

This book applies recent theoretical insights to trace the development of Castilian and Latin American Spanish from the Middle Ages onwards, through processes of repeated dialect mixing both within the Iberian Peninsula and in the New World. The author contends that it was this frequent mixing which caused Castilian to evolve more rapidly than other varieties of Hispano-Romance, and which rendered Spanish particularly subject to levelling of its linguistic irregularities and to simplification of its structures. These two processes continued as the language extended into and across the Americas.

These processes are viewed in the context not only of the Hispano-Romance continuum (which includes Galician, Portuguese and Catalan), but also of the New World varieties of Spanish. The book emphasizes the subtlety and seamlessness of language variation, both geographical and social, and the impossibility of defining strict boundaries between varieties. Its conclusions will be relevant both to Hispanists and to historical sociolinguists more generally.

Ralph Penny is Professor of Romance Philology at Queen Mary and Westfield College, University of London, where until recently he was Head of the School of Modern Languages. He is the author of four previous books, including *A History of the Spanish Language* (1991) and *Gramática histórica del español* (1993). In addition, he has edited or co-edited four further books, and has published articles in many learned journals.



Variation and change in Spanish

Ralph Penny





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Contents

	Preface—ix	
	Abbreviations and symbols—xi	
1	Introduction: language variation—1	
1.1	Synchronic variation—1	
	1.1.1 Geographical or diatopical variation—1	
	1.1.2 Social variation—2	
1.2	Diachronic or historical variation—3	
1.3	Variables and variants—5	
1.4	Co-variation—6	
1.5	Register—6	
1.6	Variation in the past—7	
2	Dialect, language, variety: definitions and relationships	—9
2.1	Dialects—10	
2.2	Languages—12	
	2.2.1 Do languages have temporal limits?—12	
	2.2.2 Are languages delimitable?—13	
2.3	Relationship between dialects and languages—15	
2.4	Varieties and idiolects—18	
2.5	Relationship between varieties—19	
	2.5.1 The tree model of relationships between varietie	es—20
	2.5.2 Geographical discontinuity—28	
	2.5.3 Diasystems—30	
	2.5.4 Diglossia—32	
	2.5.5 The neolinguistic model—34	
	2.5.6 Other models—36	
3	Mechanisms of change—37	
3.1	Dialect contact—38	

3.1.1 Accommodation—39



vi

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		Contents						
	3.1.2	Interdialect—41						
	3.1.3	Levelling: early modern Spanish—42						
		3.1.3.1 The Old Spanish sibilants—42						
		3.1.3.2 Old Spanish / h/—45						
		3.1.3.3 The merger of Old Spanish /b/ and / β /—46						
	3.1.4	Simplification: the result of the territorial expansion of						
		Castilian—48						
		3.1.4.1 The merger of the perfect auxiliaries—50						
		3.1.4.2 The Old Spanish strong preterites—51						
		3.1.4.3 The -er and -ir verb classes—52						
	3.1.5	Hyperdialectalism—53						
		Reallocation of variants—54						
3.2	Wave							
		Isoglosses—58						
3.3		l networks and speed of change—63						
3.4		tion of change through society—67						
		Downward change—68						
		Upward change—69						
3.5	Lexic	al diffusion—70						
4	Varia	tion in Spain— ₇₄						
4.1		raphical variation—74						
	_	Mozarabic—75						
		The northern Peninsular dialect continuum—80						
		4.1.2.1 Miranda do Douro—80						
		4.1.2.2 Cantabria—82						
		4.1.2.3 Old Castile—90						
		4.1.2.4 The Pyrenees—93						
		4.1.2.5 Metaphony and mass-noun reference—98						
		4.1.2.5.1 Metaphony—98						
		4.1.2.5.2 Mass-noun reference—102						
	4.1.3	The broken southern Peninsular dialect continuum—104						
	4.1.4	1 3						
	4.1.5	Eastern innovations—108						
	4.1.6							
	4.1.7	Southward expansion of northern features: the Reconquest and its						
		linguistic effects—114						
		4.1.7.1 Galician and Portuguese—116						
		4.1.7.2 Castilian and Andalusian—118						

4.1.7.2.1 Seseo and ceceo—118



	(Contents	vii					
		4.1.7.2.2 <i>Yeismo</i> —120 4.1.7.2.3 Maintenance and loss of /h/—121 4.1.7.2.4 Weakening of /-s/—122 4.1.7.2.5 Andalusian vowel-systems—125 4.1.7.2.6 Merger of /-r/ and /-l/—126 4.1.7.2.7 Third-person pronoun reference—127 4.1.7.2.8 Modes of address—128 4.1.7.3 Catalan and Valencian—128						
	4.1.8 The Canaries—129							
4.2	Social variation—132							
	4.2.1 Yeismo—132							
		Loss of /-d-/—133						
		Aspiration of syllable-final /s/—133						
		Neutralization of atonic vowels—133						
	4.2.5	Reinforcement of word-initial /ue/—134						
5	Variation in Spanish America—136							
5.1	Geographical variation—138							
	5.1.1	American Spanish and Andalusian Spanish—139						
		5.1.1.1 Seseo—142						
		5.1.1.2 Second-person plural address—143						
	5.1.2	Settlement and communication patterns and their linguistic						
		effects—144						
		5.1.2.1 Yeismo—147						
		5.1.2.2 Weakening of syllable-final /-s/—148						
		5.1.2.3 Neutralization of syllable-final /-r/ and /-l/ —150						
		5.1.2.4 Treatment of word-final /-n/—151						
		5.1.2.5 <i>Voseo</i> and <i>tuteo</i> —151						
	5.1.3	Other effects of migration from the Peninsula—155						
		5.1.3.1 / tr/ and / r/ - 157						
		5.1.3.2 Past tense values—158						
5.2	Social variation—161							
	5.2.1	Social variation of $/h/(—162$						
5.3	New	dialects: fronterizo — 163						
5.4	Creoles and creolization—166							
	5.4.1 Papiamentu—167							
	5.4.2 Palenquero—171							
6	Variat	tion in Judeo-Spanish—174						

The language of the medieval Jewish communities—175

The expulsion and its linguistic effects—176

6.1

6.2



viii Contents

- 6.3 Features of Judeo-Spanish—179
 - 6.3.1 Innovations—179
 - 6.3.2 Retentions—181
 - 6.3.3 Simplifications—185
 - 6.3.4 Non-Castilian features—187
 - 6.3.5 Features retained in Judeo-Spanish but rejected by the Peninsular standard—190
 - 6.3.6 Variation within Judeo-Spanish—192
- 6.4 Death of Judeo-Spanish—193
 - 7 Standardization—194
- 7.1 Status planning—196
 - 7.1.1 Selection—196
 - 7.1.2 Codification—200
 - 7.1.3 Elaboration of function—203
 - 7.1.4 Acceptance—204
- 7.2 Corpus planning—206
 - 7.2.1 The medieval period—206
 - 7.2.2 The Renaissance and the Golden Age—209
 - 7.2.3 The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—213
 - 7.2.4 The twentieth century—215
- 7.3 The relationship between standard and non-standard varieties—217

Notes—22I References—240 Indexes—260



Preface

The main aim of this book is to apply certain theoretical insights into linguistic variation and change (insights often derived from studies of English and other Germanic languages) to the Spanish-speaking world, a project I first sketched some years ago (Penny 1987). Although I do not claim, on this occasion, to advance variationist theory, it is my hope that the data deployed here will test, and for the most part support, such theoretical approaches to language.

The data used are most frequently Castilian data, but since I am at pains to emphasize that Castilian emerges from a dialect continuum which embraces the whole Peninsula (and indeed extends beyond it), it is inevitable that all varieties of Romance spoken in the Peninsula (therefore including Galician, Portuguese, and Catalan) will at times be the subject of discussion. Similarly, since dialect mixing is a constant theme of the book, it is inevitable that American Spanish (the product of such mixing) will come under close scrutiny.

Two broad themes are pursued. The first is that of the seamlessness of language variation: the fact that language presents itself to us in the form of orderly but undivided heterogeneity. This is to say that variation is almost infinitely subtle, and occurs along all parameters (geographical and social), so that it is usually inappropriate to seek to establish boundaries between varieties, whether we are dealing with geographically ordered varieties, or with socially determined varieties, or with linguistic registers or styles. Each variety merges imperceptibly with those that are adjacent to it, using the term *adjacent* to refer to varieties which are either socially or geographically contiguous.

It is not the present aim to provide the reader with an exhaustive description of geographical variation in Spanish (in the manner of manuals of dialectology such as Zamora Vicente (1967)), although detailed accounts of the distribution of many of the salient features of Spanish, as used throughout the world, will be found here. Still less can the book claim to describe in detail the correlation between the



x Preface

linguistic and sociological features of the Spanish-speaking communities (a project which is currently impossible, given the paucity of data available), although once again the reader will find examples here of significant cases of socially determined variation. What this book does seek to do is to present to the reader the broad patterns displayed by geographical and social variation in Spanish (with the implication that such patterns are the same for Spanish as for other languages).

The second broad theme of the book is more particular to Spanish and is historical in kind. Because of its peculiar ancestry, being the outcome of repeated dialect mixing, we shall claim that Castilian has evolved at a more rapid pace than the varieties of Romance which developed in other parts of the Peninsula. For similar reasons, we shall see that Spanish was particularly subject to levelling of its linguistic irregularities and to simplification of its structures, processes which continued in force as the language was extended into and across the Americas.

The ideas found in certain sections of this book were presented as papers given to a variety of research seminars: the Staff–Student Research Seminar of the Department of Hispanic Studies, the Research Seminar of the Centre for Language Studies (both at Queen Mary and Westfield College, University of London), the annual meetings of the Association of Hispanists of Great Britain and Ireland, and at the Romance Linguistics Research Seminar at the University of Oxford. I am grateful to the participants in those seminars for their observations, which have often found their way into these pages.

I am especially grateful to the two referees who acted for Cambridge University Press, both of whom made numerous suggestions for improvement, most of which I have adopted, and to my friend and colleague Professor Ian Macpherson, who read the whole manuscript and pruned it of numerous infelicities and errors. Those that remain are very definitely my own.

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RALPH PENNY



Abbreviations and symbols

Ar.	Arabic	Leon.	Leonese			
Arag.	Aragonese	Moz.	Mozarabic			
Cat.	Catalan	MSp.	Modern Spanish			
Fr.	French	OSp.	Old or medieval Spanish			
Gal.	Galician	Ptg.	Portuguese			
It.	Italian	Rom.	Romanian			
JSp.	Judeo-Spanish	Sp.	Spanish			
Lat.	Latin					
*	Reconstructed form	or meaning	(whose existence is			
	claimed)					
**	Form or meaning w	hose existen	ce is denied			
x > y	x becomes y in the co	ourse of tim	e			
x < y	x is the descendant (reflex) of y				
$x \to y \\$	y is created on the ba	asis of x (e.g.	., through derivation)			
$x\sim y$	x coexists with y with equivalent function					
Ø	Null segment (e.g., $[h] > [\emptyset] = `[h]$ ceases to be					
	pronounced')					
á, é, í, etc.	Vowel carrying stres	s accent				
ā, ī, ō, etc.	In Latin words (which	h appear in	small capitals), a long			
	vowel; any vowel no	t so marked	in a Latin word is short.			
[xxxx]	Phonetic transcription	on				
/xxxx/	Phonemic transcript	ion				
<xxxx></xxxx>	Letters of the alphab	oet, grapher	nes			
$\{xxxx\}$	Morphemes					
#	Word boundary					

The symbols used are those of the International Phonetic Association, with the following modification: [j] is used for the voiced mid-palatal fricative (e.g., standard *mayo*), to distinguish it from the (frictionless) glide [j] (as in *tierra*).



	Bilabial		Labio-dental		Inter-dental		Dental	
CONSONANTS								
Plosive	p	b					t	d
Fricative	ф	β	f	v	θ	ð	S	Z
Affricate							ts	dz
Lateral					ļ		<u>l</u>	
Vibrant								
Flap								
Nasal	m		m				й ———	
GLIDES								
Opening	М	w						
Closing		ŭ						
VOWELS								
High								
Mid-high								
Mid-low								
Low								

o denotes voicelessness.

Table of phonetic symbols used



Alveolar		Pre-p	alatal	Mid-palatal		Velar		Glottal	
						k	g		
s	Z		3	ç	ď	X	γ	h	h
		t∫	d3						
	1				Á				
	r								
	t .								
1	n			n		ŋ			
					j	(M)	(w)		
1					į		(ŭ)		
		Fre	ont	Central		Back			
			i			u			
			e		-)		
			ε	в		э			
		a	e		a	(1		