

A COMPARISON OF FIVE ANDALUSIAN VARIETIES
BASED ON THE
"ATLAS LINGÜÍSTICO-ETNOGRÁFICO DE ANDALUCÍA"

by
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ABSTRACT

The thesis is an investigation of the "Atlas Lingüístico - Etnográfico de Andalucía" by Manuel Alvar and co-authors. The main objective of the study is the comparison of several dialects on the basis of a diasystem. For this purpose five varieties were chosen, four of them spoken in a restricted region of Andalucía and the fifth in the extreme eastern corner of the province.

The system of partial dissimilarities was discussed on the basis of tables of correspondences which led to questions of interdialectal communication. Inferences were made from the tables as to when communication problems might arise between speakers of different varieties of Andalucía. The latter inferences should be tested in primary research.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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I would also like to thank Miss Jill Brady and Mr. Len Nelson who gave me valuable advice in the production of the maps and tables.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE LINGUISTIC ATLAS AS BASIS FOR RESEARCH

The considerable increase in the creation of linguistic atlases poses the question, whether these works are a goal in themselves to prevent languages and dialects from falling into oblivion and to be displayed for reference in libraries or whether they can effectively be used for research purposes.

The problem with a linguistic atlas as basis for research is the vast amount of data it contains which, to be successfully handled by one or even more investigators, requires an extraordinary input of time. Here an automatic or semi-automatic analysis would open possibilities for data evaluation which enable the investigator to get a general view on and an insight into a language and discover relationships which otherwise would hardly be possible. Dean H. Obrecht states it as follows:

"The computer should perhaps be viewed as more than a high-speed clerical assistant, rapidly searching and cataloguing familiar data, and should be utilized where possible as a highly efficient and perceptive research associate with a truly astonishing memory, and an ability to perceive patterns far exceeding that of even the most skilled dialectologist." 1)

Unfortunately too little attention and devotion have been given to develop the necessary programs and methods, thus it was not possible to exploit the advantages which the computer offers in the present thesis.

1) Obrecht, Dean H.: "Toward Automatic Dialect Discrimination", Verhandlungen des Zweiten Internationalen Dialektologenkongresses, Marburg/Lahn, Schmitt L.E. ed. p. 622

1.2 PRIMARY AND SECONDARY RESEARCH

Dialectological investigation may be done on two levels: primary research and secondary research. In primary research the investigator will do his own field work with or without the help of trained personnel and start the investigation of the language or dialect in question on the basis of a data corpus collected on his own. The advantages of this method are the possibility of adjusting the investigation to the purpose desired: a complete analysis of the language - grammatical and phonological - or a limitation to one or the other level, or a study of only certain aspects. If he is doubtful about his collected data, he may go back to the informant for additional information if time permits.

In secondary research, i.e. if the analysis is based on data previously collected, ordered and compiled by other research groups, the quantity of data on which the analysis can be based permits a far more profound and complete survey which supports the validity of any findings - in particular if automatic methods are used.

The disadvantages - unless field workers can be contacted - result from possible disparities of aim between the data collector and the analyst and from the fact that no requestioning will be possible. So

the investigator might have to reset his goals or methods according to the existing data, i.e. use second-best data as a substitute for optimal material as the social scientist has to do when working with statistics. This aspect has influenced the development of the present thesis insofar as the double aim of the Atlas Linguistico y Etnografico de Andalucia (henceforth referred to as ALEA) - to serve the linguist as well as the ethnographer - has prevented the authors of the atlas from focusing their attention on the whole range of needs of the linguist. Thus an originally intended phonological analysis and comparison of varieties²⁾ was not possible as the data in the atlas did not give sufficient evidence to support the findings.

Secondary research has so far not been as widespread in dialectology as in other disciplines, i.e. economics, sociology, geography, where to a large extent investigation is based on previously compiled material. Although the proportion of secondary data used in an analysis cannot be taken as an indicator of the advancement of a discipline, there is no logical reason why secondary analysis should not be intensified also in dialectology, in particular as an increasing number of linguistic atlases has to be dealt with.

2) For definition of the term see section 1.6

1.3 AIM OF PRESENT THESIS

The present thesis attempts to focus on the ALEA from three points of view:

1. A study of the main phonetic features of the varieties of Andalucía with respect to their regional distribution.
2. A study and comparison of the consonant system of five varieties chosen from the dialectally most complex region of Andalucía.
As the geographical area is very small in comparison to its dialectal heterogeneity, a test point in the south east corner of Andalucía was chosen at random to show the extent of dialectal variation in said area in comparison to a regionally distant place.
3. Discussion of problems in interdialectal communication which must arise when speakers of the dialects studied come into contact.

1.4 METHODOLOGY

The sound system of the five varieties was analysed according to the position and environment of each phone in the word.

The basic working unit was the word, as this was also the basic unit used by the authors of the ALEA. Where morphological constructions appeared in the data, these were included

3) For definition see section 1.6

as far as they contained necessary information for the analysis.

1.5 PHONETIC ALPHABET AND SYMBOLS

It seemed appropriate to use the same phonetic alphabet and sound definitions for the transcriptions which the authors of the ALEA worked with. A few symbols which did not appear systematically in the data or were felt to be too close were simplified to the basic symbol.

1.5.1 PHONETIC ALPHABET

VOWELS

- [a] low central unrounded vowel
- [ə] velarized low central unrounded vowel
- [~ə] nasalized low central unrounded vowel
- [e] higher-mid front unrounded vowel
- [ø] open higher-mid front unrounded vowel
- [i] high front unrounded vowel
- [ɨ] open high front unrounded vowel
- [ɯ] doubly open high front unrounded vowel

All above vowels, when lax, are transcribed with upside-down symbols

- [ɔ] higher-mid back rounded vowel
- [ø] open higher-mid back rounded vowel
- [ø] closed higher-mid back rounded vowel
- [ɔ] lax higher-mid back rounded vowel
- [u] high back rounded vowel
- [ɯ] lax back rounded vowel
- : juxtaposed indicates vowel length
- ~ above vowel indicates nasalization
- [j] palatal semivowel
- [w] velar semivowel

CONSONANTS

BILABIAL

- [p] voiceless plosive
- [b] voiced plosive
- [t̪] voiced fricative
- [m] nasal

LABIODENTAL

- [f] voiceless fricative 4)
- [v] voiceless bi-labiodental fricative
- [m̪] nasal

INTERDENTAL

- [θ] voiceless fricative
- [n̪] nasal

DENTIONTERDENTAL

- [ɸ] voiceless fricative
- [d̪] voiced fricative

DENTAL

- [t] voiceless plosive
- [d] voiced plosive
- [t̪] voiceless aspirated fricative
- [l̪] lateral
- [n̪] nasal

ALVEOLAR

- [z] voiced relaxed fricative
- [t̪] voiced fricative with articulation in between a lateral and a vibrant
- [s̪] voiced nasalized fricative
- [χ̪] semi-voiceless aspirated fricative
- [t̪̪] semi-voiceless aspirated and nasalized fricative
- [s̪̪] "corono" 5) alveolar voiceless fricative with a flat articulation of the tongue
- [s̪̪] "corono-predorsal" 6) voiceless fricative with a tongue articulation between flat and convex
- [s̪̪] "predorso-dental convex voiceless fricative

4) No description of the articulation of the sound could be found, so the term had to be repeated here, as it was found in the ALEA
 5), 6) for definition of the terms see section 1.6

- [z] "corono"-alveolar voiced fricative with "rehilamiento" ?)
 [l] lateral
 [r] flap
 [rr] trill
 [n] nasal

PREPALATAL

- [y] voiced fricative "rehilada" 8)
 [s̪] voiceless affricate
 [s̫] voiceless prepalato-alveolar affricate with little tenseness
 in the stop-phase

PALATAL

- [š] voiceless central fricative
 [y̪] voiced fricative
 [y̫] voiced fricative "rehilada" 9)
 [s̪] voiceless affricate
 [y̪] voiced affricate
 [y̫] semi-voiced central affricate "rehilada" 10)
 [l̪] lateral
 [n̪] nasal
 [j̪] semi-consonant

VELAR

- [k] voiceless plosive
 [g] voiced plosive
 [x] voiceless fricative
 [χ] voiceless aspirate fricative
 [g̪] voiced fricative
 [ŋ] nasal
 [w] semi-consonant

FARINGEAL

- [h] voiceless aspirate fricative
 [h̪] voiced aspirate fricative

~ above consonant indicates nasalization

SIMPLIFIED PHONETIC SYMBOLS

- [ø] very close higher -mid back rounded vowel; simplified to closed
 higher-mid back rounded vowel [o]
 [ɹ̪] semi-voiced bi-labiodental fricative; simplified to voiceless
 bilabiodental fricative [ɾ̪]
 [s̫] voiceless palatal affricate with little tenseness in the stop-phase
 simplified to [ʃ]

7) For definition of the term, see section 1.6
 8), 9), 10) ibid.

- [m̩] alveolar nasal with a tendency to a bilabial articulation, simplified to [n]
- [l̩] semi-voiced alveolar lateral, simplified to [l̩]

Lax consonants are transcribed with the same symbol as the tense counterpart only above the line. Except for the difference in tension, the articulatory features are the same. An exception is the fricative whose tense counterpart is the liquid flap [r].

OTHER SYMBOLS

| | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|----|-------------------|
| #- | word initial | -# | word final |
| -C | before a consonant | C- | after a consonant |
| V-V | intervocalic position | | |
| vl | voiceless | vd | voiced |

1.6 DEFINITIONS

In the course of the present thesis, several terms are employed which either have not been satisfactorily defined in the literature or are too closely specified to be generally known. It therefore seemed appropriate to specify the use of these terms before proceeding with the study.

Dialect will be the over all term for the speech spoken within the limits of the province of Andalucía.

Variety will refer to the speech of each of the communities investigated in the ALEA.

A variety is said to have "seseo" if the only sibilant is a voiceless alveolar fricative.

The presence of "ceceo" is given, if the sibilant in a variety is represented by a voiceless (dento)interdental fricative.

Those varieties which only have a voice palatal fricative [z̄] are said to have "zeismo".

Varieties with "distinción s/θ" distinguish between voiceless alveolar and voiceless (dento)interdental fricatives.

"Distinción y/l" will be present when a variety distinguishes between a voiced central palatal fricative and a voiced palatal lateral. "Yeismo" on the other hand, characterizes those varieties that use only a voiced central palatal fricative.

A consonant which is "rehilada" or has "rehilamiento" is articulated with a vibration that produces a humming sound.

In the Andalusiandialect there is a tendency to decrease tension on the articulation of sounds which affects the vowel system as well as the consonant system. Phones articulated with less tension ("sonidos relajados") were called lax as opposed to the tense phones articulated with normal tenseness. For the phonetic representation of lax vowels see 1.5.1. Lax consonants appear in small letters above the writing line.

A consonant group is called "licuante líquida" when its first consonant is either a stop or a fricative and its second consonant a liquid.

"Coronal" or "predorsal" refers to the predorsum of the tongue. The definition of [s] "corono-predorsal voiceless fricative" given in the ALEA does not seem to make sense, as "corono" and "predorsal" refer to
 11) the same part of the tongue . In none of the available articles or

11) T. Navarro Tomás, A.M. Espinosa, L. Rodríguez-Castellano: "La Frontera del Andaluz", Revista de Filología Española, XX, 1933, p. 277

books by the authors of the ALEA is a clarification as to the meaning of "corono-predorsal" given.

The communities whose varieties were described will frequently be referred to by their numbers given in the ALEA:

| | |
|-------------------|--------|
| El Madroño | Se 301 |
| Berrocal | H 402 |
| Paterna del Campo | H 601 |
| Olivares | Se 306 |
| Carboneras | Al 600 |

CHAPTER II: THE ALEA

2.1 ITS BACKGROUND

The aim of the ALEA is - in Manuel Alvar's own words - "... colaborar en la gran empresa de recoger las hablas y culturas populares de España. Buscar lo genuinamente andaluz como aportación al conocimiento de la variedad hispánica."¹²⁾

Originally only one researcher, Manuel Alvar himself, was to collect all the material "tal es una tradición que cuenta con ilustres antecedentes en el campo de la romanística."¹³⁾ Later on, however, Gregorio Salvador and Antonio Llorente joined the project performing the investigation in certain areas. Some communities were visited by two of the investigators and in a great number of communities the results were revised with additional questionnaires to eliminate any doubts in the first investigations.

In the communities investigated here, the research was performed by: Gregorio Salvador (Se 301 and H 402), Manuel Alvar (H 601 and Al 600) and both Manuel Alvar and Gregorio Salvador (Se 306).

The density of locations investigated was based on the proportion 1:4 with respect to the existing number of "municipios" (municipalities) in Andalucía, so that for every four communities there would be

12) Alvar, M.: "Proyecto de un Atlas Lingüístico de Andalucía", Orbis, II, 1953, p.60

13) ibid. p. 54

one point of investigation, covering approximately an area of 436,65 km² or 27,985 inhabitants.

In general the collected data consist of single words though some morphological and syntactical forms have also been included, "dada la abundancia y complejidad de los fenómenos de fonética sintáctica."¹⁴⁾ The questionnaire of the Atlas Linguístico de la Península Ibérica¹⁵⁾ served as a basis for the 2.245 questions used in the investigations of the ALEA with some questions added where necessary. In the rural communities one informant provided the answers to the questionnaire and for special terms concerning the different crafts, people performing them were asked to fill in the respective answers. In 22 locations several informants gave answers to the questionnaire and where answers could not be obtained from the questionnaire, information was gathered from conversations. Those items were marked in the ALEA with a "cv."

In the capitals of the provinces, questions related specifically to rural life (agriculture, wild plants etc.) were omitted and parallel to Jud and Jaberg's "reduzierte Fragebogen"¹⁶⁾ attention was given to parts of the body, family life etc., and to the categories of phonetics, phonology, morphology and syntax thus penetrating the social aspect of the variety. Due to the social factor involved in the variety of

14) Alvar, M.: "Proyecto...." op. cit. p. 54

15) Atlas Linguístico de la Península Ibérica, Madrid, 1962, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas

16) Alvar, M.: Estructuralismo, geografía lingüística y dialectología actual, Madrid, 1969, p. 126

the capitals, answers were provided by more than one informant: at least two people from universities (male and female) and two more from different sectors of each capital. If cities - like Almería and Cádiz which are located at the coast - were characterized by special activities, or if any other relevant factor influenced the variety, the investigators allowed for it.

The semantic grouping of the ALEA was set up as follows:

Volume I : "Agricultura e industrias con ella relacionadas"

Volume II : "Vegetales. Animales silvestres. Ganadería. Industrias pecuarias. Animales domésticos. Apicultura "

Volume III : "La casa. Faenas domésticas. Alimentación"

Volume IV : "El tiempo. Topografía y naturaleza del terreno.
17)
Oficios. El mar."

17) English: Vol. I: Agriculture and related industries.
Vol. II: Plants. Wild animals. Cattle-breeding and related industries. Domestic animals. Apiculture.
Vol. III: The house. House labour. Nutrition.
Vol. IV: The weather. Topography and relief. Crafts.
The sea.

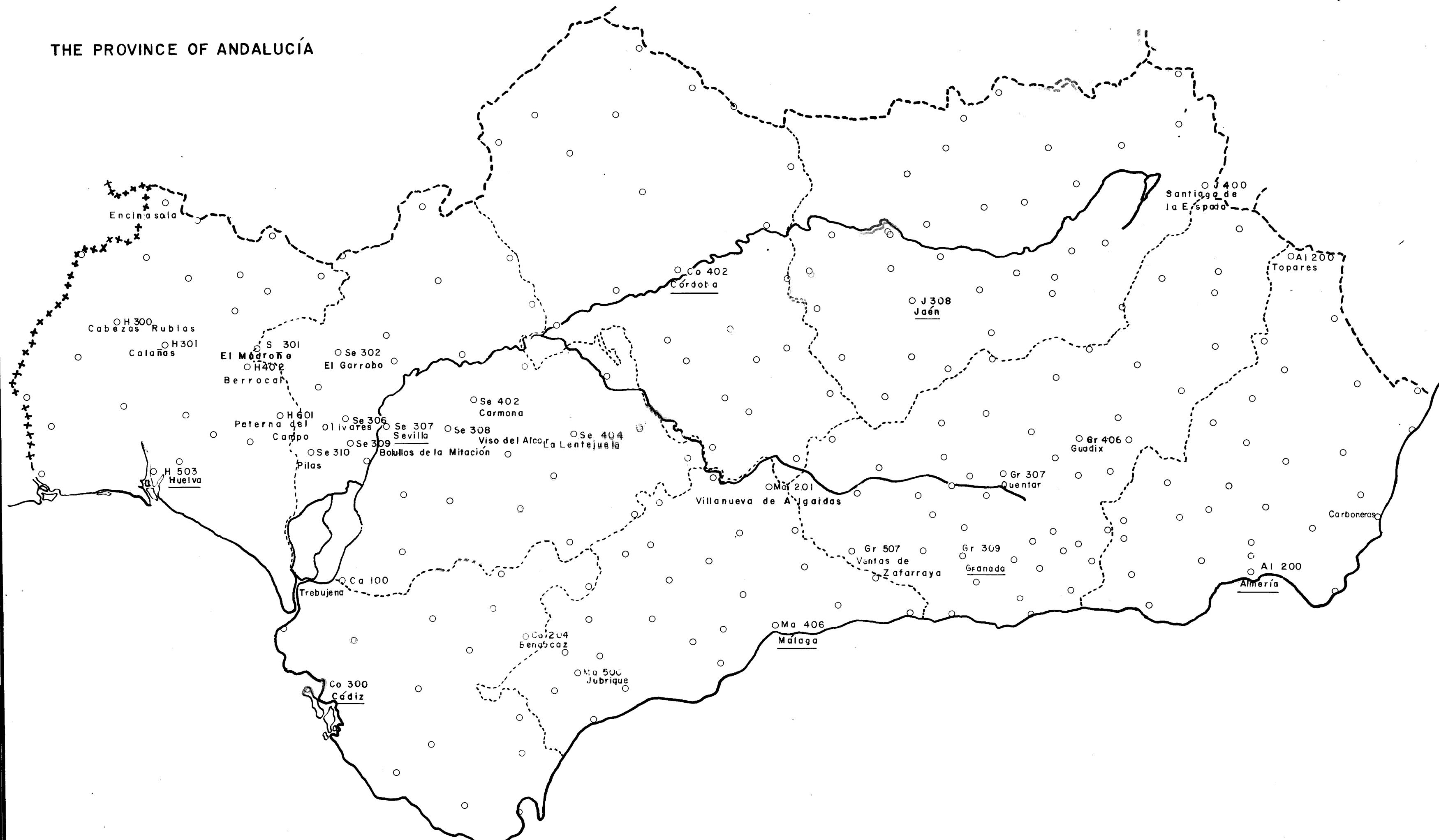
2.2 THE COMMUNITIES INVESTIGATED: THEIR GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION

It has already been mentioned that in the preliminary analysis a highly complex area was found around Sevilla. Four of these varieties spoken in the communities of El Madroño, Berrocal, Paterna del Campo and Olivares were chosen for a detailed study. These four communities are located northwest of Sevilla either in the fluvial plain of the Guadalquivir or in the lower parts of the Sierra Morena. Carboneras, a community in the far east of Andalucía, served as comparison. It is a coastal village with little connection to larger communities especially the provincial capital of Almería which at 70 Km distance has no railway and only secondary links to Carboneras.

Olivares and Paterna del Campo lie in the fluvial plain of the Guadalquivir river near a railway linking the capitals of Sevilla and Huelva: Paterna del Campo in Huelva, on the west side of the administration border Sevilla/Huelva and Olivares on the east side in Sevilla. The nearest big city is Sevilla which is at an air distance of approximately 38 Km and via railway 55 Km from Paterna del Campo and at about 15 Km air and 20 Km road distance from Olivares.

El Madroño and Berrocal on the other hand are situated in the hilly area at the foot of the Sierra Morena. Berrocal is located

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on the shores of the Río Tinto at approximately 190 m above sea level, a little north of where the valley enters the fluvial plain. Although they are at about 55 Km air distance from both Huelva and Sevilla, the travel distance on a narrow gauge railway is roughly 70 Km for Berrocal and 90 Km for El Madroño. The air distance from Berrocal to Paterna del Campo is 25 Km and 40 Km to Olivares. The transportation network links Berrocal and the other two communities through minor roads. El Madroño is 15 Km further up in the valley at approximately 300 m with railway connection to Sevilla through the Huelva river valley and its orientation points towards the Sierra Morena, whereas that of Berrocal tends towards the plain due to its location on the foot of the Sierra.

3. CHAPTER III: MAPS

3.1 AREA DELIMITATION (SINGLE FEATURES)

As a first step various dialectal regions within the area defined as dialect of Andalucía have been distinguished on the basis of:

1. "distinción" [s] / [θ]

"ceceo"
18) 19) map no 1
"seseo"

2. "distinción" [y] / [l] 20)

"yeismo"
21) map no 2
"zeismo"

3. varieties having:

[s̪] or

[s̩] or map no 3
[y̪]

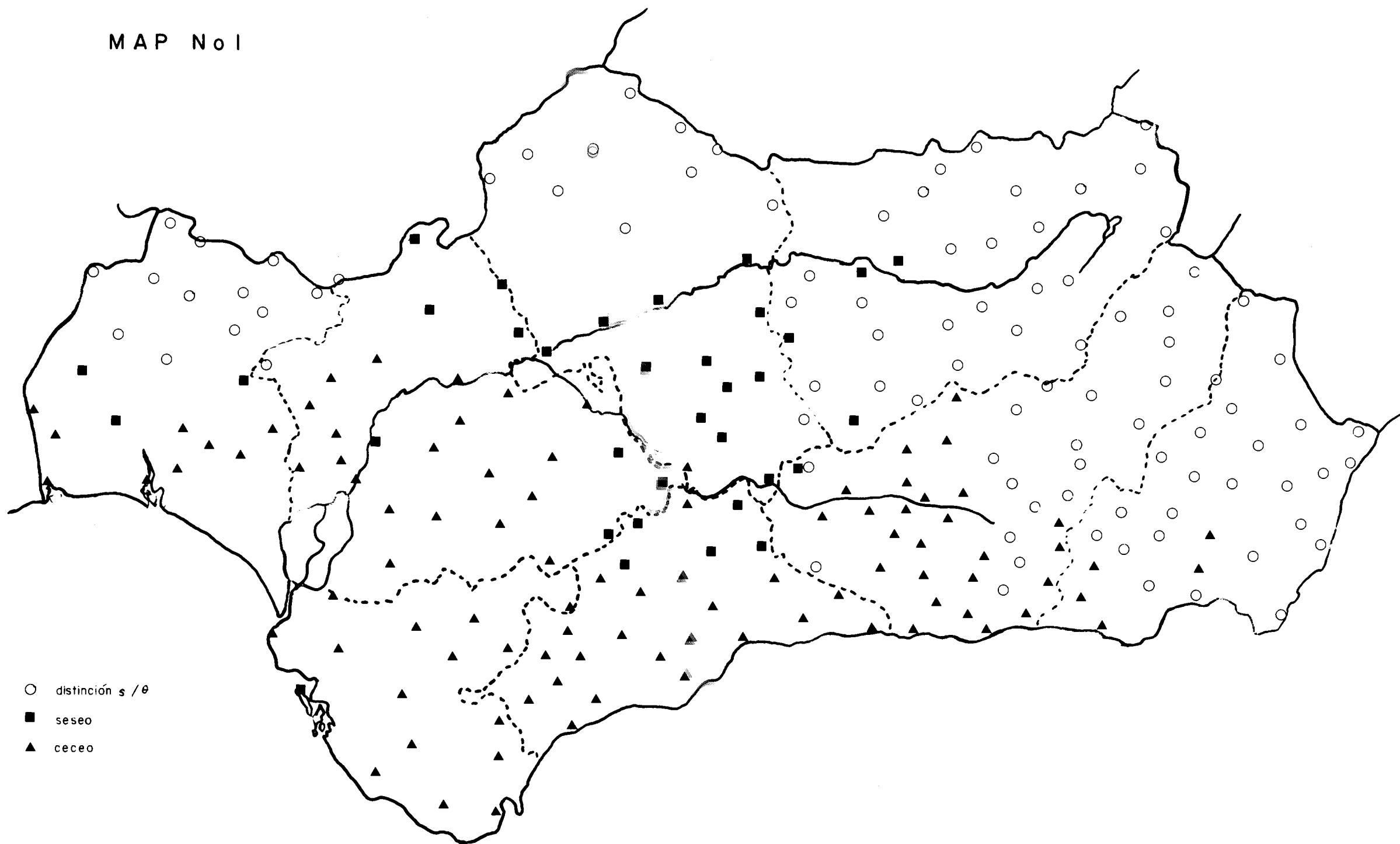
3.2 OVERLAY MAP: AREA DELIMITATION (COMBINED FEATURES)

On transparent film, maps were drawn, one for each of the above feature groups (1-3) showing their regional distribution in the province.

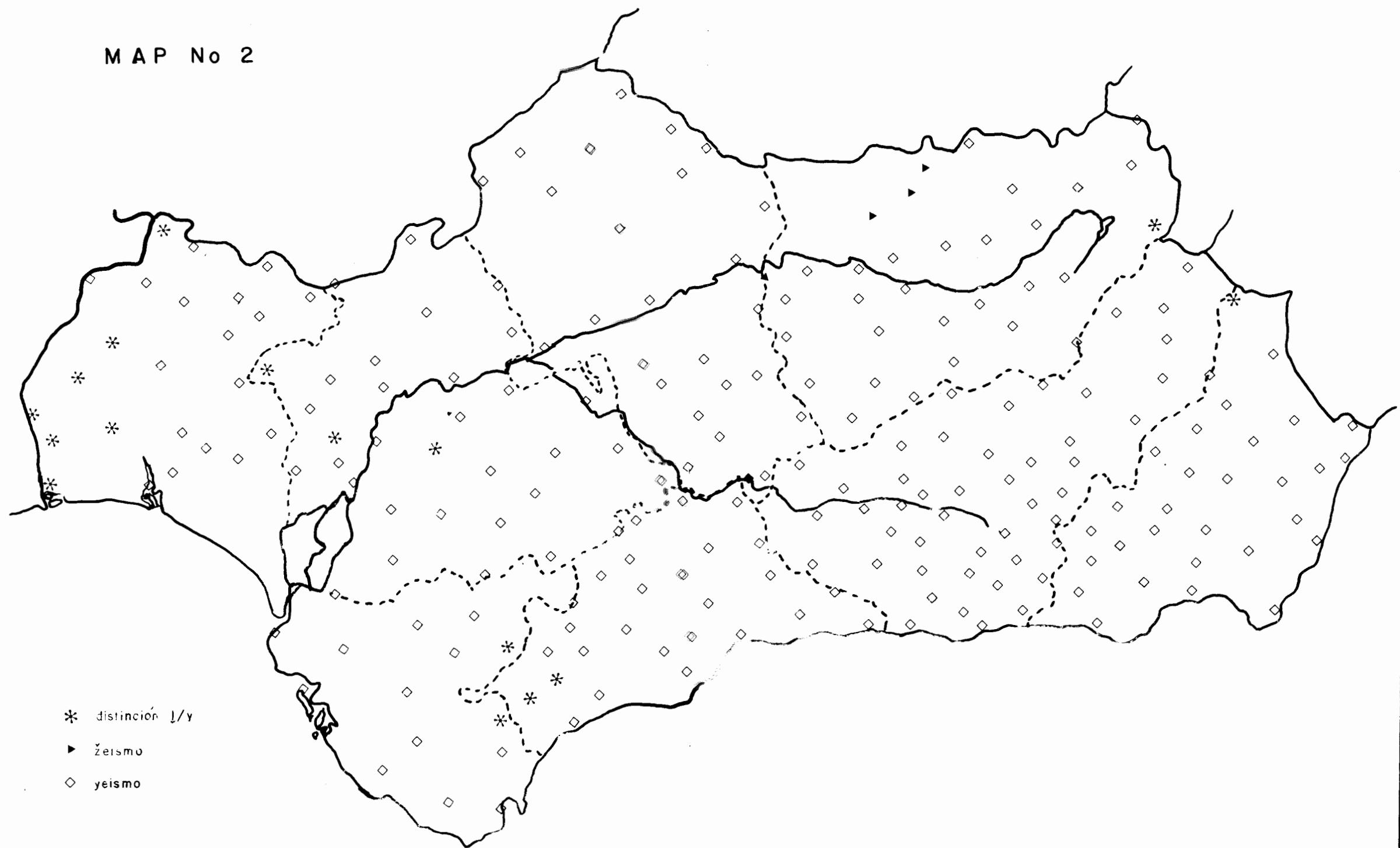
18)"Esta diferencia de la s y la distinción o confusión de s y z son sin duda los hechos más importantes y calificados para servir de base a la delimitación geográfica entre el castellano y el andaluz." Navarro Tomás, Espinosa, Rodríguez-Castellano, op.cit. p. 226

19) 20) and 21) For definitions of terms see chapter 1.6

MAP No 1



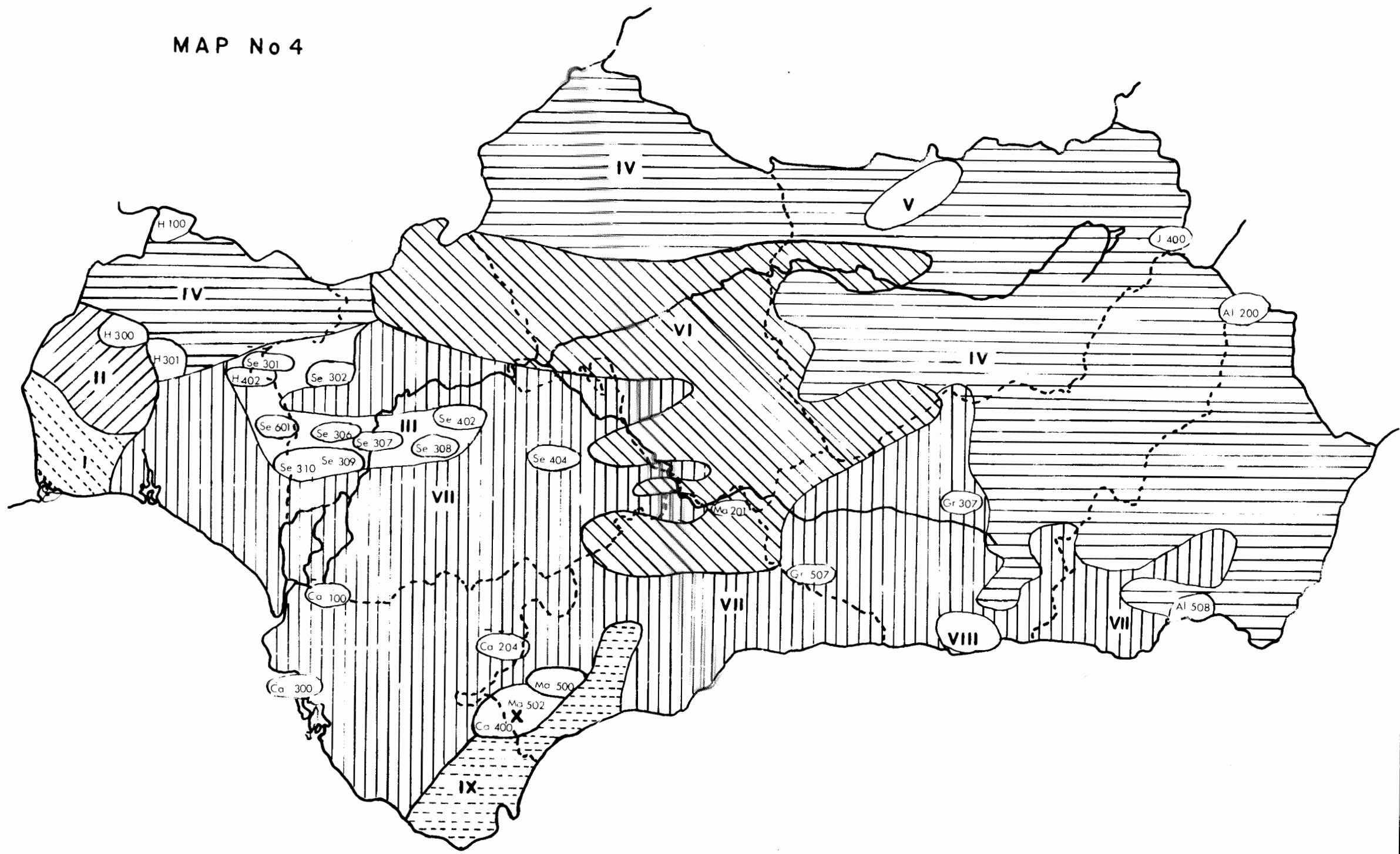
MAP No 2



MAP No 3



MAP No 4



On the basis of an overlay map (map no 4) 10 main regions can be distinguished which combine the following features:

I) "ceceo" ; "distinción" y/ʒ ; ſ̄

II) "seseo" ; "distinción" y/l̄ ; ſ̄

III) a very heterogenous area around Sevilla which is basically ceceante and varies in the other features.

IV) "distinción" s/θ ; "yeismo" ; ſ̄

This area covers large parts of the North and the North-East of Andalucía.

V) "distinción" s/θ ; "yeismo" ; ſ̄

VI) "seseo" ; "yeismo" ; ſ̄

A central zone between zones IV) and VII)

VII) "ceceo" ; "yeismo" ; ſ̄

This area covers large parts of the South

VIII) "ceceo" ; "yeismo" ; ȳ

IX) "ceceo" ; "yeismo" ; ſ̄

X) "ceceo" ; "distinción" y/l̄ ; ſ̄

Within the larger areas, there are communities where the speech differs from that of the dialectal region they geographically belong to. They are:

Encinasola (Huelva 100): "distinción" s/θ ; "distinción" y/l̄ ; ſ̄

Cabezas Rubias (Huelva 300): " " "

Calañas (Huelva 301): "distinción" s/θ ; "yeismo" ; ſ
 La Lentejuela (Sevilla 404): "ceceo" ; "yeismo" ; ſ
 Santiago de la Espada (Jaén 400) : "distinción" s/θ; "distinción" y/l ; ſ
 Topares (Almería 200): "distinción" s/θ; "distinción" y/l ; ſ
 Almería (Almería 508): "distinción" s/θ; "yeismo" ; ſ
 Guadix (Granada 406): "ceceo" ; "yeismo" ; ſ
 Quentar (Granada 307): "ceceo" ; "yeismo" ; ſ
 Ventas de Zafarraya (Granada 507): "distinción" s/θ; "yeismo" ; ſ
 Villa Nueva de Algaidas (Málaga 201): "seseo" ; "distinción" y/l ; ſ
 Benaoçaz (Cádiz 204) "ceceo" ; "distinción" y/l ; ſ
 Cádiz (Cádiz 300): "seseo" ; "yeismo" ; ſ
 Trebujena (Cádiz 100): "ceceo" ; "yeismo" ; ſ

3.3 EARLIER MAPS AND THE ALEA

It is interesting to compare the derived dialectological regions
 based on the ALEA with the groupings of earlier studies in the field.
 The geographical distribution of the "distinción" s/θ , "seseo"
 and "ceceo" according to the ALEA is essentially the same as that

22)

22) Navarro Tomás, Espinosa, Rodríguez-Castellano: op. cit. henceforth referred to by title or first author and: Zamora Vicente, A.: Dialectología Española, Madrid 1967 henceforth referred to by author

shown on the maps "Pronunciación de 's' y 'z' en Andalucía"²³⁾ and "Algunos límites fonéticos del andaluz"²⁴⁾. The differences in the shape of the borderlines²⁵⁾ and additional islands is due to the different net density of the three maps. The study of Navarro T. is based on a much larger number of communities than that of the ALEA. Zamora Vicente indicates only a few communities, mostly those near the borders or isles within another area.

In Granada the community "Ventas de Zafarraya" (Granada 507 in the ALEA) lies within the area of "seseo" according to the ALEA but within the area of "ceceo" in "La Frontera del Andaluz" and "Dialectología Española".

Slight differences can also be seen in the extension of "ceceo" and "distinción s/θ" around Almería (capital): Navarro T. marks the capital as "seseante", the region to the West and North West as "distinción s/θ" and East, North and South-East as "ceceo menos general" (not generalized "ceceo")²⁶⁾. Zamora Vicente marks the whole area as "ceceo no intenso ni generalizado"²⁷⁾ ("Ceceo" neither intense nor generalized) including the capital. The ALEA coincides

23) Navarro Tomás,: op. cit. p. 260/261

24) Zamora Vicente: op. cit. p. 308/309

25) The term isogloss will be avoided here, as the author feels that it is not appropriate. An isoline in its basic mathematical and geographical meaning, is a line that links points of equal values. A group of isolines artificially marks steps in a continuum. It is therefore possible to interpolate between two such lines. The isogloss does not fulfil this criterion.

26) Navarro T.; op. cit. p. 260/261

27) Zamora Vicente: op. cit. p. 308/309

with Navarro T. as far as the capital itself is concerned and a more extended area - up to Berja (Almeria 507) in the East and Gergal (Almeria 302) in the North - as fluctuating between "distinción" and "ceceo". San Jose (Almería 602) is already situated in the "distinción" area in the ALEA.

Thus it can roughly be said that the belt of "distinción s/θ" (IV) occupies the North and East of the province - except for a smaller area in Sevilla where the "seseo" reaches the northern border of Andalucia - the "seseo" (VI) acts as zone of separation between the "distinción s/θ" and the "ceceo" (VII) in the center of Andalucía, and the "ceceo" (VII) extends throughout the South leaving the greater part of Almería and Granada to the "distinción s/θ" (IV); this is also the only area where the "ceceo" (VII) and the "distinción s/θ" (IV) have common limits.

3.4 ANDALUSIAN SIBILANTS

Apart from the "confusion" [s] and [θ] , another important characteristic of the Andalusian dialect is the articulation of [s] :

"Esta diferencia de la s y la distinción o confusión de s y z son sin duda hechos más importantes y calificados para servir de base a la delimitación geográfica entre el castellano y el andaluz"²⁸⁾

28) Navarro T.: op. cit. p. 226

Two main kinds may be distinguished according to Navarro T. and Zamora V.:

- "s" coronal plana : articulated "entre los incisivos superiores y los alvéolos, con la lengua plana" 29)
- "s" predorsal convexa : "la más extrema y característica ... que se articula con el ápice en los incisivos inferiores y con la lengua convexa" 30)

A third kind appears in the North of Córdoba, East/North-East of Jaen, Granada and Almería. This is an s "ápico alveolar cóncava" which is close to that found in Castilian. As Zamora V. states:

"Este tipo de s cercano al castellano solamente aparece en los lugares andaluces que practican la distinción entre s y θ" 31)

The maps of Navarro T. as well as those of Zamora V. show that there is a relationship between these three kinds of 's' and "distinción s/θ", "seseo" and "ceceo". No detailed discussion will be given here, especially as no comparison can be made with any map based on the geographical distribution of 's' sounds in the ALEA. M. Alvar differentiates eleven types of 's', five of which appear more frequently and no decision can be made which ones can be eliminated in favour of a broader phonetic transcription so as to obtain a number closer to the three mentioned above. Only on this basis a thorough comparison would be possible. Some comments shall however be added here.

29) Zamora V.: op. cit. p. 288

30) ibid.

31) ibid. p. 299

The "s coronal plana" extends over the greatest part of the province with no sharp limits with the "ápico alveolar"; Navarro T. expresses it as follows:

"Es tránsito de una a otra forma ... ocurre a través de lugares en que conviven ambos tipos de s, juntos con variantes intermedias de dudosa y vacilante impresión." 32)

A closer relationship obtaines between the "s predorsal" and the ceceo. This kind is found in the South of Andalucía in the zone where the "ceceo" is well established. It might appear contradictory to talk about "s predorsal" in an area where "ceceo" is predominant. But the articulation of the sibilant in the "ceceo" zone is very close to that of the "s predorsal" where according to Navarro T. it is often difficult to decide if a speaker uses one or the other.

"Hay que tener en cuenta que el ceceo andaluz ni se ajusta a un sonido tan unifrome como el de la θ castellana, ni se sirve precisamente de este sonido como forma principal.

En la mayor parte de los casos el ceceo andaluz se produce con articulación coronal, sin que el ápice de la lengua se situe entre los dientes y sin que la fricación ocurra exactamente en el filo de los incisivos superiores. La corona lingual se estrecha contra la parte más baja de la cara de dichos incisivos, elevándose en forma más of menos convexa, de la cual participa también el predorso, y el ápice entretanto forma contacto con los dientes inferiores.

Hay escasísima diferencia, como se ve, entre esta clase de ceceo y la articulación de la s predorsal o coronopredorsal" 33)

A look at the corresponding area in the ALEA seems to contradict the above statement, as only a sibilant classified as "interdental" with other secondary features i.e. "dento-interdental", "semisonora" etc. appears in the corresponding area.

32) Navarro T....: op. cit. p. 268

33) ibid. p. 269/70

CHAPTER IV: THE VARIETY OF EL MADROÑO, SEVILLA 301

4.1 VOWELS

4.1.1 FRONT VOWELS

[i] - [hkk] [ri^{h k} kɔ] 'rock'

[i] [ri^{h k} kā:] 'rocky hill'

[i] -# [landi] 'cowstable'

[i:] -# when stressed [baři:] 'two handled water jug'

[i:] [baři^t:] 'cask'

[i] - [n] # [hogə rɪŋ] 'hearth'

[ɪ] [kabə nɪ^ŋ] 'farmer's boy'

[ɪ] in unstressed position [máktna] 'harrow'

[i] elsewhere

in stressed or unstressed
position

[gabílə] 'gavel unbound sheaf'
[imbjé^{h n} nɔ] 'winter'

[e] -[h] [bjěhɔ] 'old'

[kře^{h i} tə lač] 'crown crested cock'

-[u]+C [kwe^u nɔ ebenač] 'cow having horns turned strongly upward'

-[l] [kore^l 1ɛ] 'to cover a goat'

-[i] [peínə] 'comb'

[e] [ř]- [řesobá:] 'to knead' [řenkálɔ] 'lamb having one testicle
concealed'

[ɛ] -[ř] [séranc] 'highlander' [θerá:] 'to lock'

- | | | |
|-----|-----------|---|
| [ə] | elsewhere | in unstressed positions [otúbra] 'october' |
| [e] | | in stressed or unstressed positions [telére] 'plough-pin' [θenəfɪs] 'land kept in reserve' |

4.1.2 CENTRAL VOWELS

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------|---------------|----------------------|
| [ə] | -[h]+ V | [atah e iθɔ̃] | 'corn loft' |
| | -back vowel | [θaukɔ̃] | 'elder' |
| | -[h]+ C | [ka'hkɔ̃] | 'division of walnut' |

Note: [mo̞̚tāhe] 'groves in the yoke to take the straps'

- | | | | |
|--------|--------|---------------|-------------------------------|
| [a] | -nasal | [kandɪlón] | 'oil-beetle' |
| [˜a] | | [mæmə nton] | 'motherless lamb' |
| | | [mänóple] | 'fingerstalls of the reapers' |

- | | | | |
|------|--------------------------------|---------|-------------------|
| [a:] | -# when stressed | [θaga:] | 'young shepherd' |
| [ə:] | | [kola:] | 'to leach' |
| [a] | -# when stressed or unstressed | [pila:] | 'drinking trough' |

- | | |
|------|--|
| [a:] | in stressed position [há:še] 'axe' |
| [ə] | elsewhere in unstressed position [aʊdəbɪlə] 'latch' |
| [a] | in stressed or unstressed position [saʊ mwére] 'brine' [amɔ:kaflo] 'weeder' |

4.1.3 BACK VOWELS

- | | | | |
|------|---------|-------------|---------------|
| [q̪] | -[r]+ C | [kodq̪əní:] | 'quail' |
| | -[h]+ C | [dɔhnílc̪] | 'rain puddle' |

[o] -[h] [t̪ohá'] 'swampy land'
 [d̪oh'] 'two'

[ɔ] [r̪opér̪o] 'wardrobe'
 [gařót̪a] 'cudgel'

[o] -[n]# [m̪ám̪g n̪tóň] 'motherless lamb'

[ɔ] [θur̪oň] 'shepherd's pouch'

[o] -[ř] [θóře] 'fox'

[ɔ] [kašóřo] 'young wolf'

[o] [pitořə a:] 'woodpecker'

[ɔ] -# when unstressed [bjé'ugɔ] 'winnow-fork'

[ɔ] [bařt̪éšɔ] 'fallow land'

[ɔ] elsewhere in unstressed position [pelɔt̪ílɛ] 'gull nut of the oak tree'

[o] elsewhere [bółɔ] 'bread baked from scraps of dough'

[ɔ] [bóbit̪e] 'hoopoe'

[ø] in unstressed positions [al uθéme] 'lavender'

[u] in all stressed and unstressed positions [ar̪umjač] 'landslide'
 [palčdu] 'liquorice'
 [θařúđe] 'pigsty'

[u] v- [maul̪a] 'to mew'

4.2. VOWEL GROUPS

4.2.1 VOWEL + SEMIVOWEL

[eɪ] [peɪnə] 'comb'

[aɪ] [labáɪ^hnə] 'pod'

[au] [maʊ̯lə] 'to mew'

4.2.2 SEMIVOWEL + VOWEL

[je] [θjén̩], 'mire'

[ja] [nórjɛ] 'drew well'

[ju] [pjuhá] 'piece of land given by farmer to foreman as part of wages'

[we] [saɪmʷere] 'brine'

[wa] [eŋhwaga:] 'to rinse'

4.2.3 VOWEL + VOWEL

[iu] [liúdɛ] 'yeast'

[ia] [aθandíp] 'watermelon'

[io] [anədís] 'a drop extra for good measure'

[ea] [poləa] 'porridge'

[ao] [prenáɔ] 'corn about to tassel'

4.3. CONSONANTS

4.3.1 BILABIALS

[p] # [pi^pe] 'seeds of the grape'
 V-V

-C [as^pla:] 'to blow'

C- [r^pempaga:] 'to lighten'

[b] # [ba^br^b:] 'cask'
 nasal- [karamb^bng] 'icicle'

[b] V-V [abéne] 'oats'
 -C [bárbe] 'cock wattles'
 C- [f^bebré^b] 'February'

[m] # [móθ^m] 'steady farm labourer'
 V-V [tám^m] 'chaff'
 -C [imbje^mn^m] 'winter'

4.3.2 LABIODENTAL

[φ] # [φoráha] 'forage'
 V-V [loφwéλə] 'bellows'

- [f] v-v [afiléɔ̄] 'knife grinder'
 -c [refrətkā] 'to extinguish furnace'
 c- [alfilérérɔ̄] 'pin-cushion'

- [m] -f [mãmfrotite] 'hermaphrodite lamb'

4.3.3. INTERDENTAL

- [θ] # [θeɪks] 'halo'
 v-v [kruθā] 'to plough a second time'
 c- [θenθiɔ̄] 'land kept in reserve'

- [θ] # [θuró̄n] 'shepherd's pouch'
 v-v [erjáθɔ̄] 'unploughed land'

- [ð] v-v [a.mchadilə] 'small pillow'
 -c [pjédre] 'flint'
 c- [a'bərdón] 'pads of pack-saddle'

- [n] -θ [θenθiɔ̄] 'land kept in reserve'

4.3.4 DENTAL

- [t] # [támɔ̄] 'chaff'
 v-v [kapita] 'town'
 -c [elétrankə] 'to bar a door'
 c- [ponjéntə] 'west wind'

- [d] # [dø'nilɔ] 'rain-puddle'
 nasal- [bendr̩ba:] 'strong wind'

- [n] -dental C [antje] 'the day before yesterday'

- [h] -dental C [sjéh̩te] 'afternoon nap'

4.3.5 ALVEOLAR

- [s] # [sembrá] 'to broadcast seed'
 V-V [repres̩] 'water stagnated'
 C- [ensæta] 'to thread the needle'

Note: [s] in: [sahóna] 'chaparejos' (U.S.A.)

- [t] -C [atpénda] 'shed'
 [t] -C [pa:t̩iɔ] 'summer pasture'

- [k] -n [æk:k̩nóka] 'cork tree'

- [n] -n [ha:nérɔ] 'sieve, sifter'

- [h̩] -n [θe:h̩nérɔ] 'leach cloth'

- [r] V-V [báre] 'pole of beating down the olives'
 C- [présə] 'diversion dam'
 -C [arkɔ] 'rain-bow'

- [r̄] #- [Faerɔ] 'strickle'
 V-V [páre] 'grape vines'

- [l] #- [lab!hérɔ] 'peghole in beam'
 V-V [ohalámbra] 'hole in the centre of the yoke'
 -C [alpéndə] 'shed'
 C- [nublaç] 'cloudy sky'

- [n] #- [núba] 'cloud(s)'
 V-V [graniθɔ] 'hail'
 -alveolar C mānsɔ 'bell-ram'
 C- [kwé̃nɔ] e bénáç 'cow having horns turned strongly upward'

4.3.6 PALATAL

- [y] #- [yunta:] 'to yoke'
 V-V [mayɔra:] 'head shepherd'

Note: [ŷ] in: [yɛ̃kɔ] 'touchwood'
 [ŷ] in: [poŷɔ] 'sink'

[^š] #- [šoſerr̩] 'ravine'

V-V [roſč̩] 'slope'

C- [kóuſč̩] 'beehive'

Note: [^š] in [piňſč̩] 'spit'

[^š] in [ſiſter̩] 'white French beans'

[^š] in [paþúſč̩] 'mud'

[l] #- [luþje] 'rain'

V-V [kaméla] 'bow of the yoke'

[n] V-V [retońč̩] 'brushwood'

-palatal C [trónjč̩] 'saltwort'

[j] -V [nórje] 'draw-well'

4.3.7 VELAR

[k] #- [koθweļč̩] 'corn left in husk by threshers'

V-V [amɔkaſla] 'weeder, small weedhook'

-C [aklpra] 'to clear up'

C- [árko] "arco iris" 'rain-bow'

[g] #- [gaþile] 'unbound sheaf'

nasal- [saŋ!hwéļč̩] 'leech'

- [g] V-V [bodeg'^ge] 'pantry'
 -C [binágrə] 'sharp sourish wine'
 C- [ar g oy^ge] 'rings of girth'

- [ŋ] -velar C [bařankɔ] 'brook'
 -# [heřgoň] 'straw mattress'
 [w] -V [saumwérə] 'brine'

4.3.8 FARINGEAL

- [h] V-V [lař:hérɔ] 'peghole in beam'
 [h] # [θař'úđe] 'pigsty'

- [h] #- [habáto] 'wild boar'
 -C [bařtəřář'hl̩lɔ] 'to break up new ground'
 C- [enhwařga] 'to rinse'

- [h] [-n] [imbjeř'hňnɔ] 'winter'

4.4 CONSONANT GROUPS

4.4.1 "LICUANTE LIQUIDA"

- [pr] [pre'se] 'diversion dam'
 [pl] [asɔpla:] 'to blow'
 [tr] [eletránke] 'to bar a door'
 [kr] [kra'h^ttaláɔ] 'crown crested cock' |kl| | klarɔ| 'clear sky'
 [br] [yébrérɔ] 'february'
 [bl] [nublaʃ] 'cloudy sky'
 [dr] [pjédre] 'flint'
 [gr] [graniθɔ] 'hail'
 [fr] [řefrška] 'to extinguish furnace'
 [fl] [am;kafla] 'weeder, small weedhook'

4.4.2 NASAL + C(C)

- [mp] [řeləmpagea:] 'to lighten'
 [nt] [ponjénta] 'west wind'
 [nk] [salamánkesɛ] 'gecko'
 [mb] [karambənɔ] 'icicle'
 [mbr] [sembráʃ] 'to seed'
 [nd] [bendzba:] 'strong wind'
 [ŋg] [sang! hwéla] 'leech'

[nθ] [θənθɪc] 'land kept in reserve'

[ns] [mãnsɔ̄] 'bell ram'

[ŋh] [ənhwag̚ a:] 'to rinse'

[ns̊] [trɔ̄n̊sɔ̄] 'saltwort'

4.4.3 [u], [r] + C

[rt] [portá] 'gateway of an enclosed property'

[rk] [arkɔ̄ fr̊] 'rain bow'

[rb̊] [arb̊ə ak̊r̊] 'sweet basil'

[rd̊] [a rd̊ə d̊ɔ̄n̊] 'pads of pack-saddle'

[rg̊] [arg̊ō y p̊] 'rings of girth'

[uθ] [mu uθjē f̊r̊lō] 'bat'

[us̊] [kɔ̄ u s̊ɔ̄] 'beehive'

[um̊] [a um̊ə h̊ē d̊il̊ē] 'small pillow'

[un̊] [kɔ̄ u net̊r̊] 'stag beetle'

4.4.4 ¹ u +C

[¹ p̊] [a ¹ pend̊ə] 'shed'

[¹ k] [a ¹ kofif̊ē] 'floor washing rag'

[¹ m̊] [a ¹ m̊ə h̊ad̊ē] 'pillow'

[¹ n̊] [tab̊ē ¹ nē] 'tavern'

[¹ l̊] [es̊a ¹ l̊ə una ka ¹ uθr̊] 'to forge a new cutting edge for a worn sheer'

4.4.5 [χ] + C

[χn] [haχnérχ] 'sieve'

4.4.6 [χ̄] + C

[χ̄n] [θeχ̄nérχ] 'leach cloth'

4.4.7 [χ̄] + C

[χ̄n] [aχ̄kɔχ̄nóka] 'cork-tree'

4.4.8 [l] + C

[lp] [alpéndə] /shed/

[lf] [alfile rérχ] 'pin cushion'

[lm] [almja] 'stack'

4.4.9 [h] + C(C₂)
(where C₁=C₂)

[hpp] [rəχ̄párdχ] 'cavern'

[ht] [eχ̄tá sχ̄pɔχ̄hándχ] 'to fruit'

[h t̄] [rəχ̄t̄talχ̄réχ̄] 'snapper'

[hk] [deχ̄kwɔχ̄ha] 'to eradicate'

[hkk] [eχ̄k̄k̄k̄empa:] 'to clear up'

- [hm] [ɛ̄ mər̄χa:] 'to prune olive trees'
- [hn] [trehn̄er̄c] 'stack of sheaves'
- [hnn] [imbjɛ̄ h̄n̄n̄] 'winter'
- [hll] [bɔ̄ 'h̄l̄l̄ɛ̄] 'unsheared wool'

4.4.7 $c_1 + c_2$
 (where $c_1 = c_2$)

- [pp] [abi p̄per̄ɔ̄] 'wasp's nest'
- [kk] [ka'k̄k̄ɔ̄] 'division of orange'

CHAPTER V: THE VARIETY OF BERROCAL, HUELVA 402

5.1 VOWELS

5.1.1 FRONT VOWELS

[i] - [i] [di^h pa̠sta:] 'to awake'

- [u] [lu̠d̩e] 'yeast'

Note: [ab^h pér̩o] 'wasp's nest'

[i] - [i] [peš̩ a riŋ] 'apron of reaper'

[i] [kolɔ̠ ri^h də pér̩o] 'dog rose'

[i] elsewhere in unstressed positions [makiñe] 'harrow'

[i:] elsewhere in stressed positions [e^h pi:nɔ] 'white thorn'

[i] elsewhere in stressed or
unstressed positions [giñeɔ] 'pumpkin'

[ortige] 'nettle'

[e] - [e] [e^h pi:nɔ] 'white thorn'

- [h]+ C [tabe^hn̩n̩] 'tavern'

- [r]+ C [berdóna] 'green bird'

[ə] in unstressed positions b. mw̩uto "bicho muerto", 'carrion'

Note: [peu d̩igonsiyc] 'young partridge'
[ibjéu nɔ] 'winter'

- [e] [r̚]- [r̚egá̚tə] 'irrigation channel' [r̚ebá̚s̚ə] 'fine bran'
 [e] -[r̚] [b̚eर̚á̚a:] 'to bleat' [senseर̚ɔ] 'wide mothed cattle bell'
 -[h] [d̚eʰ a'] 'to clear up' [treʰy̚ntje] 'the day before yesterday'

- [e] -[n] [ens̚ə ñdérɔ] 'vent'
 [e] [a ñmén̚d̚re] 'kernel of a stone'

Note: [éhám̚bre] 'swarm'

- [e:] elsewhere in stressed positions [ens̚ə ñdérɔ] 'vent'
 [e] elsewhere in unstressed positions [terə ñsít̚ə] 'praying cricket'
 [e] elsewhere in stressed or unstressed positions [sem̚iyérɔ] 'nursery garden'

5.1.2 CENTRAL VOWELS

- [a] -[h] [aʰə ñs̚á̚] 'to sieve'
 -[o] [sob̚ə rác̚] 'corn-loft, trunk'

- [a] -[hk] [káʰk̚kɔ] 'division of orange'
 [damáʰ kɔ] 'apricot'
 [a] -[hl] [éñhw̚e gaʰl̚e] 'to rinse'
 [limpjaʰl̚ɔ] 'to prune olive trees'

- [a:] -# when stressed [suʰata:] 'to cut off water'
 [a] [pilá] 'drinking trough'
 [e] -# when unstressed [garjóte] 'gull nut of the oak tree'

- [a] -nasal C [mãmfl̚ɔ rit̚ɔ] 'hermaphrodite lamb'
 [éhám̚bre] 'swarm'
 [á] [al̚v kráñ] 'scorpion'

- [e] elsewhere when unstressed [agw̚er̚e] 'pack-saddle for carrying pitchers'
 [a] elsewhere in stressed or unstressed positions [amárg̚ɔ] 'bitter almond tree'
 [maróh̚ɔ] 'leaf of a pine'

5.1.3. BACK VOWELS

[ø] -[r]+ C [s-a kɔ̄taɔ̄] 'sour milk'

[o] [nó̄ute] 'north wind'

-[r] [só̄řɔ̄] 'fox'
[fó̄rahə] 'forage'

[o] -[h]+ C [kōh̄ tā] 'flour bin'

-[rg] [gɔ̄rgɔ̄ ritə] 'water bubble'

[o] [bāh̄ tidō] 'comb'

-# when stressed [aperəō:] 'farm overseer'

[ɔ̄] [raéřɔ̄] 'strickle'

-# when unstressed [košwélō] 'corn left in husk by threshers'

[ɔ̄] |-# [melɔ̄ kɔ̄tɔ̄] 'peach'

[ɔ̄] elsewhere in unstressed positions [asɔ̄plā] 'to blow'

[ō] elsewhere in stressed or
unstressed positions [trómpɛ] 'snout'
[topřněř] 'hole through which the
water is lost'

[ū] v- [maulā:] 'to mew'

[ū] elsewhere in unstressed positions [enáline] 'fog'

[ū] elsewhere in stressed or
unstressed positions [krusá̄] 'to plough a second time'
[alúbjɛ] 'white French beans'

5.2 Vowel groups

5.2.1 Vowel + Semivowel

[ai] [paɪnə] 'comb'

[au] [maʊla:] 'to mew'

5.2.2. Semivowel + Vowel

[je] [sjenɔ] 'mire'

[ja] [norjə] 'draw well'

[jo] [húnjɔ] 'june'

[we] [saumwérə] 'brine'

[wa] [ɛ'hwega'lə] 'to rinse'

5.2.3 Vowel + Vowel

[iu] [ljuðə] 'yeast'

[ia] [anspndíə] 'watermelon'

[io] [hed!oŋdɔ] 'ground elder'

[ea] [poləq] 'porridge'

[ao] [tiráɔ] 'to broadcast seed'

[oa] [aumjádə] 'small pillow'

5.3 Consonant

5.3.1 Bilabial

- [p] # - [pa'pe] 'grape vines'
 V-V [kópɔ denjeba] 'snow flake'
 -C [asopla] 'to blow'
 C- [relampagea] 'to lighten'

- [b] # - [ba'bɛsɔ] 'fallow land'
 nasal-[embarayá?] 'sky covered with film of clouds'

- [b] V-V [abénɔ] 'oats'
 -C [febrérɔ] 'february'
 C- [a'bɛakɔ] 'sweet basil'

- [m] # - [mán'h'erɔ] 'foreman'
 V-V [tamɔ] 'chaff'
 -C [relampagea] 'to lighten'
 C- [amɔdɔ] 'small pillow'

5.3.2 Labiodental

- [f] # - [fweyə] 'bellows'
 V-V [a'gɔfifɔ] 'floor washing rag'
 -C [mãflɔritɔ] 'hermaphrodite lamb'
 C-

- [ɸ] #- [fwe̚ntə] 'dish, platter'
 V-V [unr'aukētə] 'winnow-fork'

- [m] -f [mãmfłɔritɔ] 'hermaphrodite lamb'

5.3.3 Interdental

- [t] V-V [gráde] 'front-door step'
 -C- [buháu ðə] 'air holes'
 -C- [padrə] ("burro padre") 'stallion jackass'

5.3.4 Dental

- [t] #- [tamɔ] 'chaff'
 V-V [kapita] 'town'
 -C [bútre] 'vulture'
 C- [sorta] 'to unyoke'

- [d] #- [di h pə̚ta:] 'to awake'
 nasal- [redóndɔ] ("pan redondo") 'cob'

- [n] ~dental C [ponjénta] 'west wind'

- [h] ~dental C [ko h ta] 'flour bin'

5.3.5 Alveolar

- [s] # [sem̪bra'] 'to seed'
 V-V [hasíne] 'stack of sheaves'
 C- [ganséle] 'gateway of an enclosed property'

- [s] # [sobəraʃ] 'corn-loft'
 V-V [reboʃ] 'a drop extra for good measure'
 C- [asa'] 'to rough plough'

Note: [s] 'in' [ase'gə] 'saltwort'

[t] -C [at̪o yanə] 'ground peanut'

[t̪] -C [at̪egɔfifə] 'floor washing rag'

[t̪] -h [seʌnəerɔ] 'leach cloth'

[t̪] -h [hæn̪erɔ] 'sieve'

- [r] V-V [bárə] 'pole of beating down the olives'
 -C [argoye] 'rings of girth'
 C- [padre] ("burro padre") 'stallion jackass'

[r] #- [raérɔ] 'strickle'
 V-V [páre] 'grape vines'

[l] #- [lab! hérɔ] 'peghole in beam'
 V-V [holámbra] 'hole in the centre of the yoke'
 C- [klärɔ] 'clear sky'

[n] #- [núba] 'cloud(s)'
 V-V [enəlinɛ] 'fog'
 -alveolar C [panředondɔ] 'cob'
 C- [kodɔ̃ní] 'quail'

5.3.6 Prepalatal

[s̪] #- [s̪í̄ p̪ɔ] 'thunderbolt'
 V-V [ras̪a] 'to chink'
 C- [pínšɔ] 'spit'

5.3.7 Palatal

[y] #- [yuɳta] 'to yoke'
 V-V [a ɿ̄ tesiyɛ] 'mortar bed'

[y] V-V [mãmey̩] 'mammillas on the neck of goats'

Note: ſ̩ in [primiſ̩e] 'kestrel'
y in [yé h̩ ke] 'touchwood'

[ſ̩] #- [ſim a ne̩] 'hearth'

V-V [kuk e rás̩] 'cockroach'

C- [konſ̩e] 'shell'

[n] V-V [puna̩] 'bundle of handfuls'

-palatal C [konſ̩e] 'shell'

[j] -v [sjénɔ] 'mire'

5.3.8 Velar

[k] #- [košwélc] 'husk, chaff'

V-V [bwékɔ] 'space between beams'

-C [al e kráŋɔ] 'scorpion'

C- [se'ukɔ] 'halo'

[g] #- [gab̩ y érc] 'gavel, unbound sheaf'

nasal- [fan̩gɔ] 'mud'

- [g] V-V [hamú'g̊] 'side-saddle for women'
 -C- [argóyə] 'rings of girth'
 -C- [ágryc̥] 'sharp sourish wine'

- [ŋ] -velar C [fángɔ̥] 'mud'
 -# [filón] 'rocky hill'

- [w] -V [sḁmwer̥] 'brine'

5.3.9 Faringeal

- [h] #- [hunjɔ̥] 'june'
 V-V [lab̥:herɔ̥] 'peghole in beam'
 -C [e^h kw̥ e^h a^h] 'to eradicate'

Note: [h] in [wanítɔ̥] 'mag-pie' and in fən̥s kwa^hɔ̥ 'spawn'

- [h̥] -nasal C [d̥q̥ t̥q̥ n̥ɔ̥] 'ferrules for attaching beam to seath'

5.4. Consonant Groups

5.4.1 "Licuante Líquida"

- [pr] [préṣə] 'diversion dam'
- [pl] [asopla] 'to blow'
- [tr] [trónkə] 'big log'
- [kr] [kruga:] 'to plough a second time'
- [kl] [klare] ('clara del día') 'dawn'
- [br] [febrérɔ] 'february'
- [bl] [redəblō] 'groove roof-tile facing downwards'
- [dr] [pjédre] 'flint'
- [gr] [granisɔ] 'hail'
- [fr] [fəfrə̚ ka] 'to extinguish furnace'
- [fl] [mãmflo rítɔ] 'hermaphrodite lamb'

5.4.2 Nasal + C(C)

- [mp] [fɛlə̚ mpagə̚ a] 'to lighten'
- [mpl] [kaptimplóre] 'two handled water jug'
- [pt] [ponjéntə] 'west wind'
- [nk] [salam̩g nkrésə] 'gecko'
- [mb] [embarə̚ na̚] 'sky covered with film of clouds'
- [mbr] [lumbrə] 'threshhld'
- [nd] [bendeo:] 'pedlar'
- [ng] [sangisweler] 'leech'

- [ns] [gæŋsɛlɛ] 'gateway of an enclosed property'
- [n̩s] [kɔnsɛ] 'shell'
- [n̩s] [pɪnsɔ] 'spit'
- [nh] [ɛ ɿ hwə ga'hlɪp] 'to rinse'
- [nr] [panředondɔ] 'cob'

5.4.3 [ɹ], [r] + C

- [rp] [saapɛ] 'dirt'
- [rt] [soɹ taɹ] 'to unyoke'
- [rk] [árkɔ] ("arko iri") 'rainbow'
- [řk] [aɹbəákɛ] 'sweet basil'
- [rd] [eɿ kɛɹdə] 'to weed cornfields'
- [rg] [argoys] 'rings of girth'
- [rs] [moɹ sjelɛgo] 'bat'
- [řs] [koɹ řɔ] 'beehive'
- [rm] [aɹ mɔdɛ] 'small pillow'
- [rn] [kɔdɔnř] 'quail'

5.4.4 [ɹ] + C

- [ɹg] [aɹ gɔfifɛ] 'floor washing rag'

5.4.5 \tilde{h} + C

- $\tilde{h} n$ [səɿnɛérɔ] 'leach cloth'

5.4.6 [l] + C

[n]
[l n] [h a n e r s] 'sieve'

5.4.7 [h] + C(C)

- [hp] [e^h pəu̯da'] 'bed head'
- [hpp] [e^hp^hgo^hs] 'pik' ?
- [hk] [e^hkw^ha] 'to eradicate'
- [hkk] [k^h k^h k^h] 'division of orange'
- [hl] [kol^hla] 'to leach'

5.4.8 [h] + C

[ht] [kwe^ht te] 'slope'

5.4.9 [h] + C

- [hn] [yobi^h n^h] 'drizzle'
- [hnn] [tabe^hn n^h] 'tavern'

5.4.10 C₁ + C₂ (where C₁ = C₂)

- [pp] [e^ppi:nɔ] 'white thorn'
- [ll] [abusa^l l^lɔ] 'to sharpen the plough-share'

CHAPTER VI: THE VARIETY OF PATERNA DEL CAMPO, HUELVA 601

6.1 VOWELS

6.1.1 FRONT VOWELS

- [i] -[r̩] [irgerɔ] 'goldfinch'
 -[l̩]# [paθɛ̄l̩] 'drying of fruit'
 -[l̩] [yɛ̄l̩] 'small cherry'

- [i] -nasal [ɛ̄pínc] 'white thorn' [limɔ̄nérɔ] 'beggar'
 [i] [imbje'hñnc] 'winter' [komínits] 'a drop extra for good measure'

- [i] v- [peínə] 'comb'

- [i:] elsewhere in stressed positions [peri:tɔ] 'puppy'
 [i] elsewhere in unstressed positions [labri'hérɔ] 'peghole in beam'
 [i] elsewhere in stressed or
unstressed positions [fi:hɔ] 'steady farm labourer'
 [i] [kitálɔ] 'to eradicate'

- [e] -[r̩] [berúgɔ] 'gull nut of the oak tree'
 -[i] [peínə] 'comb'
 -[h] [obe'hɔ] 'ewe' [e'háke] 'uprights of side of cart'
 -[r̩]+c [berdɔ?] 'green bird'

Note: [beθerɔ] 'calf'; [abe'hñrukɔ] 'woodpecker'; [θartəne'hɔ] 'hole through which the water is lost'; [pe'hpitite] 'white wagtail'

- [e] -[n] [θjénɔ] 'mire'
 [e] [θjé'nə] 'drizzle'

- [e:] elsewhere in stressed positions [kame:yɔ] 'bow of the yoke'
 [ə] elsewhere in unstressed positions [bínɔgaθəsθɔ] 'sharp sourish wine'

- [e] elsewhere in stressed or unstressed position [r̥egər̥iɔ̄] 'land with irrigation'
 [raér̥ɔ̄] 'strickle'

6.1.2 CENTRAL VOWELS

- [ə] -[o] [karθaɔ̄] 'animal having feet of different colour'
 -[u] [maužyā] 'to mew'
 -[ɪm] [aɪmwád̥e] 'small pillow'
 -[h]+ C [r̥aʰkéte] 'curry comb'

- [a] -[n] [mántizɔ̄] 'potter' yard'
 [ā] [maṇdi] 'apron of reaper'

- [a:] elsewhere in stressed positions [r̥egaʰhɔ̄] 'main irrigation channel'
 [ɛ] elsewhere in unstressed positions [tarɛbižyɛ] 'clack'
 [a] elsewhere in stressed [támɔ̄] 'chaff'
 or unstressed positions [kalθa:] 'to forge a new cutting edge
 for a worn share'

6.1.3 BACK VOWELS

- [ɔ̄] -[r̥] [r̥ɔ̄r̥aʰə] 'forage'
 -[h]+ V [armɔ̄ʰəd̥ižyɛ] 'pin cushion'
 -[hk] [tóʰke] 'rock'
 -[r̥]# [θoyinəɔ̄] 'utensil to sweep chimneys'
 -[r̥]+ C [tórd̥ɔ̄] 'songthrush'

Note: [kora'] 'fold'

- [ə̄] -[η]# [aī ə̄η̄] 'sting of a bee'
 [ɔ̄] [kobə̄ rtɔ̄η̄] 'woollen blanket'
 [ɔ̄] [ardə̄ bɔ̄η̄] 'knocker'

- [o:] elsewhere in stressed positions [fregə̄do:] 'sink'
 [ɔ̄] elsewhere in unstressed positions [orɔ̄ pəndɔ̄la] 'riot'
 [o] elsewhere in stressed or unstressed positions [alondre] 'sky lark'
 [broká] 'curb of a well'

Note: [konyə̄] 'shell'

- [y] -[rd] [θā h̄ yrdə̄] 'pigsty'
 [u] v- [mauyá'] 'to mew'

- [u:] elsewhere in stressed positions [nú:be] 'cloud'
 [ū] elsewhere in unstressed positions [aɸuɸa'] 'to excite dogs'
 [u] elsewhere in stressed or unstressed positions [arəɸu'] 'liquorice'
 [kuʃilə̄] 'scraper'

6.2.1 VOWEL + SEMIVOWEL

- [ɛī] [peʃne] 'comb'
 [aī] [bainə] 'pod'
 [aū] [mauyá'] 'to mew'

6.2.2 SEMIVOWEL + VOWEL

- [je] [dʒeŋə] 'mire'
- [ja] [nórgə] 'draw well'
- [jo] [medʒɔ ðírə] 'midday'
- [ju] [dʒyúdə'] 'town'
- [we] [ðarmwérrə] 'brine'
- [wa] [ɛn hwr̥ga:] 'to rinse'

6.2.3 VOWEL + VOWEL

- [ia] [mánãnt̥a'] 'swampy land'
- [io] [goři ɔ'] 'sparrow'
- [ea] [e hpl̥a'] 'porridge'
- [ao] [dobl̥a'] 'garret, loft'
- [au] [lebər̥t̥] 'yeast'
- [ua] [lanúr̥] 'sheep with coarse wool on haunches'

6.2.4 VOWEL + VOWEL + VOWEL

- [oae] [ro̥r̥ eér̥] 'cob'

6.3 CONSONANTS.

6.3.1 BILABIAL

- [p] #- [pa'p̪ɪ] 'grape vines'
 v-v [kopí:tɔ̄] 'snow flake'
 -c [platérɔ̄] 'draining-rack'
 c- [e^h kɔ̄mpa:] 'to clear up'

- [b] #- [barbeyɔ̄] ^a'fallow land'
 nasal- [komb! dá] 'a drink or meal over which a deal is clinched'

- [t] v-v [rəbə'ŋ] 'head shepherd'
 c- [barbeyɔ̄] 'fallow land'

- [m] #- [mane:rɔ̄] 'foreman'
 v-v [tamɔ̄] 'chaff'
 -c [mam^hlɔ̄ritɔ̄] 'hermaphrodite lamb'

6.3.2 ^{BI} LABIODENTAL

- [ɸ] #- [fángɔ̄] 'swampy land'
 v-v [aɸilədō:] 'knife grinder'
 -c
 c- [mam^hlɔ̄ritɔ̄] 'hermaphrodite lamb'

6.3.3 INTERDENTAL

- [θ] #- [θalérɔ] 'container for the salt'
 V-V [paθɛ̃^L] 'drying of fruit'
 C- [enθi na:] 'evergreen oak grove'

- [θ] #- [θaga'] 'young shepherd'
 V-V [baθižɔ] 'pod of chickpea'
 C- [θenθiɔ] 'land kept in reserve'

- [d] V-V [armwadɛ] 'pillow'
 -C [pjedrɔ] 'flint'
 C- [ɛ^h kɛuda'] 'to weed cornfields'

6.3.4 DENTAL

- [t] #- [tamɔ] 'chaff'
 V-V [pa:tjɔ] 'court-yard'
 -C [butrɔ] "vulture"
 C- [pɔrtɑ] 'parcel of land'

- [d] #- [di^h pɛrtɑ] 'to awake'
 nasal- [f'undɔ] 'pillow case'

[^θ] -dental C [ka]^θa:] to forge new cutting edge for a worn share

[ⁿ] -dental C [planter^r] 'nursery garden'

[^h] -dental C [e^htak^r] 'additional long uprights for carrying corn'

6.3.5 ALVEOLAR

[^z] #- [zémp^r] 'bud'

V-V [lomíz^r] 'pads of pack-saddle'

[^ɹ] -C [kwé^ɹad^r] 'cheese mould seal'

[^t] -k [at^tkay^g:rē:r^r] 'artichoke'

[^ɿ] -n [d^ɿlna'^hɔ] 'trough'

[^r] V-V [báre] 'pole of beating down the olives'

-C [pá^hurdr^r] 'pigsty'

[^ɾ] #- [raerɔ] 'strickle'

V-V [pář^r] 'grape -vines'

[^l] #- [lab! ^hérɔ] 'peghole in beam'

V-V [telér^r] plough-pin

C- [mam^hlcrítɔ] 'hermaphrodite lamb'

-# [punta'^l] 'prop, support'

[n] #-
 V-V [nebli:nɛ] 'fog'

6.3.6 PREPALATAL

[y̥] V-V [koye:rɛ] 'breast pad of mule yoke'

6.3.7 PALATAL

[y] V-V [kame:yɛ] 'bow of the yoke'

[ŷ] #-[ŷama] 'to knock at the door'

[y̪] #- [yabɛt̪ɛ] 'cotter pin'
 V-V [ey̪a] 'blade of corn'
 C- [engɛny̪a] 'to yoke'

[ŋ] V-V [p̪anc] 'table cloth'
 -palatal C [manya] 'to soil'

[j] -v [nɔ́rjɛ] 'draw-well'

6.3.8 VELAR

[k] #- [kwε̥.də] 'cheese mould seal'

v-v [kuléke] 'brooding-hen'

-c [alə.klán] 'scorpion'

c- [árko.írə] 'rain bow'

[g] #- [gɔ̥riō̥] 'sparrow'

nasal- [óngɔ̥] 'mushroom'

[g] v-v [ormigə] 'ant'

c- [bjérge] 'winnow-fork'

[ŋ] -velar c [ɛ̥ŋ hwe̥ga:] 'to rinse'

-# [boθ̥in] 'ring of the hub'

[w] -v [θ̥irwélc] 'plum-tree'

6.3.9 FARINGEAL

[h] #- [húnjɔ̥] 'june'

v-v [lað̥; hérɔ̥] 'peghole in beam'

-c [róð̥kɔ̥] 'bread baked from scraps of dough'

[h] - [n] [imbje'h̥nɔ̥] 'winter'

6.4. CONSONANT GROUPS

6.4.1 "LICUANTE LIQUIDA"

- [pr] [pre'θər] 'diversion dam'
- [pl] [planterə] 'nursery garden'
- [tr] [tránkə] 'cross bar'
- [kr] [kr!ádθ] 'maid-servant'
- [br] [fēbrer̩c] 'february'
- [bl] [tāblə] 'harrow'
- [dr] [pjédrə] 'flint'
- [gr] [graniθɔ] 'hail'
- [fɪ] [kortəfrič] 'cutting iron'
- [fɪ] [flam̩ə] 'sultry weather'

6.4.2 NASAL + C(C)

- [mp] [fəlampəgə'r] 'to lighten'
- [nt] [pənjentə] 'west wind'
- [ŋk] [atrəŋka'] 'to bar a door'
- [mb] [komb: ða'] 'a drink or meal over which a deal is clinched'
- [mbr] [umbrír] 'north side of hill'
- [nd] [fúndə] 'pillow case'
- [ŋg] [fəng: 'wélp] 'leech'

- [ŋθ] [θenθ ər̩ɔ̃] 'wide mouthed cattle bell'
 [ŋh] [θanhwā̄n̩] 'muscadine'
 [ŋȳ] [mā̄nyā] 'to soil'

6.4.3 [ɹ], [r] + C

- [rp] [karpínter̩ɔ̃] 'cartwright'
 [rt] [kort ə ɸ rɪɔ̃] 'cutting iron'
 [rk] [árkɔ̃] ("arco íreñ) 'rainbow'
 [rb] [ba:r̩bɛ̄z̄] 'cock wattles'
 [ɹd] [ē h k̄p̄udá̄] 'to weed cornfields'
 [rg] [argoýv̄] 'rings of girth'
 [ɹɸ̄] [aɹɸ̄ a'ɸ̄d̄] 'channel along which milled olives flow'
 [rθ] [mɔ̄r̄θ jé̄ḡ ə lo] 'bat'
 [rȳ] [k̄ōrȳɔ̄] 'beehive'
 [ɹm] [aɹmá̄d̄z̄] 'pillow'
 [rn] [kod̄z̄ rní:] 'quail'

6.4.4 [ɹ̄] + C

- [ɹ̄ k̄] [aɹ̄k̄aȳɔ̄ ɸ̄ ē:r̄ɛ̄] 'artichoke'

6.4.5 [ɹ̄] + C

- [ɹ̄ n̄] [d̄ōɹ̄n̄ā'h̄ɔ̄] 'trough'

6.4.6 [l]+ C

[lθ] [kalθ a:] 'to forge a new cutting edge for a worn share'

6.4.7 [h]+ C

[ht] [e^h ták^v] 'additional long uprights for carrying corn'

6.4.8 [h]+ C(C)

[hp] [e^h pərda] 'feet of a bed'

[hpp] [e^h pínɔ] 'dog-rose'

[hk] [ka'^h kɔ] 'division of orange'

[hn] [dō^hn iyɔ] 'wooden platter'

6.4.9 [h]+ C

[hn] [imbje^hn nɔ] 'winter'

6.4.10 $\begin{matrix} C & + & C \\ 1 & & 2 \end{matrix}$ (where $C = C$)

[tt] [lobi^ttɔ] 'young wolf'

[kk] [e^k kɔba:^hɔ] 'stalk of bunch of grapes'

[nn] [ŋ e "nɪ:] 'to fruit'

[ll] [məŋ e "lɪɔ] 'to rock'

CHAPTER VII: THE VARIETY OF OLIVARES, SEVILLA 306

7.1 VOWELS

7.1.1 FRONT VOWELS

[i] -[h]+vl plosive [θi'hkɔ] 'red hot coals'
 [aŋpi'htére] 'plantain'

Note: [oθi'hkɔ] 'snout'; [obihpérc] 'wasp's nest'

[i] -[η]# [habəlin] 'wild boar'

[i] [bərbikíŋ] 'brace'

[i] -# [uŋθi] 'to yoke'

[i] [légɪ] 'leggings'

[i:] elsewhere in stressed positions [lobí:tɔ] 'young wolf'

[i] elsewhere in unstressed positions [labi'férɔ] 'peghole in beam'

[i] elsewhere in stressed or
unstressed positions [pərítɔ] 'puppy'
 [pikáɔ] 'sharp sourish wine'

[e] -[h]+vl plosive [e'hpiɔ'sɛ] 'pik'
 [e'htaŋdɛ] 'to lay out corn for threshing'

-[h]+nasal [e'marc hɛ'] 'to prune'

-[h]+v [oléhɔ] 'refuse of grapes'

-[i] [gwéi] 'ox'

-[u]+c [hərgɔŋ] 'straw mattress'

Note: [de'h eθɛ] 'evergreen oak grove'

[e:] in stressed positions -[r] [θe:rɔ] 'hillock'
 -[uk] [θe:ukɔ] 'halo'

[e] in stressed or un-
stressed positions -[r] [beθe'rɔ] 'calf'
 [pərítɔ] 'puppy'

-[uk] [abə'uke] 'pool'
 [e'te'ukɔla] 'to manure'

- [e] -[n] [abéne] 'oats'
 [ẽ] [kolmén̄e] 'beehive'

- [e:] -# when stressed [körde:] 'rope attaching the "costilla" to the ends of the "collera"'
 [e] [mōnte] "gato monte" 'wild cat'
 [e] [lande] 'shed'
 [ə] -# when unstressed [bútre] 'vulture'

- [ə] elsewhere in unstressed position [ẽ tənās̄] 'coal tongs'
 [e] elsewhere in stressed or un- stressed position [rader] 'strickle'
 [enulā] 'fog'

Note: [pel̄s̄] 'beard of corncob'; [bufér] 'hole'; [rékurom̄] 'sultry weather'

7.1.2 CENTRAL VOWELS

- [a] -[o] [θobərā̄s̄] 'corn-loft, trunk'
 -[u] [maulā] 'to mew'
 -[h] + v1 plosive [rā h tríȳ] 'rake' [sāk̄e] 'small pieces of wood in furnace'
 -[hl] [pelā h l̄e] 'to shell peas'

Note: [lebə́ur̄e] 'yeast'

- [a] -[h] [d̄ō h n̄āh̄] 'portable trough'
 [a] [tinā h̄e] 'salting place'

Note: [f̄oráh̄a] and [f̄oráh̄a] 'forage', both forms are given

- [a] -# [kalā] 'to get soaked to the skin'
 [a] when [bendət̄ā] 'hurricane'
 stressed
 [e] -# when unstressed [ē t̄uf̄e] 'round table with brasier underneath'

[a] -[n] [kana'] 'irrigation channel'

[a̞] [mã̞nsõ:'] 'unploughed land'

[e] elsewhere in unstressed positions [a̞d̞ebón] 'knocker'

[a] elsewhere in stressed or
unstressed positions [ana'fə] 'portable furnace'
[baθ̞ ilɔ̞] 'kusk, chaff'

7.1.3 BACK VOWELS

[ø] -[r̞] [kɔ̞r̞e'l̞p̞], [kɔ̞r̞e'h̞l̞p̞] 'to cover a sheep'

[o] [r̞]- [r̞ɔ̞dr̞igɔ̞'ŋ̞] 'cutting'
[algar̞ɔ̞bile] 'pod of chickpea'

[ø] -[u]+ C [kɔ̞r̞de:] 'rope attaching the "costilla" to the ends of
the collarra' '

[kɔ̞r̞š̞e] 'tap'

-[pt] [p̞ɔ̞'t̞ur̞e] 'newly planted vine'
-[hk] [r̞ɔ̞'h̞kɔ̞] 'scraper'
-[hn̞] [t̞ɔ̞'h̞n̞e] 'small earthen dam'
-[h]+ v [r̞a̞'t̞r̞o̞'h̞ɔ̞] 'summer pasture'

[o] -[n] [tablónə] 'floorboards'
[a̞d̞ebón] 'knocker'

[ó] [Yenóm e n̞ɔ̞] 'hermaphrodite lamb'
[ba̞uθ̞ó̞'ŋ̞] 'ring of the yoke'

[mõ̞nte'] "gato monte" 'wild cat'
[θar̞e np̞ð̞ɔ̞] 'sieve, sifter'

Note: [mõ̞ h̞ɔ̞] 'rust'

- [ɔ] -# when unstressed [gweθɔ] 'seeds of the grape'
- [ɔ] [makakɔ] 'containers for olives'
- [o] -# when stressed [θolinədo] 'utensil to sweep chimneys'

- [ɔ] elsewhere in unstressed positions [orɔθy:] 'liquorice'
- [o] elsewhere in stressed or unstressed positions [argolə] 'rings of girth'
- [o] [otubra] 'october'

Note: [polilɔ] 'wood borer' ; [mohoθɔ] 'mouldy bread'

- [u] - [ʌd] [θ a h u ʌ d e] 'pigsty'
- # when stressed [orɔθu:] 'liquorice'

No unstressed [u] in final position was found in the data. It can however be stated that [u:] will only occur in stressed positions in accordance with the distribution of all other vowels including high back vowels.

- [u] - v [maula'] 'to mew'

- [u:] elsewhere in stressed positions [lanju're] 'a bit extra for good measure'
- [u] elsewhere in unstressed positions [aruya] 'to coa'
- [u] elsewhere in stressed or unstressed positions [otubra] 'october'
- [bu h érɔ] 'hole through which the water is lost'

7.2 VOWEL GROUPS

7.2.1 VOWEL + SEMIVOWEL

[ɛɪ] [peɪnə] 'comb'

[aɪ] [báɪnə] 'pod'

[ɔɪ] [bokɔ́ɪ] 'cask'

[aʊ] [maʊlə] 'to mew'

7.2.2 SEMIVOWEL + VOWEL

[je] [ʃjénc] 'mire'

[ja] [ʃudja] 'town'

[jo] [húnjɔ] 'june'

[we] [kwébə] 'cavern'

[wa] [əngwəga] 'to rinse'

7.2.3 VOWEL + VOWEL

[ia] [ʃeŋθír] 'watermelon'

[io] [gɔřiō'] 'sparrow'

[ea] [řuməq] 'to ruminate'

[eo] [řəondɔ] 'cob'

[ao] [preŋaɔ̄] 'corn about to tassel'

[au] [lebə ūrə] 'yeast'

[ua] [alūə] 'emmet'

7.3 CONSONANTS

7.3.1 BILABIAL

- [p] #-[
V-V [papəlítɔ] 'snow flake'
-C [aɸoplɑ̄] 'to blow'
C-[ɸelampɛgɔ] 'to lighten'

- [b] #-[
[bjérғɔ] 'winnow fork'
nasal-[embrɛgɑ̄ɔ] 'mackerel sky'

- [b] V-V [abéna] 'oats'
-C [báubɛ] 'cock wattles'
C-[θebrérɔ] 'february'

- [m] #-[
[mán! hérɔ] 'foreman'
V-V [tamɔ] 'chaff'
-C [ɸelampɛgɔ] 'lightning'
C-[aumɔhádɛ] 'small pillow'

7.3.2 BJLABIODENTAL

- [ɸ] #-[
V-V [ɸángɔ] 'mud'
-C [gařáɸɛ] 'demijohn'
[aɸréšɔ] 'fine bran'

7.3.3 INTERDENTAL

- [θ] #- [θənɪ: 'lɔ] 'to sieve'
 V-V [ha'θə] 'sheaf'
 C- [θənθə'rɔ] 'wide mouthed cattle bell'

- [θ] #- [θənɪ: 'lɔ] 'to sieve'
 V-V [haθɪnə] 'stook'
 C- [θənθə'rɔ] 'wide mouthed cattle bell'

- [ð] V-V [rəðə'rɔ] 'strickle'
 C- [a'də'bile] 'latch'
 -C [pjédrɔ] 'flint'

7.3.4 DENTAL

- [t] #- [támɔ] 'chaff'
 V-V [latérɔ] 'coppersmith'
 -C [butrə] 'vulture'
 C- [ponjéntə] 'west wind'

- [d] #- [de'h pəukə'] 'to awake'
 nasal- [ɸúndz] 'pillow case'

- [p] -dental C [m̩nt̪] 'grooves in the centre fo the yoke'
 [θ en θ ērɔ] 'wide mouthed cattle bell'

7.3.5 ALVEOLAR

- [s] #- [ʂembra'] 'to sow seeds singly in drills'
 V-V [giʂántə] 'pea'
 C- [θɔ̃uta'L̪_se] 'to fall to pieces (of a sheaf)'

Note: [ʂ] in [ʂánkə] 'farmer's boy' 34)
 [ʂ] [p! nōʂe] 'leaf of pine'

- [ʃ] -C [θaʃ̪mérə] 'brine'
 [aʃ̪ b! lánə] 'ground pea-nut'
 [ʃ] -C [kodʒ̪n̪í] 'quail'
 [θeʃ̪ní] 'to fruit'

- [χ] -n [kodʒ̪χ̪ní] 'quail'

- [χ] -n [θeχ̪ní] 'to fruit'

- [r] V-V [ar̪g̪] 'to rough plough'
 -C [párm̪ə] 'sky covered with film of clouds'
 C- [pjéd̪rə] 'flint'

34) [ʂ] is a "alveolo prepalatal fricative with 'rehilamiento'"
 [ʂ] is a "'predorso' - dental fricative with 'rehilamiento'"
 both are voiceless.

[r] #- [rədərɔ] 'strickle'

V-V [páře] 'grape vines'

[l] #- [lab! ŋ érc] 'peghole in beam'

V-V [a.u ŋ ndéłe] 'ring of the hub'

-C [alma'θ! gə] 'nursery garden'

C- [táble] 'harrow'

[n] #- [núbə] 'cloud(s)'

V-V [granišɔ] 'hail'

-C [konma'θ iýc] ("kortá - ") 'to re-direct water from one channel to another'

č- [kodčuni] 'quail'

7.3.6 PREPALATAL

[ž] #- [žémɛ] 'bud'

V-V [antedžyě:] 'the day before yesterday'

Note: [ž] for the same gloss 'bud' : [že'žmɛ]

7.3.7 PALATAL

[š] #- [šišerɔ] 'white French beans'

V-V [mãšo:ŋ] 'unploughed land'

- [ɔ] #-[síne] 'pebble'
 V-V [kušílɛ] 'scraper'

Note: [ɔ̂] in [abišwéle] 'green French beans'

- [y] V-V [angar! yónɛ] 'appliance for carrying corn on horse, mule,
 or donkey back'

- [l] #-[lubé] 'to rain'
 V-V [kamélɛ] 'bow of the yoke'

Note: [ŷ] in: [ŷe h kɛ] 'touchwood'

- [n] V-V [prena'ɔ̂] 'corn about to tassel'
 -palatal C [trónsɔ̂] 'saltwort'

- [j] -v [ø jénɔ̂] 'mire'

7.3.8 VELAR

- [k] #-[ko s̄ɛ] 'tap'
 V-V [e h takɛ] 'prop, support'
 -C [kriadɛ] 'maid servant'
 C- [tránkɛ] 'cross-bar'

[g] #- [gəbil̪ɛ] 'unbound sheaf'
 nasal- [ŋ̪aŋ̪ɔ] 'mud'

[g̪] V-V [rəl̪amp̪e g̪ɔ] 'lightning'
 -C [plátɔ̄ grándɔ̄] 'dish, platter'
 C- [ɛŋ̪k̪v̪ugáɔ̄] 'farm overseer'

[ŋ̪] -velar C [kink̪ ! ʃérɔ̄] 'pedlar'
 -# [θanhwán̪] 'muscadine pear'

[w] - V [kwébɔ̄] 'small cavern'

7.3.9 FARINGEAL

[h] #- [hášɛ] 'axe'
 V-V [mãñ̪ ! hérɔ̄] 'foreman'
 -vl C [ɛ̄ t̪ə kíl̪ɛ] 'uprights of side of cart'

[h̪] #- [húnjɔ̄] 'june'
 V-V [mãñ̪ ! hérɔ̄] 'foreman'
 -wl C [ka h̪n̪ nérɔ̄] 'lamb'

[h̪̄] -[h̪̄] [t̪̄ h̪̄n̪ne] 'small earthen dam'

7.4. CONSONANT GROUPS

7.4.1 "LICUANTE LIQUIDA"

- [pl] [aθoplə] 'to blow'
- [tr] [tránke] 'cross bar'
- [kr] [kriáde] 'maid servant'
- [br] [θebrérɔ] 'february'
- [bl] [tablóna] 'floorboards'
- [dr] [pjédrɔ] 'flint'
- [gr] [graniθɔ] 'hail'
- [f'r] [aθrɛsɔ] 'fine bran'
- [fr] [koutθfríɔ] 'cutting iron'

7.4.2 NASAL + C(C)

- [mp] [rəlampəgo] 'lightning'
- [nt] [ponjentɔ] 'west wind'
- [ntr] [entrəmãptɔ] 'collar of a mule yoke'
- [nk] [tránkɔ] 'cross bar'
- [mb] [embořɔgɔ] 'mackerel sky'
- [mbr] [θómbre] 'north side of hill'
- [nd] [sand! ūwélp] 'leech'
- [ng] [θang! ūwélp] 'leech'

- [nθ] [ɛnθ̪ eřč] 'wide mouthed cattle bell'
 [ns] [maňša] 'to soil'
 [nh] [θanhwāŋ] 'muscadine pear'
 [nm] [korta konmaŋ iýč] 'to redirect water from one channel to another'

7.4.3 [l, r] + C

- [lp] [kaɻpinterč] 'cartwright'
 [lt] [koɻt̪ fríč] 'cutting iron'
 [lk] [áukč ir!] 'rain bow'
 [lb] [baɻb̪e] 'cock wattles'
 [rd] [ɛɻ k̪e rdá] 'to weed cornfields'
 [rg] [argółɛ] 'rings of girth'
 [ɹθ] [moɻθ jég s lo] 'bat'
 [ɹš] [kóɻše] 'tap'
 [ɹm] [aɻm z̪ hád̪e] 'pillow'
 [ɹn] [kod̪ ɻni] 'quail'

[rh] [aɻɸ a: r̪h̪ə] 'channel along which milled olives flow'

7.4.4 [ɻ]+C

- [ɻk] [aɻkaɻθ ilə] 'artichoke'

- [^tb] [a^tbə'hākə] 'sweet basil'
 [^td] [a^tdə'bīlə] 'latch'
 [^tθ] [θo^tta'^tʃə] 'to fall to pieces (sheaf)'
 [^tm] [ə^tmɔ:^t'a] 'pillow'

7.4.5 [h]+ C

[^tn] [θe^tni] 'to fruit'

7.4.6 [l] + C

- [ls] [θɔ^tta'^tsə] 'to fall to pieces (sheaf)'
 [lm] [alma'^tgə] 'nursery garden'

7.4.7 [l]+ C

[lθ] [ka]^tθ a' 'to forge a new cutting edge for a worn share'

7.4.8 [h]+ C

- [hp] [e^hpə'da'] 'bed-head'
 [hk] [ka'^hkɔ] 'division of orange
 [hl] [θe^hni:^hlɔ] 'to sieve'

7.4.9 [h] + C(C)

[hl] [koře' h l r] 'to cover a sheep'

[hn] [ka h nérč] 'lamb'

[hm] [e h marč ha] 'to prune'

7.4.10 [h̄] + C

[h̄n] [tabe h̄ n̄e] 'tavern'

[h̄m] [z̄ e h̄ m̄ e] 'bud'

7.4.11 [h̄] + C(C)

[h̄n] [imbje h̄ n̄ɔ] 'winter'

[h̄nn] [toře h̄ n̄ɔ] 'rasher of bacon'

7.4.12 C + C (where 6 = C)
1 2 1 2

[nn] [ká" nə] ('de canne') 'for slaughter'

[ll] [meθe' l lɔ] 'to rock'

CHAPTER VIII: THE VARIETY OF CARBONERAS, ALMERIA 600

8.1 VOWELS

8.1.1 FRONT VOWELS

- [i] -[r]+ c [θirgɔlərɔ] 'plum tree'
 - C₁C₂ (where C₁=C₂) [abi'p pe] 'wasp' [batɔ'lɛ] 'to rinse'
 - [n] [moyi'hɛnɛ] 'drizzle'
 - [l]# [unθil] 'to yoke'

Note: [abi'p e:rɔ] 'wasp's nest'; [abri:] 'to chink'

- [i:] [xabɔli:] 'wild boar'
 [i:] # when stressed [kodɔni:] 'quail'
 [i:] elsewhere in stressed positions [aθi:nɛ] 'stack of sheaves'
 [i] elsewhere in unstressed positions [batɔdɔ:] 'comb'
 [i] elsewhere in stressed or
unstressed positions [pikɔ] 'pik'
 [kinkɔyé:rɔ] 'peddler'

Note: [aɔpila] 'esparto netting for carrying straw on horse back'
 [lomfɔ:yɔ] 'pads of pack-saddle'; [aní:yɛ] 'rings of girth';
 [tɔfínɔ] 'containers for olives'; [e'hpaudi:θjɔ] 'brushwood'
 [roytɔ:θɔ] 'unplaned ceiling beams'

- [e:] in stressed positions -[r] [tje:rɔrɔ:yɛ] 'argil'
 [e] in unstressed positions -[r] [sərā:nc] 'highlander'

No stressed [e] was found in the data for this position, though according to the occurrence of long and short, stressed and unstressed vowels elsewhere in the system it is to be expected that there is in this variety an [e] in stressed position.

Note: [θenθerɔ] 'wide mouthed cattle bell'

[e] [r̩] [r̩eto'ns] 'gem, bud'

[e] [r̩elamp̩eg̩e] 'to lighten'

[e] -[x] [moyex̩e] 'shell-less egg'

-[h]+ C [e^h k̩l̩er̩e] 'front-door step'

- C₁ + C₂ (where C₁ = C₂) [e^ppi:n̩bl̩ánkɔ] 'white thorn'

- liquid + C [aθel̩g̩e] 'saltwort' [b̩erd̩úr̩e] 'forage'

-[x]+ C [me^lgiθ̩ér̩e] 'female cow with twins'

[e:] -# when stressed [mõnt̩e:] "gato monte" 'wild cat'

[e] -# when stressed or [alme^h] 'Indian nettle tree'
unstressed [pr̩es̩a^h] 'pea'

[ə] -# when unstressed [tró:xə] 'corn loft, trunk'
[brótə] 'bud'

[ə] -[i] [peinə] 'comb'

[e:] elsewhere in stressed positions [kame:yə] 'bow of the yoke'

[ə] elsewhere in unstressed positions [no^ha bwe:n̩ə] 'yule log'

[e] elsewhere in stressed or [kak̩ə gwé:tə] 'ground pea-nut'
unstressed positions [r̩etɔ:ná:^h] 'to sprout'

Note: [larg̩erɔ] 'lateral supports of a bed'; [ratɔn̩e:rɔ] 'hole through
which the water is lost'; [peré:^{t̩e}] 'wild pear tree'; [sarjé:t̩e] 'portable trough'; [sé:t̩e] 'mushroom'; [b̩en^h] 'evening star'

8.1.2 CENTRAL VOWELS

[a:] [a] [garb̩rya^h] 'to sieve'
[-][#] always stressed [r̩etɔ:ná:^h] 'to sprout'

[a:] [a] [niá^h] 'lay nest'
[erab̩ctá:^h] 'to cut of the tail'

Morphophonemic reasons condition the stress pattern in this position.

- [a] -# when stressed [a:gá:] 'young shepherd'
 when unstressed [la:miga:xé] 'crumbs'

[a:] -# when stressed [də:pə:tə:] 'to awake'
 when unstressed [kɔ:njə:bjértə] 'cow with widespread horns'

[ɛ] -# when unstressed [at:tí:yɛ] 'fire wood'
 [ayó:θɛ] 'green almond'

- [a] - [l]+ c [almɔ̃dí:yə] 'pillow'
 - [o] [prenaɔ̃] 'corn about to tassel'
 - [kk] [ata^k k e érs] 'muddy place'

Note: [ká:] 'corbel'; [almə́də] 'small pillow'; [almə́dón] 'pillow case'; [de^hpunta¹] 'to prune olive trees'; [feba¹sɔ] 'water stagnate'

- [a] - [x] [rəxa:^h / lə] 'to plough a third time'
 [a] [əxəxa:^h / le] 'to sliver'

- | | | |
|------|---------|--|
| [a] | - nasal | [santatərɛsə] 'praying cricket' [áłəmõnérjɔ̃] 'black poplar tree' |
| [~] | | [mãmṛlɔritɔ̃] 'hermaphrodite lamb' |

Note: [rəbā'₁ sɔ] 'water stagnated'

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| [a:] | elsewhere in stressed positions | [butʃ'a:rə] 'kind of sausage' |
| [ə] | elsewhere in unstressed positions | [amaʃə ðɔ:rə] 'mortar bed' |
| [a] | elsewhere in stressed or unstressed positions | [pa:rə] 'grape-vines' [xa:t'dù:rə] 'sheep with wool on haunches and nape' |

8.1.3 BACK VOWELS

- [ɔ] - [r̚] [gořion] 'sparrow'
 - [l]+ c [g̚l̚f̚] 'hinge'
 - [r]+ c [kɔrtá^{l̚}] 'to redirect water from one channel to another'
 - [k] [q̚ kú:rɔ̚] 'new moon'

- [o] - [n] [χar̚ i óndɛ] 'ground elder'
 [ɔ̚] [gořion] 'sparrow'
 [ɔ̚] [mɔn̚i:yɛ] 'unsheared wool'

- [o:] -# when stressed [punto:] 'prop, support'
 [ø:] [batido:] 'comb'
 [ø:] [aməpø:] 'poppy'
 [ɔ] -# when unstressed [tró:θɔ̚] 'parcel of land'
 [ɔ̚] [lom̚i:yɔ̚] 'pads of pack-saddle'
 [ɔ̚] [píkɔ̚] 'pik'

- [o] elsewhere in stressed positions [po:yɔ̚] 'young partridge'
 [ɔ̚] elsewhere in unstressed positions [kolɔ̚rin] 'goldfinch'
 [o] elsewhere in stressed or
unstressed positions [e' p्रose] 'pik'
 [ɔ̚] [rompé^{l̚}] 'to rough plough'

Note: [kópñ] 'snow flake'

- [y] - mbr [yembríe] 'north side of hill'
 [u] -# unstressed [bénɛ] 'evening star'

- [u:] elsewhere in stressed position [kopetú:rɔ̚] 'sheep with wool on forehead'
 [u] elsewhere in unstressed position [présule] 'pea'
 [u] elsewhere in stressed or
unstressed positions [enθurkɔ̚] 'to saw in drills'
 or unstressed positions [punte:re] 'snapper'

8.2 VOWEL GROUPS

8.2.1 VOWEL + SEMIVOWEL

[eɪ] [peɪnə] 'comb'

[aɪ] [báɪnə] 'pod'

8.2.2 SEMIVOWEL + VOWEL

[je] [dʒéñs] 'mire'

[ja] [erjáθɔ] 'unploughed land'

[jo] [pjoxal^{h'}] 'piece of land given to farmer to foreman as part of wages'

[ju] [gjudá:] 'town'

[we] [salnwe:rɔ] 'brine'

[wa] [ágwe] 'water'

8.2.3 VOWEL + VOWEL (+ VOWEL)

[ia] [umbríə] 'north side of slope'

[io] [rundiɔ] 'cutting'

[ea] [romə a:] 'to ruminate'

[ao] [prenáɔ] 'corn about to tassel'

[au] [θaʊrdə] 'pigsty'

[oa] [almɔ adə] 'pillow'

[ua] [alúp] 'emmet'

[a ɔ o] [ra ɔ ɔ] 'strickle'

8.3 CONSONANTS

8.3.1 BILABIAL

- [p] #- [pa'fɪə] 'grape vines'
 v-v [kópɪ] 'snow flake'
 -c [de p prend m jéntɔ] 'landslide'
 c- [pómpe] 'water bubble'

- [b] #- [bina:'] 'to plough a second time'
 nasal- [embɔr̩ a ga:] 'mackerel sky'

- [b] v-v [abénz] 'oats'
 -c [tá:błe] 'harrow'
 c- [bárba] 'cock wattles'

- [m] #- [móθɔ] 'steady farm labourer'
 v-v [tamɔ] 'chaff'
 -c [mám φ lɔ ritɔ] 'hermaphrodite lamb'
 c- [dɔ mitɔrɔ] 'bed-room'

8.3.2 BILABIODENTAL

- [φ] #- [φwe'yə] 'bellows'
 v-v [aφilφdo:] 'knife grinder'
 -c [kɔ t φ ríɔ] 'cutting iron'
 c- [gólφɔ] 'hinge'

8.3.3 INTERDENTAL

- [θ] #- [θenθer̩bor̩əg̩ero] 'narrow mouthed sheep gong'
 v-v [boθ̩iñet̩ə] 'additional long uprights for carrying corn'
 c- [unθ̩j̩ere] 'rope attaching the "costillas" to the ends of the "collera"'

- [θ] #- [θaga'] 'young shepherd'
 v-v [toθ̩iñe] 'containers for olives'
 c- [unθ̩iñe] 'to yoke'

- [ð] v-v [rekəd̩ero] 'errand boy'
 -c [madriñere] 'burrow'
 c- [eñk̩eñda'] 'to weed cornfields'

- [n] [mánθ̩enñye] 'pera de manzanilla' 'wild pear tree'
 -interdental C

8.3.4 DENTAL

- [t] #- [tam̩o] 'chaff'
 v-v [latér̩o] 'coppersmith'
 -c [pikətrónk̩o] 'woodpecker'
 c- [koñtəfríñ] 'cutting iron'

- [d] #- [doñmitór̩o] 'bed-room'
 [bendəba'] 'strong wind'

- [n] -dental C [rundiñ] 'cutting'
 [θenθ̩er̩bor̩əg̩ero] 'narrow mouthed sheep gong'

[h] -dental C [e^h ta'] 'to rust'

8.3.5 ALVEOLAR

[s] #- [su^{po}] 'back cloth'

V-V [rās^s] 'clear sky'

C- [bals^e] 'pool'

-# [pítqñ^s] 'incipient horns of lamb'

[ɿ] -C [kɔ ɿ t ə pñí^s] 'cutting iron'

-# [bina:^ɿ] 'to plough a second time'

[ɿ] -C [aɿ píl^s] 'esparto netting for carrying straw on horse-back'

[n] -[n] [tabe^{'n} r] 'tavern'

[ɳ] -[n] [imbje^{'ɳ} n^s] 'winter'

[r] V-V [para^r] 'small earthen dam'

-C [pér φo:y^r] 'husk, chaff'

C- [graniθ^r] 'hail'

[ɿ] #- [ū a^ɿ l] 'strickle'

V-V [paɿr^s] 'grape vines'

- [l] #- [lebán̪ta] 'east wind'
 V-V [ox̪əlám̪bra] 'hole in the centre of the yoke'
 -C [gólφɔ] 'hinge'
 C- [klab̪/xérɔ] 'peghole in beam'
 #- [r̪ompe' I] 'to rough plough'

- [n] #- [núblɔ] 'cloud(s)
 V-V [graníθɔ] 'hail'
 -C [pensa'lɔ] 'to feed cattle'
 C- [kodɔ̄u ni:] 'quail'

8.3.6 PREPALATAL

- [s̪] #- [s̪o'r̪a:] 'a drop extra for good measure'
 V-V [es̪p̪] 'threshed corn heaped ready for winnowing'
 C- [mãnsa'] 'to soil'

8.3.7 PALATAL

- [y] V-V [e'k r̪əd̪i:yɔ] 'weeder, small weed hook'

- [ŷ] #- [ŷe't̪e] 'blade of corn'

Note: [ŷ] in: [gar̪ būŷɔ] 'long loaf'
 [limí:ŷɔ] 'slime'

- [ŋ] V-V [preŋa'ɔ̄] 'corn about to tassel'
 -palatal C [kõŋse] 'shell'

- [j] -V [θjéñc] 'mire'

8.3.8 VELAR

- [k] #- [kolɔ̄ ríŋ] 'goldfinch'
 V-V [albe dake] 'sweet basil'
 C- [bařánkɔ̄] 'ravine'
 -C [aklɛ̄ ra:'] 'to clear up'

- [g] #- [gate:rɛ̄] 'vent'
 nasal- [lango't̪ tɔ̄] 'locust'

- [g] V-V [trigɛ̄rɛ̄] 'plantain'
 -C [agrə ač] 'sharp sourish wine'
 C- [kárgɛ̄] 'stook, shock'

- [χ] #- [xá:řc] 'pitcher'
 V-V [koxi:néta] 'collar of a mule yoke'

- [χ] #- [χabɛ̄ li:] 'wild boar'
 V-V [moχi:gá:tɔ̄] 'marguerite'
 C- [fárxə] 'channel along which milled olives flow'

[ŋ] -velar C [χɪŋχɔ̄lɛ:rɔ̄]
-# [timō̄ŋ] 'beam of plough'

[w] -v [salmwe:rɔ̄] 'brine'

8.3.9 FARINGEAL

[h] -c [ēh kalerɔ̄] 'front door steps'

8.4 CONSONANT GROUPS

8.4.1 "LICUANTE LÍQUIDA"

- [pr] [préṣ̥p̥] 'diversion dam'
- [tr] [tránkɔ] 'cross bar'
- [kr] [kriád̥e] 'maid-servant'
- [kl] [klab̥iχ̥ e'r̥] 'peghole in beam'
- [br] [xebré:rɔ] 'february'
- [bl] [tá:błe] 'harrow'
- [dr] [madṛ̥:ger̥] 'burrow'
- [gr] [graniθɔ] 'hail'
- [f̥r] [kq̥ a t e'f̥r̥ic̥] 'cutting iron'
- [f̥l] [floríɔ] 'crown crested cock'

8.4.2 NASAL + C(C)

- [mp] [relamp̥egé] 'to lighten'
- [nt] [ponjéntə] 'west wind'
- [nk] [tránkɔ] 'cross bar'
- [mb] [embořagá] 'mackerel sky'
- [mbr] [umbríɔ] 'north side of hill'
- [nd] [bendeb̥a'] 'strong wind'
- [ng] [sang̥ixwél̥p̥] 'leech'
- [nθ] [θenθ e'rc̥ bōřagé] 'narrow mouthed sheep gong'

[ns] [mã̄n̄sə] 'bell-ram'

[nx] [sã̄n̄xwã̄n̄] 'june'

[n̄s] [mã̄nsə] 'to soil'

8.4.3 [u], [r] + C

[ut] [kõ ut ēfríɔ] 'cutting iron'

[rk] [arkɔ i:rɪ] 'rain bow'

[rb] [ba'r̄bə] 'cock wattles'

[ud] [ēk k̄eu'da'] 'to weed cornfields'

[rg] [la'nḡer̄ḡ] 'lateral supports of bed'

[rf] [p̄er̄f̄ o:yɛ] 'musk, chaff'

[rθ] [murθ ja'lɛ go] 'bat'

[rx] [φárxə] 'channel along which milled olives flow'

[rs] [kõrsɔ] 'beehive'

[rm] [dȭ mitor̄jɔ] 'bed-room-'

[rn] [kod̄ȳni:] 'quail'

8.4.4 [^lu] + C

[^lp] [a^lp̄i:lə] 'esparto netting for carrying straw on horse-back'

[^lk] [a^lk̄s̄ so:p̄e] 'artichoke'

[^lg] [me^lḡ ḡ ére] 'female cow with twins'

[^lθ] [ka^lθa:lɔ] 'to forge a new cutting edge for a worn share'

[^ls] [sek̄a^ls̄ə] 'to dry'

8.4.5 [ʌ] + C

[ʌn] [im'bje'ʌnɔ] 'winter'

8.4.6 [ʌ] + C

[ʌn] [tæbə'ʌnə] 'tavern'

8.4.7 [l] + C

[lb] [albədákə] 'sweet basil'

[ld] [älde'c] 'hamlet'

[lg] [aθelgə] 'saltwort'

[lp] [golpɔ] 'hinge'

[tθ] [ka:tθɔ] 'corbel'

[ls] [balsə] 'pool'

[lm] [alməxprəkə] 'nursery garden'

[ln] [aln! Ɂ:lɔ] 'rick, stack'

8.4.8 [h] + C

[hp] [de^h pənta'lɪɔ] 'to prune olive trees'

[hk] [e^h kələrə] 'front door steps'

8.4.9 [h] + c

[ht] [e^hta'] 'to rust'

8.4.10 [h̄] + c

[h̄n] [moyi^{h̄n} nə] 'drizzle'

8.4.11 C + C (where C = C)
 1 2 1 2

[pp] [də^ppəta'] 'to awake'

[tt] [sje^ttə] 'afternoon nap'

[kk] [ata^kkərə] 'muddy place'

[mm] [s̄i^mmə] 'crockery and table ware'

[nn] [θjəⁿnə] 'to fruit'

[ll] [rōpə^llə] 'to break up new ground'

9. CHAPTER IX: THE FIVE SOUND SYSTEMS

9.1 SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DESCRIBED VARIETIES

It is appropriate to comment briefly on some of the characteristics shared by the varieties whose phonetic systems were described above.

The vowel system of the varieties investigated is very rich and complex as the above phonetic description shows. It was not included in the comparison of the five varieties as this would have led into morphophonemics, which lies beyond the scope of this thesis. Moreover the findings would have yielded an extremely complicated diasystem and the differences from one system of a variety to the other are insignificant in interdialectal communication. Thus the comparison of the five varieties will be restricted to the consonant system. Some brief comments on the vowel system and on the grouping of consonants which characterize features common to all the described varieties will however be added in the following pages.

In the vowel system the following features can be found: long/short; stressed/unstressed; tense/lax and the following correlation among them can be set up:

Each vowel variant can be tense or lax. The lax variant will always be unstressed and will mostly be found in unstressed word final position, though it is also frequent in unstressed initial and medial position. The tense variant can be either stressed or unstressed and long or short. Long vowels will always be stressed.

The use of vowel length - as well as that of nasalized vowels - differs from one community to the other. The community that makes the least use of vowel length is Se 306 and a very pronounced tendency to long vowels is present in Al 600, whereas in the other three varieties words with long vowel variants are more or less equally frequent. The treatment of vowel length would suggest the consideration of differences in speech level or speech habits. These otherwise very interesting aspects have to be omitted here, as the ALEA and articles related to it and published so far do not give any information, thus a uniform speech level has to be considered as an axiom.

35)
The weakening of tension of articulation affects not only the vowel system. Consonants nearly always - with a few exceptions in the case of $\eta^{\#}$ - lose tension of articulation in word final position, and this tendency to weaker articulation has given very interesting characteristics to

35) This fact is well known for the Andalusian dialect: "...una de las más importantes características del dinamismo lingüístico andaluz es su tendencia a la relajación de los sonidos;..." Llorente, A.: "Fonética y Fonología Andaluzas", Revista de Filología Española, XLV, 1962, p.238

consonant clusters with exclusion of the "licuante líquida" groups. The clusters [s] / [θ] + C are not existent in Andalucia. The position of [s] or [θ] in other Spanish dialects before other consonants is filled in Andalusian varieties by an aspirated consonant phonetically conditioned by the following segment, i.e. [ht], [hk], [hn] or else by a geminated consonant : [pp] [tt] where the first consonant very frequently is "relajada" i.e. has a weaker articulatory tension such as [^pp] [^tt] etc. If visualized as a process the following stages can be found:

$$(s+c) \stackrel{h}{\sim} c > \stackrel{h+c_1}{c_1+c_2} > \stackrel{c_1}{c_1+c_2} \quad (\text{where } c_1 = c_2)$$

I II III

All three stages appear simultaneously in each variety, some of which show a predilection for one or the other stage, e.g. Al 600 for II and III whereas in the other four varieties stages I and II are more frequent:

| Se 301 | H 402 | H 601 | Se 306 | Al 600 | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------|
| [abɪ ^h pə] | [abɪ ^h pə] | [obɪ ^h pə] | [obɪ ^h pə] | [abɪ ^h pə] | 'wasp' |
| [abɪ ^h pérə] | [abɪ ^h pérə] | [obɪ ^h pérə] | [obɪ ^h pérə] | [abɪ ^h pérə:rə] | 'wasp's nest' |
| [sje' ^h tə] | [sje' ^h tə] | [θje' ^h tə] | [θje' ^h tə] | [sje' ^h tə] | 'afternoon nap' |
| [yɛ' ^{hk} kə] | [yɛ' ^{hk} kə] | [yɛ' ^h kə] | [yɛ' ^h kə] | [yɛ' ^h kə] | 'touchwood' |

The clusters of a liquid and a consonant also show the phenomenon of weakening of articulation in consonant groups. The fluctuation of [l], [r], [ɹ], [ɻ] in preconsonantal position - each can indistinctively take the first position in the cluster - give a picture of it. A very good example was found in the data in the variety of Se 306, where words with the meaning 'cushion, pillow' was found:

- [a^lm^ʃa'] 'pillow'
- [a^lm^ʃade] 'small pillow'
- [alm^ʃp̪dile] 'pin-cushion'

A good idea of this fluctuation is also given by the following gloss:

| Se 301 | H 402 | H 601 | Se 306 | Al 600 | |
|------------|-------------------------|----------|--------------------------|-------------|---------------|
| [arbə áke] | [a ^l bə áke] | [arbake] | [a ^l bə hake] | [albə dake] | 'sweet basil' |

The flap [r] is in most cases replaced by the less tense [l] in preconsonantal position. The same weakening of articulation with a different effect however is described by Rodolfo Lenz, Gili Gaya, Navarro Tomás and Malmberg. for other Spanish dialects. The latter testifies that as a result of the weak position of the first consonant and for [r] also in postconsonantal position ("licuante líquida" group) a vocalic element, often called "parasite vowel", is inserted:

36) Lenz, R.: "Chilenische Studien", Phonetische Studien, V, 1892, pp 272-292 and VI, 1893, 18-34

37) Gili Gaya, S.: "La R simple en la pronunciación española", Revisita de Filología Española, VIII, 1921, pp 271-280

38) Navarro Tomás, T.: "Diferencia de duración entre las consonantes españolas", Revista de Filología Española, V 1918, pp 367-393

"... que en todo grupo español con r (simple) se produce, entre la r y la otra consonante, un elemento vocálico que, en ciertos casos puede alcanzar la duración de una verdadera vocal inacentuada." 40)

This phenomenon has not been found in the investigated varieties.

Speakers in these communities will only have a weaker articulation of the consonant in question, and the fluctuation of consonants described above will occur when a liquid is the first consonant in a group in some cases leading to the loss of the liquid, as the following example shows:

| | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|--|-------------------|--------------------|
| Se 301 | H 402 | H601 | Se 306 | Al 600 |
| [ha ⁿ ner ^s] | [^h a ⁿ ner ^s] | [^h ã ⁿ ner ^s] | no gloss recorded | 'sieve, sifter' |

9.2 DIASYSTEMS

In analogy to the method proposed by Uriel Weinreich 41)

39) Malmberg, B.: "Los grupos de consonantes en español", in:
Estudios de fonética hispánica, Madrid 1965

40) ibid. p. 32

41) Weinreich, U.: "Is a structural dialectology possible?", Word, X,
1954, 388-400

and B.F. Head,⁴²⁾ a diaphonic supersystem will be constructed to describe the partial differences of the dialects in question within the framework of partial similarities. U. Weinreich bases his diasystem on the phonemic inventory of the investigated dialects. As the present thesis deals with the phonic system of the dialects, the supersystems constructed here will therefore be on the diaphonic and not on the diaphonemic level. To achieve a maximum of information from this comparison, three diasystems will be constructed according to the environments each consonant occurs in:

1. word initial
2. word medial
3. word final

The same symbols will be used as suggested by U. Weinreich although their meaning will be adjusted to the phonetic level.

42) Head, B.F.: "Some phonological differences between varieties of Portuguese representing Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro: A study in structural dialectology: Verhandlungen des Zweiten Internationalen Dialektologenkongresses Marburg/Lahn, 1965, pp. 346-355

WORD INITIAL

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{Se 301} \\
 \text{H 402} \\
 \text{H 601} \\
 \text{Se 306} \\
 \text{RJ 600}
 \end{array}
 \parallel \left[\begin{array}{ccccccccc}
 & \frac{\varphi}{f} & \frac{\theta-\vartheta}{\theta-\vartheta} & \frac{s}{s-s} & \frac{y}{y} & \frac{h}{h} & \frac{s}{s-s} \\
 p \approx t \approx k \approx b \approx d \approx g \approx & \frac{\varphi}{\varphi} & \frac{\theta-\vartheta}{\theta-\vartheta} & \approx & \approx & \approx & \approx \\
 & \frac{\varphi}{\varphi} & \frac{\theta-\vartheta}{\theta-\vartheta} & \frac{s}{s} & \frac{y-y}{y-y} & \frac{h-h}{h-h} & \frac{s}{s-s} \\
 & \frac{\varphi}{\varphi} & \frac{\theta-\vartheta}{\theta-\vartheta} & \frac{s}{s} & \frac{y-y}{y-y} & \frac{h-h}{h-h} & \frac{s}{s-s}
 \end{array} \right] \approx \dots$$

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{Se 301} \\
 \text{H 402} \\
 \text{H 601} \dots \approx m \approx n \approx \tilde{r} \approx l \approx \\
 \text{Se 306} \\
 \text{RJ 600}
 \end{array}
 \left. \begin{array}{c} \frac{l}{v} \\ \frac{m}{v} \\ \frac{n}{v} \\ \frac{\tilde{r}}{v} \\ \frac{l}{v} \end{array} \right\} \parallel$$

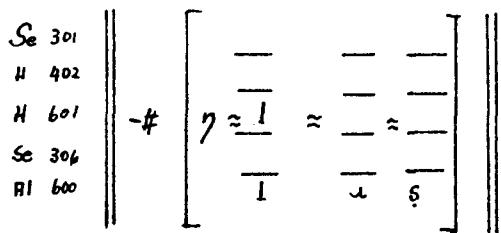
WORD MEDIAL

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{Se 301} \\
 \text{H 402} \\
 \text{H 601} \\
 \text{Se 306} \\
 \text{RJ 600}
 \end{array}
 \parallel \left[\begin{array}{ccccccccc}
 \frac{\varphi-f}{f} & \frac{\theta-\vartheta}{\theta-\vartheta} & \frac{s}{s-s} & \frac{y}{y} \\
 p \approx t \approx k \approx b \approx \tilde{t} \approx d \approx \tilde{d} \approx g \approx \tilde{g} \approx & \frac{\varphi}{\varphi} & \approx & \frac{s}{s-s} & \approx & \frac{y-y}{y-y} & \approx \dots \\
 & \frac{\varphi}{\varphi} & \frac{\theta-\vartheta}{\theta-\vartheta} & \frac{s}{s} & \frac{y-y}{y-y} & \frac{y-y}{y-y} & \frac{y}{y}
 \end{array} \right]$$

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{Se 301} \\
 \text{H 402} \\
 \text{H 601} \dots \approx \frac{h}{h} \approx \frac{\tilde{h}}{\tilde{h}} \approx \frac{-}{-} \approx \frac{\tilde{s}}{\tilde{s}} \approx \frac{m}{m} \\
 \text{Se 306} \\
 \text{RJ 600} \quad \frac{h-h}{h-h} \quad \frac{\tilde{h}}{\tilde{h}} \quad \frac{x-x}{x-x} \quad \frac{\tilde{s}}{\tilde{s}} \quad -
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{Se 301} \\
 \text{H 402} \\
 \text{H 601} \dots \approx \frac{h}{h} \approx \frac{\tilde{h}}{\tilde{h}} \approx \frac{\tilde{h}}{\tilde{h}} \approx \frac{l}{l} \approx \frac{k}{k} \\
 \text{Se 306} \\
 \text{RJ 600} \quad \frac{h}{h} \quad \frac{\tilde{h}}{\tilde{h}} \quad \frac{\tilde{h}}{\tilde{h}} \quad \frac{l}{l} \quad \frac{k}{k}
 \end{array}
 \left. \begin{array}{c} \frac{h}{h} \\ \frac{\tilde{h}}{\tilde{h}} \\ \frac{l}{l} \\ \frac{k}{k} \end{array} \right\} \parallel$$

WORD FINAL



SYMBOLS

|| Double slashes enclose the supersystem for each environment.

[] square brackets indicate the diaphonic level.

\approx double tildes separate the corresponding positional sounds of the diasystem.

\sim single tildes appear within one variety, where more than one phone of the same class is allowed in the same environment.

9.3 TABLE OF CORRESPONDENCES AND INTERDIALECTAL COMMUNICATION

The corresponding sounds in the system of partial dissimilarities as shown in 9.2 will be brought into relation in tables 1-5 thus introducing the aspect of interdialectal communication.

For a long time, it had been assumed that speakers and hearers of different varieties would interpret messages having recourse to the phonemic system underlying their own variety. Recent studies however have given evidence that interlinguistic identifications are not made along a scale of relative values but rather along that of absolute ones :

"... ce n'est pas selon une échelle de valeurs relatives que les unités sont identifiées (sic) par les auditeurs mais bien sur la base de valeurs absolues."⁴³⁾

Based on the sound classification of the ALEA, the phones were ordered in tables 1-5 according to their phonetic features, i.e. point of articulation, manner of articulation and voicing. The fluctuation of corresponding sounds within the dimension of point of articulation is considered to have more influence on interdialectal communication than that within manner of articulation. For example, if corresponding phones will appear in one variety within the velar dimension and in the other(s) in the faringeal dimension, the probabilities of misunderstandings between speakers of the varieties in question will be greater. Such a fluctuation will be called interdimensional and the assumption is that the degree of understanding will decrease with increasing phonetic distance (degree of dissimilarity), i.e. with increasing distance from one point of articulation of one phone to the point of articulation of its corresponding phone in the other variety.

43) Bès, G.A.S.: "Phonétique, Phonologie et Communication Interdialectale", Verhandlungen des Zweiten Internationalen Dialektologenkongresses, Marburg/Lahn, 1965, pp 76-83

44) ibid. p. 80

If corresponding sounds vary within manner of articulation and voicing, i.e. intradimensionally, this does not affect as much interdialectal communication.

Environment can be taken as an indicator of comparability because the phones have to occur in the same environment so that a correspondence can be established. If for example a phone of one dialect occurs only intervocally and a phonetically similar one only initially, there is no correspondence.

In table 1 the sounds of Se 301 and H 402 differ with respect to the other varieties. A speaker of Se 301 will have no problems understanding speakers of any of the other communities, whereas for speakers of H 601, Se 306 and Al 600 failure in identification could arise, as the phone [f] is not present in their system. H 402 will have identification difficulties as far as the [f] of the others is concerned. However as the sounds vary intradimensionally the hearers should have no difficulty in relating the non-familiar phone to their equivalent.

Correspondences in table 2 show greater fluctuations which will lead to identification problems as the phones vary interdimensionally: between dental and alveolar. Most of the identification problems will arise for speakers of H 402 in contact with H 601 and Se 306 as the sound system of the latter varieties has only an interdental sibilant (the [s] of Se 306 does not appear very

Table 1

| Se 301 | H 402 | H 601 | Se 306 | A 1600 | | | |
|------------------------------------|-------|-------|--------|--------|---------------|--------------|--|
| f ^{v-v} _{c-c} | f | | | | labiodental | v1 fricative | |
| f ^{#-v} _{v-v} | | φ | φ | φ | bilabiodental | v1 fricative | |

Table 2

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|--|-------------------|---|
| θ | | θ | θ | θ | | interdental | v1 fricative |
| θ | | θ | θ | θ | | dento-interdental | v1 fricative |
| s | | | | | | alveolar | v1 "coronal plana" fricative |
| | s | | | | | " " | v1 "corono-predorsal plano-convexa" fricative |
| | s | | | s | | " " | v1 "predorso-dental convexa" fricative |

frequently, the θ / ð being the typical sibilants). Se 301 and Al 600 have phones that are close to either one of the others which may help in the identification when speakers of the respective communities come into contact.

In table 3 speakers of Al 600 and H 402 with respect to [s̪] of the latter will be faced with identification difficulties when confronted with speakers of the other varieties as their voiceless affricate varies within two dimensions.

The same situation can be expected in table 4 for Se 301, H 402 and Al 600 when confronted with H 601 and H 306, as here some of the sounds : [z̪] in H 601 and [y̪] in both H 601 and Se 306 are placed in more fronted points of articulation ([y̪] being pre-palatal and [z̪] even alveolar). For these varieties however, the speech of the other three communities (Se 301, H 402 and Al 600) will not present greater identification problems with respect to said phones, as the corresponding sounds appear in their own system in free variation.

The dimension velar/faringeal, table 5, affects only Al 600 in confrontation with the other four varieties, where the [x] of Al 600 is unknown and will not be identified as correspondent to their [h].

| Se 301 | H 402 | H 601 | Se 306 | AI 600 | | |
|-------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|------------------|---------------------------------------|
| | $\hat{\check{s}}$ | | | | pre- alveolar | vI affricate |
| | | | | $\hat{\check{\check{s}}}$ | prepalatal | vI affricate |
| | | | \check{s} | | pulatal | vI tricutive |
| $\hat{\check{s}}$ | $\hat{\check{\check{s}}}$ | | $\hat{\check{s}}$ | | | vI affricate |
| | | $\hat{\check{y}}$ | | | | se- vI affricate "rehiladju" vd |

Table 3

Table 4

| Se 301 | H 402 | H 601 | Se 306 | AI 600 | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------|------------|-------------------------|
| | | $\check{z}^{\nu-\nu}_{\#-}$ | | | alveolar | vd fricative "rehilada" |
| | | $\check{y}^{\nu-\nu}$ | $\check{y}^{\#-\nu}_{\nu-\nu}$ | | prepalatal | vd fricative "rehilada" |
| $y^{\#-\nu}_{\nu-\nu}$ | $y^{\#-\nu}_{\nu-\nu}$ | $y^{\nu-\nu}$ | $y^{\nu-\nu}$ | $y^{\nu-\nu}$ | palatal | vd fricative |
| | $\check{y}^{\nu-\nu}$ | | | | | vd fricative "renilada" |
| | | $\hat{y}^{\#-}$ | | $\hat{y}^{\#-}$ | | vd affricate |
| $\check{j}^{\#-\nu}_{\nu-\nu}$ | | | $j^{\#-\nu}_{\nu-\nu}$ | | | vd lateral |

Table 5

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|--|--|------------|--|
| | | | | $x^{\#-\nu}_{\nu-\nu}$ $x^{\#-\nu}_{\nu-\nu}$ $x^{\#-\nu}_{\nu-\nu}$ $x^{\#-\nu}_{\nu-\nu}$ | | velar | vl fricative " " " slightly aspirated |
| h | h | h | h | h-c | | furingular | vl fricative |

9.4 CONCLUSION

The study of the five varieties reveals where these varieties differ from each other, where the correspondences of the different sounds can be found and indicates where identification problems in interdialectal communication will arise. It is not possible, however, to make any statement as to when, with increasing phonetic dissimilarity within the units of a correspondence, the threshold of understanding is reached. No such study based on primary field research has been found in this area. On the basis of the findings in the present thesis, tests should be made in direct contact with informants confronting them with sound sequences devoid of sense to find out when a margin of understanding is reached, i.e. when the informants cease to identify a phone of a variety with the corresponding one of his own. The use of senseless sound sequences is the most appropriate way to test the findings, as the hearer cannot have recourse to extralinguistic factors in support of the identification process.

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