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DIALECTAL, HISTORICAL AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF GALICIAN INTONATION¹

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Abstract

Geoprosodic data are useful for studying language change and developing hypotheses about the diachrony of intonation. In the case of Galician, it is particularly interesting to study varieties of Galician and Portuguese which share a common origin but are separated by a long-standing political border. Work to date has concluded that some of these intonation patterns present a prosodic continuum, but has also identified a large part of the Galician linguistic area where a widespread pattern is found that is unrelated to Portuguese. An approach to the study of dialectology and linguistic change will be proposed which supplements traditional geoprosodic studies with sociolinguistic concepts such as contact between languages and language varieties. This article will address questions concerning interaction between geoprosodic variation and contact among languages and language varieties for the purpose of detecting ongoing prosodic change and describing prosodic convergence processes that affect coexisting language varieties in Galicia.

Keywords

Galician intonation, dialectology, linguistic change, language contact

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ASPECTOS DIALECTALES, HISTÓRICOS Y SOCIOLINGÜÍSTICOS DE LA ENTONACIÓN GALLEGA

Resumen

Los datos geoprosódicos son muy valiosos para el estudio del cambio lingüístico y para la elaboración de hipótesis sobre la diacronía de la entonación. En el caso del gallego, es especialmente interesante el estudio de las variedades gallegas y portuguesas, de origen común pero separadas secularmente por una frontera política. Los trabajos realizados hasta el momento concluyen que existe una continuidad prosódica de algunos de estos patrones de entonación, si bien también detectan amplias áreas en el territorio lingüístico gallego que presentan un patrón muy extendido geográficamente que no se puede relacionar con el portugués. Nuestra propuesta, complementaria de los estudios geoprosódicos tradicionales, pretende abordar la cuestión de cómo interaccionan la variación geoprosódica y el contacto de lenguas y de variedades con el fin de detectar cambios prosódicos en marcha y formalizar los procesos de convergencia prosódica que afectan a las variedades lingüísticas que conviven en Galicia.

Palabras clave

entonación gallega, dialectología, cambio lingüístico, contacto lingüístico

1. Introduction

Galician geoprosodic studies, in particular those carried out in recent years under the label of AMPER (Mairano 2011; Fernández Rei & Escourido 2008), derive their data from speakers with a fairly close approximation to the classical profile for dialect informants: men and women with a rural or semi-rural background aged over fifty lacking higher education who have not lived away from their place of birth.

Without a doubt, such studies provide essential information not only for the study of the dialects themselves and mapping dialect variation, but also for research into processes of language change in intonation. However, they leave us with a partial picture of variation in intonation by omitting from consideration other present-day Galician speech varieties which are also relevant to the study of linguistic change. In order to bring studies of variation in intonation to bear on the explanation and analysis of processes of linguistic change, whether past or on going, there is a need to study prosodic variation with due consideration for relevant sociolinguistic and historical

aspects as well. As Moreno Fernández (2003: 7) points out, geolinguistics and sociolinguistics are not mutually exclusive disciplines:

Una parte de la dialectología europea actual ha convertido los procesos de convergencia y divergencia en su objeto de estudio predilecto y está planteando unos problemas que requieren investigación. La investigación lingüística que ahora se propone maneja principios teóricos de la dialectología y de la sociolingüística y accede al manejo combinado y complementario de métodos y técnicas de análisis geolingüísticos y sociolingüísticos. Por eso se pone un interés especial en romper las fronteras entre esas disciplinas o entre técnicas –cuantitativas y cualitativas– que en más de una ocasión se han presentado como antagónicas, sin serlo realmente.²

Where Galician geoprosody is concerned it is essential to study Galician and Portuguese data in conjunction. Thanks to joint work between AMPER groups in Portugal (see <http://pfonetica.web.ua.pt/AMPER-POR.htm>) and Galicia (<http://ilg.usc.gal/amper/>), studies have been carried out in recent years on dialectal prosodic variation on the Galician-Portuguese border (Fernández Rei et al. 2014), dialectometric methods have been applied to data collected in Galicia and mainland Portugal,³ and progress has been made on the study of diachrony in these varieties (Fernández Rei et al. submitted). It is also worth bearing in mind contact with Astur-Leonese varieties on the eastern border, which has been studied jointly with the Asturian AMPER group (<http://www.unioviedo.es/labofone/>).

In the realm of sociolinguistics, prosodic research needs to focus on the particular sociolinguistic situation of Galicia where the Galician and Spanish languages have coexisted on the same territory for centuries. This prolonged contact has been made responsible for a variety of linguistic changes in both Galician and the variety of Spanish spoken in Galicia, but research has focused on lexical and grammatical features while often glossing over the prosodic component. Moreover, a process of

² “A part of present-day European dialectology has made processes of convergence and divergence its preferred object of study and is posing problems that call for investigation. The linguistic research now proposed draws on theoretical principles of dialectology and sociolinguistics in combination with or complemented by methods and techniques of geolinguistic and sociolinguistic analysis. It is therefore especially interested in breaking down the barriers between these disciplines or between quantitative and qualitative techniques which have been presented at times as opposed to each other, though they are not really.”

³ Comparative studies with Brazilian Portuguese, of the kind now underway in connection with the lexicon or grammar (Lagares & Monteagudo 2012), remain to be undertaken.

language normalization has been in progress since the 1980s (Ramallo 2010) which has led to the use of Galician in the media, schools and the administration, and the codification and subsequent spread of a standard variety which is beginning to exist side-by-side with vernacular speech varieties. Furthermore, increased mobility of the population due to technological advances in transport and social and economic changes since the twentieth century have led to a notable increase in contact between the different diatopic varieties of Galician.

2. Galician intonation studies: descriptions of diatopic variation

Until the nineties, there were only sporadic contributions to the study of Galician intonation (Fernández Rei 2005). Of particular importance is the work carried out in the framework of the AMPER project, which has contributed to the description of the dialect distribution of intonation patterns for statements and yes/no questions in Galician. In Fernández Rei & Escourido (2008) the main intonation patterns of neutral yes/no questions in Galician are given. Three basic patterns are distinguished: one that is limited to the Rías Baixas and Baixo Miño region, to which we shall refer as the *Rías Baixas Pattern* (Figure 1, RBP, in blue), another found in the Costa da Morte area, the *Costa da Morte Pattern* (Figure 1, CMP, in green) and a third, referred to there as the *common Galician pattern* (CGP), which occurs in most of Galicia (the whole of the provinces of Lugo and Ourense, half of Pontevedra and most of A Coruña; in red in Figure 1).

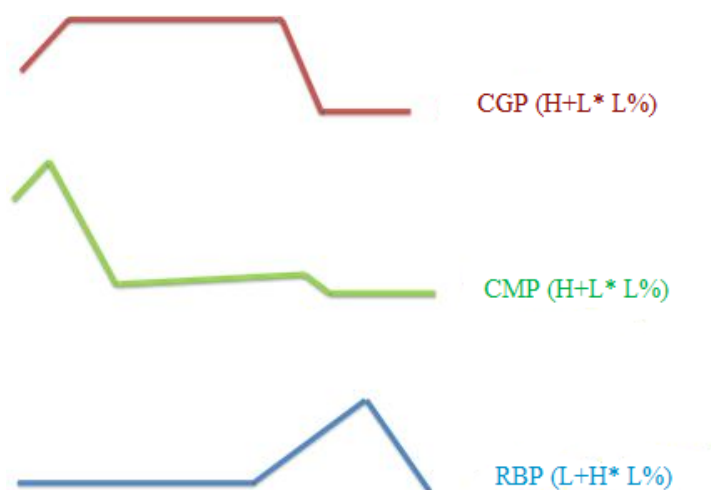


Figure 1. Stylization of neutral yes/no question patterns in Galician (Fernández Rei & Escourido 2008) and transcriptions (Fernández Rei 2007).

Figure 1 incorporates a phonological transcription proposal found in Fernández Rei (2007) for each of these areas. This proposal allows us to establish two groups based on the nuclear configuration $L+H^* L\%$ for Rías Baixas and Baixo Miño (RBP), and $H+L^* L\%$ (CGP) which is found all over the area except for the southwestern region.⁴

On the basis of the data collected for the AMPER data base, dialectometric methods were applied to Galician intonation to produce a cluster map of Galician geoprosodic areas (Fernández Rei & Martínez Calvo, 2014).⁵

⁴ The same nuclear configuration ($H+L^* L\%$) is proposed for the language varieties of Costa da Morte and for so-called *Common Galician*. This is a simplification since we lack space here to give our full attention to the matter. Based on data and analysis presented in Fernández Rei & Escourido (2008) and Escourido (2008-2009), it is understood that in Costa da Morte there has been a shift of the nuclear stress from the last position in the utterance to the initial position. Thus nuclear stress is associated with the constituent which functions as theme. Although the relationship between thematic and tonal structures in this variety has not been sufficiently studied, Filgueira (2015) points in the same direction, finding the $H+L^* L\%$ stress configuration in final position in structures in which the subject is not expressed lexically so that there is no theme (as in “Tedes laranxas?” ‘Do you have oranges?’). We therefore assume that the stress configuration is the same, but in CMP the nuclear accent may occur in initial position under certain conditions whereas in CGP it is always at the end of the utterance.

⁵ The map shows three geoprosodic areas because the method of grouping in clusters is based on correlations between F_0 values of the curves and does not take into account functional aspects such as the configuration and position of the nuclear accent.

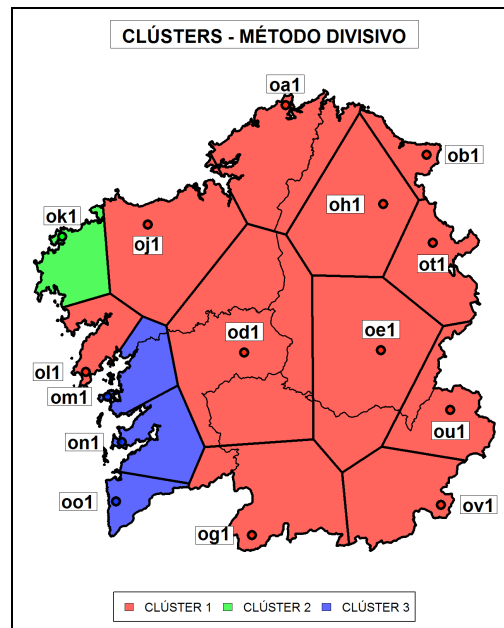


Figure 2. Geographical location of groupings obtained through a divisive cluster analysis for neutral yes/no questions (Fernández Rei & Martínez Calvo 2014).

The relationship between Galician and Portuguese intonation has also been studied both from the geoprosodic perspective using either traditional or dialectometric methods, and from the perceptive point of view (Fernández Rei et al. 2014). To study geolectal variation in intonation within the territory covered by different varieties of Galician and Portuguese, acoustic descriptions of Galician and Portuguese intonation varieties in the border area point to similar intonation patterns in the Portuguese of northern Portugal and the south-western area of Galician (Moutinho & Fernández Rei 2008; Moutinho et al. 2009). Subsequent studies using dialectometric techniques (Fernández Rei et al. 2014 and Fernández Rei et al. submitted) have permitted the measuring of prosodic distances and the mapping of the chief geoprosodic areas of Galician and Portuguese. Figure 3 maps the distance between Braga (a survey point on the Portuguese Minho) and the other Galician and Portuguese survey points, and shows how the southwest Galician varieties appear much closer to Portuguese points than most Galician locations (in the legend for Figure 3, notice that cool colours represent greater distances and warm colours shorter distances).

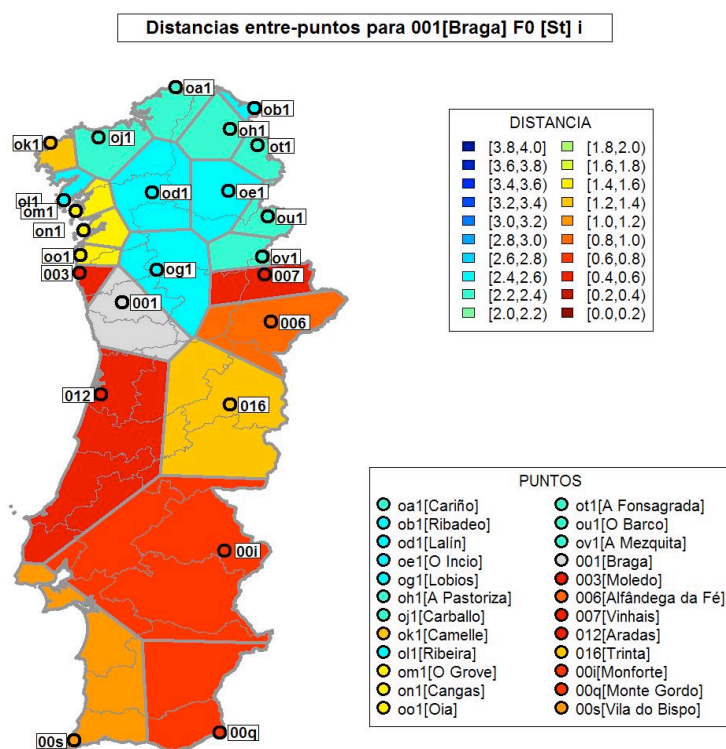


Figure 3. Map of prosodic distance between all other survey points and Braga (Fernández Rei et al. submitted)

For Galicia’s eastern border, melodies have been described in the area from Eo to Navia (Muñiz et al. 2008) greatly resembling the CGP for yes/no questions referred to above. Speech varieties of Asturias are described in other studies (see for example Alvarellos et al. 2011) which observe an intonation continuum stretching from Galicia to Cantabria which is clearly manifested in questions:

(...) donde mejor podemos apreciar la evolución de ese contínuum entonativo es en los enunciados interrogativos, en los que, desde la perspectiva geográfica Oeste-Este y partiendo del rasgo común de la suspensión de la declinación a lo largo del cuerpo pretonemático, el tonema va evolucionando, retrasándose cada vez más la caída final en la tónica hasta quedar casi suspendida en un movimiento final circunflejo en la zona más próxima a Cantabria (Alvarellos et al. 2011: 118-119).⁶

⁶ “(...) the development of this intonation continuum is most perceptible in interrogative sentences where, from an west-to-east geographical perspective based on the shared feature of suspension of a fall in the course of the body preceding the toneme, the toneme evolves, with the final fall in the stressed syllable progressively delayed more and more until it is almost suspended in a final circumflex movement, in the area closest to Cantabria.”

The same notion of an intonation continuum appears in other studies of prosody in Cantabria in which the term *prosodia norteña* [northern prosody] was coined (López Bobo & Cuevas 2009, Cuevas & López Bobo 2011).⁷

Thus geoprosodic variation in Galician throughout the territory presents an interesting point of departure for the historical study of intonation: on the one hand there is a very small area with similar intonation patterns to Portuguese, resulting from their common origin; while on the other hand, most of the territory, notwithstanding dialectal variations on phonetic, lexical and grammatical levels (Dubert García & Sousa 2002; Álvarez Blanco et al. 2006), present a single common pattern that is almost universal and may bear a genetic relationship to the patterns in Asturian or at least may represent the beginning of a *continuum* reaching all the way to Cantabria (Muñiz Cachón 2013).

But we shall not dwell on this historical issue because it is not the main objective of this article. In view of previous studies on Galician and other forms of Romance, we will take for granted that there is a historical relationship between DGP and patterns in varieties of Astur-Leonese, and adopt the proposal of these scholars regarding a Northern Iberia intonation continuum.

However, while that historical connection with Leonese varieties is not to be dismissed (see also Dubert García to be printed), we might also wonder whether prolonged contact with Spanish has had something to do with the distribution of Galician geoprosodic varieties, favouring the expansion of one variant (the one related to Astur-Leonese) at the expense of the other (related to the main stem of Galician-Portuguese). Geoprosodic research in conjunction with a consideration of other sociolinguistic factors related to language contact might throw light on this question. Our hypothesis is that the maintenance and geographic spread of this CGP for yes/no questions, as opposed to a pattern which is closer to the historical common Galician-

⁷ This idea of a prosodic continuum in the northwest of the Iberian Peninsula is not new. Let us recall what María Josefa Canellada wrote in 1944: “Acaso sea posible pensar en toda una herencia lingüística de “tono descendente” en el occidente de la Península, frente al trazo horizontal de la frase castellana y frente a la terminación alta de las terminaciones aragonesas y vascas. Acaso la curva *ascendente-descendente* del bable, esté emparentada muy de cerca con el movimiento de la línea tonal en las palabras portuguesas” (Canellada 1944: 50-51). “Perhaps we may think of a whole linguistic ‘falling tone’ heritage in the west of the Peninsula as opposed to the flat contour of the Castilian sentence and the high ending of Aragonese and Basque endings. Maybe the *rising-falling* curve of Bable is closely related to the movement of the tonal contour in Portuguese words”.

Portuguese stem (RBP), is also to be accounted for in terms of contact between Galician and Spanish.

Thus it is important to observe how the development of Galician Spanish proceeded, particularly the development of its intonation pattern, in order to understand the dynamics of contact that occurred and continue today, and the consequences of contact on the geographical distribution of the intonation patterns in question, as well as on processes of prosodic maintenance and shift in Galician.

3. Language contact in Galicia

In general, most studies of intonation in situations of language contact conclude that changes in this component are due to a *convergence* process of some kind (Colantoni & Gurlekian 2004). This implies that language contact situations tend to result in a reduction of interlinguistic distance, so languages undergo processes that lead to their becoming more similar to each other. Such levelling may either take place as a consequence of one of the languages adopting the intonation of the other (*transfer*) or of a process of mutual convergence of intonations giving rise to a new, different kind of intonation taking over some characteristics of both, i.e. a *fusion* (Roseano et al. 2015).

The effects of prolonged contact on Galician prosody have not been the object of any previous empirical studies. It is generally assumed that Galician conserves its own highly characteristic intonation, transferring it to the Spanish spoken in Galicia (Rojo 2004), but seemingly not affected by contact with this variety of Spanish.

However, the influence on intonation of contact between Galician and Spanish is not an entirely new subject in the literature, there having been studies of Galician Spanish intonation which took into account sociolinguistic factors (Castro 2003 and 2006; Pérez Castillejo 2012). Castro (2006) concluded that bilingual speakers whose mother tongue is Galician conserve Galician intonation even when speaking Spanish. Pérez Castillejo (2012) factors in sociolinguistic data about her informants in order to measure the extent of prosodic-pragmatic variation caused by historical contact

between Galician and Castilian, finding a correlation between speakers' family origin and Galician intonation features in this variety of Spanish.

Studies with empirical support were mainly concerned with GS, whereas those that referred to Galician intonation and the effects of contact are impressionistic. In both cases it is stated that the result of contact between Galician and Spanish is a *transfer* of intonation from Galician to GS. Pérez Castillejo (2012) presents an occasional example of Galician Spanish converging with that of Castilian Spanish, but no process of fusion between Galician and GS is documented.

To judge from these studies it seems clear that Galician intonation provides the origin of GS intonation. Now if GS intonation is the result of a transfer of intonation from Galician and this process remains active, it follows that GS should reproduce the dialect distribution of intonation patterns observed in Galician (as in Figure 1). It also follows that contact with GS should not have any effect on Galician since both have the same intonation; hence the dialect distribution shown in §2 ought to remain unchanged in younger Galician speakers with greater exposure to GS. Similarly, we would not expect contact to be relevant to the predominance and widespread nature of CGP, which is contrary to what we hypothesized earlier.

In our view, the premise that the process of prosodic transfer from Galician to GS remains active should be reexamined, since important recent social and political changes (particularly urbanization and the media) have led to the intensification of contact with Spanish (including Castilian Spanish). Moreover, the development and expansion of Standard Galician has started a koineization process the extent of which is not yet known, but which ought to be taken into consideration. It is therefore possible that varieties spoken by newer generations may present prosodic changes that are now underway.

4. A sociolinguistic approach to Galician intonation

We will present a production study which examines both intonation of both Galician and GS, the language used by young people who represent the most

innovative speakers, and the degree of exposure of these speakers to the two contact languages. The objectives of this study are: 1) to establish the distribution of intonation patterns in yes/no questions in terms of the variables being considered (the language used and degree of contact); and 2) to detect prosodic change resulting from language contact.

4.1 Method

To study the intonation of yes/no questions in young speakers who are acquainted with Standard Galician and are in contact with Spanish and with other varieties of Galician, we performed a production experiment taking into consideration the various sociolinguistic profiles of our informants and their use and degree of contact with the variety of Spanish spoken in Galicia. We collected data in both Galician and Galician Spanish (GS).

We chose a group of female speakers considered representative of young speakers today (all between 20 and 25 years old). We established four categories to obtain some insight into the considerable heterogeneity found among speakers. The parameters used to classify them were basically *first language* and *language usually spoken*. This yields two groups with Galician as their L1, which we refer to as Galician monolinguals⁸ (GM) and bilinguals (BI); and two groups with Galician Spanish as their L1, Spanish monolinguals (SM) and new speakers (NS). These same speakers are classified in terms of the language they use habitually into three groups of functional monolinguals (GM, SM and NS) and one group of functional bilinguals (BI). There were 22 speakers altogether: 7 GM, 5 BI, 4 SM and 6 NS. NS and BI did our test in Spanish and Galician, whereas the SM group only did it in Spanish and the GM group only in Galician.

⁸ The labels “monolingual” and “bilingual” refers mainly to the *use* they make of the two languages under consideration, not their *competence* since they are all competent in both languages. The term *new speaker* refers to the category established by Ramallo & O’Rourke (2014: 99-100) referred to by them as *essential neospeakers* (whose first language is Spanish but who speak Galician almost exclusively).

Our informants' distribution by place of birth was not completely balanced since at the time the experiment was designed it was impossible to foresee the possible effect of koineization of intonation or the effects of certain conditions in which the experiment would be carried out. In consequence, the geographical variable was not taken into account when selecting monolingual Galician-speaking informants, since it was assumed that they would all use the same native variety to perform the task they were given. Seven of the Galician monolingual (GM) informants come from the CGP area (Figure 1). The speakers, then, were distributed as follows: seven came from the CGP area, six from RBP and two from CMP. No informants were told which variety they were to use when they took the test, although they were asked to do so in the most natural way possible.

The corpus we used is a Discourse Completion Task, in which a hypothetical context is described to informants who must provide the utterance they consider appropriate to the situation. For example, for neutral yes/no questions the following context was given: *Suppose you go into a shop and ask the shopkeeper if she has jam* (to which the expected answer would be: *Have you got jam?*). This corpus was adapted from one proposed by Prieto & Cabré (2007-2012) and our own AMPER corpus. Each informant was given a total of 53 situations, although for the study of neutral yes/no questions we only selected and analysed two of them.

4.2 Results

A summary of the results is presented in Table 1. The number of occurrences of each pattern was counted, classifying them by the geoprosodic area of origin of speakers and the language in which informants performed the experiment.

		PATTERNS			
		Galician		Galician Spanish	
		CGP H+L* L%	RBP L+H* L%	CGP H+L* L%	RBP L+H* L%
SPEAKER'S GEOPROSODIC AREA	CGP	83% (20/22)	0% (0/22)	100% (16/16)	0% (0/16)
	RBP	100% (7/7)	0% (0/7)	100% (10/10)	0% (0/10)

Table 1. Percentages and number of occurrences of patterns in yes/no questions, according to the language of the experiment and the geoprosodic area from which informants originated

As this shows, almost all realizations display the CGP pattern as described in Fernández Rei & Escourido (2008), which was referred in section 2 (see Figure 1). This pattern has a very sharp drop in tone associated with the last stressed syllable and a prenuclear configuration with high tone. An example from a Galician monolingual is given in Figure 4:

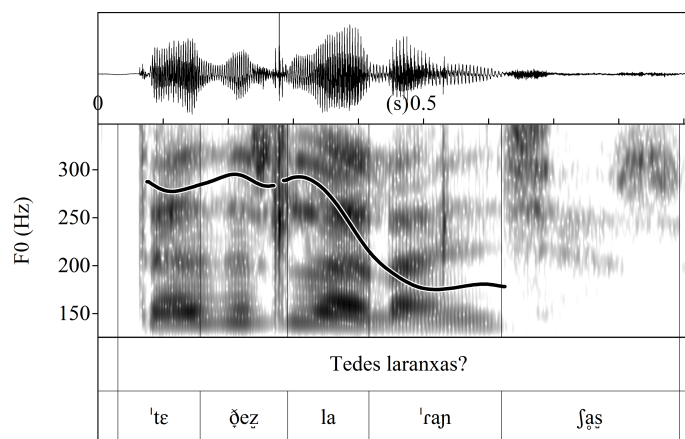


Figure 4. F0 curve of neutral yes/no questions (“Have you got oranges?”) in Galician of a Galician monolingual

The same nuclear configuration is found in the other Galician speakers (whether new speakers or bilinguals) when they speak Galician, as we would expect, but it is also

found in GS, no matter whether speakers' native and habitual language is GS (in the case of Spanish functional monolinguals) or Galician (new speakers):

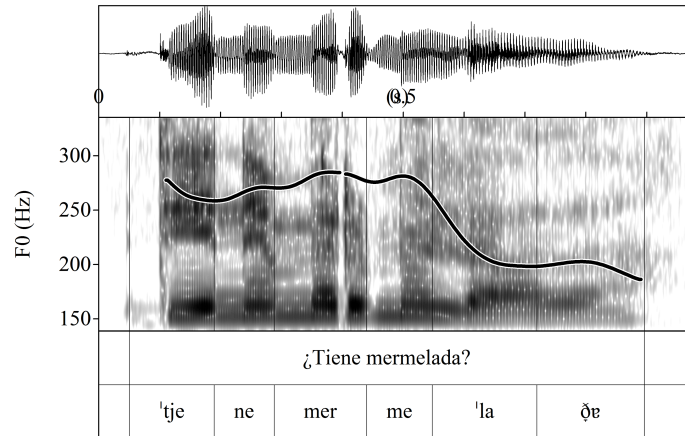


Figure 5. F0 curve of a neutral yes/no question (“Have you got jam?”) in a monolingual GS speaker

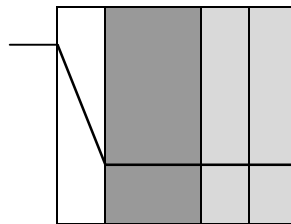


Figure 6. Schematic representation of the configuration of a neutral yes/no question

This configuration (H+L* L%), represented as a diagram in Figure 6, even appears in speakers from other dialect areas where this pattern is not found according to Galician dialect descriptions (see Figure 1). Thus some speakers from the Southwest area opted to use CGP rather than their own dialect's RBP when speaking either Galician or GS (Table 1). Because the corpus is not fully balanced in terms of informants' places of origin, it contains no example of a Galician monolingual from the area in question, so it was not possible to check whether these would choose to use RBP or CGP. However, the fact that all the informants produced CGP may have to do with the influence of the standard language and accommodation to a situation

perceived as formal. Although it is possible that the recording scenario exerted an influence, it is nevertheless significant that they made this choice, which shows that the CGP intonation pattern in question functions as the unmarked standard in both GS and Galician.

5. Discussion

The neutral yes/no question pattern found in speakers with the classical profile of traditional dialectology in the AMPER framework (Fernández Rei & Escourido 2008) is the same pattern we found in our speakers, university-educated young people in contact with several varieties of both GS and Galician, except for speakers from the southwestern region who chose CGP as appropriate to the situations given in the Discourse Completion Task, unlike the AMPER informants who always used RBP.

Since CGP is found in both Galician and GS, this appears to confirm the suggestion in earlier studies that there has been direct transfer from Galician to GS. As explained above, CGP is assumed to form part of an Iberian dialect continuum as earlier studies have posited (see Alvarellós et al. 2011, López Bobo & Cuevas 2009). The basic manifestation of that prosodic continuum in the north of the peninsula would be the intonation pattern found in varieties of Galician rather than in GS, for historical reasons: GS arose through native Galician speakers learning Spanish as a second language, generally as adults. Let us recall that until well into the twentieth century, Spanish was practically absent from rural regions, which account for most of Galicia by far; among the ordinary classes it was not customary to speak Spanish. Until the establishment of universal free education, which was only secured in the nineteen-seventies (Duarte 2012), contact with Spanish was a rare occurrence for these speakers.

Thus our point of departure is a historical situation that remained virtually unchanged up until the mid-twentieth century. In these contexts of *adult diglossia*, it has been claimed that the process which takes place is a *direct transfer* of the prosody of the first language to another language learnt as a second language in adulthood

(Roseano et al. 2015). In the case of Galician, there would therefore have been a direct transfer of Galician intonation to GS which occurred historically (Figure 7):

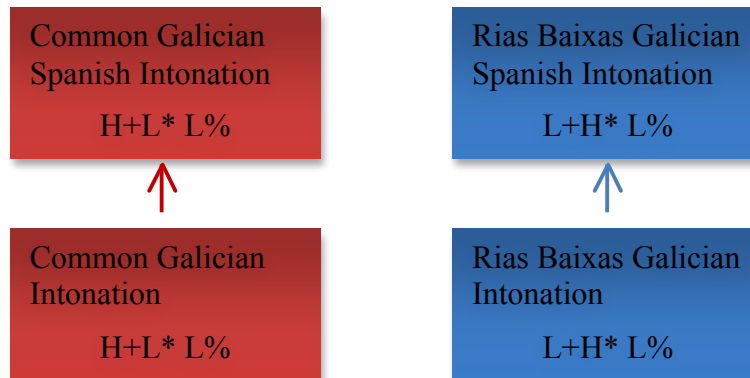


Figure 7. GS development stage: direct transfer

This direct transfer stage is probably no longer active because the sociolinguistic situation has changed drastically and there is now a context of social or diffuse bilingualism, conducive to other processes of prosodic convergence such as *fusion* (Roseano et al. 2015). We only found one isolated instance of fusion in our data, discussed below. However, it cannot be ruled out that further examples might be found in a broader study covering a greater variety of structures or involving a larger number of speakers.

As already noted, in our experiment speakers from the south-western region chose to use CGP, which appears to function as the variety of reference for both Galician and GS. Therefore we should probably recognise a new stage, that of the development of Galician and GS koinés;⁹ these adopt CGP as the reference pattern for yes/no questions.

⁹ Our use of the term koiné does not quite fit Siegel's (2001: 175) classic definition, which defines it as "a stabilized contact variety which results from the mixing and subsequent levelling of features of varieties which are similar enough to be mutually intelligible, such as regional or social dialects. This occurs in the context of increased interaction or integration among speakers of these varieties". The justification for this looser usage is the need for a term allowing us to refer to the development of a reference variety in this situation of contact between geographical and social varieties.

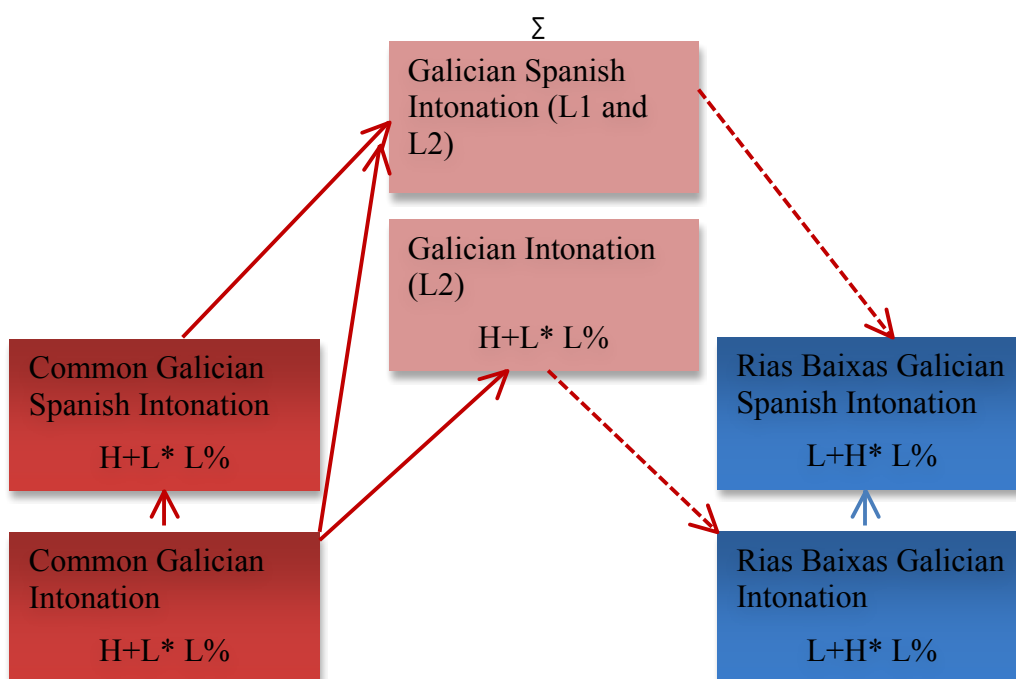


Figure 7. GS development stage: direct transfer.

This stage is believed to have commenced in the 1950s, and to have been consolidated mostly since the eighties as a consequence of the achievement of official status for Galician, the planning and spread of Standard Galician, nativization of the resulting GS koiné and the establishment of increasingly widespread social bilingualism. It may be taken as an indication that the eighties were the period marking the turning point in this process in Galicia that the AMPER survey shows no evidence for the koineization phenomenon; the survey participants, who had been born in the 1940s or 1950s, had hardly been affected at all by this process, since their school education had not been in Galician and their contact with standard Galician had not begun until they were adults. On the contrary, the speakers who contributed to the present corpus, who were born in the 1990s, received part of their formal education in Galician and had had access to Galician-language media all their lives (especially television). We recognise that the two corpora are not fully comparable, but still believe that the observable differences in results are illustrative of a social and linguistic change which began in the 1980s.

As Figure 8 shows, the new koinés come into contact with different geoproisodic varieties of Galician and GS: varieties already having CGP are unaffected because it is

the same pattern, while in varieties that use RBP there is now an intensification of contact with the CGP pattern, the geographical domain of which has extended beyond the areas where it had originated. This results in the incorporation of CGP into the repertoire of south-western speakers, who use it in situations where they judge it appropriate: formal contexts, interaction with speakers from other areas, etc. Probably this incorporation does not entail the replacement of RBP, the vernacular pattern of the area. However, it would seem desirable to carry out research to determine whether or not the incorporation of DGP has given rise to a dialect levelling process, as defined by Kerswill (2002), i.e. whether a prosodic change is taking place in the area as a consequence of the replacement of the traditional pattern by that of the Galician and GS koinés.

Another factor that needs to be reckoned with at this point is the significant presence of Castilian Spanish. However, we have not found evidence in our experiment for the exertion of influence on either Galician or GS by Castilian Spanish. The intonation pattern in general use by our informants shows no resemblance at all to that of Madrid Spanish, which is perceived as the standard variety of Spanish among Galician speakers of Spanish (Beswick 2007, Regueira 2005): the pattern for neutral questions in standard Spanish has a nuclear accent with a low tone associated with the last stressed syllable followed by a noticeable rise on the vowel(s) after the last stressed syllable (Estebas & Prieto 2010: 30, who transcribe this as L* HH%). This is the contour found by Pérez Castillejo (2012) in some speakers in her corpus. In our corpus, out of a total of 22 realizations by speakers from the CGP area, only two were found not to correspond to either CGP or RBP (see Table 1). One of them seems to be an example of a hybrid pattern intermediate between those of Castilian Spanish and Galician (see Figure 9), the nuclear configuration of which may be transcribed as H+L* H%.¹⁰

¹⁰ The other utterance should perhaps be dismissed: although similar to the aforementioned example, it is not a clearcut instance of a hybrid pattern and is more likely to be a suspended utterance that the informant left unfinished.

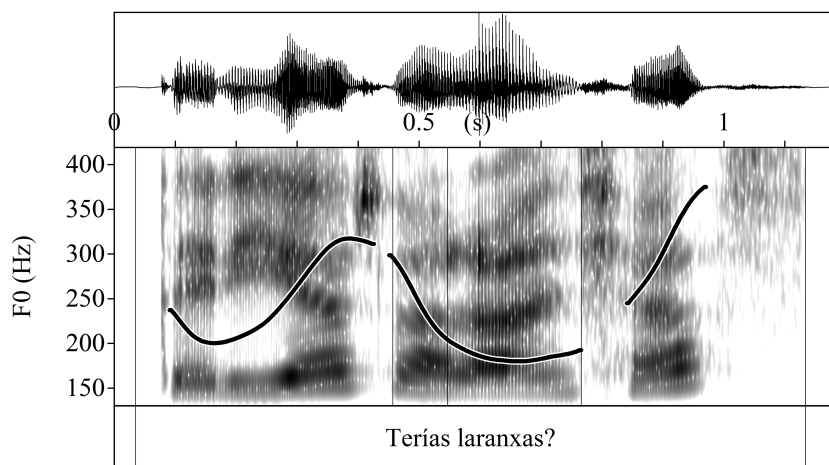


Figure 9. F0 curve of a neutral yes/no question (“Would you have oranges?”) in a bilingual speaker speaking Galician

6. Final remarks

The analysis of the behaviour of speakers in this experiment reveals that their intonation patterns in yes/no questions remain constant and do not show variation according to either the language used or speakers' first or habitual language.

Another significant finding concerning yes/no questions is that speakers from dialect areas in which Galician presents RBP (the southwest, according to Fernández Rei & Escourido 2008) use CGP. This suggests something other than a direct transfer from their Galician dialect variety to GS. This use of CGP was found in both GS and Galician, which suggests that the CGP that was transferred to GS seems to be functioning as a standard pattern or koiné in GS also. It would be desirable to carry out a specific study of this, given that at the present time direct transfer from Galician to GS appears to be slowing down, because if it were still occurring we would expect speakers from the area in question to have an identical or similar intonation contour in GS and the Galician dialect with which they are in contact.

The historical transfer of Galician intonation to Galician Spanish, which has apparently ceased, has given rise to a variety of Spanish in Galicia with Galician intonation, at least where yes/no questions are concerned. At the present time,

Galician is in close contact with that variety of Galician Spanish. No convergence process appears to be underway given that they share identical intonation patterns. It is in fact quite possible that Galician Spanish intonation may be contributing to the maintenance of the autochthonous intonation pattern in yes/no questions, and even favouring its consolidation as the standard by means of a secondary transfer process.

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