A COMPARISON OF FIVE ANDALUSIAN VARIETIES
BASED ON THE
"ATLAS LINGÜÍSTICO-ETNOGRÁFICO DE ANDALUCÍA"
by
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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.
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I wish to thank at this point my graduate advisors, especially Dr. T.W. Kim, for assistance in the production of my thesis. 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. I would finally like to thank my husband Dr. T.K. Peucker for his patience while I wrote the thesis and his helpful comments when they were needed most.
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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.

1.2 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 ethno-grapher - 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 varieties 2) 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
[a] velarized low central unrounded vowel
[â] nasalized low central unrounded vowel
[e] higher-mid front unrounded vowel
[ê] open higher-mid front unrounded vowel
[i] high front unrounded vowel
[ɨ] open high front unrounded vowel
[ɪ] doubly open high front unrounded vowel

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

[o] higher-mid back rounded vowel
[ɔ] open higher-mid back rounded vowel
[ə] closed higher-mid back rounded vowel
[ɔ] lax higher-mid back rounded vowel
[u] high back rounded vowel
[ʊ] lax back rounded vowel

: juxtaposed indicates vowel length
~ above vowel indicates nasalization

[i] palatal semivowel
[u] velar semivowel
CONSONANTS

BILABIAL

[p ] voiceless plosive
[b ] voiced plosive
[b̪ ] voiced fricative
[m ] nasal

LABIODENTAL

[f ] voiceless fricative 4)
[f̪ ] voiceless bi-labiodental fricative
[m ] nasal

INTERDENTAL

[θ ] voiceless fricative
[η ] nasal

DENTIONTERDENTAL

[ʃ ] voiceless fricative
[d̪ ] voiced fricative

DENTAL

[t ] voiceless plosive
[d ] voiced plosive
[h ] voiceless aspirated fricative
[ɾ ] lateral
[ŋ ] nasal

ALVEOLAR

[ɹ ] voiced relaxed fricative
[ɻ ] voiced fricative with articulation in between a lateral and a vibrant
[ɹ̃ ] voiced nasalized fricative
[ɭ̃ ] semi-voiceless aspirated fricative
[ɭ̃ ] semi-voiceless aspirated and nasalized fricative
[ɕ ] "corono" 5) alveolar voiceless fricative with a flat articulation of the tongue
[ɡ̊ ] "corono-predorsal" 6) voiceless fricative with a tongue articulation between flat and convex
[ʃ̊ ] "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
[ẓ] "corono"-alveolar voiced fricative with "rehilamiento" 7)
[l] lateral
[r] flap
[r̚] trill
[n] nasal

PREPALATAL
[ɣ̥̝] voiced fricative "rehila"
[ɣ̧̝] voiceless affricate
[ɣ̧̝] voiceless palatal-alveolar affricate with little tenseness in the stop-phase

PALATAL
[ʃ̩] voiceless central fricative
[y̗] voiced fricative
[y̥̝] voiced fricative "rehilada" 9)
[ʃ̩] voiceless affricate
[ʃ̥̝] voiceless affricate
[y̥̝] semi-voiced central affricate "rehilada" 10)
[l] lateral
[u] nasal
[j] semi-consonant

VELAR
[k̩] voiceless plosive
[g̩] voiced plosive
[x̱̩] voiceless fricative
[x̱̥̝] voiceless aspirate fricative
[ɣ̢̝] voiced fricative
[ŋ̩] nasal
[w̩] semi-consonant

FARINGEAL
[h̲̩] voiceless aspirate fricative
[h̲] voiced aspirate fricative

above consonant indicates nasalization

SIMPLIFIED PHONETIC SYMBOLS
[ø̩] very close higher -mid back rounded vowel; simplified to closed higher-mid back rounded vowel [ø]
[ø̢̝] semi-voiced bi-labiodental fricative; simplified to voiceless bilabiodental fricative [f]
[ø̢̥̝] voiceless palatal affricate with little tenseness in the stop-phase simplified to [ɹ]

7) For definition of the term, see section 1.6
8), 9), 10) ibid.
[m] alveolar nasal with a tendency to a bilabial articulation, simplified to [n]
[l] semi-voiced alveolar lateral, simplified to [l]

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 [ɾ].

OTHER SYMBOLS

#- word initial
-C before a consonant
V-V intervocalic position
vl voiceless

-# word final
C- after a consonant
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 overall 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 [z] are said to have "žeismo".
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 Andalusian dialect 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 relaxados") 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 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."

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." 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

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." The questionnaire of the Atlas Linguístico de la Península Ibérica 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" 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
the capitals, answers where 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 - where 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 III: "La casa. Faenas domésticas. Alimentación"
Volume IV: "El tiempo. Topografía y naturaleza del terreno.
17) Oficios. El mar."

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
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] / [ʝ]
   "yeismo"
   20) map no 2
   "zteismo"

3. varieties having:
   [s] or
   [ʃ] or
   [ʎ]
   [y]

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
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/ʃ ; ʃ  
II) "seseo" ; "distinción" y/ʃ ; ʃ  
III) a very heterogenous area around Sevilla which is basically ceceante and varies in the other features.  
IV) "distinción" s/θ ; "yeismo" ; ʃ  
   This area covers large parts of the North and the North-East of Andalucía.  
V) "distinción" s/θ ; "yeismo" ; ʃ  
VI) "seseo" ; "yeismo" ; ʃ  
   A central zone between zones IV) and VII)  
VII) "ceceo" ; "yeismo" ; ʃ  
   This area covers large parts of the South  
VIII) "ceceo" ; "yeismo" ; ʃ  
IX) "ceceo" ; "yeismo" ; ʃ  
X) "ceceo" ; "distinción" y/ʃ ; ʃ  

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/ʃ ; ʃ  
Cabezas Rubias (Huelva 300): " " ; " " ; " 


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

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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 borderlines 25) 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/ʃ" around Almería (capital): Navarro T. marks the capital as "seseante", the region to the West and North West as "distinción s/ʃ" 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.
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 (Almería 507) in the East and Gergal (Almería 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 Andalucía - 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 confusion 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 Castillian. 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.

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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 "apico alveolar"; Navarro T. expresses it as follows:

"Es transito 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 obtains 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 uniforme 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 fricción 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. appear in the corresponding area.

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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

\[\text{\textit{i}}\] - [h[kk] [h[kk k\text{\texttheta}]] 'rock'
\[\text{\textit{a}}\] - [h[kk k\text{\texttheta}]] 'rocky hill'
\[\text{\textit{i}}\] - [laŋdi] 'cowstable'
\[\text{\textit{i}}\text{\textacute{i}}\] when stressed [baŋi:] 'two handled water jug'
\[\text{\textit{u}}\text{\textacute{i}}\] [baŋi:] 'cask'

\[\text{\textit{i}}\] - [n]\# [hoŋr\text{\textae}n\text{\textacute{\textae}}] 'hearth'
\[\text{\textit{\textgamma}}\] [kaŋn\text{\textae}n\text{\textacute{\textae}}] 'farmer's boy'

\[\text{i}\] elsewhere in unstressed position [m\text{\textae}ŋ\text{\textae}n\text{\textacute{\textae}}] 'harrow'
\[\text{i}\] in stressed or unstressed position [gab\text{\textae}l\text{\textacute{\textae}}] 'gavel unbound sheaf'
\[\text{i}\] [imb\text{\textae}n\text{\textae}n\text{\textacute{\textae}}] 'winter'

\[\text{\textepsilon}\] - [h] [b\text{\textae}ŋ\text{\textae}c] 'old'
\[\text{kr\text{\textae}ŋ\text{\textacute{\textae}}\text{t\textae}ŋ\text{\textacute{\textae}}}\] 'crown crested cock'
\[\text{kw\text{\textae}ŋ\text{\textacute{\textae}}\text{ebn\text{\textae}n\text{\textacute{\textae}}}}\] 'cow having horns turned strongly upward'
\[\text{kor\text{\textae}l\text{\textae}}\] 'to cover a goat'
\[\text{p\text{\textae}ŋ\text{\textae}}\] 'comb'

\[\text{\textsigma}\] - [r] [RESOB\text{\textae}] 'to knead'
\[\text{\textsigma}\] [REN\text{\textae}ŋ\text{\textae}c] 'lamb having one testicle concealed'
\[\text{\textsigma}\] - [r] [s\text{\textae}ŋ\text{\textae}c] 'highlander'
\[\text{\textsigma}\] [\text{\textsigma}ŋ\text{\textae}f\text{\textae}] 'to lock'
[ə] elsewhere in unstressed positions [otúbrə] 'october'

[e] in stressed or unstressed positions [teléřə] 'plough-pin'
[θənθɪ:], 'land kept in reserve'

4.1.2 CENTRAL VOWELS

[a] -[h]+ V [atahəθə] 'corn loft'
-back vowel [θaukə] 'elder'
- [h]+ C [kaʔhə] 'division of walnut'

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

[a] -nasal [kændəlɔn] 'oil-beetle'

[ə] [māməŋtoŋ] 'motherless lamb'
[mānōple'] 'fingerstalls of the reapers'

[a:] - when stressed [θagaː] 'young shepherd'

[æː] [kolgiː] 'to leach'

[a] - when stressed or unstressed [pilə] 'drinking trough'
[mākʃna] 'harrow'

[aː] in stressed position [hāːtə] 'axe'

[ɛː] elsewhere in unstressed position [auðəbɪlə] 'latch'

[a] in stressed or unstressed position [saumwérv] 'brine'
[kafela] 'weeder'

4.1.3 BACK VOWELS

[ɤ] -[r]+ C [koďənɨː] 'quail'

-[h]+ C [dɔnnɪː] 'rain puddle'
[0] [-h] [toh'a] 'swampy land'
    [dp'h] 'two'

[2] [fopero] 'wardrobe'
    [garota] 'cudgel'

[0] [-n]# [mamng ntony] 'motherless lamb'

[8] [gur'ny] 'shepherd's pouch'

[0] [-f] [vofe] 'fox'
[9] [kašor] 'young wolf'

[9] [pitoa'a:] 'woodpecker'

[0] -# when unstressed [bje've] 'winnow-fork'
[0] [babe'sc] 'fallow land'

[0] elsewhere in unstressed position [pelstil] 'gull nut of the oak tree'
[0] elsewhere [bolc] 'bread baked from scraps of dough'

[9] [bobite] 'hoopoe'

[0] in unstressed positions [aluθem] 'lavender'
[0] in all stressed and unstressed positions [arunjaço] 'landslip'
    [palco] 'liquorice'
    [qa'ud'es] 'pigsty'

[0] [-a] [maulə] 'to mew'
4.2. VOWEL GROUPS

4.2.1 VOWEL + SEMIVOWEL

[ε̞] [pej̪ne] 'comb'
[a] [labai'ne] 'pod'
[au] [maul̪a] 'to mew'

4.2.2 SEMIVOWEL + VOWEL

[je] [ejœn] 'mire'
[je] [norje] 'draw well'
[ju] [puj̪a] 'piece of land given by farmer to foreman as part of wages'
[we] [samwe're] 'brine'
[wa] [aghwagá:] 'to rinse'

4.2.3 VOWEL + VOWEL

[iu] [liúd̪e] 'yeast'
[ia] [aθandíp] 'watermelon'
[io] [aŋdíc] 'a drop extra for good measure'
[ea] [pol̪ea] 'porridge'
[ao] [preńac] 'corn about to tassel'
4.3. CONSONANTS

4.3.1 BILABIALS

[p] ʃ - [pipe] 'seeds of the grape'

V-V

- C [aŋspaːl̪] 'to blow'

C- [ŋlmpagaː] 'to lighten'

[b] ʃ - [barɪ] 'cask'

nasal- [karąmbrɛ] 'icicle'

[b] V-V [abɛnɛ] 'oats'

- C [bɑ̀ɾbɛ] 'cock wattles'

C- [ʃebrɛɾ] 'February'

[m] ʃ - [moŋʃ] 'steady farm labourer'

V-V [tãmo] 'chaff'

- C [imbjɛ̃nɔ] 'winter'

4.3.2 LABIODENTAL

[f] ʃ - [fofãhe] 'forage'

V-V [lofwele] 'bellows'
[f]  V-V [afilèr] 'knife grinder'
     -C [fèfrèka] 'to extinguish furnace'
     C- [afilèrèr] 'pin-cushion'

[r]  -f [mənfrir] 'hermaphrodite lamb'

4.3.3. INTERDENTAL

[θ]  #- [θakò] 'halo'
     V-V [kruθa] 'to plough a second time'
     C- [θenθic] 'land kept in reserve'

[θ]  #- [ŋurɔŋ] 'shepheard's pouch'
     V-V [ŋrýaŋ] 'unploughed land'

[ɗ]  V-V [am[/csv]ādí] 'small pillow'
     -C [p[/csv]eɾ] 'flint'
     C- [aib[/csv]y] 'pads of pack-saddle'

[p]  -θ [θenθic] 'land kept in reserve'

4.3.4 DENTAL

[t]  #- [támɔ] 'chaff'
     V-V [kapita] 'town'
     -C [alp[/csv]ankɔ] 'to bar a door'
     C- [ponjente] 'west wind'
[d]  #- [dɨnɪʨ] 'rain-puddle'
nasal- [beŋɖrá:] 'strong wind'

[ŋ]  -dental C [ɑŋtʃə] 'the day before yesterday'

[b]  -dental C [sɛʱtə] 'afternoon nap'

4.3.5 ALVEOLAR

[s]  #- [sɛmbra] 'to broadcast seed'
V-V [ɾɛprɛʂ] 'water stagnated'
C- [eŋʂətə] 'to thread the needle'

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

[a]  -C [aipɛpda] 'shed'

[a]  -C [paɾtɪɾ] 'summer pasture'

[ə]  -n [aŋkəŋnɔkə] 'cork tree'

[ə]  -n [haŋnɛɾɔ] 'sieve, sifter'

[ə]  -n [θəŋnɛɾɔ] 'leach cloth'
V-V \( [\text{báرع} ] \) 'pole of beating down the olives'
C- \( [\text{برع} ] \) 'diversion dam'
-C \( [\text{ارك} ] \) 'rain-bow'

V-V \( [\text{فارق} ] \) 'strickle'

V-V \( [\text{فادرق} ] \) 'grape vines'

V-V \( [\text{لاق} ] \) 'peg-hole in beam'
-C \( [\text{اللدند} ] \) 'shed'
-C \( [\text{العاب} ] \) 'cloudy sky'

V-V \( [\text{كينع} ] \) 'cloud(s)'
-C \( [\text{النسا} ] \) 'bell-ram'
C- \( [\text{وهناك} ] \) 'cow having horns turned strongly upward'

4.3.6 PALATAL

\[ \text{[y]} \] \# \( [\text{نشتة} ] \) 'to yoke'
V-V \( [\text{ماشر} ] \) 'head shepherd'

Note: \( [\hat{\text{y}}] \) in: \( [\text{سلاك} ] \) 'touchwood'
\( [\hat{\text{y}}] \) in: \( [\text{سلاك} ] \) 'sink'
[ s ] #– [sòfrɛ] ‘ravine’
V-V [ròsɛ] ‘slope’
C– [kòiɛ] ‘beehive’

Note: [s] in [pìnsɛ] ‘spit’
[s] in [sìsɛrɛ] ‘white French beans’
[s] in [pàpìsɛ] ‘mud’

[ l ] #– [lùbjɛ] ‘rain’
V-V [kamełɛ] ‘bow of the yoke’

[ ç ] V-V [çetɔnɛ] ‘brushwood’
–palatal C [trɔgɛɛ] ‘saltwort’

[ j ] ~V [nɔrjɛ] ‘draw-well’

4.3.7 VELAR

[ k ] #– [koðwɛlɛ] ‘corn left in husk by threshers’
V-V [amɔkâflɛ] ‘weeder, small weedhook’
–C [aklprɛ] ‘to clear up’
C– [árkɛ] ‘arco iris’ ‘rain-bow’

[ ç ] #– [gabîlɛ] ‘unbound sheaf’
nasal– [sangɛhwɛlɛ] ‘leech’
4.3.6 PANTRY

[ə] V-V [boɗeŋɛ] 'pantry'
-C [bináŋga] 'sharp sourish wine'
C- [ar ɛ oŋ] 'rings of girth'

[ŋ] -velar C [baɾ̥ɑŋɔ] 'brook'
-

[w] -V [samwɛrɛ] 'brine'

4.3.8 FARINGEAL

[ŋ] V-V [laɓiher] 'peghole in beam'

[h] / [p a h ɗ dɛ] 'pigsty'

[h] - [habatɔ] 'wild boar'
-C [baɾ ɓaɾ ɔsaˈh lo] 'to break up new ground'
C- [enhwɑ ga] 'to rinse'

[h] [-n] [imbiŋɛnɔ] 'winter'
4.4 CONSONANT GROUPS

4.4.1 "LICUANTE LÍQUIDA"

[pr] [prɛˈɡə] 'diversion dam'
[pl] [əˈɡpla] 'to blow'
[tr] [əˈlɛtranˈka] 'to bar a door'
[kr] [krɛˈtɛlajə] 'crown crested cock'
[br] [ˈfɛbrɛɾə] 'february'
[bl] [ˈmblə] 'cloudy sky'
[dr] [pjeˈdrə] 'flint'
[gr] [ˌɡranɪə] 'hail'
[fr] [ˈfesvəkka] 'to extinguish furnace'
[fl] [əˈmɔkaflə] 'weeder, small weedhook'

4.4.2 NASAL + C(C)

[mp] [ˈfəlɛmpəɡə] 'to lighten'
[pt] [ˈpɔnjeptə] 'west wind'
[pk] [ˈsaləməŋkəɡə] 'gecko'
[mb] [kəɾəmbraŋ] 'icicle'
[mbr] [ˈsəmbrə] 'to seed'
[pd] [bɛndəˈbə] 'strong wind'
[pɡ] [ˈsæŋkwələ] 'leech'
[ŋo] [θenθiː] 'land kept in reserve'
[ŋiŋ] [mānɔ:] 'bell ram'
[ŋɔ] [epnwaŋə] 'to rinse'
[ŋɔ] [trɔŋɔ] 'saltwort'

4.4.3 [œ], [r] + C

[rt] [portə] 'gateway of an enclosed property'
[rk] [arkɔːɾ] 'rain bow'
[rɔ] [arbeəkə] 'sweet basil'
[d] [aβədɔŋ] 'pads of pack-saddle'
[ŋ] [arŋɔː] 'rings of girth'
[ŋ] [muθeʃlɔ] 'bat'
[ŋ] [kɔŋɔ] 'beehive'
[ŋ] [aŋχədilə] 'small pillow'
[ŋn] [kɔŋnɛtə] 'stag beetle'

4.4.4 ʃ + C

[ŋ] [aŋpəndə] 'shed'
[ŋ] [aŋkɔfi] 'floor washing rag'
[ŋ] [aŋmɔhdə] 'pillow'
[ŋ] [taŋnɛ] 'tavern'
[ŋ] [esimaləkaŋθɛ] 'to forge a new cutting edge for a worn shear'
4.4.5 \([\mathfrak{d}] + \mathcal{C}\)
[\(\mathfrak{d}n\) \(\text{half-ne}\)] 'sieve'

4.4.6 \([\mathfrak{t}] + \mathcal{C}\)

[\(\mathfrak{t}n\) \(\text{heach cloth}\)]

4.4.7 \([\mathfrak{h}] + \mathcal{C}\)

[\(\mathfrak{h}n\) \(\text{cork-tree}\)]

4.4.8 \([\mathfrak{l}] + \mathcal{C}\)

[\(\mathfrak{lp}\) \(\text{alp-e}\)] 'shed'
[\(\mathfrak{lf}\) \(\text{fil-e}\)] 'pin cushion'
[\(\mathfrak{lm}\) \(\text{alma}\)] 'stack'

4.4.9 \([\mathfrak{h}] + \mathcal{C}(\mathcal{C}_2)^1\) (where \(\mathcal{C}_1 = \mathcal{C}_2\))

[\(\mathfrak{hp}\) \(\text{pá-hü}\)] 'cavern'
[\(\mathfrak{ht}\) \(\text{ta-ta} \ \text{pá-hü}\)] 'to fruit'
[\(\mathfrak{ht}\) \(\text{ta-fo}\)] 'snapper'
[\(\mathfrak{hk}\) \(\text{de-kw} \ \text{ha}\)] 'to eradicate'
[\(\mathfrak{hk}\) \(\text{de-kw} \ \text{mpa}\)] 'to clear up'
Erfhne'rel's \textit{stack of sheaves}:

\[ C_1 + C_2 \quad \text{(where } C = C_1 \text{ )} \]

\[ b'hi1e \quad \text{'unsheared wool'} \]

4.4.7 $C_1 + C_2$  

\[ ab'per2 \quad \text{'wasp's nest'} \]

\[ ka'ko \quad \text{'division of orange'} \]
CHAPTER V: THE VARIETY OF BERROCAL, HUELVA 402

5.1 VOWELS

5.1.1 FRONT VOWELS

\[i\] -[hp] [dɪ ʰ pəsta:] 'to awake'
- [u] [liudə] 'yeast'
Note: [ab ʰ pɛɾo] 'wasp's nest'

\[i\] -[r] [pes ə rĩ] 'apron of reaper'
\[i\] [kol ɾĩ ʰ d ə pɛɾo] 'dog rose'

\[i\] elsewhere in unstressed positions [mákiňe] 'harrow'
\[iː\] elsewhere in stressed positions [e ʰ pi:nẽ] 'white thorn'
\[i\] elsewhere in stressed or unstressed positions [ginẽ] 'pumpkin'
- [ortiɡe] 'nettle'

\[e\] -[pp] [e ʰ pi:nẽ] 'white thorn'
- [h] + C [tabẽñẽ] 'tavern'
- [r] + C [berdõna] 'green bird'

\[ə\] in unstressed positions b. mwáetc 'bicho muerto', 'carrion'
Note: [pe ʰ diɡoñi ʰ yõ] 'young partridge'
- [ibjε ʰ nẽ] 'winter'
[e] -[r] [ɾeɡatʃ̥] 'irrigation channel' [ɾebagɔ] 'fine bran'  
[ɛ] -[r] [beɾˈəlɛ] 'to bleat' [senseʃ̥] 'wide mothed cattle bell'  
[-h] [dɛˈhɛ] 'to clear up' [treˈŋ̥tʃɛ] 'the day before yesterday'  

[e] -[n] [ɛŋəndɛɾɔ] 'vent'  
[ɛ] [aˈmenɛɾɛ] 'kernel of a stone'  

Note: [ɛhʌmˈbre] 'swarm'  

[e:] elsewhere in stressed positions [ɛŋəndɛːɾɔ] 'vent'  
[ə] elsewhere in unstressed positions [terəɡîte] 'praying cricket'  
[ɛ] elsewhere in stressed or unstressed positions  

5.1.2 CENTRAL VOWELS  

[a] -[h] [ɡaˈʃ̥a] 'to sieve'  
[-o] [ʃobəɾæʃ] 'corn-loft, trunk'  

[ɑ] -[hk] [kɐˈʃ̥kɔ] 'division of orange' [daməˈʃ̥kɔ] 'apricot'  

[ɑ] -[h] [ɛnˈhwɛɡaˈhɛ] 'to rinse' [linpjåˈhɛ] 'to prune olive trees'  

[a] -# when stressed [ɡuˈhɛtæɾ] 'to cut off water'  
[ɑ] [pila] 'drinking trough'  
[@] -# when unstressed [ɡarjotʃ] 'gull nut of the oak tree'  


[e] elsewhere when unstressed [agweˈɾɛ] 'pack-saddle for carrying pitchers'  
[a] elsewhere in stressed or unstressed positions [amáɾɡɔ] 'bitter almond tree' [märχɔ] 'leaf of a pine'
5.1.3. BACK VOWELS

- [œ] -[r]+[c] \([s-a\ kɔtə]\) 'sour milk'

- [œ] [nɔ̃tə] 'north wind'

- [œ] \([sɔrɔ\] 'fox'
  \([ɔrə\] 'forage'

- [œ] -[h] + [kɔh\ tə] 'flour bin'

- [œ] \([gɛɾɛc\ rɨtə]\) 'water bubble'

- [œ] \([-\text{#}}\) when stressed \([bə\ tɛdə]\) 'comb'

- [œ] \([-\text{#}}\) when stressed \([\text{apər} \varepsilon \text{ɔːs}]\) 'farm overseer'

- [œ] \([-\text{#}}\) when unstressed \([\text{Faɪrəc}]\) 'strickle'

- [œ] \([-\text{#}}\) when unstressed \([\text{kɔgwɛl} \varepsilon]\) 'corn left in husk by threshers'

- [œ] \([-\text{#}}\) \([\text{mel} \varepsilon \text{kɔtə} \varepsilon]\) 'peach'

- [œ] elsewhere in unstressed positions \([\text{æg}\ \varepsilon \text{plə}]\) 'to blow'

- [œ] elsewhere in stressed or unstressed positions \([\text{trɔ♠pe}]\) 'snout'
  \([\text{tɔpinɛrə}]\) 'hole through which the water is lost'

- [u] \([-v-]\ [\text{məylə}:]\) 'to mew'

- [u] elsewhere in unstressed positions \([\text{emulínə}]\) 'fog'

- [u] elsewhere in stressed or unstressed positions \([\text{kruːsə}]:\) 'to plough a second time'
  \([\text{alɪbje}]\) 'white French beans'


5.2 Vowel groups

5.2.1 Vowel + Semivowel

\[ \text{ai} \] [paine] 'comb'
\[ \text{eu} \] [maula] 'to mew'

5.2.2. Semivowel + Vowel

\[ \text{je} \] [sjenʃ] 'mire'
\[ \text{ja} \] [norje] 'draw well'
\[ \text{jo} \] [hunjɔ] 'June'
\[ \text{we} \] [samweɾə] 'brine'
\[ \text{wa} \] [a'nuweɡar] 'to rinse'

5.2.3 Vowel + Vowel

\[ \text{iu} \] [ljudʃ] 'yeast'
\[ \text{ia} \] [anɡɛndiʃ] 'watermelon'
\[ \text{io} \] [heidoŋdɔ] 'ground elder'
\[ \text{ea} \] [polɔq] 'porridge'
\[ \text{ao} \] [tirca] 'to broadcast seed'
\[ \text{oa} \] [amɔdiʃ] 'small pillow'
5.3 Consonant

5.3.1 Bilabial

\[ p \] #- \[ pərə\] 'grape vines'

V-V \[ kəpə\; denəbə\] 'snow flake'

-C \[ agəpla\] 'to blow'

C- \[ eləmpəgə\] 'to lighten'

\[ b \] #- \[ bəbəsə\] 'fallow land'

nasal- \[ eməbərəgə\] 'sky covered with film of clouds'

\[ b \] V-V \[ abənə\] 'oats'

-C \[ febrəɾə\] 'february'

C- \[ aəbələkə\] 'sweet basil'

\[ m \] #- \[ mən; hərə\] 'foreman'

V-V \[ təmə\] 'chaff'

-C \[ eləmpəgə\] 'to lighten'

C- \[ aəmərə\] 'small pillow'

5.3.2 Labiodental

\[ f \] #- \[ fwayne\] 'bellows'

V-V \[ aŋəjəfe\] 'floor washing rag'

-C \[ məmfələrə\] 'hermaphrodite lamb'

C-
5.3.4 Dental

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

[d] # [dɪ̞hpɛrta] 'to awake'
 nasal- [rɛ̞dɔ] ("pan redondo") 'cob'

[n] -dental C [ponjɛnta] 'west wind'

[h] -dental C [kɛ̞hɛnta] 'flour bin'
5.3.5 Alvedlar

\[\hat{\text{g}}\]  # \[\text{sesmbra}\] 'to seed'
V-V \[\text{hasin}\] 'stack of sheaves'
C- \[\text{gan\'el}\] 'gateway of an enclosed property'

\[\hat{\text{s}}\]  # \[\text{so\'ara}^\prime\] 'corn-loft'
V-V \[\text{febo\'e}^\prime\] 'a drop extra for good measure'
C- \[\text{a\'isa}\] 'to rough plough'

Note: \[\hat{\text{g}}\] in \[\text{age\'a}^\prime\] 'saltwort'

\[\hat{\text{z}}\]  C \[\text{a\'bao\'ya}^\prime\] 'ground peanut'

\[\hat{\text{z}}\]  C \[\text{a\'bo}^\prime\] 'floor washing rag'

\[\hat{\text{h}}\]  \[\text{ge\'in\'er}^\prime\] 'leach cloth'

\[\hat{\text{u}}\]  \[\text{a\'a\'ner}^\prime\] 'sieve'

\[r\]  V-V \[\text{b\'ar}\] 'pole of beating down the olives'
C- \[\text{argoye}\] 'rings of girth'
C- \[\text{pad\'re}\] ('"burro padre") 'stallion jackass'
5.3.6 Prepalatal

[ʃ] #='strickle'
V-V ['stricle']
C- ['strickle']

[ŋ] #='peg-hole in beam'
V-V ['yoke']
C- ['yoke']

5.3.7 Palatal

[y] #='to yoke'
V-V ['yoke']
C- ['yoke']

[ŋ] #='cloud(s)'
V-V ['fog']
C- ['fog']

[ŋ] #='clear sky'
V-V ['beam']
C- ['beam']

[ŋ] #='quail'
V-V ['quail']
C- ['quail']

[ŋ] #='thunderbolt'
V-V ['thunderbolt']
C- ['thunderbolt']

[ŋ] #='mortar bed'
V-V ['mortar bed']
C- ['mortar bed']
Note: \( \dot{\mathbf{y}} \) in \( \text{primiy} \) 'kestrel'  
\( \dot{\mathbf{y}} \) in \( \text{hjy} \) 'touchwood'

\( \mathbf{s} \)  
- \( \text{smænæ} \) 'hearth'

\( \mathbf{n} \) \( \text{v} \) 'bundle of handfuls'

\( \mathbf{j} \) -\( \text{sjænæ} \) 'mire'

5.3.8 Velar

\( \mathbf{k} \)  
- \( \text{køswelæ} \) 'husk, chaff'

\( \mathbf{g} \)  
- \( \text{gæby ærc} \) 'gavel, unbound sheaf'

nasal- \( \text{fængæ} \) 'mud'
[ ⃣]  V-V [hamug4] 'side-saddle for women'
  C- [argyθ] 'rings of girth'
  -C- [ágrjc] 'sharp sourish wine'

[ η]  -velar C [fangɔ] 'mud'
  -C- [filon] 'rocky hill'

[ w]  -V [gawmwaŋ] 'brine'

5.3.9 Faringual

[ h]  # [hunjɔ] 'june'
  V-V [labherɔ] 'peghole in beam'
  -C- [eʰkwəʰa] 'to eradicate'

Note: [h] in [kwantɔ] 'mag-pie' and in Fənə kwəʰ 'spawn'

[ h]  -nasal C [do tə̃hɔ] 'ferrules for attaching beam to seath'
5.4. Consonant Groups

5.4.1 "Lícuante Líquida"

\[ \text{pre} \] [prəɡə] 'diversion dam'
\[ \text{pl} \] [aɡɔpla] 'to blow'
\[ \text{tr} \] [trɔŋkə] 'big log'
\[ \text{kr} \] [krɔɡa:] 'to plough a second time'
\[ \text{kl} \] [klɔɔpə] ('clara del día') 'dawn'
\[ \text{br} \] [fɛbɾɛrɔ] 'february'
\[ \text{bl} \] [reɡoʊʃ] 'groove roof-tile facing downwards'
\[ \text{dr} \] [pjɛdɾə] 'flint'
\[ \text{gr} \] [granɡə] 'hail'
\[ \text{fr} \] [fɛfɾəˈka] 'to extinguish furnace'
\[ \text{fl} \] [məfɪl ɹɪtʃ] 'hermaphrodite lamb'

5.4.2 Nasal + C(C)

\[ \text{mp} \] [fɛləmpaɡə] 'to lighten'
\[ \text{mpl} \] [kaŋtiŋlɔɾə] 'two handled water jug'
\[ \text{nt} \] [ponjɛntə] 'west wind'
\[ \text{nk} \] [salam ɡpʁeɡə] 'gecko'
\[ \text{mb} \] [əmbəɾŋa] 'sky covered with film of clouds'
\[ \text{mbr} \] [lumbrə] 'threshold'
\[ \text{nd} \] [beŋdəʊ] 'pedlar'
\[ \text{ng} \] [sæŋɡisweŋ] 'leech'
5.4.3 [ə], [r] + C

[əp] [ga'apə] 'dirt'
[st] [so'ota] 'to unyoke'
[sk] [āikə] ("arko iri") 'rainbow'
[ad] [ətə akə] 'sweet basil'
[ad] [əh kəsəda] 'to weed cornfields'
[rg] [argo'yə] 'rings of girth'
[as] [mo'sjelə go] 'bat'
[as] [ko'əəc] 'beehive'
[am] [a'məcədə] 'small pillow'
[an] [kədənə] 'quail'

5.4.4 [l] + C

[l ep] [ələcəfigə] 'floor washing rag'

5.4.5 [h] + C

[h an] [se'h nərəc] 'leach cloth'
5.4.6 $[\mathfrak{b}] + C$

$[\mathfrak{b} \mathfrak{n}] \quad [\text{spinere}] \quad \text{'sieve'}$

5.4.7 $[\mathfrak{h}] + C(C)$

$[\mathfrak{h} p \mathfrak{h} \mathfrak{d} \mathfrak{a}] \quad \text{''bed head''}$
$[\mathfrak{h} p \mathfrak{g} \mathfrak{g} \mathfrak{g} \mathfrak{a}] \quad \text{''pick''}$
$[\mathfrak{h} \mathfrak{k}] \quad [\text{ewkka}] \quad \text{''to eradicate''}$
$[\mathfrak{h} \mathfrak{k} \mathfrak{k}] \quad [\text{ka\'kka}] \quad \text{''division of orange''}$
$[\mathfrak{h} \mathfrak{l}] \quad [\text{kolale}] \quad \text{''to leach''}$

5.4.8 $[\mathfrak{h}] + C$

$[\mathfrak{h} \mathfrak{t}] \quad [\text{kw\'kte}] \quad \text{''slope''}$

5.4.9 $[\mathfrak{h}] + C$

$[\mathfrak{h} \mathfrak{n}] \quad [\text{yobi\'n}] \quad \text{''drizzle''}$
$[\mathfrak{h} \mathfrak{n}] \quad [\text{tab\'n}] \quad \text{''tavern''}$

5.4.10 $C + C \quad (\text{where } C = C) \quad \frac{1}{2} \quad \frac{1}{2}$

$[\mathfrak{p} \mathfrak{p} \mathfrak{i} \mathfrak{n} \mathfrak{c}] \quad \text{''white thorn''}$
$[\mathfrak{a} \mathfrak{b} \mathfrak{a} \mathfrak{l} \mathfrak{a}] \quad \text{''to sharpen the plough-share''}$
CHAPTER VI: THE VARIETY OF PATERNA DEL CAMPO, HUELVA

6.1 VOWELS

6.1.1 FRONT VOWELS

\[ \text{i} \quad -[\text{ig}] \quad [\text{irergo}] \quad \text{goldfinch}' \]
\[-[\text{l}] \quad [\text{pa \theta \ell}] \quad \text{drying of fruit}' \]
\[-[\text{l}] \quad [\text{\hat{y}} \ell \text{la}] \quad \text{small cherry}' \]

\[ [\text{i}] \quad -\text{nasal} \quad [\text{e} \text{pinc}] \quad \text{white thorn}' \quad [\text{limo} \text{h nero}] \quad \text{beggar}' \]
\[ [\text{\hat{a}}] \quad [\text{imbj\text{'h}n\text{c}}] \quad \text{winter}' \quad [\text{kominic}] \quad \text{drop extra for good measure}' \]

\[ [\text{i}] \quad \text{V-} \quad [\text{peina}] \quad \text{comb}' \]

\[ [\text{i}:] \quad \text{elsewhere in stressed positions} \quad [\text{pef\text{'t}tc}] \quad \text{puppy}' \]
\[ [\text{\hat{h}}] \quad \text{elsewhere in unstressed positions} \quad [\text{lamb\text{'h}ero}] \quad \text{peghole in beam}' \]
\[ [\text{i}] \quad \text{elsewhere in stressed or unstressed positions} \quad [\text{f\text{'h}c}] \quad \text{steady farm labourer}' \]
\[ [\text{kitalo}] \quad \text{to eradicate}' \]

\[ [\text{\varnothing}] \quad -[\text{r}] \quad [\text{be\text{'h}ergo}] \quad \text{gull nut of the oak tree}' \]
\[-[\text{\hat{a}}] \quad [\text{peina}] \quad \text{comb}' \]
\[-[\text{h}] \quad [\text{ob\text{'h}e}] \quad \text{ewe}' \quad [\text{e\text{\acute{t}akc}}] \quad \text{uprights of side of cart}' \]
\[-[\text{r}+C] \quad [\text{be\text{'rdho}] \quad \text{green bird}' \]

\[ \text{Note:} \quad [\text{be\text{'h}ero}] \quad \text{calf}' ; \quad [\text{abe\text{'h}ruk}] \quad \text{woodpecker}' ; \quad [\text{art\text{\acute{e}} ne\text{'h}e}] \quad \text{hole through which the water is lost}' ; \quad [\text{pe\text{'h}pitite}] \quad \text{white wagtail}' \]

\[ [\text{\varnothing}] \quad -[\text{n}] \quad [\text{otjenc}] \quad \text{mire}' \]
\[ [\text{\varnothing}] \quad [\text{otje\text{'n}a}] \quad \text{drizzle}' \]

\[ [\text{e}] \quad \text{elsewhere in stressed positions} \quad [\text{kane\text{'y}e}] \quad \text{bow of the yoke}' \]
\[ [\text{a}] \quad \text{elsewhere in unstressed positions} \quad [\text{binvgozngac otc}] \quad \text{sharp sourish wine}' \]
elsewhere in stressed or unstressed position

\[\text{regərɪc}\] 'land with irrigation'
\[\text{rhərɪc}\] 'strickle'

### 6.1.2 CENTRAL VOWELS

\[\text{a} \] -\[\text{o}\] \[\text{kərə tə'c}\] 'animal having feet of different colour'
\[-\[\text{u}\] \[\text{maəvə}\] 'to mew'
\[-\[\text{u}\] \[\text{aəmədə}\] 'small pillow'
\[-\[\text{h}\] + \[\text{təhə kətə}\] 'curry comb'

\[\text{a} \] -\[\text{n}\] \[\text{məntıčx}\] 'potter' yard'

\[\text{a} \] \[\text{məndı}\] 'apron of reaper'

\[\text{a:} \] elsewhere in stressed positions \[\text{regə'hə}\] 'main irrigation channel'
\[\text{a} \] elsewhere in unstressed positions \[\text{tarə bıtyə}\] 'clack'

\[\text{a} \] elsewhere in stressed \[\text{təmಕ}\] 'chaff'
or unstressed positions \[\text{kələ tə'kə}\] 'to forge a new cutting edge for a worn share'

### 6.1.3 BACK VOWELS

\[\text{a} \] -\[\text{r}\] \[\text{fəpəhə}\] 'forage'
\[-\[\text{h}\] + \text{V} \[\text{əmə pə tıtyə}\] 'pin cushion'
\[-\[\text{h}k\] \[\text{tōh kə}\] 'rock'
\[-\[\text{r}\] + \[\text{gəyınə gə'ə}\] 'utensil to sweep chimneys'
\[-\[\text{r}\] + \[\text{təɾdə}\] 'songthrush'

Note: \[\text{koɾə}\] 'fold'
Lo elsewhere in stressed positions [regə-do:] 'sink'
[ɔ] elsewhere in unstressed positions [orə-pəd ɔlə] 'loriot'
[o] elsewhere in stressed or unstressed positions [alɔ̃ˈdrɛ] 'sky lark'
Note: [koŋˈje] 'shell'

[y] - [rd] [ˈθə h̞ər̩də] 'pigsty'
[u] V- [mãyə] 'to mew'

[uː] elsewhere in stressed positions [nùːbe] 'cloud'
[ɔ] elsewhere in unstressed positions [aʃəʊ ə] 'to excite dogs'
[u] elsewhere in stressed or unstressed positions [arəθu] 'liquorice'
[kuʃɪlə] 'scrapere'

6.2.1 VOWEL + SEMIVOWEL

[ɛ] [pɛˈina] 'comb'
[a] [bainə] 'pod'
[u] [mɑ̃ˈyə] 'to mew'
6.2.2 SEMIVOWEL + VOWEL

\[ \text{je} \] [øjɛŋ] 'mire'
\[ \text{ja} \] [nɔrje] 'draw well'
\[ \text{jo} \] [medjɔ díɛ] 'midday'
\[ \text{ju} \] [ŋyda] 'town'
\[ \text{we} \] [arrmweŋɛ] 'brine'
\[ \text{wa} \] [ɔŋ hweŋɛ] 'to rinse'

6.2.3 VOWEL + VOWEL

\[ \text{ia} \] [mânɛntʃa] 'swampy land'
\[ \text{io} \] [gɔrɪ ɔŋ] 'sparrow'
\[ \text{ea} \] [ŋhpl əa] 'porridge'
\[ \text{ao} \] [doblə̃] 'garret, loft'
\[ \text{au} \] [lebヌe] 'yeast'
\[ \text{ua} \] [lanu] 'sheep with coarse wool on haunches'

6.2.4 VOWEL + VOWEL + VOWEL

\[ \text{oa} \] [ŋo pɛry] 'cob'
6.3 CONSONANTS.

6.3.1 BILABIAL

\[ p \] \#-[paFe]'grape vines'

V-V \[ kopí:t? \] 'snowflake'

-C \[ plateró \] 'draining-rack'

-C \[ eɪ kemptá \] 'to clear up'

\[ b \] \#- [barbeýs] 'fallow land'

nasal- [komb: dá] 'a drink or meal over which a deal is clinched'

\[ b \] V-V \[ Fabí:y \] 'head shepherd'

C- [barbeýs] 'fallow land'

\[ m \] \#- [manéró] 'fereman'

V-V \[ tamó] 'chaff'

-C [mam̩ pló réto] 'hermaphrodite lamb'

6.3.2 LABIODENTAL

\[ v \] \#- [vápgo] 'swampy land'

V-V \[ a líló dé:] 'knife grinder'

-C [mam̩ pló réto] 'hermaphrodite lamb'
6.3.3 INTERDENTAL

[θ] #– [θalérɔ] 'container for the salt'
V-V [paθɛf] 'drying of fruit'
C– [enθɛnɔ] 'evergreen oak grove'

[θ] #– [θaga'] 'young shepherd'
V-V [baθiço] 'pod of chickpea'
C– [θeθiço] 'land kept in reserve'

[d] V-V [armwɛtɛ] 'pillow'
–C [pjɛdrɛ] 'flint'
C– [ɛh ksɛdɔ] 'to weed cornfields'

6.3.4 DENTAL

[t] #– [tɛmɔ] 'chaff'
V-V [pɛtɛjɔ] 'court-yard'
–C [butɛ] 'vulture'
C– [pɛrta] 'parcel of land'

[d] #– [diʰpɛrta] 'to awake'
nasal– [θundɛ] 'pillow case'
- dental C [ka]θaː to forge new cutting edge for a worn share

- dental C [plæntə] "nursery garden"

- dental C [eθake] "additional long uprights for carrying corn"

6.3.5 ALVEOLAR

⁹- [tʃemə] "bud"

V-V [lomix] "pads of pack-saddle"

- C [kwədə] "cheese mould seal"

-k [atkaθə] "artichoke"

- n [dɔɿnaθ] "trough"

[V-V [bəɾə] "pole of beating down the olives"

- C [θaθurd] "pigsty"

[F] - [faɜɾə] "strickle"

V-V [pãɾə] "grape -vines"

- [lab!θəɾə] "peg hole in beam"

V-V [teləɾə] plough-pin

C- [mamθlɔɾɪtə] "hermaphrodite lamb"

-# [puptaθ] "prop, support"
[n] \# \[\text{neblí:nə} \] 'fog'
V-V

6.3.6 PREPALATAL

[y] V-V \[\text{koyé:rp} \] 'breast pad of mule yoke'

6.3.7 PALATAL

[y] V-V \[\text{kamé:rp} \] 'bow of the yoke'

[y] \# \[\text{yama} \] 'to knock at the door'

[y] \# \[\text{yabéts} \] 'cotter pin'
V-V \[\text{eyə} \] 'blade of corn'
C- \[\text{emę nyə} \] 'to yoke'

[y] V-V \[\text{páŋc} \] 'table cloth'
-palatal C \[\text{manỳa} \] 'to soil'

[j] -V \[\text{nórjə} \] 'draw-well'
6.3.8 VELAR

[k] #- [kʷəˀ də] 'cheese mould seal'
V-V [kulékə] 'brooding-hen'
-C [alə klán] 'scorpion'
C- [árkə irə] 'rain bow'

[g] #- [gəɾiʃ'ı] 'sparrow'
nasal- [ongə] 'mushroom'

[ŋ] V-V [omígə] 'ant'
C- [bjérgə] 'winnow-fork'

[ŋ] -velar C [ŋ' hw.ŋgaː] 'to rinse'
-# [boŋfŋ] 'ring of the hub'

[w] -V [ŋirwɛlə] 'plum-tree'

6.3.9 FARINGEAL

[h] #- [hˌunjə] 'june'
V-V [laŋ₇ hɛrə] 'peghole in beam'
-C [ŋo h̥ kɨ] 'bread baked from scraps of dough'

[h] -[n] [imbje h̥ nə] 'winter'
6.4. CONSONANT GROUPS

6.4.1 "LICUANTE LÍQUIDA"

[pr] [pre'θe] 'diversion dam'
[pl] [plapta're] 'nursery garden'
[tr] [træŋkə] 'cross bar'
[kr] [kri'ádə] 'maid-servant'
[br] [bræbrə] 'february'
[bl] [table] 'harrow'
[dr] [pjedə] 'flint'
[gr] [granfə] 'hail'
[f] [körtəp'rɪc] 'cutting iron'
[fl] [flámə] 'sultry weather'

6.4.2 NASAL + C(C)

[mp] [Felampərge'ɾ] 'to lighten'
[pt] [ponje'ɾtə] 'west wind'
[ŋk] [atraŋka'] 'to bar a door'
[mb] [kombi da'] 'a drink or meal over which a deal is clinched'
[mbr] [umlapi'a] 'north side of hill'
[nd] [yündə] 'pillow case'
[ŋf] [ŋaŋ'fel] 'leech'
4 kaf 'wide mouthed cattle ball'
[ṇh] [θəŋhwaŋ] 'muscadine'
[ŋ] [məŋə] 'to soil'

6.4.3 [u] + [r] + C

[rp] [kərpiptərə] 'cartwright'
[rt] [kər ə rfi] 'cutting iron'
[rk] [a rko] ('arcə ñə) 'rainbow'
[rb] [ba:ritə] 'cock wattles'
[rd] [æ hka:da] 'to weed cornfields'
[re] [arəjoyə] 'rings of girth'
[u] [a ə hə] 'channel along which milled olives flow'
[rθ] [mrθ jεg εlo] 'bat'
[rγ] [kərγə] 'beehive'
[u] [a ə mwádə] 'pillow'
[rm] [koθmrı́] 'quail'

6.4.4 [a] + C

[ak] [a jəkay ə ərə] 'artichoke'

6.4.5 [u] + C

[an] [døjana jı́] 'trough'
6.4.6 \([l]+C\)

\[l\] \([\text{kalQ' a' }]\) 'to forge a new cutting edge for a worn share'

6.4.7 \([h]+C\)

\[h\] \([\text{e'tak\$}]\) 'additional long uprights for carrying corn'

6.4.8 \([h]+C(C)\)

\[hp\] \([\text{e'h p\v'rd\$}]\) 'feet of a bed'
\[hpp\] \([\text{e'h p\v'n\$}]\) 'dog-rose'
\[hk\] \([k\v'k\$]\) 'division of orange'
\[hn\] \([d\v'h n\v'y\$]\) 'wooden platter'

6.4.9 \([\text{h}]+C\)

\[\text{hn}\] \([\text{\v'}mbje\v'h n\v'p}]\) 'winter'

6.4.10 \(C + C\) (where \(C = C\))

\[tt\] \([\text{lobi}\ v'tp}]\) 'young wolf'
\[kk\] \([\text{e'k\v'ba'h\v'p}]\) 'stalk of bunch of grapes'
[nn] [ŋ ð"nɪ:] 'to fruit'
[ll] [meŋ e'1ɔ] 'to rock'
CHAPTER VII: THE VARIETY OF OLIVARES, SEVILLA 306

7.1 VOWELS

7.1.1 FRONT VOWELS

[i] -[h]+vl plosive [ə θ ʰ kɔ] 'red hot coals'
   [a ʰ ɪ ʰ tɛɾɛ] 'plantain'
   Note: [o ə i ʰ kɔ] 'snout'; [oβ ʰ pɛɾɔ] 'wasp's nest'

[i] -[ɪ] # [hæb ɛ lɪn] 'wild boar'

[i] -[ɪ] [bɛrbiˈkiʔ] 'brace'

[i] -# [uŋ θ ɪ] 'to yoke'

[i] [lɛ̃] 'leggings'

[iː] elsewhere in stressed positions [lɔbɪːtɔ] 'young wolf'

[i] elsewhere in unstressed positions [lʌbɪˈɛɾɔ] 'peghole in beam'

[i] elsewhere in stressed or unstressed positions

[ə] -[h]+vl plosive [ə θ ʰ pioʃɛ] 'pikt'
   [ə θ ʰ ˈ tɛɾɛdə] 'to lay out corn for threshing'
   -[h]+nasal [ə θ ʰ ɑrɛ hə] 'to prune'
   -[h]+V [əlɛhɔ] 'refuse of grapes'

[i] [gweɪə] 'ox'

[ʌ]+C [h ɛɾgən] 'straw mattress'

Note: [dɛ h ˈ ðəs] 'evergreen oak grove'

[ɛː] in stressed positions -[ɹ] [θ ɛɾɔ] 'hillock'
   - [k] [θ ɛɾkɔ] 'halo'

[ɛ] in stressed or unstressed positions

[ɹ] [beθ ɛɾɔ] 'calf'
   [pɛɾɪtɔ] 'puppy'

[ɛ] [θ ɛɾkɛ] 'pool'
   [θ ɛɾkɔlə] 'to manure'
[e] -[n] [abén] 'oats'
[ə] [kolmén] 'beehive'

[e] -# when stressed [kórdé] 'rope attaching the "costilla" to the ends of the "collera"'
[e] -[món] 'gato monté' 'wild cat'
[ə] -[lándé] 'shed'
[ə] -# when unstressed [bútré] 'vulture'

[ə] elsewhere in unstressed position [ə ³ t³n³ r³] 'coal tongs'
[e] elsewhere in stressed or unstressed position [³dó] 'strinkle'
[emulá] 'fog'
Note: [³lζ] 'beard of corn cob'; [bhér] 'hole'; [ʃk³m³] 'sultry weather'

7.1.2 CENTRAL VOWELS

[a] -[o] [óbr³ ra³] 'corn-loft, trunk'
- [u] [m³ula³] 'to mew'
- [h] + vl plosive [³t³t³ ṭ³] 'rake'
- [əul] [pela³ l³] 'to shell peas'
Note: [i³b³v³] 'yeast'

[a] -[h] [d³h³n³] 'portable trough'
[a] [t³n³] 'salting place'
Note: [³f³k³] and [³f³f³] 'forage', both forms are given

[a] -# [kala³] 'to get soaked to the skin'
[a] -[bendab³] 'hurricane'
[ə] -# when unstressed [³h³t³f³] 'round table with brasier underneath'
1.

- irrigation channel
- unploughed land

2. elsewhere in unstressed positions

3. anywhere in stressed or unstressed positions

7.1.3 BACK VOWELS

- to cover a sheep
- cutting
- pod of chickpea

- rope attaching the "costilla" to the ends of the collera
- tap
- newly planted vine
- scraper
- small earthen dam
- summer pasture

- floorboards
- knocker
- hermaphrodite lamb
- ring of the yoke
- "gato monte" wild cat
- sieve, sifter

Note: rust
[c] -# when unstressed [gweθ̚] 'seeds of the grape'
[ɔ] -[makak̚] 'containers for olives'
[ʊ] -# when stressed [pɔlinəd̪o] 'utensil to sweep chimneys'

c elsewhere in unstressed positions [ɔɾçʊ̋ː] 'liquorice'
ʊ elsewhere in stressed or unstressed positions

Note: [pol̩l̩] 'wood borer' ; [mohɔ̮q] 'mouldy bread'

[y] -[t] [θ a h y u d̪ə] 'pigsty'
-# when stressed [ɔɾçʊ̋ː] 'liquorice'

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

[u] - V [maʊl̩a] 'to mew'

[uː] elsewhere in stressed positions [lanjuːr̩] 'a bit extra for good measure'
[ʊ] elsewhere in unstressed positions [aɾuːya] 'to coa'
[ʊ] elsewhere in stressed or unstressed positions

[buñeɾ̩] 'hole through which the water is lost'
7.2 VOWEL GROUPS

7.2.1 VOWEL + SEMIVOWEL

[ɐ] [pɐ'ınə] 'comb'
[a] [bə'ınə] 'pod'
[ɐ] [bəkə] 'cask'
[a] [məu] 'to mew'

7.2.2 SEMIVOWEL + VOWEL

[je] [ɲe] 'mire'
[jə] [ŋudə] 'town'
[jo] [həunjə] 'June'
[we] [kwəbə] 'cavern'
[wa] [əŋwəga] 'to rinse'

7.2.3 VOWEL + VOWEL

[iə] [Φ enθiθ] 'watermelon'
[io] [goθiθ] 'sparrow'
[ea] [rumə] 'to ruminate'
[eo] [rəʊndθ] 'cob'
[ao] [preŋɔ] 'corn about to tassel'
[au] [lebəwɔ] 'yeast'
[ua] [alup] 'emmet'
7.3 CONSONANTS

7.3.1 BILABIAL

[p] #- [pəlītə'] 'snow flake'

V-V

-C [əplə'] 'to blow'

-C [pələmpəɡo] 'to lighten'

[b] #- [bjəɡo] 'wimnow fork'

nasal- [embrəɡo] 'mackerel sky'

[b] V-V [abæna] 'oats'

-C [baʊtə] 'cock wattles'

-C [əbərəɾə] 'february'

[m] #- [mænʃəɾə] 'foreman'

V-V [tæmə] 'chaff'

-C [pələmpəɡo] 'lightning'

-C [əmɔˈhætə] 'small pillow'

7.3.2 BILABIODENTAL

[f] #- [ʃəŋə] 'mud'

V-V [ɡəʃe] 'demijohn'

-C [aʃreʃə] 'fine bran'
7.3.3 INTERDENTAL

[θ]  #= [θeɪnɪ: lɔ] 'to sieve'
  V-V  [haˈθə] 'sheaf'
  C-  [θeɪθərə] 'wide mouthed cattle bell'

[θ]  #= [θeɪnɪ: lɔ] 'to sieve'
  V-V  [haθɪne] 'stock'
  C-  [θɛnθərə] 'wide mouthed cattle bell'

[d]  V-V  [fædərə] 'strickle'
  C-  [aɪdərɪə] 'latch'
  -C  [pjɛdɾə] 'flint'

7.3.4 DENTAL

[t]  #= [təmc] 'chaff'
  V-V  [lætɛrə] 'coppersmith'
  -C  [bʊtra] 'vulture'
  C-  [pɔŋjʊpta] 'west wind'

[d]  #= [dəkpaˈka] 'to awake'
  nasal-  [pʊpədə] 'pillow case'
[θ] dental C [mãntɛ] 'grooves in the centre for the yoke'
[θenθ éɾɾj] 'wide mouthed cattle bell'

7.3.5 ALVEOLAR

[ʒ] #- [ʃembra] 'to sow seeds singly in drills'
V-V [giʃaɾte] 'pea'
C- [θpɾeɾtəl sə] 'to fall to pieces (of a sheaf)'

Note: [ʒ] in [ʃãkə] 'farmer's boy'
[ʃ] in [pɾ nõsə] 'leaf of pine'

[ʌ] -C [θaɾmaɾe] 'brine'
 [aɾaɾ laña] 'ground pea-nut'
[ʌ] -C [kodɾanɾ] 'quail'
[θeɾɾnɾ] 'to fruit'

[œ] -n [kodɾœɾnɾ] 'quail'
[œ] -n [θeɾɾnɾ] 'to fruit'
[r] V-V [aɾə] 'to rough plough'
-C [pãrmə] 'sky covered with film of clouds'
C- [pjoɛɾɾə] 'flint'

[ʒ] is a "alveolo prepalatal fricative with 'rehilamiento'
[ʃ] is a " 'predorso' - dental fricative with 'rehilamiento'".
both are voiceless.
7.3.6 PREPALATAL

[ʃ] #- [ʃɛlɛ] 'bud'
  V-V [antɛzɛ:] 'the day before yesterday'

Note: [ʃ] for the same gloss 'bud': [ʃɛlɛ]

7.3.7 PALATAL

[s] #- [ʃisɛrɛ] 'white French beans'
  V-V [ʃisɛrɛ] 'white French beans'
  C- [mãŋsɔ:] 'unploughed land'
Note: [s̥] in [s̥išwó] 'green French beans'.

[V] V-V [mgar; yóna] 'appliance for carrying corn on horse, mule, or donkey back'.

[l] # [luisée] 'to rain'
V-V [kamól] 'bow of the yoke'.

Note: [j] in: [jé  kě] 'touchwood'.

[B] V-V [prená] 'corn about to tassel'.
-palatal C [tróny] 'saltwort'.

[J] V [jôna] 'mire'.

7.3.8 VELAR

[k] # [k Pú sě] 'tap'.
V-V [k Pú take] 'prop, support'.
-C [kríaťe] 'maid servant'.
C- [tránkě] 'cross-bar'.

[g] #- [gabi] 'unbound sheaf'
nasal- [ŋ'ang] 'mud'

[ŋ'] V-V [ŋelambep] 'lightning'
-C [plá-ta] 'dish, platter'
-C- [ŋkərga] 'farm overseer'

[ŋ] -velar C [xímp] 'pedlar'
-# [θanhwaŋ] 'muscadine pear'

[w] - V [kwébs] 'small cavern'

7.3.9 FARINGEAL

[h] #- [hás] 'axe'
V-V [mán! hér] 'foreman'
-Vl C [twa kí] 'uprights of side of cart'

[k] #- [xu] 'june'
V-V [mán! hér] 'foreman'
-VC [xän ne] 'lamb'

[ɛ] -[ɛ] [x'ne] 'small earthen dam'
7.4. CONSONANT GROUPS

7.4.1 "LICUANTE LIQUIDA"

[pl] [a θ ople'] 'to blow'
[tr] [trάŋke] 'cross bar'
[kr] [kriέde] 'maid servant'
[br] [θ ebrέrc] 'february'
[bl] [tablόνα] 'floorboards'
[dr] [pjέdrε] 'flint'
[gr] [granίφε] 'hail'
[fr] [a ίρέσε] 'fine bran'
[fr] [kout ίfrίc] 'cutting iron'

7.4.2 NASAL + C(C)

[mp] [fεlάmp ǝgo] 'lightning'
[ŋt] [ponjeθtǝ] 'west wind'
[ŋtr] [eptr ǝmάnte] 'collar of a mule yoke'
[ŋk] [trάŋkε] 'cross bar'
[mb] [emboθ-gar] 'mackerel sky'
[mbr] [θ ómbrε] 'north side of hill'
[pd] [sάnd! -wεlε] 'leech'
[ŋg] [θ ang !θ welé] 'leech'
'wide mouthed cattle bell'
'to soil'
'muscadine pear'
'to redirect water from one channel to another'

```
7.4.3 : [ə], [r] + C

'cartwright'
'cutting iron'
'rain bow'
'cock wattles'
'to weed cornfields'
'rings of girth'
'bat'
'tap'
'pillow'
'quail'

'channel along which milled olives flow'

7.4.4 [ə] + C

'artichoke'
[\text{1b} ] \text{[\text{1b}v\text{h}\text{ke}] } '\text{sweet basil}'

[\text{1d} ] \text{[\text{1d}e\text{b}\text{f}] } 'latch'

[\text{1f} ] \text{[\text{o\text{u\text{t}}\text{a}']/\text{h\text{e}] } 'to fall to pieces (sheaf)'

[\text{1m} ] \text{[\text{a\text{m}}\text{c}\text{f}\text{a}] } 'pillow'

7.4.5 \text{[\text{h}] + C

[\text{hn} ] \text{[\text{q\text{e\text{n}}}]} \ 'to fruit'

7.4.6 \text{[\text{l}] + C

[\text{ls} ] \text{[\text{q\text{ota}'\text{f}\text{e}] } 'to fall to pieces (sheaf)'

[\text{lm} ] \text{[\text{a\text{m}}\text{c}\text{e\text{g}\text{e}] } 'nursery garden'

7.4.7 \text{[\text{l}] + C

[\text{lo} ] \text{[\text{k\text{a\text{j}}\text{g\text{a}}]} \ 'to forge a new cutting edge for a worn share'

7.4.8 \text{[\text{h}] + C

[\text{hp} ] \text{[\text{c\text{e\text{h}}\text{p\text{a\text{v}}\text{a}] } 'bed-head'

[\text{hk} ] \text{[\text{k\text{a\text{h}}\text{k\text{g}}]} \ 'division of orange'

[\text{hl} ] \text{[\text{f\text{e\text{n}}}\text{h\text{l}\text{c}}]} \ 'to sieve'
7.4.9 \([\tilde{h}] + C(C)\)

\([\tilde{h}l]\) \([\text{kořé' l}r]\) 'to cover a sheep'

\([\tilde{h}l\r]\) \([\text{ka' nérō}]\) 'lamb'

\([\tilde{h}m]\) \([\text{e' marč hō}]\) 'to prune'

7.4.10 \([\tilde{h}] + C\)

\([\tilde{h}n]\) \([\text{tabe' nē}]\) 'tavern'

\([\tilde{h}m]\) \([\text{e' me}]\) 'bud'

7.4.11 \([\tilde{h}] + C(C)\)

\([\tilde{h}n]\) \([\text{imbe' nō}]\) 'winter'

\([\tilde{h}m]\) \([\text{torē' nō}]\) 'rasher of bacon'

7.4.12 \(C + C\) (where \(C = C\))

\([\text{nn}]\) \([\text{ka' nē}]\) (de canne') 'for slaughter'

\([\text{ll}]\) \([\text{me' lō}]\) 'to rock'
CHAPTER VIII: THE VARIETY OF CARBONERAS, ALMERIA 600

8.1 VOWELS

8.1.1 FRONT VOWELS

\[ i \]  -\([r]+C \quad \text{"plum tree"} \]
- \(C_1C_2\) (where \(C_1=C_2\)) \([\text{ab}^{'p}\text{pe}] \quad \text{"wasp"} \quad \text{[bat}\cdot\text{ILF}] \quad \text{"to rinse"} \]
- \([n] \quad \text{"drizzle"} \]
- \([l]\# \quad \text{[un}\cdot\text{F} \quad \text{"to yoke"} \]

Note: \([\text{ab}^{'p}\text{pe} \cdot \text{rc}] \quad \text{"wasp's nest"} ; \quad [\text{abr}^{'l}] \quad \text{"to chink"} \]

\[ i : \]  -\# when stressed \([\text{xabv}\text{L} ] \quad \text{"wild boar"} \]
\[ i : \]  elsewhere in stressed positions \([\text{aP} \cdot \text{ne}] \quad \text{"stack of sheaves"} \]
\[ i \]  elsewhere in unstressed positions \([\text{bat} \cdot \text{dO}:] \quad \text{"comb"} \]
\[ i \]  elsewhere in stressed or unstressed positions \([\text{pikc}] \quad \text{"pik"} \)

Note: \([\text{a} \cdot \text{pF} \cdot \text{L} \text{a}] \quad \text{"espartero netting for carrying straw on horse back"} \]
\([\text{lo} \cdot \text{mi} \cdot \text{yv}] \quad \text{"pads of pack-saddle"} ; \quad [\text{am} \cdot \text{yv}] \quad \text{"rings of girth"} ; \quad [\text{to} \cdot \text{in} \theta ] \quad \text{"containers for olives"} ; \quad [\text{e} \cdot \text{pa} \cdot \text{di} ; \text{P} \cdot \text{c}] \quad \text{"brushwood"} \]
\([\text{f} \cdot \text{oy} \cdot \text{t} \theta \text{c}] \quad \text{"unplaned ceiling beams"} \]

\[ \theta : \]  in stressed positions \(-[\text{F}] \quad [\text{tj} \cdot \text{F} \cdot \text{F} \cdot \text{y} \cdot \text{v}] \quad \text{"argil"} \]
\[ \theta \]  in unstressed positions \(-[\text{F}] \quad [\text{se} \cdot \text{F} \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{nc}] \quad \text{"highlander"} \]

No stressed \([\theta \] 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 \([\theta \] in stressed position.

Note: \([\text{e} \cdot \text{en} ; \text{F} \cdot \text{e} \cdot \text{c}] \quad \text{"wide mouthed cattle bell"} \]
[ə] ( [ ɾ ] [ h ] [ s ] ) [ ɾ e t ô n ] 'gem, bud'

[ ɾ ] [ ɾ e l â m p e r ] 'to lighten'

[ e ] - ([ m ] [ m o y q ] ) 'shell-less egg'

[ ɾ ] + [ k r ] 'front-door step'

[ ɾ ] + [ k r ] 'white thorn'

[ ɾ ] + [ k r ] 'saltwort'

[ ɾ ] + [ k r ] 'female cow with twins'

[ e ] - # when stressed [ m ô n t e ] 'gato monté' 'wild cat'

[ æ ] - # when stressed or unstressed [ a ] 'Indian nettle tree'

[ æ ] - # when unstressed [ t rô x e ] 'corn loft, trunk'

[ æ ] - ([ p ] ) [ p s ] 'comb'

[ e ] elsewhere in stressed positions [ k a m ô y ] 'bow of the yoke'

[ æ ] elsewhere in unstressed positions [ nô s ] 'yule log'

[ e ] elsewhere in stressed or unstressed positions [ k a k e ] 'ground pea-nut'

Note: [ l a r y ] 'lateral supports of a bed'; [ f a t e n ] 'hole through which the water is lost'; [ p e r ] 'wild pear tree'; [ s a r j e t ] 'portable trough'; [ s e t ] 'mushroom'; [ b e n ] 'evening star'

8.1.2 CENTRAL VOWELS

[ a ] [ a ] ([ g a r b r y ] ) 'to sieve'

[ æ ] [ a ] ([ n i e ] ) 'lay nest'

Morphophonemic reasons condition the stress pattern in this position.
I -# when stressed [paɡ] 'young shepherd'
    when unstressed ['la mĩgəxə] 'crumbs'
[ø] -# when stressed [dẽ pəxátai] 'to awake'
    when unstressed ['kɔ njə bjerter] 'cow with widespread horns'
[ɣ] -# when unstressed [a tʃi:ye] 'fire wood'
    [ayọ:ye] 'green almond'

[a] -[l] + C [a lmɔydiye] 'pillow'
    -[o] [prenə] 'corn about to tassel'
    -[kk] [atə kə ɛrɔ] 'muddy place'
Note: [ká:jo] 'corbel'; [a lmɔ aðe] 'small pillow'; [a lmɔdan] 'pillow case'; [dẽ puntə lɔ] 'to prune olive trees'; [Febs 1 sc] 'water stagnated'

[a] -[h] [paxa:] 'to plough a third time'
[a] [æpxa'lə] 'to sliver'

[a] - nasal [saptə rəse] 'praying cricket'
    [alə mõnegr] 'black poplar tree'
[ña] [mə mə lɔ rito] 'hermaphrodite lamb'
Note: [Febs 1 sc] 'water stagnated'

[a:] elsewhere in stressed positions [butʃa:ɾe] 'kind of sausage'
[ɛ] elsewhere in unstressed positions [amaʃə dorə] 'mortar bed'
[a] elsewhere in stressed or unstressed positions [paɾe] 'grape-vines'
    [za di: xe] 'sheep with wool on haunches and nape'
8.1.3 BACK VOWELS

[ə] - [r̥] [gořiɔn] 'sparrow'
- [l̥] + C [g'ɔlč] 'hinge'
- [r̥] + C [kɔrt'ɑ] 'to redirect water from one channel to another'
- [k] [ŋ'ku:ro] 'new moon'

[o] - [n̥] [xɑrɪ'ɔndtɔ] 'ground elder'
   [griɔn] 'saprow'
- [ŋɔnɔ:jɛ] 'unsheared wool'

[oː] - # when stressed [bɑn̥tɔ] 'prop, support'
   [batːdɔ] 'comb'
   [sam ə pɔ] 'poppy'

[ɔ] - # when unstressed [tro:ɔtɔ] 'parcel of land'
   [lomɪ:jɛ] 'pads of pack-saddle'
   [pik] 'pik'

[ɛ] elsewhere in stressed positions [pɔ:jɛ] 'young partridge'
[c] elsewhere in unstressed positions [kɔlɔpiŋ] 'goldfinch'
[o] elsewhere in stressed or unstressed positions [pɔ:jɛ] 'pik'
   [pomp] 'to rough plough'

Note: [kɔpɔ] 'snow flake'

[y] - mbr [u̥mbrɪʃ] 'north side of hill'
   [u] - # unstressed [bɛn] 'evening star'

[uː] elsewhere in stressed position [kopetuːɔ] 'sheep with wool on forehead'
   [u] elsewhere in unstressed position [prɛsulɛ] 'pea'
   [u] elsewhere in stressed or unstressed positions [pʊntɛ're] 'snapper'

or unstressed positions
8.2 VOWEL GROUPS

8.2.1 VOWEL + SEMIVOWEL

[æ] [pæjə] 'comb'
[a] [bæjə] 'pod'

8.2.2 SEMIVOWEL + VOWEL

[jœ] [œjœ] 'mire'
[ja] [œjæ] 'unploughed land'
[jo] [pjœ] 'piece of land given to farmer to foreman as part of wages'
[ju] [œjœ] 'town'
[we] [æmwœ] 'brine'
[wa] [ægœ] 'water'

8.2.3 VOWEL + VOWEL (+ VOWEL)

[ia] [ambrœ] 'north side of slope'
[io] [œndœ] 'cutting'
[ei] [œmœ] 'to ruminate'
[ao] [prejœ] 'corn about to tassel'
[aœ] [œjœ] 'pigstye'
[oa] [almœ] 'pillow'
[ua] [ælœ] 'emmet'
[a œ] [ra œ] 'strickle'
8.3 CONSONANTS.

8.3.1 BILABIAL

[p] #~ [páře] 'grape vines'

V-V [kópa] 'snow flake'

-C [de p prend] 'landslip'

C- [pome] 'water bubble'

[b] #~ [bindi] 'to plough a second time

nasal- [emboː ɡaː] 'mackerel sky'

[b] V-V [abɛn̪a] 'oats'

-C [tɑːble] 'harrow'

C- [bɑrba] 'cock wattles'

[m] #~ [mëdø] 'steady farm labourer'

V-V [tamɔ] 'chaff'

-C [mɛm il ɾiɾtɔ] 'hermaphrodite lamb'

C- [dɔ ɾiɾtɔɾ] 'bed-room'

8.3.2 BILABIODENTAL

[p] #~ [pɛvə] 'bellows'

V-V [apilədɔ] 'knife grinder'

-C [kpo ɾ ɾiɾ] 'cutting iron'

C- [golɾə] 'hinge'
8.3.3 INTERDENTAL

[θ] #- [θ əŋ θ éːɾ ə bo̞ɾə ɡérɔ] 'narrow mouthed sheep gong'
  V-V [bo̞ɾə netɔ] 'additional long uprights for carrying corn'
  C- [un ə jér ə] 'rope attaching the "costillas" to the ends of the "collera"

[θ] #- [θaŋdʒ] 'young shepherd'
  V-V [toŋ ə ʃn ə] 'containers for olives'
  C- [un ə ʃl] 'to yoke'

[d] V-V [rek ə dérɔ] 'errand boy'
  -C [madr iğere] 'burrow'
  C- [ŋk ə ɾ ə ɾ da ʃl] 'to weed cornfields'

[n] [m̥an ə nə ɾ ə ] 'pera de manzanilla' 'wild pear tree'
  -interdental C

8.3.4 DENTAL

[t] #- [t əmɔ] 'chaff'
  V-V [latɛɾɔ] 'coppersmith'
  -C [piok ə troŋk ə ] 'woodpecker'
  C- [kɔ ɾ e frıɾ ə ] 'cutting iron'

[d] #- [də ɾ ə mitɔɾjɔ] 'bed-room'
  [beŋ ə be ʃ] 'strong wind'

[n] -dental C [ɾunďɔ] 'cutting'
  [θ əŋ θ éːɾ ə bo̞ɾə ɡérɔ] 'narrow mouthed sheep gong'
[h] -dental C [χ' ta] 'to rust'

8.3.5 ALVEOLAR

[ s] #- [suɹ] 'back cloth'
V-V [raʃ] 'clear sky'
C- [báʃ] 'pool'
-# [piʃ] 'incipient horns of lamb'

[u] -C [kʃ u t a ɹʃ] 'cutting iron'
-# [biʃ] 'to plough a second time'

[ l] -C [at pʃ] 'esparto netting for carrying straw on horse-back'

[n] -[n] [tabʃ ʃ] 'tavern'

[h] -[n] [imbʃ h ʃ] 'winter'

[r] V-V [paʃ] 'small earthen dam'
-C [pew ʃ] 'husk, chaff'
C- [graniʃ] 'hail'

[ɾ] #- [fa ʃ] 'strickle'
V-V [parʃ] 'grape vines'
[1] #– [lebaŋtə] 'east wind'
  V-V [̕elæmbə] 'hole in the centre of the yoke'
  -C [gólʃc] 'hinges'
  C- [klæbxɛɛ] 'peghole in beam'
  # [foŋpe] 'to rough plough'

[n] #– [núblə] 'cloud(s)'
  V-V [grænɪθɔ] 'hail'
  -C [pensa'liɛ] 'to feed cattle'
  C- [kodɔ nǐɛ] 'quail'

8.3.6 PREPALATAL

[s] #– [səraː:] 'a drop extra for good measure'
  V-V [esrɛ] 'threshed corn heaped ready for winnowing'
  C- [mantsa] 'to soil'

8.3.7 PALATAL

[y] V-V [e'k k ɛdɪyɔ] 'weeder, small weed hook'

[y] #– [yei'tɛ] 'blade of corn'

Note: [y] in: [garvp buyɔ] 'long loaf'
       [limi:yɛ] 'slime'
[ŋ]  V-V [preŋ] 'corn about to tassel'
     -palatal C [kons] 'shell'

[j]  V [dyeŋ] 'mire'

8.3.8 VELAR

[k]  #  [kol rɪŋ} 'goldfinch'
     V-V [albr dáŋ] 'sweet basil'
     C- [baRank] 'ravine'
     -C [aklr rɑːl] 'to clear up'

[ɛ]  #  [gateːrɛ] 'vent'
     nasal- [lanɡoːtɔ] 'locust'

[ɡ]  V-V [trigere] 'plantain'
     -C [agreːɔ] 'sharp sourish wine'
     C- [karga] 'stook, shock'

[x]  #  [xɑːrɔ] 'pitcher'
     V-V [koxinɛtɔ] 'collar of a mule yoke'

[h]  #  [hæbəliː] 'wild boar'
     V-V [hɔxɡaːtɔ] 'marguerite'
     C- [fɔr̩xɔ] 'channel along which milled olives flow'
[ŋ] -velar C [tʰineˈre]  
# [timɔ'] 'beam of plough'

[w] -V [salweˈre] 'brine'

8.3.9 FARINGEAL

[h] -C [eʰkaleˈre] 'front door steps'
8.4 CONSONANT GROUPS

8.4.1 "LICUANTE LÍQUIDA"

[pr] [prɛʃə] 'diversion dam'
[tr] [træŋkɔ] 'cross bar'
[kr] [kriːdə] 'maid-servant'
[kl] [klaːbɪxˈɛɾə] 'peghole in beam'
[br] [ˈkɛbrəɾə] 'february'
[bl] [ˈtɑːbli] 'harrow'
[dr] [madɾiɡəɾə] 'burrow'
[gr] [granˈiʃə] 'hail'
[fr] [kuət ˈɛɾiɾə] 'cutting iron'
[pl] [ˈflɔrɪs] 'crown crested cock'

8.4.2 NASAL + C(C)

[mp] [felampɛɡɛɾə] 'to lighten'
[ɳt] [ponjɛntə] 'west wind'
[ŋk] [træŋkɔ] 'cross bar'
[mb] [ɛmbɔɾɛɡɡɔ] 'mackerel sky'
[mbr] [umbrɪs] 'north side of hill'
[nd] [bepdɛtə] 'strong wind'
[ŋɛ] [sangˈkwɛlə] 'leech'
[ŋθ] [θɛpθəɾi bɔɾɛɡɛɾə] 'narrow mouthed sheep gong'
8.4.3 [l] + C

[lt] [kɔ ː tɛːfriː] 'cutting iron'
[rk] [arkɔ ː riː] 'rain bow'
[rb] [barbɛ] 'cock wattles'
[ad] [e kɛrɛdaː] 'to weed cornfields'
[rg] [larpɛr] 'lateral supports of bed'
[rf] [pɛrɛˈʃə] 'musk, chaff'
[rɛ] [murɛ jælɛ ɡo] 'bat'
[rx] [farkɛ] 'channel along which milled olives flow'
[rs] [kɛrɛʃ] 'beehive'
[am] [dɛ ˈmitɔrjɔ] 'bed-room-
[an] [ko ˈdʒaniː] 'quail'

8.4.4 [l] + C

[lp] [a lɛpia] 'esparto netting for carrying straw on horse-back'
[lk] [a lɛsɔˈfɛ] 'artichoke'
[lg] [meɪɡ ɡ ˈɛrə] 'female cow with twins'
[lɡ] [ka lɛsaiˈlɛ] 'to forge a new cutting edge for a worn share'
[ls] [ʃekal ɛə] 'to dry'
8.4.5 [h] + c

[ln] [imbi'kən 1] 'winter'

8.4.6 [h] + c

[ln] [tæblnə] 'tavern'

8.4.7 [l] + c

[1b] [albədəkə] 'sweet basil'
[ld] [aldət] 'hamlet'
[lg] [æg'lær] 'saltwort'
[1f] [gələə] 'hinge'
[1θ] [ka:ləə] 'corbel'
[ls] [bæləə] 'pool'
[lm] [almæ'pækə] 'nursery garden'
[ln] [æln; q'ləs] 'rick, stack'

8.4.8 [h] + c

[hp] [də'pænts'lu] 'to prune olove trees'
[hk] [e'kələrə] 'front door steps'
8.4.9 \( [\text{h}] + C \)

\([\text{ht}] [\text{h} \text{ta}] \) 'to rust'

8.4.10 \( [\text{h}] + C \)

\([\text{hn}] [\text{moy} \text{h} \text{n} \text{p}] \) 'drizzle'

8.4.11 \( C + C \) (where \( C = C \))

\( 1 \ 2 \ 1 \ 2 \)

\([\text{pp}] [\text{d} \text{e} \text{p} \text{e} \text{a} \text{t} \text{a}] \) 'to awake'

\([\text{tt}] [\text{s} \text{j} \text{e} \text{t} \text{e}] \) 'afternoon nap'

\([\text{kk}] [\text{a} \text{t} \text{e} \text{k} \text{e} \text{r} \text{c}] \) 'muddy place'

\([\text{mm}] [\text{e} \text{m} \text{m} \text{a} \text{y}] \) 'crockery and table ware'

\([\text{nn}] [\text{p} \text{j} \text{e} \text{n} \text{e}] \) 'to fruit'

\([\text{ll}] [\text{p} \text{e} \text{l} \text{o} \text{g}] \) '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.

The weakening of tension of articulation affects not only the vowel system. Consonants nearly always — with a few exceptions in the case of η — 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 Andalucía. 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. [ŋt], [hk], [hñ] 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 [pː] [tː] etc. If visualized as a process the following stages can be found:

\[(s+C) \overset{h\cdot C}{\rightarrow} h\cdot C_1+C_2 \overset{C_1+C_2}{\rightarrow} (\text{where } C_1 = C_2)\]

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

- [abʰ'pʰe] [abʰ'pʰe] [obʰ'pe] [obʰ'pe] [abʰ'pe] "wasp"
- [abʰ'pʰer] [abʰ'pʰer] [obʰ'per] [obʰ'per] [abʰ'per] "wasp's nest"
- [sjeʰ'te] [sjeʰ'te] [sjeʰ'te] [sjeʰ'te] [sjeʰ'te] "afternoon nap"
- [sjeʰ'kə] [sjeʰ'kə] [sjeʰ'kə] [sjeʰ'kə] [sjeʰ'kə] "touchwood"
The clusters of a liquid and a consonant also show the phenomenon of weakening of articulation in consonant groups. The fluctuation of \[ l, r, l, l \] 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:

\[ \text{[almaɾh'a] 'pillow'} \]
\[ \text{[almaɾoɾade] 'small pillow'} \]
\[ \text{[almoɾdila] 'pin-cushion'} \]

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

Se 301 H 402 H 601 Se 306 Al 600
\[ \text{[arboɾako] [arboɾako] [arboɾako] [aɾboɾako] [aɾboɾako] 'sweet basil'} \]

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 lítica" group) a vocalic element, often called 'parasitic vowel', is inserted:

37) Gili Gaya, S.: "La R simple en la pronunciación española", Revista 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, en 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'nerc] [h'a'nerc] [h'a'nerc] 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.

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 indentifiées (sic) par les auditeurs mais bien sur la base de valeurs absolues.

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 fa-ringgeal 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.


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 intervocically 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 [φ] 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sɛ301</th>
<th>H 402</th>
<th>H 601</th>
<th>Sɛ 306</th>
<th>Al 600</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fɛ-ɛ</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>lobiodental, labial fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fɛ-ɛ</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>bilabiodental, labial fricative</td>
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Table 2

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<th>θ</th>
<th>θ</th>
<th>θ</th>
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<th>interdental, labial fricative</th>
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<tr>
<td>θ</td>
<td>θ</td>
<td>θ</td>
<td>θ</td>
<td>dento-interdental, labial fricative</td>
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<td>s</td>
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<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>alveolar, &quot;coronal plana&quot; fricative</td>
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<td>s</td>
<td>&quot;priscoral plana-convex&quot; fricative</td>
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<td>s</td>
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<td>s</td>
<td>&quot;priscoral-final plana&quot; fricative</td>
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</table>
frequently, the $\theta /\varphi$ 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 $[\tilde{s}]$ 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 : $[\tilde{z}]$ in H 601 and $[\tilde{y}]$ in both H 601 and Se 306 are placed in more fronted points of articulation ( $[\tilde{y}]$ being pre-palatal and $[\tilde{z}]$ 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 $[h]$.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Se 301</th>
<th>H 402</th>
<th>H 601</th>
<th>Se 306</th>
<th>Al 600</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>ŝ</td>
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**Table 3**
### Table 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Se 301</th>
<th>H 402</th>
<th>H 601</th>
<th>Se 306</th>
<th>Al 600</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ž⁻⁻⁻⁻</td>
<td>Ž⁺⁻⁻⁻</td>
<td>Ž⁺⁺⁻⁻</td>
<td>alveolar</td>
<td>vd fricative &quot;relinqua&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ž⁻⁻⁻⁻</td>
<td>Ž⁺⁻⁻⁻</td>
<td>Ž⁺⁺⁻⁻</td>
<td>palatal</td>
<td>vd fricative &quot;relinqua&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y⁻⁻⁻⁻</td>
<td>y⁺⁻⁻⁻</td>
<td>y⁺⁺⁻⁻</td>
<td>palatal</td>
<td>vd fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y⁻⁻⁻⁻</td>
<td>y⁺⁻⁻⁻</td>
<td>y⁺⁺⁻⁻</td>
<td>palatal</td>
<td>vd fricative &quot;relinqua&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ŷ⁻⁻⁻⁻</td>
<td>Ŷ⁺⁻⁻⁻</td>
<td>Ŷ⁺⁺⁻⁻</td>
<td>palatal</td>
<td>vd affricate</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ŷ⁻⁻⁻⁻</td>
<td>Ŷ⁺⁻⁻⁻</td>
<td>Ŷ⁺⁺⁻⁻</td>
<td>palatal</td>
<td>vd lateral</td>
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### Table 5

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vl fricative
"h" slightly affricated
hurricanes
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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