

A Note on Old Labourdin Accentuation

Luis Michelena

Proof-reading is always something of a chore, but I have found it, for once, a rewarding exercise in the case of W. J. Jacobsen's paper, published in this volume. So rewarding, indeed, that, as soon as I had finished my task, I was, almost unwillingly, ensnared into writing this short note.

It is not easy to understand how Jacobsen made his way through the inextricable maze of (apparently, at least) contradictory statements, the stuff the hard core of Basque accentology is made of. Perhaps, the mind and the ears of a non-native investigator were necessary to take a decisive step towards introducing some order in an area so full of vexing problems. The subtle complexities that face us here did not only bemuse Schuchardt, as the author says, they also bemuse us natives.

Jacobsen's study is all the more interesting in view of his concentration on morphology, in particular, on the extent of syncretism found almost everywhere in the Basque noun declension. I have no intention, however, of lingering on this aspect of his very convincing treatment (1).

(1) The temptation to let some casual remarks drop is, however, too strong. Is it certain, as the author says, that the ergative singular *alabarak* (from *alaba* 'daughter') is used in the Salazar valley? I have heard there, as others heard before me, the abs. sing. *alabara*, but, now that I come to think of it, I don't remember having heard —nor read, for that matter— in the singular anything like ergative *alabarak*, dative *alabarari*, etc. A prudent guess would be that the formal distinction might be restricted to the absolutive (*alaba/alabara*), but Salamanca is not a good place to prove or to disprove it.

At variance with one of Jacobsen's statements is the fact that only the pitch contour differentiates singular from plural in Renteria (and in Oyarzun as well, I think): *gizonan* 'of the man' / *gizonàn* 'of the men', *gizonai* 'to the man' / *gizonai* 'to the men', and so on. It is noteworthy that Gavel and others were reluctant to postulate *-ag for the plural because the expected dative form, *-ai* < *-ag-i, is found only in the Western dialects, whereas Labourdin and Low-Navarrese have *-ei*: the easternmost form is *-ér*, which seems to be irreducible to a common prototype. Yet it is a well known fact that the alternation *-ai/-ei* is frequent in Basque: *estaiak/ezteiak* 'wedding' (plural *tantum*), *isai/isei* 'birch-tree', *igitai/igitei* 'sickle', *gai/gei* 'matter', cf. general *gatik*, Bisc. *gaitik* 'for the sake of'. The comparison with *gehiago* 'more' (*gai/gei* means also 'able'), superlative *gehien*, points to a word ending in *-ei*, whose diphthong has been lowered to *-ai*, even in the Central area, where *gatik* must come via dissimilation from *gai-tik*, itself a clear ablative of *gai*.

After having read Jacobsen's essay we are able to state that in the Basque speaking area there are, its exiguous extension notwithstanding, several accentual systems, whose geographical limits can be established, at least in the broadest outline. There is, needless to say, a sizable no-man's land, where information is utterly lacking.

Only noun forms will be considered here, but noun forms in a broad sense, including pronouns and nonfinite verb forms: participles, radicals and verbal nouns. In addition to isolated words, short noun phrases and verb phrases will be considered: *hiru gizon* 'three men', *izan da* 'he (she, it) has been', *ekarri du* 'he has brought it', etc. It has seemed best to adhere to modern Basque conventional orthography, to the extent that it does not cause misunderstanding. I must add that I will abstain from all but occasional attempts to characterize articulatory, acoustic or perceptual aspects of the far diverging Basque accentuation types.

It appears that four well-established types have been distinguished.

Type I. This type is prevailing in a Central-Western area, comprising most of Guipuzcoa, a considerable portion of Biscay, extending to the West as far as Bilbao, and some, but by no means all, Navarrese regions bordering on Guipuzcoa.

Noun forms fall, as far as the accentual pattern goes, into two classes: words belonging to the unmarked class, to put it in Jacobsen's terms, characterized by a sustained accent, and words with a marked accent, signaled by a falling contour. The difference between the two is clear, at least among the older generation to which obviously the present writer belongs, even if the manner in which it is realized may vary widely from one place to another within this area.

The unmarked type deserves to be called so, since it is the pattern to which is adjusted the pronunciation of the bulk of the indefinite and definite singular nouns. The only function of this pattern is to signal [—plural]. In this case, every orthographic accent can, therefore, be zeroed out, following Jacobsen's proposal. It remains to single out the nouns belonging to the marked class (2). The latter consists of, on the one hand, all plurals, and, on the other, some scattered items, rather refractory to classification: namely, loanwords, not all of them recent, certain suffixed nouns, nouns with spatial connotation, and some others. So in Renteria, in the definite singu-

(2) After Larramendi, Jacobsen's notational advice was consistently adopted by Lardizabal (1855), etc., but the graphic accent served only to distinguish the plural forms: *guisónac*, absolutive or ergative plural, as against *guisonac*, ergative singular, etc.

lar, *basuà* 'drinking-glass' vs. *basua* 'woods', *bestià* 'other' vs. *estia* 'intestine', *lotiyà* 'sleepy' vs. *loriya* 'fat', *eltzià* 'grasping' vs. *eltzia* 'pot', *tokiyà* 'place' and synonymous *lekuà*, *aurrià* 'front', *atzià* 'back' (3). There is, all in all, a fair amount of agreement among the local varieties, in assigning the same word to the first or the second accentual class. The agreement is almost unanimous when the noun is plural (4).

Type II. It is an acknowledged fact that the North-Eastern Souletin-Roncalesse accentual system differs considerably from the Western pattern we have just attempted to describe. This type strikes the Western hearer as being kindred to the Romance stress type; more similar, perhaps, to the (Occitan) Gascon type than to the Castilian Spanish type.

The position of the accent is regulated taking the last syllable of the word as the starting point. Oxytony is exceptional, and, in order to explain the present situation, it seems sufficient to postulate an older stage, common to both subdialects, in which isolated words were uniformly stressed on the penult, principally with the exception of some compounds and of a greater number of loanwords. It is, in any case, the final stress that clearly singles out a minority of final-stressed nominal and verbal forms from an overwhelming majority of other stress types.

The same system, or something very similar to it, underlies the language of Leizarraga (1571), born at Briscous, located to the East of the sparsely populated mountain ridge named in French *landes* or *bois de Hasparren*. We may draw this inference from the fact that, as a rule, accent marks are only written in his works when the stress falls on the final syllable. It is not too far-fetched to conclude, therefore, that the stressed syllable was otherwise automatically determined.

According to Lafon, it also prevailed at Bardos (5), some 30 km. to the East of Bayonne, in the Low-Navarrese area of Cize, next to the Northern borderline of the Basque speaking domain. It was fairly

(3) It is perhaps significant that some of these local nouns, if not all, are used as postpositions (*elizaren aurrean* 'before the church', etc.) and/or last elements of compound nouns: *ikastoki* 'coal cellar'. It is widely thought, too, that the *-e* of *aurre*, *atze* is secondary, arising from *atz-e-an* 'in the rear', *atz-e-tik* 'from the rear', etc., where *e*-insertion is obligatory.

(4) This twofold division is, in a round-about way, reminiscent of the distribution of tone I and tone II in Swedish words. For a historical account, see Bengt Sigurd, "Generative grammar and historical linguistics", *Acta linguistica Hafniensia* 10 (1966), 35-48.

(5) There were 1500 inhabitants in 1934, the date of Lafon's field work there: "Sur la voyelle *ü* en basque", *BSL* 57 (1962), 83-102.

extensive, outside of Bardos, in other villages where the same subdialect is spoken.

There is no reason to conceal the fact that the Roncalese accentuation, as attested in Isaba and Uztarroz, has strayed a long way from the above reconstructed pattern. So, for instance, at least in the declension of certain stems, non-final stress is not necessarily placed on the penultimate. As a consequence, the columnal (paradigmatic) accentuation of the definite singular, to which the absolutive plural always conforms, contrasts strikingly with the marginal (6) or desinential stress of all other case forms of the plural. From *séme* 'son', we have, with non syllabic *i*,

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
Absolutive	<i>sémiá</i>	<i>sémiak</i>
Ergative	<i>sémiak</i>	<i>semék</i>
Genitive	<i>sémiaren</i>	<i>semén</i>
Dative	<i>sémiari</i>	<i>semér</i> , etc.

Likewise, from *gizon* 'man', sing. *gizona*, *gizonaren*; erg. sing. and abs. pl. *gizonak*, but, in all other case forms of the plural, erg. *gizonék*, gen. *gizonén*, etc.

Type III. The accentual pattern that can be found in several regions included in the Southern variety of the High-Navarrese dialect (7) does not coincide with any of the systems so far outlined. It is often said that Basque in the mouths of High Navarrese people «sounds like Spanish», and, if the inquiry proceeds further, the statement is substantiated on the grounds that the difference between stressed and unstressed syllables is very similar there to what can be observed among speakers of Castilian Spanish. This remark is valid as well, as far as my observations go, for the Low-Navarrese subdialect of the Salazar valley, south of the frontier.

There is hardly a doubt about where the stress falls in isolated words or even in long sentences. But, surprisingly enough, this clearly discernible stress does not have, or so it seems, any distinctive function whatsoever. It is, at once, more audible (and, therefore,

(6) These labels (*accentuation columnale*, *accentuation marginale*), current in Kurylowicz's works, go back to Saussure's famous papers on Lithuanian intonations.

(7) Prince Bonaparte's "Southern" (and "Northern" for that matter), as applied to High Navarrese, is a misnomer. It would be more adequate, albeit not quite exact, to speak of Eastern vs. Western High-Navarrese.

easier to define) and less meaningful than the intonation patterns that speakers of Type I are accustomed to.

Here is a scanty sample from Eugui, to the North of the Esteribar valley, not far from the French frontier (8). In the absolutive singular, a sufficiently clear stress pattern stands out. From *a*-stems (i.e. from *-a* + art. *-a*): *bésta* 'feast', *burdiña* 'iron', *oñaztúre* 'lightning', *órma* 'ice', *tipúle* 'onion', *úde* 'summer'. From consonant stems: *íntze* 'dew' (monosyllabic stem *íntz*); *abrátsa* 'rich', *asteléna* 'Monday', *elúrre* 'snow', *izótza* 'hoarfrost', *larrazkéna* 'autumn'. With stem final non-syllabic *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* (9): *árrie* 'stone', *ilérgie* 'moon', *láñoa* 'fog', *négue* 'winter', *órdue* 'hour', *sásie* 'thorn-bush', *xekálea* 'rye', etc. Only once did I write down *jinkuen* [ji-] *paxá* 'rainbow', from the *a*-stem *paxa* (cf. Sp. *faja*), lit. 'God's girdle'.

To put it another way, the absolutive singular regularly takes its stress on the next-to-last syllable. But it should be kept in mind that it is the *present* penult we are speaking about. At an older stage, in all likelihood, the vowel of the penultimate syllable of *árrie* was *i*, just as that of *izótza* is still *o*. We are dealing, in other words, with a stress system with a very short-lived memory: contrast Salazar *árdo*, *árdoa* 'wine', *béso*, *bésoa* 'arm', with Ronc. *ardáu*, *ardáua*, vs. *béso*, *bésua*, Soul. *ardû*, *ardû'a*, vs. *béso*, *besúa*, from older **ardano*, *beso* (+ *-a*).

With the same proviso, the absolutive plural does not seem to run counter to the singular: *iáuteak* 'carnival feasts', *kintókoak* 'those of Quinto (Real)', *matxútkek* 'mulberries', *a*-stem. Indefinite absolutives, mainly of consonant stems, may be stressed on the last syllable: *ilún* 'dark', sing. *ilúne*, *zenbat urté?* 'how many years?', where account must be taken of the effects of the interrogative contour.

Several indications point to a paradigmatic accentuation. In the partitive, *eztút úrik* 'I have no water' (stem *ur*, abs. sing. *úra*); in the inessive, *góizean* 'in the morning' (stem *goiz*, abs. sing. *góiza*). The stressed syllable is fixed with respect to the place of accent either in the indefinite or in the definite absolutive. For the last case, compare (*eztut*) *ástirik* '(I have no) time', where *asti* would not differ from *astia* with regard to the place of stress, *arrázoin dúzu*

(8) I am availing myself of the materials recorded there by Professor Ana Maria Echaide, during a short trip, from two informants, aged 36 and 73. In spite of their belonging to different generations, their answers to the same question agree remarkably well.

(9) It should be noted that non-syllabic *e*, *o* do not raise the following *-a*, as do *i* and *u*. It is puzzling that both informants, as I heard their answers, seem to pronounce *burdiña*, with *-a*, not *-e*.

'you are right', (*eztuzu*) *arrázoñik* '(you are) wrong'; in verb phrases, *arpátu'ut* 'I have taken it', from the participle *arpátu*. It is not by chance that the leading role has been conferred upon *arrázoin* and *arpátu*: the former is more often used in the indefinite absolute than most substantives, and this is also the case for all participles.

The stress of the basic form does not seem to be retracted farther than the penultimate. The only counterexamples available in my notes are *mátsoko'at* 'a bunch of grapes', whose abs. sing. would be **mátsokoa*, and *mástegiya* 'vineyard', two obvious compounds of *mats*, abs. sing. *mátsa*, from older *ma(h)ats*, + *oko* and *-tegi*.

Type IV. This last accentual system recognized is that prevailing on the Southern bank of the lower reaches of the Bidasoa river: Fuenterrabia, Irun, and the Cinco Villas (in Basque, Bortze-rieta) of Navarre (10). It extends at least as far as Beinza-Labayen, some 10 km. to the Southwest of Santesteban, where I have noted down several times, for instance, *abisatu* (cf. Spanish *avisar*, *avisado* 'to inform') realized as [abí:stu]. It is plain that *abistu dut* from *abisatu dut* in Beinza-Labayen is strikingly at variance with *arpátu'ut* from *arrapátu dut* in Eugui.

This Bidasoan stress system clearly distinguishes itself from the neighboring ones by several remarkable epiphenomena: great difference of intensity between accented and unaccented syllables, lengthening of the stressed vowels, frequent loss of posttonic syllables, etc. Father Larramendi noticed it in the XVIIIth century (11), and so did Bonaparte and Azkue later. But it was Nils M. Holmer, not so many years ago, who discovered the rule governing the distribution of accented syllables.

In isolated words as well as in short phrases, the stress falls, as a rule, on the second syllable of the word, irrespective of its length, and irrespective also, what is perhaps more remarkable, of the position of stress in Spanish: *Akilinok*, erg. sing. (Irun), *karákola*, abs. sing. (Lesaca, Vera), *primábera* (Lesaca), etc., against Sp. *Aquilino*, *caracol*, *primavera*, etc.

(10) One of the points studied by Jacobsen, Oyarzun, after the speech of Jon Oñatibia, lies on the borderline of this area, but outside of it.

(11) *Corografía... de Guipúzcoa*, published by J. I. Tellechea Idigoras, San Sebastián 1969, p. 301: "En Beterri son conocidos en Fuenterrabia por *icusiricanen*, *oraindicanen*, y así otros, por *oraindic*, *icusiric*; *pimpilimpansa* por *inguma*, *micheleta*, *ulifarfalla*. En Irún lo mismo, y su particular acento *arrigarri* y no *arrigarri*, como en otras partes."

There is no trespassing, however, beyond the stem boundaries: the abs. sing. of *lo* 'sleep' is *lúa* (Vera), that of *untz* 'ivy', *úntza*; cf. also abs. sing. *íntza*, [xája] 'feast', etc. The partitive of *ur* is *úrik* (*eztút úrik* 'I have no water'), contrasting in Lesaca with [estútem-bórik], *eztut denbor(ar)ik*, 'I have no time'. Cf. also, from Vera, *badút úra* 'I have (some) water'.

This is, as it were, the current, regular type. But, along with it, we find, as elsewhere, an anomalous type, stressed on the first syllable: *bágua* 'beech-tree' (Lesaca, Vera), *bésta* 'feast' (Aranaz), *órma* 'ice', *píkua* 'fig', *txára* (cf. Sp. *jara*, *jaro*), *txilkua* 'navel' (Lesaca, Vera); *áurriak*, *átziak* 'the first, the last (dancer)', erg. sing. (Fuenterrabia). Together with a certain amount of divergence, there is also a significant agreement between irregularly accented words in this area and in other zones. The correspondences embrace classes of words rather than individual nouns: i.e. loanwords, terms with local connotations, «expressive» words (*txilko* 'navel', *malko* 'tear'), etc.

After this cursory survey of well-known facts, necessary as an introduction, it is time to consider whether at least one more accent system, to be called henceforth type V, can be attested in Basque. We are referring to the stress marks written in the manuscripts of Pierre d'Urte, born in St.-Jean-de-Luz in the last quarter of the xviith century, exiled for religious reasons to England, where he died, although the date of his death is unknown.

Pierre d'Urte's extant works, published or unpublished (12), are not available in Salamanca. These remarks are, therefore, based only on the meager, but highly selective, sample included as an appendix in Pierre Lafitte, «L'art poétique basque d'Arnaud d'Oyhénart (1665)», *Gure Herria* 39 (1967), 195-234.

According to Lafitte's material, several features seem to stand out clearly:

a) D'Urte's accentuation is overtly paradigmatic, irrespective of the categories of case, definiteness or number: *arté*, *artéan*, *artéko*, *artétik*, *artétikan*; *egúnean*, *egúnetik*, *egúnera*, *egúneko*; *mundúan*, *mundútik*, *mundúko*; pl. *jainkóek*, *seméek*, *arrótzen*, *batzúen*, *jen-*

(12) *The earliest translation of the Old Testament into the Basque language (a fragment)*, comprising the whole Genesis and the first chapters of Exodus, Oxford 1894, seems to have been more carefully published than his *Grammaire cantabrique basque (1712)*, Bagnères-de-Bigorre 1900. There is also an unpublished Latin-Basque dictionary (it ends abruptly in the letter *A*), but, if memory does not fail me, it does not provide accent marks.

déen, anáiei, emázteei, hegáztinei, neskátoei. In deverbatives, indef. *hartú* 'taken' (cf. *neurtú*, Vera), pl. *hartúak; hartúrik, hartzéko, hartzéra; asmátzera, jakíteko, zahárturik*.

b) With a restriction that will be subsequently stated (cf. *d*, below), in this, the main class, the accent falls, as a rule, on the second syllable of each stem. If the stem has but one syllable (*gaitz, lur, su, zur*, etc.), the accent must remain word-initial, and it cannot jump over the juncture between the stem and the suffix. In other words, the situation is the same we found in our fourth, or Bidasoan, type.

c) Exactly as in type IV, this accentuation is not inherent to all noun stems. We find again a minor class stressed on the first syllable: loanwords such as *grázia, tállu*, erg. pl. *zámek* 'burdens' (cf., too, *alkatérna* 'tar', and *entssaláda*, not quoted by Lafitte, 'salad'), but also indigenous words such as erg. pl. *gúziek*, instr. pl. *gúziez* (*gúzi* 'all'), *kúme, lúze* 'long', *sábel* 'belly', *tóki* 'place', *tégi*. According to Azkue, s. v. *-kume* «cría, petit (d'un animal)», «no se dice *kume* aisladamente». As well as *kume*, it would be preferable to treat *tegi* as a suffix, rather than as a free form (13); *toki*, too, is often found as the last element of compounds. It has an anomalous intonation in Renteria, *tokiyà*, but not in Lesaca and Vera: *tokiya*. I cannot imagine how the place of stress in *lúze* or *sábel* (*gúzi* is a quantifier, after all) could be accounted for.

d) When a word (i.e. stem plus suffixes) had more than four syllables, the stress could not be retracted beyond the antepenult: *bizkitártean* 'meanwhile', *ben(e)dikátua* 'blessed'. The possibility that the second syllable of the word be stressed is excluded.

e) Lafitte states positively that certain postpositions (*gánik, gánat, gátik, dánik*) take over the stress from the noun stem: it falls, as can be seen, on their first syllable. The same is true, moreover, of certain derivational suffixes: *-gárr* in *miragárr* 'wonderful, marvellous' (14), *-tzálle* in *sakrifikatzálle* 'sacrificer' and, as is also likely on other grounds, *-zióne* in *benedizióne* 'blessing', *esplikazióne* 'explanation', etc. Other suffixes perhaps draw the stress nearer to them, if we are to judge from *ihizíki* '(caro) ferina', from *ihizi* 'wild beast'.

(13) Vera *mastégiya* 'the vineyard', with counter-etymological position of the accent (older **maíts*), against Lesaca *mástegiya*. Cf. *mátsoko'at* from Eugui, above. I heard *matspórka* 'bunch of grapes' in Lesaca, but there is in my notes a secondary stress on *mats-*.

(14) It is the same suffix we find in its synonymous *arrigarri*, quoted from Larramendi, above, footnote 11.

Another question must now be dealt with. Is our type V entitled to stand out as a full-fledged system, or is it, on the contrary, secondary, deriving from the former ones? In case of the latter, the most likely candidates are the neighboring types III and IV, and, to the best of my knowledge, it is the Bidasoan type IV which stands closer to it. As a matter of fact, it suffices to add a later rule to obtain, with type IV as input, the general outline of type V. I would suggest that historically a new rule was actually introduced in the Labourdin coast to the effect that stress could only fall on the last three syllables of a word.

We are all familiar, from Spanish or Greek, e.g., with this kind of limitation on stress. If we compare the root-stressed thematic conjugation in Old Indic (first class presents) and Greek, we discover a total agreement in *bhārāmas* : *phéromes* (-men) 'we bear', *bhāranti* : *phéronti* (-ousi) 'they bear', etc. (15). But, since the positioning of Greek accent is severely restricted, the closest it can approximate the OI present middle participle *bhāramānas*, gen. *bhāramānasya*, both with cerebral *n*, is *pherómenos*, *pheroménoio* (-ménou).

In d'Urte's translation, there are series like *aldéan*, *artéan*, *artáldean*, *bitártean*, but *bizkitártean* < **bizkitartean*. Or, in participles, *ezárri*, *isúri*, *hartú*, *ezárria*, *isúria*, pl. *hartúak*, *idúkia*, *flakátua*, but *bendikátua* (sic apud Lafitte) < **bendikatua* or **benédikatua*. As a guess, I would predict that the radical *madariká*, quoted by Lafitte, is followed in the text by a finite verb of two syllables, such as *madariká beza/bitza* 'maledicat eum/eam (eos/eas) Deus'. Likewise, next to *hiré dituk* 'they are thine', or *bi semé* 'two sons' (probably *bí semé*, with the accent mark zeroed out as redundant in the monosyllabic numeral), there is *hire sémea* 'thy son', from a proximate **hiré semea*, issued from *hiré seméa*: it would be wasteful to add the asterisk, since *hiré* is attested here, as well as *semé*, *seméak*, *seméek*. The hypothetical link is easily explained by assuming that the second member of a close-knit noun phrase lost its own stress.

As far as accent goes, in our type IV the syllables are counted from the beginning of the word. This was also the case in the speech of Pierre d'Urte, but with a restriction involving the last syllable: stress could not fall too far from it. By contrast, counting goes the

(15) This agreement is one of these "mirages de la linguistique comparée" Kurylowicz is so fond of commenting on. Greek is not the best witness to the ancient place of stress in the finite verb. Cf. O. Szemerényi, *Einführung in die vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft*, Darmstadt 1970, p. 74: "Beim *Verbum* dagegen ist von einigen Ausnahmen abgesehen das alte System radikal geändert worden, indem der Akzent nach den äussersten Möglichkeiten des Dreisilbengesetz zurückgezogen wird; also *phéromen*, *pherómetha* usw."

other way round in type III: it is the end of the word, together with the last syllable of the noun stem, which must be taken into account in this system, just as in type I. In order to visualize the effects of this divergence in the phonological makeup of some words, it will be best to compare several High-Navarrese forms with their cognates recorded in Lesaca and Vera:

	EUGUI	BIDASOA
'winter'	<i>négue</i>	<i>negúa</i>
'Monday'	<i>astéléna</i>	<i>astélena</i> Les., <i>astélna</i> Vera
'autumn'	<i>larrazkéna</i>	<i>udázkena</i>
'Saturday'	<i>larunbéta</i>	<i>larúnta</i>

Eugui *négue* is bisyllabic; *negúa*, on the contrary, has three syllables. In written Basque, the standard, archaic-like, definite forms of these words are: *negua*, *astelehena*, *-azkena*, *larunbata*.

These facts set apart the High-Navarrese type from type IV, once also found, in the variety we have called type V, to the North of the Bidasoa, along the Labourdin coast. They bring it, up to a point, near the Souletin-Roncalese type, in so far at least as it is the end of the word which is employed as a steady landmark to mete out the place of stress. But type II remains up to this day sensitive to vowel contraction, so that the position of stress may be an overt mark of differences in number or in definiteness, the latter especially in *a*-stems: cf. Leizarraga *Eliçá ezten Eliça* 'lest the Church be not (a) Church'. Differences in number, let us remember, but not in definiteness, are overtly marked only in types I-II, though it is not easy to see how they could be historically connected. Type I, as it stands, is, to say the least, a historical enigma.

The plural, with the exception of the absolute, had achieved in type II, by means of its «heavy», stress-bearing, suffixes, a perfectly regular paradigmatic accentuation: *gizonék*, *gizonén*, *gizonér*, *gizonéz*, *gizonéki* (16). The singular and, above all, the indefinite, seem to waver between the two poles of a marginal accentuation fixed on the penultimate, on the one hand, and a paradigmatic one, on the other. This vacillation existed already in Souletin in the

(16) Local cases, as I have attempted to show elsewhere, form a clearly differentiated subsystem (with at least one heavy non-plural suffix) within Basque declension.

xviiith century, according to Oihenart's testimony (17), who uses in one of his poems, e.g., *khantóretan*, *kóblatan*, indefinite, to translate 'in hymnis et canticis'. He speaks also of a host of «mots glissans» (i.e. *glissants* 'slippery'), whose penultimate, being *anceps*, could bear the stress or pass it on to the preceding syllable.

There is some rashness in my using a tiny sample of d'Urte's orthographic accentuation, obtained via Lafitte's article, in view of the fact that all his extant works, the published as well as the unpublished, are available to me. That it to say, they would be available, were I not to stay at Salamanca in this season. I dare promise that a thoroughgoing study of this matter is forthcoming in the near future.

There are, though, more cogent tasks in the domain of Basque accentology, and there is now in our country, for the first time, a young generation of scholars, graduate and undergraduate, eager to find, as I have so often heard, suitable topics for their linguistic researches. My advice, for some of them, would be that accentual themes, although difficult to tackle, occupy an outstanding place among the best and supposedly most fruitful subjects. There is no possibility of overlap here. Those who are prone to the written letter have at their disposal, not to speak of Leizarraga, d'Urte or Larramendi, the published and unpublished works of Lizarraga de Elcano (last quarter of the xviiith century), unmatched landmark in the history of High-Navarrese accentuation. Examples such as *billátzen*, *cillégui*, *ollárrac*, *soñécoa*, *eztaitzen aguértu bére óbrac*, etc., seem to hint that our type III is not so recent, after all.

Those who prefer the spoken language have what the French call *l'embarras du choix*. Almost everything remains to be done (18).

Salamanca.

(17) Besides his *Art poétique*, whose publication by Lafitte has been mentioned above, there is a book by Oihenart which cannot be dispensed with in this matter: the 2nd ed. of his *Notitia utriusque Vasconiae, tum Ibericae tum Aquitanicae*, Paris 1656. Spanish translation: *Noticia de las dos Vasconias*, San Sebastián 1929.

(18) I am heavily indebted to my friends Dr. Rudolf P. G. de Rijk and Dr. Michael K. Brame for corrections in the first English draft of this paper.