

Markina Basque

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This Illustration of the IPA describes the sound system of the local dialect of Basque (*euskara*, *euskera*, ISO-639-3 eus) spoken in the town of Markina-Xemein, in the province of Bizkaia (Biscay), within the Basque Autonomous Community of Spain (see maps in Figures 1 and 2). Speakers of this local variety of Basque refer to it as *markiñarra* or *Markiñeko euserkie*.

Markina-Xemein is a town of about 5000 inhabitants situated in the Lea-Artibai area of the province of Bizkaia, on the border with Gipuzkoa. According to official census data, over 87% of the population speak Basque. All Basque speakers are also fluent in Spanish, except for young children.

Traditionally, the speech of Markina has had considerable prestige within Bizkaia. This was especially true before the development of Standard Basque, due to the existence of a written tradition in the Markina dialect, starting at the beginning of the 19th century with the literary work of J. A. Mogel. For his classification of Basque dialects, sub-dialects and varieties, Louis-Lucien Bonaparte commissioned a translation of some biblical passages into Markina Basque (Uriarte 1882). Because of its perceived prestige at the time, the British linguist W. Rollo also chose the dialect of Markina for his University of Leiden dissertation on Basque (Rollo 1925). All of this has contributed to making Markina Basque one of the best documented local varieties of Basque for the last two hundred years.

This Illustration is based on the speech of young speakers from Markina. In particular, the sound recordings accompanying this Illustration were produced by the first author, a female native speaker of this Basque variety in her twenties. She acquired Markina Basque as her native language, and learned Standard Basque and also became bilingual in Spanish through the school system.

For comparison with earlier stages, besides the work by Rollo (1925) mentioned above, Baraiazarra (1985) includes a phonetic transcription and analysis of a recording by a speaker born in 1934 and useful notes on the sound system reflected in the texts of earlier authors who wrote in the variety of Markina.

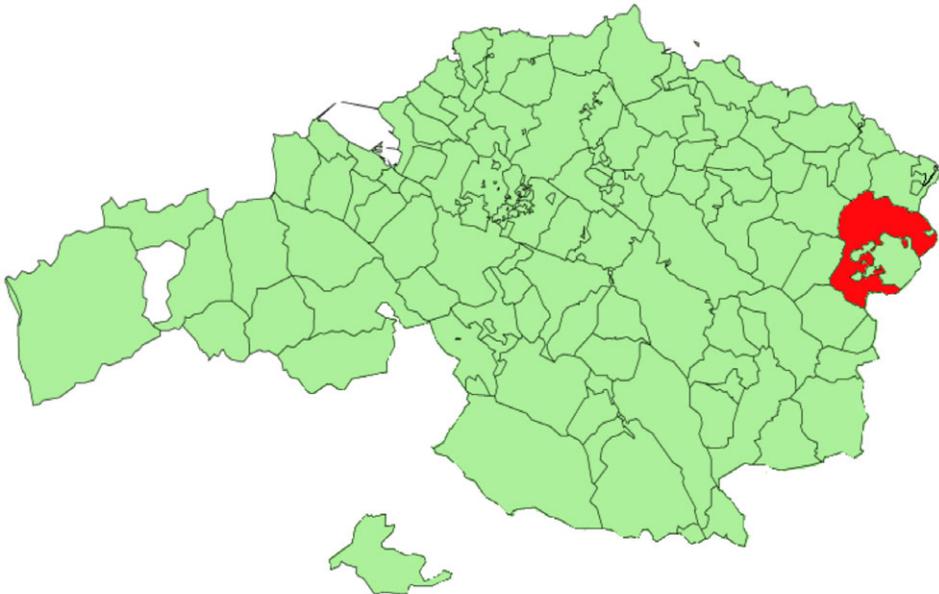
Linguistic work on neighboring varieties include Rotaetxe (1978) for the dialect of Ondarroa (less than 12 km away), Hualde, Elordieta & Elordieta (1994), for the dialect of Lekeitio (15 km away), and Aramaio (2001), for Berriatua, situated between Markina and Ondarroa, as well as other studies dealing with specific aspects of the phonology, morphology and syntax of these varieties (e.g. G. Elordieta 1997; A. Elordieta 2001; Arregi 2002, 2006).

Nowadays, Standard Basque is having some influence on the local dialect of Markina, like elsewhere in the Basque Country. The speech of the coastal town of Ondarroa, which has a larger population, also seems to be a source of innovation for Basque speakers in Markina.



Author: Gabriel Trisca, CC-BY-SA, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Basque_Country_Location_and_Provinces_in_Europe_Map.svg.

Figure 1 (Colour online) Location of the Basque Country and the province of Bizkaia within it.



Author: Ikimilikilik, CC BY-SA 3.0, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Markina-Xemein#/media/File:Bizkaia_municipalities_Markina.PNG.

Figure 2 (Colour online) Markina-Xemein municipality in the province of Bizkaia (Biscay), in red.

Consonants

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Plosive	p b		t d				k g
Affricate			ts		tʃ		
Nasal	m			n		ɲ	
Trill				r			
Tap				ɾ			
Fricative		f		s	ʃ		x
Lateral				l		ʎ	
Approximant						j	

Whereas all the phonemes in the table can be found in word-internal intervocalic position, some of the consonants are excluded or are very rare in word-initial position, being found only in a few borrowings. For this reason, we give examples of the consonant phonemes both in word-initial and in word-medial position:

PHONEME	INITIAL	MEDIAL
p	/parkatu/ [parkâtu] ‘to forgive’	/ipara/ [ipâra] ‘the north’
b	/basue/ [basûe] ‘the forest’	/ebai/ [eβâi] ‘to cut’
t	/târteka/ [târteka] ‘from time to time’	/bota/ [bôta] ‘to throw’
d	/dânok/ [dânok] ‘all’	/adara/ [aðâra] ‘the horn’
k	/kalie/ [kalîe] ‘street’	/ekari/ [ekâri] ‘to bring’
g	/gatsa/ [gâtsa] ‘the salt’	/olgau/ [olγâu] ‘to play’
f	/farôlie/ [farôlie] ‘the streetlight’	/afariſe/ [afariſe] ‘the supper’
s	/sague/ [sayûe] ‘the mouse’	/esan/ [êsan] ‘to say’
ʃ	/jemein/ [jemêjn] ‘Xemein, a town’	/biſamon/ [biſâmon] ‘following day’
x	/xatêkue/ [xatêkue] ‘the food’	/baxatu/ [baxâtu] ‘to go down’
ts		/atsa/ [âtsa] ‘the stink’
tʃ	/tʃakure/ [tʃakûre] ‘the dog’	/baseritʃar/ [baseritʃar] ‘farmer’
m	/maʎûkife/ [maʎûkife] ‘strawberry’	/ama/ [âma] ‘mother’
n	/nai/ [nâi] ‘wish’	/anaifie/ [anaifîe] ‘the brother’
ɲ	(/ɲu/ [ɲû] ‘wildebeest, gnu’)	/bajna/ [bâna] ‘but’
l	/lapue/ [lapûe] ‘the cloud’	/alaba/ [alâβa] ‘daughter’

ʎ	(/ʎabêrue/ [ʎaβêrue] ‘keychain’)	/koʎara/ [koʎâra] ‘spoon’
r		/erantsun/ [erântsun] ‘to answer’
r	(/rârue/ [rârue] ‘the strange one’)	/adara/ [aðâra] ‘the horn’
j	(/jare/ [jâre] ‘Jare, a name’)	/aratoje/ [aratôje] ‘the rat’

In the examples that we provide in this list, the following vowel is /a/, unless there are no examples with the relevant sequence. Examples are in parentheses if the consonant is only exceptionally found in that position. For the diacritic used to indicate accent and for their presence in only some phonological representations, see ‘Word prosody’ section below. In the phonemic representations above, only lexical accents are represented. In the phonetic representations, on the other hand, postlexical or phrase-level accents are also indicated. Note that all words in isolation carry an accent on the surface (since they constitute phrases by themselves). The contrast between lexical and postlexical accents can only be appreciated in longer utterances.

Note that /ts/, and /r/ are never found word-initially and that the palatals /ɲ/, /ʎ/ and /j/ as well as the trill /r/ only occur word-initially in borrowings.

The consonantal system of Markina Basque and the distribution of the consonants in this variety is similar to what we find in other Basque dialects; in particular, it is fairly representative of Western Basque. Compared to the neighboring variety of Lekeitio (Hualde et al. 1994), Markina Basque lacks the postalveolar voiced fricative /ʒ/. This Lekeitio consonant systematically corresponds in Markina to the voiceless velar fricative /x/ (as in Lekeitio /zatekûa/ ‘the food’ vs. Markina /xatêkue/) in word-initial position, and usually to the voiceless postalveolar fricative /ʃ/ in word-medial position, as in Lekeitio /mendîza/ vs. Markina /mendîʃe/ ‘the mountain’. Markina Basque also lacks the voiced alveolar affricate /dz/ marginally found in Lekeitio in some words of onomatopoeic origin.

In contrast to the Navarrese Basque variety of Goizueta described in the Illustration of the IPA in Hualde, Lujanbio & Zubiri (2010), Markina Basque, like all other Basque varieties spoken in Bizkaia and Araba and also many Gipuzkoan varieties, has merged the contrast between the old apico-alveolar and predorso-alveolar fricatives (represented in the standard spelling as <s> and <z>, respectively), in favor of an apico-alveolar /s/ [s̺], and also the parallel contrast in place of articulation in affricates, in this case in favor of lamino-dental (or, rather, lamino-dentialveolar) [t̺s̺]. In addition, the voiceless palatal stop /c/ has merged with the voiceless postalveolar affricate /tʃ/, in favor of the latter. Markina Basque thus has a smaller number of consonantal phonemes than the varieties of either Lekeitio or Goizueta. Again, its consonantal inventory is, on the other hand, typical for a western Basque dialect.

As mentioned, some consonants are either very rare or completely missing in word-initial position. In word-final position the inventory is even more reduced. We will give details as we discuss each class of consonants in the following subsections.

Plosives

Syllable-initially there are six contrastive plosives, voiceless /p t k/ and voiced /b d g/. Although we do not have articulatory data to back this up, the place of articulation of /t/ and /d/ appears to be the same as in Castilian Spanish; that is, ‘laminal denti-alveolar and not purely dental’ (Martínez-Celdrán, Fernández-Planas & Carrera-Sabaté 2003: 257).

Voiceless stops are realized as unaspirated (short VOT) in all positions. See Figure 3, /parkatu/ [parkâtu] ‘to forgive’, which contains all three voiceless stops in onset position (all spectrograms have been made in Praat – Boersma & Weenink 2021). For the tokens of /p t k/ in onset position that appear in the recording of ‘The North Wind and the Sun’ that we have made for this Illustration, we have obtained the following average VOT values: /p/

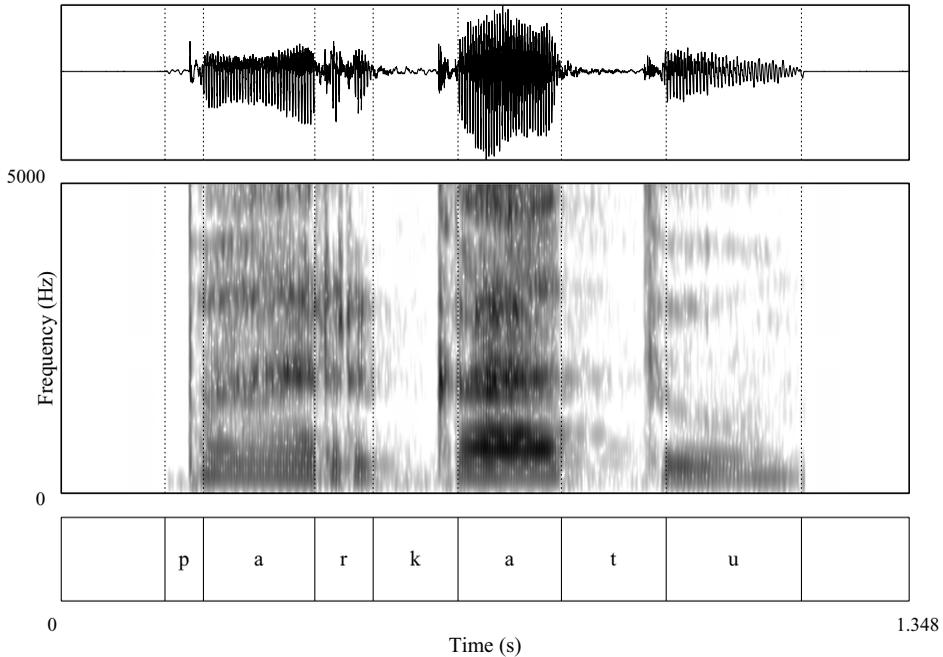


Figure 3 /parkatu/ [parkâtu] 'to forgive'. Example containing /p k t/ in onset position and a preconsonantal trill.

($n = 9$) = 14.7 ms (st.dev. 7.5), /t/ ($n = 16$) = 18.6 ms (st.dev. 5.2),¹ /k/ ($n = 14$) = 31.6 ms (st.dev. 8.4). These values all fall within the typical VOT range of unaspirated voiceless stops (for Spanish, see e.g. Castañeda 1986, Rosner et al. 2000). As is also typically the case, the velar has longer VOT than the labial and the dental voiceless plosives. These values are also almost identical to those reported for unaspirated voiceless stops by Mounole (2004), for the Eastern Basque dialect of Zuberoa (Soule). (Unlike the variety that we are describing here and most other Basque dialects, Zuberoan Basque has a three-way phonological contrast involving voiceless aspirated, voiceless unaspirated and voiced plosives.)

Voiced plosives are generally produced with prevoicing phrase-initially (see Figure 4, /biʃer/ [biʃer] 'tomorrow', St. Bq. *bihar*). Exceptionally there may be no prevoicing, causing some ambiguity in the signal. Nasal leak during the occlusion is another strategy to maintain voicing in the case of utterance-initial voiced plosives (see Ohala's 2011 Aerodynamic Voicing Constraint, AVC). This variation in the realization of phonologically voiced utterance-initial plosives is similar to what has been described for both Spanish and French (Solé 2018). Determining how much inter-speaker variation there is in this respect in Markina or any other Basque variety requires further research.

As noted in Hualde et al. (2010: 115–116), occasional phonetic ambiguity between phonologically voiced and voiceless plosives in utterance-initial position may lead to rephonologization of word-initial consonants, thus explaining dialectal variation in Basque in a number of lexical items, e.g. *bake* ~ *pake* 'peace' < Lat. *PACE*, *bizar* ~ *pizar* 'beard', etc. Less commonly, a word-initial voiced plosive has become nasal in words where the only

¹ Excluding an outlier, in the word /diskutitsen/ 'discussing', where the /t/ appears to have been realized with some affrication, perhaps because of the affricate in the following syllable. This anomalous realization was not found in another recording of the same text that we made. Average VOT values in the two recordings were very similar.

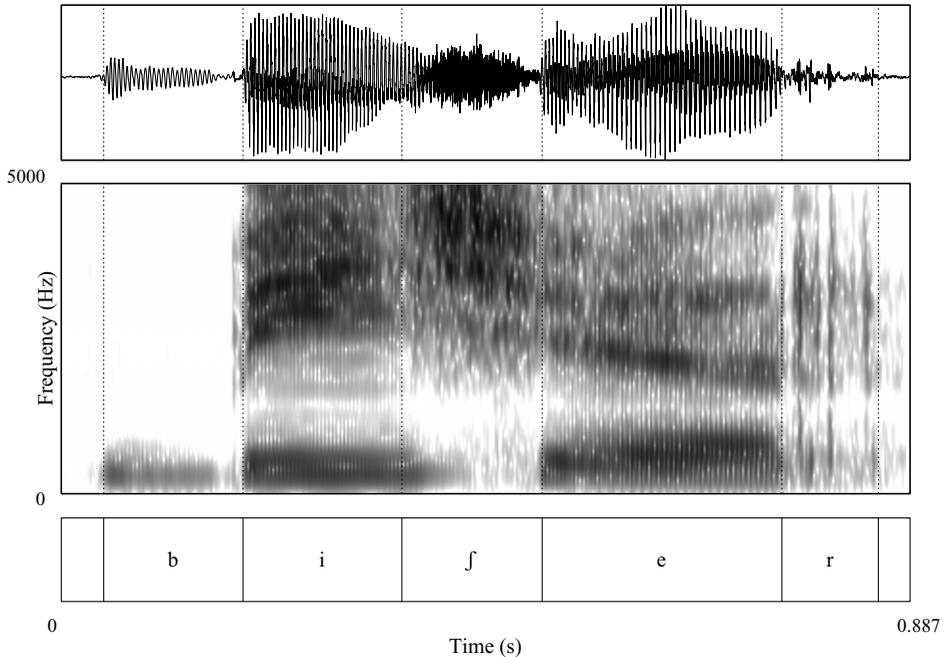


Figure 4 /biʃer/ [biʃer] 'tomorrow'. Example of /b/ prevoicing and word-final trill.

source of nasality would be AVC-induced prenasalization, as in *bakail(a)o* ~ *makail(a)u* 'cod'. Note that the Basque name of Biarritz, in the French Basque Country, is *Miarritze*.

Voiced plosives are typically realized with incomplete occlusion, usually as approximants, between vowels and after a nonhomorganic consonant; that is, in the same contexts as in Castilian Spanish (see Martínez-Celdrán et al. 2003): /ebai/ [eβâi] 'to cut', /adara/ [aðâra] 'the horn', /agertu/ [aγêrtu] 'to appear'. The degree of constriction of intervocalic /b d g/ is very variable and may be conditioned in part by contextual factors (for Spanish, see e.g. Carrasco, Hualde & Simonet 2012 and references therein); in particular, in the speech sample recorded for this Illustration, the velar tends to be very constricted in accented syllables. An example of a typical realization of intervocalic /d/ is given in Figure 5, /adâra/ 'the horn'.

An original intervocalic /g/ has been lost in some words, as in /ebai/ 'to cut' from older *ebagi*, still found in other local varieties (Rollo 1925 gives *ebai* as preferred form in Markina and *ebagi* as an alternative), and can be variably deleted in some other words, in a lexically-conditioned manner, e.g. *eguzkixe* [eyûskife] ~ [êuskife] 'the sun' (St. Bq. *eguzkia*), but not as frequently as in the neighboring dialect of Leketio (Hualde et al. 1994: 34–35).

In the also neighboring variety of Ondarroa, intervocalic /d/ has become [r] almost with complete generality, leading to neutralization with the independent phoneme /r/ (Hualde 1991: 76–77), and in Leketio we also find a strong tendency for this rule to apply variably (Hualde et al. 1994: 34–35). In Markina, however, this is only a sporadic phenomenon, affecting only a few lexical items, e.g. *edan* [êðan] ~ [êran] 'to drink', but *edarixe* [eðârife] 'the drink', not *[erârife] (St. Bq. *edaria*). Sporadically /d/ has also been lost in some lexical items, e.g. /sure/ [sûre] 'the nose' compare St. Bq. *sudurra*.

Except for recent borrowings, there are no plosives in word-internal coda position.

Word-finally, only /t/ and /k/ are found. The only example of final /p/ is the interjection [êp], used as a greeting. The lexical incidence of final /t/ and /k/ is also rather low, as there are no nouns or adjectives ending in a plosive in their uninflected form. In contrast, the *textual* frequency of word-final /t/ and /k/, on the other hand, is very high in all Basque varieties, since a number of inflectional suffixes end in one of these two consonants (including ergative

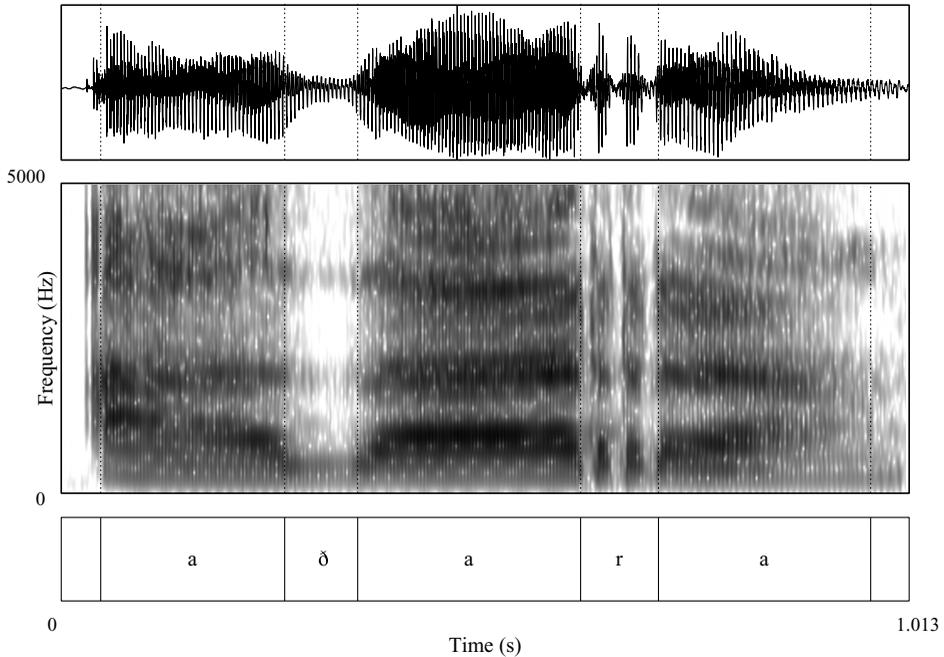


Figure 5 *adara* /*adara*/ [aḏâra] ‘the horn’. Example of intervocalic /*d*/ realized as approximant and intervocalic /*r*/ with three occlusions.

/-k/, plural absolutive /-ak/, ablative /-tik/, benefactive /-tsat/ and first person singular /-t/). Word-final plosives are often elided before another consonant. (For a corpus study of word-final plosive reduction in the Basque dialect of Azpeitia, see Hualde et al. 2019, 2021.) In careful style, however, both consonants may be pronounced, sometimes resulting in excrescent vowels between the two, as in our recording of /lâgunek dâtos/ [lâyuneḡḏâtos] ‘the friends are coming’.²

Word-initial voiced plosives undergo optional devoicing after a voiceless consonant within certain domains, even if the trigger is deleted on the surface. The phenomenon affects primarily conjugated verbal forms and grammatical particles, e.g. *guk be* [gûpe] ‘we-ERGATIVE too’, *horregaitik ba* [orêyait̪ipa] ‘for that reason’, *ez dakit* [estâkit] ‘I don’t know’, *ez dator* [estâtor] ‘s/he is not coming’ (orthographic <z> is a voiceless fricative).

Affricates

Markina Basque has two voiceless affricate phonemes in its consonant inventory, dental (or denti-alveolar) /ts/ and postalveolar /tʃ/. The dental affricate is excluded from word-initial position. It may occur both intervocalically, as in /atso/ ‘yesterday’ and postconsonantly, as in /ântsara/ ‘the goose’, including in word-final position, /gats/ ‘salt’, /ants/ ‘resemblance’.

The postalveolar affricate /tʃ/ is particularly frequent after the vowel /i/, where it has historically resulted from the palatalization of /t/, through /it/ > /ic/ > /itʃ/, where the intermediate stage is found in the transcriptions of Markina Basque in Baraizarra (1985), as well as, for instance, in present-day Goizueta (Hualde et al. 2010). To illustrate with a few examples, we

² In another recording of the same example, however, the word-final stop was deleted: /lâgunek dâtos/ [lâyuneḏâtos] ‘the friends are coming’.

provide the spelling of the words in Standard Basque followed by their phonological representation in Markina: *aita* /aitʃe/ ‘father’, *iturri* /itʃuri/ ‘spring, fountain’, *ohitura* /oitʃura/ ‘habit, costum’, *argitasun* /argitʃasun/ ‘clarity’, *egiten* /eitʃen/ ‘to do, imperfective participle’, *aditu* /aitʃu/ ‘to understand, perfective participle’.

Although, as in the examples just given, the postalveolar affricate has resulted in many cases from the palatalization of /t/, it cannot be reduced to an allophone of /t/, since, on the one hand, it is by no means restricted to the context after /i/ (compare *txakurra* /tʃakure/ ‘the dog’, *etxe* /etʃe/ ‘house’ – again, orthographic forms correspond to Standard Basque), and, on the other, there are exceptions to the palatalization sound change, where the sequence /it/ is found, e.g. *kapitulua* /kapitûlue/ [kapitûlue] ‘the chapter’, *dakit* /dakit/ [dâkit] ‘I know’, *kapitaina* /kapitajne/ [kapitajne] ‘the captain’.³

There is, nevertheless a morphophonological alternation between /tʃ/, after /i/, and /t/, after another vowel, with a number of suffixes, both inflectional and derivational; e.g. *menditik* /mênditʃik/ ‘from the mountain’, morphophonemically //mendi-^htik//,⁴ vs. *basotik* /bâsotik/ ‘from the forest’, *argitasun* /argitʃasun/ ‘clarity’ vs. *iluntasun* /ilûntasun/ ‘darkness’, *baserritar* /baseritʃar/ ‘farmer’ vs. *kaletar* /kalêtar/ ‘town dweller’. The copula (*eta* ‘and’ also shows palatalization after /i/, e.g. *bi eta hiru* /bitʃe iru/ ‘two and three’.

Palatalization of /t/ also takes place in the sequences /ilt/, /int/, e.g. *pintatu* /pintʃau/ [pintʃâu] ‘to paint, perfective participle’. The voiced plosive /d/ also palatalizes in /ld/ and /nd/, *indarra* /indara/ ~ /injera/ [injêra] ‘the strength’, *bildurra* /bilure/ [bilûre] ‘the fear’, but not directly after /i/, where it is realized as an approximant instead, *idia* /idiʃe/ [iðiʃe] ‘the ox’.

Fricatives

Markina Basque has four fricative phonemes, all four voiceless: labiodental /f/, apico-alveolar /s/, postalveolar /ʃ/ and velar or postvelar /x/. Of these, only alveolar /s/ has an unrestricted distribution.

Labiodental /f/ is restricted to onset position. The only word containing this consonant word-finally is /buf/ ‘buff, neck gaiter’, which is a recently coined brand name that, nevertheless, has been adopted as a common noun and is used by younger speakers, e.g. /lau buf/ ‘four buffs’, /bufe/ ‘the buff’. There are no other examples of final /f/. Even in onset position, /f/ is a phoneme of relatively recent introduction in Markina Basque, inverting an older tendency to replace /f/ with /p/ in borrowings (Baraiazarra 1985).

The alveolar fricative /s/ is usually realized as apico-alveolar [s̟]; that is, it is produced with the tongue tip raised towards the alveolar region, unlike in the lamino-alveolar articulation of /s/ that is more common in languages like English and French. By coarticulation with a back vowel, in words like /basu/ [baʃu] ‘the forest’, /sure/ [ʃûre] ‘the nose’, the apex may be somewhat more retracted, producing an acoustic effect that perceptually may sound like [ʃ].

As in other Western Basque varieties, apico-alveolar /s/ has resulted from the historical merger between apico-alveolar and lamino-alveolar fricatives, which are still contrasting phonemes in areas further to the east (see e.g. Hualde et al. 2010). For a recent study of the spectral characteristics of alveolar fricatives in merging and non-merging Basque varieties, see Beristain (published online 20 April 2021).

³ As explained in the section on vowel interaction, the singular definite article is /-e/ when the preceding syllable contains a high vowel or glide and /-a/ otherwise. To account for the shape of the article in /kapitajne/, an underlying representation //kapitain-a// (based on the uninflected form of the word) might be postulated.

⁴ The accent is introduced by the suffix.

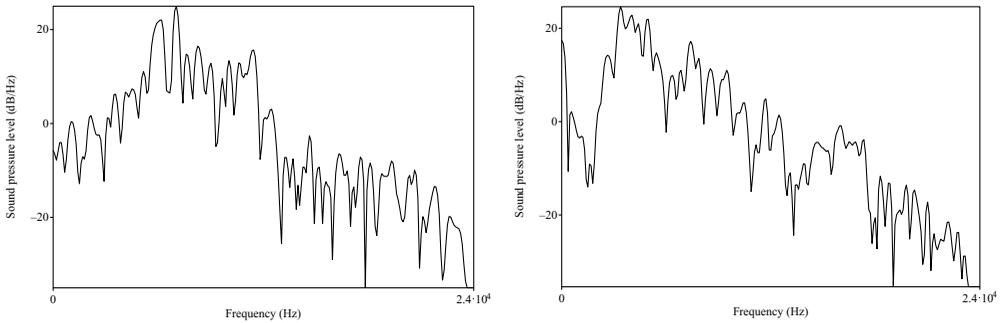


Figure 6 Spectral slices of /s/ in /esan/ ‘to say’ (left panel) and /ʃ/ in /biʃer/ ‘tomorrow’ (right panel). The spectra were obtained in Praat with standard settings near the point of maximum intensity in the fricative.

The postalveolar fricative /ʃ/ is mostly found in intervocalic position, especially after /i/, as a result of either historical palatalization of /s/ in this context, *haizea* > /aiʃie/ [aiʃie] ‘the wind’, *isilik* > /iʃilik/ ‘silent, quiet’ (see above for /tʃ/) or epenthesis, *mendia* > /mendiʃe/ ‘the mountain’ (see ‘Vowel interaction rules’ section below and the examples therein). Nevertheless, there are a few words where it occurs after other vowels, as in *axe* /aʃe/ ‘that one’, with the intensive suffix /-ʃe/. Word-initially it is only found in proper names, such as the toponym *Xemein* /ʃemein/. It does not occur word-finally. Representative spectral slices for the fricatives /s/ and /ʃ/ are shown in Figure 6.

Finally, the velar or postvelar fricative /x/ occurs mostly word-initially, where it has resulted primarily from the consonantization of a word-initial palatal glide, with the same evolution as in Spanish (i.e. /j/ > /z/ > /ʃ/ > /x/), e.g. *jan* ‘to eat’, Goizueta /jan/, Lekeitio /zan/, Markina /xan/. In word-medial onset position it is mostly found in borrowings from Spanish, like *bajatu* /baxatu/ ‘to lower’.

There is a synchronically striking alternation between /x-/ and /tʃ-/ in verbal forms, as in *etorri jaku* /etori xaku/ ‘it has come to us’ vs. *ez jaku etorri* /etʃaku etori/ ~ /esxaku etori/ ‘it has not come to us’. The historical explanation must be that the negative form has preserved the stage before velarization of the prepalatal, /es jaku/ [etʃaku], where a synchronic rule replacing /s-ʃ/ with /tʃ/ applied.⁵ After velarization of [ʃ], but not of [tʃ], this has resulted in an unusual alternation between consonants.

Nasals

There are three nasal consonant phonemes, bilabial /m/, alveolar /n/ and palatal /ɲ/: /ama/ ‘mother’, /anaɲie/ ‘the brother (of a male)’, /araɲe/ ‘the fish’. In the coda, all contrasts in place are neutralized. Before a consonant, a nasal assimilates to the place of articulation of the following consonant, /kanpo/ [kâmpo] ‘outside’, /kantau/ [kaɲtâu] ‘to sing’ (where the diacritic represents a denti-alveolar articulation, see above), /antʃe/ [âɲtʃe] ‘right there’, /ango/ [âɲgo] ‘of there’. Word-finally only [n] is found, except that, after /i/, both alveolar and palatal nasals are found in variation. A given lexical item can be pronounced with either [-in] or [-iɲ] by the same speaker: /min/ [mîn] ~ [mîɲ] ‘pain’. (There are no studies on sociolinguistic variation in this respect.)

In word-medial intervocalic position after /i/, alveolar /n/ is relatively rare, due to palatalization, like in the case of other alveolar and dental consonants, e.g. *Markina* /markiɲe/, *mina* /miɲe/ ‘the pain’, *hagina* /aɲie/ ‘the tooth’, Sp. *afición* > /afisio/ ‘fondness’. But, there are some words with /n/ in this context: /ipini/ ‘to put’ (both preceded and followed by /i/), Sp. *minero* > /minerue/ ‘the miner’.

⁵ Compare /s-s/ → /ts/ in Majorcan Catalan; *ses sabates* [setsaβates] ‘the shoes’ (Wheeler 2005: 214).

Laterals

The apico-alveolar lateral /l/ is produced without velarization in any context. In onset position, it is found in both word-initial and word-medial onsets, either as a simple onset or in a cluster with a non-dental plosive or /f/: /lagune/ ‘the friend’, /alabie/ ‘the daughter’, /klaru/ ‘clear’, /plântak ein/ ‘to clown around’, /flana/ ‘the flan’. It may also occur in both word internal and word-final coda position /talde/ [talðe] ‘group’ (with lenition of /d/ in the recorded example), /asal/ ‘skin’.

There is, in addition, a palatal lateral /ʎ/, but with a much more restricted distribution. Word-initially it is only found in a few borrowings like /ʎabêrue/ [ʎaβêrue] ‘the key chain’ < Sp. *llavero*. Word-medially, it has mostly resulted from palatalization of /l/ after /i/ (and in the sequence /ild/) *iluna* > /iʎune/ ‘the dark one’, *bildurra* > /biʎure/ ‘the fear’; but not when both preceded and followed by /i/: /iʎilik/ ‘silent’, /familiʎie/ ‘the family’. It is, nevertheless, also found in other intervocalic contexts not preceded by /i/, /maʎûkiʎe/ ‘the strawberry’, *Mallabia* /maʎebi/ [maʎêβi] ‘name of a town near Markina’. Like elsewhere in the Basque Country nowadays, there is a tendency for /ʎ/ to become delateralized.

The voiced palatal central consonant

In the above list of examples, we have included a phoneme /j/ in the inventory, that may be illustrated with proper names like *Jare* and *Julen* in word-initial position, and, in intervocalic word-medial position, with a word like [aratoje] ‘the rat’, inflected form of /aratoi/ [aratoj]. The phonological status of this consonant is unclear. In a possible analysis, it is a consonantal realization of the vowel phoneme /i/ when it appears in onset position (either word-initially before a vowel or intervocalically). It ranges in its degree of constriction from approximant or fricative to stop. See Figures 7, *Julen* /julen/ and 8, *arratoie* /aratoje/ ‘the rat’. Leaving aside proper names of recent introduction like *Julen*, which can be considered borrowings from Standard Basque, this consonant is not found in word-initial position in Markina Basque, since historically word-initial /j/ underwent the series of sound changes mentioned above (ultimately resulting in /x/).

Rhotics

There are two rhotic phonemes, alveolar tap /r/ as in /ure/ ‘the water’ and alveolar trill /r̄/, as in /urie/ ‘the gold’. The trill is usually produced with two or three contacts (see Gaminde et al. 2017). The contrast between phonemic tap and trill can be observed by comparing, on the one hand, Figures 5, /adara/ ‘the horn’ and 8, /aratoje/ ‘the rat’, both of which contain trills with three brief occlusions, and, on the other, Figure 9, /afariʎe/ ‘the supper’, with a phonemic tap realized with a single occlusion. Note that although the instance of /r/ in Figure 9 has greater duration than a typical tap, thus resembling a short [d], in Basque the phoneme /d/ would normally be realized instead as an approximant [ð] in intervocalic position. Nevertheless, as mentioned above (under Plosives), in Basque, and, in particular, in the varieties around Markina, we find a tendency for intervocalic /d/ and /r/ to be lexically redistributed.

As in Spanish, the contrast between the two rhotic consonants is only found in word-internal intervocalic position. Nevertheless, the distribution of the rhotics also has important differences with respect to Spanish. To begin with, neither rhotic appears word-initially, except for recent borrowings from Spanish with a word-initial trill, like /rôsie/ ‘the pink one’ < Sp. *rosa*, and /rârué/ ‘the strange one’ < Sp. *raro*. Older borrowings with initial trills in Spanish show vowel epenthesis, Sp. *rueda* > /eruberie/ ‘the wheel’.

Secondly, unlike in most Spanish varieties, coda rhotics are realized as trills, not as taps, both preconsonantly /parkatu/ ‘to forgive’ (see Figure 3 above), /sartu/ ‘to enter’, /târteka/ ‘in between’ and before pause, /biʎer/ ‘tomorrow’ (see Figure 4 above). Phrase-final trills may undergo devoicing, see the example in Figure 4.

In a number of lexical items and suffixes, an intervocalic /r/ is optional or has been lost. Similar to the deletion of intervocalic /d/ and /g/, this is a lexically conditioned phenomenon.

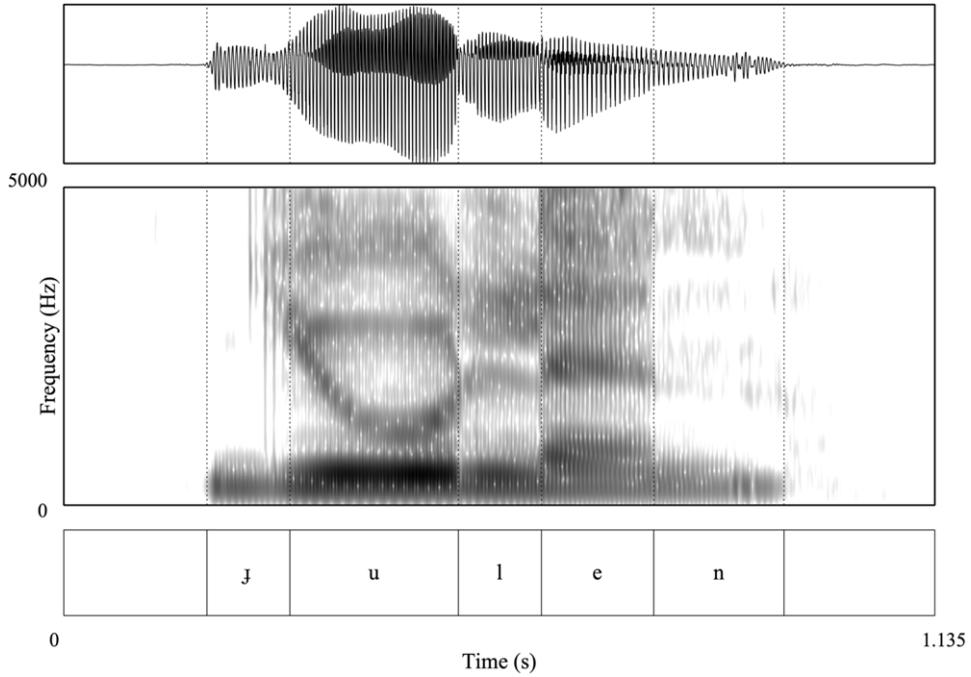


Figure 7 *Julen* [julen/ [ɣ̞ulen] 'a name'. Example of /j/ in word-initial position realized as a voiced stop.

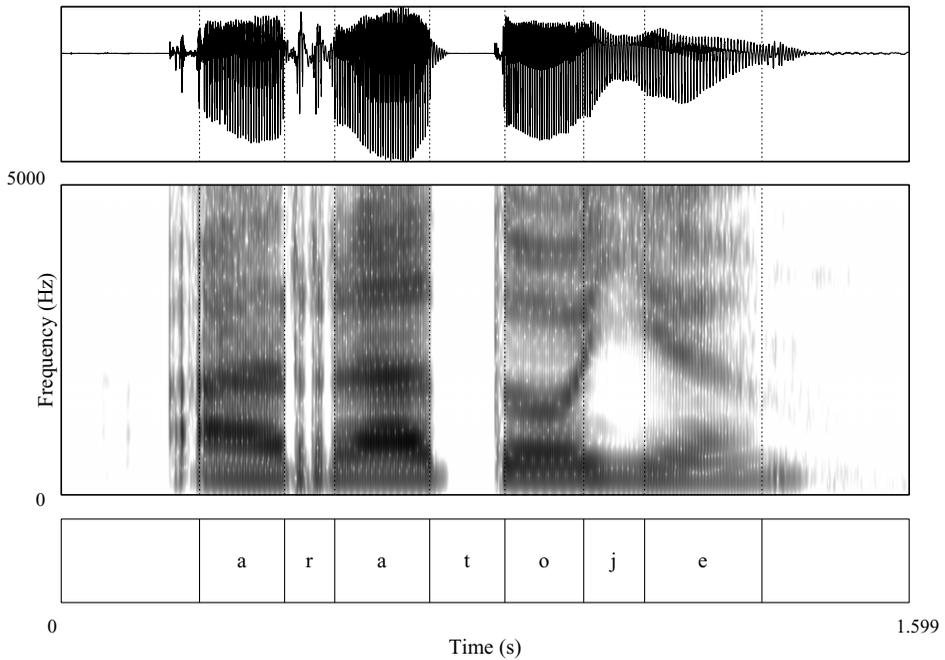


Figure 8 *aratoje*/ [aratôje] 'the rat'. Example of /j/ realized as an approximant in intervocalic position. Note also the three brief occlusions in the intervocalic trill /r/.

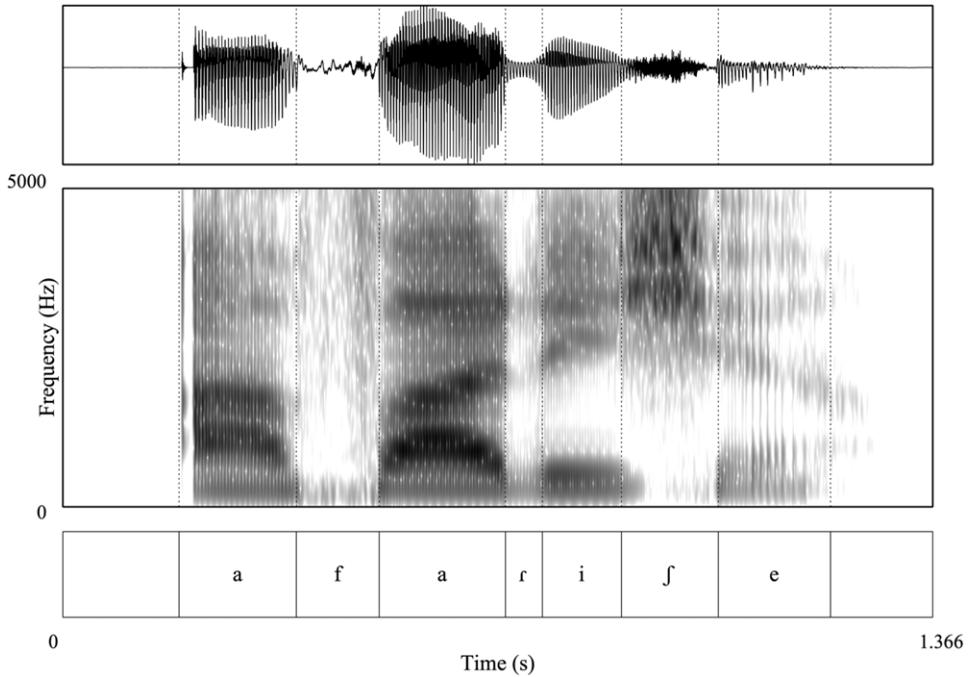
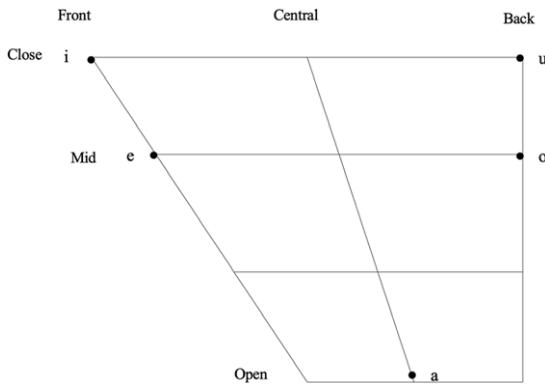


Figure 9 /afarije/ ‘the supper’. Example of tap /r/.

Vowels



Like in most Basque dialects, there are five vowel phonemes, /i e a o u/, as in the first syllable of the following words:

/i/: *biko* /biko/ ‘something that is in a pair’ (lit.: ‘of two’)

/e/: *beheko* /beko/ ‘of below’

/a/: *bako* /bako/ ‘lacking’

/o/: *gora* /gora/ ‘up’

/u/: *gure* /gure/ ‘our’

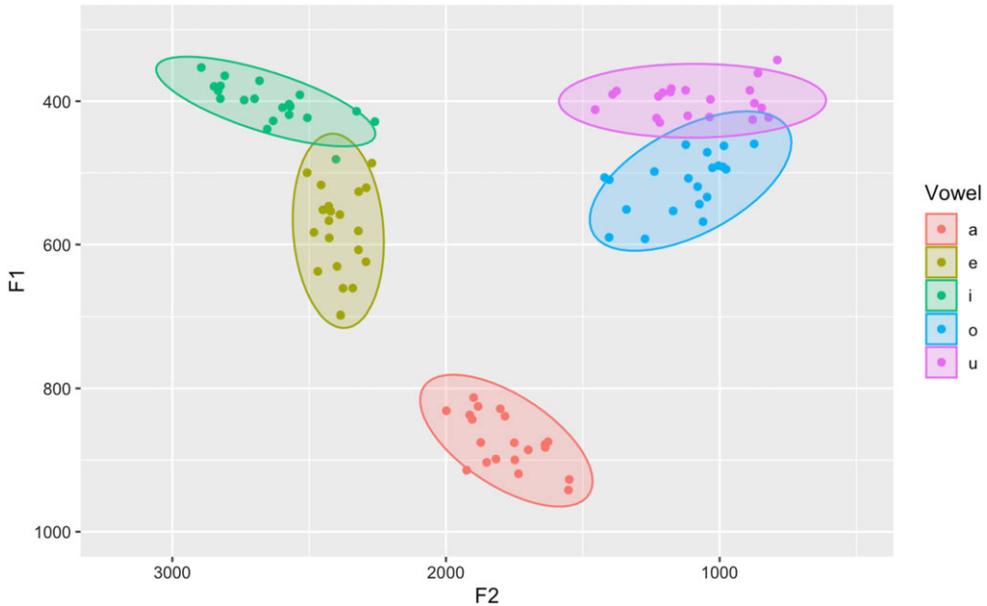


Figure 10 (Colour online) Vowels in F1 × F2 space. Measurements in Hz.

The mid vowels are slightly lower than IPA [e] and [o] and higher than IPA [ɛ], [ɔ]. The low or open vowel has a central position, but phonologically behaves like a front vowel, as it alternates with /e/ following /i/ or /u/, as explained below.⁶

The vowel plot in Figure 10 has been obtained by taking first and second formant measurements at the middle point of 20 tokens of each vowel in words recorded for this Illustration, including the five words mentioned at the beginning of this section. The plot was made with the graphics package *ggplot2* (Wickham 2016) running in R (R Core Team 2020) and RStudio (RStudio Team 2019).

Vowel sequences

Sequences of two vocoids where the second one is high are pronounced as falling diphthongs. The following falling diphthongs are found:

- | | |
|--|----------------------|
| [aj̥] /bai/ ‘yes’, /ait̪ʃe/ ‘father’ | [aɯ̥] /gaur/ ‘today’ |
| [ej̥] /beiʃe/ ‘the cow’, /lârei/ ‘too much’ | [eɯ̥] /geu/ ‘we’ |
| [oi̯] /oit̪ʃu/ ‘to get used to’, /leoi/ ‘lion’ | |
| [ui̯] /duin/ ‘decent’ | |

⁶ For typographic reasons we use the symbol /a/, although in the IPA vowel chart this represents a front vowel, not a central vowel.

Sequences of rising sonority, on the other hand, are normally pronounced in hiatus:

[i.a] /pianue/ ‘the piano’	[u.a] /medikûana/ ‘towards the doctor’ /eskûas/ ‘with the hand’
[i.e] /sier/ ‘through’	[u.e] /sûek/ ‘you PL’
[i.o] /biot / ‘I need it’	[u.o] /sûok/ ‘you PL, prox.’
[i.u] /biurtu/ ‘to become’	

The contrast between diphthong and hiatus is not necessarily reflected in the duration of the sequence, but, rather, in that of its two components. For instance, in Figure 11 /gaur/ ‘today’, the sequence /au/ has a duration of 362 ms, and in Figure 12 /sûek/ ‘you PL’, /ue/ has a duration of 368 ms. However, as can be observed in the figures, the relative proportion of both elements is rather different in the two sequences. The difference in duration between the two vocalic elements is much smaller in the hiatus sequence /ue/ than in the diphthong /au/ [au̯]. The difference in syllabification between these types of sequences is phonologically relevant for the accent-assignment rules.

Vowel interaction rules: Morphophonological processes affecting vowel sequences

Vowel sequences arising in morpheme concatenation undergo a number of changes. These are most conspicuous in sequences arising from the affixation of the definite article, historically always /a/, to nouns and adjectives. Local Basque varieties vary substantially in the treatment of these sequences (see Hualde & Gaminde 1998).

In the examples in (1), illustrating the treatment of inflectional vowel sequences in Markina Basque, we show the uninflected form, the absolute singular form and the absolute plural form for nouns and adjectives ending in each of the five vowels, as well as ending in consonants after non-high and high vowels. The examples are in broad phonetic transcription.

(1) Vowel sequences in inflected forms

	UNINFLECTED	ABSOLUTE SG	ABSOLUTE PL	
-a	nêska	neskîe ~ neskî	nêskak	‘girl’
-e	êtʃe	eʃʃie ~ eʃʃi	êʃʃiek ~ êʃʃik	‘house’
-o	bâso	basûe ~ basû	bâsuek ~ bâsuk	‘forest’
-i	mêndi	mendiʃe	mêndiʃek	‘mountain’
-u	bûru	burûe ~ burû	bûruek ~ bûruk	‘head’
-aC	êðar	eðâra	êðarak	‘beautiful’
-eC	bîer	biêra	bîerak	‘work’
-oC	embôr	embôra	êmborak	‘trunk, log’
-iC	mutîl	mutîle	mûtiʎek	‘boy’
-uC	layûn	layûne	lâyunek	‘friend’

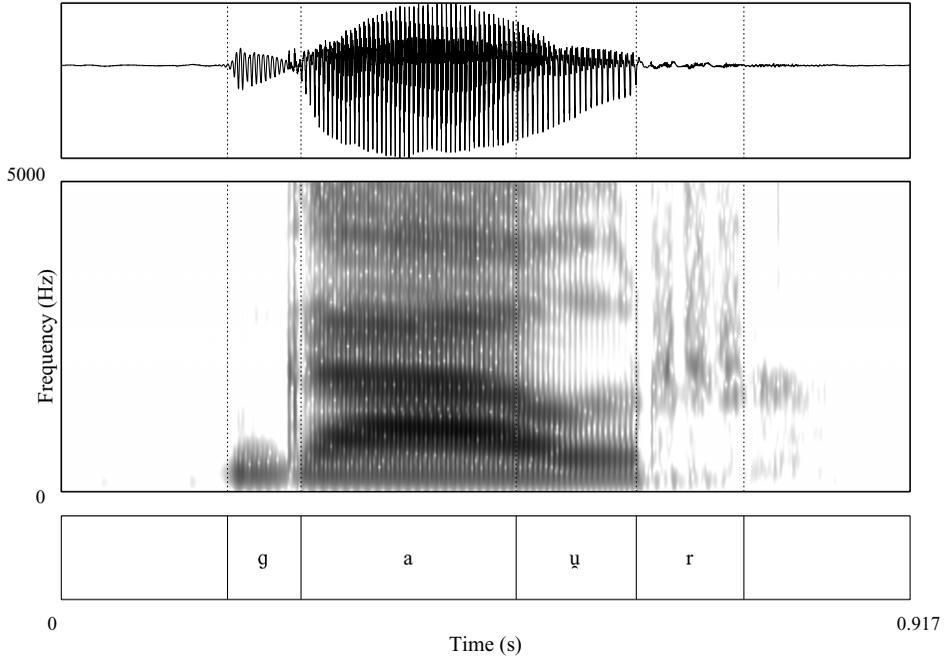


Figure 11 /gaur/[gaʊr] 'today'.

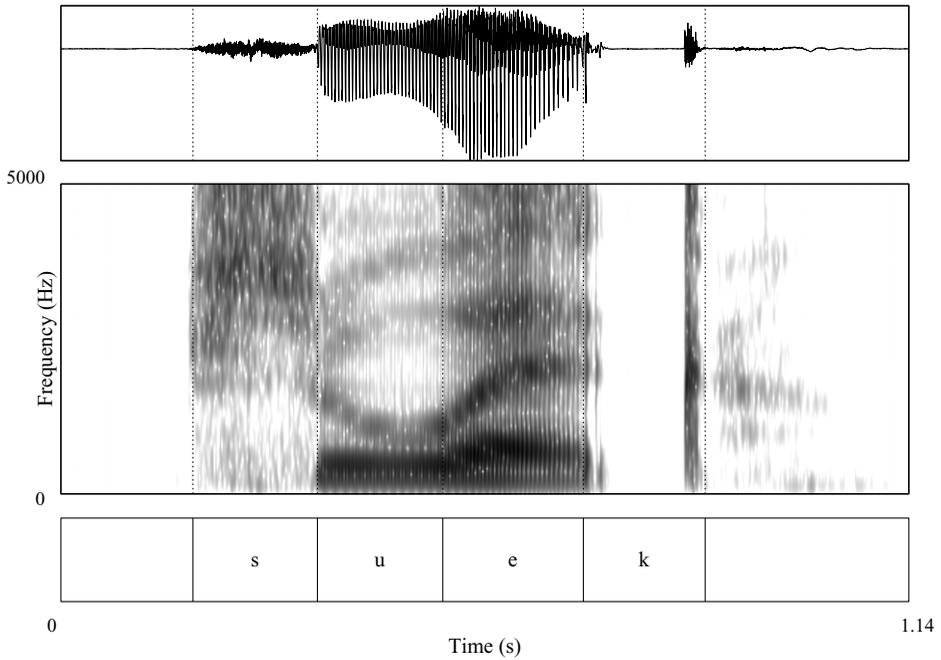


Figure 12 /sûek/[su.ek] 'you PL'.

A note on accentuation: All noun and adjective stems in the examples are lexically unaccented. Starting with the absolutive singular, the examples show the application of a default rule that assigns an accent to the penultimate syllable of the phrase; except that, as can be seen in (1) above, the accent surfaces on the last syllable if the last vowel is deleted (by an optional rule). The fact that this is a post-lexical or phrase-level accent assigned to the penultimate syllable of the phrase can be observed by comparing, for instance [layûne] ‘the friend’ and [layuneðâtor] ‘the friend is coming’ (in Figure 19 below). In the absolutive plural, the plural suffix introduces a morphological or lexical accent, which normally surfaces on the antepenultimate syllable of the word. The accent of the plural does not shift when the word is phrase-medial. Finally, uninflected forms never occur in isolation (except for vocatives). Our transcription shows how they were pronounced in the sound files that were recorded and show variability between penultimate and final accent with consonant-final uninflected forms.

As shown in the examples in (1), a number of sound changes have combined to produce complex alternations between uninflected and inflected forms. Leaving stems in /-a/ aside, for the moment, the treatment of the sequence is the same in the singular and the plural. The rules that apply to the sequences in (1) are the following:

(2) *Rules in vowel sequences*

- a. Stem-final mid vowels raise to high before the article.
- b. If the stem ends in /i/, epenthetic /ʃ/ is inserted.
- c. The vowel of the suffix is /e/ after a high vowel, with or without intervening consonants, and /a/ elsewhere.
- d. /e/ is optionally deleted in hiatus after another vowel.

Many words ending in a palatal offglide [j̥] in uninflected words behave as if they ended in /e/ rather than /i/ in not triggering /ʃ/-epenthesis, as in /aratoi/ [aratôj̥] ‘rat’, /aratoje/ [aratôje] ‘the rat’ (St. Bq. *arratoi*, *arratoia*) vs. for instance, /bei/ [bêj̥] ‘cow’, /beije/ [bêj̥e] ‘the cow’ (St. Bq. *behi*, *behia*), /goi/ ‘top’, /goije/ ‘the top’ (St. Bq. *goi*, *goia*). This reflects the fact that the difference between historical sequences like /oe/ and /oi/ has been neutralized; e.g. /aratoe/ > /aratoi/; /aratoea/ > /aratoja/ > /aratoje/ ‘the rat’. In a more abstract analysis, forms like //aratoe// ‘rat’ vs. //goi// ‘top’, could be proposed as underlying representations to account for the alternations that arise in suffixation. Some Markina speakers reduce word-final [oj̥] to /o/.

The fact that stems ending in /-o/ and /-u/ have identical endings in their definite forms, has produced some fluctuation, e.g. /lau esku/ ~ /lau esko/ ‘four hands’ (which has been resolved in neighboring Ondarroa by complete merger of these two classes of words).

With stems ending in /a/, we find different phenomena in the singular and in the plural. Both comparison with other dialects and the historical records show that, in the singular, there was an initial dissimilation of the sequence /aa/. Step-by-step, we have: /neska-a/ > /neskea/ > /neskia/ > /neskie/ > /neski/ ‘the girl’ (or, perhaps, through epenthesis, /neskaa/ > */neskaia/ > /neskea/ . . .). In the plural, on the other hand, the sequence of two identical vowels was contracted: /neska-ˆak/ > /nêskak/. Except for the first, dissimilatory change /a-a/ > /ea/ in singular inflected forms, which is found already in our first texts for Western Basque in the 16th century and even earlier sources, the rest of the sound changes in these evolutions are very recent. Early 19th century sources for Markina Basque show singular forms like /neskia/ vs. plural forms like /neskaak/. The difference in accentuation between plural forms like /lâgunek/ ‘the friends’ and /alâbak/ ‘the daughters’ shows that the shift of lexical accents to the antepenultimate syllable is older than the contraction of the sequence /aa/ (e.g. /alâbaak/, with antepenultimate accent, > /alâbak/, Hualde 2000).

The deletion of postvocalic /e/, which, as shown in (1), is an optional process in Markina, takes place obligatorily in neighboring Ondarroa.

Prosody

Word prosody

The accentual system of Markina Basque was described in detail in Hualde (2000), see also Gandiaga Ibarzabal (2014). Like in many other Bizkaian varieties, there is an underlying contrast between accented and unaccented words or morphemes (Hualde 1988, 1991). Accented words bear an accent on a given syllable (mostly the antepenultimate in Markina) in all contexts. Unaccented words, on the other hand, are only subject to rules of phrasal accentuation. In isolation, all words carry an accent, but this accent will be preserved phrase-medially only if it is lexical. As already mentioned (regarding the examples in (1) above), a default rule assigns prominence to the penultimate syllable of the phrase.⁷

In lexically accented words, the accent may be an underlying property of either the stem or an inflectional suffix. If the stem is lexically accented, all forms of its inflectional paradigm will be accented. Lexically accented stems include many borrowings, compounds and derived words. For instance, using examples from the list at the start of the ‘Consonants’ section, the word /*λabêrue*/ [*λaβêrue*] ‘the keychain’ (morphophonemically, //^ˆ*λaberu-a*/) is a lexically accented borrowing (from Sp. *llavero*), and /*xatêkue*/ ‘the food’ is a derived word (from /*xan*/ ‘to eat’). Their accentual pattern can be compared to that of unaccented /*basue*/ ‘the forest’ (morphophonemically //*baso-a*/) and /*sague*/ ‘the mouse’, which, as shown in Table 2, in citation form surface as [*basûe*], [*sayûe*] with phrase-penultimate accent.

Underlyingly accented suffixes include all plural suffixes, the ablative //^ˆ*tik*// and the comitative //^ˆ*as*//. Words containing a lexically unaccented stem will have a lexical accent if they carry an accented inflectional suffix. Lexical accents usually surface on the antepenultimate syllable of the word, even if they are introduced by a suffix, e.g. //*mendi-ak*// [*mêndiʃek*]. For more details, see Hualde (2000), and for the neighboring variety of Leketio, where the distribution between lexically accented and unaccented morphemes is essentially the same as in Markina, but the rules determining the position of accents are different, Hualde et al. (1994), G. Elordieta (1997).

In broad focus declarative sentences where all words are lexically unaccented, there is an initial tonal rise (LH-, sometimes H-) loosely associated with the second syllable of the phrase and a final fall (H*L) (postlexical accent) associated with the syllable with default nuclear accent, with a high plateau created by interpolation between both events (see G. Elordieta 1998, Elordieta & Hualde 2003b, 2014). This is what we see in Figure 13, *gure abadiana da* /*gure abadianâ da*/ ‘it is the one of our priest’ and Figure 14, *lagunan alabie etorri da* /*lagunan alabie etori da*/ ‘the friend’s daughter has come’. Whereas in the rest of the paper phonemic representations of words include accent marks only in lexically accented words, in order to indicate the accented vs. unaccented lexical contrast, in this section we indicate both lexical and postlexical accents with a circumflex diacritic in our phonemic representations of sentences for greater clarity.

In Markina, in sentences with analytical verbs (participle + auxiliary), the rule of default nuclear accent generally places the accent on the penultimate syllable of the constituent preceding the verb, as we can observe in Figure 14. On the other hand, if the verb is synthetic, as in the sentence in Figure 13, the verb forms a single prosodic unit with the preceding constituent and the accent goes on the penultimate syllable of that unit.⁸

⁷ Given the somewhat opaque nature of the accented vs. unaccented contrast, some variation among speakers regarding the accentual properties of individual lexical items is to be expected. For the variety of Gernika, within the same dialectal area as Markina, Rodríguez-Ordoñez (2019) reports substantial inter-speaker variation regarding the extent to which the traditional accented vs. unaccented contrast is preserved in the speech of the younger generations of this town.

⁸ For the distinction between analytical (or periphrastic) and synthetic verb forms in Basque and their distribution, see Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina (2003), de Rijk (2008).

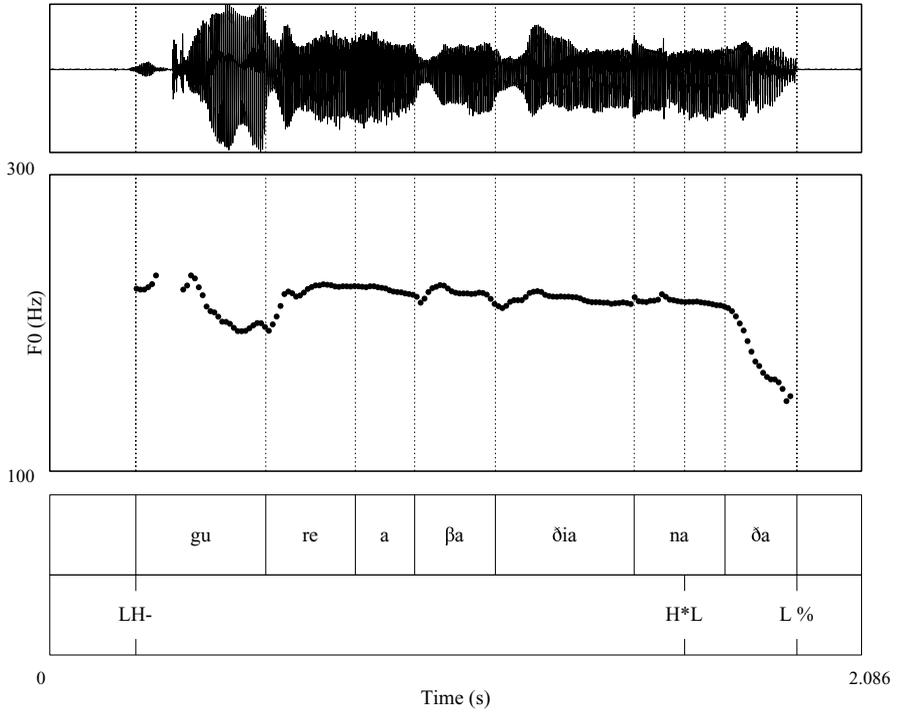


Figure 13 *gure abadiana da* /*gure abadianâ da*/ 'it is the one of our priest'. The H*L accent is postlexical.

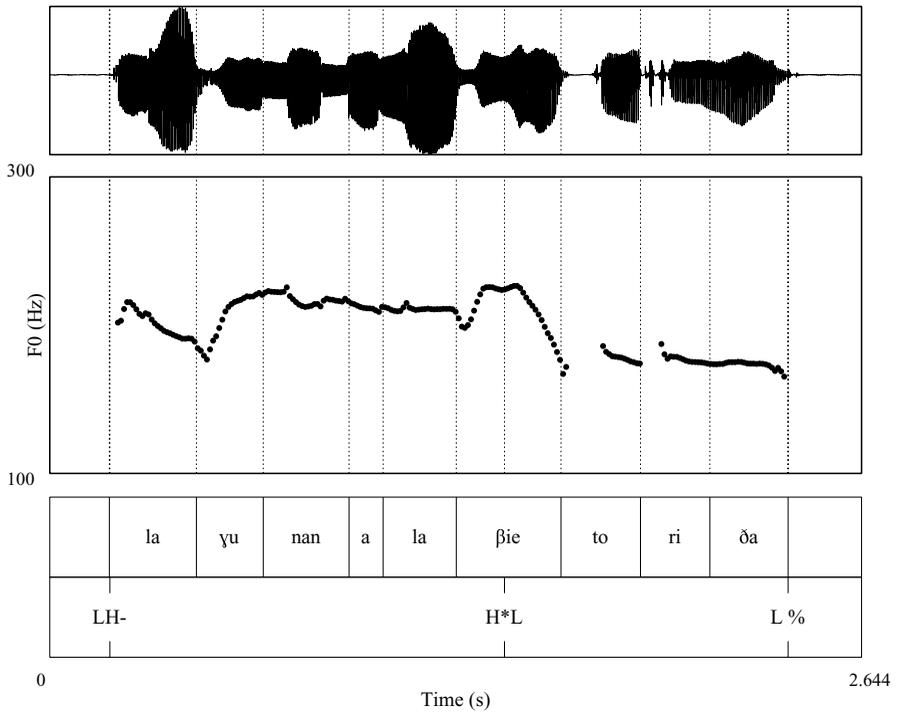


Figure 14 *lagunan alabie etori da* /*lagunan alabîe etori da*/ 'the friend's (SG) daughter has come'. The H*L accent is postlexical.

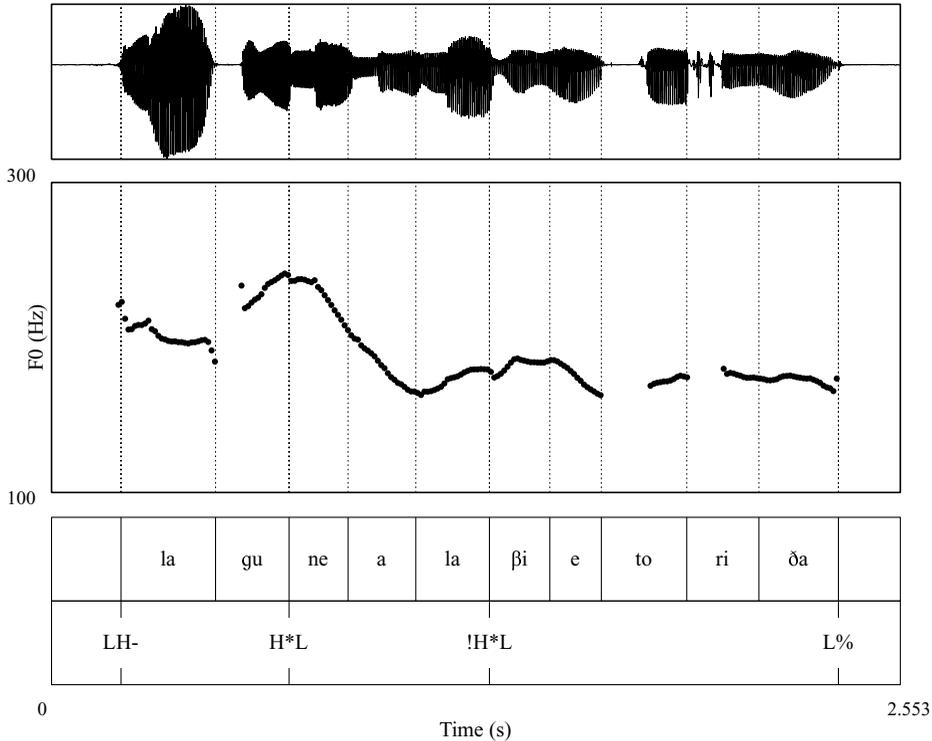


Figure 15 *lagûnen alabie etorri da* /lagûnen alabîe etori da/ ‘the friends’(PL) daughter has come’. The first H*L accent is lexical and the downstepped !H*L accent is postlexical.

Lexically accented words display an accent in all positions. In the sentence in Figure 15, *lagûnen alabie etorri da* /lagûnen alabîe etori da/ ‘the friends PL’ daughter has come’, which forms a minimal pair with the example in Figure 14, the genitive plural word /lagûnen/ ‘of the friends’ is lexically accented, like all plurals, and bears an accent that causes downstepping of the nuclear, postlexical, accent on /alabîe/ ‘the daughter’.

A second minimal pair illustrating the contrast between lexically unaccented and accented words is given in Figure 16 and 17. In Figure 16, *Fidelen alabie ikusi dot* /fidelen alabîe ikusi dot/ ‘I saw Fidel’s daughter’, the only accentual event is the postlexical nuclear accent on the penultimate syllable of the immediately preverbal word /alabîe/ ‘the daughter’. In contrast, in Figure 17, *Fidêlan alabie ikusi dot* /fidêlan alabîe ikusi dot/ ‘I saw Fidela’s daughter’, the preverbal phrase /fidêlan alabîe/ contains two accents, with downstep of the second one, since the name /fidêla/ is lexically accented.

As shown in the figures, the most salient cue of accent is a tonal peak on the accented syllable and a post-accentual fall in pitch. Other features such as duration do not seem to be a consistent correlate of accent in the Basque dialects of this area, although they are sometimes present (see Hualde, Smiljanić & Cole 2000, where data from a speaker from Markina and a speaker from Bermeo are analyzed, G. Elordieta & Hualde 2001, 2003a, based on data from Lekeitio speakers, and Rodríguez-Ordóñez 2019 for Gernika; see also Hualde et al. 2002).

A question that arises in the context of this Illustration of the IPA is how to represent accent. As in other work in Northern Bizkaian Basque prosody (G. Elordieta 1998, G. Elordieta & Hualde 2014, etc.), in the figures we are using an autosegmental representation H*L, following the conventions of the Autosegmental-Metrical framework (Pierrehumbert 1980, Ladd 2008). As a diacritic in phonological transcriptions, on the other hand, we are

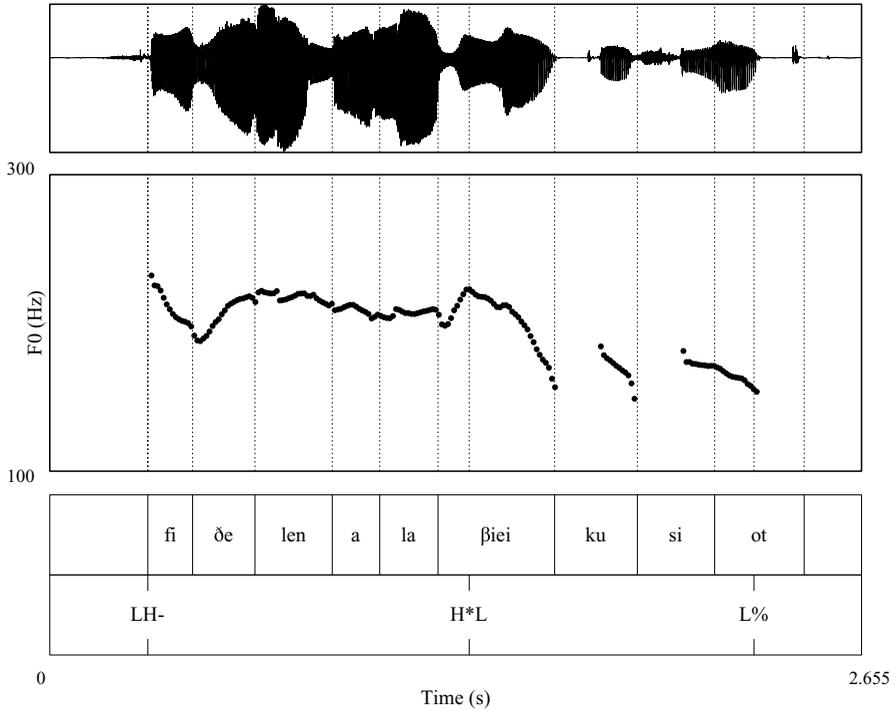


Figure 16 *Fidelen alabiê ikusi dot /fidelen alabiê ikusi (d)ot/* 'I saw Fidel's daughter'. The H*L accent is postlexical.

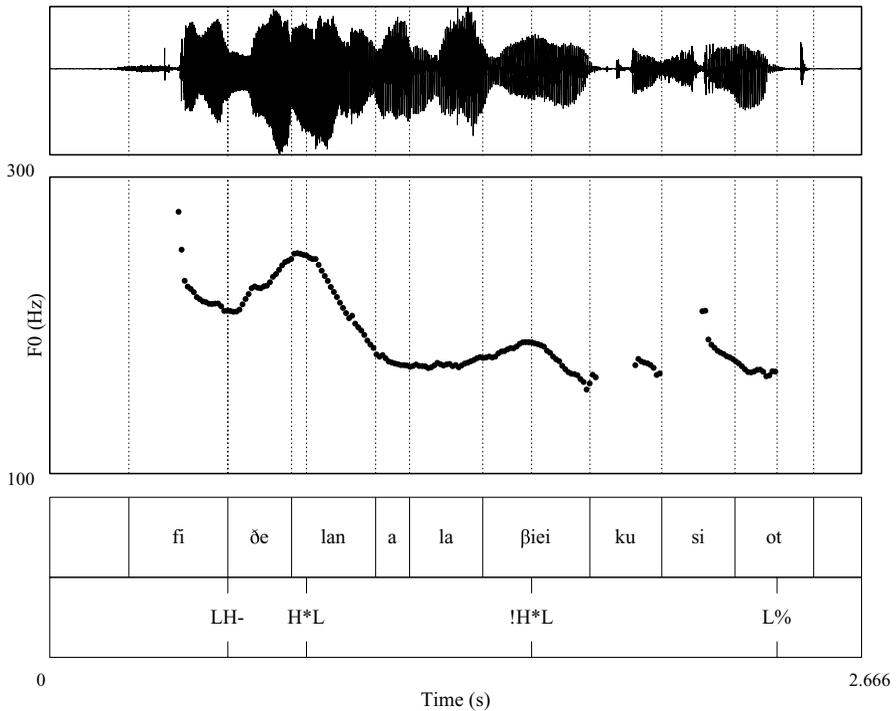


Figure 17 *Fidêlan alabiê ikusi dot /fidêlan alabiê ikusi (d)ot/* 'I saw Fidela's daughter'. The first H*L accent is lexical and the downstepped second accent is postlexical.

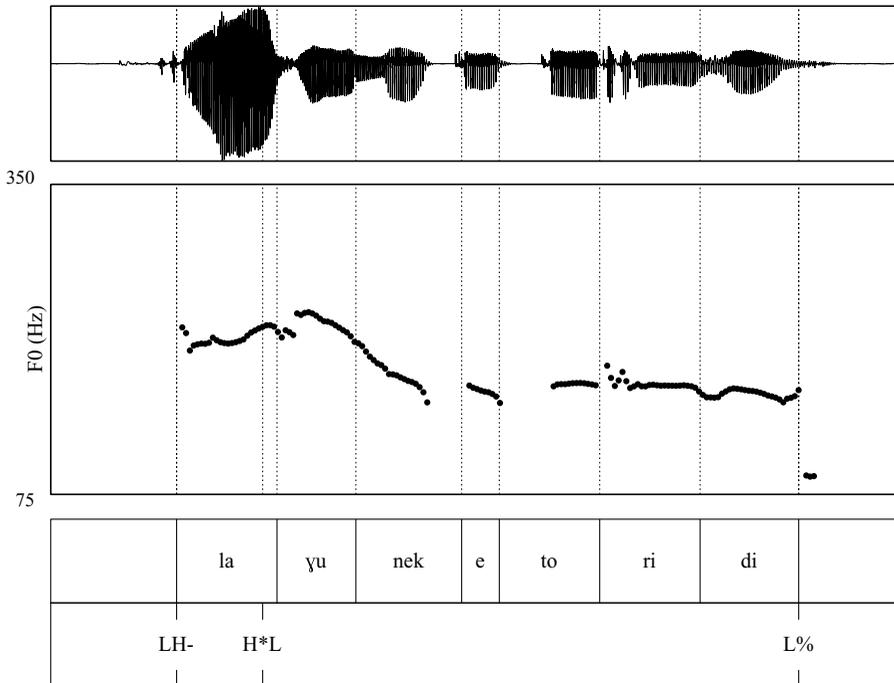


Figure 18 *lâgunek etorri di /lâgunek etori di* 'the friends have come'. The H*L accent is lexical and is phonologically associated with the initial syllable. Note the displacement of the accentual peak.

using the IPA circumflex diacritic. We have chosen this diacritic because, as shown in the figures, the accentual contour often shows both a rise on the accented syllable and a following fall to a low tone. Sometimes, however, the pitch is completely flat from a phase-initial rise and there is no visible additional rise on the accented syllable.

In the data that we have recorded for this illustration, a remarkable feature is the delay of the peak from the first syllable of phrase-initial words in some examples. An example is given in Figure 18, *lâgunek etorri di /lâgunek etori di* 'the friends have come'. Note the displacement of the peak of the lexical accent on the first syllable of /lâgunek/ 'the friends' to the second syllable. Perceptually, however, accentual prominence is on the initial syllable. Similar phenomena of accent peak delay in phrase-initial words have been reported for other Basque dialects, as well as for other languages (For Lekeitio Basque, see Ito, G. Elordieta & Hualde 2003). Duration appears to be a relevant cue to accent in this context. In this respect, it is relevant to point out that there is substantial variation among local varieties in this area regarding accent assignment rules (see Hualde 1988, 1991, 2000), which can be explained by occasional or frequent ambiguity in the anchoring of pitch accents with specific syllables.

Intonation: Statements and questions

In simple neutral statements, there is a low tone extending from the drop in pitch associated with the last accent, lexical or postlexical, to the end of the sentence. As was already mentioned, in sentences containing only unaccented words, a postlexical (default nuclear) accent is normally associated with the penultimate syllable of the preverbal constituent. This is the pattern in sentences where the verbal form contains a participle and an auxiliary, as in Figures 14, *lagunan alabie etorri da /lagunan alabie etori da/* 'the friend's SG daughter has come', and Figure 16, *Fidelen alabie ikusi dot /fidelen alabie ikusi (d)ot/* 'I saw Fidel's daughter'.

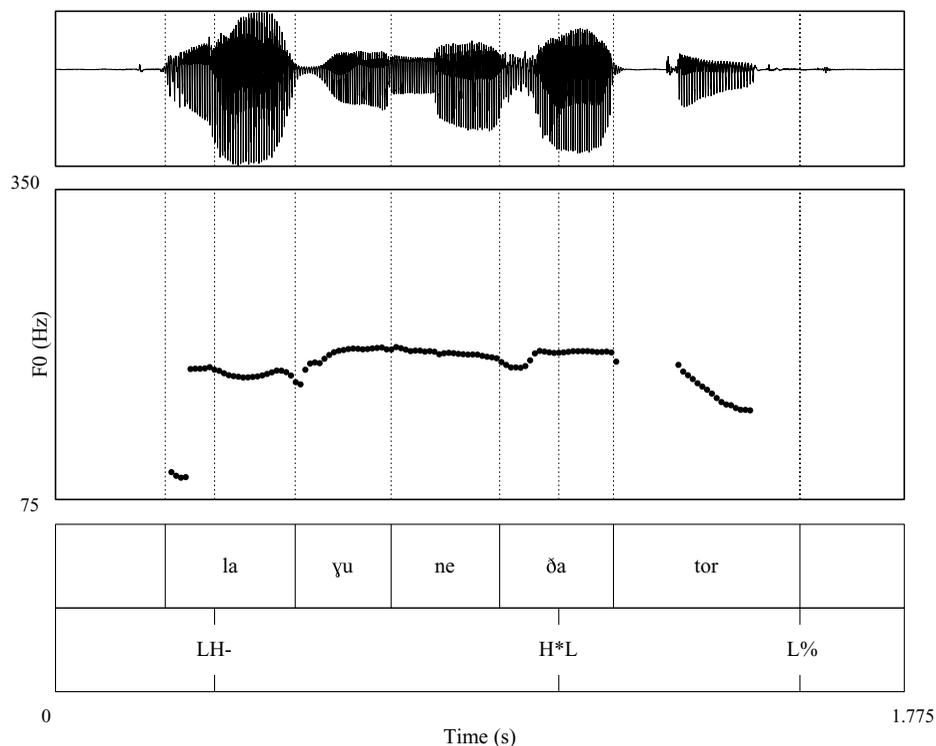


Figure 19 *lagune dator* /lagune dator/ 'the friend is coming'. The H*L accent is postlexical and is phonologically associated with the penultimate syllable of the phrase.

Only a handful of verbs are conjugated synthetically, without an auxiliary. In sentences with a synthetic verb, the location of the nuclear accent is different, as shown in Figure 13, *gure abadiana da* 'it is the one of our priest', and Figure 19, *lagune dator* /lagune dator/ 'the friend is coming'. In such sentences, the final fall starts on or right after the penultimate syllable of the prosodic domain that contains the verb and the preceding constituent.

Leaving aside the specific syllable where the final fall starts, the intonational pattern is the same in the declarative sentences in Figures 13–19.

Yes–no questions have the same syntax as statements, but intonationally differ from them.⁹ Interrogativity is signalled by an upstepped circumflex (rise–fall) contour on the final syllable of the sentence, as in Figure 20, *lagune etorri da?* /lagune etori ↑ðâ/ 'did the friend come?' and Figure 21, *lagune dator?* /lagune da↑tôr/ 'is the friend coming?' Note that in Figure 20 there are two accents and that the second one, which conveys interrogative force is upstepped. In Figure 21, there is only one accent, since the lexically unaccented noun /lagune/ and the lexically unaccented synthetic verb /dator/ constitute a single prosodic unit. Comparing the declarative sentence in Figure 19, /lagune dator/ 'the friend is coming', and its interrogative counterpart in Figure 21, /lagune da↑tôr/ 'is the friend coming?', note the

⁹ As a reviewer points out, intonational differences that are attributed to a contrast between statements and yes–no questions may actually signal more complex pragmatic notions. Nevertheless, in a perception study (reported in Zhang, Bedialauneta & Hualde 2021) where participants were asked to distinguish questions from non-questions, native speakers of Markina Basque had a very high rate of correct identification, even though the stimuli included emphatic verum focus statements, which, like yes–no questions have a wide final circumflex contour (but with a difference in alignment). Participants who spoke a different Basque dialect or spoke Basque as a second language had a much lower percentage of correct responses.

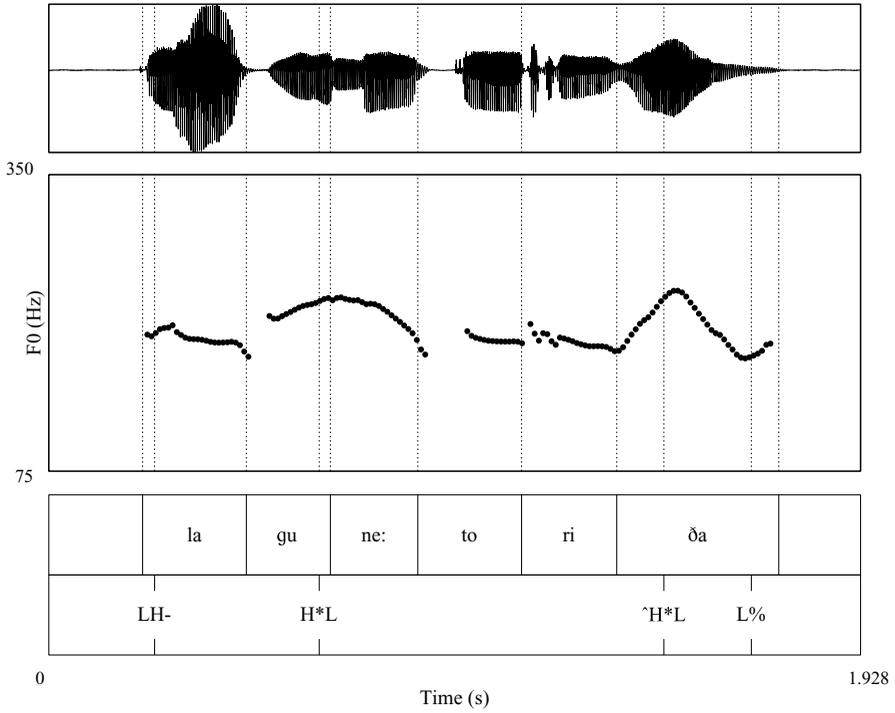


Figure 20 *lagune etorri da?* /lagũne etori \uparrow dã/ 'did the friend come?' Both accents are postlexical.

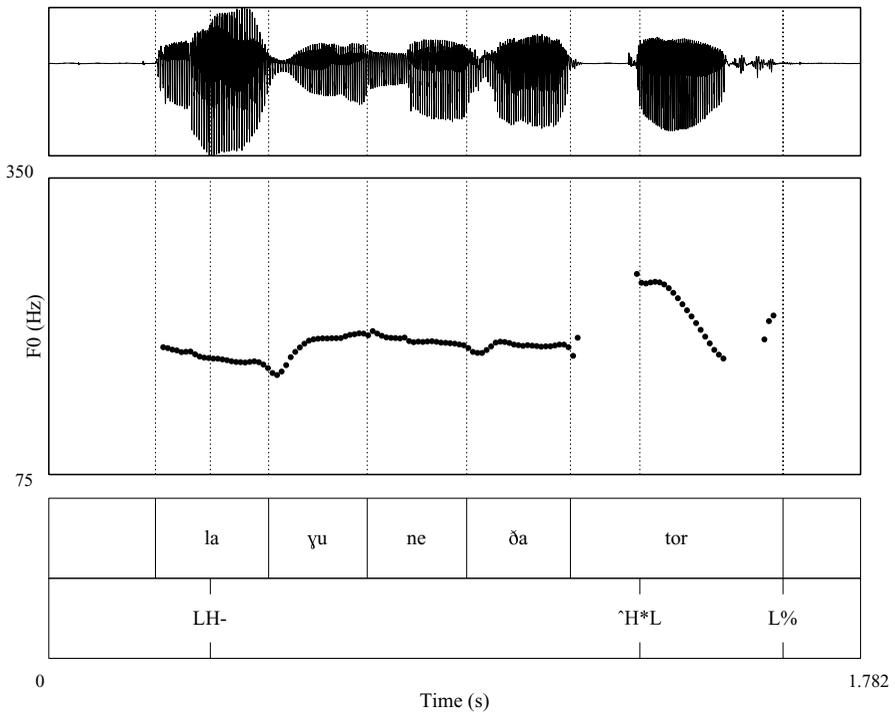


Figure 21 *lagune dator?* /lagũne da \uparrow tõr/ 'is the friend coming?'. The accent on /-tor/ is postlexical.

difference in the position of the tonal rise and fall (penultimate vs. final syllable) and the much wider movement in the interrogative sentence. In addition, the final syllable is lengthened in interrogative sentences.

Transcription of 'The North Wind and the Sun' ('Ipar haizea eta Eguzkia')

We include four versions of the same passage. First, we offer a transcription of the text in Basque orthography, but adapted to the dialect of Markina. This is the version that was used as a transcript for the reading task. Secondly, we offer this text in a phonemic IPA transcription. In third place, we include a phonetic transcription of the recording. Finally, we also provide a literal version in Standard Basque, in order to make it easier for interested readers to check the meaning of specific words and also for easier comparison with other Basque dialects, such as Goizueta Basque (Hualde et al. 2010). (Note that, as explained above, /t/, /d/ and /ts/ are normally denti-alveolar. In our phonetic transcription of the recording we use the dental diacritic under these phonemes only in sequences such as /nd/ where a preceding nasal assimilates in place to the following consonant.)

Orthographic transcription (in Basque orthography adapted to the dialect)

Ipar haixie eta eguzkixe, indartsuena zein zan diskutitzen zebizela oñezko bat pasau zan kapa lodi baten batute. Erabakiben indartsuena lehenengo oñezkuai kapie kentzotzena izengo zala. Ordun, ipar haixiek beran indar (indder) gustixaz hasi zan joten, baña zemat eta gogorrau jo, ibiltarixek orduen eta estuau eustotzen beran kapiái. Azkenien, ipar haixiek, etsitxe, ahalegiñek eitxiai itxitzen. Gero, eguzkixe gogor berotzen hasi zan, eta oñezkuek laster kenduban beran kapioi. Eta holan, ipar haixiek onartu ein biher izeban eguzkixe zala bixen artien indartsuena.

Phonemic/broad phonetic transcription in IPA

ipar aiʃie eta egûskiʃe indartsûena sein san diskûtitsen sebisela | oñesko bat pasau san kâpa lodi baten bātute || erabakîben indartsûena lênenço oñeskuai kâpie kentsotsena isêngo sala || ordun | ipar aiʃiek beran indar gustîʃas asi san xôten || baña semat eta gogôrau xo || ibiltariʃek orduen eta estûau êustotsen beran kapiái || askenien | ipar aiʃiek etsitʃe | alêgiñek eitʃiai itʃitsen || gero egûskiʃe gogor bêrotsen asi san | eta oñeskuek laster kenduban beran kapioi || eta olan | ipar aiʃiek onartu ein bier iseban egûskiʃe sala bîʃen artien indartsûena.

Phonetic transcription of recording

ipáraiʃie ↗ eta êuskiʃe: \.indartsûena seĩnsan: diskûtitsen seʃis'elá: | oĩnéskoʃa: ↗ pasauʃan kâpa lođi batém bātute || erabakîʃen \. indartsûena ↗ lélenço oñeskuai kâpie kentʃotséna isêngo ʃala \. ordúen ↗ ipáraiʃieg ↗ berán inđár yustîʃas asisan xôten || baña sêmađeta yoyórau ↑ xo || iʃiltariʃek ↑ orduneta estûau eustotsem beran kâpiái \. || askenien | iparaiʃiek etsitʃe || alêyiñek eitʃiai:ʃitsén || gero eyûskiʃe \. goyor berôtsen asisan || eta oĩneskuek ↗ lâster kenđuʃam berán kâpioi || eta ôlan | ipar aiʃiek ↗ onârtu eĩmbiér iseʃan | êuskiʃe sala | bîʃen artien inđartsûena ||

Literal adaptation to Standard Basque

Ipar haizea eta eguzkia, indartsuena zein zen diskutitzen zebiltzela, oinezko bat pasatu zen kapa lodi batean batuta. Erabaki zuten indartsuena lehenengo oinezkoari kapa kentzen ziona izango zela. Orduan, Ipar haizeak, bere indar guztiekin hasi zen jotzen, baina zenbat eta gogorrago jo, ibiltariak orduan eta estuago eusten zion bere kapari. Azkenean, ipar haizeak, etsita, ahaleginak egiteari utzi zion. Gero, eguzkia gogor berotzen hasi zen, eta oinezkoak laster kendu zuen bere kapa hori. Eta horrela, ipar haizeak onartu egin behar izan zuen eguzkia zela bien artean indartsuena.

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Supplementary material

To view supplementary material for this article, (including audio files to accompany the language examples), please visit <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0025100322000032>

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