

# **The Spanish sound system and intonation in contact with Galician**

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This exploratory study presents an approach to the phonetic models of Galician Spanish (GS) by means of a small sample of six female speakers with different linguistic profiles. We analyze the production of stressed vowels, final unstressed vowels, and some intonation contours. Unlike earlier descriptions, we do not find direct transfer from Galician to the GS phonetic system. Our results show: 1) The disappearance of the Galician seven vowel system and some examples of hybridization in wh-question intonation, both of which could be seen as signs of change in GS; and 2) The reduction of the final vowels and direct transfer from Galician to GS in yes-no questions, both of which could suggest preservation of the covert prestige of Galician.

**Keywords:** Galician Spanish; Galician; Language contact; Phonetics; Intonation

## **1. Introduction**

Studies on Galician Spanish (GS)<sup>1</sup> are scarce and, in general, of an impressionistic type. The empirical works that have recently appeared on language contact in Galicia have been devoted largely to the effects of contact with Spanish on Galician phonetics (Aguete, 2017; Amengual & Chamorro, 2015; Tomé, 2018; Tomé & Evans, 2015). Such studies have begun to show to what extent Galician incorporates the phonetic features of GS, both segmentally (mainly through the realization of stressed vowels) and prosodically (namely through the intonation of interrogative statements). On the other hand, works on the phonetics of GS undertaken on an experimental basis are limited almost exclusively to intonation; hence, the picture that we have of the phonetic characteristics of GS and the effects upon it from contact with Galician is still limited.

In Galicia, there has been long-standing situation of language contact. Today, all Galician speakers are, to a greater or lesser extent, in contact with Spanish; however, the demographic and social expansion of Spanish in recent decades has led to an increasingly significant part of the Galician-Spanish population having little contact with Galician. Spanish is the first language (L1) of most young people in urban environments, who come into contact with Galician through their school education, which is a fairly recent phenomenon. It is therefore possible to question to what extent this new sociolinguistic situation, new social and cultural realities, and increased exposure to linguistic varieties from outside Galicia (e.g., through the media, social networks, travel, etc.) affect the Spanish spoken in Galicia. We do not know to what extent these speakers are exposed to the different

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<sup>1</sup> Although in Galicia the term *castelán* ‘Castilian’ is frequently used to refer to the official language of the Kingdom of Spain, in this work, we shall use the term *Spanish* to refer to that language, and *Castilian* to refer to the Spanish spoken in Castile. In references to other works, however, *Castilian* may appear in reference to Spanish.

Spanish models present in society, but we work under the premise that contact will most likely occur between Galician varieties and local (Galician) varieties of Spanish.

In this paper, we set out to empirically study specific aspects of the GS sound system via a small sample of six speakers. These subjects are all university-educated women with different linguistic profiles: one is an urban Spanish speaker, two are semi-rural (i.e., from medium sized towns) Spanish speakers, two are bilingual *neofalantes* ‘new speakers’ (O’Rourke & Pujolar, 2015; O’Rourke & Ramallo, 2015; Ramallo & O’Rourke, 2014), and one is a bilingual rural speaker with L1 Galician. These profiles should reflect the range of sociolinguistic contexts of GS speakers, and although they cannot be taken as a representative sample in quantitative terms, they have been selected as samples of different accents of GS. We analyze three different areas of the sound system, two of which are segmental, and one of which is suprasegmental: the production of stressed vowels, the production of final unstressed vowels, and the intonation of different types of utterances. We shall try to verify to what extent the varieties of Spanish of our six speakers conforms with or deviates from the descriptions provided for Galician in previous studies (Álvarez Blanco, 1991; Amengual & Chamorro, 2015; Fernández Rei, 2016; Fernández Rei & Escourido, 2008; Regueira, 2007; Tomé, 2018), as well as if the different features analyzed follow a common pattern throughout the data set.

This is not a quantitative but rather an exploratory study that seeks to suggest directions for future research. We shall try to establish if Spanish speakers in our sample share the same phonetic characteristics among themselves and behave as anticipated based on previous literature, as well as if emerging phonetic models related to current phonetic changes in progress are detected. Finally, we shall defend the idea that in order to interpret this data, one cannot lose sight of the prestige of standard Spanish (i.e., Castilian) nor the covert prestige of Galician, which, following Labov (1966), is associated with belonging to a

differentiated community, and therefore, to an ethnic, cultural, and local identity. Due to the exploratory and qualitative nature of our study, the final conclusions should be taken as hypotheses that should be studied further in future work.

## **2. Galician and Spanish in contact**

In the Autonomous Community of Galicia, the official languages are Galician and Spanish; however, Galician is “the language of Galicia” (Statute of Autonomy of Galicia, art. 5.1). Galician is also spoken in certain territories outside the Autonomous Community, such as the bordering provinces of Asturias, León, and Zamora, as well as a small enclave of Cáceres.

Galician is closely related to Portuguese, to the point that certain cultural groups advocate for the adoption of the Portuguese standard for written Galician. In the Middle Ages, Galician and Portuguese were separated by a political border when the Kingdom of Portugal became independent (i.e., the 12th Century), upon which Galicia united and finally submitted to the Kingdom of Castile. As such, we see that contact with Spanish had already begun to occur during that historical period, albeit in a very limited way. During the Middle Ages, Galician continued to be the literary language of the central and western parts of the Iberian Peninsula, as seen in the works of Alfonso X (1221-1284), King of Castile, León, and Galicia (Monteagudo, 1998). Throughout the Middle Ages, Galician was the language of documents and literature, but at the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century, it was replaced by written Spanish (Mariño, 1998, 2008; Monteagudo, 1999).

However, the penetration of Spanish into Galicia was slow and limited to social elites until the end of the 19th century. Even at the beginning of the 20th century, Galician was the language of 90% of the population (RAG, 1995), but the middle and upper classes had already become accustomed to using Spanish. During the 19th century, there was a revival of Galician as a literary language (i.e., the *Rexurdimento*), which was a process that was associated with a regionalist political project. In the first decades of the 20th century, a nationalist movement was founded, and in 1936, a Statute of Autonomy of Galicia was approved; however, Galicianist movements, as well as the social revival of Galician, were crushed by a coup and the ensuing Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), which, in turn, was followed by decades of persecution and repression of any ideology that disagreed with the Spanish fascist and nationalist regime. Even during Franco's dictatorship, in the 1960s, some nationalist parties were created and engaged in underground political activities, and thus, the social revival of the Galician language began to grow stronger (Beramendi, 2007).

After the death of Franco and the restoration of parliamentary monarchy (1975-1977), Galician was recognized, together with Spanish, as the official language of Galicia (Statute of Autonomy, 1981), and consequently, a social and political 'normalization' process began for the language. For example, Galician has been incorporated as a language in public administration, the educational system, and the autonomous media (e.g., *Radio Galega*, *Televisión de Galicia*). Galician is also the language of public policy activity (e.g., Parliament, the *Xunta de Galicia*, city councils, unions, collective public demonstrations, etc.), with few exceptions, as well as of general cultural activity (e.g., publishers, theatre, etc.).

Despite the aforementioned revival, throughout the 20th century, and even more so in recent decades, Galician has been losing its speakers to Spanish. This is related to socioeconomic and cultural changes that have occurred in a very short period of time,

especially in the last third of the 20th century, which has resulted in the breakdown of traditional rural society and a process of accelerated urbanization (Precedo, Míguez Iglesias, & Fernández Justo, 2008), which, in recent years, has been impacted by the mass media, globalization, the Internet, and new social networks. From a linguistic and cultural point of view, these processes constitute what Dixon (1997) refers to as *punctuation*, or a period of abrupt change following a relatively long period of stability.

In this new situation, in a society with intense social and geographical mobility, the economic and social elites continue to employ Spanish, and as such, social promotion is linked to the use of that language. On the other hand, the reasons for Spanish speakers to switch to Galician are scarce (apart from ideological motivations; see Iglesias, 2003), which has caused the loss of speakers to be accelerated in recent decades. At the beginning of the 20th century, it was estimated that more than 90% of the population spoke Galician habitually, but in 1992 that percentage was 68.6% for the whole population of Galicia, with those under 54 years of age showing a rate of 53% (RAG, 1995) that, in 2004, dropped to 38.4% (RAG, 2008).

At present, for the population of Galicia as a whole, Galician continues to be the majority language, with 44% reporting they always speak Galician, and just 11% reporting they always speak Spanish (RAG, 2016, p. 56); however, Galician is losing speakers due to a lack of intergenerational transmission. Spanish predominates among younger generations, especially in urban areas (RAG, 2016), and a significant number of young people in urban contexts have no contact with Galician unless it is through the educational system. The impact of this new sociolinguistic reality, which reflects the experiences of our GS speakers, has yet to be studied, and thus, the current chapter fills an existing research gap.

### 3. Previous work on Galician Spanish

Galician Spanish has received little attention both inside and outside this community (Recalde, 2012, p. 668). Furthermore, until a short time ago, works were of an impressionistic nature, based on personal and unsystematic observations, and only in recent years have some empirical studies been published.

The first work carried out by a linguist is that of Cotarelo (1927), which is based on personal observations of Spanish spoken by “*los burgueses y gentes de estudio, a saber: propietarios, sacerdotes, abogados, médicos, jueces, catedráticos, etc.*” ‘bourgeois and well-educated people, namely: homeowners, priests, lawyers, doctors, judges, professors, etc.’ (p. 83). Among the features of the *castellano regional* ‘regional Castilian’ spoken by these people, Cotarelo (1927) mentions different grammatical characteristics, and regarding phonetics in particular, he mentions *tonillo o acento* ‘tone or accent,’ as well as “*la distinción de las vocales en abiertas y cerradas, especialmente las intermedias (e, o) tónicas, tomada de la lengua gallega*” ‘the distinction of open and closed vowels, especially the mid-stressed vowels (*e, o*), taken from the Galician language’ (p. 85).

No further studies were published in subsequent decades. After linguistic research on Galician began in the mid-1960s, a largely unknown language variant to that point, (Fernández Rei & Regueira, 2017), GS became the subject of only some relatively marginal works. Amongst them, an article by Alonso Montero (1966) details the use of the Galician vowel system, which includes an opposition between open and closed mid vowels (p. 332), as well as information on the general pronunciation of Castilian words and the vowel quality of the corresponding Galician words (p. 320). Rabanal (1967), in an article based on the

aforementioned previous studies (especially Cotarelo, 1927), observes that “*galleguizan el español común todos sus ‘hablantes’ gallegos (...), sin excluir a universitarios (...), ni a clérigos (...), ni mucho menos a comerciantes, industriales, burócratas y demás componentes del heterogéneo estamento culto de nuestras ciudades, villas y pueblos importantes*” ‘all Galician Spanish ‘speakers’ galicianize common Spanish (...), without excluding college students (...) or clerics... much less businessmen, industrialists, bureaucrats and others members of the educated heterogeneous class of our cities, towns and important villages’ (p. 18). Among these characteristics is the “*entonación, deje o tonillo*” ‘intonation, accent or tone,’ which highlights differences in the duration of stressed and unstressed vowels, tonal rises on stressed syllables, and the intonation of interrogatives, as well as the characteristics referred to by Cotarelo (1927).

The research of Abuín Soto (1970, 1971) on the Spanish spoken in the Rias Baixas is crucial to the topic at hand in the current chapter. Based on the direct observations of the author, these investigations express the same idea that dominates all other similar impressionistic studies; that is, the complete transfer of Galician’s phonetic and phonological system into GS. Abuín Soto (1970) affirms that the influence of Galician on Spanish in the region in question is especially strong in terms of phonetics (p. 19), and in this regard, “*puede afirmarse rotundamente que el habla arosana es totalmente gallega*” ‘it can be clearly stated that Arosa speech is completely Galician’ (p. 20). He remarks that Spanish exercises a considerable influence on Galician in terms of morphological, syntactic, and lexical Castilianisms; however, with regard to phonetics, the trend is the opposite: “*el castellano de Galicia tiene una Fonética gallega*” ‘Galician Castilian has Galician phonetics’ (p. 23).

In later works, such as García (1976, 1986), García and Blanco (1998), and Rojo (2004), the same ideas about the transfer of intonational features (following Abuín Soto,



1970, 1971) are repeated, as are the contrast between closed mid vowels and open mid vowels, and the closing of final /e/ and /o/ (see García, 1976, 1986 for both of these vowels; see Rojo, 2004 for just /o/). Monteagudo and Santamarina (1993) also mention the pronunciation of the mid vowels taken from Galician, as well as “distinctive intonation, especially in questions” (p. 147), among other distinctive characteristics of the Spanish spoken by most Galician people. For Ramallo (2007), the most distinctive features of Spanish in Galicia are the pronunciation of the mid vowels and the “pitch accent” (p. 25), based on the results of Castro (2003), which shall be discussed below.

The language that is described in these studies, however, does not always seem to refer to Spanish speakers in Galicia, but rather in many cases, the behavior of Galician speakers who occasionally use Spanish, transferring abundant phonetic features when doing so; for example, several of them mention *gheada* (i.e., the pronunciation of the glottal [h], pharyngeal [ħ] or velar [x] fricatives instead of the voiced velar stop [g] and the velar approximant [ɣ]) and *seseo* (i.e., a sibilant system with no opposition between /θ/ and /s/, as in standard Galician, where /s/ is realized as laminoalveolar [s] or apico-alveolar [s̟]). These phenomena are regarded as Galician features that “*se introducen en el castellano*” ‘are introduced into Castilian’ (García & Blanco, 1998, p. 10; see also Rabanal, 1967, pp. 30-32). Monteagudo and Santamarina (1993, p. 148) even state that “The inability to distinguish the Castilian phonemes /g/ and /x/ (as in the cognate Castilian words *gato* /'gato/ and *jugar* /xu'ɣar/) and their allophones is virtually the norm for Galician speakers, both for the majority who speak Galician with *gheada* and for the minority who do not”; however, if this were ever the case, it was not for certain at the time the authors wrote this text.

Rojo (2004) highlights the need to differentiate the Spanish spoken by habitual Galician speakers from Spanish spoken as an L1 by the population of Galicia, and notes that these differences were not taken into account in the majority of previous studies (pp. 1090-

1091). Monteagudo and Santamarina (1993, p. 146) already distinguished *Standard Castilian*, a variety “in which few Galicians have active oral ability, and its use attracts attention,” from *Regional Castilian*, a variety in which more features of Galician are included. According to these authors, the differences are, above all, class related; that is, “today the younger members of the upper middle and upper urban classes tend to speak Castilian with few dialectal nuances,” whilst Regional Castilian pertains to the “middle and lower urban classes, the middle classes outside the cities.”

In that regard, Porto Dapena’s (2001) observations, based on his personal experience, on the changes that have taken place over recent decades in Galician Spanish are relevant:

*La utilización del sistema de siete vocales en el castellano de Galicia era todavía prácticamente general en los años sesenta, por lo que los hablantes de mi generación, educados en español y con éste como primera lengua, no tienen hoy ninguna dificultad en distinguir entre cose, imperativo de coser (con o cerrada) y cose, presente de indicativo del mismo verbo (con o abierta). Frente a ellos, sin embargo, observo que, en general, los estudiantes universitarios de las últimas generaciones, con el castellano como primera lengua, pero que cursaron estudios de gallego tanto en primaria como en bachillerato, presentan serias dificultades para distinguir entre abierta y cerrada tanto en e como en o (Porto, 2001, n.p.).*

‘The seven vowel system in Castilian spoken in Galicia was still widespread in the 1960s, so the speakers of my generation, educated in Spanish and having it as their first language, now have no difficulty in distinguishing between *cose*, the imperative of *coser* (with a closed *o*) and *cose*, the present indicative of the same verb (with an open *o*). Regarding these, however, I note that in general, university students from recent generations, whose first language is Spanish but who studied

Galician both in primary and secondary school, display serious difficulties in distinguishing between open and closed with regard to both *e* and *o*.’

New Spanish speakers do not implement Galician’s vowel system with all seven of its vowels. This is indicative of a change in GS, which was described in a relatively uniform way in previous periods, always stating the incorporation of numerous phonetic features from Galician into GS. In a unique study on the phonetics of public speeches made by Franco, Salvador (1987, p. 210) even concludes that “*varios de sus rasgos denotan claramente el mantenimiento de los hábitos articulatorios adquiridos en su niñez ferrolana*” ‘several of his features clearly denote the maintenance of articulatory habits acquired during his childhood in Ferrol.’ Despite this observation, such a reality no longer applies to many Spanish-speaking people in urban areas.

Other studies on Galician lexical borrowings in GS (e.g., Mas, 1999; Noia 1982) and on morphology have also been published. Amongst these, Cáccamo (1983) authored the first work based on both a corpus (albeit minimal) and a theoretical foundation, in which he demonstrates that Galician influences the morphological system of GS. Furthermore, in terms of more recent morphological studies, Guijarro-Fuentes and Geeslin (2006) and Geeslin and Guijarro-Fuentes (2007), who focus on the selection of *ser* or *estar* in a series of statements in Spanish by Galician speakers, merit mentioning. Their results are not conclusive, although it is clear that linking verb selection in Galicia differs from that of monolingual regions of Spain. Recently, Anderson (2017) studied the use of the forms *cantara* and *cantase* in the subjunctive, reporting that the greater frequency of forms of the type *cantase* in GS, especially in young people, might be an indicator of the influence of Galician. This leads the author to conclude that this difference in usage is an effect of linguistic contact along with the social and political changes that have taken place in the community in recent decades. With

regard to the lexicon, the work of Álvarez de la Granja and López Meirama (2013) provides a reliable empirical basis. The authors study the presence of Galician in the Spanish-language lexicon of Galician secondary school students, taking into account different variables related to social stratification. They conclude that “*son esencialmente a lingua usual dos falantes e o hábitat os elementos que determinan, en número e tipoloxía, a produción de formas galegas no Léxico Dispoñible do Español de Galicia*” ‘the speakers’ usual language and environment are essentially the elements that determine, in number and type, the production of Galician forms in the Available Vocabulary of Galician Spanish’ (p. 92).

The only empirical works that deal with the segmental phonetics of Spanish in Galicia are those of Faginas (1998, 2001), both of which deal with realizations of mid vowels (/e/ in 1998 and /o/ in 2001) in the Spanish of A Coruña. Based on a six hour corpus of recordings of spontaneous speech produced by eight male speakers, Faginas finds that these vowels are realized more open or closed than in standard Spanish, thus following the pronunciation of Galician vowels, especially in lower-class and elderly speakers, but that this differentiation is absent from younger speakers. Nonetheless, the author cautions us by stating that these results can only be taken as indicators or trends (Faginas, 2001, p. 697).

The most important contributions have come from North American and British universities, with two of them referring to aspects of intonation. By using a corpus of examples of bilingual speakers, GS speakers, and Spanish speakers from outside Galicia, Obdulia Castro (2003) finds a special “pitch accent in utterance final position in Galician Spanish” (p. 52), which refers to a prosodic element that is characteristic of Galician as opposed to Spanish. According to the author, “[i]n Galician, regardless of syntactic, semantic or affective meaning, stress and pitch work together to give especial prominence to the last accented syllable in the phrase, while in Spanish pitch is mostly used to mark syntactic, semantic or affective meaning” (p. 52). On the other hand, the intonation of the yes-no

questions has been studied by Pérez Castillejo (2012), who shows that transfer of nuclear configurations from Galician into Spanish is only produced in speakers with greater exposure to Galician (i.e., the presence of Galician in the family), and that these intonation patterns do not appear in some speakers when performing more formal tasks (e.g., reading sentences). According to the author, “[*esto*] apunta a la pervivencia en Galicia de la estigmatización sociolingüística de los rasgos más agallegados del habla” ‘[this] points to the survival in Galicia of the sociolinguistic stigmatization of the most Galician features of speech’ (p. 263). Pérez Castillejo (2014) also carried out a broader study in which she presents a detailed acoustic analysis of declaratives and absolute interrogatives in GS, from which she obtains results indicating that the distinction between information-seeking and confirmation yes-no questions is not phonologically marked, as is the case in Madrid Spanish. The study concludes that extralinguistic factors (e.g., family language, degree of use) condition the emergence of patterns in Spanish that more closely resemble those of Galician.

Fuente and Pérez Castillejo (2017) analyze recordings of texts read by 30 men and women from the town of Noia (A Coruña), from different age groups, and with different sociolinguistic profiles, although the sample is biased towards dominance in Galician (based on the Bilingual Language Profile; Birdsong, Gertken, & Amengual, 2012). The results show that bilingual speakers tend to display two types of realizations for mid vowels in Spanish, both of which are influenced by the corresponding vowel in Galician, while monolingual Spanish speakers do not display this behavior.

In order to motivate our study in the most complete manner possible, some recent studies on the effects of contact with Spanish on the pronunciation of Galician vowels need to be referenced as well, such as Amengual and Chamorro (2015), Aguete (2017), and Tomé (2018).

Amengual and Chamorro (2015) study the perception and realization of mid vowels in the Galician of 54 bilingual subjects in the cities of Vigo and Santiago de Compostela, who were divided according to their dominant language. Based on discrimination experiments and the realization of vowels in a read-aloud task, the authors conclude that “language dominance is a strong predictor of the production and perception abilities of Spanish-Galician bilinguals” (p. 207). The Spanish-dominant speakers were not able to distinguish the open mid vowels from the closed mid vowels, whereas this differentiation appears robustly in the Galician-dominant speakers’ data. The latter speakers also maintain the contrast between /e/ and /ɛ/ in the reading task, while Spanish-dominant speakers produced a single vowel, similar to that of Spanish; however, these same speakers display a greater difference between /o/-/ɔ/, and this asymmetry can also be found in the Galician-speaking speakers, who display a more robust contrast in the back vowels. The results seem to show that the difference between open and closed mid vowels is being reduced or disappearing in urban speech, which leads the authors to pose the question: “Is the production and perception of the Galician specific mid vowel contrasts (i.e., /ɛ/-/e/ and /ɔ/-/o/) still considered necessary in order to sound native-like in Galician?” (p. 229). This question was answered a few years later by Tomé (2018, p. 107):

Mid-vowels could be considered a sociolinguistic stereotype, which forms part of the knowledge of members of the society, even though it may not conform to an objective fact [...]. There is a high awareness about the fact that one of the differences between Galician and Spanish is the different vowel systems among individuals in the community. This is particularly true for younger listeners, who have been taught the Galician language at school. Besides, there is a widespread belief that a ‘good speaker’ of Galician must have all seven vowels.

Tomé (2018) studied the phonetics of *neofalantes* (O'Rourke & Ramallo, 2015, 2018) through an experimental battery based on both perception and production. Partial results were previously presented in Tomé and Evans (2014, 2017). She notes, similar to Amengual and Chamorro (2015), that “*neofalantes* did not appear to produce distinctive contrast for front and back mid vowels and did not differ from Spanish-speaking dominants in their production of the sibilant fricative contrast. However, they patterned with Galician-dominant speakers in their production of reduced word-final vowels” (Tomé, 2018, p. 166). This study also shows a marked contrast between speakers from rural areas and urban speakers, since the urban Galician-dominant speakers did not produce a robust contrast between high and low mid vowels (p. 72).

In a perceptual study carried out in Galicia, Alba Aguete (2017) confirms the relevance of the dominant language in the perception of mid vowels, as Spanish-speaking monolinguals (i.e., people who claim to speak only Spanish in their daily lives) do not distinguish low and high mid vowels, while Galician-speaking monolinguals (i.e., those who claim to speak only Galician in everyday life) reach rates approaching 100% of correct identifications. In speakers who declare themselves as bilingual, Aguete finds an effect of exposure to Galician within the family (pp. 90-91).

This review of existing works shows that, in recent years, there has been a leap forward in studies on the effects of contact between Galician and Spanish and, to a lesser extent, on GS. Almost all studies prior to 2000 are impressionistic in nature, displaying a notable ideological bias (Recalde, 2012) reflected in their negative assessments regarding varieties showing the effects of interference or ‘hybrid’ varieties. In contrast, more recent empirical investigations of phonetics and phonology have attempted to ascertain to what extent transfer from one language to another occurs. In some works on language contact, focusing mainly on the study of Galician in contact with Spanish, different and more current

research perspectives are being introduced (see Gugenberger, Monteagudo, & Rei-Doval, 2013; Regueira & Fernández Rei, 2017).<sup>2</sup>

In the present study, in addition to two phonetic variables that display divergent results in Galician productions in Tomé (2018) (i.e., stressed mid vowels, final unstressed vowels), we incorporate the study of intonation in two types of questions (i.e., information-seeking yes-no questions and information-seeking wh-questions), which allows us to check if there are ‘hybridization’ situations at the segmental and/or suprasegmental level of speech produced in Galicia, and if so, we will discuss the features most strongly affected by the new Galician social context.

#### **4. Corpus and methodology**

The present study analyzes certain segmental and suprasegmental features in a small group of speakers. We assume not a quantitative but rather a qualitative perspective because we want to show the phonetic diversity that can be observed in GS through a sample of speakers from different backgrounds that show variation in rural/urban context and language dominance. In order to tighten the focus of our discussion of variation, we control for age (i.e., 18-22 years), sex (i.e., all women), and level of education (i.e., university students and graduates with different language and literature degrees). In the case of bilingual speakers, we analyze

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<sup>2</sup> For Galician in contact with Portuguese across the border of the River Miño, see Beswick (2014).



productions in Spanish and also in Galician, also from a qualitative standpoint. Through the analysis of stressed vowels, unstressed word-final vowels, and the intonation contours of two types of questions, our overarching goals are to try to verify to what extent our results cohere with what is described in previous relevant work and to see if new and less anticipated trends emerge.

Our sample of six informants was extracted from a larger pool of 22 participants who participated in a more elaborate experiment (for a complete description, see Fernández Rei, 2016, pp. 157-158). In this experiment, the speakers responded to a survey in which they provided information on age, sex, place of origin (i.e., their own and that of their mother and father), their L1 (in terms of order of acquisition), and the language or languages they use regularly (indicated through percentages). All of them participated in a discourse completion task (following Prieto & Roseano, 2010, pp. 353-361), which consisted of an interview in which a hypothetical context was presented for which they were asked to provide, as naturally as possible, the response utterance they considered most appropriate. They carried out this task in Spanish, but those who claimed to use Galician in their ordinary life to a medium or high degree (i.e., > 50%) also completed a parallel discourse completion task in Galician.

The analysis presented in the upcoming section includes: a) A Galician-dominant bilingual speaker (GDB) from a rural area who declares Galician as her L1, but who currently uses the two languages in her daily life (i.e., 60% Galician and 40% Spanish); b) Two *neofalantes* (NS1 and NS2) from urban areas who state that Spanish is their L1 and who have used a very high percentage of Galician (i.e., more than 90% and 70%, respectively) during the last three to four years, thus fitting the profile of the so-called “essential new speakers” in Ramallo and O’Rourke (2014); c) Two Spanish speakers from medium-sized towns (i.e., Ribadeo and Vilalba; SST1 and SST2, respectively) and a Spanish speaker from a large city

(i.e., Vigo; SSC), all of whom state that Spanish is their L1, and continue to use it at a rate greater than 80% in their daily lives.

We must also introduce two speakers who were part of the experiment but whose data were not analyzed for the purposes of this chapter: one speaker (RefG1) from a medium-sized town (i.e., Vilalba; see 5.3.1) and one speaker (RefG2) from a small town (i.e., Ponteceso, see 5.3.2). These speakers, who we define as functionally monolingual Galician speakers, have stated that Galician is their L1 and that they use Galician in their current daily interactions at a rate greater than 90%. The productions of these speakers are taken as a point of reference, especially for the analysis of the intonation of information-seeking wh-questions, as there are no published data about the melody of this type of utterance in Galician. By using these two speakers as a baseline, we can determine whether or not the intonation contours produced by the informants selected for our analysis align with those of (close to) monolingual Galician.

The sentences elicited via the discourse completion task are not well balanced regarding the phonetic contexts of each vowel; however, all participants produced a comparable set of vowels in equivalent sentences in the same communicative context, and therefore, the set of productions can be compared for the purposes of this exploratory study. We analyzed all the stressed vowels of their productions, as well as the word-final unstressed vowels in final position of Intonation Phrases (I) and Utterances (U) (Nespor & Vogel, 1986). Furthermore, we selected two types of questions (i.e., information-seeking yes-no questions and information-seeking wh-questions) from all the utterance types produced in the discourse completion task.

The acoustic analyses of vowels and intonation contours were carried out in Praat software (Boersma & Weenink, 2016). Vowel formant values were normalized via the Lobanov method (see Recasens, 2008), using the tool developed by Kendall and Thomas

(2010), and subsequently integrated into the R statistics package (R Core Team, 2018) for graphics purposes. For the intonation analysis, scripts prepared at the Phonetics Laboratory of the University of Barcelona (Elvira-García, 2014; Elvira-García & Roseano, 2014) were used to extract phonological targets (i.e., pitch accents and boundary tones).

Taking into account that Galician and Spanish are closely related languages, and very similar in various aspects of phonology and overall grammar, it is expected that they will be highly permeable to one other, especially since Galician, as a substrate language, has influenced Spanish through a long-term process of shift (see Thomason & Kaufman, 1988). In these situations, it is often problematic to ascertain what changes may be produced through language contact or what changes may be internal (Epps, Huehnergard, & Pat-El, 2013; Pat-El, 2013). In the case of Spanish and Galician, the contrast between vowel systems, their historical development, and accounts of their modern phonological systems are well established. On the other hand, Galician and Portuguese largely share their developmental path, and nowadays, display great grammatical affinity, including in some phonetic and phonological aspects as well (see Álvarez Blanco, 1991; Fernández Rei, Moutinho, & Coimbra, 2016; Regueira, 2007, 2010), despite centuries of political separation and a lack of communication between their respective communities of speakers. In certain cases, these affinities also allow us to propose which features belong to the Galician language and which belong to the Spanish language with greater authority, which facilitates the identification of the characteristics of the Galician substratum that are incorporated into GS.

We must point out, in agreement with Rojo (2004) and Ramallo (2007), that when we study Spanish in Galicia, we do not refer to Spanish spoken by Galician speakers, but rather Spanish spoken by people for whom Spanish is the L1 and who speak this language regularly. Therefore, for these speakers, there is no question of interference or phonological transfer in the sense of Flege (1995), since these speakers acquired Spanish as their mother tongue. In

this context, the concept of ‘dominant language’ can also be problematic, not only because of difficulties in determining language dominance in speakers who have grown up as bilinguals, and the low level consensus on measurements of dominance (Anderson, 2017, p. 44), but also because many of these speakers are not bilingual in their daily practices.

## **5. Results**

Below we present the results obtained for the stressed vowels, unstressed final vowels, and intonational contours analyzed. As mentioned above, this is a qualitative study that does not intend to be representative of the behavior of the different groups of speakers, whether by dominant language or rural versus urban environment, but rather a sample of the current phonetic and phonological status of the Spanish language as currently spoken in Galicia by a section of young people.

### *5.1 Stressed vowels*

One feature mentioned by previous studies is transfer of the contrast between high mid and low mid stressed vowels from Galician to GS. In our study, none of the speakers have seven vowels in their GS. For Spanish productions, we follow the procedure used by de la Fuente and Pérez Castillejo (2017), who compare the quality of vowels in Spanish words to that of vowels in corresponding Galician cognates (e.g., *comes* ‘you eat’ in both languages) in order to see if the realizations of the mid vowels present significant differences.

The bilingual speaker with Galician dominance (i.e., GDB) displays two different vowel systems for Galician and Spanish. In Figure 1, it can be seen that in productions in Galician (see Figure 1, left panel), there are seven clearly differentiated vowels, with the high mid and low mid vowels well separated, especially in the case of the front vowels. On the contrary, when the speaker uses Spanish, the mid vowels are not differentiated, but rather superimposed almost completely, with very close average values for both F1 and F2 in both pairs of mid vowels (see Figure 1, right panel). As can be seen from the comparison between the two triangles, the average vowels of Spanish correspond mainly to the mid high vowels of her productions in Galician.

**[Please insert Regueira\_Figure 1 about here]**

**Figure 1.** Stressed vowels (mean values and standard deviation) for productions in Galician (left) and for productions in Spanish (right) of speaker GDB.

This behavior, with two distinctly different pronunciations for Galician and Spanish, had not been previously observed in any experimental study, nor was it commented on in impressionistic works (see Section 6).

Regarding the two *neofalantes*, they present the same stressed vowel system in both languages, but with only five vowels. In Figure 2, we see the results for both speakers in Galician productions, where it becomes clear that there is no difference in the pairs of mid vowels, except for a slight difference in the back mid vowels of speaker NS2; however, speaker NS1 does not follow this pattern, which is evidence of a degree of high variability in stressed vowel productions despite the similar language histories of the two participants in question (i.e., both are new speakers from the same city and studied together).

**[Please insert Regueira\_Figure 2 about here]**

**Figure 2.** Galician stressed vowels of NS1 and NS2.

In their productions in Spanish, these two speakers present five vowels. NS2 exhibits very close frequency values for the back mid vowels, and even the mid high vowel has an F1 of lower frequency than that of the mid low vowel: F1 = 594 Hertz (Hz), F2 = 1257 Hz for [ɔ]; F1 = 624 Hz, F2 = 1271 Hz for [o]. The other three Spanish speakers (i.e., SST1, SST2, SSC), who are not habitual speakers of Galician, also have five vowels in their Spanish productions.

Although the data is not sufficient to be able to prove this completely, and we do not have a contrasting corpus of standard Spanish speakers outside of Galicia, our results suggest that the *neofalantes* (i.e., NS1 and NS2), the bilingual speaker (i.e., GDB), and the speaker from a town (i.e., SST2) tend to pronounce the Spanish mid vowels in the same way as the closed mid vowels of Galician, as can be seen in the comparison between the Galician and Spanish stressed vowels of speaker GDB (see Figure 1). Conversely, the urban speaker (i.e., SSC) realizes these vowels more similarly to those of standard Castilian Spanish, and lower than those of the other speakers, especially in the case of the back vowel [o] (see Figure 3, in Section 5.2): F1 = 561 Hz, very close to the value for F1 (i.e., 586 Hz) of this vowel provided by Martínez Celdrán and Fernández Planas (2007, pp. 177) for standard Spanish (in normalized values, 0.226 and 0.126, respectively). Furthermore, speaker SST1 produced [e] height very similar to that of standard Spanish (Martínez Celdrán & Fernández Planas, 2007, p. 177): F1 = 578 Hz, compared to 576 Hz of standard Spanish; in normalized values, 0.202 and 0.075, respectively. These preliminary results should be taken into account in future works, since they may confirm the idea that speakers of GS who already have a system of five stressed vowels tend to produce mid vowels that correspond with, or closely approximate, Galician closed mid vowels.

### *5.2 Unstressed final vowels*

The quality of unstressed word-final vowels, which is one of the points in which Galician phonetics differs from that of Spanish (Regueira, 2007), has been noted as a characteristic feature of GS in previous studies, especially in relation to the pronunciation of the back vowel (Alonso, 1966; Cotarelo, 1927; Monteagudo & Santamarina, 1993; Porto, 2001; Rojo,

2004). The only empirical study on Galician that takes this feature into account in different groups of speakers is Tomé (2018), which we will use as a key point of reference in our discussion. In her experimental sample, all groups (i.e., Spanish speakers, *neofalantes*, and Galician speakers) display some degree of reduction, but the Galician speakers and the *neofalantes* produced more raised vowels at a statistically significant level (pp. 69-71).

The speakers examined in our study behave, in this respect, consistently with the description given by Tomé (2018), but with marked differences between the speakers of each group, especially amongst the Spanish speakers. In principle, all present some degree of reduction (i.e., F1 of lower frequency and more centralized F2), but the difference is minimal in the more urban speaker SSC (see Figure 3, left panel). The vowels of this speaker are very similar to those of standard Castilian Spanish (Martínez Celdrán & Fernández Planas, 2007, pp. 188-191), but clearly contrast with those of the semi-rural Spanish speakers, especially speaker SST2, from Vilalba (see Figure 3, right panel); the vowels [ɪ] (written as *fe* in Figure 3) and [ʊ] (written as *fo* in Figure 3) of this speaker are raised and centralized, and the central vowel (written as *fa* in Figure 3) is clearly raised.

**[Please insert Regueira\_Figure 3 about here]**

**Figure 3.** Stressed and unstressed final vowels of speaker SSC (from Vigo) and speaker SST2 (from Vilalba).



The *neofalantes* also display a remarkable degree of reduction of final vowels, especially NS1, although the central vowel is not so raised. It is striking that these speakers show evidence of very similar Galician and Spanish vowel systems (see Figure 4).

**[Please insert Regueira\_Figure 4 about here]**

**Figure 4.** Stressed vowels and final unstressed vowels of speaker NS1 in productions in Spanish (left) and Galician (right).

Interestingly, the Galician-dominant bilingual presents some differences between Spanish and Galician final unstressed vowels. Figure 5 shows that the final vowels of her productions in Spanish (left panel) are closer to their corresponding stressed vowels than are the final vowels of her Galician productions (right), especially for the vowel [ɐ] (shown as *fa* in Figure 5). Additionally, this speaker's raising of the vowels [ɪ] (*fe* in Figure 5) and [ʊ] (*fo* in Figure 5) are higher in Galician, and the front vowel is also more centralized.

**[Please insert Regueira\_Figure 5 about here]**

**Figure 5.** Stressed and unstressed end vowels of speaker GB in productions in Spanish (left) and Galician (right).

In sum, we observe in our speakers' data that the reduction of unstressed vowels in word final position is gradient, and although it might be expected that Galician-dominant speakers have more Galician-like final vowels and that Spanish-dominant speakers have more Castilian-like final vowels, our results do not always follow these patterns. The most urban speaker of Spanish displays the least degree of reduction of these vowels, but the Spanish speakers from medium-sized towns display a degree of reduction that is much greater than that of both the *neofalantes* and the Galician-dominant bilingual speaker.

### 5.3 Intonation

We examine the intonation patterns of information-seeking yes-no questions and information-seeking wh- questions because they are the types of utterances that present a great deal of variation. Prior to this decision, we performed exploratory studies on broad and narrow focus utterances, commands, and calling contours. In general, our results demonstrated homogenous intonation contours, regardless of the language employed and the speaker's linguistic profile.

The Spanish intonation data outlined in the upcoming sections is compared to Galician data, both of which were collected by means of the methodology referred to in Section 4 (see Fernández Rei, 2016 for a partial presentation of this intonational analysis).

### 5.3.1 Information-seeking yes-no questions

As mentioned earlier, this type of question has been studied by Pérez Castillejo (2012, 2014), who discovered falling and rising nuclear configurations, the first of which is attributed to Galician and the second of which is attributed to Spanish:

*Por frecuencia de uso en el corpus, estas configuraciones son: el contorno D, que se caracteriza por (...) un tonema descendente  $H+L^* L\%$ ; el contorno B, que (...) termina con un tonema ascendente  $L^* H\%$  (o  $L+H^* H\%$  menos común); el contorno H, que consiste en una sucesión de acentos descendentes  $H+L^*$  y termina con un tono de frontera  $L\%$ ; preguntas con un tonema de bajada y subida ( $H+L^* H\%$ ) y preguntas con un tonema de subida y bajada  $L+H^* L\%$  (Pérez Castillejo, 2014, p. 271).*

‘By frequency of use in the corpus, these configurations are: the D contour, which is characterized by (...) a falling  $H+L^*L\%$  nuclear configuration; the B contour, which (...) ends with a rising  $L^*H\%$  nuclear configuration (or less common  $L+H^*H\%$ ); the H contour, which consists of a succession of falling  $H+L^*$  pitch accents and ends with a  $L\%$  boundary tone; questions with a rising and falling nuclear configuration ( $H+L^*H\%$ ) and questions with a rising and falling  $L+H^* L\%$  nuclear configuration.’

The author did not find pragmatic values associated with the different intonation contours observed in her corpus (she studies the difference between information-seeking and confirmation-seeking yes-no questions), but did detect factors that determine the highest frequency of occurrence of the contours examined, such as exposure to Galician in the family, learning Spanish as an L1, and current use of Galician.

With regard to the Spanish utterances of our speakers, in general, the so-called ‘common pattern’ (i.e., falling nuclear configuration) for yes-no questions in Galician (Fernández Rei & Escourido, 2008) appears, even in those that come from geographical areas where Galician presents a different pattern (i.e., Rías Baixas), which is characterized by a rising-falling nuclear configuration resembling that of some varieties of continental European Portuguese (Fernández Rei, Moutinho, & Coimbra, 2014).

**[Please insert Regueira\_Figure 6 about here]**

**Figure 6.** Information-seeking yes-no questions. Intonation contours and syllable segmentation (stressed syllables in capitals) of a Galician monolingual in Galician (i.e., RefG1, left) and a Spanish monolingual in Spanish (i.e., SST2, right).

As we can see in Figure 6 (right panel), the Spanish speaker from the medium-sized town (i.e., SST2) produced the same nuclear configuration and the same global F0 contour as the functionally monolingual Galician speaker (i.e., RefG1, left panel), who we take as a

comparative baseline. This same intonation pattern appears in the rest of the non-rural Spanish speakers, both from the town and city.

The case of the Spanish speaker from Vigo (i.e., SSC) is especially interesting, since that city is in an area where the most general pattern in Galician has a rising-falling nuclear configuration, which our speaker never produced (see Figure 7). It seems, then, that direct transfer from Galician is not active, or at least the speaker did not think the rising-falling contour was an appropriate response in our task. In this same sense, Pérez Castillejo (2014, p. 223) indicates, “*el uso de tonemas descendentes con función interrogativa neutra es un rasgo que se origina en el contacto con el gallego, pero que se encuentra ya integrado en el habla de aquellos que han aprendido el castellano de Galicia como L1*” ‘the use of falling nuclear configurations with a neutral interrogative function is a feature that originates in contact with Galician, but that is already integrated into the speech of those who have learned the Castilian of Galicia as their L1’ (see also Fernández Rei, 2016 for a discussion about the koineization process of GS).

**[Please insert Regueira\_Figure 7 about here]**

**Figure 7.** Information-seeking yes-no question produced by SSC (*Perdona, ¿tiene mermelada?* ‘Excuse me, do you have jam?’).

The Galician-dominant bilingual displays this same pattern (see Figure 8) when speaking both Galician (right panel) and Spanish (left panel), which contrasts with her behavior at the segmental level, where she exhibited evidence of a different vowel system for each language (see Sections 5.1 and 5.2).

[Please insert Regueira\_Figure 8 about here]

**Figure 8.** Information-seeking yes-no questions produced by GDB. For Spanish, *¿Tienes mermelada?* ‘Do you have jam?’ (left), and for Galician, *Está Olalla?* ‘Is Olalla there?’ (right).

In the corpus we refer to in Section 4, we also elicited biased yes-no questions (i.e., echo yes-no questions, imperative yes-no questions, and confirmation-seeking yes-no questions) in order to verify if they present different contours than those of information-seeking yes-no questions, just as in other Romance varieties (e.g., Spanish, Catalan, Occitan, and Friulian), where distinctions between yes-no questions are performed systematically (Frota & Prieto, 2015, pp. 392-418). When examining the productions of speaker GDB, we find that she is the only one of our speakers who has examples of yes-no questions in Spanish with a rising

nuclear configuration; for example, she produced an offering question (i.e., she does not search for information but rather makes an offer) with this rising nuclear tone (see Figure 9, left panel), unlike all the other speakers, who display the same falling nuclear tone in this type of question that we have already commented on regarding information-seeking yes-no questions (see Figure 9, right panel). As we will address in Section 6, Pérez Castillejo (2014) finds similar behavior in one of her informants when studying the distinction between information-seeking and confirmation-seeking yes-no questions.

[Please insert Regueira\_Figure 9 about here]

**Figure 9.** The offering question *¿Queréis caramelos?* ‘Do you want some sweets?’, as produced by GDB (left) and NS1 (right).

With regard to the two *neofalantes*, they present contours that reflect the common Galician pattern for this type of question. They do not display different behavior when speaking Galician and Spanish, as was the case with their vowel data (see Sections 5.1 and 5.2). In the same example in which GDB shows a rising nuclear configuration, NS1 displays the falling contour characteristic of Galician information-seeking yes-no questions.

### 5.3.2 Information-seeking *wh*-questions

This type of question has not received attention in previous studies dealing with the intonation of Galician or GS. The relevant studies we have cited are limited to yes-no questions (and declarative sentences, in order to establish a phonological opposition).

In our corpus, in Galician, the pattern that is exemplified in Figure 10 is quite systematic: the maximum pitch occurs in the stressed syllable of the wh-word, and then there is a steep fall until it reaches the pitch floor, practically on the next syllable, and remains in that low pitch level for the rest of the sequence. In principle, this pattern also appears in the Spanish of all speakers; however, as we will see, this type of question displays greater variation than yes-no questions in both Spanish and Galician.

**[Please insert Regueira\_Figure 10 about here]**

**Figure 10.** Information-seeking wh- questions *¿Dónde estás?* ‘Where are you?’ (left), as produced by SSC, and *Quen alugou esa casa?* ‘Who rented this house?’ (right), as produced by a Galician speaker (i.e., RefG2).

In Figure 10, we see an example produced by SSC (left panel), a self-declared functionally monolingual speaker in Spanish, which has the same melodic curve as the one produced by the functionally monolingual Galician speaker (i.e., RefG2, right panel). Figure 11 illustrates



examples produced by SST1 and SST2, which show flatter intonation contours but are still characterized by a pitch peak on the wh- word.

**[Please insert Regueira\_Figure 11 about here]**

**Figure 11.** Information-seeking wh- question *¿A qué hora llega el avión?* ‘What time does the plane arrive?’, as produced by SST1.

In the case of new speakers, both produced examples such as those in Figure 10 in both Spanish and Galician, albeit with flatter patterns similar to those seen in Figure 11.

If we compare these results with those described for other varieties of Spanish, we find a different behavior that can only be attributed to the incorporation of Galician patterns. Galician exhibits leftward displacement of the nuclear pitch accent, to the beginning of the sentence, where it associates with the wh-word. In Figure 12 we show the nuclear configurations that characterize these types of questions in the Spanish of Madrid (Estebas-Vilaplana & Prieto, 2010) and Cantabria (López-Bobo & Cuevas-Alonso, 2010).

**[Please insert Regueira\_Figure 12 about here]**

**Figure 12.** Nuclear configurations (from left to right): L\* L% and L\* HH% (Castilian Spanish) and H+L\* L% (Cantabrian Spanish).

When looking at Galician (see Figure 10), we find another different example, where there is a high peak associated with the wh-word and a slightly rising nuclear configuration (see Figure 13).

**[Please insert Regueira\_Figure 13 about here]**

**Figure 13.** Information-seeking wh- question *¿A dónde vas?* ‘Where are you going?’, as produced by SSC.

The pattern in Figure 13 could be considered a hybrid, as it retains a peak on the wh-word, as in Galician, while also showing a rising nuclear configuration, as in Spanish. It appears in data from the Spanish speakers that come from a mid-size village (i.e., SST1 and SST2), as well as in data from the speaker from the city (i.e., SSC). Similarly, GDB displays this when speaking Spanish (see Figure 14, right panel). This speaker even has an utterance whose contour could be considered much closer to that described for Madrid Spanish (see Figure 14, left panel), since there is no peak on the wh- word, but there is a steep final rise. Note that these rising nuclear configurations only appear when this participant is speaking Spanish (and it is the only case that aligns with Madrid Spanish); in Galician, she always uses a pattern similar to the one employed by the self-declared monolingual Galician speakers.

**[Please insert Regueira\_Figure 14 about here]**

**Figure 14.** Information-seeking wh- questions *¿Qué hora es?* ‘What time is it?’ (left) and *¿Desde qué pueblo has salido?* ‘From which village have you left?’ (right), as produced by GDB.

As far as new speakers are concerned, their data do not show any hybrid examples or similarities to Madrid Spanish when they speak Spanish or Galician.

In this section, two different results have been found for yes-no questions and for wh-questions: yes-no questions display one single pattern, regardless of the language and the sociolinguistic profile of speakers, whereas wh-questions are more heterogeneous. It is also noteworthy that the intonational contours found in our GS data do not match those of Standard Spanish.

## **6. Discussion**

The data presented in Section 5, regarding both vowels and question intonation, differ in several respects from those in previous research. In the previous studies that we reviewed in Section 3, especially those that made general assessments based on unsystematic observations, a total or near total transposition of Galician phonetic features to GS was described (e.g., Monteagudo & Santamarina, 1993; Ramallo, 2007), and even those that introduced nuances and discussed a continuum of linguistic varieties (e.g., Rojo 2004) indicated that GS shares phonetic characteristics with Galician with respect to stressed and unstressed vowels; however, in our sample, despite being very reduced, we found results that diverge from those in previous descriptions, as well as a remarkable heterogeneity among the habitual speakers of Spanish.

In Spanish productions, all of our participants showed evidence of five vowels rather than of a system of seven like Galician. It has always been assumed that Galician bilingual speakers use the same vowel system for both languages (e.g., García, 1976, 1985; García &

Blanco, 1998; Ramallo, 2007; Rojo, 2004), and the results of some experimental studies (e.g., de la Fuente & Pérez Castillejo, 2017) tend to corroborate this. In fact, de la Fuente and Pérez Castillejo (personal communication) find that “when speaking in Spanish, bilingual speakers’ productions of underlying /e/ and /o/ tend to cluster around two different realizations”; however, our results are more in line with the comments of Porto Dapena (2001) on the loss of the distinction between the two pairs of mid vowels, both in GS and Galician, among speakers of younger generations.

In this sense, it is remarkable that speaker GDB, who claims Galician as her L1, presents two different vowel systems for Galician and Spanish, with seven clearly differentiated vowels in the former and only five in the latter. This speaker also presents differences in final vowels, which were much less reduced in her Spanish productions. Furthermore, her question intonation corroborates the results obtained at the segmental level, since she is the only participant who presents rising nuclear configurations in questions when speaking Spanish and the common Galician pattern when speaking in Galician. Compared to her, the Spanish speakers, both from a city (i.e., SSC) and from a town (i.e., SST), never produced information-seeking yes-no questions with a rising nuclear configuration. This behavior, demonstrating marked phonetic separation between Spanish and Galician, has not been described in any previous work. It is also interesting that the two Spanish speakers from medium-sized cities manifested both intonation contours for yes-no questions and reduction patterns of final vowels that more closely resembled trends in Galician than did speaker GDB (i.e., L1 Galician) when she produced Spanish. It should be taken into account that this speaker does not come from a social environment with a high presence of Spanish, but rather a rural area, and that prior to her arrival at her university, she hardly ever used Spanish. This is supported by comments she made when detailing her linguistic history: “*sentíame estraña... incluso a miña familia cando me escoita falar en español... ‘pero que raro, ti!’*” ‘I

felt strange...my family too, when they listened to me in Spanish...‘how strange, eh!’.’ We believe that this profile is no longer exceptional.

Pérez Castillejo (2014) also documents a case in which, although isolated in his corpus, is related to that of our speaker GDB. In his work, he only studies utterances in Spanish and finds that, from all his participants, only two men seem to mark phonologically (though not categorically) the difference between information-seeking and confirmation-seeking yes-no questions. As described for Castilian Spanish, information-seeking yes-no questions are characterized by a rising nuclear configuration, while confirmation-seeking yes-no questions typically exhibit a falling nuclear configuration (Estebas-Vilaplana & Prieto, 2010, pp. 35-36). In order to explain why these speakers encode these pragmatic meanings via Castilian Spanish norms, unlike the rest of the participants, the author references contact with Galician and examines whether there are extralinguistic factors at play, where she reveals that the two speakers in question have very different sociolinguistic profiles:

*Los dos hablantes que realizan el contraste entre interrogativas informativas y confirmatorias mediante la entonación tienen perfiles sociolingüísticos muy diferentes. Uno aprendió castellano como L1, creció en una ciudad grande y casi no estuvo expuesto al gallego en la infancia. El otro aprendió gallego como L1, creció en una ciudad pequeña y reportó usar mucho el gallego con su familia, tanto en la infancia como en la actualidad. Para el primero de los hablantes no sorprende que no se haya neutralizado el contraste a nivel suprasegmental entre preguntas informativas y confirmatorias como es el caso en gallego, pero en el caso del segundo sí que resulta chocante. Es posible que este segundo hablante sea por algún motivo más consciente de este tipo de contraste en castellano y lo realice al usar esta lengua, pero no al usar el*

*gallego. Se trata, no obstante, de una especulación que no podemos demostrar* (p. 277).

‘The two speakers who exhibit a contrast between information-seeking and confirmation-seeking yes-no questions through intonation have very different sociolinguistic profiles. One learned Spanish as an L1, grew up in a large city and was hardly exposed to Galician in childhood. The other learned Galician as an L1, grew up in a small town and reported using Galician considerably with his family, both during his childhood and today. For the first of the speakers, it is not surprising that the contrast has not been neutralized at the suprasegmental level between information-seeking and confirmation-seeking questions, such as in Galician, but in the case of the second it is striking. It is possible that this second speaker is for some reason more aware of this type of contrast in Castilian and does it when using this language, but not when using Galician. It is, however, speculation that we cannot prove.’

This second speaker seems to behave in a similar way to our GDB, and thus, following Pérez Castillejo (2014), it is predictable that when speaking Galician, both her speaker and our GDB do not mark the pragmatic difference between the two types of yes-no questions analyzed. These are only two studies, but it must be taken into account that Pérez Castillejo’s (2014) study and our own are the only ones that have addressed this issue.

On the other hand, the two urban new speakers do not show significant differences in vowels between productions in Galician and Spanish, with both systems displaying five vowels, although one of them (i.e., NS2) presents a slight but noteworthy difference between the stressed back mid vowels in Galician. The realization of five vowels in the *neofalantes*

corroborates the results of Tomé (2018). The asymmetry between front and back vowels was also found in Galician productions by Amengual and Chamorro (2015); all participants presented a more robust /o/-/ɔ/ contrast, while Spanish dominant speakers merged the front mid vowels /e/-/ɛ/ into a single vowel. Similar results are reported by Agüete (personal communication) in ongoing research, as well as in recent work by Regueira (forthcoming). The cause of this asymmetry is still unclear. In our sample, this asymmetry only occurs in one *neofalante*.

Concerning final vowels, all of our speakers present some degree of reduction, but the results of the urban speaker (i.e., SSC) are very similar to those of Castilian Spanish, and clearly different from those of the other participants. The most marked vowel reduction patterns are those of the Spanish-speaker SST2 (Vilalba) and the new speaker NS1, who on the contrary, has a system of five stressed vowels without any difference between high and low mid vowels.

Regarding intonation, most noteworthy is the different results found for information-seeking yes-no questions versus information-seeking wh-questions. In the first case, as said above, the widespread behavior of our speakers, in both Spanish and Galician, is to manifest a falling nuclear configuration and an intonation contour that reflects what is described for most varieties of Galician (i.e., the so-called ‘common’ pattern). In the second case, wh-questions, results are much less homogeneous. All speakers have realizations that can be equated with Galician contours, and speakers SSC, SST, and GDB also present a hybrid pattern (see Section 5.3.2) in some cases when they speak Spanish, while in the two NS speakers, we do not document that hybrid pattern in Galician or Spanish. Once again, speaker GDB’s behavior is clearly different when speaking Spanish as opposed to Galician; in fact, she is the only one who produced a contour almost identical to a pattern that characterizes Castilian Spanish.



These results, in our opinion, could be regarded as signs of a change in GS that has taken place in recent decades. Previous studies that described a Spanish with features of Galician in terms of vowels and intonation most likely responded to what could be observed in the past in a generalized way throughout society; however, this situation seems to have changed markedly, as we have shown through the disappearance of the contrast between mid high and mid low vowels, which is no longer evidenced in our samples. This finding ties into Porto's (2001) comments, and there is even evidence that changes to the vowel system are affecting groups of Galician speakers (Amengual & Chamorro, 2015). Final stressed vowels with reduced realizations (i.e., [ɪ ɐ ʊ]), although not a feature about which many speakers are aware, as noted by Tomé (2018), seem to endure much more, only disappearing in one speaker (from Vigo). Moreover, yes-no question patterns seem to be maintained more consistently, but the appearance of some rising nuclear configurations in GDB is striking, as we have already mentioned. Regarding patterns in wh-questions, particularly worthy of emphasis is the fact that hybrid patterns in the GS of all participants, except that of new speakers, have been found.

These changes are probably related to the spread of Spanish in Galicia, which adds to our knowledge of the effects of sociolinguistic diversity on the Spanish language in general, and its phonetic and phonological systems in particular; however, the opposite effect can also be perceived. On one hand, the 'Galician accent' is associated with limited education and professional training (RAG, 2003), including when speaking Spanish. As Recalde (2012) points out, "*la legitimación social ya no sólo depende de qué lengua se hable (entendida como diasistema simbólico), sino también de cómo se hable esa lengua (entendida como práctica social contextualizada)*" 'social legitimacy depends not only on what language is spoken (understood as a symbolic diasystem), but also on how that language is spoken (understood as a contextualized social practice)' (p. 672). On the other hand, 'Castilian with a

Castilian accent' (i.e., standard Castilian Spanish) is associated with urbanity and professional training and competence (RAG, 2003), and is the variety that enjoys the highest level of prestige (Recalde, 2012; Vázquez & Recalde, 2017; see Faginas, 1998 for a related discussion of class effects).

At the same time, the 'Galician accent' retains covert prestige (Vázquez & Recalde, 2017) and is an identity marker denoting belonging to a community (i.e., a 'Galicianness marker'), meaning "*el disimulo del acento gallego observado por algunos hablantes puede ser considerado una muestra de deslealtad al grupo de pertenencia* 'concealing the Galician accent by some speakers can be considered a sign of disloyalty to the group to which they belong' (Recalde, 2012, p. 673). One of Recalde's (2012) participants further supports these thoughts: "*yo quiero que se me note que soy gallega pero yo no lo noto en los gallegos*" 'I do want people to know that I'm Galician but I don't see it in the Galicians' (see Vázquez & Recalde, 2017 for similar comments).

Among the indexical features of the "Galician identity," Tomé's (2018) participants clearly show that a contrast between high and low mid vowels is a marker that is required to sound Galician; that is, "there is a widespread belief that a 'good speaker' of Galician must have all seven vowels" (p. 107). Final vowels, on the other hand, are not treated in this way, with speakers being much less aware of the relevant phonetic differences between Galician and Spanish. However, the new speakers in her sample coincide with Galician speakers in the realization of final vowels, causing Tomé (2018) to posit that "new speakers use this feature, whether consciously or subconsciously, to fit in with their new group of Galician-dominant speakers" (p. 84). According to this, the hypothesis that our speakers are also marking their distinctive 'Galician accent,' an indexical feature of ethnic and cultural belonging, through final vowels and intonation, can be formulated. It is significant that the only speaker who has a greater distance between the final vowels (i.e., SSC) is from a large city and has very little

contact with Galician, followed by the bilingual speaker GDB when she uses Spanish (although she has marked reduction, along with seven vowels, when speaking Galician).

In more general terms, we believe that this newfound diversity in GS is directly related to the socioeconomic and cultural changes that have occurred in Galicia recently; that is, in recent decades, not only the presence of Spanish, but also that of English and, to a lesser extent, Portuguese (see Regueira, in press) have increased enormously, alongside mobility in younger generations (e.g., trips, travel for tourism or studies, etc.). As Britain (2010) points out, these changes related to language exposure and mobility have sociolinguistic consequences; in other words, “[a]ccommodation can therefore lead to linguistically intermediate forms developing - interdialect - or forms that result from the social or linguistic reassignment of functions in the new variety – reallocation” (p. 210). Along these lines, the results of our sampling provide some tentative conclusions and highlight issues that should be explored in more detailed studies:

- 1) The intonation of wh-questions seems to be an example of hybridization, or what Britain (2010) calls *interdialect*, because it is an intermediate form between Castilian Spanish and Galician. The Galician intonation of wh-questions is quite unusual among Romance varieties, presenting displacement of the nuclear accent to the wh- word, which is only documented in wh- short questions in Sardinian and Romanian (Frota & Prieto, 2015, pp. 392-418). This highly Galician feature, coupled with the final rise of Castilian Spanish (Prieto & Estebas-Vilaplana, 2010), which is completely alien to Galician intonation, results in a hybrid intonational pattern.
- 2) The social reassignment of the function of stressed vowels and final vowels can be seen as an example of what Britain (2010) calls *reallocation*. Although it is still understood that maintaining a system of seven vowels is essential for “sounding

Galician,” in fact, this social function seems to be signaled more by the reduction of final vowels, at least in speakers from villages and new speakers (see Tomé, 2018 for similar results).

- 3) The reduction of final vowels and the use of intonation patterns that are characteristic of Galician seem to be indexes of ethnic and cultural identity, and therefore, serve as evidence of the survival of the covert prestige of Galician. Furthermore, the fact that the urban speaker (i.e., SSC) shows such an acute approach to the phonetics of standard Spanish might be an example of the prestige of this variety, which is further supported by the fact that many of the same features also appear in the bilingual GDB when speaking Spanish.

In addition, our analysis indicates that the sociolinguistic profiles of speakers and their linguistic histories are important for understanding the heterogeneous nature of GS, and that there are different trends and dynamics emerging due to contact between this variety and Galician. Thus, the results we have put forth can be used as points of departure for new lines of research to be undertaken in the near future.

## **7. Conclusion**

Studies about Galician in contact with Spanish in Galicia have made a significant leap in recent years, and amongst them, those that deal with aspects related to sound systems are at the forefront; however, phonetic studies on GS in particular, with the exception of the intonation studies by Pérez Castillejo (2012, 2014), have not enjoyed the same level of attention.

Thus far, methodologies implemented in the study of Galician in contact with Spanish have been based on questionnaires rather than linguistic interactions. Nevertheless, they have been useful in detecting some relevant variables, such as the importance of language dominance. Thomason and Kaufmann (1988, p. 35) emphasize that “it is the sociolinguistic history of the speakers, and not the structure of their language, that is the primary determinant of the linguistic outcome of language contact.” It is along these lines, related to sociolinguistic histories, that we framed this study in which we presented a description of the complex phonetic behavior of six speakers, who showed evidence of features that are similar to those of Galician, but also displayed modifications toward Castilian Spanish norms. In the social context in question, the relevance of identity and belonging (de la Fuente & Pérez Castillejo, 2017; Tomé, 2018; Tomé & Evans, 2015, 2017), as well as an incipient process of koineization of the variety of Spanish spoken in Galicia (Fernández Rei, 2016), have been noted as crucial factors to consider as we continue to study the sound systems of the linguistic varieties of Galicia.

In order to advance the current topic of linguistic inquiry, it is necessary to gear our focus more toward “a sociolinguistics of ‘speech,’ of actual language resources deployed in real sociocultural, historical and political contexts” (Blommaert, 2010, p. 5). From this point of view, the notions of ‘Galician speaker,’ ‘Spanish speaker’ or *neofalante* do not bear meanings that are relevant to understanding how speakers manage the linguistic repertoires at their disposal (Blommaert, 2005, 2010; Pennycook, 2010). We are not arguing that exposure to another language is not important, but rather that language-profile based categories are not clear-cut; that is, they form a continuum. Different phonetic (and linguistic) repertoires are, more than ever, at the disposal of a large number of speakers from different backgrounds, as the phonetic system of our rural speaker GDB shows. Furthermore, it can be assumed that these repertoires do not have to be organized in ‘languages’ that are autonomous systems

separated by fences (Coulmas, 2018), but rather that different features of these repertoires (e.g., phonological rules) become associated with certain activities through processes of linguistic socialization (Matras, 2009, 2010). An advance in that direction has already been made with regard to contact between Galician and both Spanish and Portuguese in public discourse (Regueira, 2016, forthcoming). Employing the methodological considerations outlined here to analyze the use of linguistic resources by speakers of GS will be undoubtedly enlightening, and will complement and expand upon studies carried out to date.

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