4   Variation in Spain

We have seen in Chapter 2 that all languages exist in a state of orderly heterogeneity, whether one is considering the spatial, the social or the diachronic aspects of variation, and in Chapter 3 we have considered the way in which such organized variation frequently determines the way in which language change proceeds. Many of these general issues have been illustrated with data taken from the Peninsular languages, but in the present chapter we come to a more systematic consideration of the distribution of linguistic features in the Spanish Peninsula. First we shall consider geographical variation, seeking an explanation for the main patterns of distribution of these features across the Peninsula. Then we shall turn to social aspects of variation, where reasons for particular patterns of heterogeneity will be hard to find, but where we shall study some of the many striking instances in which linguistic and social variation are correlated.

4.1   Geographical variation

The present geographical distribution of features in the Peninsula has been determined by two sets of circumstances, namely the existence of a northern dialect continuum, and the territorial expansion of northern varieties which accompanied the reconquest of Islamic Spain. The northern dialect continuum stretches across the northern third, approximately, of the Peninsula, and is part of the Romance dialect continuum which extends from northwestern Spain into France and thence into Belgium, Switzerland and Italy (see sections 1.1.1 and 4.1.2). Certain varieties from this continuum were projected southwards through the Peninsula, as their speakers resettled newly acquired territories, and were subject to a process of dialect contact and mixture (see Section 3.1), which involved not only different northern varieties, but also varieties of Mozarabic (4.1.1). As this southward

expansion progressed, processes of focusing and standardization (see Chapter 7) introduced breaks in the east–west continuum (see 2.5.2), so that, in the southern two-thirds of the Peninsula, there occurred a superimposition of isoglosses, a development which produced sharp boundaries between a western or Portuguese set of varieties, a central or Castilian set, and an eastern or Catalan range.

4.1.1   Mozarabic

Between the establishment of Latin in the Peninsula and the Islamic invasions, which took place from AD 711 onwards, and with the exception of the Basque-speaking region (then much more extensive than today), the entire Peninsula must have been covered by a dialect continuum. The northern Peninsular dialects are the only segments of this continuum which have survived to the present day. Following the imposition of Islamic power on the southern two-thirds of the Peninsula, the Hispano-Romance dialect continuum did not simply shrink, since Romance dialects continued in use for centuries in Islamic Spain, spoken as everyday vernaculars by Christians, Muslims and Jews. These varieties we now refer to as the *Mozarabic* dialects, and they have no direct modern descendants.[1] They either ceased to be used as their speakers adopted Arabic, following conversion of families to Islam (a process which became important only from the twelfth century onwards, as Islamic Spain was subjected to increasing Islamic fundamentalism), or they contributed to the dialect mixture which was created as the areas where they were spoken became incorporated into the expanding Christian states. Their effects upon such dialect mixtures have not been fully assessed, partly because our knowledge of their features is so limited. The amount of written evidence which reveals the nature of the Mozarabic dialects is exceedingly restricted, because these varieties were spoken in areas where the prestige standard for writing was Arabic, and because they were in use at a period when, as almost everywhere in Europe, there was no orthography capable of reflecting vernacular speech. Occasional Mozarabic texts, mostly poems, and written in Arabic or Hebrew script, together with small numbers of words and phrases contained in Hispano-Arabic texts, and limited evidence of post-reconquest Mozarabic (sometimes isolated words in Latin-alphabet documents, but sometimes entire notarial documents written in Arabic script), combine to provide us with a sketch of some of the phonological,

morphological and lexical characteristics of these southern Hispano-Romance varieties.[2]

The Mozarabic dialects formed part of a continuum with the dialects of Christian Spain until the Reconquest disrupted this continuity by overlaying the northernmost Mozarabic dialects with new, mixed varieties, and thereby providing a dialect boundary where none had previously existed. So it is not surprising that southern varieties should show features which were also present in parts, often large parts, of the north. Such distribution implies that the features concerned were to be found both in the north and in the centre and south before the Islamic invasions of the early eighth century, whether these features were innovations which were then advancing or archaisms which were then retreating. Thus, Galmés (1983: 67–116) concludes that the Mozarabic of Toledo showed the following characteristics:

1 Unconditioned diphthongization of Latin stressed short ě and ǒ: HERBA > Moz. *yerbāt.o*, derived from *yerba (like Cast. *hierba*, Leon. *yerba*, Arag. *yerba*, *yarba*, but unlike Gal.-Ptg. *erva*, Cat. *herba*) 'grass'; HORTA > Moz. *werṭa, warṭa* (like Cast. *huerta*, Leon. *güerta, guorta*, Arag. *güerta, guarta*, but unlike Gal.-Ptg. *horta*, Cat. *horta*) 'garden'.

2 Diphthongization of Latin stressed short ǒ when followed by a glide arising in the groups -LJ-, -C'L-, -G'L-: OCULU > Moz. *walyo, welyo* (like Leon. *güeyu, guoyu*, Arag. *güello*, Cat. *ull* (< *[wóɪʎ]), but unlike Gal.-Ptg. *ollo, olho*, Cast. *ojo*) 'eye'.

3 Distinction of final /-u/ (< Lat. -ǔ), in masc. sing., from /-o/ (< Lat. -ō), in masc. plur., as in Leonese (but by contrast with Galician–Portuguese, Castilian, Aragonese and Catalan).

4 Loss of final vowels: FEBRUĀRIU > Moz. *febrayr, febreyr* (like Cat. *febrer*, Arag. *febrer*, but unlike Gal.-Ptg. *fevereiro, febreiro*, Leon. *febreiru, febreru*, Cast. *febrero*) 'February'.

5 Maintenance of falling diphthongs /ei/ or /ai/ (and perhaps of /ou/): FEBRUĀRIU > Moz. *febrayr, febreyr* (like Gal.-Ptg. *fevereiro, febreiro*, Western Leon. *febreiru*, but unlike Central and Eastern Leon. *febreru*, Cast. *febrero*, Arag. *febrer*, Cat. *febrer*) 'February'.

6 Preservation of /f/ (< Lat. F): FĪLIA > Moz. *filya* (like Gal.-Ptg. *filla, filha*, Western and Central Leon. *fiya*, Arag. *filla*, Cat. *filla*, but unlike Eastern Leon. /híya/, Cast. *hija*) 'daughter'.

7 Maintenance of the Latin initial groups PL-, CL-, FL-: PLANA > Moz. *plana* (like Arag., Cat. *plana*, but unlike Ptg. *chã*, Gal. *chá*, Western Leon. *chana*, Central and Eastern Leon., Cast. *llana*) 'flat, plain'.

8 Maintenance of /ʎ/ resulting from -LJ-, -C'L-, -G'L-: OCULU > Moz. *walyo, welyo* (like Gal.-Ptg. *ollo, olho*, Leon. *güeyu, guoyu* (earlier *güellu, güollu*), Arag. *güello*, Cat. *ull*, but unlike Cast. *ojo*) 'eye'.

9 Maintenance of the Latin group -MB-: COLUMBA > Moz. *qolomba* (like Gal.-Ptg. *pombo*, Leon. *palomba* (< PALUMBA), but unlike Cast. *paloma*, Arag. *paloma*, Cat. *colom*) 'pigeon, dove'.

10 Maintenance of the /t/ in the Latin groups -CT-, -(U)LT-, competing with their modification to /tʃ/: CULTELLU + -ARIU > Moz. *qutilyero* 'cutler', LACTŪCA > Moz. *lechuga* 'lettuce' (compare LACTE > Gal.-Ptg. *leite*, Western Leon. *lleiti, tseiti*, Arag. *llet*, Cat. *llet*, versus Central and Eastern Leon. *llechi*, Cast. *leche* 'milk').

11 Use of fem. plur. {-es} < Lat. -ĀS: *magraneš*, pl. of *magrana* 'pomegranate' (compare Lat. CASĀS > Central Asturian *cases*, Cat. *cases*, versus Gal.-Ptg., Leon., Cast., Arag. *casas* 'houses').[3]

In the period between AD 711 and the disappearance of distinctively Southern Hispano-Romance several centuries later, there must have been many innovations which arose at different places and times in the Mozarabic continuum. However, apart from lexical innovations (largely, borrowings from Arabic) few have come to light. As a result, almost all those who have studied the Mozarabic dialects have characterized them as being overwhelmingly conservative. Some have even gone so far as to claim that Mozarabic is so archaic that it presents us with a picture, frozen in time, of what Peninsular Romance was like before 711. Such a view is, of course, untenable, since these varieties of speech, like all other examples of living language, were inevitably subject to change. However, even allowing for the highly imperfect and incomplete picture of Mozarabic which has reached us, there do seem to be reasons for claiming that the pace of change in Southern Peninsular Romance was rather slow. Such relative lack of innovation can be related to the circumstances under which those varieties of which we have knowledge were spoken; although speakers of Romance are known to have existed at all social levels, the Mozarabic dialects which were (albeit partially) reflected in writing were, it would seem, those of urban groups. The evidence we have of post-Reconquest Mozarabic comes almost entirely from urban ghettos in cities such as Toledo (see Hernández 1989), Valencia, and Seville, and these circumstances may have been typical of those in which most Mozarabic-speakers lived in earlier centuries, since

what evidence we have suggests that Arabic-speakers preferred the countryside (Entwistle 1962: 111). If it can be confirmed that the Mozarabic we know is the product of urban ghettos, then we have an explanation for its conservatism. Undisturbed urban communities (as we have seen in Section 3.3) typically consist of networks of individuals whose interrelationships are multiplex, and in societies dominated by such strong social ties it is normal to find resistance to linguistic change.

At all events, it is clear from the evidence presented above that some features which occupied part of the northern dialect continuum also occupied part of the Mozarabic continuum. This continuity of features across the political frontier between Islamic and Christian Spain springs from the fact that all of the features concerned were already widespread in the Peninsula (and often elsewhere) before the existence of the frontier. Indeed, although the frontier was not a total barrier to communication, it is important to note that we have no evidence that any feature was spread from any point in the northern dialect continuum in such a way that it crossed the frontier and was adopted by southern varieties, or vice versa. Thus, the northwestern innovation which consists in the deletion of intervocalic -L- and -N- (e.g., SALĪRE > Ptg. *säir* 'to leave', LŪNA > Ptg. *lua* 'moon') is nowhere attested in Mozarabic, including those varieties spoken in what was to become, as the Reconquest progressed, central and southern Portugal. If these areas now show the results of this deletion, as they do, this results from the successful emergence of this feature from the dialect mixture which resulted from the resettlement of these areas by people from elsewhere, including many speakers of northwestern varieties (those of northern Portugal and Galicia).

All cases of agreement between north and south, it would therefore appear, are cases of preservation of a feature already shared before the Islamic invasion, rather than cases of participation in an innovation which has spread from north to south or from south to north since that time. Each feature that we can examine occupies, naturally, an area which is unique to that feature. Thus we have seen that examination of the Mozarabic of Toledo provides evidence that in an ill-defined central region of the Peninsula (before the local varieties of Romance were submerged in the dialect mixture which followed upon the Reconquest of that area) certain features were in use which were shared with varieties spoken to the north of the frontier. We should not lose sight of the fact that a large number of features were shared by *all*

varieties, north and south, although these cases are inherently uninteresting. More interesting are the cases in which a feature known to exist in part of the Mozarabic continuum also appears in part or parts of the northern continuum. The cases listed above (pp. 76–7) demonstrate various kinds of continuity across the frontier. Thus feature (1) (unconditioned diphthongization of Latin stressed short ĕ and ŏ) shows continuity between the Mozarabic of Toledo (together with some other, but not all, Mozarabic varieties) and a broad segment of the northern continuum, from which the westernmost and the easternmost varieties are excluded. Feature (5) (maintenance of falling diphthongs /ei/ or /ai/), and feature (9) (maintenance of the Latin group -MB-) show agreement between most varieties of Mozarabic and a western segment of the northern continuum, while feature (3) (distinction of final /-u/ (< Lat. -ŭ), in the masculine singular, from /-o/ (< Lat. -ō), in the masculine plural) connects the Mozarabic of Toledo with only a small segment of the northern continuum, the part corresponding approximately to Asturias and Cantabria (4.1.2.2). By contrast, feature (4) (loss of final vowels) shows continuity only with the far northeast, and feature (7) (maintenance of the Latin initial groups PL-, CL-, FL-) appears in a broader northeastern area (La Rioja, Aragon, Catalonia) as well as in all Mozarabic.

Most revealing are those Mozarabic features which show continuity with two distinct segments of the northern continuum, leaving a central segment occupied by an innovation. This is the case of features (6) and (8) (preservation of /f/ (< Lat. F), and maintenance of /ʎ/ resulting from -LJ-, -C'L-, -G'L-), in which instances the areas of innovation (replacement of /f/ by /h/ or /Ø/, and of /ʎ/ by /ʒ/) are at first small, corresponding only to Cantabria and parts of northern Old Castile. Feature (10) (maintenance of the /t/ in the Latin groups -CT-, -(U)LT-) shows similar distribution of innovatory and conservative results, except that the segment of the northern continuum occupied by the innovation on this occasion includes not only Cantabria and northern Old Castile, but also adjacent parts of Asturias and Leon.

Finally, we find patterns which are in some sense mirror images of those just mentioned, ones in which the Mozarabic development is continuous with two separate segments of the northern continuum, but in which the unaffected northern areas preserve an earlier state of affairs. This is true of feature (2) (diphthongization of Latin stressed short ŏ when followed by a glide arising in the groups -LJ-, -C'L-, -G'L-), since both the northwest and the north-centre show no diphthongization,

although the intervening segment (traditionally labelled 'Leonese') does so, as do the varieties of the northeast (Aragon and Catalonia). A similar pattern is seen in feature (11) (use of feminine plural {-es} < Lat. -ās contrasting with feminine singular {-a}); here, if Galmés (1983: 302–17) is right, the (frequent but not exclusive) Mozarabic feminine plural morpheme {-es} connects the Catalan and Asturian segments where the pattern *casa/cases* is also seen. See Figure **3.2**, and Section **4.1.3**.

4.1.2 The northern Peninsular dialect continuum

There are no dialect boundaries to be observed as one progressively examines the linguistic varieties that occupy the northern third of the Peninsula (see **1.1.1** and **2.1**). Two or more isoglosses rarely, if ever, coincide; at most, the gradient of accumulating differences becomes a little steeper in some places than in others; that is, for a given distance there are more isoglosses to be crossed in some parts of the territory than in others. This intermeshing of varieties implies that any linguistically motivated division of the dialect continuum can be based on no more than a single isogloss at any one time. All other divisions can only be arbitrary, since they will not coincide with any observable linguistic reality. In particular, terms like *Galician, Leonese, Castilian*, etc., when used to distinguish one segment of the continuum from the rest, are motivated entirely by politico-historical considerations, such as where administrative boundaries and other frontiers now fall or once fell. They are at best a necessary convenience (since we often need to refer to portions of what is an amorphous reality), but at worst they are a dangerous fiction (since they suggest linguistic boundaries where none exist).

The sections that follow present a number of case-studies which examine aspects of the geographical variation evident in the northern Peninsula, and which emphasize the continuity which is everywhere observable.

4.1.2.1 Miranda do Douro

The independence of isoglosses from political frontiers and other boundaries is well exemplified by the varieties spoken in the area of Miranda do Douro, a town in northeastern Portugal which is separated from the Spanish province of Zamora by the international frontier, which here coincides with the River Douro/Duero. Many of the isoglosses which run, approximately north–south, through this part of

the northwestern Peninsula do not coincide with the frontier, but run some way to the west of Miranda, each following its individual path (see map in Menéndez Pidal 1962a), but then drawing together some way south of the town and thereafter coinciding with the frontier (except where there have been changes in the frontier in recent centuries: this coincidence with the frontier, a result of the resettlements which followed upon the Reconquest, has been considered in Section **2.5.2** and will be studied in more detail in Section **4.1.7**).

Among the features listed by Leite de Vasconcellos (1900–1, 1970: 166) and Carvalho (1958) as characterizing the speech of Miranda, the following show continuity with the speech of Zamora (and districts further east) but differ from the features which characterize varieties spoken further to the west in Portugal:[4]

1   Latin stressed short ĕ and ŏ often become diphthongs (/ie/, /ue/), where /ø/ indicates a front mid rounded vowel: TERRA > *tierra*, BONU > [bwønu] (beside [bønu]) (compare Ptg. *terra*, *bom*) 'earth', 'good'. As a consequence of this process, the Mirandês dialects appear once to have had a five-phoneme vowel system, lacking the distinction of mid-low and mid-high vowels which characterizes the Portuguese seven-vowel system, although speakers now appear to have moved towards a seven-vowel system (Carvalho 1958: 102).

2   Diphthongization of Latin stressed short ŏ takes place when it is followed by a glide arising in the groups -LJ, -CʼL, -GʼL: FOLIA > [fwøλa] 'leaf'.

3   Latin v- merges with B- as a bilabial: VĪNU > /bino/ (compare Ptg. *vinho*), 'wine'.

4   Intervocalic -N- remains unchanged (except in certain suffixes): RANA > *rana* (compare Ptg. *rã*) 'frog'.

5   Geminate -NN- > /ɲ/: ANNU > *anho* (compare Ptg. *ano*) 'year'.

6   The group -MN- > /ɲ/: SOMNU > *sonho* (compare Ptg. *sono*) 'sleep'.

7   Initial L- > /ʎ/: LŪNA > *lhuna* (compare Ptg. *lua*) 'moon'.

8   Geminate -LL- > /ʎ/: CABALLU > *cabalho* (compare Ptg. *cavalo*) 'horse'.

9   Diphthongization of Latin short ĕ occurs in the second- and third-persons singular of the present indicative, and in the imperfect indicative, of the verb *ser* 'to be': /jés/, /jé/, /jéra/, etc.

10 The third-person singular of rhizotonic preterites is marked by {-o}: DĪXIT > *dixo* (compare Ptg. *disse*) 'he said'.

This disparity between the isoglosses considered here, on the one hand, and the political frontier, on the other, has traditionally been expressed by claiming that '(Western) Leonese dialects are spoken in northeastern Portugal' (e.g., Menéndez Pidal 1962a: 19; Zamora 1967: 87). However, within the view of geographical variation presented in this book, and elsewhere, it is clear that the dialects of Miranda form part of the Northern Peninsular dialect continuum, and that they have attracted particular attention only because in certain salient respects they show greater similarity with varieties spoken in Spain than with those spoken in the rest of Portugal. Nevertheless, it is important not to lose sight of the fact that greater or lesser similarity of features between any given varieties implies stronger or weaker communication between their speakers, so that the history of communications in this area can be held at least partly responsible for the distribution of isoglosses there.[5]

Menéndez Pidal (1962a: 19–20) has identified what are probably the key factors of the communication history of this area.[6] In Roman times, Miranda belonged to the administrative region (*conventus*) based upon Astorga, to the north, and not to the region whose capital was Braga, to the west. These Roman administrative divisions were probably based upon pre-Roman ethnic divisions, and in turn formed the basis of the medieval ecclesiastical boundaries, which show that Miranda belonged to the diocese of Astorga (and not to that of Braga) until well after the creation of the Portuguese state, in the twelfth century, and the fixing of its political frontier at the River Duero. Even after the ecclesiastical boundaries were redrawn to coincide with the political frontier, contacts continued (and perhaps still continue) to be closer between Miranda and Spain than between Miranda and the rest of Portugal. Although the political frontier has been in place for 800 years, the local isoglosses have still not come to coincide with it, a nice example of the extreme slowness with which political events affect the distribution of linguistic features.

4.1.2.2 Cantabria

The autonomous region of Cantabria, formerly the province of Santander and otherwise known as La Montaña, occupies a segment approximately in the middle of the northern Peninsular dialect continuum, on the northern seaboard. The name *Cantabria*, in Roman and early medieval times, indicated an area somewhat larger than the present autonomous region, including not only La Montaña, but also Campoo,

Amaya, La Bureba and Castilla la Vieja (then small), and stretching, on some accounts, as far as La Rioja in one direction and central Leon in the other (Menéndez Pidal 1964: 482–83). Early medieval Cantabria therefore embraced, among its southern territories, the group of counties which gradually amalgamated as the expanded county of Castile, and whose speech displayed the features which, following their southward extension to Burgos (resettled in AD 884), contributed most substantially to the first Castilian *koiné* (see **4.1.2.3**). However, in the present discussion, we shall limit consideration to the area north of the Cantabrian mountains, the present Cantabria.

Our knowledge of the distribution of linguistic features in this part of the Peninsula has been considerably improved since the appearance of the *Atlas Lingüístico y Etnográfico de Cantabria* (ALECa 1995; see also Alvar 1977 [1980], 1981); we previously had to rely on studies of individual localities (Holmquist 1988, Penny 1970a, 1978) and on geographical studies of specific features or groups of features (García González 1978, 1981–2, 1982, Penny 1984, Rodríguez-Castellano 1954). What emerges from these studies is that the speech of Cantabria forms a bridge which links western Peninsular varieties with eastern varieties, and which runs north of the area (northern Burgos) where the most characteristic features of Castilian developed. This bridge bears some resemblance, but on a smaller scale, to the Mozarabic bridge which up to the thirteenth century similarly provided a link of continuity between east and west, except that the Mozarabic bridge was entirely washed away by the southward spread of Castilian features which came as a consequence of the resettlement of such regions as New Castile and Andalusia by communities whose speech was predominantly flavoured by varieties originating in the centre-north. By contrast, Cantabria was not subject to any such resettlement (quite the reverse, it was a constant source of emigration), and the link that its speech provides between east and west was not completely submerged by the tide flowing from the prestige centres further south, since this tide was of the more usual type, consisting of a gradual spread of central Castilian features northwards across the Cantabrian mountains, through face-to-face imitation of features rather than by movement of people. Other parts of this northern bridge, specifically La Rioja and Romance-speaking Navarre, show a greater erosion than the Cantabrian segment, reflecting stronger lines of communication leading northeast from Burgos than those that led northwards. What remains of this link can be traced in the Cantabrian area?

1 The final /-ɾ/ of infinitives is realized as /Ø/ when followed by a clitic (e.g., *me, te, lo, nos, se*): [miðíla] *medirla* 'to measure it'; [íβus] *iros* 'to go away' (2nd plur.) (Penny 1970a: 58; 1978: 45–6; 1984: maps 24–5). This feature extends from the west (Galician–Portuguese) through Asturias into Cantabria and the north of Old Castile (but not including the varieties spoken in the town of Burgos and its immediate environs, from which the standard language sprang) into La Rioja and Aragon (see Nagore 1977: 21).[7] Cantabria also reveals deletion of the final /-ɾ/ of infinitives when a definite article heads a following noun phrase (whether it is the subject or the direct object of the infinitive). Information from neighbouring areas on this sandhi feature is generally lacking.

2 A number of Cantabrian varieties display a contrast between final /-i/ and /-e/, although in some cases this contrast is now only visible through the effects of metaphony (see **4.1.2.5**), in that /-i/ has historically given rise to metaphony while /-e/ has not (Penny 1970a: 65; 1978: 47–8; 1984: map 8), after which the two final vowels merged. The classes of words displaying /-i/ are singular imperatives of *-er* and *-ir* verbs, the masculine singular forms of the demonstratives corresponding to standard *este* and *ese*, the first-person singular of rhizotonic preterites, together with a small and ill-defined group of nouns and adverbs corresponding to such standard words as *leche, tarde, noche,* etc. This state of affairs continues westward into northeastern Leon and eastern and central Asturias, where the phonological distinction between these two final vowels is often still evident on the surface (García Arias 1988: 45; Granda 1960: 85–114).[8] In the medieval period, this contrast of final vowels also extended eastwards into La Rioja (Alvar 1976: 61–2; Gulsoy 1969–70; Tilander 1937) and Aragon (Alvar 1953: 214; Tilander 1937: 4–5).

3 Distinction between final /-u/ and /-o/ is also fundamental to the phonology of Cantabrian varieties. Final /-u/ characterizes a large class of masculine singular count-nouns (as well as adjectival and pronominal forms which concord with such nouns), e.g., /lóβu/ 'wolf', /guénu/ 'good', and in many areas (Penny 1984: maps 1–7) this high final vowel causes metaphonic raising of the tonic vowel, e.g., /lúβu/, /guínu/ (see Section **4.1.2.5**). By contrast, final /-o/ marks masculine plural count-nouns and masculine singular mass-nouns (together with agreeing adjectives and

pronouns), e.g., /lóβos/ 'wolves', /guénos/ 'good (masc. plur.)', /késo guéno/ 'good cheese', as well as adjectives and pronouns which refer to feminine mass-nouns, e.g., /jéɾβa séko/ 'dry grass'.[9] This distinction of final vowels must earlier have occupied the far western segment of the northern Peninsular dialect continuum (Galicia and western Asturias), but its traces are now limited to the metaphonic effects visible in Portuguese; e.g., masc. sing. *porco* /pórku/ vs masc. plur. *porcos* /pɔ́rkuʃ/ 'pig(s)'. However, it is better preserved in the rural speech of central and eastern Asturias, and is often accompanied there by similar metaphonic effects, due to /-u/, to those observable in Cantabria (García Arias 1988: 90–6; Granda 1960: 30–85). This contrast between /-o/ and /-u/ extends into northeastern Burgos (González Ollé 1960: 70), and Menéndez Pidal (1964: 168–72) shows that it formerly extended into La Rioja and Aragon (see also Alvar 1953: 50–1), although relics of /-u/ are today few in these latter areas. Any such early contrast in Catalan was quickly submerged in the regular loss of both vowels.

4 The survival of the diphthong /ié/ under conditions in which it is reduced to /í/ in the dialects of the Burgos area provides further evidence of the continuity provided by Cantabria across the north of the area from which standard Castilian sprang. The main circumstances in which the dialects of central Burgos introduced this change were before /ʎ/ (principally in the diminutive suffix *-iello > -illo*) and before syllable-final /-s/ (e.g., VESPA > *(a)viespa > avispa* 'wasp'), and although the monophthongized form of the suffix (*-illo*) has long since spread northwards into Cantabria, there are frequent residues there of lexical items containing /ié/ which in the standard show /í/. Thus, the Cantabrian descendants of VESPA typically retain the diphthong (Penny 1970a: 60; 1978: 55): /griéspa/, /biéspra/, /abriéspa/, /abiéspa/; as do a few other words: /niéspra/ < MESPILU 'medlar tree'; /piésku/ < *PESCU < PERSICU 'peach'. This result cannot, of course, be seen at either the eastern or the western extremities of the northern Peninsular dialect continuum, since in these areas the diphthong /ié/ is unknown (Latin tonic ĕ remains a monophthong, /é/ or /ɛ/), but the Cantabrian result forms part of the bridge which joins Asturias and upper Aragon, where /ié/ survives in the relevant forms.[10] What is more, the band represented by diphthongized forms of the descendant of VESPA is quite a wide one;

ALPI (1962: map 19) reveals such forms not only in northern Palencia and northern Burgos, but also in the southern part of Burgos. For northeastern Burgos, see also González Ollé (1960: *aviespa*, *riestra*).

5   There are likewise relics in Cantabria of the diphthong /ué/ (<Latin ŏ), under conditions in which the dialects of Burgos show the simple vowel /ó/, namely when followed by a glide arising in the groups -LJ-, -c'L-, -G'L-: *cuejo* (standard *cojo*) 'I grasp' < COLLI(G)O, *bisueju* (standard *bisojo*) 'cross-eyed' < BIS + OC(U)LU; and when followed by -CT-: *nuechi* (standard *noche*) 'night' < NOCTE. More frequent cases of diphthongization under these conditions are to be seen in Asturias (García Arias 1988: 67–8), and in Aragonese (Zamora 1967: 216–18), while in the Middle Ages such cases were quite numerous across the whole area under consideration here, including the far north of Burgos and La Rioja (Menéndez Pidal 1964: 139–43).

6   Although most of the Cantabrian lexical items which are reflexes of Latin words containing the groups -LJ-, -c'L-, -G'L- today show /x/ as the descendant of these groups (e.g., OC(U)LU > *ojo*, sometimes /úxu/ 'eye'), there is a small number of items which show /ʎ/ or /j/: /bíʎu/, /bíju/ (< *VICLU < VITULU 'calf'), /dáʎu/ (< DAC(U)LU) 'scythe', /máju/ (< MALLEU) 'mallet', /páju/ (probably derived from PALEA) 'hay-store' (Penny 1970a: 82–3; 1978: 66–7). These are also the general results of -LJ-, -c'L-, -G'L- to be seen both to the west and east of Cantabria (e.g., OC(U)LU > Gal. *ollo*, Ptg. *olho*, Leon. *güeyu*, Arag. *güello*, Cat. *ull*). Although almost submerged today by the advancing standardizing tide, Cantabrian forms like /béju/ help to demonstrate that there was once a closer similarity between the varieties which stretch across the north of the area in which Castilian has its roots.[11] As is most usually the case, La Rioja is the least resistant link in this northern chain, and although there too the early result of -LJ-, -c'L-, -G'L- was /ʎ/ (Alvar 1976: 54–6), the introduction of /ʒ/ (later /x/) from the Burgos area was probably accomplished before the end of the Middle Ages.[12]

7   The distribution in Cantabria of items which descend from Latin words displaying initial F- followed by vowels other than tonic ŏ reveals that the pronunciation /h/ (sometimes /x/) has receded from eastern Cantabria and from the coast even in the west, in the face of the advance of the /Ø/ pronunciation typical of Burgos

(Penny 1984: map 11). However, where Latin F- was followed by tonic short ŏ, later /ué/ (e.g., FŎNTE, FŎLLE, FŎRTE, FŎRAS), or where /ué/ arose from Latin UI or UE (e.g., FUĪ, FUERUNT), the sequence /hué/ was much more resistant to standardization and has widely survived in the Cantabro-Pyrenean area (and elsewhere): /huénte/ 'fountain, spring', /huéʎe/ 'bellows', /huérte/ 'strong', /huéra/ 'outside', /huí/ 'I was, I went', /huéron/ 'they were, they went'.[13] Because the initial aspirate of these words is necessarily bilabialized (by the following bi-labio-velar glide [w], the normal realization of /u/ under these circumstances), these pronunciations are variously reported as *juente* (i.e., [hwénte] or [xwénte], ignoring the labial quality of the initial consonant, and portraying solely its velar quality), as [ʍwénte] (paying attention to both the bilabial and the velar qualities), or as [ɸwénte] (reporting the bilabial quality but ignoring the velar). However recorded, this feature stretches from central Asturias (where it therefore exists beside the phoneme /f/ which appears in many words such as *facer*/*fader* 'to do', *fumu* 'smoke', *faba* 'haricot bean'; see García Arias 1988: 51, 106), through eastern Asturias, and Cantabria (Penny 1984: maps 12, 22), into La Rioja, Navarre and Aragon (*ALEANR* 1979–83: maps 818, 1414, 1471, 1472).[14]

8   A feature which is usually characterized as 'western', the non-reduction of the Latin group -MB-, can perhaps be added to the list of features belonging to the Cantabrian bridge. In Catalan, Aragonese, and in standard Castilian, -MB- has undergone assimilation to /m/ (e.g., PLŪMBU > Cat. *plom*, Arag., Cast. *plomo* 'lead'), but in the west this group has remained unchanged (PLŪMBU > Ptg. *chumbo*, LAMBĒRE > Leon. *lamber* 'to lick'). It would seem that this innovation, by which /mb/ was reduced to /m/, reached the Burgos area in Visigothic times (from the northeastern region of the Peninsula, where it may have resulted from the implantation of a central-southern variety of regional Latin; see Menéndez Pidal 1960 and Section **4.1.2.4**); having become established in the varieties spoken in the Burgos area, the /m/ of words like *plomo*, *lamer* became the form adopted by the Castilian *koinés* created in areas of resettlement following the Reconquest, and thereafter a feature of standard Castilian. However, this innovation fell short of entirely demolishing the bridge which passes from Asturias, through Cantabria and northeastern Burgos into La Rioja. Cantabrian varieties preserve a number of words which

retain /mb/ (see Penny 1970a: 80; 1978: 65; 1984: 132 and map 17), as do the varieties spoken in the Mena valley (northeastern Burgos; see González Ollé 1960), and although /mb/ appears in La Rioja today in just a handful of terms (Zamora 1967: 337), its presence was much more marked in the Middle Ages: it characterized the language of Gonzalo de Berceo and of the notarial and other documents written in this area (Alvar 1976: 52–3). Torreblanca (1984–5) shows that with regard to this feature and others, and contrary to what is claimed by Menéndez Pidal (1964: 286–7), medieval La Rioja did not constitute a linguistic island, but showed continuity with the area of La Bureba (northeastern Burgos). What we can just perceive today, then, is an area of continuity in the retention of /mb/ stretching from Galicia to La Rioja across the top of the central Burgos area (but including the northeastern part of that province). Examples of this retention are now relatively few in the Cantabrian segment of this arc, and almost non-existent in its Riojan extension, as a result of the lexical diffusion, from Burgos, of forms with /m/ which has been taking place for centuries.[15]

We have been arguing here that there is strong evidence of shared dialectal features which provide continuity right across the top of the Spanish Peninsula, a continuity of features which connects the eastern and western varieties of Hispano-Romance in a manner similar to the way in which they were formerly connected by means of the Mozarabic varieties (see **4.1.1**). In other respects, this northern bridge is, of course, like any other array of geographically related varieties: it consists of a spectrum of interlocking dialects, randomly traversed by a series of isoglosses. These isoglosses are fairly well spaced in Cantabria (see Penny 1984), showing the usual smooth gradient of accumulating change typical of long-settled areas undisturbed by immigration. In places, however, the gradient of variation becomes steeper (that is, the isoglosses are seen to run closer together, a feature which is usually due to increased difficulty of communication across the part of the territory in question; see Section **2.5** and Figure **2.3**). One such case occurs in the area of eastern Asturias close to western Cantabria. Here García González (1981, 1981–82) maps a number of isoglosses and finds that they run north–south approximately parallel with the River Purón, separating the dialects spoken in eastern Llanes, and in all of Ribadedeva, Peñamellera Alta, and Peñamellera Baja from

the varieties spoken in the rest of Asturias, and linking them with varieties spoken in Cantabria. The isoglosses in question mark the separation between the following features (western results precede eastern): /ĵ/ vs /x/ as results of -LJ-, -c'L-, -G'L- (e.g., *vieyu* vs *vieju* < VECLU < VETULU 'old'); /ʃ/ vs /x/ as results of -x- (e.g., *coxu* vs *coju* < COXU 'lame'); retention vs loss of /-d-/ in feminine participles (e.g., *cerrada* vs *cerrá* 'closed'); regular diphthongization of Latin ŏ when followed by a glide arising in the groups -LJ-, -c'L-, -G'L- (e.g., *jueya* vs *hoja* < FOLIA 'leaf'); loss vs retention of the final vowel of the suffix -*inu* (e.g., *camín* vs *caminu* 'road, track'); singular and plural dative clitics *i*~*yos* vs *li(s)*; possessives *mió(s)*, *tó(s)*, *só(s)* vs *mí(s)*, *tú(s)*, *sú(s)* (e.g., *la mió casa* vs *la mí casa* 'my house'). García González finds no reason for this bunching of isoglosses, and in an area like that of northern Spain, where movements of population within the zone are rare, such a relatively sharp dialectal transition needs further study, with the aim of discovering the factors which have impeded east–west communication in the area, and which have therefore disrupted the expected linguistic accommodation processes.[16]

Most of the features discussed in the previous paragraphs are conservative features, since we have been considering the resistance of this northern zone to innovations spreading northwards from Burgos. Cantabria is also an area which we would predict to be linguistically more conservative than territories further south, since it is an area which has suffered little or no inward migration; in consequence, we can expect that its rural communities (at least) will be characterized by the strong social ties typical of such settled social groups, conditions which we have seen (Section **3.3**) to favour resistance to innovation. However, undisturbed areas and peripheral zones (and within the Peninsula, Cantabria is obviously peripheral from a purely geographical point of view) are not always conservative, as we have already seen (in **1.1.1**). One way in which the varieties of Cantabria are markedly less conservative than the standard is in the development of a complex system of vowel harmony. This innovatory system, in which the appearance of high or mid vowels is determined by the tongue-height of the tonic vowel in the phonological word concerned (and by some other phonological factors), is described in Penny (1969), and has attracted a good deal of theoretical attention (see Goldsmith 1987; Hualde 1989; McCarthy 1984; Spencer 1986; Steriade 1987; Vago 1988; Wilson 1988).

4.1.2.3   Old Castile

The northern part of Old Castile falls within the northern Peninsular dialect continuum, but like the rest of Castile it is a region which has attracted relatively little variational study. Although a dialect atlas, with a sociolinguistic component, is planned for New Castile (see García Mouton and Moreno 1994), no such plans exist for Old Castile, and we are dependent upon scanty data for the area which interests us here. The one published volume of the Peninsular linguistic atlas (*ALPI* 1962) uses a very sparse network in Castile, and although studies from the first decades of the twentieth century (see García de Diego 1916) made clear that Castile presented no exception to the rule of geographical variation, the view has persisted that Castile is linguistically rather uniform, so that a manual such as Alonso Zamora Vicente's *Dialectología española* (1967) contains no chapter on Castilian dialects to match those on Leonese, Aragonese, Andalusian, Judeo-Spanish, etc.

Dialectal variation within Castile is however beginning to attract attention and a number of studies have appeared which are directed at third-person clitic pronoun reference. García González (1981) examines the values of *lo*, and finds that this pronoun is the one used to refer anaphorically to mass-nouns, whether masculine or feminine (e.g., *esta leche hay que beberlo* 'this milk must be drunk') not only in Asturias and Cantabria (see **4.1.2.5**), but also in Vizcaya and Alava, in all of Burgos and Palencia, in eastern Leon, and in northern Valladolid. However, an isogloss separates this area from La Rioja, where a different agreement system is in use, in which *lo* cannot refer to feminine mass-nouns, but only to masculine nouns, whether count-nouns or mass-nouns.[17] These findings are broadly confirmed by Klein (1979, 1980, 1981a, 1981b), who contrasts the case-determined use of third-person clitics (in which *lo(s)*, *la(s)* are used for direct object reference and *le(s)* only for indirect object reference) with their semantically determined use (in which the semantic properties of the referent determine the selection of the clitic, such that *lo* is selected for mass-noun referents, whether masculine or feminine, while *le(s)* and *la(s)* are used respectively to refer to masculine and feminine count-nouns). Two separate Castilian zones are studied and it is found that the semantically determined usage belongs to the west of the northern Meseta (Valladolid), while the case-determined type is the one used in the east (La Rioja and Soria), although one facet of the semantically determined usage (namely the use of *le* for animate direct objects) has gained ground in the east

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	M	F	M	F
Direct object	*lo*	*la*	*los*	*las*
Indirect object	*le*		*les*	

Table 4.1   Case-determined or etymological system of clitic pronoun reference

(where, it is presumed, *le* was previously restricted to indirect-object functions).

Further broad confirmation of this distribution of clitic systems in Old Castile comes from Fernández-Ordóñez (1994), who reports in detail on a massive but still incomplete survey of the values of third-person clitics in Old and New Castile, Extremadura, Asturias, Cantabria, and the Basque Country. She identifies a series of systems, and assigns them to specific areas, describing some zones as 'transitional'. A large (western and northern) area of Old Castile uses these clitics in the semantically determined manner described above, while the case-determined system is most usually found on the eastern side of the northern Meseta.

Some explanations for the semantically determined system of clitic usage have been hazarded.[18] Fernández-Ordóñez (1994) explains this system as due to influence exerted by Basque–Castilian bilinguals upon the case-determined system and to successive reanalyses by monolingual speakers. Whether or not this explanation can be shown to be true, it is evident that the Old Castilian segment of the northern Peninsular dialect continuum is a battlefield in which the two clitic systems are in contention. On the one hand we have the case-determined or etymological system, shown in Table **4.1**. In this system, inherited directly from Latin, difference of case (direct vs indirect object) is consistently marked by the form of the pronoun, in both genders and both numbers. That is, *leísmo*, *laísmo* and *loísmo* are entirely absent:[19]

Lo(s) vi (a mi(s) amigo(s))	[+direct, +animate, +count, +masc]
El reloj me lo rompí	[+direct, -animate, +count, +masc]
Le(s) mandé una carta (a mi(s) amigo(s))	[-direct, +animate, +count, +masc]
La(s) vi (a mi(s) amiga(s))	[+direct, +animate, +count, -masc]
La cabeza la tengo sucia	[+direct, -animate, +count, -masc]
Le(s) mandé una carta (a mi(s) amiga(s))	[-direct, +animate, +count, -masc]

	COUNTABLE			NON-COUNTABLE
Singular		Plural		
M	F	M	F	
le	*la*	*les*	*las*	*lo*

Table 4.2   Semantically determined system of clitic pronoun reference

On the other hand, part of Old Castile uses a semantically based system, which in its simplest form takes the shape shown in Table **4.2**. In this semantically based system, there is no contrast of forms corresponding to contrasts of function; each form pronominalizes both direct and indirect objects. In other words, users of such a system display total *leísmo* and *laísmo*, and no distinction is made between animate and inanimate, or between human and non-human, referents; e.g.:

Le(s) vi (a mi(s) amigo(s))	[+direct, +animate, +count, +masc]
El reloj me le rompí	[+direct, -animate, +count, +masc]
Le(s) mandé una carta (a mi(s) amigo(s))	[-direct, +animate, +count, +masc]
La(s) vi (a mi(s) amiga(s))	[+direct, +animate, +count, -masc]
La cabeza la tengo sucia	[+direct, -animate, +count, -masc]
La(s) mandé una carta (a mi(s) amiga(s)).	[-direct, +animate, +count, -masc]

The pronoun *lo* in this system is reserved for non-countable referents; e.g.:[20]

Este pan hay que echarlo	[+direct, -count, +masc]
Esta leche hay que echarlo	[+direct, -count, -masc]

We have already noted that the semantically based system is dominant in eastern Cantabria, adjacent parts of the Basque Country, Burgos, Palencia, eastern Leon, and Valladolid. Very similar systems are also used in western Cantabria and in Asturias, with the difference that although *lo* is used there to pronominalize mass-nouns of either gender, there is nevertheless a distinction of case between pronouns which refer to count-nouns; typically *lu/los* and *la(s)* are used for direct objects, while indirect objects are pronominalized by means of *li(s)~le(s)* (western Cantabria), or *i~yos*, etc. (Asturias) (see García González 1981, Penny 1978: 80).

We have also seen that the case-determined system is the one

which dominates the eastern side of the northern Meseta (La Rioja, Soria). This system extends into much of New Castile (Fernández-Ordóñez 1994) and into Andalusia, and was the type which dominated the various *koinés* which emerged during the settlement of America.

However, the *koinés* which emerged in southern Old Castile and in northern New Castile were more complex in this regard. The best explanation of what occurred in Segovia, Madrid, Toledo, etc., was that interdialect creation took place (see **3.1.2**), giving rise to hybrid systems of pronoun reference. A number of such systems are observable in present and past varieties from the centre of the Peninsula. The most common interdialect system was one which had most of the features of the semantically based system but into which was introduced a gender distinction in the case of non-countable referents (e.g., *esta leche hay que echarla,* rather than the *echarlo* which is typical of the fully semantic system), retaining *lo* only for masculine mass-noun referents. Such a system, characterized as it is by *leísmo* and *laísmo* in the case of all count-noun objects, is the type which came to be dominant in the written varieties of Golden Age Castile, and which widely persists today in non-standard varieties spoken in Old Castile, including among educated speakers from these areas.[21] Since then, another, different, hybrid system has come to dominate the standard, one in which (in addition to the introduction of *la* to pronominalize feminine mass-nouns) case distinctions have been introduced between pronouns which refer to feminine count-nouns (direct-object *la(s)* vs indirect-object *le(s)*), and between those that refer to non-human (sometimes non-animate) masculine count-nouns (*lo(s)* vs *le(s)*), while preserving the caseless use of *le(s)* for masculine human (sometimes, more broadly, animate) referents.

The system represented in Table **4.3**, now the prestige system in much of Spain, is one of many interdialectal systems in use in Old Castile and in northern New Castile which emerged in different places through contact between the case-determined system originally dominant in eastern Old Castile (Table **4.1**) and the semantically governed system of north and western Old Castile (Table **4.2**).

4.1.2.4 The Pyrenees

The Pyrenean area provides us with an opportunity to examine the relationship between the distribution of isoglosses and a major topographical feature. A study of geographical variation in this area

	Countable				Non-countable	
	Singular		Plural			
	M	F	M	F	M	F
	+H	−H	+H	−H		
Direct object	le	lo	la	les	los	las	lo	la
Indirect object	le		les			

The columns reflect properties of the noun being pronominalized (+H indicates a human referent, −H a non-human referent; M and F indicate Masculine and Feminine referents respectively), while the two rows reflect the role of the pronoun in its clause.

Table 4.3 Hybrid or interdialectal system of clitic pronoun reference, now standard

confirms that, as we found in the case of the Miranda area, isoglosses do not in many cases coincide with a political frontier, but it also allows us to see that, contrary to naive expectation, isoglosses do not necessarily coincide with mountain ranges either.

We shall focus on the extent of spread of three groups of features which are evident in overlapping areas centred upon the Pyrenees. These features belong principally to the rural speech of these areas, but in a few instances a change has come to be used in one or more of the Peninsular standards.

1   The reduction, through assimilation of the second element to the first, of groups consisting of a sonorant followed by a voiced plosive (e.g., -MB- > /m/, -ND- > /n/, and, less frequently, -LD- > /l/ or /ʎ/). The change -MB- > /m/ was extended to areas from which Castilian originated and was thereafter spread as part of the Castilian set of features (e.g., LUMBU > lomo 'back, ridge'), while both -MB- > /m/ and -ND- > /n/ affected the northeastern Peninsular area from which Catalan sprang and were then extended southwards as part of the Catalan expansion (e.g., COLUMBĀRIU > Colomer (surname), DEMANDĀRE > demanar 'to ask').

2   The voicing of a plosive when grouped with a preceding sonorant (e.g., -MP- > /mb/, -NT- > /nd/, -NC- > /ng/, -RT- > /rd/, etc.).

3   The retention of the Latin voiceless plosives -P-, -T-, -K- in intervocalic position, by contrast to their voicing (-P- > /b/, -T- > /d/, -K- > /g/) in a vast surrounding territory comprising northern

Italy, the Alps, France (except the Pyrenean area in question), and most of the Peninsula.

Debate about the origins of changes (1) and (2) has been intense, and Menéndez Pidal (1964: 286–306; 1960: lix–lxxxvi) makes a strong case for an Italic origin, arguing that the kind of Latin brought to northeastern Spain from the third century BC onwards was highly dialectal, preserving many features which originated not in the Latin of Rome but in the contemporary Umbrian and Oscan speech of central and southern Italy. He emphasizes that feature (1) above is attested in ancient Umbrian texts and is evident today in central and southern Italy and in the Pyrenean zone, in both of which areas change (2) also occurs, contained within the area occupied by change (1).

Although Menéndez Pidal's account was not (and could not be) couched in terms of sociolinguistic theories of language change, it squares well with more recent accounts of the linguistic consequences of colonization processes (e.g., Trudgill 1986: 127–61, concerned with colonial English, but in principle applicable to colonial Latin or colonial Spanish). When the spread of Latin to the Iberian Peninsula began in the late third century BC, variation of speech between groups of settlers must have been marked, reflecting the marked linguistic variation which must have existed in the areas from which they came, central and southern Italy. At this period, the Latin of Rome (with its inevitable internal variation) was still in the process of extending its features into these territories, where its Italic competitors, Umbrian and Oscan, had hitherto been spoken unchallenged. It can therefore be regarded as highly likely that the speech forms brought to northeastern Spain during and in the wake of the Roman conquest of the Ebro valley (Lerida, Saragossa, Huesca, 218–206 BC) were highly varied, and that at least some varieties contained features which were common to Oscan and/or Umbrian rather than to the Latin of Rome. Within this dialect mixture, we would expect the normal processes of koinéization to take place, reducing variation through levelling and simplification (see Section 3.1), not always with results which coincided with the still-emerging standard language. Hypothetical pronunciations like /lúmmu/ or /lómmu/ (corresponding to standard LUMBU), which arguably underlie both the present-day central and southern Italian dialect forms and those of northeastern Spain (later including both standard Castilian and Catalan), are quite as understandable as the appearance of yeísmo in much of the Spanish Peninsula as well as in

most of Spanish America (see Sections **4.2.1** and **5.1.2.1**), or the appearance of post-nuclear /-r/ both in western England and in most of north America (by contrast with standard British English, which has deleted it).

Whatever their origin, the Pyrenean spread of these features was examined by W. D. Elcock (1938), who aimed at establishing the isoglosses which delimit the territorial extent of each of the three phonological features under discussion here. If further proof were needed (see Section **3.5**) that linguistic innovations are diffused word by word, rather than affecting all eligible words alike, then the maps which accompany this study provide it in abundance; each word mapped reveals a different position of the isogloss concerned. But equally importantly, Elcock shows that these isoglosses frequently run north–south cutting at right angles through both the mountain chain and the political frontier, and therefore revealing continuity of features between France and Spain in many parts of the Pyrenees, but frequent discontinuity between neighbouring valleys on the same side of the mountains.

Thus, he shows (map 9) that the -T- of VITELLU 'calf' has been maintained as a voiceless plosive both in a large area of Gascony ([betét], [betéc], [betétʃ]), just as happens in some upper Aragonese valleys ([betjéʎo], [betjéto], [betjétʃo]).[22]

Map 19 shows that both features (2) and (3) are to be found both in southern Gascony and in upper Aragon. URTICA 'nettle' shows voicing of T after a sonorant, and retention of voiceless c in intervocalic position: [urtíko], [hurtíko] on the north, and a wide variety of southern forms (from west to east): [ʃorðíɣa], [orðíɣa], [ʃorðíka], [sorðíka], [tʃorðíka], [ʃorðíka], [tʃorðíka], [iʃorðíka], [iʃorðíɣa].

Map 27 (descendants of BRANCA, meaning '(tree) branch' on the north, but 'stem and ear (of wheat)' to the south) shows continuity across the Pyrenees in the voicing of a plosive after a sonorant: Béarnais [bráŋgo], upper Aragonese [bráŋga], the latter now restricted to two islands, one separated from the frontier.

Since every isogloss implies that those on the same side of it are in closer communication than those who are separated by it, Elcock explores the historical circumstances which allowed speakers on the northern flanks of the mountains to remain in closer contact with their southern counterparts than either enjoyed with people who lived in the lowlands on each side. He shows that until the nineteenth century the many tracks crossing the Pyrenees were in regular use. The traditional economic basis of Pyrenean life was transhumant cattle-raising; each summer, those from south and north would meet in the high pastures, and medieval pastoral conventions record the arrangements they reached in order to share these resources and avoid conflict. In the absence, until the sixteenth century, of powerful nation-states on either side of the mountains, the Pyrenees scarcely formed a frontier, and even after the appearance of centralized states, at war with one another, the Pyrenean people continued to cooperate: treaties guaranteeing trade between neighbouring valleys on either side continued to be made, seeking to defend the interests of the people of this area as a whole against outside interests. This state of affairs continued until the mid-eighteenth century, when closer but separate links began to be forged between the mountain-dwellers on the southern side and their lowland neighbours (and likewise on the north), and some of the advantages of belonging to a large nation-state began to be felt even at its margins. Only the heightened nationalism resulting from the French Revolution brought real separation between north and south, and the frontier was then definitively fixed, becoming real only in the nineteenth century. Throughout that century, links were tenuously maintained through smuggling, but the twentieth century brought economic depression to the southern side, with consequent emigration and depopulation. If the Pyrenees finally became a barrier to communication, this was a modern event, and the pattern of geographical variation of language reveals the centuries-old contact between north and south.

More recent research (Guiter 1983) bears in part upon the matter of dialectal transition across the Pyrenees, and no doubt reflects the convergence of isoglosses upon the frontier, as this became a more effective barrier to communication in the fifty years since Elcock's study. Guiter uses dialectometric techniques to calculate the degree of difference between twenty-six points located along the Pyrenean–Cantabrian chain from Galicia to Catalonia and in southern France (Gascony and Languedoc). The distance between any two adjacent points is necessarily large, but the distribution of twenty-seven features reveals a concentration of isoglosses which separate Gascon varieties on the north from Aragonese on the south; this concentration Guiter terms a 'high level linguistic frontier', but since the points he selects are some distance from the political frontier, we cannot conclude how

far the isoglosses concerned have come to coincide with the political boundary.

4.1.2.5 Metaphony and mass-noun reference

4.1.2.5.1 *Metaphony*

Some of the varieties that make up the northern Peninsular dialect continuum display a feature called *metaphony*, a phonological process whose output has sometimes come to play a morphological role, serving as the basis for gender contrasts, number contrasts, and for the contrast between countable and non-countable referents. Metaphony also occurs widely in Italy; Maiden (1985–6, 1987), Politzer (1957), and Tuttle (1985–6) study its operation there, while Penny (1994) compares Italian with Peninsular metaphony and finds a common origin. Other discussions of the nature and history of metaphony can be seen in Alarcos (1964), Alonso (1962b), Neira (1962), Penny (1970b), Schürr (1958, 1976).

Metaphony is a process in which the tonic (i.e., stressed) vowel of a word is raised (usually by one degree of aperture) through anticipatory assimilation to a high vowel (/i/ or /u/) which appears in the final syllable of the word. High tonic vowels are therefore not susceptible to metaphony, while the low vowel /á/, which belongs neither to the front nor to the back series, may be attracted upwards and forwards (towards /έ/) or upwards and backwards (towards /ɔ́/).[23] In the areas where metaphony appears today, the vowel system within which it operates is (like that of standard Castilian) one which has five vowels organized in three degrees of aperture, as in Table 4.4. In the geographical areas concerned, under conditions of metaphony (namely, where the final syllable of the word contains unstressed /i/ or /u/), mid vowels become high and the low vowel becomes mid (/e/ or /o/). Word-final /i/ is less frequent than /-u/, so we shall begin by considering metaphony caused by the latter vowel:[24]

underlying /é/ . . . /u/ → /í/ . . . /u/:   /péru/ → /píru/ 'dog'
underlying /ó/ . . . /u/ → /ú/ . . . /u/:   /lóbu/ → /lúbu/ 'wolf'
underlying /á/ . . . /u/ → /é/ . . . /u/:   /gátu/ → /gétu/ 'cat'
                      or /ó/ . . . /u/:   /gátu/ → /gótu/ 'cat'.

Since final /u/ is associated with nouns which are characterized as [+singular, +masculine, +countable], and with adjectives and pronouns which refer to such nouns, the presence of metaphony is inevitably associated with these syntactic/semantic features. Likewise, since the

	Front	Central	Back
High	/i/		/u/
Mid	/e/		/o/
Low		/a/	

Table 4.4   Vowel system underlying metaphony in northern varieties

appearance of final /o/, /a/ and /e/ (vowels which do not cause metaphony) is *never* associated with these features, absence of metaphony helps to identify nouns whose features include any one or more of [-masculine], [-singular], [-countable]. Thus, /píru/ 'dog', which is [+masculine, +singular], is contrasted with /péra/ 'bitch', which is [-masculine], and with /péros/ 'dogs' and /péras/ 'bitches', which are [-singular]. Similarly, /pílu/ 'strand of hair', which is [+countable], contrasts with /pélo/ 'hair (the substance)', which is [-countable]. It can be seen that the contrast between metaphonized (raised) and unmetaphonized tonic vowel is not the only element which expresses the syntactic/semantic contrasts concerned, since there is also a correlated contrast of final vowel. Only a few dialects, which have allowed final /-u/ and /-o/ to merge, have proceeded to full morphologization of metaphony, and then in rather restricted circumstances. Where these final back vowels fall together (in a vowel with varying realizations, here subsumed under the symbol /U/ [= non-low back vowel]), the alternation of tonic vowels can carry the contrast between [+countable] and [-countable]: /pílU/ 'strand of hair' vs /pélU/ 'hair (the substance)'.

Final /-i/ (see **4.1.2.2(2)**) occurs in a limited set of words: singular imperatives of -*er* and -*ir* verbs, the masculine singular forms of the demonstratives corresponding to standard *este* and *ese*, the first-person singular of strong preterites, together with a small group of nouns and adverbs corresponding to such standard words as *leche, tarde, noche*, etc. Because of this restricted occurrence, metaphony caused by /-i/ only gives rise to morphological contrasts in a restricted number of cases. For example:

underlying /é/ . . . /i/ → /í/ . . . /i/:   /ésti/ → /ísti/ 'this'
underlying /ó/ . . . /i/ → /ú/ . . . /i/:   /kóri/ → /kúri/ 'run (imper.)'
underlying /á/ . . . /i/ → /é/ . . . /i/:   /tárdi/ → /térdi/ 'late; afternoon'.

It will be seen that alternation between metaphonized and unmetaphonized vowels has come to play a minor syntactic/semantic role in

the dialects concerned. Although the alternation of tonic vowels is rarely the only exponent of syntactic/semantic contrasts, the presence of raised (metaphonized) vowels is associated with the following features: [+masculine] (/ísti/ vs /ésta/); [+singular] (/ísti/ vs /éstos/; /térdi/ vs /tárdes/); [+imperative] (/kúri/ vs /kóre/ '(s)he runs (indic.)'). Full morphologization of these contrasts only occurs in those varieties which have allowed final /-i/ and /-e/ to merge, presumably in recent times, with a range of phonetic values here subsumed under the symbol /I/ (= non-low front vowel, typically raised [ẹ] or [i] or some articulation between these points), and then only in the second-person singular forms of *-er* and *-ir* verbs: /kúrI/ 'run (imper.)' vs /kórI/ '(s)he runs (indic.)'.

For speakers of metaphonizing dialects, whatever the antiquity of the metaphonic process (and it appears to be ancient), it remains a productive one. This can be seen in the fact that metaphony is applied by speakers to words containing the diphthongs which result from the tonic ĕ and ŏ of Latin:[25]

/abjértu/ (< APERTU) > /abjírtu/ 'open'
/nuétʃi/ (< NOCTE, with modification of the final vowel) > /nuítʃi/ 'night'
/guébu/ (< OVU) > /guíbu/ 'egg'.

It will be evident that the dialects which display metaphony are northern varieties which have not been subjected to the more intense levelling and simplification which occurred in areas of dialect mixture further south, and which have preserved phonemic contrast between final /u/ and /o/ and between final /i/ and /e/.[26] The majority of Peninsular dialects, including standard Castilian, do not permit high vowels in final unstressed syllables and therefore cannot display metaphony.[27]

Currently, metaphony belongs to the traditional speech of a number of areas. It is best seen in the dialects of central Asturias, in what are now two separate areas, one on the coast at the Cabo de Peñas and the other in the mountainous central-southern part of the Principality, separated by the varieties used in and around Oviedo (see Díaz 1957, Galmés 1960, García Álvarez 1955, Neira 1955: 3–6, 1962, Rodríguez-Castellano 1952: 54–62, 1955, 1959). It is rather vestigially present in eastern Asturias (Garvens 1960) and in western Cantabria (Penny 1978: 153–5), where raising of the affected tonic vowels is always less than a full degree of aperture. Further east, in the Pasiego

	Front	Central	Back
High	/i/		/u/
High-mid	/e/		/o/
Low-mid	/ɛ/		/ɔ/
Low		/a/	

Table 4.5   Vowel system underlying metaphony in Portuguese

varieties of central-southern Cantabria, there is a further coherent area of metaphony (Penny 1970a: 383–96, with map).

It appears likely that the metaphony of northern Spanish varieties is genetically related to that of Portuguese, despite the lack of geographical continuity between the two areas (Galician lacks metaphony as defined here; Vázquez and Mendes da Luz 1971, I: 111–12). Early medieval Portuguese probably contrasted final /-o/ and /-u/ (despite the representation of these two vowels by a single letter, <o>; Williams 1962: 121), and since /-u/ occurred in the singular form of a large class of masculine nouns, pronouns and adjectives, while /-o/ occurred in the corresponding plurals and /-a/ occurred in corresponding feminines, metaphony had the effect of marking differences of gender and number by means of the aperture of the tonic vowel, and these contrasts of aperture survived the merger of final /-u/ and /-o/ (Vázquez and Mendes da Luz 1971, I: 255–9).

It has to be remembered that, in Portuguese, metaphony operates upon a vowel system of seven phonemes, ranged in four degrees of aperture (Table 4.5). And since metaphony consists in the assimilatory raising of tonic vowels by one degree of aperture, it is to be expected that, under appropriate conditions, low-mid vowels will be raised to high-mid position, while high-mid vowels will become high.

In fact, metaphony in Portuguese is seen to operate most regularly upon underlying tonic /ɔ/, which emerges as /ó/ in the case of many masculine singular forms, but remains as /ɔ/ in corresponding masculine plurals and in feminines:

/pɔ́rku/ (< PORCU) > /pórku/ *porco* 'pig'
/pɔ́rkos/ (< PORCŌS) > /pɔ́rkuʃ/ *porcos* 'pigs'
/pɔ́rka(s)/ (< PORCĀ(S)) > /pɔ́rka(ʃ)/ *porca(s)* 'sow(s)'

However, not all masculine singulars displaying the pattern /ɔ/ . . . /u/ show raising of the tonic, while there are substantial numbers of nouns and adjectives whose tonic vowels behave like those of Ptg. *porco, -os*, but which have adopted this pattern analogically, since their tonic vowel is not underlying /ɔ/, but /ó/:

/foɾmózu/ (< FORMŌSU) > /foɾmózu/ *formoso* 'beautiful (masc. sing.)'
/foɾmózos/ (< FORMŌSŌS) > /foɾmɔzuʃ/ *formosos* 'beautiful (masc. plur.)'
/foɾmóza(s)/ (< FORMŌSA(S)) > /foɾmɔza(ʃ)/ *formosa(s)* 'beautiful (fem. sing./plur.)'

Other relevant tonic vowels (/é/, /ē/, /ó/) show more sporadic and even less regular metaphonic effects, and /í/, /ú/ and /á/ are never affected. And although Portuguese metaphony serves to enhance contrasts of number and gender, it is never correlated with the contrast between countable and non-countable concepts. Thus, among the rare cases of metaphonic raising of mid-high tonic vowels, we find the 'neuter' pronouns *isto* and *tudo*, whose underlying forms contain /é/ and /ó/ respectively (Lat. ISTUD, TŌTUM, proto-Portuguese /éstu/, /tótu/). Since these words ('this', 'all') can never refer to countable concepts, it follows that there is no connection (contrary to what happens in Asturian and Cantabrian varieties) between presence of metaphony in a word and the presence of a [+countable] semantic component.

4.1.2.5.2 *Mass-noun reference*

It will be apparent, from the discussion of metaphony as it appears in the northern Peninsular dialect continuum, that these dialects frequently make a morphological contrast between forms associated respectively with [+countable] and [-countable] concepts. This contrast is most clearly (but not exclusively) observable in the case of words (nouns, adjectives, pronouns) which have a back vowel in their final syllable. Within this (large) class, a word which refers to a single item (a person, a thing) which in the real world is individualizable or countable displays specific morphological properties: final /-u/, presence of metaphony. By contrast, any word which refers to a plurality of items or to any non-individualizable or non-countable item (such as a substance in indeterminate quantity, or an abstract item) shows different morphological properties: final /-o/, absence of metaphony.

Rather rarely, this contrast is displayed in the noun itself, and is naturally confined to masculine singulars. We have already examined cases of such contrast like:

un /pílu/	'a strand of hair' ([+countable])
/pélo/	'hair (the substance)' ([-countable])
un /kísu/	'a[n individual] cheese' ([+countable])
/késo/	'cheese (the product)' ([-countable]).[28]

More usually, the contrast is seen through pronoun reference or adjective agreement. Irrespective of the form of the noun, if it has the syntactic-semantic properties [+masculine, +singular, +countable], then any pronoun or adjective which agrees with that noun (provided that the pronoun or adjective is not one which ends in a consonant or /-e/ or /-i/) will be marked by final /-u/ and by metaphony. On the other hand, if any one of those properties is not associated with the noun, then the pronoun or adjective will be marked by some other final vowel (/-o/ or /-a/) and will lack metaphony. Thus:

A: *un hombre* /guínu/   'a good man' ([+masculine, +singular, +countable])
    un pan /guínu/   'a good loaf' ([+masculine, +singular, +countable])
B: *una mujer* /guéna/   'a good woman' ([-masculine, +singular, +countable])
    pan /guéno/   'good bread' ([+masculine, -countable])
    los que son /gúenos/ 'those who are good' ([+masculine, -singular, +countable])
    las /guénas/   'the good ones' ([-masculine, -singular, +countable])

A further, related, characteristic of dialects from the central part of the northern continuum is that, in the case of nouns which have the properties [-masculine, -countable], any agreeing adjective or pronoun (of the appropriate class) will have /-o/ in its final syllable and will (therefore) lack metaphony (see Penny 1970b):

la hierba está /séko/   'the grass is dry'
lo que esté /séko/   'whichever [sc. grass] is dry'
la tierra /akéʎo/   'that earth'
esta leche, hay que beber /lo tó/   'this milk must all be drunk'.

For full discussion of these agreements in northern Spain, see García González (1989).

4.1.3   The broken southern Peninsular dialect continuum

While it is possible to recognize an unbroken dialectal continuity across the northern third of the Peninsula (**4.1.2**), it is no longer possible to do so in the remaining, central and southern, portions of Spain and Portugal. Today, there are three dialect continua in the southern two-thirds of the Peninsula: one which comprises central and southern Portugal from the Atlantic to (approximately) the Spanish frontier; a second which comprises the band of Catalan speech down the Mediterranean coast from approximately Tarragona to Alacant/Alicante; and a third which comprises the territory in between the first two. This three-fold division of the Peninsula contradicts the general principle that, at least at the level of everyday speech, sharp dialectal boundaries do not exist. In the north of Spain, we observe the general Romance pattern of interlocked dialects without sudden transitions (see **4.1.2**). But along the Portuguese–Spanish border between the Duero and the Atlantic, and along a line which runs irregularly southwards through the provinces of Castellón, Valencia, and Alicante, we *can* observe sharp dialectal boundaries. An explanation is therefore called for and will be attempted (in section **4.1.4**) after we have looked at the facts.[29]

The three dialect continua under consideration are separated by a number of superimposed isoglosses, which can be summarized as in Table **4.6**.

1 Down the central axis of the Peninsula, Latin stressed ĕ is seen to be regularly diphthongized to /ie/ (TĔRRA > Cast. *tierra*), contrasting with the product (/e/) of Latin stressed ē or ĭ (CATĒNA > Cast. *cadena*). By contrast, in both lateral zones we find /ɛ/ from Latin ĕ (TĔRRA > Ptg., Cat. *terra*), again contrasting with /e/ from Latin ē (CATĒNA > Ptg. *cadeia*, Val. *cadena*).[30]

2 In comparable fashion, the central dialect continuum of the central and southern Peninsula is characterized by showing /ue/ as the product of Latin tonic ŏ (PŎRTA > Cast. *puerta*), contrasting with /o/ from Latin tonic ō or ŭ (> Cast. *boca*). Both lateral zones again display a monophthong (/ɔ/) from Latin ŏ (PŎRTA > Ptg., Cat. *porta*), in contrast with /o/ from Latin ō or ŭ (BUCCA > Ptg., Cat. *boca*).

3 In the central area, the contrast between earlier voiceless /s/ and voiced /z/ has been lost, so that, for example, the internal

	West	**Centre**	**East**
1	/ɛ/ vs /e/ t[ɛ]rra vs cad[e]ia	/ie/ vs /e/ tierra vs cadena	/ɛ/ vs /e/ t[ɛ]rra vs cad[e]na
2	/ɔ/ vs /o/ p[ɔ]rta vs b[o]ca	/ue/ vs /o/ puerta vs boca	/ɔ/ vs /o/ p[ɔ]rta vs b[o]ca
3	/s/ vs /z/ grossa vs casa	/s/ (alone) gruesa = casa	/s/ vs /z/ grossa vs casa
4	/s/ grossa = caça	/s/ vs /θ/ gruesa vs caza	/s/ grossa = caça
5	/ʃ/ vs /ʒ/ coxa vs cerveja	/x/ caja = mujer	/ʃ/ vs /ʒ/ caixa vs rajar
6	/b/ vs /v/ ~ /β/ saber vs cavalo	/b/ (alone) saber = caballo	/b/ (alone) or /b/ vs /v/ saber vs cavall
7	/f/ filha	/h/ ~ /Ø/ hija	/f/ filla
8	/t/ noite	/tʃ/ noche	/t/ nit
9	/ʎ/ filha	/x/ hija	/ʎ/ filla
10	casa-cases	casa-casas	casa-cases

Table 4.6   Central Peninsular innovations

consonant of Cast. *gruesa* (< GROSSA) is identical to that of Cast. *casa* (< CASA), whereas Portuguese and Catalan words of the *casa* class have voiced /z/, in contrast with the voiceless /s/ of Ptg. *grossa*, Cat. *grossa*.

4 A feature related to the preceding one is that most central areas maintain a contrast between two voiceless sibilants, /s/ and /θ/, whose antecedents merge on the two flanks of the Peninsula (as well as in the south of the central zone, namely in part of Andalusia). Thus, Castilian distinguishes the internal consonant of *gruesa* from that of *caza*, while Portuguese *grossa* and *caça*, despite the contrast in spellings, contain the same phoneme, as is also the case in Catalan *grossa* and *caça*.

5   In a manner similar to that of point 3, the central zone has allowed the merger of earlier /ʃ/ and /ʒ/, later modifying the result of this merger to /x/. Thus medieval Castilian *caxa* /káʃa/ and *muger* /muʒér/ now have the same internal consonant /x/ (/káxa/, /muxér/). However, on both sides of the Peninsula, this phonemic contrast is preserved unchanged, so that Ptg. *coxa* and Cat. *caixa* maintain /ʃ/, while Ptg. *cerveja* and Cat. *rajar* show unchanged /ʒ/.

6   The two medieval Castilian voiced labials /b/ (spelt *b*) and /β/ (spelt *v/u*) have merged into a single phoneme /b/ (although both *b* and *v* continue to be used in the spelling of the words concerned). Thus medieval Cast. *saber* (with /b/) and *cavallo* (with /β/) (later respelt *caballo*) now have the same internal consonant, /b/. However, Central and Southern Portuguese maintains the medieval contrast (in this case between bilabial /b/ and labiodental /v/, while much (but not all) of Southern Catalan (i.e., Valencian) similarly contrasts /b/ with either /β/ or /v/.

7   In the case of the reflexes of F-, there is again a three-fold division of the territory comprising the southern two-thirds of the Peninsula. In both lateral zones, Latin initial F- has been retained essentially unchanged: Lat. FĪLIA > Ptg. *filha*, Cat. *filla*. However, it is well known that Castilian (for reasons which are still open to dispute; see Lloyd 1987: 212–23, Penny 1972b, 1990) first replaced Latin F- with an aspirate /h/, and then allowed the latter to be dropped. The first of these innovations came to occupy the whole of the central dialect continuum under consideration here, abutting sharply upon the Central-Southern Portuguese area and upon the Southern Catalan region, along the boundaries outlined above. The second Castilian innovation (/h/-dropping) has not yet covered the entire central zone. All of Old and New Castile are affected, as are Aragon, Murcia, and eastern Andalusia, so that today there is an isogloss (coinciding with the others discussed in this section) separating an /f/-retaining area (Castellón, eastern Valencia, most of Alicante) from an area whose speakers use no initial consonant in the relevant words (Cat. *filla* vs Cast. *hija* [= /íxa/]). However, on the other side of the Peninsula, /h/-dropping has not reached all levels of society, so that along the Spanish–Portuguese frontier, in rural speech, there is an isogloss which separates (Portuguese) /f/-retention (e.g., Lat. FARĪNA

'flour' > *farinha* on the western side of the line, but FARĪNA > /harína/ on the eastern side). The area of /h/-retention (in rural speech) includes much of western Andalusia (Huelva, Seville, Cádiz, Málaga, Córdoba provinces) together with Extremadura (Cáceres and Badajoz). Moving northwards, there is then a break in the /h/ area (so that /h/-dropping reaches the Portuguese frontier between the Tagus and the Duero) before we reach a residual and fast-fading area of /h/-retention in the west of Valladolid (La Ribera).

8   A similar three-fold division of the central and southern Peninsula (with agreement between the western and eastern sectors) emerges when we observe the various forms of words which descend from those containing CT in Latin. On both flanks, the dental consonant is retained (e.g., Lat. NOCTE > Ptg. *noite*, Cat. *nit*, Lat. FACTU > Ptg. *feito*, Cat. *fet*), while in the centre a palatalization process changes CT to /tʃ/ (e.g., Lat. NOCTE > Cast. *noche*, Lat. FACTU > Cast. *hecho*).

9   We can observe an identical pattern in the case of words descended from Latin items containing the sequence /lj/ (e.g., FOLIA), or /kl/ or /gl/ (e.g., OC(U)LU, TEG(U)LA): on the two flanks, we see an identical result, /ʎ/ (Lat. FĪLIA > Ptg. *filha*, Cat. *filla*, Lat. OC(U)LU > Ptg. *olho*, Cat. *ull*, Lat. TEG(U)LA > Ptg. *telha*, Cat. *tella*), while the centre shows a different result, namely /x/ (Lat. FOLIA > Cast. *hoja*, Lat. OC(U)LU > Cast. *ojo*, Lat. TEG(U)LA > Cast. *teja*).

10 The plural of nouns in *-a* takes the form *-es* (e.g., sing. *casa*, plur. *cases*), and second-person singular verb forms appear with *-es* where their Latin antecedents showed *-ĀS* (e.g., pres. indic. *cantes*, imperf. indic. *cantabes/cantaves*), not only throughout the Catalan-speaking area, but also in central Asturias, and in a number of now isolated pockets in the western Meseta. There is also good evidence of this feature in Mozarabic (see 4.1.1 and Galmés 1983: 302–17 + map). Although the distribution of this feature is not identical to that of other features discussed in this section (Galician–Portuguese lacks it, as do the dialects of western Asturias), it should be included here, since its current distribution strongly suggests that there was once an unbroken area in which Latin *-ĀS* was preserved as *-es*, stretching from the Mediterranean to central Asturias, via the Mozarabic-speaking areas.

4.1.4   The expansion of Castilian features

The explanation for the facts set out in **4.1.3** can be found in the political history of the Peninsula. The expansion of Castile, from its small tenth-century central-northern origins, led to the development of a large Peninsular state which by the fifteenth century stretched from the Cantabrian coast to the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. As a result of this expansion, speakers from the region of Old Castile and other northern areas resettled in territories further and further south as these were reconquered from Islamic Spain. This movement led to a complex state of dialect contact (see **3.1** for the mechanisms involved) among a range of northern varieties spoken alongside a range of southern or Mozarabic dialects. As accommodation processes (**3.1.1**) led to reduction of variants, it was the Mozarabic (southern) features which largely disappeared in favour of northern features; and since several of the Mozarabic features were ones which extended across the whole Peninsula, and were shared with the westernmost (Galician–Portuguese) and easternmost (Catalan) varieties (see **4.1.1**), the disappearance of these features from the area of Castilian expansion implied the breaking of an earlier east–west dialect continuum. As the imported features became dominant in the centre-south of the Peninsula, their prestige gradually ensured that they expanded towards the boundaries of the state, so that the isoglosses which reflect their distribution eventually coincided, in the west, with the Portuguese–Spanish frontier, and, in the east, with the line which demarcated the areas settled by Catalan speakers (see Penny (1999) for elaboration of this point).

Expansion of central-northern features into the centre-south was not the only process of this kind to occur in the Middle Ages, since exactly similar processes were occurring down both flanks of the Peninsula. These expansions of northwestern and of northeastern features will be discussed in **4.1.7.1** and **4.1.7.3**.

4.1.5   Eastern innovations

A number of new features have at different times spread from east to west across the Peninsula without occupying the whole territory. In some cases, these innovations originated elsewhere in the Romance

	West	**Centre**	**East**
1	*cantei*	*he cantado*	*he cantat*
2	/ei/ *prim<u>ei</u>ro*	/e/ *prim<u>e</u>ro*	/e/ *prim<u>e</u>r*
3	/ou/ *p<u>ou</u>co*	/o/ *p<u>o</u>co*	/o/ *p<u>o</u>c*
4	/mb/ *po<u>mb</u>a*	/m/ *palo<u>m</u>a*	/m/ *colo<u>m</u>a*
5	/nd/ *dema<u>nd</u>ar*	/nd/ *dema<u>nd</u>ar*	/n/ *dema<u>n</u>ar*
6	/l-/ *<u>l</u>ombo*	/l-/ *<u>l</u>omo*	/ʎ-/ *<u>ll</u>om*

Table 4.7   Eastern Peninsular innovations

world (they may show up in Gallo-Romance, for example) and appear to have spread into the Peninsula via the eastern Pyrenees. Others must have had their origin in the speech of the northeast Peninsula and belong only to (part of) Hispano-Romance. At all events, the features under consideration are today delimited by isoglosses that run approximately north–south. In the northern third of the Peninsula, these isoglosses form part of the northern dialect continuum (**4.1.2**) and are typically scattered, but in their trajectory through the central and southern Peninsula they converge, some of them meeting at the Portuguese–Spanish frontier (e.g., features 1–4 in Table **4.7**), and then coinciding with the western isoglosses set out in Table **4.6**. Others (for example, features 5–6 in Table **4.7**) converge with the eastern isoglosses of Table **4.6** and help to form the sharp boundary between Castilian and Catalan which runs down through Castellón, Valencia and Alicante provinces to the Mediterranean.

Table **4.7** presents a selection of salient features which are distributed in the two ways just described. They are then discussed in the remainder of this section.

1   The Latin perfect (CANTĀVĪ, etc.) expressed both perfective and perfect aspects in the past (see Comrie 1976: 53). That is, in terms of approximate English translation equivalents, it meant both 'I sang' (in a period of past time unconnected with the moment of

speaking), and 'I have sung' (in the past, but with present relevance). In most areas of Romance, CANTĀVĪ survives with the first of these two values (e.g., Old Catalan *cantí*, Castilian *canté*, Galician–Portuguese *cantei*), but already in spoken Latin it was being replaced in its perfect value by the analytic construction HABĒRE CANTĀTUM, a form which reaches most of the Peninsula with this value (Cat. *he cantat*, Cast. *he cantado*). However, in the western third of the Peninsula, this change has not occurred, and the descendants of CANTĀVĪ, etc., continue to express both perfect and non-perfect values (e.g., Ptg. *cantei* 'I sang, I have sung') (Willis 1965: 209–11). It is true that Galician and Portuguese possess compound perfect constructions (e.g., literary Ptg. *hei cantado*, Ptg. *tenho cantado*), but these are not functional equivalents of the Castilian or Catalan compound perfects (or their French, Italian, etc. counterparts). Ptg. *hei/tenho cantado* expresses a past state which continues at the moment of speaking ('I have been singing').[31] The perfect value of the descendants of CANTĀVĪ is found not only in Galicia and Portugal, but also in a wider area of the Peninsular northwest, including Asturias and Cantabria, and has been widely transmitted to American Spanish, where (for example) *Ya lo hice* frequently has the same value ('I've already done it') as standard Peninsular *Ya lo he hecho*.

2 The spoken Latin diphthong /ai/ (which often arose through metathesis of the sequence consonant + palatal glide, bringing the glide into contact with a preceding /a/, e.g., PRĪMĀRIUM > /primairo/) underwent change to /ei/ and then to /e/ in Central Romance areas. These innovations spread into and across the Peninsula, but the second (/ei/ > /e/) failed the reach the western flank, so that /ei/ remains (e.g., *primeiro*) in Galicia, western Asturias, far western Leon, and Portugal.[32]

3 In exactly parallel manner to the changes just discussed, Latin /au/ was modified to /ou/ and then /o/ in much of the Romance-speaking world (although not in southern Gaul, where Occitan retains /au/). These changes spread across the Peninsula from east to west (apparently in tandem with the changes /ai/ > /ei/ > /e/), but the last stage again failed to reach the western Peninsula, which widely retains /ou/ (as in PAUCU > *pouco*).[33]

4 As we have seen in **4.1.2.2**, retention of /mb/, by contrast with its reduction to /m/, is one of the features which helps us to identify the northern dialectal bridge which links the northwestern

Peninsula with La Rioja and Aragon, via Asturias, Cantabria and northeastern Burgos (see also Penny 1997). The place of origin of the change MB > /m/ seems to lie in the Pyrenees, spreading from there to Catalan and Aragonese and extending westwards to the central Burgos area. The consonant group is retained throughout the Galician–Portuguese area (e.g., PALUMBA > *pomba*), and in the rural speech of western Leon, Asturias and Cantabria. It was also characteristic of the pre-Reconquest southern Peninsula (see **4.1.1**), but has been swept from this area (except for its Portuguese segment) by the expansion of Castilian features from the centre-north (see **4.1.4**).

5 Although the Latin group -ND- has an exactly similar structure to that of -MB- (namely, nasal plus homorganic voiced plosive), and although in the east -ND- is modified in an exactly parallel manner (namely, to /n/, e.g., Latin DEMANDĀRE > Cat. *demanar*), the geographical extent of each of these innovations is very different. Whereas the change -MB- > /m/ extends far to the west, now reaching the Portuguese border, the change -ND- > /n/ barely progresses beyond the Catalan-speaking area (it once spread into Aragonese territory), and the isogloss separating its area from that of retention of the group (e.g., Latin DEMANDĀRE > Cast., Ptg. *demandar*) now coincides (in Castellón, Valencia, and Alicante) with those other isoglosses which sharply mark off Southern Catalan (i.e., Valencian) from Central and Southern Castilian (see **4.1.3**).

6 Latin initial L- produces a palatal result (/ʎ/) in the northeast of the Peninsula (e.g., Lat. LUMBU > Cat. *llom*), an innovation which extends into Roussillon and some way into the central Pyrenees, in the province of Huesca. It also extends southwards, covering the entire Catalan-speaking area, including the Balearic Islands. The remainder of the Peninsula retains L- unchanged (e.g., Lat. LUMBU > Cast. *lomo*, Ptg. *lombo*), and once again the isogloss separating innovation from retention coincides with those other isoglosses which today serve to sharply divide the Catalan area from the Castilian area, running irregularly down, as we have seen, through the provinces of Castellón, Valencia and Alicante.

4.1.6 Western innovations

In keeping with the view that Western Hispano-Romance is more conservative than that of the centre or east, there are fewer innovations

	West	Centre	East
1	/tʃ/ ~ /ʃ/ <u>ch</u>orar	/ʎ/ <u>ll</u>orar	/pl/, /kl/, /fl/ <u>pl</u>orar
2	/Ø/ lua	/n/ lu<u>n</u>a	/n/ llu<u>n</u>a
3	/Ø/ dor	/l/ do<u>l</u>or	/l/ do<u>l</u>or
4	perf. aux. *ter* <u>tenho</u> cantado	perf. aux. *haber* <u>he</u> cantado	perf. aux. *haver* <u>he</u> cantat

Table 4.8   Western Peninsular innovations

that can be observed to have spread eastwards from a western focus. Among the most salient western innovations are those listed in Table 4.8.

1 The treatment of the Latin word-initial consonant clusters PL-, CL-, FL- shows wide variation across the Peninsula. The deepest level of innovation belongs to the northwest, where (through a process whose details are not fully agreed) PL-, CL-, and FL- were modified to /tʃ/ (e.g., PLŌRĀRE > *chorar*, CLAMĀRE > *chamar*, FLAMMA > *chama*). This result extends into western Asturias and far western Leon, and was spread down through the whole of Portugal (see **4.1.7.1**), although in recent centuries the affricate /tʃ/ has been modified to fricative /ʃ/ (without change of spelling) in Central and Southern Portuguese, including the standard variety.

By contrast, the whole central block of the Peninsula, from Cantabria to Andalusia and Murcia, shows a less radical innovation, PL-, CL-, FL- > /ʎ/ (e.g., PLŌRĀRE > *llorar*, CLAMĀRE > *llamar*, FLAMMA > *llama*). As in the case of the spread of /tʃ/ down the west of the Peninsula, it is evident that the innovation /ʎ/ was spread from north to south down the centre, since in both cases there is evidence that the pre-Reconquest (Mozarabic) speech of these southern areas retained PL-, CL-, FL- unchanged (Galmés 1983: 86, 174, 201, 232).

A third area of the Peninsula, originally comprising the northeast (La Rioja, Aragon and Catalonia), and linked in this regard with Gaul, showed regular retention of PL-, CL-, FL- (e.g.,

PLŌRĀRE > *plorar*, CLAMĀRE > *clamar*, FLAMMA > *flama*). In this case, it cannot be accurately said that the northeastern result (/pl/, /kl/, /fl/) was spread southwards, since the area settled by Catalan-speakers down the Mediterranean coast was one where speakers (i.e., Mozarabic-speakers) already used unmodified /pl/, /kl/ and /fl/.

2 Treatment of Latin intervocalic -N- reveals a bipartite division of the Peninsula, by contrast with the tripartite division just discussed. Throughout the western third of the Peninsula (Galicia and Portugal), -N- gave rise to nasalization of the preceding vowel and was then effaced (e.g., LANA > Ptg. *lã*). In the case of some vowel combinations, a palatal nasal consonant was reinserted (e.g., VĪNU > Ptg. *vinho*), but in a large number of cases there is no surviving trace of the nasal (e.g., LŪNA > Ptg. *lua*) (see Williams 1962: 70–4, Sampson 1999: 186–97). This feature presumably had its origins in the northwest, since there is no evidence of it in the Mozarabic speech of (central and southern) Portugal. Today it occupies all of Galicia and Portugal, but was absent from Miranda do Douro (see **4.1.2.1**) until standardizing pressures introduced it there. The rest of the Peninsula retains /n/ (e.g., LŪNA > Cast. *luna*, Cat. *lluna*).[34]

3 An identical division of the Peninsula can be observed in the case of the treatment of Latin intervocalic -L-. Loss of the lateral has become normal in all Galicia and Portugal (e.g., DOLŌRE > Ptg. *dor*), except Miranda, but it is retained throughout the rest of the Peninsula (e.g., DOLŌRE > Cast., Cat. *dolor*).

4 We have seen (in **4.1.5(1)**) that perfect aspect is most usually expressed, in the west, by forms (e.g., Ptg. *cantei* 'I have sung' < CANTĀVĪ) which also express perfective aspect ('I sang'), but that compound tenses also exist, with 'progressive' value (approximately 'I have been singing'). The auxiliary used in such compound forms (Gal.-Ptg. *haver*) was cognate with that used for perfect aspect in the centre and east (Cast. *haber*, Cat. *haver*), but this auxiliary is now infrequent and is reserved for literary registers. In other registers, Gal.-Ptg. *haver* has been replaced by innovatory *ter* (< TENĒRE 'to hold'), and, although this innovation is also widely found in Golden-Age Castilian, it has largely retreated from the centre and now serves to distinguish Western Hispano-Romance from Central and Eastern.

4.1.7   Southward expansion of northern features: the Reconquest and its linguistic effects

Up to this point in this chapter, we have been concerned with variation across the Peninsula, identifying the main isoglosses which run (approximately) north–south and contribute both to the northern dialect continuum and to the separation of the three great southern blocs. In order to account for the latter, we have had to take into consideration the spread of features from the north towards the south, within each of the three major zones, but here we look in more detail at the resettlement processes that underlie and explain such developments.

In the aftermath of the Islamic conquest of much of the Peninsula in AD 711–18, a number of independent Christian states slowly emerged in the unconquered north. This zone included approximately the northern quarter of the Peninsula, but the independent band of territory was broader in the west, where it soon reached down to the Duero, than in the east, where it was narrowed to the foothills of the Pyrenees. The main early centre of resistance to Islamic power was Oviedo (in Asturias), but others soon appeared at Santiago de Compostela, Burgos, Pamplona, Girona/Gerona, etc., centres which were strung out along the Romance dialect continuum whose existence we infer for that period (just as we know it to have existed later, and as it still exists today).[35] Each of these statelets was able to expand its territory over the centuries, sometimes at the expense of its neighbours, most usually at the expense of Islamic Spain, and in the wake of this expansion there usually came movement of population within each state, with people from the north resettling areas to the south, as these were acquired.

The linguistic effects of these movements were no doubt complex: features which belonged to specific segments of the northern dialect continuum were carried south into areas where they were previously unknown, and where they entered into competition with features used by the surviving Romance (i.e., Mozarabic) speakers of those areas. This southward movement of population was constant throughout the period of the Reconquest (eighth–fifteenth centuries), and at each stage produced different cases of dialect contact (see **3.1** for the expected outcomes of such contact).[36] The linguistic results of this

process, taken together with the gradual hardening of political frontiers in the Peninsula, were the creation of three vertical dialect continua, one in the west (Portugal), one in the centre (Old Castile, New Castile, Extremadura, Andalusia and Murcia, increasingly also including southern Aragon), the third in the east (the Catalan-speaking part of the Kingdom of Valencia). Of course, the northern segments of each of these north–south dialect continua dissolved into the northern (east–west) dialect continuum already discussed (see **4.1.2**), but their southern segments came to be sharply delimited one from another as a result of the process discussed in **4.1.3**.[37]

Certain broad characteristics are shared by these three north–south continua. In the first place, in all three cases, innovations accumulate as one progresses further and further south. That is, the southernmost varieties in each continuum show the greatest degree of change, and this openness to linguistic change is perhaps due to the fact that contact among competing varieties was most intense in these areas immediately after their reconquest. What is known of the consequences of loosened social networks (namely, encouragement of change; see **3.3**) and of dialect contact (that is, levelling and simplification; see **3.1**) is in keeping with the development of the southern varieties in each of the three vertical continua: they are more innovatory than their northern counterparts, and the kinds of changes exhibited are most frequently of a simplifying kind.

Secondly, it should be noted that innovations that arose in the southern zones of each of these continua (whether they arose as a result of dialect contact or for any other reasons) did not generally flow back to the north. That is to say that it was southern innovations, each occupying (as always) a different territory from that occupied by every other innovation, that served to create each north–south continuum.

A third generalization about the Peninsular dialect continua is perhaps also in order. As a result of the social and political history of the Peninsula in the early Middle Ages (the appearance of independent Christian states strung from west to east across the north of the Peninsula and the southward expansion of their populations during the Reconquest), the degree of linguistic difference is greater between east and west than between north and south: on any north–south journey one crosses many fewer isoglosses than on an east–west journey of the same length.

Each of the north–south dialect continua will now be examined, in turn.

4.1.7.1 Galician and Portuguese

Until the eleventh century, Galicia and Portugal (that is, the part of it thus far reconquered, approximately down the Duero) were territories belonging to the Crown of Leon (to which Castile, on the eastern flank, also belonged). It seems that, as the frontier with Islamic Spain was pushed southwards, the territory between the Minho/Miño and the Duero was principally settled by people from what is now Galicia, and that northwestern features (characterizing the western end of the northern dialect continuum) were consequently carried down the Atlantic side of the Peninsula. These would include loss of intervocalic -N- and -L-, use of /tʃ/ in words like *chorar* (< PLŌRĀRE), etc. (see **4.1.6**).

The daughters of Alfonso VI of Leon (1065–1109) were given these territories as fiefdoms, Urraca receiving Galicia, which she governed with her husband Raymond of Burgundy, while Teresa and her husband Henry of Burgundy (cousin of Raymond) received Portugal. While Galicia always thereafter remained integrated in the Crown of Leon (later dominated by Castile), Henry of Burgundy pursued an independent policy, dramatically extending his territory southwards. Henry's son Alfonso (Afonso Henríquez) secured full independence from Leon in 1143 and became the first King of Portugal. The result of this political change turned the Minho into a state frontier, making movement of people across it less frequent and making it more difficult for innovations to cross in either direction. Features which were shared by Galician and Portuguese varieties in the twelfth century most frequently continued to be shared in later periods; this is the case of deletion of intervocalic -L- and -N- (as in *sair* < SALĪRE, *lua* < LŪNA), or the inflected infinitive construction.[38] By contrast, innovations which arose later on either side of the frontier generally did not cross to the other territory. So, for example, devoicing of voiced sibilants and their merger with their voiceless counterparts (/ʃ/, /ʒ/ > /ʃ/; /s/, /z/ > /s/; /tˢ/, /dᶻ/ > /tˢ/, later /θ/ or /s/, a northern innovation affecting varieties stretching from the western Galician coast to the central Pyrenees), does not spread south of the Minho (Table **4.9**).

Innovations which arose in the south of Portugal often do not spread to the whole of Portuguese territory, and so cannot reach Galicia. A case in point is the merger of dental with alveolar sibilants, with dental outcome (exemplified by the identical internal consonants today found in standard Portuguese *passo* and *braço*, on the one hand, and in *rosa* and *prazer*, on the other), which almost certainly has southern origins identical with those of Andalusian *seseo* (see **4.1.7.2.1**). It

Medieval Galician–Portuguese		Portuguese		Galician	
/ʃ/	*roxo* (< RUSSEU)	/ʃ/	*roxo*	/ʃ/	*roxo*
/ʒ/	*queijo* (< CASEU)	/ʒ/	*queijo*		*queixo*
/s/	*passo* (< PASSU)	/s/	*passo*	/s/	*paso*
/z/	*rosa* (< ROSA)	/z/	*rosa*		*rosa*
/tˢ/	*braço* (< BRACCHIU)	/s/	*braço*	/θ/ ~ /s/[a]	*brazo*
/dᶻ/	*prazer* (< PLACĒRE)	/z/	*prazer*		*prazer*

[a] Certain western varieties of Galician exhibit *seseo* (merger of /s/ and /θ/ in (predorsal) /s/), while the majority maintain the distinction (see Zamora 1986: 1–10).

Table 4.9   Development of sibilants in Galician–Portuguese

reaches only the southern two-thirds of Portugal, therefore including the important urban centres of Coimbra and Lisbon, whose varieties underlie the Portuguese standard, but leaves large northern Portuguese areas unaffected.[39]

Similarly, the deaffrication of /tʃ/ to produce /ʃ/ in words like *chorar* (< PLŌRĀRE) 'to weep', *chegar* (< PLICĀRE) 'to arrive', etc., is a Southern Portuguese phenomenon (perhaps related to the similar deaffrication of Castilian /tʃ/ in parts of Andalusia)[40] which extends far enough northwards to include the Lisbon and Coimbra areas (and therefore enter the standard) but does not reach northern Portugal (or Galicia).

Again, reduction of the diphthong /ou/ to /o/ (or its replacement by /oi/, e.g., *ouro* (< AURUM) > /óro/ or /óiro/ 'gold') is a Southern Portuguese feature (shared with much of the centre and east of the Peninsula; see Table **4.7**) which has penetrated all of southern and central Portugal (thereby affecting the standard) but not the north, or Galicia.[41]

More complex is the case of the merger of /b/ (< -B-, -P-) and /β/ (< -B-, -V-). This merger (into a single voiced non-nasal bilabial /b/) is characteristic of all northern varieties of Hispano-Romance, from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean, including Galician and northern Portuguese varieties. This distribution suggests that this merger (and the related absence of labiodental /v/) is quite ancient, antedating the twelfth-century separation of Portugal from the Crown of Leon.[42]

4.1.7.2   Castilian and Andalusian

Just as Portuguese can be a regarded as a southern offshoot of varieties originating in the northwest of the Peninsula, so Andalusian can best be considered as a southward extension of varieties originating in the centre-north. In both cases, northern features were extended southwards largely as a result of the displacement of speakers from north to south as they settled new territories in the wake of the Reconquest. Similarly, in both cases, innovations which arose in these southern territories could be transmitted northwards. The great difference between the linguistic development of the two territories is that whereas Lisbon lies far enough south to be affected by a large number of southern Portuguese innovations (which were then incorporated in the Portuguese standard), central-southern innovations most usually did not reach the trend-setting cities of central Castile, Toledo and Madrid, and therefore did not usually become part of standard Spanish.

On the other hand, southern features of both Portuguese and Castilian were prominent in the varieties which were established in the Americas from the late fifteenth century onwards, so that Brazilian Portuguese more closely resembles Southern Peninsular Portuguese than other varieties of Peninsular Portuguese, just as American Spanish inherits many of the characteristics of Andalusian varieties (see **5.1**).

The most salient southern innovations in the central Peninsular bloc (i.e., the most noticeable features of Andalusian Spanish) include the following.

4.1.7.2.1   Seseo *and* ceceo

In much of Andalusia, the four medieval sibilant phonemes /tˢ/, /dᶻ/, /s/ and /z/ have merged into a single voiceless dental fricative /ṣ/, which today appears with or without interdental colouring (fronting of the tongue body so that the sound acquires some of the acoustic qualities of interdental /θ/), respectively [ṣᶿ] and [ṣ]. To the non-Andalusian speaker of Castilian, it seems that the Andalusian speaker who pronounces [ṣᶿ] is using a sound, similar to Castilian /θ/, in circumstances where the Castilian speaker expects not only /θ/ (e.g., [káṣᶿa] for *caza*) but also /s/ (e.g., [káṣᶿa] for *casa*). Since to the outsider this kind of pronunciation appears to be an 'abuse of the letter *z* (i.e., *zeta*)' (more properly, of the sound represented by *z*), it is named *ceceo*. In the second case, the non-Andalusian hears a sound ([ṣ]) somewhat like his own /s/, not only where he is expecting /s/ (e.g., [káṣa] for *casa*) but also

Medieval phoneme	Medieval spelling	Modern spelling and meaning	*ceceo*	*seseo*
/tˢ/	caça	caza 'hunt'	[káṣᶿa]	[káṣa]
/dᶻ/	dezir	decir 'to say'	[deṣᶿír]	[deṣír]
/s/	passo	paso 'step'	[páṣᶿo]	[páṣo]
/z/	casa	casa 'house'	[káṣᶿa]	[káṣa]

Table 4.10   *Seseo* and *ceceo* in Andalusian Spanish

where he is expecting /θ/ (e.g., [káṣa] for *caza*). This style of pronunciation is deemed to be an 'abuse of the letter *s*' and is consequently labelled *seseo*.

Table **4.10** summarizes and exemplifies these mergers. Their origin is much disputed, but it is likely that there were two phases of merger, following routine deaffrication of /tˢ/ and /dᶻ/ to /ṣ/ and /ẓ/. The first (merger of dental-alveolar /s/ and /z/ respectively with dental /ṣ/ and /ẓ/) is characteristically Andalusian, while the second (merger of voiced and voiceless sibilants with voiceless outcome, here bringing /ṣ/ (< /s/ and /ṣ/) and /ẓ/ (< /z/ and /ẓ/) together as /ṣ/) is eventually felt in all Castilian varieties.

The first of these mergers is perhaps best described as the outcome of the dialect contact which must have arisen due to immigration into post-Reconquest Seville (just as occurred in other recently reconquered areas). As we have seen (**3.1**), one of the expected effects of contact among mutually intelligible language varieties is preference for the simplest among competing variants. Thus, if any group of speakers, however small, had allowed dento-alveolar /s/ and /z/ to merge with dental /ṣ/ and /ẓ/, this merger would be likely to be extended to the whole community (see Penny 1987, Tuten 1998).[43]

Seseo, then, probably has its origins in late-medieval Seville, gaining ground in the sixteenth century and spreading not only to other areas of Andalusia but also (because of the vital role played by Seville in overseas settlement) to the whole of Spanish America (see **5.1.1**). Because of its establishment in many cities, including among educated urban speakers, *seseo* has acquired full acceptability in the Spanish-speaking world, and competes equally with the central/northern Peninsular norm (which distinguishes /káθa/ *caza* from /kása/
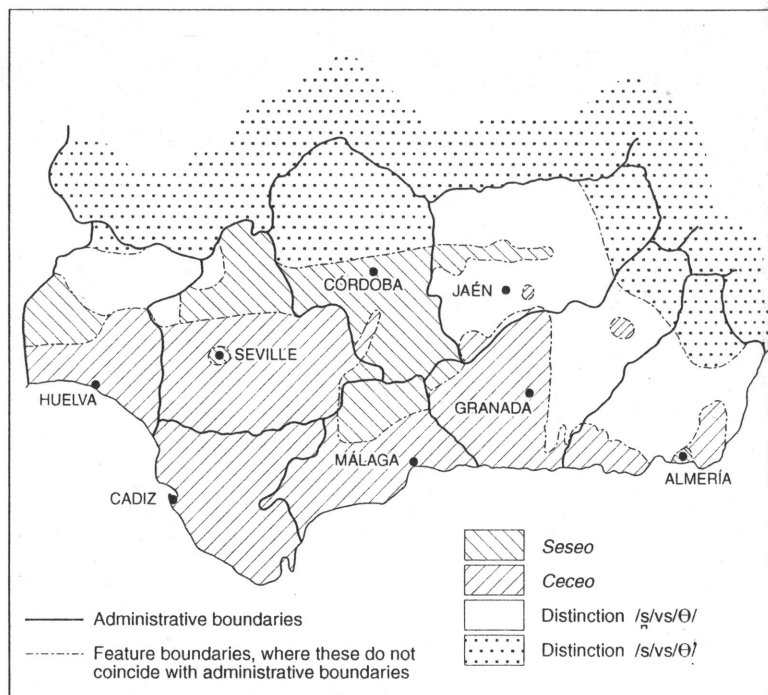
Figure 4.1 *Seseo* and *ceceo* in Andalusia

Legend:
- Administrative boundaries
- ------ Feature boundaries, where these do not coincide with administrative boundaries
- *Seseo*
- *Ceceo*
- Distinction /s̪/vs/θ/
- Distinction /s/vs/θ/

casa). On the other hand, *ceceo* is more limited in geographical and social extent. It appears to have developed in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, in coastal regions of Andalusia, and now stretches from southern Huelva through Cádiz, Málaga and southern Granada to Almería. Although it is the usual pronunciation of this area, including major cities such as Cádiz and Málaga, *ceceo* has not acquired full social acceptance; educated speakers from these areas tend to move from *ceceo* to *seseo* and back according to the formality of the social circumstances in which they find themselves.

It is to be noted (as can be seen from the map in Figure **4.1**) that considerable areas of Andalusia (although not a large proportion of the Andalusian population) show neither *ceceo* nor *seseo*, but distinguish an interdental /θ/ from an /s/ (of whatever phonetic kind).[44]

4.1.7.2.2 **Yeísmo**
Another innovation which took root in early modern Andalusia was the merger of the palatals /ʎ/ and /ʝ/, in favour of non-lateral fricative

and affricate articulations: [ʝ], [ʒ], [dʒ], etc. Since the predominant realization ([ʝ]) of the merged phoneme is identical to that of standard /ʝ/ (e.g., in *mayo*), this innovation is labelled *yeísmo*. It is to be observed in almost the whole of Andalusia, the exceptions being certain pockets of retention of the /ʎ/–/ʝ/ contrast in the southwest (parts of Huelva, rural Seville and Cádiz).

Although this merger may have had its remote origins in the far north of the Peninsula (Penny 1991b), its success in the Spanish-speaking world is undoubtedly due to its adoption by urban speakers in Andalusia in the wake of the Reconquest, despite the fact that it is not unambiguously attested there until several centuries later. This adoption, once again, can be regarded as the predictable preference for a simpler variant (one phoneme rather than two) in a situation of dialect contact (see **3.1.4**).

However, unlike many other southern Castilian (i.e., Andalusian) features (e.g., *seseo*), *yeísmo* did flow back northward, in recent centuries. Perhaps as a result of Andalusian immigration into Madrid, this feature began to gain ground there in working-class speech, as can be seen in the late nineteenth-century novels of Benito Pérez Galdós, and then began to move up through society in successive generations until in the late twentieth century it reached all but a small number of the most conservative varieties of Madrid speech. During the same century, *yeísmo* spread from Madrid to other cities of central and northern Spain and has become part of the dominant urban speech pattern throughout the Peninsula, even though many geographically intermediate (predominantly rural) varieties maintain the older pattern, distinguishing the two phonemes in such minimal pairs as *mallo* 'mallet' and *mayo* 'May' (for details see Alonso 1967a). Like other Andalusian features, *yeísmo* became characteristic of Spanish in the Americas (see **5.1**), and although not universal there (since many Andean areas maintain /ʎ/), it forms part of the phonology of the large majority of American-Spanish speakers.

4.1.7.2.3 *Maintenance and loss of /h/*
As we have seen (in **3.1.3.2**), /h/-dropping began in Old Castile in the later Middle Ages and began to spread rapidly after its adoption by speakers in Madrid in the later sixteenth century. Until the sixteenth century, then, Andalusia remained unaffected by this change, and pronunciations like /hámbre/, /hílo/, /húmo/ (*hambre, hilo, humo* < FAMINE, FILU, FUMU) continued in use. Likewise, the /h/ (phonetically [ɱ]) of words

like *fuego, fuente, fui* (< FŎCU, FŎNTE, FŪĪ) remained unchanged and was not replaced by /f/. Two changes have taken place since that time, one geographical, the other diastratic or social. On the one hand, /h/-less pronunciations have become the norm for all speakers in eastern Andalusia (the province of Jaén, the eastern half of Granada, and most of the province of Almería), while western Andalusian varieties have maintained /h/ (at least in informal speech), in common with Extremadura and other, northern, areas. On the other hand (as just implied), in western Andalusia /h/-dropping has progressed down the social scale, so that retention of /h/ now typifies unguarded rural and working-class speech.

Those speakers who maintain /h/ have merged this phoneme with the reflex of medieval /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ (see **3.1.3.1**), usually with glottal outcome ([h]), so that *hambre, hilo, humo, fuego* for such speakers contain the same initial phoneme as *jugo* (medieval /ʃúgo/ *xugo* < SŪCU), *juego* (medieval /ʒuégo/ *juego* < IŎCU), *jinete* (medieval /ʒinéte/ *ginete* < Ar. *zenêtī*). This popular Western Andalusian feature, like a good number of others, was spread to the Canaries and to large areas of America, where it maintains a similar social status to the one it enjoys in Andalusia (see **4.1.8** and **5.2.1**).

4.1.7.2.4   *Weakening of /-s/*

Weakening of syllable-final /s/, whether within the word (as in *este*), at the end of a word before a pause (as in *son éstos*), or at the end of a word before a word-initial consonant (as in *estas casas*), is a further characteristic of southern Castilian. Like *yeísmo*, its remote origins may lie in the far north, where small rural pockets of similar /-s/-weakening still exist (Penny 1991b), but, as in that case, the success of this feature is due to its acceptance by urban speakers in reconquered areas of southern Spain.

Weakening of /s/ manifests a range of degrees of intensity. The lowest degree of intensity is represented by simple glottalization or aspiration of /-s/, modifying it to [ʰ]. This style of pronunciation (e.g., [éʰtaʰ kásaʰ] = *estas casas*) is the most widespread geographically and socially; it continues northwards into all of New Castile, Extremadura and Murcia, and appears in the speech of all social classes. It appears to be gaining increasing currency in Madrid (where its existence is already noted in the working-class characters of Benito Pérez Galdós's late nineteenth-century novels) and is now reported (Williams 1987: 114–18) in urban varieties in Old Castile (see **4.2.3**).

A further degree of weakening is seen when the aspirate adopts some of the features of the following consonant, as when the aspirate takes on the voice feature and sometimes the nasal quality of a following nasal consonant: [míʰmo], [míʰmo] = *mismo*. Such assimilation of the syllable-final consonant to the following consonant may be total, leading to a long or geminate consonant: [aβíᵖpa] = *avispa*; [áᵏko] = *asco*. Such total assimilation, although frequent, is less widespread than simple aspiration (it is not common outside western Andalusia, and tends to be avoided by educated speakers).

Assimilation between the two consonants concerned may go further, in that the second may take on the voiceless nature of the first (original voiceless /s/, or its voiceless successor [ʰ]), while the first adopts the place of articulation of the second, so that the two merge as a single voiceless consonant: [la ɸákaʰ] = *las vacas*; [lo θeβáneʰ] = *los desvanes*; [dihúʰto] = *disgusto*, where the voiceless fricatives [ɸ], [θ], [h] respectively maintain the place of articulation of the original second consonant, /b/, /d/ and /g/. This kind of articulation, which only occurs in the sequences cited, is more restricted, geographically and socially, than the simple assimilation exemplified by [aβíᵖpa] or [áᵏko].

The most radical weakening of all, typical of eastern Andalusia but also occasionally observed in western Andalusia, is the complete elimination of syllable-final /s/, with the consequence that traditional markers of number (in nouns and adjectives) and person (in the verb) are eliminated: [étɔ] = *estos*; [lɔ mímɔ] = *los mismos*, although presence of an original /s/ may be marked by the devoicing of syllable-initial /b/, /d/ or /g/: [læ ɸǽkæ] = *las vacas*, vs. [la βáka] = *la vaca* (Penny 1986). We shall see in the following section how Eastern Andalusian varieties remedy this lack of consonant marking by transferring the morphological load to the vowels of the phrase concerned.

In western Andalusian areas where morpheme-final /-s/ survives as an aspirate (e.g., [laʰ kása⁽ʰ⁾] *las casas*, this /s/ may be pronounced as an aspirate even where it is syllable-initial (in accordance with the resyllabification rule of Spanish phonology).[45] Thus, although this pronunciation is more stigmatized than other types of /-s/-reduction, a phrase like *las olas* is frequently articulated [la-hóla⁽ʰ⁾]. This kind of articulation is also heard in words like *nosotros* (which can be analysed as /nos#ótros/): [no-hó-tro⁽ʰ⁾], just like *los otros* [lo-hó-tro⁽ʰ⁾].

The various results of /-s/-weakening can be listed as in Table **4.11**, where any combination of /s/ and another consonant (e.g., /sf/) is to be understood as occurring either within a single word (where

		Aspiration	Assimilation		Loss
/sp/	los perros	[loʰ péro⁽ʰ⁾]	[loᵖ péro⁽ʰ⁾]		[lɔ pérɔ]
	avispa	[aβíʰpa]	[aβíᵖpa]		[aβípa]
/sb/	las vacas	[laʰ βáka⁽ʰ⁾] [laⁿ βáka⁽ʰ⁾]	[laᵝ βáka⁽ʰ⁾]	[laᶲ ɸáka⁽ʰ⁾]	[læ ɸǽkæ]
	desván	[deʰβáŋ] [deⁿβáŋ]	[deᵝβáŋ]	[deᶲ áŋ]	[deɸ áŋ]
/sm/	las manos	[laʰ máno⁽ʰ⁾]	[laⁿmáno⁽ʰ⁾]	[laᵐ máno⁽ʰ⁾]	[læ mǽnɔ]
/sf/	las fotos	[laʰ fóto⁽ʰ⁾]	[laᶠ fóto⁽ʰ⁾]	[laᶲ ɸóto⁽ʰ⁾]	[læ ɸɔ́tɔ]
	asfalto	[aʰfálto]	[aᶠfálto]	[aᶲɸálto]	[aɸálto]
/st/	los toros	[loʰ tóro⁽ʰ⁾]	[loᵗ tóro⁽ʰ⁾]		[lɔ tɔ́rɔ]
	estos	[éʰto⁽ʰ⁾]	[éᵗto⁽ʰ⁾]		[étɔ]
/sd/	los días	[loʰ ðía⁽ʰ⁾]	[loᵟ ðía⁽ʰ⁾] [loⁿ ðía⁽ʰ⁾]	[loᶿ θía⁽ʰ⁾]	[lɔ θíæ]
	desde	[déʰðe]	[déⁿðe]	[déˀðe]	
/sn/	asno	[áⁿno]	[áⁿno]	[áⁿno]	
/ss/	los sesos	[loʰ séso⁽ʰ⁾]			[lɔ sésɔ]
/sl/	los lomos	[loʰ lómo⁽ʰ⁾]	[loⁿ lómo⁽ʰ⁾]	[loˡ lómo⁽ʰ⁾]	[lɔ lɔ́mɔ]
/sr/	los reyes			[loˀ réje⁽ʰ⁾]	[lɔ réjɛ]
/stʃ/	las chicas	[laʰ tʃíka⁽ʰ⁾]			[læ tʃíkæ]
/sj/	mis yernos	[miʰ jérno⁽ʰ⁾]	[miⁿ jérno⁽ʰ⁾]		[mɪ jérnɔ]
	las llamas	[laʰ jáma⁽ʰ⁾]	[laⁿ jáma⁽ʰ⁾]		[læ jǽmæ]
/sk/	los quesos	[loʰ késo⁽ʰ⁾]	[loᵏ késo⁽ʰ⁾]		[lɔ késɔ]
	asco	[áʰko]	[áᵏko]		
/sg/	los gatos	[loʰ ɣáto⁽ʰ⁾]	[loᵛ ɣáto⁽ʰ⁾] [loⁿ ɣáto⁽ʰ⁾]	[loˣ xáto⁽ʰ⁾]	[lɔ xǽtɔ]
	disgusto	[diʰɣúʰto]	[diᵛɣúˀto] [diⁿɣúˀto]		[dihúˀto]
/sx/	los jarros	[loʰ háro⁽ʰ⁾]			[lɔ hérɔ]
/s#V/ᵃ	las olas	[la hóla⁽ʰ⁾]			

ᵃ The symbol #V here indicates any vowel at the onset of a following word, and implies that /s/ is resyllabified from syllable-final to syllable-initial.

Table 4.11   Results of /-s/-weakening

such a word-internal sequence exists) or across the boundary between closely linked words.[46]

This phenomenon, like many other Andalusian features, was extended to America, although not so universally as in the case of *seseo* or even *yeísmo*. We shall see (**5.1.2**) that it is characteristic of those areas most culturally distant from the chief administrative centres of the Spanish Empire, namely Mexico City and Lima. It is most strongly evident in the Spanish of the southwestern United States, in central America and the Caribbean, and in the countries of the Southern Cone.

4.1.7.2.5   Andalusian vowel-systems

The complete loss of syllable-final (including word-final) /s/, typical of eastern Andalusia, has potentially dramatic effects on the morphological structure of those varieties, since (as in standard Spanish) word-final /s/ carries a heavy morphological load: it marks the contrast between plural and singular in nouns, adjectives, etc., and marks the contrast between second person and third person in the verb. Eastern Andalusian varieties have, however, made good this potential deficiency by transferring the morphological load from the consonant to the vowels of the forms in which the /s/ originally occurred. The mechanism employed was the following.

In all varieties of Spanish (as in many other languages) a vowel phoneme which appears in a syllable blocked by a consonant has a somewhat lower tongue-height than the same phoneme when it appears in a free syllable (i.e., when no consonant follows the vowel concerned in the same syllable). Thus, the first and last /o/ of *los toros* is articulated a little lower than the final /o/ of *el toro*. In the large majority of varieties of Spanish, this slight variation carries no information (it is sub-phonemic) and therefore passes unnoticed by speakers. However, as /-s/ headed towards elimination and was finally deleted in parts of southern Spain, tongue-height became the only way of distinguishing singular from plural and second person from third. That is to say, a purely phonetic difference (of tongue-position) provided the basis for a series of phonological splits, /e/, /o/ and /a/ dividing respectively into /ɛ/ and /e/, /ɔ/ and /o/, /æ/ and /a/.[47] These splits have come to affect not solely the final syllable of the words concerned, but *all* the syllables, so that a measure of vowel harmony has been introduced: if the final syllable contains /ɛ/, /ɔ/ or /æ/, then the other syllables of the word may not contain /e/, /o/ or

	Front	Back
High	/i/	/u/
Mid-high	/e/	/o/
Mid-low	/ɛ/	/ɔ/
Low	/æ/	/a/

Table 4.12   Eastern Andalusian vowel-system

/a/. The result, in eastern Andalusia (Jaén, Granada, Almería, most of Málaga and Cordoba and adjacent parts of Seville province; Alvar 1996a: 145), is a rectangular eight-vowel system (notably different from the triangular five-vowel system used throughout the rest of the Spanish-speaking world): see Table **4.12**. Some examples of these contrasts can be found among the illustrations of /-s/-weakening in Table **4.11**, in the column headed 'loss'. Further examples, organized by the tonic phoneme, are:

/píto/	pito	/múla/	mula
/pítɔ/	pitos	/múlæ/	mulas
/pélo/	pelo	/kósa/	cosa
/pélɔ/	pelos	/kɔsæ/	cosas
/pǽlɔ/	palos	/pálo/	palo[48]

4.1.7.2.6   *Merger of /-r/ and /-l/*

Syllable-final (including word-final and phrase-final) liquids are most frequently neutralized in Andalusian varieties, with varied results. The origin of this change, as always, is difficult to determine, but as in the case of *yeísmo* and /-s/-weakening may have its distant source in immigration from the far north (Penny 1991b). But as in those cases, it was no doubt the social conditions of post-Reconquest Andalusia which determined the propagation of this feature: contact between speakers of many mutually intelligible varieties which produced a multiplicity of competing variants, a competition from which the simplest variant normally emerged the winner (see **3.1** and Trudgill 1986).

In syllable-final position, then, many speakers of Andalusian Spanish make no distinction between, say, *harto* 'satisfied' and *alto* 'high', or *arma* 'weapon' and *alma* 'soul'. The realization of the neutralized phonemes is very varied, ranging from the flap [ɾ] or approximant [ɹ] ([áɾto] ~ [áɹto] = *harto* and *alto*) to lateral [l] ([álto] = *harto* and *alto*),

with a number of possible intermediate articulations, such as [ɭ], which exhibit both rhotic and lateral qualities. Aspirated articulations are also frequent (e.g., [káʰne] *carne*), as is deletion of these neutralized phonemes, especially in word-final (including phrase-final) position. In this position, the solution [l] is the most frequent outcome in the eastern provinces (eastern Cordoba, Jaén, Almería and most of Granada) and in northern Huelva, while deletion is the commonest outcome in the rest of Andalusia (Alvar 1996a: 247–8).

In the case of this development (unlike *seseo* and *yeísmo*) there is no phonemic merger, since /r/ and /l/ continue to be contrasted in Andalusian Spanish in syllable-initial position (e.g., *paro* 'strike' vs *palo* 'stick'), including those cases where word-final /-r/ or /-l/ becomes syllable-initial because the following word begins with a vowel: those speakers who merge the phonemes with a rhotic result (e.g., [eɹ-pé-lo] *el pelo*) nevertheless use a lateral when the word-final phoneme becomes syllable-initial (e.g., [e-ló-tro] *el otro*).

This neutralization, like many of the features discussed here as centred upon Andalusia, is not limited to the eight provinces of Andalusia. Many areas of New Castile display it, as do Murcia, Extremadura and southern Salamanca (*ALPI* 1962: 17, 74). With regard to its social appreciation, it is associated especially with rural and uncultured speech, but has also made some headway in urban varieties, without gaining social acceptability.

This feature was evidently carried to America as part of the speech of early colonists, since it is revealed in many parts of the overseas empire by sixteenth-century misspellings. Despite this, it is today limited to the islands and coastal areas of the Caribbean and to the Pacific coast (**5.1.2.3**).

4.1.7.2.7   *Third-person pronoun reference*

Andalusian Spanish differs from that of Old and New Castile in its personal pronoun system. Whereas most speakers in those areas have adopted *leísmo* (the use of the pronouns *le* and *les* to designate masculine personal direct objects; see **4.1.2.3**), Andalusian Spanish maintains the older case-determined system of reference, which distinguishes between *le(s)* (indirect object pronouns, unmarked for gender), on the one hand, and *lo(s)*, *la(s)* (direct object pronouns, masculine and feminine respectively), on the other. Table **4.1** (p. 91) reflects the Andalusian system; the examples based on it are repeated here for convenience:

Lo(s) vi (a mi(s) amigo(s))	[+direct, +animate, +count, +masc]
El reloj me lo rompí	[+direct, -animate, +count, +masc]
Le(s) mandé una carta (a mi(s) amigo(s))	[-direct, +animate, +count, +masc]
La(s) vi (a mi(s) amiga(s))	[+direct, +animate, +count, -masc]
La cabeza la tengo sucia	[+direct, -animate, +count, -masc]
Le(s) mandé una carta (a mi(s) amiga(s)).	[-direct, +animate, +count, -masc]

4.1.7.2.8 Modes of address

Most Peninsular Spanish distinguishes, for example, *vosotros/-as sois* (to express solidarity) from *ustedes son* (to express distance or respect) 'you (pl.) are'. However, many Western Andalusian varieties have lost this contrast (as also occurs in Canarian and American Spanish; see **4.1.8** and **5.1.1.2**). In much of Huelva and Seville, in Cádiz and Málaga, and in parts of Cordoba and Jaén, the only pronoun available is *ustedes*, most typically accompanied by a third-person-plural verb, so that *(ustedes) son* in these varieties is equivalent to (both standard *(vosotros/-as) sois* and standard *(ustedes) son*.[49] However, unlike Canarian and American Spanish, these Western Andalusian varieties also allow *ustedes* to appear with a second-person-plural verb: *ustedes sois* (whether or not through hypercorrection (**1.5**) is unclear). In the same areas, the plural object pronoun (direct and indirect) for reference to the second person is correspondingly *se* (e.g., *ustedes se van* = both standard *(ustedes) se van* and *(vosotros/-as) os vais*). Like *vosotros/-as*, the pronoun *os* is not used in this area.

4.1.7.3 Catalan and Valencian

Northern Catalan varieties represent the eastern extremity of the northern Peninsular dialect continuum (see **4.1.2**), so that (*pace* Badía 1951: 53–4) there is no boundary in this area between Catalan varieties and other Peninsular varieties spoken further to the West.[50] As in the parallel cases of Galician–Portuguese and Castilian, speakers of these varieties carried them southwards (and to the Balearic Islands) in the wake of the medieval territorial conquests made by the Crown of Aragon, forming a new north–south continuum. These resettlements produced the same kind of dialect contact (with all the predictable effects that contact no doubt produced; see **3.1**) as occurred in reconquered territories further west. However, with hindsight it is possible to say that in the dialect mix from which the Balearic varieties of Catalan emerged it was the features which were typical of the

eastern part of Old Catalonia (including Barcelona) which were most successful, while the mix from which the Valencian varieties emerged was resolved in favour of features typical of the western part of Old Catalonia (including Lleida/Lerida). There may be a demographic reason for these outcomes (predominance of settlers from east and west Catalonia in the Balearics and in Valencia, respectively), but this has not so far been clearly demonstrated (or falsified). In any case, features belonging to the majority of settlers are not expected necessarily to predominate in the *koiné* which emerges under the conditions of dialect contact, unless they have the advantage of simplicity (see **3.1**).

In accordance with these outcomes, the main feature which separates Southern Peninsular Catalan (i.e., Valencian, spoken in a broad coastal band stretching through the provinces of Castellón, Valencia, and Alicante) from the Balearic varieties is the retention in Valencian, as in Northwestern Catalan, of five contrasting atonic vowels (/i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, /u/, as in *primer, segur, amic, morir, durar*), while Balearic varieties, like those of eastern Old Catalonia, most frequently reduce atonic vowels to only three (/i/ in *primer*, /ə/ in *segur* and *amic*, /u/ in *morir* and *durar*).

With regard to the transition between Catalan as a whole and Castilian, there are close similarities between this transition and the one that can be observed on the other side of the Peninsula between Castilian and Portuguese (**4.1.7.1**). The isoglosses that separate Southern Catalan from Castilian essentially coincide over a distance of some two hundred miles, forming a sharp boundary which begins at a point north of the river Ebro, and runs approximately parallel to the Mediterranean and reaches the sea below Alicante (see **4.1.3–4**, especially Table **4.6**).[51]

4.1.8 The Canaries

The Canary Islands were discovered by Europeans in the fifteenth century, and were incorporated into the Crown of Castile during that century. The islands were settled by people largely from western Andalusia, although it is evident that there were also contingents from Galicia and Portugal, Leon, and Castile proper. (Note that the Kingdom of Granada, comprising what is now much of eastern Andalusia, was still to be reconquered and remained outside the Crown of Castile at

this time, so that it could not contribute to the initial colonization process.) At all events, out of the mix of Spanish varieties which came into contact in the Canaries there emerged new varieties predominantly characterized by features stemming from Seville, Cádiz, Huelva, and other western Andalusian regions. As a result, Canarian speech has much in common with Western Andalusian varieties, since it displays the following features:[52]

1   *Seseo* (**4.1.7.2.1**) is typical of Canarian speech, most usually with the non-fronted realization ([ʂ]) of dental /ṣ/. However, the fronted variant ([s̪θ], often identified by outsiders as a Castilian /θ/) is heard in rural Tenerife. More strikingly, in the western Canaries (Gomera, La Palma) the merger of voiced and voiceless sibilants (see **3.1.3.1**) has not occurred, so that a voiced dental fricative /z̧/ here represents medieval /dᶻ/ and /z/, in words like *racimo, decir / queso, casa*, while words which in the medieval period displayed /tˢ/ or /s/ here have /ṣ/: *caza, mecer / pasar, eso* (Lapesa 1980: 519; *ALEICan*, 1975–8). These pronunciations, like similar ones reported in Extremadura, are important for establishing the chronology of the merger of the voiced and the voiceless sibilants, a merger which began in the north of the Peninsula and spread into southern Spain after the mid-sixteenth century (**3.1.3.1**). Clearly, this devoicing process had not reached western Andalusia (or many other southern regions) at the time of the settlement of the Canaries.

2   Although *yeísmo* (**4.1.7.2.2**) is today almost universal in Andalusia, it is precisely in southwestern Andalusia (Huelva) that the major pockets of distinction between /ʎ/ and /ʝ/ are to be found. It is perhaps therefore not surprising that the /ʎ/–/ʝ/ contrast is widely observed in Canarian Spanish, although *yeísmo* dominates in Gran Canaria and in Santa Cruz de Tenerife (*ALEICan*, 1975–8: maps 904, 930, 954).

3   The aspirate /h/ (**4.1.7.2.3**) is widely maintained in the Canaries, in unpretentious speech, as in western Andalusia, Extremadura, etc. As in these areas, /h/ not only descends from Latin F- (*humo, fuego*) but also represents the product of merged medieval /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ (*caja, mujer*) (*ALEICan*, 1975–8: maps 927, 973, 980, 1011, 1198).

4   Weakening of /-s/ is typical of the Spanish spoken throughout the Canaries. It is of the Western Andalusian type (see **4.1.7.2.4**), in

which /-s/ survives as an aspirate (e.g., [éʰte] *este*) or is assimilated to the following consonant (e.g., [íⁿla] [íˡla] *isla*) (Oftedal 1985: 51–8; *ALEICan*, 1975–8: maps 905–6, 912–13). However, treatment of syllable-final /s/ does not lead to the expanded vowel-system of the type observed in eastern Andalusia (**4.1.7.2.5**).

5   Merger of syllable-final /-r/ and /-l/ (**4.1.7.2.6**) is also typical of Canarian Spanish (e.g., [hálto] *harto*), with a similar range of outcomes to those observed in Andalusia, including occasional aspirate articulations, especially before nasals (e.g., [káʰne] *carne*).

6   Third-person pronoun reference is of the Southern Spanish and American Spanish type, in which *le(s)* is reserved for indirect-object function, and *lo(s)* continues to function in accordance with its etymology, signalling direct-object referents, both personal and non-personal (see examples in **4.1.7.2.7**).

7   In most Canarian varieties, modes of second-person plural address are like those of western Andalusia and America, with loss of *vosotros/ -as* and of the historically second-person plural verb-forms (**4.1.7.2.8**), so that, for example, *(ustedes) van* is equivalent to both standard *(vosotros) vais* and standard *(ustedes) van*. However, in the western Canaries (La Gomera, El Hierro, parts of La Palma) *(vosotros) vais* continues in use.

Although, as we have seen, Canarian Spanish shares many of its features with Andalusian Spanish, it has at least one phonetic feature which appears to be unique. Magne Oftedal (1985) describes lenition (in the form of voicing) of intervocalic /p/, /t/, /tʃ/ and /k/ in the speech of Gran Canaria. These phonemes appear as [b], [d], [dʝ] and [g] respectively, whenever the phoneme occurs between vowels, whether word-initially (e.g., [la báta] *la pata*) or word-internally (e.g., [debórte] *deporte*). Taken together with loss of word-final /-s/ in the varieties he describes, he is able to claim that Canarian Spanish offers word-initial consonant mutation in the Celtic manner: [la gála] *la cala* vs [la kála] *las calas*. For a similar claim in connection with Eastern Andalusian, see Penny (1986).

Canarian Spanish also shares a number of features, especially vocabulary, with northwestern Peninsular varieties. One such consists of the values of the preterite and perfect verb-forms, which differ from those used in the rest of the Peninsula, but coincide with those used in Galicia, Leon, Asturias, and Cantabria, as well as in Spanish America. For further discussion, see **5.1.3.2**.

4.2 Social variation

Since the middle of the twentieth century it has become abundantly clear that, in all languages, variation in certain linguistic features is correlated with sociological variables such as age, social class, educational background, sex, and so on (**1.1.2**). Studies of this kind of co-variation have not been abundant in the Spanish-speaking world, where sociolinguistic study has most frequently been directed towards matters of language contact and code-switching, especially in bilingual areas such as Catalonia, the Basque Country, Galicia, the Andes, or the US Southwest. It follows that no comprehensive account of social variation in Spain can yet be attempted, although there are perhaps sufficient data to allow us to present a number of case-studies of such variation. In all the cases concerned, we are dealing with changes in progress, which are working their way through the Spanish-speaking community and which may or may not eventually become universal. We do not have evidence of the rarer instance of stable variation without ongoing change.

4.2.1 *Yeísmo*

We have already had cause to look at this merger of /ʎ/ and /ĵ/ (which brings together sets of words such as *pollo, mallo* with sets including *poyo, mayo*, most usually with non-lateral results) from a geographical point of view (in **4.1.7.2.2**, **4.1.8**), and we shall meet it again in connection with American Spanish (**5.1.2.1**). We have noted that in recent centuries this feature has spread from a southern Peninsular base (western Andalusia) to New Castile, including most notably to Madrid, from where it has spread to urban centres in the north of Spain. Although we do not have recent sociolinguistic studies of this variable, it is reasonably clear that, in the urban speech of the northern half of Spain, the variant [ʎ] (in phonemic contrast with /ĵ/) only occurs with any frequency among the oldest age-groups and the 'highest' socio-economic classes, and is effectively absent from the youngest groups and from working-class speech, where only variants such as [ĵ] (representing both /ʎ/ and /ĵ/) are in use.

4.2.2 Loss of /-d-/

In Section **1.2** we presented a model of diachronic variation (see Table **1.1**) in which treatment of /d/ in the sequence -*ado* was given as an example of the way in which a range of competing variants (here [d]~[ð]~[ᵟ]~[Ø]) changes over time, usually by the successive loss of older variants and the introduction of new variants. It was also noted (**1.4**) that historically successive variants may also appear synchronically in co-variation with such sociological variables as age or social class. Such synchronic co-variation applies to the case in hand, and has been studied in detail, for Valladolid, by Lynn Williams (1987: 65–8). In this presumably typical city of Old Castile, he found that, whereas in reading style there was a heavy preponderance of [-áðo] (with some cases of [-áᵟo]) in participles of this pattern, in conversation [-áo] and [-áu̯] were dominant in all social classes. And unlike what has been reported elsewhere, women in Valladolid show more resistance than men to the innovatory variants, in this case [-áo] and [-áu̯]. Similar observations could no doubt be made all over the Spanish-speaking world, certainly all over Spain, although some American varieties (such as those of Mexico) appear to be more resistant to loss of /d/ in words of this pattern.

4.2.3 Aspiration of syllable-final /s/

We have noted (**4.1.7.2.4**) how weakening of /-s/ gained ground in Andalusia, probably in the late medieval period, and then spread northwards through New Castile, reaching Madrid no later than the nineteenth century. It is now clear (Williams 1983a, 1987) that this phenomenon has gained a footing in Old Castile, specifically in the working-class speech of Valladolid. In that city, eighteen- to twenty-six-year-olds make frequent use of velarized or aspirated articulations of /s/ before /k/ (e.g., [áˣko], [áʰko] *asco*). Weakening does not occur before consonants other than /k/, and is a strong marker of social class, being limited to those of working-class status, both males and females.

4.2.4 Neutralization of atonic vowels

Standard Spanish has a system of five vowel phonemes in unstressed syllables (except in word-final syllables, where only three occur): *recibir,*

temer, cantar, morir, durar). In educated speech, this five-fold contrast is adhered to everywhere, but in less educated social strata (especially, but not exclusively, in rural environments) there is abundant evidence of merger between the two front vowels (/i/ and /e/) and the two back vowels (/o/ and /u/) respectively. This merger is manifested not by consistent preference for, say, /i/ instead of /e/, or /o/ instead of /u/, but in hesitation between these pairs of vowels. The precise realization of the atonic vowel(s) in a given word may be determined by such factors as dissimilation of high front vowels (/i/.../í/ > /e/... /í/: /θeβíl/ ~ /seβíl/ *civil*, matching /serβír/ *servir*), assimilation of tongue-height before a high tonic vowel or before a glide (/o/.../í/ > /u/.../í/: /muɾír/ *morir*, /o/.../ú/ > /u/.../ú/: /sultúra/ *soltura*, /e/...[j] > /i/...[j]: /liθión/ ~ /lisión/ *lección*, /e/...[w] > /i/...[w]: /mínguar/ *menguar*), and hypercorrection no doubt has a role to play (/sigír/ for *seguir*, /abeɾeguár/ for *averiguar*, etc.). Not quite so widespread, but abundant among less educated speakers in central and northern Spain and throughout America, is the related merger of atonic /i/ and /e/ in[j] and that of /o/ and /u/ in [w] when they precede another (usually tonic) vowel: [tjátro] *teatro* like [pjáɾa] *piara*, [kwéte] *cohete* like [kuérða] *cuerda*. This non-distinction between atonic /i/ and /e/, like that between /u/ and /o/, is evident in written Spanish from the earliest medieval times to the seventeenth century, when it appears that in the standard language a selection was made between competing forms, often on the basis of the spelling of Latin. Thereafter, *recibir* and *vivir* were preferred to frequent *recebir* and *vevir* (cf. Lat. RECIPERE, VIVERE), and *seguir* was standardized at the expense of *siguir* (cf. Lat. SEQUOR), although these choices were not always consistently made (e.g., *lección* but *afición*).

However, although such resolutions took place in the standard, and in educated speech (thereby establishing five distinct vowel units in atonic syllables), the older state of affairs persisted at other linguistic and social levels. In rural and some urban varieties, therefore, both in the Peninsula and in America, and in Judeo-Spanish, the system of atonic vowels is best described as having only three phonemes (/ɪ/ - /a/ -/ʊ/), in which /ɪ/ may be realized as either [i] or [e], and /ʊ/ as [u] or [o], according to such factors as those outlined above (dissimilation, etc.).

4.2.5   Reinforcement of word-initial /ue/

Morpheme-initial /ue/ in all varieties of Spanish is normally reinforced by an element of audible friction, most usually velar, sometimes

bilabial: [ɣwe], [βwe] (Navarro Tomás 1961: 64). This element is evident in all words like *huerta, huele, huevo, deshuesar, ahuecar*, etc., and in the medieval and Golden Age periods it was evidently acceptable for it to be pronounced as a consonant with full friction (mainly [ɣwe]), and no doubt as a plosive [g] following a nasal or a pause, since in those periods we frequently find spellings like *güerta, güele, güevo, desgües(s)ar, agüecar*. Two further developments sprang from this state of affairs. On the one hand, since [ɣwe] and [βwe] were felt to be equivalent realizations of the same phonemes, it was also possible to apply the pronunciation [ɣwe] to words which historically demanded [βwe]; this is indicated by spellings of the type *güeno, güelta, agüelo* (for more usual *bueno, vuelta, avuelo*, now *abuelo*). On the other hand, the fact that [ɣ] appeared in the diphthongized forms of certain verbs (*güele, güelve/güelto*) could lead to the appearance of [ɣ] in the related undiphthongized forms (*goler, golver*). However, from the seventeenth century, the pronunciation [ɣwe] in words like *huerta, huele, huevo* has been increasingly confined to rural and uneducated speech, and the use of [ɣwe] in *bueno, vuelta*, etc., is particularly heavily stigmatized. Despite this, [ɣwe] in all these words continues to be widespread in rural Spain and America, as well as having become normal in Judeo-Spanish (**6.3.5(3), 7.3(8)**).