The **Sounds** of Spanish

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Appendices

APPENDIX A. SUMMARY OF MAIN ASPECTS OF SPANISH PRONUNCIATION IN CONTRAST WITH ENGLISH

- Vowels are not reduced in unstressed syllables.
- The mid vowels /e/ and /o/ are pure vowels. Avoid diphthongizing them (/e/ ≠ ley).
- The sequences /ie/, /ue/ are generally realized as diphthongs (sierra, pueblo).
- /t d k/ are never aspirated.
- /b d g/ are always voiced. In most contexts they are realized as approximants, without full occlusion. This includes the intervocalic and some postconsonantal contexts. (In the most common pronunciation they are stops only when utterance initial, after a nasal and in the sequence /ld/.)
- Avoid a flap realization of /t d/ (mudo ≠ muro).
- There is no /l/. The voiceless fricative /s/ may only be voiced before a voiced consonant (desde), not before a vowel (presidente, azul).
- The palatal nasal /n/ (baño) is different from a sequence of /n/ + palatal glide.
- /l/ is always ‘light’. Avoid a ‘dark’ or velarized pronunciation of postvocalic /l/ (sal).
- The tap /r/ and the trill /l/ are both realized as apico-alveolar. The tap has a single brief contact, the trill has two or more. The two segments contrast in intervocalic position (caro ≠ carro).

A.1 Aspects of variation

- Standard Peninsular Spanish makes a phonemic contrast between /s/ and /θ/. Standard Latin American Spanish has only /s/. Adopt one pronunciation or the other consistently.

APPENDIX B. WHY ISN'T SPANISH ORTHOGRAPHY COMPLETELY PHONEMIC?

We saw in Chapter 1 that, although Spanish orthography follows the phonemic principle to a large extent, certainly much more than English orthography, it falls short of being totally phonemic. We may ask why this is so.

To begin with, the alphabet that we use to write both English and Spanish (as well as French, Swedish, etc.) is an adaptation of a writing system that was originally developed for Latin. For Classical Latin, this alphabet did a reasonably good job of directly reflecting the contrastive sounds or phonemes of the language in writing. Even in Classical Latin, though, the orthography was not completely phonemic; the correspondence between letters and phonemes was imperfect even then. This, however, should not be taken as an imperfection of Latin orthography, since a strict adherence to the phonemic principle does not necessarily make an orthographic system more efficient (see Coulmas 2003). Latin orthography, like all orthographies, was designed for readers who knew the language natively. Such readers do not need for every phonological contrast to be faithfully indicated in order to know how to interpret written texts correctly. For instance, Classical Latin had a contrast between short and long vowel phonemes not represented in the orthography. We know, to give an example, that the word for ‘free’, in the nominative singular form, was /liber/, with a long /i/, and that this word contrasted with /liber/ ‘book, treatise’, with a short /i/; but both words were written in the same way: liber. A Roman would figure out from the context whether the written form liber should be read with a long or a short vowel.¹

The distance between orthography and pronunciation kept increasing as the pronunciation of Latin evolved through time. Thus, for instance, at some fairly early point, Latin speakers started ‘dropping their aitches’ when they spoke, with the result that, for example, hora ‘hour’ and ora ‘border’ came to be pronounced in the same manner, both /ora/. At this point, Latin writers had

¹ Nowadays in Latin textbooks and dictionaries vowel length is often indicated with a macron (e.g. liber ‘free’), but this diacritic was not employed in Roman times.
no other choice but to learn by heart which words ought to be spelt with an h. These silent h's have been preserved in the orthography of a few English words of Latin origin, such as *hour*, *honour* and *honest*. In modern Spanish, of course, all h's are silent (although not all of them were there in the Latin ancestors of the Spanish words, as we will see below).

To give another example, originally the letter c always represented the same phoneme in Latin, /k/; thus *casa* 'house' and *cena* 'supper' were pronounced /kasa/ and /kena/, respectively. Again, with time, the initial sounds of these two words became more and more different (specifically, the sound /k/ was progressively changed to a different sound before the vowels /e/ and /i/, by palatalization). The final result of a long evolution is that in Modern Spanish the same letter c represents two completely different phonemes in *casa* and in *cena*, since the orthography has not been altered in this respect in spite of the change in pronunciation.

Obviously, the Latin alphabet lacked symbols for representing sounds that did not exist in Latin. As new pronunciations arose in the evolution from Latin to Spanish and the other Roman languages, conventions were eventually adopted to represent the new phonemes. Thus *ch* has been adopted for a sound that did not exist in Latin. To give a couple more examples, Latin *ll*, like all other double letters in this language, represented a long or geminated consonant, as it still does in Italian *gello* /géllo/ 'rooster', *cavallo* /kaváullo/ 'horse'. In Spanish, Latin *geminate l/l* became the palatal sound /ʎ/ (and later /ʝ/ in most dialects), but the spelling was preserved, with the result that what is pronounced /géllo/ or /gɛjʊll/ is spelt with a double *l*, reflecting its Latin etymology. The same spelling *ll* was extended to other words where the same sound /ʎ/ emerged from other sources. The letter *h* was originally an abbreviated form of writing *geminate n/n*, which by historical sound change became the palatal sound that we have in Spanish *año* 'year', from Lat. *annu*, etc. Again this spelling was also extended to words where the same sound resulted from other sources as in *viña* 'vineyard', from Lat. *vīnea*, and *España*, from Lat. *Hispania*.

At different historical points, the orthography has been reformed to accommodate it to major changes in the pronunciation of the language. A first standardization of the orthography was implemented by King Alfonso X of Castile-Leon (1252–84), known as The Learned (El Sabio). As centuries went by and the language kept changing, the Alfonsine orthography became antiquated.

Since its founding in 1713, the Spanish Academy has been constantly concerned with orthographic matters. Nevertheless, orthographic reform has not gone as far as needed if the goal were to produce a completely phonemic writing system. A balance was struck between phonemic radicalism and preservation of the orthographic tradition.

Let us consider three of the mismatches between orthography and phonemic reality that are a major source of insecurity in spelling for all users of the Spanish language: the lexical distribution of *b* and *v*, the distribution of *j* and *g* with the value of /ʃ/ and the origins of orthographic *h*.

1) Medieval Castilian had a contrast between a phoneme spelt *b* and another phoneme spelt *v* (or *u*, since originally *u* and *v* were two variants of the same letter), which might have been a voiced labiodental fricative /v/, as in Portuguese, French and Italian, or, more likely, a bilabial /β/ in the original Castilian area (Penny 2002). The phoneme written *v* appears in words where Latin has *v* as *lavāre* 'to wash' (Lat. *lavāre*), *vacā'cow' (Lat. *vacā*), but also in words where Latin had *b* between vowels, as in OSp. *dever* 'must' (Lat. *debere*), OSp. * cavallo* 'horse' (Lat. *caballu*), OSp. *aver* 'to have' (Lat. *habēre*), OSp. *cantavas* 'you sang' (Lat. *cantābās*). On the other hand, in intervocalic position, OSp. *b* corresponds to Lat. *p* as in OSp. *saber* 'to know' (Lat. *sapēre*), OSp. *lobo* 'wolf' (Lat. *lupū*). This is essentially the same distribution of *v* and *b* that we still find in Portuguese. Unlike in its sister languages, Portuguese, French and Italian, however, the contrast between these two phonemes was eventually lost in Spanish. The result was that Spanish speakers no longer had any guide for knowing which words ought to be spelt with *b* and which with *v* and considerable insecurity in the spelling ensued. The Spanish Academy decided to impose some order on the resulting chaos and reformed the spelling in this point. The only solution consistent with phonemic spelling ('one sound, one letter') would have been to spell /labēre/, /labe/, /debe/, /sabe/, /kantābā/, etc., all in the same manner, since there is no difference in pronunciation. This is not, however, the ruling that the Academy made. The Academy decided to keep both letters, *v* and *b*, in the standard spelling system of the language. In the absence of any phonological reason for determining where to use each of the two letters, the members of the Academy concluded that the best thing would be, as a rule, to use *v* where Latin had *v*, and *b* where Latin had *b* (or *p*). The net result is that many words that in Old Spanish had been written with *v* came to be restructured according to their Latin etymology:

*Lat. caballu > OSp. cavallo > ModSp. caballo*
(c.f. Port. cavallo, It. cavallo, Fr. cheval)

*Lat. habēre > OSp. aver > ModSp. haber*
(c.f. It. avere, Fr. avoir)

*Lat. cantābās > OSp. cantavas > ModSp. cantabas*
(c.f. Port. cantavas, It. cantavi)
In this respect it is interesting to note that some school teachers, singers and radio announcers (especially in parts of Latin America), attempt to give orthographic \( v \) the value of this letter in English or French in the mistaken belief that this pronunciation is somehow ‘more correct’. From a historical point of view, using the spelling as a guide for pronunciation in this case is absolutely without basis, as we have seen. Spanish has never had a contrast in pronunciation with the lexical distribution that the modern orthography suggests. Medieval Spanish did have a contrast between /b/ and probably /β/, but many words that are nowadays spelt with \( b \) were not spelt with this letter when the contrast was present in the pronunciation of the language.

2) In Medieval Castilian the sound of the initial consonant in words such as jove ‘young’, gente ‘people’ was the voiceless prepalatal fricative /ʒ/ still found in Fr. jeune, gens and Port. jovem, gente. In addition, as explained in 9.2.4, Medieval Castilian had the voiceless counterpart of this phoneme, a sound similar to that of English sh (in sheep, shop), IPA /ʃ/, which was spelt x, as dixo /diʃko‘/ ‘he said’, baxo /baxo/ ‘short’. (In some words this sound derives from Lat. x /ks/, as in Lat. díxi /diksi/ > OSp. dixe /dixe/ ‘I said’, Lat. axe /aksε/ > OSp. axe /eʃe/ ‘axis’, and this appears to explain the choice of spelling.) The distinction between /ʒ/ and /ʃ/ was lost in favour of only /ʃ/ in the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries and, some time later, this phoneme acquired the value that it has in modern Spanish, velar /x/. After these changes, the medieval orthography now provided three ways to write the phoneme /x/ before e and i (as in dixe, gente, Jesús) and two ways to write it in other contexts (as in baxo, ojo). Leaving nonphonological factors aside, the most rational reform of the spelling would have kept only one of these three letters with the value of /x/, as proposed by Juan Ramón Jiménez. Again, the Spanish Academy adopted a solution which was intermediate between orthographic simplicity and tradition, eliminating x with this value (except for established place names such as México, and Oaxaca, for which the Mexicans resisted the reformation), but keeping both \( j \) and \( g \) before e and i according to generally etymological criteria.

3) For Spanish speakers, another cause of orthographic problems is the use of \( h \), since this letter is never pronounced. There are several sources of orthographic \( h \).

To begin with, modern Spanish orthography (unlike Italian) has preserved – or restored – orthographic \( h \) in those words where the Latin etymon has \( h \), as in hora, haber, hombre (Lat. homine), etc., even though, as we already know, this sound stopped being pronounced as early as in Roman times.

Secondly, we have \( h \) in many words where Latin (and the other main Romance languages) have \( f \), as in hacer ‘to do, make’ (Lat. facere), hormiga ‘ant’ (Lat. formica), hija ‘daughter’ (Lat. filia), etc. The \( h \) of these words was pronounced as /h/ in Old Spanish. Before a vowel, Lat. /f/ generally became an aspiration /h/ in Medieval Castilian. This aspiration, however, was later lost (except that some of these words preserve the aspiration in regional nonstandard pronunciation in certain areas, both of Spain and of Latin America).

Thirdly, there are some orthographic alterations which have never been pronounced, either in Latin or in Old Spanish. Because of a purely orthographic rule, Spanish words cannot start with a diphthong like ue; instead these words always have an orthographic h. Notice the alternation in examples such as oler ‘to smell’, huele ‘I smell’; osario ‘ossuary’, hueso ‘bone’; oquedad ‘hole’, hueco ‘hole’, etc. The forms that otherwise would have an initial diphthong are provided with an \( h \). This orthographic device was useful at the time where the letters \( u \) and \( v \) were used with the same value (lava ‘wash’), so that something written uelo was ambiguous in pronunciation: it could be the word velo ‘veil’ or the word huele ‘I smell’. The \( h \) was there to indicate clearly that the following letter \( u \) was not a consonant. Incidentally, this orthographic device is also found in French, cf. huître ‘oyster’ (from Lat. ostrea), huile ‘oil’ (Lat. olea). Nowadays there would be no confusion, since the letters \( u \) and \( v \) are always kept separate (except when we want to recreate the style of Latin inscriptions, as in universitas), but the convention has been maintained.

We thus see that the standard orthography of the Spanish language represents the compromise struck by the Spanish Academy between a rational system of phonemic spelling and the historical baggage of the language.

APPENDIX C. SPANISH AMONG THE IBERO-ROMANCE VARIETIES

C.1 A brief historical overview

The purpose of this appendix is to provide the historical background necessary to understand the linguistic situation in modern Spain, which is described in C.2.

We have only a partial picture of the linguistic situation in the Iberian Peninsula before the arrival of the Roman legions. We know that both Indo-European and non-Indo-European languages were spoken in this area. Indo-European languages were spread over the centre and western part of the Peninsula:
Celtiberian or Hispano-Celtic (a member of the Celtic family, which includes Welsh, Irish and Scottish Gaelic, and Breton, as well as the extinct language of the Gauls in France) was spoken in the central plateau. In parts of modern Portugal and neighbouring areas there are paleographic remains of the language, also Indo-European, of the Lusitanians. Non-Indo-European languages – most likely remnants of an even older linguistic stage before the Indo-European invasions – were at this time also spoken over large areas of the Peninsula. In eastern and southern regions, all along the Mediterranean coast, we find the Iberian language. A different language, Euskarian or Basque-Aquitanian, was spoken in the territory of the Vascones (modern Navarra and northern Aragon), in Aquitania, in southwestern France, and most likely also in most of the area of the modern Autonomous Community of the Basque Country. The Tartessians of the lower Guadalquivir valley, who according to classical sources were the most advanced among the peoples of the Peninsula, also appear to have spoken a distinct non-Indo-European language. In addition, both Greek and the Semitic language of Phoenicians and Carthaginians were no doubt spoken in the colonies that these sea-faring nations had founded along the Mediterranean coast of Spain (see Fig. C.1).

All of these languages, with the sole exception of Basque, were replaced by the Latin of the Roman conquerors, after a period of coexistence or bilingualism which may have lasted centuries in some parts.

As the political, military and administrative structures that kept the Roman Empire in place weakened and finally disappeared, the Latin language evolved into a number of regional varieties, which, in the absence of a common centre, grew more and more apart from each other, eventually becoming the different Romance languages. The Spanish language derives directly from the particular Romance variety that developed in the original area of the County (later Kingdom) of Castile, to the north of the city of Burgos, in close proximity to the area where Basque was spoken at the time. When Castilian appears in writing in the middle ages as distinct from its Latin ancestor, it is as a member of a dialectal continuum extending over northern Spain. To the west of its area, we find Leonese and Galician-Portuguese; to its east, Navarrese Romance, Aragonese and Catalan. This language continuum extended also outside of the Iberian Peninsula, throughout France and Italy. Undoubtedly the Romance linguistic continuum also included the centre and south of the Peninsula in early medieval times, but we know less about the medieval Romance varieties of this area. Most of the Peninsula had been conquered by the Arabs and Berbers, who first arrived in Spain in the year 711, and had Arabic as its language of culture. Romance varieties, known as a whole as Mozarabic (from the Arabic musta'rab 'Arabized'), continued nevertheless being spoken in Hispano-Muslim territory.

Figure C.1. Ancient languages of the Iberian Peninsula.

longer in some areas than in others (see Fig. C.2). Both the Arabic language and the Romance Mozarabic varieties that had survived under the Arabs were ultimately replaced by the languages of the Christian kingdoms of northern Spain, as they spread southwards in the centuries-long process known in Spanish history as the reconquista or re-conquest. The kings of Castile were particularly successful in this expansionist endeavour, and, as a consequence, the language of Castile spread, as a wedge, over a larger part of central and southern Hispania than its sister languages. Other northern languages, especially Galician-Portuguese and Catalan also spread southwards on both sides of the
Linguistic situation of the Iberian Peninsula in the tenth century. The boundaries that are drawn between Romance varieties are more or less arbitrary, since, as explained in the text, there was a single dialect continuum.

Peninsula, whereas Leonese and Aragonese had a more limited expansion on either side of the Castilian area (see Fig. C.3).

These historical events are still reflected in the present-day linguistic map of the Iberian Peninsula, in the fact that there is much more linguistic diversity in the north than in the south of the Peninsula. The linguistic continuum has been preserved to some extent in the northern area. If we travel from west to east along the northern fringe of the Peninsula, first we will hear Galician around us (in addition to Spanish with a Galician 'accent'). As we move into

Asturias, if we observe the speech of rural speakers, we will notice that Galician progressively changes into a number of Asturian varieties, which as we continue travelling eastwards become less and less like Galician and more and more like Castilian Spanish. In the region of Cantabria we will still find local forms of language that, although very similar to Standard Castilian Spanish, have some striking features, such as final /-u/ instead of /-o/ (e.g. palu 'stick' for Sp. palo) and aspirated /h/ (e.g. [hórno] for standard Spanish horno (órno) 'oven'). (Portuguese and Galician have /l/ in such words.) If we keep on travelling along the coast, we will get to the Basque region, where the local language is totally different and does not form part of the continuum. If we go south to
Burgos, instead, we will be in the cradle of the Spanish language. Further to the east, in the Pyrenean valleys of northern Aragon, we can still find speakers of Aragonese varieties, which progressively deviate from Spanish and resemble Catalan more and more as we get closer to the Catalan border. Whereas, to take the two geographical extremes, a Galician fisherman and a Catalan farmer who spoke only their local variety would have a hard time understanding each other, along the way we do not find any really abrupt transition between neighbouring varieties to the extent that local varieties have been preserved (again leaving aside the Basque region). Farther south, however, the situation is quite different. Here we pass from Portuguese to Spanish or from Spanish to Catalan abruptly from one town to the next, without intermediate forms. This is because these three languages originated in more northerly regions and were brought to the central and southern part of the Peninsula by the armies and colonists of the respective medieval kingdoms.

C.2 The other languages of Spain today and their influence on the pronunciation of the regional form of Spanish in bilingual areas

We see that the different Ibero-Romance languages of the middle ages have had very unequal fortunes in later centuries, some becoming the mother tongue of millions, some others becoming extinct or nearly so.

Nowadays a number of languages coexist with Spanish in several regions of Spain. Where the local language is rather different from Spanish, as is the case with Catalan (not to mention Basque), the two varieties are generally seen as separate linguistic codes, to be used in different contexts or when speaking with different interlocutors, and most speakers avoid transferring phonological and other features from one language to the other (although, of course, they are not always successful). On the other hand, in zones where the local variety is more similar to Standard Spanish, as is the case with the Asturian-Leonese-Cantabrian varieties that still survive, many speakers see the local variety merely as a register for informal interaction with relatives and neighbours, at the end of a range of registers whose other end is Standard Castilian Spanish. In actual linguistic interaction these speakers will produce a range of speech forms which sometimes are closer to Standard Spanish and other times will have more of a local flavour. In Galicia the mixture of Spanish and Galician is known by the pejorative name castrapo and elicits strong condemnation on the part of those intent on preserving the purity of the Galician language.

In what follows we will consider the linguistic situation in different areas of the Iberian Peninsula where another language coexists or has coexisted with Spanish.

C.2.1 Galician and related varieties

Medieval Galician-Portuguese has given rise to two modern languages, Galician and Portuguese (including European Portuguese, Brazilian and several other Portuguese varieties around the world, in addition to various Portuguese-based Creoles), as Galicia remained attached to the Kingdom of Castile-Leon, whereas Portugal became an independent kingdom which went on to create an empire
of its own. Galician is nowadays an official language (together with Spanish) in Galicia, where it is spoken by the majority of the population and is used in the school system and in the media. One major difference between both daughters of the medieval Galician–Portuguese language is that Galician, being spoken in a region within Spain, has become more similar to Spanish in its pronunciation. The phonological influence of Spanish is particularly strong in the Galician of Spanish-dominant urban speakers, which is the variety that one is most likely to hear on Galician television. Conversely, the regional form of Spanish also shows some phonological influence from Galician, including the pronunciation of final /u/ as a velar nasal [ŋ] (the final sound in English thing), as in pan [pāŋ] 'bread', son [sõŋ] 'they are', and sometimes a very close pronunciation of final /o/, which may sound rather like [u]. Galician varieties are also spoken in border areas of Asturias and Leon. In Extremadura, along the border with Portugal, we find a couple of bilingual areas. In the town of Olivenza, Portuguese is spoken alongside Spanish, and, in Valverde del Fresno and neighbouring towns, a local dialect of a Galician–Portuguese type is spoken.

C.2.2 Modern descendants of Old Leonese

Old Leonese has had worse luck than Galician–Portuguese. It survives most strongly in the Spanish region of Asturias, as a group of local varieties mostly spoken in rural areas, which are collectively known as asturián or hable. In recent years Asturian has become a symbol of regional pride. There is an Academia de la Llingua Asturiana, one of whose goals is to create a standard form of the language, and there is also some use of Asturian in literary creation and in the schools. In urban areas of Asturias, however, one is not likely to hear much Asturian.

Another area where a modern form of Leonese enjoys local prestige is the Portuguese region of Miranda do Douro, where the local dialect, known as mirandés, has been granted official recognition. Within Leon proper – nowadays merely a part of the region of Castile-Leon – the language has fared less well, with very few people still speaking Leonese dialects. As already mentioned, in Cantabria as well we find local varieties that form a transition towards Castilian Spanish, but again these are preserved mostly by elderly speakers in rural areas.

The two features noted above for the regional Spanish of Galicia, the final velar nasal [ŋ] and the very close realization of final /o/ are also found in Asturias and in other areas where Leonese varieties are or were historically spoken, including parts of Extremadura. Velar [ŋ] is a phenomenon with a wider geographical extension (being found also in Andalucia, the Caribbean

and some other parts of Latin America) and is used essentially by all speakers in these areas. The raising of word-final /-o/, on the other hand, is somewhat stigmatized, especially in zones where the local dialect actually has final /-u/, and tends to be avoided in formal situations and by educated speakers in the areas where the phenomenon is found. In much of the western area of Spain, from parts of Asturias and Cantabria to Extremadura and western Andalucia, the orthographic h of some words such as hondo ‘deep’, hembra ‘female’, hacer ‘to do; hoya ‘hole’ is pronounced as [h], especially in rural areas. This is a conservative phenomenon. In Latin these words had /h/, which became /h/ in Old Castilian, as was explained above in Appendix B.

C.2.3 Aragonese varieties

Although independent from Castile until the union of both kingdoms under Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile in the fifteenth century, most of Aragon soon became Castilian-speaking. As mentioned, the original Aragonese language has retreated to a few Pyrenean valleys, where it barely survives. Modern Aragonese dialects include cho, in the Hecho Valley, chistavín, in Gistain, and belsetán, in Bielsa. As in Asturias, there have been some recent attempts to revive and standardize the language, but so far this language revival movement has not attracted much interest.

The Spanish spoken in Aragon is phonetically conservative. To other Peninsular speakers it is mostly identifiable by its distinct intonational contours.

C.2.4 The extinct Navarrese Romance

The generally accepted explanation for the disappearance of the medieval Navarrese Romance language, which developed in contact with Basque and in many respects was transitional between Castilian and Aragonese, is that, after the Kingdom of Navarre was annexed to that of Castile (in 1512), Navarrese Romance was viewed by its speakers not as a distinct language, but merely as a local form of the same language as Castilian. Progressively, Navarrese shed its distinctive traits in favour of the more prestigious Castilian variants where differences were found (see Gonzalez Olle 1996). Probably something very similar happened with the varieties of lower Aragon (as well as much of Leon, on the other side of the originally Castilian area).

C.2.5 Catalan

Catalan, on the other hand, has been preserved in relatively good health over large areas. The Catalan language is co-official with Spanish in Catalonia, where
it enjoys considerable prestige, being used in all social and public functions. Besides Catalonia proper, the Catalan language is also spoken in most of the region of Valencia, in the Balearic Islands (Majorca, Minorca and Ibiza or Eivissa – in the Catalan form of the name) and in areas of Aragon bordering Catalonia. Outside of the political boundaries of Spain, Catalan is the official language of the independent Principality of Andorra (Principat d’Andorra). Across the French border, Catalan is spoken in the region of Roussillon, where it lacks official recognition. It is also spoken in the town of Alghero (in Catalan, L’Alguer), on the Italian island of Sardinia, where it was brought by Catalan colonists in the middle ages.

Most Catalan-speakers in Spain also speak Spanish fluently. To a variable degree, Catalan-speakers tend to transfer certain phonological features of their native language when speaking in Spanish. Some of these features are the pronunciation of final /d/ as [t], as in verda[t], Madr[ traveller], the velarized pronunciation of final /l/ in igual, cual, etc. (similar to word-final English /l/) and the voicing of /s/ as [z] between vowels across word boundaries, as in lo[z] amigos ‘the friends’. The more a speaker uses these pronunciations, the more his or her Spanish will be perceived as having a Catalan accent. Many Catalans (but not all) consistently make the contrast between /j/ and /ʒ/ in Spanish.

C.2.6 Aranese Gascon

In the northwesternmost corner of Catalonia, in the Arán Valley, we find another language, which is locally known as aranesés, or Aranese. The Arán Valley is on the northern side of the Pyrenees, but, for historical reasons, it became first part of Catalonia and then of Spain. Consistent with its geographical location, Aranese is not an Ibero-Romance variety, but, rather, a form of southern Gallo-Romance (Occitan). It is most similar to the Gascon varieties of southwestern France. Although the language enjoys official recognition, there are only a few thousand speakers of Aranese, who tend to be trilingual, speaking also Spanish and Catalan. When they speak Spanish, the people from Arán do not have much of a Catalan ‘accent’ at all.

C.2.7 Basque

The Basque language is now co-official with Spanish in the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country, which includes the three provinces of Vizcaya, Guipúzcoa and Alava (or, in Basque, Bizkaia, Gipuzkoa and Araba), and also enjoys a more limited official status in Navarre (in Basque, Nafarroa). Basque is also spoken across the border in the French Basque Country. The percentage of native Basque speakers in the whole region is not very high, around 20–25 percent, but much higher in parts of Vizcaya/Bizkaia and Guipúzcoa/Gipuzkoa. Although in the middle ages Basque was spoken as far south as northern parts of the provinces of Burgos and La Rioja – outside of the modern Basque provinces and adjacent to the cradle of Castilian Romance – and perhaps as far east as Huesca, in Aragon, the boundary of the Basque-speaking territory has receded considerably since then. Local varieties of Basque have been preserved in Vizcaya, east of Bilbao, in a northern corner of Alava, in all of Guipúzcoa and in northwestern Navarra, as well as in the Basque Country of France. Nowadays a standard form of Basque has been developed and the language is widely used in the educational system, with the result that knowledge of Basque is increasing among native speakers of Spanish in the younger generations, even in areas where the language had been lost a long time ago.

In the Spanish of the Basque Country the phoneme /s/ generally has a more ‘sibilant’ (more retracted) articulation than in other areas of the Peninsula. Before a consonant, as in pa[f] te ‘part’, /r/ tends to be trilled. Especially among native speakers of Basque, one sometimes finds a strongly trilled [r] also after a consonant in the same syllable, as in pob[r] e ‘poor; and word finally, as in po[r] es ‘for that reason’.

One could say that the loss of /d/ in participles in -ado is the norm in the Basque area. Even among educated speakers and in rather formal settings, one hears very advanced forms such as [kantaj] for cantado ‘sung’. Native speakers of Basque tend to maintain the contrast between /ʒ/ and /s/, which is also found in Basque, but the youngest generations are losing the contrast in both languages. The Basque Country is one of the few areas where the pronunciation of /ʒ/ has a very positive social consideration (at least in some circles). This is directly related to the bilingual situation. For some Basque speakers, the transfer of yeismo to Basque is little less than an affront to the language and these speakers carefully maintain the contrast in both languages. Attitudes may soon start changing, though, since many young people are simply unable to produce /ʒ/ in either language.

Regarding the written language, the rule of uniform spelling in Standard Spanish finds some exceptions in the Basque area. Basque orthography is nowadays often used in Spanish-language texts not only to spell Basque names and loanwords from Basque, such as kokotxo ‘cheeks of hake or cod’, much more frequent than cocochas, but also sometimes in the spelling of Spanish words of other origins associated with the local culture, either because they are erroneously perceived as being Basque words or for fanciful reasons. Thus, in restaurant menus written in Spanish it is not unusual to find txuleta ‘steak’, for chuileta, antxoa ‘anchovies’ for anchos, and txipirones ‘small squids’, for chipirones, for instance (in Basque orthography tx represents /ʃ/ and the phoneme /k/ is
Table C.1 The Ibero-Romance varieties from the middle ages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Middle ages</th>
<th>21st century</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Galician-Portuguese →</td>
<td>Galician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Leonese →</td>
<td>Portuguese: European, Brazilian, etc. Portuguese Creoles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Aragonese →</td>
<td>Asturian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Catalan →</td>
<td>Mirandés (Portugal), etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mozarabic (extinct)</td>
<td>Modern Pyrenean Aragonese dialects: Cheso, Belsetán, Chistavino, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Castilian (Burgos → Toledo) →</td>
<td>Catalan: Eastern (Barcelona, Girona), Northwestern (Lleida, Andorra), Valencian, Balearic (Majorca, Minorca, Ibiza), Rosellonés (French Catalonia), Alguerés (Sardinia)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

always written k), and in newspapers from the Basque region one reads things like txaranga 'music band' for charanga in articles written in Spanish.

In this connection, something must be said about toponyms in bilingual areas of Spain. In Franco’s Spain, all names of provinces and towns, as well as other geographical names, were official only in their Spanish version, even in areas with a different language. Since then, many of them have been replaced by their Galician, Basque or Catalan forms in the respective areas. These newly official names are frequently used in Spanish discourse. Thus, in Spanish-language contexts, one now often sees and hears the official Galician Ourense (instead of the Spanish form Orense) and A Coruña (instead of La Coruña), the Catalan forms Lleida (for Lérida) and Girona (in Catalan, pronounced [ʒirɔnə], but generally mis-pronounced as [ʒiɾɔnə] by Spanish-speakers, instead of the traditional Spanish form Gerona [xeɾonə]), and the Basque forms Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa. When the Spanish toponym has a traditionally associated adjective, this is normally used in its traditional Spanish form, with the result that in

the same text written in Spanish one may find the noun Bizkaia, but vizcaíno ‘Bizkaian’ as the corresponding adjective.

C.2.8 English and Spanish in Gibraltar

Although not within the political boundaries of Spain, there is a last bilingual area of the Iberian Peninsula worth mentioning: the British colony of Gibraltar. Native gibraltareños are for the most part bilingual in English and Spanish. Their Spanish is similar in pronunciation to that of neighbouring areas of Andalusia, perhaps freer from the prescriptive influence of Standard Peninsular Spanish and with some lexical influence from English.

C.2.9 Ceuta and Melilla

As for the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla, on the coast of North Africa, linguistically they are essentially a continuation of Andalusia, but a high percentage of the population is bilingual in Moroccan Arabic or Berber (see Casado-Fresnillo 1995).

APPENDIX D. BILINGUALISM IN LATIN AMERICA

Indigenous or native languages are widely spoken in several Latin American areas. In Mexico there are considerable numbers of speakers of Nahua, Otomi, Zapotec, Maya and other languages. The Mexican areas with the greatest concentration of speakers of indigenous languages are the Yucatán Peninsula (Yucatec Maya) and the states of Chiapas and Oaxaca (both with several indigenous languages). In Guatemala one of several languages of the Maya family is spoken by a large percentage of the population. In the Andean region, there are several millions of speakers of Quechua in Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia (as well as northwestern Argentina) and Aymara is spoken by over a million people in Peru, Bolivia and northern Chile. Guarani is an official language of Paraguay, where it is spoken by most of the inhabitants, and is also widely known in the eastern Bolivian lowlands. In the Amazon basin we find a very large number of languages.

A different case is that of northern Uruguay, where we find contact between Portuguese and Spanish. The local Spanish–Portuguese varieties (Portuguese in contact with Spanish) are known as fronterizo.

Spanish–English bilingualism is found not only in the USA but also in parts of Panama and Costa Rica, which are home to communities of Afro-Caribbean descent from the English West Indies, and along the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua,
Appendix D

where the use of English (or an English-based Creole) is widespread among people of both African and indigenous Nicaraguan heritage.

In bilingual areas of Latin America, the Spanish of bilingual speakers can deviate from monolingual norms substantially more than in bilingual Spain. There are obvious sociolinguistic reasons for this, including access to education, relative proportion of monolingual speakers of both languages in the relevant area, etc. Another reason is that the native languages of the Americas are structurally much more different from Spanish than the other Ibero-Romance languages are.

A different question is the extent to which the Spanish of monolingual or Spanish-dominant speakers from the different dialectal regions of Latin America may owe some of its features to influence from the indigenous language that is or was spoken in the area. This is a difficult and highly debated issue which requires careful analysis in each particular case. Some intonational and rhythmical traits that distinguish several Latin American varieties and are unlike anything found in the Peninsula, in particular, may have their origin in the influence of native languages. Nevertheless, one should not rush to conclusions. It is tempting, for instance, to seek the origin of the deletion of certain unstressed vowels in Andean Spanish in transfer from Quechua/Aymara rhythmical patterns, but the same phenomenon is found in Mexico, where the linguistic substratum is very different. Furthermore, similar processes of reduction and deletion of unstressed vowels have arisen, for instance, in European Portuguese and, to give another example, in some Basque dialects of Navarra in the absence of any external linguistic influence in that direction. It is the case that quite radical transformations in the pronunciation of a language can be the result of purely language-internal mechanisms.

Some features of bilingual speech are clearly never transferred to the monolingual Spanish of the region. To give an often-cited example, native speakers of Quechua and Aymara who have acquired an imperfect command of Spanish as adults, may show some confusion between /i/ and /e/ and between /o/ and /u/, since in Quechua and in Aymara these pairs of sounds are allophones of the same phoneme (there are only three vowel phonemes /i a u/ in these languages). However, monolingual Spanish speakers of the Andean region show no such confusion. Nevertheless, we do seem to find examples of transfer in other cases. The insertion of a 'glottal stop' between two vowels in the regional Spanish coincides with the area where Guarani is spoken (Paraguay and adjacent areas of Argentina and Bolivia), is a feature of this language, and appears to be more frequent in bilingual speakers who are dominant in Guarani, but is also used by Spanish-dominant speakers (Lipski 1994:77–82).

Glossary of technical terms

Note. In the Spanish translations, terms which in Spanish are basically adjectives are provided with the most usual noun they modify (or which is understood and conditions gender agreement, if left unexpressed). For instance, *affricate* is translated as cons(onante) africada.

**Acoustic phonetics** (fonética acústica) Study of the sound waves produced in speech by the activity of the articulators.

**Affricate** (cons. africada) Consonant produced with occlusion followed by fricative release. Spanish has only one affricate phoneme /ʃʃ/, as in *chico*, but the consonant /ʃ/ may also have affricate allophones.

**Alloform** (alorfor) Distinct variant of a morpheme. For example, the root morpheme of the verb 'to be able' has alloforms /pod-ʃ/ and /pued-ʃ/. To give another example, both /-s/ and /-es/ are alloforms of the plural suffix.

**Allophone** (alófono) Distinct variant of a phoneme. For example, in Spanish the consonant phoneme /s/ has a voiced allophone [z] that occurs before a voiced consonant.

**Approximant** (cons. aproximante) Consonant sound for whose production the articulators only approach each other, without enough constriction to produce friction. Examples: /β θ ñ y/ in Spanish.

**Archiphoneme** (archifonema) In Prague school or European structuralism, the phonological result of the neutralization of two or more phonemes in a given position. For instance, since in Spanish /p/ and /b/ do not contrast in the coda of the syllable, an archiphoneme /p/ is postulated in the phonemic representation of words like *apto* /apTo/, *obtiene* /oPtiene/.

**Articulatory phonetics** (fonética articulatoria) Study of the articulatory mechanisms involved in speech.

**Aspiration** (aspiración) In Spanish dialectology this generally refers to the realization of /s/ or other phonemes as /h/.

**Assimilation** (asimilación) Process by which a segment becomes more similar to a neighbouring segment. See 6.3.

**Bilabial** (bilabial) Sound produced with both lips as articulators. Examples are /p b ð m/.

**Boundary tones** (tonos de frontera) In the Autosegmental-Metrical theory of intonational analysis, tones occurring at the beginning or, more commonly, end