The word order of negation in the history of Basque

A linguistic and sociolinguistic approach

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This article investigates word order changes in negated periphrastic constructions in the history of Basque. A number of linguistic variables are argued to correlate with these changes: the negative particle *ez* is increasingly focalized in main clauses, the innovative pattern *negative particle - auxiliary verb - main verb* allows for more syntactic flexibility than the conservative one, and the word order changes do not progress at equal rates in all clause subtypes. Genre issues are also considered, including the hypothesis that the loss of the conservative order *main verb - negative particle - auxiliary verb* of main clauses occurs first in texts close to oral language. Moreover, it is argued that eastern dialects are more innovative than western dialects and that the efforts of standardization of the language slowed down this case of word order change.

Keywords: standard negation, periphrastic constructions, word order change, oral and literary Basque, standardization, genre

1.   Introduction: literature, scope and aims of the study

Diachronic changes in negative constructions are known from a wide variety of language families throughout the world (Devos & Van der Auwera 2013, Willis et al. 2013, Michael & Granadillo 2014, Mosegaard & Visconti 2014, Idiatov 2015, Miestamo et al. 2015, Hölzl 2018). In comparison, the diachronic development of Basque negation remains largely understudied and poorly understood, as indeed do other aspects of Basque diachronic syntax.

This study aims to answer the following questions concerning the impact of linguistic variables on the word order of negation in Basque: (1) to what extent do syntactic operations such as focalization and the insertion of constituents affect the word

order of negated periphrastic constructions? (2) does the word order of negation change at equal rates in all clause types? On the other hand, the following more general issues are also considered: (3) how does the change in the word order of negation relate to the opposition between oral/colloquial vs. literary language? (4) how does the diachronic development of negation vary dialectally? (5) what impact do efforts of standardization have on these developments?

Attempting to answer these questions presents two main difficulties: on the one hand, the comparatively brief history of Basque literature provides an incomplete view of the changes affecting negation, since these were already underway by the time the first large written texts come to light in the 16th century. On the other hand, no oral records of the language exist until the early-mid 20th century, and most of the written literature up to the 19th century (around 90%) consists of translations and religious writings (Salaberri Muñoa 2002: 18-19): this implies a considerably limited presence of orality and colloquiality in historic Basque literature.

An effort has been made here to sidestep the first of these issues by reconstructing the proto-history of Basque negation on the basis of proposals by Mitxelena (1978: 223-224), Lakarra (1986: 655, 1996: 254-255, f. 18) and Reguero (2013: 434): see §1.2 for more on these proposals. The second issue has been compensated by means of a categorization of the corpus of texts according to a model which measures the distance of written texts from oral language and literary standards: see §2 for details.

This study is structured as follows: §1.1 presents an overview of negation in present-day Basque, followed in §1.2 by a proposed reconstruction and a demonstration of negation across historic Basque. Section 2 categorizes the corpus of texts under study. Finally, the data are analyzed and interpreted in §3 and conclusions are drawn in §4. The theoretic framework this article draws on is Basic Linguistic Theory (Dixon 2010). Basic Linguistic Theory refers to the basic theoretic concepts which underlie most work in language description and typology. This theory does not assume a formal metalanguage. Rather, grammatical phenomena can be described and discussed using any natural language, such as English. The choice of Basic Linguistic Theory entails that formal studies on Basque negation (Ortiz de Urbina 1987, Laka 1990, 1991, Elordieta 2001 among others) have not been taken into consideration.

1.1 Standard negation in present-day Basque

The term "standard negation" has often been used in the literature to denote the basic means used by a language for negating declarative verbal clauses (Payne 1985: 198, 206-207, Miestamo 2005: 1, 39, Dahl 2010: 10, Eriksen 2011: 275). Consequently, for the purposes of this study, this term will be used to refer to Basque negated main and subordinate clauses containing finite periphrastic verbal forms. In this sense, the label "standard negation" is largely equivalent to the term "sentence negation" used in previous studies on Basque negation (Laka 1991: 899, De Rijk 2008: 165).[1]

In Basque standard negation is expressed by means of the negative marker *ez*, which always stands immediately to the left of the finite verb (Ortiz de Urbina 1987: 344, Etxepare 2003: 522-523). A point worth mentioning here is that Basque only has this one negative marker, unlike languages in which the choice of negative marker depends on clause type, such as Latin (Glare 1968: 1162, 1187) and Georgian (Cherchi 1999: 34-35).[2] A number of criteria can be used to determine the morphosyntactic character of *ez* or, in other words, to identify *ez* either as a clitic or as an affix. In this sense, Dahl (1979: 83-84) and Zwicky & Pullum (1983: 503-504) each propose four approximately overlapping criteria that point toward a morphological treatment (portmanteau realization, prosodic unity with the verb, placement close to the root of the verb, morphophonemic alternation) and four criteria that support a syntactic treatment (mobility, prosodic independence, orthographic separation in writing, low degree of selection) of negative markers.[3]

Of the first four tests two speak against treating *ez* as an affix: first of all, this element only ever has a negative meaning, therefore it is not realized as a portmanteau morpheme. Second, *ez* is not adjacent to the root of the verb: in the case of synthetic

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1 Since "standard negation" is clausal, it excludes negative markers that belong to word formation, such as the English prefixes *un-*, *in-* and *dis-*, which Dahl (2010: 11) refers to as "lexical negation". Accordingly, the latter kind of negation is outside the scope of this study. Constituent negation has not been considered either, as this kind of negation follows a specific word order pattern that does not relate to the present discussion (De Rijk 2008: 165-166). The same is true of cases where the Basque negative marker functions as a conjunction (Euskaltzaindia 1990: 59, 1997: 492).

2 An etymologically related potential negative marker, *ezin*, is available to many Basque dialects alongside *ez* (De Rijk 2008: 635). A diachronic analysis of *ezin* is, however, beyond the scope of this study.

3 For additional criteria used to distinguish clitics from affixes, see Haspelmath & Sims (2013: 197-203). For difficulties concerning these criteria and, more generally, for arguments against a separation between morphology and syntax, see Haspelmath (2011).

verbs, it is separated from the root by person and tense markers (*ez n-a-tor* NEG 1SG-PRS-come "I'm not coming"), and in the case of periphrastic verbs, it is separated by the auxiliary verb (*ez naiz etorri* NEG AUX come "I have not come"). As opposed to this, *ez* forms a prosodic unity with the finite verb, and it undergoes morphophonemic alternations depending on the consonant that follows it: for example, the laminal sibilant in *ez* [eş] becomes an affricate when combined with another laminal sibilant, such as in the verb form *zen* [şen] be.3SG.PST "(s)he was", i.e. *ez zen* [ˈe.t͡şen] "(s)he was not" (Laka 1990: 31, f. 12, De Rijk 2008: 16).

Of the latter four tests, two speak for a syntactic treatment of the negative marker: first of all, the negative marker and the accompanying verb are written separately, at least in present-day Basque. Second, *ez* as a marker of standard negation is attached only to verbs, which means that this element has a low degree of freedom of host selection (Zwicky & Pullum 1983: 503). In fact, just a few elements including interrogative (*al, ote*), evidential (*ei, omen*) and modal (*ohi*) particles can occur between *ez* and the verb (Euskaltzaindia 1997: 490). As opposed to this, the position of the negative marker is basically always the same, i.e., before the inflected form of the finite verbal expression, which speaks against a syntactic treatment of *ez*. To sum up this point, the Basque negative marker behaves like an affix in some respects, and like an independent word form in others. This is considered to be a typical feature of clitics (Haspelmath & Sims 2013: 202). Therefore, it seems best to characterize *ez* as a clitic rather than an affix.[4]

In addition to the negator *ez*, two more elements are involved in the expression of standard negation in Basque: the main verb and (in periphrastic verbs) the auxiliary, which together constitute the verb phrase. The auxiliary is marked for all morphological categories except for aspect, including tense, mood and agreement. Furthermore, its usual position is either leftmost (in negated clauses) or rightmost (in affirmative clauses) in the verb phrase. In this sense, Basque auxiliaries are cross-linguistically fairly typical elements with regard to negation (Dahl 1979: 86-87).

Concerning the internal structure of Basque standard negation, its constituents are believed to be the negative particle *ez*, on the one hand, and the verb phrase, on the

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4 On the basis of similar criteria, Dryer (2013) classifies Basque *ez* as a "negative particle" rather than as a "negative affix". Moreover, negative constructions in which the negative marker is the outermost element in the word (as may be argued for Basque) are claimed by Dahl (2010: 16) to be "candidates for an analysis in terms of clitics".

other. According to some researchers, the negative construction is also initially headed by the negative particle (Laka 1990: 27-35, Etxepare 2003: 518-520). Evidence for these claims stems from the grammaticality of verbal ellipsis: unlike English (1a), Basque allows the verb phrase to be elided in conjunction, where one conjunct is affirmative and the other negative, leaving the negator *ez* intact (1b, Etxepare 2003: 519):

(1) a. *John has seen Mary, but Peter not (has not).*

    b.

Jon-ek	*Miren*	*ikus-i*	*du,*	*baina*
John-ERG	Mary.ABS	see-PFV	AUX	but

Peru-k	*ez*
Peter-ERG	NEG

    'John has seen Mary, but Peter has not (lit. but Peter not).'

The grammaticality of (1b) thus suggests, on the one hand, that the elided verb phrase *ikusi du* "see.3SG.PFV AUX" forms a constituent, which behaves as the complement of the negator *ez*. On the other hand, elision of the verb phrase by leaving *ez* intact would not be possible if the negative particle did not initially head the negative construction (Laka 1990: 32-33).

It has been widely observed that, cross-linguistically, negation is often not expressed in a homogeneous fashion across different clause types (Dahl 1979: 95, 2010: 11, Miestamo 2005: 15-16, Eriksen 2011: 275-276). Basque is no exception, since the linear word order of main (declarative, interrogative, imperative) clauses with periphrastic verbs differs depending on whether they are positive or negative. Whereas in finite positive declarative main clauses containing periphrastic verbs the main verb precedes the auxiliary (2a),[5] the only possible word order in their negated counterparts is *negative marker - auxiliary verb - main verb* (NEG-V_A-V_M) (2b, Etxepare 2003: 518-519, De Rijk 2008: 168):

(2) a.

Jon-ek	*lan*	*egin*	*du*

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5 This is true for Standard Basque, but not for all dialects. In northern dialects auxiliary verbs may precede main verbs in positive sentences, provided that constituent focalization is involved. For details, see Lafitte (1944: 47), Ortiz de Urbina (1987: 342-343) and Euskaltzaindia (1997: 491).

	John-ERG	work	do.PFV	AUX

'John has worked.'

b. *Jon-ek   ez   du   lan-ik   egin*

	John-ERG	NEG	AUX	work-PART	do.PFV

'John has not worked.'

Negation moreover eliminates the requirement of positive sentences for the main verb (*egin*) and the auxiliary (*du*) to be adjacent to each other: in (2b) the direct object *lanik* 'work.PART' intervenes between both elements, and the result is still grammatical. The same word order asymmetry between (2a) and (2b) holds for other subtypes of main clauses, including interrogative (3a-b) and imperative (3c-d, Etxepare 2003: 520-522). The only exceptions are negated exclamative clauses, which allow for main verbs to precede the negative marker and the auxiliary verb, i.e., *main verb - negative particle - auxiliary verb* (V_M-NEG-V_A) (3e, Euskaltzaindia 1997: 493):[6]

(3)   a. *Jon-ek   lan   egin   al   du?*

John-ERG	work	do.PFV	Q	AUX

'Has John worked?'

b. *Jon-ek   ez   al   du   lan-ik   egin?*

John-ERG	NEG	Q	AUX	work-PART	do.PFV

'Has John not worked?'

c. *Lan   egin   ezazu!*

work	do.PFV	AUX

'Work!'

d. *Ez   ezazu   lan-ik   egin!*

NEG	AUX	work-PART	do.PFV

'Do not work!'

e. *Jon-ek   lan-ik   egin-go   ez   al   du   ba!*

John-ERG	work-PART	do-RLS	NEG	Q	AUX	EMPH

'How could John not work?!'

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6 Of the four main clause subtypes (declarative, imperative, interrogative, exclamative) only the first three have been analyzed here: exclamative clauses occur too infrequently in the corpus to be of any relevance to the present discussion.

Accordingly, Basque has been described as a language with "asymmetric" negation, and more specifically as a language with non-specified asymmetry in negation: this means that there are structural differences ("asymmetries", in this case concerning word order) between positive and negative sentences that go beyond the addition of the negative marker (Miestamo 2005: 153-154, Dahl 2010: 12). This asymmetry does not, however, involve clauses with synthetic verbs (4a-b, De Rijk 2008: 181):

(4)   a.   *Jon*   *ba-d-a-tor*

            John.ABS   AFF-3-PRS-come

            'John is coming.'

    b.   *Jon*   *ez*   *d-a-tor*

            John.ABS   NEG   3-PRS-come

            'John is not coming.'

Examples (4a-b) illustrate two relevant points: (i) the position of the negative marker *ez* relative to synthetic verbs is the same as relative to periphrastic verbs, i.e., immediately before the inflected form of the finite verbal expression; (ii) there is no asymmetry between positive and negated main clauses when synthetic verbs are involved. Consequently, synthetic verbs have been left out of the discussion.

A related issue concerns the distinction between different clause types in Basque and, more specifically, the definition of the notion of subordination. Subordination has been defined on the basis of criteria such as dependency, i.e. the impossibility for a subordinate clause to occur in isolation (Hengeveld 1998: 335). The dependency criterion is, on its own, problematic as an indication of clausal status, at least from a cross-linguistic point of view (Cristofaro 2003: 15-16). Nevertheless, Basque quite consistently marks all subordinate clauses by means of subordinators. Accordingly, all clauses that fulfill the dependency criterion and are marked as subordinate by means of subordinators have been considered subordinate, and all others as main clauses.

The same asymmetry observable in main clauses with periphrastic verbs (2a-b, 3a-d) is also present in subordinate clauses. Whereas in finite positive embedded clauses main verbs precede auxiliaries (5a), in their negated counterparts the order is sometimes the

opposite (5b). However, unlike in negated main clauses, in subordinate clauses the main verb can also stand before the negative particle and the auxiliary verb (V$_M$-NEG-V$_A$, as in exclamative clauses) (5c, Euskaltzaindia 1997: 488):[7]

(5) a. *Jon-ek   lan   egin   du-elako*
        John-ERG   work   do.PFV AUX-SUB
        'Because John has worked.'

     b. *Jon-ek   ez   du-elako   lan-ik   egin*
        John-ERG   NEG   AUX-SUB   work-PART   do.PFV
        'Because John has not worked.'

     c. *Jon-ek   lan-ik   egin   ez   du-elako*
        John-ERG   work-PART   do.PFV NEG   AUX-SUB
        'Because John has not worked.'

As mentioned above, Basque quite consistently marks all subordinate clauses by means of subordinators: these include markers of complementation (*-la*, *-tze(a)*), relative markers (*-(e)n(a)*, *zein(a)*, *non*), conditionals ((*baldin*) *ba-*), causals (*bait-*, *-lako*, *-gatik*, *ezen*, *zeren*), purposives, concessives and contrastives (*-ko*, *ere*, *arren*, *nahiz* (*eta*), *baizik* (*eta*)), among others (Euskaltzaindia 2002: 1-2). This means that different subtypes of subordinate clause are formally quite easy to distinguish from each other.

The possibility of having both word orders under negation, i.e., NEG-V$_A$-V$_M$ and V$_M$-NEG-V$_A$, is allowed for by most subtypes of subordinate clause, including causal (5b-c) and conditional (6a-b) clauses (De Rijk 2008: 413-415). The only exceptions are prenominal relative clauses introduced by the subordinator *-(e)n*, where NEG-V$_A$-V$_M$ order is not possible because of a restriction that governs only this clause subtype: the last word within a relative clause must be the inflected verb (6c). Therefore, if the inflected auxiliary verb does not occupy this position, the result is ungrammatical (Oihartzabal 2003: 767):

(6) a. *Jon-ek   ez   ba-du   lan-ik   egin*
        John-ERG   NEG   SUB-AUX   work-PART   do.PFV

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7 The degree of acceptability of (5b-c) may not be the same for all speakers. For details, see Osa (1990: 198-205).

'If John has not worked.'

b. *Jon-ek*   *lan-ik*   *egin*   *ez*   *ba-du*

   John-ERG   work-PART   do.PFV   NEG   SUB-AUX

   'If John has not worked.'

c. *Jon-ek*   *lan-ik*   *egin*   *ez*   *du-en*   *egun-a*

   John-ERG   work-PART   do.PFV   NEG   AUX-SUB   day-DEF

   'The day when John did not work.'

In general terms, the variability between NEG-V$_A$-V$_M$ and V$_M$-NEG-V$_A$ order in subordinate clauses is a complex matter both in present-day Basque and in older stages of the language, since the choice of pattern depends on a number of factors which include, at least, (i) dialect, (ii) subtype of subordinate clause and (iii) the influence of efforts of standardization on each individual author (De Rijk 2008: 414, see §3 for details). Concerning the second of these variables, it has been argued that, cross-linguistically, complement and relative clauses usually represent an embedding structure which is more typical of subordinate clauses, whereas adverbial (conditional, concessive, manner etc.) clauses are closer to main clauses (Lehmann 1988: 189, Thompson et al. 2007: 238, though see Cristofaro 2003: 18-22). In view of the asymmetric character of Basque negation, it thus seems reasonable to search for a link between word order pattern and clause subtype (for details, see §3.1.3).

To summarize, in present-day Basque there is a double asymmetry with regard to the word order of negation in periphrastic constructions, i.e., one that concerns the opposition between positive and negative main clauses (2a-b) and another one that involves negated main clauses (2b) as opposed to negated subordinate clauses (5b-c). Positive main (2a) and subordinate (5a) clauses seem, by contrast, to go hand in hand.[8]

1.2   Standard negation in historic and prehistoric Basque

Studies on language change frequently draw a boundary between oral and written language. The reason for this distinction is the propensity of written language to retain grammatical features which have already been lost in oral language: Campbell (2013:

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8 This last point was noted by an anonymous reviewer.

400) mentions the "tendency for writing systems to preserve representations of features which have been lost in the spoken language long after the [spoken] language has changed". Put differently, grammatical innovations usually appear in spoken language first and may accumulate for a long time before entering the writing system (Joseph & Janda 2003: 140-141). As a consequence, oral and written texts of the same language from the same period often do not reflect the same grammatical properties. This dichotomy between oral and written language will provide here the framework for analyzing the word order of standard negation in historic (16th-20th century) Basque: see §2 for more details.

The periodization of Basque follows Lakarra (1997: 516) and Gorrotxategi et al. (2018: 16-17), who classify Basque into the following stages:

- Aquitanian (1st-3rd centuries CE),
- Old Common Basque (around 5th-6th centuries),
- Medieval Basque (711-1400),
- Archaic Basque (1400-1600),
- Old-Classic Basque (1600-1745),
- First Modern Basque (1745-1876),
- Second Modern Basque (1876-1968) and
- Standard Unified Basque (1968-present).

Because texts large enough to enable an analysis of standard negation come to light only in the 16th century, only the last five stages of the language are relevant to this study.

The internal structure of negation in earlier Basque does not seem to have changed in a relevant manner with respect to the present-day language. This observation is motivated by attestations of elided verb phrases in conjunction, where (i) one conjunct is affirmative and the other negative and (ii) the negator *ez* is left intact, as illustrated by the following examples (7a-b):

(7) a. *Idi-a-c* *ezaun-tzen* *dú* *bere* *jabe-a,*
         ox-DEF-ERG know-IPFV AUX 3SG.GEN owner-DEF.ABS

         baña *ne-re* *puéblo-a-c* *ni* *ez*
         but 1SG-GEN people-DEF-ERG 1SG NEG

'An ox knows his owner, but my people do not know me (lit. but my people me not).' (Joakin Lizarraga Elkanokoa, 1778)[9]

b.
Ori	*zeu-k*	*egin-go*	*zeunke,*	*baiña*
that.ABS	2SG-ERG	do-RLS	AUX	but

ni-k	*ez*
1SG-ERG	NEG

'You would do that, but I would not (lit. but I not).' (Estepan Urkiaga 'Lauaxeta', 1935)

Following Laka's (1990: 32-33) reasoning, examples (7a-b) indicate that, in earlier Basque, standard negation is initially headed by the negator *ez*, which takes the verb phrase as its complement, just like in the current language. Sentences (7a-b) also illustrate that in older language, as in present-day Basque, subjects (*nere puébloac*, *nik*) occupy a higher position in the clausal architecture than negation does. In contrast, the word order of negated periphrastic constructions is slightly different in older Basque when compared to present-day: the main difference lies in the fact that both orders NEG-V_A-V_M and V_M-NEG-V_A are acceptable not only in negated subordinate clauses (8c-d), as in present-day Basque, but in negated main clauses as well (8a-b):

(8)   a.
Ez	*jat*	*anci-tu*	*berva-ric*
NEG	AUX	forget-PFV	word-PART

'I have not forgotten a word.' (Joan P. Lazarraga, 1602)

b.
Egundaiño	*icuss-i*	*ez*	*dugu*	*hunelaco-ric*
until.today	see-PFV	NEG	AUX	such-PART

'We have never seen such a thing.' (Joanes Haraneder, 1740)

c.
Jaungoico-a-c	*ez*	*ditu-ela*	*adi-tzen*	*pecatari-ac*
lord-DEF-ERG	NEG	AUX-SUB	listen-IPFV	sinner-DEF.ABS.PL

'That the Lord does not listen to sinners.' (Fernando Brunet, 1834)

d.
Non=ta	*legalidade*	*guzti-a-requin*	*presenta-tcen*	*ez*
where=SUB	lawfulness	all-DEF-COM	present-IPFV	NEG

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9 The names next to the translations refer to authors or to text headings, not to editors. Unless otherwise specified, all historic examples have been retrieved from *Euskal klasikoen corpusa* "Corpus of Basque classics" (Euskara Institutua 2013). Sentences taken from this source are not rendered in the standard spelling of present-day Basque, but in the way they were written down and have been edited.

dira-n

AUX-SUB

'Unless they are not presented with full lawfulness.' (Count Reille, 1811)

A question that arises at this point is which one of these word order patterns (NEG-V$_A$-V$_M$, V$_M$-NEG-V$_A$ or both) is the oldest one and which one is innovative in both main (8a-b) and subordinate (8c-d) clauses. Concerning this issue, the possibility of reconstructing both orders NEG-V$_A$-V$_M$ and V$_M$-NEG-V$_A$ for Old Common Basque has rarely been considered in previous literature: Salaberri Izko (2018: 61-62), who draws on Zipf's (1949: 1-2) *Principle of least effort*, argues that the possibility for any language to have two basic word orders to express the same notion (standard negation) should —from the point of view of communicative economy— be regarded as a "luxury" and should thus be discarded. As will be shown in §3, however, there may be a functional motivation for the coexistence of NEG-V$_A$-V$_M$ and V$_M$-NEG-V$_A$ order in historic and prehistoric Basque. In fact, it is impossible to reconstruct any pattern based solely on the Basque data, since both orders V$_M$-NEG-V$_A$ and NEG-V$_A$-V$_M$ are attested in the first large texts published in the 16th century (Salaberri Izko 2018: 78).

By contrast, three arguments speak in favor of considering V$_M$-NEG-V$_A$ as the older pattern: first of all, V$_M$-NEG-V$_A$ order follows the same order as positive sentences, namely *main verb - auxiliary verb*. Therefore, one may think that the order of negated clauses arose on the basis of positive sentences, as argued by Lakarra (1996: 255, 18. f). The second argument for considering V$_M$-NEG-V$_A$ the original pattern is that NEG-V$_A$-V$_M$ order tends to become more frequent since the earliest texts: according to Lakarra (1986: 655), this development would be unexpected if NEG-V$_A$-V$_M$ were not the innovative pattern. Indeed, within syntactic change it is common for the innovative pattern to coexist with the conservative one and to become more frequent from the beginning of the process (Kroch 2001: 720). This, in any case, holds true provided that there is no other change that interferes in the process; the innovative pattern can also reach a certain stage of development after which, for different reasons, it ceases to grow in frequency.[10]

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10 This last point was noted by an anonymous reviewer.

Finally, the third argument draws on a cross-linguistic generalization: it has been repeatedly claimed in the literature on syntactic change that subordinate clauses are more conservative than main clauses in the face of innovations entering the grammar (Givón 1979: 259-261, Hock 1986: 332, Matsuda 1998, Bybee 2002, Crowley & Bowern 2010: 231, though see Stockwell & Minkova 1991). Indeed, the conservativeness of subordinate clauses has sometimes been appealed to precisely in studies dealing with the word order of negation (Givón 1979: 124, Schwegler 1983: 303). Therefore, if in present-day Basque negative subordinate clauses have preserved V_M-NEG-V_A order (5c), whereas negated main clauses have not (2b), then this is probably indicative that V_M-NEG-V_A is older than NEG-V_A-V_M (Salaberri Izko 2018: 63-64).

A second question that emerges here is how the variability between the orders NEG-V_A-V_M and V_M-NEG-V_A observable in historic Basque relates to the aforementioned opposition between spoken and written language. In this regard, Mitxelena (1978: 223-224) points out the existence of two tendencies among 18th and 19th-century Central Basque writers:[11] on the one hand, those such as Agirre Asteasukoa, whose style is close to oral language, tend to avoid V_M-NEG-V_A order. As opposed to this, authors like Lardizabal, who write in a more formal style, prefer V_M-NEG-V_A order:

> It is difficult for me to elude the firm belief that in Agirre [Asteasukoa's] and in Lardizabal ['s writings] there are two very different arrangements of words and that these are nothing but the expression of two different narrative styles. At first glance, one would say that Agirre's [style] is more popular, closer to oral narrative, and less bookish [...] This [remark] may perhaps be related to another one, which has not been widely discussed and which also concerns word order, in this case of negated clauses (Mitxelena 1978: 223, author's translation)

This statement by Mitxelena is relevant to the discussion, since it implies that the conservative pattern was preserved in writing for a longer time than in the oral language. Unlike the question regarding the original word order of Basque negation, this matter has not been analyzed in detail. Furthermore, it should be stressed that none of the few extant historic grammars of Basque address this issue, if they mention it at all (Trask 1997, Mounole & Lakarra 2018). In general terms, the only contribution in previous literature dedicated exclusively to the analysis of word order change of the

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11 The classification of Basque dialects in this study follows Zuazo (2008). For details, see also §3.2.3 and Map 1 below.

Basque negative construction from a diachronic point of view is Salaberri Izko (2018), whose corpus is relatively limited and who does not, in any case, relate this topic to the opposition between oral and written language.

In view of this data situation, the following hypothesis will be presented here: since written language tends to be more conservative than oral language and since V_M-NEG-V_A should be regarded as the original word order of standard negation in Basque, texts that are closer to the spoken language will exhibit a higher proportion of the innovative pattern (NEG-V_A-V_M). In order to test this hypothesis the corpus of texts under study will be categorized according to the oral/colloquial vs. written/formal dichotomy in §2 below.

2.　　A brief description of the corpus

This study draws on a corpus of 120 historic texts and approximately 2 million words covering the early-16th to the mid-20th centuries: see the Appendix for details. The texts in the corpus are not syntactically tagged, which is why all tokens (N = 6145) have been collected manually. The factors which, as mentioned in §1, may have an impact on the word order variability of standard negation in historic Basque (constituent focalization, 'disruption' of negative constructions, clause type, text type, time, dialect and efforts of standardization) are treated as variables and analyzed in the following section. The results of these analyzed variables will form the basis for answering the research questions (1)-(5) stated in §1.

As argued in §1.2, spoken and written language tend to differ cross-linguistically, albeit not necessarily and not to the same degree in all text types. In the Basque case the corpus involved is, by necessity, exclusively written: spoken language databases have been left out, since the few currently available corpora of oral Basque almost exclusively present linguistic data from the 21st century.[12] Therefore, mechanisms need to be applied to the study of written documents in order to filter out the effects on language of literary conventions. One such mechanism is the following model for the

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12 These include, among others, *Ahotsak.eus* (http://ahotsak.eus/), *Euskararen herri hizkeren atlasa* "Atlas of Basque folk varieties" (Euskaltzaindia 1999) and *Nafarroako ondare materiagabearen artxiboa* "Archive of immaterial heritage of Navarre" (http://www.navarchivo.com/).

categorization of text types, which measures the distance of written texts from oral language and literary standards.

This model, which is in line with the anthologies of historic Basque literature by Mitxelena (1960), Sarasola (1976), Villasante (1979) and Salaberri Muñoa (2002), operates on the basis of three criteria: (i) the purpose for which each text was written (reporting, testimony, evangelization, aestheticism, instruction, entertainment, transfer of knowledge); (ii) the type of audience the text is meant for (public, scholarly, select, private); and (iii) the degree of grammatical and discursive elaboration or, stated differently, the extent to which each text is accessible for an average speaker (very low, low, below average, average, above average, high, very high). On the basis of these criteria seven text categories have been distinguished, which are portrayed in the following table:

Table 1. Categorization of text types along an oral-literary axis.

Purpose	Type of audience	Degree of elaboration	Characteristic text types	Category
Reporting	Public	Very low	News reports, periodicals, almanacs	Very close to oral language (1)
Various	Public, select, private	Low	Letters	Close to oral language (2)
Testimony	Public, select	Below average	Trial records, transcripts, edicts, juridic texts	Transition to oral language (3)
Transfer of knowledge	Public	Average	Proverbs	Balanced (4)
Entertainment, instruction	Public	Above average	Narratives, secular prose, theater, verses, ballads, couplets, chants	Transition to literary language (5)
Evangelization	Scholarly, select	High	Doctrines, religious essays, translations	Close to literary language (6)
Aestheticism	Public, scholarly	Very high	High literature	Very close to literary language (7)

This categorization model forms a continuum whereby texts which are "very close to oral language (1)" are closest to spoken language and those which are "very close to literary language (7)" are closest to literary conventions. Accordingly, texts by authors writing in the Classic Lapurdian variety (17th century), such as Pedro Agerre 'Axular', Joanes Etxeberri Ziburukoa and Esteve Materra have been classified as "very close to literary language (7)", since they present a considerable degree of elaboration and because their main goal is aesthetic (Sarasola 1976: 43). As opposed to this, periodic news reports such as *Uscal-Herrico Gaseta* (19th century) and *Euskalzale* (early 20th century) have been classified as "very close to oral language (1)" because these texts are not very elaborate and since their aim is to reach as wide a readership as possible (González 2008: 13). This remains a somewhat subjective classification, but in the absence of other suitable models we will employ it.

The text categorization model by Schneider (2002: 72-73) has been previously used to classify historic Basque texts (Reguero 2017, Santazilia 2017). However, this classification is problematic for at least two reasons: first of all, this is a complex model that is originally intended for world dialects of English and which therefore does not fit ideally with Basque literature. Second, trial records are considered by Schneider (2002: 73) the most reliable witnesses of oral language, but this is not necessarily so: as Collins (2001: 58) argues for Old Russian, it is not infrequent for scribes to filter out many features of orality from the text. The same argument has been made for the Basque case (Santazilia 2017: 379-380). Consequently, an alternative model has been pursued here.

3.   Discussion of the data: variables which affect the word order of negation

One of the key factors when statistically analyzing variables is their type or nature, namely, variables can exhibit a "continuous" or "discrete" behavior; the latter are also frequently referred to as "nominal" or "categorical" parameters in statistical literature. As a result of the distinction, there are, in general terms, three types of parameter-pairs that can be addressed when, for instance, trying to compute variable correlation: those between categorical variables, those between discrete variables and those with mixed types. It is essential to point out that each of the contexts requires a tailored set of

statistical techniques. For measuring the correlation of continuous variables Pearson's correlation (Pearson 1895) is typically used, and for mixed types, on the other hand, logistic regression (Wright 1995) or an adaptation of Pearson's correlation by the name of point biserial correlation (Tate 1954) can be applied.

In what concerns this research, however, all of the considered variables exhibit a nominal behavior; therefore, correlation has been quantified by means of Cramer's V (Cramer 1946), which is a correlation technique based on Pearson's chi-squared statistic and also sometimes referred to as Cramer's phi. In addition, and given the symmetric nature of Cramer's V and the limited size of the corpus, Theil's U (also known as the uncertainty coefficient) (Theil 1966) has been computed over the set of considered parameters in order to get a clearer and nonsymmetric view of the parameter correlations without "losing" any instances to symmetry.

It is also worth mentioning that there are two major ways in which correlations between discrete variables can be calculated, by so-called distance metrics such as the Manhattan and the Canberra distances (Lance & Williams 1967, Black 2006) and by means of contingency table analytics such as the ones implemented in Cramer's V and Theil's U. The decision of using contingency table analytic techniques to conduct the statistical analysis here has been motivated by the fact that one of the biggest drawbacks of distance metric techniques is their strong sensitivity to input scale adaptations, making it hard to correctly compare correlation factors across several iterations of corpus extensions. In addition, distance metrics are said to be not easily comparable when correlating variable pairs which can take different numbers of categories. The following Figure 1 represents the results of Cramer's V analysis of the corpus:
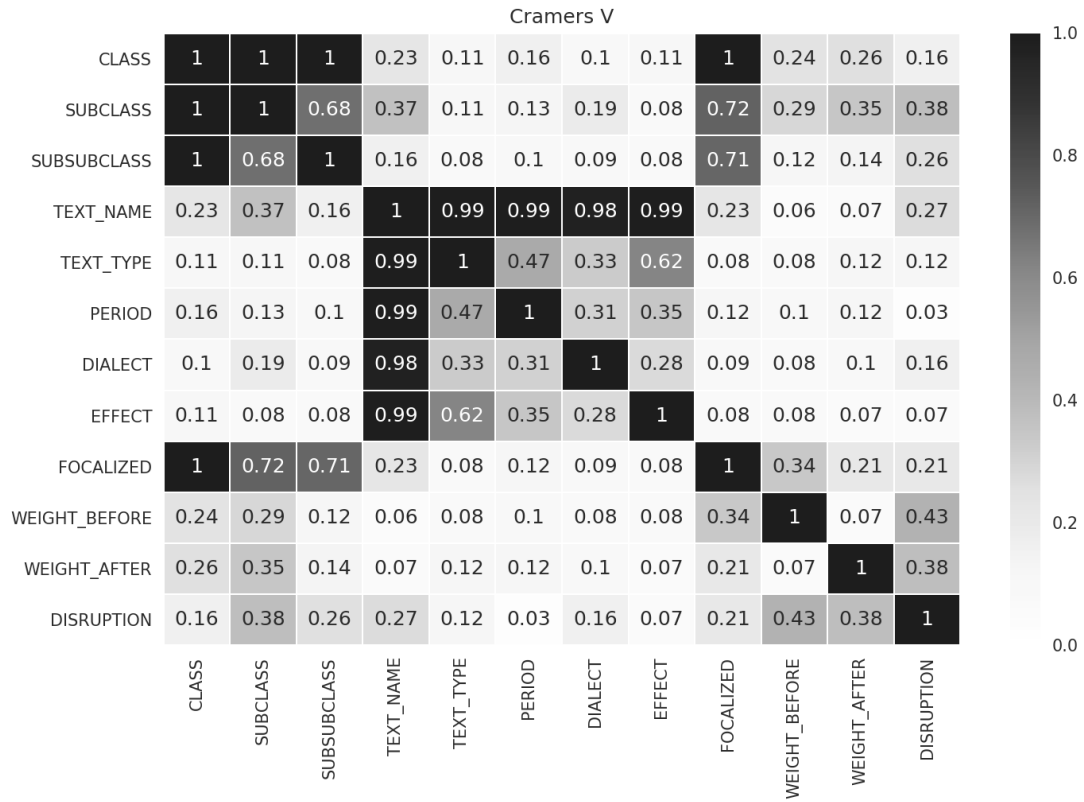
Figure 1: Results of Cramer's V correlation analysis on the dependent variables in question.

On the other hand, Figure 2 represents the results of correlation analysis based on Theil's U or uncertainty coefficient:
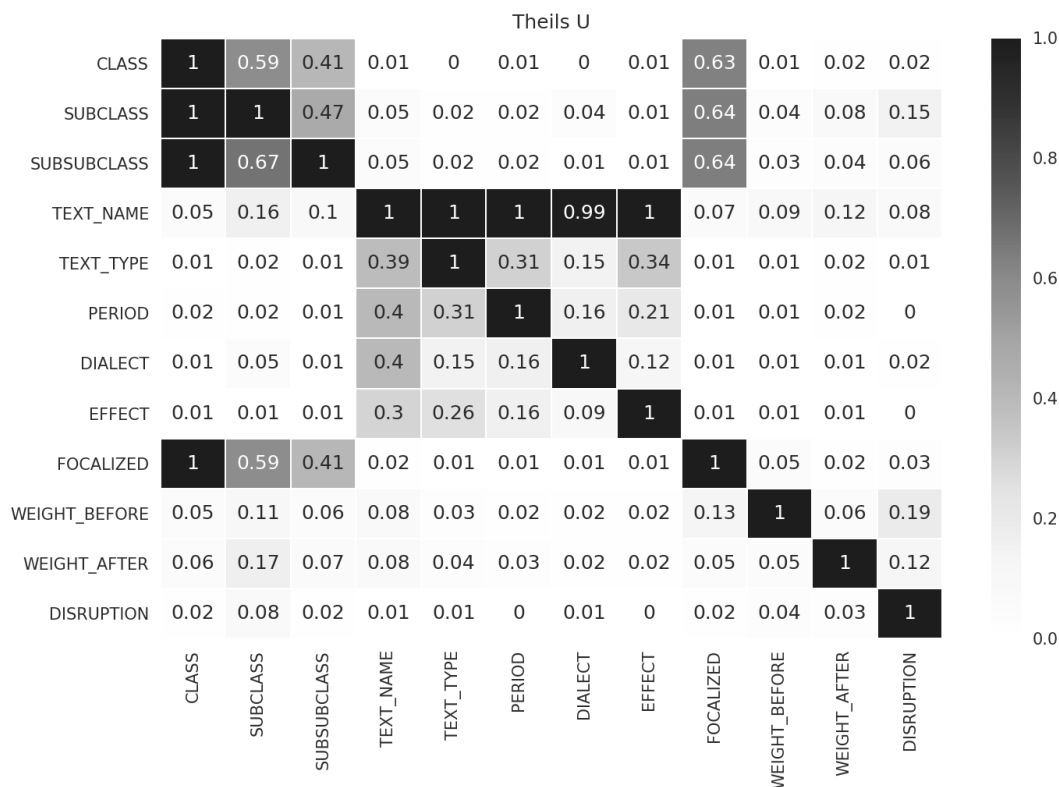
Theils U

	CLASS	SUBCLASS	SUBSUBCLASS	TEXT_NAME	TEXT_TYPE	PERIOD	DIALECT	EFFECT	FOCALIZED	WEIGHT_BEFORE	WEIGHT_AFTER	DISRUPTION
CLASS	1	0.59	0.41	0.01	0	0.01	0	0.01	0.63	0.01	0.02	0.02
SUBCLASS	1	1	0.47	0.05	0.02	0.02	0.04	0.01	0.64	0.04	0.08	0.15
SUBSUBCLASS	1	0.67	1	0.05	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.64	0.03	0.04	0.06
TEXT_NAME	0.05	0.16	0.1	1	1	1	0.99	1	0.07	0.09	0.12	0.08
TEXT_TYPE	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.39	1	0.31	0.15	0.34	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.01
PERIOD	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.4	0.31	1	0.16	0.21	0.01	0.01	0.02	0
DIALECT	0.01	0.05	0.01	0.4	0.15	0.16	1	0.12	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02
EFFECT	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.3	0.26	0.16	0.09	1	0.01	0.01	0.01	0
FOCALIZED	1	0.59	0.41	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	1	0.05	0.02	0.03
WEIGHT_BEFORE	0.05	0.11	0.06	0.08	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.13	1	0.06	0.19
WEIGHT_AFTER	0.06	0.17	0.07	0.08	0.04	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.05	0.05	1	0.12
DISRUPTION	0.02	0.08	0.02	0.01	0.01	0	0.01	0	0.02	0.04	0.03	1

Figure 2: Results of Theil's U or uncertainty coefficient correlation analysis on the dependent variables in question.

The abbreviations in Figures 1 and 2 are short terms for the dependent variables under investigation. Many of them have been discretized in keeping with their subtypes. Accordingly, the following are their denotations:

- CLASS = type of clause: main (MC) vs. subordinate (SC);

- SUBCLASS = word order pattern found in each type of clause: NEG-V_A-V_M order in main clauses (MC1), V_M-NEG-V_A in main clauses (MC2), NEG-V_A-V_M in subordinate clauses (SC1), V_M-NEG-V_A order in subordinate clauses (SC2) (cf. §1.1 and §1.2);

- SUBSUBCLASS = subtype of clause: declarative (1.1), interrogative (1.2) and imperative (1.3) in the case of main clauses vs. complement (2.1), relative (2.2), conditional (2.3), causal (2.4), purpose (2.5), manner (2.6) and concessive (2.7) in the case of subordinate clauses (cf. §3.1.3);

- TEXT_TYPE = the distance of each text from orality and literary standards: very close to oral language (1), close to oral language (2), transition to oral language (3), balanced (4), transition to literary language (5), close to literary language (6) and very close to literary language (7) (cf. §2 and §3.2.1);

- PERIOD = the time in which each individual text was written: the 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th and 20th centuries (cf. §3.2.2);

- DIALECT = the dialect in which each individual text is written: Western Basque, Central Basque, High Navarrese, Navarrese-Lapurdian and Eastern Basque (cf. §3.2.3);

- EFFECT = the degree to which each text is affected by efforts of standardization. The standardization variable was parametrized according to a four-way scale: (1) texts and authors which are weakly influenced by standardizing processes internal to the Basque language; (2) texts and authors which are moderately influenced by standardizing processes; (3) texts and authors which are strongly influenced by standardizing processes; (4) texts and authors which are very strongly influenced by standardizing processes. Zuazo's (1988: 179-216) account of historic (16th-20th century) Basque authors and their relationship to processes of standardization was used as a basis for classifying texts and authors into one of these four categories. This remains, in any case, a relatively subjective way of measuring standardization as a variable (cf. §3.2.4);

- FOCALIZED = the kind of focus borne by each clause: negation or default focus (1), N(oun)P(hrase) or constituent focalization (2) and none (3) (cf. §3.1.1);

- WEIGHT_BEFORE = weight of all constituents preceding the main verb of the negated clause, in number of syllables: 0-5 syllables (light), 6-10 syllables (medium) and 11 or more syllables (heavy) (cf. §3.1.2);

- WEIGHT_AFTER = weight of all constituents following the main verb of the negated clause, in number of syllables: 0-5 syllables (light), 6-10 syllables (medium) and 11 or more syllables (heavy) (cf. §3.1.2);

- DISRUPTION = whether or not each negative construction is "disrupted", i.e. whether material has been inserted between the main and auxiliary verb (cf. §3.1.2).

The criteria by which these dependent variables have been discretized as well as their effects on the word order of negation in historic Basque will be discussed in the following §3.1.1-3.2.4.

3.1   Linguistic variables

3.1.1   *Variable #1: constituent focalization*

Scholars dealing with Basque negation generally agree that the primary focus site in negative clauses immediately precedes the negator and the first member of the finite verb complex, whether this is an auxiliary verb or a main synthetic verb (Lafitte 1944: 49, Oihartzabal 1985: 111-112, Osa 1990: 198-205, De Rijk 1996: 66, Euskaltzaindia 1997: 490, Ortiz de Urbina 1999: 185).[13] Accordingly, any constituent preceding the negative marker and the finite verb in negative clauses undergoes constituent focalization (9a, De Rijk 1996: 66). As opposed to this, the focus in negative clauses without constituent focalization is, by default, on the finite verb (Lafitte 1944: 49). However, a finite verb cannot occur in initial position (9b, Euskaltzaindia 1997: 490). As a consequence, in negative main clauses with default focus it is the negator that tends to come first (9c, Osa 1990: 203):

(9)   a.   *Miren   ez   da   etorr-i*

            Mary.ABS   NEG   AUX   come-PFV

            'MARY has not come.'

      b.   **Da   Miren   ez   etorr-i*

            AUX   Mary.ABS   NEG   come-PFV

            'Mary has not come.'

      c.   *Ez   da   etorr-i   Miren*

            NEG   AUX   come-PFV   Mary.ABS

            'Mary has not come.'

Given that main clauses are the proper place for pragmatic marking, and by analogy with constituent focalization (9a), this may well be the reason why the generalization of the innovative NEG-V$_A$-V$_M$ word order pattern occurs only in main clauses. On the other hand, in subordinate clauses, where pragmatic marking is not so common and thus sentences like (9c) are less likely to occur, V$_M$-NEG-V$_A$ has been preserved. Therefore, the cross-linguistically conservative behavior of subordinate clauses mentioned in §1.2 does not seem to be the only explanation for the asymmetry of standard negation in present-day Basque.

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13 With regard to Basque, De Rijk (1996: 65) defines focus as "that particular constituent of the sentence which matches the wh-item in the pragmatically pertinent question".

In fact, the conservative behavior of subordinate clauses seems to be related to the fact that pragmatic marking is usually limited to main clauses: subordinate clauses contain backgrounded information which is much less likely to undergo topicalization, contrast and presentative focus. Consequently, subordinate clauses are less likely to be subject to word order permutations which may potentially result in syntactic change (Bybee 2002: 2). This appears to be all the more valid for negated subordinate clauses, which have been argued to be more presuppositional than their positive counterparts (Givón 1979: 125). Additional reasons for the conservatism of subordinate clauses include that they are (i) more difficult to process and (ii) less frequent than main clauses (Matsuda 1998: 9-11, Crowley & Bowern 2010: 231).

The claim that the word order shift of negated main clauses in Basque is due to focalization of the negator is a testable one, since it predicts that default focus more often co-occurs with NEG-V$_A$-V$_M$ order (subclass MC1) than with V$_M$-NEG-V$_A$ order (subclass MC2). Inversely, this same statement predicts that V$_M$-NEG-V$_A$ order (subclass MC2) is more likely to co-occur with constituent focalization. A look at the results of correlation analysis confirms this view: there seems to be a strong correlation between the dependent variables SUBCLASS and FOCALIZED, according to both Cramer's V (0.72) and the uncertainty coefficient (0.64). Consequently, MC1 clauses with default focus and a clause-initial negator are quite frequent in the corpus (10a), in the same way as MC2 clauses which have undergone constituent focalization (10b):

(10) a. *Es=darot*   *sina-tu*   *or-ta-ric*

    NEG=AUX   sign-PFV   that-INN-PART

    'I have not signed any of that.' (*Le Dauphin* letters, 1757)

  b. *Ill-a-i*   *bere*   *parque-tan*   *ez=deutsabe?*

    decease-DEF.PL-DAT   even   forgive-IPFV   NEG=AUX

    'Are EVEN THE DECEASED not forgiven?' (Juan A. Mogel, 1802)

Therefore, the generalization of NEG-V$_A$-V$_M$ order in negated main clauses seems to be related to the tendency of these clauses to undergo default or verum focus (10a), a tendency which is fueled by the impossibility of having clause-initial finite verbs (9b).[14]

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14 This last point was noted by an anonymous reviewer.

This would imply that the originally focalized order whereby the negator comes first in the clause became so frequent at some point that it was reanalyzed as the basic word order of negated main clauses. Put differently, the sequence of changes seems to have unfolded in the following manner:

> Stage 1: (XP)-V$_M$-NEG-V$_A$ (MC2) (constituent focus) / NEG-V$_A$-V$_M$-(XP) (MC1) (default focus) (Archaic and Old-Classic Basque)
> Stage 2: V$_M$-NEG-V$_A$ (MC2) (fossilized pattern) / NEG-V$_A$-V$_M$ (MC1) (reanalysis as default order) (First and Second Modern Basque)
> Stage 3: NEG-V$_A$-V$_M$ (Standard Unified Basque)

The periodization of these stages will be discussed in detail in §3.2.2 below. To summarize this point, then, frequent focalization of the negator and subsequent reanalysis seems to be responsible for the change V$_M$-NEG-V$_A$ (MC2) > NEG-V$_A$-V$_M$-(MC1). Indeed, high frequency of focalization has been previously identified as a motivating factor, via reanalysis, behind cases of word order change (LaPolla 1994: 102-103).

3.1.2 *Variable #2: "disruption" of negative constructions*

Another widely accepted observation concerning focus in negative main clauses with periphrastic verbs is that there is a secondary focus site immediately before the main verb, at least with NEG-V$_A$-V$_M$ order and as a means of indicating contrastive focus (11a, Lafitte 1944: 49, Oihartzabal 1985: 110, Osa 1990: 205, De Rijk 1996: 69, Euskaltzaindia 1997: 491). Apparently, this site is available for constituent focalization whenever the main focus site is occupied by the topic (11b, Ortiz de Urbina 1999: 185):

(11)   a.   *Ez   da   Miren   etorr-i*

             NEG   AUX   Miren.ABS   come-PFV

             'It is not Mary who has come (but rather some other person).'

        b.   *Miren   ez   da   etxe-ra   etorr-i*

             Mary.ABS   NEG   AUX   home-ABL   come-PFV

             'Mary has not come HOME (but rather somewhere else).'

In other words, examples (11a-b) illustrate that NEG-V$_A$-V$_M$ order (subclass MC1) can be "disrupted" by introducing one or more constituents between the auxiliary and the main verb. Accordingly, it seems reasonable to ask whether and, if so, to what extent the conservative V$_M$-NEG-V$_A$ word order pattern (subclass MC2) can also be "disrupted". If this were not possible, it would imply that the conservative pattern is less flexible than the innovative one.

A look at the results of correlation analysis indicates that the correlation between the dependent variables SUBCLASS and DISRUPTION is not very strong: 0.38 according to Cramer's V and only 0.08 by Theil's U. The picture is similar concerning the weight (in number of syllables) of 'disruptive' constituents: WEIGHT_BEFORE presents a weak correlation with SUBCLASS (Cramer's V = 0.29, Theil's U = 0.11), and the same is true for WEIGHT_AFTER (Cramer's V = 0.35, Theil's U = 0.17). These low interrelated effects show that there are no statistically relevant differences in the frequency of "disruption" between the patterns NEG-V$_A$-V$_M$ and V$_M$-NEG-V$_A$ as a whole.

Nevertheless, a look at the individual examples reveals that the differences are relevant for main clauses: there are only nine (out of 480, 1.9%) attestations of "disrupted" V$_M$-NEG-V$_A$ (MC2) constructions in the whole corpus. Moreover, two-thirds of these (6/9, 66.7%) involve the same single word, (*b*)*ere* '(not) even, (n)either'. There are no cases of "disrupted" constructions of this kind where the "disruptive" constituent is longer than four syllables. This is not the case for NEG-V$_A$-V$_M$ order (MC1), where "disruption" is a widespread phenomenon and the longest "disruptive" material is 48 syllables and several words long. Therefore, the kind of subclass seems to influence not only the frequency, but also the quality of disruption.

In fact, it is so common for the main verb, negator and auxiliary verb to be immediately adjacent to each other in subclass MC2 constructions that in some cases these three elements can be observed to "merge": they are occasionally written as one word in the historical (pre-standardization) literature, which indicates that they bear one single word stress, and some of their elements undergo assimilation and syncope (12a-c):

(12)   a.   *Ech-i=ez=eyguçu*   *jaus-ten*   *tentacino-a-n*

allow-PFV=NEG-AUX   fall-IPFV   temptation-DEF-LOC

'Do not allow us to fall into temptation.' (Joan P. Betolatza, 1596)

b. *Au*   *in=ez=túze*   *lén*

   this.ABS   do.PFV=NEG=AUX   before

   'You (pl) have not done this before.' (Joakin Lizarraga Elkanokoa, 1821)

c. *Ylbeer-a-n*   *ereyn*   *ce=guic*   *arean*

   moon.wane-DEF-LOC sow.PFV   NEG-AUX   nothing

   'Do not sow anything in times of waning moon.' (*Refranes y sentencias*, 1596)

Thus in (12a-b) all three elements have been written down as one word, for which there are no attestations of NEG-V$_A$-V$_M$ order (MC1) in the corpus. In example (12c), on the other hand, the vowel in the negator *ce* has merged with the first vowel in the auxiliary verb *egin* 'to do, make'. These cases of univerbation and merging, together with the low frequency of "disruption", suggest that the flexibility of V$_M$-NEG-V$_A$ (MC2) is lower than that of NEG-V$_A$-V$_M$ (MC1) order. This may be an indication that the conservative word order pattern is more rigid, perhaps even fossilized, in main clauses. Indeed, "fossilization" or "frozenness" have been argued to be correlated with low syntactic productivity (Barðdal 2008: 57).

3.1.3   *Variable #3: clause subtype*

As mentioned in §1.1, Lehmann's (1988: 189) and Thompson et al.'s (2007: 238) claims regarding the cross-linguistic behavior of different types of subordinate clause predicts that, in any given language, complement and relative clauses behave more like subordinate clauses, whereas adverbial (conditional, concessive, manner etc.) clauses behave more like main clauses. In accordance with the asymmetric behavior of Basque negation, adverbial clauses should thus be expected to display a higher frequency of NEG-V$_A$-V$_M$ order, which is the most common pattern in main clauses in the whole period under investigation. By contrast, complement and relative clauses should show a preference for V$_M$-NEG-V$_A$ order, which —except for exclamations (3e)— has only been preserved in subordinate clauses.

The results of statistical analysis seem, at first glance, to support this idea: the correlation between the dependent variables SUBCLASS and SUBSUBCLASS is quite strong according both to Cramer's V (0.68) and Theil's U (0.67). This implies that there are, in fact, quite relevant differences among clause types. However, a closer look at the corpus reveals that complement and relative clauses most frequently follow NEG-V_A-V_M order (13a-b), whereas conditional, purpose, manner and concessive clauses show a preference for V_M-NEG-V_A (13c):

(13)   a.   *Gu-re*   *erri-a-ch*   *vere*   *çuçen-a*

1PL-GEN   people-DEF-ERG   3SG.GEN   right-DEF.ABS

ez=tu-ela   *uc-i-ren*   *gal-zte-ra*

NEG=AUX-SUB   allow-PFV-FUT   get.lost-NMLZ-SUB

'That our people will not allow its rights to go to waste.' (Miguel Ros, 1616)

b.   *Ceiñ-a-requin*   *ez=bait-ciren*   *berce-ac*

who-DEF-COM   NEG=REL-AUX   other-DEF.PL

compara-tu

compare-PFV

'With whom the others did not compare themselves.' (Joanes Etxeberri Ziburukoa, 1636)

c.   *Cueq*   *cuen*   *juramentu-eta-n*   *favora-cen*

2PL.ERG   2PL.GEN   statement-PL-LOC   favor-IPFV

ez=pa-naçaucue

NEG=SUB-AUX

'If you (pl) do not favor me in your (pl) statements.' (*Court transcripts 7*, 1650)

The situation in Basque is thus the exact opposite of Lehmann's (1988: 189) and Thompson et al.'s (2007: 238) predictions. Recall, however, that Basque relative clauses do not constitute a uniform group: prenominal relative clauses introduced by the subordinator -(*e*)*n* (6c) cannot have NEG-V_A-V_M order due to the restriction that the last word within a relative clause must be the inflected verb (Oihartzabal 2003: 767). In the

sense that they follow V_M-NEG-V_A order, prenominal relative clauses are thus clearly similar to adverbial clauses. Postnominal relative clauses introduced by interrogative pronouns (13b), on the other hand, line up with complement clauses in the sense that they show a clear preference for NEG-V_A-V_M order. In general terms, the correlation between word order patterns SC1 and SC2 and subtypes of subordinate clause seems to be distributed in the following manner:

(More frequently NEG-V_A-V_M) < Postnominal relative < Complement < Causal < Manner < Purpose < Concessive < Prenominal relative < (More frequently V_M-NEG-V_A)

To summarize this point, the word order of negative constructions varies depending on the subtype of subordinate clause, but this variation does not conform to typological generalizations (Lehmann 1988: 189, Thompson et al. 2007: 238). In contrast, despite the results of the statistical analysis, there seems to be no considerable difference between subtypes of main clause (declarative, imperative and interrogative). These findings largely overlap with those by Salaberri Izko (2018: 75-77).

3.2   Sociolinguistic variables

3.2.1   *Variable #4: text type*

The following hypothesis was put forward in §1.2 concerning the relationship between text type and the word order of negative constructions: the writing style of some authors is close to oral language, whereas others follow the literary canon. Since spoken language is more innovative than that of literary standards, one should assume that the innovative pattern NEG-V_A-V_M is more frequent in texts that are close to orality. By contrast, texts which follow the literary canon should be expected to conform to the conservative pattern (Mitxelena 1978: 223-224). The idea here is to test these assumptions against the model of text categorization laid out in §2.

The results of statistical analysis provide very little support for this hypothesis. The dependent variables TEXT_TYPE and TEXT_NAME present a low correlation with SUBCLASS according to Cramer's V (0.37 and 0.11, respectively) as well as Theil's U

(0.16 and 0.02, respectively). This implies that the word order of negative constructions is barely conditioned by the distance of each text from orality and literary standards. Indeed, the conservative V_M-NEG-V_A pattern of main clauses is present in most authors' work and can be found in texts of all sorts, including news reports (14a), letters (14b), proverbs (14c) and instances of so-called "high" literature (14d):

(14) a.   *Estima-tou-ric*   *içai-ti-a*   *faltatou-ren*   *ez-çaucou*
           esteem-PFV-PART   be-NMLZ-DEF   fail-FUT   NEG-AUX
           'You will not fail to be esteemed.' (*Uscal-herrico gaseta*, 1848)

      b.   *Vere*   *yo-en*   *azpian*   *egon-go*   *edo*
           in.any.case   nobody-GEN.PL   under   be-FUT   or

           jauxi-co   *ez*   *çara*   *dirua-cati*
           submit-FUT   NEG   AUX   money-MOT.PL
           'In any case, you will not submit or place yourself under anybody('s authority) because of money.' (Juan Zumarragakoa, 1537)

      c.   *Bele-a*   *ikuz*   *daite,* *xurit*   *ez=taite*
           crow-DEF.ABS   wash   AUX   whiten   NEG=AUX
           'A crow can wash, but never become white.' (Arnaud Oihenart, 1657)

      d.   *Haren*   *harm-e-c*   *euaqui-tcen*   *ez=tie*
           3SG.GEN   weapon-PL-ERG   cut-IPFV   NEG=AUX

           berce-rentçat
           other-BEN
           'His weapons do not cut for others.' (Joanes Etxeberri Ziburukoa, 1636)

This finding contrasts with previous claims on the relationship between word order and text type: it has been repeatedly claimed that in historical Basque the ordering of the major constituents of the clause (subject, direct object, verb) as well as some word order dyads believed to correlate (prenominal vs. postnominal relative clauses, noun-genitive vs. genitive-noun etc.) is largely conditioned by the authors' proximity to oral language or literary standards (Mitxelena 1978: 223, Martinez-Areta 2011: 347).

Rather than being determined by text type, the degree to which the conservative pattern (MC2 and SC2) is used seems to depend on each author's own personal choice.

This is the only likely explanation for the fact that authors writing similar text types in the same dialect and historical period present diverging uses of the word order of negation. For instance, Pedro Agerre 'Axular' and Joanes Etxeberri Ziburukoa both write "high" literature, and both completed their work during the first half of the 17th century in the Classic Lapurdian variety. However, the former does not display a single use of V$_M$-NEG-V$_A$ (MC2) order, whereas the latter does. The same thing goes for Resurrección Mª. Azkue's turn-of-the-century works written in Central Basque, where V$_M$-NEG-V$_A$ order is absent from main clauses. The writings by Azkue's Central Basque contemporary Gregorio Arrue are, on the other hand, full of V$_M$-NEG-V$_A$ order.

If the degree to which the conservative pattern (MC2 and SC2) is used depends on each individual author's choice, then this would imply that V$_M$-NEG-V$_A$ order is consciously regarded as a dispensable feature of Basque grammar. Stated differently, this word order pattern is no longer perceived in most of historic Basque literature as a productive means to encode negation. This conclusion would be in line with the finding in §3.1.2 that V$_M$-NEG-V$_A$ (MC2) order is fossilized for most of written Basque history.

3.2.2 *Variable #5: time*

As mentioned in §1.2, in cases of syntactic change in which two patterns compete with each other, it is usual for the innovative pattern to become increasingly frequent until the conservative one disappears, unless no other change interferes in the process (Kroch 2001: 720). This process is believed to ideally ensue via three phases: (i) at first, the rate of change is slow and the innovative pattern is the least frequent one; (ii) as the change speeds up, the innovative pattern reaches the point where it surpasses the conservative one, thus becoming dominant; (iii) finally, the rate of change slows down again until the conservative pattern disappears or is confined to a few fossilized constructions. This diffusion of changes over time follows a so-called "sigmoid" or "S-shaped" curve (Bailey 1973: 77).

The corpus data show that the loss of V$_M$-NEG-V$_A$ order in main clauses more or less develops according to the final stage (iii) of an S-curved model of change. Whereas this pattern is still relatively common in 16th-century Basque (31/260, 11.9% of all clauses between 1500 and 1600 CE), it becomes less frequent in the 17th (46/1020, 4.5%) and 18th (60/1600, 3.8%) centuries until it practically disappears in the 20th century (4/870,

0.5%). Subordinate clauses, on the other hand, seem as a whole to maintain balanced proportions of the innovative and conservative patterns throughout the whole time period. This may be indicative of the frequently adduced resistance to change of subordinate clauses, coupled with the fact that they are less prone than main clauses to undergo word order permutations (cf. §1.2 and §3.1.3).

As opposed to this, the results of statistical analysis show that there is practically no correspondence between time and the word order of negation: Cramer's V yields 0.13 correlation between the dependent variables PERIOD and SUBCLASS, as opposed to 0.02 by Theil's U. This weak relationship seems related to the aforementioned likelihood that the use of V_M-NEG-V_A order in main clauses depends on each individual author's choice or, in other words, intra-individual variation, independently of text type, time and dialect. Regarding absolute chronologies, the data suggest that V_M-NEG-V_A in main clauses became extinct during the Second Modern Basque (1890-1968) era; this is the last period in which V_M-NEG-V_A (MC2) is attested in writing.

A hint at pinpointing the completion of the shift V_M-NEG-V_A (MC2) > NEG-V_A-V_M (MC1) is provided by Azkue's (1923: 524-525) prescriptive grammar, which describes early 20th-century Western Basque, that is to say, the most conservative dialect with regard to standard negation (cf. §3.2.3). This author denies the possibility of V_M-NEG-V_A order in main clauses: "There are two elements in conjugation which require the auxiliary to move before the infinitive [i.e. main verb], whereby other constituents of the phrase may stand between the former and the latter: these are the adverbs *bae* (*bai*) and *ez*" (author's translation). Later grammars align with Azkue in denying the grammaticality of V_M-NEG-V_A (MC2) order.

To summarize this point, the shift V_M-NEG-V_A (MC2) > NEG-V_A-V_M (MC1) in the history of Basque seems to progress in a manner reminiscent of the last stage of a so-called "sigmoid" or "S-shaped" curve. The loss of the conservative pattern or, in other words, attainment of stage 3 of the change, seems to ensue by the Second Modern Basque period (1890-1968), at least in writing. By contrast, no correlation could be established between time and the word order of negation in main clauses.

3.2.3 *Variable #6: dialect*

Another variable worth considering concerns the diatopic dimension of the word order changes undergone by negated periphrastic constructions in the history of Basque. In the previous literature on this topic it has usually been stressed that the conservative pattern V_M-NEG-V_A is most prominent in central and western dialects, and least salient in northern and eastern dialects (Mitxelena 1978: 223-224, Lakarra 1986: 655, 1996: 255, f. 18, Salaberri Izko 2018: 77-78). Despite these claims, this statistical analysis could establish no correlation between the dependent variables DIALECT and SUBCLASS (Cramer's V = 0.19, Theil's U = 0.05). Again, this may indicate that the choice of word order pattern is independent of text type, time and dialect for most of the historic Basque period.

In any case, data beyond correlations may shed some light on how the shift V_M-NEG-V_A (MC2) > NEG-V_A-V_M (MC1) spread throughout the Basque-speaking area. The time in which the conservative word order pattern is last attested in writing in the individual dialects supports the existence of an east-west continuum, as shown in the following map:[15]
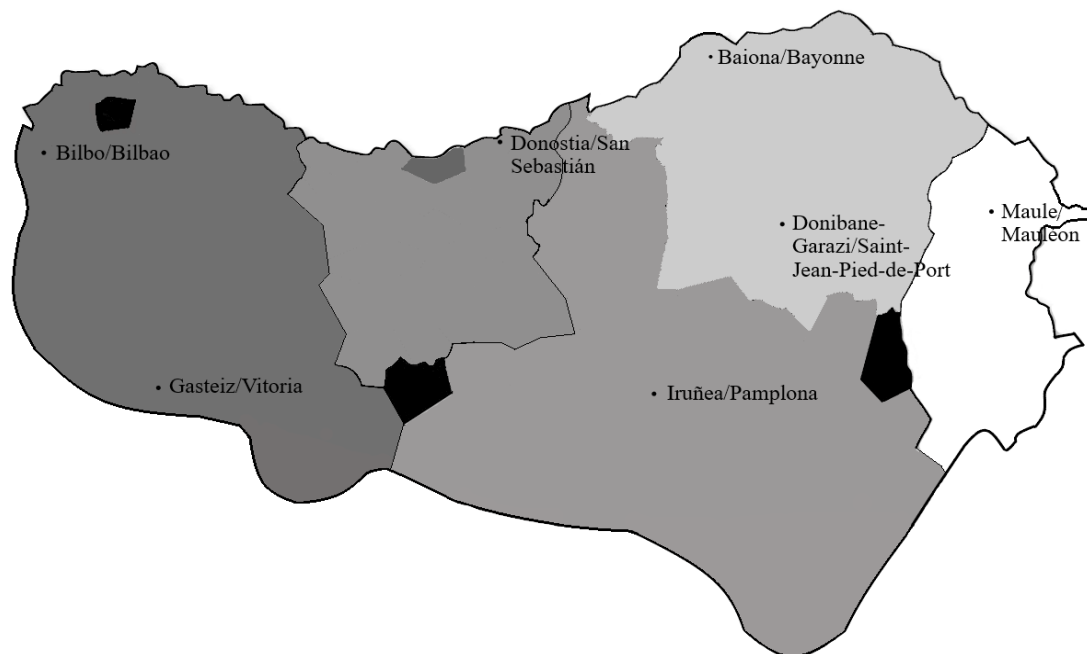
Map 1. Diachronic and diatopic extension of the loss of V_M-NEG-V_A (MC2) in 16th-20th-century Basque.

15 The shading in Map 1 represents the following: white = last attestations of VM-NEG-VA order in main clauses between 1850 and 1860; light gray = last attestations between 1860 and 1880; gray = last attestations between 1880 and 1900; dark gray = last attestations between 1900 and 1920; very dark gray = last attestations between 1920 and 1940; black = last attestations later than 1940. Map 1 is based on Zuazo (2008), Euskaltzaindia (2016: xxii) and Salaberri Zaratiegi (2018: 308), and it shows the frontiers and dialects of Basque around 1600.

As illustrated by Map 1, the last attestations of V_M-NEG-V_A order in main clauses in Eastern Basque (which is understood here to encompass Salazarese, Roncalese and Zuberoan and is represented in white) date back to the 1850s and 1860s; Navarrese-Lapurdian (represented as light gray and including Baztan and Luzaide Basque) and High Navarrese (gray) present examples from the 1860s and 1880s, respectively; the last examples in Central Basque (dark gray) are from the early 1900s, and Western Basque (very dark gray) still has examples which date back to the 1920s and 1930s.

Interestingly, there seem to exist some pockets in which the loss of V_M-NEG-V_A order in main clauses occurred, if at all, later than in the surrounding areas: these include Abaurregaina (High Navarrese), Urdiain (transition between High Navarrese, Central Basque and Western Basque), Zarautz (Central Basque) and Mungia (Western Basque), which are marked on the map as darker than the areas around them. Some of these latest attestations of V_M-NEG-V_A order in main clauses include the following (15a-d):

(15)   a.   *Purra*   *erran*   *bear*   *e=tzeo*   *gari*   *montio-a-n*

            chook   say   must   NEG-AUX   wheat   heap-DEF-LOC

            dao-n   *oilo-a-ri*

            be.3SG.PRS-SUB   hen-DEF-DAT

            'The hen at the heap of wheat must not be called "chook!".' (statement by a farmer woman which decribes her hens' behavior; "purra" is an interjection used as a call for poultry) (Camino, 1997: 505)

        b.   *Ogí-k*   *eós-i*   *ez=táu*

            bread-PART   buy-PFV   NEG=AUX

            '(S)he has not bought any bread.' (Euskaltzaindia, 2016 [1992])

        c.   *Mua-tzen*   *da-n*   *moned-ik*   *iñor-k*   *nai*

            change-IPFV   AUX-REL   coin-PART   no.one-ERG   want

            ez=tau

            NEG=AUX

            'No one wants changing coins.' (J. M. Lujanbio 'Txirrita', 1936)

        d.   *Ori*   *esa-ten*   *es=kaus*

            that.ABS   say-IPFV   NEG=AUX

'We are not saying that.' (present-day Mungia Basque)[16]

The Basque dialectal data thus suggest (i) that Eastern Basque was the first to innovate towards NEG-V$_A$-V$_M$ order in standard negation, and (ii) that this innovation spread to the south and west until it reached the western end of the dialectal continuum. Figure 7 shows the sequence of change:
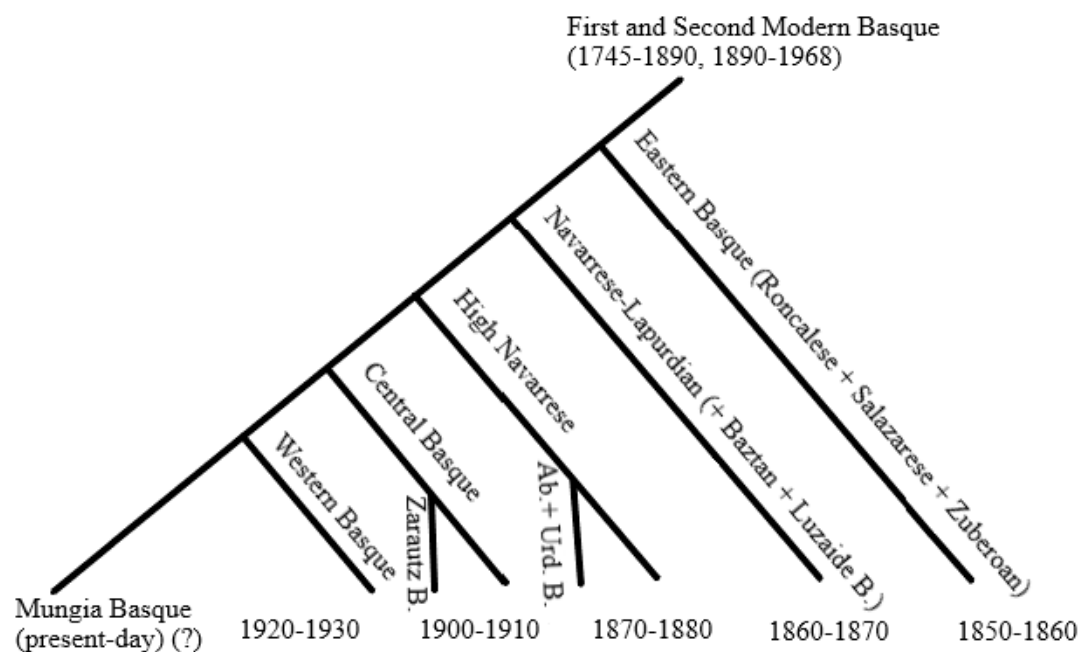

Figure 3: Diachronic extension of the change V$_M$-NEG-V$_A$ (MC2) > NEG-V$_A$-V$_M$ (MC1) in written Basque.

In summary, no correlation could be found between dialect and the word order of negation. However, a close inspection of the last attestations of V$_M$-NEG-V$_A$ order in historic written Basque supports the existence of a continuum whereby the change was initiated in the east and spread westward and southward until it reached, except for a few pockets, the western end of the Basque-speaking area. The existence of a dialectal continuum has been observed in previous literature (Mitxelena 1978: 223-224, Lakarra 1986: 655, 1996: 255, f. 18, Salaberri Izko 2018: 77-78).

3.2.4   *Variable #7: efforts of standardization*

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16 Eneko Zuloaga (p.c.). It should be pointed out, however, that none of the descriptions of this variety of present-day Basque (Gaminde 2001, Zuazo & Goiti 2016) provide a single example of V$_M$-NEG-V$_A$ order in main clauses.

One final variable which may have had an impact on the development of standard negation in the history of Basque is standardization. Standardization processes have been known to slow down and even halt processes of language change, such as grammaticalization (Laitinen 2004: 247). Therefore, it seems necessary to look into how this matter relates to the word order of negation.

The first attempts at standardizing Basque date back to the mid-late 19th century, but the process was not completed until 1968 and still continues to the present day (Zuazo 1988: 239). Therefore, standardization processes can be claimed to have taken place rather late in the written history of Basque. This is not to say that pre-20th century Basque writers did not influence each other's work. Before the advent of unifying efforts there existed a number of influential authors and schools of thought, such as the so-called "School of Sara" during the 17th century and Manuel Larramendi in the mid-18th century. These institutions and people created and established literary canons which decisively influenced other authors. Their impact is discussed in any comprehensive anthology of Basque literature, including Sarasola (1976) and Salaberri Muñoa (2002), among others.

Despite standardization efforts, no correlation could be found between the dependent variables EFFECT and SUBCLASS: Cramer's V yields 0.08 and Theil's U 0.01. This implies that standardization attempts had a very limited effect on the word order of negation in Basque literature as a whole. However, the effects of standardization vary greatly among authors, dialects and periods. Thus the correlation of EFFECT with TEXT_TYPE is considerably more relevant (0.62, 0.26), as it is, to a lesser degree, with PERIOD (0.35, 0.16) and DIALECT (0.28, 0.09). The first and last of these three correlations are especially evident in the use of the conservative V_M-NEG-V_A (MC2) word order pattern in highly conventionalized texts, such as doctrines (16a-e, Ulibarri 2010: 68):

(16) a. *Ech-i=ez=eyguçu*   *jaus-ten*   *tentacino-a-n*
     allow-PFV=NEG-AUX   fall-IPFV   temptation-DEF-LOC
     'Do not allow us to fall into temptation.' (Joan P. Betolatza, 1596)

   b. *Ech-i*   *çe=eguiguizu*   *tentaziño-a-n*   *iaus-ten*
     allow-PFV   NEG-AUX   temptation-DEF-LOC   fall-IPFV

'Do not allow us to fall into temptation.' (Martin O. Kapanaga, 1656)

c.   *Ich-i=ez=eguiguzu*   *jaus-ten*   *tentacinu-a-n*

     allow-PFV=NEG-AUX   fall-IPFV   temptation-DEF-LOC

     'Do not allow us to fall into temptation.' (Martin Arzadun, 1731)

d.   *Ich-i=ez=eiguzu*   *jaus-ten*   *tentaciñoi-a-n*

     allow-PFV=NEG-AUX   fall-IPFV   temptation-DEF-LOC

     'Do not allow us to fall into temptation.' (Bartolome Olaetxea, 1763)

e.   *Ich-i*   *ez*   *eiguzu*   *tentaziño-a-n*   *yaus-ten*

     allow-PFV   NEG   AUX   temptation-DEF-LOC   fall-IPFV

     'Do not allow us to fall into temptation.' (Gabriel Menéndez de Luarca, 1828)

Therefore, the fact that V_M-NEG-V_A order became considerably conventionalized as the common pattern of certain kinds of texts seems to have counterbalanced, to a certain extent, its loss elsewhere. To summarize this point, then, no significant correlation could be found between the effects of standardization attempts on grammar and the word order of negated periphrastic constructions. This is likely due to the fact that standardization effects fluctuate considerably depending on dialect, period and text type. An analysis of a specific type of text (doctrines) supports, however, the view that standardization in certain cases must have contributed to slowing down the shift V_M-NEG-V_A (MC2) > NEG-V_A-V_M (MC1) by favoring the receding pattern.

4.   Conclusions

This study has provided an overview of the diachronic changes affecting standard negation in the history of Basque. The results of this study are based on correlation analysis of a model for the categorization of historic Basque texts, which draws on various literary anthologies (cf. §2 and §3). This innovative approach has yielded a number of novel linguistic and sociolinguistic insights. First of all, the shift V_M-NEG-V_A (MC2) > NEG-V_A-V_M (MC1), which does not involve a change in the internal structure of negation (cf. §1.1-1.2), has been argued to occur as the result of default focalization of the finite verb in negative clauses: in negated clauses focalized constituents immediately

precede the negator and the first member of the verbal complex. Under default focus, it is the finite verb (in periphrastic constructions, the auxiliary) that occupies this position, which is usually clause-initial.

However, there is a restriction in Basque which disallows clause-initial auxiliary verbs. As a consequence, it is the negator that comes first in default-focalized negated clauses. The tendency to have clause-initial negators under default focus has been argued to be so common that this pattern was reanalyzed, via three stages, as the common pattern of negation, thus displacing the older pattern (cf. §3.1.1). Subordinate clauses did not go through this change because they are far less likely to undergo word order permutations. This may relate to the conservative character of subordinate clauses cross-linguistically (Givón 1979: 259-261, Bybee 2002: 4-5).

Second, the conservative pattern of negation has been shown to be more rigid than the innovative one: V_M-NEG-V_A (MC2) disprefers "disruption" of the negative constituents, whereas "disruption" is far more common in clauses with NEG-V_A-V_M (MC1) order. Moreover, the older pattern occasionally univerbates: the negator, main and auxiliary verbs merge with each other, both phonologically and orthographically. These have been interpreted as symptoms of frozenness and lower syntactic productivity of the older pattern (cf. §3.1.2).

Third, the word order of negation has been observed to vary depending on the subtype of subordinate clause. As proposed in the typological literature (Lehmann 1988: 189, Thompson et al. 2007: 238), relative and complement clauses behave differentially, but in the opposite sense that they are more similar to main clauses: the innovative NEG-V_A-V_M pattern is most frequent in these two subtypes of subordinate clause (cf. §3.1.3).

Concerning the philological side of the topic under discussion, text type and time have been argued not to influence the word order of negation: rather, the use of one or the other pattern seems to depend on intra-individual variation. This has also been interpreted as a symptom of low syntactic productivity of the conservative pattern (§3.2.1-3.2.2). By contrast, a detailed analysis of the last attestations of the conservative word order pattern has revealed that the shift V_M-NEG-V_A (MC2) > NEG-V_A-V_M (MC1) originated at the eastern end of the Basque dialectal continuum and spread, except for a few pockets, south and west until it reached the opposite extreme (§3.2.3). This finding

is in accordance with previous literature (Mitxelena 1978: 223-224, Lakarra 1986: 655, 1996: 255, f. 18, Salaberri Izko 2018: 77-78).

Finally, according to the results of this study, standardization processes, which vary greatly depending on dialect, period and text type, played a limited role in slowing the shift towards the innovative pattern in main clauses. Standardization's counteracting influence is evident only in the grammar of specific, highly conventionalized kinds of texts, such as religious doctrines (§3.2.4).

Appendix

Table 2. The corpus of historic Basque texts.[17]

Edition	Genre	Dialect
Agirre, Domingo. 2008. *Gutun bilduma*. Bilbao/Bilbo: Euskaltzaindia.	Letters	WB
Altuna, Patxi & Joseba A. Lakarra. 1990. *Manuel Larramendi: Euskal testuak*. Andoain: Andoaingo Udala.	Various	CB
Anonymous. 1766. *Jaun Dauphin cenaren eritassuneco circonstancia berecien errelacionea*. Bayonne/Baiona: Fauvet.	News report	NL
Anonymous. 1870. *Cantica izpiritualac*. Bayonne/Baiona: Fauvet.	Chants	NL
Anonymous. 1879. *Almanaca berria edo egunaria*. Bayonne/Baiona: Lespès.	Almanac, news report	Z
Anonymous. 1905. *1905-garren urteraco egunariya*. Tolosa: Eusebio López.	Almanac	CB
Anonymous. 1908. *Euscaldunen eliz-cantac*. Bilbao/Bilbo: Villar.	Chants	CB
Apezetxea, Pello. 2006. Etxalarko usategiei buruzko gutunak. *Fontes Linguae Vasconum* 103. 429-450.	Letters	HN, NL
Arana-Martija, Jose A. 1986. Betolazaren "Doctrina christiana". *Euskera* 31(2). 505-526.	Doctrine	WB
Arantzadi, Engracio. 1931. *Euzkadi*. Bilbao/Bilbo: Euzko Pizkundia, Tipográfica General.	News report	CB, WB
Ariztimuño, Borja. 2016. 1774ko gutun laburra. Ms.	Letter	CB
Arrue, Gregorio. 1882. *Santa Genovevaren vicitza*. Tolosa: Pedro Gurrutxaga.	Translation	CB
Azkue, Resurrección Mª. 1899. *Euskalzale*. Bilbao/Bilbo: R. M. Azkue.	News report	CB, WB
Azkue, Resurrección Mª. 1902. *Ibaizabal*. Bilbao/Bilbo: J. Astuy.	News report	CB, WB
Azkue, Resurrección Mª. 1910. *Ortzuri*. Bilbao/Bilbo: Macon, Protat frères.	Theater play	CB
Barbier, Jean. 1910. *Nere kantuak*. Bayonne/Baiona: Lasserre.	Religious poetry	Z

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17 The raw data on negation are available through the following link: https://github.com/IkerSalaberri/Basque-Negation-Word-Order.

Baroja, Serafín. 1878. *Almanaque bilingüe (erderaz eta eusqueraz) para el año de 1879*. Donostia/San Sebastián: Antonio Baroja.	Almanac	CB
Baroja, Serafín. 1883. *Bai, jauna, bai: Semanario bilingüe (castellano y vascuence)*. Pamplona/Iruñea: Goienetxe & Isturitz.	News report	CB
Beltzuntze 'Macayan viscount', Juan. 1972. Guthuna, Macayaco jaun biscondeac, hura Parisco biltçarrera bidali duten Laphurtarreï. *Gure Herria* 44(3). 144-155.	Letter	NL
Beriain, Juan. 1621. *Tratado de como se ha de oyr missa*. Pamplona/Iruñea: Carlos Labayen.	Religious essay	HN
Bilbao, Gidor, Ricardo Gómez, Joseba A. Lakarra, Julen Manterola & Céline Mounole. 2010. *Lazarraga eskuizkribua: Edizioa eta azterketa*. Vitoria-Gasteiz: University of the Basque Country.	Secular poetry and prose	WB
Brunet, Fernando. 1834. *Jesu Cristoren evanjelioa Juanen araura*. London: Trinitarian Bible Society.	Translation	CB
Bustintza, Errose. 1990. *Ipuiñak*. Bilbao/Bilbo: Ediciones Mensajero.	Narrative	WB
Camino, Iñaki. 2012. Bi testu llabur Aezkoa eta Zuberoako: Garralda (1828) & Larraine (1817). *Fontes Linguae Vasconum* 114. 61-72.	Letters	HN, Z
Coyos, Jean-Baptiste. 2013. *Zubererazko istorio, alegia eta ipuin irri-egingarri*. Bilbao/Bilbo: Euskaltzaindia.	Narrative	Z
Díaz-Noci, Javier. 1996. El periodismo alavés en lengua vasca: Una aproximación histórica (1888-1936). *Sancho el Sabio: Revista de cultura e investigación vasca* 6. 393-420.	Letters	WB
Duvoisin, Jean-Pierre. 1860. *Soldagoatic Escual-herrirat itçultcen denaren cantoreac*. Bayonne/Baiona: Lamaignère.	Chants	NL
Estornés, José. 1984. Mendigatxa'k Azkue'ri kartak 1902-1916. *Fontes Linguae Vasconum* 43. 55-128.	Letters	R
Etxeberri, Jean-Baptiste. 1848-1893. *Escualdun laborarien adiskidea*. Bayonne/Baiona: Lamaignère.	News report	NL
Etxeberri Ziburukoa, Joanes. 1970. *Noelak eta kantika espiritual berriak*. Donostia/San Sebastián: Sociedad Guipuzcoana de Ediciones y Publicaciones.	Religious poetry	NL
Etxeberri, Louis. 1917. *Eskualduna: Journal basque-français hebdomadaire*. Bayonne/Baiona: Bournet.	News report	NL
Etxepare, Bernat. 1980. *Linguae vasconum primitiae*. Bilbao/Bilbo: Euskaltzaindia.	Secular and religious poetry	NL
Floristán, José Mª. 1993. Conflictos fronterizos, espionaje y vascuence a finales del siglo XVI: 20 documentos inéditos. *Fontes Linguae Vasconum* 63. 177-220.	Letters	NL
Gallop, Rodney A. 1928. *25 chansons populaires d'Eskual-Herria*. Bayonne/Baiona: Éditions du Musée Basque.	Chants	NL
Garitaonaindia, Bitor et al. 1921. *Aŕgia asterokoa*. Donostia/San Sebastián: Garitaonaindia et al.	News report	CB
Gieure, François-Marie. 1923. Letra semenario ttipi baten egiteaz Uztaritzen. *Gure Herria* 3(11). 643-656.	Letter	NL
Haraneder, Joanes. 1990. *Jesu Christoren evangelio saindua*. Bilbao/Bilbo: Euskaltzaindia.	Translation	NL
Irigaray, Ángel. 1972. Cinco cartas eusquéricas del Ayuntamiento de S. J. de Luz	Letters	NL

al de Vera (de 1788). *Fontes Linguae Vasconum* 12. 345-351.		
Irigaray, Ángel. 1974. *Una geografía diacrónica del euskara en Navarra*. Pamplona/Iruñea: Ediciones y Libros.	Various	HN
Kapanaga, Martin O. 1656. *Exposición breue de la doctrina christiana*. Bilbao/Bilbo: Iuan de Azpiroz.	Doctrine	WB
Kardaberatz, Agustin. 2004. *Eusqueraren berri onac*. Bilbao/Bilbo: Euskaltzaindia.	Secular prose	CB
Krajewska, Dorota, Eneko Zuloaga, Ekaitz Santazilia, Borja Ariztimuño, Oxel Uribe-Etxebarria & Urtzi Reguero. 2017. *Esteve Materraren Do(c)trina Christiana (1617 & 1623): Edizioa eta azterketa*. Bilbao/Bilbo: Euskaltzaindia, University of the Basque Country.	Translation	NL
Lakarra, Joseba A. 1984. Bertso bizkaitarrak (1688). *International Journal of Basque Linguistics and Philology* [*ASJU*] 18(2). 89-183.	Secular poetry	WB
Lakarra, Joseba A. 1996. *Refranes y sentencias (1596): Ikerketak eta edizioa*. Bilbao/Bilbo: Euskaltzaindia.	Proverbs	WB
Lakarra, Joseba A., Gidor Bilbao & Céline Mounole. Forthcoming. *Edición crítica de la correspondencia entre Etxart y Ros*.	Letters	R, Z
Larregi, Bernard. 1775. *Testamen çaharreco eta berrico historioa: Lehenbicico liburua*. Bayonne/Baiona: Fauvet-Duhart.	Translation	NL
Leizarraga, Joanes. 1990. *Iesus Christ gure iaunaren testamentu berria, Othoitza ecclesiasticoen forma, Catechismea, Kalendrera, ABC edo christinoen instructionea*. Bilbao/Bilbo: Euskaltzaindia.	Translation	NL
Lizarraga Elkanokoa, Joakin. 1983. *Koplak*. Bilbao/Bilbo: Euskaltzaindia.	Couplets	HN
López de Mendizabal, Isaac. 1912. *1912'garren urterako euzkel-egutegi txikiya*. Tolosa: Eusebio Lopez.	News report, almanac	CB
López de Mendizabal, Isaac. 1935. *Poxpolin*. Tolosa: Eusebio Lopez.	News report	CB
Maiora, Fernando. 2011. *Reino de Navarra, euskera: Injurias, coplas, frases*. Fernando Maiora.	Court transcripts, verses	HN
Maiora, Fernando. 2018. *Reino de Navarra, euskera: Lengua inteligible, causas del retroceso, injurias, coplas*. Fernando Maiora.	Court transcripts	HN
Manterola, José. 1877. *Cancionero vasco: Poesías en lengua euskara*, vol. 1: *Poesías amorosas*. Donostia/San Sebastián: Juan Osés.	Chants	All
Mitxelena, Koldo. 1964. *Textos arcaicos vascos*. Madrid: Ediciones Minotauro.	Various	All
Mogel, Juan Antonio. 1904. *El doctor Peru Abarca*. Durango: F. de Elosu.	Narrative	WB
Muxika, Tene. 1914. *Antontxo: Umientzako ipuyak*. Bilbao/Bilbo: Euzko-Gastedija.	Narrative	CB
Oihenart, Arnaud. 2003. *Euskal atsotitzak eta neurtitzak*. Bilbao/Bilbo: Euskaltzaindia.	Proverbs	Z
Oihenarte, Jakes. 1971. *Kaniko eta Belxitina: Ihauterietako pastoral zuberotarra*. Donostia/San Sebastián: Lur.	Theater play	Z
Ondarra, Francisco. 1982. Textos en vascuence navarro de Baztán, Nuin y Urdazubi. *Fontes Linguae Vasconum* 40. 387-402.	Various	HN
Ondarra, Francisco. 1983. Hemezortzigarren eta hemeretzigarren mendeetako euskal gutun ez-ezagunak. In Euskaltzaindia (ed.), *Piarres Lafitteri*	Letters	HN, NL

omenaldia, 475-489. Bilbao/Bilbo: Euskaltzaindia.		
Otxoa de Arin, Joseph. 1713. *Doctrina christianaren explicacioa*. Donostia/San Sebastián: Pedro de Ugarte.	Doctrine	CB
Padilla-Moyano, Manuel & Xarles Bidegain. 2015. *Le Dauphin*: Euskarazko gutunak (1757). *Lapurdum* (Special Issue) (2). 95-60.	Letters	NL
Pagola, Rosa M. 2009. XVIII. mendeko gutun baten azterketa soziala eta linguistikoa. *International Journal of Basque Linguistics and Philology* [*ASJU*] 43. 707-720.	Letter	NL
Santa Teresa 'Frai Bartolome', Bartolome. 1986. *Euscal-errijetaco olgueeta ta dantzeen neurrizco gatz-ozpinduba*. Bilbao/Bilbo: Euskaltzaindia.	Religious essay	WB
Sarasola, Ibon. 1983. Contribución al estudio y edición de textos antiguos vascos. *International Journal of Basque Linguistics and Philology* [*ASJU*] 17(1). 69-212.	Various	All
Satrustegi, Jose M. 1983. Lasarteko bertso paper zahar bat (1716). In Euskaltzaindia (ed.), *Piarres Lafitteri omenaldia*, 571-581. Bilbao/Bilbo: Euskaltzaindia.	Verses	CB
Satrustegi, Jose M. 1987. *Euskal testu zaharrak I*. Pamplona/Iruñea: Euskaltzaindia.	Various	All (ex. for Z)
Satrustegi, Jose M. 1998. Arruazuko gabon-kanta zaharra. *Fontes Linguae Vasconum* 79. 515-522.	Chants	HN
Suarez d'Aulan, Luis-Maria. 1878. *Catichima edo fediaren eta guiristino-eguien explicacione laburra*. Pau: Dugue & Desbaratz.	Translation	Z
Tartas, Ioan. 1666. *Onsa hilceco bidia*. Orthez: Jacques Rovyer.	Religious essay	NL, Z
Trebiño, Imanol. 2001. *Administrazio zibileko testu historikoak*. Instituto Vasco de la Administración Pública.	Juridic text	NL
Ubillos, Juan A. 1989. *Christau doctriñ berri-ecarlea*. Bilbao/Bilbo: Euskaltzaindia.	Doctrine	CB
Ulibarri, Koldo. 2011a. 1619. urtean Sevillan argitaratutako bertsoak. *International Journal of Basque Linguistics and Philology* [*ASJU*] 55(1). 361-385.	Verses	WB
Ulibarri, Koldo. 2011b. Euskal testu corpusa osatzen: J. P. Ulibarriren *Egunare eusquerazcoa erderascotic itzuliya*. *International Journal of Basque Linguistics and Philology* [*ASJU*] 55(2). 71-113.	Almanac	WB
Ulibarri, Koldo. 2016. Julian Gaiarreren euskal gutuna: Edizioa eta azterketa. *Fontes Linguae Vasconum* 122. 409-432.	Letter	R
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Urkiaga 'Lauaxeta', Estepan. 1931. *Bide-barrijak/Nuevos rumbos*. Bilbao/Bilbo: Emeterio Verdes Achirica.	Secular poetry	WB
Urkixo, Julio. 1907. *Obras vascongadas del doctor labortano Joannes d'Etcheberri (1712)*. Paris: Paul Geuthner.	Various	NL
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Urkixo, Julio. 1909. Los refranes vascos de Sauguis. *International Journal of Basque Studies* [*RIEV*] 3(2). 144-157.	Proverbs	Z
Urkizu, Patri. 1987. *Bertso zahar eta berri zenbaiten bilduma (1798)*. Durango: Durangoko Udala.	Verses	NL

Urrizola, Ricardo. 2006. Tres cartas en euskara escritas por un ferrón de Bera. *Fontes Linguae Vasconum* 102. 255-270.	Letters	HN
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Xaho, Joseph A. 1852. *Le républicain de Vasconie*. Bayonne/Baiona: P. Lespès.	News report	Z
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Non-standard abbreviations

CB	Central Basque		V_A	auxiliary verb
HN	High Navarrese		V_M	main verb
NL	Navarrese-Lapurdian		WB	Western Basque

R   Roncalese   Z   Zuberoan

RS   relational suffix

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Résumé

Cette contribution examine les changements de l'ordre des mots subis par les constructions négatives périphrastiques dans l'histoire de la langue basque. Un certain nombre de variables linguistiques sont en corrélation avec ces changements: la particule négative *ez* est focalisée de manière croissante dans les propositions principales, le modèle innovant *particule négative - verbe auxiliaire - verbe principal* des propositions indépendantes est plus flexible que le modèle conservateur, et les changements d'ordre des mots ne progressent pas de la même façon dans toutes les sous-classes de proposition subordonnée. Nous prenons également en compte les questions sociolinguistiques, notamment l'hypothèse que la disparition de l'ordre des mots conservateur *verbe principal - particule négative - verbe auxiliaire* se produit d'abord dans les textes proches de la langue parlée. En outre, il est démontré que les dialectes orientaux sont plus innovants que les occidentaux. Enfin, nous affirmons que les efforts de standardisation de la langue ont ralenti les changements en question.

Zusammenfassung

Dieser Beitrag untersucht die Veränderungen, die von verneinten, periphrastischen Konstruktionen bezüglich ihrer Wortstellung in der Geschichte des Baskischen durchlaufen werden. Etliche linguistische Variablen hängen offenbar mit diesen Veränderungen zusammen: Die Verneinungspartikel *ez* wird in Hauptsätzen zunehmend fokussiert, das neuartige Muster *Verneinungspartikel - Hilfsverb - Hauptverb* ist flexibler als das ursprüngliche, und die Wortstellungsänderungen erfolgen bei verschiedenen Nebensatzarten auf unterschiedliche Art. Auch soziolinguistische Fragen werden berücksichtigt, einschließlich der Hypothese, der Schwund der konservativen Reihenfolge *Hauptverb - Verneinungspartikel - Hilfsverb* trete zuerst in Texten auf, die eher mündliche Sprache wiedergeben. Des Weiteren wird argumentiert, östliche Dialekte seien innovativer als Westliche, und Bestrebungen zur Standardisierung der Sprache hätten zudem die Veränderungen, von denen die Rede ist, gebremst.

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