *Njáls saga*.

¹³ Jónsson (2008:10).

¹⁴ Ibid.

Sources on literacy do not improve in the early modern period: with the Reformation, the authorities started insisting on the importance of being able to reach the word of God individually,¹⁵ and reading became more important even as an individual activity rather than a social one. The first printing press came to Iceland around 1530, which also increased the amount of reading material circulating at the time. Margrét Eggertsdóttir quite convincingly points out that the real revolution in this respect was the introduction of paper to Iceland, which was considerably cheaper than vellum, since many literary works circulated not in book-form but in manuscript form well beyond the introduction of the printing press.¹⁶

Writing on the other hand was not as important for religious purposes as reading the word of God (or Luther's catechism), so that literacy in this period for most non-clerics must be interpreted essentially as knowing how to read. However, a further *caveat* regarding the duty to know religious matters has to do with the fact that such duties could be fulfilled by the parishioners through learning prayers and precepts by heart. Pastors were supposed to check on their parishioners through house visits, but knowing their letters could simply mean that the parishioners had learnt the required texts by heart, which would satisfy the legal requirements—even in the eighteenth century, when laws on minimum obligatory education were established and literacy did increase. It should be pointed out that there were no primary schools in Iceland until the nineteenth century, except for the 'learned' school connected to the bishoprics of Hólar in the north and Skálholt in the south, attended only by the children of affluent families, who were likely to become priests and public administrators. All others were to be taught by parents at their farm and the local pastor would check on their progress through house visits.¹⁷

The image of literacy in the seventeenth century that Loftur Guttormsson presents to us is a rather bleaker picture. From pastors' reports about parishioners in the Skálholt bishopric and recorded in the 'Registry of Souls' (*Sálnaregistrið*, 1748-1763), he calculates from the age of the parishioners how many would be literate starting from the period 1650-1679. This assumes that someone who knows how to read and write learnt as a youngster to do so and did not 'forget'. Guttormsson

¹⁵ Eggertsdóttir (2006: 175).

¹⁶ Ibid: 176.

¹⁷ Eggertsdóttir (2006: 175).

admits that the older data are not reliable because they only take few individuals into account,¹⁸ but the difference between the period 1650-1679, where 100% of the men and 85% of women could *not* read (the remaining 15% of women is undetermined), and 50 years later (1700-1709), when 74% of men and 37.8% of women could read, is definitely striking.

Loftur Guttormsson's conclusion is what we will accept here as relevant for the glossaries, that "only a small percentage of common folk would have been able to write in the mid 17th century,"¹⁹ certainly even fewer than those who were able to read, and all the more so at the beginning of the seventeenth century. This said, there were some common farmers' sons that were probably considered to be good learning material,²⁰ and were *undir bók settir* [literally 'set under a book', they were made to study their letters]. One of these was Jón Ólafsson Indíafari, and as his nickname implies, he was well-travelled, even as far as India. He was the son of a common farmer from the Westfjords, born in 1593, and travelled extensively to England, Denmark, there enrolling in the Danish army, and travelling to Svalbard and India as an artillery expert. He went to Svalbard on a whaling expedition for the Danish crown and on his ship there were 11 Basque harpooners and whaling experts. As an old man, he wrote his memoirs, and these are some of the most remarkable travel books that have ever been written, especially considering that Jón Ólafsson was a common peasant's son from a peripheral area, of a peripheral country, born at the end of the sixteenth century. Yet, he could read and write (and he wrote quite well).

It is important to mention Ólafsson not only as a counterexample to the paucity of literate commoners in Iceland in the seventeenth century, but also in connection with the glossaries and the Basque-Icelandic cultural contacts. Jón Ólafsson speaks of the 'Biscayans' at length (he even

¹⁸ Guttormsson, 1989:129.

¹⁹ Ibid:132.

²⁰ This was probably done by the pastor that paid his parishioners house calls, at least this seems to be implied in one of the letters published by Guðrún Ingólfssdóttir (2010:28) and written by one Kristín Halldórsdóttir, an eighteenth century upper class woman. She says about a young man living at her farm in a letter dated 1797: 'The half scholarship that his son Kristján got last year was revoked from him, as it happens to those considered to be unfit for school learning. He is therefore here presently and will be until spring, whatever may happen then'.

mentions a run-in with a particularly mischievous one that had to be solved in the presence of the ship's captain)²¹ and of his friendship with Jón *túlkur* 'the Interpreter' (for the Basques), who spoke some Icelandic, as he had been to Iceland on previous whaling trips. After a careful perusal of his memoirs, however, he never mentions knowing any word of Basque or that he ever collected Basque words in a glossary (contra the possibility expressed in Miglio 2008:32), but his travelogue is in fact important as a general example of what could interest –admittedly– a somewhat particular 'commoner'. That he may have thought about glossaries is clear from his biography and travelogue, which contains a small word-list comprising about thirty (30) words from Tamil to Icelandic, words that he learnt when he was stationed in India.²² And this is not the only glossary contained in Icelandic manuscripts during these centuries as a quick perusal of the index of Icelandic manuscripts reveals. For instance, Lbs 1998 8vo, a manuscript written by Jón Þorsteinsson (1765-1843), a book binder, contains mostly legal material, as well as a glossary of French and Latin terms used in Icelandic legal writings: *Nockrar franskar og Latinskar Gloosur (með þeirra utleggingu* or 'Some French and Latin Glosses with their Explanation').²³ It is therefore important to stress that glossaries were not born in a complete vacuum, but that there was a 'tradition' in Icelandic manuscripts of collecting explanations for Icelandic words in other languages, or even in Icelandic itself. One could argue for instance, that the *Skáldskaparmál* part of Snorri Sturluson's *Prose Edda*, where poetic terms are explained and given synonyms, is part of this tradition of glossary writing. It is likely that the glossary tradition was brought to Iceland with the Christian culture of monks and cloister learning, since the classical tradition abounds in bilingual documents and word-lists: Greek to Latin, for instance, or even monolingual glossaries explaining words in the classical languages that were particularly obscure or no longer intelligible at the time of the gloss.

In turn, the abundance of glossaries in Iceland can be explained as part of an Icelandic tradition that consisted of collecting all sorts of information and writing it down on paper, producing very diverse and composite manuscripts, *miscellanea*, as part of what Guðrún Ingólfssdóttir

²¹ See Blöndal's edition (1908:126-140)

²² *Ibid*:291.

²³ Thanks to Guðrún Ingólfssdóttir for bringing this manuscript to my attention.

has poignantly termed the ‘almanac tradition’ (*almanakshefð*) in Icelandic manuscripts.²⁴

The purpose of this information was undoubtedly practical to a certain extent (just as the information on tides and the times of dawn and sunset contained in the almanacs). In part, it was the desire to collect all sort of information, regardless of how useful it was: Jón Ólafsson Indíafari most likely did not write down a glossary of Tamil-Icelandic words thinking that Icelanders would actually use it in their travels, but rather as a curiosity about how things were done differently in those far away lands, including how different their speech was. A desire to establish the eyewitness’s authority, and to be believed about having actually travelled there, could also be part of the significance, but the *almanakshefð* that G. Ingólfssdóttir talks about in her dissertation is undoubtedly the main factor.

It is therefore, in this tradition that the Basque-Icelandic glossaries were written, some (the first two analysed by Deen, see below) had a practical purpose of communication with the whalers, whereas the later ones, specifically the third and fourth, must be ascribed to this encyclopaedic desire to collect information, even if its preservation does not entail an immediate practical purpose.

2. The glossaries edited by Deen

In 1937 Nicolaas Gerardus Hendricus Deen, a linguist working at the University of Leiden, presented his doctoral dissertation entitled *Glossaria Duo Vasco-Islandica*. The subject of Deen’s work were two glossaries, supplemented with a few other words from a third one, written in Iceland at the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth, and accompanied by a commentary.²⁵ The glossaries contained a list of

²⁴ Guðrún Ingólfssdóttir’s Ph.D. dissertation (2011) concentrates on miscellanies from the eighteenth century, specifically on their structure, not just their content. The author maintains that, while this ‘almanac tradition’ is not exclusively Icelandic, since it is part of a wider ‘encyclopaedic tradition’, in Iceland almanac and encyclopaedic tradition are blended together in particular ways that can explain the composition of many Icelandic manuscripts.

²⁵ The first and second glossaries are contained in manuscript AM 987 4to at the Institute Árni Magnússon in Reykjavík. The third is a loose page contained in JS 284 8vo at the Manuscripts Department of the National Library of Iceland, written by theologian, teacher and translator

Basque words with their Icelandic translation. Deen added a German and a Latin translation as well. The manuscripts had been made known to Deen by C.C. Uhlenbeck, a linguist at the University of Leiden, and one of the experts in Basque studies at the time. The glossaries had been discovered by Jón Helgason, professor of Icelandic studies and head of the Bibliotheca Arnarnagaeana at the University of Copenhagen.

In his thesis, Deen provides detailed information about the two vocabularies. He says that they were compiled in the Westfjords of Iceland in the seventeenth century, probably by two different people. The vocabularies form two small units of sixteen and ten pages respectively on different types of paper, but with the same size contained both in MS AM987 4to, at the Árni Magnússon Institute in Reykjavík. The first vocabulary (called *Vocabula Gallica*) contains five hundred and nineteen words; the second one two hundred and twenty eight, and it is titled *Vocabula Biscaica*. A third supplement contains eleven words copied from another manuscript, lost at the time when Deen was working on his dissertation. The manuscripts provide a wealth of information about the Basque lexicon of the time, and include a set of phrases of what we could call a basic Basque-Icelandic pidgin.²⁶ The glossaries edited by Deen were the only linguistic testimony of the relations between Basque whalers and Icelanders, until recently, when a new manuscript was discovered by Professor Shaun Hughes of Purdue, at Harvard University's Houghton Library. This is the manuscript we will analyse in the following sections.

The manuscripts edited by Deen have a number of properties that we have also observed in the newly discovered manuscript: the lists have been compiled by Icelanders who strove to reproduce the Basque items faithfully, often with mediocre results; they are organized according to semantic fields of a somewhat loose nature, present items of different

Sveinbjörn Egilsson (1791–1852). They are prefaced by Sveinbjörn saying that the last two pages of the manuscript he was copying verses from contained ‘some curious glosses, which were to me entirely incomprehensible’ – Sveinbjörn Egilsson was the first director of the ‘Learned School’, i.e. Menntaskólinn í Reykjavík and translated Homer into Icelandic among other things. It is interesting to notice that he does not even venture an educated guess as to what language the glosses may have represented – it is also clear that the memory of Basque whalers off the Icelandic coasts in the seventeenth century was entirely lost by the nineteenth century, even among educated men.

²⁶ See Hualde (1984).

dialectal origin, and use a similar orthographic system to represent Basque words. Since, as we will show, the new manuscript is not a copy of the extant ones, we must conclude that more glossaries than the ones edited by Deen existed during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. This, in turn, has some interesting consequences for the understanding of the cultural context in which the glossaries were compiled.

3. The Harvard Manuscript

The Basque-Icelandic glossary we present here is part of the Icelandic manuscript collection held by Harvard's Houghton library. The set of manuscripts composing this collection came to the Houghton library early in the twentieth century, when Harvard bought part of the library of Konrad von Maurer, a legal historian from the University of Munich who died in 1902. Most of the manuscripts Maurer had collected during his visit to Iceland in 1858. The Basque-Icelandic glossary is included within MS Icel 3 of the collection, and it is item 36 (two pages) in that manuscript. MS Icel 3 is a paper manuscript of 145 leaves, showing heavy signs of use and containing mostly medical material and other miscellaneous entries. Magnús Rafnsson, who has worked on a considerable number of manuscripts of this kind for his book on magic practices and witch hunts in Iceland,²⁷ read the top of the page belonging to the preceding item in the manuscript, and his response follows:

Icelandic libraries preserve dozens of manuscript from popular culture that have hitherto not been properly researched. These were written from the 17th century and well into the 20th and can be separated into several categories. Among them are proper *grimoires* with signs for each magical feat and instructions on their use but even more common are those that only list various feats that can be achieved in unorthodox ways. Some are about healing, through herbs or using materials such as peculiar stones and mouse droppings just to name some of the materials, others are full of simple advice concerning household jobs, e.g. how to clean out bad spots on clothing. On the page where the Basque-Icelandic glossary begins can be seen the end of one of these and it shows that this one is, at least to some extent, of the magical kind. At the top of the page is the second half of one of the most common objects in *grimoires*, how to make a girl fall for the man performing the magic. In this instance a lot of emphasis is on her reaction and how to ensure her continued affection. Another common

²⁷ See Rafnsson (2003).

interest follows, namely how to find out who stole something and prevent him for using the stolen goods. In works like this one, and in proper *grimoires*, innumerable examples of these pieces of magic can be found. Of no less interest among those that owned texts like this is the last item here, instructions on how to get a revenant to lose his power and nature.²⁸

The manuscript, according to Hughes (2011) dates from the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century.²⁹ Item 36 is headed “nockrar Latjnu glosur,” that is, “some Latin glosses.” The copyist, therefore, mistook the Basque entries for Latin ones. In a sizeable number of entries, the Icelandic glosses do not correspond to the Basque terms. Some of those glosses are just confused: they belong to some other Basque term in the glossary. Unlike the entries in the glossaries published by Deen, which are, for the most part, neatly stacked in two columns in the manuscripts, here the space on the page is used to the full extent and the text is run-on, as if it were normal prose. The copyist tries to separate Basque and Icelandic by writing the Basque entries in capitals and the Icelandic in cursive.

It seems evident that this is a copy of a text containing material that was not even remotely familiar to the copyist. It must therefore be a relatively recent copy, and in this sense, its philological relevance is very limited, at least as far as the Basque words are concerned, since they are at times considerably corrupted. On the other hand, the manuscript presents a very interesting feature: a considerable number of the Basque entries are not found in the glossaries edited by Deen. The conclusion is clear: in an eventual *stemma* of the actual Basque-Icelandic glossaries, the one we study here points to the existence of another Basque-Icelandic glossary that we do not yet know and that should be added to the glossaries found by Deen.

3.1 A tentative transcription

In what follows, we provide a tentative transcription of the terms included in the glossary, with English translation added. We assign number headings to each entry to ease cross-reference later on. The terms and phrases we were able to discern in the glossary are 68, ordered as follows:

²⁸ Rafnsson, p.c. dated August 2, 2010.

²⁹ The historian Már Jónsson also agrees that the MS points to the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century (p.c. dated Aug. 29, 2009).

Euskara	Icelandic	English ³⁰
1. NOLA DAI FUSSU	hvað heitir þu	What's your name?
2. JNDASU EDAM	gief m/(er) ad drecka	Give me (something) to drink
3. JNDASU JATERRA	gief mier ad eta ³¹	Give me (something) to eat
4. CANAVITA	sjalfskeidingur	Knife
5. CONFITUURA vel CONFECT TABACUA	skorid tobak	Cut tobacco
6. JNDASU AMARA	Liadu mier eda fadu mier streingin(n)	Give me the rope
	Item giefdu mier streingin(n)	
7. JNDASUNIRJ	syndu mier	Show me
8. HUNA TEMIN	kom þu hingad	Come here
9. URA	gull	Gold
10. URJA	døgg	Dew
11. BURA	smiør	Butter
12. ESNIA	miøl	Flour (Basque: milk)
13. GASNA	ostur	Cheese
14. PLAUNSA	flidra luda	Halibut
	mod. Ice. flyðra/lúða (<i>Hippoglossus hippoglossus</i>)	
15. CANRUSA	steinbytur	Catfish
16. SNUA	fedur (for <i>fiður</i>)	Feathers/down
17. BALJA	hvalur	Whale // end of page 1
18. HEJGALA	bæxli	Fin, flipper (of whale)
19. BUSTANA	spordur	Tail
20. BEGIA	auga	Eye
21. ESKUA	hónd (<i>hönd</i>)	Hand
22. AITA	fadir	Father
23. AMA	modir	Mother
24. ESNA	sistir	Sister
25. HARA	bdor ³²	Brother

³⁰ The English column translates the Icelandic gloss unless otherwise stated.

³¹ Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson (p.c. 10/11/10) believes that the strange 'e' is not an <é> but rather that the copyist changed his mind about what he was writing after starting to write a different letter. For item 21 and 55 the spelling of *hónd* for *hönd* 'hand' and *kóttur* for *köttur* 'cat' is an old-fashioned way of rendering the <ö> with an <o> and a spike or curl sticking up from it.

26. SEMIA	sonur	Son
27. ALAUA	dottir	Daughter
28. Bai	ja	Yes
29. Es	nei ³³	No
30. CAMISULA	peisa	Garment for upper part of the body (usu. outer garment)
31. VESTIALTORA	skrifa	Write
32. SAPPALA edur ('or') SAPOLA	hattur	Hat
33. MUTRUA	hetta	Cap/Hood
34. SANUA	spía	To vomit
	(but possibly 'húa')	(or Mod. Ice. <i>húfa</i> 'cap')
35. CHATUCUMIA	kietlingur	Small cat/kitten
36. SIRILUA	saudur	Sheep
37. ARDIA	ær	Female Sheep (wether)
38. BILDOSA	lamb	Lamb
39. SAMAIA	hestur	Horse
40. BELSA	svart	Black
41. SURIA	hvítt	White
42. GLORIA	rautt	Red
43. UHERA	gratt	Grey
44. ASUCERA	sikur	Sugar
45. AMARA	streingur	Rope
46. BELLARA	alment tobak spunnid	Generic spun tobacco
47. LOCARIA	leggja bænd	Garters
48. GALSARDIA	sockar	Socks / stockings
49. SEKULARA	veltingar (for <i>vetlingar</i>)	Mittens
50. LEPA CHUA	þrefalt (for <i>trefill</i> 'scarf')	Three of something
51. GALSACH	buxur	Trousers
52. MUSKANASA	klutur	Kerchief
53. BISKOSA	skipbraud	Biscuit (hard baked 'ship's bread')
54. BACCALA	þorsk/(u)r	Cod
55. CATUA	kóttur (<i>köttur</i>) ¹¹	Cat
56. FICUA	fýkur	Fig

³² The copyist must have misunderstood the original or made a mistake in writing *brodir* (for *broðir*).

³³ The 'n' is peculiar, as if the copyist had thought about writing a different starting letter.

57. OUIA	braud	Bread
58. POSSUA	hundur	Dog
59. SERA	skata	Ray/Skate (possibly from an original <i>sierra</i> , perhaps a local name for a type of fish?)
60. TACKA	kiøll ed/(u)r eitt hvort gofugt utan hafnar fat	Frock or Outer garment (overcoat)
61. MUFETA	hveiti	Flour
62. BRAUD	braud	Bread (both entries are in Icelandic)
63. NAVARIA	rauda vyn	Red wine
64. POSSUCUMIA	hvolpur	Puppy
65. SAPPATA SKÓR	stygviel	Boot
66. SEDA	silki	Silk
67. SAGARNUA	drickiu vÿn	Wine
68. SIMBATUR	hvað kostar það eda hvað viltu giefa mier fyrir það	How much is that or what will you give me for that?

Tantu[m] – [This could be the beginning of the next page...]

Before going into the meaning of the terms and their translations, let us first make a couple of observations. Entry 65 gives not *sappata*, but *sappataskor*, as the reader will see in the facsimile. We think this is a mistake of the copyist: *skor* is transparently “shoe” in Icelandic, and the copyist has interpreted it as part of the Basque term, or perhaps forgot to write it in lower case. Entry 62 is just Icelandic. The allegedly Basque term and the Icelandic translation are identical (they mean “bread”) and there is no term in Basque that approaches the Icelandic term in either phonology or meaning.

The Icelandic spelling seems to be indicative of the eighteenth through nineteenth centuries.³⁴ The spelling in the transcription is kept as close to

³⁴ Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson (p.c.) believes that the very peculiar characteristics of the manuscript can place its date only between the *termini* 1700-1800. The date of 1700 is indicated by the some of the older spelling characteristics (the B for <f>, or *bagga f*, for instance), but the

the original idiosyncrasies of the manuscript copyist as possible. Thus, we have not changed the eth's or the oe's according to modern usage. It should be noticed that in the manuscript there is no distinction between 'd' and 'ð', which is not unusual, since the use of the symbol 'ð' was discontinued in Icelandic MS writing starting from the late fourteenth century.³⁵ We have marked abbreviations in the text and added the missing letters in parenthesis.

The writer, based on spelling, seems to be unaccustomed to writing: he is clearly not a professional. In this sense, there is a clear distinction between the first two glossaries, with their neatly stacked columns and clear handwriting, and this manuscript, with its run-on, and uneven writing. It has very archaic characteristics such as the *bagga f.*: see entries 3. *gieB mier ad eta* in modern spelling 'gef mér að éta' and 4. *sjalBskeidingur* for 'sjálfskeiðingur', but the writer uses it systematically in internal position and only in Icelandic. If you notice entry 5. CONFECT TABACUA, he uses a capital F in the supposedly Basque word, and even in the Icelandic entries 6. *Liadu mier eda fadu mier streingin(n)*, the 'f' is a modern cursive 'f' word-initially and just as in entry 14. *flidra Luda* and 16. *fedur* (for *fiður*).

Another characteristic that shows that the writer is not a professional copyist, apart from the hesitations and the unevenness of the orthography, is the methodical way in which he –undoubtedly involuntarily- reverses N's and G's: whenever he writes in capital letters (typically in the Basque entries) he writes a reversed N (entries 1.-6. for instance), as would a dyslexic writer or a child learning to write. Items 18. Hejgala, 20. Begia, 42. Gloria, 48. Galsardia all show capital G's that look like D's except that their vertical post is interrupted: again it looks like a case of dyslexia or sheer lack of practice that brings the author of the manuscript to reverse the orientation of the G so that it tends to look like a capital D (but it is not a capital D, see 37. Ardia and 38. Bildosa, for real capital D's).

fact that the author clearly has no idea of the Basque presence in the Westfjords, nor of what he is transcribing, perhaps suggests that the manuscript could have been written much later, at end of the eighteenth century, or in a completely different part of the country, far from the Westfjords, where common folk would not have had any knowledge of the Basque whalers' presence.

³⁵ See Haraldsson (2004: 57), following Karlsson (2000).

3.2 The terms in the IV manuscript

In the following section, we attempt to provide an interpretation of the Basque-Icelandic correspondences in the manuscript.

1. *nola dai fussy?* What's your name?

The sentence is translated in Icelandic as “what's your name?” We provide the following tentative construction in Basque as the standardized equivalent of 1. (following Hughes, p.c.):

- (1) *Nola deitu zu?*
How call you
“What's your name?”

In Basque, as in the surrounding Romance varieties, inquiring the name of someone requires a manner adverb *nola* “how”. If (1) is the Basque sentence underlying the phrase in the glossary, we have a simplified construction lacking aspectual and temporal morphology. The complete Basque expression would be as follows:

- (2) *Nola deitzen zara zu?*
How call-imperfective aux you
“What is your name?”

In the glossary it is thus an ungrammatical sentence deprived of almost all morphology with the aim perhaps to ease communication with Icelanders. We think however, that those cases should be kept apart from the pidgin-like structures discussed by Hualde (1984). We will come back to this issue in the last section.

2. *Indasuedam* Give me to drink

This would be equivalent to Basque (3), in standardized form:

- (3) *Indazu edan*
Give-me drink-participle

The sentence as such is ungrammatical in Basque, where the synthetic verb *indazu* “give me” takes a nominalized clause. The correct form in seventeenth century Basque would be the following:

- (4) *Indazu eda-te-ra*
Give-me drink-nominalizer-allative
“Give me to drink”

The correct form is actually apparent in sentence number 3 in the glossary. If we are right then, 2. in the glossary is a further instance of a

morphosyntactically simplified construction. The same sentence occurs in the *Glossarium Prius* edited by Deen (ex. I, 487). Nevertheless, the entry admits an alternative explanation as Lafitte (1944:207) shows in his grammar of the Navarrese-Labourdin variety: some verbs implying direction, and including the verb *eman* “give”, a close analogue of the root *-i-* in the verb above, allow for complements which are very similar to the bare verbal form in the glossary. Here are some examples:

- (5) a. Goazen ikus
 let’s-go see
 “Let’s go see”
 b. Zatho enekin kanta
 come me-with sing
 “Come sing with me”
 c. Emoizu jasta
 give-it-to-him taste
 “Give him to taste”

The common view on these forms is that they are relatively recent (they do not occur in texts of the seventeenth century), but perhaps, the repeated occurrence of the form *indazudan* in the two glossaries points to a grammatical phenomenon, not a mistake.

3. Indasu jaterra “Give me to eat”

The sentence is transparent. In standardized form it would be (5):

- (5) Indazu ja-te-ra
 give-me eat-nominalizer-allative

For the orthographic alternation *r~rr* see Deen (Introduction, section D.4).

4. Canavita “Knife”

It corresponds to Basque *ganibeta* “knife”. See also *kanabita* in Deen, *Glossarium Alterum*, 28)

5. Confituura vel Confect Tabacua “Cut tobacco”

The terms *confituura* and *confect tabacua* are coordinated by the Latin disjunction *vel* “or”. They are presented as equivalent or closely related terms. *Confect tabacua*, on the other hand, contrasts with *bellara* “grass, herb,” translated as “generic tobacco.” The term *confect* is the participle of the French verb *confire*. Old French *confire* means “compose, prepare.” In the *Dictionnaire Universel* by Antoine Furetière (1695), the verb *confire* is explained: « donner aux fruits, aux fleurs, aux herbes, aux

racines, certaines préparations qui les rendent plus agréables ou qui empêchent qu'ils se corrompent ». The term thus seems to refer to a kind of tobacco that has undergone some manipulation or preparation, possibly referring to the essential oils added to tobacco for flavouring after being ground. This accords well with the reference to *bellara* as “generic tobacco,” as opposed to what nowadays could be termed ‘scented’ or ‘flavoured’ tobacco (or even ‘medicated’ with menthol³⁶). It is also interesting that the participle is *confect*, as in old French (up to the sixteenth century) and not *confit*, as in classical French.

No distinction is made between tobacco types in the other glossaries: the word appears twice in glossary I as *tabacua* (I 250) translated simply as ‘tobacco’ and as part of a compound *tabacatochia* (I 107) ‘snuffbox’.

6. jndasu amara

The phrase is transparent. Its standardized form in Basque would be the following:

- (6) Indazu amarra “Give me the rope”
 give-me rope
 “Give me the rope”

For the r~rr alternation, see Deen (Introduction, section D.4). The word *amara* does not appear in the other glossaries in any form.

7. jndasuniri “Show me”

Here’s the phrase in standard notation:

- (7) Indazu niri
 give-me me-dative
 “Give it to me”

As shown in the glosses and the translation, the form does not mean “show me,” as proposed in the glossary, but “give me,” with an overt pronoun. The first person pronoun *ni* appears in glossary II (II 200) as part of a sentence *niere lo* ‘I am also sleeping’, erroneously translated in the glossary as ‘it is asleep’.

8. Huna Temin “Come here”

³⁶Any webpage about tobacco, or specifically ‘snuff’, ground tobacco to be inhaled, mentions these different types, cf. for instance <http://www.snuffbox.org.uk/vars.htm>. (Last accessed 07/23/2012).

This is a difficult sequence. We propose a standardized form that respects the meaning in the glossary and can be compared to other terms found in Deen’s glossaries. Our proposal is the following:

- (8) Hunat jin
Here come
“Come here”
- (9) Unat “Come”³⁷

The initial *h-* in the Basque phrase must represent the usual aspiration in north-eastern dialects (see entry *hona* “here” in the Basque General Dictionary). There remains an unexplained *-m-* in *Temin*, perhaps a copying mistake.³⁸

- 9. Ura “Gold”

The Basque word for gold is *urre*, with a final *-e* missing from the form in the glossary. The form *Ura* could then be a phonetically close form, or a mistake for the term *ura* “water” in Basque. The term *ura* occurs in the two main glossaries edited by Deen, with the expected meaning of “water” (I 25, II 48). The term “gold” occurs in the *Glossarium Prius* as *uria* (I, 292).³⁹

- 10. Urja “Dew”

Euria/Uria is properly “rain” in Basque, and with this meaning it is recorded in the first glossary (I 215) as *urigia*, where the <g> is an interesting marker of palatalization between the high vowel at the end of the root and the low vowel of the citation form marker *-a#*.⁴⁰ The same term *uria* for “dew” occurs in the *Glossarium Alterum*, (II 5).

³⁷ For the occurrence of the eastern dialectal form *unat* “here” (translated as “come”) see Deen (II, 203).

³⁸ Guðmundur Erlingsson (1995), has a form *hunat* for Eastern dialectal varieties, but he does not specify where he takes it from, cf. his usual sources, such as Oregi, no year, Lafitte (1962), Deen or Gorka Aulestia (1989).

³⁹ For the orthographic alternation *r~rr* see Deen, “Introduction,” section D.4

⁴⁰ This is an interesting and consistent difference between the forms in I and II : as mentioned above, we find *uria* (II 5) and *urigia* (I 215), *ustaia* (II 159), and *ustagia* (I 457), *begia* (II 89) and *begigia* (I 78). The question is whether it reflects a different pronunciation of the informant, or whether

11. Bura “Butter”

From French “beurre”. Also in Deen (I, 32; II, 47; II, 227). The word is common in eastern Basque.

12. Esnia “Flour”

The Basque word actually means “milk,” whereas the Icelandic gloss has *miöl* (mod. Ice. *mjöl*), in the sense of ‘flour,’ or its cognate ‘meal.’ See also *esnia* in Deen (I, 29), the variant *usnia* for ‘milk’ is found in the second glossary (II 46). It could be a copying mistake in the Icelandic glosses: *mjöl* and *mjólk* are relatively close in spelling.

13. Gasna “Cheese”

This is intended to represent *gasna* as in contemporary eastern dialects, as opposed to central ones, where the term is *gazta*. See Deen (I, 276): the copist writes *Gasna* with the usual reversed G that looks almost like *Dasna*. No such mistake is found in the first glossary gathered by Deen, it is a peculiarity of this writer.

14. Plaunsa “Halibut”

We do not know of any close Basque term nowadays. It should be related to Deen’s *plamuna* (II, 134) and *plasa* (I, 286), with the same or similar meanings (probably referring to *Hippoglossus hippoglossus*). The term *plamuna* seems a Romance term referring to the ‘flatness’ of the fish (related terms Sp. *plano*, Fr. *plat*, plain). Perhaps the MS copier mistook a sequence of *m-u-n* and read as a sequence of *u, n* and *s*. *Plasa* (I 286) or *plaunsa* (IV 14) could also be related to O. Fr. *plais*, borrowed into English as *plaice*, which also refers to different flatfishes, especially the European flounder (*Pleuronectes platessa*) and according to Webster’s dictionary, they are ultimately derived from Late Latin *platessa*. *Pladuza* (II 135), another flatfish, translated as *koli* into Icelandic (English ‘plaice’), is probably also related to the previous forms.

15. Canrusa “Catfish”

There is no known Basque term that could be associated to this one, with the meaning intended in the Icelandic translation. If we leave aside the translation, the term *karpusa* “children’s hat” is relatively close. Deen’s

it is simply an approximation to the Basque pronunciation of what to Icelandic ears would be an unfamiliar diphthong.

Glossarium Alterum has *carpuza* “hat.”⁴¹ Since the term is found among fish-types, though, it is probably a rendition of a fish term. According to the Icelandic translation, Mod. Ice. *steinbitur*, the intended fish is a type of wolf-fish (*Anarhichas lupus*), whose habitat spans the North Atlantic, including Greenland and the North American coasts, as far as Iceland, Svalbard and Russia to the east and extends as far south as the Bay of Biscay.⁴² Since the modern Spanish names are *lobo* ‘wolf’, and *perro del norte* ‘northern dog’, as well as French *loup atlantique*, or *loup de mer*, it is not unlikely that *can rusa* means something like ‘Russian (in the meaning of ‘Northern’?) dog’. Another possibility is that the scribe copied the supposedly Basque word wrong: Deen’s glossaries report *lapprusa* (I 284), and *lapparuzia* (II 133), both translating the same type of fish as in IV. Deen (1937: 97) connects it to a form *lapurutsa*, which he found translated as ‘polizonte’ (he specifies *polizonte (pez)*. i.e. ‘polizonte (fish)’ on p. 66), the Spanish version in his edition being ‘lobo marino’ (type of fish). Erlingsson (1995:57) has it after Azkue that *lapuruts* is a type of fish.

16. Snua “Feathers or down” –

We cannot identify the Basque term. There is no word in Basque that could approach 16. with that meaning. A possibility is that *snua* is a copying mistake for *luma* ‘feather’. The initial sign *l-* could possibly be mistaken for a long *s-* (compare 21. in the facsimile, *eskua*), and the sequence of *u* and *m* can be easily read as a sequence of *n* and *u*. There is nothing like this in Deen’s glossaries, unless it is a variant of *sanua* (I 40, II 104) ‘cap’, but the Icelandic translation still does not fit.

17. Balja “Whale”

Basque *balea*. See also Deen (I, 30; II, 127, 128, 129, 224)

18. Hejgala “Whale’s fin”

Basque *hegala* “wing or fin”, with reversed G. Not found in Deen’s glossaries.

19. Bustana “Tail”

Basque *buztana* ‘tail’. See also Deen (I, 167; II, 136, 224).

⁴¹ Deen, *Glossarium Alterum*: II, 103.

⁴² www.fishbase.org. Last accessed on July 30, 2009.

20. Begia “Eye”

Also in Deen (II, 89, and as *begigia* I 78). The copyist wrote *bedia* instead of *begia*. See the comments to entry 13 [see comments about dyslexia or lack of experience in writing and the reversed G above].

21. Eskua “Hand”
Escuba in Deen (I, 121).

22. Aita “Father”

In Deen (II, 85), also as *ætha* (I 342), as Erlingsson points out in his 1989 thesis, that in the spelling corresponding to the informant for Glossary I, the anonymous scribe seems to have recorded some sort of aspiration. By comparison, we find nothing of the sort in the spelling of Glossary IV.

23. Ama “Mother”

In Deen (I, 343)

24. Eska “Sister”

There is no close term in Basque with that meaning. We postulate *neska* ‘girl’, the initial *n-* having disappeared in the copying process. The confusion between a generic term for girl or boy and a corresponding kinship term occurs quite often in the glossaries (cf. *hara* ‘boy’ for ‘brother’ in Deen’s glossaries). A related term in Glossary I is *nescascagastia* (I, 6), by which the Basque informant probably meant ‘young girl,’⁴³ but the Icelandic scribe translated it as ‘unmarried woman.’ This type of mistake seems to support pointing to objects or people as a means of eliciting words from informants, although this was clearly not the only method used (for instance, it would be impossible to point to God and animals that did not exist in Iceland⁴⁴).

25. Hara “Brother”

From Basque *haurra* ‘child’. Also in Deen (I, 3), with the correct meaning of ‘child.’ The diphthong /au/ is systematically represented by a simple *a* in all glossaries.

26. Semia “Son”

Also in Deen (II, 124, 207).

⁴³ cf. Erlingsson (1989:59), who reconstructs *neskatxa gaztia*.

⁴⁴ See Miglio (2008).

27. Alaua “Daughter”

Basque *alaba*. This word does not appear in the other glossaries.

28. Bai “Yes”

Deen (II, 181), also as *bæ* (I 340).

29. Es “No”

Deen (I, 334), in the second glossary as *ez* (II 182).

30. Camisula “Pullover”

From Spanish *camisola* or French *camisole*. Also in Deen (I, 45 as *camissola*; II, 106 as *cammesola*, 219 as *cammisola*). The word ‘peisa’ (mod. Ice. also ‘peysa’), usually indicates an outer garment made of knitted wool, although in older Icelandic it could also mean a ‘leather tunic’ worn by men under a coat or cape.

31. Vestialtora “Write”

There is no correspondence between the Basque term and the Icelandic one. We propose *beste atorra* “another shirt” as the form underlying 31. *Atorra* is documented in Deen’s glossaries (I, 46; II as *attora*, 107, 196). Another possibility is that the scribe inverted the order of the languages and wrote the term in Icelandic first (*vesti* ‘vest, waistcoat’, hence some sort of upper body garment) and that it ran on into *altora* - again, clearly there is no comprehension of what is the document being copied. The scribe could have then misread the word *skyrta* ‘shirt’ (a second gloss for *altora/atorra* along with the one preceding the entry) for *skrifa* ‘to write’ in the document from which s/he was copying.

32. Sappala edur Sapola “Hat”

Basque *zapela* “hat”. Also in Deen (I, 41 *sapolla*; II, 102 *sapella*, 215 *sappelle*).

33. Mutrua “Cap, Hood”

The closest term we could discover is *munterua*, with the same Icelandic translation (*höttur* ‘hat’) in Deen’s *Glossarius Prius* (I, 42). Erlingsson suggests a Spanish *monterón*,⁴⁵ but we find the underived word *montera*, with the older Spanish meaning of a ‘hunting cap’ more likely.

34. Sanua “cap”

⁴⁵ Erlingsson (1995: 59).

The word is transparently *zanoa* “hat”. It occurs in Deen (I, 40; II, 104, 228b), always translated as ‘cap’, *hüva* or *h̃uva* for Mod. Ice. *húfa*.

35. Chatucumia “Kitten”

Gattogumia in Deen (I, 320). It is to be noticed that just as in glossary 1, the spelling <ck> (or possibly <ch>) for <k> is common, we also find it here: p. 1 drecka, p. 2 ktaucumia, lepackua, dalsack. It is perhaps possible that the transcriber was copying from a MS with different spelling and was therefore normalising at the same time; when he was tired or paid less attention, possibly he made more unintentional mistakes or copied without normalising and did not realize it. We also notice that the Icelandic *kiettlingur* indicates palatalisation of the /k/ before a front vowel, a sub-phonemic phenomenon in Icelandic. The standard Modern Icelandic form is *kettlingur*.

36. Sikilua “Sheep”

Basque *zikiroa* “castrated ram”. *Sicilua* in Deen’s Glossarius Primus (I, 33), and as *sichirua* in (II, 147).

37. Ardia “Female sheep”

Also in Deen (II, 148), and in (I, 267) as *ardigia*.

38. Bildosa “Lamb”

Basque *bildotsa*, as in Deen (I, 268), whereas we find *bildosa* also in Deen (II, 149).

39. Samaia “Horse”

Basque “beast of burden”. Deen (I, 165 *samaria*; II, 144 *sammaria*, 211 *samaria*).

40. Belsa “Black”

Basque *beltza*. In Deen (II, 187) we find *bilza* with the meaning ‘white’.

41. Suria “White”

Basque *zuria*. Also in Deen (I, 282 as part of the word *arensuria*, translated as ‘shark’, 299 as part of the word *Ojalsuria* ‘white clothes’, but translated as ‘linen’; II, 160 with the meaning ‘louse’, cf. Basque *zorri*). There is also a form *syria* in (II, 188) with the erroneous opposite meaning of ‘black’.

42. Gloria “Red” (*Gloria* with reversed <G>)

Basque *gorria*. Also in Deen (II, 189, 215).

43. Uhera “Grey”

Basque *uherra* “grey, turbid, muddy”.

44. Asucera “Sugar”

Basque *azukrea*. There are several variants with a vowel breaking the consonantal group, among them *azukera* (V-ger, Basque General Dictionary).

45. Amara “Rope”

From Spanish *amarra*, same meaning. For the orthographic alternation r~rr, see Deen (Introduction, section D.4).

46. Bellara “Generic tobacco”

Belarra is Basque for “grass” and “herb”. *Belarra* contrasts here with *confect tabacua* “cut tobacco”. For the orthographic alternations l~ll and r~rr, see Deen (Introduction, section D.4). There are several versions of related objects in Deen’s glossaries: *billara* (I 34) translated as ‘tobacco’, *belara* (I 251) translated as ‘tobacco pipe’, *bilara* (II 49) as ‘tobacco’. From the frequency of the object (as well as the archaeological finds in the Westfjords – Magnússon and Rafnsson 2005), tobacco related objects seem to have been an important trade commodity.

47. Locaria “To rope, to bond”

Basque noun *lokarria* “rope, bond”. See also Deen (II, 114, 216).

48. Galsardia “Socks”

Basque *galtzerdia*, here with reversed G. Also in Deen (as *galsaria* I 49, *galzardia* II 112, 220, 221, 222).

49. Sekulara “gloves”

The underlying correct Basque form is *eskularru* ‘glove’. The word appears in Deen II as *schularua* (113), and *escularuba* (I 117) with the same meaning.

50. Lepachua “Three of something” Here is a mistake by the copyist, who copies *prefalt* (‘three times as much’) for *trefill* (‘scarf’).

The Icelandic translation is far from the meaning of the Basque word. *Lepakoa* means “scarf”, and also occurs in Deen (I, 43 as *leppagua*; II, 105 as *lappacua*). The most likely explanation in this case is that the

scribe misread the Icelandic translation and wrote *prefalt* for *trefill* ‘scarf’ or that it was misheard by the original creator of the glossary under dictation.

51. Galsach “Trousers”

Basque *galtzak* “trousers”, here with reversed G. Also in Deen (I 47 as *galsa*, and II 100 as *galza*).

52. Muskanasa “Kerchief, headscarf”

Eastern Basque *mokanes* “handkerchief”. Erlingsson (1995) mentions that the form, which is found also in Deen (II 116 as *mucanasa*, and I 44 *mocanessa*), originates from Gascón *moquenas*.

53. Biskosa “Biscuit”

Eastern Basque *biskotxa* “biscuit”. Also in Deen (*bischusa* II 43, *biskusa* 218).

54. Baccala “Cod”

Basque *bakailau*. *-a* systematically represents the diphthong /au/ in Deen’s glossaries. (see Introduction, D.9) Also in Deen (I 31 as *bachalaa*; II 131 as *bachaliua*). It should be noticed that the form found in Deen I 31 and spelled *bachalaa*, may in fact represent a diphthong: a ‘Danish-ised’ form with *-aa*, which could correspond to Icelandic <á>, a form that at least in Modern Icelandic is pronounced [au].

55. Catua “Cat” *Gattuba* in Deen (I, 160).

56. Ficua “Fig”

Mostly an eastern variant of *piko* “fig”.

57. Ouia “Bread”

Basque *ogi* “bread”. Also in Deen (I 21, *ogia*).

58. Possua “Dog”

Basque *potzo* “big dog”. Only attested to in eastern dialects with that meaning. Also in Deen as *potsocomia* (I 164) ‘puppy’.

59. Sera “Ray, skate”

Basque *zerra*. Also in Deen (I, 287) with that meaning. The word *sera* also appears in Deen (I 307 and II 56 with the meaning ‘saw’, the tool, derived probably from Spanish *sierra* with the same meaning).

60. Tacka “woman’s garment or heavy-duty outdoors garment”

It is unclear to us what this is. It is close to other terms in Deen's glossaries, particularly his *tescha* (II, 18) and *teska* (II, 228b), but their meaning "bowl" is very far from the Icelandic *kióll* (Mod. Ice. *kjóll* – we do notice that *kjóll* can also be related to 'keel' in Icelandic and is a poetic word for ship, but it still would not fit the semantic field of clothing we are looking at in this part of the word list).

61. Mufeta "Flour"

Another unclear term. There is nothing like this in Deen's glossaries.

62. Braud "Bread"

Here is another copier mistake: the supposedly Basque term and the Icelandic one are identical *braud*.

63. Navaria "Red wine"

As in Deen's glossaries, red wine is characterized by a particular wine, the Navarrese one. *Navaria* stands for Basque *nafarra* "navarrese". Also as *nafarra* (I 24) translated as 'Spanish wine', and as *navarra* (II 42) 'red wine'.

64. Possucumia "Puppy"

See entry 58. Also in Deen (I 164). *Potzokumea* is a compound, formed by *potzo* "dog" and *kumea* "baby".

65. Sappata "Shoe"

Basque *zapata*. Deen (I 151 as *sappata*).

66. Seda "Silk"

Also in Deen (I 298).

67. Sagarnua "Wine to drink"

Eastern Basque *sagarnoa* "apple wine". Deen *sagarnua* (I 22) 'mass wine', *sagarduna* (II 41, 218 'sour drink').

68. Simbatur "How much is that?", or "What will you give me for that?"

Simbat is transparent for *zenbat* "how much". See also Deen *sumbat* (II 184, 220). The second term could be either the proximate demonstrative *(h)ori* "this", or a form reduced (or badly copied) from *for*, in which case we would have an expression reminiscent of the basic pidgin forms

gathered identified by Hualde (1984). In the latter case, the example would be akin to (10):

- (10) Zembat for?
How-much for
“How much is that?”

The structure occurs in cases like (11) from Deen’s glossaries (II 220):

- (11) Sumbatt galsardia for?
How-much sock for
“How much is the sock?”

4. The manuscript as it compares to Deen’s glossaries

4.1 Common lexical entries

The glossaries gathered and edited by Deen and the manuscript here have a number of common entries, as listed below:

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| 5. Tabacua | “Tobacco” |
| 11. Bura | “Butter” |
| 12. Esnia | “Milk” |
| 13. Gasna | “Cheese” |
| 19. Bustana | “Tail” |
| 20. Begia | “Eye” |
| 22. Aita | “Father” |
| 23. Ama | “Mother” |
| 25. Hara | “Brother” |
| 26. Semia | “Son” |
| 28. Bai | “Yes” |
| 29. Es | “No” |
| 34. Sanua | “Cap” |
| 37. Ardia | “Sheep” |
| 38. Bildosa | “Lamb” |
| 41. Suria | “White” |
| 47. Locaria | “To moor” |
| 48. Galsardia | “Socks” |
| 49. Sekulara | “Gloves” (Presumably a variant of <i>schularua</i> II 113) |
| 59. Sera | “Ray, skate” |
| 65. Sappata | “Shoe” |
| 66. Seda | “Silk” |
| 67. Sagarnua | “Wine to drink” |

The common words found in our manuscript and those edited by Deen are compatible with more than one hypothesis. It could be for instance, that the author of the Harvard manuscript had at his (or her) disposal a manuscript whose content came directly from one (or either) of the manuscripts edited by Deen.⁴⁶ Given the existence of a considerable amount of words in the Harvard manuscript that do not occur in Deen's glossaries, it could also be that the author had access to a completely different original glossary, that somehow contained words which were common to other glossaries. Finally, it is possible that the author of the Harvard manuscript had access to both Deen's glossaries as well as others. Some commonalities between the Harvard manuscript and the glossaries edited by Deen would seem to favour the hypothesis that the author of the Harvard manuscript had an eye on the other glossaries. Our manuscript reveals details that are better understood in terms of a copying process. They concern mistakes that are identical to the first glossary edited by Deen. Two of these mistakes we find particularly telling: the form *indasuedam* "give me to drink" is almost identical to the form *indasudan* found in the first glossary (I 487), with the same meaning. Both forms are incorrect in Basque, lacking the nominalized verb and the postpositional ending that one finds in the correct structures, which would read as follows:⁴⁷

- (1) Indazu edatera
give-me drink-nominalizer-postposition
"Give me to drink"

The right structure is clearly attested in our manuscript by the next case in the list:

- (2) Indasu jatterra
give-me eat-nominalizer-postposition
"Give me to eat"

Since the correct structure appears in the glossary, we may discard the hypothesis that the incorrect form is just a simpler structure, used for the purposes of communication, of the sort characterized by Hualde as belonging to a commercial pidgin. The most plausible explanation for the common occurrence of that form therefore, is that the author of the

⁴⁶ There is no single entry in common with the third glossary, containing 11 words, edited by Deen as his *tertii glossarii*.

⁴⁷ Unless our alternative explanation for the occurrence of *indasudam* is correct. See our comments to entry number 2.

Harvard manuscript copied it from somewhere else. The first glossary is in that case, the obvious candidate.

Among the new entries of the Harvard manuscript too, there are some that look very much like mistakes inherited from one of Deen's manuscripts. For instance, our manuscript contains the entry *navaria* "red wine". The term is the same as *nafarra* and *navarra*, also translated as red wine in the glossaries. *Navaria* does not mean "red wine" in Basque, but "Navarrese". The term obviously makes reference to the origin of the wine. This sort of mistake is relatively common in the glossaries (see Deen, Hermeneutic issues, Introduction). A similar point can be made with regard to *Urja* translated in Icelandic as "dew", but which in Basque means "rain". The source of the mistake is obvious, but again, the fact that the same mistake appears once more in our manuscript suggests that it comes from one of Deen's glossaries. In this case, its source would be the second glossary, since the form *urigia* (I 215) in I is correctly translated as 'rain'.

Neither case, we feel, is conclusive; however, since if a common way to refer to the wine the Basque sailors had with them was Navarrese, we can expect it to appear in more than one glossary, even if they are of different origin. On the other hand, although it is not the most common meaning for it, *dögg* in Icelandic can also mean 'rain', so that it would be a less usual (perhaps dialectal?) form found in two separate MSS.

There is, moreover, an important *caveat* to the hypothesis of a derivation of glossary IV from I or/and II: as we will see in the next section, some of the words in the Harvard manuscript are either lexical or orthographical variants of terms already occurring in the glossaries edited by Deen. If the author of the word list in the Harvard manuscript freely drew from the glossaries edited by Deen, then it is not clear why he chose to write those terms in a different way. A case in point is the word for 'milk', Basque *esnia*: if the author of the Harvard MS had indeed been looking at II, he would have had to adopt the most unusual spelling *usnia* (in II itself probably a copying mistake). So that the copyist of the IV MS was either looking at both I and II, or he was looking at a different original.

4.2 The new words

The most noteworthy aspect of the Harvard manuscript is the set of lexical entries that do not occur in the three glossaries edited by Deen. They are 23. We provide the list below, with their corresponding numbers:

1. nola dai fussy? What's your name?

3.	jndasu jatterra	Give me (something) to eat
5.	Confituura <i>vel</i> Confect Tabacua	Cut tobacco
6.	jndasu amara	Give me the moorings
7.	jndasunirj	Give it to me
8.	Huna Temin	Come here
15.	Canrusa	Catfish
16.	Snua	Feather / down
18.	Hejgala	Fin
24.	Esna	Sister
27.	Alaau	Daughter
31.	Vestialtora	Write (incorrect gloss)
33.	Mutrua	Cap/Hood
40.	Belsa	Black
43.	Uhera	Grey
44.	Asucera	Sugar
45.	Amara	Moorings
51.	Galsach	Trousers
56.	Ficua	Fig
60.	Tacka	Women's clothes
61.	Mufeta	Flour (incorrect gloss)
68.	Simbatur	How much is that?

To this set, we can add those lexical items that, although occurring in one of Deen's glossaries, reveal some different facet of the term. We compare those terms with their corresponding ones in Deen's glossaries:

4.	Canavita ~ Ganivita (I, 237)	"Knife"
9.	Ura ~ Uria (I, 292)	"Gold"
10.	Urja ~ Uria (II,5)	"Dew"
14.	Plaunsa ~ Plasa (I, 286), Plamuna (II, 134)	"Halibut"
17.	Balja ~ Balia (I, 30), (II, 127, 128, 129, 224)	"Whale"
21.	Eskua ~ Escuba (I, 121)	"Hand"
30.	Camisula ~ Camissola (I, 45), Cammisola (I, 151), Cammesola (II, 106)	"Sweater"
32.	Sappala, Sapola~ Sappela (II, 102), Sappola (I, 41), Sappelle (II, 215)	"Hat"
35.	Chatucumia ~ Gattogumia (I, 320)	"Kitten"
39.	Samaia~ samaria (I, 165), (II, 211), sammaria (II, 144)	"Horse"
42.	Gloria ~ gorre (II, 215), gorria (II, 189)	"Red"

- | | | |
|-----|--|-------------------|
| 46. | Bellara ~ belara (I, 251) | “Generic tobacco” |
| 50. | Lepachua ~ lepaggua (I, 43) | “Scarf” |
| 52. | Muskanasa ~ mocanessa (I, 44) | “Kerchief” |
| 53. | Biskosa ~ bischusa (II, 43), biskusa (II, 218) | “Biscuit” |
| 54. | Baccala ~ bacchala (I, 31),
bachaliua (II, 131) | “Cod” |
| 55. | Catua ~ gattuba (I, 160) | “Cat” |
| 57. | Ouia ~ ogia (I, 21) | |
| 63. | Navaria ~ nafarra (I, 24), navarra (II, 42) | |
| 64. | Possucumia ~ potsocomia (I, 164) | |

Sometimes, the difference appears to be a dialectal one: in pairs like *eskua~escuba* or *catua~gattuba*, it is the insertion of a bilabial consonant before the article, a common trend of coastal Labourdin Basque, that distinguishes the terms compared. In other cases, the difference lies in the way the Basque word is written. In any case, the two facts together attest to the existence of yet another glossary, different from the ones analysed by Deen, that would constitute the source of the new terms. The dialectal differences also point to another interesting feature of the hypothetical glossary underlying the Harvard manuscript: the author decided to elicit terms that were already present in the glossaries edited by Deen. This looks to point to the existence of a family of glossaries compiled following a particular method, or with a body of information in mind, and written by different persons, at least three, if Deen is right in attributing the two major glossaries he edited to two different authors. A possibility is that the Harvard manuscript contains material that belonged in the third glossary whose remnants Deen published as an addition to the two major glossaries. Given the description provided by Egilsson, who found the manuscript containing the words of the Third Glossary, this is not a plausible option: Sveinbjörn Egilsson (1791-1852), described quite rightly by Deen as ‘philologus clarissimus’ talks about a manuscript containing two pages that show Basque words, he does not know, however, that they are Basque, nor does he surmise it. As the first headmaster of the one institution of higher education in Iceland at that time, Lærði Skólinn (now Menntaskólinn í Reykjavík) and a highly respected translator not only of Homer into Icelandic (his main subject was ancient Greek), but also of the medieval Icelandic sagas into Latin, he does not make the mistake of calling the glosses in III ‘Latin glosses’, such as the copyist of the Harvard MS.

It is surprising nevertheless, that a cultivated man such as Egilsson would not have suspected that those ‘curious glosses, completely

unintelligible to me’ as he described them (JS 284 8vo) are a Basque souvenir from the whalers that used to fish in the Westfjords. By his time, the memory of their presence was utterly lost. He annotates some of glosses in a letter describing the contents of the manuscript. Those are the words that Deen has under the heading for his third glossary. The words Deen recovers do not occur in the Harvard manuscript, which is also two pages long. It is therefore sustainable that the Harvard manuscript has a different source than the manuscripts represented in Deen’s dissertation. Another reason why Sveinbjörn Egilsson and the author of the Harvard MS cannot have been looking at I or II directly is because the MSS we have, both have titles that point to the origins of those glossaries, *Vocabula Gallica* and *Vocabula Biscaica*. Had those MSS been directly available to Egilsson he would have specified the language of the glosses. The anonymous author of IV, on the other hand, would not have called his list ‘Some *Latin* Glosses’, as he titled his collection. The fact that he calls them ‘some’ implies that there were more in the source from which he was copying, and that somehow he did not copy the whole thing, which by the nineteenth century would not have had any purpose, if not perhaps for magical ones – considering that the previous piece has to do with the properties of precious stones and of methods for finding lost and stolen items, and that the Harvard MSS are a worn collection of pieces on folk medicine and popular remedies, the idea of a magical use of these unintelligible words may not be so far-fetched.

The addition of a fourth distinct glossary would have important consequences for the understanding of the process by which those glossaries were compiled.

5. Orthography

The entries that distinguish the Harvard manuscript from the ones edited by Deen present the same orthographic alternations as the latter. We provide a sample list:

- | | | |
|------------|-----------------------------------|----------------|
| 1. s~ss: | <i>fussu, indasu</i> | for Basque /s/ |
| 2. k~c~ch: | <i>tabacua, eska, chatucumia,</i> | for Basque /k/ |
| 3. b~v: | <i>vestialtorra, belsa,</i> | for Basque /b/ |
| 4. r~rr: | <i>amara, jaterra,</i> | for Basque /r/ |
| 5. l~ll : | <i>bellara, camisula</i> | for Basque /l/ |
| 6. p~pp: | <i>sappala, sapola</i> | for Basque /p/ |

All those alternations can be found in both the *Glossarium Prius* and the *Glossarium Alterum* edited by Deen. *Glossary IV* lacks some of the alternations, however: we do not find the character *z*⁴⁸, along with *s* and *ss*, and there is no alternation *m~mm*. Those two alternations characterize the *Glossarium Alterum*. In this sense, the orthographic system of the Harvard manuscript is closer to the first glossary edited by Deen than to the second one.

As noted by Deen for the manuscripts he edited, the orthography of the Basque entries is not always based on the Icelandic system. Thus, *k* is very often avoided in favour of *c*, as in *tabacua*, *tobak* in Icelandic.

6. Dialectal origin of the terms

As in Deen's glossaries, the terms in the glossary are of mixed dialectal origin, although eastern terms (from dialects in the continental Basque country) seem to be favored. The synthetic verb *indazu* only exists in oriental varieties during the seventeenth century and beyond. *Hunat* "here" is unequivocally eastern, as are *gasna* "cheese" and *sagarnua* "cider". This is also the case for *potzo* "big dog" and the compound *potzukumea* "puppy". *Burra* "butter" is a French borrowing, not a Spanish one. On the other hand, there are terms that come from the peninsular Basque country: *amarra* "rope" or "bond" is a clear case, although it could be a borrowing from peninsular Basque sea-terms. Finally *beste* "another" (in *vestialtorra* "another shirt") although not unequivocally central or western, is absent from the coastal varieties of continental Basque, where the variant *bertze* is used⁴⁹.

6. Pidgin-like features

We would like to point out that at least two entries in the glossary present morphosyntactically impoverished forms. The first entry is the equivalent of Basque (3):

- (3) Nola deitu zu?
How call you
"What's your name?"

⁴⁸ Or *ts* (*bildotsa* I 268).

⁴⁹ Provided, of course, that *vesti-* in *vestialtorra* is not the Icelandic term for 'vest'.

This is, as we said in our comments on entry 2, an ungrammatical sentence in Basque. At the same time, it has some characteristic properties of pidgin constructions: absence of an inflected auxiliary, and a bare stem form for the verb. In this regard, the sequence is akin to the pidgin-like structures identified by Hualde (1984) in the previous glossaries. There is, however, an important difference between the two cases: in the pidgin-like structures Hualde discusses the second person pronoun is always *you*, apparently from English (4).

- (4) ser travala for ju?
Hvad giorer du
“What are you doing?”

Thus, rather than an instance of Basque-Icelandic trade pidgin, we should consider (3) as an instance of “telegraphic” speech, a simplified register aimed at facilitating communication,⁵⁰ but without the defining features of a Basque-Icelandic pidgin. The consequence is of interest in that it forces the reconsideration of Basque-Icelandic linguistic communication in terms of a richer typology of contact situations.

The second entry is number 68, which reads as follows:

- (5) Simbatur?
“How much is that” or “What will you give me for that?”

We suggest that underlying (5) is something like (6):

- (6) Zenbat for?
How-much for
“How much is that?”

In which case, (5) would belong in the set of pidgin structures identified in Deen’s glossaries. Unfortunately, the sequence is also interpretable as a reduced form of (7)

- (7) Zenbat (h)ori?
How-much that
“How much is that?”

In the latter case, this would be a further instance of simplified speech, but without the characterizing relational terms of the pidgin.

⁵⁰ See Ferguson and DeBose (1977).

7. Conclusions

The Harvard manuscript we analyse in this paper has some reassuring features, vis-à-vis the glossaries edited by Deen: it develops (vaguely) across semantic fields, presents terms that occur in other glossaries, shows words of mixed dialectal origin, and uses an orthographic system that is very similar to the other glossaries. At the same time, the Harvard manuscript has terms that do not occur in any of the known glossaries, and shows variants that differ minimally, but conclusively, from the other glossaries. This leads us to conclude that the source manuscript of the present copy is a distinct glossary, written by a person who did not partake in the compilation of the other manuscripts. The presence of a fourth manuscript, arguably composed by another individual, raises some questions concerning the compilation process and the authorship of the glossaries in general. In recent years, there has been a considerable amount of speculation regarding the possible authors of the manuscripts. Several candidates, among them some of the learned cultural figures of seventeenth century Iceland, such as Jón Ólafsson *Indiafari* ('India-Traveller'), or Jón Guðmundsson Lærði ('The Learned'), who composed both a prose report and later verses on the slaying of the Basques in 1615, have figured as the hypothetical authors of the glossaries. The sheer number of glossaries still extant, or extant at some point since the seventeenth century, could have been conceived as part of a wider process of word compilation, which followed some kind of method, and was undertaken by a group of persons.

On the other hand, there are various logistical problems with this explanation. First of all, the original glossaries must have been kept secret in the seventeenth century because of the Danish trade monopoly: many entries in the glossaries clearly point to commercial transactions, whether with money or in kind, between Icelanders and Basque whalers.⁵¹ The secrecy of the contacts would explain why personal correspondence or entries in the Annals about people undertaking this kind of cultural-commercial activity is non-existent. Given that Basque whalers and fishermen seem to have gone to the Westfjords with a certain frequency, it is not impossible to think that several farmsteads could have had independent contacts with different groups of whalers at different times. Recall that Iceland in general, and the Westfjords in particular, were a very sparsely populated area,⁵² and the farm was the urban nucleus *par*

⁵¹ See "Chapter 1", this volume.

⁵² Jónsson (2008: 10).

excellence at this time. The farmer could have taken the initiative to gather words for practical use, in case these foreigners came again the following year to fish and render the whale blubber. This is all the more probable if the fishermen went back every year to use the blubber liquefying station that Rafnsson and Edvardsson have been excavating over the past few years.⁵³

The nature of the glossaries is also subtly different: if Glossarius Prius clearly has an encyclopaedic scope that goes well beyond the commercial interests of a local population isolated from the rest of the world, glossary number II has some very abstract terms (such as religious ones, that could be explained if the Icelander eliciting the terms was a priest, for instance, or if the informant and collector were in the proximity of a church – in Iceland, churches were typically found on the grounds of the wealthier farmsteads, but also more practical ones related to basic human interactions, including the ‘pidgin’ sentences. This more practical side, we would argue, is shared by the Harvard MS, where some simplified sentences are found, as well as down-to-earth, every-day terms having to do with food, clothing, and terminology related to the sea. The remnants of the third glossary are again very different: parts of the body, verbs (to think, to sigh), nothing necessarily practical, unless in a one-to-one encounter of a very different nature – perhaps like the one at the basis of the report in the Annals (XXXX Már) whereby a Basque sailor defends himself by saying that the Icelandic girl had tried to seduce him and not vice versa. The third glossary, moreover, was found at the end of a badly worn MS containing poems and belonging to a Helga Jónsdóttir in 1685, who it seems (FIND SOURCE XXXX) may have been related to Ari of Ögur, the local governor responsible for the 1615 massacre.

There is also another consideration against a united effort to gather information and glosses for a Basque-Icelandic dictionary. If something of that magnitude were indeed afoot, all local authorities, both administrative and ecclesiastical, would have known about it and probably participated in such an endeavour. If that were the case, Árni Magnússon, the learned philologist and collector of Icelandic manuscripts, would have known about it during his stay in Iceland 1702-1712. In fact, Árni did have at least one of these glossaries, the one he asked Grunnavíkur Jón to copy and that is now extant as II, whose original was burnt in the great fire of Copenhagen in 1728. Yet, neither Árni, it seems, nor Grunnavíkur Jón, his secretary, knew the authorship of glossary II. Despite the many mysterious

⁵³ See the respective chapters by Rafnsson and Edvardsson, this volume.

circumstances still surrounding these glossaries, it is apparent that they were definitely more common than previously thought. Perhaps every farm in the Westfjords had its own glossary that could come in handy when the whalers and fishermen returned. At times the whalers were stranded for many months, possibly over winter,⁵⁴ and in those cases, practicality would have given in to a cultural exchange of a more elevated nature – those are the circumstances in which a glossary of the extension and at times abstract nature of *Glossarius Prius* could have come about. One such long-term linguistic exposure could be the one that Jón Ólafsson *Indíafari* talks about in the memoirs of his travels published in 1661. He had come in touch with Basque whalers on board a Danish ship in the early 17th century and mentions that the interpreter for the Basques on the Danish ship, Jón Túlkur ('Jón the Interpreter'), was left in Iceland over winter as a young boy to learn the language.

Glossary number III is too limited to draw any conclusion regarding its purpose, although its insistence on body parts is peculiar. The others (II, and the source of IV) correspond to a practical necessity of communication, perhaps not just for commerce or bartering, but also to exchange news about the rest of the world, from which Iceland during the Danish trade monopoly must have felt infinitely far away. We know from mentions in Icelandic annals, as well as from documents written by writers from the Westfjords (Jón Lærði and Jón Ólafsson *Indíafari*, for instance) that contacts with foreigners were not unusual, in fact that they seemed to be frequent and extended, even since the fifteenth century.⁵⁵ It is not surprising then, that glossaries would in fact have been a common occurrence, at least on the most affluent farms. In our case, *Glossarius*

⁵⁴ Arnarson (1996).

⁵⁵ After all, usually decrees respond to things that are happening and that should not be (at least according to the lawmakers): in the *Píningsdómur* decree dated 1490, it is stated that foreigners were not allowed to spend the winter in Iceland unless it was not because of choice, but rather because of need, and that anyone who had not enough money to set up his own farm must register with a farmer as a farmhand (*vistarband*) (Þorsteinsson and Jónsson 1991). In both Jón Ólafsson's writings (1908 [1661]) and the historian Árni Arnarson's view (1996), the Westfjords may have been cut off from the rest of Iceland, but they certainly had lively comings and goings of foreigners of various nationalities (English, Dutch, Basque), ships, pirates, etc. - even during the Danish trade monopoly (1602-1787).

Prius could possibly be an original (its peculiar spelling practices would have been normalised by subsequent copyists). We know that II and III are copies of MSS that no longer exist, and the great amount of imprecisions and mistakes in IV also clearly points to the fact that the Harvard MS is a badly understood copy of a MS, which also no longer exists, or has yet to be discovered.

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