

Secondary Publication



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Scenarios of Basque Language Contact

Date of secondary publication: 18.06.2026

Accepted Manuscript (Postprint), Bookpart

Persistent identifier: urn:nbn:de:bvb:473-irb-92414x

Primary publication

Haase, Martin (2023): Scenarios of Basque Language Contact, in: Nataliya Levkovych (Ed.), Diversity in Contact, Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, pp. 145–164, doi: 10.1515/9783111323756-004.

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Scenarios of Basque Language Contact

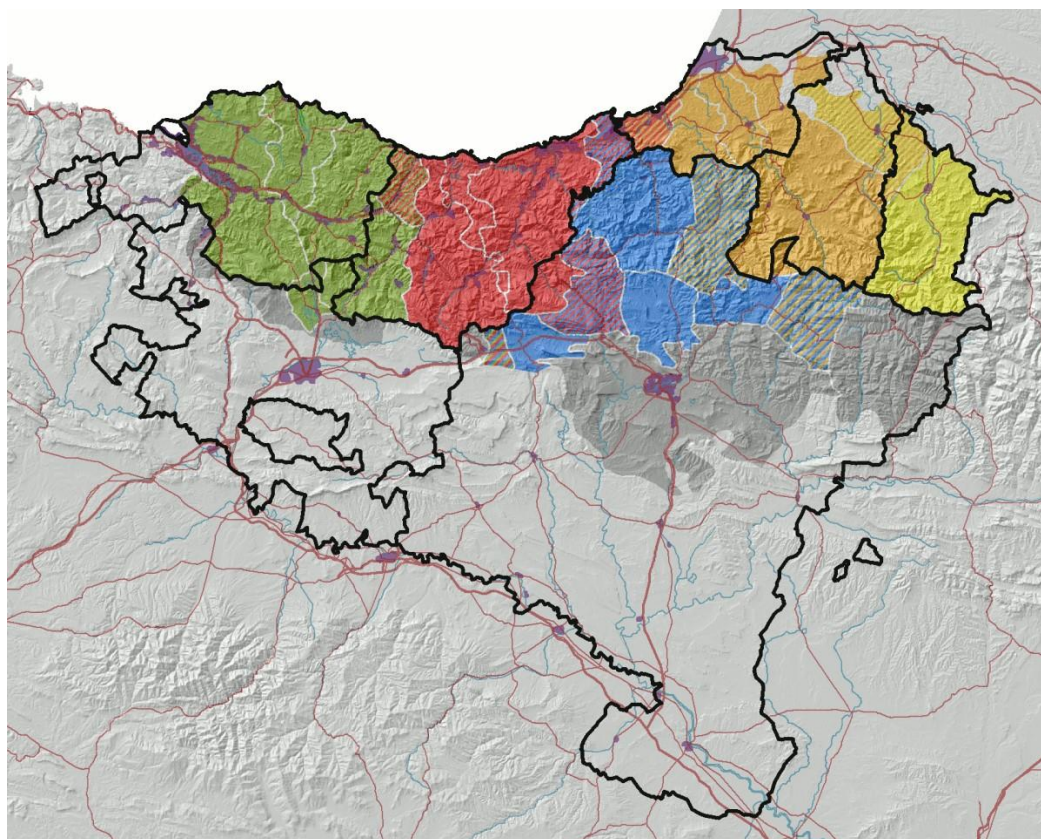
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Abstract: The paper compares the scenarios of Romance-Basque language contact in different parts of the Basque Country. In the South-West the predominant contact language is Spanish, which has gained some territory to the detriment of Basque, whereas on the French side of the border the extension of the Basque speaking area has not been reduced in the same way. Here the contact situation is more complex since an often overlooked language intervenes: Gascon. The different scenarios cause certain differences in loan word integration, phonetics and phonology, and even grammar.

1. Introduction: Basque and the Basque Country

Basque (*Euskara* or *Euskera*) is a language isolate, typologically very different from the Romance languages with which it is in contact (Haase 2012). It has, however, been heavily influenced by Romance languages through borrowing, mainly because almost all speakers of Basque living in the Basque Country are bilingual with Spanish or French as the contact language. With the exception of a typical intonation pattern, there is no distinctive regional Basque accent of Spanish, whereas in the French Basque Country, the contact language is spoken with a distinct accent, shared with non-Basque speakers of South-Western France.



Map 1: Dialects

Only former emigrants to North America that have come back to the Basque Country may have a poor knowledge of Spanish or French, although, at least to some degree, they cannot help

Consider the data on Map 2 from the dialect atlas of the Basque Country (*Euskal Herriko Hizkeren Atlas*¹ EHHA 572). It shows the different dialectal forms of the Basque word for

strawberry (*marrubi* in the Standard language *Euskara batua*). For the sake of simplicity, I will sum up dialectal variants with the help of lexical types enclosed in wedge-shaped brackets $\lceil \dots \rceil$, as it is done in traditional dialectology. These types stand for a list of phonetically similar variants in an area.

With the exception of one place in Navarre where the Spanish loan word *fresón* is used there are two types of outcomes: (a) $\lceil marrubi \rceil$ (with more or less obvious phonetic variants, ranging from *malluki* in Biscay to a heavily altered *laurogi* at the Navarrese outlayer village of Mezkiritz) and (b) $\lceil arraga \rceil$ in part of Iparralde (with the variants *arrega* in Lapurdi and *arraga* in Zuberoa, and the variant *arraba*, just across the French border in Irún). The fact that both types cross the border between France and Spain already contradicts the idea that this frontier divides the Basque Country into two distinct dialectal areas. The colors of the two types suggest that $\lceil arraga \rceil$ is an older form. The authors of the Atlas may have thought so, because words beginning with *m-/b-*, probably the only Basque phonemes that are (with one notable exception) unattested in Basque inflection, are probably loan words (cf. Michelena 1961 on the phonetic history of Basque loan words). In fact, *marrubi* is Latin MARRUBIUM ‘horehound’, a similar looking plant.



Map 3: *to hear*, EHHA 2073

The idea that the North-Eastern dialect of Zuberoa or Soule is archaic does not come as a surprise, since this region is a peripheral mountainous area that does not follow innovations of more progressive areas (linguistically and otherwise). In Romance linguistics such an area is called *area lateralis*, because the linguistically most conservative areas are usually peripheral (*lateralis* in Latin). Older Latin loan words do confirm the idea of the *area lateralis*. Map 3 (EHHA 2073) shows the distribution of the Latin loan *a(d)itu* (< AUDITU) ‘to hear’. Only in the peripheral regions of the Basque Country the older indigenous form *entzun* is used on a dialectal level. Both words have been adopted by the standard language.

In his French-Basque dictionary the Basque priest and philologist Junes CasenaveHaragile (1989) systematically proposes Zuberoan vocabulary as archaic and thus preferable to words from *Euskara batua*, as in the case of *arraga*.

¹ I will always refer to maps and comments in EHHA by the corresponding map number and not a page number, which makes it easier to consult the material online.

At first sight, this word does seem to have a more traditional consonance than *marrubi*, but things are not so simple. There is something strange about this word: Basque words cannot start with an *r* sound. In loan words an *e-* is inserted as in *errege* ‘king’ from Latin REGE(M), with one exception: Loan words from Gascon, a variety of Occitan in the South West of France, have a prosthetic *a-* as in *arrosa* ‘rose’. The allegedly archaic Basque *arraga* is indeed a Gascon loan from *hraga* ‘strawberry’ (Gascon changes *f-* into *h-*, so the natural outcome of Latin FRAGA is *hraga* in Gascon). Since *hr-* is not pronounceable in Basque, the initial *h-* is lost and as in all Gascon loanwords with initial *r-* an *a-* is added, resulting in *arraga*.

The reason for these particularities in Gascon can be explained by the early history of this language: Since Basque cannot have words starting with *r-*, speakers shifting to Latin and later to Romance had a problem with such words and did not adopt the Basque solution, because they wanted to give up Basque. They found a “Romance” solution in adding *a(r)-*, modelled on the Romance prefix *a(d)-*. In the same way, these language shifters had a problem with *f-* and had to find a solution different to Basque. They had no difficulty in pronouncing *h*, since this is a Basque phoneme, so it comes in easily, because it had no functional load in Romance. It has been argued (critically reviewed by Penny 2014: 91) that the passage of *f-* to *h-* in Spanish could also be explained by substratum interference from Basque. This is difficult, as Penny points out, because the passage occurs rather late in the history of Spanish and in areas not directly in contact with Basque, and it does not concern all contexts of initial *f-*, which is unusual for substratum interference. Penny (2014: 92) comes up with the following compromise:

“This change may have been initiated by Frenchmen (speakers of French and Occitan) who entered Spain in large numbers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, sometimes occupying positions of great social prestige.” (Penny 2014: 92)

These “Frenchmen” are, of course, speakers of Gascon who colonized the Basque country by creating fortified market towns (*Bastidas*), such as Bayonne, Bilbao, Labastide Clairence etc. and traded with people from neighboring regions. Thanks to their prestige, Castilian speakers imitated their speech, so the Spanish aspirated *h-* came into the language through borrowing.

Gascon is often overlooked, because it is a language nowadays without official status (with the exception of the Aran Valley in Spain). In France it is on the brink of language death. Philologists take an interest in the peculiar features of Gascon. Most of these features can be explained by substratum interference, as speakers of Basque switched from Basque to Latin and later Romance in a scenario of substituting one language for the other (Haase 1997). But Gascon has always played a role as a source of borrowing for Basque (adstratum) and probably Spanish too.

3. Romance influence

The North-Eastern part of the Basque Country, comprising the former provinces of Lower Navarre and Zuberoa, may be a conservative *area lateralis* in some respects (regarding *core* morphology and syntax, but there is more to say about this in this and the following section), however, where phonetics, phonology, and especially the lexicon is concerned, it is under heavy Gascon influence. It is a typical borrowing scenario. For a long time Gascon had been the more prestigious Romance language (used in administration in Navarre until shortly after the French revolution) and until very recently in bovine commerce. It has gradually been supplanted by French, esp. after World War II. Among elderly people, esp. in the Northern part of Lower Navarre, the so-called Pays-de-Mixe or Amikuze in Basque, and in Zuberoa, it is still common to be trilingual in Basque, Gascon, and French. This is especially true for people who get involved in bovine commerce (although their knowledge of Gascon may be limited to the necessities of their profession).

Bayonne is sometimes called capital of Iparralde (*Iparraldeko hiri nagusia*), but in spite of a certain presence of Basque, French seems to have supplanted Basque long ago. This is again a little simplistic, because in Bayonne French did not supplant Basque, but Gascon. Even nowadays some traces of Gascon can be found in street names and inscriptions. With respect to French, Gascon has had far less prestige, so it was easy for French to become the city's first language. Additionally, in the second part of the 20th century, Basque gained a lot of prestige, so that the idea of a bilingualism of French and Gascon in Bayonne was replaced by the idea of the Basque *hiri nagusia*, now speaking French.

But Gascon used to be more influential in former times, which explains the presence of Gascon borrowings in Lapurdi as well, passing even over the border into Spain. The intercalation of Gascon between French and Basque protected Basque from French influences. After the disappearance of Aragonese and Navarrese (Neira Martínez 1982), an intermediary language did (and does) not exist between Spanish and Basque on the other side of the border. Here, Spanish could heavily influence Basque, on the one hand, and on the other, it started to gain territory to the detriment of Basque. The presence of Gascon is most obvious in the North of Lower Navarre (Amikuze) and in Zuberoa, the traditional areas of Gascon and Basque bilingualism. Most dialect maps reveal that the Basque Country is not cut into two by the state border, but by the presence or absence of this bilingualism.



Map 4: *nothing*, EHHA 1743

The importance of Gascon does not stop there. As Ciérbide Martirena (1992/93) has pointed out, Gascon played a role in the Southern part of the Basque Country as well, although at an earlier time: Some cities in the Basque Country go back to Medieval Gascon settlements; these were (from West to East): Bilbao, San Sebastián (Donostia in Basque), Hondarribia, and Pamplona (Iruñ(e)a in Basque). Pamplona is particularly interesting, since it is situated in Navarre where Gascon was the language of the administration. This explains the presence of Gascon loanwords in Navarre as well, as is the case with *deus* ‘nothing’, going back to Gascon *degu(n)s* (<g> representing a lax fricative [ɣ]) with the same meaning. Map 4 (EHHA 1743) shows the distribution of the following types: the purely Basque $\lceil\text{ezer}\rceil$ (a combination of *ez* ‘not’ and *zer* ‘what’), the Gascon loan word $\lceil\text{deus}\rceil$ (sometimes with the partitive ending *-ik*) and the expressive forms $\lceil\text{ja}\rceil$ (probably a Romance cognate of Latin *JAM* ‘already’) and $\lceil\text{fitsik}\rceil$. This form is found in Gascon too, *fich* is an expressive word to describe small quantities (in Basque always with the partitive ending). This word is unusual, because it conserves initial [f] which usually becomes [h] in Gascon and [p] in Basque. The strange conservation of [f] also appears in the opposite ‘much’ where *frango* (of obvious Romance origin) serves as an expressive variant of *hanitz* in Iparralde.

The negative is sometimes reinforced by *ere* ‘also’, if it is used emphatically. The map shows that Navarre together with Zuberoa opts for the Gascon loan word. It is interesting to see that in most of this area *deus* is rivaled by the more expressive forms—also of Romance origin. Since Gascon is still a (barely) living contact language (adstratum) only in Zuberoa and the North of Lower Navarre (Amikuze), it can be considered a superstratum in Upper Navarre. The long period of contact in Amikuze has led to a situation where we sometimes find more than one layer of borrowings as in the case of *fitsik* vs. *deus*.

At the beginning of the 16th century, Navarre was split into Upper Navarre, reigned by the Catholic Crown of Spain with some special privileges and an independent Lower Navarre which became part of the kingdom of France and Navarre. In Upper Navarre, Gascon was gradually replaced by Spanish as the main prestigious contact language (while Navarrese and Aragonese were Romance spoken varieties that kept on being used in rural settings, for the fate of Navarrese, cf. Neira Martínez 1982), whereas Gascon maintained its status as an



Map 5: *to stumble*, EHHA 381

important language of administration and trade in the Northern part of the Basque Country. By consequence, Gascon influence remained important in the North, whereas it gradually disappeared in the South, and Basque was pushed back by Spanish, gaining ground in Navarre. Moreover, Gascon served as a protective intermediary between Basque and French, after French became the language of post-revolutionary France.

Aragonese, the language with which Basque was also in contact in North-Eastern Upper Navarre (next to the neighboring provinces of Huesca and Saragossa), faced the same fate as Gascon in Spain. Consequently, Spanish started to push back Basque in the extreme NorthEast of Upper Navarre. Since some (scarce) documentation of these dialects has been preserved, it would be interesting to look for Aragonese influence. The early substitution of Aragonese by Spanish might explain the occasional appearance of Spanish loan words in the neighboring Basque dialects (cf. *fresona* < Spanish: *fresón* in Map 2). The contact situation of Basque can be summed up as follows:

- The current main contact languages (adstrata) of Basque are Spanish and French, and to a lesser degree Gascon (where it is still spoken),
- Gascon protects Basque against the advance of French in the Northern part of the Basque Country where the language border has not moved for centuries (with a zone of Basque and Gascon bilingualism in Amikuze in the North of Lower Navarre and the whole of Zuberoa). The go-between character of Gascon between French and Basque can also

explain why speakers of Basque speak the same form of regional French as their Gascon neighbors.

- At least historically, Aragonese and Gascon are contact languages in Navarre; in Amikuze and Zuberoa it is of utmost importance to take Gascon into account, even nowadays.
- Spanish has been pushing back Basque since early modern times in the Spanish Basque Country.
- Linguistically, the Basque Country is not so much divided by the border between France and Spain, but by the different impact of Gascon as an adstratum.

Or, to cut a long story short: Gascon is a largely neglected, but very important factor in the dialectalization of Basque.

4. Contact-induced change

It is interesting to take a closer look at loan word morphology. Map 5 shows how ‘to stumble’ is expressed in Basque. The extreme West shows direct Spanish influence: \uparrow tropesau \uparrow clearly is Spanish *tropezado*, which even preserves the Spanish participle (though in a spoken variant), the larger portion of Hegoalde has \uparrow estrapozo (eg)in \uparrow ‘to make a stumble’, where *estrapozo* probably goes back to a Latin or early Romance formation (*EXTRAPODIU or *EXTRAPEDIU?, which somewhat resembles Spanish *tropezón*, probably going back to *INTERPEDIU), Navarre has a Basque formation \uparrow muturkatu \uparrow , which is based on *mutur* ‘snout’ (‘to fall on one’s snout’, the form *muturketu* on the map seems to be a typo).

Amongst other solutions Iparralde shows many instances of \uparrow trebukatu \uparrow , which the EHHA editors consider a French loan (EHHA 381). It cannot be a Gascon borrowing, because in Gascon it is *trabucar*. But the French verb is *trebucher*. How do we get from there to *trebukatu*? It looks as if *trebucher* has passed through a Gascon filter, because *-cher* corresponds to Gascon *-car*, and Gascon [y], which corresponds to French [y] is generally pronounced [y] in Gascon loan words in Zuberoa and some places of Amikuze, but is adapted to [u] in the rest of the Basque Country. The borrowed *trebukatu* starts out French (*tre-*), then turns into Gascon (*-buka-*) and finishes with an ending originally borrowed from Latin (*-tu*).

This is by no means surprising. Loan word integration often works along the strategies acquired in older borrowing scenarios. Thus, for borrowing from French, strategies derived from Gascon loan words are employed, whereas these strategies depend on the structure of Latin loan words. Latin facilitates the introduction of Gascon loan words, and Gascon facilitates the introduction of French loan words. I call this phenomenon syphon effect (or “Schleuseneffekt” in German (Haase 1992: 51) the English translation was proposed by Bakker 1993). The syphon effect can be found in many borrowing scenarios. I have treated it in some detail for Maltese (2002), where Italian loan words look, as if they have passed through Sicilian, and English loan words look and sound Italian when integrated into Maltese.

Even from a general standpoint the difference between the borrowing scenarios of Biscay and Iparralde is striking: In Biscay, where Basque is under some pressure from Spanish, speakers go straight for a Spanish solution (\uparrow tropesau \uparrow), whereas in Iparralde a French loan word is integrated by sophisticated integration strategies, based on older loan strata (Gascon and Latin).

In an intensive borrowing scenario grammatical change comes about through lexical borrowing. We have seen an example on Map 4 above where a new negator is borrowed into the replica language. Negations are often affected by borrowings (Willis *et al.* 2013: 47–50), since loan words are considered to be more expressive than the traditional grammaticalized negators, and the above example clearly shows that even a first layer of loans will be innovated again by newer, more expressive borrowings.

Like Spanish, Basque distinguishes between the auxiliary ‘have’ (Spanish *haber*, Basque *ukan*) and a full verb ‘to have/to possess’ (Spanish *tener*, Basque *eduki*). This distinction is prescribed in Standard Basque, but from the EHHA data (Map 6, EHHA 1756), it becomes evident that this distinction is borrowed from Spanish, although *eduki* is certainly an old Basque verb (as *tener* is an old Romance verb), but in former times (and still in all Eastern



Map 6: *I have*, EHHA 1756

dialects) forms of *ukan* can be used to express possession, just as the outcomes of HABERE can in most Romance languages. The map shows how the distinction between *ukan* ‘haber’ (*badut* or *badet* in the first person singular Ergative) and *eduki* ‘tener’ (in the first person singular *daukat* ‘tengo’, or in English: ‘I have’) is pushing forward from the West. Even conservative places in Gipuzkoa that still use *badet* mostly have *daukat* as a second answer. And even across the French border the distinction can be made in some places, but never in Zuberoa or the Northern part of Lower Navarre. The prefix *ba-* corresponds to the Enunciative that is so typical of Gascon, compare *qu’èi* ‘I have’ in Gascon. I have argued elsewhere (Haase 1997) that this peculiar Gascon feature came about through substratum interference from Basque.



Map 7: *too much/many*, EHHA 1224

In addition to Comparative and Superlative, Basque has an Excessive (‘too’), expressed by the ending *-egi*. The irregular stem *ge(h)i-* is used to form Comparative and Superlative forms of ‘much, many’: *ge(h)iago* ‘more’, *ge(h)ien* ‘most’, *ge(h)iegi* ‘too much/many’. This is, of course, a place where expressive innovations can be expected. Map 7 (EHHA 1224) shows what is going on. The center of the Basque Country uses the traditional form. The West shows an

innovation, the expressive adverb *lar* (possibly from *larri* ‘big, pressing’) is used, partly with the Excessive ending, but not so in most of the direct contact zone with Spanish, but the traditional form is still present in most places. The Eastern Basque Country opts for the Gascon loan word *sob(e)ra* (Gascon *sobra* < SUPRA). The modern Gascon pronunciation is [suβrɔ, suβrɔ] or [suβrɛ], but it is integrated following traditional integration strategies, corresponding to older pronunciations of Gascon (that are reflected in the “classic” Gascon orthography, used in this article). The *br* cluster is split by an epenthetic vowel and *r* is lost in Zuberoa. The Gascon borrowing is so successful that *ge(h)iegi* cannot be found in the Eastern part of the Basque Country anymore.

The case system is also under attack by (expressive) borrowings, as in Map 8 (EHHA 1173).



Map 8: *to the rooster*, EHHA 1173

The Standard Basque form *oilarrengana* ‘to the rooster’ is only present in the center of the Basque Country (surprisingly not so much in Gipuzkoa); *-rengan-* is normally used with animated nouns in locative cases (consisting of the Possessive/Genitive ending *-ren*, and the animated location suffix *-gan*). The Possessive/Genitive ending is left out in the West, so that *-gana* looks more like a postposition. This solution is sporadically found in the East too. Here another solution consists in adding the Allative case directly to the animated noun, as in *oilarrera(t)* and *oilarrilat*, but here another solution is more widespread: The noun is in the Dative case and followed by *bürü* ‘head’ in the Instrumental case. This construction is difficult to explain within Basque grammar because the Dative is normally not found under such circumstances. It can, however, be explained by Gascon: it is a calque of Gascon *cap a* ‘(with) head to’, used to indicate a direction. The preposition *a* is normally used to express the Dative in Gascon, so the calque is very natural for bilingual speakers. Once established, it is used in the everyday language until efforts of language purism will eradicate it.



Map 9: Potential mode, EHHA 1775

Map 9 (EHHA 1775) shows changes in the verbal morphology of Basque. Possibility is normally expressed morphologically by the Potential mode. It is formed by changing the auxiliary stem and by adding the Potential marker *-ke* to the auxiliary. Romance languages would rather use an auxiliary construction with *poder* ‘can’ in Spanish or Gascon. It comes as no surprise that the morphological solution is maintained in the center of the Basque Country (mainly in Gipuzkoa again), whereas the peripheries opt for more Romance constructions.

Here the potential modal operator *a(h)al* is used. It is usually inserted between the full verb and the auxiliary (as can be seen in the East of the Basque Country). In the West, however, the order resembles Spanish word order *al zara joan* ‘you can go’ ~ ‘puedes ir’. Instead of the nominalized verb in the Inessive (*joaten*), the use of the basic form *joan* seems to calque an infinitive construction. Whereas in Basque a form of ‘to be’ has to be used with an intransitive verb, *al* is coupled with ‘to have’ (*dozu*) in parts of Biscay, which makes the construction look even more like a modal auxiliary construction. In the Eastern part of the Basque Country ‘to be’ is used with the verb of movement (as is the case in French and Gascon), but the modal operator is also assimilated to an auxiliary, because it can take a future-tense marker (*-ko*). In my own research I have observed at least one case where the modal operator is fully transformed into a verb (Haase 1992: 114). An extreme case can be seen in Hondarribia where the whole construction is substituted by *posible duzu xuatia* [*joatea*] ‘it is possible to go (or rather: you have it possible going)’, based on the Romance (Gascon or Spanish) loan word *posible*.

The full impact of Spanish language contact can be seen on Map 10 (EHHA 1760). Spanish has differential object marking: an animated object (human or animal) is put into the Dative. This should not be possible in Basque, because the Dative case always implies the presence of an Absolutive (the case for the direct object in a transitive clause), which would be empty, but still under Spanish influence this can be observed with the verb *lagundu* ‘to help’ which should have a direct object in Basque, but gets an indirect one in most dialects of Hegoalde, leaving the direct-object position empty (note that in German too, *helfen* is constructed with an indirect object without having a direct one).



Map 10: *(s)he helps him/her*, EHHA 1760

The auxiliary *du* is transitive, referencing an Ergative and an Absolutive in the 3rd person singular. The auxiliary *dio* or *dotzo* references a Dative in the 3rd person singular in addition to Absolutive and Ergative. This is the closest we can get to the idea of the Basque Country split into two parts, one under Spanish and one under French, or rather Gascon, influence. We can still see that the distribution does not fully coincide with the Spanish-French border and that there are isolated cases of non-differential marking in Gipuzkoa (Aia) and in several places in Navarre.

It comes as no surprise that—together with loan words—phonemes can be borrowed from one language to another (Stolz/Levkovych 2021). A case in point is the [y] in Zuberoa and sporadically in Amikuze too. For the rest of the Basque Country Gascon [y] is rendered as [u], and so is French [y]. What is more surprising is that Basque word stress (tonic accent) seems to be a result of borrowing, as I have shown (Haase 2016: 70f.) with respect to the data by Aurrekoetxea *et al.* (2012). Most dialects of Basque have a syntagmatic accent and no word stress, but all Eastern dialects show word stress, as in Gascon. Standard Basque has word stress too, but this is probably due to the common misunderstanding that the dialects of Zuberoa and Lower Navarre represent an archaic form of Basque; moreover, when Standard Basque was set up, philologists may have thought that syntagmatic stress is the outcome of a decay of stress pattern, as was the case in the evolution of French. That can explain why the Basque Academy promulgated word stress for Standard Basque. The dialect distribution of stress patterns in Basque shows, however, that word stress is an innovation, stemming from the contact with Gascon.

5. Language change, language reform, and purism

A presentation of language contact in Basque cannot be complete without reference to the scenario of language reform and purism. I have already mentioned that the Basque Academy established word stress as a norm for Standard Basque and that case forms are preferred over constructions such as *-ri buruz*, calqued from Gascon *cap a* ‘head to, in the direction of’. In a study on purism (Haase 2004), I have treated causal constructions (§ 3.2.1), showing that a more Romance looking sentential variant of the causal construction is suppressed by purists in favor of a more nominal construction type. This observation has been confirmed by dialect data.

Map 11 (EHHA 1794) shows the answer to the last part of the following sentence: “No se

All in all, three contact scenarios can be observed in the Basque Country:

- Spanish is in direct contact with Basque in a scenario of language substitution. At the same time it has an impact as a model language on Basque, which is heavily borrowing from Spanish.
- Purism is avoiding Romance and especially Spanish borrowings in Basque. In this respect Spanish is a negative model language. Distance from Spanish is very important for purists. This can result in filtering out even genuinely Basque structures, as can be shown in the case of subordination.
- Although Basque is borrowing from French, the presence of Gascon on the Northern border of the Basque Country is protecting Basque from some pressure from French. At least the Northern Border has not been pushed back by the modern contact language, as has happened in the South of the Basque Country. Moreover, due to the extended contact between Gascon and Basque, Basque has integrated a lot of borrowings from Gascon. With lexical borrowings, phonological and other structural innovations have come about.

The importance of Gascon for Basque language contact has already been pointed out by French physician Paul Broca (1875) who was born in Gascony and studied the border between Gascon and Basque. It has since been often overlooked (recently once again by Schlaak 2014). Allières (1978) is probably the first who took the role of Gascon for the evolution of Basque seriously and inspired me to my own studies (Haase 1992). In the 1990s the Basque dialect atlas EHHA did not exist, and I had to rely on my own field work which often resulted in impressionistic evidence from few places in Lower Navarre and Zuberoa. Starting in 2008 the publication of EHHA began to confirm all of my results. Each volume of the atlas showed evermore clearly the overall impact of Gascon and the difference between the different language-contact scenarios in Iparralde and Hegoalde.

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