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NAMES FOR THE UVULA IN THE WEST OF THE IBERIAN PENINSULA: A GEOLINGUISTIC APPROACH[1]

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Abstract

This article examines the different names for the uvula in the northwest of the Iberian Peninsula, based on the data in the *Atlas Lingüístico de la Península Ibérica* (ALPI), supplemented by information from regional atlases of Galician, Catalan, Spanish and Portuguese and from lexical corpora. Each name is studied from three different perspectives: an analysis of semantic motivations, which are mostly metaphorical; an analysis of geographical distribution which can shed light on processes of language change; and a formal analysis of the most common morphosyntactic structures.

Keywords

Lexicon, geolinguistics, semantic motivation, language change, variation

AS DESIGNACIÓNS DA ÚVULA NO OESTE DA PENÍNSULA IBÉRICA: UNHA APROXIMACIÓN XEOLINGÜÍSTICA

Resumo

Neste artigo analizamos as diversas denominacións da úvula no noroeste peninsular a partir dos datos que nos proporciona o *Atlas Lingüístico de la Península Ibérica* (ALPI), que complementamos con datos extraídos de atlas rexionais sobre galego, catalán, español e portugués, así como de corpus lexicográficos. A análise de cada unha das designacións realízase desde tres perspectivas diferentes: estudo das motivacións semánticas, que son principalmente de tipo metafórico, distribución xeográfica,

[1] I wish to thank Professors Rosario Álvarez and Xulio Sousa for their helpful comments while this article was being written.

que nos permitirá analizar procesos de cambio lingüístico, e, finalmente, análise formal das estruturas morfosintácticas máis comúns.

Palabras chave

Léxico, xeolingüística, motivación semántica, cambio lingüístico, variación

1. Introduction

There has been, and continues to be, wide interest in the study of the vocabulary of parts of the human body in many languages from different viewpoints, such as lexicology, semantics and historical etymology. Such interest is related to the fact that "las partes del cuerpo humano son una parte fundamental en la comunicación, situación y relación del ser humano con su entorno y con los demás seres humanos"[2] (Juliá 2007: 104).

So many Romance language atlases include a section devoted to the study of the lexis of parts of the body that this is one of the best-documented semantic fields in linguistic geography. In the Iberian Peninsula, in addition to the *Atlas Lingüístico de la Península Ibérica* (ALPI), we have atlases for practically every area where Spanish, Catalan, Galician or Portuguese are spoken. Such works provide an excellent source for the study of this semantic field.[3]

This article examines the different names for the *uvula* in the northwest of the Iberian Peninsula based on the data in ALPI[4] supplemented by data from other atlases, chiefly the *Atlas Lingüístico Galego* (ALGa), begun in 1974, forty years after ALPI, as well as various lexical corpora.

One characteristic of the lexis of the human body that can be traced all the way back to Latin is the existence of more than one word to refer to a given concept. The atlases shows that this diversity of denominations remains a feature of the vocabulary of the human body to this day, witness the different forms recorded for the part that concerns us in this article: *campanilla*, *galillo*, *gurgumil*, *pinguel*, etc. There is also

[2] 'The parts of the human body are a fundamental part of the communication, situation and relationship of human beings vis-à-vis their surroundings and other human beings.'

[3] See Juliá (2007) for more information about the presence of the semantic field of parts of the human body in the language atlases of the Iberian Peninsula.

[4] The ALPI data relating to the human body were provided by Xulio Sousa; they had not yet been placed on the ALPI website.

frequently polysemy, where one term may designate different parts of the body. This may be illustrated by the Galician word *pestana*: in most parts of Galicia this word refers to the hairs that grow out of the edge of the eyelid and protect the eye, but in a few separate localities in the western half of Galicia it refers either to the eyelid itself or to the eyebrow.

The names for the uvula recorded in ALPI in the western half of the peninsula fall into four main types (the scientific term *uvula* is not one of them since it is a recent learned borrowing):

a) Words related to the element *galla*: *agalla*, *agallón*, *gallillo*, *gallito*, *engalín*, *gala(s)*, *galillo(s)*, *galiña* and *galiño*.

b) Words related to *pinga*: *pincallón*, *pincel*, *pingalho*, *pingallón*, *pinganexo*, *pinganiexu*, *pinganillo*, *pinganín*, *pinguel*, *pinguelo*, *pinguiel*, *pinguieulo* and *pinquel*.

c) Words related to *campá* / *campana*: *campá da garganta*, *campainha(s)*, *campana*, *campanía*, *campanica*, *campanila*, *campanilla(s)*, *campanillo*, *campanín*, *campanina*, *campaniñas*, *campanu* and *campanita*.

d) Words derived from the roots *garg-*, *gurg-*: *gorgumilho*, *guergumilo(s)*, *gurgumil*, *gurgumilo(s)*, *gurgumilhos* and *gurgumís*.

These words will be studied in what follows from three different perspectives: an analysis of the semantic motivations giving rise to the different concepts; an analysis of geographical distribution which will help us to track changes in the language; and a formal analysis through which the most common morphosyntactic structures will be identified.

2. Semantic analysis

Mario Alinei, in various studies on meaning, asserts that all existing lexical forms that express a given concept are motivated:

> Nei riguardi del problema dell´a arbitrarietà del segno, possiamo anche osservare che arbitraria è solo la relazione fra *campione* e *segno*, mentre quella fra *campione* e *referente* è, per definizione, motivata. Di conseguenza, qualunque significato è

> contemporaneamente arbitrario e motivato, a causa della duplice struttura immanente al significato, e per ragioni del tutto independenti dalla "opacità" o "transparenza" del *segno*[5] (1984: 19).

When choosing a word to denote something in the world, the speaker is aware of the semantic features of which it is composed. If the speaker chooses that word and not another, it is because its semantic features seem to define better the thing that it is the speaker's intention to express. Within a language and across languages, speakers have the ability to choose different semantic features to refer to the same reality.

Although, in discussions of motivation, a distinction is customarily made between "transparent words" (where the original motivation is perceived immediately) and "opaque words" (where we must resort to the word's etymology to discover its motivation), this classification does not imply that the motivation is not clear in the speaker's mind when assigning a name to a concept. Otherwise, the semantic features chosen could not be summoned up and used in a naming process. True, over time the motivation may become less obvious, but that is another matter.

In the semantic field of the human body, one particularly important procedure of lexical creation is metaphor, a semantic process whereby we conceive of something in terms of something else, with comprehension as the primary object. According to Lakoff & Johnson, "most of our ordinary conceptual system is metaphorical in nature" (1980: 4). Several metaphorical designations are found for the part of the body that constitutes the object of this paper.

2.1. Words derived from GALLA

Of the four word families we shall distinguish, that which consists of words derived from *galla*, meaning 'gall, swelling on trees' and 'gill, breathing organ of fish', responds to the motivation that has become most obscure for us today. It is even possible that formal similarity may have led us to group together forms that did not originate from the same base.

[5] 'With regard to the problem of the arbitrariness of the sign, we may also observe that it is only the relation between the *language item* and the *sign* that is arbitrary, whereas that between the *language item* and the *referent* is motivated by definition. Consequently, any signifier is simultaneously arbitrary and motivated, on account of the double structure immanent in the signifier, because of the independence of the "opacity" and "transparency" of the *sign* as a whole.'

Coromines & Pascual (1989) derive *gallillo* from *agalla* 'tonsil' or 'gill', noting that these forms are of uncertain origin; he suggests a possible relation to Latin GLANDULA, altered to *GANGLA, but does not rule out the possibility that they might have something to do with GALLA 'growth on trees'.

Indeed, this word could be related to both forms. The relation to fishes' gills is motivated because the throat, and the uvula as a part thereof, is involved in breathing (the uvula has the function of stopping food from entering the nasal cavity), in addition to its role in the articulation of certain sounds. Examples of this link are found in Galicia where, in certain areas, the term *galadas* refers to either a fish's gills or a person's throat.

On the other hand, *galillo* might come from a metaphor based on galls (swellings) on oak trees, given that the uvula is also a kind of rounded growth that hangs down from the throat. Most people are unaware of its function, which explains why some suffixes found in names for the uvula, such as *-el* and *-elo* in *pinguel*, *pinguelo*, seem not so much to indicate small size as the insignificance of this part of the body.

2.2. Words derived from PINGA

Words related to *pinga* 'drop', from *pingar* 'to drip' (from Vulgar Latin *PENDICARE, itself derived from PENDĒRE 'to hang'), which designates the uvula in Galician, Asturian and Leonese, are motivated by the resemblance between this hanging body part and a drop of liquid. Thus we have an image metaphor based on a connection between the shape of a drop and the uvula's shape.

2.3. Words derived from CAMPÁ / CAMPANA

Words deriving from *campá* or *campana* 'bell' are motivated by the fact that the uvula, taken together with the throat, resembles the inside of a bell, with a semicircular hollow space in the middle of which the uvula looks rather like a bell's clapper (the hanging part).[6] Furthermore, a bell's function is to produce and amplify a sound, as is

[6] Another interpretation would be that the *uvula* represents the whole bell, and the rest of the semicircle is the gable in which the bell is suspended.

that of the throat, so there is a metaphorical relationship not only in terms of shape but of function too.

Aside from the metaphorical dimension, the form *campanilla* also has a metonymic aspect, since it uses the whole (the bell) to refer to a specific part (the clapper, which represents the uvula in this case).

2.4. Words derived from GARG- or GURG-

Coromines & Pascual (1989) state that *gorgomil*, *gorgomelo*, *gorgomilho*, etc. come from the onomatopoeic root GARG- "que imita el ruido del gargajeo y otros que se hacen con la garganta",[7] with some influence from Latin GŬRGES 'throat'[8]. The *Trésor de la Langue Française* accounts for *gargamelle* 'throat' as a cross between *calamella*, a diminutive of *calamus* 'cane', and the onomatopeoic root *garg-*; semantically both forms share the notion 'narrow'.

Bascuas (2002) rejects Coromines & Pascual's theory, arguing that "la mayor parte de las acepciones de los mismos están lejos de ser un ruido y las formaciones básicas siguen las pautas lingüísticas normales, al margen de la supuesta onomatopeya."[9] (2002: 330). Instead he points to the pre-Roman form *$*g^{w}rg$-*nt*- (derived from *$*g^{w}er$- 'to swallow'), reconstructed by Pokorny to account for Old Irish *bragāe* 'neck' (in Celtic, g^{w}- became *b*-), the Hispanic Old European form corresponding to which would be **gargant*-, whence *garganta*. This hypothesis excludes any role for onomatopoeia. Moreover, on the basis of the areal distribution of the *garg*- and *gorg*- variants, he claims that **garg*- / **gurg*- are etymological variants in alternation, and there is no need to recur to Latin GŬRGES. Bascuas proposes that the stems **gárgama*- or *gárgoma*- / **górgoma*- (in *gorgomil*, *gorgomilho* etc.) contain an intensive or superlative suffix *-ăm̆o* frequently found in pre-Roman words, whether Celtic or pre-Celtic, and dismisses the view of **gárgama*- as a Romance formation, in which case the suffix would have been *-ĭssĭmus*.

As we shall see in the next section, a number of words derived from *garg*- and *gurg*- meaning 'throat' are recorded in various lexical corpora. It is more likely that the

[7] '... which imitates the sound of clearing the throat and others made with the throat.'
[8] Originally 'abyss', cf. the English cognate *gorge*.
[9] '…most have meanings that do not denote a noise, and the basic formations follow normal linguistic patterns not subject to the claimed onomatopoeia.'

physical proximity of the throat and the uvula should have resulted in a phenomenon of spatial metonymy, which is rather common in the names of parts of the head in various languages.[10] Indeed, annotations in ALPI indicate that *gorgomilhos* refers to the *two* lumps, perhaps meaning the tonsils, which might be an example of the uncertainty that sometimes arises when naming some neighbouring body parts.

Finally, we read in the *Corpus Lexicográfico do Português*, under the entry CURCULIO, -ONIS: "m. Varr. Gorgulho, insecto, que roe o trigo. Gorgomilho, goela."[11] (Fonseca, *Parvum Lexicon*, 1798); "m.g. O gurgulho bichinho, que dá nos celeiros, tulhas de pam; item, artéria áspera, o gorgomilo, ou a guela." and "*Curculiunculus, -i* O gorgulho pequeno, ou gorgomilo ou guelinha." (Pereira, *Prosodia*, 1697). The Portuguese humanists, then, derive these words directly from Latin CURCULIO, -ONIS, which already in Latin could refer either to the throat or to insect that eats grain. We may be looking at a metaphor that already existed in Latin, motivated by the similar shape of the insect in question and the uvula.

3. Geographical distribution and change

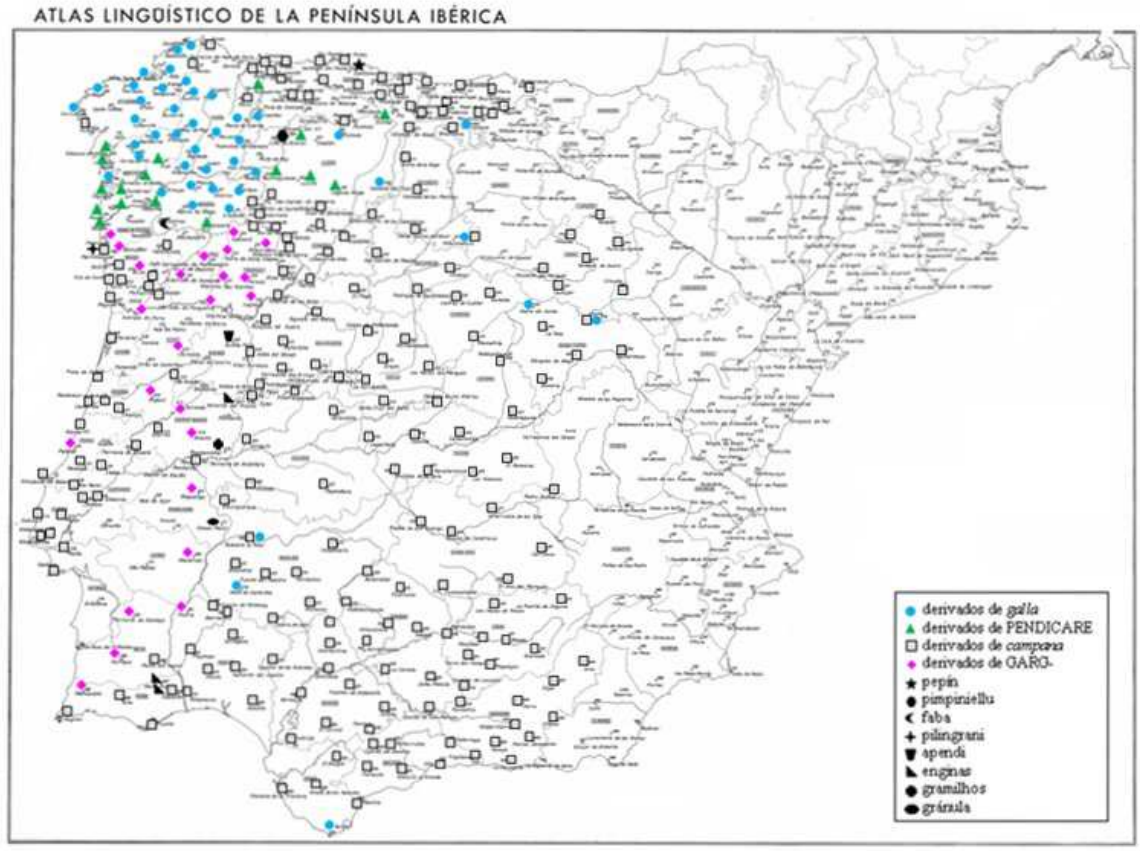
In this section we will study the geographical distribution of the ALPI data for different words, grouped according to their origins. We shall compare the picture obtained from ALPI with data from other regional atlases, principally ALGa, and lexical corpora. This will then allow us to study changes in the language, since the data come from different times.

3.1. Words derived from GALLA

When we looked at a map based on the ALPI data (see Map 1) and examined the distribution of *galillo* in Galicia[12] and the two places in León where it occurs, 329 and 336, we initially assumed this was a local Galician and Leonese term, believing it

[10] Cf. the Galician example given above of *pestana* 'eyelash', which is used for 'eyebrow' or 'eyelid' in some parts of Galicia.
[11] 'm. Varieties of weevil, wheat-gnawing insect...', 'throat' (etc.).
[12] *Galillo* is the prevalent form derived from GALLA in Galicia, so it is the form we focus on in this analysis. *Gala* was only recorded in two localities (123 and 129); *galiño* (112) and *galiña* (122) in one each.

unlikely for it to be a Castilian loan because this kind of distribution is very unusual for a Castilianism. Nevertheless, the presence of *gallito* and *gallillo* in scattered localities across the western half of the Iberian Peninsula raised doubts about this.



Map 1.

Looking these forms up in the *Corpus Diacrónico del Español* (CORDE), we found ample records of *galillo* or *gallillo* from the fourteenth century onwards in authors originating from a variety of places. We also consulted regional atlases to check on the distribution of these words. *Galillo* is recorded in the *Atlas lingüístico-etnográfico de Andalucía* in six localities in Almería and one in Córdoba, and the *Petit Atles Lingüístic del Domini Catalá* shows a diminutive from *galla*, *gallet*, in the Catalan-speaking part of Aragon and some localities in the province of Lleida and in País Valencià, where it is the most widespread word (spread all the way from north to south), just as it is in Galicia.

The Galician diminutive suffix *-illo* has a different etymological origin from Spanish diminutive *-illo*. The Galician *-illo* does not come from -ĔLLUM, which would

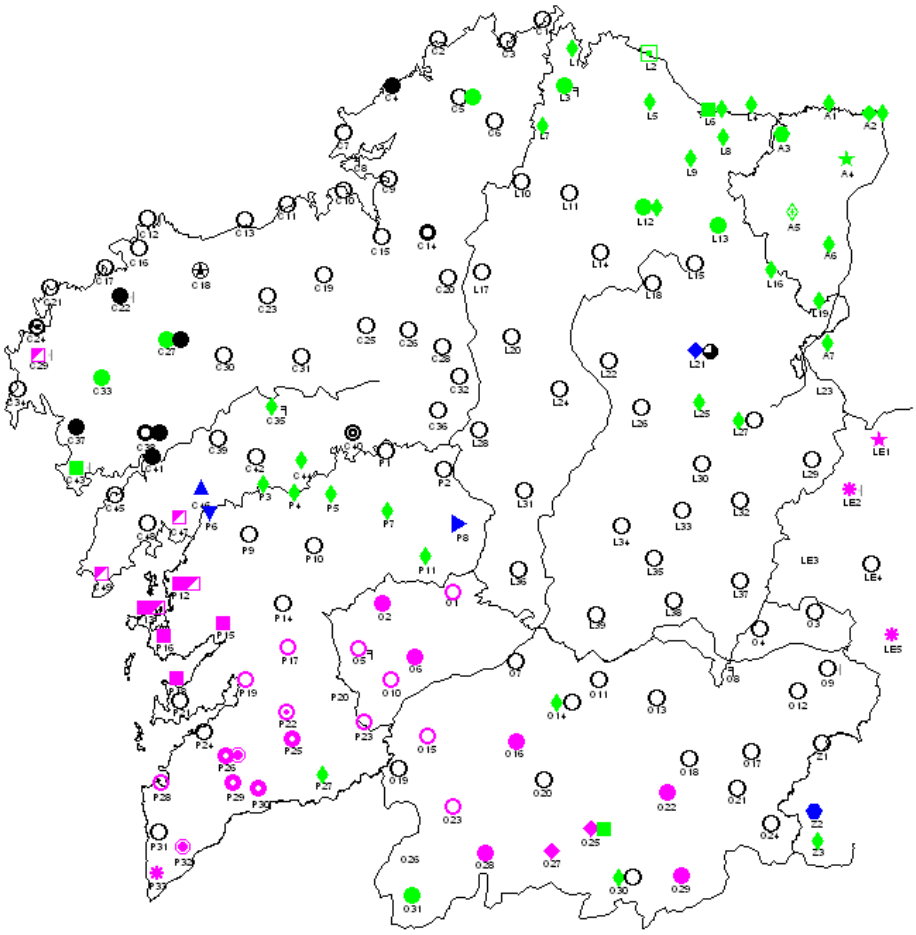
give *-ilo* in Galician, but rather from -ICULUM. This leaves us with two possibilities. One is that *galillo* had its origin in the centre of the peninsula and reached the Galician area as a very ancient loan, given its present distribution; the other, much less probable because it goes against the habitual direction of loans, is that it started in Galicia and from there was borrowed into Spanish. Another option, of course, is for no borrowing to have taken place in either direction and for *galillo* to have arisen from distinct etyma in Spanish and Galician respectively, but that hardly seems likely.

If this word is of foreign origin in Galician, it must have replaced other words previously denoting the same entity in the language. We can only speculate on which words were displaced by *galillo* in Galicia; the available data are insufficient to warrant a firm conclusion:

- One possibility is that there previously existed an ample variety of different words, as a consequence of the uvula's shape and the fact that it is a hanging appendage, and that *galillo* ended up replacing them all. ALPI contains the terms *apendi*, *eginas*, *faba*, *gránula*, *pepín*, *pilingrani* and *pimpiniellu*, and within the area of *galillo* ALGa also gives *gavilán* (in Ares), *caño* (in Santiago de Compostela), *pirulo* (in Ourol), *clavo* (in Avión) and *pimpinillo* (in Larouco). These could represent a sampling of the diversity of designations prior to the present stage.

- Another possibility is that there might have been a more or less compact area with derivatives from the root *garg-*. In ALGa (see Map 2) there are five mutually distant localities with words derived from *garg-* outside the area of derivatives from *pinga*. We also find in the *Arquivo léxico dialectal*[13] of the Instituto da Lingua Galega the forms *gargabelo* and *garguelo da gorxa* with the meaning 'uvula' in two places other than those recorded by ALGa. The *Diccionario de diccionarios* (DdD) records various forms with *garg-* or *gorg-* as their root (e.g. *gargueiro, gorgomil, gorgomillos*) with meanings relating to the throat, and it is plausible that the uvula also came to be designated through a process of spatial metonymy, as has occurred in Portuguese. The *Tesouro Medieval Informatizado da Lingua Galega* also records *gorgomel* meaning 'throat' in the thirteenth-century *Cantigas de Santa María*.

[13] A lexical inventory compiled at the Universidade de Santiago de Compostela's Instituto da Lingua Galega until 1985, containing dialect material stored in the traditional manner on index cards in boxes.



Map 2.

galillo
gallillo
galín
galiño
galidos
galo
ganillo

gargallo
gargolo
garguelo
garlito
garnate

campaíña
campaniña
campaniño
campanilla
campanillo
campanella
campá da boca
campantín

pingallo
pingallón
pincallón
pinganillo
pinganielo
pinguelo
pingu['ɛ]l
pinqu['ɛ]l
pingu['e]l
pinqu['e]l
outras respostas

Yet another possibility is that *galas* could originally refer to either the uvula or the entire throat area *including* the uvula in part of Galicia, and that given the similarity of form between *gala* and *galillo*, the latter penetrated with ease. In the Galician area, ALPI notes *gala(s)* in Meixente (123) and Bandeira (129, an accompanying note says

todo ‘all’). Under the item “fauces” (‘jaws’), ALGa records such forms as *galas*, *galadas*, *galaxes*, *garlas*, *guerla*, etc., all of the same origin according to Coromines & Pascual (1989).

3.2. Words derived from PENDICARE

The map drawn on the basis of the data in ALPI shows a cluster of forms derived from PENDICARE (such as *pinguel*, *pingallón*, *pinganillo*, etc.) in the southwest of Galicia, which trailing along the Portuguese border in Moledo (202), Paderne (200) and Oímbra (151) and extending to the province of León. The group is also present in Asturias, in Salgueiras (300) by the Galician border, with the form *pinganexu*. Between here and Lillo de Bierzo (León, n. 325) there are several places without responses, which could mean that words derived from PENDICARE had already been lost in this area by the time the ALPI survey took place. On the basis of the ALPI data, it is reasonable to suspect an original continuum, stretching through Asturias, León and Galicia, later interrupted by the introduction of *galillo*.

We lack more recent data for Asturias and León since there is no Asturian language atlas, and the atlas for Castilla y León does not include the item *uvula*. *Pinganiellu*, defined as ‘úvula’, is given in the *Diccionario General de la Lengua Asturiana* for Palacios del Sil, very close to Páramo del Sil (León, 326).

For Galicia, we possess the ALGa data and lexical corpora. ALGa shows a broader distribution for words derived from PENDICARE than ALPI, with variants in the west of the province of Ourense and three places on the coast in A Coruña province (Rianxo, Ribeira and Dumbría). DdD records, from *Glosario de voces galegas de hoxe* (García, 1985), *pinguel* and *pinguelo* in Verín (southern Ourense) and *pincallón* in Laxe, Toba (Cee), Dumbría and O Grove. This suggests a wider spread of items derived from PENDICARE than is indicated in ALPI, extending to localities for which ALPI records *galillo*.

The data in ALGa and DdD both seem to favour the notion of a Galician-Leonese continuum, but lend little support to our initial assumption that *galillo* has replaced items derived from PENDICARE in Galicia, when noting its presence within an area that possesses words derived from PENDICARE (ALPI). The facts do not suggest such a one-way process. It is possible, though by no means certain, that at the time when the ALPI

data were collected two options already existed in the speech community, *galillo* and words containing *ping-*, and that speakers gave one of these in their responses, namely *galillo*, which might have been competing for space. Forty years later, when the ALGa data were collected, it would appear that, for reasons unknown to us, *galillo* had failed to assert itself in the end. To quote Manuel González González (2002: 30-31):

> As linguas son realidades vivas, nas que as palabras loitan por conseguir un lugar no sistema e un lugar no espacio xeográfico. Cando aparece unha voz nova, sexa esta un préstamo ou unha innovación xerada no interior do propio sistema, a pelexa adoita ser longa e dura, con avances e retrocesos. Moitas veces ten que atacar sinónimos e eliminalos (ou desprazalos semánticamente). Outras veces non consegue impoñerse e pode vivir marxinalmente durante moito tempo, ou mesmo desaparecer sen deixar rastro nin no léxico literario nin nos dialectos […].[14]

Finally, we conclude that the forms derived from PENDICARE are exclusive to the area formed by Galicia, Asturias and León, since such words are lacking, as names of the uvula, in the atlases and lexical corpora of Catalan, Portuguese and Spanish that we checked. It is curious that these forms extend right up to the Portuguese border yet there is no trace of them with this meaning, within Portugal, in either the *Atlas linguístico etnográfico de Portugal e da Galiza*[15] (ALEPG), the *Corpus do português* or the dictionaries.

3.3. Words derived from CAMPÁ / CAMPANA

The ALPI data show forms derived from *campá* or *campana* to be the most widespread ones in the western half of the Iberian Peninsula except for Galicia and Portugal.

In Portugal there is a coastal strip with *campainha* stretching from northern Portugal to the vicinity of Lisbon, where some forms from *gurg-* are recorded (see 203,

[14] 'Languages are living realities where words fight for a foothold in the system and a place in geographical space. When a new word appears, whether it is a loan or an innovation generated within the native system, the contest is typically long and arduous, with advances and retreats. Often it must attack synonyms and eliminate them (or displace them semantically). Other times it falls short of victory and may survive in a marginal way for a long time, or even disappear without a trace either in the literary lexicon or the dialects.'

[15] The ALEPG data, still unpublished, were kindly provided by João Saramago.

206, 209 and 256); from there it spreads inland (cf. 234 where find *campainha*, within a *gorg-* area). It turns up again at the southern end of the country in the area around Faro. In the *Corpus do Português*, *campainha* is only recorded in the sense of 'uvula' in Jerónimo Cardoso (1562) and Bluteau (18th century).

Campaíña has not been recorded in Galicia, and the Castilianism *campanilla* is only scantily evidenced in three places in the northern part of Lugo province (114, 115 and 120). A comparison between ALPI and ALGa reveals an increased presence of *campana* cognates (especially *campanilla*) in the latter, as shown in Map 2 (showing the north of the province of Lugo and the northern end of Pontevedra province).

In the rest of the Iberian Peninsula, *campanilla* competes with cognates of *galla* in Talavera la Real (province of Badajoz, 369), Villaconancio (Palencia, 417) and Laina (Soria). CORDE first records *campanilla* for 'uvula' in the late fifteenth century, and the available data for *galillo / gallillo* (recorded in CORDE in the fourteenth century) seem to suggest that it replaced forms derived from *galla*.

3.4. Words derived from GARG- / GURG-

In ALPI cognates of *garg-* / *gurg-* are only recorded in Portugal, where they form discontinuous areas all around the country and, as we just saw, compete with *campainha*. The geographical distribution of these forms suggests a process of replacement of words from *gorg-* by *campainha*, because there is evidence for the latter's introduction into the *gorg-* area. Forms with the root *gorg-* that mean 'throat' show up from the sixteenth century onwards in the writings of various authors; some of these ended up meaning 'uvula' via a process of spatial metonymy. They are more frequent than the cognates of *campá*. ALEPG also records these words, but since the data do not cover the whole of the country they do not indicate unequivocally a shift from them to cognates of *campá*.

ALPI does not record forms from *garg-* / *gurg-* in Galicia, yet ALGa indicates the presence of words derived from this root in five mutually remote points. Thus, these may have been more widespread in Galicia prior to the arrival of *galillo*, which, as observed earlier, is now the majority form but originated from the centre of the Peninsula.

Among the atlases of other regions, let us note that *gargamella* and *gargamelló* are present in the *Petit Atles Lingüístic del Domini Català* as words for 'uvula'; thus such forms are not exclusively Galician and Portuguese.

4. Formal analysis

An examination of words for 'uvula' shows almost all to be derived appreciative-diminutive forms made up of a substantive base and a lexicalized diminutive suffix. *Campanilla*, for example, does not in this case mean 'little bell' but 'uvula'.

SUFFIXES	FORMS
-illo, -illa	*campanilla, campanillo, galillo, gallillo, pinganillo*
-el, -elo	*pinguel, pinguelo, pinguiel, pinquel*
-iño, -iña, -ín, -ía/-ina	*campainha(s), campaniña, galiña, galiño, campanía, campanín, campanina, pinganín*
-ito, -ita	*campanita, gallito*
-ica	*campanica*
-ón	*agallón, pincallón, pingallón*
-exo	*pinganexo, pinganiexu*

Table 1. Suffixes of some words for 'uvula'

The most common suffix is *-ill-* (as in *campanilla, galillo, pinganillo*). González Ollé (1962) suggests that this is the Castilian suffix with the greatest lexicalizing capacity, whereas in *-it-* and *-ic-* the diminutive function predominates. Juliá (2009), in a study of words for 'pupil', also accounts in this way for the presence of *-ill-* in the second most frequent group of names for this part of the eye (*belilla, nenilla, niñilla, lunilla*). The high frequency of this suffix is explained historically by the fact that it is the oldest diminutive suffix documented in Castilian, and was the most common one in the Middle Ages.

With regard to the endings of the Portuguese derivatives of *gurg-*, let us note that *-illo* is an unusual suffix in Portuguese; Houaiss et al. (2007) considers it a loan from Spanish on the basis of the chronology of words with this ending. Bascuas (2002) gives

the endings *-illo*, *-ilo* and *-il* as diminutives in Portuguese *gorgomilho*, *gorgomilo* and *gorgomil*; however, Coromines states in the *Diccionari Etimològic i Complementari de la Llengua Catalana* that *gargamella* is not a diminutive, without saying whether it might have been one etymologically. Since we have insufficient information to determine whether these suffixes really have any diminutive force in these words, they are omitted from the above table.

González Ollé (1962) tells of the appearance of two new suffixes in the fifteenth century, *-ito* and *-ico*, absent from previous written texts although they must have been present in the spoken language given the number of hypocoristic terms containing these endings. These started to compete with *-ill-* which was eventually demoted, with a weakening of its ability to express affection. ALPI shows these suffixes in Spanish and in the Portuguese of Barrancos (a Portuguese locality situated on the Spanish border): *gallito*, *campanita*. According to the Portuguese grammarians, *-ito* is the second most common diminutive in Portuguese.

In Galician and Portuguese we find *-iño* (*galiño*) and *-iña* (*campaniña*). This diminutive suffix, like the Asturian and eastern Galician *-ín* (*campanín*), comes from -INU, whose meaning was not diminutive. Today in Galician and Portuguese *-iño*, *-iña* is the most common diminutive suffix, as is *-ín* in Asturian.

Asturian also has *-exu* (*pinganexu*), a cognate of Castilian *-ejo*. According to González Ollé (1962), this is the least frequent diminutive in the Mediaeval period owing to strict phonetic restrictions: it was only added to stems in *-ll* and words ending in *-r* and *-l*. Its rarity has led to it acquiring a pejorative sense in modern Castilian, which it appears to retain in the present case also.

In Galician we also encounter the suffix *-el* (*pinguel*) or *-elo* (*pinguelo*), documented in forms that are almost always lexicalized. In *pinguel* and *pinguelo* its sense would seem to be not so much that of a diminutive, but rather a way to indicate that the thing it refers to lacks importance, designating in this instance something hanging in the throat the purpose of which is unclear.

Out of all these words, of special note are *pingallón*, *pincallón* and *agallón*. In the Galician words *pingallón* and *pincallón*, uniquely among the derived words in our inventory, the highly productive augmentative suffix *-ón* has been added to the lexical base. *Agallón* also looks like an augmentative but probably is not, given that the uvula is in fact smaller than an *agalla* ('tonsil'). Historically, Alonso (2000) ascribes a

diminutive sense to this suffix, pointing to vestiges of this original value in Galician (e.g. *pontón* 'small bridge') and Spanish (e.g. *ratón, montón*); it conserves the diminutive meaning in French and Catalan.

Clearly the reason why appreciative suffixes of a diminutive type predominate in the formation of nouns denoting the uvula is semantic. The uvula's small size accounts for the many names for it formed with diminutive suffixes. The speaker wants to express the smallness of this part of the body, particularly in comparison to the referents that motivate these formations. We also find forms like *pinganexu, pinguel* containing a pejorative element.

5. Conclusions

Following this study of the data in the *Atlas Lingüístico de la Península Ibérica*, we must begin by drawing attention to the great variety of words for 'uvula'. Besides the four main types studied, we also find others limited to a single locality in the survey data such as *faba, gránula, pepín, pimpiniellu,* which add further to their diversity.

Secondly, all the words reflect metaphorical semantic processes. The uvula is compared to something resembling it in size and shape such as, for example, a *pinga* 'drop'. Alternatively, as a result of a process of spatial metonymy, the uvula may come to be referred to by terms that also denote the throat or the tonsils, as is pointed out in annotations in the ALPI data. This applies to words derived from the roots *garg-* and *gurg-* (such as *gorgomilho*). It is not unusual to come across processes of this type in adjacent parts of the body (e. g. *cella* 'eyebrow', *pestaña* 'eyelash', *pescozo* 'neck', etc.).

We should also point out that most of the words are appreciative-diminutive derived words, perhaps owing to the small size of the uvula and the need to indicate that the body part in question is smaller in size than the object to which it is metaphorically compared. In some instances (*pinguel, pinguelo, pinganexu*), the suffix has a pejorative sense because of the impression speakers have that this part of the human body lacks importance and usefulness.

Finally, the geographical distribution of the ALPI data permits us to establish lexical areas. ALPI records terms related to *campá* / *campana* in Spanish, Portuguese

and Galician; this is the only type that is common to all three areas, although in Galician it is a minority type. Galicia is the region with the greatest degree of lexical diversity: words derived from *galla* and *campana* compete with others, exclusive to the Galician-Asturian-Leonese area, deriving from PENDICARE. Portugal presents, besides the forms from *campana*, words derived from *garg-* and *gurg-* that are not recorded for any of the other areas in ALPI.

Furthermore, a comparison of the data in ALPI with information found in other regional atlases and lexical corpora allows us to analyse processes of language change. It is likely that in Portugal the forms derived from *gurg-* are being replaced by those from *campana*, and in Galicia there seem to have been the beginnings of a shift from forms derived from PENDICARE to words derived from *galla*, but that shift was later reversed according to what we infer from the data in ALGa. This is an example of how changes are not always one-way and different words struggle against each other, sometimes advancing then retreating, to gain ground within the system.

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