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GALICIAN DIALECT CLASSIFICATIONS¹

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Abstract

This contribution offers an updated review of the classifications of the dialect varieties of Galician. Regional variation in the linguistic domain of Galician has been the subject of reflection since the 18th century. The scholar and writer Martín Sarmiento (1695-1772) pointed out the need to investigate Galician dialects in order to discover their richness and variation. However, scientific studies on dialect varieties were not undertaken until the mid-twentieth century. In this paper, we present the proposals for classifying dialects based on field data from the whole of the Galician domain. The review of this research helps us to understand the characteristics of the materials analysed, the methods used and the reliability of the results offered. The fundamental organisation of the varieties in vertical belts suggested by Zamora Vicente is confirmed by subsequent works, which are richer in the amount of data dealt with, although diverse in the methodology applied.

Keywords: regional varieties, dialectal classification, Ibero-Romance languages, dialectal areas, Galician

Name: galego [ga'leɣo]

Language-code: ISO 639-1 gl; ISO 639.2 glg

CLASSIFICACIONS DIALECTALS DEL GALLEC

Resum

Aquesta contribució ofereix una revisió actualitzada de les classificacions de les varietats dialectals del gallec. La variació regional en el domini lingüístic del gallec ha estat objecte de reflexió des

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del segle XVIII. L'estudiós i escriptor Martín Sarmiento (1695-1772) va assenyalar la necessitat d'investigar els dialectes gallecs per descobrir-ne la riquesa i la variació. Tanmateix, els estudis científics sobre les varietats dialectals no es van dur a terme fins a mitjan segle XX. En aquest article presentem les propostes de classificació dialectals a partir de dades de treball camp fet a tot el domini gallec. La revisió d'aquesta investigació ajuda a entendre les característiques dels materials analitzats, els mètodes utilitzats i la fiabilitat dels resultats. L'organització fonamental de les varietats en faixes verticals suggerida per Zamora Vicente queda confirmada per treballs posteriors, més rics en quantitat de dades tractades, tot i que diversos pel que fa a la metodologia aplicada.

Paraules clau: varietats regionals, classificació dialectal, llengües iberoromàniques, zones dialectals, gallec

CLASIFICACIONES DOS DIALECTOS GALEGOS

Resumo

Esta contribución ofrece unha revisión actualizada dos traballos sobre a clasificación das variedades dialectais do galego. A variación dialectal no dominio lingüístico do galego foi obxecto de reflexión e estudo desde o século XVIII. O ilustrado Martín Sarmiento (1695-1772) sinalou a necesidade de investigar as falas galegas para coñecer a súa riqueza e variedade. Con todo, os estudos científicos sobre as variedades dialectais non se emprenderon ata mediados do século pasado. Neste traballo preséntanse, organizadas temporalmente e polos seus autores, as propostas de clasificación dos dialectos baseadas en datos de campo do conxunto do dominio galego. A revisión destas investigacións axuda a coñecer as características dos materiais analizados, os métodos empregados e a fiabilidade dos resultados ofrecidos. A organización fundamental das variedades en faixas verticais suxerida por Zamora Vicente, vese confirmada polos traballos posteriores, máis rics na cantidade de datos tratados aínda que diversos na metodoloxía aplicada.

Keywords: Variedades rexionais, clasificación dialectal, áreas dialectais, linguas iberorrománicas, galego

1. Introduction

Galician is a Romance variety spoken in the north-west of the Iberian Peninsula in a continuous area of over 33,000 km² that includes Galicia, the western end of the Principality of Asturias, and the provinces of León and Zamora (Map 1).² According to data from 2021, 93% of Galicia's population understands Galician without difficulty and over 45% of Galicians state that they use it as their preferred language in everyday life (INE 2021). The usage of Galician is much higher in rural areas than in urban areas

² In three municipalities in the west of the province of Cáceres, there is a set of varieties with characteristics shared with Galician, Portuguese, and Leonese (Segura 2013: 119). The origins and dialectal linkages of these Extremaduran varieties, which are not considered varieties of modern Galician, are a subject of discussion among scholars (Gargallo Gil 2021).

and also among older generations. Recent sociolinguistic studies point to a decrease in the use of Galician among younger generations and a notable loss of intergenerational transmission of the language. In Galicia, both Castilian and Galician are considered official languages and are used to varying degrees by governmental institutions, the media, and educational establishments. For many centuries, the political and socio-economic conditions in Galicia marginalised Galician, considered by the population to be a discredited language that is inappropriate for educational and institutional purposes (Monteagudo 2017). The social deprecation suffered by the language and its late officialisation had direct consequences on its usage, study, and research.

Galician derives from the Latin spoken in the northwest of the Iberian Peninsula since Roman times. Some studies suggest this variety was used until the Middle Ages in an area that spread south and east, beyond the present-day administrative borders of Galicia (Dubert García & Galves 2016). The political independence of Portugal and the spread of the language towards the south intensified the differences between varieties and consolidated the use of Galician and Portuguese glottonyms. On the other hand, the contact between Galician and Spanish over the centuries in Galicia has affected not only the usage of both languages but also their features, particularly at the morphosyntactic and lexical levels.

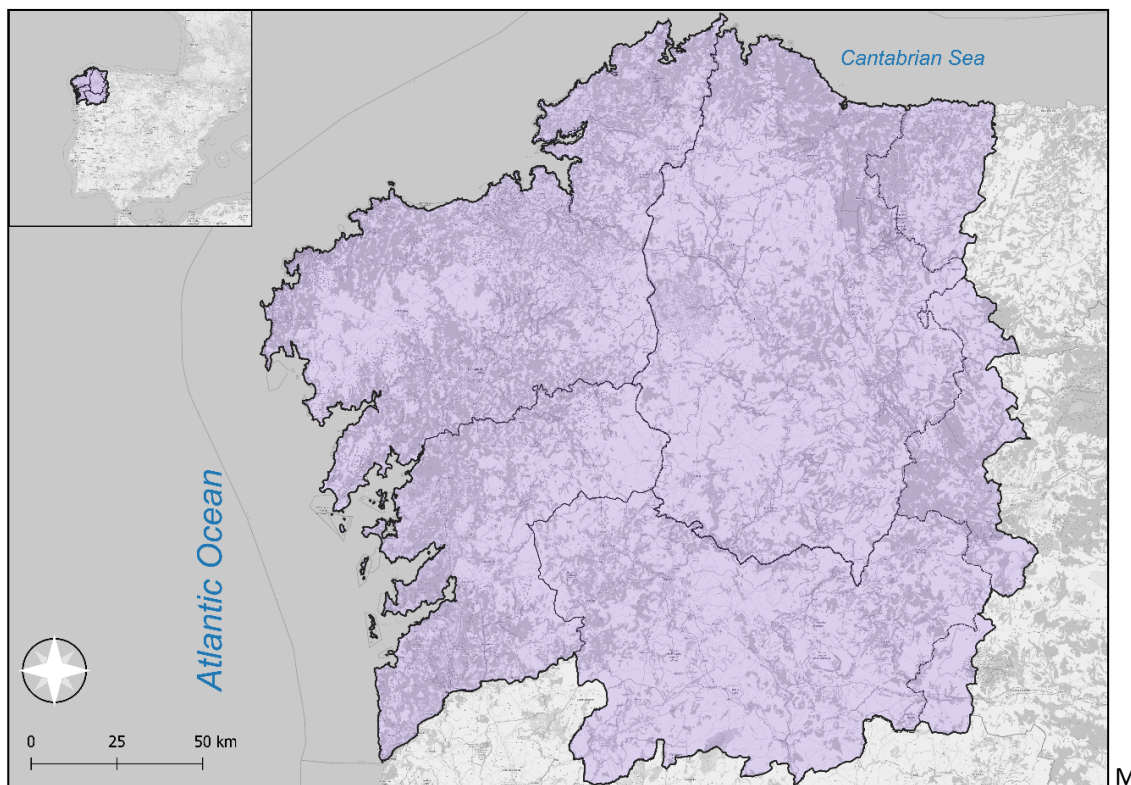
The delimitation of the Galician linguistic domain is typically based on phonetic characteristics. In the eastern part of the domain, the boundaries with the Asturleonese varieties are determined by phonetic variables that result from the evolution of Latin elements, specifically, the diphthongisation/non-diphthongisation of Latin ě and ō (Gal. *terra* 'earth', *porta* 'door' vs. Sp. *tierra*, *puerta*),³ the preservation/disappearance of -N- and -L- (Gal. *avea* 'oats', *fio* 'thread' vs. Sp. *avena*, *hilo*), the result of L- and -LL- (Gal. *lobo* 'wolf', *galo* 'rooster' vs. *lobo* ~ *llobo*, *gallo*) and the different results of the Latin consonant clusters PL-, CL- and FL- (Gal. *chan* 'plain', *chave* 'key', *chama* 'flame' vs. *llano*, *llave*, *llama*). Bearing such features in mind, the domain of Galician spreads eastwards to the westernmost areas of the Principality of

³ The diphthongisation of ě and ō from Latin was taken by Menéndez Pidal as essential to distinguish between the three major peninsular Romanic domains and is still considered today as a fundamental element to discriminate Galician and Portuguese from the central varieties.

Asturias and the provinces of León and Zamora (Valcárcel Riveiro 2011; Ossenkop 2018). The southern boundary is usually established along the political border with Portugal. The variables that delimit the border between Galician and Portuguese are also phonetic: the absence/presence of nasal vowels (Gal. [ˈmaŋ] ‘hand’ vs. Pt. [ˈmẽw]) and of voiced sibilant phonemes in Galician (Gal. *xente* [ˈʝente] and [ˈʝente] ‘people’ vs. Pt. *gente* [ˈʒẽti]; Segura 2013: 117).

Until recent decades, Galician was not considered a significant focus in Portuguese dialect studies due to a lack of knowledge about spoken Galician, the use of European Portuguese as a linguistic reference standard, and the lack of recognition of Galician as an official language. When Paiva Boléo began his work on rural dialectology in Portugal in 1942, he excluded the Galician territory from his study. In his classification of Portuguese dialects, he only took into account the varieties spoken in mainland Portugal, without any reference to Galician (Álvarez Pérez 2013). In the mid-twentieth century, Luís F. Lindley Cintra used the material collected for the *Atlas Lingüístico de la Península Ibérica* to establish a dialectal division of the “Galician-Portuguese linguistic territory as a whole” (Cintra 1971: 99). Using seven phonetic variables, he drew a classification that has been used in many manuals in which he distinguishes three groups of dialects: Galician dialects, northern dialects, and southern dialects. The geographic limit between the two first ones coincides with the political border. According to Cintra, the defining characteristics of the Galician varieties versus the Portuguese ones are the absence of voiced sibilants, the presence of the interdental fricative /θ/, and the lesser closure and degree of reduction of unstressed vowels (Cintra 1971). For the internal division of the Galician territory, he follows the work of Zamora Vicente and distinguishes between western and eastern dialects.

Contemporary publications on Portuguese continental dialects generally adopt Cintra's classification, though they exclude the Galician domain since “neither from a linguistic point of view nor an institutional point of view is it justified to continue to be considered as a dialect of Portuguese” (Segura 2013: 89).



ap 1. Map of the Galician language domain according to the research by ALGa

The interest in scientifically documenting the spoken varieties of languages became consolidated in Europe shortly after historical linguistics took root as a discipline. In the last decades of the 19th century, the neo-grammarians and the founders of Romance linguistics undertook the study of rural varieties as a complement to reinforce the scientific character of historical linguistics. Until that moment, the description of dialects occasionally attracted the attention of scholars and academics, encouraged by the principles and interests of the Enlightenment and Romanticism (Hickey 2018).

In Galicia, the best representative of this period of pre-scientific dialectology was Martín Sarmiento (1695-1772). Even though Sarmiento's work took a long time to be published and known, his contributions in several scientific fields are described by some authors as very original and modern for the time. Among the linguistic themes addressed by Sarmiento are those that attracted the thinkers and intellectuals of his time: the origin of languages, the ideal of a universal language and etymology; as well as other less common ones such as the observation and comparison of living Hispanic

languages, particularly the Galician language (Santamarina 1997). In the mid-18th century, Sarmiento travelled twice around Galicia to collect linguistic information from the mouths of the people who lived in the different places he visited. His notebooks contain his findings on which a part of his work is based. In addition to acting as a linguistic documentalist, Sarmiento drafted a systematic plan to collect lexical information that anticipated the linguistic geography projects developed in Europe from the mid-19th century onwards (Santamarina 1997: 54-55). To gather “*vozes que se han usado y vulgarmente se usan en diferentes partidos del reino de Galicia*” [words that have been used and are commonly used in different parts of the kingdom of Galicia] (Pensado 1971-1972: 63), he proposed to divide the territory into eight zones and entrust the task of recording them to native speakers with language knowledge. The project conceived by Sarmiento took many decades to become effective.

In the second half of the 19th century, Saco Arce, a professor of Greek and Latin, published his grammar following the model of the Spanish academic grammar. In the section of this work dedicated to orthography, he devotes several pages to the dialectal variation of Galician. The author warns that he bases his work on written texts of his time and the direct observation of spoken Galician. Saco emphasises that Galician is essentially unitary and that any differences are local and hardly relevant (Saco y Arce 1868). Based on the characteristics of vowels and consonants, he distinguishes two subdialects, the northern and southern ones. He acknowledges that his proposal is provisional and that a complete description would require detailed and complete information on speakers from all over Galicia.

In some of his works, the linguist Vicente García de Diego also collects references to dialectal variation in Galician. In his historical Galician grammar, he devotes a section to the “*local varieties*” stating that there are no major regional differences in Galician, nor do they prevent distinguishing dialectal groups (García de Diego 1909 [1984]: 155). This reflection is followed by a presentation of a set of phonetic and morphosyntactic features for which he indicates, with unequal precision, the territorial distribution of the corresponding variants. In his manual on Spanish dialectology, he devotes a long section to Galician in which he replicates the statement about the non-

existence of clear dialectal varieties in the Galician domain and points out that there are only sporadic lexical and grammatical differences (García de Diego 1978: 53-139).

As opposed to what happened elsewhere in the Romance territories, the first scientific research into the knowledge of the living language was not undertaken until the beginning of the twentieth century. From then onwards, several researchers from the Hamburg School published works on the language and culture of some Galician areas following the *Wörter und Sachen* method, which combined the interests of etymology, semantics, and ethnography. The scarcity of contributions making it possible to know spoken Galician was still highlighted in the mid-twentieth century by some scholars (Fernández Rei 2008).

2. Classification of Galician varieties

In the years before the civil war, the *Atlas Lingüístico de la Península Ibérica* (ALPI) was launched, a linguistic atlas project whose purpose was to collect linguistic information on the languages spoken in rural areas. Initially, the atlas was to address the varieties of peninsular Spanish, but both Ramón Menéndez Pidal and Tomás Navarro Tomás, the project director, saw the interest in covering all the Romance varieties of the Peninsula. The Galician dialect varieties were to be studied as part of the so-called Galician-Portuguese area by one Galician and another Portuguese researcher (Sousa 2022). ALPI was the first project in which dialectal variation in the Galician domain was rigorously documented. However, the unfortunate history of the project and the lack of interest in the single published volume prevented it from having a direct impact on the description of the Galician varieties in its time (Dubert García 2021).

The following is a review of the proposals and reflections on the organisation of the dialect varieties of Galician that appeared between the mid-twentieth century and the year 2020. This classification covers all or most of the Galician domain and is mainly based on directly collected linguistic documentation. The proposals are headed by the names of the researchers involved. Further information on this contribution is

available in the works by Santamarina (1982), Fernández Rei (1990), and Sánchez Rei (2011).

2.1 *Alonso Zamora Vicente (1951-1963)*

The philologist Alonso Zamora Vicente studied at the philological school of Ramón Menéndez Pidal, a renovator of Hispanic linguistic and philological studies and promoter of the *Atlas Lingüístico de la Península Ibérica*. Between 1943 and 1945, Zamora was a lecturer at the School of Philosophy and Arts at the Universidade of Santiago de Compostela. During his stay in Galicia, he carried out documentation work that allowed him to analyse several characteristics of spoken Galician in the mid-twentieth century.

2.1.1 Framework: Isoglottic dialectology

The findings from this research appeared between 1951 and 1963 and were compiled in a volume published by the Universidade of Santiago de Compostela in 1986 (Zamora Vicente 1986). This work analyses four variables that are still considered to be determinants for the distribution of Galician dialect varieties: the *seseo*, the *gheada*, the endings *-ao* and *-an*, and the clusters *-oit-* and *-uit-*. It also brought forward the idea that the division of Galician dialect varieties is determined by isoglosses following the direction of the meridians (Map 2).

In his work on *seseo*, Zamora differentiates between an area in which both sounds (/θ/ and /s/) are distinguished and another in which there is only /s/. He considers that the areas with *seseo* are conservative and archaizing and resist the levelling influence by Castilian. In drawing the geography of the phenomenon, he highlights the need to distinguish an area of total *seseo* ([ˈsɔkas] ‘clogs’ and [ˈdɛs] ‘ten’), an area of final *seseo* ([ˈθɔkas] and [ˈdɛs] and another without *seseo* ([ˈθɔkas] and [ˈdɛθ]).

The second trait analysed by Zamora is the “pronunciation of the voiced velar *g*, as a voiceless velar fricative *g^h*, *h* equivalent, for the untrained ear, to the Castilian *j*”

(Zamora Vicente 1986: 11). In this article, the author draws attention to the urgent need to delimit the dialectal areas of Galicia and to do so with the utmost rigour. The analysis of the data led him to draw a map in which Galicia is divided into two areas: in the west (A Coruña, Pontevedra, and half of Ourense) there are realisations associated with *gheada*; in the east (Lugo and part of Ourense) there is the realisation [g]; he highlights the existence of an area of *gheada* in an area of Lugo bordering the province of León. The author reflects on the origin of the phenomenon, rules out the influence of Spanish in its generation, and suggests some relationship in the distribution with ecclesiastical divisions and ancient settlements.

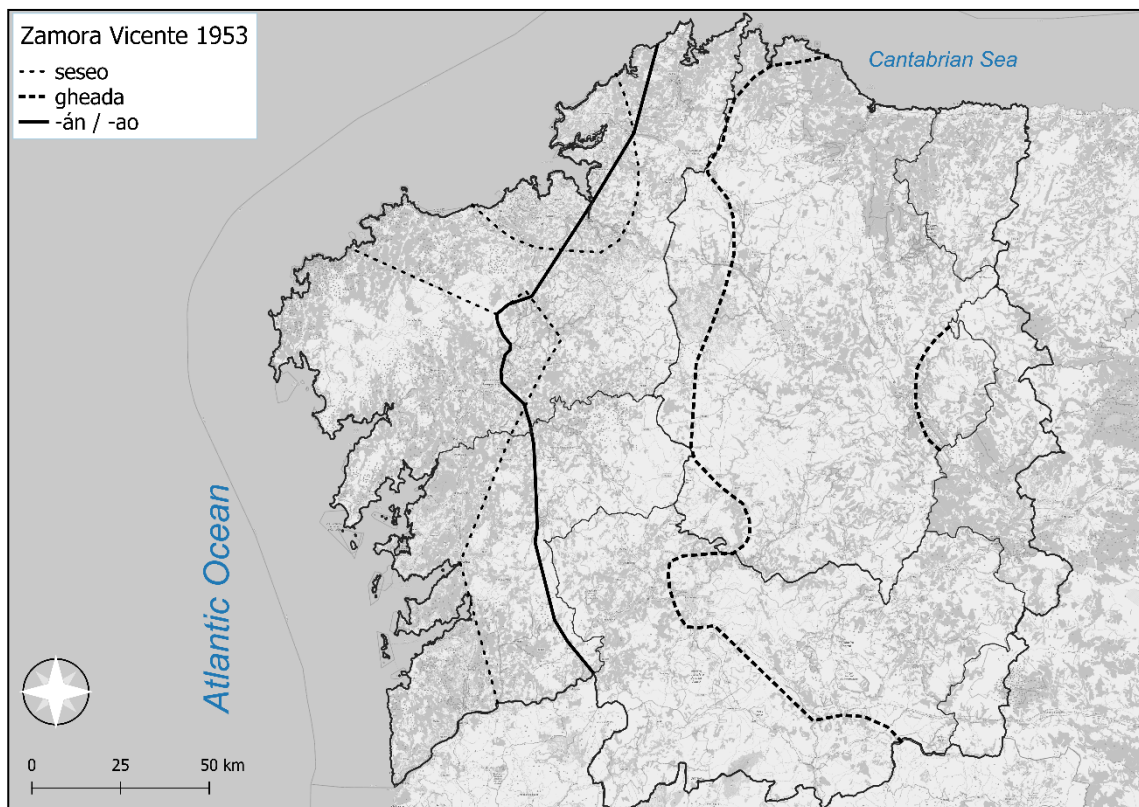
In 1953, he presented the findings from the analysis of the distribution of the endings *-ao* and *-an*, derived from the Latin *-ANUS*. The variant *-ao* is eastern and *-an* western or Atlantic. The former (*irmán* ‘brother’, *man* ‘hand’) occurs in the westernmost parts of the provinces of Pontevedra and Coruña and the latter (*irmao*, *mao*) elsewhere in the territory. In the estuaries of Ferrol and Ares, there are forms with *-a* (*irmá*, *ma*).

The last work is dedicated by the author to the analysis of the diphthongs *-oi-* and *-ui-*, derived from the Latin clusters *-UKT-* and *-ULT-*. Generally speaking, the forms with *-ui-* (*truita* ‘trout’, *luita* ‘fight’, *enxuito* ‘dry’) appear in the eastern part of Galicia that extends over the territory of the neighbouring provinces of Asturias, León, and Zamora and also in two isolated areas, one in the extreme west of Coruña and the other in the south of Pontevedra. In the rest of the territory, the common forms are *-oi-* (*troita*, *loita*, *enxoita*). In some places in the eastern area, there are also less frequent forms (*mutio*, *trutia*, *mutu*, *truta*). This work includes data from the western areas of Asturias, Zamora, and León and localities in the north of Portugal, taken from bibliographical references. The author considers the variants with *-ui-* archaic.

2.1.2 Classification of dialects and subdialects

In the conclusions of Zamora’s 1953 paper, he states that the few variables analysed enable him to state that it is possible to recognise the existence of “two clear

sub-dialects: an eastern or continental one (differentiated *x* and *g*, the distinction of *s* and *ʃ*, ending *-ao*) and a western or Atlantic one (*gheada*, *seseo*, *-an*)” (Zamora Vicente 1986: 34). Although Zamora insists on the provisional nature of his findings while waiting for the materials of the ALPI and the announced *Atlas lingüístico de España* to be published, his research stands out for its rigour and reliability. Unlike previous research, Zamora's analyses and proposals on the classification of varieties are based on numerous data collected from the living language, analysed with the usual scientific criteria for traditional dialectology.



Map 2. Adaptation of the map of isoglosses established by Zamora Vicente (1953: 75)

2.2 Ricardo Carballo Calero (1966-1979)

Ricardo Carballo Calero was the first professor of Galician language and literature at a Galician university. With a background in law and literary studies, he was commissioned in the second half of the twentieth century to write a Galician grammar. This work was very successful and several editions were published (Álvarez 2011). The

first edition of his grammatical manual contains the initial proposal to classify the varieties and the introduction includes a short section entitled *Dialectología* (Carballo Calero 1966: 32-36). The author highlights the uniformity of Galician and the difficulty of finding characteristics with matching distributions to enable the identification of dialects. He reviews Saco Arce's proposal, points out its errors and confirms the validity of the distinction made by Zamora between a Western Galician and an Eastern Galician.

2.2.1 Framework: Isoglottic dialectology

The variables that he considers for the characterisation of these two areas are the type of /s/, the *seseo*, the *gheada*, and the formation of the plural of oxytone words ending in *-n*. The author points out the need to consider a third area formed by the set of eastern speeches, characterised by their archaism and proximity to the Asturian and Leonese varieties. The singular properties of these eastern speeches are the plural *nogais* 'walnut trees' and *pantalois* 'trousers', the verb forms with nasal endings (*cantein* 'I sang'), the ending *-ín* (*paxarín* 'little bird'), the solutions *-ío* and *-ía* (*andolía* 'swallow', *nío* 'nest'), the solutions *truta* and *muto* (Lat. -UKT- and -ULT-) and the preservation of the palatal lateral approximant ([ʎ]). Consequently, the author considers it appropriate to include three dialects: western, central, and eastern.

2.2.2 Classification of dialects and subdialects

Shortly after the grammatical manual, Carballo published a paper in which he revised his first proposal (Carballo Calero 1969). He insists again on the strong internal cohesion of Galician, a language that, despite the situation in which it has been preserved for centuries, shows "a powerful structural unity" (Carballo Calero 1969: 6). Nevertheless, he considers it possible to divide it into dialects, understanding them to be scientific abstractions of linguistics. He finds the classification of the varieties proposed by Zamora accurate, though very poor in data. He acknowledges the absence

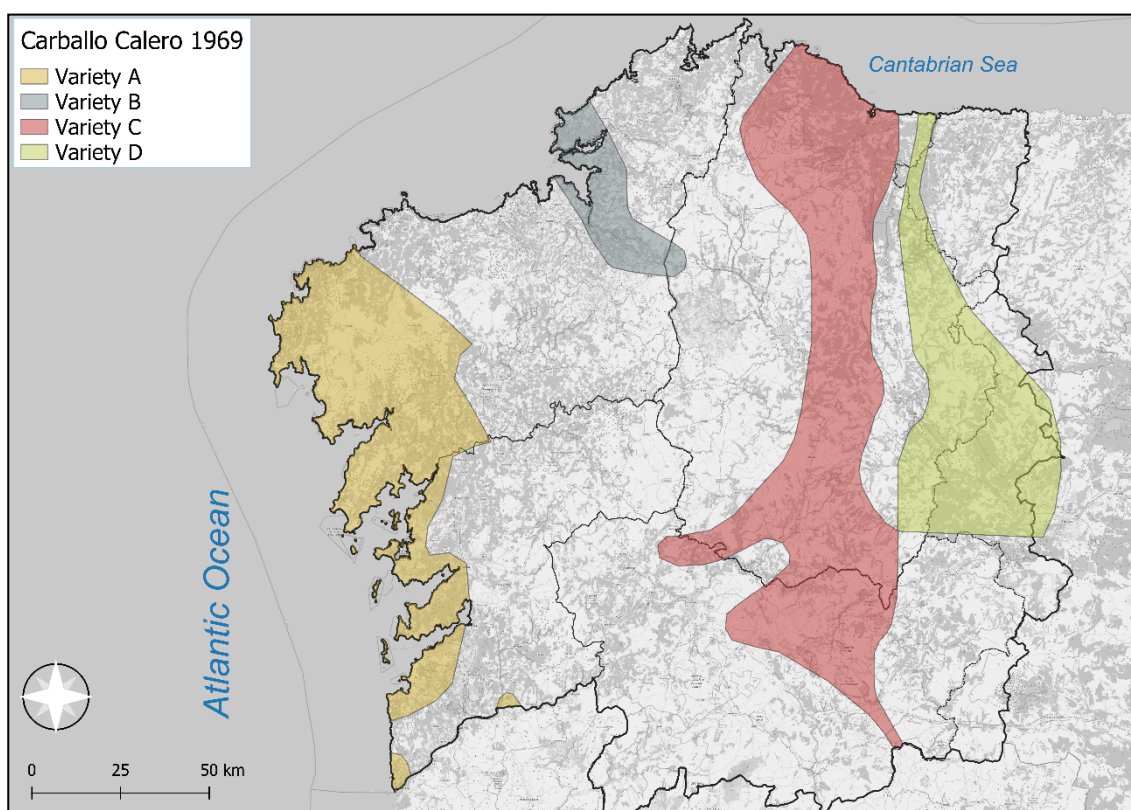
of bundles of isoglosses that would allow us to identify dialects categorically and proposes a “dialect characterisation scheme” (Carballo Calero 1969: 11) based on nine phonetic and morphological variables: i) results of - ANUM (masc.); ii) results of - ANAM (fem.); iii) results of -ANES, -ONES; iv) plural of words ending in -l; v) results of -INUM; vi) types of /s/; vii) /s/ or /θ/ in a prenuclear position; viii) /s/ or /θ/ in coda; and ix) /g/ or /ħ/ ~ /x/ (Table 1). Using these features, he identifies four varieties: Southwestern Galician (A), Northwestern Galician (B), Central Galician (C), and Eastern Galician (D). The four varieties are distributed in discontinuous areas and occupy more than half of the Galician territory. The remaining zones are considered transition areas which, according to the author, should be characterised by the nine traits and with reference to the four main varieties. Carballo considers that modern written and spoken Galician can also be characterised using this system.

In 1978, the author published a new article in which he maintained the previous classification, although he prefers to use the term *modalidade* instead of *dialecto* (Carballo Calero 1978). Besides, he associates the existence of the modalities with the old ecclesiastical divisions of the Galician territory: Iria Galician (A and B) and Lugo Galician (C and D). In the last edition of his grammar (Carballo Calero 1979), he extended the section dedicated to dialectology and incorporated the classification into four varieties.

Carballo Calero's work does not include maps illustrating the proposed dialectal classifications. Santamarina, in a revision work, offers a cartographic representation of Carballo's last proposal (Map 3) based on data from the *Atlas Lingüístico Galego* (Santamarina 1982: 187). Carballo's proposals show two fundamental deficiencies in his work: the scarcity of data and the difficulty in handling a very limited number of variables. Although Carballo's proposals seem to amplify Zamora's, the result is very unsatisfactory as a scientific description of the dialect variation in the Galician domain.

VARIETIES	VARIABLES								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
A	<i>irmán</i>	<i>irmán</i>	<i>cans</i>	<i>animás</i>	<i>paxariño</i>	[s]	<i>mosa</i>	<i>lus</i>	<i>aghulla</i>
B	<i>irmá</i>	<i>irmá</i>	<i>cas</i>	<i>animás</i>	<i>paxariño</i>	[s]	<i>moza</i>	<i>lus</i>	<i>aghulla</i>
C	<i>irmao</i>	<i>irmá</i>	<i>cas</i>	<i>animás</i>	<i>paxariño</i>	[s]	<i>moza</i>	<i>luz</i>	<i>agulla</i>
D	<i>irmao</i>	<i>irmá</i>	<i>cais</i>	<i>animais</i>	<i>paxarín</i>	[s]	<i>moza</i>	<i>luz</i>	<i>agulla</i>

Table 1. Characterisation of the four dialect varieties identified by Carballo Calero (1969: 11).



Map 3. Map of the varieties identified by Carballo. The map is an adaptation of the one drawn by Santamarina (1982: 187)

2.3 Francisco Fernández Rei (1980-1990)

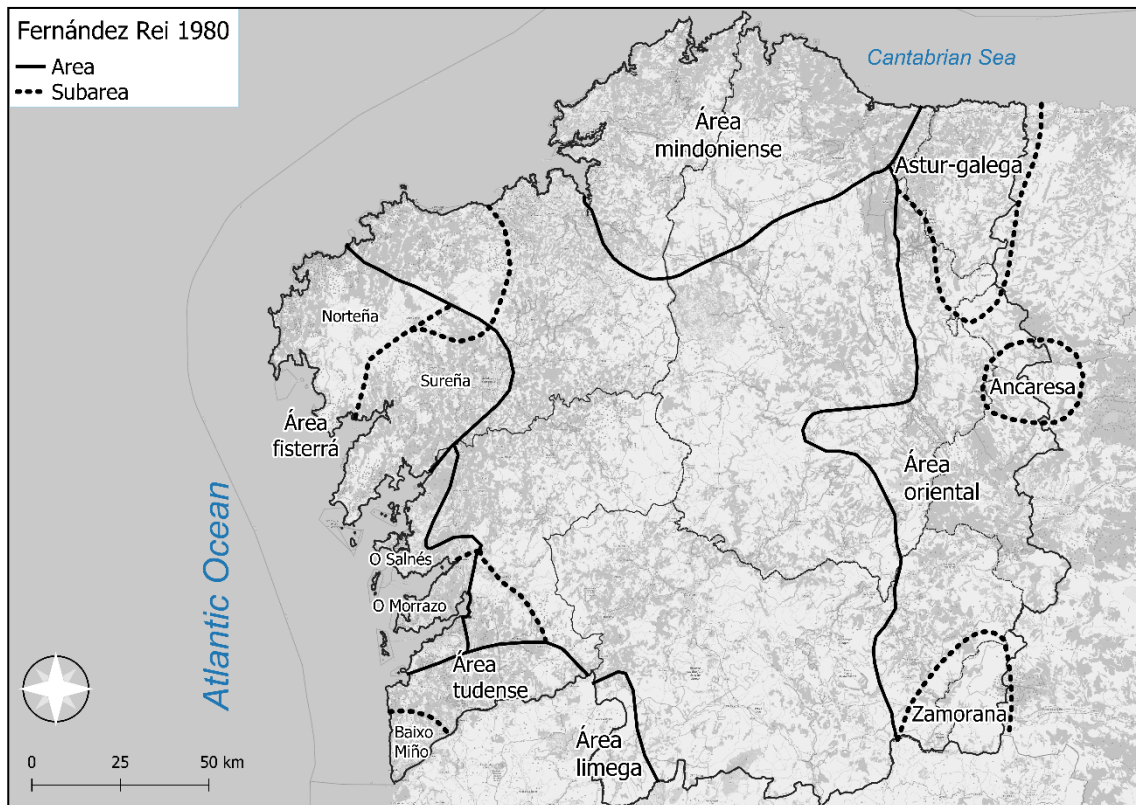
In 1974, fieldwork began on the *Atlas Lingüístico Galego (ALGa)*, a linguistic geography work that would become a decisive contribution to the knowledge of geographic variation in the Galician linguistic domain (Galicia and the neighbouring eastern territories).

2.3.1 Framework: Isoglottic dialectology

The work follows the methodology of traditional linguistic atlases, both in its objectives and in the elicitation procedures and the profile of the informants. Before the first volume of the work appeared in 1990, the unpublished material of the project was drawn upon by one of the project's researchers to offer information on the internal variation of the Galician language. In 1980, at the *XVI Congreso de Filoloxía Románica*, Fernández Rei submitted a classification of varieties based on a provisional analysis of the ALGa materials (Fernández Rei 1985). The author reasserts the idea of the internal unity of Galician and points out that there are linguistic areas characterised by differences of non-coincidental distribution, so he states that “in no case do we consider *dialects*, among other things, because their speakers are not aware of using *dialectal* Galician” (Fernández Rei 1985: 486). He also criticises the previously proposed divisions of Galician into dialects as vague and abstract, as they are based on a few variables. Of all of them, he deems Carballo's proposal to be the closest to reality.

BLOCKS	AREAS	SUBAREAS
WESTERN	Fisterrá	Fisterrá norte
		Fisterrá sur
	Tudense	Salnés
		Morrazo
		Baixo Miño
	Limega	
	Mindoniense	
EASTERN		Galego-asturiana
		Ancaresa
		Zamora

Table 2. Summary of the classification of dialect varieties proposed by Fernández Rei (1985)



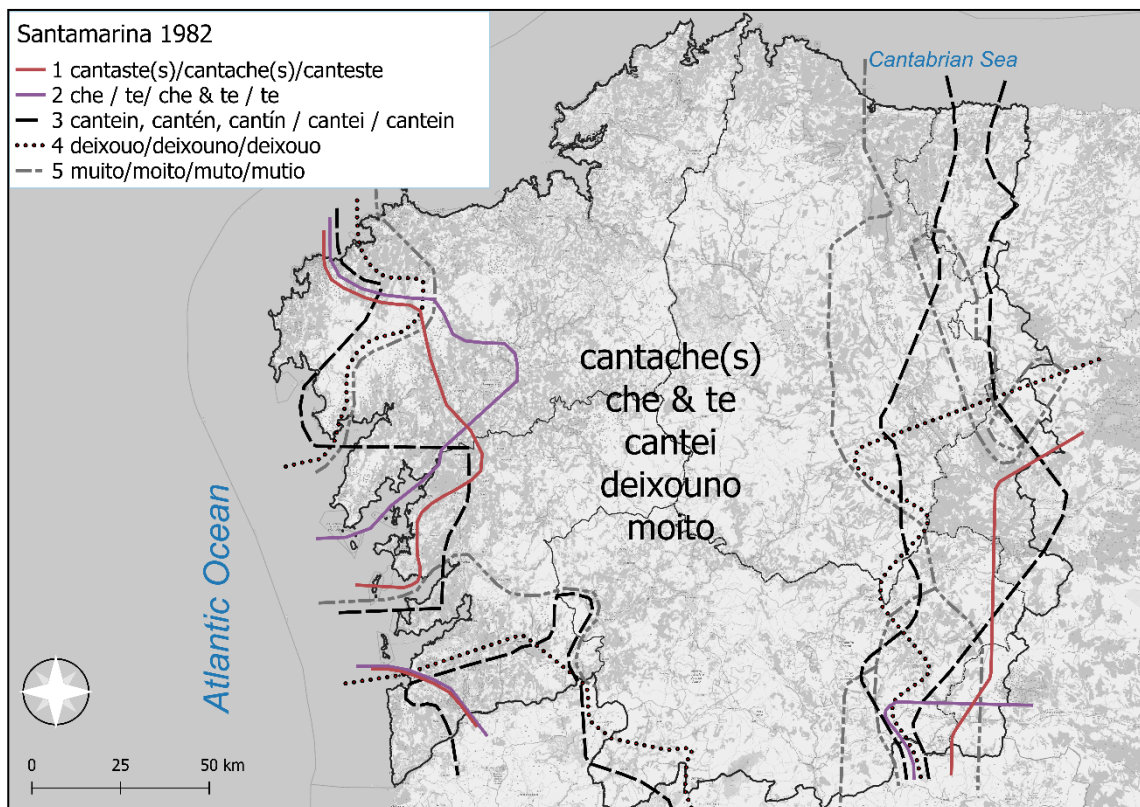
Map 4. Map of Galician linguistic areas. Adapted from the map drawn by Fernández Rei (1985: 493)

2.3.2 Classification of dialects and subdialects

From the data collected for the ALGa, he presents a set of phonetic and morphosyntactic linguistic features that stand out as differentiators. Taking into account the distribution of the variants corresponding to these characteristics, he delimits, provisionally, two speech blocks that have “very similar features to the ancient ones” (Fernández Rei 1985: 492): i) the western block, comprising the west of Coruña, the coast and south of Pontevedra and an area in the southwest of Ourense; and (ii) the eastern block, encompassing the eastern areas of Lugo and Ourense and also the Galician-speaking territories of Asturias, León, and Zamora. Inside these two blocks, areas and subareas can be distinguished (Table 2). The intermediate territory between the two blocks, which contains the hinterland of the four Galician provinces, has some common characteristics, though, according to the author, there are no areas that stand out for their uniqueness. In the north of the provinces of Lugo and A Coruña, between the Fisterra and Galician-Asturian varieties, there is an area known as

the Mindoniense. The classification follows to some extent the procedure used by Carballo of identifying the areas with the most unique linguistic features, establishing a tacit comparison with respect to a variety that is considered to be common or less unique. The proposal is accompanied by maps and charts illustrating the distribution and characterisation of the proposed dialect divisions (Map 4).

This same proposal, with few modifications, was published in the entry on the word *galego* in volume 14 of the *Gran Enciclopedia Gallega* in the section entitled *Áreas lingüísticas del gallego* (Álvarez Blanco et al. 1974-2000).



Map 5. Map of phonetic and morphosyntactic characteristics found in extreme and discontinuous areas (Santamarina 1982: 178)

Santamarina takes this classification as the most up-to-date one in his work on the history of Galician dialectology (1982). This contribution offers a critical review of the analysis of dialectal variation in Galician from Sarmiento until the beginning of the 1980s. The classification proposed by Fernández Rei, based on 37 phonetic and morphosyntactic variables, seems to Santamarina to be the most complete of those carried out so far, even though it is provisional and takes into account some hardly

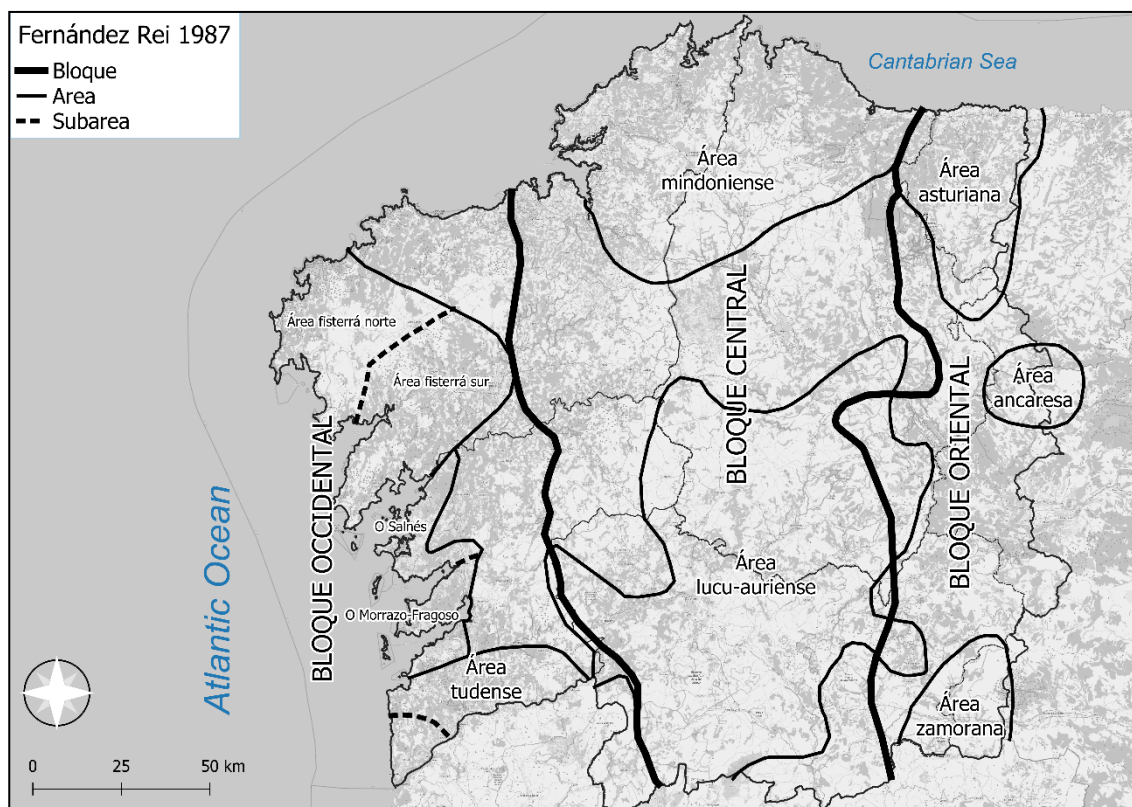
significant characteristics. Following this proposal, he suggests that it is possible to discover the dialectal articulation of Galician. In addition to the two large areas indicated by Fernández Rei (eastern and western), he includes “central Galician, roughly speaking, between the frontiers of *faser/facer* [‘to make’] and *ladros/ladróns* [‘thieves’]” (Santamarina 1982: 172). However, he does not use the term *bloque* ‘block’ for this area, since it is defined negatively with respect to the other two and not because of its specificities. The internal divisions in the two blocks are characterised according to the proposal by Fernández Rei. Santamarina accompanies his work with a series of maps that serve to highlight, among other aspects, the existence of variants that are distributed in discontinuous areas to the east and west (Map 5). According to the author, the mapping of dialectal Galician should be completed with studies of more variables, the analysis of ancient sources, the contribution of toponymic studies, and the use of statistical methods along the lines of those proposed by Séguy. Santamarina suggests that the visualisation of the dialectal variation of Galician should correspond to a graded heat map ranging from white, the most innovative in the west, to black, the more conservative east (Santamarina 1982: 175).

In the same year in which Santamarina's contribution appeared, Fernández Rei published a revision of his proposal for dialectal articulation (Fernández Rei 1982). In this work, he increased the number of features analysed (now 78, phonetic and morphological), reclassified the variables considered, and proposed a division into three large blocks: western, central, and eastern (Fernández Rei 1982: 259). The variables considered were selected because of their homogeneous distribution and not because of their extension or relevance in the linguistic system. The variable used to distinguish the three blocks is the plural of the nouns in *-n*: *cans* ‘dogs’ (western), *cas* (central), and *cais* (eastern); the variants associated with the masculine of *irmán* ‘brother’ are also used to confirm the isogloss that separates the western block (*irmán*) from the central block (*irmao*).

BLOCKS	AREAS	OTHER DIVISIONS	SUBAREAS
Western	Fisterrá	Fisterrá norte	
		Fisterrá sur	
		O Salnés	
		Morrazo-Fragoso	
	Tudense		Baixo Miño
	Limia Baixa		
Central	Mindoniense	Mindoniense occidental	
		Mindoniense oriental	
	Lucu-auriense	Norte	
		Sur	
Eastern	Asturiana		
	Ancares		
	Zamora		

Table 3. Summary of the classification of varieties proposed by Fernández Rei (1982)

Inside each block, the author delimits a set of geographical areas to which he applies different names *área*, *zona*, *ponte lingüística* (area, zone, linguistic bridge). which, despite not clarifying their value, seem to respond to the degree of linguistic singularity. Table 3 provides a summary of this segmentation and the map in Map 6 shows the territorial extension and distribution. Noticeably, in the three blocks the minor divisions do not always correspond to one another.



Map 6. Distribution of Galician varieties according to the classification proposed by Fernández Rei (1982: 282)

In 1990, when the first volume of the ALGa dedicated to verbal morphology was published, the dialectology manual by Fernández Rei appeared (1990). This work soon became a reference book for linguistic studies and a guide for the dialectology chapters in school textbooks. It is organised into three chapters, the first of which, the fundamental chapter of the book, is entitled *Caracterización dialectal da lingua galega moderna* (Fernández Rei 1990: 15-160) and is a revision of his earlier work, as well as an extension of the description drafted for the section on Galician in the *Lexikon der Romanistischen Linguistik* (Fernández Rei 1994).⁴ The author takes data from the ALGa, increases the number of variables analysed (78 phonetic and morphological, 1 syntactic, and 2 lexical), and corrects some of those used in previous works. The Galician varieties are grouped into three blocks (western, central, and eastern), and each of them is divided into smaller divisions (11 areas, 1 macro-subarea, 20 subareas,

⁴ This classification was proposed as a summary and accompanied by 20 maps in the journal *Grial* Fernández Rei (1987).

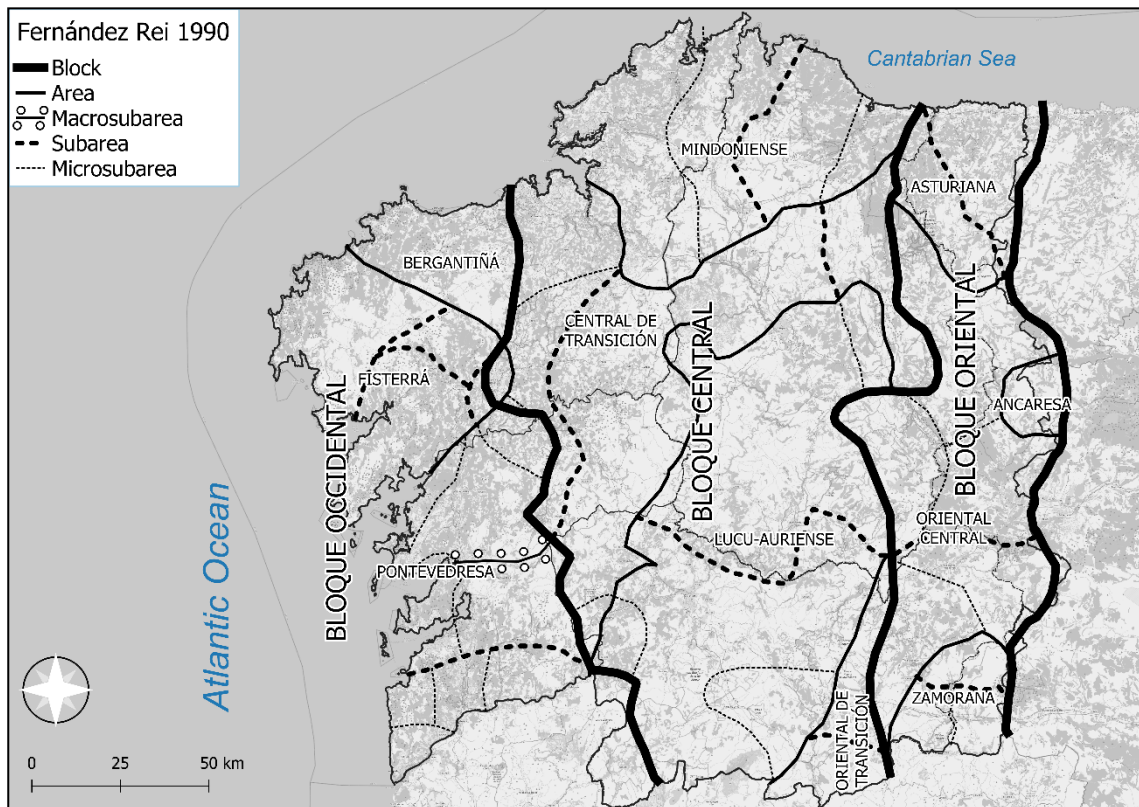
and 26 micro-subareas; Map 7). As in previous works, the author uses names that refer to territorial spaces, not to linguistic varieties. The variable of the formation of the plural of the nouns ending in *-n* is used to draw the isoglosses that mark the limits between the three blocks. The minor divisions are characterised using phonetic and morphological traits. As shown in table 4, the internal divisions of the blocks are not equal in all areas: the Bergantiños area has no internal divisions, while the Pontevedra area has up to three lesser subdivisions. The author states that the two end blocks share many characteristics and “constitute two macro-areas, one Atlantic or western and the other eastern” (Fernández Rei 1990: 110). According to his classification, he also states that the central block has few exclusive characteristics and the internal divisions are less uniform. The denominations of the internal divisions of the areas refer to geographical elements (places, rivers, districts, municipalities, etc.).

BLOCKS	AREAS	SUBAREAS	MICRO-SUBAREAS	
OCCIDENTAL	Bergantiñá			
	Fisterrá	Xallas		
		Tambre-Barbanza		
		Bembibre		
		Compostelá		
	Pontevedresa	Ulla-Umia		Salnés
				Ulla
				Moraña-Cotobade
		Verdugo		Redondela-Mondariz
				Morrazo-Fragoso
Miño			Baixo-Miño	
			Miñor	
			Louriña	
			Condado	
Mindoniense		Occidental		Capelada-Ferrol-Guitiriz
			Viveiro-Xermade	
	Oriental		Mariña-Xistral	
			Mariña-Lourenzá	
CENTRAL	Lucu-auriense	Lucense	Becerreá	
		Auriense	Limia Baixa	
			Limia Alta	
			Ribeiro	
	Central de transición	Occidental	Mariñas	
			Ordes-Terra de Montes	
	Meira			
	Oriental de transición	Oímbra-Vilardevós		
ORIENTAL	Asturiana	A Veiga-Os Oscos-Ibias		
		Salave-Coaña-Boal		

Ancaresa		
	Porto	
Zamorana	Mezquita-Lubián	Mezquita Lubián-Hermisende
	A Fonsagrada- Bierzo	O Courel-O A Fonsagrada-Cervantes O Courel
Oriental central		O Bierzo
	Valdeorras-Viana	Valdeorras O Bolo-Viana

Table 4. Table of blocks, areas, subareas, and micro-subareas (Fernández Rei 1987). In the Pontevedra area, the Verdugo and Miño subareas are grouped under the name Verdugo-Miño macro-subarea

A few years after Fernández Rei published his book, the researcher Frías Conde proposed a revision of the dialect classification in which he argues that the *falas* (speeches) in the west of Cáceres are Galician dialectal varieties, distinguishing two groups in the eastern area (Frías Conde 1997). The Extremaduran *falas* make up what the author calls the southern block, comprising the area of Calabor (Zamora) and the area of Extremadura. In the east, he distinguishes between an eastern block, made up of the areas of Lugo, León, and Zamora, and the border block, called *raiano*, in the areas of Asturias and Ancares. According to this author, the new proposed blocks are especially interesting because they show both conservative features and innovations that are absent in the rest of the territory. This proposal was not followed up in subsequent research.



Map 7. Classification of Galician dialect varieties in blocks, areas, subareas, and micro-subareas. Adapted from the map by Fernández Rei (1990: 108)

2.4 Sousa (2006)

Professor Hans Goebel's work on the quantitative analysis of Romance varieties between the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century (Goebel 2023) encouraged the application of this new method of analysis to the Ibero-Romance varieties (Goebel 2006). The dialectometric method, as the Austrian professor calls it, involves increasing the number of variables considered and quantitatively exploiting the data to find the standards that reflect the dialectal variation.

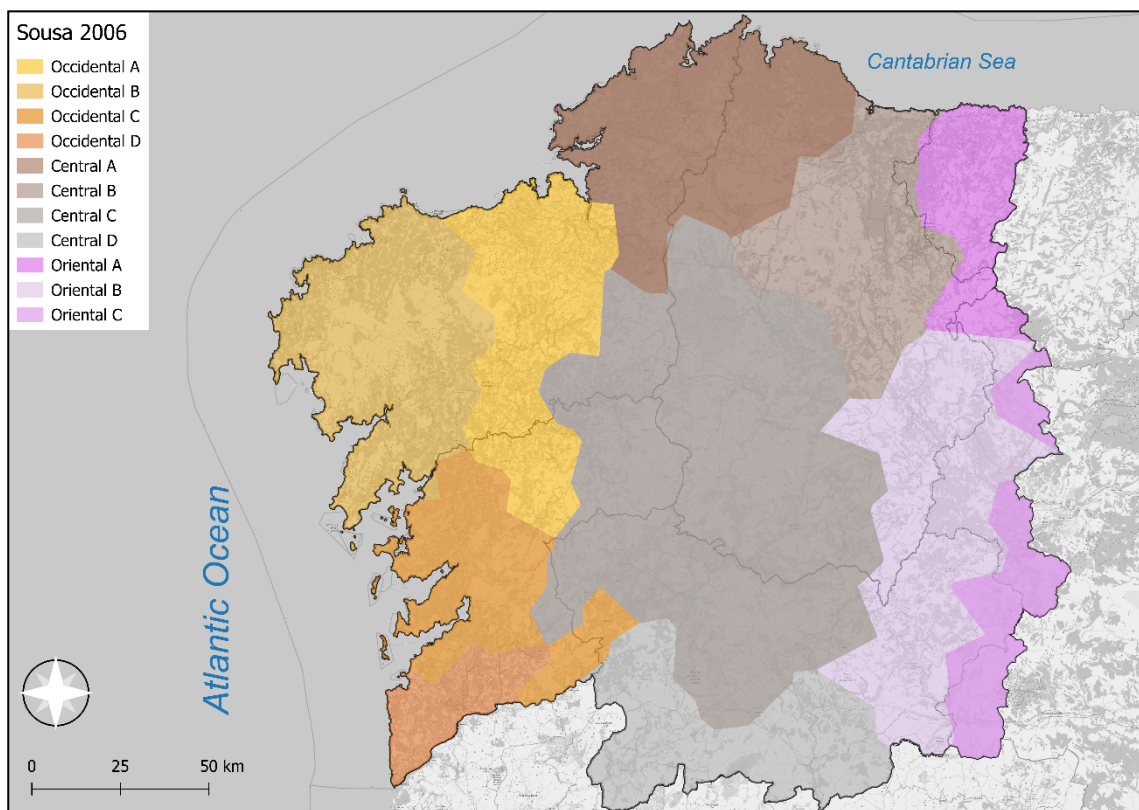
2.4.1 Framework: Quantitative dialectology

In 2003, Sousa presented the first findings from the dialectometric analysis of ALGa materials at a dialect conference (Sousa 2006). The first work aimed to verify the findings from the dialectometric study by analysing a set of variables similar to those considered in the work by Fernández Rei (1990). The author studied 187 work maps of

phonetic and morphological variables and shows the resulting groupings when performing a cluster analysis using Visual Dialectometry (VDM) software.

2.4.2 Classification of dialects and subdialects

The segmentation into three clusters coincides overall with the division into three blocks as proposed by Fernández Rei. The three areas are organised in vertical belts and there is some difference in the extension of the western and eastern areas (Map 8). In the division into 11 groups, corresponding to Fernández Rei's distinction into areas, the differences between the two studies are greater since there are hardly any coincidences in the distribution and extension of the areas. The author stresses that quantitative analysis allows us to discover aspects that remain hidden with qualitative analysis. For example, he points out that the eastern block shows greater linguistic singularity with respect to the other two divisions and how the Asturian area is more distanced from the rest of the linguistic areas of the domain.



Map 8. Polygon map corresponding to the dialectometric analysis of 187 work maps. Adaptation of Sousa's map (2006: 363)

2.5 Álvarez, Dubert & Sousa (2006)

Álvarez, Dubert, and Sousa (2006) used the Salzburg School's dialectometric method (Goebel 2006) to analyse the ALGa data more comprehensively. The researchers analysed data corresponding to 371 ALGa maps.

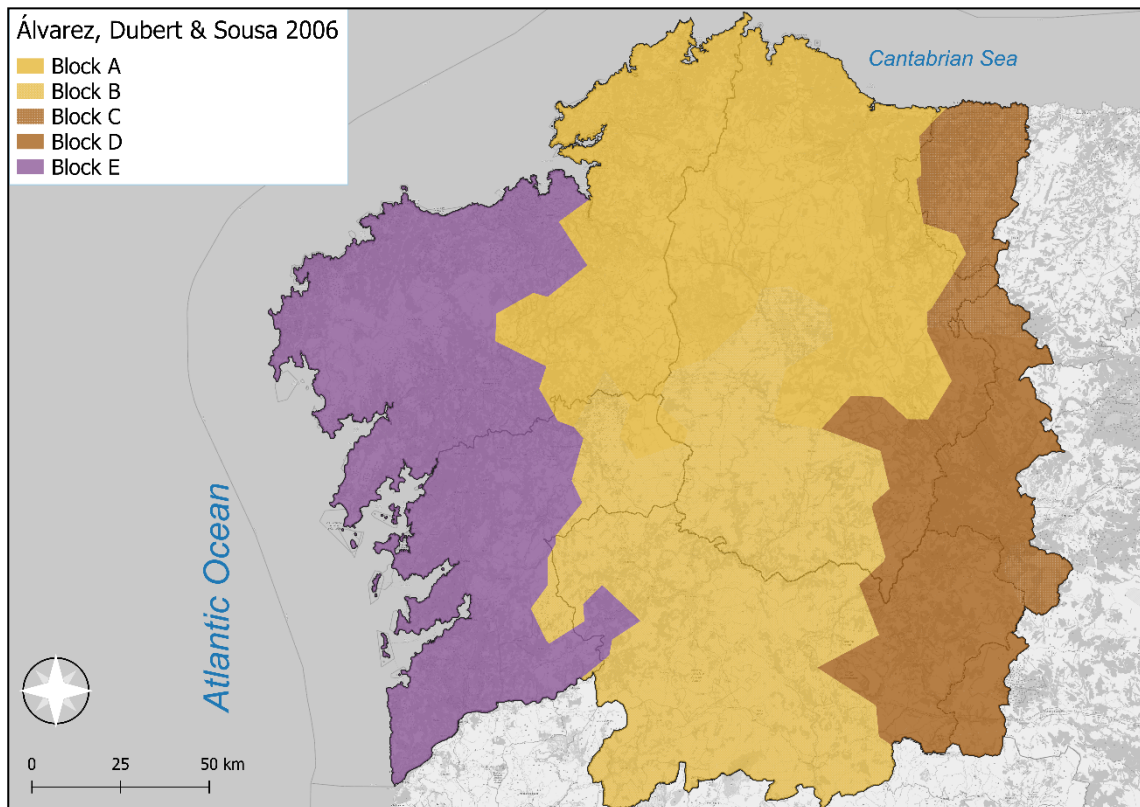
2.5.1 Framework: Quantitative dialectology

The work represents an advance with respect to earlier contributions since more data and more diverse information are analysed: 100 phonetic maps, 121 nominal and verbal morphology maps, and 100 lexical maps. They focused on the findings from three statistical procedures of the Salzburg School of Dialectometry: linguistic similarity, symmetry coefficients, and cluster classification. Based on the cluster classification, they presented a dialectal organisation of the territory into three areas,

which coincides with the dialectal distribution carried out by Fernández Rei (1990) (Map 9).

2.5.2 Classification of dialects and subdialects

The authors identified three basic dialectal areas: western, central, and eastern, organized in vertical belts. The analysis also shows that the varieties of the western area are the ones that show the greatest internal coincidences and are the most different from the varieties spoken in the rest of the territory. The eastern block was divided into two compact groupings, one encompassing the localities in Asturias, one in Lugo, and another in León (C); and the other constituted by the localities in the eastern third of Ourense, the southeastern areas of Lugo and the adjacent ones of the provinces of León and Zamora (D). In the central block, a little less compact than the eastern block, the varieties are grouped into the northern group (A), which is somewhat more extensive in the Mindoniense area, and another southern group that stands out for its strong linguistic homogeneity (B). The subdivisions proposed by these authors diverge from Fernández Rei's classification into areas.



2.6 Dubert (2011)

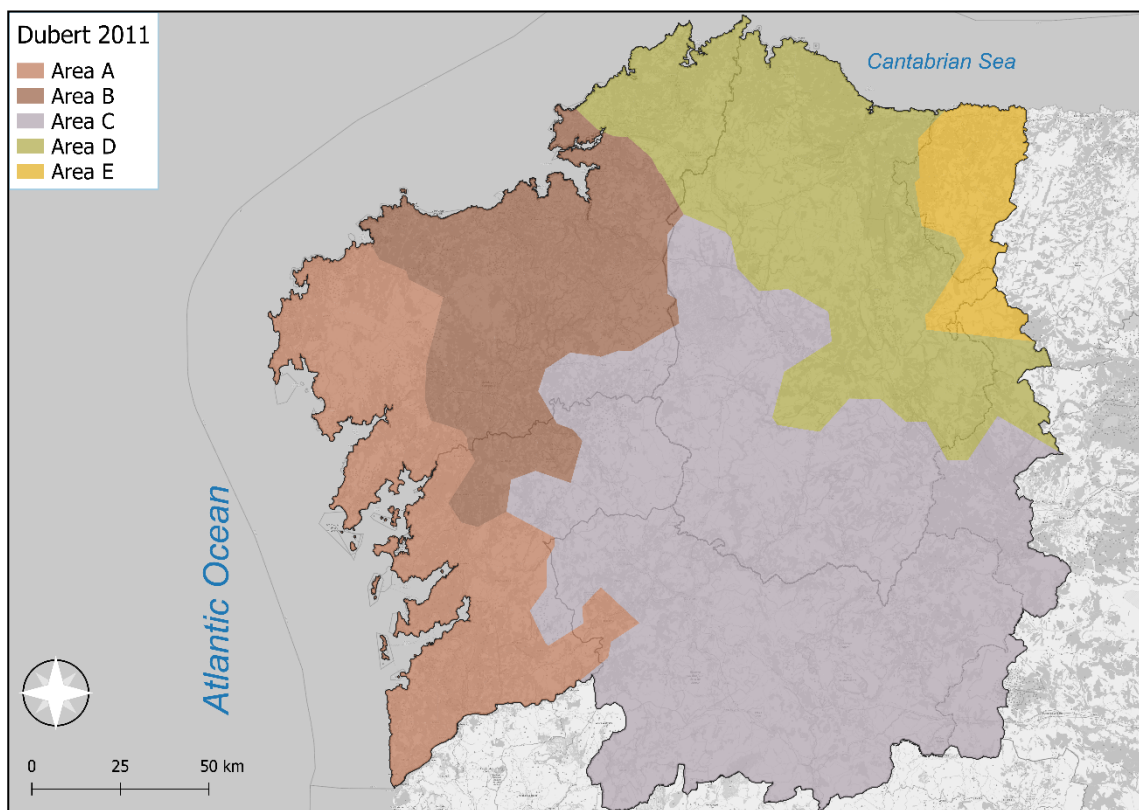
Taking data from the ALGa and using dialectometric procedures, Dubert's work (2011) presents the findings from a quantitative analysis of 230 phonetic variables. The information studied is distributed into 106 vowel maps, 79 consonant maps, 18 maps of interaction between consonants and vowels, 11 maps about semivowels, 13 maps on prosody, and 3 maps concerning stress placement.

2.6.1 Framework: Quantitative dialectology

The exploration of these materials was carried out following the methodology proposed by Hans Goebel and using the VDM software as in previous works. In addition to offering similarity analyses between localities and within the data set, we present the findings from the cluster analysis of the set of 167 localities in the ALGa.

2.6.2 Classification of dialects and subdialects

The map resulting from this analysis shows five clusters (Map 10). The author justifies the choice of this partition in “that they seem to suffice to show the dialectal structure of such a small territory with such high indices of similarity, and the fact that the choropleths must be in black and white” (Dubert García 2011: 47). The first major dialectal division allows us to distinguish two main areas taking into account phonetic variables: the western area and the other central-eastern area.



Map 10. Map resulting from the cluster analysis of 230 phonetic variables (Dubert García 2011)

2.7 Sousa (2017)

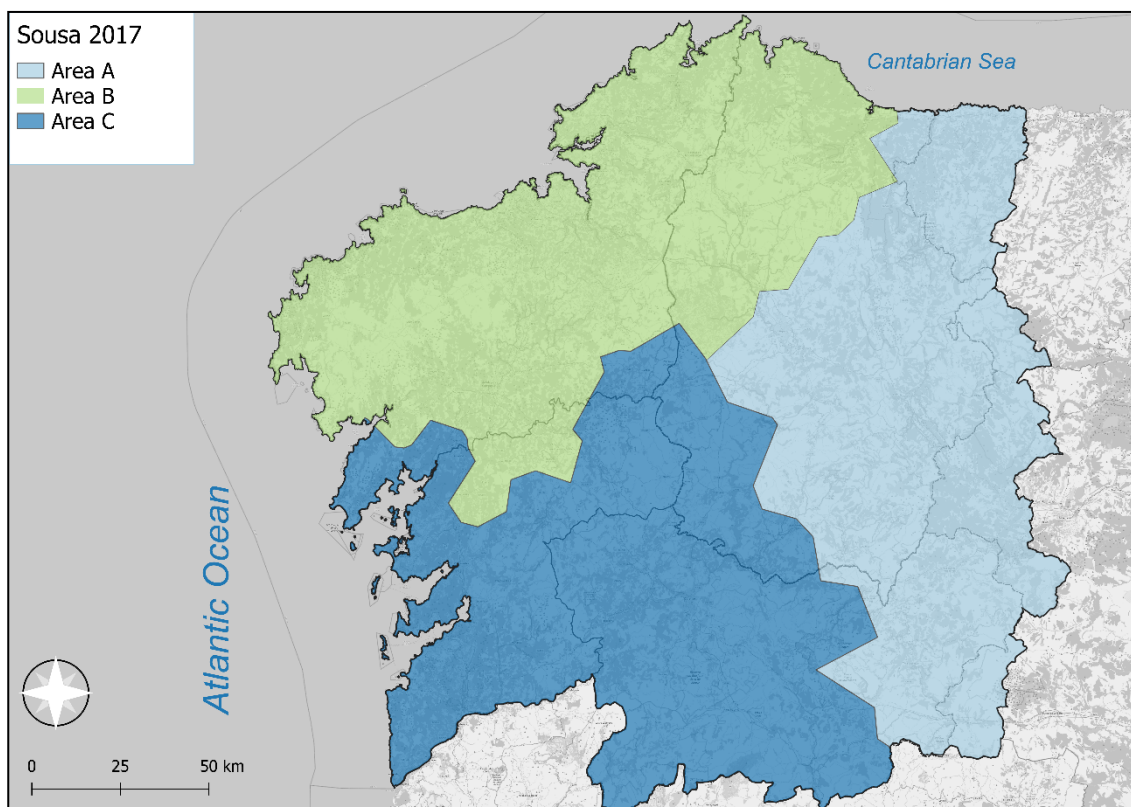
The classification of Galician varieties focuses on the study of phonetic and morphosyntactic variables, following the procedure used for other Ibero-Romance varieties. Fernández Rei’s work (1990) includes two lexical variables, but they are not relevant to the proposed dialectal classification.

2.7.1 Framework: Quantitative dialectology

Sousa's study (2017) shows the findings from an aggregate analysis of 136 lexical variables from the ALGa materials with the Gabmap application and identifies the correlation between linguistic distance and geographical distance. Linguistic distances between points range from 0.55 to 0.95, and it is observed that the lexical distances between localities can be greater than phonetic distances, as shown in Dubert's work (2011).

2.7.2 Classification of dialects and subdialects

The cluster analysis of the material discovers three main lexical areas (Map 11). The first branches of the dendrogram separate the eastern belt (A) from the western area (B and C). The eastern area (A), which runs from north to south parallel to Galicia's eastern administrative border and comprises parts of the provinces of Lugo and Ourense and the Galician-speaking regions of Asturias, León, and Zamora, appears to be the most stable and homogeneous of the three lexical areas identified, this is where the highest degree of linguistic similarity is found. This eastern area shows some similarities with the proposed classifications based on phonetic and morphosyntactic material and constitutes a special social, cultural, and linguistic zone characterized by close contact with linguistic varieties of the neighbouring Leonese and Asturian domains, according to the author (Sousa 2017: 80).



Map 11. Map resulting from the analysis of 136 lexical variables in ALGa (Sousa 2017)

2.8 Sousa (2020)

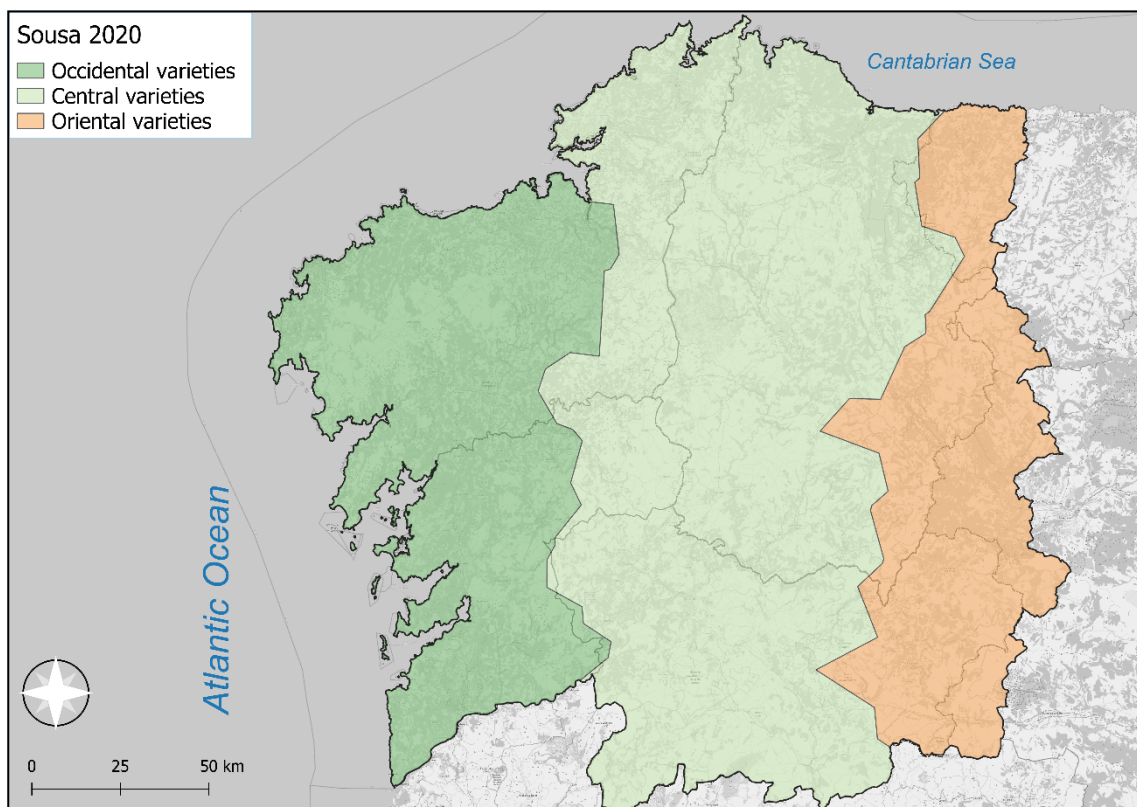
The last classification proposal published is the study carried out by Sousa on the linguistic distance between the standard variety and the Galician dialect varieties (Sousa 2020).

2.8.1 Framework: Quantitative dialectology

The author analyses 324 morphosyntactic variables in the 167 localities investigated for the ALGa using quantitative methods. He revises in detail the work published a few years earlier (Álvarez Blanco et al. 2006).

2.8.2 Classification of dialects and subdialects

The analysis of data identifies three main dialect areas whose distribution and extension coincide with the previous analysis. The author highlights several aspects revealed by the quantitative analysis: i) the fundamental division between the three areas is marked by isoglosses running from north to south: ii) the isoglosses separating the three varieties follow the same direction (north to south) as other isoglosses identified in the Romance varieties of the north of the Peninsula; iii) the area of central varieties is the most extensive and homogeneous one from a linguistic point of view; iv) the eastern area is more unique compared to the other two; and v) the western area has the greatest internal diversity. No description of the internal divisions of the three areas is addressed in this paper (Map 12).



Map 12. Map of the main dialect areas according to the analysis of 324 morphosyntactic variables carried out by Sousa (2020)

3. Conclusions

The review of the proposals for the dialect classification of Galician varieties presented in this contribution serves as an example of the development of studies on Galician in the last 100 years (Table 5). The field research for the project of the *Atlas Lingüístico de la Península Ibérica* in the 1930s marked the beginning of the scientific documentation of the geographical varieties of the Galician domain. Despite the value of the project, it took several decades before the material collected for this atlas was used to describe the Galician of the early 20th century (Dubert García 2021; Sousa 2022). From the 1950s to the present day, two stages can be distinguished in the study of Galician dialects. In the first stage, the figures of Zamora Vicente and Carballo Calero stand out. Both authors agree in pointing out the absence of clearly identifiable dialects and in proposing two fundamental varieties (western and eastern) based on the analysis of a limited number of traits. The second stage began with the ALGa project and represents an extraordinary advance in the description of dialectal variation, both in terms of the richness of the data analysed and the methods used. At this stage, there are noteworthy contributions by Fernández Rei and other researchers from the Instituto da Lingua Galega of the Universidade of Santiago de Compostela.

In the set of works reviewed, a series of coincidences were found which are worth highlighting: a) the Galician linguistic domain is quite uniform and there are no dialectal differences hampering mutual intelligibility or leading to the identification of clearly differentiated local varieties; b) the fundamental organisation of dialect varieties follows a distribution in three areas separated by isoglosses running from north to south and is based on phonetic and morphosyntactic variables; c) the identification of varieties within the three large areas is determined in the studies by the number of variables studied and by the method of analysis used. The continuation of the analysis of the ALGa materials and the research on current and historical materials will hopefully contribute in the future to a better understanding of the linguistic diversity of the Galician domain.

AUTHORS	DIVISIONS	FRAMEWORK	CRITERIA
Zamora Vicente (1951-1963)	2	Isoglottic	Phonetics and morphology
Carballo Calero (1966-1979)	4	Isoglottic	Phonetics and morphology
Fernández Rei (1990)	3 (11 areas, 1 macrosubarea, 20 subareas and 26 microsubareas)	Isoglottic	Phonetics and morphology
Frías Conde (1997)	5	Isoglottic	Phonetics and morphology
Sousa (2006)	3	Quantitative	Phonetics and morphology
Álvarez, Dubert & Sousa (2006)	3	Quantitative	Phonetics and morphology
Dubert (2011)	2 (5)	Quantitative	Phonetics
Sousa (2017)	3	Quantitative	Lexis
Sousa (2020)	3	Quantitative	Morphology and syntax

Table 5. Proposals for dialect classification of Galician

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