

MEANING, LIFE AND CULTURE

IN CONVERSATION WITH
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P R E S S



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The semantics of two loanwords in Navarrese Spanish

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1. Introduction

This study focuses on the semantics of two words used in the variety of Peninsular Spanish spoken in Navarre, one of the regions in northern Spain where Spanish and Basque have been in intense contact for centuries. Although their real origin still needs to be proven, the two words studied have been traditionally identified as borrowings from Basque—that is, words that at some point came into the Spanish spoken in the area by transfer from that language.

The existence of borrowings in languages can be explained by the need of speakers to refer to culturally specific objects, traditions and, most importantly, ways of thinking that cannot be found in their language. As Wierzbicka explains, there are language-specific names for special kinds of ‘things’, for customs and social institutions, as well as for people’s values, ideals, attitudes and ways of thinking about the world (1997: 2).

In this case, I am going to study words that are not language-specific but varietal-specific, since they only exist at present in the variety of Peninsular Spanish spoken in some areas of Navarre. The particularity of the two words chosen is that they convey special meanings, non-existent in general Spanish and definitely different from the ones encoded in other Spanish

words that are usually identified as their equivalents. I believe that an appropriate semantic analysis of these borrowings will reveal the specific way of thinking about certain human experiences of Navarrese speakers of Spanish—that is, some of the ‘ethnopsychological constructs’ (Goddard 2007a: 29) that characterise this regional variety.

Analysing and explaining the meaning of such words, especially to people from other cultures, is not an easy task. The theory of the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) developed by Wierzbicka and Goddard (see Goddard and Wierzbicka 2002, 2014) has provided semanticists with the appropriate tool to tackle the analysis of meanings. As Wierzbicka and her colleagues have demonstrated over the last four decades, NSM is the most appropriate analytical framework to accomplish this task, since it allows the researcher to explain meanings through a self-explanatory mini-language, constituted by a set of semantic primitives, which are universal, innate and language-independent (Gladkova 2010; Wong 2014; Wierzbicka 2015; Ye 2017; among others).

Since the words I am going to study do not generally appear in Spanish corpora due to their limited use and testimonies of their use are scarce, I based my analysis mainly on the information gathered from a few lexicographic sources and, especially, from the interviews I carried out with 20 Spanish monolingual speakers from the region.¹ This information, together with my own insights as a Spanish speaker from Navarre, allowed me to accurately describe and provide the NSM explications of the meanings of these words.

Before presenting the semantic analysis, and in order to contextualise the words studied, I will provide first an overview of the nature of lexical borrowings between these two languages in contact.

1 Interviewees were men and women, between 35 and 70 years old, who were born and still live in the capital city (Pamplona) or in neighbouring villages. They answered the following questions in written form: Do you use this word?; Can you provide some examples of phrases in which you would use this word?; How would you explain its meaning to someone who does not know this word? A few days later, and after an analysis of this information, oral interviews were carried out in which the researcher asked further questions on specific aspects of the meaning of each word.

2. Basque and Spanish in contact: Loanwords

In spite of being genetically unrelated, Spanish and Basque have influenced each other along the centuries of intense contact between them. Although evidence exists at different linguistic levels, mutual influence between these two languages is especially salient at the lexical domain, since lexical items are the elements most easily transferred from one language to another (Thomason and Kaufman 1988; Haspelmath 2008). Importantly, lexical transfer occurs primarily from Spanish, the dominant language, into Basque. Thus, Basque has borrowed words from Spanish like *kamioi* (from *camión* ‘truck’), *ligatu* (from *ligar* ‘flirt’), *saltsa* (from *salsa* ‘sauce’) and many others, adapting them to its phonological particularities (Cid-Abasolo 2010).

Although there are more instances of borrowings from Spanish into Basque, there is evidence of lexical transfer in the opposite direction as well. The Basque word *ezker* ‘left’, for example, has been borrowed not only by Spanish (*izquierda*) but also by other Romance languages like Catalan (*esquerra*) and Gascon (*querr* and *esquerr*) among others (Echenique 2016). In the Spanish spoken in Navarre, quite a few words have been claimed as borrowings from the Basque spoken in the area such as *sarde* ‘pitchfork’, *zartaco* (from *zartako* ‘bump, slap, spank’), etc. (Ciérvide 1979). These words have been labelled ‘léxico residual’ (‘residual lexicon’) to indicate they are remains of the Basque once spoken in the area. However, as Santazilia and Zuloaga (2018) point out, lexicographers should be cautious, since there is not always enough evidence to support this kind of claim.

Among the words registered as borrowings from Basque in Navarrese Spanish, we find nouns referring to objects (farming and domestic tools, musical instruments, food, games, shows’ characters ...), adjectives referring to personal qualities (physical appearance, personality traits ...) and verbs referring to various human actions or experiences. Some of the lexical transfers from Basque into Spanish probably took place decades or centuries ago, through bilingual speakers who used a word from one language when speaking the other language. Others have occurred more recently, accelerated by cultural globalisation, mobility and new technologies. As Tabernero (2008, 2012) explains, this is the case of cultural loanwords which are known and used not only in the whole

region of Navarre and the Basque Country, but also in other areas of Spain as well: *trikitixa* (a musical instrument similar to a small accordion), *pelotari* ‘pelota player’ and *chacolí* (from *txakoli* (a kind of wine))—the last two already registered in the *Dictionary of the Spanish Language* by the Real Academia Española (2014).²

One of the reasons these borrowings came into Navarrese Spanish and got easily adopted over time by Navarrese Spanish monolinguals is the fact that they name things that do not exist in other places (certain objects, games etc.) or concepts that are culture-specific, like the words I am going to study here. Basque–Spanish bilinguals who started using these words when speaking Spanish most probably felt the need to express something that could not be conveyed with other Spanish words at their disposal. As Wierzbicka explains when talking about the lexicon of bilinguals, there are certain concepts that are never substituted by the other language counterparts:

For example, I think that in my own mental lexicon the concept linked with the Polish color word *niebieski* (from *niebo* ‘sky’) has never been replaced with the English concept ‘blue’ (much wider than that of *niebieski*). (2011a: 203)

The cases studied here, which have reached the other language as borrowings, correspond to these kinds of words: ‘those deeply rooted in perception and those which are linked with a given lingua-culture’s cultural key words’ (Wierzbicka 2011a: 203).³

At present, Navarrese Spanish monolinguals keep using these borrowings for the same reason, since they need to refer to the same things and to the same concepts that are culturally specific to the region.

2 It should be highlighted that all these loanwords have become part of the recipient language (Navarrese Spanish or, in a few cases, general Peninsular Spanish); that is, they are used, transmitted and modified according to Spanish rules and patterns.

3 The words *chirrinta* and *ciriquiar* have been chosen for this study among other existent Basque loanwords in Navarrese Spanish because, in my view, they constitute the most clear examples of how human experiences and actions have been culturally shaped by this community.

3. *Txirrinta/Txirrintxa, Chirrinta/Chirrintas/Chirrincha/Chirlinta*: Sources and testimonies

The word *chirrinta* and its variant *chirrincha* was registered by Iribarren in his lexicographic work *Vocabulario Navarro (Navarrese Vocabulary)* (1984). He reports its use in the north, in Pamplona and in the Améscoa region (69 km west from Pamplona); that is, within the areas now established as ‘Basque-speaking’ (north) and ‘mixed’ (centre).⁴ Although other sources report its use in other areas of Navarre and in a few villages of neighbouring regions (Goicoechea 1961; De Cruchaga y Purroy 1970; Andolz 1992; Marín Royo 2006), judging by the testimonies found, it seems that, at present, the word is more generally used in northern and central Navarre.

The origin attributed to this word is the Basque *txirrinta* (Ciérvide 1979; Rebolé del Castillo 2003), which appears in different varieties of Basque spoken in Navarre and is defined by the *General Dictionary of Basque* (Michelena and Sarasola 1987–2013) as *deseo, ansia* ‘desire, want’. In my interviews with Spanish monolinguals, many speakers associated the word with the Basque language, since they chose the Basque graphemes (‘tx-’) instead of the Spanish ones (‘ch-’) when writing it. The hypothesis of the Basque origin of this word is reasonable, since it exists in this language with a similar meaning and it is nowadays mainly used by Spanish speakers from the ‘Basque-speaking’ and from the ‘mixed’ areas. However, as I explained above, more evidence, which has not yet been found, would be needed to confirm it.

In Iribarren’s dictionary (1984, s.v. *chirrinta*), this word appears with two different meanings: one meaning is described as *deseo vehemente, capricho, anhelo, antojo* ‘strong desire, caprice, wish, craving’ and the other as *dentera, envidia, rabia, tirria* ‘envy, jealousy, grudge, ill will’. The examples he provides for the first meaning are the following:

4 The regional government established in 1986, for administrative purposes, three linguistic areas: the *Basque-speaking* area in the north, the *mixed* area in the north and centre, and the *non-Basque speaking* area in the south. If we look at the number of speakers in each of these areas, we find that the biggest percentage of Basque speakers lives in the north, where 61.1 per cent of the population speak the language. By contrast, in the mixed area, the percentage of Basque speakers is 11.3 per cent and in the south is 2.7 per cent (Gobierno de Navarra et al. 2017).

- (1) ¡Tengo una **chirrinta** de ver Madrid!
‘I have such a **chirrinta** of seeing Madrid!’
- (2) Me quedé con la **chirrinta** de comer churros.
‘I was left with the **chirrinta** of eating churros.’

For the second meaning, the example provided is:

- (3) Le ha tomado **chirrinta** a su hermanica
‘He/She has taken a **dislike** to his/her little sister.’

In her sociolinguistic study of the lexicon of Pamplona, Aragüés (2003) finds that 60 per cent of the informants use this word, instead of other similar Spanish words, with the meaning of ‘strong desire for something’. More specifically, the context for which the informants used the word *chirrinta* is that of eating and food, in response to the following item in the questionnaire: ‘We all sometimes feel like eating special things: sometimes strawberries, some other times chocolate, some other salty things, etc. In that case, we say we have ...?’. Regarding the second meaning of this word, only one informant used it to refer to envy or jealousy.

In my interviews, all users of this word and its variants give examples and explanations related to the first meaning; none of them recognises its use with the second. The information found in Aragüés (2003) and in my interviews makes it possible to presume that the second meaning is in the process of disappearing. Because of this, and provided the scarce evidences of the use of this word in its second meaning, I have decided to focus on the analysis of the first one.

4. The prototypical scenario of *chirrinta*

Iribarren’s account (1984, s.v. *chirrinta*) seems to consider that this word refers to a strong desire to do something, and that this something could be equally visiting a place or eating something, that is, any activity. In the examples provided by the informants in my study, *chirrinta* and its graphic and phonological variants are primarily used in reference to the desire of eating some food (see examples (4) to (6)), although in a few of them the word appears in other contexts as well (see examples (7) and (8)):

- (4) Tengo **txirrinta** de txistorra
‘I have **txirrinta** of txistorra (a kind of chorizo).’
- (5) Me he quedado con la **chirrinta** de unos churros
‘I have been left with the **chirrinta** for churros.’
- (6) ¡Qué **chirrinta** de comer fresas!
‘What a **chirrinta** of eating strawberries!’
- (7) Tengo **chirrinta** de ir a una sidrería
‘I have **chirrinta** of going to a cider house.’
- (8) Tengo **chirrintas** de visitar ese pueblo
‘I have **chirrintas** of visiting that village.’

When asked about its possible use in other contexts, many of the speakers who used the word to refer to the desire of eating something considered examples like (7) and (8) acceptable, but reported that they would never use it in those contexts. Speakers who provided examples like (7) and (8), in turn, recognised examples like (4)–(6) as equally used by them. Hence, based on this evidence and on my own intuition as a native speaker, I think that feeling *chirrinta* is prototypically associated to some kind of desire to eat some food in particular.

The association of *chirrinta* with the desire to eat a particular food explains why, when trying to explain its meaning, many speakers mentioned the word *antojo*, used in general Spanish to refer to cravings. However, they made it clear that the Spanish word *antojo*, although close in meaning, corresponds to a very different concept, as we will discuss below.

The following example from an article about a gluten-intolerant boy that appeared in the regional newspaper *Diario de Navarra* illustrates the kind of feeling that *chirrinta* conveys. Also, although I will not go into this matter here, it is interesting to observe how this meaning of *chirrinta* is related to that second meaning of ‘envy and jealousy’ registered by Iribarren, which may have developed from the first (seeing somebody eating something makes you feel *chirrinta* of that something but it also may make you feel envious of that person).

- (9) Desde entonces, Jesús no ha tenido ningún problema de salud y una vez al año acude a una revisión. Pero no puede evitar pasar un poco de '**chirrinta**'. 'La dieta la llevo muy bien, pero me da un poco de envidia no poder comer las mismas cosas que mis amigos, como bollos o palmeras. Y en los cumpleaños, cuando voy a sus casas, tampoco puedo comer todas las cosas. Ahora ya lo saben todos mis amigos y sus madres, pero antes me aburría de tener que contarle a todo el mundo que soy celíaco'.

'Since then, Jesús has not had any health problem, and once a year he goes for a check-up. But he cannot help feeling a bit of '**chirrinta**'. 'I am dealing well with the diet, but it makes me feel jealous not being able to eat the same things as my friends, like a bun or a puff pastry. And at birthday parties, when I go to their homes, I can't eat those things either. Now all my friends and their mothers know it, but in the past I was bored of having to tell everybody I was gluten intolerant'. (Lamariano, A dieta desde los dos años y medio, *Diario de Navarra*, 18 April 2009)

In the following lines I will analyse the prototypical scenario of *chirrinta*, based on this example, on my own insights as a native speaker and user of the word, and on the information gathered in the interviews.

First, as this example shows, *chirrinta* refers to a feeling of desire for some particular food, in this case, sweet buns and pastries. Although most examples provided include sweets or some kind of special food that one does not eat every day, speakers agreed that what is relevant is not the kind of food, but one's feelings associated to past experiences of eating it. Thus, a person can feel *chirrinta* of something as common as fried eggs, as long as this person felt good when he/she ate them in the past. Some speakers highlighted this component, explaining that they feel *chirrinta* for things they ate in the past in pleasant situations and with their loved ones, for example, when their grandparents took them to a café to have chocolate with churros. Hence, unlike the Spanish word *antojo*, *chirrinta* involves thinking about that food in a particular way (recalling previous experiences) and includes an emotional component.

Second, the feeling of *chirrinta* seems to be triggered by one's sensory perception of that food: the boy in example 9 feels *chirrinta* when seeing his friends eating buns and pastries. In my interviews, a general insight among speakers is that, though not necessarily simultaneous, there is usually something that triggers the feeling of *chirrinta*, most prototypically

seeing that food, although smelling it could also produce the same effect. Again, the word *antojo* does not imply any sensory perception of the desired food; feeling *antojo* is not prototypically linked to the presence of that food in the situational context.

Third, feeling *chirrinta* also seems to imply that the speaker has not been eating that food lately. Definitely, a person cannot say that he/she feels *chirrinta* for something he/she ate the day before, or for something that he/she eats usually. As I explained earlier, this feeling is associated with past pleasant situations, not everyday or very recent ones.

So, the prototypical scenario implied by *chirrinta* is that of a desire to eat some food that the speaker has just seen or is seeing, that he/she associates to past pleasant situations and that he/she has not eaten for some time.

5. An NSM explication of *chirrinta*

Since *chirrinta* is an abstract noun, the frame proposed by Goddard and Wierzbicka (2014) for this kind of word has been used in the explication. On the other hand, the molecule eat [m] is needed in the explication. Semantic molecules are complex lexical meanings which, although could be further decomposed, function as ‘chunks’ in the semantic structure of more complex concepts (see Goddard 2007b, 2012). Among the different categories from which molecules are drawn, eat [m] belongs to the category of physical activities (Goddard 2007b, 2012).

[A] *Chirrinta* (e.g. Someone has *chirrinta* of something)

- a. something
- b. people can say what this something is with the word *chirrinta*
- c. when someone says something with this word, this someone can think like this:
- d. ‘It can be like this:
- e. someone wants to eat [m] something at some time when this someone sees this something
- f. because this someone thinks like this’:

- g. 'I have eaten [m] this thing before now a few times
- h. I felt something very good when I ate [m] this thing at these times
- i. I haven't eaten [m] this thing for some time
- j. Because of this, I want to eat [m] this thing now'

Components (a) to (d) correspond to the frame used for the explications of abstract nouns, as proposed by Goddard and Wierzbicka (2014). Component (e) makes clear that *chirrinta* conveys the desire of someone to eat something and that this experience is triggered when this someone sees this particular food. Component (f) introduces the prototypical thought content of the experiencer of *chirrinta*, which is spelled out in the four components of the cognitive scenario: (g) and (h) referred to the pleasant experience of eating this thing in the past; (i) referred to the time since the person last ate that thing; and finally (j) referred to the resulting desire to eat this thing.

6. *Ziriquiar/Ciriquiar*: Sources and testimonies

The second word used in Navarrese Spanish that I am going to analyse is the verb *ziriquiar/ciriquiar*. This word, like the previous one, is also registered by Iribarren's dictionary of Navarrese lexicon (1984) together with the variant *ciricar*. It appears with two orthographic variants: *ziriquiar*, which combines Basque (using the initial 'z') and Spanish (using 'qu' instead of the Basque 'k') spelling, and *ciriquiar*, which uses Spanish spelling. The phonetic variant *ciriquear* has been also found in some examples.

Iribarren registers its use in central and northern Navarre and, like Ciérvide (1979) and Rebolé del Castillo (2003), attributes its origin to the Basque *zirikatu*, which, according to the *General Dictionary of Basque* (Michelena and Sarasola 1987–2013), has different meanings such as: 1. *hurgar (con un palo, etc.)* 'to rummage (with a stick, etc.)', 2. *'inchar, punzar* 'to poke, to prick', 3. *tentar, provocar, incitar, hostigar* 'to tempt, to provoke, to incite, to annoy'.

There is no doubt that *ciriquiar* is semantically related to the Basque word *zirikatu*. Iribarren's dictionary includes three meanings for *ciriquiar*. The first one is *hurgar con un palo u otro objeto en un orificio* 'to rummage in a hole with a stick or another object'. The second, considered an

extension of the previous, is described as *toquitear*, *manosear*, *enredar* ‘to handle, to finger, to fiddle with’. The third one is *molestar*, *importunar* ‘to annoy, to pester’.

Due to the space limit of this contribution, I am going to focus on only one of the three meanings: *ciriquiar*₃. This meaning is the most abstract and it seems to be a figurative development from the other two. It is the meaning that appears first in my interviews with Navarrese speakers and the only one registered by Ciérvide (1979) and Rebolé del Castillo (2003), who explain it as *fastidiar*, *enredar* ‘to annoy, to fidget with’ and *importunar* ‘to pester somebody’.

As the information given so far shows, *ciriquiar*₃ is a complex concept that is not clearly defined by lexicographic sources, which only provide a very general and approximate idea of what this verb conveys. The cultural specificity of *ciriquiar*₃ is mentioned in this text written by an English speaker living in Pamplona:

There is a word that I learnt thanks to reading one of the books written by that great Pamplonican doctor, writer and historian, Jose Joaquin Arazuri, that apparently is typically Navarran. The word is ‘ciriquiar.’ To make mischief. Well, Pamplona is full of mischief makers, jokers and comedians. I don’t know if the Catholic Church has a saint for that little trio of fun-folksters, but I think they should have. (heartofpamplona.com/sf-2018-escalera-2 (site discontinued))

However, the cultural specificity of this word is overlooked by the author of this text when he offers the translation ‘to make mischief’ as an equivalent to it. As many NSM studies have shown, it is not possible to explain the meaning of a word by translation means (Wierzbicka 2011b, 2013; Goddard and Ye 2014; Wong 2018; among other works).

7. The prototypical scenario of *ciriquiar*₃

In this section I will try to explain the meaning of this verb on the basis of the testimonies found in written texts and the examples provided by the informants in the interviews.

The prototypical context in which *ciriquiar*₃ appears is ‘A person *ciriquia* another person’—that is, it is a verb referring to an action that someone does to another person. Interestingly, when native speakers think about

the person who *ciriquia*, they immediately think of a child. In fact, although the word can be used in other contexts, when asked to provide examples of their use of this word, most interviewees provided contexts referring to children's behaviour:

(10) ¡Deja de **ciriquear** a tu hermano!

‘Stop **ciriquear**-ing your brother!’

(11) Le encanta **ciriquear**, hasta que no le deja llorando a su hermano, no puede parar.

‘He loves **ciriquear**-ing, he does not stop until he leaves his brother crying.’

(12) Está todo el rato **ciriqueando**, y luego le sacuden. ¡Normal!

‘He is **ciriquear**-ing all the time and then he gets hit. What else does he expect?’

If these are the kind of examples that first come to mind to native speakers, it is reasonable to think that the kind of action that *ciriquiar*₃ depicts is one usually carried out by children, even though adults can perform it too.

The second semantic component that can be drawn from these examples is that the action performed can be annoying—that is, it can make the other person feel something bad. In example (10), the speaker tells the child to stop doing it since he/she is considering the negative feelings that this action can produce in the child's brother. In example (11), this component can clearly be seen since the action makes the boy cry. In example (12), this negative feeling produces a violent reaction against the person who *ciriquea*, which is judged by the speaker as a totally normal reaction. To this respect, it should be noted that *ciriquiar*₃ seems to involve a physical action, more specifically, it seems to involve touching the other person. This component of physical contact is consistent with the other two meanings of this verb (*ciriquiar*₁ and *ciriquiar*₂), both referring to touching something with the hands or with a stick.

Another aspect that should be pointed out is that this verb is always used in a non-perfective tense, like in these three examples. This means that when someone *ciriquia* another person, he/she does not do so in one moment, but rather, he/she does so for some time or repeatedly.

Finally, *ciriquiar*₃ seems to include an expectation on the part of the agent: when children act like this, they are expecting some kind of reaction from the other person.

The use of *ciriquiar*₃ in the following testimony confirms these first insights about its meaning. In this case, the subject is not a child but a *kiliki*, a character with oversized head who comes out during festivals to tease children with a sponge tied with a thread to a stick:

- (13) Toda la Comparsa sería menos alegre sin la presencia de los kilikis, que van **ciriquiando** a todos los críos, produciendo carreras y tonadillas jocosas a cada uno de los personajes por toda la chiquillería.

‘The whole troupe would be less lively without the presence of the kilikis, who go **ciriquiar**-ing all the children, producing runs and ditties by all the kids to each of the characters.’ (Ilargi, *Vienen los gigantes*, *El tuto* 14, 1989)

However, some testimonies have also been found where this verb is not used either in the context of children or to refer to an action involving physical contact. The following example illustrates such case:

- (14) Los poetas de Umbría eran muy suyos. Eso sí, tenían, como todos los del mundo, la manía de no dejarse en paz ni a sol ni a sombra y de formar tribu y tener acólitos, cómplices, aliados, allegados, etc., etc., etc. ... Había uno que disfrutaba enormemente haciendo daño al prójimo, confundiéndolo, mortificándolo, humillándolo, que luego se hizo psicoanalista para poder hacer lo mismo que antes pero con patente de corso, que le **ciriquiaba** a Eguren con que si sus versos no tenían pathos.

‘The poets from Umbría were very special. They had, like all poets in the world, a fixation with not giving each other a moment’s peace and with making tribes and having acolytes, accomplices, allies, intimates, etc., etc., etc. ... There was one who enjoyed enormously doing harm to neighbours, confusing them, tormenting them, humiliating them; who later on became a psychoanalyst so that he could do the same thing he used to do but with a *carte blanche*, who used to **ciriquiar** Eguren saying that his verses didn’t have pathos.’ (Sánchez-Ostiz, *Un infierno en el jardín*, 1995; in Real Academia Española (n.d.))

This kind of testimony shows that, although the prototypical situation that this verb evokes is a child touching another child repeatedly and for some time, *ciriquiar*₃ can also be used to refer to adults doing things that don't imply physical contact but can be equally annoying and conform to the features of that kind of behaviour discussed above.

8. An NSM explication of *ciriquiar*₃

Based on the information on the meaning of this word explained in the previous section, I propose below an NSM explication of *ciriquiar*₃. For this explication, two molecules are needed: child [m], which belongs to the category of basic social groups, and hand [m], which is included in the category of body parts (Goddard 2007b, 2012).

[B] *Ciriquiar*₃ (e.g. Someone X was *ciriquiar*-ing someone Y)

- a. someone X was doing something of one kind to someone else Y for some time
- b. like a child [m] can do something of this kind when this child [m] thinks like this:
 - c. 'I want this someone to feel something bad now
 - d. because of this, I will do something with my hand [m] now
 - e. if I do this, my hand [m] will be touching this someone's part of the body many times for some time
 - f. I want this someone to do something because of this'
- g. because someone X was doing it to someone Y for some time, someone Y felt something bad

Since *ciriquiar*₃ is prototypically a physical action, the first component corresponds to the lexicosyntactic frame of physical activity verbs (Goddard 2012, among others). The second component introduces the prototypical motivational scenario, which includes the reference to children as the prototypical agents of this kind of action. This prototypical motivational scenario is spelled out in components (c) to (f), expressing the intention to annoy the other person by touching this person repeatedly and the expectation of a reaction from him/her. Finally, component (g) expresses the negative feelings that this action produces in the other person.

9. Conclusion

This contribution has sought to explain the meaning of *chirrinta* and *ciriquiar*₃, two loanwords of cultural relevance used by Navarrese Spanish speakers, which are unknown to speakers from other areas of Spain. As has been discussed, the few regional dictionaries that offer information about these words fail to spell their meaning out, probably because of their cultural specificity and the absence of equivalents in general Spanish. The present study has shown that, in spite of their complexity, these two culture-specific words can be fully understood by non-native speakers through NSM explications based on simple universal concepts. As Anna Wierzbicka has argued in her numerous publications, it is only through this self-explanatory set of semantic primes that complex meanings can be explained and compared in an intelligible way. Although they constitute a first approach and they may be subject to future revisions, the explications provided here will definitely help Spanish speakers as well as speakers of other languages to understand these two culture-specific concepts.

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