

Received 7 January 2015.

Accepted 20 March 2015.

VARIATION LINGUISTIQUE DANS LE PARLER ARABE D'OUJDA: NORD-EST MAROCAIN VS. COMMUNAUTÉ MAROCAINE DANS LA DIASPORA¹

Montserrat BENÍTEZ FERNÁNDEZ

Universidad de Granada / Escuela de Estudios Árabes-CSIC*

montsebenitez@ugr.es

Abstract

Cette étude explore la variation linguistique dans la variété d'arabe parlé à Oujda (Nord-est du Maroc) –d'ailleurs, une des variétés les plus méconnues parmi celles de l'arabe marocain–, en analysant des processus phonologiques et morphologiques, principalement. On a établi une comparaison entre les traits linguistiques de cette variété telle qu'elle est parlée par des locuteurs à Oujda et les caractéristiques de ce même parler chez des locuteurs d'origine *oujdie*, résidant en Espagne. La récolte des données a combiné deux méthodologies, d'un côté on a mené un travail de synthèse de la bibliographie existante sur cette variété linguistique; et d'un autre côté on a mené un travail de terrain parmi la communauté marocaine résidente à Saragosse. Dans cet article, l'accent a été mis sur les phénomènes linguistiques qu'on put susciter certains changements, voire une certaine évolution de ce parler.

Mots clés

variation linguistique, Arabe marocain, diaspora, Oujda

¹ Je tiens à remercier les institutions qui ont rendu possible le développement de cette recherche: le programme JAE-doc de recherche postdoctorale et le projet de recherche “Fronteras lingüísticas y factores sociales: perspectivas sincrónicas y diacrónicas de la región del Magreb” FFI2011-26782-C02-01, financé par le MINECO.

* Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Cuesta del Chapiz, 22. 18010 Granada.

**VARIACIÓN LINGÜÍSTICA EN EL ÁRABE DE OUJDA:
NORESTE MARROQUÍ VS. COMUNIDAD MARROQUÍ EN LA DIÁSPORA**

Resumen

En este estudio se trata la cuestión de la variación lingüística que se ha observado en el árabe vernáculo de la ciudad de Oujda (Noreste de Marruecos). Para ello, se han analizado, principalmente, los niveles fonológico y morfológico, comparando rasgos lingüísticos de esta variedad tal y como es hablada en la propia ciudad de Oujda con los registrados por hablantes de origen oujdí residentes en España. El trabajo ha combinado dos métodos diferentes. Por un lado, se ha llevado a cabo una labor de síntesis de la bibliografía existente sobre esta variedad lingüística y por otro, se han examinado los datos recogidos en la comunidad marroquí residente en Zaragoza, mediante un trabajo de campo. La autora se ha centrado en los fenómenos lingüísticos que han podido suscitar algún tipo de cambio o una cierta evolución de la variante. Este trabajo tiene una especial relevancia, ya que contribuye al estudio lingüístico de las variantes vernáculas de Marruecos aportando datos nuevos de una de las hablas menos conocidas entre la comunidad científica.

Palabras clave

variación lingüística, árabe marroquí, Oujda, diáspora

1. Introduction

Parmi les variantes arabes de type maghrébin², celles issues du nord-est marocain ont subi un certain oubli de la part des chercheurs. Seulement quelques travaux de géographie linguistique ont été consacrés à la variante arabe de la région (Benabbou 1992, thèse de doctorat inédite; Benabbou & Behnstedt 2002; Behnstedt & Benabbou 2005; Behnstedt 2005 et 2007) et dans le cas concret de l'arabe parlé dans la ville d'Oujda (Wəžda) la bibliographie se trouve aussi restreinte, voire plus: On a seulement trouvé une thèse inédite (Elbaz 1980) centrée sur la description dialectologique de cette variante et un article (Elbaz 1981) dédié à l'étude d'une partie de la syntaxe de l'arabe d'Oujda: la subordination.

² La frontière dialectale entre variétés vernaculaires maghrébines et orientales est localisée à l'ouest du Nil. La différence principale des deux variétés se trouve au niveau morphologique. Les variétés orientales forment la 1ère personne singulière de l'inaccompli avec le morphème ?- préfixé à la racine verbale (?aktib 'j'écrirais'), tandis que les variétés maghrébines emploient le morphème n-, aussi préfixé à la racine para analogie à la première personne plurielle (naktib 'j'écrirais' - nkətbu 'nous écrirons'). À ce propos consultez Behnstedt (1998) et Vicente (2008).

Le travail que l'on présente par la suite contribue au débat, toujours ouvert, de l'étude de cette variante vernaculaire et pourrait être utile lors d'une future description de l'arabe parlé dans cette ville. En revanche, le but principal de cette recherche poursuit l'analyse de la variation linguistique produite parmi les locuteurs de l'arabe vernaculaire de la ville d'Oujda et les locuteurs de cette variante mais résidents en Espagne. De plus, cet article s'insère dans une ligne de recherche plus vaste, celle qui explore les langues minoritaires en Europe, l'arabe maghrébin étant parmi ces langues (Barontini 2006 et 2013; Boumans 1998 et 2004; Boumans & Caubet 2000; Boumans & De Ruiter 2002; Caubet 2001a, 2001b, 2002a, 2002b, 2004 et 2008; Caubet & Barontini 2008; Verstegh 2001; Vicente 2004, 2007a et 2007b).

Afin de parvenir à ce but, dans les pages qui suivent, on montrera d'abord, les traits les plus caractéristiques de l'arabe vernaculaire d'Oujda, ensuite, on décrira les particularités de cette variante parlée dans la diaspora, puis, on sera en disposition d'établir des comparaisons et d'analyser les tendances du changement linguistique relatives à cette variante d'arabe.

Cette étude est basée aussi bien dans la synthèse de données bibliographiques, obtenues dans les ouvrages mentionnés auparavant, que dans l'analyse des données obtenues lors du travail de terrain.

Le travail de terrain a été mené par moi-même dans le cadre d'un projet de recherche postdoctorale dont le but était d'analyser les pratiques linguistiques de la communauté marocaine résidente en Espagne. La campagne de travail a été menée dans la ville de Saragosse, plus concrètement, dans deux écoles³ localisées dans le quartier San Pablo, celui qui abrite une plus grande concentration d'immigrés d'origine marocaine (Benítez Fernández 2013: 264-269). Les informateurs étaient donc des adolescents et des enfants scolarisés dans le système éducatif espagnol. La plus grande partie d'entre eux était composée de bilingues fonctionnels (arabe marocain-espagnol), à l'exception de quelques cas qui étaient bilingues passifs en arabe marocain ou en

³ Les écoles qui ont participé volontairement à cette étude sont l'école « Santo Domingo » et le centre éducatif « Nuestra Señora del Carmen y San José ». Je voudrais exprimer ici ma plus profonde gratitude à ces deux institutions plus concrètement à l'équipe directive de deux écoles et à l'enseignant d'arabe langue étrangère (Hassan) qui m'a mis en contact avec les écoles, car cette étude aurait été impossible sans leur collaboration désintéressée.

espagnol, ceci dû au manque de transmission de cette langue de la part de la famille ou à la récente date d'arrivée en pays d'accueil respectivement. Les informateurs étaient originaires de différentes régions du Maroc, le groupe originaire d'Oujda étant majoritaire (36.6% du total des informateurs). Le travail de terrain a consisté à mener des conversations sous la forme d'interviews informelles en arabe marocain par couple d'informateurs.

1.1 Quelques notions géographiques et historiques de la ville d'Oujda

La ville d'Oujda se trouve, comme on l'a déjà avancé, au nord-est du Maroc, à environ 15 km à l'ouest de la frontière avec l'Algérie et à 60 km au sud de la Méditerranée. Elle a été fondée par Ziri ben Atiya, chef des Maghraoua, groupe de nomades Zenètes, qui après avoir établi son autorité sur le Centre et l'Est du Maroc, fonde Oujda en 994. Dans cette période, la ville se transforme en un important carrefour des routes de communication et commerciales entre la Méditerranée et Sijilmasa ainsi qu'entre Tlemcen et Fez (Pascoff 1957, *apud* Elbaz 1980 : 28). Ceci sera une période de splendeur car cinq siècles plus tard Léon L'Africain mentionne cette ville comme « misérable bourgade » et ayant connu différentes destructions et reconstructions successives pendant le Moyen Âge et l'Âge Moderne.

2. Traits linguistiques de l'arabe d'Oujda

Le parler arabe d'Oujda est considéré comme étant de type bédouin (Colin 1945: 230). Il s'agit d'« une ville arabophone dans une région berbérophone » (Behnstedt 2002) circonstance qui, à priori, devrait avoir certains effets sur la variante vernaculaire qu'on analyse. Sa localisation près de l'Algérie, le commerce ainsi que les mouvements migratoires des deux côtés de la frontière —qui se sont produit tout au long de l'histoire jusqu'à la fermeture de la frontière en 1994— ont fait que les spécialistes considèrent les variétés arabes sédentaires de la région d'Oujda influencées par celles de l'ouest algérien (Heath 2002: 5) et les variétés bédouines de l'ouest algérien comme une sorte

de continuation de celles de la région d'Oujda (Cantineau 1940: 227). On pourrait imaginer qu'« une certaine homogénéité du parler Oujdi règne avec les premières villes frontalières algériennes » (Benabbou 1992: 20) mais avec suffisamment de particularités pour ne pas se confondre avec les parlers du Maroc occidental et ceux de l'Algérie (Elbaz 1980 : 44). À ce propos, on a constaté une certaine similarité des données présentées par Cantineau (1940) avec celles publiées par Benabbou & Behnsted (2002) et Behnsted & Benabbou (2005) et on aura l'occasion d'examiner si les données recueillies à Saragosse se rapprochent de cette tendance ou pas.

Les principaux traits du parler arabe de la ville d'Oujda, d'après les données fournies par Behnstedt & Benabbou⁴ (Benabbou & Behnstedt 2002; Behnstedt & Benabbou 2005), sont les suivants.

2.1 Phonologie et phonétique

-Nette régression des phonèmes interdentaux (/t/, /ð/).

-Pratiquement absence d'affrication du /t/. Elbaz (1980 : 92) mentionne déjà ce phénomène chez certains informateurs par conséquent, on peut imaginer qu'il ne s'agit pas d'un trait généralisé comme dans le cas des parlers nord-occidentaux du Maroc.

-Prononciation du phonème uvulaire occlusif sourd /q/ majoritairement comme vélaire occlusif sonore /g/, ce qui montre une évolution par rapport aux données présentées il y a 20 ans, où les femmes ne réalisent [g] que sporadiquement (Elbaz 1980 : 141). De plus, Elbaz signale les trois réalisations possibles du phonème /q/, c'est à dire uvulaire occlusif sourd [q], vélaire occlusif sourd [k] et vélaire occlusif sonore [g] de la même racine {qrˤ}, phénomène qui pourrait s'expliquer par des raisons lexicales (Elbaz, 1980: 126), comme on peut le voir dans les exemples suivants : *qrˤa* « bouteille » – *krˤa* « chauve » – *grˤa* « courge ». Ceci aurait favorisé une certaine fluctuation de [k], [q] et [g] (Elbaz 1980: 141) dans d'autres racines : *kaddāb* – *qaddāb* – *gaddāb* « menteur » {kdb}

⁴ J'ai choisi les données publiées par Behnstedt & Benabbou, car il s'agit des plus récentes publications sur la question, mais on complétera ces données avec celles présentées par Elbaz (1980) et par Benabbou (1992).

-Phonèmes vélaires et post-palatales labialisées (*qʷdām* “vieux”, *tākʷli* “tu manges”, *xʷfāf* “légers”, *gʷlād* “gros”) et labialisation secondaire des consonnes labiales (*bbʷa* “papa”, *mmʷa* “maman”, etc.).

-Comme dans d’autres variétés marocaines, les voyelles brèves ne peuvent apparaître en syllabe ouverte. Pour cette raison, la structure syllabique des mots, lorsqu’on ajoute des pronoms possessifs ou le morphème du féminin, entre autres, doit être reconstruite continuellement. Dans la plupart des variétés du Maroc, ce genre de reconstruction est faite par le biais de la métathèse (*ktəb* “il a écrit” – *kətbu* ils ont écrit) ou l’élision (*xārəž* “sortant” – *xārža* “sortante”). Dans la variété d’Oujda, la structure syllabique est recomposée au moyen de l’élision, mais aussi par un redoublement de la consonne de la syllabe suivante, de façon non systématique (*bəgra* “vache > *bəggärt-i* “ma vache”; voir Benabbou & Behnstedt 2002: 10)

2.2. Morphologie

-Distinction du genre au pronom de la 2ème personne du singulier (*nta* vs. *ntīya*) ainsi qu’aux formes verbales aussi bien à l’accompli qu’à l’inaccompli [*ktəbt* “tu (masc.) as écrit” vs. *ktəbti* “tu (fém.) as écrit” / *təktəb* “tu (masc.) écriras” vs. *təkkatbi* “tu (fém.) écriras”]. De plus, il semble que le dialecte d’Oujda aurait eu une distinction du nombre à la deuxième et troisième personne entre duel⁵ (*ntūma* « vous deux », *hūma* « ils/elles deux ») et pluriel (*ntūm* « vous » *hūm* « ils/elles ») qui aurait déjà disparu, car elle n’est pas mentionnée ni par Benabbou (1992) ni dans les données plus récentes (Benabbou & Behnstedt 2002 et Behnstedt & Benabbou 2005).

-La conjugaison des verbes défectueux, c’est à dire ceux qui ont la troisième radical faible (-w ou -y) est faite sur le modèle *nsa* – *nsāw* “il a oublié – ils ont oublié” ou bien *nāmši* – *nāmšīw* “j’irais – nous irons”. La terminaison propre des dialectes bédouins -u parait être en régression dans la région d’Oujda et complètement disparue à Oujda ville (Behnstedt & Benabbou 2005: 28).

⁵ Elbaz (1980: 209).

-Les adverbes interrogatifs propres à cette variété d'arabe sont *wāš* “quoi?” —avec une variation *wāšta*, *wāsm*, *dāš* « quoi ? », qui aurait à présent disparu—,⁶ *fāwak* “quand?”. L'adverbe de temps alterne parmi un assez large éventail : *dārwak* (Benabbou & Benstedt 2002 : 11), *durkʷa*, *darwak*, *drūk*, *dürki*, *drük* et *drukka* (Benstedt & Benabbou 2005 : 66), *drwəq*, *drūwq*, *drūq*, *drəq* (Elbaz 1980 : 371) “maintenant”. Cet adverbe de temps dérive de l'expression *da l-waqt* “en ce moment, maintenant” (Benstedt & Benabbou 2005 : 30). Toutes ces variantes ont un caractère nettement bédouin et on retrouve certains d'entre elles dans d'autres dialectes philo-bédouins, comme ceux des plaines atlantiques (au sud de Rabat et Casablanca), Marrakech et chez d'autres populations au sud de Marrakech telles que Skoura (Aguadé & Elyaacoubi : 1995 : 142-143) ou Tata, et contraste avec la forme *dāba* “maintenant”, plus répandue dans d'autres parlers marocains nord-occidentaux de type sédentaire, et d'autres comme ceux de Casablanca ou d'Agadir.⁷

2.3 Morpho-syntaxe

-L'annexion nominale est du type analytique. Elle est formée avec les particules *dyāl*, *tāf* ou *ntāf*. Dans le cas des annexions analytiques employant des termes de la parenté (père, mère, frère) la construction utilisée est une construction d'origine berbère (*ddʷāy n əlqāyəd* “le père du caïd”), avec la particule du génitif *n*.

3. Traits linguistiques de l'arabe d'Oujda parlé à Saragosse

Dans les pages qui suivent, on va présenter les caractéristiques de l'arabe vernaculaire d'Oujda recueillies parmi des informateurs originaires de cette ville, mais résidant à Saragosse.

⁶ Elbaz (1980: 302).

⁷ Afin d'approfondir sur cette question, consultez Sánchez (2014a : 405-412) et Sánchez (2014b : 246-247).

3.1 Phonologie

Les informateurs résidents en Espagne ont complètement perdu les phonèmes interdentaux (/t/ > /t/, /ð/ > d/).

Ex. : *t-tānya* (< *t-tānya*) “la deuxième”; *tlātīn* (< *t-tlātīn*) “trente”; *ktār* (< *ktār*) “beaucoup”; *hād* (< *hāð*) “ce/cette”.

Dans le cas du phonème /t/ il semble plus fréquent la réalisation occlusive dentale sourde [t], mais on a observé une certaine alternance de ce phonème avec son allophone affriquée [t̪], comme c'est habituel dans les parlers sédentaires du nord du Maroc.⁸ En ce qui concerne le corpus analysé, le même informateur pourrait prononcer le même mot avec une réalisation occlusive ou affriquée comme dans le cas de *hatta* vs. *haṭṭa* “jusqu'à”, ou encore de *ʕāʔilt-i* vs. *ʕāʔilt̪-i* “ma famille”, ou bien utiliser les deux réalisations d'une façon interchangeable.

Ex.: *sətta* “six”; *səttāš* “seize”; *mətʃwāfīn*⁹ “qui se rencontrent les uns et les autres”; *mātāt* “elle est morte”; *twuḥhašt-a* “elle me manque”; *tlāta* “trois”; *ka-təʃəb-ni* “elle me plaît” ;

Ex.: *wsəlt həṭṭa t-ṭālət* “je suis arrivée jusqu'au troisième [année]; *ṭəqrībān* “approximativement”.

Le phonème /q/, est réalisé, chez les informateurs de Saragosse, beaucoup plus fréquemment comme uvulaire occlusive sourde [q] que comme vélaire occlusive sonore [g] qui est seulement présent dans deux cas: systématiquement dans le verbe *gāl* / *ygūl* “il a dit / il dira” et rarement dans le verbe *lga* / *yəlgə* “il a trouvé / il trouvera”.

Il y a une très rare présence des consonnes labialisées, d'ailleurs le corpus ne montre qu'une seule occurrence de ce phénomène, réalisée par un seul informateur,

⁸ Les parlers sédentaires du Nord du Maroc se localisent dans la région de Jbala, dans le Rif Occidental. Ils peuvent être classifiés à leur tour en parler rural et parler citadin (qu'on pourrait encore entendre aux coeurs des anciennes villes).

⁹ Participe de la forme VI, que l'informatrice prononce avec métathèse de la voyelle allongée.

dans le mot *kʷbār* “plus grand que...” et aucune occurrence de labialisation de deuxième degré (*bḥa* “papa”, *māma* “maman”).

Quant au phonème fricatif vélaire sonore /g/ on a observé un phénomène qui n'a pas été signalé dans les études linguistiques consacrées au parler de la ville d'Oujda. Il s'agit d'une décontraction de la prononciation vélaire au profit du phonème fricatif laryngale sonore [h]. Ce phénomène a été constaté dans l'adverbe *gīr* “seulement” qui devient, parfois d'une façon apocopé et diptonguée *gəy*, mais souvent *həy*, et même *hi*.¹⁰

3.2 Traits morphologiques

Par rapport à la morphologie nominale, les traits que l'on a trouvé dans le corpus élaboré à partir des enquêtes réalisées à Saragosse, ne diffèrent pas trop des traits enregistrés parmi les informateurs en pays d'origine.

Par exemple, les pronoms personnels sont similaires à ceux signalés dans les études menées à Oujda (Behnstedt & Benabbou 2002 et Benabbou & Behnstedt 2005). En effet, les informateurs de Saragosse distinguent le genre des pronoms sujets à la deuxième personne du singulier sous la forme *nta* “tu” dans le masculin contre *ntīya* “tu” au féminin, une forme allongée du pronom *nti* “tu (sing. fem.)”.

Quant aux pronoms suffixés, on a constaté un amuïssement de la /h/ formant les pronoms de troisième personne du singulier. De telle façon, le pronom objet de 3^{ème} p. masc. sing. est *-u*, comme dans les parlers de Casablanca (Aguadé 2008) ou Agadir (Benítez Fernández 2014) parlers qui correspondent aussi aux variétés du type bédouin. Tandis que le pronom 3^{ème} p. fém. sing. alterne entre *-a*, entendu dans les variétés d'arabe sédentaires, et *-ha*, qui est la forme plus habituelle dans les variétés bédouines et aussi à Rabat, entre autres.

¹⁰ La “décontraction” du /g/ n'est pas tout à fait un trait inconnu au Maroc. On trouve un phénomène semblable plus à l'Ouest. Par exemple, à Ouezzane, entre autres, ce phonème est desvélarisé au profit de la réalisation fricative pharyngale sonore [f], et même, parfois on peut trouver un amuïssement total de la consonne qui laisse la voyelle nue. Ex.: *ǵa-nšuf* > *fā-nšuf* > *a-nšuf* “je verrai”. Ceci a été déjà décrit par Caubet (2013) chez des locuteurs d'arabe marocain sur les réseaux sociaux.

Ex. : *wūld-u* “son fils”, *smīyt-u* “son prénom”, *ʕənd-u* “sur lui / il a”.

Ex.: *tūħħašt-a bəzzāf* “elle me manque beaucoup”; *ayy hāža ka-ndīr-a* “je fait quelque chose”; *bʕəd-ha nūwəšlu l-nādūr* “après ça nous arrivons à Nador”; *bāš yddi-ha* “afin de l’amener”; *f-ha* “en elle”.

L’adverbe du temps « maintenant », utilisé dans le parler d’*Oujdis* résidant à Saragosse, est *dürk*. Comme dans le cas des enquêtes réalisées dans la région d’origine, cet adverbe dérive de la forme *ða l-waqt*, et dans la ville d’Oujda, présentait une variation assez large (voir supra) qui s’est beaucoup réduite dans le cas des informateurs résidant à Saragosse.

Continuant avec les adverbes, je passe à décrire certains adverbes n’ayant pas été présentés dans les études réalisées à Oujda. Par exemple, les informateurs de Saragosse emploient l’adverbe affirmatif *wāh* “oui”, ce qui contraste avec ceux qui sont employés dans d’autres régions du Maroc comme *iyyāh* ou *āh* plus généralisés.¹¹

À propos de l’adverbe de lieu “là” ou “là-bas”, on a trouvé des occurrences, à Saragosse, aussi bien de *təmma* que de *l-hīha*, mais pas de *l-hīḥ*, terme plus courant dans d’autres variétés d’arabe marocain.

Ex.: *təmma yəʕrfu kull-ši* “Là-bas il connaît tout”.

Ex.: *l-hīha n-nās mətšwāfin* “Là-bas le gens se voient [les uns aux autres]”.

Ex.: *l-hīha txurži [mʕa š-ʃhāb lli] f-əl-mdrāsa w-bārra* “Là tu sors [avec les copains qui sont à] l’école et de hors [l’école]”.

Le lien de causalité, que j’ai trouvé chez les informateurs de Saragosse, est exclusivement *ħəqqāš* “parce que”, forme apocopée de *ʕla ħəqqāš* “parce que”.

Ex.: *ħəqqāš yporte*¹² *mʕa-na məzyān* “parce qu’il se porte bien avec nous”

Ex.: *ħəqqāš f-əl Maġrib ma ka yhadr-u-š* “parce qu’au Maroc il ne le parle plus”

¹¹ La forme *wāh* est attestée à Marrakech comme affirmation contondante. Cfr. Sánchez (2014b : 251).

¹² Il s’agit d’un emprunt de la langue espagnole *portarse* conjugué à la troisième personne masculin de l’inaccompli. L’interférence de la langue dominante dans la langue dominée fait l’objet d’un autre étude en préparation.

Ex.: *ḥəqqāš wəʃra* “parce que c'est génial”

3.3 Morpho-Syntaxe

Dans les données obtenues à Saragosse, les constructions du génitif de type analytique se forment avec la particule *dyāl* qui alterne avec la forme apocopée *d*, ayant une variante au pluriel *dyāwl*. On n'a pas trouvé de variation avec d'autres particules, telles que *taʃ* ou *ntaʃ*, qui sont habituelles dans les parlers enregistrés dans la ville d'Oujda (Elbaz 1980 : 297) et présentes, d'ailleurs, dans d'autres variétés d'arabe marocain du nord-est et en Algérie (Heath 2002: 25).

Ex.: *xəllīt bəzzāf dyāl l-ḥwāyəž d-əl-qrāya dyāwl-i* “J'ai laissé beaucoup de choses de mes études”

Ex.: *?asdīqa dyāwl-i* “mes amis”

Ex.: *kaynīn šwīya dyāl l-ʕrāb* “Il y a beaucoup d'arabes”

Ex.: *wuld d-d-dīrēktōra* “Le fils de la directrice”

Ex.: *f-ḍ-ḍār d-Āmīn* “chez Amine”

Finalement, on a détecté à Saragosse une complète absence de la construction de génitif employant la particule *n*. Cette construction de génitif, à laquelle j'ai fait référence plus haut, lorsque l'on décrivait les traits du dialecte enregistré à Oujda (*qdʷāy n əlqāyəd* “le père du caïd”) est plus fréquent plus à l'ouest¹³ et se trouve dans des variantes diatopiques à cause d'un adstrat berbère. Je considère le fait de signaler cette absence très pertinent car je prévoyais l'apparition de ce type de construction parce que cette tendance avait été enregistrée dans les données de Benhstedt & Benabbou (2005) et parce que j'avais accordé une plus grande influence à la langue berbère, puisque que la ville d'Oujda est localisée dans une région berbérophone. Il est clair que dans le parler arabe d'Oujda enregistré à Saragosse, l'influence de l'adstrat berbère a beaucoup moins d'importance.

¹³ Sur cette question veuillez consultez, entre autres, Vicente (2000) et Moscoso (2003).

4. Conclusions

Les traits dialectaux des informateurs d'origine *Oujdis* ont été confrontés, comme on l'avait avancé auparavant, aux données du dialecte d'Oujda et sa région publiées par Behnstedt & Benabbou, particulièrement ceux de 2002, mais aussi à ceux de 2005. On rapproche donc, une description d'un parler réalisé dans le pays d'origine avec un parler employé dans la diaspora qui subit des influences externes bien différentes. Lorsqu'on parle des influences externes bien différentes, on fait référence à deux phénomènes: d'une part, on s'est aperçu, une fois effectué le travail de terrain, que la communauté linguistique résidant à Saragosse est formée par des locuteurs marocains venant de différents zones du Maroc et donc ayant acquis différentes variétés vernaculaires d'arabe. D'autre part, ces variétés vernaculaires d'arabe se trouvent dans une double situation de diglossie: d'un côté il s'agit des variétés considérées basses face à l'arabe classique, aussi bien dans la communauté résidante à Oujda que dans la diaspora. La pression qu'exerce l'arabe classique sur les variétés vernaculaires dans la diaspora est, bien entendu, plus importante dans la communauté d'Oujda, car elle est la langue de communication dans l'enseignement public marocain, elle est présente dans la presse écrite et dans les médias en général. Ceci ne veut pas dire que les variétés d'arabes vernaculaires parlés dans la diaspora ne subissent aucune pression de la part de l'arabe classique, cette langue est celle enseignée dans la matière de "Langue et culture d'origine" que les enfants d'origine marocaine reçoivent dans le système public espagnol, mais cette pression est moins importante. D'un autre côté, ces variétés jouent le rôle de langue dominée aussi face à l'espagnol qui est la langue dominante dans le contexte migratoire espagnol. Malgré ces *aprioris*, il paraît intéressant de mener cette comparaison dans la mesure où les informateurs résidant à Saragosse ont acquis l'arabe marocain dans l'entourage familial, endroit privilégié pour employer cette langue, aussi bien dans le pays d'origine que dans la diaspora. De plus, ceux qui se sont chargés de transmettre l'arabe marocain aux informateurs résidant à Saragosse, leurs parents, doivent sûrement accomplir les caractéristiques des informateurs ayant participé dans les enquêtes effectuées dans le pays d'origine dans la dernière décennie, donc on présuppose une certaine continuité des tendances linguistiques déjà signalées par

Behnstedt & Benabbou. Dans les pages qui suivent, on analysera les convergences et les divergences des deux communautés linguistiques.

Partant de la phonologie, on s'est aperçu que certaines données confirment les tendances annoncées par Behnstedt & Benabbou lors de leur recherche. Par exemple, ils parlent de la régression de la réalisation des interdentaux dans la ville d'Oujda, car ces phonèmes sont seulement présents dans la génération la plus ancienne. Les informateurs de l'enquête de Saragosse ont complètement perdu les interdentaux, confirmant la régression de ce trait constaté à Oujda. Il y a deux raisons qui justifient cette perte: en premier, les jeunes d'Oujda ont aussi perdu les interdentaux et en deuxième, les informateurs de Saragosse ont un contact très restreint avec leurs grands-parents, de quelques jours/semaines par an, voire tous les deux ans, selon leurs propos dans les enregistrements. On a pu montrer que certains traits morphologiques présents dans le parler de la communauté oujdi résidant à Saragosse, tels que la distinction du genre à la 2^{ème} p. sing. —aussi bien dans les pronoms que dans la conjugaison— ou la conjugaison des verbes défectueux —en suivant le modèle *mša - mšīw* “il est allé— ils sont allés” et non *mša - mšu* “il est allé – ils sont allés”-, confirment les tendances décrites dans le parler d'Oujda enregistré dans le pays d'origine.

En revanche, il y a d'autres résultats, obtenus lors de l'enquête menée à Saragosse, qui ne suivent pas du tout la tendance de la langue vernaculaire d'origine. Il s'agit du cas des vélaires labialisées. Ce phénomène est très fréquent dans les parlers de type bédouin, comme celui de Skūra (Aguadé & Elyaacoubi 1995) et on a remarqué qu'il est aussi fréquent dans la variante d'Oujda et sa région.¹⁴ En revanche, on a montré qu'il n'est pratiquement pas présent chez les locuteurs de l'arabe d'Oujda résidant à Saragosse. Il va de même pour les réalisations du phonème dental occlusif [t] et le phonème dental affriqué [tʃ], ainsi que pour la réalisation de l'uvulaire occlusive sourde [q] dont on observe un clair changement de tendance par rapport à ce que montraient Behnstedt & Benabbou dans ses études.

On pourrait soutenir deux raisons à ce changement. Tout d'abord, il faut tenir compte du processus d'urbanisation qui est en train de se produire au Maroc. Ce

¹⁴ Benabbou & Behnstedt (2002).

processus d'urbanisation est caractérisé par l'influence des variétés prestigieuses de l'arabe marocain —comme celles de Rabat ou Casablanca—, sur les variétés locales moins prestigieuses se trouvant en dehors de l'axe d'influence socio-économique¹⁵ —telles que les variétés d'Agadir, Marrakech, Ouezzane... Cette influence est exercée par le biais des Mass-médias, de la création artistique (chansons, cinéma...) ou encore des réseaux sociaux virtuels. Donc la transmission de l'arabe marocain faite aux informateurs résidant à Saragosse aurait subi ce processus, dont on pourrait observer quelques traces. Une autre raison est le fait que les informateurs d'Oujda résidant dans la diaspora sont en contact constant avec des locuteurs d'autres variétés d'arabe marocain, car ils se côtoient dans les salles de cours, dans le voisinage et dans toute autre activité impliquant la communauté marocaine.

Une autre constatation qu'on a pu observer après l'étude des données enregistrées à Saragosse est une certaine déperdition du lexique, comme on a pu le voir dans l'absence de variation du terme *drūk* "maintenant" ou de la particule de génitif *dyāl*. La justification de cette perte se trouve dans l'âge des informateurs. Les informateurs étaient des pré-adolescents et des adolescents qui n'ont peut-être pas encore acquis une assez grande richesse de vocabulaire. Le fait de se trouver dans un contexte diasporique ne favorise pas l'acquisition d'un nouveau lexique, car, comme on l'a expliqué plus haut, la langue dominante est l'espagnol et, par conséquent, cette langue bénéficiera de plus d'attention dans l'apprentissage ainsi que dans l'acquisition du nouveau lexique, car elle est la langue la plus prestigieuse.

Lors de l'analyse des données, aucune influence de la langue amazighe n'a été trouvée au niveau morphologique et syntaxique. Ceci peut être justifié par le fait que la langue amazighe ne fait plus partie du quotidien des informateurs dans la diaspora, du moins dans le cas des informateurs auxquels on a eu accès à Saragosse. La langue véhiculaire de cette communauté linguistique est l'arabe marocain, raison pour laquelle cette communauté aura perdu les constructions syntaxiques ou les aspects morphologiques venant du substrat/adstrat amazigh.

¹⁵ Ce phénomène est dû, entre autres, à l'exode rural et à la "démocratisation" de l'alphabétisation et le développement des médias. Afin d'approfondir dans ce concept consultez Miller (2011: 1-30) et Germanos & Miller (2011).

D'après l'analyse des données qu'on a montrées dans ce travail, on peu conclure, donc, que le parler arabe d'Oujda dans la diaspora subi des changements linguistiques par rapport au parler *oujdi* au Maroc, plutôt au niveau phonétique et, dans une moindre mesure, aussi aux niveaux morphologique et morphosyntaxique. Ce changement est dû, en tenant compte l'âge des informateurs, au fait d'être en contact avec des locuteurs d'arabe marocain venant des différentes régions du Maroc, —notamment les camarades de classe. Il apparaît qu'on serait face à un certain degré d'adaptation des locuteurs de la communauté marocaine dans la diaspora, tout en gardant aussi une certaine idiosyncrasie propre aux différentes régions.

Références

- AGUADÉ, J. & ELYAACOUBI, M. (1995) *El dialecto árabe de Skūra (Marruecos)*, Madrid: CSIC.
- AGUADÉ, J. (2008) “Árabe marroquí (Casablanca)”, in F. Corriente & Á. Vicente (eds.), *Manual de dialectología neoárabe*, Zaragoza: IEIOP, 281-309.
- BARONTINI, A. (2006) “Alternance codique arabe algérien / français, en France : négociations à partir d'une consigne donnée par la recherche”, *Estudios de dialectología norteafricana y andalusí*, 10, 69-80.
- BARONTINI, A. (2013) *Locuteurs de l'arabe maghrébins - langue de France : Une analyse sociolinguistique des représentations, des pratiques langagières et du processus de transmission*, thèse de doctorat sous la direction des docteurs D. Caubet & C. Miller, Paris: INALCO.
- BEHNSTEDT, P. (1998) “La frontière orientale des parlers maghrébins en Egypte”, in J. Aguadé, P. Crésier & Á. Vicente (eds.), *Peuplement et arabisation au Maghreb occidental, dialectologie et histoire*, Madrid/Zaragoza: Casa de Velázquez/Universidad de Zaragoza, 85-96.
- BEHNSTEDT, P. (2002) “La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe en el Rif”, *Estudios de dialectología norteafricana y andalusí*, 6, 7-18.
- BEHNSTEDT, P. (2005) “Materialien für einen Dialectatlas von Nordost-Marokko I: Tiernamen, Teil 1: Einleitung, Transkription, Ortsnamenverzeichnis, Karten”, *Estudios de dialectología norteafricana y andalusí*, 9, 7-72.

- BEHNSTEDT, P. (2007) "Materialien für einen Dialectatlas von Nordost-Marokko I: Tiernamen, Teil 2: Kommentare, Bibliographie II: Mensch: Körpertieile, Teil 1: Karten, Teil 2: Kommentare", *Estudios de dialectología norteafricana y andalusí*, 11, 7-57.
- BEHNSTEDT, P. & BENABBOU, M. (2005) "Données nouvelles sur les parlers arabes du Nord-Est marocain", *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik*, 44, 17-70.
- BENABBOU, M. (1992) *Étude sociolinguistique des parlers de la région du centre nord et de la région orientale du Maroc : du nombre des variétés langagières (arabe dialectal régional, berbère)*, Thèse pour le Doctorat d'Université, Paris V, 2 vols, Paris: Paris V.
- BENABBOU, M. & BEHNSTEDT, P. (2002) "Notes sur les parlers arabes de la région d'Oujda", in A. Youssi, F. Benjelloun, M. Dahbi & Z. Iraqui-Sinaceur (eds.), *Aspects of the dialects of Arabic today. Proceedings of the 4th Conference of the International arabic Dialectology Association (AIDA)*, Rabat: AMAPATRIL, 7-13.
- BENÍTEZ FERNÁNDEZ, M. (2013) "Appropriation de l'espace urbain à travers la langue: Comment la communauté marocaine s'affiche à Madrid et à Saragosse", in M. Benítez, C. Miller, J.J. de Ruiter & Y. Tamer (eds.), *Évolutions des pratiques et représentations langagières dans le Maroc du vingt-et-unième siècle*, Paris: L'Harmattan, 263-288.
- BENÍTEZ FERNÁNDEZ, M. (2014) "À propos du dialecte arabe d'Agadir (sud du Maroc)", in O. Durand, A.D. Langone & J. Mion (eds.), *Alf lahga wa lahga: Proceedings of the 9th AIDA Conference*, Viena: LIT VERLAG, 57-65.
- BOUMANS, L. (1998) *The Syntax of Codeswitching. Analysing Moroccan Arabic/Dutch Conversations*, Tilburg: Tilburg University Press.
- BOUMANS, L (2004) "L'arabe marocain de la génération ayan grandi aux Pays-Bas", in C. Caubet, J. Billiez, T. Bulot, I. L'Église & C. Miller (eds.), *Parlers jeunes ici et là bas. Pratiques et Représentations*, Paris: L'Harmattan, 49-67.
- BOUMANS, L. & J. J. DE RUITER (2002) "Moroccan Arabic in the european Diaspora", in A. Rouchdy (ed.), *Language contact and Language Conflict in arabic. Variations on a Sociolinguistic Theme*, London: Routledge Curzon, 259-285.
- BOUMANS, L. & D. CAUBET (2000) "Modelling Intrasentential Codeswitching. A Comparative Study of Algerian/French in Algeria and Moroccan/Dutch in the Netherlands", in J. Owens (ed.), *Arabic as a Minority Language*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 113-180.
- CANTINEAU, J. (1940) *Les parlers arabes du Département d'Oran*, Alger: Société Historique Algérienne.
- CAUBET, D. (2001a) "L'arabe dialectal en France", *Arabofrancophonie. Les Cahiers de la francophonie*, 10, Paris: L'Harmattan, 199-212.

- CAUBET, D. (2001b) "Maghrebine Arabic in France", G. Extra & D. Gorter (eds.), *The other languages of Europe: Demographic, Sociolinguistic and educational perspectives*, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 261-277.
- CAUBET, D. (2002a) "Transmission familiale et acquisition non didactique des langues: le cas de l'arabe maghrébin", *Journée "Observer les pratiques linguistiques: pour quelles politiques?" de l'Observatoire des pratiques linguistiques*, Paris: DGLFLF, Ministère de la Culture.
- <www.culture.gouv.fr/culture/dglf/Seminaire200202/arabe%20magh%E9bim.htm>
- CAUBET, D. (2002b) "Métissages linguistiques ici (en France) et là-bas (au Maghreb)", *Ville-École-Intégration Enjeux*, 130, 117-132.
- CAUBET, D. (2004) "La darja, langue de culture en France", *Hommes et Migrations. Les langues de France*, 1252, 34-44.
- CAUBET, D. (2008) "Inmigrant languages and languages of France", in M. Barni & G. Extra (eds.), *Mapping Linguistic Diversity in Multicultural Contexts*, Berlin-New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 163-193.
- CAUBET, D. (2013) "Towards a new step in the grammaticalisation process in darija: the future in a-", Communication dans le Xème Colloque de l'Association Internationale de Dialectologie Arabe, Qatar University, Doha.
- CAUBET, D. & A. BARONTINI (2008) "La transmission de l'arabe maghrébin en France : état des lieux", *Migration et plurilinguisme en France. Cahiers de l'Observatoire des pratiques linguistiques*, 2, 43-48.
- COLIN, G. S. (1945) "Les parlers arabe", *Initiation au Maroc*, Paris: PIHEM, 219-244.
- ELBAZ, S. (1980) *Parler d'Oujda. Application de la théorie fonctionnelle, Phonologie, Inventaire, Syntaxe*. Thèse pour le Doctorat d'État-es-Lettres et Sciences Humaines, sous la direction de M. le Professeur André Martinet, Paris V, Paris: Université de Paris V.
- ELBAZ, S. (1981) "La subordination en arabe d'Oujda", *Arabica*, 28 [2/3], 333-344.
- HEATH, J. (2002) *Jewish and Muslim dialects of Moroccan Arabic*, New York: Routledge.
- MILLER, C. (2007) "Arabic urban vernaculars: Development and change", in C. Miller, E. Al-Wer, D. Caubet & J.C.E. Watson (eds.), *Arabic in the City. Issues in Dialect contact and Language variation*, London: Routledge-Taylor, 1-30.
- GERMANOS, M.-A. & MILLER C. (2011) "Introduction. Sociolinguistique urbaine en domaine arabophone : quels enjeux?", *Langage et société*, 138 [4], 5-19.

- Moscoso, F. (2003) *El dialecto árabe de Chaouen (Norte de Marruecos). Estudio lingüístico y textos*, Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz.
- PASCOFF, R. (1957) "Oujda, esquisse de géographie urbaine", *Bulletin économique et social du Maroc*, 1er trimestre, 71-82.
- SÁNCHEZ, P. (2014a) « Quelques particularités de l'arabe de Marrakech: ville d'origine bédouin et urbanisation hétérogène », in O. Durand, A. Langone & G. Mion (eds.), *Alfa lahga wa lahga : Proceedings of the 9th AIDA Conference*, Viena : Lit Verlag, 405-412.
- SÁNCHEZ, P. (2014b) *El árabe vernáculo de Marrakech: análisis lingüístico de un corpus representativo*, Zaragoza: Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza.
- VERSTEGH, K. (2001) "Arabic in Europe: from language of science to language of minority", *Lingua e Stile*, XXXVI, 2, 335-346.
- VICENTE, Á. (2000) *El dialecto árabe de Anjra (Norte de Marruecos). Estudio lingüístico y textos*, Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza.
- VICENTE, Á. (2004) "El árabe dialectal en situación de inmigración. La comunidad arbófona de Zaragoza", in Á. Vicente (éd.), *Musulmanes en el Aragón del siglo XXI*, Zaragoza: IEIOP, 85-104.
- VICENTE, Á. (2007a) "Two cases of Moroccan Arabic in the diaspora", in C. Miller, E. Al-Wer, D. Caubet & J.C.E. Watson (eds.), *Arabic in the city. Issues in dialect contact and language variation*, London: Routledge, 123-143.
- VICENTE, Á. (2007b) *Ceuta: una ciudad entre dos lenguas. Formación y evolución del árabe ceutí*, Ceuta: Instituto de Estudios Ceutíes.
- VICENTE, Á. (2008) "Génesis y clasificación de los dialectos neoárabes", in F. Corriente & Á. Vicente (eds.), *Manual de dialectología neoárabe*, Zaragoza: IEIOP, 19-67.

Received 9 February 2015.

Accepted 1 July 2015.

**ESTUDIO EMPÍRICO SOBRE LA ACTITUD HACIA LOS USOS DE LA
MODALIDAD LINGÜÍSTICA ANDALUZA SEGÚN DIFERENTES VARIANTES
SITUACIONALES A PARTIR DE UNA METODOLOGÍA CUANTITATIVA.
PERSPECTIVAS CIENTÍFICAS Y APLICACIONES DIDÁCTICAS**

Rafael CRISMÁN & Isabel NÚÑEZ-VÁZQUEZ

Universidad de Cádiz*

rafael.crisman@uca.es / Isabel.nunez@uca.es

Resumen

Este artículo versa sobre un estudio empírico acerca de la actitud de la población escolar hacia la modalidad lingüística andaluza en diferentes situaciones comunicativas. Para ello elaboramos tres instrumentos de medición de la actitud hacia diferentes usos morfológicos de esta modalidad lingüística según las posibilidades de variación diafásica formal, estándar e informal y recurrimos a una muestra de 460 informantes distribuidos entre 11 centros de enseñanza media. Estas variables fueron contrastadas con otras variables dependientes como son el conocimiento morfológico de la modalidad lingüística andaluza y la actitud hacia la misma. Además, contrastamos los resultados con diferentes variables sociodemográficas. Estos resultados demostraron que la mayoría de los sujetos asocia los usos que presupone característicos de la modalidad lingüística andaluza a situaciones comunicativas informales y descarta estos usos en contextos formales, especialmente los sujetos con menor nivel de conocimiento lingüístico, lo que ha motivado posibles diseños de intervención pedagógica.

Palabras clave

modalidad lingüística andaluza, variedades diafásicas, instrumento, medición

* Departamento de Filología (Área de Lengua Española). Facultad de Filosofía y Letras. Avda. Doctor Gómez Ulla, 1, 11003 Cádiz.

**EMPIRICAL STUDY ABOUT ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE USAGE OF ANDALUSIAN LINGUISTIC MODALITY
ACCORDING TO DIFFERENT SITUATIONAL VARIATIONS FROM QUANTITATIVE METHODOLOGY.
SCIENTIFIC PERSPECTIVES AND DIDACTICAL APPLICATION**

Abstract

This paper focuses on an empirical study about the attitude of adolescents to the Andalusian linguistic modality in different communicative situations. We have designed three instruments to measure attitudes towards morphological usages of this linguistic modality according to the possibilities of formal, standard and informal diaphasic varieties. The sample is compounded by 460 participants divided in 11 Secondary Schools. These variables were contrasted with other dependent variables such as the morphological knowledge of Andalusian linguistic modality and attitudes towards it. In addition, we compare results with sociodemographic variables. These results showed that most individuals associate the linguistic usages of the Andalusian linguistic modality to informal communicative situations. They deny these linguistic usages from formal contexts, in particular, individuals with low linguistic knowledge. These results provide didactical applications.

Keywords

Andalusian linguistic modality, diaphasic varieties, instrument, measurement

1. Introducción

Esta investigación parte de la teoría de la medición de actitudes lingüísticas asociadas a situaciones comunicativas determinadas. En concreto, hemos puesto nuestra atención en la modalidad lingüística andaluza con el fin de observar las asociaciones que la población escolarizada en la Educación Secundaria Obligatoria en Andalucía lleva a cabo entre usos característicos de esta modalidad lingüística y diferentes situaciones comunicativas según diversos grados de formalidad. De este modo, pretendemos ofrecer respuesta a las incógnitas existentes acerca de las posibilidades de variación de la modalidad lingüística andaluza a partir de las posibles correlaciones entre diversos usos clasificados como característicos de la modalidad lingüística andaluza (Ropero 2001) y diversas posibilidades diastráticas (Renzi 2013; Panichella & Triventi 2014) en función de las tradicionales posibilidades de variedades diafásicas (López Morales 1993). Los usos propuestos se encuentran contextualizados a partir de tres virtuales situaciones comunicativas, al tiempo que las variables que

tuvimos en cuenta comportan factores cognitivos, conductuales y afectivos, los cuales tradicionalmente se han definido como los componentes fundamentales la “actitud” (Rodríguez 1991). Por otro lado, estos usos han sido contrastados con factores sociales, educativos, económicos y familiares, de manera que se ha llevado a cabo una estratificación de las respuestas de los sujetos en función de los usos propuestos. Nuestra intención es, en última instancia, la aprehensión de un mayor conocimiento de las posibilidades sociolingüísticas de la lengua española en función de sus posibilidades de variación.

De este modo, partimos de numerosos estudios acerca de las características de la modalidad lingüística andaluza y la actitud de la población con respecto a la misma (Carbonero 2004; Narbona 2003, 2009; Ropero 2001), a partir de lo cual pretendemos superponer a estos estudios una investigación empírica según las principales teorías de medición aplicadas a las ciencias sociales y, concretamente, a la lingüística (Del Río 2010; Herrera, Martínez & Amengual 2011), de modo que construimos una escala de medición de la actitud, la cual contemplaba la cuantificación de la variable “actitud hacia la modalidad lingüística andaluza en diferentes situaciones comunicativas”, ya que, si observamos el estudio de las actitudes lingüísticas, este ha abarcado posibilidades tanto cuantitativas (Giles & Marlow, 2011; Schoel *et al.* 2013) como cualitativas (Hernández-Campoy & Cutillas-Espinosa 2013; Peisner-Feinberg *et al.* 2014).

En nuestro caso fijamos la atención en la modalidad lingüística andaluza y sus posibilidades de variación situacional desde ambas perspectivas de investigación, a partir de lo cual hemos partido de la hipótesis de que existe una asociación de los usos característicos de esta modalidad a situaciones lingüísticas informales (Crismán 2008) en virtud de una actitud negativa por parte de la población hacia esta modalidad lingüística (Trigo 1993).

De este modo, nuestro objetivo ha sido crear un instrumento de medición de la actitud hacia ciertos usos tanto de la norma prescriptiva como descriptiva (Garner 2014) de la modalidad lingüística andaluza a partir de la tripartición de las variedades diafásicas, de manera que propusimos tres instrumentos en consonancia a las posibilidades formales, estándares e informales correspondientes a esta posibilidad de variación lingüística. A partir de ahí, seguimos la caracterización de los rasgos

morfológicos de la modalidad lingüística andaluza (Ropero 2001) para proponer los pertinentes usos lingüísticos que constituyeron los ítems de las escalas de medición.

Por otro lado, recurrimos a usos lingüísticos agramaticales pero funcionales desde el punto de vista discursivo, atribuidos a la norma descriptiva de la lengua española (Lázaro 1997; Lázaro 2000, 2003; Crismán 2008), con el fin de comprobar cuál era la actitud de los participantes con respecto a estos usos y su clasificación dentro de las posibilidades de registro, ya que en otros trabajos (Crismán 2008) se corroboró que existe una asociación de estos usos a la modalidad lingüística andaluza, cuando en realidad se trata de usos que se dan de manera arbitraria en diferentes comunidades de habla, asociados a estratos socioculturales determinados (Carbonero 1982). Para ello, paralelamente elaboramos una escala de medición del conocimiento morfológico de la modalidad lingüística andaluza, con el objeto de discernir previamente entre los usos que los participantes clasificaron como andalucismos (Mendoza 2004) y usos que atribuyeron a la lengua española, de modo que pudiésemos cuantificar la variable “conocimiento lingüístico de la modalidad lingüística andaluza”. De este modo, partimos de la propuesta de algunos investigadores (Caravedo 2013) acerca de la variación lingüística y sus posibilidades de significación.

Esta teoría parte de la valoración lingüística como concepto que no solo ataña al sistema, sino también a las producciones lingüísticas tanto individuales como colectivas pertenecientes a las diferentes comunidades de habla que componen una lengua. De este modo, la percepción de los hablantes se basa en criterios como la “selección”, la “orientación” y la “diversidad” a partir de los cuales cualquier información es virtualmente significativa en virtud de su potencial distintividad, lo que convergerá en la dimensión comunicativa de cualquier proceso de comunicación. Así pues, ahondamos en las posibilidades de variación diafásica en nuestros instrumentos con el objeto de averiguar cuál es la percepción que demuestran los participantes con respecto a ciertos usos lingüísticos, a fin de conocer cuál es la valoración lingüística que proyectan en función de las diversas situaciones comunicativas. De este modo, asociamos ciertos usos variacionistas de la modalidad lingüística andaluza a una estratificación sociolingüística determinada, con el fin de ahondar, también, en la problemática del vínculo existente

entre la lingüística cognitiva y la sociolingüística según los criterios de “frecuencia”, “esquema” e “identidad” (Hollmann & Siewierska 2011).

Por otra parte, nuestra segunda hipótesis partió de que los participantes con menor nivel de conocimiento lingüístico demostrarían una menor discriminación situacional de los usos propuestos, así como una peor actitud hacia la modalidad lingüística andaluza, de manera que tenderían a vincular estos usos a la situación comunicativa estándar, en virtud de una menor competencia tanto lingüística como sociolingüística, lo que además tendría repercusiones en la didáctica de la lengua y sus posibilidades de variación (Van Compernolle & Williams 2013).

Asimismo, se construyó otra escala para la medición de la actitud hacia la modalidad lingüística andaluza de manera global, independientemente de las situaciones lingüísticas presentadas, a partir de lo cual midiéramos las variables “conocimiento lingüístico de la modalidad lingüística andaluza” mediante la escala anteriormente nombrada y “la actitud hacia la modalidad lingüística andaluza” respectivamente, de modo que pudiéramos contrastar ambas variables con la variable “actitud hacia la modalidad lingüística andaluza en diferentes situaciones comunicativas”. Esto entraña con nuestra siguiente hipótesis, que consiste en que los participantes insertos en un contexto socialmente desfavorecido demostrarían un menor nivel de conocimiento lingüístico, lo que redundaría en una menor discriminación contextual en virtud del impacto de los factores extralingüísticos —especialmente los socioeconómicos— en el ámbito educativo y escolar (Pérez, Betancort & Cabrera 2013; Rosário, Núñez, Valle, Paiva & Polydoro 2013; Zellman & Waterman 2013).

Finalmente, proponemos la idea de que las escalas de medición constituyen una primera herramienta para la intervención pedagógica, ya que, mediante la medición del conocimiento y el comportamiento situacional del alumnado y más ampliamente cualquier población, podríamos aplicar pautas didácticas con respecto a la lengua española y sus posibilidades de variación a partir del diagnóstico de la competencia lingüística de los participantes y los comportamientos situacionales que demuestran, con especial atención a los contextos desfavorecidos, con el principal objeto de superar las descompensaciones de rendimiento motivadas mayormente por factores socioeconómicos.

2. Método y participantes

Para la realización de la investigación se ha contado con una muestra de 460 sujetos matriculados en 11 centros de Educación Secundaria Obligatoria y Bachillerato de Andalucía. Dentro de los 11 centros educativos, 5 de ellos tuvieron como característica el que estaban adscritos al Plan de Compensación Educativa de la Junta de Andalucía (Decreto 167 de 2003 de 17 de junio), lo que caracteriza a centros en contextos desfavorecidos. Esto nos permitió contrastar los resultados con diferentes variables de tipo socioeconómico. Finalmente, el 60,9% de los sujetos estaba matriculado en un centro de no compensatoria, frente al 39,1% que sí asistía a un centro de compensatoria. La edad media de la muestra es de 14,2 años (d.t.= 1,3), siendo el mínimo 12 y el máximo 18. En cuanto al sexo, el 49,2 % fueron chicas frente al 50,8 % que fueron chicos.

3. Variables e instrumentos

3.1 Variables sociodemográficas

Las variables independientes a partir de las cuales contrastamos la variable dependiente *actitud hacia la modalidad lingüística andaluza en diferentes situaciones comunicativas* fueron relacionadas con algunas de las principales posibilidades de estratificación social (López Morales 1993; Panichella & Triventi 2014), de manera que seleccionamos las variables “sexo”, “edad”, “centro de matriculación” (centro que posee un plan de compensación educativa o centro que no posee un plan de compensación educativa), “localidad del centro”, “curso” (dentro de la etapa educativa de la Educación Secundaria Obligatoria), “ocupación laboral del padre”, “ocupación laboral de la madre”, “nivel de formación del padre”, “nivel de formación de la madre”, “lugar de nacimiento del padre” y “lugar de nacimiento de la madre”.

3.2 Actitud hacia la modalidad lingüística andaluza en diferentes situaciones comunicativas

Son los diferentes comportamientos psicológicos, conductuales, afectivos y cognitivos que los participantes expresan ante un mismo uso o expresión lingüística determinada en relación con su virtual uso en diferentes situaciones comunicativas, atendiendo al grado de formalidad del discurso, según la subdivisión de las posibilidades de variación lingüística diatópica, diastrática y diafásica (Coseriu 1991; Renzi 2013), a partir de lo cual podemos medir la consideración extralingüística que presuponen ante ciertos mecanismos gramaticales vinculados al plano morfológico de la modalidad lingüística andaluza, así como mecanismos agramaticales que, debido a su funcionalidad, forman parte de la norma descriptiva de las diferentes comunidades de habla que conforman la modalidad lingüística andaluza.

Esta variable se midió mediante tres escalas encargadas de medir la actitud lingüística por parte de los informantes hacia determinados usos de la norma descriptiva y prescriptiva de la lengua española y de la modalidad lingüística andaluza según tres virtuales situaciones lingüísticas: formal, informal-estándar e informal, mediante una subdivisión de las posibilidades de variación contextual y su relevancia para la comunicación (Porto 2007). Los coeficientes de fiabilidad estimados fueron adecuados para todas ellas (valores entre .81 y .89 según *alpha* de Cronbach).

Para la relación de la “actitud hacia la modalidad lingüística andaluza en diferentes situaciones comunicativas” con la variable “conocimiento lingüístico de la modalidad lingüística andaluza” se utilizaron ítems referidos a los conocimientos lingüísticos del plano morfológico que demostraron los informantes a partir de la medición de una serie de usos lingüísticos vinculados a este nivel lingüístico, tanto correctos como incorrectos desde el punto de vista de la norma prescriptiva, pero funcionales desde un punto de vista descriptivo (Garner 2014), así como usos del nivel morfológico característicos de esta modalidad (Ropero 2001). Asimismo, recurrimos a criterios de validación de escalas de conocimiento gramatical para la validación de la misma (Bowles 2011; Gutiérrez 2013). El *alpha* de Cronbach que presentó esta escala es de .88. El formato de respuesta

fue de adhesión (“correcto, pero no es andalucismo”; “correcto y es andalucismo”; “incorrecto, pero es andalucismo e incorrecto y no es andalucismo”).

Por otro lado, para la relación de la “actitud hacia variantes diafásicas” con la variable “actitud hacia la modalidad lingüística andaluza” se utilizaron ítems vinculados a la categorización de componentes actitudinales cognitivos, afectivos y conductuales en virtud de los componentes del concepto “actitud” (Rodríguez 1991) y las diversas teorías de medición actitudinal (Ajzen 2001; García-Santillán, Moreno-García, Carlos-Castro, Zamudio-Abdala & Garduño-Trejo 2012; Garret 2010; Giles & Marlow 2011), de manera que se establecieron cuatro ámbitos de categorización de ítems: “la enseñanza de la modalidad lingüística andaluza”; “la consideración de la modalidad lingüística andaluza en términos de prestigio y desprestigio”; “identidad”; “diferencia entre la modalidad lingüística andaluza y otras variedades lingüísticas”. Esta escala contó con un alpha de Cronach de .71. Ambas variables resultaron relevantes para el estudio de evidencias de validez basadas en la relación entre variables.

4. Procedimiento

El cuestionario se administró de manera individual por personal formado al efecto en los centros de Educación Secundaria Obligatoria. En todos los casos se recurrió a informantes autóctonos nacidos en Andalucía.

5. Instrumento

Para establecer el estudio de variables situacionales desde el punto de vista comunicativo, elaboramos tres virtuales situaciones comunicativas a partir de las expresiones expuestas en los ítems con diferentes interlocutores, según tres grados básicos de formalidad en el discurso. De este modo, propusimos posibilidades según los niveles de variación diafásica formal, estándar e informal a partir de tres hipotéticos interlocutores (una entrevista de trabajo, los padres del informante y el mejor amigo del

mismo). Además de esto, nos basamos en la teoría de la construcción de escalas de actitud lingüística (Giles & Marlow 2011; Hernández-Campoy 2004; Schmid & Dussemond 2010), así como de cuestionarios escritos como instrumentos de medición de variables sociolingüísticas (Dollinger 2012). Por otro lado, tuvimos en cuenta investigaciones acerca de la validación de instrumentos de aplicación en contextos educativos (Wayne & Shaw 2012; Zwick *et al.* 2008).

Una vez que revisamos esas investigaciones, diseñamos un instrumento que estableciese respuestas dicotómicas. De este modo, las escalas plantearon una serie de expresiones que los informantes debieron virtualmente formular ante determinados interlocutores que indicaban el nivel de formalidad de la situación comunicativa. A partir de ahí, los participantes debían manifestar su conformidad o su disconformidad con el empleo de estas expresiones en los hipotéticos contextos sugeridos. La base de nuestro planteamiento es que no buscábamos un sistema de respuesta basado únicamente en la actitud, sino que pretendíamos hallar la cuantificación de las posibilidades lingüísticas de adaptación a diferentes contextos o situaciones discursivas, con el fin de observar y medir a partir del contraste con diferentes variables extralingüísticas las diferentes posibilidades de comportamiento lingüístico de los informantes. Esto demuestra que nuestro instrumento también posee una base subyacente a la actitud lingüística hacia ciertos rasgos y expresiones pertenecientes a la modalidad lingüística andaluza en virtud de diferentes factores extralingüísticos. De esta forma, la escala se fundamenta en la necesidad de establecer unos patrones fijos de estratificación situacional lingüística a partir de las tres posibilidades contextuales propuestas, de manera que obtengamos posibilidades de respuestas binarias a partir de las cuales establezcamos un patrón de medición de la conducta lingüístico-situacional.

En un primer momento se llevó a cabo un estudio piloto con una muestra inicial. Las escalas contaban con noventa y tres ítems cada una, a partir de los cuales los sujetos debían contestar de forma afirmativa o negativa al enunciado en cuestión. La misma situación era presentada desde el punto de vista informal, estándar y formal.

A partir de ahí, solicitamos un análisis a tres factores para confirmar la agrupación inicial de los ítems. De ese modo, llevamos a cabo una extracción de factores a través del análisis de componentes principales, lo que implicó condensar la matriz de

correlaciones entre las variables en unos componentes principales de la variabilidad total.

Los ítems se dividieron según las tres situaciones comunicativas para los que fueron formulados inicialmente. El factor I acumuló aquellos ítems que en su mayoría fueron formulados para la situación comunicativa informal. Por otro lado, el factor II agrupó aquellos ítems que en su mayoría fueron formulados para la situación comunicativa estándar e informal. Por último, el factor III acumuló aquellos ítems que en su mayoría fueron formulados para la situación comunicativa formal. Se utilizó como criterio de selección el poseer una carga factorial superior a .4. Las cargas factoriales para el factor I (informal) comprenden valores entre .45 y .40; las cargas factoriales para el factor II (informal-estándar) comprendieron valores entre .63 y .40. Las cargas factoriales para el factor III (formal) fueron entre .55 y .40.

Finalmente, el cuestionario global estaba compuesto por 61 ítems, de modo que el factor I estaba compuesto por un total de 20 ítems; el factor II, por 22 ítems y el factor III contó con 19 ítems. La varianza total explicada de los tres factores es de 15,7%, según el método *Varimax*, de manera que el porcentaje por factores son los siguientes:

- Factor I: 6,7%,
- Factor II: 5,2%
- Factor III: 3,8%.

En cuanto a la fiabilidad, el factor I, este contó con un alpha de Cronbach de .81; el factor II, de .89. y el factor III de .85. Todos los ítems obtenidos mostraron una correlación elemento-total corregida inferior a .3.

6. Resultados

6.1 Actitudes hacia variables diafásicas. Estadísticos descriptivos

A la luz de los resultados podemos observar cómo el factor II (informal-estándar) es el que mayor puntuación media obtuvo por parte de los informantes. Por otra parte, los factores I (informal) y III (formal) obtuvieron medias cercanas (Tabla 1).

	N	Mínimo	Máximo	Media	Desviación típica
Cuestionario informal	460	20.00	40.00	25.83	4.2
Cuestionario formal	460	17.00	34.00	25.04	4.57
Cuestionario Informal-estándar	460	21.00	42.00	32.57	5.81

Tabla 1. Estadísticos descriptivos por cada uno de los cuestionarios de contextos: formal, informal-estándar e informal

A partir de ahí, llevamos a cabo la metodología de *Correlación de Pearson* con el objeto de examinar las correlaciones significativas existentes entre las variables. Dentro de las tres posibilidades que propusimos para la variable “actitud hacia la modalidad lingüística andaluza en diferentes situaciones comunicativas”, como se observa en la Tabla 2, la variable informal-estándar presentó relaciones significativas con la variable “conocimiento de los usos morfológicos característicos de la modalidad lingüística andaluza” ($r = .42$ $p < .01$), así como la variable formal presentó una relación significativa con la variable actitud hacia la modalidad lingüística andaluza ($r = .09$ $p < .05$).

	Actitud hacia la modalidad lingüística andaluza	Conocimiento morfológico de la modalidad lingüística andaluza
Factor informal	-.02	.005
Factor formal	.09*	-.06
Factor informal-estándar	-.07	.42**

**La correlación es significativa al nivel 0,01

*La correlación es significativa al nivel 0,05

Tabla 2. Correlaciones entre las variables diafásicas y las variables *actitud hacia la modalidad lingüística andaluza* y *conocimiento lingüístico de la modalidad lingüística andaluza* según los tres factores

Por otra parte, la modalidad “informal-estándar” se relacionó también significativamente con las dos modalidades restantes: de forma positiva con la modalidad informal ($r = .18$ $p < .01$) y de forma negativa con la modalidad formal ($r = -.34$ $p < .01$), como cabría esperar desde el punto de vista teórico.

Esto demuestra que a mayor conocimiento de los usos morfológicos

característicos de la modalidad lingüística andaluza, existe una mejor actitud hacia la modalidad lingüística andaluza y una mayor capacidad para discriminar contextos en función de la situación comunicativa.

El coeficiente de regresión del modelo es .42, lo que supone que la variable “conocimiento lingüístico de la modalidad lingüística andaluza” explica un 18% de la varianza de la variable diafásica “informal-estándar”, indicado por el coeficiente de determinación R cuadrado. Además, como se observa en la Tabla 3, la ecuación de regresión del modelo explica una proporción estadísticamente significativa de la varianza en la variable dependiente variable diafásica “informal-estándar” ($p<.001$).

Modelo	R	R cuadrado	R cuadrado corregida	Error típ. de estimación	Estadísticos de cambio					Durbin-Watson
					Cambio en R cuadrado	Cambio en	gl1	gl2	Sig. del cambio en F	
1	,428	,181	,179	5,26608	,181	101,313	1	458	,000	1,445

a. Variables predictoras: Conocimiento morfológico de la modalidad lingüística andaluza

b. Variable dependiente: Variable diafásica informal-estándar

Tabla 3. Resumen del modelo de regresión entre la variable *Conocimiento de los usos morfológicos* y *variable diafásica informal-estándar*

A partir de estos resultados, nuevamente podemos formular la conclusión de que a mayor conocimiento de los usos morfológicos característicos de la modalidad lingüística andaluza, existe una mejor actitud hacia dicha modalidad lingüística y mayor capacidad para discriminar usos lingüísticos en función de la situación comunicativa.

Además, los resultados están apoyados por la relación entre la variable “actitud hacia la modalidad lingüística andaluza” y el “factor formal” (Tabla 2), lo que refleja que el sujeto demuestra una actitud positiva hacia la modalidad lingüística andaluza, sin embargo, no la considera adecuada de cara a expresarse mediante los usos y expresiones propias de esta modalidad en una virtual situación comunicativa formal. Esto confirma nuestra hipótesis (Trigo 1993), pues los sujetos tienden a valorar la modalidad lingüística andaluza como una variación lingüística no prestigiada frente a la norma estándar.

Por otro lado, el único factor que presentó relaciones significativas fue el factor “informal-estándar”, de manera que, en este caso, son los ítems incorrectos los que

mayor poder discriminante aportan. Además, el factor estándar es el más amplio desde el punto de vista cuantitativo, de modo que los informantes han recurrido a una agrupación intermedia de los ítems entre ambas variantes diafásicas formal e informal, de forma que muchas expresiones que, desde el punto de vista situacional o contextual se consideran informales según nuestros informantes, pertenecen desde un punto de vista situacional o contextual a un grado de formalidad estándar, lo que demuestra que a mayor conocimiento de los usos morfológicos, se da un menor uso de las expresiones formuladas en el contexto “informal-estándar”.

6.2 Resultados entre las variables dependientes y las variables sociodemográficas

Si fijamos nuestra atención en la relación entre las variables lingüísticas que propusimos y las variables diastráticas, el factor formal resultó mostrar correlaciones significativas con respecto a las variables “tipo de centro”, “zona”, “centro”, “edad”, “curso”, “ocupación de la madre” y “nivel de formación del padre”. En cuanto al factor informal, este presentó relaciones significativas con respecto a la variable “centro”, “zona” y “curso” y el factor “informal-estándar” mostró relaciones significativas con las variables “tipo de centro”, “zona”, “centro”, “sexo”, “edad”, “curso”, “ocupación del padre”, “ocupación de la madre”, “nivel de formación del padre” y “nivel de formación de la madre”.

Los resultados de los tres factores confirmaron lo expuesto en las hipótesis, ya que los informantes de cursos superiores y, consecuentemente, mayor edad y conocimiento resultaron ser los participantes que más uso de las expresiones características de la modalidad lingüística andaluza hacían en los contextos formales. Esto sucedía, también, en aquellos alumnos de centros que no estaban adscritos a un plan de compensación educativa y cuyos padres poseían un nivel de formación medio o superior, además de contar con ocupaciones laborales de cualificación media o superior, mientras que los participantes insertos en contextos socioeconómicos deprimidos resultaron poseer menor conocimiento discriminante de las situaciones lingüísticas.

Como comentamos anteriormente, el factor “informal” presentó relaciones significativas con las variables “centro” $F_{(1, 459)} = 1.79$ $p = .04$; “curso” $F_{(3, 457)} = 4.1$ $p = .00$.

y “zona” $F_{(4,456)} = .91$ $p = .45$. Por otra parte, el factor “formal” presentó relaciones significativas con las variables “tipo de centro” $F_{(1,459)} = 22.9$ $p = .00$; “zona” $F_{(4,456)} = 3.78$ $p = .00$; “centro” $F_{(12,448)} = 5.91$ $p = .00$; “edad” $F_{(7,453)} = 5.98$ $p = .00$; “curso” $F_{(3,457)} = 20.12$ $p = .00$; “ocupación de la madre” $F_{(7,453)} = 2.11$ $p = .04$; “nivel de formación del padre” $F_{(4,456)} = 2.83$ $p = .02$; “centro” $F_{(1,459)} = 5.91$ $p = .00$ y “zona” $F_{(4,456)} = 3.78$ $p = .00$. En último caso, el factor “informal-estándar” presentó relaciones significativas con las variables “tipo de centro” $F_{(1,459)} = 30.41$ $p = .00$; “zona” $F_{(4,456)} = 8.32$ $p = .00$; “centro” $F_{(12,448)} = 18.85$ $p = .00$; “sexo” $F_{(1,459)} = 10.38$ $p = .00$; “edad” $F_{(7,453)} = 2.79$ $p = .00$; “curso” $F_{(3,457)} = 15.83$ $p = .00$; “ocupación del padre” $F_{(7,453)} = 6.47$ $p = .00$; “ocupación de la madre” $F_{(7,453)} = 2.11$ $p = .04$; “nivel de formación del padre” $F_{(2,458)} = 6.64$ $p = .00$; “nivel de formación de la madre” $F_{(2,458)} = 6.97$ $p = .00$; “centro” $F_{(1,459)} = 18.85$ $p = .00$ y “zona” $F_{(4,456)} = 8.32$ $p = .00$.

	Tipo de centro		Edad		Sexo		Curso	
	F	Sig	F	Sig	F	Sig	F	Sig
Factor informal	.09	.75	1.76	.09	3.09	.07	4.10	.00
Factor formal	22.90	.00	5.98	.00	1.22	.26	20.12	.00
Factor informal-estándar	30.41	.00	2.79	.00	10.38	.00	15.83	.00
Conocimientos	64.11	.00	5.76	.00	2.25	.13	24.15	.00
Actitudes	3.76	.05	1.82	.08	.22	.57	5.48	.00
	Ocupación del padre		Ocupación de la madre		Formación del padre		Formación de la madre	
	F	Sig	F	Sig	F	Sig	F	Sig
Factor informal	1.15	.33	2.24	.03	1.41	.22	2.07	.08
Factor formal	1.82	.08	.18	.98	2.83	.02	.51	.72
Factor informal-estándar	6.47	.00	2.11	.04	6.64	.00	6.97	.00
Conocimientos	3.45	.00	4.41	.00	3.46	.00	4.18	.00
Actitudes	.48	.84	.84	.55	1.01	.39	2.64	.03
	Lugar de nacimiento del padre			Lugar de nacimiento de la madre			Centro	
	F	Sig		F	Sig		F	Sig
Factor informal	1.01	.36		.53	.58		1.79	.04

Factor formal	.36	.69	.47	.62	5.91	.00
Factor informal-estándar	.65	.51	.37	.69	18.85	.00
Conocimientos	.45	.63	1.63	.19	37.89	.00
Actitudes	3.86	.02	3.45	.03	3.04	.00
Zona						
	F	Sig				
Factor informal	.91	.45				
Factor formal	3.78	.00	.			
Factor informal-estándar	8.32	.00				
Conocimientos	17.99	.00				
Actitudes	5.46	.00				

*p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

Tabla 4. Relaciones significativas entre variables

7. Discusión y conclusiones

Los resultados de este estudio permiten concluir que ofrecemos una escala con las suficientes propiedades psicométricas para aplicarlas en el ámbito educativo. Los índices de fiabilidad (valores entre .71 y .89 según alpha de Cronbach), así como las evidencias de validez aportadas mediante el contraste de los instrumentos con otras investigaciones acerca de la medición de actitudes lingüísticas (Giles & Marlow 2011; Hernández-Campoy & Cutillas-Espinosa 2013; Peisner-Feinberg *et al.* 2014; Schoel *et al.* 2013), así como la medición de conocimientos lingüísticos (Bowles 2011; Gutiérrez 2013) y su posterior aplicación a contextos educativos indican su uso en el contexto educativo (Wayne & Shaw 2012; Zwick *et al.* 2008) así lo demuestran.

Mediante la aplicación de los instrumentos de medición anteriormente mencionados, podemos confirmar las hipótesis de partida (Carbonero 1982, 2003; Crismán 2008; Trigo 1993), ya que este estudio empírico demuestra la existencia de una vinculación de los usos característicos de la modalidad lingüística andaluza a situaciones lingüísticas informales, lo que demuestra una actitud negativa hacia la modalidad

lingüística andaluza con respecto a la norma estándar.

Los informantes asociaron los usos incorrectos a los contextos informales, así como los usos correctos a los contextos formales, pese a que, en muchas ocasiones, no eran conscientes de las incorrecciones gramaticales de muchos ítems, lo que nos instaba a formular la idea de que pudiera existir una conciencia lingüística contextual o situacional más allá de los conocimientos lingüísticos de los que son conscientes los participantes. Esto corrobora de nuevo las hipótesis de la que partíamos acerca de los niveles de intravariación de los sujetos (Crismán 2008; Hernández-Campoy & Cutillas-Espinosa 2013), a partir de lo cual se evidencia dicha asociación de usos incorrectos a contextos informales y de usos correctos a contextos formales. Nuestro estudio confirma mediante una metodología cuantitativa que, como consecuencia del desconocimiento, los participantes asocian los usos incorrectos a usos característicos de la modalidad lingüística andaluza, lo que confirma también nuestra hipótesis de que existe una asociación entre la población acerca de los usos característicos de una modalidad lingüística a situaciones lingüísticas determinadas, generalmente de ámbito informal. De este modo, si fijamos nuestra atención en los resultados, en el factor o contexto formal, hemos podido comprobar cómo los ítems con mayor poder discriminante son los correctos desde un punto de vista prescriptivo, mientras que en el contexto o factor “informal-estándar” han sido los ítems incorrectos los más discriminantes.

Por otro lado, como ya hemos señalado anteriormente, el factor que presentó relaciones significativas fue el factor “informal-estándar”, de manera que son los ítems incorrectos los que mayor poder discriminante aportan, lo cual se ve reflejado en la correlación significativa que existe entre esta variable y la variable dependiente “conocimiento lingüístico de la modalidad lingüística andaluza” ($r = .42$ $p < .01$), lo que demuestra cómo el conocimiento lingüístico —fundamentalmente morfológico— y el conocimiento lingüístico situacional a partir de la discriminación de contextos se encuentran vinculados, es decir, existe una proyección cognitiva y actitudinal entre el sistema lingüístico y la actualización lingüística individual en función de los factores extralingüísticos vinculados al fenómeno de la variación que influyen en la comunicación. Esto confirma, a su vez, otra de nuestra hipótesis acerca de la vinculación

entre la lingüística cognitiva y la sociolingüística basada en investigaciones anteriores a partir de los conceptos de “frecuencia” y “esquema” (Hollmann & Siewierska 2011).

Nuestra investigación ha confirmado la idea de que las estructuras agramaticales e incorrecciones gramaticales se repiten de manera reiterada en las situaciones informales a partir de la asociación que existe de estos usos hacia una modalidad lingüística concreta, lo que a su vez se ha comprobado en otros estudios sobre usos concretos del fenómeno de la variación lingüística diatópico-diastrática de una lengua determinada hacia una valoración extralingüística particular (Labov 1966; Preston 1988; Trudgill 1972, 1990). Por otra parte, esta idea se ve confirmada a partir de la valoración lingüística que citamos anteriormente según los conceptos de *selección*, *orientación* y *diversidad* (Caravedo 2013), a partir de lo cual la selección de determinados usos y signos lingüísticos contribuyen a una orientación comunicativa a partir de la diversidad de posibilidades de comunicación configuradas dentro del conjunto comunidades de habla pertenecientes a una lengua determinada.

Desde la perspectiva empírica que presentamos en este estudio, esto se ve confirmado por el hecho de que el factor estándar es el más amplio desde el punto de vista cuantitativo, de manera que los participantes han recurrido a una agrupación intermedia de los ítems entre ambas variantes diafásicas formal e informal, de modo que muchas expresiones que desde el punto de vista situacional o contextual se consideran informales, según nuestros informantes pertenecen desde un punto de vista situacional o contextual a un grado de formalidad estándar, lo que de nuevo concuerda con nuestra hipótesis acerca de la asociación de la modalidad lingüística andaluza a estratos socio-culturales determinados (Carbonero 1982), los cuales tienden a asociar los usos incorrectos calificados como vulgarismos a situaciones de un grado de formalidad intermedio.

Otra cuestión importante que queremos destacar es la variable diafásica “formal”, la cual presentó relaciones significativas con diversas varias variables sociodemográficas, especialmente de tipo diastrático (“tipo de centro”, “zona”, “centro”, “edad”, “curso”, “ocupación de la madre” y “nivel de formación del padre”), así como una relación significativa con la variable “actitud hacia la modalidad lingüística andaluza” ($r = .09$ p <.05).

Una de las relaciones que más llamó nuestra atención es la que se estableció entre esta variable diafásica y la variable diastrática “tipo de centro”. Los informantes pertenecientes a contextos socioeconómicamente desfavorecidos presentaron una mayor negativa ante el uso de las expresiones formuladas para el contexto formal. Estos sujetos presentaron la mayor muestra presencial en cuanto a las variables “ocupación laboral de la madre” y “nivel de formación del padre” que obtuvieron relaciones significativas con la situación comunicativa formal. La investigación reveló que los participantes de padres sin estudios presentan una mayor negativa al uso de las expresiones propuestas en el contexto formal, mientras que los hijos de padres con estudios preuniversitarios presentan un mayor uso de estas expresiones en dicho contexto, lo que se corresponde el resultado de la variable *tipo de centro*. Esto corrobora lo expuesto en otras investigaciones (Calero, Choi & Waisgrais 2010; López, González-Such & Lizasoain, 2012); Pérez *et al.* (2013); Rosário *et al.* 2013; Zellman & Waterman 2013), donde se demuestra que la formación y el grado de cualificación de la ocupación laboral del progenitores resulta influyente en el nivel de conocimiento que demuestran los hijos en diferentes materias, lo que se reflejó en nuestro estudio a partir de la medición de la variable “conocimiento lingüístico de la modalidad lingüística andaluza”. De este modo, los hijos de progenitores de ocupaciones laborales de escasa cualificación son los que presentaron una mayor negativa al uso de las expresiones características de la modalidad lingüística andaluza en el contexto formal, mientras que las ocupaciones laborales más cualificadas desde un punto de vista formativo presentaron un mayor uso de estas expresiones en contextos formales. A partir de los resultados obtuvimos un perfil que rechaza el uso de las expresiones formuladas en contextos formales, caracterizado por poseer un nivel sociocultural bajo, determinado por la asistencia a centros de compensación educativa insertos en un contexto socioeconómico desfavorecido. Este nivel sociocultural individual también guarda una relación de correspondencia con la unidad familiar, pues la variable *ocupación laboral de la madre* reflejó una menor cualificación conforme aumentó la negativa al uso de estas expresiones en contextos formales. De este modo, los resultados reflejaron que los participantes con nivel sociocultural más bajo tanto desde un punto de vista individual como desde una visión familiar presentaron los niveles de conocimiento de los usos

morfológicos, asimismo, más bajos, lo que implicó un menor uso de las expresiones propuestas correctas desde una perspectiva prescriptiva en contextos formales. Por tanto, en el cuadro de relaciones que se establecen entre las distintas variables sociodemográficas y los factores correspondientes con las variables diafásicas se confirma que a mayor conocimiento de los usos morfológicos, mayor uso de las expresiones propuestas gramaticalmente correctas en nuestro cuestionario en un contexto formal. Dicha afirmación es apoyada, como anteriormente hemos descrito, por las variables sociodemográficas con las que se establece una relación significativa, de manera que estas variables son predictoras de las variables que constituyen el objeto de estudio.

A partir de aquí, de cara a futuras investigaciones, debemos plantearnos aplicar una metodología integrada de enseñanza de lenguas que contemple la didáctica de las variedades lingüísticas en un refuerzo de la competencia sociolingüística (Van Compernolle & Williams 2013) junto con la tradicional metodología de enseñanza de lenguas, basándonos en el tipo concreto de receptor al que nos dirigimos, jóvenes alumnos matriculados en la Educación Secundaria Obligatoria, con el fin de que se corrijan dichos usos ajenos a la gramática de la lengua española o, al menos, que se tome conciencia por parte de este población de lo agramatical de los mismos, con el fin de discernir perfectamente entre lo que es correcto y lo que no lo es, o bien, dicho de otro modo, entre regionalismo y vulgarismo a partir del concepto *andalucismo* (Mendoza 2004). Esto nos permitiría, desde un punto de vista práctico, ahondar en la problemática del conocimiento y la mejora de uso del plano morfológico de nuestra lengua, de forma que este estrato de población pudiera aumentar el conocimiento lingüístico y metalingüístico de la lengua española, con el fin de que se tomara conciencia de cuál es la realidad morfológica del español y qué características propias presenta la modalidad lingüística andaluza respecto de esta, distinguiendo entre los usos propios de dicha modalidad y los usos calificados de vulgarismos.

De este modo, hemos podido comprobar con nuestro trabajo cómo influyen los factores sociodemográficos en el nivel de conocimiento de los usos morfológicos, la actitud hacia la modalidad lingüística andaluza, así como el uso que realizan de expresiones correctas e incorrectas desde el punto de vista prescriptivo, según

diferentes situaciones comunicativas que responden a distintos grados de formalidad en el uso de dichas expresiones, lo que nos permite verificar la corrección e incorrección de estos usos por parte de la población que nos ocupa y podemos, al mismo tiempo, estimar qué entienden nuestros informantes por norma lingüística andaluza y hasta qué punto sus usos son representativos de la misma.

En este punto debemos retomar, de nuevo, el concepto de valoración lingüística propuestos por algunos investigadores (Caravedo 2013). Desde nuestro punto de vista, la valoración lingüística no solo supone un modo de percepción y significación de la realidad, sino que constituye una información acerca de las características cognitivas, conductuales y afectivas, en tanto que conforman nuestra actitud hacia la lengua y sus posibilidades de variación y conceptualización, por lo que aporta información tanto lingüística como extralingüística acerca de nuestras características psicosociales individuales y colectivas. De cara a futuras investigaciones, se nos plantea el reto de abordar un instrumento de medición fiable de estas variables tanto lingüísticas como extralingüísticas y su influencia en la comunicación.

Referencias

- AJZEN, Icek (2001) "Nature and operation of attitudes", *Annual Review of Psychology*, 52, 27-58.
doi: 10.1146/annurev.psych.52.1.27.
- BOWLES, Melissa (2011) "Measuring implicit and explicit linguistic knowledge What can heritage language learners contribute?", *Studies in second language acquisition*, 33(2), special issue; SI, 247-271. doi: 10.1017/S0272263110000756.
- CALERO, Jorge, Álvaro CHOI & Sebastián WAISGRAIS (2010) "Determinantes del riesgo del fracaso escolar en España: una aproximación a través del análisis logístico multinivel aplicado a PISA-2006", *Revista de Educación, número extraordinario*, 225-256.
- CARAVEDO, Rocío (2013) "La valoración lingüística como modo de percepción y significación", en Antonio Narbona Jiménez (coord.), *Conciencia y valoración del habla andaluza*, Sevilla: UNIA.
- CARBONERO, Pedro (1982) *El habla de Sevilla*, Sevilla: Servicio de publicaciones del Ayuntamiento de Sevilla.

- Carbonero, Pedro (2004) "Repercusiones de la sociolingüística andaluza en la didáctica de la lengua", *Cauce*, 27, 35-48.
- COSERIU, Eugenio (1991) *Lecciones de lingüística general*, Madrid: Gredos.
- CRISMÁN, Rafael (2008) *Usos morfológicos de la norma lingüística gaditana*, Cádiz: Servicio de publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz.
- DEL RÍO SADORNIL, Dionisio (2010) *Método de investigación en educación volumen I proceso de diseños no complejos*, Madrid: UNED.
- DOLLINGER, Stefan (2012) "The Written Questionnaire as a Sociolinguistic Data Gathering Tool Testing Its Validity", *Journal of English Linguistics*, 40(1), 74-110. doi: 10.1177/0075424211414808.
- GARCÍA-SANTILLÁN, Arturo, Elena MORENO-GARCÍA, Juan Carlos CARLOS-CASTRO; Jorge ZAMUDIO-ABDALA & Julieta GARDUÑO-TREJO (2012) "Cognitive, affective and behavioral components that explain attitudes towards statistics", *Journal of Mathematics Research*, 4(5), 8-16. doi: 10.5539/jmr.v4n5p8.
- GANER, Mark (2014) "Language rules and language ecology", *Language Sciences*, 41, special Issue: SI, 111-121. doi: 10.1016/j.langsci.2013.08.012.
- GARRETT, Peter (2010) *Attitudes to Languages*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- GILES, Howard & Mikaela MARLOW (2011) "Theorizing language attitudes. Existing frameworks, an integrative model, and new directions", in Charles Thomas Salmon (ed.), *Communication yearbook*, New York, NY: Routledge, 161-197.
- GUTIÉRREZ, Xavier (2013) "The construct validity of grammaticality judgment tests as measures of implicit and explicit knowledge", *Studies in second language acquisition*, 35(3), 423-449. doi: 10.1017/S0272263113000041.
- HOLLMANN, Willem & Anna SIEWIERSKA (2011) "The status of frequency, schemas, and identity in Cognitive Sociolinguistics: A case study on definite article reduction", *Cognitive linguistics*, 22(1), special issue: SI, 25-54. doi: 10.1515/COGL.2011.002.
- HERNÁNDEZ-CAMPOY, Juan Manuel (2004) "El fenómeno de las actitudes y su medición en sociolingüística", *Tonos digital: Revista Electrónica de Estudios Filológicos*, 8, 29-56.
- HERNÁNDEZ-CAMPOY, Juan Manuel & Juan Antonio CUTILLAS-ESPINOSA (2013) "The effects of public and individual language attitudes on intra-speaker variation: A case study of style-shifting", *Multilingual-Journal of cross-cultural and interlanguage communication*, 32(1), 79-101. doi: 10.1515/mult-2013-0004.

- HERRERA SOLER, Honesto, Rosario MARTÍNEZ ARIAS & Marián AMENGUAL PIZARRO (2011) *Estadística aplicada a la investigación lingüística*, Madrid: EOS.
- LABOV, William (1966) *The social stratification of English in New York City*, Washington D. C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- LÁZARO CARRETER, Fernando (1997) *El dardo en la palabra*, Barcelona: Círculo de lectores.
- LÁZARO CARRETER, Fernando (2000) *Estudios de lingüística*, Barcelona: Crítica.
- LÁZARO CARRETER, Fernando (2003) *El nuevo dardo en la palabra*, Barcelona: Círculo de lectores.
- LÓPEZ MORALES, Humberto (1993) *Sociolingüística*, Madrid: Gredos.
- LÓPEZ GONZÁLEZ, Emelina, José GONZÁLEZ-SUCH & Luis LIZASOAIN (2012) "Explicación de rendimiento a partir del contexto. Algunas propuestas de análisis gráfico y estadístico", *Bordón, Revista de Pedagogía*, 64(2), 127-149.
- MENDOZA ABREU, Josefa (2004) "Andalucismos y DRAE: su consideración en la clase de vocabulario", *Puertas a la Lectura*, 17, 98-109.
- NARBONA JIMÉNEZ, Antonio (2003) *Sobre la conciencia lingüística de los andaluces*, Sevilla: Fundación Centro de Estudios Andaluces.
- NARBONA JIMÉNEZ, Antonio (2009) *La identidad lingüística de Andalucía*, Sevilla: Centro de Estudios Andaluces, Consejería de Presidencia, Junta de Andalucía.
- PANICHELLA, Nazareno & Moris TRIVENTI (2014) "Social Inequalities in the Choice of Secondary School", *European Societies*, 16(5), 666-693. doi:10.1080/14616696.2014.939685.
- PEISNER-FEINBERG, Ellen, Virginia BUYSSE, Allison FULIGNI, Margaret BURCHINAL, Linda ESPINOSA, Tamara HALLE & Dina CASTRO (2014) "Using Early Care and Education Quality Measures with Dual Language Learners: A Review of the Research", *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, 29(4), 786-803. doi: 10.1016/j.ecresq.2014.04.013.
- PÉREZ SÁNCHEZ, Carmen Nieves, Moisés BETANCORT MONTESINOS & Leopoldo CABRERA RODRÍGUEZ (2013) "Influencias de la familia en el rendimiento académico. Un estudio en Canarias", *Revista Internacional de Sociología*, 71(1), 169-187. doi: 10.3989/ris.2011.04.11.
- PORTO REQUEJO, María Dolores (2007) "The Role of context in word meaning construction", *International Journal of English Studies*, 7(1), 169-179.
- PRESTON, Denis (1988) "Change in the perception of language varieties", in J. Fisiak (ed.), *Historical dialectology: Regional and social*, Berlin, New York & Amsterdam: Mouton the Gruyter, 475-504.
- RENZI, Lorenzo (2013) "The concept of style in Eugenio Coseriu", *Lingua e Stile*, 48(1), 79-112.
- RODRÍGUEZ, Antonio (1991) *Psicología Social*, México: Trillas.

- ROPERO NÚÑEZ, Miguel (2001) "Sociolingüística andaluza: problemas y perspectivas", in Rosario Guillén Sutil & Pedro Carbonero Cano (coord.), *Sociolingüística andaluza 12, Identidad lingüística y comportamientos diversos*, Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 21-48.
- ROSÁRIO Pedro, José Carlos NÚÑEZ, Antonio VALLE; Olimpia PAIVA & Soely POLYDORO (2013) "Approaches to teaching in high school when considering contextual variables and teacher variables", *Revista de Psicodidáctica*, 18(1), 25-45. doi: 10.1387/RevPsicodidact.6215.
- SCHMID, Monika & Elise DUSSELDORP (2010) "Quantitative analyses in a multivariate study of language attrition: the impact of extralinguistic factors", *Second language research*, 26(1), 125-160. doi: 10.1177/0267658309337641.
- SCHOEL, Christiane, Janin ROESSEL, Jennifer ECK, Jana JANSEN; Branislava PETROVIC, Astrid ROTHE, Selma Carolin RUDERT & Dagmar, Stahlberg (2013) "Attitudes Towards Languages (AToL) Scale: A Global Instrument", *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 32(1), 21-45. doi: 10.1177/0261927X12457922.
- TRIGO CUTIÑO, José Manuel (1993) "La modalidad lingüística andaluza, un hecho cultural", *Actas del Simposio internacional de la Sociedad Española de didáctica de la lengua y la literatura*, A Coruña: Universidade da Coruña, (1993), 471-483.
- TRUDGILL, Peter (1972) "Sex, covert prestige and linguistic change in the urban British English of Norwich", *Language in Society*, 1, 179-195. doi:10.1017/S0047404500000488.
- TRUDGILL, Peter (1990) *The Dialects of England*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- VAN COMPERNOLLE, Rémi & Lawrence WILLIAMS (2013) "The effect of instruction on language learners' sociolinguistic awareness: An empirical study with pedagogical implications", *System*, 41(2), 298-306. doi: 10.1016/j.system.2013.02.001.
- WAYNE, Camara & Emily SHAW (2012) "The Media and Educational Testing: In Pursuit of the Truth or in Pursuit of a Good Story?", *Educational Measurement: Issues and Practice*, 31(2), 33-37. doi: 10.1111/j.1745-3992.2012.00233.x.
- ZELLMAN, Gail & Jim WATERMAN (2010) "Understanding the Impact of Parent School Involvement on Children's Educational Outcomes", *Biodemography and Social Biology*, 59(2), 157-177. doi: 10.1080/00220679809597566.
- ZWICK, Rebecca, Jeffrey SKLAR, Graham WAKEFIELD, Cris HAMILTON, Alex NORMAN & Douglas Folsom (2008) "Instructional Tools in Educational Measurement and Statistics (ITEMS) for School Personnel: Evaluation of Three Web-Based Training Modules", *Educational Measurement: Issues and Practice*, 27(2), 14-27. doi: 10.1111/j.1745-3992.2008.00119.x.

Received 8 June 2015.

Accepted 12 October 2015.

CASE VARIATION IN UNSTRESSED THIRD PERSON PRONOUNS IN THE LINGUISTIC ATLAS OF THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

Olga LEÓN ZURDO

Universidad Autónoma de Madrid*

olga.leon@uam.es

Abstract

The aim of this work is to describe the geographic distribution of unstressed third person pronouns in Peninsular Spanish in two data sets: those coming from the Linguistic Atlas of the Iberian Peninsula (ALPI), which was compiled in the 1930s, and those originated for the Audible Corpus of Rural Spoken Spanish (COSER), sixty years later. The purpose is to determine whether the dialect areas concerning 3rd person clitics have changed over time and to analyze whether the two data sets match or not. The result shows that the dialect areas have been stable during the 20th century, with some minor exceptions.

Keywords

third person pronouns, leísmo, laísmo, loísmo, dialectal áreas, Linguistic Atlas of the Iberian Peninsula

VARIACIÓN DE CASO EN LOS PRONOMBRES ÁTONOS DE TERCERA PERSONA EN EL ATLAS LINGÜÍSTICO DE LA PENÍNSULA IBÉRICA

Resumen

El objetivo de este trabajo es describir la distribución geográfica de los pronombres átonos de tercera persona en el español peninsular en dos conjuntos de datos: los procedentes del *Atlas Lingüístico de la*

* Departamento de Filología Española, Módulo IV, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Campus de Cantoblanco, 28049 Madrid.

Península Ibérica (ALPI), compilados en la década de 1930, y los originados para el *Corpus Oral y Sonoro del Español Rural* (COSER), sesenta años después. El objetivo es determinar si las áreas dialectales referentes a los clíticos de tercera persona sufren algún cambio a lo largo del tiempo y analizar la coincidencia de ambos grupos de datos. El resultado muestra que las áreas dialectales han se han mantenido estables a lo largo del siglo XX, con algunas variaciones menores.

Palabras clave

pronombres átonos de tercera persona, leísmo, laísmo, loísmo, áreas dialectales, *Atlas Lingüístico de la Península Ibérica*

1. Introduction

Variation in the use of unstressed pronouns in the Iberian Peninsula has aroused the interest of many specialists. There is not only a need to elucidate what caused the appearance of *leísmo*, *laísmo* and *loísmo* phenomena, but also a desire to describe its current geographical distribution. In relation to this, the works of Fernández-Ordóñez (1994 and 1999) stand out in the *Corpus Oral y Sonoro del Español Rural* ‘Audible Corpus of Rural Spoken Spanish’ (henceforth COSER), whose data came from surveys done in the 1990s. The aim of this work is to corroborate unpublished data collected in the 1930s by the *Atlas Lingüístico de la Península Ibérica* ‘Linguistic Atlas of the Iberian Peninsula’ (henceforth ALPI) along with results of the investigation of the COSER. Hereto, this paper has three purposes: 1) to determine if dialectal borders match to each other or there is a variation among them; that is, if the usage of unstressed third person pronouns has changed during the 20th century or it has been stable; 2) to analyze if ALPI data agrees with different pronominal paradigms or systems described at the end of the 1990s, and 3) to consider whether the data collecting methodology may or may not explain the potential differences: ALPI does geolinguistics surveys with induced questions and COSER semi-spontaneous interviews.

2. Current state of the issue

Many authors have provided new information to the investigation of *leísmo*, *laísmo* and *loísmo* phenomena from diachronic and synchronic perspectives. In relation to the dialectal analysis, the most exhaustive studies are those of Fernández-Ordóñez (1993, 1994, 1999 and 2001) and Klein-Andreu (1981 and 2000). Although these proposals have similar methodologies, the studies of Fernández-Ordóñez present a wider approach from a geographical point of view. This perspective is followed in this paper.¹

The unstressed third person accusative forms — *lo*, *la*, *lo* — derive from the Latin accusative forms *ILLUM*, *ILLAM*, *ILLUD*; Spanish pronoun *le* comes from the dative form *ILLI*. Using these unstressed forms with the Latin values is known as "etymological uses" or case-distinguishing usage: *lo(s)* and *la(s)* with masculine and feminine accusative, respectively, *lo* with neuter accusative and *le(s)* with masculine, feminine or neuter dative. However, the Spanish language presents a pronominal selection criterion different from the Latin one. This is known as *leísmo*, *laísmo* and *loísmo*.

Leísmo is the usage of the pronoun *le* instead of *lo* or *la* as a direct object. There are four types of *leísmo*: 1) personal masculine direct object (*A Luis le premiaron por el esfuerzo* 'Luis was rewarded for his effort'); 2) direct object of a masculine thing (*Tira el jarrón porque María le ha roto* 'Throw the vase away because María has broken it'); 3) plural *leísmo* (*Los geranios les he comprado ayer* 'I bought the geraniums yesterday'); and 4) feminine *leísmo* (*A María le lleva su madre* 'María is given a lift by her mother'). The less frequent phenomena are: *laísmo* — the usage of the pronoun *la* instead of *le* as indirect object with a feminine referent (*A María dile que venga* 'Tell María to come') —, and *loísmo* — the usage of the pronoun *lo* instead of *le* as the dative with a masculine or neuter referent (*A los niños ponlos el pañal / No lo doy importancia a eso* 'Put the diaper on the children' / 'I don't care about that').

Some geographical areas can distinguish case, but accept some *leísmo* use. Therefore some cases of *leísmo* can be found in those territories, but not *laísmo* o

¹See Fernández-Ordóñez (1999) for detailed information about pronominal systems. Also, see Gómez Seibane (2012) to learn about her synthesis on pronominal variation phenomena.

loísmo. There are different situations that may have been labeled as *leísmo* in case-distinguishing areas. Firstly, some verbs or grammatical constructions present accusative and dative alternation, such as *ayudar* ‘to help’, *llamar* ‘to call’ or verbs of psychological affection. It is a “false *leísmo*” because speakers can distinguish between dative and accusative case; they just assign those cases to certain verbs or structures depending on the syntactic configuration of verbs or the geographical area. Secondly, those areas can also use the “courtesy *leísmo*”, which is the usage of the pronoun *le* as the third person pronoun *usted* to express respect. Thirdly, a genuine masculine personal *leísmo* may appear among educated speakers and writers of case-distinguishing regions in order to adjust to the Iberian Peninsula standard language.

Fernández-Ordóñez (1999) describes several pronominal systems out of the etymological area in which speakers select unstressed third person pronouns depending not only on the case, but also on other grammatical categories, such as gender, animacy or a mass/count distinction. In relation to that, the pronominal system in Basque Spanish (the Romance language in contact with Basque) uses *le(s)* for animate indirect and direct object, especially for person, regardless of masculine or feminine gender. Although the usage of *lo(s)* and *la(s)* is higher in speakers with great knowledge of Spanish, clitics are normally omitted for inanimate direct objects. Therefore, *leísmo* corresponds to animacy in this category and it is not restricted by the antecedent’s gender.

The Spanish pronominal system of Asturias is similar to the “etymological system”, although accusative clitic selection is subject to the mass/count distinction. Thus, accusative clitic *lo* is used with a mass masculine and feminine referent. However, *lu-lo* is used for a count masculine referent and *la-las* for the feminine one; dative is always *le(s)*. There is not any pronominal syncretism or *leísmo* in this system. Instead, although the Cantabrian Spanish pronominal system has similarities with the Asturian Spanish one, it uses the pronoun *le* for singular masculine accusative of countable nouns. For this reason, it is normal to have singular masculine *leísmo* (of person and "thing") in this category.

Finally, the Castilian Spanish referential system distinguishes between mass and count referents too, but it tends to favor the usage of accusative pronouns by

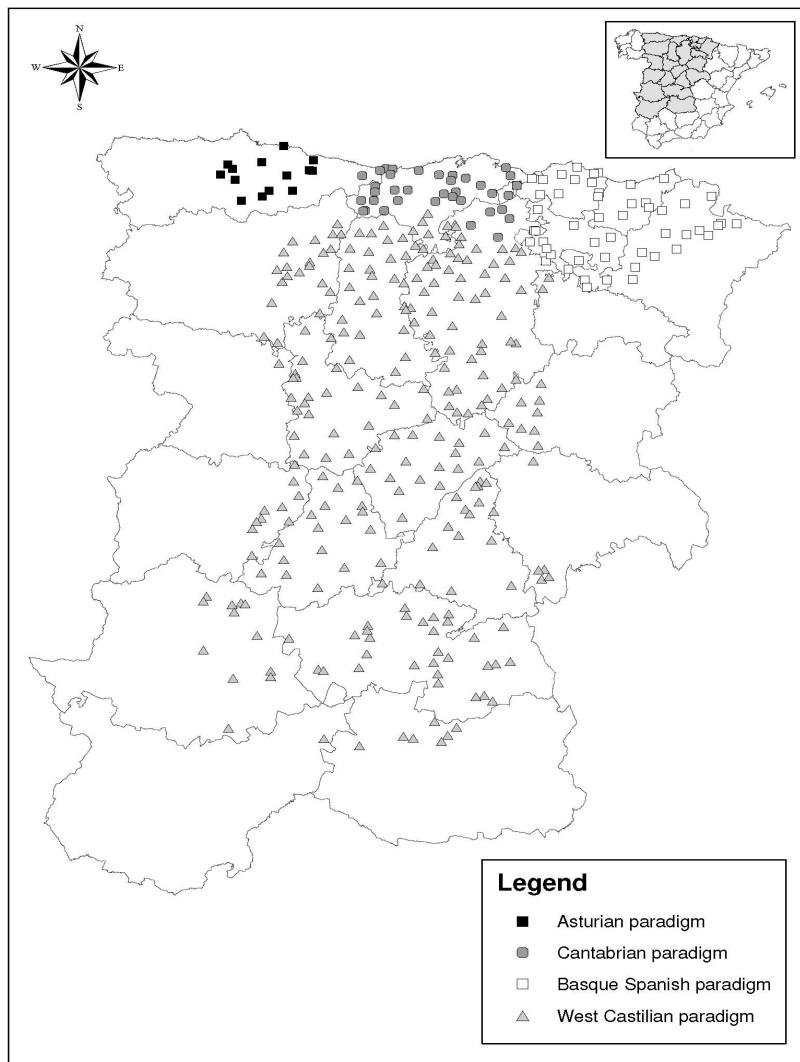
eliminating the category of case. The count pronoun *le*, *la(s)* and the mass pronoun *lo* are both used for accusative and dative. Fernández-Ordóñez points out three internal areas in the referential system based on which plural masculine accusative and dative pronoun is selected: */es* is preferred over */os* (system A: east of León, Palencia, northwest of Burgos and Valladolid); */os* is preferred over */es* (system B: east of Salamanca, Ávila, east of Cáceres, west of Toledo and Madrid), or the coexistence of both pronouns (system C: east and south of Burgos, south of Valladolid, north central Segovia, and west of Soria).

The variable selection of these pronouns (*/es* or */os*) is explained by different factors: on the one hand, the analogy with plural forms *ellos-estos-esos-aquellos* ‘them-these-those-those’ helps to select pronoun */os*; on the other hand, the pronoun */es* is the most logical option within the referential system, because the pronoun *le* is always used as accusative and dative with singular masculine referents. Thus, the referential system shows masculine *leísmo* (person and “thing”, singular and plural), *laísmo* (singular and plural) and *loísmo* (plural and neuter).

In addition, Fernández-Ordóñez (1994, 2001) talks about two transition systems. On the one side, an occidental transition system in the east of León, between Torío and Esla rivers, and Cea river. In this area, referential usage competes with etymological values for count and mass entities. On the other side, there is a southeastern transition system, which includes the northwestern corner of Ciudad Real, the east of Toledo and the west of Guadalajara. This area greatly corresponds with the “etymological” system, but the pronoun *le* is also used for count masculine accusative.²

Geographical distribution of these systems can be analyzed with the map below (extracted from Fernández-Ordóñez 2012: 81):

² Fernández-Ordóñez (1999) also talks about a standard pronominal system used by speakers of a high sociocultural level. It chooses pronouns depending on the case, with the exception of the person singular masculine accusative, which selects pronoun *le*.



3. Corpus and methodology

ALPI is the corpus used as database in this paper. It was headed by Tomás Navarro Tomás in the 1930s. ALPI collected dialectal samples from all the Romance language varieties in the Iberian Peninsula and Balearic Islands with a geolinguistic questionnaire technique during the 1930s (most of them between 1931 and 1936). ALPI original notebooks disappeared around 1960s after the publication of one volume in 1962; those notebooks have seen the light again in the beginning of the 21st century.³ Due to that, I am going to examine all data available now and link them to the COSER results in order

³ See Navarro Tomás (1962), García Mouton (2009) and Heap (2003) for more information about ALPI origins, history and current projects.

to determine if the linguistic borders — that Fernández-Ordóñez indicated in the 1990s — correspond to the data collected in the ALPI.⁴

Despite the different methodologies of data gathering, the results of ALPI and COSER can be compared because they share the same kind of participants: people from rural areas, with limited education and non-mobile.⁵ However, they disagree with the age of participants; ALPI uses middle age adults, but COSER only elderly people. They have different methodologies to obtain data as well. ALPI interviews participants with its own investigators' questions — which is far from being spontaneous talking and may affect the speakers' answers — whereas COSER has a sociolinguistic methodology that had still not been developed in the 1930s-40s when the majority of ALPI interviews were made. In COSER, questionnaires are replaced by semi-structured interviews; answers are less comparable than in an atlas, but they are more spontaneous. Nevertheless, I have chosen twelve questions from the first notebook of the ALPI questionnaire, in which unstressed third person pronouns appear. I will present all the results with maps in order to collate them with those obtained in the COSER.

The selected sentences are the following: (280) *A ninguna le gusta ponerse la ropa de otra* ‘No girl likes to wear another’s clothes’; (313) *No lo vacíes en la calle* ‘Don’t empty it into the street’; (350) *A Miguel le cogieron preso* ‘Miguel was held prisoner’; (351) *Le llevaron a la cárcel* ‘He was taken to jail’; (352) *Al padre le vieron llorando* ‘The father was seen crying’; (353) *A los niños les socorrieron los vecinos* ‘The children were helped by the neighbors’; (354) *Me pidieron que les ayudase* ‘They asked me to help them’; (356) *Al niño le pusieron un vestido* ‘The kid was made to wear a dress’; (357) *Trae los candiles para echarles aceite* ‘Bring the oil lamps to oil them’; (359) *A la madre le dieron la limosna* ‘The mother was given the alms’; (360) *Aquella desgracia le costó la vida* ‘That misfortune cost her her life’; (361) *A las hermanas les mandaron una carta* ‘The sisters were sent a letter’.

As it can be appreciated in the analysis, I differentiate between the following labels in the maps: 1) dative, 2) accusative, 3) apocope — this category gathers

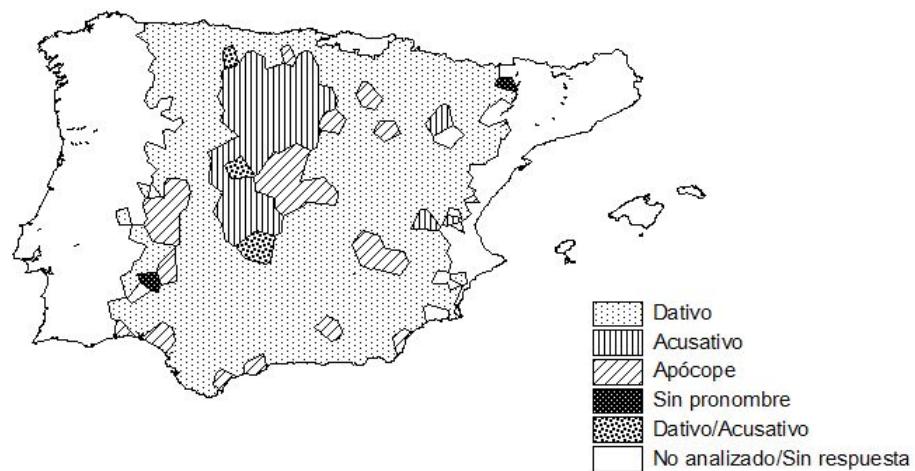
⁴ Since this paper studies the Spanish unstressed third person pronominal system, only ALPI data about Castilian Spanish areas has been used (not the Galician-Portuguese and Catalonian territories).

⁵ Previously, Rosés Labrada (2012) carried out a similar study but limited to Zamora province and he found correspondence between ALPI and COSER data.

shortened pronouns whose case cannot be determined, such as *A ninguna l'agrada ponerse la ropa de otra* —, 4) lack of pronoun — examples where any clitics have been selected, such as *A ninguna agrada ponerse la ropa de otra* —, and 5) dative/accusative — if the participant accepts both uses in the sentence.⁶

4. Maps and presentation of results

4.1 *A ninguna le gusta ponerse la ropa de otra* ‘No girl likes to wear another’s clothes’



Map 1. *A ninguna le gusta ponerse la ropa de otra* ‘No girl likes to wear another’s clothes’

Two big areas are observed according to the case used in the third person pronominal unstressed reference (dative or accusative), as well as isolated enclaves that present some features related to the bordering zones.

First of all, the main verb of the sentence, *gustar* ‘to like’, selects the dative case, which means that the pronoun that corresponds etymologically to this context is the indirect object *le*. In the light of the obtained results, the pronominal syncretism, due to the use of the feminine singular accusative pronoun, can be seen in the Castilian provinces of Burgos, Valladolid, Palencia, Ávila and Segovia, and it also affects the

⁶ I have not included the different phonetic variants of each pronoun because the goal of this study is to determine the selection of case.

eastern sides of León, Zamora, Salamanca, Cáceres and Badajoz. Additionally, in the territory of La Mancha, this variation is practically present in all the region of Toledo, extending to the north of Ciudad Real.

Furthermore, as can be seen in the map, there are three localities (Cofiñal, in León; Grajos, in Ávila; and Puebla de Don Rodrigo, in Ciudad Real) where the informant accepts both solutions as valid.

The present data in the ALPI largely correspond to the ones extracted afterwards by Fernández-Ordóñez:

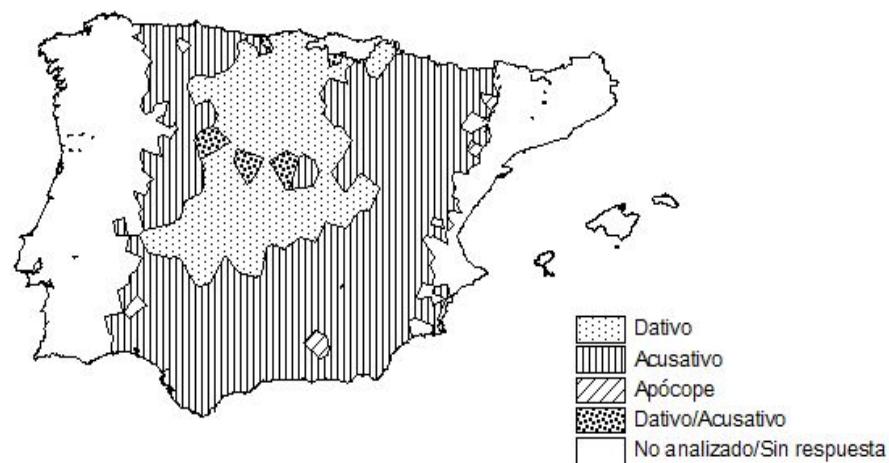
We can find usages adjusted to the patterns of the referential system in a broad peninsular area which includes territories from the west and center of Castilla, in the south of the Cantabrian Mountains reaching the limits of La Mancha [...] east of León, Palencia, Valladolid, Burgos, the western end of La Rioja, the eastern strip of Salamanca, Ávila, Segovia, west of Soria, the eastern half of Cáceres, Toledo, except the southeastern zone, Madrid and the western end of Guadalajara (1999: 1363-1364).

Stranger still is the presence of the accusative in non-referential areas such as Cadrete (Zaragoza) or Caudete de las Fuentes and Pedralba (Valencia). However, the use of the accusative in the Valencia region is justified because a change of verb was produced in the answers: instead of *gustar*, *agradar* ‘to please’ (A *ninguna los* [them.AC.MASC.PL] *agrada ponerse la ropa de otra*). This use could correspond to a transfer from Catalan, a language in which the plural dative *els*, *-los*, *-ls* is identical to the masculine plural accusative. On the other hand, in the case of Cadrete, the used verb is still *gustar*, so it is more difficult to determine the reasons for which the informant prefers the accusative to the dative in a zone where the pronominal uses are established on the basis of the case differentiation.

Furthermore, there are some localities in which the final vowel is shortened; therefore, it is not possible to determine the underlying pronoun. The peculiarity of all these cases is that the verb used by the informant is *agradar* instead of *gustar*, since the shortened form is a consequence of the contact between two vowels: that of the

pronoun (*la/le*) and that of the verb *agradar*. Although this is a characteristic phenomenon of oral speech and, consequently, of all the Peninsular geography, the most ambiguous cases are the ones offered by Las Navas del Marqués (Ávila), Cadalso de los Vidrios (Madrid) and Rascafría (Madrid), because they are located within the referential area.

4.2. A *Miguel le cogieron preso* ‘Miguel was held prisoner’



Map 2. *A Miguel le cogieron preso* ‘Miguel was held prisoner’

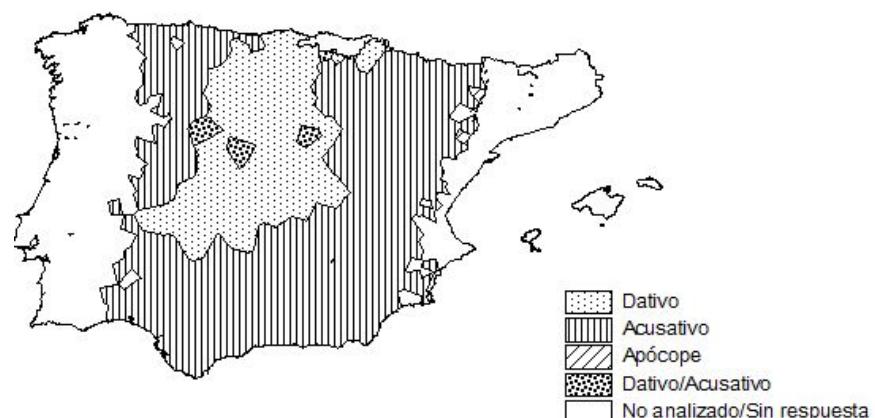
Firstly, it is interesting to observe that this question of the questionnaire presents *leísmo* for the masculine singular form: *le* [him.DAT.MASC.SG]. Although none of these phenomena of pronominal variation — *leísmo*, *laísmo* or *loísmo* — are considered correct, *leísmo* of person is even accepted by the Royal Spanish Academy, given its wide expansion. The use of *le* instead of *lo* can be seen, apart from the referential areas, among the members of the society that enjoy the highest sociocultural level, since it is considered prestigious. However, a sentence like the one presented here should be constructed, according to the “etymological” criteria, with a pronoun in accusative: A *Miguel lo* [him.AC.MASC.SG] *cogieron preso*.

The results exposed in the map agree with the proposal made by Fernández-Ordóñez in the nineties. In the Peninsular north, all the Basque region and the northwest of Navarra present this type of *leísmo*. Also in Cantabria the phenomenon is widespread, except in the western zone adjacent to the Asturias territory where *leísmo*

does not exist because the masculine singular accusative pronoun is *lo* or *lu*. In the Castilla y León community, *leísmo* is comprehensively identified in Palencia, Burgos, Valladolid, Ávila and Segovia and it also affects the eastern side of León and Salamanca and the west of Soria. Madrid is also a thoroughly referential territory but the data exposed in this map show an enclave, Valdepiélagos, in which the informant has chosen the accusative *lo*. Other areas affected by this phenomenon of pronominal variation are Toledo, the northwestern side of Ciudad Real, la Puebla de Don Rodrigo and Cuenca. Finally, it also spreads out through most of the Cáceres province, except a small strip in the northwestern side, and the northeast of Badajoz. Thus, the border between the territories, based on the distinction of the case and the ones that attend to referential patterns, is established. As can be seen, a coincidence is produced in relation to the results displayed by Fernández-Ordóñez (1994), without being complete because the phenomenon is also identified in Aliseda, according to the ALPI data, hence, exceeding the border established by Fernández-Ordoñez, who locates it between Plasencia and Trujillo.

Similarly, in several referential enclaves and others in contact with that area, the informants accept as correct the solutions with dative and accusative. That is what occurs in El Pego (Zamora), Hernansancho (Ávila), Rascafría (Madrid), Sarría (Álava) and Valle de Cabuérniga (Cantabria).

4.3. *Le llevaron a la cárcel* ‘He was taken to jail’



Map 3. *Le llevaron a la cárcel* ‘He was taken to jail’

This sentence presents characteristics very similar to the previous one. The mapped results show that, although the etymological use predominates, personal *leísmo* presents a really broad expanse. In the distinguishing areas, the pronoun used by the speaker is the accusative, regardless of the fact that the question itself in the questionnaire encourages the use of the dative clitic. Since the speakers belong to rural areas and have a low educational level, it is expected that the standard influence does not manifest itself.

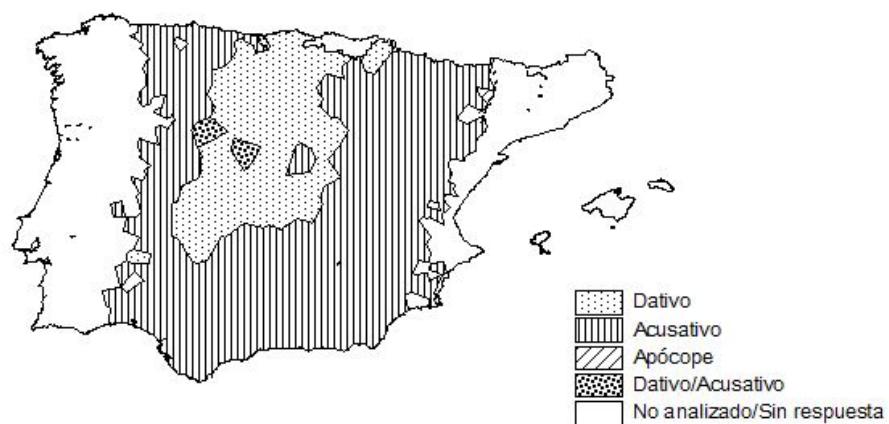
On the other hand, the selection of *le* for the masculine singular accusative is produced in the Castilian areas of Palencia, Burgos, Valladolid, Segovia, Ávila, west of Salamanca, east of Soria, in the whole Madrid community, in parts of Cáceres, in a small strip in the northeast of Badajoz and in Toledo, where the count/mass and gender distinctions are imposed over that of the case. This type of *leísmo* is, in addition, typical in the Peninsular north, specifically in the Basque Country, Navarra and Cantabria. In fact, except in some Cantabrian zones, in which we can also observe some cases of *laísmo* in minority groups, *leísmo* is the only described phenomenon that is documented.

The map also shows how in certain localities the informants accept both the use of *lo* and *le* for the personal masculine singular accusative. The territories in which this happens are Sarria (Álava), El Pego (Zamora), Hernansancho (Ávila) and Galbe de Sorbe (Guadalajara). All these villages are in contact with the referential zone, so it is not strange that this dichotomy in the pronominal uses is produced. Also, in Maella (Zaragoza) the loss of the final vowel does not permit to determine which third person unstressed pronoun is used.

4.4. *Al padre le vieron llorando* 'The father was seen crying'

Once again it is a sentence with similar characteristics to the previous ones. The peculiarity of this question, however, is located in the Cáceres area, because the *leísmo* phenomenon described above has a lesser extent in comparison with the two previous sentences, closely resembling to the COSER data. Thus, the isogloss that separates the

referential area from the etymological one, fully coincides with the proposal made by Fernández-Ordóñez (1993: 11). This line spreads, more or less, in a straight way, from the east of León to the northeast side of Badajoz. Then, between Toledo and Ciudad Real we find the strip that “divides the two sides of the Montes de Toledo”. This isogloss goes up from Guadalajara to Soria separating the western part of both provinces. To this zone of pronominal variation should be added the current presence of the phenomenon in the Peninsular north, specifically in the Basque Country, Navarra and Cantabria, where it is completely widespread.



Map 4. *Al padre le vieron llorando* ‘The father was seen crying’

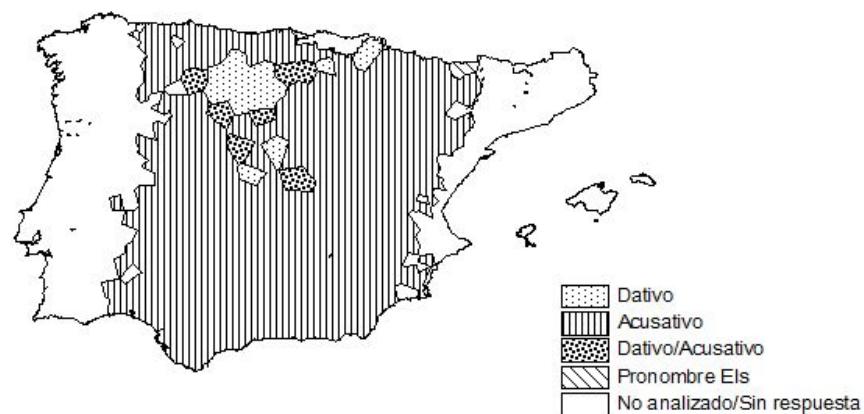
In addition, there are two localities where the informants accept as their own the use of the accusative clitic as well as the dative one. These two places that manifest the duality coincide with the ones presented in the question *Le llevaron a la cárcel*: El Pego (Zamora) and Hernansancho (Ávila).

The rest of territories, as we can see, use the masculine accusative pronoun *lo*.

4.5 *A los niños les socorrieron los vecinos* ‘The children were helped by the neighbors’

A los niños les socorrieron los vecinos is also a question that presents personal *leísmo*: *les* [them.DAT.MASC.PL]. However, it is a *leísmo* of masculine plural form, whose spreading is clearly inferior to that of the singular *leísmo* because, only within the

referential area, at least three solutions coexist: the use of the pronoun *los* [them.AC.MASC.PL] the use of the pronoun *les* or the use of both pronouns –although not in the same proportion– (Fernández-Ordóñez 1994: 93).



Map 5. *Los niños les socorrieron los vecinos* 'The children were helped by the neighbors'

According to the map, this type of *leísmo* is produced in very limited areas: east of León province, all the Palencia province, west of Burgos and north of Valladolid. Furthermore, isolated territories where the informant has decided to use the dative unstressed pronoun instead of the accusative one are Goñi (Navarra), Cadalso de los Vidrios (Madrid), Rascafría (Madrid) and Treviño (east of Burgos). Otherwise, the rest of the localities use the accusative pronoun: as much within the limits of the referential system as in the areas considered distinguishing zones.⁷

Also, both solutions coexist in some enclaves: Laguna Dalga (León), San Cebrián de Mazote (Valladolid), Langayo (Valladolid), Valdelaguna (Madrid), Hernansancho (Ávila), Hontomín (Burgos), Vallarta de Bureba (Burgos) and Balbacienta (Cantabria).

In addition, in Manzanedo (Burgos), according to the notes of the interviewer, a second informant appears, who prefers the use of *les*, in spite of the fact that the first informant uses *los* in the map. This second informant, according to the notes presented in the upper half of the notebook, is more educated than the previous one. Then, it can

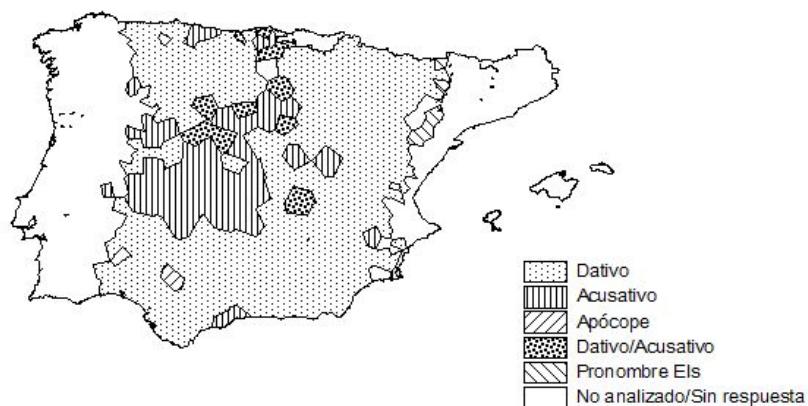
⁷ Las Campas (Asturias) also uses *les*, but the verb offered in the questionnaire was replaced by another one that could have conditioned the answer of the informant: *a os nenos valironye sos vecius*.

be explained as an attempt to get closer to the standard system, which prefers the use of *le(s)* over *lo(s)*, given the prestige of personal *leísmo*.

Therefore, it is a very interesting map because it shows how the results deriving from the analysis of the ALPI data mostly coincide with the investigations conducted by Fernández-Ordóñez in the nineties.

(In the northern area of the referential system (east of León, Palencia, northwest of Burgos, Valladolid) it is *les*. However, the southern zone prefers *los* (east of Salamanca, Ávila, east of Cáceres, west of Toledo and Madrid) . . . in some areas of the referential system of direct and indirect object (east and south of Burgos, south of Valladolid, north and center of Segovia, west of Soria) (Fernández-Ordóñez 1999: 1362)

4.6 *Me pidieron que les ayudase* ‘They asked me to help them’



Map 6. *Me pidieron que les ayudase* ‘They asked me to help them’

As in the sentence *A los niños les socorrieron los vecinos*, this one, *Me pidieron que les ayudase*, has a third person plural clitic with a personal and animate referent. However, there are important differences between the two sentences: the verb *socorrer* ‘to help’ takes the accusative while the verb *ayudar* takes one or other case depending on the territory. Fernández-Ordóñez says that “we cannot relate the case variation of those types of verbs to structural or significant reasons”. Furthermore, the author explains that this verb took the dative in the medieval language — along with verbs such

as *enseñar* ‘to teach’, *avisar* ‘to notify’ or *obedecer* ‘to obey’ —, but it has become an accusative verb in some areas overtime (without specifying a precise moment).⁸

The data mapped from ALPI are close to the investigation carried out by Fernández-Ordóñez, but they suggest some modifications. Although the majority of case-distinguishing regions defend the usage of a dative clitic, there are other areas where participants preferred the accusative, for example in northeastern Salamanca and in a large part of Cáceres.⁹ Fernández-Ordóñez results are different from those shown in this paper for the west and south of Cáceres — where the usage of pronoun *les* would be expected. Instead, in the east area of Cáceres, the usage of pronoun *los* is expected because it follows the referential system. This new accusative interpretation of the verb *ayudar* appears in isolated zones of Málaga (Alhaurín el Grande and Olías), Murcia (Fuente de Pinos and Cabo de Palos), Cuenca (Albalate de las Nogueras), Asturias (Nozaleda) and Cantabria (Veguilla and Reconorio).

The referential area still selects the pronoun by its gender, number and mass/count categorization.

Referential patterns are also followed with plural referents, but the system (A) uses pronoun */es* with dative and accusative, while system (B) uses pronoun */os* for both cases. In the maps, these data confirm a preference for the pronoun */os* over */es* in Ávila, Segovia, southeastern Madrid, Toledo and Ciudad Real. In addition, western Soria and southern Burgos selected pronoun */os*, although these areas accept the use of both third person pronouns. Maybe, Valladolid presents the strangest situation within this referential area: although the usage of pronoun */es* as plural masculine dative and accusative is expected, ALPI data show that both uses can live together and some speakers can even use both pronominal forms.

Furthermore, Fernández-Ordóñez emphasizes that the verb *ayudar* could have changed the dative pronoun for the accusative in sentences of one complement and with feminine referents in the first place. The referent of the unstressed pronoun */es* is implicit in this sentence, but it is supposed to be masculine after analyzing previous

⁸ See Fernández-Ordóñez (1999: 1330 and 2001)

⁹ Participants used dative pronoun in Eljas, but the accusative pronoun in Ceclavín (south-east).

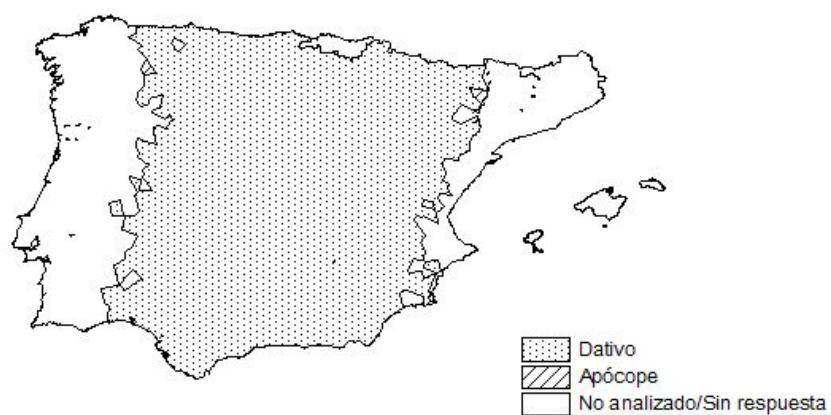
phrases from the questionnaire. It can also be verified because all participants used the masculine pronoun *los* with the accusative instead of the feminine *las*.

According to the author, “prepositional transitivity” explains why the dative has been replaced by the accusative.

Some verbs like *to help someone/somewhere* demand, categorically, a preposition; others, like *to obey (to)*, *to be afraid (of)*, *to warn (of)*, *to teach (to)*, alternate the propositional regime with the direct one to express the inanimate object. Although *to threaten (with/to)* nowadays only admits the propositional regime, it can be included in this group because in the past it could also be constructed with two objects [...] Other verbs that can be affected by the same phenomenon are *to inform (of)*, *invite to*, *accuse (of)*, *criticize (for)*, *congratulate (for)*, of which a *leísta* behavior is sometimes observed (Fernández-Ordóñez 1999: 1333-1334).¹⁰

However, the question does not allow to verify this theory because the verb complement is not given.

4.7 *Al niño le pusieron un vestido* ‘The kid was made to wear a dress’



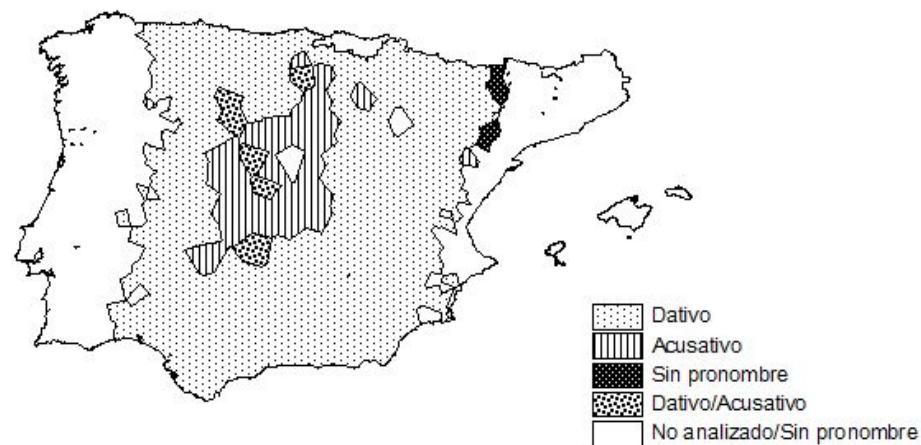
Map 7. *Al niño le pusieron un vestido* ‘The kid was made to wear a dress’

¹⁰ Complementary information about this issue can be found in Fernández-Ordóñez (2001).

This sentence was included in the ALPI questionnaire to determine if there are cases of personal and singular *loísmo* in the Iberian Peninsula. *Loísmo* is the strangest pronominal variation phenomenon and it is the least developed because of its dialectal nature. Nevertheless, participants' unanimity is remarkable since none of them chose dative pronoun over the accusative.

This map coincides with the data collected by Fernández-Ordóñez.

4.8 *Trae los candiles para echarles aceite* 'Bring the oil lamps to oil them'



Map 8. *Trae los candiles para echarles aceite* 'Bring the oil lamps to oil them'

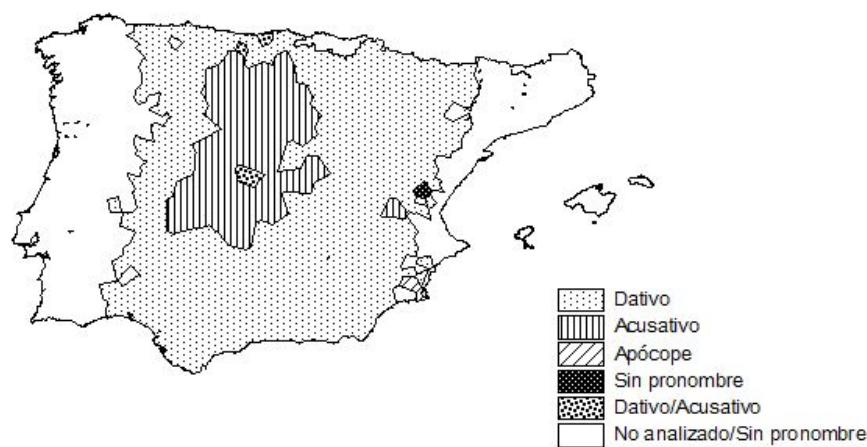
This sentence was given as an example in order to discover cases of plural *loísmo*.

The data mapped show that the use of accusative instead of dative appears principally in the referential territories, specifically in the east of Burgos, far west of Soria, Segovia, eastern Valladolid and Ávila. It also includes Madrid and Toledo, and the area expanding from the east of Cáceres and Campo de Peñaranda (Salamanca) to the northeast of Badajoz (Campanario).

After analyzing the areas of this phenomenon, it can be confirmed that speakers who preferred the usage of accusative pronoun *los* instead of dative pronoun *les* belong to the referential system. Thus, participants alternate pronominal forms to adapt them to the clitic selection criteria of the area. In this specific situation, those areas with a preference for the pronoun *los* over the pronoun *les* are the same as in Fernández-Ordóñez (1994, 1999).

Finally, there are several places where participants use both pronouns: Villacencio de los Caballeros (Valladolid), San Cebrián de Mazote (Valladolid), Hontomín (Burgos), Hernansancho (Ávila), Cadalso de los Vidrios (Madrid) and La Puebla de Don Rodrigo (Ciudad Real).

4.9 *A la madre no le dieron la limosna* ‘The mother was given the alms’



Map 9. *A la madre no le dieron la limosna* ‘The mother was given the alms’

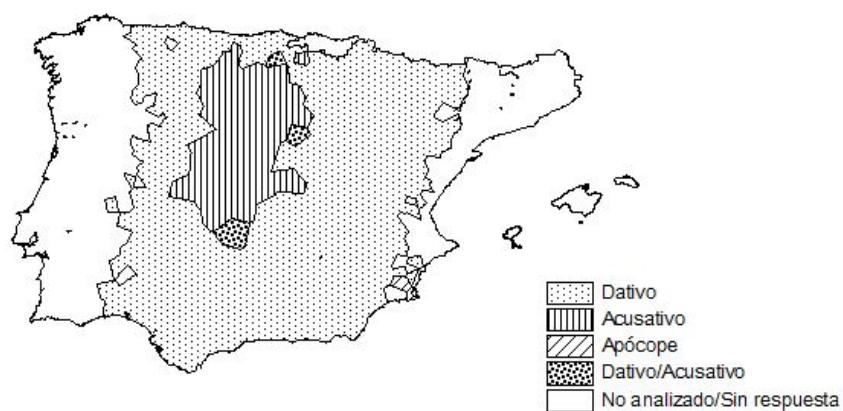
This sentence takes a ditransitive verb *dar* ‘to give’, which forms phrases with a direct object (*la limosna* ‘the alms’) and an indirect object (*a la madre* ‘to the mother’). Also, a dative pronoun appears to double the first indirect object into the topic position.

As in the sentence *A ninguna le gusta ponerse la ropa de otra*, the map shows two large areas based on the selected pronoun: the pronoun *le* is mainly used in the Iberian Peninsula and the pronoun *la* in some areas of Castilla y León and Castilla-La Mancha. Referential uses of these sentences are more extensive than *A ninguna le gusta ponerse la ropa de otra* because it also appears in Guadalajara (Renera) and Soria (Alcubilla del Marqués). In addition, they are extended to León (Calzada del Coto), Salamanca (Campo de Peñaranda) and Burgos (Manzanedo and Pinilla de los Moros); Madrid (Valdelaguna); Toledo (Los Yébenes); Ciudad Real (Puebla de Don Rodrigo); and Cáceres (Jarandilla). However, these results always agree with the area described by Fernández-Ordóñez (1999).

Despite of being a case-distinguishing region, it is relevant that Caudete de las Fuentes (Valencia) uses the accusative case instead of the dative. The answers of the informant matches perfectly with the one given to another sentence of the questionnaire, *A ninguna le agrada ponerse la ropa de otra*. It is unclear what made him use the accusative clitic instead of the dative.

Along with these "etymological" and referential uses, it is noticed that informants accept the usage of both clitics in three more places: in Madrid (Cadalso de los Vidrios) and Cantabria (Yermo and Vega de Liébana). As this map shows, Cantabria does not present *laísmo* in general.

4.10 *Aquella desgracia le costó la vida* 'That misfortune cost her her life'



Map 10. *Aquella desgracia le costó la vida* 'That misfortune cost her her life'

Similar to the last sentences, *Aquella desgracia le costó la vida* includes the ditransitive verb *costar* 'to cost', which can take a direct object (*la vida* 'her life') and an indirect object (*le*). However, in this sentence the third person clitic does not double the indirect object. Although the referent is not specified, it is supposed to be *la madre* 'the mother' in the previous sentence 359. That explains why speakers from the referential area prefer the usage of accusative instead of dative.

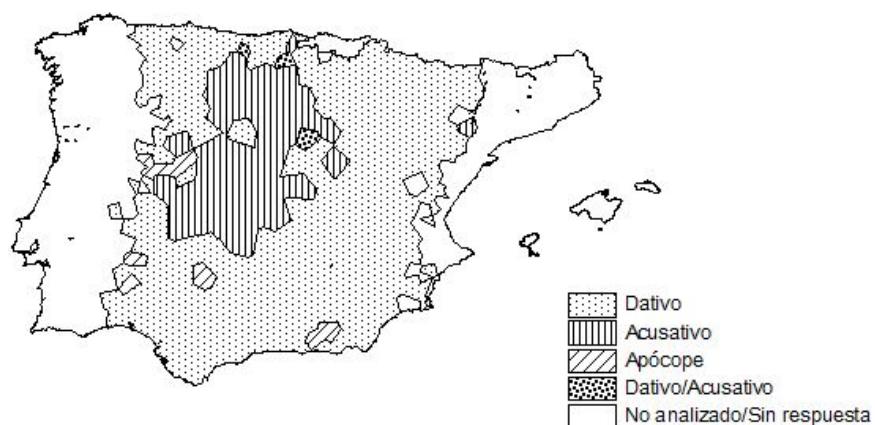
Pronominal paradigm distribution is similar to *A la madre no le dieron la limosna*. It verifies how much is the *laísmo* phenomenon spread: in Ávila, Segovia, Valladolid, Palencia, a large part of Burgos — except the north —, west of Soria, east of León, Salamanca and Cáceres. The usage of accusative instead of the "etymologic" use of

dative appears in the entire territory of Madrid –except in the northeastern area where speakers prefer the dative –, and middle western Toledo.

In addition, there is just a village, Vega de Liébana (Cantabria), where the innovative solution is selected over the conservative one. Although there is hardly any *laísmo* in this Community, informants may have chosen the accusative pronoun instead of the dative because they are next to Castilla y León. This phenomenon appears both in the sentences *A ninguna le gusta ponerse la ropa de otra* and *A la madre no le dieron la limosna*.

Finally, some participants accept both solutions –the "etymological" and the referential one– in Manzanedo (Burgos), Galbe de Sorbe (Guadalajara) and Puebla de Don Rodrigo (Ciudad Real), near to the referential zone.

4.11 *A las hermanas les entregaron unas cartas* 'The sisters were delivered some letters'

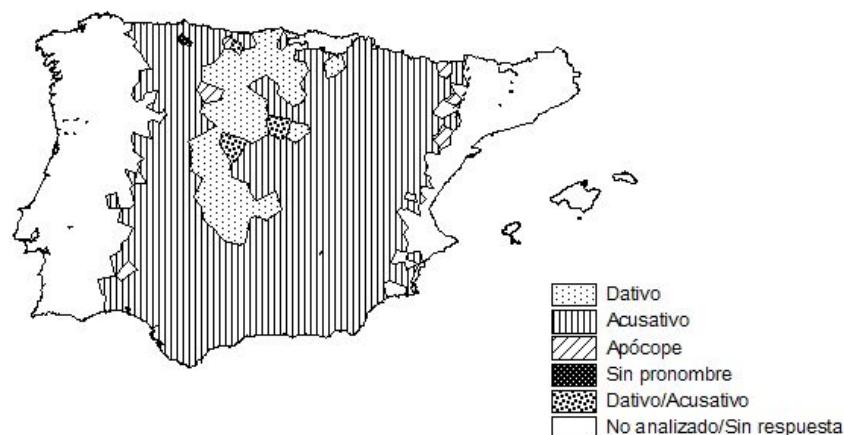


Map 11. *A las hermanas les entregaron unas cartas* 'The sisters were delivered some letters'

This sentence is used to analyze the plural *laísmo* phenomenon. As it happens with singular, selection of unstressed pronoun based on gender is generalized in Palencia, Valladolid, Segovia, Ávila and Burgos; also in a large part of Salamanca, the east of León and western Soria. The extension of the plural *laísmo* phenomenon is the same as the singular one in Madrid, as in the phrase *Aquella desgracia le costó la vida*. The substitution of dative for accusative is also seen in the middle west of Toledo, in northwestern Ciudad Real — concretely in Puebla de Don Rodrigo — and in Gárgoles de Abajo (Guadalajara).

Two ideas are deduced from this map. Firstly, *laísmo* in Cáceres — from north to south and middle western areas (Pinofranqueado) is more extended than in the former sentences. And secondly, there is not a complete equivalence with the results of Fernández-Ordóñez. Again, western Cáceres has more referential uses in ALPI than in COSER.

4.12 *No lo vacíes en la calle* ‘Don’t empty it into the street’



Map 12. *No lo vacíes en la calle* ‘Don’t empty it into the street’

No lo vacíes en la calle is closely related to its previous question *¿Dónde vacían el cántaro?* ‘Where do they empty the pitcher?’ Thus, the nominal phrase *el cántaro* ‘the pitcher MASC is the referent of the unstressed third person pronoun *lo* in sentence 312.

Inanimate *leísmo* is identified with this sentence because the verb *vaciar* ‘to empty’ is transitive and it takes accusative.¹¹

The field of influence for inanimate singular masculine *leísmo* is smaller than personal singular masculine *leísmo*, although it also affects areas of the north and center of the Iberian Peninsula. The usage of the dative pronoun is preferred in middle eastern Cantabria, Palencia, north central Burgos, Valladolid, middle northeastern Segovia, the east corner of Salamanca, Ávila, middle western Toledo and Puebla de Don Rodrigo (Ciudad Real).¹²

¹¹ This question was related to the verb *vaciar* in the beginning, but it also helps in the study of inanimate masculine singular *leísmo* since it is the only sentence analyzing this pronominal variation within ALPI.

¹² In Valle de Santa Ana (Badajoz), the first informant uses the accusative pronoun and the second one prefers the dative pronoun.

The border between the referential area and the case-distinguishing region in northwestern Castilla is the same as the map of personal singular masculine *leísmo* — being Montes de Toledo the border itself. However, there are important differences in the eastern referential area because it does not show inanimate *leísmo* —, although those territories showed animate *leísmo* in sentences like *A Miguel le cogieron preso, Le llevaron a la cárcel* or *Al padre le vieron llorando*. For example, Madrid does not have inanimate *leísmo*, but it is completely referential for other uses. Whereas it is normal not to have this *leísmo* type in the west of Soria, which is a transitional area, — more cases would be expected in Segovia and Burgos.

In some villages, informants used the accusative case with a feminine referent, such in *No la vacíes en la calle*, like in Alloza (Teruel) or Linares de Riofrío (Salamanca). Other three villages — Valle de Liébana (Cantabria), Hernansancho (Ávila) and Barbolla (Segovia) — accept accusative and dative pronouns for the same referent. In Yermo (Cantabria), two participants answered using different antecedents: the first one talks about *el caldero* — *No lo vacíes en la calle* — and the second one talks about *la comida* ‘the food’, so he uses the feminine accusative — *No la vacíes en la calle*.

Cenera (Asturias) is the only place with the absence of unstressed pronoun: *No tires en la calle* ‘Do not throw it in the street’; some participants used an apocope and it is impossible to identify any pronoun. A large part of territories with shorten clitic cohabit with Catalan and Aragonese by adopting the pronominal uses of those languages. For example, *No'l vacíes al carrer* was the answer in San Esteve de Llitera (Huesca); the vowel apheresis makes sense with a third person clitic *el* ‘it’, such as in Catalan, but not with *le* or *lo* pronouns.

5. Discussion

5.1 *Leísmo*

In order to define which area has personal masculine *leísmo* (singular and plural), the following sentences were used: *A Miguel le cogieron preso, Le llevaron a la cárcel, Al*

padre le vieron llorando and *A los niños les socorrieron los vecinos*. In this paper, I have corroborated the proposal of Fernández-Ordóñez about a larger spread of singular *leísmo* instead of the plural one because the referential territory uses both unstressed third person pronouns in plural (*/es* and */os*). Furthermore, the Royal Spanish Academy accepts the usage of personal singular masculine *leísmo* and speakers with a high level of education use pronoun *le* as a singular accusative clitic inside and even outside the referential area — but of course this type of informant does not appear in ALPI.

As it can be seen in the maps, singular masculine *leísmo* has a compact development in the referential and Basque zones — including speakers with a high level of education (not represented in the maps); plural masculine *leísmo* appears in northwestern Castilla y León and in some isolated localities, like in central and northern parts of the Iberian Peninsula. The maps presented above about personal plural masculine *leísmo*, as in the sentence *A los niños les socorrieron los vecinos*, show the same geographic distribution as those proposed by Fernández-Ordóñez.

It is important to point out that there were more sentences of personal singular masculine *leísmo* than plural *leísmo*, so results will be more reliable in the first type. The maps for singular *leísmo* are very similar, but not identical. This type of *leísmo* is generalized in País Vasco (Álava and Vizcaya), Navarra, Castilla y León (Burgos, Palencia, Valladolid and Segovia) and Madrid. The border of transition between case-distinguishing regions and not distinguishing regions is the same: the *leísmo* phenomenon appears in the east corner of León and Salamanca, western Castilla y León, and western Soria. This proposal slightly disagrees with the mapped results of the sentence *A Miguel le cogieron preso* because this shows *leísmo* in several places of León normally belonging to the case-distinguishing region.

There are other differences among maps in the southeastern area — a transitional area: some of them show this phenomenon only in far northwestern Toledo while others placed it across the whole province until Ciudad Real. The *leísmo* isogloss changes in Extremadura depending on the sentence. For example, *A Miguel le cogieron preso* or *Le llevaron a la cárcel* present *leísmo* in southwestern Cáceres, but not *Al padre le vieron llorando*. COSER data limit personal singular masculine *leísmo* to the east of Cáceres (including Plasencia and Trujillo, as it was mentioned before), precisely, such as in the

sentence *Al padre le vieron llorando* in ALPI. It is not clear why the other two sentences have different results (extending the area to Aliseda in Cáceres). Perhaps, one of the reasons is the verbs: *ver*, which is a stative verb, while *coger* and *llevar* are dynamic verbs. However, in some analysis (García 1975), stative verbs are supposed to favor *leísmo*, which disagrees with the results of this paper. Other reasons might be that the input questions made to informants included *leísmo*, and that the methodology to obtain answers could have influenced the answers. Nonetheless, it is a weak argument since it should be proven in other answers and areas. The discrepancy could be perhaps explained by an unrepresentative selection of the informant in Aliseda.

In conclusion, according to the data collected from all the sentences of the questionnaire, the borders of this personal *leísmo* are the same both in ALPI and in COSER for the northeastern and northwestern areas, but not for the southwestern one.

In addition, inanimate *leísmo* (or *leísmo* of “thing”) has been analyzed. As it was mentioned before, the referential system chooses unstressed third person pronouns based on a mass/count distinction: the pronoun *le* is used with masculine count referents and the pronoun *lo* with mass ones. Therefore, the inanimate *leísmo* distribution area could be equivalent to the one with personal singular masculine *leísmo* within the referential territory, where the clitic *le* is expected with count referents (and so are people).

The analysis of the sentence *No lo vacíes en la calle* — with *cántaro* as antecedent in *¿Dónde está el cántaro?* — shows a match between the area of pronominal syncretism and the one proposed by Fernández-Ordóñez. The only exception is the transitional eastern zone where *leísmo* is less noticed in ALPI than in COSER. Regarding that, it could be thought that a spreading of *leísmo* might have happened during the 20th century. Nevertheless, it has to be pointed out that *leísmo* in the east of the referential area is not as regular as in the west, not even in the COSER data.

5.2 *Laísmo*

In order to study the phenomenon of singular *laísmo*, the following sentences have been used: *A ninguna le gusta ponerse la ropa de otra*, *A la madre no le dieron la*

limosna and *Aquella desgracia le costó la vida*. Plural *laísmo* is studied with *A las hermanas les entregaron unas cartas*.

As it is shown above, the three sentences of singular *laísmo* are not entirely similar. On one side, *A la madre no le dieron la limosna* has a personal subject and it is a ditransitive sentence. On the other side, *Aquella desgracia le costó la vida* has an inanimate subject and *A ninguna le gusta ponerse la ropa de otra* has an infinitive phrase placed as subject. These last two sentences present verbs of psychological affection; it means that whoever experiments the verb action is placed in the dative case position. Despite of the syntactic differences with the type of indirect object or the verb, all of them present typical characteristics of the *laísmo* phenomenon and its geographic distribution throughout the Iberian Peninsula is very similar in all the sentences of the questionnaire.

As it can be seen in maps 1, 9-10, the referential area includes territories from eastern León to far northeastern Badajoz on the western side, it reaches the west of Soria on the eastern side and, in the southeastern side, The Montes de Toledo. This area mostly coincides with the research of Fernández-Ordóñez. The most important difference appears in Cáceres where plural *laísmo* is occasionally presented as it was shown with personal singular *leísmo*. In Fernández-Ordóñez's survey, only eastern Cáceres belongs to the referential area.

The distribution of plural *laísmo* is researched with the sentence *A las hermanas les enviaron unas cartas* and it is very close to the allocation of singular *laísmo* shown in the sentence *A la madre no le dieron la limosna*. Both of them are ditransitive phrases with animate subjects. The same development of plural and singular *laísmo* is expected because there is only one feminine pronoun (*la(s)*), unlike what happens with *leísmo* with two masculine pronouns available, *les / los*. The unstressed third person clitic for a plural masculine referent can be both the pronoun *los* and *les*, but only the pronoun *le* is used with a singular count masculine referent (within the referential area).

This type of plural *laísmo* affects a large zone of Cáceres and, as said before, the distribution disagrees again with the study carried out by Fernández-Ordóñez. Perhaps, it could be due to an unrepresentative selection of the informants or the methodology applied. Nevertheless, it is difficult to accept this idea since *laísmo* should not have been

documented unless used with regularity, unlike personal *leísmo*, which is a prestigious usage and appears on the questions.

5.3 *Loísmo*

Loísmo of personal singular masculine referents was analyzed with only a question — *Al niño le pusieron un vestido* — and it confirms the conclusion of Fernández-Ordóñez about a nearly absence of this phenomenon in the Iberian Peninsula

Me pidieron que les ayudase has been used to study personal and plural *loísmo*. The majority of the case-distinguishing regions use the dative pronoun *les*, but the referential area prefers the pronoun *los* in its central and southern territories — according to what is used in referential system areas B and C. Again, this ALPI sentence offers different results than those obtained by COSER in Cáceres. The usage of the pronoun *les* was expected in the west and south of Cáceres while the clitic *los* would appear in the east (i.e. the referential area). Only eastern Cáceres meets the expectations. In addition, some informants in the referential area of Valladolid used the pronoun *les* whereas others opted for an unexpected pronoun, *los*.

Nevertheless, it has to be pointed out that verb types can affect these results. As it was mentioned before, the verb *ayudar* takes dative or accusative depending on the territory and it favors the pronominal variation. Other case-distinguishing regions tend to make this verb transitive by using the pronoun *los*, like Asturias, Cantabria, Cuenca, Málaga and Murcia. Thus, this phenomenon cannot be interpreted in these provinces as true *loísmo*.

The sentence *Trae los candiles para echarles aceite* helps to analyze plural *loísmo* with an inanimate referent. The data mapped have shown that this phenomenon is restricted to the referential area.

6. Conclusions

This paper has studied the distribution of unstressed third person pronouns in Spanish using the ALPI data, but not including Catalan and Galician-Portuguese areas. After having mapped this information, I have carried out a comparative analysis between results from 1930s and those collected in the 1990s by Fernández-Ordóñez. Therefore, I have come to the conclusions appearing below.

The collected results from the ALPI data about pronominal variation phenomena — *leísmo*, *laísmo* and *loísmo* — have shown a stable geographical distribution in the Iberian Peninsula during the 20th century. There are isoglosses in the above mentioned territories that separate the case-distinguishing regions — in which an “etymological” or case-based pronoun system has remained — from the referential areas which have systems affected by referential or semantic principles.

Only two of my results have disagreed with the COSER data. On the one hand, the geographical spreading of *leísmo*, *laísmo* and *loísmo* in Cáceres is not the same as in the COSER results, because they tend to extend the area. On the other hand, inanimate *leísmo*, which has been studied with the sentence *No lo vacíes en la calle*, has proved a larger area in the 1990s survey than in the 1930s. Fewer cases than expected have been documented for this *leísmo* in Burgos, Segovia, western Soria and Sierra de Madrid, despite of being transition areas in which the appearance of this phenomenon is not completely regular. Probably, this conclusion is not totally sound and it could change if there had been more questions included in the questionnaire for the study of such *leísmo*. Nevertheless, this result sets out a rising of *leísmo* within the referential area throughout the 20th century.

Finally, it seems that *laísmo* is not conditioned by the type of indirect object or the sentence structure. The isogloss between referential territories and case-distinguishing regions is almost the same in all answers. The results have not been noticeable for the type of subject (animate or inanimate) or the number of verb arguments. However, these are important elements, because the clitic selection can change in sentences with the same verb depending on the type of subject, object or characteristics of the verb, as proven, for example, with the verb *ayudar*.

Using an artificial geolinguistics questionnaire did not affect too much the documentation of these phenomena once established in the regional language. Nonetheless, in transition areas, where speakers use both accusative and dative forms for the same linguistic structure, the methodology presents problems to register all the competing forms. That could be the explanation for the lack of inanimate *leísmo* in ALPI in the east and south of the referential zone.

References

- FERNÁNDEZ-ORDÓÑEZ, Inés (1993) "Leísmo, laísmo y loísmo: estado de la cuestión", in O. Fernández Soriano (ed.), *Los pronombres átonos*, Madrid: Taurus, 63-96.
- FERNÁNDEZ-ORDÓÑEZ, Inés (1994) "Isoglosas internas del castellano. El sistema referencial del pronombre átono de tercera persona", *Revista de Filología Española*, LXXIV, 71-125.
- FERNÁNDEZ-ORDÓÑEZ, Inés (1999) "Leísmo, Laísmo y Loísmo", in I. Bosque / V. Demonte (dirs.), *Gramática Descriptiva de la Lengua Española*, 3 T., Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, T. 1, cap. 21, 1317-1397.
- FERNÁNDEZ-ORDÓÑEZ, Inés (2001) "Hacia una dialectología histórica. Reflexiones sobre la historia del leísmo, el laísmo y el loísmo", *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, LXXXI, 389-464.
- GARCÍA, Erica C. (1975) *The Role of Theory in Linguistic Analysis. The Spanish Pronoun System*, Amsterdam: North-Holland Linguistic Series, 19.
- GARCÍA MOUTON, Pilar (2009) "Justificación metodológica de un atlas lingüístico para el castellano del centro de España", *Estudis romànics*, 31, 263-266,
- GÓMEZ SEIBANE, Sara (2012) *Los pronombres átonos (le, la, lo) en el español*, Madrid: Arco/Libros.
- HEAP, David (2003) *ALPI online* <Publicación electrónica en <http://www.alpi.ca>>.
- KLEIN-ANDREU, Flora (1981) "Distintos sistemas de empleo de *le*, *la*, *lo*. Perspectiva sincrónica, diacrónica y sociolingüística", *Thesaurus*, XXXVI, 284-304 (Reprinted in O. Fernández Soriano (ed.), *Los pronombres átonos*, Madrid: Taurus, 1993, 337-353).
- KLEIN-ANDREU, Flora (2000) *Variación actual y evolución histórica: los clíticos *le(s)*, *la(s)* y *lo(s)**, München: Lincom Europa.
- NAVARRO TOMÁS, Tomás (1962) *Atlas lingüístico de la Península Ibérica*, Vol. 1. *Fonética*, Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.

Rosés LABRADA, Jorge Emilio (2012) "Variation in third-person objet pronouns in Zamora province Spanish, according to ALPI data", *Dialectología, special issue III*, 157-176.
<http://www.publicacions.ub.edu/revistes/dialectologiaSP2012/>

Received 16 March 2015.

Accepted 5 July 2015.

VOCABULARIO PESQUERO DEL NORTE DE MARRUECOS.

UNA ENCRUCIJADA MEDITERRÁNEA

Amina NACIRI-AZZOUZ¹

Universidad de Zaragoza*

anaciri@unizar.es

Resumen

Este artículo contiene un estudio de léxico dialectal que incluye un análisis de la jerga de los pescadores artesanales de dos puertos situados en las regiones de Jbala y Ghomara (norte de Marruecos). Se analizan los ictiónimos más peculiares de la región y se presenta un glosario con vocabulario técnico, además se presta especial atención a los fenómenos y rasgos lingüísticos que lo caracterizan. Para ello, se analiza un corpus de más de 60 minutos, grabado en marzo de 2014, en el que participaron varios pescadores de entre 30 y 70 años. El vocabulario pesquero de esta región es un vocabulario heterogéneo debido al continuo contacto lingüístico entre los pescadores del Mediterráneo, siendo su principal característica la presencia de préstamos lingüísticos desde varias lenguas europeas y sus consiguientes adaptaciones al árabe marroquí de la región, tanto a nivel fonético-fonológico como morfológico y semántico.

Palabras clave

árabe marroquí, léxico dialectal, jerga de los pescadores, ictionimia, préstamo lingüístico

¹ Becaria FPI del Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad (ref. BES-2012-055959). Me gustaría agradecer a Federico Corriente y Ángeles Vicente sus comentarios. También indicar que parte de los resultados de este artículo han sido presentados en el congreso internacional: *Lenguas, memorias y lecturas de la alteridad: Jbala, Ghomara y Rif (norte de Marruecos)*, celebrado en la Universidad de Zaragoza los días 8, 9 y 10 de septiembre de 2014.

* Campus San Francisco, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras. Calle Pedro Cerbuna 12, 50009 Zaragoza-España.

FISHING LEXICON OF NORTHERN MOROCCO. A MEDITERRANEAN CROSSROADS

Abstract

This article offers a study of dialectal lexicon including the craftal fishers' jargon from the two harbours of Jbala and Ghomara (Northern Morocco). The more characteristic ichthionyms are therein listed and a glossary of technical terms is presented. Additionally, particular attention has been paid to the linguistic phenomena and features that characterize this lexicon. In order to do this, a corpus of more than 60 minutes, recorded in March 2014, has been analysed, with the participation of several fishers between 30 and 70 years old. The fishing vocabulary of this region is no doubt heterogeneous, due to continuous language contact between Mediterranean fishermen. Its main feature is the presence of loanwords from several European languages and their ensuing adaptation to local Moroccan Arabic, on most language structure levels: phonetic-phonemic, morphological and semantic.

Keywords

Moroccan Arabic, dialectal lexicon, fishers' jargon, ichthionymy, loanwords

1. Introducción

La pesca artesanal es una de las actividades más desarrolladas en la costa mediterránea marroquí siendo el motor económico de numerosos pueblos y ciudades, como son aquellos de las regiones de Jbala y Ghomara.²

En este artículo se presenta una breve aproximación al vocabulario pesquero de dos puertos que ejemplifican las diferencias que existen entre los puertos del norte de Marruecos. Targha es un pequeño pueblo *ghomarí* que hasta hace dos años era de muy difícil acceso y cuyos pescadores practican una pesca casi de subsistencia.³ Por el contrario, M'diq-Rincón⁴ es una ciudad en continuo crecimiento que se articula alrededor del puerto. Si bien entre ambas localizaciones hay una distancia de 77 kilómetros, son notables las diferencias en la práctica de la pesca y la jerga de sus

² En la actualidad, Jbala y Ghomara son etnónimos que agrupan las cabilas situadas entre el Estrecho de Gibraltar y el Corredor de Taza (cf. Vignez-Zunz (1995) y Camps & Vignez-Zunz (1998)).

³ En 2012 se inauguró la Carretera Nacional 16 que atraviesa toda la región del Rif comunicando numerosas regiones antes aisladas.

⁴ De aquí en adelante, se empleará la forma Rincón ya que es la más común en la región.

pescadores. Aquí se ha estudiado en conjunto dejando a un lado las variantes dialectales que naturalmente inciden en el léxico pero sobre todo a nivel fonético-fonológico.⁵

El estudio del léxico pesquero puede aportar información muy interesante sobre el desarrollo de la actividad pesquera en la costa mediterránea marroquí, y del Mediterráneo en general, ya que es un testimonio más de la historia del *Mare Nostrum*. Se trata de un vocabulario heterogéneo producto del contacto lingüístico entre los pescadores de la cuenca mediterránea cuyo mayor exponente es el préstamo lingüístico.

En las últimas décadas se han llevado a cabo numerosos proyectos de colaboración en el marco de la Organización de las Naciones Unidas para la Alimentación y la Agricultura (FAO) que ofrecen datos cuantitativos sobre la pesca artesanal en la región.⁶ Estos datos son muy útiles a la hora de determinar su importancia y, por consiguiente, la pertinencia de estudios desde diferentes disciplinas. Por ello, se echa en falta la colaboración de dialectólogos para complementar los datos publicados por la FAO ayudando a poner en valor el patrimonio material e inmaterial de los pescadores del sur del Mediterráneo.

⁵ Siempre que se ha creído necesario, se han marcado estas diferencias. Asimismo, debido a la inestabilidad de la duración vocálica y el debate en torno a la misma en los dialectos del noroeste de Marruecos no se ha marcado en la transcripción.

⁶ El interés de la FAO por la pesca no es reciente, desde su fundación en 1945 esta organización ha presentado informes de esta actividad en el Magreb. En el caso de Marruecos ya tenemos informes publicados desde la década de los cincuenta.

En este marco, es pertinente destacar dos proyectos que han sido de gran utilidad a la hora de abordar este tema: a) el primero es el *Catalogue des engins de pêche au Maroc* (Roullot et al. 1984) que presenta de una manera ordenada las técnicas de pesca más comunes en Marruecos, incluso presentando las diferentes partes de redes que se utilizan, etc.; b) el segundo es el proyecto COPEMED y sus continuaciones, COPEMED II y ArtFimed, financiados por la FAO, la Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional, la DG des Pêches de la Communauté Européenne y la Secretaría General de Pesca Marítima, las dos últimas en las ampliaciones del proyecto. Uno de los resultados de este proyecto, además de los informes y publicaciones, ha sido una base de datos interactiva con datos estadísticos de todo el Mediterráneo occidental, tanto su cuenca norte como sur. En el caso de Marruecos, hay una breve descripción de todos los embarcaderos y puertos de la costa mediterránea que se presentan en mapas que arrojan datos muy interesantes sobre la pesca artesanal: pesca por temporadas, artes de pesca, número de embarcaciones, marineros activos, etc. [En línea] Consultado el 24 de octubre de 2014: http://www.faocopemed.org/old_copemed/reports/artfish/artfiweb/mar_main.html

2. Recogida de datos: Targha y Rincón⁷

La fuente de este estudio ha sido un corpus de más de 60 minutos grabado en marzo de 2014, se utilizaron entrevistas semiestructuradas para recoger la información relativa a los nombres de los peces y los aparejos de las embarcaciones.

La primera visita fue al embarcadero de Targha, una antigua ciudad medieval que fue perdiendo prestigio por las incursiones cristianas a partir del siglo XV (Bazzana *et al.* 1991: 307-329). En el siglo XVI, León el Africano ya señalaba su decadencia a causa de la invasión, donde además mencionaba la pesca como actividad principal de sus habitantes:

... et les habitants (au moins la plus grande partie) son pêcheurs, qui salent leur poisson, puis le vendent aux marchands montagnards, qui le transportent à cent mille de là du côté du midi [...] mais depuis que les Portugais minent le pied aux cités [...] elle a commençé fort à manquer en honnêteté accoutumée et habitation (León el Africano 1830: 502).

En la administración actual del reino alauita, Targha pertenece a la comuna rural de Tizgane, provincia de Chauen, región Tánger-Tetuán. Se trata de un pequeño pueblo de la cabila Bni Zyāt de Ghomara, situado aproximadamente a 60 kilómetros de Tetuán. Cuenta con alrededor de 25 embarcaciones depositadas sobre la arena y unos 70 marineros según los datos de la FAO.⁸

En este pequeño embarcadero se grabó a dos pescadores hermanos: el mayor de 50 años y el menor de 35 años. El hermano mayor había trabajado siempre en Targha desarrollando diferentes actividades dentro del sector pesquero. En el momento de la

⁷ Estos datos fueron recogidos con la colaboración de Ángeles Vicente y Araceli González Vázquez en el marco del proyecto *La montagne et ses savoirs (Rif occidental, Maroc). Programme International de Coopération Scientifique (PICS)*, financiado por el Centre national de la recherche scientifique (Francia) y el Centre National pour la Recherche Scientifique et Technique (Marruecos). También agradecer la preciosa generosidad y paciencia de los pescadores de Targha y Rincón que muy amablemente accedieron a compartir con nosotras su conocimiento de la mar, dejando a un lado sus labores e incluso continuando con ellas.

⁸ FAO COPEMED. [En línea] consultado el 24 de octubre de 2014: http://www.faocopemed.org/old_copemed/reports/artfish/artfiweb/mar/ports/martardp2.html.

entrevista, el hermano pequeño trabajaba en Targha pero en varias ocasiones había faenado en buques pesqueros a lo largo del Atlántico.

Los pescadores señalaron que la pesca artesanal es, junto a la agricultura, una de las principales actividades del pueblo, *qarya*. No obstante, se lamentaron de que cada vez haya menos jóvenes dispuestos a seguir los pasos de sus padres y abuelos. En efecto, muchos de estos jóvenes prefieren embarcarse en los buques industriales a pesar de que cada vez más se intenta cubrir las deficiencias del sector: en Targha, por ejemplo, se construyó una lonja que lleva operativa aproximadamente dos años en un intento de regular y mejorar las condiciones de los pescadores aunque éstos no mencionaron la construcción de un puerto, lo que por ejemplo ayudaría a proteger sus embarcaciones.

En cambio, Rincón es una ciudad situada a 15 km de Tetuán, poblada por gentes de diferentes orígenes gracias a los intercambios comerciales con Ceuta. En esta ciudad hay un puerto propiamente dicho construido en la década de los setenta. Se trata de un puerto grande, con numerosos servicios y zonas de ocio. Rincón es una de las ciudades más explotadas por el turismo y uno de sus reclamos es el puerto. Hasta el momento, el vertiginoso desarrollo del turismo no ha suprimido esta actividad que se mantiene como motor económico de la ciudad, contando con más de un centenar de embarcaciones.

En esta pequeña ciudad se grabó a tres grupos de pescadores, tres o cuatro pescadores por cada grupo, y de edades comprendidas entre los 30 y los 70 años, todos ellos dedicados al oficio de la pesca artesanal.

En esta visita se ha podido comprobar que la zona del puerto reservada a la pesca tiene suficiente infraestructura para su normal desarrollo, así como todo el material en diferentes tiendas especializadas que sirven para proveer todos los pescadores de la región, incluidos los de Targha.

3. Léxico pesquero: Ictionimia

La complejidad del vocabulario ictionímico radica principalmente en su sinonimia, polisemia y homonimia (Anaya Revuelta 1999) ya que es un vocabulario muy heterogéneo, por lo que hay múltiples aproximaciones para su estudio.

Desde la semántica hay trabajos centrados en la motivación y la creación léxica en los diferentes niveles de lengua (González García 2008: 117-401); otros que lo abordan desde la semántica cognitiva, especialmente interesante, donde se define la metáfora como un “mecanismo para delimitar y categorizar conceptos no directamente accesibles” (Pamies 2010: 34). Un mecanismo muy presente en el campo ictionímico “que es en su mayor parte metafórico y sus imágenes se inspiran en unos pocos dominios conceptuales, esencialmente animales, profesiones, plantas, anatomía humana y artefactos construidos por el hombre, por lo que nuestra visión del universo marino se realiza “a través” de nuestra experiencia del entorno terrestre” (Pamies 2010: 34). Pero principalmente se ha estudiado desde la lexicografía, indagando en los orígenes de los diferentes vocablos que lo componen.

Desde todas estas aproximaciones, para estudiar la ictionimia marroquí se debe tener muy en cuenta el desarrollo de la ictionimia española, especialmente la andaluza, un área muy prolífica en el seno de la dialectología y la geografía lingüística del español (Alvar 1970, Mondéjar 1989, etc.).

En este contexto, disponemos de una herramienta de gran utilidad, la Base de Datos Terminológicos y de Identificación de Especies Pesqueras de las Costas de Andalucía, bajo el acrónimo ICTIOTERM.⁹ Ésta reúne resultados de encuestas recientes realizadas por todos los puertos andaluces y a su vez se complementa con datos de la llamada “Bibliografía ictionímica de Andalucía”: un compendio de obras que recogen nombres de peces publicadas en un período que comienza en el siglo XVII y finaliza con

⁹ Desarrollada por el Instituto de Ciencias Marinas de Andalucía, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC), y el Departamento de Filología y Traducción, Universidad Pablo de Olavide en Sevilla: <http://www.ictioterm.es/index.php>.

el *Boletín del Estado* de 2012 donde se especifican las denominaciones comerciales en España, pero la mayoría de estas obras pertenecen a las ciencias naturales.¹⁰

3.1 *Ictionimia marroquí*

El interés por este campo léxico en Marruecos no es reciente. En el periodo colonial, la pesca artesanal fue una de las actividades profesionales que despertaron el interés de los investigadores. Uno de los primeros estudios sobre esta actividad en el norte de Marruecos es de A. Joly (1912), en su artículo sobre las industrias de Tetuán no podían faltar las industrias del mar: la pesca y la construcción de embarcaciones. En principio, la intención de su autora no fue presentar un trabajo lingüístico, más bien presenta de manera sucinta el funcionamiento de esta actividad en Tetuán y alrededores pero incluye los nombres de los peces más comunes y otros términos técnicos referidos a las embarcaciones. En este artículo se observa la importancia de los *ghomara* en las industrias marineras donde cuatro maestros de esta región se encargaban de la construcción de embarcaciones para el poder jalifano y español (Joly 1912: 235).

A este periodo pertenecen los primeros estudios que prestan atención al vocabulario pesquero en bereber desmontando la idea de que los autóctonos son reacios al mar (Laoust 1923; Montagne 1923, 1924).

Sin olvidar las dos obras de Brunot, una dedicada al estudio de las tradiciones relacionadas con el mar, un estudio con un tinte colonial claro (Brunot 1920a); y un estudio del vocabulario marinero de Rabat y Salé donde además se incluyen variantes comunes de Tánger y Larache (Brunot 1920b).¹¹

Una obra que ofrece un nutrido número de ictiónimos es el diccionario de Prémare (1993-1999) ya que incluye los datos recogidos por Jean-Paul Canamas en la década de los setenta.

¹⁰ En este enlace se pueden encontrar la nómina de dichas obras: <http://www.ictioterm.es/bibliografia.php>.

¹¹ De esta época son los catálogos y atlas de pescados que no tienen en cuenta la lengua vernácula (cf. Belloc 1934).

En esta pequeña mención a las obras que han tratado este campo léxico en Marruecos, no podía faltar la obra de Oman Giovanni (1966) que agrupa casi 400 especies detallando el nombre científico y los nombres vernáculos en diferentes puntos bañados por el Mediterráneo permitiendo ver el recorrido de los ictiónimos.

De las últimas décadas, cabe mencionar la obra de A. Lataoui (1999) que presenta un estudio general de la ictionimia marroquí a partir de datos recogidos en la región de Safi (Āṣfi). Asimismo se debe reparar en los estudios centrados en los préstamos en el árabe marroquí, especialmente los hispanismos donde el vocabulario pesquero tiene una mención especial (Kaddour 2013, Guerrero 2015, etc.).¹²

Sin embargo, hasta ahora se puede afirmar, tal y como apuntó André Louis (1977: 35, n. 23), que aún no tenemos ninguna obra resultante de una labor de revisión y síntesis de las mencionadas en el apartado anterior y que sirva como base para futuras investigaciones cuyas aspiraciones se centren en el estudio del riquísimo vocabulario pesquero desde diferentes enfoques: como pueden ser el contacto de lenguas, la lexicología o la semántica.

En efecto, la mayoría de los términos recogidos en Targha y Rincón son un ejemplo del contacto lingüístico de los pescadores mediterráneos. De este modo, la mayoría de los términos de origen romance, que en la actualidad forman parte del vocabulario de base del léxico pesquero, llegaron a través del árabe andalusí donde los préstamos romances fueron especialmente cuantiosos en los nombres de animales y plantas, tal y como explica Federico Corriente: “From a diachronic viewpoint, R[ō]m[ance] borrowings can be classified as substratal, adstratal and superstratal. Substratal romancisms were those necessarily adopted by the first generation of Arabic speakers in the Iberian Peninsula, in order to express concepts previously unknown to them, like the name of certain endemic animals and plants” (Corriente 2011: 173).

Otros términos tienen su origen en la *lingua franca* mediterránea, un pidgin compuesto principalmente por el italiano, el francés, el español y otras lenguas como el turco y el árabe utilizado en el Mediterráneo hasta el siglo XIX; no obstante, su difusión en Marruecos había sido menor, especialmente en el norte, por la hegemonía del

¹² S. Lévy (1992: 59-74) nos ofrece un estado de la cuestión completo sobre los hispanismos en el vocabulario marino pesquero en Marruecos poniendo hincapié en el contexto histórico y sociolingüístico.

español y portugués (Dakhlia 2008: 243-263), lo que explica la fuerte presencia de hispanismos en el léxico pesquero; y por supuesto, términos árabes.

Así las cosas, se puede afirmar que la génesis del vocabulario pesquero del norte de Marruecos es un testimonio de la permeabilidad de la frontera mediterránea, incluso en una época marcada por las tensiones como han sido los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII:

... la hostilidad imperante entre la Monarquía hispana, por un lado, y los sultanes otomano y marroquí, los beys de Túnez y Trípoli y el dey de Argel, por el otro, no fueron suficientes para impedir que la frontera mediterránea cumpliera uno de los objetivos que se le atribuye a toda franja fronteriza, la de convertirse en zona de intercambios (Martín Corrales 2001: 571).

Una prueba que confirma lo anterior son los términos que se emplean hoy en día en Targha y Rincón. Por un lado, los ictiónimos de origen andalusí:

buqa ‘boga’: del latín *boca* que aparece en andalusí como *búqa*;

šarġu ‘sargo’: del latín *sargus*, también un préstamo del andalusí donde ya aparece bajo la forma *šárġu* (El Yaâcoubi 1996: A-66);

šral ‘jurel’: del diminutivo de *saurus*, *saurellus* en bajo latín, que ha dado en andalusí *šuríl* y éste ha pasado al marroquí como el colectivo *šral*, empleado sobre todo en el norte aunque se ha extendido al sur (El Yaâcoubi 1996: A-68);

šton ‘anchoa’: otro préstamo del andalusí, *šuṭún*, aunque hay cierto debate sobre esta etimología (cf. El Yaâcoubi 1996: 119).

Un pescador en Targha al hablar de las anchoas recalcó que se utiliza otro término de origen bereber: *lančuba*.¹³ Pero en realidad se trata de un préstamo más reciente, seguramente del catalán *anxova* o portugués *anchova* (El Yaâcoubi 1996: A-72, Prémare *et al.* 1999: XI/362-363).

Tras la caída de Granada en 1492, las relaciones continuaron, la llegada de moriscos castellanoparlantes entre los siglos XV y XVII reforzó el contacto lingüístico con el español, pero también continuaron las relaciones con pescadores peninsulares ya que España no dejó en su empeño de controlar la orilla mediterránea sur a pesar de los

¹³ *b-aš-šəlħa*: ‘en bereber’. Este comentario se explica por la proximidad del bereber ya que dos cabilas de Ghomara, Bni Bu Zra y Bni Mənṣūr, son aún berberófonas (cf. Behnstedt 2002).

corsarios y otros problemas, es decir: “El estudio de la actividad pesquera española en el litoral norteafricano a lo largo de los siglos XVI-XVIII es el estudio de una expansión frenada” (Martín Corrales 2000: 10).

Por otro lado, hay préstamos relativamente recientes, de la época del Protectorado Español (1912-1956) donde la presencia española no deja lugar a dudas: un análisis fonético del préstamo que tenga en cuenta la evolución del español puede indicar aproximadamente cuándo se introdujo.

Ahora se puede hablar de hispanismos como *čoko* ‘jibia, choco’, documentado en español a principios del siglo XVIII;¹⁴ y *kabaya* ‘caballa’, documentado en español en el siglo XV,¹⁵ entre muchos ictiónimos (El Yaâcoubi 1996: E-162 y E-227).

En Targha también se emplea la variante *kabayla* donde el fonema lateral palatal del español *ʎ* pasa como *yl*, siendo más usual su paso como *y* o *ly* (Heath 1989: 89). Oman sitúa esta variante en Casablanca (Oman 1966: 203 y 204), Brunot (1920b: 121) la recoge en Rabat-Salé, Prémare *et al.* (1998: X/498) la sitúa en el sur de Larache pero también se emplea en el Mediterráneo.

Por último, los términos árabes, que tal y como apunta Brunot (1920b: VIII), son términos no técnicos que utilizan palabras árabes para darles un nuevo uso marino.

Por ejemplo, *ləbroq* (Prémare *et al.* 114, I/195; Dozy 1927: I/74, *?abraq*) ‘raya’: un término documentado en el siglo XIII y cuya raíz {brq} engloba la idea de relampaguear y tronar haciendo referencia a las características fisionómicas del animal: una cola a modo de látigo, la de algunas especies tiene un agujón venenoso que causa gran dolor, y otras especies provocan sacudidas eléctricas. También se emplea de manera habitual *raya*, común en todo el Mediterráneo y perteneciente a la *lingua franca* (El Yaâcoubi 1996: E-441; Prémare 1995: V/22).

Otro término de este grupo es *mħarqṣa* ‘dorada’: del cobre en griego, *χαλκός*. Dozy recoge diferentes variantes entre las que se encuentra *ħarqūṣ*, con la acepción ‘cobre quemado’ (Dozy 1927: I/317). Un nombre derivado bajo la forma de un participio de verbo cuadrilítero que en marroquí tiene el siguiente esquema{m-CaCC-a} (Heath

¹⁴ ICTIOTERM [en línea], consultado el 12 de noviembre de 2014: http://www.ictioterm.es/nombre_vernaculo.php?nv=345.

¹⁵ ICTIOTERM [en línea], consultado el 12 de noviembre de 2014: http://www.ictioterm.es/nombre_vernaculo.php?nv=182.

1989: 117) en una clara alusión a la línea dorada que tiene este pez en la cabeza (Prémare *et al.* 1994: III/79; Oman 1966: 137).

3.2 Algunas novedades ictionímicas

Este apartado se centra en algunos ictiónimos muy particulares de Targha y Rincón que no han sido estudiados en profundidad en las diferentes fuentes consultadas.

a) *mūl aš-šayn* ‘mejillón’, *mytilus edulis*

Los pescadores de Targha señalaron este término como particular de la región de Ghomara subrayando que es desconocido en el resto de Marruecos. Siendo así que no se ha localizado bajo esta forma en ningún diccionario o estudio.

La primera posibilidad al tratar este vocablo fue pensar en un galicismo proveniente de *moule*. En Argelia existe el galicismo *mūl* recogida en Cherchell y Annaba (Oman 1966: 279b). Sin embargo, dado la escasez de galicismos en el corpus se barajan dos hipótesis:

La primera es un posible origen arabo-andalusí proveniente de las formas *šayn*, ‘deshonra’ (Corriente 1997: 299), y *šay?*, ‘vulva’. Se trataría de una palabra compuesta formada a partir de *mūl*, ‘poseedor/guardián de’, en una clara referencia a las características fisionómicas del molusco que al poseer concha guardaría la deshonra o la vulva.

La segunda hipótesis guarda relación con la entrada *məššəl*, *mūššəl*, *məššāl* del diccionario de Prémare *et al.* (1999: XI/210) y se combina con la primera hipótesis. Este término lo localiza Canamas en la zona berberófona del Rif donde además precisa que es común en Targha. En este caso, se puede considerar un término árabe berberizado y que más tarde se ha vuelto a arabizar: **šayn* o **šay?* → *məššəl* → *mūl aš-šayn*. Un caso opuesto sería *tagzalt*, ‘boga’: un término árabe berberizado pero que se ha extendido y se mantiene bajo esta forma en todo el norte de Marruecos: {gzl} → *tagzalt* (Prémare *et al.* 1993: II/12).

Sin embargo, *muššal* aparece en los diccionarios de andalusí, un vocablo que puede significar mejillón, vulva o almeja, y proviene del latín *musculus* o *mitilus* (Corriente 1997: 503, Simonet 1888: 13). Por consiguiente, ambas hipótesis convergen, se puede deducir que los pescadores en diferentes épocas han adoptado *muššal*, pero a causa de una adaptación semántica por la pérdida del origen de la palabra se haya preferido el uso de un término que en la actualidad representa algo, ‘el que guarda...’.

b) lobar: pez breca, *pagellus erythrinus* (Oman 1966: 141; Prémare *et al.* 1999: XI/96)

En español el pez breca deriva del romano-andalusí **lubráyqa* y éste del latín *rubra*, ‘rojizo’, por el color rojizo del pez (Corriente 2008: 387). En andalusí encontramos la forma *lúbra* pl. *lobár* (Corriente 1997: 474).

En la actualidad, este término se emplea en la costa mediterránea marroquí como un colectivo. Si bien sólo se emplea en el norte de Marruecos, se documenta su uso en otras regiones del Mediterráneo como el caso de algunos dialectos italianos: “salentino *lúvaru*, *luvru*, el napolitano *lúváro*, el siciliano *lúvaru*, etc.” (Mondéjar 1989: 82), lo que permite afirmar que puede tratarse de un término común en el Mediterráneo.

Las consonantes del término, teniendo en cuenta la inestabilidad de las líquidas /l/ y /r/, conducen también al róbalo. Lo que interesa es que en español ha existido el paso de **lobarro* a ‘róbalo’ a causa de una asimilación por la pérdida del origen de la palabra (Mondéjar 1989: 86). En cambio, en catalán se mantiene el término *llobarro*. Con estas pesquisas lexicográficas, apareció ‘baila’, *Dicentrarchus punctatus*, que comparte su etimología con breca, es decir, *lubáyra*, pero con una evolución diferente (Corriente 2008: 368).¹⁶ Sin embargo, denomina a un pez de la misma familia que el róbalo y la lubina. Todo ello apunta a una posible relación entre ambos términos aunque, en principio, ambos proceden de dos orígenes diferentes y designan peces de distintas familias, el róbalo pertenece a la familia de los morónidos y la breca a la familia de los espáridos.

¹⁶ ICTIOTERM baraja otra etimología del mozárabismo *lobaira* y éste del latín *lupus*: [En línea], consultado el 12 de noviembre de 2014: http://www.ictioterm.es/nombre_cientifico.php?nc=67.

c) *rmuli*: (una expresión que muestra el aprecio por este pez es: *rmuli ṭayybu w-qarrbu li*, ‘cocine la herrera y acérquela’)¹⁷ herrera, marba, *lithognathus mormyrus* (Oman 1966: 145).

Prémare *et al.* (1995: V/215) afirma que el origen de este término lo encontramos en la denominación del español andaluz ‘marmóreo’. Sin embargo, la base de datos ICTIOTERM no lo recoge. En Andalucía, la denominación más común es ‘herrera’ que convive con el término ‘marba’, del catalán *marbre*, más cercano semánticamente a *rmuli*. Aunque no se emplea en el español actual, tanto Prémare como Oman (1966: 145) muestran que es común en el Mediterráneo, así tenemos *marmora* y *mórmora* en italiano y *marmūra* en Líbano.

Lo llamativo de este ictiónimo es que en marroquí se ha perdido la relación entre *rmuli* y el mármol. En este dialecto existe la tendencia de la caída de la vocal de primera sílaba generalmente en préstamos del español y francés (Heath 1989: 83). Éste es particular ya que no cae únicamente la vocal, sino también el fonema nasal *m* acompañado de lambdacismo de /r/→/l/: **mormyro* → **mrmryo* → **rmyro* → *rmuūli*.

El resultado es una transferencia semántica y de aquí que *rmuli* se relacione con la arena, *rmāl* en árabe marroquí. Además los pescadores al describirlo destacan que es un pez que habita los fondos marinos, arenas y fango.

d) *montanyo*: cangrejo ermitaño (Prémare *et al.* 1999: XI/279)

Un término recogido en Rincón al explicar un informante los diferentes cebos que se utilizan para pescar en la región. La descripción corresponde con el cangrejo ermitaño utilizado como cebo para la pesca de la dorada, entre otras especies.

Prémare *et al.* (1999: XI/279) habla de un hápax cuyo origen procede del argot de los pescadores andaluces, ‘montañés’ o ‘montañoso’. No obstante, en la base de datos ICTIOTERM no aparece ninguna de las denominaciones, ni siquiera alguna relacionada con la montaña.

¹⁷ Otra variante de este refrán: وَقْرُبُولِي أَفْلِيهِ الرْمُولِي، (al-Būnānī 2003: 472). Transcripción: *rmūli, qlīh u-qarbu li [sic]*. Traducción: Fríe la herrera y acérquela.

La primera opción es pensar en la propia creatividad de los hablantes que se sirven de una palabra española, en este caso montaña, para referirse a una especie de cangrejo que utiliza una concha ajena para cubrirse, de ahí la evocación a la montaña. Por esta razón cabría preguntarse por qué no se ha utilizado una denominación autóctona y se ha preferido ‘montaña’ que además no es habitual en Marruecos. Quizá la respuesta sea la propia conciencia de los pescadores que ven en el español la lengua del mar, y además aparece el morfema masculino español *o* que denota cierto uso avanzado de la lengua.

Es una simple reflexión, no hay referencias a este término, ni siquiera se ha podido comprobar que esto mismo suceda con otros nombres de peces ya que se suele recurrir a términos de la lengua autóctona para formar ictiónimos nuevos.

Una última posibilidad es que haya pasado de ermitaño a *montanya*, siendo el primer término más desconocido y al no comprender su significado se haya recurrido por analogía a un término más conocido.

4. Vocabulario técnico

Dejando a un lado la ictionimia, esta sección se va a ocupar de un vocabulario más técnico, concretamente el que tiene relación con las embarcaciones y sus aparejos.

Como se ha comentado en la introducción, tenemos numerosos estudios muy detallados sobre las diferentes técnicas de pesca que se utilizan en la mayoría de los puntos de la costa mediterránea marroquí, estudios apoyados por la FAO y que presentan sus resultados a través de informes técnicos y publicaciones académicas (v. nota 4).

El vocabulario técnico es mucho más uniforme que el ictionímico dado que la inmensa mayoría de los términos utilizados son préstamos directos del español que sufren algunos cambios para adaptarse a la fonética del árabe marroquí de la región (cf. Heath 1989).

Esta primera fase de la investigación se ha centrado únicamente en el análisis de los términos relacionados con las embarcaciones y los diferentes aparejos de los que se

sirven los pescadores que se presentan en este breve glosario con algunas anotaciones lingüísticas y otra información facilitada por los pescadores de Targha y Rincón.

4.1 Glosario

buğərat ‘boguera’: arte de enmalle que le debe su nombre a la boga. En español se añade el sufijo *-era* al pez que más se recoge con un tipo de red y se da ese nombre a la técnica de pesca, como boguera por la boga. En cambio, en árabe marroquí se ha optado por el femenino plural, un fenómeno habitual como ya señalara Heath (1989: 134): “(In northern Morocco, Sp[anish] borrowings with FSg /-a/ take regular FPI /-at/ [...] and is especially common with long or otherwise unusual nouns that do not fit into an ablaut pattern”. Se puede justificar este uso no sólo por la estructura morfológica sino también por una adaptación semántica que se explica por la tendencia del uso de colectivos para denominar a los peces —*ışton*, *sardin*, *şral*, etc.— y así se emplea en plural la técnica para pescarlos en conjunto.

čeqo: cerco de cada uno de los paños de una red de pesca. Encontramos una realización chicheante que sólo se explicaría por dos razones: a) la primera es pensar en un préstamo antiguo por la realización chicheante de la fricativa interdental sonora; b) o bien, un préstamo del italiano relacionado con el verbo *cercare* que aunque en la actualidad es ‘buscar’, en su origen deriva del latín *circare ‘andare intorno’*, cercar.¹⁸

čnabəl pl. ‘chambel’: tipo de pesca de palangre. En español, por un proceso metonímico, ha pasado a denominar el tipo de pesca y no el sedal (González García 2008: 251).

farša ‘paral’: madera que sirve para deslizar las embarcaciones al mar. En árabe marroquí, es un nombre polisémico y uno de sus usos es marinero ya que la mayoría de sus acepciones tienen relación con el hecho de extender algo como una cama, una esterilla, etc. (cf. Brunot 1920b: 100; Marçais 1911: 411; Prémare *et al.* 1998: 63).

fəršiyya: una hilera de boyas. Un término utilizado comúnmente para construcciones de madera. En este caso, aunque las boyas que se utilizan en la actualidad son de polietileno, antiguamente eran de corcho (Prémare *et al.* 1998: 67;

¹⁸ Treccani, L’Enciclopedia Italiana [en línea]: <http://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/cercare/>.

Brunot 1920b: 100). Alfarje es un arabismo que proviene de esta misma palabra y una de sus acepciones es un tipo de techo de madera (Corriente 1997: 217).

fluka pl. *flayək* o *flukat* ‘falúa’:¹⁹ los criterios para diferenciar las falúas de otras embarcaciones son diferentes en Targha y Rincón. Los pescadores de Rincón se centran en el tamaño siendo la falúa la de menor tamaño, mientras que los pescadores de la zona de Targha se refieren a las embarcaciones con la proa y la popa en pico como falúa y las demás, con la popa recta, como *barku* o *šabbak*, entre otras denominaciones.

kabu ‘cabo’: un préstamo muy reciente que no hemos localizado en ninguna fuente consultada.

kərrasa ‘nasa’: un aparejo que se emplea para pescar crustáceos. En Targha tiene forma de cesto. Este vocablo puede derivar de carroza en español pero no corresponde a la carroza marinera que es una lona que cubre las embarcaciones para protegerlas. En árabe no se ha localizado un equivalente aunque corresponde al esquema de un nombre de instrumento {CəCCāCa}.

ladorat: arte de enmalle que le debe su nombre a la dorada (v. *bugərat*).

lastro pl. *laš̄tiwat* ‘rastro’: aunque es un hispanismo que normalmente se ha atribuido a lastro (El Yaâcoubi E-308; Brunot 1920b: 129), teniendo en cuenta la inestabilidad de las líquidas en los préstamos marroquíes y su significado, se acercaría más a rastro que a lastro (Heath 1989: 85-90). En este término también llama la atención la formación del plural que aunque sea común el uso del alomorfo -wat en palabras acabadas en -o (Heath 1989: 135), la apofonía no se explica. Heath (1989: 78) sólo presenta un ejemplo de plural apofónico y evidentemente sin el sufijo. La única hipótesis que lo explicaría es un doble plural: apofónico y con sufijo.

ləmpara ‘barco lucero’: un bote cualquiera que incorpora lámparas para atraer a los peces por las noches, se suele utilizar con la técnica del cerco. No se ha localizado un equivalente en español aunque en francés se utiliza la expresión *pêche au lamparo* para esta técnica de pesca y en italiano *lámpara*.

mərberat ‘melvera’: arte de deriva para pescar melvas (v. *buğərat* y *ladorat*).

məxṭaf ‘ancla’ (Dozy 1927: I/384).

¹⁹ Para la etimología, cf. Corriente (1997: 467) y Kahane *et al.* (1953: 56-62).

monete ‘molinete’: una polea que sirve para levar ancla o cualquier cabo de una embarcación. El paso de molinete a monete resulta curioso puesto que generalmente las caídas de vocal, que en ocasiones incluye ataque silábico, suele ser de primera sílaba (v. *rmuli*). En cambio, aquí cae la segunda sílaba por asimilación lo que hace suponer que no se trata de un préstamo reciente ya que no hay una adaptación fonética que mantenga todos los segmentos del español.

moṭor pl. *mwaṭar* ‘motor’ (El Yaacoubi E-370): tiene un plural fracto, común en algunos préstamos (Heath 1989: 137).

murixas o *wədnin* pl. ‘alas’: lateral de las embarcaciones (Targha). Un calco semántico del español orejas, si bien los pescadores en Targha también utilizan el hispanismo *murixas* en un posible intento de arabizar el término añadiendo *mūl* con el sentido de quien posee algo que junto a *rixas* pasa a *murixas*.

Otra posibilidad es que haga referencia a la amura: parte donde empiezan a estrecharse las embarcaciones para dar lugar a la proa. Sin embargo, las alas u orejas es una formación semántica antropomórfica que hace referencia a las alas de las embarcaciones donde estarían las orejas o las alas y de ahí que en Targha y Rincón se emplee *wədnīn*.

palangrāt ‘palangre’: tendencia de uso de plural (Brunot 1920b: 12).

paleṭa ‘paleta’ (El Yaâcoubi 1996: E-34; Brunot 1920b: 11).

parexat ‘pareja’: un barco de arrastre (El Yaâcoubi 1996: E-43; Brunot 1920b: 6).

En ocasiones, los pescadores realizan el plural *parexat* para referirse a una sola embarcación. Este uso se puede explicar por una posible adaptación semántica por la función de la embarcación: uso de dos puertas para orientar la red y dos embarcaciones de arrastre.

pəṭi ṭonaž: embarcación de pequeño tonelaje. Un galicismo recogido en Rincón, *petit tonnage* ‘pequeño tonelaje’, con una africación de la dental sorda y enfatización del segundo término por la vocal adyacente. Al estar en un puerto grande, los contactos con los buques industriales y pescadores de diferentes regiones de Marruecos son mayores.

polığa ‘polea’: tanto El Yaâcoubi (1996: E-118) como Brunot (1920b: 11) le atribuyen un origen español, pero la presencia de la africada sonora sólo se puede explicar por un catalanismo, *politja* en catalán.

poṭera ‘potera’: un arte de anzuelo de mano para pescar calamares que le debe su nombre a este animal en catalán, *pota*.

qarroča ‘garrucha’.

qəšra pl. qšor, qšur; dim. qšira ‘boya’: un término polisémico que denomina la corteza y el corcho, se ahí que se utilice para la boyo aunque en la actualidad no son de corcho (Brunot 1920b: 111; Dozy 1927: II/349).

šařra ‘sedal’ (Brunot 1920b: 70).

šəbbak ‘barca’: Prémare *et al.* (1995: VII/22) no incluye la acepción de embarcación. En cambio, Dozy (1927: I/723) sí lo hace.

šəbka pl. šbək ‘redes’ (Prémare *et al.* 1995: VII/21; Dozy 1927: I/722).

şənnara pl. şnanar ‘anzuelo’ (Brunot 1920b: 80; Prémare *et al.* 1996: VIII/111).

loxa ‘lonja’: un préstamo reciente dado que es una nueva realidad en la región, tenemos una adaptación fonológica similar a la que suelen presentar los galicismos, la pérdida de la nasal: on → o (Heath 1989: 82).

řmał: las redes de pesca en su conjunto (Dozy 1927: II/175).

riparasyon ‘reparación’ (El Yaacubi 1996: E-38).

pəntura: pintura con alquitrán para las embarcaciones (Prémare *et al.* 1993: I/311; Brunot 1920b: 13).

5. Conclusiones

Tras el análisis de esta muestra del vocabulario pesquero de Targha y Rincón, se puede afirmar que estamos ante un vocabulario muy heterogéneo, que como se ha venido apuntando, es el fruto del contacto lingüístico entre los pescadores mediterráneos que por necesidad, pero también por prestigio y hegemonía, fueron adoptando términos foráneos. Ésta es la principal característica del léxico que utilizan en la actualidad los pescadores del norte de Marruecos. El objetivo de esta pequeña

aproximación ha sido intentar contribuir a su estudio y poner en valor el patrimonio oral de estos animosos pescadores que mantienen un oficio de mar, en uno moribundo.

En general, se puede agrupar el vocabulario pesquero empleado por los pescadores del norte de Marruecos en cuatro grupos: 1) préstamos andalusíes de origen latino; 2) palabras de la *lingua franca*; 3) hispanismos; y 4) galicismos que llegan a través de los pescadores que faenan en los grandes buques pesqueros de la costa atlántica aunque estos últimos aún son muy escasos en esta región y todavía no forman parte de la jerga pesquera. En cambio, hay muestras de una tendencia de cambio ya que algunos pescadores recurrieron a términos de origen francés para informarnos de otros usos que seguramente se irán adoptando gracias al contacto con otros pescadores y turistas de otras regiones de Marruecos en cuyas hablas hay una mayor presencia del francés, tanto por el uso de la alternancia de códigos como de galicismos (Ennaji 2005).

Por el contrario, el vocabulario técnico es mucho más uniforme y los préstamos del español muestran menos alteraciones, lo que denota que ha habido y hay ciertos niveles de bilingüismo en la región (Sayahi 2011: 86). Sin embargo, es un vocabulario más inestable dado que los pescadores varían levemente su pronunciación mientras que en el caso de los ictónimos, los préstamos ya forman parte del vocabulario de base de la región.

La pesca artesanal es una actividad en regresión. Por tanto, el vocabulario empleado por los pescadores, tan heterogéneo e interesante, también va a ir cambiando y desapareciendo a medida que vaya industrializándose el sector, por lo que es un momento idóneo para volver sobre la ictionimia y las artes de la pesca en el norte de Marruecos cuyo estudio se ha de abordar desde diferentes enfoques: lingüístico y social. Gracias a su riqueza en préstamos nos puede aportar mucha información sobre el contacto lingüístico en el Mediterráneo, incorporar préstamos al árabe marroquí y también profundizar en los diferentes mecanismos para incorporar préstamos del árabe marroquí.

Referencias

- ALVAR, M. (1970) "Ictionimia y geografía lingüística", *Revista de Filología Española*, 53, 1/4. <<http://xn--revistadefilologiaespaola-uoc.revistas.csic.es/index.php/rfe/article/view/784/910>>
- ANAYA REVUELTA, I. (1999) *La definición enciclopédica: estudio del léxico ictionímico*, Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
- BAZZANA, A. et al. (1991) "Archéologie et peuplement : les mutations médiévales, le cas de Targha", en A. Zoggari & J. Vignet-Zunz (dirs.), *Jbala-Histoire et société. Études sur le Maroc du nord-ouest*, París/Casablanca: Wallada/CNRS, 307-329.
- BELLOC, G. (1934) "Catalogue des Poissons comestibles du Maroc et de la Côte occidentale d'Afrique (du Cap Sorel au Cap Vert), Première partie. - Poissons cartilagineux", *Revue des Travaux de l'Institut des Pêches Maritimes*, 7/2, 117-193.
- BEHNSTEDT, P. (2002) "La frontera entre el bereber y el árabe en el Rif", *Estudios de Dialectología Norteafricana y Andalusí*, 6, 10-11.
- BRUNOT, L. (1920a) *La mer dans les traditions et les industries à Rabat & Salé*, París: E. Leroux.
- BRUNOT, L. (1920b) *Notes lexicologique sur le vocabulaire maritime de Rabat & Salé*, París: E. Leroux.
- AL-BŪÑĀNĪ, M. (2003) "Baṣd al-amṭāl al-baḥriyya fī-š-šamāl al-ḡarbī", en *al-Amṭāl al-ṣāmmiyā fī-l-Maġrib. Tadwīn-ha wa-tawzīfu-ha al-ṣilmī wa-l-bīdāgūğī*, Rabat: Akādīmiyyat al-Mamlaka al-Maġribiyya, 467-477.
- CAMPS, G. y J. VIGNEZ-ZUNZ (1998) "Ghomâra", *Encyclopédie berbère* 20. [En línea]. Consultado el 14 de febrero de 2015: <<http://encyclopedieberbere.revues.org/1923>>.
- CORRIENTE, F. (1981) "Notas de lexicología hispano-árabe (III y IV)", *Awraq: Estudios sobre el mundo árabe e islámico contemporáneo*, 4, 5-30.
- CORRIENTE, F. (1997) *A dictionary of Andalusi Arabic*, Leiden/Nueva York/Colonia: Brill.
- CORRIENTE, F. (2008) *Dictionary of Arabic and Allied Loanwords: Spanish, Portuguese, Catalan, Galician and Kindred Dialects*, Leiden: Brill.
- CORRIENTE, F. (2011) *A Descriptive and Comparative Grammar of Andalusi Arabic*, Leiden/Nueva York/Colonia: Brill.
- DAKHLIA, J. (2008) *Lingua franca. Histoire d'une langue métisse en Méditerranée*, Arles: Actes Sud.
- DOZY, R.P.E. (1927) *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, 2^a ed., 2 vols. Leiden/París: J. E. Brill/Librairie Orientale et américaine Maisonneuve Frères.

- EL YAÂCOUBI, M. (1996) *La influencia léxica del árabe andalusí y del español moderno en el árabe dialectal marroquí*, Tesis Doctoral, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Departamento de Estudios Árabes e Islámicos.
- ENNAJI, M. (2005) *Multilingualism, cultural identity and education in Morocco*, Nueva York: Springer.
- FAO COPEMED. [En línea]. Consultado el 24 de octubre de 2014: <http://www.faocopemed.org/old_copemed/reports/artfish/artfiweb/mar/ports/martardp2.html>.
- GONZÁLEZ GARCÍA, E. (2008) *Motivación y creación léxica en las hablas populares*, Tesis Doctoral, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Facultad de Filología, Departamento de Filología Española.
- GUERRERO PARRADO, J. (2015) *El dialecto árabe hablado en la ciudad marroquí de Larache*, Zaragoza: Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza.
- HEATH, J. (1989) *From Code-switching to Borrowing: Foreign and Diglossic mixing in Moroccan Arabic*, London/Nueva York: Kegan Paul International.
- ICTIOTERM <<http://www.ictioterm.es/bibliografia.php>>.
- JOLY, A. (1912) "L'industrie à Tétouan (Suite)", *Archives marocaines*, XVIII, 187-256.
- KADDOUR, A. (2013) *Contribución al estudio de los hispanismos en el oeste de Argelia: corpus léxico, análisis fonético, morfológico y semántico*, Tesis Doctoral, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Facultad de Filología, Departamento de Lengua Española y Teoría de la Literatura y Literatura Comparada.
- KAHANE, H. et al. (1953) "El término mediterráneo faluca", *Nueva revista de Filología Hispánica*, 7/2, 56-62.
- LAOUST, E. (1923) "Pêcheurs berbères du Sous", *Hespéris*, 3, 237-364.
- LATAOUI, A. (2000) *Ichtyonymie marocaine: étude historico-linguistique des noms des poissons marins au Maroc*, Rabat: Faculté des lettres et des sciences humaines.
- LEÓN EL AFRICANO (1830) *De l'Afrique contenant la description de ce pays*, París: Imprimé aux frais du Gouvernement.
- LÉVY, S. (1992) "Ports, parlars portuaires et importation linguistique", en A. Kaddouri (coord.), *Le Maroc et l'Atlantique*, Rabat: Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines, 59-74.
- LOUIS, A. (1977) "Apports espagnols dans le vocabulaire maritime des côtes marocaines, apports italiens dans celui de des côtes tunisiens: comparaison entre quelques termes de

- batellerie, de manœuvre et de pêche”, en M. Alvar (ed.), *Terminología marinera del Mediterráneo*, Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 27-40.
- MARÇAIS, W. (1911) *Textes arabes de Tanger. Transcription, traduction annotée et glossaire*, París: Imprimerie Nationale.
- MARTÍN CORRALES, E. (2000) “La pesca española en el Magreb (ss. XVI-XVIII)”, en G. Doneddu & M. Gangemi (eds.), *La pesca nel Mediterraneo occidentale*, Bari: Puglia Grafica, 9-38.
- MARTÍN CORRALES, E. (2001) *Comercio de Cataluña con el mediterráneo musulmán (siglos XVI-XVIII): El comercio con los “enemigos de la fe”*, Barcelona: Bellaterra.
- MONDÉJAR, J. (1989) “Robalo y lubina (*Morone Labrax L.*). Otro capítulo de ictionimia mediterránea y atlántica”, *Revista de filología española*, LXIX/2, 61-95.
- MONTAGNE, R. (1923) “Les marins indigènes de la zone française du Maroc”, *Hespéris*, 3, 175-216.
- MONTAGNE, R. (1924) “Coutumes et légendes de la côte berbère du Maroc”, *Hespéris*, 4, 101-116.
- OMAN, G. (1966) *L'ictionimia nei paesi Arabi del Mediterraneo*, Florencia: Casa editrice Leo S. Olschki.
- PAMIES, A. (2010) “El componente (inter)cultural en la metáfora: el caso de la ictionimia”, C. Crida Álvarez (ed.), *Freseo-paremiología e interculturalidad*, Atenas: Ta Kalos Keimena, 33-53.
- PRÉMARE, E. et al. (1993-1999) *Dictionnaire arabe-français: établi sur la base de fichiers, ouvrages, enquêtes, manuscrits études et documents divers*, París: L'Harmattan.
- Roullot, J. et al. (1984) *Catalogue des engins de pêche au Maroc* [En línea]: http://www.faocopemed.org/old_copemed/reports/artfish/artfiweb/mar_main.html (Consultado el 24 de octubre de 2014).
- SAYABI, L. (2011) “Contacto y préstamo léxico: el elemento español en el árabe actual”, *Revista Internacional de Lingüística Iberoamericana*, IV, 85-99.
- SIMONET, F.J. (1888) *Glosario de voces ibéricas y latinas usadas entre los mozárabes*, Madrid: Establecimiento tipográfico de Fortanet.
- TRECCANI *L'Enciclopedia Italiana* [en línea]: <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/>.
- VIGNEZ-ZUNZ, J. (1995) “Djebala”. *Encyclopédie berbère*, 16. [En línea] consultado el 14 de febrero de 2015: <http://encycopedieberbere.revues.org/2176>.

Received 24 December 2014.

Accepted 16 March 2015.

THE PHONOLOGICAL BEHAVIOUR OF NASAL SEGMENT IN ENGLISH LOANWORDS IN KELANTAN DIALECT

Sharifah Raihan SYED JAAFAR & Sakinah Nik MUHAMMAD NAZIMAN

National University of Malaysia*

sakinah.niknaziman@gmail.com / s_raihan@ukm.edu.my

Abstract

This paper discusses the phonological behaviour of nasal segments in English loanwords in the Kelantan dialect of Malay. It has largely been discussed in previous Malay studies that nasal segments in words are finally deleted, as in /ikan/ → [ikɛ] ‘fish’ and /jalan/ → [dʒalɛ] ‘road’. The claims made by previous studies however cannot entirely hold for English words borrowed by the dialect. Based on previous data from Shapri (1980), this paper will show that some of the loanwords obey the grammar in that some nasal segments in word-final position are deleted and some are not. The obedience to grammar can be seen in words like ‘attendant’ [itandɛ] and ‘go astern’ [goste]. Meanwhile, violation of the grammar can be seen in English words like ‘canteen’, ‘agreement’, ‘accident’ and ‘cufflink’, which are realised as [kɛtɛŋ], [ɛgremin], [e?siden] and [kaflin], respectively, when they are borrowed by the dialect. How obedience and violation occur with loanwords will be accounted for in this paper by adopting a constraint-based analysis, Optimality theory.

Keywords

Optimality theory, Kelantan dialect of Malay, nasal segment, English loanwords

EL COMPORTAMIENTO FONOLÓGICO DEL SEGMENTO NASAL EN EL DIALECTO KELANTAN

Resumen

Este artículo discute el comportamiento fonológico de los segmentos nasales en los préstamos ingleses en el dialecto kelantan de Malasia. En estudios malayos anteriores se ha discutido en gran

* School of Language Studies and Linguistics, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, National University of Malaysia, 43600 Bangi, Malaysia.

medida que los segmentos nasales en palabras se eliminan finalmente, como en /ikan/ → [ikə] ‘pez’ y /jalan/ → [dʒale] ‘carretera’. Sin embargo, las afirmaciones de estudios previos no se pueden mantener por completo para las palabras inglesas prestadas al dialecto. Basándose en los datos anteriores de Shapri (1980), este artículo mostrará que algunas de los préstamos obedecen a la gramática en que algunos segmentos nasales en posición final de palabra se eliminan y otros no. La obediencia a la gramática puede observarse en palabras como *attendant* ‘asistente’ [itandə] y *go astern* ‘ir a popa’ [gostə]. Mientras, la violación de la gramática puede observarse en palabras inglesas como *canteen* ‘cantina’, *agreement* ‘acuerdo’, *accident* ‘accidente’ y *cufflink* ‘mancuernas’, que se realizan respectivamente como [kətən], [ɛgremɪŋ], [e?siden] y [kaflin], cuando son tomadas por el dialecto. En este artículo se dará cuenta de cómo se produce la obediencia y la violación en los préstamos se contabilizará mediante un análisis basado en restricciones, la teoría de la optimidad.

Palabras clave

teoría de la optimidad, dialecto Kelantan de Malasia, segmento nasal, préstamo del inglés

1. Introduction

Borrowing words from other languages is a common phenomenon in all natural languages. It has been broadly discussed by linguists who have studied loanwords in various subfields of linguistics, such as sociolinguistics, dialectology, phonology and morphology. In the world of phonology, with the rise of constraint-based analysis like Optimality theory, loanwords have received much formal attention from phonologists focusing more on the theoretical aspect of loanwords. There are some substantial works, such as Silverman (1992), Kenstowicz (2001; 2005), Broselow (2003), Yip (2002; 2006), Hwei-lin (2009), Mahmood *et al.* (2011).

In Malay, loanwords have also received much attention from linguists, e.g. Nik Safiah (1985), Ajid (1994), Hashim (1974), Farid (1980) and many others. It should be highlighted here that those previous works only discussed loanwords in a very descriptive way. No theoretical explanation is given in those analyses. Among the works mentioned above, none of them discusses the phonological aspect of the loanwords they examine. Thus this paper intends to offer a theoretical analysis to account for English loanwords in one of the Malay dialects i.e. the Kelantan dialect. By adopting constraint-based analysis called Optimality theory (henceforth, OT), this paper will

discuss the phonological aspect of the dialect by focusing on nasal segments in word-final position in English loanwords.

It has long been claimed in previous studies that nasal deletion is always applied in the dialect when there is a final nasal segment in the word (e.g. Farid 1980, Ajid 1994 and others). In this analysis of English loanwords in the Kelantan dialect, this phonological requirement will be examined to see whether it also applies to loanwords. Besides this, other phonological aspects related to the aforementioned issue will also be discussed in this paper, e.g. vowel nasalisation.

In what follows, we discuss what has been done in previous Malay studies. This is then followed by a description of the theoretical framework used in the analysis and of OT analysis. A final section concludes the paper.

2. Previous analyses on nasal segments in Kelantan dialect

There are a number of previous Malay studies of the Kelantan dialect of Malay. Some substantial works are Nik Safiah (1985), Ajid (1994), Hashim (1974) and Farid (1980). The works mentioned above paid attention to the phonological system of the dialect which relates to the study i.e. nasal segments occupying the coda position of a syllable. It should however be mentioned that these studies do not offer any theoretical discussion in their analyses. The discussion of nasal segments is thus purely descriptive.

Nik Safiah (1985) claimed in her study that the dialect does not allow all consonants to surface in word-final position. She claims further that only hard palate and velar nasals, /ŋ/ and /ɳ/ respectively, as well as glottal stop /ʔ/, are allowed to emerge at word-final position in the dialect. Farid (1980: 73) also discussed the occurrence of nasal segments at word-final position in Kelantan dialect. He claims that the Kelantan dialect deletes nasal segments in word-final position. In the dialect therefore we can see that words like *dʒulɪŋ* ‘cross-eye’, *ikan* ‘fish’ and *kətam* ‘crab’ are pronounced as [dʒulɪ̯], [ɪkɛ] and [kətɛ], respectively.

Similar to Farid (1980), Ajid (1994) also claims that the nasal segment at this morphological domain is deleted, while the vowel preceding the nasal segment gets a

nasal feature which then becomes a nasalised vowel. The process of vowel nasalisation can clearly be seen in the following examples:

Input	/malam/	/dʒalan/	/udəŋ/
Ascent of vocal	malem	dʒalen	udəŋ
Nasalized vowel	malem	dʒalen	udəŋ
Deletion of final nasal	male	dʒale	udɛ̃
Output	[male]	[dʒale]	[udɛ̃]

Table 1. Nasal Word-Final Position (from Ajid 1994)

In the analysis, Ajid (1994) also highlights that the vowel which precedes a nasal segment is somehow not nasalised. The following examples given by Ajid (1994) show that the vowel [ɛ] in words [ike], [sie] and [siɛ] are not nasalised. Why they are not nasalised has however been left unexplained.

Input	/ikan/	/sian/	/siam/
Ascent of Vocal	ikən	siɛŋ	siɛm
Nasalized vowel	-	-	-
Deletion of Final Nasal	ikɛ	siɛ	siɛ
Output	[ikɛ]	[siɛ]	[siɛ]

Table 2. Nasal Word-Final Position (from Ajid 1994)

The studies discussed above, i.e. Ajid (1994) and Farid (1980), confirm that the phonological system of the Kelantan dialect does not prefer a nasal segment to emerge at word-final position. The segment thus undergoes deletion. In Nik Safiah's analysis on the other hand, it is claimed that only two types of nasal segments, i.e. /n/ and /ŋ/, are allowed to be in this morphological domain.

Thus, in this study, we intend to examine this phonological restriction on English loanwords in Kelantan dialect. There are two questions that this paper seeks to answer. First, are English loanwords ending with nasal segments subject to the same phonological restriction as that imposed on native words, whereby the nasal segment at

the end of a word is deleted? Second, is there any type of nasal segment that emerges in word-final position in the dialect as well as the two i.e. /ŋ/ and /ɳ/ claimed by Nik Safiah (1985)? In order to analyse how nasal segments in word-final position behave when English words are borrowed by the Kelantan dialect, data from a previous study by Shapri (1980) are used.

3. Theoretical framework: Optimality theory

In order to analyse the issue described above, a phonological theory, i.e. Optimality theory (henceforth, OT) which was proposed by Prince & Smolensky (1993, 2004), is adopted in this study. The central idea of OT is that a grammar is a hierarchical ranking of well-formedness constraints which are specified in the Universal Grammar (UG). Individual grammars are constructed by imposing a language-particular ranking on those well-formedness constraints.

There are five basic tenets highlighted in OT which are summarized below (from McCarthy & Prince 1994: 335):

Universality	UG provides a set of constraints that are universal. The constraints are universally present in all grammars.
Violability	Constraints are violable, but the violation must be minimal.
Ranking	The constraints of Con are ranked on a language-particular basis. The minimal violation is defined in terms of this ranking.
Inclusiveness	The constraints hierarchy evaluates a set of candidates that are admitted by very general considerations of structural well-formedness.
Parallelism	The best satisfaction of the constraints hierarchy is evaluated over the whole hierarchy and the whole candidate set. There is no serial derivation.

Table 3. Five basic tenets of OT

In OT, the actual output of the underlying form is selected from a large set of potential surface forms called candidates. The selection of candidates is based on well-formedness constraint-system evaluation. The representational structure of a grammar in OT can be summarised as follows (McCarthy & Prince 1993, 1994):

$$\text{GEN (in)} = \{\text{cand 1}, \text{cand 2}, \dots\}$$

$$\text{EVAL} (\{\text{cand 1}, \text{cand 2}, \dots\})$$

The function of GEN (short for generator) will generate a large set of possible candidates (surface representation) from each input (underlying representation). The function of EVAL (short for evaluator) will evaluate the well-formedness of the possible candidates generated by GEN. The candidate which best satisfies, or minimally violates the constraints in a hierarchy is termed as the optimal or most harmonic output, and constitutes the actual surface form in the language. The best output is evaluated by a set of constraints which is ranked hierarchically in a grammar. This set of constraints ranking is represented in a constraint tableau, as illustrated below. There are some useful conventions to be found in the constraint tableau. Constraints in OT are represented from left to right, where the leftmost side is the highest-ranking constraint, which should be highly obeyed. Potential candidates are listed in vertical order. Violation of a constraint is marked by '*', while constraint satisfaction is unmarked. The violation of a constraint which is accompanied by an exclamation mark, '!', indicates a fatal violation. The optimal output is shown by a pointing finger 'F'.

/Input/ → [cand1], A >> B

/Input/	A	B
a.F[candidate]		*
b. [candidate]	*!	

In the above tableau, the suboptimal candidate (b) is ruled out as it fatally violates constraint A. Candidate (a), which violates the lower-ranking constraint B, is the optimal output. The violation of constraint B, however, is not significant anymore since the

winner has already been determined. In OT, the remaining lower-ranking constraint becomes irrelevant once a winner emerges. The violation of constraints after that does not affect its grammaticality.

4. OT Analysis

In this section, we are going to discuss how a nasal segment occupying the coda position of a syllable is actually treated when English words are borrowed by the Kelantan dialect. As was discussed above, previous studies merely focused on Malay words. None of them has discussed English loanwords or any other languages in the Kelantan dialect of Malay. The studies therefore lack some important findings that should also be discussed when examining the phonological system of the dialect. It ought to be mentioned when considering English loanwords that nasal segments in word-final position in Kelantan dialect exhibit two different phonological behaviours, i.e.: (1) the segment undergoes deletion; (2) the segment does not undergo deletion, whereby another type of nasal segment emerges in word-final position.

We now discuss the first phonological behaviour found from the data, i.e. a nasal segment undergoes deletion. Deletion of the nasal causes the vowel preceding the nasal to be nasalised. This supports what Farid (1980) and Ajid (1994) claimed regarding nasal deletion in word-final position in the dialect, as discussed above. We exemplify the following relevant examples from Shapri (1980):

English loanwords	In Kelantan dialect
Attendant	itandɛ
Go astern	goste

Table 4. Nasal deletion and nasalisation vowel in word-final position

The relevant constraint for English loanwords in Kelantan dialect:

DEP-IO: Output segments must have input correspondents (no epenthesis) (Kager 1999).

CODA COND: A coda can contain place features only when these are simultaneously associated with a syllable position outside the coda. (Itô & Mester 1994)

MAX-IO: Input segments must have output correspondents (no deletion) (Kager 1999).

Non-high : Non-high vowels are dispreferred everywhere (Crosswhite 2000: 10).

*V_{nas} : Assign one violation mark for every nasalized vowel (McCarthy 2008)

In what follows, we establish an OT tableau to account for the word [dʒaleɛ].

/dʒalan/	DEP-IO	CODA COND	Non-high	MAX-IO	*V _{nas}
a. dʒalan		*!	**		
b. dʒala			**!	*	
c. dʒalanaɛ	*!		***		
d. ɛ dʒal			*	*!	*

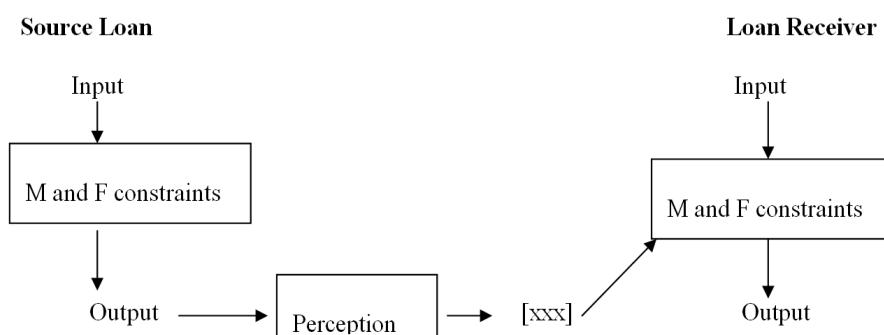
It is clear from the above tableau that the nasal-final consonant in /dʒalan/ is deleted. The markedness constraint in the ranking, i.e. CODA COND, penalises a place nasal segment which occupies the coda position in the syllable. This constraint rules out candidate (a) with a nasal segment in the coda position of the second syllable. Candidate (c) is ruled out by the faithfulness constraint DEP-IO since the epenthesis vowel is one of the strategies to prevent the nasal segment from occupying the coda syllable. Candidate (b), which violates the non-high constraint twice as the vowel [a], emerges twice in the word. Therefore this candidate is ruled out. Candidate (d), which violates the low-ranked constraint i.e. MAX-IO, thus emerges as the winner.

We have seen the first phonological behaviour of the nasal segment in word-final position in the dialect, i.e. the nasal segment undergoes deletion while the vowel before the nasal is nasalised. Now, we come to examine the phonological behaviour of the nasal segment in the Kelantan dialect, i.e. from the English loanwords data. The nasal segment in this morphological domain, i.e. the final nasal, does not undergo deletion, thus another type of nasal segment emerges. Before we offer an OT account for this, let us look at some relevant examples from Shapri (1980):

English loanwords	In Kelantan dialect
accident	e?siden
ball pen	bolpe:n
ceiling	selen
company	kopenin
cufflink	kaflein
guardroom	ga?ro:n
machine gun	mesein gən
peon	piju:n
second-hand	səkerjhən
statement	ste?min

Table 5. Nasal segment in word-final position

The English loanwords data presented above clearly show that nasal segments in word final position are retained in Kelantan dialect. In OT, the markedness and faithfulness constraints are ranked in a particular manner. In loanwords phonology, the ranking for loans can differ from the native words in terms of the ranking of faithfulness constraints. This is called loan-sensitive faithfulness constraints output-output (O-O) constraints. To deal with the undeleted nasal segment in word-final position in English loanwords in the Kelantan dialect, an O-O faithfulness constraint needs to be considered in the constraint ranking, as the output of the English words is the input for the native words. Below, I briefly illustrate a model for loanwords adaptations in the dialect:



Graphic 1. Model of English Loanwords Adaptation in the Kelantan dialect

There are three different ways that can be identified that correspond to loanword adaptation (see Kenstowicz 2005). One which is relevant to the issue under discussion is by ranking a relevant O-O-faithfulness constraint above the markedness constraint(s) in the constraint ranking that enforces the phonotactic (*ibid.*) of the Kelantan dialect: OO-IDENT[F] >> M >> IO-IDENT[F]. In this analysis, the relevant OO-Faithfulness that should be considered in the ranking is MAX-OO. Below, we establish the tableau for the English loanwords /kanti:n/.

/kanti:n/	MAX-OO	DEP-IO	CODA COND	Non-high	MAX-IO	*V _{nas}
a. kanti:n			*!	*		
b. kanti	*!			*		
c. kantɛ	*!			*		*
d. kantinə		*!		**		

5. Conclusion

The discussion above shows that by considering English loanwords in the Kelantan dialect of Malay, the phonological requirement imposed on native words is not fully obeyed. It is observed that the native phonological requirement that is nasal segment which is always deleted in word-final position in the dialect could not be satisfied in English loanwords. The data reveal that an alveolar nasal emerges on the surface, whereas the dialect disfavours the occurrence of it at word-final position.

References

- AJID, Che Kob (1994) "Nasal di Akhir Kata Dalam Dialek Melayu", Zaharani Ahmad (ed.), *Linguistik Melayu: Festchrift Tinta Kenangan Sempena Persaraan Azhar M. Simin & Farid M. Onn*, Bangi: Jabatan Linguistik, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 147-158.

- BROSELOW, Ellen (2003) "Language contact phonology: richness of the stimulus, poverty of the base", in Keir Moulton & Matthew Wolf (eds.), *Proceedings of the North-Eastern Linguistic Society*, 34, Amherst, Massachusetts: Graduate Linguistic Student Association, 1-22.
- CROSSWHITE, Katherine (2000) "The Analysis of Extreme Vowel Reduction", in Adam Albright & Taehong Cho (eds.), *UCLA Working Papers in Linguistics*, 4, *Papers in Phonology*, 4, 1-12.
- FARID, M. Onn (1980) *Aspects of Malay Phonology and Morphology: A Generative Approach*, Bangi: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.
- HASHIM, Musa (1974) *Morfemik Dialek Melayu Kelantan*, Tesis M.A., Kuala Lumpur: Universiti Malaya.
- HWEI-LIN, Yen (2009) "Loanword Adaptation and Phonological Theory", in Yun Xiao (ed.), *Proceedings of the 21st North American Conference on Chinese Linguistics (NACCL-21)*, Volume 1, Smithfield, Rhode Island: Bryant University, 1-12.
- ITÔ, Junko & Armin MESTER (1994) "Realignment", in Rene Kager, Harry van der Hulst & Wim Zonneveld (eds.), *The Prosody Morphology Interface*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 188-217.
- KAGER, Rene (1999) *Optimality theory*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- KENSTOWICZ, Michael (2001) "The Role of Perception in Loanword Phonology", *Linguistique Africaine*, 20, 95-112.
- KENSTOWICZ, Michael (2005) "The Phonetics and Phonology of Korean Loanword Adaptation", in Sang-Jik Rhee (ed.), *Proceedings of the first European conference on Korean linguistics*, Seoul: Hankook Publishing Co., 17-32.
- MCCARTHY, John (2008) *Doing Optimality Theory: applying theory to data*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- MCCARTHY, John J. & Alan S. PRINCE (1993) *Prosodic morphology: constraint interaction and satisfaction*, Amherst, University of Massachusetts.
- MCCARTHY, John J. & Alan S. PRINCE (1994) "The emergence of the unmarked: Optimality in prosodic morphology", in M. González (ed.), *Proceedings of the North East Linguistic Society*, 24, Amherst, Massachusetts: Graduate Linguistic Student Association, 333-379.
- NIK SAFIAH, Karim (1985) "Dialek Kelantan – Satu Lambang Sosio-Budaya Wilayahnya", in Nik Safiah Karim & Wan Abdul Kadir Yusoff (ed.), *Kelantan dalam Perspektif Sosio-Budaya: Satu Kumpulan Esei*, Kuala Lumpur: Universiti Malaya, 121-149.

- PRINCE, Alan & Paul SMOLENSKY (1993) *Optimality theory: constraint interaction in generative grammar*, Rutgers University Center for Cognitive Science Technical Report <Available on Rutgers Optimality Archive, ROA-537>.
- PRINCE, Alan & Paul SMOLENSKY (2004) *Optimality theory: constraint interaction in generative grammar*, Malden, Mass: Blackwell.
- MAHMOOD, Rashid, Qandeel HUSSAIN & Asim MAHMOOD (2011) "Phonological adaptations of English words borrowed into Punjabi", *European Journal of Social Sciences*, 22(2), 234-245.
- SHAPRI, Ab. Llah. (1980) "Perkataan-Perkataan Inggeris di dalam Pertuturan Bahasa Melayu Dialek Kelantan: Suatu Tinjauan yang Menyeluruh, Latihan Ilmiah Ijazah Sarjanamuda Sains Sosial dan Kemanusiaan, Bangi: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.
- SILVERMAN, Dan (1992) "Multiple Scansions in Loanword Phonology: Evidence from Cantonese", *Phonology*, 9, 289-328.

Received 1 January 2015.

Accepted 16 March 2015.

A SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF TABOOS AND EUPHEMISMS IN AN ARAB COMMUNITY IN IRAN

Seyyed Hatam TAMIMI SA'D

Urmia University & Iran Language Institute (ILI), Iran*

Shtamimi90@gmail.com

Abstract

The current ethnographic study sought to investigate the discourse strategies that Arab interlocutors employ to euphemize tabooed subjects raised in interaction. The objective was threefold: a) to identify topics deemed as tabooed by Arabs, b) to find out the strategies used to euphemize tabooed topics and c) to account for the reasons behind the strategies employed. The data were gathered using ethnography and observations done on a period of two years by the researcher himself in the Arab community in Khuzestan, Iran. The observations demonstrated that such issues as sex, death, health and diseases, politics, religion, possessions, talents, abilities and family relations are construed as tabooed by Arab interlocutors. The findings also indicated that interlocutors sought recourse in such strategies as: a) use of euphemistic terms and expressions, b) silence c) change of tone, prosody and eye contact, d) criticism of the interlocutor to deal with taboo. Furthermore, taboo topics were mostly raised by male interlocutors and only occasionally by female interlocutors and while males hardly ignored or euphemized such topics, females did so very frequently. It is concluded that taboo, euphemism and (im)politeness are highly intertwined and considerably influenced by such factors as age, gender, social distance and so on.

Keywords

Arabic, discourse strategies, euphemism, politeness, taboo

* No. 1, Iran Language Institute (ILI), 3rd Eastern Street, Kianpars, Ahvaz, Khuzestan, Iran. Zip code: 61559-16343.

UN ANÁLISIS SOCIOLINGÜÍSTICO DE TABÚES Y EUFEMISMOS EN UNA COMUNIDAD ÁRABE EN IRÁN

Resumen

Este estudio etnográfico se propone investigar las estrategias de discurso que los interlocutores árabes usan para tratar eufemísticamente temas tabú surgidos en interacción. El objetivo es triple: a) identificar temas considerados como tabú por los árabes, b) conocer las estrategias utilizadas para tratar eufemísticamente temas tabú y c) explicar las razones que motivan las estrategias empleadas. Los datos fueron recopilados por el propio investigador usando la etnografía y las observaciones realizadas en un período de dos años en la comunidad árabe en Khuzestan, Irán. Las observaciones demuestran que cuestiones como el sexo, la muerte, la salud y las enfermedades, la política, la religión, las posesiones, los talentos, las capacidades y las relaciones familiares son interpretadas como tabúes por interlocutores árabes. El estudio también indicaba que los interlocutores usaban como recurso estrategias tales como: a) el uso de términos y expresiones eufemísticas, b) el silencio c) el cambio de tono, la prosodia y el contacto visual, d) la crítica al interlocutor para tratar el tabú. Además, los temas tabú fueron en su mayoría planteados por los interlocutores masculinos y sólo ocasionalmente por las mujeres interlocutoras y mientras que los hombres apenas ignoraban o trataban eufemísticamente tales temas, las mujeres lo hacían con mucha más frecuencia. La conclusión es que el tabú, el eufemismo y la (des)cortesía están altamente entrelazados e influenciados considerablemente por factores como la edad, el género, la distancia social, etc.

Palabras clave

Árabe, estrategias del discurso, eufemismo, cortesía, tabú

1. Introduction

Language use is a highly complex phenomenon which is under the influence of a variety of factors, social, linguistic, personal and cultural. In interacting with each other, interlocutors most often do not express what they intend to voice as explicitly as they wish. Instead, they often have recourse to what has been called ‘conversational implicature’ to express what they have in mind in an indirect and therefore implicit way (Papi 2009). One of the sociological aspects of language is the presence of what has been called ‘taboo’ and ‘taboo words’. These are said to be part of every culture (Qanbar 2011) and are believed to be rooted in social constraints (Allan & Burridge 2006). According to Freud (1913 [2001], 21), the word ‘taboo’ is Polynesian in origin and

using taboo language is a double-edged sword as what is taboo can be deemed as both ‘sacred’, ‘consecrated’ and ‘forbidden’ and ‘unclean’.

Taboo language is as old as the human being himself (Keturi & Lehmonen 2012). Taboos have been defined in similar ways. Steiner (1967, as cited in Qanbar 2011: 87) proposed the following definition of taboos: “any prohibitions which carry no penalties beyond the anxiety and embarrassment arising from a breach of strongly entrenched custom”. Bussmann’s (2006: 1173) definition includes the reasons behind considering an issue a taboo and defines a taboo as “a term that is avoided for religious, political, or sexual reasons and is usually replaced by a euphemism” and offers the example of *rest room* or *bathroom* as euphemistic terms for toilet. Taboos are one of the social phenomena through which language change comes about and seem to be characteristic of languages (Malmkjær 2002). To avoid taboo words, interlocutors employ what is called euphemism defined as “a pleasant replacement for an objectionable word that has pejorative connotations” such as *to pass on* for ‘to die’ (Bussmann 2006: 388). Similarly, Cruse (2006: 57) defined a euphemism as follows: “An expression that refers to something that people hesitate to mention lest it cause offence, but which lessens the offensiveness by referring indirectly in some way”. The process through which certain words are avoided is called tabooization (Bussmann 2006).

The constraints of the social context are believed to be the origin of taboo language. According to Allan & Burridge (2006: 1), “Taboos arise out of social constraints on the individual’s behaviour where it can cause discomfort, harm or injury”. This position has been adopted by many other researchers as well (e.g., Isbuga-Erel 2008).

2. Iran and Khuzestan’s Arab Community

Located in southwestern Asia, Iran, officially the Islamic Republic of Iran, is composed of 31 provinces and is bounded to the north by Azerbaijan, Armenia, Turkmenistan, and the Caspian Sea, to the east by Pakistan and Afghanistan, to the south by the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman, and to the west by Turkey and Iraq (Encyclopaedia Britannica 2014). The official language of Iran is Farsi or Persian. Arabs

constitute a community of 1.5 million people (2% of the whole population of Iran). Iranian Arabs live in the provinces of Khorasan, Fars and Khuzestan, with Khuzestan hosting the vast majority of Arabs in Iran (Wikipedia 2014). The map of the province of Khuzestan is provided in Figure 1.

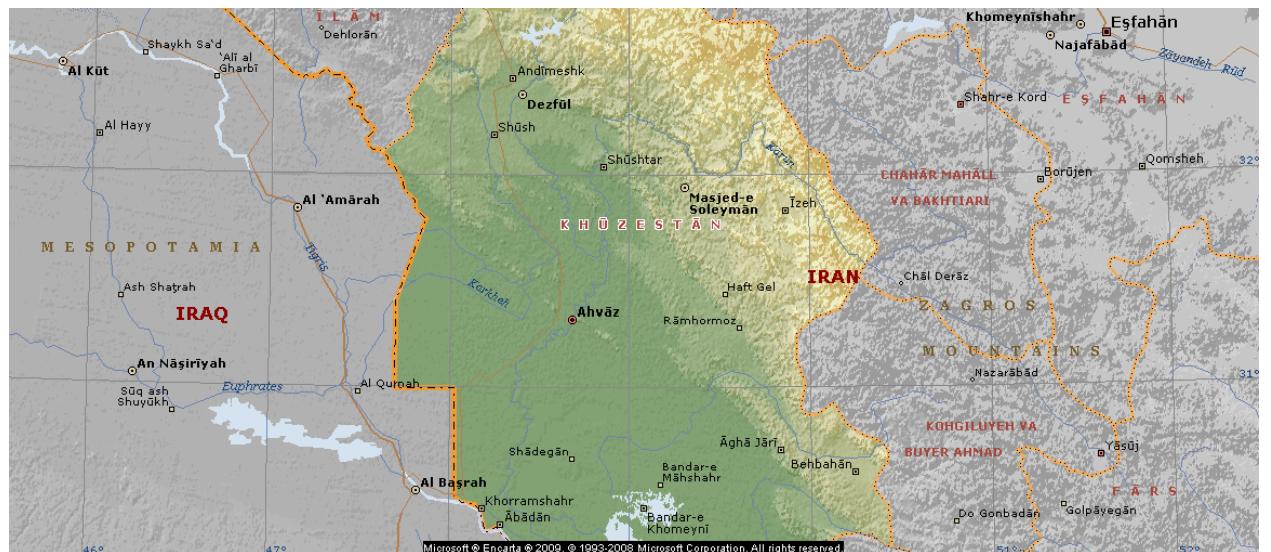


Figure 1. The map of the Province of Khuzestan (source: Microsoft® Encarta® 2009. © 1993-2008 Microsoft Corporation. All rights reserved).

2.1 Objectives

The objective of the present study is threefold. First, the study sets out to investigate the issue of taboo among the Arab community of Iran to see what categories of social interactions and what topics and subjects fall under the rubric of this concept. Second, it is attempted that the discourse strategies utilized to avoid the use of taboos be identified. Finally, the study attempts to shed light on the reasons for the use of certain strategies with certain types and categories of taboos. Based on the stated objectives, the study, therefore, addresses the following three research questions with regard to the Arab community of Khuzestan, Iran:

1. What categories and topics fall under the rubric of taboos in Arabic?
2. What discourse strategies are utilized to replace or avoid the use of taboos in Arabic?

3. What is the use of different discourse strategies with different topics of taboos based upon in Arabic?

3. Review of literature

In recent years, the line of research on the socio-pragmatic aspects of language and language use has been increasing very rigorously. In this regard, due to their significant role in impacting on the interactions among interlocutors, taboos as well euphemisms have been the subject of research in various societies and cultures from a vast variety of aspects (e.g., Ahmad, Ghani, Alam & Gul 2013; Allan & Burridge 2006; Chinyanganya 2013; Epoge 2013; Fernández 2008; Isbuga-Erel 2008; Lie 2013; Linfoot-Ham 2005; Mbaya 2002; Mirza Suzani & Yarmohammadi 2013; Mwanambuyu 2011; Qanbar 2011; Radulović 2012; Talley & Hui-ling 2012; Vernerová 2013, to name but a few). Epoge (2013) undertook a study of taboos in Cameron English and Qanbar (2011) investigated them in the Arab society of Yemen. Similarly, Ahmad *et al.* (2013) focused on the linguistic taboos in Pashtoon society in Pakistan, taking into consideration the religious, cultural and social factors that prompted the use of taboos. They found that while certain taboos are shared by most societies, certain others are unique to the Pashtoon society. Another recent study on taboo language analyzed the differences between males and females in using taboo/proscribed language in Taiwan (Talley & Hui-ling 2012). The results supported the long-held belief according to which gender is an influential factor in language use with females' language being more 'decent'. Euphemisms have been examined in different contexts. The African context is one flourishing example. Mbaya (2002) investigated the nature of euphemisms in relation to the pursuant custom of avoiding the naming of those people who are connected by marriage called *laguu* or *lagacha*. Considering such factors as the interlocutors' age, sex, relative power and so on and basing her analysis on such theories as politeness, speech act and conversation analysis, Mwanambuyu (2011) examined them in the African context of Zambia.

Literary texts have also been examined in light of research on taboo and euphemism. For instance, Linfoot-Ham (2005) based his diachronic analysis on novels such as Jane Austen's *Emma* and D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterly's Lover* and Fiona Walker's *Well Groomed* which span 180 years. Linfoot-Ham analyzed these novels because of the common sexual themes recurrent in them and intended to investigate how word choice had shifted over time. The results demonstrated that word choice has changed so much that even a comprehensive framework such as that proposed by Warren (1992) cannot account for the examples of euphemisms found in the novels mentioned above. In the Turkish context, Isbuga-Erel (2008) analyzed, based on some frameworks within Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), those literary texts related to 'incest', a taboo topic, that have been translated. Isbuga-Erel posited that such translation is mainly governed by social constraints and confines. In a similar vein, Fernández (2008) focused on the euphemism-dysphemism distinction to analyze sex-related taboos in light of Conceptual Metaphor Theory as proposed by Lakoff & Johnson (1980). The study concludes that metaphors can substantially contribute to the realization of taboos through euphemisms. This study confirmed the hypothesis that the use of euphemisms is under the influence of a host of factors.

The classification of euphemisms has also been the subject of some attention. For instance, in Radulović's (2012) study, the analysis of euphemisms was based upon their division into positive and negative. The outcomes demonstrated that while positive euphemisms are easy to distinguish and their use is favorable, this is not the case with negative euphemisms. As mentioned earlier on, the research line on taboo has been extensively rigorous. Vernerová (2013) stepped into the world of advertising, analyzing how the elements which caused an advertisement to sound profane, inappropriate and insulting. Vernerová argued that a variety of factors, religious, sexual and nakedness, both verbal and non-verbal, are at work which make an advertisement sound inappropriate in public. Translation of taboo words from English into Norwegian in movie subtitles was the theme of another study which found out that linguistic sanitation was at work to moderate the highly tabooed language used by the characters of the movies (Lie 2013). Chinyanganya's (2013) survey, done at Bindura Hospital, focused on taboos in the discourse of HIV/AIDS in Shona, an African language, in which

sex is regarded as a taboo subject. This study revealed that the hospital personnel develop their own linguistic strategies to deal with this topic and to communicate their message which included references to HIV/AIDS.

In the Iranian context, Mirza Suzani & Yarmohammadi (2013) examined the relationship between the Cooperative Principle (CP), its maxims, Politeness Principle (PP) and the use of euphemisms. Their study showed that utilizing euphemistic expressions results mainly and mostly in the flouting of the manner maxim of the CP and least frequently in the flouting of the quantity maxim.

Arabs in Iran constitute of a population of 1.5 million with unique religious, social, marriage and hospitality, among others, customs sometimes converging with those Arabs living beyond the borders of the Persian Gulf and at times diverging from them and blending into the Iranian side. This community and their ethnolinguistic traditions and customs deserve much attention on the part of researchers as very few, if any, research studies have examined this issue thus far. The current research study was motivated mainly by the dearth of research studies in this regard. As the objective of the current study, examining taboos, and subsequently the euphemistic language that is utilized to mitigate them, can yield startling insights into the nature of this remarkable sociolinguistic phenomenon.

4. Method

4.1 Instrument

Since the current study is ethnographic the data were collected using persistent observations which are the primary data collection tool and which yield naturally occurring data (Ary, Jacobs & Sorensen 2010). This type of data requires that the contextual factors such as the interlocutors' gender, their role relationships, and so on be taken into account when the data are gathered.

4.2 The corpus

The present study is an ethnography which is defined as “the in-depth study of naturally occurring behavior within a culture or entire social group” (Ary, Jacobs & Sorensen 2010: 459). According to Ary, Jacobs & Sorensen (2010), cultural patterns, the relationship between culture and societal behavior are among the most significant aspects that an ethnographic study should investigate. The data of the present study are based on the corpus of examples of taboos collected over a period of two year (2013 and 2014) by the researcher. These instances were analyzed contextually as is done in qualitative data analysis.

4.3 Procedure and data analysis

The current study benefited from rich and detailed description as its most pervasive feature of data analysis since a qualitative study deals mostly with phenomena at the discursal level with the contextual cues and factors, relationships in mind. Put differently, it was attempted that the analysis of the data be done with an eye on the sociopragmatic factors. More precisely, the data analysis was based on the application of and taking advantage from politeness and face theory, conversation analysis as well as speech act theory wherever appropriate.

5. Findings and Discussion

5.1 Tabooed Interactional Areas

Studying taboo subjects entails, first, an understanding of the areas that fall under this ‘forbidden’ rubric. This issue was the subject of the first research question put forward earlier in this study. Roughly speaking, the findings revealed that the following include elements of taboo and thus should be dealt with cautiously by interlocutors:

- A. Sex and sex-related subjects (acts, organs, menstrual fluid, etc.)
- B. Body parts and organs
- C. Death
- D. Health and diseases
- E. Politics
- F. Religion
- G. Possessions, wealth and money
- H. Talents and abilities
- I. Family relations

The literature on taboo language also highlights the importance of the aforementioned tabooed topics, and others, in language use. For example, Hysi (2011) focused on the use of taboos and euphemisms among women obtained similar results which confirm the findings of the present study. Cruse (2006) also enumerated such topics as money and religion, among others, as tabooed. Similarity is also seen between the taboo nature of ‘family relations’ found out in the current study and that of Mbaya’s (2002) study of taboos in Oromo culture in Ethiopia. Sexual references were found to be considered to be tabooed by Chinyanganya (2013) as well, hence further supporting the current study. Other studies have also cast light on these subjects as being tabooed, particularly Keturi & Lehmonen (2012) in Finnish textbooks of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) although it was further found that Keturi and Lehmonen talk of other areas of discourse like suicide as forbidden as well. These latter areas are not in line with the findings of the current study. On other hand, Keturi and Lehmonen found out that such areas as politics, religion, diseases and death are not tabooed.

5.2 Discourse Strategies

The second research question addressed the discourse strategies employed to deal with tabooed topics. The observations indicated that the above subject areas are treated in similar ways by means of certain strategies. These strategies included:

- A. Use of euphemistic language
- B. Silence, avoidance or shift of the topic raised
- C. Criticizing the speaker
- D. Code-switching
- E. Joking and witticism
- F. Circumlocution and use of all-purpose words
- G. Use of conventionally-fixed expressions
- H. Change of tone, prosody and eye contact
- I. Other

5.3 Further elaboration

This part elaborates on the strategies utilized by the interlocutors along with example(s) for each strategy. Topics that are considered tabooed, and therefore socially unspeakable, abound among Arabs. Sex and associations with it, whether through body organs such as genital organs or acts of sex including sexual intercourse and rape, can be considered to be the most tabooed subjects. The following observation displays an example of sex as a tabooed subject:

[Description of setting: In a family gathering consisting of adults and children, both men and women, an interlocutor starts talking about how the police arrest a man accused of attempting to abuse a little girl in Canada]

- A. *I read in the paper that the Canadian police have arrested a man for his attempt to abuse a little girl.*
- B. [a boy who did not hear well what speaker A said]: *What did the police do?*
- C. [Speaker B's mother] *Nothing!*

This finding confirms Chinyanganya's (2013) results in the African language of Shona where it was found that hospital personnel who employed such strategies as euphemisms, code-switching and metaphors, among others, to avoid making direct references to HIV/AIDS which included sexual elements and was therefore viewed as

tabooed. This and many other observations clearly indicated that while euphemistic language is employed when both adults and children are present, this language was rarely made use of where only children were present; that is to say, when the adults were absent. This finding supports Mwanambuyu's (2011) study in a Zambian context where it was found that euphemisms were utilized among adults far more frequently than among children.

In one case, a speaker talked about his dream of his brother's pregnant wife giving birth. The conversation which was too short is as follows:

- A. *Last night I dreamed that N [wife of A's brother] had given birth.*
- B. *[Harshly and forcefully] What an awful dream! Damn you and your dream!*

The above answer is rooted in Arabs' customs. Based on an old and common belief, Arabs believe that dreams do come true, sooner or later, but 'in reverse'! That is to say, the reverse of a dream would happen; for instance, if somebody dreams of marriage, s/he will die and vice versa.

That brings the current discussion to another taboo: death. It was observed that topics that directly deal with death or indirectly contain elements of death are often replaced by euphemistic expression. For instance, instead of saying the word '*maat*' (died), the interlocutors frequently utilized another term, '*tawaffa*' (passed away) to refer to someone who has died. Speaking of death, it is interesting to see that the same verb, *pass away*, is utilized extensively in English as a euphemism.

Another interesting observation with regard to death was that while euphemistic expressions were frequently used in the case of close friends and relatives, this was not the case with acquaintances who were not very close in relationship. Therefore, of the afore-mentioned '*maat*' and '*tawaffa*', the former was employed in the case of close friends and relatives and the latter for acquaintances. This observation can be suggestive of the presence or influence of 'social distance' on the when and what of the use of euphemistic terms. Therefore, taking into account Allan & Burridge's (2006: 1) claim that "Taboos arise out of social constraints", it might not seem irrelevant to argue that social distance serves as one of the social constraints on the use of euphemistic

language. According to Sidnell (2009), previous research (e.g., Levinson 2002) has also pointed out the existence of certain taboos among relatives.

An example of politics as a tabooed topic occurred in a conversation in which a number of ten middle aged people were engaged. The interlocutors were conversing about various subjects when the conversation shifted to politics and one of the speakers stated that he had heard about the news of an attempt that had been made by the President's opponents to assassinate him. In reaction to this highly sensitive statement, a sudden silence fell over the room while one speaker stated,

A. *Let's talk about what concerns us, not what doesn't. These [political issues] are none of our business.*

As can be seen, the above statement is a request for topic avoidance. The speaker does not even name what he is conversing about (i.e., politics), preferring to refer to it by means of a pronoun (i.e., these). This demonstrates two facts about such a tabooed topic as politics. Put in simple terms, the speaker intends to achieve two aims: Firstly, he attempts to silence the interlocutor who had raised the topic and secondly, by using a pronoun (*These*) instead of naming the topic itself, he tries to show that he himself is also committed to what he is advising others to do. This avoidance of tabooed topics can be ascribed to the interlocutors' tendency to censoring what they view as socially inappropriate. Censorship is said to be a means of achieving linguistic purity and cleansing language of unspeakable elements (Allan & Burridge 2006).

The next strategy observed was the use of code-switching. In this strategy, the interlocutors code-switched between Arabic and Persian and often expressed the tabooed topic/word in Persian rather than Arabic. This finding is confirmed by Verschueren (2003: 119) who asserted that "[...] code switching is a way of circumventing a social taboo". Interestingly enough, Verschueren also provided an example from Moroccan Arabic to illustrate his statement about the function of code-switching. The following example depicts this strategy:

[Description of setting: a number of teenagers and adults ranging in age from 15 to 29 are chatting informally about different things when the subject shifts to ‘dirty talk’]:

- [Speaker: a 29-year-old man] Raad [he wanted to] [switches to Persian] tartibesho bede! [do her]

In this regard, it can be hypothesized that Persian serves the purpose of reducing the taboo force of the even being conversed about but it is not clear how it functions so. Chinyanganya (2013) also posited that code-switching was one of the linguistic strategies utilized by hospital personnel in the African context.

Circumlocution, which is defined as “substituting a descriptive phrase for a word” (Parker & Riley 2012: 256), was another strategy used by Arab interlocutors. The following short conversation between a teenage boy and his mother demonstrates this strategy. The boy is making reference to ‘cancer’ by means of ‘a bad disease’. The boy’s mother’s reply sounded harsh, abrupt and terse and can be therefore deemed as being somewhat indirectly critical of the speaker’s speech:

- A. *They say Mr. X has got a bad disease!*
- B. *OK, I got it!*

It was frequently observed that all-purpose words such as ‘to do something with someone’ were extensively utilized by women to refer to sexual abuse, particularly rape. To set an example, an Arab woman described how during war an Iraqi woman had been raped as follows:

- *They left her in the desert after they had done many things with her.*

The above description is too general; however, it is easy to decode the meaning on the basis of contextual information at hand.

Among the other taboo topics among Arabs are one’s wealth, possessions, children, abilities and talents unless these are mentioned in a very gentle way

accompanied by the use of certain euphemizing expressions. It is tenable to argue that taboos have roots in historical, cultural and economic factors of the society to which the Arab society is not an exception. This idea is supported by Johnson & Johnson (1999) who found it to be true of the UK as well. Religious factors are also at work. The Arab community in Iran is devoutly religious such that invoking God's name is a means of avoiding 'evil eye' when one's possessions, wealth and children and their talents and abilities are mentioned.

The observations showed that this is accomplished mainly by accompanying one's speech with such conventionally-fixed expressions as '*Allah ikhallih*' (May Allah preserve him), '*Allah yehfedhha*' (May Allah preserve her), '*Allah yesterha*' (May Allah protect him) and others. Most of these expressions have religious origins as they either invoke God's name (*Allah* in Arabic) or contain a religious element, especially the sacred word Allah. This finding further supports Ahmad *et al.*'s (2013) assertion that religious and cultural norms of the society are influential in the formation and use of different strategies to avoid taboos. Previous research has yielded similar results with regard to other religions, too. For instance, Dunai (2008), citing Hebrew as one such case, remarked that religion and profanity are closely linked. Dunai further argued that including a deity under the rubric of taboo is not new, highlighting the universality of the offence of tabooed language in terms of religion. To set an example, the following conversation is between a teenage boy who jokes about one of the *Imams*, that is, religious leaders of Islam. The conversation was faced with criticism on the part of the boy's father:

- Boy: *Have you heard the joke about that man who decides to go and fight on the side of Imam [...]?*
- Father [Angrily]: *OK stop joking about holy people.*

In the Arab community of the current study, it is widely believed that religious teachings in general, and the Koran, the Prophet Mohammed and Imams in particular, must be treated with utmost caution; otherwise conversing about them in an inappropriate or disrespectful manner is considered blasphemous.

Non-verbal communication strategies were also at work in dealing with tabooed topics in conversation. This was reflected in the form of the change of tone, prosody and eye contact including gaze, stare and facial expressions. This strategy was observed mainly in interactions between children and their parents and was mostly utilized by adults interacting with teenagers and kids. The use of this strategy was observed to be increasingly motivated by issues that include sexual connotations or direct sexual references. Using this strategy amounts to the execution of power as the strategy was utilized by more powerful interlocutors (i.e., adults) to less powerful, if not interior, ones (i.e., children). More recent work by other researchers has led to similar findings as well. For instance, Sidnell (2009) stated that work by Levinson (2002) has demonstrated that some taboos are dealt with by means of eyebrow flashes and gaze.

Speaking of families and children, the observations revealed that, in Arabic context, elder people, both men and women, particularly those who are married and have children, are often referred to by use of '*Abu*' (Father of) plus the name of the oldest, primarily, son or, secondarily, daughter. Therefore, it is considered particularly impolite to address a married man or woman by his or her first name and this must be preferably done as stated above. For instance, a man whose oldest son is named *Ali* is referred to as '*Abu Ali*' (*Ali's father*). This observation further supports Mbaya's (2002) statement that using euphemisms is not merely a matter of decency but it can be based upon social conventions. The above observation is suggestive of the significance attached to names as indicative of one's identity as Allan & Burridge (2006: 125) rightly pointed out, "One's name is an inalienable part of one's identity; it is the essence of self and it is a means by which one is known to one's fellows". Adding an affix, whether a prefix or a suffix, as a strategy to euphemize a naming taboo has been documented to occur in other communities and languages such as Pitjantjatjara, an Australian language, too (Allan & Burridge 2006). Other sensitive family relations included those of mentioning one's sister. Arabs consider it highly impolite, and therefore socially unacceptable, to talk about their sisters unless the speaker is made to do so. This sensitivity is particularly intensified if the speaker is an outsider mentioning another individual's sister in public. However, in cases where this has to be done, a good deal of caution is exercised in that it is attempted, on the part of the speaker, that the mention

be short and euphemized by the expression '*radhi'ah*' (meaning a girl who has been breastfed by the same mother as the speaker's) to refer to 'sister'.

Furthermore, although it was not the objective to examine taboos and euphemisms in terms of the gender differences between males and females, it was also observed that females avoided naming taboos more frequently than males did. This observation is not new to the scene of sociolinguistic research as previous studies have documented women's speech to be more polite, cautious and decent and the results of the current study confirm those findings further (e.g., Haas 1979; Holmes 1989; Talley & Hui-ling 2012).

The findings indicated that certain strategies are used with certain taboos. To set an example, while sexual topics were chiefly avoided or silenced, political topics were mostly shifted and the speakers were criticized. It can be hypothesized that while sexual references are most probably avoided because of the sensitivity toward social conventions, politics is feared.

6. Conclusion

It has been assumed that to understand cultural issues and human behavior, it is essential to understand the sociological aspects of language including taboos (Malmkjær 2002). The present study endeavored to expound an increasingly significant realm of language use: taboo and tabooed topics. Taboos have both a dark and a bright side as Freud (1913 [2001]) rightly pointed out. Interlocutors, however, seem to remain more alert to the dark side, that is, the social discomfort caused by the use of tabooed language.

The findings revealed that Arabs conceive of sex, death, health, diseases, politics, religion, possessions, wealth, money and family relations as tabooed subjects. They also make use of such strategies as the following to deal with the afore-mentioned tabooed topics: euphemisms, silence, avoidance or shift of topic, criticizing the speaker, code-switching, joking and witticism, circumlocution and use of conventionally-fixed expressions.

The findings clearly demonstrated that Arab speakers consider the act of breaking taboos to be closely associated with impoliteness while avoiding them would be necessarily conceived of as polite behavior. According to Brown & Levinson (1987), making reference to sexual subjects with no attempt to soften the sexual load of the subject also suggests of ‘politeness’ which they term ‘bald on record politeness strategy’ characterized as being “completely open and direct, without any attempt to let the addressee preserve some freedom of action or some sense of equality” (Verschueren 2003: 45). Therefore, in relation to politeness and taking into account the other politeness strategies proposed by Brown & Levinson (1987), we can hypothesize that utilizing different strategies to mitigate the socially unacceptable load of the taboo subjects is related to the interlocutors’ attempt to display various degrees of politeness.

On the other hand, since, more often than not, it is maintained that politeness and indirectness are closely associated (e.g., Brown & Levinson 1987; Verschueren 2003), then it is tenable to argue that avoidance of taboo topics, no matter what strategy this is achieved through, is intended to serve the purposes of politeness as well as establish and maintain harmony in social relations. In conclusion, along with such previous studies as Mwanambuyu (2011), the current study findings confirmed the hypothesis that the use of euphemistic language is affected by a number of factors such as the interlocutors’ age, social distance, relative power, sex, the topic being conversed about, among others. It was also found that however palatable a euphemism is attempted to make an unspeakable even, situation or happening, there seem to exist some topics that are not mentionable. Isbuga-Erel’s (2008) findings concerning the role of power relations and taboos are also illuminating in this regard.

On the contrary, it should be pointed out that some researchers have made it clear that using euphemistic language is associated with dishonesty and deceitful behavior. To set an example, O’Neill (2011) referred to the dishonesty lying at the heart of ‘politically correct language’. This assumption, even if accepted, does not conflict with the assertion made in the current study as the major assumption here is that politeness, whatever the aim of the polite behavior is and by whatever means it is achieved, strives for social harmony and avoidance of disharmony in interaction (Olshtain & Celce-Murcia 2003). The outcomes of the current study are expected to raise cross-cultural

awareness, the lack of which can lead to serious breakdowns in communication between and among cultures.

In conclusion, Arab speakers seem to display varying degrees of sensitivity toward the taboo topics depending on the topic raised. In that regard, the highest sensitivity seems to relate to sexual topics which might have roots in the ancient traditions and customs of Arabs which dictate the norms based on which speakers should distinguish the ‘speakable’ topics from the ‘unspeakable’ ones. The way that this sensitivity is displayed is also diverse. For instance, it was observed that while sexual topics are especially avoided, death-related subjects are particularly reprehended. It is not fairly clear what this sensitivity is motivated by.

This observation might be explained on the grounds that euphemisms are divided into two types: positive and negative (Radulović 2012). This classification, however, does not seem to work fully for our observation as there are negative euphemisms that just sound more negative than others! Therefore, it might sound tenable to describe and view euphemistic language on a continuum rather than let the pendulum shift between the two extremes.

The door is left open to further research on taboo. Future research can, for instance, focus on the reasons behind using different strategies for different taboo topics or on exploring new areas of taboo under-examined in other cultures. On the plus side, future research can lead to the clarification of the role of metaphorical language in using euphemisms as Fernández (2008) clearly pointed out. Further, since taboos are not limited to the verbal communication and include the non-verbal realm of communication, it is recommended that future research focus on this aspect too.

Note. An earlier draft of this paper was presented under the title, “Euphemistic realizations of taboo subjects: The case of Arab community”, at *The Third International Conference on Language, Discourse and Pragmatics (LDP)* held on January 28-30, 2015 at Shahid Chamran University of Ahvaz, Ahvaz, Iran.

References

- AHMAD, Khursheed, Mamuna GHANI, Mahtab ALAM, & Tahir GUL (2013) "A sociolinguistic study of linguistic taboos in the Pashtoon society", *International Researcher*, 2, 1, 35-41.
- ALLAN, Keith & Kate BURRIDGE (2006) *Forbidden words: Taboo and the censoring of language*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- ARY, Donald, Lucy Cheser JACOBS & Chris. K. SORENSEN (2010) *Introduction to research in education* (8th ed), USA: Wadsworth.
- BROWN, Penelope & Stephen C. LEVINSON (1987) *Politeness: Some universals in language usage*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- BUSSMANN, Hadumond (2006) *Routledge dictionary of Language and Linguistics* (Translated and edited by Gregory Trauth & Kerstin Kazzazi), London: Routledge.
- CHINYANGANYA, Taurai L. (2013) "Cultural linguistic strategies in HIV/AIDS discourse in Shona: A survey of Bindura Hospital", *International Journal of Social Sciences & Education*, 3, 4, 1071-1079.
- CRUSE, Allan (2006) *A glossary of semantics and pragmatics*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- DUNAI, Amber (2008) *Semantic shift and the link between words and culture*. Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of North Texas, USA.
- ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA < www.Britannica.com> (Accessed December 20, 2014).
- EPOGE, Napoleon (2013) "Euphemism in Cameroon English: Sweet talking or deception?", *International Journal of Innovative Interdisciplinary Research*, 2, 1, 1-10.
- FERNÁNDEZ, Eliecer Crespo (2008) "Sex-related euphemism and dysphemism: An analysis in terms of conceptual metaphor theory", *ATLANTIS. Journal of the Spanish Association of Anglo-American Studies*, 30, 2, 95-110.
- FREUD, Sigmund (1913 [2001]) *Totem and taboo* (translated by J. Strachey), London: Routledge.
- HAAS, Adelaide (1979) "Male and female spoken language differences: Stereotypes and evidence", *Psychological Bulletin*, 86, 3, 615-626.
- HOLMES, Janet (1989) "Sex differences and apologies: One aspect of communicative competence", *Applied Linguistics*, 10, 2, 194-213.
- HYSI, Eglantina (2011) "Aspects of taboos and euphemisms in women's language", *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences (MCSER)*, 2, 3, 379-383.

- ISBUGA-EREL, Reyhan Funda (2008) "A CDA approach to the translations of taboos in literary texts within the historical and socio-political Turkish context", in Majid KhosraviNik & Alexandra Polyzou (ed.), *Papers from the Lancaster University Postgraduate Conference in Linguistics & Language Teaching* 2007, 2, 58-77.
- JOHNSON, Keith & Helen JOHNSON (eds.) (1999) *Encyclopedic dictionary of applied linguistics*, USA: Blackwell Publishers.
- KETURI, Suvim & Tiina LEHMONEN (2012) *Though shalt not write about...: A study of taboo content in Finnish EFL textbooks for upper secondary school*, Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Jyväskylä.
- LAKOFF, George & Mark JOHNSON (1980) *Metaphors we live by*, Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- LEVINSON, Stephen C. (2002) *Manny's dangerous idea. Discourse studies*. Talk given to the Center for Language, Interaction and Culture, UCLA.
- LIE, Sondre (2013) *Translate this, motherfucker!: A contrastive study on the subtitling of taboo words*, Unpublished Master's Thesis, Universitetet i Oslo, Norway.
- LINFOOT-HAM, Kerry (2005) "The linguistics of euphemism: A diachronic study of euphemism formation", *Journal of Language and Linguistics*, 4, 2, 227-263.
- MALMKJÆR, Kirsten (2002) *The linguistics encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., London: Routledge.
- MBAYA, Maweja (2002) "Linguistic taboo in African marriage context: A study of the Oromo Laguu", *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 11, 2, 224-235.
- Microsoft ® Encarta ® 2009. © 1993-2008 Microsoft Corporation. All rights reserved.
- MIRZA SUZANI, Samad & Lotfollah YARMOHAMMADI (2013) "An investigation of the semantic opaqueness and the state of affairs of English euphemisms in the Iranian educational context", *Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research*, 15, 11, 1540-1554.
- MWANAMBUYU, Christine Lubasi (2011) *A Sociopragmatic Analysis of Silozi Euphemisms*. Unpublished Master's Thesis, The University of Zambia, Lusaka.
- OLSHTAIN, Elite & Marianne CELCE-MURCIA (2003) "Discourse analysis and language teaching", in Deborah Schiffrin, Deborah Tannen, & Heidi E. Hamilton (eds.), *The handbook of discourse analysis*, USA: Blackwell Publishing, 707-724.
- O'NEILL, Ben (2011) "A Critique of Politically Correct Language", *The Independent Review*, 16, 2, 279-291.
- PAPI, Marcella Bertuccelli (2009) "Implicitness", in Jeff Verschueren & Jan-Ola Östman (eds.), *Key notions for pragmatics*, The Netherlands: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 139-162.
- PARKER, Frank & Kathryn RILEY (2012) *Linguistics for non-linguists*, USA: Pearson.

- QANBAR, Nada (2011) "A sociolinguistic study of the linguistic taboos in the Yemeni society", *Modern Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 3, 2, 86-104.
- RADULOVIĆ, Milica (2012) "Expressing values in positive and negative euphemisms", *Facta Universitatis*, 10, 1, 19-28.
- SIDNELL, Jack (2009) "Conversational analytic approaches to culture", in Jacob L. Mey (ed.), *Concise Encyclopedia of Pragmatics*, UK: Elsevier Ltd., 148-151.
- STEINER, F. (1967) *Taboo*, UK: Penguin books.
- TALLEY, Paul C. & Tu HUI-LING (2012) "The influence of gender differences in proscribed language use in Taiwan", *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, 3, 20, 167-172. (Retrieved July 1, 2014, from <www.ijbssnet.com>.)
- VERNEROVÁ, Simona (2013) "Characteristics of the language of advertising: Profanity in contemporary advertising", Unpublished Bachelor Thesis, Tomas Bata University, Zlín.
- VERSCHUEREN, Jeff (2003) *Understanding pragmatics*, London: Arnold.
- WARREN, Beatrice (1992) "What euphemisms tell us about the interpretation of words", *Studia Linguistica*, 46, 2, 128-172.
- WIKIPEDIA <en.wikipedia.org> (Accessed December 20, 2014)

Received 5 January 2015.

Accepted 23 March 2015.

PHONETIC DETAIL AND VARIATIONIST PHONOLOGY: THE CASE OF (t,d)^{*}

Rosalind A. M. TEMPLE

University of Oxford*

rosalind.temple@new.ox.ac.uk

Abstract

“-*t,d* deletion”, or “(t,d)” has been the object of variationist studies for over half a century and continues to play a key part in theoretical debates about phonological representations both within and beyond variationist linguistics. Whereas they differ in their interpretations of the findings, most studies of the variable share a set of key assumptions about the nature of the variation involved. This paper addresses some of those assumptions, demonstrating how an examination of the detailed phonetics of the data raises fundamental problems which suggest that, in the absence of independent evidence to the contrary, (t,d) is best modelled as a Connected Speech Process, albeit a cognitively determined one.

Keywords

-*t,d* deletion, variation, phonetics, phonology, CSPs

DETALLE FONÉTICO Y FONOLOGÍA VARIACIONISTA: EL CASO DE (t,d)

Resumen

“La caída de -*t,d*”, o “(t,d)” ha sido objeto de estudios variacionistas durante más de medio siglo y continúa desempeñando un papel clave en los debates teóricos sobre las representaciones fonológicas tanto dentro como fuera de la lingüística variacionista. Mientras que algunos difieren en las interpretaciones de los resultados, la mayoría de estudios de esta variable comparten un conjunto de suposiciones clave sobre la naturaleza de la variación involucrada. Este trabajo aborda algunos de estos

* Grateful thanks to John Coleman, Lesley Milroy, Kirk Hazen, Ricardo Bermúdez-Otero and various conference audiences for their invaluable input to this paper. And to Sali Tagliamonte for stimulating my interest in (t,d), and for supplying the raw data.

* New College, Oxford OX1 3BN England.

supuestos, demostrando cómo un examen fonético detallado de los datos plantea problemas fundamentales que sugieren que, en ausencia de evidencia independiente contraria, (t,d) se modela mejor como un proceso de habla conectada, aunque sea cognitivamente determinada.

Palabras clave

caída de -*t,d*, variación, fonética, fonología, proceso de habla conectada

1. Introduction

The deletion of word-final /t/ and /d/ in English consonant clusters (e.g. *find* > [faɪnd] ~ [faɪn]) was first identified as a (socio)linguistic variable in African American English (AAE) (e.g., Labov *et al.* 1968), but it has subsequently been studied in a wide range of varieties by variationists and, more recently, theoretical phonologists. Most studies of this variable since the 1970s build on the foundational work of Guy (e.g., 1977, 1991) and they almost all share a number of assumptions:

- I. (t,d)¹ is an abstract, phonological variable rule, which applies to words ending in /t,d/-final clusters;
- II. (t,d) applies in both the lexical and post-lexical phonology;
- III. (t,d) governs discrete, binary alternation between surface [t,d] and zero (at least in the lexical phonology), which can be detected reliably by careful auditory analysis;
- IV. the alternation is conditioned overwhelmingly by (a) the segmental phonological context, (b) the morphological structure of the word (more deletion occurs in monomorphemic words such as *tent* than in morphologically complex words like *kept* or *sailed*) and (c) (in more recent studies) lexical frequency effects;
- V. the rule is ubiquitous in English world-wide.

¹ The abbreviation '(t,d)' is used here for convenience to represent both the linguistic variable whose variants are the presence or absence of [t,d], and the rule which variably deletes the consonant.

I to III have been found to hold consistently for AAE, where high levels of deletion are found (albeit differentially) before both consonants and vowels, and deletion is found word-internally as well as word-finally (cf., e.g., Green 2002). These phenomena are found in other varieties, for example, in North Carolina (Butters 1989); in Bermudian and Jamaican English we find examples such as (1) – (2) and (3) respectively:²

- (1) *and go out to the pond* [po^ən] *and pick the kite sticks*
- (2) *and he does pasting* [peɪsɪŋ] *and I like I said*
- (3) *you have to look at the date on the product* [prɔ:pʌk^h]

However, in other varieties there are much more substantial quantitative differences between preconsonantal and prevocalic rates of deletion, and word-internal deletion is not found, leading Labov (1972: 9) to conclude that the two types of variety have different rules with respect to cluster reduction, one phonological and other “low-level” phonetic.

Assumption V has nevertheless remained in the literature and it has more recently been called into question further by studies which failed to find the expected effects of morphological structure in some varieties of English (e.g., Tagliamonte & Temple 2005, and Renwick *et al.* 2014, for British English; Hazen 2011, for Appalachia). The present study was prompted by these findings, and by methodological difficulties encountered in the analysis of the data for Tagliamonte & Temple (henceforth “T&T”). Its aim is to address a question posed by Wolfram about (t,d) over twenty years ago: “Is it simply enough to note whether the cluster is reduced or not, or must one note finer phonetic points of detail in terms of the cluster?” (Wolfram 1993: 211). The detailed analysis focuses primarily on the assumptions listed as III and IV(a) above, highlighting some limitations of the widely used analytical method of auditory-impressionistic transcription and exploring their implications for those assumptions and, by extension, for I and II. I thus ask not only what are the “finer phonetic points of detail” but why they matter for analyses of (t,d) as a variable phonological rule and what alternative

² Thanks to Rosemary Hall (p.c., 2014) for these examples from her data.

analyses they suggest. The data are taken from the set analysed by T&T, and come from the York corpus of British English³ described in Tagliamonte (1998).

Section 2 presents an examination of the phonetic details of a sample of (t,d) tokens, focusing particularly on those with following obstruents or nasals, which are reported in the literature to have the highest rates of deletion (e.g., 55% in T&T: 293; Table 4). This shows how III is difficult to maintain in a high proportion of cases because it is not possible to detect unambiguous evidence of the deletion of the word-final /t,d/. In Section 3 a further sample of tokens demonstrates that IV(a) is equally problematic, since determining the strictly sequential context of application of a deletion rule is confounded by other phonetic/phonological processes and by the non-sequentiality of some phonetic cues. §4 addresses the implications of these observations for the analysis of (t,d) and considers whether it might not better be characterised as a Connected Speech Process (CSP) than an abstract phonological rule.

2. The interpretation of phonetic data

On the face of it, (t,d) is a relatively straightforward variable to model, involving categorical alternation between the absence and a surface phonetic realisation of an underlying word-final stop. It is generally acknowledged that a coronal stop following a token constitutes a “neutralizing environment” (Guy 1980: 4) and tokens in such contexts are routinely excluded from analyses on the grounds that it is not possible to tell whether a stop produced in that context is just a reflex of the following consonant or a reflex of both that and the word-final stop. However, the phonetic analysis and coding of the data for T&T showed that such difficulties arise in far more cases than merely the tokens which are conventionally excluded on the grounds of neutralisation. They are not the first to be aware of such problems. Wolfram’s question, quoted above, is followed by a warning: “Although some analysts have extracted data by simply counting the consonant cluster as overt or not, I think this is an unwise move, since it presumes that

³ Collected with the support of the Economic and Social Research Council of the United Kingdom (ESRC) under Research Grant #R000238287.

all the relevant linguistic categories potentially affecting the incidence of the variable have been determined” (Wolfram 1993: 211). However, it is difficult to find evidence in the literature that his caution has been heeded. The interpretational problems T&T encountered with the raw data are grouped here somewhat arbitrarily; other groupings and other labels are possible, and the problems illustrated for each group overlap, sometimes to a considerable degree. They all concern phenomena which are instantly recognisable as normal to phoneticians familiar with CSPs (e.g., Farnetani 1999) and which have been much studied since the early invention of such articulatory techniques as palatography. This section will first review what constitutes neutralisation and then examine some further phenomena which can make it equally difficult to determine whether deletion has or has not applied. The working assumption is that if (t,d) is a phonological rule any observed phonetic reflex of underlying /t,d/ must mean that the rule has not applied, and any ambiguities in the phonetics must call into question whether or not it has applied.

2.1 Neutralisation

As already mentioned, the so-called “neutralising” environment is a context where problems in identifying variants have long been acknowledged: “... in word-final consonant clusters it is necessary to exclude clusters which are immediately followed by a homorganic stop (e.g. test day) from the tabulation since it is sometimes impossible to determine whether the final consonant of the cluster is present or absent” (Wolfram 1969: 48). The exclusion of “neutralisation” contexts seems to have been normal practice since Wolfram’s study, although there appears to be no in-depth discussion of exactly which contexts should be excluded for this reason. Only one of the studies consulted by T&T (Bayley 1995) also excludes tokens with following interdental fricatives, on the grounds that they are frequently realised as stops by Bayley’s Tejano subjects.

However, there are other following consonants which could arguably also have this kind of neutralising effect on the variation, but which appear never to be mentioned. The most notable is [n], which is also articulated with apical/laminal

occlusion at the teeth/alveolar ridge. It might be argued that the presence of nasality would always differentiate the following nasal from the oral coronal stop, and stops, particularly voiceless ones, are often clearly audible even if there is no release before the following nasal. Where this is not the case, though, it is not clear how the analyst is to determine whether or not the speaker intends a coronal gesture for the following /n/ to pertain also to the /t/ or /d/ that precedes it. Moreover, nasality as a phonetic property is notoriously non-segmental, that is it is rarely strictly co-temporal with all the other properties of the segment to which it “belongs”. In (4), for example, the [s] is followed by a brief, nasalised puff of aspiration and a partially devoiced nasal consonant:

- (4) *they try their best not [bəs^{h̩}ŋɒ?]* to stay on⁴

As with /t#d/ and other accepted “neutralisation” sequences, release of the word-final plosive would in this token not be expected in normal casual, unscripted speech. The nasality is clearly audible from the end of the [s], but it is very difficult to determine whether [h̩] is actually a reflex of an underlying /t/ with nasal assimilation or nasal release, or whether the /t/ has been deleted and the nasal is merely partially devoiced. These decisions cannot be made on an *ad hoc* basis: decisions of principle need to be taken as to what is to be deemed a sufficient cue to the surface realisation of /t/ or /d/. Discussions of such principles tend, when they occur in the literature, to be limited to consideration of whether segmental variants such as flaps or glottal stops count as deletion, whereas (4) illustrates a context where the question is what subsegmental properties are sufficient to constitute absence of deletion, in this case whether the voicelessness is ascribable to the /t/ or to the juxtaposition of /s/ and /n/ alone.

Moreover, the problem is not limited to determining whether a surface reflex of /t,d/ is present: a case can also be made for treating other following consonants sharing alveolar or dental articulation with /t,d/ as neutralisation contexts on the grounds that in some sequences it is not at all clear that [t] or [d] on the one hand and zero on the other are both likely pronunciations. For example, in /st#s/ sequences in certain

⁴ All numbered examples from (4) onwards are taken from T&T's data. Phonetic judgements throughout the paper are based on a combination of visual inspection of spectrograms / waveforms and auditory analysis.

syntactic / discourse contexts (e.g. “at the last second”), where one might ask whether [sts] is truly a normal pronunciation in natural, rapid speech. Indeed, none of the sixteen tokens of /st#s/ in the present data set was pronounced with any surface reflex of /t/. Such problems are, however, not limited to potential “neutralisation” contexts, and we now turn to examine some areas which, I would argue, also need principled decisions about how to interpret the data and which in some cases are impossible to interpret definitively with only auditory and acoustic information.

2.2 *Masking effects*

The term “masking” is used here to denote the possibility of an articulatory gesture, possibly an incomplete one, which is physiologically and/or acoustically concealed by the articulation of surrounding consonants.⁵ Where there is a following vowel, the duration of the stop closure, the audible release and the visible formant transitions into the vowel make a surface reflex of the (t,d) token easy to identify, as in (5) and (6):

- (5) *er Simon and I kept in touch [k^hεpt^hɪntɒtʃ]*
(6) *if if a project or [pəʊdʒɛ?t^hɔ.] contract comes up*

Figure 1 is a spectrogram of part of (6) showing the preceding /k/ realised as a glottal, a clear closure period and a release showing formant transitions consistent with an alveolar plosive reflex of the word-final /t/ of *project*.

⁵ For the sake of conciseness, a broad definition of masking is adopted here whereby gestures need not be anterior to the coronal gesture (as they are in the examples from Browman & Goldstein (1990) discussed below), since the acoustic consequences of the latter can also be masked by an overlapping velar closure, which would prevent the build-up of intra-oral pressure necessary to produce a coronal release burst.

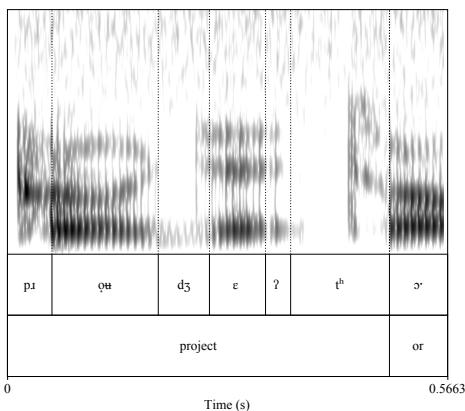


Figure 1. Spectrogram of “project or” (6); male speaker.

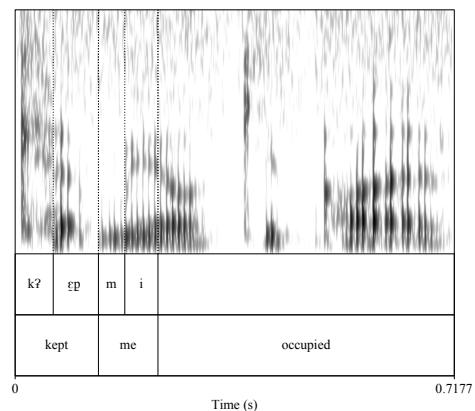


Figure 2. Spectrogram of “kept me occupied” (7); male speaker.

In the absence of a release, by contrast, whether or not deletion of word-final /t,d/ has occurred is much less certain, as is the case with (7), illustrated in Figure 2:

- (7) *having this lego kept me [k^hɛp̪mi^j] occupied for years.*

As Figure 2 shows, there is glottalisation of the vowel of *kept* and possibly glottal reinforcement of the [p], but auditory analysis reveals that there is also unambiguous sustained bilabial closure. The following [m] is clearly visible. There is no evidence in the spectrogram or auditorily of a [t] between the [p] and the [m], but it is not possible to state categorically whether there is or is not an apical gesture present.⁶ This unreleased /p/-to-homorganic /m/ sequence is, of course, exactly what one would expect from a native speaker of British English in connected speech (cf. e.g., Cruttenden 2008; Nolan 1992). Even assuming the absence of a lingual gesture, the presence of glottalisation might be interpreted as a reflex of /t/ in a glottal stop, but this interpretation is no more straightforward: the presence of a masked glottal stop is no easier to identify, and the creaky voicing on the preceding vowel and in the diphthong of the following word, clearly apparent in Figure 2, means that this could just be a function of the speaker’s register.

Many tokens showed this kind of effect. In (7) the place of articulation of the

⁶ The relatively short duration of the closure in *kept* compared to the /p/ of *occupied* is ascribable to a rapid deceleration of speech rate and cannot necessarily be taken as an indication of /t/ deletion.

preceding and following consonant is the same, but (8) and (9) demonstrate that this is not necessary for masking to occur:

(8) *well it was all pressed bits of [pɹ̩esbɪ?tsə] meat you know*

(9) *but there was all old carpets [ɔlkʰapʰi?s] and pictures.*

In each case there is a preceding apical gesture towards the alveolar ridge. Since word-final stops are not obligatorily accompanied by audible release (and arguably not normally so in this type of context), the absence of an audible or visible release burst cannot be taken as unambiguous evidence for deletion of /t,d/: in (8) the blade and tip of the tongue could have raised from their fricative position to form a closure during the articulation of the “following” [b], just as the side(s) of the tongue could have raised to complete a post-lateral closure in (9). In both cases, any coronal release would be auditorily masked by the closure of the following stop. It is, of course, equally possible that the tongue tip/blade was never raised further than for a fricative in (8) and was released as the dorsum (and sides) raised for [k] closure in (9), but it is impossible to tell either way without direct articulatory data.

Masking is particularly problematic where there is glottalisation of the preceding consonant and with combinations of preceding nasals and following plosives or nasals. (10) is taken from the same clause as (6):

(10) *if if a project or contract comes [kɒntɹ̩ja?-kɒmz] up.*

Again, the preceding and following segments are unproblematic: there is a clear closure into a glottal reflex of the preceding /k/ of *contract* and a clear velar release of the initial plosive of *comes*. Again it is not possible to state categorically that there is not an apical [t] gesture present, but if this were the case the glottal gesture would have to be released before the release of a [t] and crucially before the velar closure for the following /k/, in order for the presence of the /t/ to be perceived independently or to show up on the spectrogram. Alternatively, given that a glottal stop is a common reflex of /t/, this could be construed as a further neutralising context since the presence of a

“preceding” glottal stop makes it impossible to detect whether a /t/-specific glottal reflex is present or not, or to decide whether the glottal is a reflex of /k/ or /t/ or both — see below for further discussion.

The parallel problem with preceding nasals is illustrated in (11) and (12):

(11) *you know we were educated, trained people* [tʃe·npʰi·pɪ] / [tʃe·ndpʰi·pɪ]

(12) *they were over a thousand quid* [θəʊzŋkwɪd] each

Occasionally, such cases could be disambiguated from spectrographic evidence, for example, a sharp cessation and resumption of voicing with word-final /t/ followed by a voiced stop,⁷ but unsurprisingly, the majority are more like (11), represented spectrographically in Figure 3. The energy showing faintly between the [n] and the [p] release here is from the interviewer speaking over the informant; the closure period for /p/ is unambiguously voiceless. Prior to that it is possible to see the nasal energy falling off in frequency, but there is no stretch of non-nasalised voicing consistent with a fully voiced [d]. The lack of voicing could be explained by the word-final assimilatory devoicing characteristic of many Yorkshire speakers, but in the absence of a release this potential explanation is of no help in determining whether or not the word-final stop is present.

Tokens with following nasals or plosives rarely have released [t,d], and those which do have audible release usually involve hesitation or a prosodic pattern signalling a pragmatic or discourse effect. This is the case in (13) and Figure 4, where the speaker is introducing the computer game Minesweeper as the source of his friend’s problems with distraction at work and produces a micro pause after *found* followed by a lengthened diphthong in the first syllable of *Minesweeper*:

(13) *and he found Minesweeper* [faʊnd̯ maɪ̯nswi:pʰə] *have you played Minesweeper?*

⁷ Nine /d/ tokens with preceding /n/ and following voiceless consonants were devoiced and so also identifiable in this way (total number of /ndC/ = 72). The picture for /t/ is complicated by the fact that the majority of preconsonantal /nt/ tokens were glottalised (24/31), the proportion rising to 14/16 with following stops/nasals.

Examples (11) and (13) were produced by different speakers and the durations are different, but the spectral pattern in *found* (Figure 4) is almost identical, *mutatis mutandis*, to that in *trained* (Figure 3): in each case there is clear formant structure throughout the voiced portion of the closure for [n(d)] and no voicing bar extending beyond the end of the formants, as there would be in a canonical voiced [d]. The plosive release in (13) is completely voiceless, though not aspirated. This is again quite normal in English and it is difficult to see on what grounds one could state definitively whether or not the stop in (11) (Figure 3) has been deleted (to do so, a combination of palatography and nasal aerometry would be necessary, which is impractical for naturalistic studies). It is thus hard to see the justification for extrapolating from these and the other examples in this section a phonological rule of deletion, which would also apply to, say, the final /t/ of ‘I’ve never seen the film *Gorillas in the Mist* [mis(t)]’, as opposed to a CSP which would not apply in the latter case.⁸

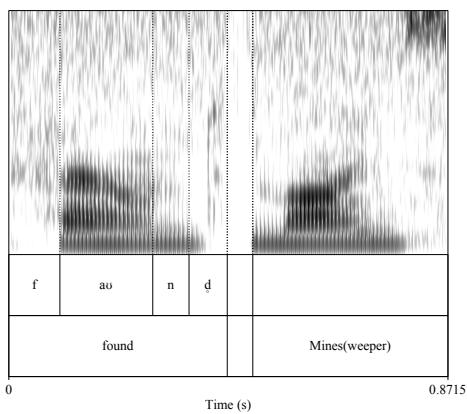


Figure 3. Spectrogram of “trained people” (11); female speaker.

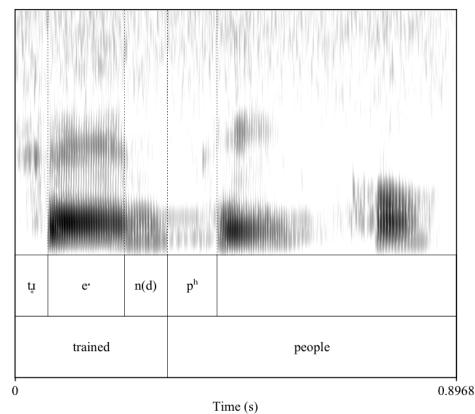


Figure 4. Spectrogram of “found mines[weeper]” (13); male speaker

2.3 Assimilation

The problem of masking is compounded in cases of assimilation across the (t,d) token. Again, this is particularly an issue with nasals, which frequently assimilate to the

⁸ An invented example is given here, since there is not a single example of a sentence-final coronal stop cluster with deletion in the York dataset, a fact which would not be coincidental under a CSP analysis.

place of articulation of a consonant following (t,d). When the underlying token is voiceless, it is sometimes possible still to detect a glottalised reflex of it, as in (14):

- (14) *she's on a different plane* [dɪf_jm[?]p|ε·n].

Potentially masked reflexes of /d/ are, however, much harder to detect, as in (15), where the speaker is describing an early record player, and (16):

- (15) *a a a sound box* [saʊmbɔks] was only a diaphragm

- (16) *we built, um, Bradford combined court* [k^həmbaɪŋk^h:?] centre.

2.4 Data interpretation: overview

The phenomenon of masking, with or without assimilation, might seem to pose purely practical problems, and an argument could be adduced from the point of view of perception that the masking causes the hearer not to hear a reflex of /t,d/ and it is thus reasonable to model its perceived absence as a result of deletion. However, the generally accepted treatment of “neutralisation” in (t,d) by excluding tokens in (following) neutralising contexts, on the grounds that it is impossible to perceive whether the (t,d) token is deleted or not, demonstrates that (t,d) is evidently modelled on the basis of production rather than perception. Since masking and neutralisation introduce the same uncertainty in the first step of the analysis, that is deciding whether a token is realised or not, they should at the very least be treated in the same way: either neutralised tokens should be included in the analysis because they form part of what the hearer hears (and presumably recognises as (t,d) sites), or potentially masked tokens should be excluded because, as with neutralisation, it is impossible for the analyst or the hearer to detect whether deletion has occurred.⁹ Given that production and perception must ultimately be linked, this decision might still be construed as merely an operational one, but it must nevertheless be addressed and it cannot be given

⁹ A decision to exclude all these tokens would of course severely curtail the analysable data set, rendering it in fact impracticable.

proper consideration without also considering the abstract model of the behaviour of (t,d). The implications of such difficulties will therefore be taken up again below. However, CSPs also pose problems concerning the interaction of any abstract (t,d) rule with other phonological / phonetic processes and we shall first examine these.

3. The relationship between (t,d) and other phonetic/phonological processes

Assumption IV(a) is predicated on the occurrence of /t,d/ in sequence between the preceding and following segments. These are assumed in the literature to be the underlying adjacent segments, yet there is surface evidence in many tokens of other phonetic/phonological processes. In this section I address firstly the issue of how these other processes might interact with (t,d) and then whether a strictly sequential analysis of the phonological constraints on (t,d) is possible at all in some cases.

3.1 Interaction with other phonological processes

It could be argued that the assimilation cases presented above constitute evidence in support of a rule of word-final coronal stop deletion: the assimilation in (16) would thus be argued only to occur because the /d/ between the nasal of *combined* and the velar plosive of *court* has been deleted before the postlexical rule of assimilation across the word boundary applies. However, in (14) assimilation of the /n/ in *different* to the place of articulation of /p/ in *plane* occurs across the glottal reflex of the word-final stop, showing that segmental adjacency is not a prerequisite for assimilation. By extension, there might well be an inaudible apical gesture in (15) and (16), but again it is impossible to tell.

Masking of the variable is not the only problem posed by assimilation for the analysis of (t,d): assimilation also causes difficulties with determining what the phonological context is when the rule applies. Thus in (14) above we might ask whether the preceding context is a syllabic [m] or a coda /n/ prior to undergoing assimilation to the following /p/.

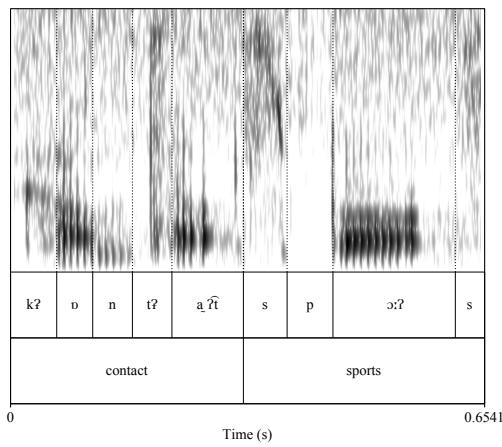


Figure 5. Spectrogram of “contact sports” (17); male speaker.

The most statistically robust effects of phonological context have concerned manner rather than place of articulation. However, there are other phonological processes interacting with (t,d) that do affect manner of articulation, and even the major class membership of the preceding and following context. Again, we shall demonstrate the problem using individual tokens.

In (17) there is a clear release of the [t], so the token is an unambiguous example of non-application of the deletion rule:

(17) *he was a bit wet when it comes to contact sports [kʰɒntʰə ?t spo:?*s]

The following segmental context is unproblematically [s]. However, the preceding context is less straightforward: /k/ is realised as a glottal, which raises the question of what exactly the segment was when the rule applied, [k] or [?]. It might be argued that what matters for the rule is that [?] is a stop, and its place of articulation is not important, but phonetically it is realised as creak on the /a/ vowel, as shown in Figure 5, and thus in a way which is qualitatively very different from [k]. Of the 169 preceding stops in the York data, 71 are phonetically full glottal stops and five are glottalised; glottals in total thus represent nearly 7% of the data set and 45% of preceding stops (76/169),¹⁰ so this is a far from trivial question.

¹⁰ All but one are preceding /k/s, so glottals account for 69% of preceding /k/ (75/109). The other token is /p/.

A similar problem is posed by vocalised /l/, as in (18):

- (18) *So she told me off* [tʰəʊmɪf] for shouting at her

There are ten such tokens in the data set and one, (19), where there is no obvious sequential reflex of /l/ at all:

- (19) *my friend told me right* [tʰəmɪɹ̩t] yesterday

In these and other cases of the absence of a preceding phonetic consonant, the question arises of how long in the derivation the underlying cluster remained a cluster and so subject to the (t,d) rule. Whereas tokens with preceding phonetic laterals have a deletion rate of 19% (total N=104), of the ten tokens¹¹ where the word-final consonant is preceded by a vowel in the surface form, six (60%) have the final consonant deleted, so /l/-vocalisation would appear to have an effect on deletion.

Questions concerning the ordering of rules also affect the following phonological context. In tokens like (20), where the /t/ coalesces with the following /j/, the same question arises: what is the following context when the (t,d) rule applies, in this case postlexically?

- (20) *like [the baby] kept you up* [kʰɛp̩ tʃ̩ɒp̩] 24 hours a night

Following /h/ is particularly problematic in this respect. In (21) the following context is phonetically a vowel,¹² but underlyingly it is consonantal. What, then, is the following context when the rule applies?

- (21) *we was walking down Micklegate and we grabbed him* [gɹabdɪm]

¹¹ The problem would, of course, be more serious in other varieties of British English where /l/-vocalisation is more common. Note that Walker (2012) excludes tokens with preceding /l/ because of the prevalence of vocalisation in his Toronto data.

¹² 39 of the 62 pre-/h/ tokens (63%) are followed by a phonetic vowel.

The rate of deletion in the 62 tokens with following /h/ is actually just 11%, only marginally higher than the 8% deletion rate for following vowels suggesting that even without /h/-dropping, the classification of /h/ with other following obstruents and nasals is erroneous.

All these problems are compounded when the processes affecting adjacent consonants also affect (t,d), as illustrated in (22), where glottalisation might be applying to /k/ and/or /t/, and the order of application of glottalisation and/or (t,d) is impossible to determine:

(22) ... *I w- worked part-time* [wə?pə?taɪm] *in funerals*

We return to this issue in the following section.

3.2 Segmental sequentiality

Examples (7) and (22) above raise a further question, albeit one which is partly bound up with the other issues discussed in this section, that is the possibility that a phonetic reflex of (t,d) might not occur sequentially between its “preceding” and “following” segments. (7) is reproduced here for convenience:

(7) *having this lego kept me* [k^hɛp̪mi] *occupied for years.*

The spectrogram of the token in Figure 2 above shows the audible glottalisation on the vowel of *kept* and into the [p] closure. It is well known that the phonetic cues to segmental identity are not restricted to the temporal slot implied by linear, segmental representations. The cueing of coda voicing by the duration of the preceding vowel is a commonplace, for example. So it might be argued that there *is* a reflex of /t/ present in the *kept* of (7), although it is not sequentially aligned in the word-final position. Again, this is a topic which merits further experimental exploration (into both perception and production) beyond the scope of the present paper, but again even on the present evidence the problem is raised of whether such tokens merit being classified as having

undergone deletion, when reflexes arguably persist on adjacent segments.

In (7), there is clear oral articulation of the unreleased bilabial [p] of *kept* as well as the glottalisation. By contrast, voiceless velar stops immediately followed by another stop in York English (and many British varieties) are frequently realised as glottals without any velar articulation.¹³ These tokens pose a different problem for classifying segments in sequence: in (23) the [t^h] of *worked* is released so [?] and [t^h] can be taken as sequential reflexes of /k/ and /t/ respectively:

(23) *and that was where my dad worked and [w₃?t^hən] where the Barbican...*

However, this is not possible in (22), or (24) and (25), which are all from different speakers:

(24) *She knocked straight [nɒ?st_jɛl] into us yeah*

(25) *being an infant teacher was helpful in that respect because [ɹɪsbɛ?·bɪkʊz].*

The preceding segment in each case is realised as a glottal stop, and it appears that the (t,d) token is absent. A parallel example, (10), was discussed under *Masking* above, but even if there were no masked alveolar gesture, [?] is also a possible pronunciation of (t,d) in this variety, as evidenced in (26), so it remains impossible to disambiguate whether [?] in (24) and (25) is a reflex of /k/ or /t/ or both.

(26) *you felt as [fɛl?əz] if you moved you'd fall off*

It would be necessary to carry out detailed phonetic comparisons of a number of tokens with potential sequences of glottals to establish whether there is, for example, a regular pattern of variation between a lengthened [?] in *worked* versus a shorter glottal reflex of /k/ in (*I*) *work*, which would indicate (although not conclusively) that there was an undeleted /t/ in this token of *worked*.¹⁴

¹³ Preceding /p/ may also be realised as a glottal stop, as in *except us* [i?se?·t^hʊs], but this is rare.

¹⁴ For a *caveat* on such interpretations of duration see Kühnert & Hoole (2004).

The questions raised in §3 cannot be dismissed by arguing that the rule relates to abstract phonological units or categories of sonority, major class features etc.: in order to carry out variable rule analysis, the analyst has determine for each token what the preceding context is, and it is crucial to know what that context is at the point when the variable rule applies. This is particularly important in cases where the preceding context could be a vowel, which means the cluster may not actually be a consonant cluster when the rule applies, and equally so where the following context may be a consonant or a vowel, given that following consonant versus following vowel has been found to have the most robust statistical effect on (t,d) since the very earliest studies. With an iterative lexical-phonological rule, such problems are intractable. It is impossible to determine whether the chicken of rule application came before or after the egg of, say, /l/-vocalisation.

4. Discussion

The survey of problems in this paper is intended to be illustrative and is not exhaustive, but even these affect a substantial proportion of the preconsonantal tokens, and so pose a challenge to Assumption III. The number of tokens potentially affected by each phenomenon, together with the number coded by T&T as deleted, is given in Table 1, which shows that they amount to 26% (83/325) of all tokens with following obstruents or nasals, that is the group which is consistently found to favour deletion most in the literature. Of these potentially problematic tokens, 83% were coded, rightly or wrongly, as deleted, a much higher proportion than for following obstruents as a whole (55%). Moreover, if the 62 pre-/h/ tokens are set aside on the grounds that they have probably been misclassified by being grouped with other obstruents, the proportion of problematic preconsonantal cases rises to 32% (83/263). Thus for almost one third of the tokens in the set with the highest rate of apparent deletion it is in fact difficult either to be certain that deletion has actually occurred or to know what the phonological context is when the rule applies or, indeed, both; and this is not an exhaustive tally. Thus, although this investigation began as an exploration of the methodological problems encountered during the analysis of the data for T&T, the data

reviewed raise more than simply methodological issues.

Example	Sequence	Number of tokens	Number coded as deleted
§2.1	/st#s/	16	16
(4)	bilabial-to-bilabial masking	4	3
(5)	/s/-to-bilabial masking	12	10
(7),(20),(22), (23)	glottal-to-C masking/ glottal ambiguity	15	10
(8),(9),(10),(13),(14)	/ndC ^[stop] / ¹⁵	31	27
TOTAL:		83	69 (83%)
<i>Total following obstruents/nasals (inc. /h/):</i>		325	179 (55%)
<i>(excl. /h/):</i>		263	172 (65%)

Table 1. Numbers of tokens in problematic contexts including following obstruents / nasals.

4.1 (*t,d*) as a variable rule

Although variable rules have their roots in transformational generative phonology, their ontological status has been a matter of debate (see, e.g., Fasold 1991; Mendoza-Denton, Hay & Jannedy 2003; Walker 2012): do they represent a convenient statistical tool for modelling variation or are they a model of speakers' competence? Whatever the general answer to this question, the linguistic characterisation of (*t,d*) espoused in the literature entails that the rule be a phonological rule proper, at least so far as morphological class and preceding context are concerned, that is, it applies in the lexical phonology (as well as post-lexically). The question thus arises of how this particular rule fits into the phonology as a whole. It is unproblematic for lexical processes strictly associated with the derivation of verbal forms, such as the deletion (or epenthesis) of the suffix vowel of {-ed} and voicing agreement of the final consonant, to occur before the variable deletion rule applies. However, the indeterminacy of the ordering of the rule with respect to processes affecting preceding and following consonantal segments, illustrated in §3, clearly does have direct bearing on any phonological analysis. As we have seen, indeterminacy also surrounds whether the rule has even applied in many cases, suggesting that any re-evaluation of (*t,d*) must go beyond addressing the ordering of rules and instead re-examine the nature of the rule itself, including whether it is in

¹⁵ Including tokens assimilated to following place of articulation.

fact a phonological rule at all.

Guy (1977) argues that while the effects of following segments might be explained in low-level phonetic terms, the effect of following pause and, moreover, the cross-dialectal differences in its ranking with respect to other constraints, may not. Further, the consistent differences between deletion patterns in words of different morphological structure also necessitates a phonological model. Guy concludes, therefore, that (t,d) is “a case where phonological variation cannot be accounted for by the sort of ‘general functional conditions’ suggested by Kiparsky [(1972)], but rather probably must be considered ‘a rule of grammar’” (Guy 1977: 9) in all varieties, not just AAE. Thereafter (t,d) has routinely been treated as a phonological rule and, as mentioned above, it has been studied in the light of various phonological phenomena: core syllabification, the OCP and, most famously, as a rule of Lexical Phonology. The LP account is generally taken as given, and (t,d) has been used to support some quite fundamental theoretical claims, for example, Coetzee & Pater (2011) or Bermúdez-Otero (2010), so the questions raised above have potentially far-reaching implications.

The problem posed by phonetic gradience in the realisation of (t,d) is in fact noted, and discussed in some detail, in an unpublished paper by Myers (1996). As he points out, whereas postlexical processes might be gradient, lexical rules are generally held not to be (cf., e.g., Kiparsky 1985). The evidence for gradience in (t,d) thus poses a problem for a rule which is crucially both lexical and postlexical and is presented in categorical terms in the literature. Kiparsky allows for the possibility of rules being both categorical (lexically and postlexically) and gradient (postlexically), but the problem remains of how to determine empirically what is a categorical and what a non-categorical application of (t,d). Myers develops a distributional method of distinguishing between the two based on the duration of the consonantal portion of the acoustic waveform from the offset of the pre-cluster vowel to the onset of the following word. This is not the forum to debate the advantages and disadvantages of Myers’ methodology. Rather, we may ask why it might be deemed necessary to go to the trouble of developing such methods for (t,d) in the face of the indeterminacy (with currently available methods of investigating natural continuous speech) of categoricity versus gradience due to phenomena such as masking.

The answer for Myers, and currently the only linguistic answer to this question, lies in the interaction of (t,d) with morphology: “One aspect of the dilemma that will arise seems unshakable: Guy’s evidence that in certain dialects of American English t-deletion is both lexical and postlexical. Specifically, Guy has shown that t-deletion interacts with morphology in such a way that it must be analysed as applying both within the lexicon as well as in a domain larger than the word” (Myers 1996: 5). Independently, Bermúdez-Otero (2010) also addresses the implications of the partial gradience of (t,d), and he also argues for a two-step derivation because of its morphological sensitivity. However, as already noted (§1), several studies have cast doubt on the robustness of a statistical effect of morphology on (t,d) variability consistent with the Lexical Phonology model of (t,d).¹⁶ Moreover, allowing for partial gradience in the realisation of the word-final stop itself still leaves unsolved the problems of rule-ordering with respect to other processes and of sequentiality, which were examined in §3. Thus the abstract model of (t,d) leaves many basic questions unanswered.

4.2 (t,d) as a Connected Speech Process

The phenomena affecting the analysis of (t,d) are mostly common CSPs, in British English at least, and viewed thus, they occur precisely in the contexts where one would expect most tokens to be perceived as having the final consonant deleted. One model of phonology which does claim to be able to integrate such complex phonetic observations is Articulatory Phonology (AP), and (t,d) and masking more generally feature prominently in Browman & Goldstein’s (1990) early paper. Figure 6 shows an acoustic waveform and the trajectories followed by pellets on the major articulators during the pronunciation of *nabbed most*. The figure illustrates yet more starkly the need for more abstract models than AP to address the question of whether (t,d) is a rule of production or perception: the acoustic output here would clearly count perceptually as deletion, and yet there is a very clear production gesture of the tongue blade corresponding with

¹⁶ Temple (in prep.) examines this issue in more detail.

an underlying /d/.

Most pertinent to the question of the nature of (t,d) in a model other than AP are the similarities Browman & Goldstein (1990) observe between cases such as Figure 6 and cases of variable assimilation across word boundaries not involving word-final clusters, as illustrated in Figure 7. Here the final alveolar nasal of *seven* assimilates to the following stop in *plus* but again an alveolar gesture remains. Wherever the phenomena described by Articulatory Phonology belong in a linguistic model, it is apparent that these two cases are very similar. In the case of *seven plus*, a non-AP approach would recognise the (variable) assimilation fairly uncontroversially as an albeit regular gradient phonetic CSP of English; given the similarities between that and the case of *nabbed most*, it would seem that the onus is on those wishing to espouse a more abstract phonological model of (t,d) to demonstrate that the two cases are sufficiently different to justify the treatment of the latter as the result of a different, categorical phonological rule. Temple (2014) provides further, detailed evidence of the extensive parallels between the phonetic behaviour of (t,d) consonants and that of other word-final stops in connected speech, both singletons and in clusters.¹⁷

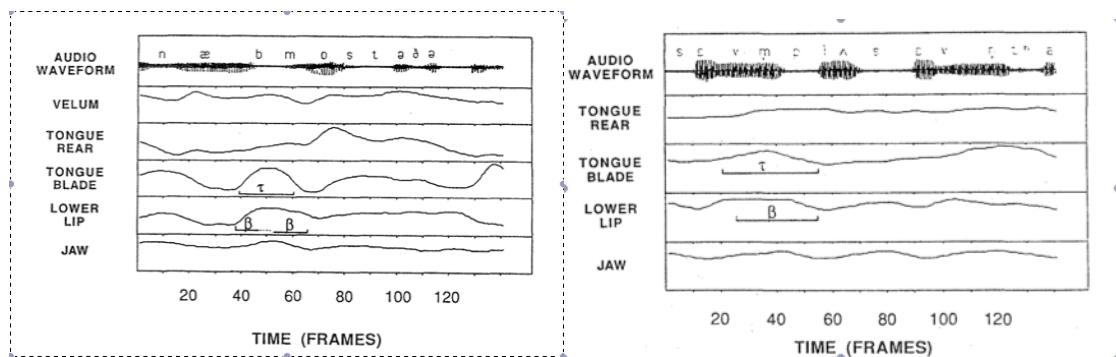


Figure 6. X-ray pellet trajectories for ‘nabbed most’ [næbmost] (Browman & Goldstein 1990: 21, Fig. 14)

Figure 7. X-ray pellet trajectories for “seven plus seven” [sɛvn#plʌs] (Browman & Goldstein 1990, p. 22, Figure 11b)

It does not necessarily follow from this that the variability in the realisation of (t,d)

¹⁷ There have been many more recent experimental phonetic studies and some acoustically informed variationist studies with a direct or indirect bearing on word-final (t,d), for example, Mitterer & Ernestus (2006), Raymond *et al.* (2006), Schuppler *et al.* (2009). However, there have to my knowledge been no published studies focussing specifically on (t,d). This in itself is telling. Some of the studies and their implications for an alternative analysis of (t,d) are discussed further in Temple (2014).

consonants should simply be put down to automatic effects of physiological constraints on connected speech. Even without espousing the phonological model of AP, the burgeoning field of sociophonetics¹⁸ is testament in itself to the fact that phonetic variability which is not part of the core phonology is not necessarily an automatic result of Kiparsky's "general functional conditions impinging on speech performance" rendering it, "unnecessary to investigate variation of this type" (Guy 1977: 4). Since phonetic detail may be controlled in structured ways by speakers (see, e.g., Docherty *et al.* 1997; Carter 2003; Stuart-Smith & Scobbie 2014), there is no *a priori* reason why (t,d) should not be a variable phonetic phenomenon¹⁹ which behaves in a structured manner. All the data in Temple (2014) are taken from the same dialect, but there is evidence of speakers systematically varying the characteristics of (t,d) and other word-final stops in different discourse contexts. This and the existence of cross-dialectal variation in deletion rates before pauses is not sufficient to justify an abstract phonological account of (t,d): it could simply be that more general CSPs are deployed differently in different dialects. Again, positive evidence would be needed to demonstrate that the pre-pausal differences are specific to (t,d) and so warrant an abstract rule.

Moreover, in a CSP account of (t,d) issues of rule ordering and sequentiality cease to be problematic: coalescence (as in (20) above) and the co-occurrence of CSPs such as lenition/elision of word-final /t,d/ and /l/-vocalisation (as in (18)) are to be expected (cf. Nolan 1992); indeed, Temple (2014) provides examples of co-occurrence of both lenition and fortition of (t,d) with lenition and fortition phenomena beyond the word containing the cluster. Viewing (t,d) as a particular instance of more general CSPs would seem, then, to provide the most satisfactory solution to the multiple problems surrounding the abstract model. The evidence for cognitive control of the variation nevertheless necessitates a means of formally modelling it. One possible model is AP, but that would only account for a subset of the phenomena observed here, and

¹⁸ Sociophonетicians would see this as an umbrella term rather than a 'field', covering a broad range of approaches which share a common commitment to exploring interfaces between phonetic and variationist theory and practice, rather than representing a monolithic school of thought, in the same way as Laboratory Phonology is an umbrella term indicating a commitment to the use of empirical methods in phonology.

¹⁹ This paper takes an agnostic stance regarding whether a dividing line might be drawn between postlexical phonological processes and phonetic CSPs. The crucial issue here is that (t,d) is not characterisable as a categorical (rather than gradient) phonological rule.

moreover, Lichtmann (2010, p.c.) has demonstrated with articulatory data that not all cases of “deletion” involve gestural overlap, which is the driving mechanism of that model. Once again Guy suggests a possible new solution: Guy *et al.* (2008) come to the data with a very different approach from the phonetically driven one espoused here, but on the basis of lexical and frequency effects found in their study of (t,d) in New Zealand English, they suggest a role for the “highly enriched lexical representations” of exemplar-based models. Such models are, of course, equally suitable for capturing the complex phonetic richness of representations in context.

5. Conclusions

This paper has demonstrated how detailed phonetic analysis of word-final consonant clusters ending in /t,d/ calls into question the key assumptions underpinning their modelling in terms of an abstract variable phonological rule applying to the word-final segment. That analysis depends on two key assumptions: that there is reliably detectable binary alternation between a surface consonant and zero (Assumption III) and that it is possible reliably to determine the preceding and following segments (IVa). Well known connected-speech phenomena such as assimilation and articulatory masking pose problems for both these assumptions which go beyond the methodological issue of determining when deletion has occurred and in what phonological context. The evidence of gradience and similarities in behaviour between (t,d) consonants and other CSPs noted by, e.g., Browman & Goldstein (1990), Myers (1996) and Temple (2014) suggest the need to revisit the widely held assumption that there is an abstract variable rule of /t,d/-deletion in all varieties of English which applies in both the lexical and post-lexical phonology (I, II, V). The failure of several studies to find a robust statistical effect of morphological class on the variability (IVb) and the fact cross-dialectal differences can be accounted for equally well in terms of CSPs remove the two main independent arguments for an abstract phonological analysis. It would appear, then, that Wolfram’s caution regarding ignoring fine phonetic detail was well-founded, as was Labov’s distinction between AAE-like and other varieties with respect

to this phenomenon (see §1 above): when (t,d) is investigated “from the starting point of combinatorial phonetics”, as suggested in the conclusion of T&T, it looks very much like a post-lexical CSP.

References

- BAYLEY, R. (1995) “Consonant cluster reduction in Chicano English”, *Language Variation and Change*, 6, 303-326.
- BERMÚDEZ-OTERO, R. (2010). “Currently available data on English t/d-deletion fail to refute the classical modular feedforward architecture of phonology”, paper presented at the 18th Manchester Phonology Meeting. <<http://www.bermudez-otero.com/18mfm.pdf>>
- BROWMAN, C. & L. GOLDSTEIN (1990) “Tiers in articulatory phonology, with some implications for casual speech”, in J. Kingston & M.E. Beckman (eds.), *Papers in Laboratory Phonology I: Between the Grammar and Physics of Speech*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 341-376.
- BUTTERS, R. (1989) *The Death of Black English: Divergence and Convergence in Black and White Vernaculars*, Berlin Germany: Peter Lang.
- CARTER, P. (2003) “Extrinsic phonetic interpretation: spectral variation in English liquids”, in J.K. Local, R.A. Ogden & R.A.M. Temple (eds.), *Phonetic Interpretation. Papers in Laboratory Phonology VI*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 237-252.
- COETZEE, A. & J. PATER (2011) “The place of variation in phonological theory”, in J.A. Goldsmith, J. Riggle & A. Yu. (eds.), *The Handbook of Phonological Theory*, 2nd ed., Oxford: Blackwell, 401-434.
- CRUTTENDEN, A. (2008) *Gimson's Pronunciation of English*, London: Hodder.
- DOCHERTY, G.J., P. FOULKES, J. MILROY, L. MILROY & D. Walshaw (1997) “Descriptive adequacy in phonology: a variationist perspective”, *Journal of Linguistics*, 33, 275-310.
- FARNETANI, E. (1999) “Coarticulation and connected speech processes”, in W.J. Hardcastle & J. Laver (eds.), *The Handbook of Phonetic Sciences*, Oxford: Blackwell, 371-404.
- FASOLD, R. (1991) “The quiet demise of variable rules”, *American Speech*, 66, 3-21.
- GREEN, L.J. (2002) *African American English. A Linguistic Introduction*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- GUY, G. (1977) "A new look at -t, -d deletion", in R.W. Fasold & R.W. Shuy (eds.), *Studies in Linguistic Variation*, Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 1-11.
- GUY, G. (1980) "Variation in the group and the individual: the case of final stop deletion", in W. Labov (ed.), *Locating Language in Time and Space*, New York: Academic Press, 1-36.
- GUY, G. (1991) "Explanation in variable phonology: an exponential model of morphological constraints", *Language Variation and Change*, 3, 1-22.
- GUY, G., J. HAY & A. WALKER (2008) "Phonological, lexical and frequency factors in coronal stop deletion in early New Zealand English", Abstract for paper at Laboratory Phonology 11, Wellington, New Zealand. <<http://labphon.org/LabPhon11/publish/abstracts.php>>
- HAZEN, K. (2011) "Flying high above the social radar: coronal stop deletion in modern Appalachia", *Language Variation and Change*, 23, 105-137.
- KIPARSKY, P. (1972) "Explanation in phonology", in S. Peters (ed.), *Goals of Linguistic Theory*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 189-227.
- KIPARSKY, P. (1985) "Some consequences of Lexical Phonology", *Phonology Yearbook*, 2, 85-138.
- KÜHNERT, B. & P. HOOLE (2004) "Speaker-specific kinematic properties of alveolar reductions in English and German", *Clinical Linguistics and Phonetics*, 18, 559-575.
- LABOV, W. (1972) *Language in the Inner City. Studies in the Black English Vernacular*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- LABOV, W., P. COHEN, C. ROBINS & J. LEWIS (1968) *A Study of the Nonstandard English of Black and Puerto Rican Speakers in New York City*, Washington DC: US Office of Education.
- LICHTMAN, Karen (2010) "Testing Articulatory Phonology: variation in gestures for coda /t/", *Illinois Language and Linguistic Society Conference 2 (ILLS2)*, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
- MENDOZA-DENTON, N., J. HAY & S. JANNEDY (2003) "Probabilistic sociolinguistics: beyond variable rules", in R. Bod, J. Hay & S. Jannedy (eds.), *Probabilistic Linguistics*, Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 97-138.
- MITTERER, H. & M. ERNESTUS (2006) "Listeners recover /t/s that speakers reduce: evidence from /t/-lenition in Dutch", *Journal of Phonetics*, 34, 73-103.
- MYERS, J. (1996) "The categorical and variable phonology of variable t-deletion in English", paper presented at the International Workshop on Language Variation and Linguistic Theory, University of Nijmegen, September 1995. <<http://www.ccunix.ccu.edu.tw/~lNgproc/t-deletion-manuscript.pdf>>

- NOLAN, F. (1992) "The descriptive role of segments: evidence from assimilation", in G.J. Docherty & D.R. Ladd (eds.), *Papers in Laboratory Phonology II*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 261-280.
- RAYMOND, W.D., R. DAUTRICOURT & E. HUME (2006) "Word-internal /t,d/ deletion in spontaneous speech: modeling the effects of extra-linguistic, lexical and phonological factors", *Language Variation and Change*, 18, 55-97.
- RENWICK, M.E., R.A.M. TEMPLE, L. BAGHAI-RAVARY & J.S. COLEMAN (2014) "Deletions in Big Data? The phonetics of word-final (t,d) in the Audio BNC", Paper presented at the biennial colloquium of the British Association of Academic Phoneticians, Oxford, 9th April, 2014.
- SCHUPPLER, B., W. VAN DOMMELLEN, J. KOREMAN & M. ERNESTUS (2009) "Word-final [t] deletion: an analysis on the segmental and sub-segmental level", in *Proceedings of the 10th International Conference of the International Speech Communication Association (Interspeech 2009)*, 2275-2278.
- STUART-SMITH, J. & J. SCOBIE (2014) "Derhotacisation in Scottish English: a sociophonetic journey", in C. Celata & S. Calamai (eds.), *Advances in Sociophonetics*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 59-96.
- TAGLIAMONTE, S. A. (1998) "Was/were variation across the generations: View from the city of York", *Language Variation and Change*, 10, 153-191.
- TAGLIAMONTE, S.A. & R.A.M. Temple (2005) "New perspectives on an ol' variable: (t,d) in British English", *Language Variation and Change*, 17, 281-302.
- TEMPLE, R.A.M. (2014) "Where and what is (t,d)? A case study in taking a step back in order to advance sociophonetics", in C. Celata & S. Calamai (eds.), *Advances in Sociophonetics*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 97-134.
- TEMPLE, R.A.M. (in prep.) "Towards a phonetically accountable model of (t,d)."
- WALKER, J.A. (2012) "Form, frequency and function in phonological variation", *Language Variation and Change*, 24, 397-415.
- WOLFRAM, W. (1969) *A Sociolinguistic Description of Detroit Negro Speech*, Washington DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- WOLFRAM, W. (1993) "Identifying and interpreting variables", in D. Preston (ed.), *American Dialect Research*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 193-221.

Received 15 February 2015.

Accepted 28 June 2015.

LAS MUTACIONES DEL GAÉLICO IRLANDÉS

Ignacio VÁZQUEZ DIÉGUEZ

Universidade da Beira Interior*

jivd@ubi.pt

Resumen

Las siguientes páginas pretenden acercar las lenguas celtas al lector interesado, usando el irlandés como hilo conductor. Siendo dichas lenguas una de las familias indoeuropeas, su estudio se ha prodigado poco en nuestro país. Se tratarán dos de sus aspectos más característicos: la ortografía y las mutaciones. Se intentará poner cierto orden en la terminología utilizada por la tradición para las mutaciones y que no responde *stricto sensu* a los términos lingüísticos correctos. Así, *eclipsis* corresponde a sonorización o nasalización y *aspiración* a fricatización.

Palabras clave

lenguas celtas, irlandés, mutación, ortografía, didáctica

THE IRISH GAELIC MUTATIONS

Abstract

The aim of this article is to bring Celtic languages closer to the curious reader. Irish will be used as a guide. Celtic languages are one of the Indoeuropean families but they are not very well known in Spain. Two of main features of Celtic languages will be dealt with: spelling and mutation. The traditional terms for mutation are not *stricto sensu* the correct terms in Linguistics: *eclipsis* corresponds to sonorization and nasalization, *aspiration* corresponds to fricatization.

Keywords

Celtic languages, Irish, mutation, spelling, didactics

* Rua Marquês de Ávila e Bolama, 6201-001 Covilhã, Portugal.

1. Introducción

Para un estudiado de las lenguas románicas, el sintagma *lenición celta* es habitual cuando se enfrenta a las leyes fonéticas que dividen a las lenguas del grupo occidental de aquellas del oriental. Entendemos este proceso, instantáneamente, aplicado al paso de las oclusivas sordas intervocálicas /p, t, k/ a sus respectivas sonoras /b, d, g/, es decir, a un proceso de sonorización.¹ Fuera del ámbito románico, la llamada lenición actúa en otros contextos.

No pretendo en estas líneas, a priori, descubrir nada que no se sepa sobre el funcionamiento de las lenguas célticas. Trataré simplemente de exponer en español dos de las particularidades principales que las caracterizan para facilitar su conocimiento al lector interesado. Y digo en español porque casi toda la información que se encuentra disponible en lo concerniente a las lenguas celtas (que no esté escrito en irlandés, escocés, galés o bretón) se encuentra en inglés. Al respecto, escribe Velasco López (2000: 211) lo siguiente, al explicar el objetivo de su artículo: “[...] brindar a los estudiosos hispanos una oportunidad de acercarse siquiera sea brevemente al mundo de la filología céltica. Un terreno de investigación prácticamente virgen en nuestras tierras hasta el punto de referirnos a ella como “la gran desconocida”.

En los últimos tiempos, y debido a diferentes razones, he podido apreciar un tímido pero creciente interés por el conocimiento del mundo celta entre algunos estudiantes de lingüística general y otro tipo de curiosos (entre los que me encuentro). Conocemos el funcionamiento de las lenguas románicas, tenemos la posibilidad de saber el de las lenguas germánicas –hoy casi todo el mundo interesado tiene nociones o sabe hablar inglés y/o alemán–, el de las eslavas (dados que se ofrecen en los planes de estudio de nuestras universidades); en nuestro país, accedemos al vasco, ofrecido también en las facultades de letras, así como las lenguas semíticas. No obstante, la histórica familia de las lenguas celtas, siendo indoeuropea, con profundas raíces comunes con las demás familias europeas, no tiene presencia en los estudios

¹ En un segundo estadio, se produce la fricativización [β, δ, γ].

universitarios. Y no será por importancia, el irlandés posee, tras el latín y el griego, la literatura y codificación ortográfica más antiguas de Europa.

Me centraré precisamente en esta lengua para ejemplificar y vehicular las características que llaman la atención a la persona que se acerca por primera vez a una lengua celta: la ortografía y la mutación (punto central de la exposición).²

2. CAOL LE CAOL AGUS LEATHAN LE LEATHAN

Una de las primeras sensaciones que asaltan al lector cuando se depara con un texto irlandés escrito con la tradicional grafía gaélica es la perplejidad. No sabemos cómo pronunciar las palabras debido a la cantidad de combinaciones de consonantes, vocales y signos que aparecen extraños a nuestra lengua. Tampoco ayuda mucho, aunque nos parezca más familiar, si encontramos el texto en caracteres latinos:³ “Caol le caol agus leathan le leathan”⁴ y esta frase es, precisamente, la base de toda la ortografía.

La pronunciación es [‘k̪y̪i:l̪y̪ l̪ə ‘ki:l̪y̪ ag̪y̪əs ‘l̪yahən̪y̪ l̪ə ‘l̪yahən̪y̪] cuya traducción literal en español es “estrecho con estrecho y ancho con ancho”. Entendida esta frase en el ámbito de la ortografía sería: “palatal con palatal y velar con velar”. ¿A qué se refiere?

Independientemente del punto y modo de articulación de una consonante, por ejemplo la /p/, en ambas lenguas (español e irlandés) oclusiva bilabial sorda, actúa en irlandés otra característica articulatoria que resulta ser fonológica.

Véanse las voces españolas *pato/pito*. En *pato*, la /p/, además de ser oclusiva bilabial sorda *está* velarizada por la vocal velar /a/; en *pito*, la /p/ oclusiva bilabial sorda *está* palatalizada por la vocal palatal /i/. Podríamos representar fonéticamente estos

² La tercera característica es el orden de la frase celta [V+S+C] (Tá tú anseo = Estás tú aquí).

³ Desde los años 60 y, particularmente, con la aparición de la informática, es el tipo de escritura habitual. No obstante, la gaélica sigue usándose.

⁴ Daré, en lo posible, las voces de otras lenguas indoeuropeas relacionadas con la palabra irlandesa para hacer más llevadera y agradable la lectura y demostrar así la común fuente. En esta frase: **caol** (estrecho): lat. *caelevs*, “único”; **le** (con): irl. ant. *leth* / lat. *latus*, “lado”; **agus** (y): irl. ant. *acus* / lat. *aggestus* < *aggero*, “llevar; añadir, acumular” y **leathan** (ancho): lat. (*p*)*lanta*, “planta del pie”. Son de gran ayuda los diccionarios de MacBain ([1896]-1911) y el de Macmillan Publishers (1998); también se ha consultado el de la Real Academia Española (RAE).

trazos secundarios en español así: [p^ya/p^ji], pero no encontramos una consonante pronunciada con velarización junto a una vocal palatal ni al contrario [*p^ja/*p^yi]. Por lo tanto, las vocales palatales (e, i) palatalizan a la consonante con la que forman sílaba y las vocales velares (a, o, u) velarizan a la consonante con la que forman sílaba.

En irlandés (y en las restantes lenguas celtas), las consonantes, independientemente de las vocales que las acompañan y con las que forman sílaba, independientemente de su punto y modo de articulación, *son* velares y palatales. Una misma consonante tiene esa doble naturaleza, así, una *p* oclusiva bilabial sorda velar puede ir acompañada de una vocal palatal y viceversa. Cabe decir que esa característica velar o palatal de la propia consonante, sin la influencia de la vocal como en español, provoca una articulación de las consonantes velares mucho más explosiva y de las palatales, mucho más yodizada.

Cuando los monjes irlandeses, hacia el siglo VI, adaptaron la escritura latina al irlandés antiguo se encontraron con que su lengua nativa tenía muchas más vocales y consonantes (con la particularidad descrita) que las grafías que ofrecía Roma. Idearon un sistema ingenioso combinando vocales en una serie de diptongos (y triptongos) escritos en los que una (o dos, en el caso de los triptongos) de las vocales era muda, simplemente servía para *avisar* de que la consonante era velar o palatal. Y en este punto es donde entra en juego la ley ortográfica “estrecho=*palatal* con estrecho y ancho=*velar* con ancho”. Una consonante inicial o final debe estar acompañada siempre de una vocal palatal o velar, y una consonante medial tiene que estar flanqueada por dos vocales velares o dos palatales, dando noticia así al lector de su naturaleza velar o palatal.

Véase el siguiente par mínimo: *paca/peaca*.

En ambas palabras, la vocal que se pronuncia en la primera sílaba es la *a*, pero en el primer caso la *p* es velar y en el segundo palatal, indicada por la *e* muda; y esta diferencia provoca cambio de significado: *paca/pacá* ['pa^yk^yə] (ingl. 'pack' / lat. med. *paccus*) “paquete”, *peaca/peacea* ['p^jak^yə] (lat. *peccatum*) “pecado”.

A través del cuadro siguiente, que presenta el sistema fonológico del irlandés actual, se puede apreciar esa dualidad. Se ofrecen, seguidamente, algunos ejemplos:

		Labial		Dental		Post-alveol		Velar		Glotal	
		son	sor	son	sor	son	sor	son	sor	son	sor
Nasal	vel	m ^v	•	n ^v	•			ŋ	•		
	pal	m ^j	•	n ^j	•			ŋ	•		
Oclus	vel	b ^v	p ^v	d ^v	t ^v			g ^v	k ^v		
	pal	b ^j	p ^j	d ^j	t ^j			g ^j	k ^j		
Fricat	vel	v ^v	f ^v	•	s ^v	•	•	v	x	•	h
	pal	v ⁱ	f ⁱ	•	•	•	ʃ	j	ç	•	h
Vibra	vel			r ^v	•						
	pal			r ^j	•						
Later	vel			l ^v	•						
	pal			l ⁱ	•						

Tabla 1. Sistema fonológico del consonantismo irlandés

/n^v-n^j/ “n”> naoi/naοi [n^vi:] (lat. *novem*) “nueve”; ní/ní [n^ji:] (al. *nix*) “cosa”.

/b^v-b^j/ “b”> buí/buí [b^vi:] (lat. *badius*, “amarillento” / esp. *bayo*) “amarillo”; bí/bí [b^ji:] (lat. *fio~vivus*) “ser, estar”.

/k^v-k^j/ “c”> cad/caðv [k^vad^v] (lat. *quid*) “¿qué?”; cead/ceðv [k^jad^v] (lat. *cedere*), “permiso”.

3. Las mutaciones

3.1 La eclipsis (urú/uṇú)

La *eclipsis*, palabra latina tomada del griego [ἔκλειψις], significa “desaparición” y es el término con que los estudiosos de la gramática irlandesa (URÚ en irlandés) llamaron a lo que la lingüística contemporánea denomina *nasalización*, remitiéndose a los orígenes del fenómeno. Como se verá, este término tampoco es exacto en su totalidad ya que la mutación en causa no siempre nasaliza.

Se trata de una *relajación* que afecta a una serie de fonemas cuando están en posición inicial de palabra. Las voces reciben la acción de una voz anterior que etimológicamente acababa en consonante nasal (irlandés antiguo) cambiando su modo de articulación en dos direcciones:

- a) sonorización de oclusivas sordas /p, t, k/ y de la fricativa sorda /f/, y
- b) nasalización de las oclusivas sonoras /b, d, g/ y prefijación nasal de vocal.

Todo ello en virtud de la atonicidad de la palabra “nasalizadora”, produciéndose una sola unidad tónica.

La ortografía actual de las voces que provocan esos cambios (un conjunto restringido) no refleja el sonido en la mayoría de los casos. Reaparece en la voz nasalizada. Por ejemplo, la preposición *i*, “en”, pronunciada [ə] (*in*, en irlandés antiguo).

Sonorización:

[nasal] ⁵ + [b] = [p]	Páras/ páras ['p\x{aa}r\x{aa}s\x{aa}]
“bp”	Tá mé i bPáras/ \t\x{aa} m\x{aa} e i b\x{aa}p\x{aa}r\x{aa} ['t\x{aa}a: 'm\x{aa}e \x{aa} 'b\x{aa}a:r\x{aa}s\x{aa}]
	(Estoy en París)
[nasal] + [t] = [d]	Trá Lí/ \t\x{aa} l\x{aa} ['t\x{aa}r\x{aa}l\x{aa}:]\x{aa}i:]
“dt”	Tá mé i dTrá Lí/ \t\x{aa} m\x{aa} e i \t\x{aa}d\x{aa}r\x{aa}l\x{aa} l\x{aa} ['t\x{aa}a: 'm\x{aa}e \x{aa} 'd\x{aa}r\x{aa}a:l\x{aa}i:]
	(Estoy en Tralee)
[nasal] + [k] = [g]	Corcaigh/ \k\x{aa}r\x{aa}k\x{aa}i\x{aa}\t\x{aa} ['k\x{aa}or\x{aa}k\x{aa}\t\x{aa}]
“gc”	Tá mé i gCorcaigh/ \t\x{aa} m\x{aa} e i g\x{aa}C\x{aa}r\x{aa}k\x{aa}\t\x{aa} ['t\x{aa}a: 'm\x{aa}e \x{aa} 'g\x{aa}or\x{aa}k\x{aa}\t\x{aa}]
	(Estoy en Cork)
[nasal] + [f] = [v]	Flórans/ \f\x{aa}l\x{aa}\r\x{aa}\n\x{aa}\t\x{aa} ['f\x{aa}l\x{aa}r\x{aa}n\x{aa}\t\x{aa}]
“bfh”	Tá mé i bhFlórans/ \t\x{aa} m\x{aa} e i b\x{aa}f\x{aa}l\x{aa}\r\x{aa}\n\x{aa}\t\x{aa} ['t\x{aa}a: 'm\x{aa}e \x{aa} 'v\x{aa}l\x{aa}r\x{aa}n\x{aa}\t\x{aa}]
	(Estoy en Florencia)

Nasalización:

[nasal] + [b] = [m]	Barcelona/ \b\x{aa}r\x{aa}s\x{aa}\t\x{aa}l\x{aa}\n\x{aa}\t\x{aa} [b\x{aa}ar\x{aa}s\x{aa}\t\x{aa}l\x{aa}\n\x{aa}\t\x{aa}]
“mb”	Tá mé i mBarcelona/ \t\x{aa} m\x{aa} e i m\x{aa}b\x{aa}r\x{aa}s\x{aa}\t\x{aa}l\x{aa}\n\x{aa}\t\x{aa} ['t\x{aa}a: 'm\x{aa}e \x{aa} m\x{aa}b\x{aa}r\x{aa}s\x{aa}\t\x{aa}l\x{aa}\n\x{aa}\t\x{aa}] (Estoy en Barcelona)
[nasal] + [d] = [n]	Doire/ \d\x{aa}r\x{aa}\t\x{aa}i\x{aa}\n\x{aa}\t\x{aa} ['d\x{aa}r\x{aa}\t\x{aa}i\x{aa}\n\x{aa}\t\x{aa}]

⁵ Etimológica.

"nd"	Tá mé i nDoire/Τά μέ i ηΌοιρε ['t̪a: 'm̪e a 'n̪ɪr̪e]
	(Estoy en Derry)
[nasal] + [g] = [ŋ]	Gaillimh/Γαιλίμ ['g̪aɪl̪iːm̪]
"ng"	Tá me i nGaillimh/Τά μέ i nΓαιλίμ ['t̪a: 'm̪e a 'n̪aɪl̪iːm̪]
	(Estoy en Galway)
[nasal] + [vocal]	Albain/Αιβαΐν ['al̪v̪aɪn̪]
"in"	Tá mé in Albain/Τά μέ in Αιβαΐν ['t̪a: 'm̪e a 'n̪al̪v̪aɪn̪]
	(Estoy en Escocia)

Lo que se ha producido es una armonización para facilitar la pronunciación: la sonoridad propia de las nasales contagia a la sordez de la sílaba siguiente; las que ya son sonoras se asimilan a la nasal.

Véase, a partir del irlandés antiguo, cómo se produce ese cambio:

		Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alv	Velar	Glotal
Nasal	son	m	n			ŋ	
Oclus	sord	▲ p	▲ t	•	•	▲ k	•
	son	b ◀	d ◀	•	•	g ◀	•
Fricat	sord	f	θ	s	ʃ	x	h
	son	v ◀	δ	•	•	ɣ	•

Tabla 2. Sonorización por influjo de nasal

En este punto, las gramáticas⁶ irlandesas dan un extenso listado de los casos en los cuales se produce la *eclipsis*. Su estudio se convierte en una empresa difícil si no se tienen conocimientos de historia de la lengua, se aprenden los contextos sin más, sin entender el porqué. A partir de la explicación histórica anteriormente dada, veremos los casos pormenorizadamente. Únicamente se pueden ver afectados los sustantivos, los adjetivos y los verbos. Es decir, tres categorías gramaticales que en algún momento han sido antecedidos por una palabra átona acabada en sonido *nasal* (determinantes <posesivos, numerales, artículo>, nexos <preposición i, preposiciones + artículo> y partículas sintácticas <negación, interrogación, pronombre relativo, conjunción

⁶ De entre las más conocidas sobresalen Ó Siadhail (1980), Christian Brothers (1906) y Mac Congáil (2004), todas ellas con reiteradas reimpresiones.

condicional, conjunción completiva>);⁷ como se ha afirmado, esa nasalidad no ha permanecido en la voz en la actualidad y todavía se hace más difícil memorizar cuáles son las palabras que *eclipsan*. Veámoslo a través de la historia de esos vocablos.

<i>Sonorización de sordas /ptkf > bdgv/</i> (p > b, t > d, c > g, f > bh)	<i>Nasalización de sonoras /bdg > mnŋ/ y vocales</i> (b > mb, d > nd, g > ng)	
<i>AFFECTA A SUSTANTIVOS</i>		
<i>a) posesivos plurales</i>		
*=IE / +=irlandés ant.		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • teach ['t̪ax] (lat. <i>tectum</i>); ár dteach [a:r̪'d̪ax] “nuestra casa” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ár [a:r̪] <+(s)aron <*(n)ostron /lat. <i>nostrum</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • bolg ['b̪ɔl̪əg̪] (ingl. ‘belly’); ár mbolg [a:r̪'m̪ɔl̪əg̪] “nuestro estómago”
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • cat ['k̪at̪] (lat. <i>cattus</i> / ingl. <i>cat</i>); bhur gcat [v̪ɔr̪'g̪at̪] “vuestro gato” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> bhur [v̪ɔr̪] <+svaron /lat. <i>vestrum</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • dath ['d̪a] (lat. <i>datus</i>); bhur ndath [v̪ɔr̪'n̪a] “vuestro color”
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • fáth ['f̪a:] (><i>fo+tamas</i>, “oportunidad”, <i>fo</i> = lat. <i>sub</i>); a bhfáth [ə'v̪a:] “su razón (de ellos)” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a [ə] <+(es)an <*esjon genit. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • gluaisteán [g̪l̪aɪ'st̪eán] (celt. <i>gel</i>, “mover” / ingl. ‘fly’ / lat. <i>volo</i>); a ngluaisteán [ən̪g̪l̪aɪ'st̪eán] “su coche (de ellos)”
<i>b) numerales (del 7 al 10)</i>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • peann ['p̪jan̪] (lat. <i>penna</i> / ingl. <i>pen</i>); seacht bpeann [ʃaxt̪'b̪jan̪] “siete bolígrafos” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> seacht [ʃaxt̪] <+secht n- <*septm /lat. <i>septem</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • gloine ['g̪l̪ɔn̪jə] (< <i>glan</i>, “limpio” / ingl. <i>clean</i>); seacht ngloine [ʃaxt̪'n̪g̪l̪ɔn̪jə] “siete vasos”
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • timpiste ['t̪im̪p̪iʃt̪ə] (lat. <i>tempestas</i>, fig. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ocht [oxt̪] <+ocht n- < *okto 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • asal ['as̪əl̪y] (lat. <i>assellus</i>); ocht nasal

⁷ A través de estas características que afectan a la morfología de la lengua irlandesa, el lector podrá acceder indirectamente al funcionamiento sintáctico de la misma.

"infortunio"); ocht d timpiste [oxt ^v 'd ^j im ^j p ^j əʃt ^j ə]	(analogía con 7, 9 y 10)	[oxt ^v 'nas ^v əl ^v] "ocho burros"
"ocho accidentes" •cathair ['k ^v ahər ^j] (celt. <i>kastro</i> / lat. <i>castrum</i>); naoi gcathair [n ^v i:'g ^v ahər ^j]	naoi [n ^v i:] <+nói n- <*enewen /lat. <i>novem</i>	•doras ['d ^v or ^v əs ^v] (lat. <i>foris</i> , "puerta" / ingl. <i>door</i>); naoi ndoras [n ^v i:'n ^v or ^v əs ^v]
"nueve ciudades" •freaga ['f ^v r ^v ag ^v ə] (irl. ant. * <i>frith-gar</i> / lat. <i>garrio</i> , "cuchichear" / al. <i>Frage</i>); deich b hfreaga [d ^v ex' ^v r ^v ag ^v ə]	deich [d ^v ex] <+deich n- <*dekm/lat. <i>decem</i>	•bord ['b ^v or ^v d ^v] (fránc. <i>bord</i> "lado de un barco < tabla" / ingl. <i>board</i> / esp. <i>bordo</i>); deich mbord [d ^v ex'm ^v or ^v d ^v]
"diez respuestas"		"diez mesas"

c) la preposición *i*

•teach ['t ^v ax]; i d teach [ə'd ^v ax]	i [ə] <+in <*en /lat. <i>in</i>	•baile ['b ^v al ^j ə] (celt. <i>balio</i> "guarida" / ingl. <i>build</i>); i mbaile [ə'm ^v al ^j ə]
"en casa"		"en el hogar/población"

Tabla 3. Categorías gramaticales acabadas etimológicamente en nasal que provocan nasalización.

Para explicar los dos puntos siguientes, conviene presentar una categoría gramatical fundamental para el proceso de las mutaciones: el artículo determinado. Parece una convención asumida entre los filólogos y lingüísticas que tratan el indoeuropeo que éste poseía un artículo/demostrativo reconstruido de la siguiente manera (declinado casi como un adjetivo latino tipo *bonus*, *-a*, *-um*):

	Masculino		Femenino	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Nom.	sendos(1)>en(2)> <i>an</i> (3)	sendi>(na)	senda>en> <i>an</i>	sendas>ena> <i>na</i>
Acus.	sendon>en><i>an</i>	sendus	sendan>en><i>an</i>	sendas
Genit.	sendi>en> <i>an</i>	sendun	sendas>ena> <i>na</i>	sendan>ena><i>na</i>
Dat.	sendu> en> <i>an</i>	sendobis	senda>ena> <i>na</i>	sendabis

Tabla 4. Reconstrucción del presentador (demonstrativo/artículo) indoeuropeo

Los cambios se explicarían así (ponemos un único ejemplo, el nominativo singular): sendos(1) > (h)end(o)(h) > ent > en(2) > an(3).

El artículo irlandés actual es *an* (/ən̥/ ante velar y /ən̥j/ ante palatal) en singular para los dos géneros y todos los casos excepto genitivo femenino singular, y *na* (/n̥ə/) para el plural de los dos géneros en todos los casos y el genitivo singular femenino.

Como se observa, los acusativos singulares y los genitivos plurales indoeuropeos acaban en nasal, también en el celta antiguo. De ahí que en la actualidad, el genitivo plural de un sustantivo esté sonorizado o nasalizado:

d) el genitivo plural

•fear ['fear̥] (lat. <i>vir</i>)	na+NASAL	•ban ['b̥an̥] (celt. <i>bena</i> / gr. <i>giné</i> / ingl. <i>queen</i>)
“de unos hombres”;	[n̥ə]	“de unas mujeres”;
na bh fear [n̥ə'v̥ar̥]	< + (e)nan < *(s)en(d)an	na m ban [n̥ə'm̥an̥]
“de los hombres”		“de las mujeres”

Tabla 5. Artículo genitivo plural

Veamos ahora el último caso que afecta al sustantivo, también relacionado con el artículo (o su ausencia); se hace de más difícil comprensión en las gramáticas al uso sin la ayuda histórica. Dicen los Christian Brothers (1994: 20): “The article (*an*) eclipses a noun in the singular after the prepositions *ag*, *ar*, *as*, *chuig*, *dar*, *faoi*, *le*, *ó*, *roimh*, *thar*, *trí*, *um*, unless we choose to aspirate: *ag an bhfear or ag an fhear*, *ar an gcrann or ar an chrann* [...]”.

Esa información se repite en todas las gramáticas. Para decir “al hombre” se puede expresar mediante *ag an bhfear* [əg̊ən̊'v̊ar̊] o *ag an fhear* [əg̊ə'n̊ar̊]; “sobre el árbol” puede ser *ar an gcrann*⁸ [er̊ən̊'r̊an̊] o *ar an chrann* [er̊ən̊'xr̊an̊].

La razón es la siguiente: todas estas preposiciones regían dativo (*sendu/sendā*), por lo tanto la consonante de la palabra siguiente se encontraba en posición intervocálica, produciéndose la tal aspiración (en las lenguas románicas occidentales se dio la sonorización; lo explicaré con detalle en el punto siguiente). Cuando la declinación irlandesa queda relegada a dos casos (común [=nominativo, acusativo, dativo] y genitivo), en el centro (Connacht/ Connac̊t̊a) y sur de Irlanda (Múnster/ An Mum̊ain), las preposiciones se habían asimilado al acusativo (*sendon/sendan*), acabado en nasal. En el norte, en el Úlster (Uladh/Ul̊að) continúan aspirando (fricativizando), el estándar oficial acepta ambas soluciones dialectales –uno de los pocos casos de lenguas normalizadas que hacen eso. De ahí la elección propuesta por los Christian Brothers.

e) preposición más artículo singular

- | | |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>ag</i> [əg̊] (oc < <i>ocus</i>, “cerca”) an• <i>ar</i> [er̊] (lat. <i>(s)uper</i> < IE. <i>wer</i>) an• <i>as</i> [as̊] (lat. <i>ex</i>) an• <i>chuig</i> [χuəg̊j] (lat. <i>cum</i>) an• <i>faoi</i> [f̊i:] (lat. <i>(s)ub</i> / IE, <i>supo</i>) an = <i>faoiñ</i>• <i>le</i> [l̊ə] (lat. <i>latus</i>) an = <i>leis an</i>• ó [o:] (lat. <i>ab</i> > IE <i>apo</i>) an = ón• <i>roimh</i> [r̊ov̊j] (lat. <i>(p)ro -(p)rimus</i>) an | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>cailín</i> ['k̊al̊i:n̊j] (gr. <i>pallakc</i> / lat. <i>pellex</i>, “concubina”; p>k); <i>ag an gcailín</i> [əg̊ən̊'g̊al̊i:n̊j] “a la chica”• <i>bóthar</i> ['b̊o:h̊ər̊] (celt. <i>batro</i> / gr. <i>baínu</i>, “ir”); <i>ar an mbóthar</i> [er̊ən̊'m̊o:h̊ər̊] “sobre/en la carretera”• <i>páirc</i> ['p̊a:r̊k̊j] (lat. med. <i>parricus</i> < <i>parra</i> “planta del vino” / ingl. <i>park</i>); <i>as an bpáirc</i> [as̊ən̊'b̊a:r̊k̊j] “fuera del parque”• <i>cistin</i> ['k̊iʃt̊ən̊j] (ingl. <i>kitchen</i> / lat. vulg. <i>cucina</i>); <i>chuig an gcistin</i> [χuəg̊ən̊'g̊iʃt̊ən̊j] “a/hacia la cocina”• <i>cathaoir</i> ['k̊ah̊i:r̊j] (lat. <i>cathedra</i>); <i>faoin gcathaoir</i> [f̊i:n̊'g̊ah̊i:r̊j] “debajo de la silla”• <i>buachaill</i> ['b̊uəxəl̊j] (lat. <i>bucolicus</i>); <i>leis an mbuachaill</i> [l̊əʃən̊'m̊uəxəl̊j] “con el chico”• <i>bád</i> ['b̊a:d̊j] (ingl. <i>boat</i> / esp. <i>bote</i>); ón <i>mbád</i> [o:n̊'m̊a:d̊j] “desde el barco”• <i>fear</i> ['f̊ar̊j]; <i>roimh an bhfear</i> [r̊ov̊ən̊'v̊ar̊j] “antes del hombre” |
|--|---|

⁸ **Crann**: lat. *cornus*, “árbol cornejo”.

•trí [t̪r̪i:] (lat. <i>trans</i>)	•páirc ['p̪a:r̪k̪i]; tríd an bpáirc [t̪r̪i:d̪ən̪'b̪a:r̪k̪i]
an = tríd an	"a través del parque"

Tabla 6. Preposiciones asimiladas al caso acusativo, acabado en nasal

El *adjetivo* irlandés, como el español, acostumbra a posponerse al nombre. Si lo antecede, y a su vez tiene delante una de las palabras anteriores, se eclipsa (pudiendo ser sonorización o nasalización): ceathrú “cuarto”

leis an gceathrú fear [l̪eʃən̪g̪iɑhr̪u:'f̪ar̪v̪] “con el cuarto hombre”

Sonorización de sordas /ptkf > bdgv/

(p > b, t > d, c > g, f > bh)

Nasalización de sonoras /bdg > mnŋ/ y vocales

(b > mb, d > nd, g > ng)

AFFECTA A VERBOS

partículas sintácticas

•Tuigeann tú ['t̪ig̪jən̪'t̪u:] (irl. ant. <i>to+ges</i> / lat. <i>gero</i> , “llevar”)	interrogativo	•Briseann siad ['b̪r̪iʃən̪'ʃiəd̪v̪]
“tú entiendes”;	<i>an</i>	(ingl. <i>break</i> / fr. <i>briser</i>)
an dtuigeann tú mé?	<i>in</i> < +irl. /lat.	“ellos rompen”;
[ən̪'d̪iɡ̪jən̪'t̪u:'m̪e:]	<i>an</i>	an mbriseann siad an peann?
“¿me entiendes?”		[ən̪'m̪iɡ̪jən̪'ʃiəd̪v̪ən̪'p̪jan̪v̪]
•Tuigeann tú ['t̪ig̪jən̪'t̪u:]	rel./ conj./ int.	“¿rompen ellos el bolígrafo?”
“tú entiendes”;	neg. <i>nach</i>	•Briseann siad ['b̪r̪iʃən̪'ʃiəd̪v̪]
nach dtuigeann tú mé?	* <i>nako an</i>	“ellos rompen”;
[n̪ax'd̪iɡ̪jən̪'t̪u:'m̪e:]	/lat. <i>quin</i>	nach mbriseann siad an peann?
“¿no me entiendes?”		[n̪ax'm̪iɡ̪jən̪'ʃiəd̪v̪ən̪'p̪jan̪v̪]
•Foghlaímíonn sé	cá interr.	“¿no rompen ellos el bolígrafo?”
[f̪ol̪yim̪i:n̪'ʃe:] (* <i>vo-glendô</i> / ingl. <i>glance</i> / al. <i>ganz</i> , “muestra, esplendor”)	<i>cía</i>	•Glanann sibh ['g̪l̪yan̪'ən̪'ʃiv̪]
“él aprende”;	< com+irl.	(ingl. <i>clean</i>)
cá bhfoghlaímíonn sé Spáinnis?	< <i>kwe</i>	“vosotros limpiáis”;
[k̪a:'v̪ol̪yim̪i:n̪'ʃe:'ʃp̪a:n̪iʃ̪]	/lat. <i>qui</i>	cá nglanann sibh an bád?
“¿dónde aprende él español?”		[k̪a:'n̪l̪yan̪'ən̪'ʃiv̪ən̪'b̪a:d̪v̪]
•Cheannódh sí ['çan̪o:'ʃi:] (<i>ceann</i> , “cabeza”; <i>ceannaigh</i> , “considerar	condicional	“¿dónde limpiáis el barco?”
	dá	•Dólfadh sé ['d̪o:l̪hə'ʃe:] (óí, “beber”, IE * <i>potlo</i> / lat. <i>poto</i> / ingl.

con la cabeza")	<+dane > dá n-	<i>ale)</i>
"ella compraría/comprase";		"él bebería/bebiese";
dá gceannódh sí an teach...		dá n-ólfad sé...
[d̪a:'g̪jan̪o:'j̪i:ən̪i't̪ax]		[d̪a:'n̪o:l̪hə'ʃe:]
" si comprase ella la casa..."		" si él bebiese..."
•Cheannódh sí	condicional	•D'ólfad sé
"ella compraría/comprase";	negativo	"él bebería/bebiese";
mura gceannódh sí an teach...	ma (sáns. smâ)	mura n-ólfad sé...
[m̪ur̪ə'g̪jan̪o:'j̪i:ən̪i't̪ax]	+ ro	[m̪ur̪ə'n̪o:l̪hə'ʃe:]
" si ella no comprase la casa..."		" si él no bebiese..."
•Cailleann sí ['k̪al̪ən̪'j̪i:]	completivo	•Dúnann tú ['d̪u:n̪ən̪'t̪u:]
(ingl. <i>halt</i> , "detener")	go	(dún / ingl. <i>town</i> , "fortaleza")
"ella pierde";	com +irl.	"tú cierras";
deir tú go gcailleann sí mála	/lat. <i>quod</i>	deir sé go ndúnann tú doras
[d̪er̪i't̪u:g̪ə'g̪al̪ən̪'j̪i:'m̪a:l̪ə] (<i>deir</i> /		[d̪er̪i'ʃe:g̪ə'n̪u:n̪ən̪'t̪u:'d̪ora:s]
IE *ad+bero > (a)d(b)er / lat. <i>re+fero</i>		"él dice que tú cierras una puerta"
"referir"; <i>mála</i> / ingl. <i>wallet</i> < fr.		
<i>male</i>)		
"tú dices que ella pierde una		
maleta"		
•An fear a gceannaíonn m'athair an	relativo <i>a</i>	•An cupán a n-ólann sé as
teach uaidh	(genitivo y	[ən̪k̪v'pa:n̪ə'no:l̪ən̪'ʃe:as̪] (<i>cupán</i>
[ən̪i'far̪əg̪jan̪i:n̪'m̪aher̪ən̪i't̪ax	dativo [prep])	/ lat. <i>cuppa</i> / ingl. <i>cup</i>)
'vəj] (<i>athair</i> / lat. <i>pater</i>)	del art. neut.	"la taza desde/de la que él bebe"
"el hombre al que mi padre compra	(s)an	
la casa" (lit. el hombre que compra		
mi padre la casa desde él)		

Tabla 7. Partículas sintácticas asociadas al verbo que provocan nasalización

3.2 La aspiración (*séimhiú/réimhíu*)

La siguiente mutación se denomina *aspiración* (*SÉIMHIÚ*) en la gramática irlandesa y *fricatización* en la lingüística actual. En un primer momento afecta a /p, t, k, b, d, g/, a /m/ y a /f/.

El proceso de relajación hacia la fricatización determina los siguientes cambios:

/p > f/: ph/ɸ

/t > (θ) > h/: th/χ

/k > x/: ch/č

/b > v/: bh/ø

/d > (δ) > γ/: dh/ð

/g > γ/: gh/š

/m > v/: mh/ṁ

/f > Ø/: fh/ɸ

La escritura gaélica utiliza el llamado *punctum delens*. Inicialmente servía para marcar un error de copia que había que ignorar. Los monjes irlandeses lo colocaban sobre la *f* para indicar que era muda (fricatización y posterior enmudecimiento) y más tarde pasó a escribirse en todas las consonantes que fricatizaban.

Véase el cambio a partir del irlandés antiguo:

		Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alv	Velar	Glotal
Nasal	son		n			ŋ	
Oclus	sord	b ▼	p ▼	d ▼	t ▼	•	•
	son						
Fricat	sord	▼ ▼ Ø	f θ h	▼ ▼ h	s h	ʃ h	k χ
	son						
Nasal	son	▲	m				

Tabla 8. Fricatización por posición intervocálica

[-t ^{vj} -] > [-θ-] > [-h]	['m ^v a:tər ^j] > ['m ^v a:θər ^j] > ['m ^v a:hər ^j]; máthair/máchtair, (lat. <i>mater</i>) “madre”
[-b ^v -] > [-v ^v -]	['l ^v ab ^v ər ^j] > ['l ^v av ^v ər ^j]; leabhar/leabhar (lat. <i>liber</i>), “libro”
[-m ^v -] > [-v̄-] > [v ^v]	[d ^v o'm ^v n ^v yak(o)] > ['d ^v ov ^v nəx]; domhnach/ðomnach (lat. <i>dominicu</i> s), “domingo”

Tabla 9. Ejemplos del proceso de fricativización

Al tiempo que se producía esta relajación, por posición sintáctica, gran cantidad de palabras comenzadas con las consonantes expuestas (a las que se sumaron los sonidos fricativos /s/ y /ʃ/) se encontraban en posición intervocálica tras otra palabra acabada en vocal (determinantes <posesivos, numerales, artículo>, nexos <preposiciones + artículo>, partículas sintácticas <vocativo, negación, interrogación, pronombre relativo, conjunción condicional, conjunción completiva> y partícula que forma los pasados). De este modo, la aspiración o fricativización actual se da en los siguientes casos (se añade la razón histórica que apoya la secuencia):

Fricativización de /ptk, bdg, mf, sf > fhx, vyy, vØ, hh/

(p>ph, t>th, c>ch; b>bh, d>dh, g>gh; m>mh, f>fh; s>sh)

AFFECTA A SUSTANTIVOS

a) posesivos singulares

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| • mo < *mou | • teach ['t ^v ax]; mo theach/mo čeac [m ^v o'hax] “mi casa” |
| • do < *tu | • peann ['p ^v an ^v]; do pheann/ðo þeann [d ^v o'fian ^v] “tu bolígrafo” |
| • a < *esjo | • capall ['k ^v ap ^v əl ^v] (lat. <i>caballus</i>); a chapall/ə čapall [ə'xap ^v əl ^v] “su caballo (de él)” |

b) los vocativos, siempre antecedidos de la partícula a

- | | |
|----------------------|--|
| • a (lat. <i>o</i>) | • Micheál ['m ^v iča:l ^v]; a Mhichíl/ə m ^v ichíl! [ə'v ^v iči:l ^v] “¡Oh, Miguel!” |
|----------------------|--|

c) con los numerales (del 1 al 6)

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| • aon < *oyno | • bó ['b ^v o:] (lat. <i>bos</i>); aon bhó/əon bó [en'v ^v o:] “una vaca” |
| • dhá < *dvâ
<i>/lat. duo</i> | • teach ['t ^v ax]; dhá theach/ða čeac [ɣa:'hax] “dos casas” |
| • trí < +treí | • mí ['m ^v i:]; (lat. <i>mensis</i>) trí mhí/crí mí [t ^v i: 'v ^v i:] “tres meses” |
| • ceithre | • teach ['t ^v ax]; ceithre theach/ceičre čeac [k ^v er ^v ə'hax] |

< *qetvôr >	"cuatro casas"
+cethir(e)	
•cúig	•súil [s'yu:l] (lat. <i>sol</i>); cúig shúil/cúis súil [ku:ig'hu:l] "cinco ojos"
< *qenque	
•sé <+sé	•siopa ['ʃop̪ə] (ingl. <i>shop</i>); sé shiopa/sé ciopa [ʃe:'hɔp̪ə] "seis tiendas"
<*shash	

Tabla 10. Categorías gramaticales que provocan fricatización en sustantivos

Retomando el artículo, se marcan en negrita las cuatro formas del singular que acaban en vocal:

Masculino		Femenino	
	Singular	Plural	Singular
Nom.	sendos	sendi	senda
Acus.	sendon	sendus	sendan
Genit.	sendi	sendun	sendas
Dat.	sendu	sendobis	senda

Tabla 11. El presentador indoeuropeo

Por lo tanto, afectará la fricatización del siguiente modo:

d) nominativo singular femenino

- senda** > an | •bean ['bjan̪]; an **bhean**/an ȣean [ən'i'vean̪] "la mujer"

e) genitivo singular masculino

- sendi** > an | •cailín "chica"; cóta ['k'yo:t̪ə] (ing. *coat*) "abrigo"; cóta an chailín ['k'yo:t̪ən̪'xal̪i:n̪] "el abrigo de la chica"

Tabla 12. Casos fricatizados debido al artículo

Con preposiciones. Tal como se ha visto en la *eclipsis*, las mismas preposiciones junto al antiguo artículo del dativo (*sendu/sendá*) provocan una situación intervocálica del sustantivo (la elección que marcan los Christian Brothers):

f) preposición más artículo singular

•ag [əg ^y] an	•cailín ['k ^y al ^j i:n ^j]; ag an chailín [əg ^y ən ^y 'xałj:i:n ^j] “a la chica”
•ar [er ^y] an	•bóthar ['b ^y o:hər ^y]; ar an bhóthar [er ^y ən ^y 'v ^y o:hər ^y] “sobre/en la carretera”
•as [as ^y] an	•páirc ['p ^y a:r ^j k ^j]; as an pháirc [as ^y ən ^y 'f ^y a:r ^j k ^j] “fuera del parque”
•chuig [xuəg ^j] an	•cistin ['k ^j iʃt ^j ən ^j]; chuig an chistin [xuəg ^j ən ^y 'xiʃt ^j ən ^j] “a/hacia la cocina”
•faoi [f ^y i:] an = faoin	•cathaoir ['k ^y ah ^j i:r ^j]; faoin chathaoir [f ^y i:n ^y 'xahi:r ^j] “debajo de la silla”
•le [l ^j ə] an = leis an	•buachaill ['b ^y uəxəl ^j]; leis an bhuachaill [l ^j əʃən ^y 'v ^y uəxəl ^j] “con el chico”
•ó [o:] an = ón	•bád ['b ^y a:d ^y]; ón bhád [o:n ^y 'v ^y a:d ^y] “desde el barco”
•roimh [r ^y ov ^j] an	•fear ['f ^y ar ^y]; roimh an fhear [r ^y ov ^j ən ^y 'ar ^y] “antes del hombre”
•trí [t ^j r ^j i:] an = tríd an	•páirc ['p ^y a:r ^j k ^j]; tríd an pháirc [t ^j r ^j i:d ^j ən ^y 'f ^y a:r ^j k ^j] “a través del parque”

Tabla 13. Preposiciones asimiladas al dativo que junto al artículo provocan fricatización

Cabe añadir en este caso las preposiciones *de*, *do* e *i*, que al unirse al artículo contraen en *den*, *don* y *sa* y que siempre fricatizan:

•de [d ^j e] an = den (lat. <i>de</i>)	•crann ['k ^y r ^y an ^y]; den chrann [d ^j e'x ^y r ^y an ^y] “del árbol”
•do [d ^y o] an = don (ingl. <i>to</i> / al. <i>zu</i>)	•buachaill ['b ^y uəxəl ^j]; don bhuachaill [d ^y on ^y 'v ^y uəxəl ^j] “al niño”
•i [ə] an = sa (in+senda)	•cathair ['k ^y ahər ^j]; sa chathair [s ^y ə'xahər ^j] “en la ciudad”

Tabla 14. Preposiciones que junto al artículo siempre fricatizan

AFFECTA A ADJETIVOS pospuestos en aquellos casos que en la primitiva y única hipotética declinación indoeuropea (seguía los parámetros del artículo, como *bonus*. -a, -um) acababan en vocal: genitivo singular masculino y nominativo singular femenino; en el plural, el nominativo masculino.

En la actualidad, sabemos que el llamado caso común (sea singular, sea plural) engloba a nominativo, acusativo y dativo partiendo del nominativo primitivo acabado en vocal. En el masculino, la palatalización es la manera más usual de formar el plural,

resultado de la antigua *-i*; en el femenino, muy pocos sustantivos acaban en sílaba palatal, resultado de la antigua terminación *-as*.

Afirman las gramáticas que un adjetivo plural se fricatiza cuando el sustantivo acaba en consonante palatal, sin más especificación. La razón es la que acabamos de exponer. Véanse estos ejemplos:

Masculino singular:	Masculino plural:
Vocativo y genitivo + fricatización del adjetivo (y palatalización final)	En todos los casos solo fricatiza el adjetivo si el nombre acaba en consonante palatal
Voc - A fhir mhóir! ("¡Oh, hombre grande")	Caso común (nom) - Na fir mhóra ("Los hombres grandes")
[m̥o:r̥] (lat. <i>merus</i> "puro, excelente")	Caso común (dat) - Leis na fir mhóra ("Con los hombres grandes")
Gen - Teach an fhir mhóir ['t̪axə'n̪iːr̥v̥o:r̥] ("La casa del hombre grande")	Femenino plural:
Femenino singular:	En todos los casos solo fricatiza el adjetivo si el nombre acaba en consonante palatal
Todos los casos excepto genitivo + fricatización del adjetivo	
Voc - A bhean mhór! ("¡Oh, mujer grande!")	
Caso común (nom) - An bhean mhór [ən̪iːv̥an̪ v̥o:r̥] ("La mujer grande")	
Caso común (dat) - Leis an mbean mhór ("Con la mujer grande")	

Tabla 15. El adjetivo fricatizado según el caso

En este punto, cabe hablar del pasado de la cópula, que afecta tanto a sustantivos como a adjetivos:

- | | |
|------------------------|--|
| •ba (lat. <i>fui</i>) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Ba bhuachaill mé ['b̥a'v̥ʊəxəl̪i'm̪e:] ("Yo fui/era un muchacho") •Ba chiúin an oíche ['b̥açu:n̪ən̪i'ixə] ("La noche fue/era apacible")
(chiúin: lat. <i>civis</i>, ingl. <i>civil</i>; oíche: lat. <i>noctem</i>) |
|------------------------|--|

AFFECTA A VERBOS

a) en el pasado

Tabla 16. Fricatización provocada por la cópula

Nos explican las gramáticas irlandesas que el tiempo pasado de los verbos se forma *aspirando* (fricatizando) el imperativo (forma verbal por la que la convención lexicográfica lematiza los verbos en un diccionario). Hemos visto varios verbos en los ejemplos dados, retomaré algunos:

Imperativo	Presente	Pasado
Caill ! ['k̪al̪i]	Cailleann (mé, tú, sé...)	Chaill (mé, tú, sé...) ['xal̪i]
iPierde!	Pierdo, pierdes, pierde...	Perdí, perdiste, perdió...
Dún ! ['d̪u:n̪i]	Dúnann (mé, tú, sé...)	Dhún (mé, tú, sé...) ['γu:n̪i]
iCierra!	Cierro, cierras, cierra...	Cerré, cerraste, cerró...
Bris ! ['b̥i'r̪i]	Briseann (mé, tú, sé...)	Bhris (mé, tú, sé...) ['v̥i'r̪i]
iRompe!	Rompo, rompes, rompe...	Rompí, rompiste, rompió...
Ól ! ['o:l̪i]	Ólann (mé, tú, sé...)	D'ól (mé, tú, sé...) ['d̪o:l̪i]
iBebe!	Bebo, bebes, bebe...	Bebí, bebiste, bebió...

Si reparamos en el último ejemplo, notamos que el verbo ól (beber) empieza por vocal, por lo tanto no se puede fricatizar y antepone la partícula *do* apostrofada. Esta partícula era universalmente utilizada en irlandés hasta épocas recientes ante el imperativo para formar el pasado, de ahí que haya fricatizado (el verbo comenzado por consonante se encontraba entre dos vocales). En la actualidad *do* (en irlandés antiguo *ro*, partícula celta para formar los pasados, cifrada en latín *pro* [anterioridad]) solo se mantiene ante verbos comenzados por vocal (dialectalmente todavía se pronuncia en el sur, en Kerry, con todos los pasados); (*ro>* do caill > do chaill > chaill.

b) tras las siguientes partículas sintácticas (*=IE / +=irlandés ant.)

•ní	•Briseann siad ['b̪r̪ɪʃən̪'ʃiəd̪] “ellos rompen”;
<+ní / lat. <i>ne</i>	ní bhriseann siad an peann [n̪i: 'v̪r̪ɪʃən̪'ʃiəd̪ən̪'p̪ən̪]
	“ no rompen el bolígrafo”
•níor	•Bhris siad ['v̪r̪ɪʃ'ʃiəd̪] “ellos rompieron”;
<+nír < ní-(p)ro	níor bhris siad an peann [n̪i:r̪i: 'v̪r̪ɪʃ'ʃiəd̪ən̪'p̪ən̪]
/lat. <i>pro</i> (antes)	“ no rompieron el bolígrafo”
(signo del pasado)	
•ar	•Thuig tú ['h̪ɪg̪'t̪u:] “tú entendiste”;
<+ar	ar thuig tú mé? [a:r̪i:h̪ɪg̪'t̪u:'m̪e:]
/lat. <i>prae</i> (antes)	“ ¿me entendiste/me has entendido?”
•nár	•Dhún tú ['γu:n̪'t̪u:] “tú cerraste”;
<+ní+ar	dúirt sé nár dhún tú an doras ['d̪u:ri:t̪i:jə:n̪'ar̪'γu:n̪'t̪u:ən̪'d̪or̪'as̪] “dijo que no cerraste la puerta”
/lat. <i>prae</i> (antes)	
•cár	•Ghlan sibh ['γl̪an̪'ʃiv̪] “vosotros limpiasteis”;
<cá+ar	cár ghlan sibh an bád? ['k̪va:r̪'γl̪an̪'ʃiv̪ən̪'b̪a:d̪]
/lat. <i>prae</i> (antes)	“ ¿dónde limpiasteis el barco?”
•gur	•Dhún tú ['γu:n̪'t̪u:] “tú cerraste”;
<+com+ro	dúirt sé gur dhún tú an doras ['d̪u:ri:t̪i:jeg̪'or̪'γu:n̪'t̪u:ən̪'d̪or̪'as̪] “dijo que cerraste la puerta”
/lat. <i>quod</i>	
•a relativo	•Ceannaíonn/cheannaigh ['k̪jan̪i:n̪'/çan̪i] “compra/compró”
nom. y acusat.	an bhean (do irl. ant.) a cheannaíonn/cheannaigh an teach
<+do > a	[ən̪i:v̪an̪ (ə'çan̪i:n̪ / ə'çan̪i) ən̪i:t̪ax]
analogía con <i>a</i>	“la mujer que compra/compró la casa”
genit. y dativo	

Tabla 17. Partículas sintácticas asociadas al verbo que provocan fricativización

4. Conclusiones

Si bien la tradición grammatical irlandesa utiliza las palabras *eclipsis* y *aspiración*, traducciones de las correspondientes gaélicas *urú agus séimhiú*, la lingüística actual define ambos procesos como *sonorización* y *nasalización* para el primero y *fricativización*

para el segundo. En este trabajo, la diacronía permite comprender los casos en que se produjeron/producen las tres mutaciones fonéticas (y fonológicas).

Recapitulando, las mutaciones irlandesas actúan del siguiente modo:

<i>Sonorización / Nasalización (presencia de una nasal)</i>	<i>Fricativización (situación intervocálica)</i>
<p><i>afecta a sustantivos el vocativo (a)</i></p> <p>ár = traein (ingl. <i>train</i> < lat. <i>trahere</i>); ár <i>dtraein</i>, “nuestro tren”</p> <p>bhur = cáca (lat. <i>coquo</i>); bhur <i>gcáca</i>, “vuestro pastel”</p> <p>a = Dia (lat. <i>divus</i>); a <i>nDia</i>, “su Dios (de ellos)”</p>	<p><i>los posesivos</i></p> <p>Máire; a <i>Mháire!</i>, “¡María/ oh, María!”</p> <p>mo = cat; <i>mo chat</i>, “mi gato”</p> <p>do = madra (ingl. <i>mastiff</i> / esp. <i>mastín</i>); do <i>mhadra</i>, “tu perro”</p> <p>a = cara (lat. <i>carus</i> / bret. <i>quaret</i> < lat. <i>quaerere</i>); a <i>chara</i>, “su amigo (de él)”</p>
<p><i>los numerales</i></p> <p>7 = bláth; seacht <i>mbláth</i>, “siete flores”</p> <p>8 = abhainn; ocht <i>n-abhainn</i>, “ocho ríos”</p> <p>9 = dath; naoi <i>ndath</i>, “nueve colores”</p> <p>10 = gúna; deich <i>ngúna</i>, “diez vestidos”</p>	<p>1 = bó; aon <i>bhó</i>, “una vaca”</p> <p>2 = capall; dhá <i>chapall</i>, “dos caballos”</p> <p>3 = mála; trí <i>mhála</i>, “tres maletas”</p> <p>4 = caora (lat. <i>caper</i>, “cabra”); ceithre <i>chaora</i>, “cuatro ovejas”</p> <p>5 = trá (irl. ant. <i>tráig</i>, “reflujo de la marea” / lat. <i>traho</i>); cúig <i>thrá</i>, “cinco playas”</p> <p>6 = doras; sé <i>dhoras</i>, “seis puertas”</p>
<p><i>la preposición i</i></p> <p>i = Baile Átha Cliath; i <i>mBaile Átha Cliath</i>, “en Dublín” (población del vado de cañizo) (<i>cliath</i> / fr. <i>claié</i>, “cañizo”)</p>	<p><i>el artículo</i></p> <p>-Genitivo plural de ambos géneros</p> <p>An <i>béal</i> (boca); na <i>mbéal</i>, “de las bocas”</p> <p>An <i>bhróg</i> (zapato / anglosaj. <i>bróc</i> / ingl. <i>breech</i>, “cámara”); na <i>mbróg</i>, “de los zapatos”</p>
<p>(Connacht/Connacht, Múnster/Δণ ḡMuṇḍain)</p> <p>ag an <i>gcailín</i>, “a la chica”</p> <p>ar an <i>mbóthar</i>, “sobre/en la carretera”</p> <p>as an <i>bpáirc</i>, “fuera del parque”</p>	<p>(Úlster/Ulster)</p> <p>ag an <i>chailín</i>, “a la chica”</p> <p>ar an <i>bhóthar</i>, “sobre/en la carretera”</p> <p>as an <i>pháirc</i>, “fuera del parque”</p>
<i>el artículo junto a la preposición</i>	

chuig an gcistin, “a/hacia la cocina”
 faoin gcathaoir, “debajo de la silla”
 leis an mbuachaill, “con el chico”
 ón mbád, “desde el barco”
 roimh an bhfear, “antes del hombre”
 tríd an bpáirc, “a través del parque”

chuig an chistin, “a/hacia la cocina”
 faoin chathaoir, “debajo de la silla”
 leis an bhuachaill, “con el chico”
 ón bhád, “desde el barco”
 roimh an fhear, “antes del hombre”
 tríd an pháirc, “a través del parque”
 den = crann; den chrann, “del árbol”
 don = buachaill; don bhuachaill, “al niño”
 sa = cathair; sa chathair, “en la ciudad”

afecta a adjetivos

-Pospuestos cuando los respectivos nombres han sido fricatizados
 Ceathrú “cuarto”
 leis an gceathrú fear,
 “con el cuarto hombre”

Masculino singular:
Voc - A fhir mhóir!
 (“¡Oh, hombre grande”)
Gen - Teach an fhír mhóir
 (“La casa del hombre grande”)

Masculino plural:

Caso común (nom) - Na fir mhóra
 (“Los hombres grandes”)
Caso común (dat) - Leis na fir mhóra
 (“Con los hombres grandes”)
 Femenino singular:
Voc - A bhean mhór!
Caso común (nom) - An bhean mhór
 (“La mujer grande”)
Caso común (dat) - Leis an mbean mhór
 (“Con la mujer grande”)

afecta a sustantivos y adjetivos

el pasado de la cópula

Ba bhuachaill mé
 (“Yo fui/era un muchacho”)
Ba chiúin an oíche
 (“La noche fue/era apacible”)

afecta a verbos

(Dún an doras!, “¡cierra la puerta!”)
 (Dúnann tú an doras, “tú cierras la puerta”)

-Interrogación (presente) **an**

-Forma tiempos pasados (del imperativo)
(do) Dhún tú an doras, “cerraste la puerta”
 -Negación (presente⁹) **ní**
Ní dhúnann tú an doras,
 “no cierras la puerta”
 -Negación (pasado) **níor**
Níor dhún tú an doras,
 “no cerraste la puerta”
 -Interrogación (pasado) **ar**

⁹ El futuro actúa como el presente, en todos los casos.

An ndúnann tú an doras?
“¿cierras la puerta?”
-Interrogación negativa (presente) **nach**
Nach ndúnann tú an doras?
“**¿no** cierras la puerta?”
-¿dónde? (presente) **cá?**
Cá ndúnann tú an doras?
“**¿dónde** cierras la puerta?”
-Completiva (presente) **go**
Deir sé **go** ndúnann tú an doras,
“dice **que** cierras la puerta”
-Completiva negativa (presente) **nach**
Deir sé **nach** ndúnann tú an doras,
“dice **que no** cierras la puerta”
-Condicional **dá**
Dá gceannódh sé an doras...,
“**si** él comprase la puerta...”
-Condicional negativa **mura**
Mura gceannódh sé an doras...,
“**si** él **no** comprase la puerta...”

-Relativa negativa (presente)
nominativo y accusativo nach
An bhean **nach** ndúnann an doras, (sujeto)
“la mujer **que no** cierra la puerta”
An doras **nach** ndúnann an bhean, (CD)
“la puerta **que no** cierra la mujer”

-Relativa (presente)
genitivo y dativo [prep] a
Seomra (habitación / < ing. < fr. *chambre* < lat. *camera*), codail (dormir / irl. ant. *con+tulim* / lat. *tolerare*)

Ar dhún tú an doras?
“¿cerraste la puerta?”
-Interrogación negativa (pasado) **nár**
Nár dhún tú an doras?,
“**¿no** cerraste la puerta?”
-¿dónde? (pasado) **cár?**
Cár dhún sí an doras?
“**¿dónde** cerró ella la puerta?”
-Completiva (pasado) **gur**
Dúirt sé **gur** dhún tú an doras,
“dijo **que** cerraste la puerta”
-Completiva negativa (pasado) **nár**
Dúirt sé **nár** dhún tú an doras,
“dijo **que no** cerraste la puerta”

-Relativa (presente)
nominativo y accusativo a
An bhean **a** dhúnann an doras, (sujeto)
“la mujer **que** cierra la puerta”
An doras **a** dhúnann an bhean, (CD)
“la puerta **que** cierra la mujer”

-Relativa (pasado)
nominativo y accusativo a
An bhean **a** dhún an doras, (sujeto)
“la mujer **que** cerró la puerta”
An doras **a** dhún an bhean, (CD)
“la puerta **que** cerró la mujer”

-Relativa negativa (pasado)
nominativo y accusativo nár
An bhean **nár** dhún an doras, (sujeto)
“la mujer **que no** cerró la puerta”
An doras **nár** dhún an bhean, (CD)
“la puerta **que no** cerró la mujer”

-Relativa (pasado)
genitivo y dativo [prep] ar
An seomra **ar** chodail mé **ann**, (CC)
“la habitación **en la que** dormí”

An seomra <u>a</u> gcodlaíonn mé ann (lat. <i>in</i>), (CC) “la habitación en la que duermo”	-Relativa negativa (pasado) <i>genitivo y dativo [prep] nach</i>
An seomra nach gcodlaíonn mé ann , (CC) “la habitación en la que no duermo”	An seomra nár chodail mé ann , (CC) “la habitación en la que no dormí”

Tabla 18. Cuadro-resumen de las mutaciones irlandesas

Referencias

- BARNWELL, David, Pádraig Ó DOMHNALLÁIN & Carmen RODRÍGUEZ ALONSO (2009) *Diccionario Irlandés-Español/Foclóir Gaeilge-Spáinnise*, Dublín: Coiscéim.
- CHRISTIAN BROTHERS, THE (1994) *New Irish Grammar*, Dublin: C. J. Fallon.
- MACBAIN, Alexander ([1896]-1911²) *An Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language*, Inverness: Stirling.
- MAC CONGÁIL, Nollaig (2004) *Irish Grammar Book*, Indreabhán, Conamara: Cló Iar-Chonnachta.
- MACMILLAN PUBLISHERS (1998) *Webster's New World Dictionary & Thesaurus*, New York: Gramercy.
- Ó SIADHAIL, Mícheál (1980) *Learning Irish*, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies: Yale University Press.
- REAL ACADEMIA ESPAÑOLA *Diccionario de la lengua española*, disponible en <www.rae.es>.
- VELASCO LÓPEZ, Mª del Henar (2000) “Hitos en la evolución del irlandés”, *Veleia (Revista de prehistoria, historia antigua, arqueología y filología clásicas)*, 17, 211-230.

REVIEW

by Wladyslaw CICHOCKI

University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada *

cicho@unb.ca

CÔTÉ, Marie-Hélène, Remco KNOOIHUIZEN & John NERBONNE (eds) (2016) *The future of dialects. Selected papers from "Methods in Dialectology XV"* (Language Variation 1), Berlin: Language Science Press, 411 pp. DOI:10.17169/langsci.b81.78

The International Conference on Methods in Dialectology meets every three years to discuss advances in the study of dialects. The organization of these conferences is “informally” directed by a steering committee that is not aligned with a particular association or learned society. This setting encourages a relaxed and dynamic exchange of research information that comes from a broad range of theoretical and methodological frameworks and that has a large number of international participants. Generally referred to as *Methods XV*, the 15th meeting of this group was held in Groningen, Netherlands, in August 2014, and attracted over 150 oral presentations and posters; 22 of these papers are included in this volume. In keeping with the Methods spirit of collegial exchange, the papers are open-access and can be downloaded at no cost. Also noteworthy is the fact that this volume is the first title to appear in the “Language Variation” series by the Language Science Press, which intends to promote a tradition of open-access publication.

The “future of dialects” theme given in the title of this book is timely; however, only a small number of papers actually address it. Most contributions deal with what one might label as the “future of dialectology;” they present methodological innovations for the analysis of dialect data, especially in the areas of quantification,

* Department of French, University of New Brunswick, P.O. Box 4400, Fredericton, NB, CANADA E3B5A3.

mapping and methods of data elicitation. The list of languages analyzed is impressive; it ranges from Breton to Yiddish and includes dialect situations in Europe, North America and Japan. In this review it is not possible to discuss in detail each of the 22 contributions; I will instead highlight five main themes that I identified as I read the papers.

1. The Future of Dialects

In the context of forces such as urban marginalization and non-integration, increasing social mobility, and greater access to formal education, traditional dialects are undergoing unexpected changes. Two papers directly address the study of these so-called “future” dialects. The “new” varieties described in both studies have their origins in contact situations, and the authors are searching for appropriate methods to analyze them. Nagy studies heritage languages that have been brought by immigrants to Canada. As these languages develop across several generations, they diverge from the parent varieties and form “new” dialects; examples are “Canadian Chinese,” “Italiiese” (Canadian Italian) and “Ukish” (Canadian Ukrainian). Nagy proposes to adapt the methods of variationist sociolinguistics to study both the linguistic and attitudinal bases of these “new” varieties. Belgian Dutch *tussentaal* represents a different kind of “future” dialect. Ghyselen describes this variety in the context of a shift from diglossia to a diaglossic repertoire; that is, speakers who usually choose dialect variants in informal situations and standard variants in formal settings are starting to use forms that are intermediate between standard and dialect; this shift occurs in informal supraregional situations. While all the speakers in Ghyselen’s corpus are participating in this shift, very few of them have a strong association to these intermediate diaglossic variants, making it difficult for the researcher to isolate this “new” variety. Ghyselen argues for more observation of speech in informal supraregional speech settings.

Three other papers also contribute to the “future of dialects” theme. Škevin appeals to semiotics to explain the dialect levelling that is taking place in the lexicon of a local variety of Čakavian Croatian. Romance-based lexical variants are losing vitality

in part because of a change in semiotic space; the concepts that these lexical items signify are losing their place of importance in the daily lives of speakers, which leads to a reduction in the number of users of the variants as well as to cultural and dialect levelling. Ota, Nikaido and Utsugi study a change in the tonal system of Kagoshima Japanese, a regional variety that is being influenced by Standard Japanese. The change in accented and unaccented word patterns is realized by new tones that are intermediate between standard and regional varieties and that reflect both de-dialectalization and de-standardization. Hirano describes Japanese-English code-switching in conversations between native speakers of English who live in Japan. She uses social network analysis to explain how an increase in the use of these code-switches is linked to the changing identities of the speakers.

2. Quantification

In their analyses of dialect data researchers apply basic descriptive statistics as well as advanced techniques such as transformations, logistic regression and principal components analysis. Researchers are also using quantitative methods to address issues in dialectological inquiry.

One of the important questions in dialectometry – how to identify and rank the linguistic features that define the dialect areas that have been determined by quantitative analysis – is a central theme of several papers. Montemagni and Wieling describe an approach that combines cluster analysis with two metrics that measure the distinctiveness and representativeness of linguistic features. They use these metrics to isolate sets of lexical items that are most “important” in characterizing varieties of Tuscan Italian. Bloem, Wieling and Nerbonne apply the same distinctiveness and representativeness metrics to study pronunciation errors by L2 learners of English. Their application identifies specific pronunciation features that characterize Dutch, French and Hungarian learners; their findings overlap closely with results found in the L2 acquisition literature. Factorial-type multivariate statistical analyses can also be used effectively to identify and rank linguistic features. Pickel

applies factor analysis to obtain several orthogonal rankings of features that are associated with dialect areas in Bavarian Swabia (in Germany). In her study of Belgian Dutch *tussentaal* Ghyselen uses multiple correspondence analysis to measure the association of individual speakers to clusters of linguistic features that define this “new” variety. In a related study, Brun-Trigaud, Solliec and Le Dû carry out a number of applications of the Levenshtein algorithm to measure linguistic distances in data found in a linguistic atlas of Breton (spoken in France); their goal is to determine the degree to which linguistic distances are influenced by one high-frequency feature as opposed to several features with lower frequencies of occurrence.

Other researchers apply dialectometric techniques to investigate well-known problems in dialectological analysis. Matthusek shows how fieldworker effects, such as idiosyncrasies in phonetic transcription, “create” isoglosses that can significantly mislead the analysis of dialect structures. Wieling and Montemagni address the question of whether quantitative analysis should include or exclude low frequency forms, which are generally considered to add “noise” to an analysis. They show that including infrequent forms does not alter the configuration of the major dialect regions established by quantitative analysis.

3. Mapping

Researchers apply various techniques to map linguistic data onto geographic space. Many of these techniques are available in software packages that are in the public domain such as *Gabmap*, developed at the University of Groningen (see the papers by Mathussek and by Montemagni and Wieling), and *GeoLing*, developed at the Universities of Augsburg and Ulm (see the paper by Pickl).

Two papers present original mapping tools that are useful for exploratory analysis. Kumagai uses “animation” to play sequences of geographic maps that display degrees of lexical similarity among the 2400 localities in the *Linguistic Atlas of Japan Database*. This technique allows the researcher to look for explanatory factors; the animation visualizes patterns of transitions in geographic space onto which one can superimpose information about road networks and feudal boundaries. Fukushima also

uses simultaneous mapping to trace real-time changes. Combining data from four separate surveys that span almost 100 years in the Niigata prefecture of Japan, she illustrates the geographic trajectories of lexical changes that are either complete or in progress.

4. Phonetics, Syntax and Data Elicitation

Even though the linguistic atlas continues to be the main source of data in dialectological research, new kinds of data are being studied thanks to innovative technologies and new data elicitation techniques. Especially noteworthy are innovations found in the study of phonetics and syntax.

Perceptual phonetics is a growing area in phonetic science. Kendall and Fridland study the perception of different vowels in US English and find clear regional patterns based on sound perception; however, these patterns do not align in a simple way with established regional patterns based on sound production. A recent innovation in phonetic analysis is the use of ultrasound imaging: ultrasound video at a high frame rate provides images of articulatory movements that can be used to analyze temporal changes and co-articulation effects. Carignan, Mielke and Dodsworth use ultrasound tongue imaging to study patterns of tongue movements in the tensing of North American English /æ/; among their findings are regional differences in the timing of tongue raising before velars. Spreafico applies the same technique to study the tongue shape of Italian /s/ and its variable realizations by Italian-dominant, Tyrolean-dominant and balanced Italian-Tyrolean bilingual speakers.

Syntactic data continue to receive increasing attention from dialectologists. In a novel approach to the study of morphosyntactic features in British English, Wolk and Szmrecsanyi combine the study of pre-determined morphosyntactic variables, as found in different corpora including the linguistic atlas, with a bottom-up approach that examines bigrams of part-of-speech tags, found in corpora of spontaneous speech. Bigrams are the co-occurrences of two-word collocations. The bigram approach is interesting because it can be generalized to an n-gram (i.e., n-word

collocations) and because the features that are analyzed are not determined in an *a priori* fashion but emerge from the data observed. The combination of different data sources for the study of syntactic variation is also the theme of Llop Naya's work on negation in Catalan. She combines data from speaker recordings, dialect literature, grammaticality judgements and meta-linguistic comments by native informants. Stoeckle examines 26 morphosyntactic features in the *Syntactic Atlas of German-speaking Switzerland*. He measures the use of the dominant (i.e., most frequent) variant of each of these features across geographic regions and among all speakers within a region in order to establish areas that are "hot spots" of syntactic variation. An interesting result is that regions with high syntactic variation are those that have generally been considered as very conservative.

Imitation and dubbing offer original methods for the elicitation of dialect data. In their study of imitation data, Schäffer, Leser and Cysouw analyze both the target language and the imitator's own language in order to identify which features are salient for listeners who imitate closely related language varieties. Lara Bermejo shows how dubbing can be used to elicit a large number of tokens of variables that might otherwise have very low frequencies of occurrence. He asks speakers to dub scenes shown on videos to elicit *ustedes* variable in Andalusian Spanish.

5. Theoretic Issues

Pickl revisits the definition of "dialect area" employing prototype theory to argue that dialect areas are not crisp but fuzzy. This leads him to suggest that certain quantitative techniques – such as factor analysis, as opposed to cluster analysis – are more appropriate than others for research that aims to identify dialect areas. Onishi discusses two tenets of the wave theory of linguistic change: that change is gradual and continuing, and that it spreads from central to peripheral areas. Studying variables from the *Linguistic Atlas of Japan*, he is able to illustrate the opposite of both tenets: the spread of a change can occur with a rapid burst, and change can also spread from peripheral to central areas.

6. Conclusion

On the whole, this volume illustrates very effectively that current dialectological inquiry is a dynamic, multidisciplinary enterprise that continues to adapt exciting methodological innovations. The success of the volume in communicating this dynamism is due in no small part to the careful work of the co-editors and of the large group of referees who have ensured the high quality of these papers. All 22 contributions – as well as the editors' detailed overview – have extensive and up-to-date bibliographies. The papers are polished and well written; indeed, only a few require some additional attention to the details of English grammar and orthography. Both the general reader and the specialist researcher will find that the research presented in this volume is informative and stimulating.

REVIEW

by Ravi PARIHAR

Shri Mata Vaishno Devi University, Katra, India*

raviparihar1988@rediffmail.com

DWIVEDI, Amitabh Vikram (2012) *A Grammar of Hadoti*, Munich: Lincom Europa, 127 pp.

1. Introduction to Hadoti

A Grammar of Hadoti is a descriptive grammar of a macro-language spoken in Rajasthan state in the Republic of India. Hadoti falls under the Indo-Aryan language family. The text has five chapters of equal length. In addition, appendices, tables, maps, and a list of references also support the book.

Chapter 1, 'Introduction' (pp. 1-5), discusses the geography, speakers, status, and lexical similarity of Hadoti. In Rajasthan, this language is spoken in districts namely Baran, Bundi, Jhalawar, and Kota respectively. This language is spoken by 8 million speakers (Census of India 2011). Hadoti is genetically an unclassified language as its affiliation has not been established till date. The native speakers use Hadoti as their mother tongue and Hindi as a *lingua franca* in their Hadoti region. Constituent order of Hadoti is APV¹ (for transitive)/SV (for intransitive) order that comes under ergative-absolutive (ERG-ABSL) languages, mentioning the perfectivity and volitionality for [ne] postpositional ergative marker (Dixon 1994). Therefore, the word order for Hadoti is SOV type. Hadoti shows its highest lexical similarity (64 %) with Dhundari, a language spoken in Jaipur, and least similarity (45 %) with Mewari and Sipari each.

* Department of Languages and Literature, Shri Mata Vaishno Devi University, Katra, Jammu and Kashmir, India, 182320.

¹ 'A' is the most agent-like argument of a multi-argument clause, which is sometimes referred to as a transitive clause. 'P' is the most patient-like argument of a multi-argument clause, and 'S' is the nominal argument of a single-argument clause referred to as intransitive clause. Here 'V' is the verb for both transitive and intransitive clauses.

In section ‘Hadoti: Speakers and Geography’, Dwivedi claims that Hadoti is spoken in four districts of Rajasthan namely, Kota, Bundi, Jhalawar, and Barn. Besides this, he also states that all the eight languages of Rajasthani region have been derived from Surseni Apbhransha.² In addition to Hadoti, other seven languages spoken in Rajasthani region are Bagri, Shekawati, Wagari, Dhundhari, Mewati, Marwari, and Mewari. All of these are spoken in different geographical areas such as Ganganagar and Hanumangarh (Bagri); Jhunjunu and Sikar (Shekawati); Banaswara, Dungarpur, and Chitorgarh (Wagari); Jaipur, Tonk, and Sawai Madhavpur (Dhundhari); Alwar, Bharatpur, and Dholpur (Mewati); Jodhpur, Bikaner, Barmer, Jaisalmer, Churu, Pali, Ajmer, and Nagaur (Marwari); and Udaipur and Rajsamand (Mewari). Section ‘unclassified languages’ highlights that out of these 8 languages, only 3 languages namely, Bagri, Wagari, and Hadoti are living and unclassified ones (p. 1). For accomplishing the study, the author of the manuscript collected data from native speakers of Hadoti region. The data were collected from all kinds of speakers such as poets, students, farmers, housewives, literate, and illiterate speakers. In this book, an analytical description of phonological, morphological, and syntactical aspects of Hadoti have been provided (p. 5).

2. Hadoti Phonology

Chapter 2, ‘Phonology’ (pp. 6-23), talks about phonemic inventories of Hadoti; containing 36 consonant sounds and 10 vowel sounds, including phonological processes. Sounds /ɲ/ and /ɳ/ do not occur at word initial and word final positions.

Hadoti has only two fricative sounds: one is voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ and other is voiceless glottal fricative /h/, which is a major distinction from other Indo-Aryan languages like Hindi and Gujarati, which have four fricatives /s/, /ʃ/, /ʂ/, and /h/. Sounds such as retroflex nasal /ɳ/, palatal nasal /ɲ/, velar nasal /ŋ/, and retroflex lateral fricative /ɭ/ do not take word initial position. Rests of the consonants are shown

² Dwivedi (2015) mentions *Surseni Apbhransha* as a language spoken in ancient India and its word order is Subject-Object-Verb (SOV) type.

occurring in all three positions, word initial (WI), word middle (WM) and word final (WF) respectively (pp. 7-10).

The section ‘consonant clusters (CCs)’ discusses three kinds of CCs based on their positions. Firstly, word initial CCs (CC+V) show different combinations for two consonants occurring before the nucleus. Secondly, word medial CCs (V-CC-V) have various combinations for consonants occurring in between two nucleuses. Thirdly, word final CCs (V-CC) also show diverse combinations for consonants taking positions after the nucleus (pp. 10-15).

Phonemic contrasts of Hadoti consonants such as stops /p, t, k, b, d, g/; affricates /tʃ, dʒ/; retroflex /ʈ, ʈʰ, ɖ, ɖʰ/; nasals /n, ɳ, m/; semi-vowels /w, j/; trill /r/ and fricatives /s, h/ are shown at word initial (WI), word medial (WM), and word final (WF) positions respectively (pp. 16-17).

Hadoti consonants undergo gemination with exception of retroflex lateral fricative /l/, glottal fricative /h/, velar nasal /ŋ/, and palatal nasal /ɲ/ consonants. The author states that gemination of two aspirated consonants makes the initial consonant unaspirated as in /pəʈʈʰo/³ ‘strong’ and sukkʰo ‘famine’. This phonological rule is applicable to all the aspirated Hadoti consonants, such as /kʰ/, /gʰ/, /tʃʰ/, /dʒʰ/, /tʰ/, /dʰ/, /pʰ/, /bʰ/, /ʈʰ/, and /ɖʰ/ (p.17).

Vowels in Hadoti do not show any obstruction while articulating. Vowel nasalization is also found in Hadoti. In section ‘vowel distribution’, vowels are categorized in two categories: oral and nasal. Oral vowels are produced without nasalization when the velum blocks the nasal passage, and the nasal vowels are produced by lowering the velum as the air escapes through the nasal cavities as well as the mouth (pp. 19-20). Vowel contrasts have also been discussed showing ‘oral vowels’ for front, central and back tongue positions individually. Whereas ‘nasal vowels’ are obtained when a tilde ‘~’ is placed above the oral vowel as in /i̯/, /u̯/, /ã/, and /õ/ (pp. 21-22). Two vowel clusters (-VV-) as in /moi/ ‘potter’ and /pʰui/ ‘father’s sister’

³ /pəʈʈʰo/ in Hadoti is ‘strong’, whereas the same /pəʈʈʰo/ in Sarazi is ‘plain surface of the earth.’ Sarazi is an Indo-Aryan language spoken in district Doda of Jammu and Kashmir State, in the republic of India.

etcetera are very common in Hadoti language, but three vowels clusters are rarely found (p. 22).

Finally, in this chapter, the syllable structure has been discussed in which the vowel is the centre of focus as it remains the nucleus of the syllable, which is mandatory for the syllable structure. The language shows CCCVCCC canonical form as in /əstr/ ‘weapon’ for /-VCCC/ and /sattwik/ ‘good at heart’ for /CCCV-/ syllable clusters in each. Hadoti speakers have ability to convert English consonant cluster (CCC-V) /streit/ ‘straight’ construction to (V-CCC-V) /istreit/ for English word ‘straight’, as the Hadoti speaker add /i/ sound at the initial position of the English word. Similarly, /sprinj/ ‘spring’ becomes /isprinj/ ‘spring’ and /spraut/ ‘sprout’ becomes /ispraut/. Hadoti speakers’ style of pronouncing the English word is the basic reason for vowel /i/ placement at word initial position especially in English words, which are borrowed in Hadoti. In ‘syllable division’ section, the author argues that there is no construction like VCCCCV for syllable structure in Hadoti language (p. 23).

3. Hadoti morphology

Chapter 3, ‘Morphology’ (pp. 25-78), deals with word formation processes, inflection, and compounding. It also reflects the division of Hadoti nouns into two genders: masculine and feminine. Animate and inanimate (objects) genders also subsume under these two gender categories, whereas the gender assignment is arbitrary to these objects. Masculine nouns in Hadoti are formed by adding suffixes /o/, /i/, /pən/ and /bo/ to roots as in /ra:dʒ/ ‘secret’, /bjapar/ ‘business’, /pagəl/ ‘mad’, and /ga/ ‘sing’. On the other hand, feminine nouns are derived by adding the following suffixes /-a/, /-i/, and /-awət/ to the root words /git-a/ ‘a Hadoti female name’, /pot^h-i/ ‘a thick book’, and /ruk-awət/ ‘hurdle’. Affixation is a process in morphology which includes prefixation and suffixation attached to a stem or root to form either derived or inflected words. Prefixes /ə-/ and /ən-/ when add to roots, then the negative meaning is obtained as in /ə-dəl/ ‘no group’, and /ən-dʒən/ ‘unfamiliar’, another prefix /əd^h-/ denotes incompleteness as in /əd^h-pəki/ ‘half ripen’. Opposite of root is obtained when a prefix /gər-/ is affixed to /hadʒər/ ‘present’, then the /gər-

hadʒər/ is an opposite derived word of the root. There are too many prefixes in Hadoti, and all of those cannot be listed here, yet a few are mentioned as: /bəd-/ , /be-/ , /la-/ , /sə-/ , /sər-/ , /hər-/ and /hed^h-/. Similarly, suffixes such as /-a/ , /-i/ , /-ək/ , /-ən/ , /-ti/ , /-ai/ , /-at/ , /-ap/ , /-o/ and /-awət/ are employed in the formation of various derived words.

Prefixes	Semanticity	Examples	Gloss
/bəd-/	Semantically adds negative connotation to word.	/bəd-nam/	bad reputation
/be-/	Semantically adds a sense of 'without something' to word.	/be-kar	unemployed
/la-/	Adds negative meaning to a word when affixed to root.	/la-əladʒ/	incurable
/sər-/	When added to root gives sense of 'main thing, or a main person'	sər-pəntʃ	village head
/sə-/	Gives a sense of goodness when affixed to a root.	/sə-put/	good son
/hər-/	Presents sense of 'each' and 'every'.	/hər-ek/	everyone
/hed ^h -/	Gives a sense of 'Chief' or 'Head', especially a person.	/hed ^h -sahab/	chief
/səb-/	A sense of 'Sub' or 'Under'-a kind of subordinate in position.	/səb-dʒʌdʒ/	sub-judge
/b ^h ər-/	Sense of completeness	/b ^h ər-pur/	abundant
/nə-/	Meaning 'no' or 'not'.	/nə-kam/	unaccomplished

Table 1. Hadoti Prefixes and their meanings

Suffixes	Semanticity	Examples	Gloss
/-a/	Derives a feminine name	/git-a/	Geeta
/-i/	Feminine noun derivational affix	/raɳ-i/	Queen
/-ək/	Any process; either cooking or jumping et cetera	/sidʒək/	cooking process
/-ən/	Performance or condition	/dʒut ^h -ən/	leftover food
/-ti/	Activity like chewing, counting, rubbing et cetera	/gəɳ-ti/	counting
/-ai/	Root ends with performance	/dʒot-ai/	plough
/-awət/	Interruption in a process or gathering	/ruk-awət/	blockade
/-at/	Root ending with condition	/tənn-at/	excited
/-ap/	Root ending with performance	/mal-ap/	meeting
/-o/	Condition and state of action	/k ^h os-o/	snatched

Table 2. Hadoti Suffixes and their meanings

Pronouns in Hadoti are classified under personal, relative, interrogative, and honorific. Hadoti personal pronouns are ‘first person’ which comprises /m^{hū}/ ‘I.1.SG’, /m^{hā}/ ‘we.1.PL, and /me/ ‘we.1.PL.OBL’, ‘second person’ constitute /tu/ ‘you.2.-HON, /t^hu/ ‘you.2.SG.M’, /t^{hā}/ ‘you.+HON’, /tē/ ‘you.+HON.SG’ and /t^{hē}/ ‘you.+HON.PL’; and ‘third person’ pronouns are /u/ ‘he.3.NOM.SG, /wɛ/ ‘he.3.NOM.PL’ and /wa/ ‘she.3.NOM.SG’. Relative pronouns are /dʒjo/ ‘that.REL.M’, /dʒja/ ‘that.REL.F’, and /dʒe/ ‘that.M/F.PL’; interrogative pronouns are /kʊŋ/ and /kāi/; regular relative pronouns are /u/ and /so/ ‘NOM.SG/PL’ and honorific pronoun is /ap/ ‘you.+HON’. Hadoti also reveals definitive pronoun comprising of proximate /jo/ ‘NOM.SG.M’, /ja/ ‘NOM.SG.F’ and /je/ ‘NOM.PL.M/F’, and remote /u/, /wa/, and /wɛ/. Indefinite pronoun is /koi/ ‘someone’.

The section ‘Hadoti verbs’ discusses verbs with their inflections. The author of the book argues that the simple verb forms inflect for the present, past and future tense in all numbers and genders (p. 52). The verbal complex forms are dependent on two parameters: the participles and the auxiliaries. The auxiliary markers are added to base forms of the verb to form aspectual forms. The base form of verb /k^ha/ ‘eat’ takes /-wɛ/ suffix to form the present participle, as it becomes /k^ha-wɛ/ ‘eats’. The past participle is obtained out by suffixing /-to/ and /-ti/ for masculine and feminine, as in /k^ha-to/ ‘PSTPTCPL.M’ and /k^ha-ti/ ‘PSTPTCPL.F’ respectively, whereas, the remote past participle verb take /-gjo/ and /-gji/ for masculine and feminine, as in /k^ha-gjo/ ‘eat.PSTPTCPL.M’ and /k^ha-gji/ ‘eat.PSTPTCPL.F’. Auxiliary verbs in Hadoti are: the present /tʃ^hɛ/ ‘to be’, the past /tʃ^ho/ (masculine) and /tʃ^hi/ (feminine), and /hovɛ/ ‘to become’ takes /-ga/ suffix to form future auxiliary, as it forms /hovɛ-ga/ ‘will happen’ (p. 54). Hadoti has two auxiliary roots /tʃ^hɛ/ ‘to be’ and /ho/ which are complementary to each other. Tables 3 and 4 depict the auxiliary verb /tʃ^hɛ/ and /ho/ as:

Hadoti Auxiliary	Present		Past	
First Person	/tʃʰü/ SG	/tʃʰã/ PL	/tʃʰo/ M.SG	/tʃʰi/ F.SG
			/tʃʰa/ M.PL	/tʃʰi/ F.PL
Second Person	/tʃʰɛ/ SG	/tʃʰo/ PL		
Third Person	/tʃʰɛ/ SG	/tʃʰɛ/ PL		

Table 3. Hadoti auxiliary /tʃʰɛ/

Hadoti Auxiliary	Future	
First Person	/hoũgu/ M.SG	/hoũgi/ F.SG
	/howɛgã/ M.PL	/howɛgi/ F.PL
Second Person	/howɛgo/ M.SG	/howɛgi/ F.SG
	/howɛga/ M.PL	/howɛgi/ F.PL

Table 4. Hadoti auxiliary /ho/

For 3rd person future auxiliary, masculine singular and plural are /howɛga.SG/ and /howɛga.PL/, and feminine singular and plural are /howɛgi.SG/ and /howɛgi.PL/ respectively. In Hadoti, progressive aspect markers for masculine and feminine are /rjo/ and /rji/ separately employed, shown in examples as: /dʒa-rjo/ 'go.PROG.M' and /dʒa-rji/ 'go.PROG.F'. Perfective aspect shows complex construction having 'verb+ /jo/' and auxiliaries /tʃʰɛ/ and /tʃʰã/ are employed for the present and the past tenses.

Hadoti moods are as: infinitive; indicative; imperative and conditional. The infinitive mood morph /-bo/ when affixed to the verb root; it results into the /X-bo/, where X is any root verb, for instance, /ləq-bo/ 'to fight', /kʰa-bo/ 'to eat', and /pəqʰ-bo/ 'to read'. Indicative mood asserts or indicates an action in time. The indicative markers for masculine present is /X-re/ and /X-te/ for feminine, as in /gəre/ and /gərtə/. For past indicative, the markers /-jo/ and /-jã/ is applied to masculine singular and plural verbs such as /gir-jo/ and /gir-jã/, whereas in case of feminine, the markers are as: /-i/ and /-ĩ/ as in /gir-i.SG.F/ and /gir-ĩ.PL.F/. Imperative mood mentions the requests and commands, such as /bətʰo/ 'sit.IMP' in present and /kʰel-je/

‘play.FUT.IMP’ and /adʒ-jo/ ‘come.FUT.IMP’ in future imperatives respectively. Conditional mood in Hadoti is expressed using markers such as /dʒo/ ‘if’... /-to/ ‘be’; it is ‘if and then’ conditional form, and derives the form as /ho-to/ ‘be.CON’. Where, /-to/ is ‘then’ conditional.

‘Compound verbs’ section reveals the following Hadoti compound verbs, with the combination of ‘verb + verb’ as shown in examples, /lj+abo/ ‘take + go’, /dj + abo/ ‘give + come’, and /bol + vt̪hjo/ ‘speak + got up’.

Hadoti verbs inflect for all the roots to which the following markers are applied. The verb inflection for root /tʃal/ ‘walk’ follows as:

Root	/tʃal/ ‘walk’
Infinitive	/tʃal-bo/ ‘to walk’
Imperfect Participle	/tʃal-bɛ/ ‘walks’
Perfect Participle	/tʃal-jo/ ‘walked’
Causative-I	/tʃal-abo/ ‘to make someone walk’
Causative-II	/tʃal-wabo/ ‘to make someone make someone else walk’

Here, any Hadoti verb would inflect using the affixes /-bo, -bɛ, -jo, -abo, and -wabo/ as shown in the above verb inflection for the root verb (pp. 63-64).

4. Hadoti Syntax

Chapter 4, ‘Syntax’ (pp. 79-99), explains the various types of sentences and their typologies. Specifically, four types of sentences namely interrogative, imperative, declarative, and exclamatory are discussed in detail.

A sentence is said to be a declarative one when it makes a statement, affirms a statement which is a Stative one in context to speech act. The sentence follows as: /m̪hū boljō/ ‘I speak.PST.SG.M’, in which the subject-verb word order is noticed (p. 79). Contrastively, a sentence /ram dʒawega/ ‘Ram will go’ is declarative in form, but if the sentence has rising intonation, a prosodic feature, then the same declarative sentence automatically gets converted into interrogative sentence (p. 81).

Hadoti interrogative sentences serve two functions: firstly, the sentences ask a question and secondly, the sentences ask for to obtain further information. Furthermore, Dwivedi argues that the interrogative sentences are of two kinds: 'yes-no questions' and 'question-word questions'. Here 'yes-no questions' are further subdivided into two types; type 1 is neutral yes-no questions, formed by optional assignment of question word /kai/ 'who' in the sentence initial position of a declarative sentence, and type 2 is leading yes-no questions, obtained by adding /na/ or /ni/ both meaning 'not' at the end position of a sentence, and then it serves as a question tag shown as in this sentence: /dʒəgəh tʃhi tʃhε na/ 'The place is good, isn't it?' When another negative marker precedes the /na/ or /ni/, then the sentence takes the negative form, and the negative answer is sought. The sentence follows as: /dʒəgəh tʃhi koni tʃhε ni/ 'The place is not good, is it?'

The question-word question in English begin with the Wh-type words such as 'when, why, where, what', etc. which the author mentioned as k-sound words that form the questions. Similarly the question words in Hadoti are /kai/ 'what', /kun/ 'who', /kisjo/ 'which', /kət^he/ 'where', /kjū/ 'why', /kesja/ 'how', /kitta/ 'how much', /kinne/ 'in what direction', and /ked^hak/ 'when'. All the k-type (wh-type questions in English) questions are formed using these types of words in Hadoti constructions (p. 83).

Imperative sentences in Hadoti are of five kinds such as 'the basic imperative; the future imperative; the subjunctive imperative; the obligative imperative; and the prohibitive imperatives. The basic imperative takes /tu/ 'you' a singular non-honorific and /t^hē/ plural honorific second person subject. Subject ellipsis is also seen in the basic imperatives, such as: /ja tʃitt^hi pəd^ho/ 'Read this letter.' Future imperative is every time designated by the verb employed in construction, as in /pat^he adʒo/ 'come later'.

The subjunctive construction expresses a suggestion, wish, or intention rather than a command or request as given in a sentence /ram b^hag lənī tʃhajdʒe/ 'Ram should participate.' The obligative imperatives reflect moral and epistemic obligations in which the compound verbs are employed, in a construction as /m^hi wa maslərñi ri dʒaŋ-pətʃan m^häki bəhən su kərənī tʃhəjdʒe/ 'I should get acquainted my sister with the new teacher', here the compound verb is /dʒaŋ-pətʃan/ literally 'know-identify'

which in fact is taken as ‘acquaintance’. In addition, the author of the manuscript advocates that the obligative constructions do not take nominative subjects, and if done so, the construction becomes ungrammatical one (p. 85). To avoid ungrammaticality, an ellipsis process should be followed.

In the prohibitive construction of Hadoti, the negative particle either /na/ or /mət/ ‘not’ is applied to imperative sentences, and is usually placed before the verb. The construction is represented as /kʰət hi mət/na pədq/ ‘Don’t read the letter.’ There is an exception to the use of negative particle /koni/ ‘not’ which cannot be used in imperative prohibitive constructions. If this exception is not followed, the construction will result into ungrammaticality (p. 86).

Exclamatives in Hadoti serve the purpose of expressing emotions. For instance, /səmbəl/ is a word that functions as exclamative one, meaning ‘be careful’. The author states that when a declarative statement such as /mama dʒi aja/ ‘uncle came’ is duplicated fully, the construction becomes exclamative one as in /mama dʒi aja-mama dʒi aja/ ‘uncle came!’ (p. 86). Exclamative particles /əre/ ‘oh’, /oje/ ‘oh’, /ū-hū/ ‘no’, and /rə/ ‘alas’ are employed to form exclamative sentences, moreover these constructions express strong emotional reaction over the speaker’s presupposition for quality of truthfulness.

The Hadoti syntax of direct and indirect speech is not different from each other. Syntactically, no particle or quotative marker is used to differentiate between direct and indirect speech. In narration, the quoted and reported material is held in an embedded sentence preceded by the complementizer /ki/ ‘that’ which is subordinate relative to the higher verb of the sentence (p. 87). Use of /ki/ ‘that’ is not limited to the quotation, but in direct speech, it doesn’t attempt to reproduce actual words (p. 89).

Subordination is the process in which the two clauses are conjoined where one clause subordinates the other. Finite and non-finite verbs are made use of in subordination process. Additionally, the subordinate (complementizer) marker occupies the first place in the subordinate clause, and secondly, the main clause precedes the subordinate clause, contrastively, if the main clause follows the subordinate clause, the shifting of focus is noticed.

A complement clause in Hadoti realizes a sub-categorization restriction on an associated lexical head, which acts either as a complement of subject or object as in example, /k^hε to di m^hne jo g^hoq^ho m^haro t^hε/ ‘I have already said that this horse is mine.’ In this sentence, /jo g^hoq^ho m^haro t^hε/ ‘this horse is mine’ is a complement of the complex verb /k^hε to di/ ‘already said’. Also, the Hadoti complementizer /ki/ shows subject/object-verb agreement and follows the main clause, for example, /koi b^hi dek^h səkε t^hε ki u bimar t^hε/ ‘anyone can see that he is sick’ (pp. 90-91).

Two kinds of relative clauses in Hadoti are noticed: finite relative clause with subject-verb agreement and non-finite participial relative clause revealing the non-finite form of the verb. The primary relative clause marker /dʒjo/ ‘who/which’ is placed before the relativized element and the correlative marker /so/ ‘that’ is positioned at the beginning of the head noun, as in /so mastərn̩i nəwi t^hε dʒja-ki dʒənəpətʃən̩ mhäki bəhən̩ su kərən̩i t^hajdʒe/ ‘I should make my sister get acquainted with the new teacher’. In this sentence, /mastərn̩i nəwi t^hε/ ‘the teacher is new’ is the main clause, whereas the rest of the part of this sentence is a relative clause (p. 92). Here the participial relative clause is obtained by eliminating the relativized noun phrase, and changing the verb into participial form by adding the /-to/ to the verb /ro/ ‘cry’ for the present participle, /-ərio/ to the verb /-ro/ ‘cry’ for the past and /-halo/ ‘who’ an agentive like construction for the agentive participle (p. 92).

Hadoti admits the following coordinate conjunctions; /er/ ‘and’, adversative /pən̩/ ‘but’, disjunctive /ke/ ‘or’, or it is /ja/ ‘or’, and negative disjunction /nə - nə/ ‘neither...nor’ (p. 95).

Sentential negation in Hadoti occurs by employing four negative particles, such as /koni/, /koi nə/, /nə/, and /nei/. In brief, /koni/ and /koi nə/ are unmarked negative particles and are corresponding to English ‘not’. Whereas negative particles /nə/ and /nei/ are applied to subjunctive, imperative, conditional, neither-nor construction, and infinitive phrases. A few distributive properties of the negative particles are given in examples as: /həri k^haļi əkeļa nə awəga/ ‘Hari will not come alone only’, and /ũ kal səsral nə gjo/ ‘He didn’t go to his father-in law’s house’. Considering these two sentences, it is construed that the negative particle appears at pre-verbal position in a negative sentence construction (pp. 98-99).

5. Conclusion

Chapter 5, ‘Conclusion’ (pp. 100-112), embodies certain facts about Hadoti language which are supportive enough to categorize the language as an independent one, rather than being a dialect of Rajasthani and Hindi. The author claims the following supportive arguments as:

“Rajasthani is not a language, but a geographical area, and Rajasthani is not defined as a language in the constitution of India. S. N. Sadasivan, a Historian mentioned in his book *A Social History of India* that modern Hindi is a blend of such North Indian dialects as Maithili, Awadhi, Khadiboli, Vrijbhasha, Magadhi, Aradhmagadhi, and Hadoti, spoken in Kota (Rajasthan) (p.100)”.

This quoted reference clarifies doubts that the existence of Hadoti was much earlier than Hindi. Morality of ethnic people of Hadoti region is explicitly revealed by the author in socio-cultural aspects, especially in the proverbs of Hadoti. Here in this text, Dwivedi discusses in detail the various aspects of Hadoti proverbs, such as proverbs in society, caste, gender, religion, education, agriculture, and history. Tense and aspect is also discussed in the said proverbs.

The author has followed the Peuke’s approach to proverbs, and based on this approach, Hadoti proverbs have been categorized into five patterns. The patterns are as: (1) If X then Y, (2) Like X, Like Y, (3) No X without Y, (4) Better X than Y, and (5) One X does not make a Y. In addition, two more patterns are ‘X happens, but why does not happen’ and ‘X positive, Y negative’ (p. 103). It is impossible to discuss all kinds of proverbs here, even though some are discussed for understanding of Hadoti cultural aspects. The discussion follows as:

Proverb ‘If X, then Y’ is as /bidʒo mutə wã bitʃu bəjawə/. The literal meaning of this proverb is ‘if a businessman pisses, then there meets a scorpion’, and its proverbial meaning is ‘no business flourishes without profit.’ The proverb ‘Like X like Y’ is /dʒet^h ko so pet^h ko/, it literally means ‘husband’s brother’s child is like one’s own child’, and it connotes that every child should be treated as if the child is someone’s own.

Agricultural proverb /dɑlko tʃukjo banəro əsaq̩i ko tʃukjo kəsjan nə səmbʰle/ denotes ‘a monkey that misses a branch; and a farmer who misses a monsoon, none could be safe in recovery’, and connotes as ‘don’t miss a chance’.

Society related proverbs have reflected caste system that still prevails among the speakers of Hadoti. One befits as /dadʒma ki dari dʒat kʰajā patʃʰε mare lat/ meaning ‘a Dajma Brahmin deceives everyone’. In general, it infers that one should not trust a Brahmin.⁴ Next proverb is related to Rajput sect of Hinduism; the proverb follows as: /gaqa təlɛ pən̩ haqa nə təlɛ/ meaning ‘something that is fixed can be altered, but the decision of Hada Rajput cannot be changed’. Its derived meaning can be as: ‘Hada Rajput is a man of words and such men are rare in the present day world.’ Other casts such as Baniya (merchants), Jat (agricultural community), and Nai⁵ (Barber) are also mentioned in the text (pp. 108-109).

Proverbs related to Hadoti women are also discussed by Dwivedi in his manuscript. One of the proverbs is as /kəwari kənja ka tʃʰətis wər/ ‘an unmarried girl has plentiful possibilities to marry anyone desired groom’. It is intended as ‘a single person would have many choices to make his/her career’. A morality based proverb /sātʃ i ətʃ koi nə/ denotatively, it is ‘truthful person is always fearless’, which connotes ‘truth triumphs!’ Proverbs pertaining to education, history, psychology, and many more have been discussed in with a great deal of expression.

Finally, I would say that this is a unique kind of book written on Hadoti, a macro language of Rajasthan, in the Republic of India. The book offers linguistic field techniques and insightfully depicts what is involved in documenting a macro language. Widely speaking, this book is written for adding knowledge to the linguistic literature as well as enriching the discipline of Field Linguistics. This book on grammar emphasizes special features of Hadoti. In brief, this manuscript fulfils the needs of the juvenile language learners as well as provides valuable information for the linguists and the common readers. Overall, this text aims at providing wide-ranging information

⁴ Brahmin is a caste in Hinduism acting as teachers and promoters of sacred learning across the generations.

⁵ In Gujarat State, the Nai are known by the name Valand, and many of them have adopted the name ‘Sharma’, and preserved themselves as ‘Brahmin’.

on diverse aspects of Hadoti phonology, morphology, syntax, and paremiology along with its unique features and historical backdrop. Revitalization of Hadoti has been carried out with great care, and I wish the author a grand success!

References

- DIXON, Robert M.W. (1994) *Ergativity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- DWIVEDI, Amitabh Vikram (2015) "Proverbs and Identity: A Study of Proverbs", *Entrepalavras*, 5, 1, 8-19.
- SADASIVAN, S.N. (2000) "A Social History of India", New Delhi: APH Publishing.
- CENSUS OF INDIA <<http://www.indiaonlinepages.com/population/rajasthan-population.html>> (Accessed 10 May 2016).

Appendix I. Population of Rajasthan 2011

Distribution of Population, Decadal Growth Rate, Sex-Ratio and Density of population 2011						
State/ District	Population in 2011			Percentage Decadal Growth Rate of Population	Sex Ratio (No. of Females per 1000 Males)	Population density per Sq. Km
	Person	Male	Female			
Rajasthan	68621012	35620086	33000926	21.44	926	201
Ganganagar	1969520	1043730	925790	10.06	887	179
Hanumangarh	1779650	933660	845990	17.24	906	184
Bikaner	2367745	1243916	1123829	24.48	903	78
Churu	2041172	1053375	987797	20.35	938	148
Jhunjhunun	2139658	1097390	1042268	11.81	950	361
Alwar	3671999	1938929	1733070	22.75	894	438
Bharatpur	2549121	1357896	1191225	21.39	877	503
Dhaulpur	1207293	654344	552949	22.78	845	398

Karauli	1458459	784943	673516	20.94	858	264
Sawai Madhopur	1338114	706558	631556	19.79	894	297
Dausa	1637226	859821	777405	23.75	904	476
Jaipur	6663971	3490787	3173184	26.91	909	598
Sikar	2677737	1377120	1300617	17.04	944	346
Nagaur	3309234	1698760	1610474	19.25	948	187
Jodhpur	3685681	1924326	1761355	27.69	915	161
Jaisalmer	672008	363346	308662	32.22	849	17
Barmer	2604453	1370494	1233959	32.55	900	92
Jalor	1830151	937918	892233	26.31	951	172
Sirohi	1037185	535115	502070	21.86	938	202
Pali	2038533	1025895	1012638	11.99	987	165
Ajmer	2584913	1325911	1259002	18.66	950	305
Tonk	1421711	729390	692321	17.33	949	198
Bundi	1113725	579385	534340	15.7	922	193
Bhilwara	2410459	1224483	1185976	19.27	969	230
Rajsamand	1158283	582670	575613	17.89	988	302
Dungarpur	1388906	698069	690837	25.39	990	368
Banswara	1798194	908755	889439	26.58	979	399
Chittaurgarh	1544392	784054	760338	16.09	970	193
Kota	1950491	1023153	927338	24.34	906	374
Baran	1223921	635495	588426	19.82	926	175
Jhalawar	1411327	725667	685660	19.57	945	227
Udaipur	3067549	1566781	1500768	23.63	958	242
Pratapgarh*	868231	437950	430281	22.84	982	211

Note: Districts namely Bundi, Kota, Barn, and Jhalawar of Rajasthan State comprises the population of Hadoti Speakers.

FIRST DIALECTOLOGISTS



ANÍBAL OTERO
(1911-1974)

"The German Romanist, J. M. Piel, told me that we do not know what Galician is like. And even with Galicia being more abundant, from the lexical point of view, than any other region of the Peninsula. F. Krüger, the master of Ebeling,

told me that my works had proven what he already knew: that the province of Lugo was a true El Dorado for the dialectician, and the teacher from Berne, J. Hubschmid, speaking also of my works, stated that in Galicia there were words that did not appear anywhere else in Romania" (from a 1963 letter quoted by Alonso, *Aníbal Otero*, p. 306).

1. Biography

1911 – Born in Barcia (Ribeira de Piquín, Lugo).

1921-1926 – Baccalaureate studies in Valladolid.

1926-1928 – Studies two years of core subjects in Philosophy and Arts in Valladolid.

1928 – Begins degree in Romance Philology at Madrid's Central University. Begins to collect ballads and tales in response to Ménendez Pidal's call in the daily newspaper, *El Sol*.

1931 – Research scholar at Historical Study Centre. Collects ballads from different parts of Spain for Menéndez Pidal's *Romancero hispánico [Hispanic Ballads]*.

1932-1933 – Attends Tomás Navarro Tomás' classes on phonetics delivered to the team of researchers working on the *Atlas Lingüístico de la Península Ibérica* [Linguistic Atlas of the Iberian Peninsula]. Works with Aurelio M. Espinosa on 34 Castilian locations (Zamora, Palencia, Valladolid, Segovia, Burgos and Ávila). Explores one point (in Álava) with L. Rodríguez-Castellano.

1934-1935 – Carries out solo research for ALPI on 47 of the 53 Galician locations and another seven (solely in Ourense) with Espinosa.

1936 – Begins exploration of Portuguese domain with A. Nobre de Gusmão. On 5th August (after carrying out only 15 surveys in the north of Portugal), is turned over to the Spanish police by the Portuguese police in Tui.

1937 – On 5th March, is tried by a military tribunal. The prosecutor requests the death penalty. He is sentenced to life imprisonment. Details can be consulted in the

book by Alonso quoted in the references, where various trial documents have been transcribed.

1937-1941 – Continuous imprisonment in Tui, Vigo, San Simón Island (Vigo Ria), Burgos and Figueirido (Pontevedra).

1941 – On 5th March, leaves prison on conditional release. From this date he establishes his residence in Barcia where he works as a farmer and miller until his death.

1942 – On 5th August, is freed definitively. Finishes writing of *Vocabulario de San Jorge de Piquín* [San Jorge de Piquín Vocabulary] which is sent to Menéndez Pidal: “I have received your San Jorge de Piquín Vocabulary. Very abundant. Very useful. Now you must say whether you prefer that I manage the publication from outside, or to wait for better circumstances” (31-12-1942). It is published posthumously in 1974.

1949 – Begins to publish the “Hipótesis...” [“Hypothesis...”] series (See Works, §2).

1950 – Preparation on the works for the continuation of *ALPI* are resumed. Navarro Tomás submits the notebooks that were in his power in New York to Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, but demands that they follow the same interviewers (only Espinosa and Gusmão step down).

1953-1954 – Explores for the *ALPI*, with Luis F. Lindley Cintra, the 77 points that were missing from the Portuguese domain. First “Contribución” [“Contribution”] (1953) in *Archivum* (Cf. Obras [Works], below).

1964 – Is named a full member of the Real Academia Galega [Galician Royal Academy]. He declines.

1973 – Enters a psychiatric hospital in Santiago for depression.

1974 – 11th March, dies in Barcia.

2. Works

a) “Hipótesis etimológicas referentes al gallego-portugués” [“Etymological Hypothesis Regarding Galician-Portuguese”], *Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos, Boletín*

del Instituto de Estudios Gallegos Padre Sarmiento (CEG), CSIC, Santiago de Compostela.

Contribution	Facs. CEG	Year	Pages	Words
01	XIII	1949	171-200	271
02	XVIII	1951	83-114	273
03	XXIV	1953	88-119	334
04	XXVII	1954	273-292	183
05	XXXII	1955	405-427	152
06	XXXIII	1956	117-139	158
07	XXXIV	1956	245-269	218
08	XXXVI	1957	107-125	239
09	XXXVII	1957	313-227	96
10	XXXIX	1958	77-94	119
11	XLII	1959	87-105	120
12	XLIV	1959	331-348	95
13	XLV	1960	89-104	54
14	IL	1961	160-175	93
15	LIII	1962	329-347	134
16	LIV	1963	16-34	120
17	LVIII	1964	143-160	153
18	XX/60	1965	12-30	149
19	XX/62	1965	330-349	145
20	XXI/64	1966	170-188	175
21	XXII/67	1967	165-182	158
22	XXIII/69	1968	70-88	177
23	XXV/75	1970	70-88	161
24	XXVI/80	1971	287-306	189
25	XXX/90-91-92	1976-7	137-155	203
Total				4169

- b) “Contribución al léxico gallego y asturiano” [“Contribution to Galician and Asturian Lexicon”], *Archivum (AO)*, Oviedo.

Contribution	Vol. AO	Year	Pages	Words
01	III	1953	113-134	251
02	III	1953	339-417	201
03	VI	1956	382-399	208
04	VII	1958	170-188	268
05	VIII	1958	173-191	215
06	IX	1959	72-90	161
07	X	1960	341-357	194
08	XII	1963	409-426	210
09	XIII	1963	49-66	222
10	XIV	1964	233-249	209
Total				2319

c) “Voces onomatopéicas del gallego-portugués” [“Onatamopeic voices in Galician-Portuguese”], *Homenaje al Exmo. Sr. Dr. D. Emilio Alarcos*, Valladolid, Universidad de Valladolid, II, 1967, pp. 63-72.

d) *Contribución al diccionario gallego* [Contribution to Galician dictionary], Vigo, Galaxia, 1967.

e) “Algunas adiciones al léxico hispánico” [“Some additions to Hispanic lexicon”], *Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos*, XXIV/72-73-74, 1969, pp. 154-171.

f) *Vocabulario de San Jorge de Piquín* [San Jorge de Piquín Vocabulary], Santiago de Compostela, Universidade de Santiago, 1977 (*Verba*, anexo 7).

g) “Contribución de Aníbal Otero a un vocabulario do «verbo» dos canteiros de Pontevedra” [“Contribution of Aníbal Otero to a vocabulary of Pontevedra quarrymen’s discourse”] (edited by A. Santamarina), *As tebras alumeadas. Estudos filolóxicos ofrecidos en homenaxe a Ramón Lorenzo*, Santiago de Compostela, Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 2005, pp. 457-477.

NOTE. All of Aníbal Otero's lexical contributions (except the last one) are included in *Dicionario de dicionarios da lingua galega* [Galician Language Master Dictionary], available online at <<http://sli.uvigo.es/ddd/>>.

3. Commentary on his works

Aníbal Otero's life was marked by the events of 1936, which took place when he was only 25 years old. This episode and a very painful family misfortune prevented him from making a career as a philologist for which he was especially gifted and motivated. From 1941, he was isolated from the academic circles with the exception of some meetings in Madrid with ALPI colleagues from 1950 and the Portugal campaign of 1953-1954.

In spite of this, he was always faithful to the advice of his teacher, Menéndez Pidal, to "collect much and well". He did it on a constant basis, querying linguistic matters with any informant who could provide him with data, even in the worst moments of his captivity. There are testimonies from fellow prisoners who remember him interviewing sailors from A Guarda or stonemasons from Forcarei. That made him the finest expert on the linguistic reality of Galicia until well into the 1960s.

Urged by people linked to respective journal, he began to publish the "Hipótesis etimológicas" ["Etymological Hypotheses"] in *CEG* and the "Contribuciones" ["Contributions"] in *AO* in 1948 and 1953 respectively. A product of this commission is also his book *Contribución* [*Contribution*] (1967). All these works are of a lexical nature and their structure is similar. Under an etymon, which seeks to be the headword of an ideological family, a cluster of words that have some relation to each other, whether formal or semantic, is grouped. This arrangement seemed more useful to him than the alphabetic approach, because in this way it is easy to "appreciate at first glance the phonetic and semantic fluctuations of contemporary Galician". In the posthumously published manuscript, *Vocabulario* [*Vocabulary*], he employs the alphabetical order but frequently inserts all the geographical synonyms collected personally, and sometimes by others, under a headword (that corresponds to the locality of San Jorge

de Piquín). No lexical areas are traced (or described) because only words referring to specific points are removed, which distances it from the idea of “atlas”; he does instead, however, convert the headwords into entry headings in an onomasiological dictionary (assuming such a type of dictionary existed). The reader can get an idea of this by consulting <<http://sli.uvigo.es/ddd/>> (in the contributions by Aníbal Otero), and specifically entries such as the following, randomly selected words beginning with the letter *a*): *abanicadoiro abedul abalocado anozcar auriolo*.

For reasons that have been mentioned, it is easy to understand why his work has not had considerable impact, not only for its lack of disciples but also because of the dispersed nature of his contributions. The great Galician dictionaries after 1961 (from the publishers Xerais, Ir Indo, Cumio, Sotelo) recorded most of the words collected by Aníbal Otero; of course, this was done without indicating the source and eliminating the information relative to the geographic location of the word. Some of these dictionaries can now be consulted on the web (Ir Indo Publishing: <<https://digalego.xunta.gal/digalego/Html/index.php>>; the Sotelo Editorial: <<http://www.estraviz.org/>>). Only the Appendix of Eladio Rodríguez González's *Diccionario [Dictionary]* (vol. III, 1961) faithfully provides the source. Joan Corominas takes occasional information from this appendix (which contains the work of Aníbal Otero only very partially) on Galician testimonies regarding a word. Incidentally, Corominas believes that Otero is only an contributor to the Appendix and is not always convinced of Otero's credibility; Corominas often expresses distrust of the Galician lexicographers and this also reaches A. Otero: “the two *leirán* words that were registered by A. Otero for the Appendix to Eladio Rdz, and whose meaning is not very clear, may be the same word [as the Gal. *leilán*]” (s.v. FILELÍ). The “normal” approach to the work of A. Otero is not that it is mentioned with disdain (as in the case of Corominas), but used as if it were anonymous.

For our part, we believe that the work of A. Otero, both in terms of his work on *ALPI* (and on the *Romancero hispánico [Hispanic Ballads]*) and for his solitary lexicographical work, deserves a prominent place in the historiography of Galician linguistics. His work certainly cannot be equated with that of an F. Krüger, but in

relation to the words and things of the northwest of Spain, it does not detract anything from that of the German Romanist.

Antón SANTAMARINA

Instituto da Lingua Galega, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela
Praza da Universidade, 4
15782 Santiago de Compostela
anton.santamarina@usc.es

References

- ALONSO MONTERO, Xesús (2011) *Aníbal Otero. Lingüística e política na Guerra Civil e no franquismo*, Vigo : Xerais.
- CATALÁN, Diego (2001) *El Archivo del Romancero. Patrimonio de la Humanidad. Historia documentada de un siglo de historia*, Madrid : Fundación Menéndez Pidal.
- CORTES CARRERAS, Santi & Vicent GARCIA PERALES (selección y notas), J. J. DE BUSTOS TOVAR (presentación) y David HEAP (epílogo) (2009) *La historia interna del Atlas Lingüístico de la Península Ibérica (ALPI). Correspondencia (1910-1976)*, València: Universitat de València.
- MOLL, Francesc de Borja (1970) *Els meus primers trenta anys (1903-1934)*, Mallorca: Editorial Moll.
- MOLL, Francesc de Borja (1975) *Els altres quaranta anys (1935-1974)*, Mallorca: Editorial Moll.
<<http://alpi.csic.es/en/publicaciones>> (See especially the “pdfs” referring to works by David Heap, Tomás Navarro Tomás, Lorenzo Rodríguez Castellano, Manuel Sanchis Guarner and Xulio Sousa).