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THE DESIGNATION OF 'DAWN' IN THE IBERO-ROMANCE AREA: A GEOLEXICAL AND COGNITIVE APPROACH¹

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Abstract

The conception of time and its division into parts of the day has always been a topic of special interest. The interest of the researchers in this topic is not only because it involves a different categorisation of the same reality, but also because it is a semantic field with a high grade of designative variety. The purpose of this study is to examine the designative variation of the concepts 'dawn' using the materials offered by Iberian Romance geolinguistics. To develop the research, the authors used atlas data, analysed from the etymological and lexical-semantic standpoint and based on the cognitive semantic framework, in order to firstly determine the differences and similarities in categorising this part of the day in the Iberian Romance linguistic scope and secondly, to analyse the grade of lexical variation of this concept in relation to the semantic motivation giving rise to it.

Keywords

dialectology, Ibero-Romance languages, linguistic atlases, motivation, categorization

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LOS NOMBRES DEL CONCEPTO 'ALBA' EN EL ÁREA IBERORROMÁNICA: UNA APROXIMACIÓN GEOLÉXICA Y COGNITIVA

Resumen

La conceptualización del tiempo y su división en las partes del día ha constituido un tema de especial interés. Los investigadores se han interesado por esta cuestión no solo porque implica una distinta categorización de una misma realidad sino porque es un ámbito semántico que presenta un elevado grado de variación designativa. El objetivo de nuestro trabajo es el examen de la variación designativa del concepto 'alba' a partir de los materiales que ofrece la geolingüística iberorrománica. Para el desarrollo de la investigación se ha partido de los datos de los atlas, que se han analizado desde una perspectiva etimológica y léxico-semántica a partir del marco de la semántica cognitiva con el fin de, por un lado, determinar cuáles son las diferencias y semejanzas en la categorización de esta parte del día en el ámbito lingüístico iberorrománico y, por el otro, de analizar el grado de variación léxica en relación con la motivación semántica que lo origina.

Palabras clave

dialectología, variedades iberorrománicas, atlas lingüísticos, motivación, categorización

ELS NOMS DEL CONCEPTE 'ALBA' EN L'ÀREA IBERORROMÀNICA: UNA APROXIMACIÓ GEOLÈXICA Y COGNITIVA

Resum

La conceptualització del temps i de la seva divisió en les parts del dia ha esdevingut un tema d'interès especial. Els investigadors s'han interessat per aquesta qüestió no només perquè implica una categorització diferent d'una mateixa realitat, sinó perquè és un àmbit semàntic que presenta un grau elevat de variació designativa. L'objectiu del nostre treball és l'estudi de la variació designativa del concepte 'alba' a partir dels materials que ofereix la geolingüística iberorromànica. Per al desenvolupament de la investigació s'ha partit de les dades dels atlas lingüístics, les quals s'han analitzat des d'una perspectiva etimològica i lexicosemàntica dins del marc de la semàntica cognitiva, amb la finalitat de, per una banda, determinar quines són les diferències i semblances en la categorització d'aquesta part del dia en l'àmbit lingüístic iberorromànic i, per l'altra, analitzar el grau de variació lèxica en relació amb la motivació semàntica que l'origina.

Paraules clau

dialectologia, varietats iberorromàniques, atlas lingüístics, motivació, categorització

1. Introduction

The conceptualisation of time and the division of the parts of the day have been an issue of particular interest all throughout history (Nebrija c. 1516, Bautista 1864, Whitrow 1990, Izquierdo 1992, Ortega 1999, Calero 2011, Sinner *et al.* 2011, Filipović & Jaszczołt 2012, Montoro del Arco *et al.* 2012, Moldagali *et al.* 2017, Moiseeva *et al.* 2018, Álvarez de la Granja 2020). From different theoretical perspectives, researchers have taken an

interest in this topic not only because it involves different categorisations of a single reality, but also because it is a concept that has a high degree of variation in designation. This was well demonstrated in the studies by García González (1974) of 'sunrise' in Galician, and Massanell & Torruella (2013) on the concept of 'twilight' in Catalan, among others. This subject has been analysed in various studies (Izquierdo 1992, 1993, 1998; Martín 2009) which reflects the interest of conducting a diatopic and contrastive analysis on this topic.

For this purpose, this article researches the lexical variation of a specific part of the day ('dawn') based on the materials provided by 10 Ibero-Romance linguistic atlases² about Catalan (*ALDC*), Galician (*ALGa*), Portuguese (*ALEPG*) and Spanish (*ADiM*, *ALEA*, *ALEANR*, *ALECant*, *ALEICan*, *ALeCMan*, *ALCyL*). The data from the atlases have been analysed from an etymological and lexical-semantic perspective in the context of two different theoretical points of view: the study of the motivation (Alinei 1996, 1997; cf. *Atlas Linguarum Europae* - *ALE*) and the study of the categorization from a cognitive approach (Julià 2012, 2017; Terrón 2015). On the one hand, this methodology makes possible to discover if there are differences and similarities in the perception and conceptualisation of the diverse parts of the day in the Ibero-Romance context and, on the other hand, to examine the degree of lexical variation for the concept 'dawn' in this linguistic area.

Before beginning the research, it seems necessary briefly characterise the topic of this paper due to, as already indicated by Massanell & Torruella (2013: 53), the division of the day into parts and the duration of each part varies widely because of various factors. From a historical perspective, several proposals have been made for the division of time by the various civilisations and cultures (Greek, Babylonian, Roman, etc.) which have varied according to an extensive range of aspects (Bautista 1864). The Romans, for

² The abbreviations of the atlas that have been used in the article are listed alphabetically below:

ADiM = *Atlas Dialectal de Madrid*; *ALCyL* = *Atlas lingüístico de Castilla y León*; *ALDC* = *Atles lingüístic del domini català*; *ALEA* = *Atlas lingüístico y etnográfico de Andalucía*; *ALEANR* = *Atlas lingüístico y etnográfico de Aragón, Navarra y Rioja*; *ALECant* = *Atlas lingüístico y etnográfico de Cantabria*; *ALeCMan* = *Atlas lingüístico y etnográfico de Castilla-La Mancha*; *ALEICan* = *Atlas lingüístico y etnográfico de las Islas Canarias*; *ALEPG* = *Atlas linguístico-etnográfico da Portugal e da Galiza*; *ALGa* = *Atlas lingüístico galego*.

example, changed the system for dividing the parts of the day on different occasions and used different systems represented by a variety of nomenclatures and it was even a problem compared to the division of other temporal aspects such as the months of the year (Bywater 1833: 421):

Although eve as far back as the time of Romulus the Romans were in possession of a Calendar, by which the number of months and days in the yeas was ascertained with a tolerable degree of accuracy, we nevertheless find that many centuries were suffered to elapse before they arrived at any thing [sic.] like precision in their manner of dividing the day. Even the most rude and uncultivated had been taught by the diurnal rotation of the sun, to distinguish the night from the day; still they remained a long time ignorant of any method of dividing the same into any other divisions than those which naturally presented themselves in the rising and setting of the sun, its meridian altitude at noon, the rising and the setting of the stars, and the change from light to darkness.

The study by Izquierdo (1992) provides an overview of the changes in division of the parts of the day and specifies that one of the most well-known distributions is the one that divided the day into two 12-hour parts, each of which was further divided into four parts (day: *hora prima*, *hora tertia*, *hora sexta*, *hora nona*; night: *prima vigilia*, *secunda vigilia*, *tertia vigilia*, *quarta vigilia*). The historical data collected by Izquierdo (1992) reflect that establishing the parts of the day is a complex procedure from a conceptual perspective. As well as there are problems in the creating the limits that separate some parts of the day, there seem to be differences based on the personal habits of the speakers of each language, which vary due to cultural and external reasons (Massanell & Torruella 2013).

Likewise, according to geolinguistic and lexicographic data, among the group of names of parts of the day, it is observed that some concepts ('day' and 'night')³ are

³ The concepts 'day' and 'night' were taken by Eugenio Coseriu as an example to discuss, from the Structural Semantics perspective, the theory of prototypes (Taylor 1999: 26): "For Coseriu (1990: 267), Cognitive Semantics commits "el error más grave y más elemental que pueda cometerse en semántica" [...]; this is the capital error of confusing linguistically structured meaning with experientially derived knowledge about the states of affairs that linguistic expressions refer to. The confusion manifests itself, according Coseriu, in the treatment of prototype effects. On the Structuralist view, prototype effects lie outside the language system proper; they have to do with difficulties a person may encounter in properly applying a

better defined and categorized from a cognitive perspective but with fuzzy boundaries when we move away from the prototype (Coseriu 1990, Taylor 1999):

day and *night* stand in a simple two-way contrast. The contrast has to do, presumably, with presence vs. absence of sunlight (assuming an open-air environment). Note that the contrast appeals intrinsically to a real-world phenomenon, one that can only be apprehended empirically, through experience of the world (Taylor 1999: 28).

However, there are other concepts ('sunrise', 'dawn', 'midday', 'twilight', 'sunset') that appear to be more complex to define as a unit of time and the speakers confuse them frequently. This probably happens because they move away from the prototypes 'day' and 'night' and because they are temporary transition periods. For example, the Spanish culture —unlike other European cultures (Fr. *midi*, Engl. *noon*, *midday*)⁴— identifies the concept of 'midday' (Spa. *mediodía*) with an imprecise period of time for lunch which goes from 13pm to 15pm approximately (Pejović & Trivić 2012: 262). This maybe happens because they are parts that make up a transition between one part and another. As a geolexical example, see the *ALeCMan* maps referring to the concepts 'afternoon' (map 895) and 'night' (map 895), which do not show lexical variety, unlike what happens with the maps referred to 'twilight' (map 896), 'dawn' (map 889) or 'midday' (map 893). The concept 'sunrise', for instance, as shown by García González (1974) in his study on Galician, has a great number of interesting designations: over 50 different lexical variants were collected from 414 survey points (cf. Álvarez de la Granja

word to a state of affairs, i. e. they are matters of designation and reference, not of signification. That it might be difficult to determine, at a given time and place, whether it is 'night' or 'day', in no way entails that the significations of the words *night* and *day* are "fuzzy" or indeterminate, or structured around a prototype. On the contrary, Coseriu argues, prototype effects arise precisely because the linguistic meanings of night and day are absolutely clear-cut; were this not the case, we could have no confidence in asserting that a certain state of affairs constitutes a good example, or a "lees good" example of the applications of the world (Coseriu 1990: 258). Likewise, penguins and ostriches can only be recognised as marginal examples of the bird category if the category is already clearly defined. [...] And the clear-cut concept of what a bird is, is a matter of signification, not of designation, or of associating exemplars with a prototype".

⁴ In this article, abbreviations are used to indicate the language of the voices analyzed. The abbreviations used are as follows: Cat. = Catalan, Engl. = English, Fr. = French, Gal. = Galician, Lat. = Latin, Port. = Portuguese, Spa. = Spanish.

2020, footnote 9 on p. 4). The lexical variation for these parts of the day (dawn, midday, sunrise, twilight) maybe is the reason for what these categories appear more frequently than the others in linguistic atlases. As it is possible to see in table 1,⁵ ‘dawn’ is the best represented semantic domain of the parts of the day in the Ibero-Romance atlases.⁶

CONCEPT	<i>ADi M</i>	<i>ALEA</i>	<i>ALEANR</i>	<i>ALEICan</i>	<i>ALECant</i>	<i>ALCyL</i>	<i>ALeCMan</i>	<i>ALDC</i>	<i>ALEPG</i> ⁷	<i>ALGa</i>
‘alba’ (‘dawn’)	867	IV, 807	IX, 1276	II, 714	I, 6	I, 174	889	III, 621	2039.2	IV, 1a- 1f
‘amanecer’ (‘sunrise’)									2039.1	
‘aurora’ (‘twilight’)					I, 7	I, 175	890			
‘anochece’ (‘dusk’)	868					I, 177				IV, 11
‘atardecer’ (‘sunset’)						I, 176		III, 627		IV, 7
‘crepúsculo matutino’ (‘morning twilight’)			XI, 1278	II, 807 ⁸			896	III, 626	2041.2	
‘crepúsculo vespertino’ (‘evening twilight’)		IV, 810		II, 808	I, 8					

⁵ The table shows the map number (for example, in the case of *ADiM* or *ALeCMan*) or the volume number and the map number (for example, in the case of *ALEA*, *ALEANR*, *ALEICan*, etc.). The maps that are preceded by an asterisk refer to concepts that did not have enough variation, therefore, they do not have their own map and are included in the margin of the map of another concept (for example, ‘mediodía’ in the *ALEICan* or *ALECant*).

⁶ The concept ‘dawn’ was also in the first linguistic atlas of the Iberian Peninsula, the *Atlas lingüístic de Catalunya* (ALC, map 53) and the most frequent designation on this map is Cat. *alba*. The concept also appears in the *Atlas lingüístic de la Vall d’Aran* (AVA, map 52) and the most of examples are related to the verb *trencar* ‘to break’ (cf. § 3.2.2).

⁷ We would like to thank Dr João Saramago from the University of Lisbon for his generosity in providing us with the unpublished data from *ALEPG*.

⁸ The *ALEICan* uses Spa. *lucero de la mañana* and Spa. *lucero de la tarde* to refer ‘morning twilight’ and ‘afternoon twilight’ while the others atlases make use of Spa. *crepúsculo matutino* and Spa. *crepúsculo vespertino*.

‘día’ (‘day’)									2037	
‘madrugada’ (‘early morning’)			IX, 1275		I, 5		888	III, 620		
‘mañana’ (‘morning’)							891	III, 622	2039	IV, 2
‘mediodía’ (‘noon’)	877	IV, 808	IX, 1277	II, *714	I, *7		893	III, 623	2040	IV, 3
‘noche’ (‘night’)	870		XI, 1436				899	III, L35	2038	IV, 12
‘tarde’ (‘afternoon’)							895	III, 625	2041	IV, 4

Table 1. The parts of the day in Ibero-Romance linguistic atlases

It is important to note that the Catalan map (*ALDC*) and the 7 Spanish maps (*ADiM*, *ALEA*, *ALEANR*, *ALEICan*, *ALECant*, *ALCyL* and *ALeCMan*) refers to the concept ‘dawn’ while the 6 Galician maps (*ALGa*, IV, 1a-1f) represent ‘dawn’ and ‘sunrise’ among other concepts (e. g. ‘early morning’). In the case of Portuguese, we studied the question about *aurora* ‘dawn’ (*ALEPG*, 2039.2). The data of 6 Galician maps have as origin the synthesis of 5 questions of the *ALGa* questionnaire⁹: the question number 368 Gal. ‘sobre o día’, 369 Gal. ‘contra o día’, 527 Gal. ‘alba, luzada, madrugada’, 528 Gal. ‘aurora, abrente, amencer’ and 574 Gal. ‘levantarse o sol, raia-lo sol, abri-lo dia’. For this research, we have only analyzed the answers to question 527 and 528.¹⁰ With the information of all these maps, in the case of *ALGa*, we decided that the research had to necessarily include the concepts ‘dawn’ and ‘sunrise’ because we realized that from a semantic point of view it is very complicated to separate them, specially attending the Galician maps.

⁹ Usually a map is used to represent a questionnaire question that refers to a concept but in some occasions “reunimos nun mapa datos obtidos en distintas partes do cuestionario, ou por se solaparen as preguntas ou por integrarmos datos marxinais ou secundarios, non poucas veces obtidos espontaneamente no decorrer da enquisa. Na primeira nota de cada mapa indícase sempre a procedencia da información” (*ALGa*, vol. V: 17).

¹⁰ We would like to thank Dr Xulio Sousa from the Universidade de Santiago de Compostela for his generosity in providing us with the *ALGa* database to help with our study.

Based on the analysis of the geolinguistic data we have verified that the speakers do not usually distinguish between ‘dawn’ and ‘sunrise’. The concept ‘sunrise’ refers the time that elapses between the first light of day until the sun ends to rise (Martínez de Sousa 2007: 337). This process includes different phases that receive other names as *dawn*, which refers ‘the first appearance of daylight in the morning’, but that are often used as synonyms in Ibero-Romance languages and can be designated, by a metonymic process, THE WHOLE FOR THE PART (*sunrise* can be used to refer ‘dawn’) and THE PART FOR THE WHOLE (*dawn* can be used to refer ‘sunrise’). For this reason, in this research the concepts ‘dawn’ and ‘sunrise’ are analyzed as synonyms (not exact) although there is a small difference between them because the first refers to the first one light that appears in the transition process between the night and the day and the second one refers to the whole process in which the change from night to day happens.

The designation of the concepts ‘dawn’ and ‘sunrise’ provides a considerable number of words and expressions in the various languages and dialects of Ibero-Romance geography. These names are based on highly varied lexemes which often undergo various processes of derivation or various types of syntactic formations which we will briefly discuss in section 3. This research has performed with the aim of study this linguistic and conceptual variation generated by characteristics of this part of the day (it is a very short lapse of time which determines a big change between the night to the day specially related with the phenomenon of the light).

2. Corpus and methodology

To carry out this research, we compiled a corpus of data using the information included in the Ibero-Romance geolinguistics atlases regarding the concept ‘dawn’. The data collected from the atlases indicate the profusion and diversity in names for this concept, in the form of approximately 400 lexical forms included in these atlases.

In order to conduct the research, we created a database that allowed us to order, classify and quantify the different responses expressed in the 10 atlases analysed. Each

record in the database represents a different denomination in the whole group of atlases. This database contained the following fields: lexical variant, lemma, Spanish lemma, category, concept, language, atlas, map and survey point.

The lexical variant field outlines the expression the individual responding to the survey used to describe the concept 'dawn' or 'sunrise'. The expression has been transcribed orthographically, without taking into account the individual phonetic characteristics, as the aim of this study is lexical variation. For example, we have transliterated Cat. *a punta de sol* (ALDC, vol. III, map 621: 40) and its phonetic form has not been maintained [ə p'untə δə s'ɔl].

The lemma field includes, in the language of the corresponding atlas, the word considered as the nucleus to facilitate the classification of the responses. In the single-word responses, this consisted of the lemma. In the multiple-word responses, the verb (if there was one) was used as the lemma (Gal. *clarea-lo día* > *clarear*, ALGa, vol. IV, map 1a: L28 (2nd resp.)), or the noun if there was no verb (Spa. *la aurora de la mañana* > *aurora*, ALEcant, vol. I, map 174: S 305). The lemma is not presented in the form given in the response, but rather in the infinitive form for verbs and in the masculine singular form for nouns. Widely used verbs, such as *estar* (Spa. *está pintando el día* > *pintar*, ALEA, vol. IV, map 807: J 204), were an exception and were lemmatised in other forms.

The Spanish lemma field includes the Spanish translation of the lemmas from other language atlases (Gal. *luzada da mañán* was lemmatised under the Spa. *resplandor* and not under the Gal. *luzada*, ALGa, vol. IV, map 1c: C49). This was done in order to have a common denominator that would allow us to order responses for different languages under a single classification and thereby facilitate the semantic and motivational study.

The category field specifies the grammatical category of the lemma to facilitate the formal interpretation of the data. The concept field expresses the concept referred to in the map, according to the onomasiological order of each atlas (cf. table 1). The language field indicates the language of the response collected at the survey point. For example, in the case of ALEANR in the border region, Catalan responses were found (Cat. *es comença a fer de dia*, ALEANR, vol. IX, map 1276, Te 207).

The three remaining fields, atlas field, map field and survey point field, are aimed at expressing the geographical situation of the variant in question.

3. Data analysis

From the study of the corpus extracted from the data collected in the selected maps, a group of data was obtained which we were able to examine from different perspectives. On the one hand, from a formal point of view (§ 3.1); on the other hand, from a lexical-semantic perspective (§ 3.2), a motivational, cognitive analysis can be carried out in order to determine the underlying processes in the formation of the names that define this part of the day. Finally, the data allow us to carry out a contrastive, distributional analysis (§ 3.3) to observe the various forms referring to ‘dawn’ and which prevail throughout the Ibero-Romance territory.

3.1 Formal study

The formal study of the variants collected in the database reflects the fact that, in addition to the simple words witnessed (25%), there is a significant number of variants which make up multiword units (75%). However, this does not mean that multiword units are more frequently used, as the simple words are more common.

The simple words collected in the corpus are nouns, nominalized adjectives and participles or verbs. In the case of nouns, it is worth noting that there is a small group of designations which are common into different varieties —*alba* (Cat., Gal., Port., Spa.), *aurora* (Cat., Gal., Port., Spa.); *madrugada* (Gal., Port, Spa.) or *matinada* (Cat.)— and which appear in the atlases with varying levels of frequency to refer to ‘dawn’. The nouns—which are non-derived or suffixed (specially with *-ada*)— and nominalized adjectives and participles can be classified by language as shown below:

- *Catalan*: *alba*, *albada*, *aurora*, *crepuscle*, *matinada*.¹¹
- *Galician*: *abrente*, *alborada*, *alba*, *aurora*, *crepúsculo*, *luzada*, *madrugada*, *rompente*.¹²
- *Portuguese*: *alva*, *alvorada*, *aurora*, *madrugada*, *resplendor*.¹³
- *Spanish*: *alba*, *alborada*, *el amanecido*, *aurora*, *la clara*, *los claros*, *clarecilla*, *el día*, *madrugada*, *mañana*, *mañanada*, *reflejo*, *remaneciente*, *resplendor*.¹⁴

¹¹ *Alba* appears on the following points of survey in *ALDC* (vol. IV, map. 621): 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 17, 21, 25, 28, 32, 36, 43, 44, 47, 49, 52, 55, 58, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 78, 80, 81, 82, 84, 85, 87, 93, 94, 98, 99, 100, 101, 106, 107, 108, 115, 116, 117, 118, 123, 124, 125, 128, 131, 135, 136, 139, 142, 145, 155, 159, 161, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 175, 178, 180, 184, 185, 186, 187, 189; *albada* in: 44 (2nd resp.), 64; *aurora* in: 123 (2nd resp.), 127; *crepuscle* in: 58; *matinada* in: 31 (2nd resp.), 157, 188.

¹² *Abrente* appears on the following points of survey in *ALGa* (vol. IV, map 1d): C21; *alborada* in (map 1b): C-37, 38, 43; *alba* in (map 1b): C3, 8, 9, 12, 32, 35; P6, 8, 10, 12, 16, 18, 33; O6, 9, 19; L1, 8, 28; A 1, 2, 7; Z 1; *aurora* in (map 1b): P01, 17, 25; *crepúsculo* in (map 1c): L-15; *luzada* in (map 1c): C-45, 47, 49; P-12, 13; *madrugada* in (map 1c): C1, 2, 3, 8, 10, 11, 12, 16, 18, 19, 21, 25, 27, 29, 30, 31, 33, 43; L3, 4, 9, 14, 17, 22, 24, 27, 28, 31, 34, 38, 39; A3, 4, 5; LE 1, 4; O3, 4, 7, 11, 16, 21, 22, 24, 27, 28; Z2; P2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 11, 13 (2nd resp.), 14, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33; *rompente* in (map 1d): O10.

¹³ *Alva* appears on the following points of survey in *ALGa* (2039.2): C2. *Alvorada* in: E4. *Aurora* in: Aç15, B1, 2, 3, 4; Br1, 3; E1, 2, 3, 5; F6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 15; Pl1, 3, 5, 7; St1; V1; 5. *Madrugada* in: F4, L1, 2, Pl7, N3, NC1. *Resplendor* in: CB1.

¹⁴ *Alba* appears on the following points of survey in *ALCyL* (vol. I, map 174): Le 100, 101, 200, 201, 202, 203, 302, 304, 305, 401, 603, 604, 605, 606; Za 100, 101, 102, 103 (2nd resp.), 200 (2nd resp.), 202, 300, 301, 302, 400, 401, 402, 403, 500, 600, 601, 602, 603; Sa 100, 102, 102, 103, 200, 201, 202, 205 (2nd resp.), 300, 301, 503, 600, 601; Av 100 (2nd resp.), 101 (2nd resp.), 200, 300, 301, 400, 401, 402, 500, 503, 600, 601; Sg 100, 201, 202, 203, 301, 302, 402, 404; So 100, 101, 300, 303 (2nd resp.), 400, 401, 402, 403, 500, 501, 601, 603, 605, 606; Bu 100, 101 (2nd resp.), 102, 200, 203, 300, 303, 304 (2nd resp.), 306, 401, 405, 500, 501, 503, 504, 600, 601, 602, 603, 605; P 103, 301, 401, 500, 502, 503, 504, 602, 604. *ALEA* (vol. IV, map 807): H 102, 200, 202, 204, 300, 401, 401, 500, 601, 602; Se 200, 303, 405, 503, 504; Ca 100, 102 (2nd resp.), 200, 204, 302, 400, 600, 601; J 203, 300, 502, 600; Gr 202, 203, 409, 508; Al 100; Co 200, 300, 403 (2nd resp.), 602, 604 (2nd resp.), 607; J 203, 300, 308 (2nd resp.), 404 (2nd resp.), 502; Ma 303, Gr 203, 308, 400 (2nd resp.), 401, 409 (2nd resp.), 503, 510; Al 100, 200, 202, 501. *ALECan* (vol. I, map 174): S 100, 102, 103, 105, 106 (2nd resp.), 107, 108, 203, 300, 402, 403, 405 (2nd resp.), 406, 408, 503. *ALEICan* (vol. II, map 714): LP2; Go 3, 2 (2nd resp.), 4, 40; Hi 1 (2nd resp.), 2 (2nd resp.), 3, 10 (2nd resp.); Tf 4, 20, 21, 41; GC 2 (2nd resp.); GC 3 (2nd resp.), 11, 4 (2nd resp.); Fv 20, 31; Lz 1, 3, 4, 10, 20, 30; Gs 1. *ADiM* (map 867): M 2, 10. *Alborada* appears on the following points of survey in *ALeCMan* (map 889): CU 310; *el amanecido* in *ALCyL* (vol. I, map 174): Sg 300; *aurora* in *ALEA* (vol. IV, map 807): J 603, Gr 401, Al 01; *ALEANR* (vol. IX, map 1276): Te 308, Bu 400 (2nd resp.); *ALeCMan* (map 889): TO 112 (2nd resp.), 507 (2nd resp.); *ALEICan* (vol. II, map 714): Tf 2, GC 12. *La clara* appears on the following points of survey in *ALeCMan* (map 889): GU 310; in *ALEICan* (vol. II, map 714): Go 2. *Los claros* appears on the following points of survey in *ALEICan* (vol. II, map 714): LP 3 (2nd resp.). *Clarecilla* appears on the following points of survey in *ALEANR* (vol. IX, map 1276): Na 100 (2nd resp.). *El día* appears on the following points of survey in *ADiM* (map 867): M 11; *ALEANR* (vol. IX, map 1276): Na 106; Z 500, 503; *ALeCMan* (map 889): TO 104, 411, 605. *Madrugada* appears on the following points of survey in *ADiM* (map 867): M 5, M 16 (2nd resp.); *ALCyL* (vol. I, map 174): Le 307; Sg 205; *ALEA* (vol. IV, map 807): Se 300, 404; *ALeCMan* (map 889): TO 415; GU 308; *ALEICan* (vol. II, map 714): LP 3; Hi 1, 2, 10; Tf 5. *Mañanada* appears on the following points of survey in *ALEANR* (vol. IX, map 1276): Hu 112. *Reflejo* appears on the following points of survey in *ALEA* (vol. IV, map 807): Co 602. *Remaneciente* appears on the following points

Despite the similarities mentioned, there are interesting differences. Spanish is the language that presents more variety in simple forms and Catalan or Portuguese the least. There are simple forms that appear in different languages (e. g. Gal. *crepúsculo*, Cat. *crepuscle*, Spa. *crepúsculo* or Cat. *dia* and Spa. *día*) and others that occur only in one (e. g. Gal. *luzada*) due to different reasons. For instance, some informants have indicated that Gal. *luzada* is typical to the language of sailing: “en C.47 a forma *luzada* é propia do falar dos mariñeiros” and “en P.12 a forma *luzada* é propia do falar dos mariñeiros e fai referencia ó lance do amencer” (ALGa, map 1c, notes).

In the case of verbs, both the use of the gerund and the use of the conjugated verb form could be related to the fact that the concept being searched for in the atlases is the beginning of a process (cf. 3.2.2). The verbs may appear in the impersonal form—infinite (Gal. *alborear*, *alumear*, *(a)lumbrigar*, *amencer*, *clarear*, *estrelacer*, *madrugar*, *raiar*; Port. *amanhecer*; Spa. *aclarar*, *amanecer*, *alborear*, *clarear*, *clarecer*, *esclarecer*) and gerund (Port. *amanhecendo*; Spa. *amaneciendo*, *clareando*)— or, occasionally, in the conjugated form, present (Cat. *albeja*,¹⁵ *clareja*; Spa. *amanece*, *clarea*, *esclarece*) or future tense (Spa. *amanecerá*), related with the meaning ‘starting an action’ (cf. § 3.2).

Multiword units can be grouped, according to the elements that make them up, into two large groups (noun structures and verb structures), and the second of the two groups can be further divided into subgroups.

The noun structures collected as variants in designation in the atlases have a common pattern of formation. The noun is sometimes preceded by the definite article, followed by a preposition group, usually introduced by the preposition *de*, and a noun which usually refers to a part of the day (Cat. *alba del dia*, *claror del dia*, *tall de nit*, *punta de l'alba*, *punta del matí*; Gal. *alba da mañán*, *alba do día*, *aurora do día*, *raia do sol*, *lucoseiro da mañá*, *rompente do día*; Spa. *alba de la mañana*, *alba del día*, *blancada del día*,

of survey in ALEANR (vol. IX, map 1276): Sa 202 (2nd resp.), 602 (2nd resp.). *Resplendor* appears on the following points of survey in ALEA (vol. IV, map 807): Gr 305.

¹⁵ The verb *albeja* (in ALDC, vol. III, map 621, point 70, Ciutadella (Menorca)) is documented in DCVB (s. v.) with two meanings, the first one related to ‘dawn’ «apuntar l'alba» and the second one related to the white colour «blanquejar, esser de color blanc».

blancura del día, clara del día, rompimiento del día). There are two cases in which the noun is followed or preceded by an adjective: Spa. *crepúsculo matutino* (ALCyL, vol. I, map 174, point Bu 301 (Ros)) and Cat. *bon matí* (ALDC, vol. III, map 621, 90 (2nd resp.)). In addition, some of the noun groups may also be preceded by ordinal determiners, through which an attempt is made to indicate that it is the beginning of the sunrise process: Spa. *primera blancada del día* (ALEA, vol. IV, map 807, point Gr 506 (Pórtugos)).

The verb structures have a greater degree of formal variation than the noun structures as García González (1974: 153) showed in his study on ‘sunrise’ in Galician:

Al lado de los descendientes de ADMANESCERE, existen otras voces o expresiones para indicar el mismo concepto de principio del día o amanecer. Aparte de algunos verbos, hay también algunos sintagmas verbales formados por un verbo más los sustantivos DÍA o SOL.

The most common of all is the structure consisting of a verb and a noun syntagma (V+NS): Cat. *albant el dia, amaneig el dia, es fa el dia, fer-se el dia, fer-se clar*; Gal. *abri-lo día, abri-lo sol, alborexar o día, alumbriga-lo día, deslumbra-lo día, venir a aurora, alumear o día*; Spa. *alborea el día, clarea el día, clareando el día, haciendo reflejo el día, rayar el día, pinta el día, rayando el día*.

It is sometimes possible that some of the previous structures will appear in inchoatives periphrasis (V + preposition + infinitive). This appears to be related to the meaning of ‘dawn’ as they indicate that it is the beginning of a process in which day breaks (cf. § 3.2.3) using verbs such as Spa. *empezar* ‘begin’ (*empieza a alborear*), Cat. *començar* ‘begin’ (*comença a clarejar*) or the analytic Spanish future *ir + a + infinitive* (Spa. *va a aclarar el día, va a amanecer*) related with the immediacy of the action. In addition, they can sometimes be accompanied by noun complements (Spa. *empieza a clarear el día, va a aclarar el día*).

Another group can include another type of structure for which the use also appears to be motivated by the progression of the action being described, as it uses the verb *estar* ‘to be’, followed by a verb in gerund form. Most of the denominations in this group

belong to Galician (Gal. *está amanecendo, está sendo día, estar rompendo o día*) and Spanish (Spa. *está aclarando, está alboreando, está amaneciendo, está esclareciendo, se está haciendo de día, está empezando a pardear, está pintando el día, está rayando el día, está viniendo el día*). There is an interesting case in Catalan (*albanti dia*, ALDC, vol. III, map. 621, point 85 (2nd resp.) because is collected in L'Alguer (Sardinia, Italy).

There is a different type of multiword units in which the forms that appear preceded by a temporal adverb are worth noting (Cat. *abans* 'before', *ja* 'already', *quan* 'when'; Gal. *xa* 'already'; Port. *já* 'already'; Spa. *ya* 'already', *cuando* 'when'). These are used to indicate, as in the two previous cases, that it is the beginning of a process. The Spanish and Catalan variants prevail in this group. Cat.: *ja apunta l'alba, ja clareja, ja clareja el dia, ja ratlla el dia, ja ratlla l'alba, ja romp el dia, ja va rompent el dia, ja trenca el dia, ja surt el dia, ja ve el dia, ja s'hi veu, quan ratllava el dia, abans de punta de sol, abans de sortir el sol*; Gal.: *xa é día, xa se contan os cartos, xa alborecía o día*; Port.: *já vem esclarecendo*; Spa.: *ya está amaneciendo, ya amanece, ya clarea el día, ya empieza a clarear el día, ya va clareando, ya raya el alba, ya rompe el día, ya sale el estrellón del alba, ya viene clareando, ya viene el alba, ya viene el día, cuando amanece el día, cuando se haga de día, cuando viene siendo día*.

Finally, there are also some (albeit not many) prepositional syntagmas which are particularly common in Catalan (*al clarejar, a l'apuntar el dia, a trencar d'alba, a la punta del dia, a punta de dia, a punta d'alba, a punta de sol, en trencar l'alba, entre dos clarors*) but there are examples also in Galician (*entre lusque e fusque*), Portuguese (*a romper, de madrugada*) and Spanish (*al amanecer, a romper el día, al venir el día, entre dos luces, de madrugada*).

It should be noted that the designations with the preposition *entre* 'between' appear, with few occurrences, in Catalan (*entre dos clarors*: ALDC, vol. III, map 621, point 154 (Castelló de la Plana)), Galician (*entre lusque e fusque*: ALGa, vol. IV, map 1c, point C-20 (Aranga)) and Spanish (*entre dos luces*: ALEA, vol. IV, map 807, points Gr 406 (Guadix), 603 (Murtas); Al 507 (Berjas) and ALeCMan, map 889, point CR 202 (Tomelloso)). It is a way of describing that it is a part where the day is between light and darkness (cf. §3.2.3).

Related to these examples is the only case of a lexical compound collected by the atlas: Port. *lusca-fusca* (ALEPG, 2039.2, Aç13).

3.2 Lexical-semantic and cognitive-motivational study

From the semantic and motivational analysis of the forms present in the corpus, we can see that there are three large groups. The first one (§ 3.2.1) would contain standard and historical designations. The second group (§ 3.2.2) includes the forms motivated by the meaning of ‘beginning’ or ‘changing’ comprised in the concept understood as a process. Finally, would contain the descriptions relating to the presence of light (§ 3.1.3). Despite presenting the groups clearly divided into these three large blocks, we are aware that some denominations could simultaneously belong to all three of the aforementioned groups, given that in their origin the meaning of ‘beginning’, ‘changing’ and ‘light’ have been found to be related, although we believe that one prevails over the other.

3.2.1 Standard designations

According to García González (1974: 150), the Latin forms used to refer to the concepts ‘sunrise’ and ‘dawn’ were *diluculum*, *prima lux*, *albente caelo* or similar syntagmas and these forms did not leave popular descendants in the Romance Languages. However, as will be seen in § 3.2.3, the motivation that gave rise to this Latin designation is still alive in Ibero-Romance. This section contains the standard designations that, in many cases, are widely used, as it has been seen in the previous section (cf. 3.1) and they coexist as synonyms.

Alba appears in the Catalan, Galician, Portuguese (*alva*) and Spanish analysed atlases and it has been used since the beginning of the language (DECH, s. v. *albo*), which was originally the feminine form of the adjective *ALBUS* ‘white’ and the use of which is motivated by the white light that appears when dawn begins. According to García

González (1974: 157), the word “se sustantivó especializándose en el significado de a) aurora, b) vestido eclesiástico” in almost all Romance-speaking areas. From synchronic point of view, this designations can be classified as unmotivated (Dalbera 2006) because its original meaning, related to the colour white, and therefore to light (*DECH*, s. v. *albo*), has become lost in the way this word is now used by speakers.

Amanecer (Spa.) —*amanhecer* (Port.) and *amencer* (Gal.)— is one of the most widespread words to refer to the concept of ‘dawn’ in Spanish (*cf.* 3.3) and in Galician (García González 1974: 150). Since the first texts in Spanish (*Cid*), it has been documented that it appears to come from “lat. vg. hispánico *ADMANESCĒRE, derivado de MANE ‘por la mañana’: MANESCERE se halla ya en un autor español del S. VII (Cuervo, Dicc. I, 402-5); del mismo origen, solo el Port. *amanhecer* (influido por “manhã”)” (*DECH*, s. v. *amanecer* I), and as such is an unknown word in Catalan. The Catalan form *amaneig el dia*, which was collected in the *ALDC*, in Alacant (Muro del Comtat, survey point number 181), is, according to García González (1974: 150), a loanword from Spanish.

Aurora is a learned word from the Lat. AURŌRA and cases of use of this word were collected in Catalan, Galician, Portuguese and Spanish. In Hispanic texts it is already documented in Berceo, however, “los textos posteriores dan la impresión de un uso puramente culto y artificial (“ell alva, a que llaman en latin ‘aurora’”, Alfonso X; “cerca la ora que el planeta enclara / al Oriente, qu’es llamada aurora”, *Canc.* de Baena); desde el S. XVI se hace ya muy corriente, por lo menos en poesía” (*DECH*, s. v. *aurora*). As it has been possible to verify —according to the lexicographical and geolinguistic data (*cf.* Table 1)—, in Spanish, *aurora* ‘twilight’ (“Luz sonrosada que precede inmediatamente a la salida del sol”, *DLE*, 2014, s. v.) is theoretically distinguished from *alba* ‘dawn’ (“amanecer (|| tiempo durante el cual amanece)” and “primera luz del día antes de salir el sol” *DLE*, 2014, s. v.), while in Portuguese, they are considered synonyms and both words refer to ‘dawn’ because *aurora* is “claridade que aponta o início da manhã, antes do nascer do Sol” and *alva* “primeira claridade da manhã; alba, alvor, aurora” (*Dicionário Houaiss*, s. v.).

Crepúsculo (Gal., Spa.) —*crepuscle* (Cat.)¹⁶— is a learned word from the Lat. *crepusculum*, which is used, on the one hand, to refer to the light that appears from when the sun begins to appear until it finally rises and, on the other hand it also refers to the clarity that appears from time at which it begins to get dark until the sun has completely set.

Madrugada (Gal., Port., Spa.) —*matinada* (Cat.), which derivates from *matí* ‘morning’ (DCVB, s. v.)— is a form that appears sporadically in Catalan and Spanish, but more frequently in Galician (cf. § 3.1, note 11) and Portuguese (cf. figure 1). This word is documented from the beginning of the language and comes “del antiguo *madurgar* y este del lat. vg. *MATURICARE, derivado de MATURARE ‘hacer madurar’, ‘acelerar’, ‘darse prisa’; de esta última ac. se pasó a ‘levantarse temprano’” (DECH, s. v. *madrugar*). Its use may be motivated by the fact that it is the first part of the morning. Although it is a polysemic term that can refer to both ‘dawn’ and the previous period, ‘early morning’, it seems that its use is being restricted in the second sense.

3.2.2 Designations related with a process

This section includes a group of designations formed using verbs (e. g. Cat. *apuntar* ‘to appear’, Gal. *abrir* ‘to open’, Spa. *empezar* ‘to begin’) and nouns (e. g. Cat. *punta* ‘top’, Spa. *ceja* ‘flap’), which are associated with the different features: the conception of ‘dawn’ as a beginning of an action, as a changing of a state or as a part of a process. Each of the variants analysed reflects a preference for some of the verbs collected in the corpus. In Galician, for example, there is a greater variety, as different verbs are used which are associated with the meaning of ‘beginning’: *abrir*, *despuntar*, *empezar*, *nacer*, *principiar*. Among these, the verb Gal. *abrir* ‘to open’ prevails with two different forms (*abri-lo día* and *abri-lo sol*).¹⁷ In the expressions that contain this verb, the day is

¹⁶ For a complete study of the names of twilight in Catalan, see Massanell & Torruella (2013).

¹⁷ *Abrir* appears on the following points of survey in ALGa (vol. IV, map 1d): *abri-lo día* (C 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 31, 33, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 49; P 1, 2, 7, 8, 11, 18, 30, 33; L 7, 15, 18, 20, 26, 27, 31; A 5; O 14, 19); *abri-lo sol* (C 2, 5, 45 (2nd resp.); L 17; A 7; O 19 (2nd resp.), 23; LE 2).

metaphorically conceived as a physical reality (Lakoff & Johnson 1986 [1980], Kövecses 2002, 2005) which opens and closes. In terms of time, therefore, the opening is associated with the beginning of something and, in contrast, the closure would be associated with the end.

In line with this metaphorical designations, there are forms that contain the verb *salir* ‘to leave’ (Gal., Spa.) and *sortir* or *eixir* (Cat.) which are very frequent¹⁸ in Catalan (*abans de sortir el sol*, *abans d’eixir el sol*, *al sortir el sol*, *eixida del sol*, *eixir del sol*, *està a punt de sortir el sol*, *ja surt el dia*), although there are also examples in Galician (*a salida del sol*, *sali-lo día*, *sali-lo sol*) and Spanish (*sale el día*, *salida del sol*, *saliendo el día*). These designations are related with different ontological metaphors in which *salir* means ‘to born’ or ‘to appear’ (THE EXTERIOR IS THE BEGINNING; THE DAY IS THE EXTERIOR; THE NIGHT IS THE INTERIOR). From a historical point of view, the evolution of the metaphors related to this concept is very interesting, according to Paz (2014: 266-267, note 174):

En español actual la metáfora es la inversa, es decir, se considera que cuando el sol sale está amaneciendo. En romance y español medieval, se daba la oposición entre *entrar el día* ‘amanecer’ y *salir el día* ‘anocheecer’, mientras que en la actualidad el binomio lo constituyen *salir el sol* ‘amanecer’ y *ponerse el sol* ‘anocheecer’. Las diferencias entre ambos pares se fundamentan en las diferentes conceptualizaciones del fenómeno natural del amanecer y el anocheecer. En usos como los del *Cid*, *salir* se utiliza con valor semántico conclusivo; en cambio, hoy en día *salir el sol*, no tiene relación con nociones incoativas o conclusivas, sino con la aparición del sol tras desplazarse desde un espacio interior, que podría identificarse con todo aquello que está bajo el horizonte. Nótese que es el mismo acaso que *salir a escena*, donde el actor o la actriz pasan de un espacio interior (las bambalinas) hacia una meta representada por el escenario.

¹⁸ *Sortir* and *eixir* appear on the following points of survey in *ALDC* (vol. III, map 621): *abans d’eixir el sol* (187, 2nd resp.), *abans de sortir el sol* (38), *al sortir el sol* (29, 2nd resp.), *eixida del sol* (161 (2nd resp.), 168 (2nd resp.)), *eixir del sol* (163), *està a punt de sortir el sol* (25), *ja surt el dia* (59). *Salir* appears on the following points of survey: *sale el día* (ALCyL: Bu 202); *salida del sol* (ADiM: M 4, M 6 (2nd resp.), M 9, M 16; ALCyL: Bu 302); *saliendo el día* (ALEA: Co 103); *a salida del sol* (ALGa: A1); *sali-lo día* (ALGa: C8), *sali-lo sol* (ALGa: C30).

In Galician, the use of the verb *nacer* ‘to born’ is frequent (Gal. *nace-lo día*, *nace-lo sol*, *nacida do día*, *nacida do sol*),¹⁹ which is a form that does not appear in Spanish, and which rarely appears in Catalan (*neix el dia*, 2nd resp. in *ALDC*, vol. III, map 621, point 63, Sant Boi de Llobregat), but it is the main designation for ‘sunrise’ in Portuguese (cf. *ALEPG*, 2039.1 *nascer do sol*). The use of this verb comes from an ontological conceptual metaphor (THE BEGINNING OF ANY ACTION IS A BIRTH). Similarly, we have found a unique example of another ontological metaphor (personification) in which it is understood that the day has human characteristics: Cat. *llevant del dia* ‘raising the day’ or ‘wake up the day’ (*ALDC*, vol. III, map 621, point 63, Porté). This form is influenced by French, since the indicated survey point is in Northern Catalonia where Catalan coexists with French (cf. Fr. *lever du jour* “Apparition du jour quand la terre a accompli la rotation qui lui permet, du côté de l’est, d’être située face au soleil”, *TLFi* s. v. *lever*²).

In the same way, there are recurring forms with the verb *venir* ‘to come’ in Spanish (*al venir el día*, *viene el día*, *ya viene el día*, *cuando viene siendo de día*, *está viniendo el día*, *quiere venir el día*, *viene el alba*, *al venir el alba*, *viene la aurora*, *viene la luz del día*, *viene la luz de la mañana*),²⁰ a variant that is not often seen with the other varieties: Cat. *ve el dia* (*ALDC*, vol. III, map 621, point 103, Sant Llorenç de Morunys), *ja ve el dia* (*ALDC*, vol. III, map 621, point 176, Montesa); Gal. *vén o día*, *venir a aurora*, *vi-lo día*, *vi-lo sol*, *vir*

¹⁹ *Nacer* appears on the following points of survey in *ALGa* (vol. IV, map 1e): *nace-lo sol* (C 41; P4, 5, 6 (2nd resp.), 14, 15 (2nd resp.), 20, 22, 26, 32, 33 (2nd resp.); L 12 (2nd resp.), L 13, 21, 24, 25, 30, 33, 34, 38; O 4, 8, 12, 13, 16, 19 (2nd resp.), 20 (2nd resp.), 22, 23, 24, 28 (2nd resp.); LE 1); *nace-lo día* (P 29; L 33 (2nd resp.); O 1, 12 (2nd resp.), 13 (2nd resp.), 20 (2nd resp.), 23 (2nd resp.), 28 (3rd resp.); Z 3); *nacida do día* (L 31); *nacida do sol* (O 3).

²⁰ The lexical variants with Spa. *venir* appear on the following points of survey: (*al*) *venir el día* (*ADiM*: M 14; *ALEA*: Co 201, 202; Gr 408; Al 402; Co 600 (2nd resp.); *ALCyL*: Sa 503 (2nd resp.); Av 602; *ALeCMan*: GU 315; TO 105, 609; CR 103); *al venir el alba* (*ALEcant*: S 400, 501); *cuando viene siendo día* (*ALEA*: Se 501), *está viniendo el día* (*ALeCMan*: Cu 507); *quiere venir el día* (*ALEANR*: Te 206); *viene clareando el día* (*ALEA*: Gr 407); *viene el alba* (*ALeCMan*: Gu 112); *viene el día* (*ALCyL*: Av 604 (2nd resp.); So 200, 502; Bu 502; *ALEA*: Gr 403; *ALeCMan*: Gu 108, 316; CU 105, 109, 204, 313, 405, 505, 604, 606; TO 103, 105 (2nd resp.), 108, 112, 114 (2nd resp.), 301, 307, 308, 312, 413, 502, 503, 607, 608; CR 102, 305, 306, 309, 407, 504, 506, 507, 510, 610, 611; AB 103, 210, 306, 312, 405, 406, 505); *viene la aurora* (*ALEcant*: S 209); *viene la luz de la mañana* (*ALeCMan*: CU 312); *viene la luz del día* (*ALeCMan*: TO 610); *ya viene la luz del día* (*ALEA*: Se 400); *ya viene claro* (*ALeCMan*: GU 510); *ya viene el alba* (*ALEcant*: S 303 (2nd resp.), 309, 500); *ya viene el día* (*ALEA*: H 303; Gr 305 (2nd resp.); Al 400 (2nd resp.); Se 301; *ALEANR*: Lo 103 (2nd resp.); Z 305; Hu 407; *ALEcant*: S 101, 106, 208, 210, 214, 306, 308, 313, 401, 409; *ALeCMan*: TO 201; CR 508; AB 208); *viene esclareciendo* (*ALeCMan*: TO 414).

la alba do día.²¹ This verb transmits the idea that ‘dawn’ is the part of the day that is used to know that the day has arrived or is arriving. It is therefore a conceptual metaphor in which day is conceived as an animated reality which moves. From another perspective, that of the person who sees how the day is coming, there is an example such as Spa. *esperando el día* (ALEA, vol. IV, map 807, point J 200 (Villarodrigo)).

Similarly, it was noted that the use of multiword units containing the verb *fer-se* ‘to become’ are particularly common in Catalan (*fer-se de dia, es fa de dia, es fa clar, al fer-se clar*),²² but it is used also in a few cases in Spanish (*cuando se haga de día, haciéndose el alba, se está haciendo de día, se hace de día*).²³ This verb has a very high frequency of use in Catalan in various situations and multiword expressions, taking very different meanings. The reflexive use of the verb is motivated by the need to refer to the beginning of the action or process.

There is another group of designations that are related to the idea that ‘dawn’ is the approach to the day. These appear especially in Spanish (*raya el día, rayar el alba, rayar el día, rayando el día, está rayando el día, ya raya el alba*),²⁴ as we can see at the eight meaning in *DLE* (2014, s. v. *rayar* “8. intr. Amanecer, alborear. *Rayar el alba, el día, la luz, el sol*”) and Galician (*raia-lo día, raia-lo sol, risca-lo día, riscar el alba*),²⁵ although there

²¹ The lexical variants with Gal. *vir* appear on the following points of survey (ALGa): *vén o día* (Z 2); *venir a aurora* (LE 5); *vi-lo día* (C 14, 20, 21, 47; P1, 20; L 6 (2nd resp.); O 17; A 7; Z 1, 2); *vi-lo sol* (L 6; O 18); *vi-la alba do día* (C 12).

²² The lexical variants with Cat. *fer-se* appear on the following points of survey: *es comença a fer de dia* (ALEANR: Te 207); *se fa de dia* (ALEANR: Hu 200, 205; Te 202); *al fer-se clar* (ALDC: 29); *al fer-se de dia* (ALDC: 190); *es fa el dia* (ALDC: 86, 2nd resp.); *es/se fa clar* (ALDC: 33, 46); *fa dies* (ALDC: 14); *fer-se de dia* (ALDC: 163, 2nd resp.).

²³ The lexical variants with Spa. *hacerse* appear on the following points of survey: *cuando se haga de día* (ALEANR: Te 405); *haciéndose el alba* (ALEA: Ca 301); *se está hacienda de día* (ALCyL: So 600, 602; ALeCMan: CU 609); *se hace de día* (ALEANR: Te 200; ALEA: Se 101).

²⁴ The lexical variants with *rayar* appear on the following points of survey: *raya el día* (ALCyL: So 301, 604); *rayar el alba* (ALECant: S 107 (2nd resp.), 108 (2nd resp.)), *rayar el día* (ADiM: M 13 (2nd resp.); ALEA: Co 605; ALEANR: Na 204, 205, 302, 402; Z 506; ALeCMan: Gu 105, 309, 312 (2nd resp.); TO 308 (2nd resp.), 609; CR 103 (2nd resp.)); *rayando el día* (ALEA: Se 309; ALEICan: LP 20); *está rayando el día* (ADiM: M13; ALEANR: Na 303); *ya raya el alba* (ALEANR: Hu 105).

²⁵ The lexical variants with *raiar* appear on the following points of survey (ALGa: map 1e): *raia-lo día* (C 3, 16 (2nd resp.); P 28 (2nd resp.), O 26); *raia-lo sol* (C2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 23, 26, 28, 30, 31, 32, 36, 38; P2, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 27, 28; L2, 7, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 26, 37; O14, 15, 19, 25, 31; A2, 4; Z2); *risca lo día* (L 12 (3rd resp.); A 3); *riscar el alba* (A 4).

are also cases in Catalan (*ja ratlla el dia, ja ratlla l'alba, quan ratllava l'alba, ratlla el dia*)²⁶ or Portuguese (*arraiar al sol*, ALEPG, 2039.2, Bç 1).

In Catalan, the verb *apuntar* 'to point' is also frequent (*a l'apuntar el dia, al que apunta el dia, apunta el dia, apuntar el dia, apunta l'alba, ja apunta l'alba*)²⁷. In fact, it is the second most frequent group of lexical forms in Catalan (cf. § 3.3). However, it has very little presence in other languages and it appears in a few examples in Galician (*apunta-lo sol*, ALGa, vol. IV, map 1e: Z 2 (2nd resp.)). In addition to verbal designations, there are also cases in which the noun *punta* appears (Cat. *a la punta del dia, a punta d'alba, punta de dia, a punta de sol, abans de punta de sol, punta de clar, punta de l'alba, punta del dia, punta del sol, punta del matí*).²⁸ The meaning of these denominations is related to the main sense of *punta*, which according to the DCVB (s. v.) is "La part extrema i més avançada d'una cosa; així es diu *la punta del peu, la punta del dit, la punta del nas, la punta de la llengua*, etc."

Another noteworthy case is the Spanish *ceja del día* (ALEA, vol. IV, map 807, point H 203: Santa Olalla del Cala), the use of which could be related to an orientational metaphor, as the eyebrow (Spa. *ceja*) is located on the upper part of the body, which is one of the main sources of conceptualisation for humans (Lakoff & Johnson 1986 [1980]), the distribution of which is used to categorise reality. It is connected with the *embodiment theory* which «is the claim that human physical, cognitive and social embodiment ground our conceptual and linguistic systems» (Rohrer 2007: 27). This metaphorical meaning —'parte que sobresale un poco en las encuadernaciones de los libros, en los vestidos, en algunas obras de arquitectura y carpintería, etc.' (DLE, 2014, s.

²⁶ The lexical variants with *ratllar* appear on the following points of survey (ALDC, vol. III, map 621): *ja ratlla el dia* (141 (2nd resp.)), *ja ratlla l'alba* (139 (2nd resp.)), *quan ratllava el dia* (151 (2nd resp.)), *ratlla el dia* (130, 111, 138).

²⁷ The lexical variants with *apunta* appear on the following points of survey (ALDC, vol. III, map 621): *a l'apuntar el dia* (37), *el que apunta el dia* (133), *apunta el dia/apuntar el dia* (63, 65, 67, 68, 76+, 102, 105, 112, 120, 140 (2nd resp.)), 146, 181), *apunta l'alba* (117 (2nd resp.)), *ja apunta l'alba* (60, 2nd resp.).

²⁸ The lexical variants with *punta* appear on the following points of survey (ALDC, vol. III, map 621): *a la punta del dia* (95), *a punta d'alba* (3 (2nd resp.)), *a punta de dia* (21 (2nd resp.)), 41, 49, 61, 108 (2nd resp.)), 110, 113, 121, 122, 132, 134, 136 (2nd resp.)), 137, 140, 148, 151, 156 (2nd resp.); *a punta de sol* (40, 83 (2nd resp.)), 141); *abans de punta de sol* (113, 2nd resp.), *punta de clar* (26), *punta de l'alba* (15 (2nd resp.)), 77 (2nd resp.)), *punta del dia* (18, 20, 22, 26, 28 (2nd resp.)), 30, 53, 54, 57, 66, 67 (2nd resp.)), 86, 88, 91, 92, 96, 97, 99 (2nd resp.)), 104, 114, 129, 143, 144, 147, 150), *punta del sol* (48, 126); *punta del matí* (43, 2nd resp.).

v.)— has an extended use in Spanish and appears in different contexts: “Acs. figuradas de interés: *ceja de la sierra o del monte* ‘línea de cumbre’ [...] *ceja del precipicio* ‘borde’; *ceja de la guitarra*” (DECH, s. v. *ceja*).

There are another group of forms which is connected with the idea that that ‘dawn’ is a changing. See, for example, the case of Cat. *tall de nit* (ALDC, vol. III, map 621, point 89: Senet de Barravés) and Cat. *trenc d’alba* (ALDC, vol. III, map 621, point 23: Oix), the origin of which appears to be related perhaps to a metaphor due to the fact that ‘sunrise’ represents a cut (*tall* ‘cut’) in the night, or a fracture (Cat. *trenc* ‘broken’) for something new to begin. This idea is recurrent in the four varieties studied²⁹ with different verbs (Cat. *rompre*, *trencar*; Gal. *romper*; Spa. *romper*; Port. *romper*): Cat. *al rompre el dia*, *a trencar d’alba*, *al rompent del dia*, *el dia romp*, *el dia trenca*, *en trencar l’alba*, *ja romp el dia*, *ja trenca el dia*, *ja va rompent el dia*, *l’alba trenca*, *romp el dia*, *trenca l’alba*, *trenca el dia*, *trenca el sol*, *trencar el dia*, *trencar l’alba*; Gal. *quere romper-lo día*, *rompe-lo sol*, *rompenta*, *rompenta do día*, *romper o día*, *rompida do día*; Port. *está rompendo o día*, *romper da manhã*, *romper o día*; Spa. *rompe el día*, *romper el alba*, *romper el día*, *rompiendo el alba*, *rompiendo el día*, *ya rompe el día*.

3.2.3 Designations related with the light and colour

The transition between night and day is also a significant change in the physical characteristics that separate the night and the day. The change from darkness to light is a highly significant motor of lexical creation. In fact, there is a very close relationship

²⁹ The forms related with the meaning ‘to break’ appear on the following points of survey: Cat. (ALDC, vol. III, map 621) *al rompre el dia* (153, 158, 159 (2nd resp.), 160), *a trencar d’alba* (83), *al rompent del dia* (160 (2nd resp.)), *el dia romp* (18 (2nd resp.)), *el dia trenca* (5 (2nd resp.), 8, 9), *en trencar l’alba* (81), *ja romp el dia* (177, 182 (2nd resp.), 183), *ja trenca el dia* (90), *ja va rompent el dia* (162), *l’alba trenca* (11), *romp el dia* (172 (2nd resp.)), *trenca l’alba* (1 (2nd resp.), 15), *trenca el dia* (23 (2nd resp.)), *trenca el sol* (55 (2nd resp.)), *trencar el dia* (50), *trencar l’alba* (42); Gal. (ALGa) *quere romper-lo día* (O 25), *rompe-la aurora* (P 25 (2nd resp.)), *rompe-lo sol* (L 39), *rompenta* (O 10), *rompenta do día* (O 5), *romper o día* (L 33; O 10, 11, 20, 27, 29, 31; P 21), *rompida do día* (L 36; P 30; O 2, 23, 26, 30); Spa. *rompe el día* (AleCMan: TO 309), *romper el alba* (ALEA: H 101; Se 408; Al 501; ALEICan: Fv 1, 30 (2nd resp.)), *romper el día* (ALCyL: Sa 203; ALEA: H 504; J 500; Gr 401; Al 204, 300, 501, 509; ALEANR: Na 501 (2nd resp.); Te 301, 308, 500, 600 (2nd resp.)), *rompiendo el alba* (ALEA: Co 601, 603), *rompiendo el día* (ALEA: Se 301 (2nd resp.), 306, 603; Al 405; ALEICan: Tf 40, 41), *ya rompe el día* (ALEA: Al 201); Port. *está rompendo o día* (Fl6), *romper da manhã* (B1, CB6, L3, Pl6, 8, St2), *romper o día* (A1; VC2).

between this group and the previous one, since light is usually associated, metaphorically, at the beginning of life (cf. Spa. *dar a luz* ‘give birth’). This motivational group (motivated by the light), in the same way as the previous one, has been divided into two sections according to whether the main element is a verb (e. g. Cat. *clarejar*; Gal. *lumbrigar*; Port. *esclarecer*; Spa. *aclarar*) or a noun (e. g. Cat. *claror*; Spa. *blancura*).

The variants motivated by light which are verb-based are describe the reality and they are common in Catalan (*clareja*, *clarejar*, *clareja el dia*, *clarejar el dia*, *com clareja*, *ja clareja*, *ja clareja el dia*),³⁰ Galician (*aculumbra-lo día*, *alumbrar o día*, *alumbriga-lo día*, *alumea*, *alumea o día*, *clarea-lo día*, *clarear*, *deslumbrar lo día*, *lumbregha o día*, *relumbra-lo día*)³¹ and Spanish (*clarea*, *clarea el día*, *clareando*, *clareando el día*, *clarear*, *clarear (d)el día*, *está empezando a pardear el día*, *esclarece*, *esclarecer el día*, *está esclareciendo*)³², but with little representation in Portuguese (*já vem esclarecendo*, ALEPG, 2039.2: B5, Beja - Barrancos). In this group, the case of the Galician verbs as *aculumbra-lo día*, *alumbriga-lo día* and *lumbregha o día* is very interesting from a semantic point of view because “derivan directamente de LUCUBRARE ‘trabajar a la luz’ [y...] se han cruzado con LUME” (García González 1974: 155).

Noteworthy cases include the Spanish concepts which use verbs that mean ‘giving colour’ (Spa. *está pintando el día*, *pinta el día*, *pintar el día*),³³ as this implies changing from an achromatic situation to a moment in which the different colours and lights become apparent. Colour is therefore metaphorically associated with light, as light and

³⁰ Cat. (ALDC, vol. III, map 321): *clareja* (17 (2nd resp.), 32 (2nd resp.), 35 (2nd resp.)); *clarejar* (62 (2nd resp.)); *clareja el dia* (79, 162, 179); *clarejar el dia* (165 (2nd resp.)); *com clareja* (39 (2nd resp.)); *ja clareja* (182), *ja clareja el dia* (2nd resp.).

³¹ Gal. (ALGa, vol. IV, map 1c): *aculumbra-lo día* (LE 4); *alumbrar o día* (O 27 (2nd resp.)); *alumbriga lo día* (L 31 (2nd resp.)); *alumea* (L 32); *clarea-lo día* (L 28, 2nd resp.), *clarear* (LE 3 (2nd resp.)), *alumea o día* (L 32 (2nd resp.)), *deslumbrar lo día* (L 26); *lumbregha o día* (P 10); *relumbra-lo día* (O 7 (2nd resp.)).

³² Spa. *clarea* (ALCMan: CU 105); *clarea el día* (ALCyL: So 102; ALCMan: GU 109); *clareando* (ALCyL: Sa 502); *clareando el día* (ALCyL: Av 202; ALEA: Se 102; Ca 500 (2nd resp.); Co 608; J 204, 302, 402, 404; Gr 503, 504; Al 506); *clarear* (ALEA: Gr 400; ALEICan: Tf 5); *clarear (d)el día* (ALEA: J 204, 504; Gr 301; Al 504; Co 604; Ma 303; ALEANR: Na 200; Te 400, 504; Cs 300; ALCMan: CU 206; TO 114; CR 405); *está empezando a pardear el día* (ALEA: Gr 600); *esclarece* (ALCyL: Za 403 (3.^a resp.); ALCMan: CU 409), *esclarecer el día* (ALCyL: Bu 404), *está esclareciendo* (ALCMan: AB 304).

³³ Spa. *está pintando el día* (ALEA: J 204, 600; ALCMan: AB 310), *pinta el día* (ALCyL: Av 600; ALCMan: TO 109), *pintar el día* (ALCMan: CR 503).

clarity are what allow us to differentiate colours (COLOUR IS BRIGHTNESS; ABSENCE OF COLOUR IS DARKNESS).

The noun groups related to light motivation stand out due to their general nature (associated with the presence of light: Gal. *luzada*, *luzada da mañán*, *lucero da mañá*, *os primeiros resplandores do día*, *resplendor do día*; Port. *resplendor*; Spa. *la luz del día*, *resplendor*, *reflejo del día*)³⁴ or specific nature (associated with the colour white and clarity; cf. Kristol (1978): Lat. *albus* ‘white’ and Lat. *candidus* ‘switched on’): Gal. *blanca do día*; Spa. *la clara*, *la clara del día*, *la clareada del día*; *la blancada del día*, *la primera blancada del día*, *la blancura del día*),³⁵ the origin of which is related to the transition process between night and day. As we observed, Catalan has few examples and Galician and Spanish have a significant number of lexical variants related to this semantic reason.

One of the most interesting designations from a formal and semantic perspective is the group that contains the preposition *entre* ‘between’: Cat. *entre dos clarors* (ALDC, vol. III, map 621: 154), Gal. *entre lusque e fusque* (ALGa, vol. IV, map 1c); Port. *lusca-fusca* (ALEPG, 2039.2: Aç13) Spa. *entre dos luces* (ALEA, vol. IV, map 807: Gr 406, 603; AI 507; ALcMan, map CR 202). According to Sebastián de Covarrubias (1611, s. v. *crepúsculo*), *entre dos luces* was the popular denomination in Spanish in the 17th century: “En Castellano se dice entre dos luces, porque ni bien es de día, ni bien es de noche”. The use of these cases is associated with a time of day in which there is a transition between light and dark, and which is synonymous with the Galician compound *luscofusco* (DRAG, s. v. *luscofusco*) and the Portuguese *lusco-fusco* which means “momento de transição entre o dia e a noite” or “crepúsculo matutino; o alvorecer” (Dicionário Houaiss, s. v. *lusco-fusco*).

3.3 Contrastive study by lexical areas

³⁴ Gal. *luzada* (ALGa, vol. IV, map 1 c: C 45, 46, 47; P12, 13); *luzada da mañán* (ALGa, vol. IV, map 1 c: C 49); *lucero da mañá* (ALGa, vol. IV, map 1 c: L 15), *os primeiros resplandores do día* (ALGa, vol. IV, map 1 c: C 9); *resplendor do día* (ALGa, vol. IV, map 1 c: C 7, 9); Port. *resplendor* (ALEPG, 2039.2: CB1); Spa. *la luz del día* (ALCyL: Sg 500; ALEA: AI 205; ALcMan: TO 504); *resplendor* (ALEA: Gr. 305); *reflejo* (ALEA: Co 602), *reflejo del día* (ALEA: Co 100; J 308).

³⁵ Gal. *blanca do día* (ALGa, vol. IV, map 1b: C 9 (3rd resp.)); Spa. *la clara* (ALcMan: Gu 310), *la clara del día* (ALEANR: Te 303; ALcMan: TO 106), *la clareada del día* (ALEA: Gr 303, 507; AI 303); *la blancada del día* (ALEA: Gr 502, 602), *la primera blancada del día* (ALEA: Gr 506), *la blancura del día* (ALEA: H 501).

In this section, we analyse the three most widely used forms in each linguistic atlas to obtain a general overview of which are the most common variants by geolinguistic area and according to the tripartite division in the previous section. Figure 1 shows the data from the atlas of Catalan, Spanish and Portuguese. In this graph it is not possible to show the Galician data because its representation is different from that of the other atlases. The *ALGa* collects all the information on the concepts ‘dawn’ and ‘sunrise’ (among others) in 6 synthesis maps (*cf.* 1). These maps are usually made when there are a very high number of lexical variants: “Nalgún caso rexistráronse moitas variantes que se distribuíron en máis dun mapa [...] Para evitar que a multiplicidade de formas fixese perder de vista o agrupamento xeográfico das familias” (*ALGa*, 2015, vol. VI, p. 16). Therefore, we have considered that the representation of the data on Galician in this figure would not be comparable to that of the other atlases.

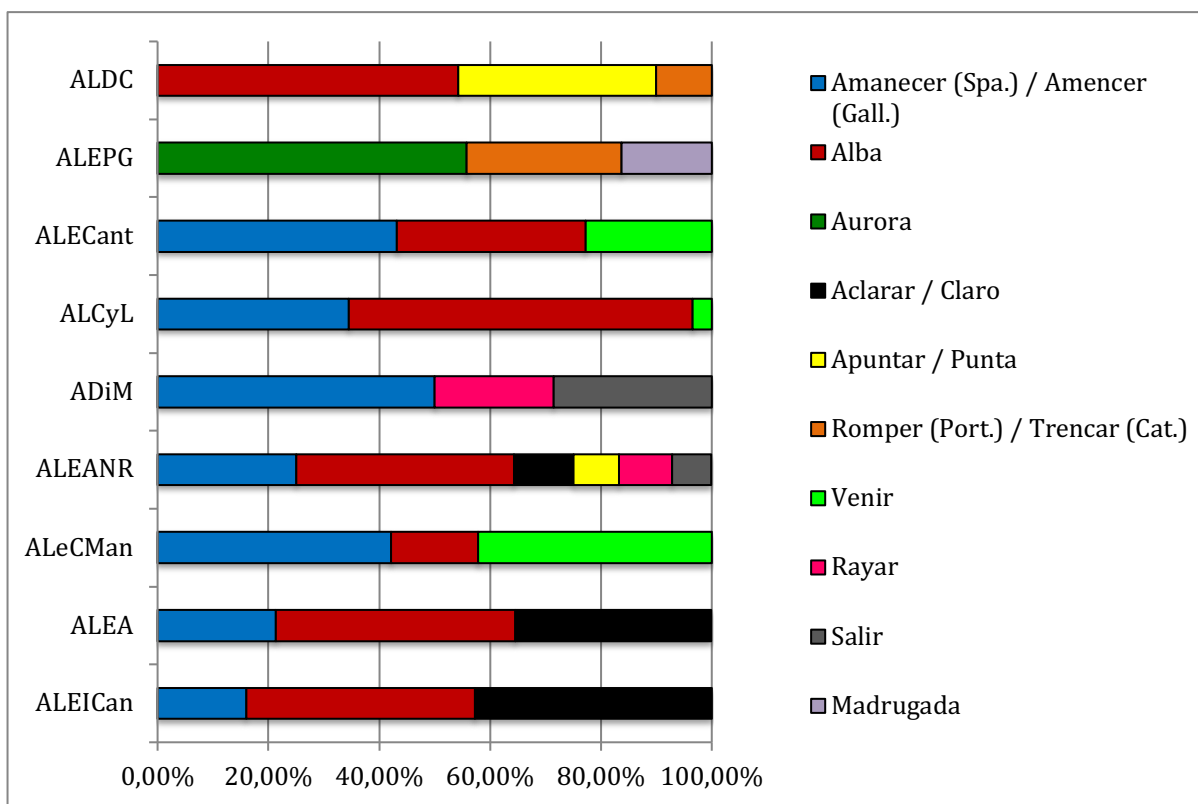


Figure 1. Three most widely used forms in each linguistic atlas

From the dialectal point of view, the colours in the figure reflect lexical areas that correspond to dialect groups in Ibero-romance. On the one hand, *ALEA* and *ALEICan* form a clearly differentiated group (southern Spanish) from the northern group formed by *ALCyL* and *ALECant*. On the other hand, the relationship between the eastern varieties in *ALDC* and the *ALEANR* is observed (higher presence of *alba* than *amanecer* and lexical relation of forms with *apuntar*).

From a historical point of view, the *ADiM* and the *ALeCMan*, whose surveys were made between 30 and 40 years later than those of the other Spanish atlases (Molina 2018), clearly reflect a loss of the use of *alba*. The data also reflects that the Portuguese preferred *aurora* to refer to the initial process of sunrise and *nascer do sol* to refer the whole process, while the Spanish has opted for *alba* in synonymy with *amanecer* to refer de concept ‘dawn’. Furthermore, the Spanish has semantically restricted the sense of *aurora* by relegating it to designate the rosy light of sunrise (*DLE* 2014, s. v. *aurora*).

From a general perspective, the figure 1 shows that the most widely used variants in designation belong to group of standard designations, in particular the words *alba* and *amanecer*. *Alba* (in red) is found in all the Spanish maps studied, although its use competes with *amanecer* (in blue) and other forms; but it has not representation in the atlas of Catalan of Portuguese. It is used as the first form in four of the atlases —*ALCyL* (62%), *ALEANR* (40%), *ALEA* (43%) and *ALEICan* (41%)—, as the second form in the *ALECant* (34%) and as the third form in the *ALeCMan* (15%). This word (*alba*) also holds the first position in the *ALDC* (65%), although Catalan does not have the competition of the *amanecer* form, unlike the other varieties, as this word does not exist in this language, as we previously mentioned. The documented examples of this term in Catalan (e. g., *amaneig el dia*, found in Alacant) are loanwords from Spanish (cf. García González, 1974: 150, note 1). *Amanecer* (in blue) is also present in all the Spanish atlases: it is the first most commonly documented form in the *ADiM* (50%), *ALECant* (43%), and *ALeCMan* (42%) the second in the *ALCyL* (35%), *ALEANR* (25%) and *ALEICan* (16%) and the third in the *ALEA* (21%).

The group motivated by the meaning of ‘beginning’ and ‘changing’ are also common in many of the atlases, although they are situated, according to the number of

occurrences, below those of standard designations. In Spanish, the forms of this group found among the most commonly used include the verb *venir* (in fluorescent green). Most of the examples with *venir* are documented in the *ALeCMan* (42%), where the forms with this verb make up the second most common designative group; and in the *ALECan* (22,7%) and the *ALCyL* (3,5%), where they hold third place. Much less frequently we have the forms including the verb *rayar* (in pink), between the *ALEANR* (9,5%) and the *ADiM* (21,5%) and the verb *salir* (in grey), collected in the *ALEANR* (7%) and the *ADiM* (28,5%). The second most common lexical group in Catalan (*ALDC*) that associated with the words *punta* and *apuntar* (in yellow, 22,7%). It can also be seen that Catalan and Portuguese share, among their three most frequent designations, a lexical form related to this semantic group, these are the variants based in the idea that 'dawn' is a breakup (in orange; *ALEPG*: 10% and *ALDC*: 28%).

Finally, with a considerably lower presence, we have those third group (forms motivated by light), for which the representation and frequency of use is higher in the *ALEA* (35%) and the *ALEICan* (42%), where the forms related to clarity are found among the three most common. However, the variants with *aclarar* (in black) are the first most common in Catalan (*ALDC*: 65%).

4. Conclusion

The study described in this paper allows us to draw various conclusions. On the one hand, from a historical perspective, it has been confirmed that in Ibero-Romance territory three lexical forms prevail: *alba* (Cat., Gal., Spa.), *amanecer* (Gal., Spa.) and *aurora* (Port.). These coexist with a very high number of lexical forms that have their origin in the different ways of understanding the sunrise process.

On the other hand, from a semantic perspective, it was noted that the classification of the data in the maps from a motivational perspective allows us to confirm that the designations can, generally, be classified into two large groups. In the

first group, we find the forms related to the meaning of ‘beginning’ or ‘changing’ (Cat. *eixir del sol*; *empieza a venir el día*; Gal. *salida do sol*; Port. *romper o día*), which, despite appearing throughout the whole Peninsula, prevail in the atlases of the northern regions. The second group covers the denominations based on the reason of “light” (Cat. *clareja el dia*; Spa. *aclarar*; *clareando el día*, *pintar el día*; Gal. *resplandor do día*), which prevail over the others in the atlases of the southern regions.

Finally, after applying the cognitive theory to the study of the maps, we clearly noted two patterns of categorisation of this concept which are manifested from a lexical perspective in different ways, but which share a conceptual origin, which was in the Latin designations (García González 1974). The results obtained reflect the need to continue developing this research and to conduct a contrastive study with the other concept maps that could be used with the same meaning or a specific part of the process (*cf. aurora* in *ALEcant*, *ALCyL*, *ALeCMan* and *nascir do sol* in *ALEPG*). Likewise, in order to be able to contrast the data and continue with the task of making the atlas reflect the living language, the study shows the need to continue creating new atlases in the same territories to see how the language changes (Molina 2006, Fernández-Ordóñez 2011, Julià 2021).

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