The Accentual System Of Mallabia Basque

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Abstract

In this paper we examine accentuation in Mallabia Basque. This is an accentual system that appears to be transitional between the northern Bizkaian pitch-accent system (with a lexical distinction between accented and unaccented words and phrase-final or phrase-penultimate unmarked accentuation) and the central Basque systems (with accent on the post-initial or, in the marked case, on the initial syllable). Its study thus offers us important cues to understand the historical connection about these two very different prosodic systems.

Berba gakoak: Mallabia, azentua, prosodia.

1. Introduction

In a broad western and central area of the Basque-speaking territory we find accentual systems with regular post-initial accent (where some lexical exceptions may receive initial accent instead). In the northern part of Bizkaia, on the other hand, we find a rather different accentual system, reminiscent of that of Tokyo Japanese, where there is a lexical distinction between accented and unaccented words, the latter subject to a rule of phrase-final accentuation in certain contexts. In Hualde (to appear) it is claimed that this Northern Bizkaian system represents a more conservative stage and several historical developments are proposed for the emergence of postinitial accent as a general pattern. In particular, it is claimed that the accentual system employed nowadays in the Mallabia dialect is a transitional type that sheds light on one of these possible diachronic routes. In this paper we describe the patterns of accentuation in Mallabia Basque in greater detail, since there are no other published descriptions of this accentual system.

Mallabia is a township of approximately 1110 inhabitants located about 15 km south of Markina and only 3 km to the west of the urban area of Ernua and Eibar. Its accentual system, although related to those of the Markina and Gernika areas, has a number of very interesting specific features. As mentioned, it represents a transitional type from the Northern Bizkaian pitch-accent system towards the system with generalized accent on the second syllable (with exceptional accent on the first) found in some other neighboring areas such as Durango and Elorrio.

2. Accentual patterns

In their citation form (which for nouns and adjectives is the absolutive singular, e.g. stem + article /al/ -- or /el/ after a high vowel), words in Mallabia Basque can be classified along two accentual dimensions: the position of the accent and the shape of the accentual pitch contour. Considering pitch-accent shape first, in some words, the pitch rises on the accented syllable and has an abrupt fall on the posttonic. We will refer to this pitch-contour as “acute accent”. In a

1 Although Gaminde’s (1998) survey of Basque accentual types contains a brief mention of the Mallabia dialect (pp. 83-84), it overlooks the most interesting features of this system.
lexically contrastive fashion, other words bear a "grave accent", instead, in which the pitch also rises on the accented syllable but falls gradually towards the end of the word or phrase. Regarding the position of the accent, on the other hand, the accent may be located either on the first or on the second syllable of the word. All words accented on the initial syllable have an acute accent, whereas among those accented on the second, some have acute accent and some others have grave accent. By far the largest group is that of words with grave accent (on the second syllable) in their citation form. All of this is summarized and illustrated with examples in (1):

(1) Words in citation form

I. Marked classes: Acute accent (rapid fall)
   la. Acute initial accent: égixe 'truth'
   lb. Acute post-initial accent: errótarrixe 'whetstone'

II. Unmarked class: Grave accent (slow fall). Always on the second syllable: mendixe 'mountain', errótarixe 'miller'.

Minimal or near-minimal pairs can be found across both accentual dimensions of contrast, as shown in (2):

(2) (Near-)minimal pairs

   a. Acute post-initial vs. grave

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>frutërue 'fruit-bowl'</th>
<th>vs.</th>
<th>frutërue 'fruit-seller'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>atäkie 'attack'</td>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>atäkie 'gate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sagûtuxxe 'little mouse'</td>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>sagûtuxxe 'shrew'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>errótarrixe 'whetstone'</td>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>errótarixe 'miller'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   b. Acute initial vs. acute post-initial

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>áskurie 'itch'</th>
<th>vs.</th>
<th>askórie 'axe'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bärrie 'bar'</td>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>bärrie 'laughter'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   c. Acute initial vs. grave post-initial

| ártie 'art' | vs. | artie 'live-oak' |
| bärrie 'bar' | vs. | bärrie 'laughter' |
| básie 'base' | vs. | básie 'mud' |
| pärìe 'pair' | vs. | pärìe 'shovel' |
| särìe 'large basket' | vs. | särìe 'net' |
| básìe 'drinking glass' | vs. | básìe 'forest' |
| págue 'payment' | vs. | págue 'beech tree' |
| sérue 'zero' | vs. | sérue 'sky' |
| sáltzie 'the selling' | vs. | sáltzie 'sauce' |
| bégire 'looking' | vs. | bégire 'more or less' |

The acute/grave distinction is illustrated with a minimal pair in figure (1):

![Figure 1](image-url)  

As we can see in figure 1, in both examples the pitch rises on the second syllable (the curve is interrupted here because of the voicelessness of the /h/). The difference is that in (1a) the pitch continues rising in the posttonic before it starts to fall. In (1b), on the other hand, there is a rise and a fall within the accented syllable and a much steeper fall to the end of the utterance.

If we consider the behavior of these different accentual classes in non-phrase-final position, we discover that acute-accent words have a rise-fall pitch accent (as in their citation form), which causes the downstep of the accent on a following word. On the other hand, grave-accent words show a relatively high slowly falling plateau after the rise and, crucially, do not induce downstep of the accent on the next word in the phrase. Thus, if we compare, for instance, the examples in (3), a clear difference is that in the first example of each pair of sentences the second accent is downstepped (reduced) with respect to the first accent, whereas in the second example of each pair either the second peak is
higher or both accentual peaks reach approximately the same level:

\[(3)\]

1. lagúnan alábie da
   ‘it is the friend’s (sg) daughter’
   lagünen alábie da
   ‘it is the friends’ (pl) daughter’

2. lagúnan alábak die
   ‘they are the friend’s (sg) daughters’
   lagünen alábak die
   ‘they are the friends’ (pl) daughters’

In figures 2 and 3, we include Fo tracings for the two pairs in (3):

![Figure 2: (a) lagúnan alábie da ‘it is the friend’s (sg) daughter’ (b) lagünen alábie da ‘it is the friends’ (pl) daughter’](image1)

![Figure 3: (a) lagúnan alábak die ‘they are the friend’s (sg) daughters’ (b) lagünen alábak die ‘they are the friends’ (pl) daughters’](image2)

As can be seen in figures 2 and 3 a major difference between the (a) and (b) contours is in the scaling of the second peak. Both alábie ‘the daughter’ in figure 2 and alábak ‘the daughters’ in figure 3 present a much lower peak in the (a) example than in the (b) example. The acute accent of the genitive plural form lagünen ‘of the friends’ is manifested as a steep fall after the accented syllable which triggers the reduction of the second accent in the phrase, whether this second accent is grave as in figure 2b or acute as in figure 3b. On the other hand, in the (a) examples, where the genitive singular lagúnan ‘of the friend’ has a grave accent, there is no downstep. The second accent of the phrase is realized as a higher peak than the first accent in both figures 2a and 3a.

Clearly the acute/grave distinction in Mallabia is related to the accented/unaccented distinction found in other Bizkaian varieties (see Hualde 1991, 1996, 1997, 1999, 2000, Hualde & Bilbao 1992, 1993, Hualde, Elordieta & Elordieta 1994, Elordieta 1997, Hualde, Elordieta, Gaminde & Smiljanic 2002). The main difference is that instead of the high plateau or slightly rising contour up to the end of the phrase that, with lexically unaccented words, we find in other Northern Bizkaian varieties, in Mallabia we find a slowly falling contour beginning in the posttonic. This has resulted a reinterpretation in the perception of prominence, as argued in Hualde (to appear).\(^2\)

Accentual distinctions play a major role in inflected nominal forms in Basque. For words in the unmarked class, singular and plural forms often have different accentuation. In the next section we examine the accentuation of inflected nominals.

3. Accentuation of inflected nominal forms

As in other western varieties, singular and plural forms often contrast in accentuation. An interesting fact of the Mallabia dialect, not found in any other variety that has been described until now, is that words with vowel-final bisyllabic stems differ from other words in their accentuation in the plural. Furthermore, /i/-final stems, which undergo epenthesis of a consonant \(x\) /S/ between the stem and vowel-initial inflectional suffixes, are treated as consonant-final for accentual purposes.

The unmarked pattern is grave accent in most singular forms and post-initial acute accent in the plural and ablative singular, as shown in the following partial paradigm for /mendi/ ‘mountain’:

\[(4)\] mendi ‘mountain’

\(^2\) An intermediate step in this evolution undoubtedly was the retraction of the accent from the final syllable of the phrase to the penultimate, as in neighboring Markina and Ondarroa (Hualde 2000, to appear).

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By and large, the accentuation of these forms corresponds closely to what has been described for some northern Bizkaian varieties (the Gernika-Getxo type, Hualde 1999, among others). For the most part, the grave-accent forms correspond to the unaccented forms of these other varieties. In particular, the anomalous accentuation of the ablative singular (which has acute accent) with respect to other singular forms is general in Bizkaian. One difference with respect to other dialects is found in the comitative, which is accentuated in both singular and plural in other Bizkaian varieties, although the accent oftentimes falls on different syllables in the two numbers: e.g.: Gernika sg lagunegus ‘with the friend’, pl lagunekin ‘with the friends’; Markina sg. lagunus pl lagunekin.

We find the same pattern with all consonant-final and (epenthesis-triggering) /i/-final stems and also with vowel-final stems of three or more syllables, as illustrated in (4) with the absolutely singular and plural:

(5)

a. Consonant-final stems (including /i/-final)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>uninflected stem</th>
<th>sg</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ogi 'bread'</td>
<td>ogixe</td>
<td>ogixe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gison 'man'</td>
<td>gisôna</td>
<td>gisônak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lagun 'friend'</td>
<td>lagûne</td>
<td>lagûnèk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katedral 'cathedral'</td>
<td>katêðralà</td>
<td>katêðralak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katamixer 'squirrel'</td>
<td>katamixerra</td>
<td>katamixerrak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bersolari 'verse-singer'</td>
<td>bersôlarixè</td>
<td>bersôlarixek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrijasotzaillie 'stone-lifter'</td>
<td>arrijasotzailliek</td>
<td>arrijasotzaillak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Vowel-final stems of three or more syllables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>uninflected stem</th>
<th>sg</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alaba 'daughter'</td>
<td>alăbie</td>
<td>alăbak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abade 'priest'</td>
<td>abădie</td>
<td>abădiek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kategorixa 'category'</td>
<td>katêgorixè</td>
<td>katêgorixak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>astakume 'baby donkey'</td>
<td>astâkume</td>
<td>astâkumak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>basamortu 'desert'</td>
<td>basâmortue</td>
<td>basâmortuek</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the other hand, bisyllabic stems ending in a vowel other than /i/ show a shift of the accent to the initial syllable in all plural forms (but not in the ablative singular, even though this form also has an acute accent), this is illustrated in (5) with a partial paradigm of etxe 'house'. Further examples, in the absolute, are given in (6):

(6) Vowel-final bisyllabic stems: etxe 'house'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>etxie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>etxiek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>etxiai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>etxian N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benefactive</td>
<td>etxiantzet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inessive</td>
<td>étxien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>etxèra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>etxètik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(7) Other examples of vowel-final bisyllabic stems

| lora 'flower' | lorie | lôräk |
| kale 'street' | kalie | kâliek |
| asto 'donkey' | astiè | âstuek |
| esku 'hand' | eskuè | eskuek |

Phrase-final accent is generally avoided. This results in retraction of the accent to the first syllable of two-syllable words in final position:

(8) Phrase-final retraction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bâltz 'black'</th>
<th>bâltza 'the black one'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bâltz à da 'it is the black one'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

cf. pl: bâltzak 'the black ones', bâltzak die 'they are black'

The phrase-final retraction rule has an exception in allative forms, which can be optionally contracted: etxèra ~ etxia 'to the house, allative sg.'

What we have said so far applies only to words in the unmarked class (= grave accent in citation form, abs sg). All words that have an acute accent in the absolutive singular (and in their uninflected form, whether on the initial or on the post-initial syllable), keep the accent on that syllable throughout their inflectional paradigm. With these exceptional words there is no accentual distinction between singular and plural:

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(9) Marked class: acute stems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>musker 'lizard'</th>
<th>muskerra</th>
<th>muskerrak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>txistu 'flute'</td>
<td>txistue</td>
<td>txistuek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liburu 'book'</td>
<td>liburue</td>
<td>liburuek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lengusu 'cousin'</td>
<td>lengusue</td>
<td>lengusuek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baserri 'farm'</td>
<td>baserrixe</td>
<td>baserrixek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrano 'eagle'</td>
<td>arrane</td>
<td>arraneuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baserritar</td>
<td>baserritarra</td>
<td>baserritarra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Consequently with what we have said, many of the minimal pairs given above in (2) are not distinguished in the plural:

(10) Minimal pairs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>fruteru 'fruit-seller'</th>
<th>fruterue</th>
<th>fruteruek</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fruteru 'fruit-bowl'</td>
<td>fruterue</td>
<td>fruteruek</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Marked words (acute accent in citation form)

As mentioned, words with an acute accent in their citation form are exceptional (i.e. they form are relatively small class). As in other western and central Basque dialects with an accentually exceptional or marked class, these words fall into two main groups: (a) compounds and words with certain derivational suffixes and (b) borrowings, some of them very old. In addition, there is a small residue of words of unclear origin. In general, it seems that the Mallabia dialect has fewer marked words than some other Brikzaiian varieties whose lexicon has been explored from this point of view, such as Lekeitio and Getxo.

4.1. Compounds

Many compounds have acute accent, including productively created compounds. The accent may be on the first or the second syllable. Most compounds with initial accent have a monosyllabic first member. (i.e. the accent tends to occur on the first member of the compound). Nevertheless, it is not the case that all compounds have marked accent. Instead, we find some rather idiosyncratic sub-regularities. For instance, compounds with -ar 'male' and -eme 'female' have acute accent, but those with -kume 'child, offspring' do not:

(11) Compounds

Ia. Acute initial accent


Ib. Acute postinitial accent


3 This example shows that the meaning of urdin, nowadays ‘blue’ or ‘gray’, must have included the meaning ‘green’ at an earlier time (in which sense it has been replaced by the borrowing berde), since this mushroom’s color is a deep green.

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II. Grave accent

4.2. Derived words
Most derived words have unmarked grave accent, but some derivational suffixes induce acute accent:
(12) Derived words
I. Acute accent
-ka: adár-ka ‘hitting with horns’ (cf. adarra ‘horns’), arrí-ke ‘throwing stones’
-kerá: adár-kerie ‘horn shape’ (BUT adarkadie ‘length of horns’), ibil-kerie ‘manner of walking’,orrás-kerie ‘way of combing, hairdo’, lús-erie ‘length’
-ero: áste-ro ‘weekly’, egún-ero, ill-ero, türt-ero
-dun: ardí-dune ‘sheep owner’, motórdune ‘motorized’ (BUT ulesuridúne ‘s.o. with white hair’)
-en: báltz-ená ‘blackest’
-ago: báltz-ague ‘blacker’
-egi: báltz-agixe ‘too black’

II. Grave accent
-garri: berò-garrixé ‘heater’
-tasun: berò-tasune ‘heat’
-lari: bersò-larixe ‘verse-singer’

As in other Bizkaian dialects, specific accential patterns are applied to Spanish borrowings with certain endings. For instance, borrowings from Spanish -ero words have acute accent when the meaning is ‘place, receptacle’ but grave accent when the meaning is ‘profession, occupation’, as we see in the example in figure 1.

4.3. Loanwords
Many words in the acute accent class are borrowings, both very old and recent:
(13) Acute-accent borrowings
Ia. Initial
Ib. Postinitial

Many borrowings have an acute accent on a different syllable from the source:
(14) Borrowings with accent shift

Although clearly there are certain tendencies, in general it appears that the accentuation of borrowings is not completely predictable. Thus, to give just one example, whereas Sp. grámo, gráno give gráma, gráne, respectively, from Sp. grádo we have gradie.

4.4. Other exceptional items

Finally, besides from compounds and derived words and various types of loanwords, there is also a relatively small group of acute-accent words of uncertain etymology. By and large, the same items belong to this group in all western and central varieties that recognize an accentually exceptional class:

(15) Words of uncertain etymology with acute accent

Ia. initial

Ib. post-initial

5. A comparative/diachronic perspective

The acute/grave contrast lends the Mallabia accentual a certain amount of complexity. As mentioned at the beginning of the paper, undoubtedly this contrast is diachronically related to the accented/unaccented distinction found in Northern Bizkaian. In an area from Getxo to Gernika, phrases composed entirely of lexically unaccented items receive final accent when localized. In these phrases, the pitch rises at the beginning of the phrase and stays high up to the last syllable, where it falls, as shown in the example on the left in (16) with a schematic contour. Accented words, on the other hand, present a sharp fall immediately after the accented syllable, as in the corresponding plural example on the right:

(16) Gernika-Getxo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lagunena dá</th>
<th>Lagunena da</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘it is the one of the friend’</td>
<td>‘it is the one of the friends’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Lekeitio we find essentially the same contrast, with the difference that (almost) all lexical accents have shifted to the penultimate syllable of the word:

(17) Lekeitio

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lagunena ra</th>
<th>Lagunéna ra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘it is the one of the friend’</td>
<td>‘it is the one of the friends’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Ondarroa and Markina, unaccented phrases receive phrase-penultimate accent, instead of phrase-final accent. In Markina, where, in this particular case, the lexical accent of the plural form is on the same syllable as in Gernika, the resulting constrative patterns are as in (18), whereas in Ondarroa, where the accent of the plural form has been shifted as in Lekeitio, the pitch patterns are as schematized in (19):

(18) Markina

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lagunaná da</th>
<th>Lagúnen da</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘it is the one of the friend’</td>
<td>‘it is the one of the friends’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In all these systems, in the lexically unaccented case the pitch remains high up to the final (in Gernika-Getxo and Lekeitio) or the penultimate syllable (in Markina and Ondarroa) and this is the syllable that is perceived as carrying accentual prominence. In Mallabia, instead, we find a slow fall from the third syllable of the phrase to the end (generally more pronounced in the last two syllables), a fact that has caused the perception of prominence to be transferred to the second syllable:

(20) Mallabia

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{lagunaná da} & \text{lagünána da} \\
\text{‘it is the one of the } & \text{‘it is the one of the } \\
\text{friend’} & \text{friend’}
\end{array}
\]

Fo tracings for these Mallabia examples can be observed in figure 4:

Notice that in the (a) example in figure 4, after the abrupt rise on the second syllable, the peak continues rising and the fall does not begin until the penultimate syllable. There thus seems to be a certain amount of variation on the precise point where the fall starts in grave-accent words/phrases. Although the patterns do not differ greatly from those found in Markina, the location of the fall in unmarked words and phrases is not well-demarcated with respect to the end of the phrase, and this seems to have led to a perceptual reanalysis where now the rise on the second syllable is seen as the locus of the accent.

Figure 4:
(a) lagünana da ‘it is the one of the friend’
(b) lagünena da ‘it is the one of the friends’

It is easy to envision how a system of the Mallabia type can be transformed into a much simpler system. It would be enough for some children to fail to acquire the rather subtle acute/grave distinction. The result would be a system where most of the time the accent would be on the second syllable (< former grave and postinitial acute), and exceptionally we would have initial accent. In this reanalyzed system, thus, words accent on the second syllable, whether they used to bear a grave or an acute accent, would fall together in one class, and would contrast only with those words that are accent on the initial. This is indeed what we find in some neighboring areas such as Durango, Elorrio and Elgoibar.

The accentual system employed by conservative Mallabia speakers (i.e. those with the acute/grave distinction), however, remains very similar to the Northern Bizkaian pitch-accent type, which has a contrast between lexically accented and unaccented words. In particular it is very close to the Markina subtype. In fact, whereas ‘grave accent’ is an appropriate characterization of the pattern that these words show in phrase-final position, we saw above that grave-accent words do not cause downstep of a following accent, unlike acute-accent words (figure 2). This suggests that grave-accent words are actually lexically unaccented, and that the rise on the second syllable is a phrase-boundary phenomenon. This is confirmed when these words are place phrase-medially, as in, gure lagünana da ‘it is the one of our friend’, gure lagünan alábie da ‘it is our friend’s (sg) daughter’. In this medial context we can see that a grave-accent word such as lagüman(a) loses its prominence altogether (since the rise takes place on the second syllable of the phrase), whereas this prominence is preserved in the corresponding acute-accent plural forms, conveyed by a rapid fall immediately following the accented syllable.
(21) Mallabia: Grave vs. acute in non-phrase-final position

\[
gure lagunana da \quad \text{‘it is the one of our friend’} \\
gure lagúñena da \quad \text{‘it is the one of our friends’}
\]

Consider the Fo tracings in figure 5:

\[
gure lagunan alabie da \quad \text{‘it is the daughter of our friend’} \\
gure lagúñen alábie da \quad \text{‘it is the daughter of our friends’}
\]

Figure 5: (a) \textit{gure abàdie da} ‘he is our priest’ (b) \textit{gure abádiek die} ‘they are our priests’

In both examples in figure 5, the main rise takes place on the second syllable of the phrase, -\textit{re}. In the figure 5a example, the rise continues until the antepenultimate syllable -\textit{di}-, with small intervening dips that can be considered microprosodic effects produced by the voiced consonants /b/ and /d/. In the figure 5b example, containing the acute plural form \textit{abádiek} ‘the priests’, the pitch rises up to the lexically accented syllable, where a steep fall starts.\textsuperscript{4}

Given these facts, we can analyze Mallabia Basque as possessing the same lexically accented vs. lexically unaccented distinction that we find in the Northern Bizkaian area. The main difference is in the tonal contour of phrases composed of unaccented items. In Lekeitio, for instance, these phrases clearly have final accent. In Ondarroa and Markina, they have penultimate accent in an equally clear fashion. Here is where we consistently find a fall in pitch. In Mallabia, on the other hand, we have seen that the location of the fall is earlier than in these other dialects and appears to be more variable. This, we have suggested, has produced a shift of the locus of prominence to the second syllable of the phrase, characterized by a clear rise.

The other remarkable fact about Mallabia accentuation that we have noted is the leftwards shift of the accent in the plural of words with vowel-final bisyllabic stems.

6. References


\textsuperscript{4} Further research is, however, necessary to determine to what extent the initial rise has become a word-level, as opposed to phrasal, phenomenon in Mallabia.
and Supplements of *Anuario del Seminario de Filología Vasca Julio de Urquijo*.