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SPANISH DIALECT CLASSIFICATIONS

Isabel MOLINA MARTOS *

University of Alcalá

isabel.molina@uah.es

ORCID: 0000-0002-7023-1555

Abstract

This paper presents an overview of the proposals for a dialect division of the Spanish language in Europe. Given the enormous number of studies published on this subject, rather than being exhaustive, the aim of paper is to present a selection of research that is representative of the main schools of thought in linguistics that underpin the classifications. After a brief review of the different proposals of the classic studies habitually cited in textbooks on Spanish dialectology, we centre on more recent approaches. The paper also comments on some studies that emphasise the perceptive dimension of languages and the application of this approach to dialect zoning, as well as works based on complex approaches to variation and their application for the same purposes. Dialectal research has also investigated the evolution of languages as a consequence of large waves of migration and the impact of urbanisation. This complex perspective situates traditional dialect areas in the continuum of linguistic change, evidenced by the processes of levelling and urbanisation that currently dominate the Spanish-speaking world. Finally, we point out the need to tackle geolectal variation from a dynamic approach, where dialects are abstract complex constructs undergoing a constant process of transformation that can be represented in dynamic linguistic atlases.

Keywords: dialect classification, ethnological classification, traditional dialectology, perceptual dialectology, dialectometry, Spanish language

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CLASIFICACIONES DIALECTALES DEL ESPAÑOL

Resum

Aquest article presenta una visió general de les propostes per a una divisió dialectal de la llengua espanyola a Europa. Atès el nombre tan elevat d'estudis publicats sobre aquest tema, més que exhaustiu, l'objectiu del treball és presentar una selecció d'investigacions que siguin representatives de

* Colegio San José de Caracciolos. Facultad de Filosofía y Letras. Dpto. de Filología, Comunicación y Documentación. C/ Trinidad 5. 28801 Alcalá de Henares (Madrid).

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les principals escoles de pensament de la lingüística que sustenten les classificacions. Després d'un breu repàs de les diferents propostes dels estudis clàssics citats habitualment en els llibres de text de dialectologia espanyola, ens centrem en plantejaments més recents. L'article també comenta alguns estudis que posen l'accent en la dimensió perceptiva de les llengües i l'aplicació d'aquest enfocament a la zonificació dialectal, com també treballs basats en plantejaments complexos de la variació i la seva aplicació per a les mateixes finalitats. La recerca dialectal també ha estudiat l'evolució de les llengües com a conseqüència de les grans onades migratòries i l'impacte de la urbanització. Aquesta perspectiva complexa situa les zones dialectals tradicionals en el contínuum del canvi lingüístic, evidenciat pels processos d'anivellament i urbanització que dominen actualment el món de parla castellana. Finalment, s'assenyala la necessitat d'abordar la variació geolèctica des d'un enfocament dinàmic, on els dialectes són construccions abstractes complexes que experimenten un procés constant de transformació que es poden representar en atles lingüístics dinàmics.

Paraules clau: classificació dialectal, classificació etnològica, dialectologia tradicional, dialectologia perceptiva, dialectometria, llengua espanyola

CLASIFICACIÓN DIALECTAL DEL ESPAÑOL EUROPEO

Resumen

Este artículo presenta una visión panorámica de las propuestas de división dialectal del español limitándose al ámbito europeo. Dado el ingente número de estudios publicados sobre el tema, más que ser exhaustivos, el objetivo es presentar una selección de investigaciones representativas de las principales corrientes lingüísticas que sustentan las clasificaciones. Tras un breve repaso a las clasificaciones clásicas, habitualmente citadas en los manuales de dialectología española, nos centramos en algunos enfoques más recientes, como aquellos que ponen el énfasis en la dimensión perceptiva de las lenguas aplicada a la zonificación dialectal u otros basados en una visión compleja de la variación lingüística. La investigación dialectal también ha indagado en la evolución de las lenguas como consecuencia de las grandes oleadas migratorias y de su impacto en la urbanización. Esta perspectiva sitúa las áreas dialectales tradicionales en el continuum del cambio lingüístico, evidenciado en los procesos de nivelación y urbanización que dominan actualmente el mundo hispanohablante. Por último, se discute la necesidad de abordar la variación geolèctica desde un enfoque dinámico, donde los dialectos son constructos abstractos complejos, en constante proceso de transformación, que pueden representarse en atlas lingüísticos dinámicos.

Palabras clave: clasificación de dialectos, clasificación etnológica, dialectología tradicional, dialectología perceptiva, dialecto

1. Introduction

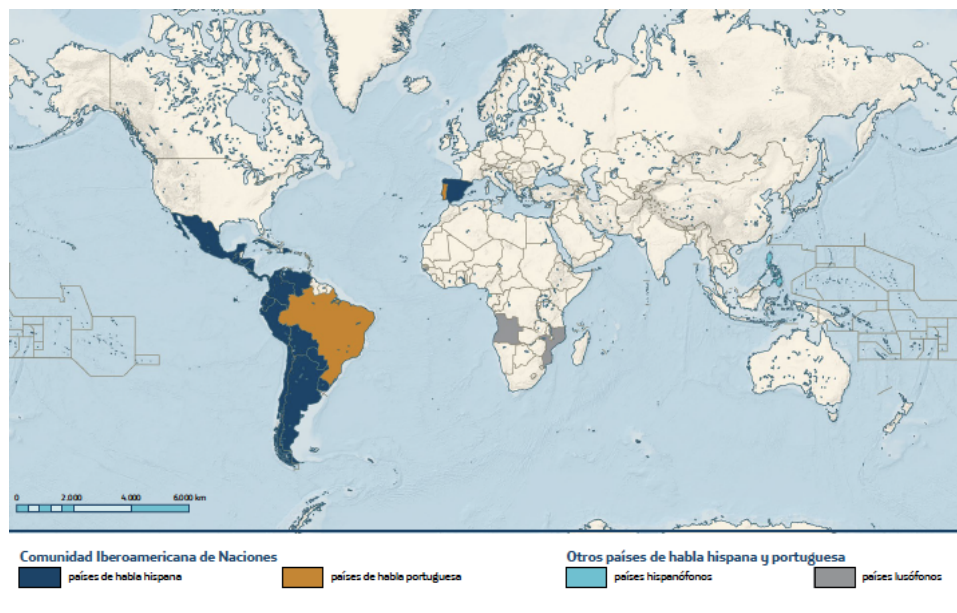
1.1 The Spanish language

Spanish, in common with the majority of languages in Europe, belongs to the "Indo-European" family, and more specifically to the family of Romance languages that developed from the Latin spoken in provinces of Ancient Rome. With its origins in the

extreme West of Europe, Spanish, or Castilian, is one of the Ibero-Romance subgroup alongside Galician, Portuguese, Catalan and other languages of the same family such as Leonese, Asturian or Aragonese, all of which are in a worse situation due to their lack of use and bleak prospects of survival.

Spanish is the fifth most spoken language in the European Union, where it is the native language of 8% of the total population. In turn, it occupies the fourth position as most spoken second language (7%) (Moreno-Fernández & Otero 2016: 30). Its long and chequered history as a language of conquest explains its current use, which spreads over an area of 9.2 million square kilometres (Moreno Fernández 2018: 377), and its diversification in the extensive range of geolectal varieties found on four continents: Europe, the Americas, Africa and Asia, where its usage covers very different demographics and geographical areas, and enjoys widely varying social consideration, political status and inter-regional recognition.

Spanish has official language status in Spain, South America (except Brazil, Suriname, French Guyana and Guyana), Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, the whole of Central America (except Belize), and in Equatorial Guinea (Africa). Although not recognised as the official language, Spanish is widely used in the European territories of Gibraltar and Andorra, in the Americas, Belize, Haiti, Aruba, and the Virgin Islands of the United States. It is also spoken in the United States, which should be considered a special case since almost 45 million Spanish speakers reside in the USA, arguably making it the second largest Spanish-speaking country in the world (Lipski 2018). Approximately half a million Spanish speakers live in Canada, and Spanish is an auxiliary language in the Philippines, the Mariana Islands, areas adjacent to Morocco and in the former Spanish colonial territory of Western Sahara (Map 1).



Map 1. Geographical distribution of the Spanish and Portuguese languages in the world (Moreno Fernández & Otero 2016: 34)

1.2 General considerations

A review of the literature on proposals for dialect divisions of the Spanish language is a thorny task, bearing in mind that Spanish has historically been a language of conquest and has spread beyond the frontiers of Spain, where it initially arose as an offshoot dialect of the Latin of Hispania. In comparison to its historical, or even current, geographical extension and the number of Spanish speakers in Europe, the language's presence in the Americas is substantially higher. The literature reflects this fact; indeed, the motivation behind some of the first proposals for dialect division was an attempt to determine how far American and European Spanish had diverged and to develop a linguistic geography that would map dialect areas in the Americas. The question of the connection between or autonomy of American and European Spanish is one of the central lines of the dialectal proposals made in the 20th century. In parallel, another major school of thought with ideas on dialect division was the philological-historicist approach, the leading voices of which were the members of the Spanish Philological School (*Escuela de Filología Española*) that evolved in the first decades of the 20th century under the leadership of Ramón Menéndez Pidal. The philological research conducted under the auspices of this school brought about an

understanding of how the Ibero-Romance dialects broke away to evolve linguistically distinctive identities, and how the political and geographical imposition of Castilian above the other dialects occurred during the process of reconquest throughout the Middle Ages that culminated in 1492 with the taking of the Kingdom of Granada. Today's dialectal diversity has its roots in the expansion of historical Ibero-Romance dialects (Galician-Portuguese, Asturleonese, Castilian, Navarro, Aragonese and Catalan) during the Reconquest.

Another element of this dialectal tradition is linguistic geography, which took its first steps in Spain with the *Atlas Lingüístico de la Península Ibérica* (ALPI) project. This laid the foundations for research that would later cross the Atlantic to the Americas. Navarro Tomás, director of the ALPI, promoted American geolinguistics with his *Cuestionario del Atlas de Hispanoamérica*, whose aim was to provide a common reference for the Spanish language atlases of the Americas. This project produced some major results, such as the *Atlas Lingüístico de Colombia*, which took a scientific approach to the study of dialectal varieties of Colombian Spanish. These pioneering studies, and the many that were to follow, underpinned the attempts to classify the varieties of Spanish throughout its vast geographical extension. However, as the general objective of this volume is to present the dialect division of Spanish in Europe, this chapter will limit itself to a review of the most pertinent proposals for dialect classification of the Spanish language in Spain. Recent years, in particular, have added to the abundance of proposals, so rather than providing exhaustive information, the objective of these pages is to give an account of how developments in the field of linguistics have determined changes in perspective and an increasing breadth of vision from the times when Hispanic dialectology took its first steps to the present day. In order to present a coherent overview and avoid giving the impression that the different proposals are unconnected, they are presented in three core groups:¹

¹ www.alpi.csic.es

- a) The historico-philological tradition of the Spanish Philological School (Isoglottic).
- b) Dialectometry.
- c) Perceptual dialectology.

2. Dialect classifications

This study is limited to European Spanish, and will comment on thirteen classification proposals, some of which fall within the framework of the historico-philological tradition (Menéndez Pidal, Lapesa, García de Diego, Pop, Catalán, Zamora Vicente, Alvar, Moreno Fernández), others within the framework of dialectometry (Ueda-Tinoco; Fernández Planas-Roseano-Martínez Celdrán-Romera; Coloma; and Gonçalves-Sánchez) and finally, some that take a perceptual dialectology approach (Sobrino).

2.1 Ramón Menéndez Pidal (1926)

Ramón Menéndez Pidal (1869-1968), was a philologist, medieval historian, founder of the Spanish Philological School, director of the Centre for Historical Studies (*Centro de Estudios Históricos*) and of the Royal Spanish Academy. Professor and mentor of a long list of philologists including Tomás Navarro Tomás, Américo Castro, Dámaso Alonso, Rafael Lapesa and Alonso Zamora Vicente, he had enormous influence on both the intellectual aspects and working methods of most Spanish historians and philologists throughout the 20th century.

2.1.1 Framework: Isoglottic Dialectology

The main reference of the Spanish Philological School was the research undertaken by Menéndez Pidal for his classic work, *Orígenes del español* (2010 [1926]), a comparative grammatical analysis of the evolution of Ibero-Romance dialects

between the 9th and 11th centuries. This was a period before the formation of the Kingdom of Castile and its expansion south with the Reconquest. During these first centuries, Castilian developed a dialectal diversity that can be vaguely traced to the modern day, distinct from the other neighbouring historical dialects that were concurrently defining themselves in the Navarro-Aragonese and Asturleonese regions.

Menéndez Pidal's analysis provides a dialectal characterisation of primitive Castilian with reference to the historical phonology, grammar and lexicon of Ibero-Romance dialects during a period, the dawn of the 11th century, when "...the Castilian language would not yet have vigorously exerted its influence over the lands of Leon or Navarre, as it subsequently began to..." (2010 [1926]: § 98, 3).

2.1.2 Classification of dialects and subdialects

Until the 11th century, the varieties of primitive Castilian were:

a) *Common Castilian*, spoken in the central region, represented by documents from Burgos, San Pedro de Cardeña and Covarrubias. This region, classified by Menéndez Pidal as "an exceptional focal point for Castilian", above all from the second half of the 10th century, became the political and social centre, and creative hub for dissemination of the main linguistic varieties. Among the characteristics distinguishing it from other historical Ibero-Romance dialects are:

- Loss of the *f*-
- The sound *j* or [ʒ]: *fijo* 'son', *mujer* 'woman'
- Loss of the *g*- in *enero* 'january', *ermano* 'brother'
- The *ch* or [ç] of *derecho* 'right', *mucho* 'a lot'
- The *z* or [θ] from the Latin *sci* in *azada* 'hoe', *haza* 'hatch'
- Absence of diphthongization before *yod*: *ojo* 'eye', *noche* 'night'

Within the common Castilian centred around Burgos, there were two distinct regions:

b) *Primitive Cantabria* to the north of Burgos, which covered what was originally called Old Castile, including Amaya, la Bureba, Campó and la Montaña. This region was distinct from the Burgos area in its tendency to archaism:

- Maintaining the *-eiro* suffix (*luneiro*, etc.) until the 11th-12th centuries, when in Burgos *-ero* was used.
- Maintaining the archaism of the final *-u* (*otru*, *pedaçu*) that had been lost in Burgos.
- The loss of the *f*- (*hayuela*, *Ormaza*) spread from this area.
- Dialectal characteristics, like the article *lo* (of *lu* lombo).
- The suffix *-ueco*, *-ieco* (*peñueco*, *cañarieca*).

c) The region located to the *southeast of the County of Castile* (Alfoz de Lara, Clunia, etc.), influenced by Riojan.

2.2 Rafael Lapesa (1942)

The philologist Rafael Lapesa (1908-2001) studied under Ramón Menéndez Pidal in the Centre for Historical Studies, the cradle of the most renowned and leading philologists of the 20th century. He combined lecturing at the universities of Madrid, Princeton, Harvard, Yale, Berkeley, Pennsylvania, Puerto Rico, Buenos Aires, La Plata and the Colegio de Mexico with research at the Royal Spanish Academy, of which he was the director.

2.2.1 Framework: Isoglottic Dialectology

In this instance the dialect division proposal for Spanish is based on historico-philological research into the composition and development of the Spanish language, along the lines traced by Menéndez Pidal. In his classic work, *Historia de la Lengua Española* (1981 [1942]), Lapesa plots the evolution of Spanish from its origins to the present day, concluding, in Chapter 15, “The extension and varieties of current

Spanish”, with a proposal for dialect classification that principally emphasises characteristics in phonetic variations, although he also mentions lexical, grammatical and morphological peculiarities. The following list is a selection of the features of each area that are cited in the majority of subsequent works on dialect:

a) The *Castilian of bilingual regions* shows regional features, particularly in intonation and phonetics:

- Galicians, Catalans, Majorcans and Valencians tend to open or close the vowels /e/, /o/, whereas in bilingual Asturleonese areas the tendency is to close them. Also, in the Asturleonese area, atonic personal pronouns use archaic collocations (*olvidélo*).
- In Catalan-speaking areas, pronunciation of the final /-s/ before a vowel in a word is voiced, the /l/ is velarised and pronunciation of the final /d/ is tense and unvoiced, similar to the /t/.
- Catalans and Majorcans pronounce the /a/ at the end of a word with a timbre similar to an open /e/.
- Apicoalveolar seseo is a popular pronunciation in Catalonia, the Balears, Levante and Basque-speaking areas (*Vasconia*).
- Galicians and Asturians avoid compound past tenses, which is highlighted by use of the simple form, *preterito indefinido* (*vine*, instead of *he venido*).

b) *Northern Castilian*, whose use extends from Cantabria throughout the northern Meseta Central and the Ebro valley, has the following general features:

- Assibilation of the implosive /-d/ and the /-k/ in the group /kt/ in [θ] (*saluz, carázter*).
- Tendency to pronounce the /-g/ of the group /gn/ as [-χ] (*dijno, majno*).
- The possessive before a name has tonic articulation (*mí casa*) from Cantabria to Cáceres and from Leon to Burgos and Soria.
- Aspiration [h] of the fricative /x/ and the Latin /f-/ in the west and centre of the province of Santander.

- The eastern zone of Bureba, Alava, Rioja and the south of Navarre share similar features, such as use of *mucho* with a value of the superlative 'muy' (*mucho bueno*) or use of the conditional instead of the imperfect subjunctive (*si tendría, daría*) that extends throughout the Basque Country, Santander, Burgos, Palencia and the east of Leon.
- In Alava, Rioja, areas of the Ribera Navarra and part of Aragon, the /r/ has a fricative and assibilate pronunciation, as does the vibrant of the groups /pr/, /tr/, /kr/.

c) *Southern Castilian* extends over the southern half of Spain. The speech of the Canary Islands, which became part of Castile during the 15th century, is in essence similar to that of Andalusia. In Extremadura, the southern features combine with Leonese usage and archaisms. In Murcia there is a notable influence of Aragonese and the Levante.

Some southern features:

- Yeísmo.
- Aspiration of the implosive /-s/.
- Opening the vowel that precedes aspiration, in eastern Andalusia and in Murcia.
- Neutralisation of the /-r/ and /-l/.
- Relaxation of voiced occlusives /b, d, g/ between vowels, and frequently of voiceless occlusives /p, t, k/.
- Remains of aspiration from an initial f- in Latin and aspiration from the old medieval prepalatal sibilants /ʃ, ʒ/.

2.2.2 Classification of dialects and subdialects

Lapesa distinguishes the following varieties of current Spanish:

- Castilian in bilingual regions
- Andalusian
- Extremaduran and Murcian
- Canarian

- Judeo-Spanish
- The Spanish of America

2.3 Vicente García de Diego (1949)

Vicente García de Diego (1878-1978) combined teaching with research in the Royal Spanish Academy as director of the *Diccionario Histórico de la Lengua Española*, in the Centre for Historical Studies and at the CSIC-Spanish National Research Council. He was editor of the *Revista de Filología Española* as well as founder and editor of the *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares*.

2.3.1 Framework: Isoglottic Dialectology

García de Diego applied the philological method of the Spanish Philological School. He first characterised Castilian in comparison to other historical Ibero-Romance dialects, and subsequently focused on the varieties that developed in the structure of Castilian as it spread throughout the different regions of the Kingdom of Castile. He applied a descriptive method based on the available data to distinguish a series of dialect areas. Some of the phenomena commented on in his description are the consonant groups *-lt-*, *ld*, and the processes of diphthongization and monophthongization.

2.3.2 Classification of dialects and subdialects

Without offering a full classification of the dialect areas of Castilian in Spain, García de Diego highlights some provinces and regions that should be studied for dialect classification given their historical importance and their geographical location:

- *Burgos*, with important lexical and phonetic peculiarities explained by the triple influence historically exerted in this territory by Basque, Navarro-Aragonese and Leonese.

- *Alava*, surrounded by Basque, Riojan and Castilian, which left their marks on place names and a variety of phonic, grammatical, and lexical phenomena.
- Soria, located between such disparate dialect zones as Castilian in Burgos to the west, Basque and Riojan to the north, and Aragonese, whose influence is seen both lexically and phonetically.
- *Rioja*, between Castile, the Basque Country (*Vasconia*), Navarre and Aragon, presents common phenomena in places near these linguistic regions.
- *Andalusia*: Andalusian needs to be studied as a dialect of Castilian, although it does have its own characteristic features, such as lexical and phonetic archaisms lost to the varieties of Castilian in the north and centre of the Iberian Peninsula. It is not a uniform dialect, but rather "...a sum of regional variants, determined in part by original differences of each region and in part by the different influxes of Castilian and other dialects spreading southwards, Leonese westwards and Catalan and Aragonese through the frontiers of Murcia and Alicante." ("*suma de variantes regionales, determinadas en parte por diferencias originales de cada región y en parte por los distintos influjos del castellano y de los otros dialectos difundidos hacia el sur, el leonés por occidente y el catalán y el aragonés por las fronteras de Murcia y Alicante*"). Its expansion into the provinces of Murcia and Albacete to the east and Extremadura to the west, also requires study.
- *South of New Castile*, transition area where figures of speech and features of Andalusian appear that are different to Northern Castilian.
- *The Canary Islands*, whose dialect, unknown when this work was written, needs to be studied due to the variety of influences and its complex origins.

2.4 Sever Pop (1950)

Sever Pop (1901-1961), a professor of Romanian origin who taught at the universities of Cluj, Bucharest and Lovaina. He founded the International Centre of

General Dialectology and its journal, *Orbis* (1952), which was influential in the development of dialect studies of Romance languages.

2.4.1 Framework: Isoglottic Dialectology

Pop also adopted a traditional dialectology approach based on the diverging evolution of Ibero-Romance dialects in the Iberian Peninsula. He therefore distinguishes three large linguistic blocks: Galician-Portuguese, Spanish and Catalan-Valencian, which together form the Ibero-Romance group. His proposal takes Menéndez Pidal's work *Orígenes del español* (2010 [1926]) as its main reference. He cites major dialect monographs and proposes a general classification following geographical and typological criteria.

2.4.2 Classification of dialects and subdialects

He identifies four groups within the Spanish block:

- Dialects of the continental and insular territory.
- The speech of American Spanish.
- Judeo-Spanish.
- Spanish-based creole languages.

Among the dialects of the continental and insular territory he identifies Castilian, Andalusian and the speech of the Canary Islands as varieties of the Spanish language.

2.5 Diego Catalán (1958, 1975)

Diego Catalán (1928-2008), the grandson of Ramón Menéndez Pidal and María Goyri, was a scholar of the history of language and dialectology who edited the *Romancero* (1969) and medieval chronicles. He was president of the Ramón Menéndez

Pidal Foundation, home of the *Romancero* archive compiled since the end of the 19th century, which is considered a national treasure. He lectured at various Spanish and North American universities and was a member of the Hispanic Society of America (1968), the Medieval Academy of America (1976) and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (1978).

2.5.1 Framework: Isoglottic Dialectology

In his famous work, *De Nájera a Salobreña*, Diego Catalán (1975) expands on Menéndez Pidal and Lapesa's dialect division proposals, which he supplements with synchronic data obtained from the *Atlas Lingüístico de la Península Ibérica* (ALPI) collected in the 1930s. His conclusions are based on the phonetic maps published in the only printed version of the ALPI, in 1962, and on lexical materials, such as those provided in the linguistic map of the word *aguijón* (sting). Thus, he applies two different, superimposed criteria: the first, of a historical nature, put forward by Menéndez Pidal, which derives dialect division of the Iberian Peninsula from the Reconquest; the second, synchronic, focusing on the linguistic structure of European Castilian in the 20th century. The combination of both criteria leads to the current dialect division of the Castilian of Spain.

2.5.2 Classification of dialects and subdialects

This proposal differentiates between two superimposed dialect divisions. The first of these is relatively modern, and coincides with that of Lapesa, who identified and opposition between:

- The more innovative Southern Spanish.
- The more conservative Northern Spanish with the traditional phonetics of Castilian.

The north-south frontier is clear to the west: it passes to the south of both Salamanca and Avila, but in the areas of La Mancha and Asturias, this frontier is less

well defined. These frontier differences are superimposed on the old linguistic divisions of the Iberian Peninsula to form strips from north to south, shaped as a consequence of the Reconquest and the medieval return to Ibero-Romance languages of ancient Hispania.

The configuration of historical dialects, which became diffuse as they spread south, marked different Castilian with forms of speech that were more ancient than the division between Northern and Southern Castilian. Thus, the phonetic maps of the ALPI show a threefold division:

- Eastern Castilian, with penetration of features from old Aragonese.
- Central Castilian.
- Western Castilian, with penetration of features from old Leonese.

From a philological-historicist perspective, Catalán (1958) also participated in the debate on the historical influence of Southern and Northern Castilian with reference to the composition of American Spanish, which had led to a linguistic contrast between the “highlands” and “lowlands” in accordance with a greater or lesser influence of the south or the metropolis in America. Catalán qualifies this classification, making a distinction between:

- *Inland areas*: communication with the Kingdom of Castile was much more limited, which allowed relative self-sufficiency and the development of more conservative varieties of Castilian.
- *Port areas*: with a more mixed population, open to fashions that arrived from Spanish Atlantic cities: Seville and later Cadiz, which influenced the development of more innovative varieties of Spanish.

This historical connection, fostered by contact, led him to postulate a geographical continuity between the *Atlantic varieties of Castilian* of Spain, the Canary

Islands and the American Atlantic and Pacific areas, "...guaranteed by the wooden bridge of the West Indies fleets" (1958: 126).

2.6 Alonso Zamora Vicente (1960)

Alonso Zamora Vicente (1916-2006) was secretary of the Royal Spanish Academy and professor at the Spanish universities of Santiago de Compostela, Salamanca and Madrid. He was also director of the *Instituto de Filología* at Buenos Aires University and the *Seminario de Filología Hispánica* of *El Colegio de México*, as well as visiting professor at various European universities. His research work focused on dialects of Spanish, particularly the varieties of Extremadura, the Spanish of America and Madrid. In collaboration with Maria Josefa Canellada, he studied Asturian speech.

2.6.1 Framework: Isoglottic Dialectology

Following the Spanish Philological School tradition, Zamora Vicente's dialect classification is also based on the historic configuration of Romance dialects in the Iberian Peninsula. Indeed, in his introduction he states: "In each of the places where, in the north of the Iberian Peninsula, the fight for the Reconquest began, a new dialect was born. (...) The peripheral forms, Galician-Portuguese and Catalan, represent the most archaic layer. Among them, the most modern of which is Castilian, are Aragonese to the east and Leonese to the west. Above all others, Castilian, raised to the category of national language at the start of the 16th century, has had a profound influence" (1960: 11).

Superimposed on this historical principle was a second criteria of political linguistics: the book only comments on the linguistic varieties that, in the Royal Spanish Academy's opinion, had not developed their own standard variety at the date of publication, 1960. Thus, the following dialects were identified: Mozarabic, Leonese, Aragonese, Andalusian, transition forms of speech, Judeo-Spanish, the Spanish of America and the Spanish of the Philippines. Characterisation of this list of dialects was based on a description of phonic, grammatical and lexical features.

2.6.2 Classification of dialects and subdialects

Zamora Vicente's dialectal classification distinguishes the following varieties:

- Andalusian
- Transition forms of speech: Extremaduran, Riojan, Murcian, Canarian
- Judeo-Spanish
- Spanish of America
- Spanish of the Philippines

2.7 Manuel Alvar (1977)

Manuel Alvar (1923-2001) was a philologist, linguist and dialectologist whose work followed the European linguistic geography tradition. He was the director of the regional linguistic maps for varieties of Spanish in Spain (the *Atlas Lingüístico y Etnográfico de Andalucía*, as well as Aragon, Navarra and Rioja, the Canaries, Cantabria, Castile and Leon), reference works that revolutionised knowledge in the field of Spanish dialectology. He was director of the Royal Spanish Academy, professor at the universities of Granada and Madrid and visiting professor at many other universities.

2.7.1 Framework: Isoglottic Dialectology

Alvar proposes an eclectic division of Ibero-Romance dialects, in the sense that he takes a philological-historical criterion, onto which are superimposed considerations of political linguistics. In his introduction to *Dialectología hispánica* (1977), he defines and distinguishes between *language* and *dialect* bearing in mind the principle of social reputation, according to which, languages have more prestige because they have been selected as the vehicle for national communication; conversely, dialects have neither a standard form nor the social status of languages.

Following this mixed historical philological and political linguistic criteria, Alvar's dialect typology classifies modalities of Spanish, taking the time when Castilian was imposed as the national language as his turning point, in order to differentiate between varieties that pre-existed this point in contrast to varieties explained as developments of Castilian. He concludes that, "if we trace back the historical grammar of Leonese and Aragonese, we reach Latin", whereas "if we trace back Murcian or Canarian, we discover Castilian" (Alvar 1977: 10).

2.7.2 Classification of dialects and subdialects

He identifies three types of dialect:

- *Archaic dialects*: Leonese and Aragonese
- *Innovative dialects*: southern speech (Andalusian, Canarian, the Spanish of America). Extremaduran and Murcian are considered transition forms.
- *Judeo-Spanish*: represents a fossil stage of Castilian and is characterised both by innovative features (seseo, yeísmo, loss of final -s) and by other elements that are archaic.

2.8 Francisco Moreno Fernández (2009)

Francisco Moreno Fernández (1960-) is one of the leading figures in current Spanish linguistics. He is a specialist in dialectology, sociolinguistics and the teaching of Spanish as a foreign language. He has undertaken an intense scientific and teaching career as professor at the universities of Alcalá and Heidelberg, as well as Academic Director of the Instituto Cervantes (2008-2013) and of the Cervantes Institutes of São Paulo and Chicago.

2.8.1 Framework: Isoglottic Dialectology

Although classified within traditional dialectology, Moreno's proposal (2009) in *El español en su geografía* can be considered integrationist as it combines data on linguistic production with the perceptions of speakers and the social nature of their communities. These dimensions are treated as complementary: the speakers' interpretations of their own varieties do not necessarily coincide with that of the linguists, who, however, in their scientific duties cannot disregard the opinions of the speakers since the existence of such varieties depends to a large extent on the way the linguistic community perceives them. Thus, linguists base their work on the specific reality of speech and understand it as yet another cognitive skill of each individual to achieve, by means of a process of abstraction, a social reality constructed on the similarity of individual language usage. This process of abstraction is applied from bottom to top, from the individual to the collective.

2.8.2 Classification of dialects and subdialects

Based on these approaches, Moreno presents a general zoning of Spanish that separates:

- *Conservative regions*: Castile, highlands of Mexico, highlands of the Andean region and inland Colombia.
- *Innovative regions*: Andalusia and the Canaries in Spain, and the Antilles or the coasts of South America.

These two large areas can be further diversified: in Spain, Castilian Spanish, Andalusian and Canarian, which can in turn be subdivided, based on the same principles traditionally underpinning dialectology in Spain (see Alvar 1996, García Mouton 1994, Moreno Fernández 2009, Fernández Ordoñez 2016, among others). On one hand, the historical influence of the languages in contact, still appreciable today –

Castilian with features of Leonese origin, Castilian with features of Aragonese origin—; on the other, Castilian currently maintains contact with other languages such as Galician, Basque and Catalan. Spanish dialectology takes these linguistic influences into account to classify the varieties of Peninsular Spanish shown in the following map (Map 2).



Map 2. Dialect division of the Spanish language of Spain. Source: Moreno Fernández 2009 (*apud* Moreno Fernández & Otero 2016: 48)

Together with the three areas of Peninsular Castilian – Castilian, Andalusian and Canarian – a distinction is made in Spanish-speaking America between Caribbean Spanish, Mexican and Central American Spanish, Andean, Southern and Chilean. Finally, to these eight varieties found in Spain and America, are added the multilingual regions of the United States, Africa and Asia.

2.9 Ueda and Ruiz Tinoco (2003)

Hiroto Ueda is a professor at the University of Tokyo. He has undertaken extensive research in the area of variations of Spanish, is director of the Pan Hispanic VARILEX project for the study of Spanish lexical variation.

Taking as his basis the growing linguistic influence of cities on varieties of Spanish, in 1993 Hiroto Ueda presented the VARILEX project at the *X Congreso de la Asociación de Lingüística y Filología de América Latina* (ALFAL) with the aim of ascertaining the status of urban Spanish lexicon worldwide. VARILEX proposes an analysis of the modern lexicon considering the importance of lexical variability in the urban areas of each Spanish-speaking national area. The urban lexicon is considered representative of the whole of each regional variety, since the dissemination of words currently only occurs in one direction: from the urban to the rural context. Additionally, by means of demolingistic analysis, the project aims to determine the degree of representativity of each variety of Spanish and verify to what extent each form spreads to the whole of the Spanish-speaking community (Ueda & Ruiz Tinoco 2003: 194). The ultimate objective is to obtain a zoning of the Spanish language as a whole, considering not only Peninsular and American Spanish, but also other spheres such as Judeo-Spanish, the vestigial Spanish of the Philippines and the Pacific, the Spanish of Equatorial Guinea or of Spanish-speakers in the United States.

2.9.1 Framework: Dialectometry

The analytical perspective of the VARILEX project is quantitative and supported by methods of statistical measurement that combine dialectometry with linguistic patterning, which is used to gain a compact distribution image of linguistic phenomena. This is an open, coordinated project, which seeks constant growth of its database, the inclusion of new teams to contribute to the study of new urban centres, and the progressive sophistication of its quantification and representation methods.

2.9.2 Classification of dialects and subdialects

With these approaches, the project researchers offer a zoning proposal that classifies the Spanish lexicon into six large areas (Ueda 1995, Ueda & Ruiz Tinoco 2003):

- Zone-A. Spain and Africa: La Coruña, Santiago de Compostela, Vigo, Zaragoza, Guadalajara, Barcelona, Madrid, Murcia, Granada, Malaga, Almeria, Tenerife, with the inclusion of Tetuan, Nador and Malabo.
- Zone-B. the Caribbean: La Habana, Santiago de Cuba, Santiago de los Caballeros, Santo Domingo, San Pedro de Macorís, San Juan, Dorado, Mayagüez.
- Zone-C. Mexico: Monterrey, Aguas Calientes and Mexico City.
- Zone-D. Central America, Colombia and Venezuela, Guatemala City, San Salvador, Puerto Limon, Panama, Bogota, Merida and Caracas.
- Zone-E. the Andes: Quito, Lima, Arequipa, La Paz.
- Zone-F. Southern Cone: Arica, Santiago de Chile, Concepcion, Temuco, Asuncion, Montevideo, Salta, Tucuman, Buenos Aires.

Later analyses (Ueda 2007: 3) with a more extensive data and the application of alternative analysis methods, such as principal component analysis (PCA), widened this to seven zones, grouped by the coherence of their correlation: (1) Spain and Equatorial Guinea, (2) the Caribbean, (3) Colombia and Venezuela, (4) Mexico, (5) Central America, (6) the Andes, (7) La Plata.

2.10 Fernández Planas, Roseano, Martínez Celdrán and Romera Barrios (2011)

The authors are members of Barcelona University's Phonetics Laboratory, and specialists in the study of Spanish accents, which they research within the framework of the *AMPER-Atlas Multimedia Prosódico del Espacio Románico*. They are also responsible for the *AMPER-Catalán*.

2.10.1 Framework: Dialectometry

Although dialectometry can be applied at any level of linguistic variation, here we only refer to two studies that focus on the segmental and supra-segmental levels of varieties of Spanish in order to establish dialect areas.

Fernández Planas *et al.* base their research on data obtained within the framework of the *Atlas Multimedia de Prosodia del Espacio Románico* (AMPER). This macro project, an initiative of Grenoble University (Contini 1992; Contini, Lai and Romano 2002; Fernández Planas 2005), arose with the ambitious objective of analysing the prosody of all Romance languages and varieties spoken in Europe and America. With AMPER's experimental corpus, this team of experts in phonetics aim to undertake the dialectometric study of F0 data in declarative and interrogative orations uttered by speakers of some peninsular and insular varieties of Spanish, establish their prosodic proximity or distance relationship, and postulate a diachronic explanation for these relations. The project includes the speech of men and women between the ages of 25 and 55 years of age, without higher education, who are native speakers of one of the six sampling points selected for Peninsular Spanish (Barcelona, Lleida, Palencia, Salamanca, Madrid and Bullas) and the seven insular sites (Palma de Mallorca, Santa Cruz de la Palma, San Cristóbal de La Laguna, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Arrecife, La Habana and Santiago de Cuba).

The dialectometric analysis involves application of two different routines: the Calcu-Dista method, which works with a distance matrix of quantitative F0 data in semitones; and the DiaTech tool, which performs distance analysis with nominal data; in both cases, results are graphically shown.

2.10.2 Classification of dialects and subdialects

The application of both quantitative and qualitative methods allows us to observe the distribution of different varieties for the interrogative mood, and differentiates two large, quite separate, groups:

- The varieties of the Atlantic islands, the Canaries and Cuba, plus Palencia.
- The peninsular varieties and Palma de Mallorca.

This group is coherent with the classic distinction between the innovative variety called "Southern Spanish" or "Atlantic Spanish", in contrast to the more conservative "Northern Spanish".

2.11 *Germán Coloma (2012)*

Germán Coloma (1965-), an economist by training, has devoted part of his research activities to linguistics, which he undertakes at the CEMA University of Buenos Aires.

2.11.1 Framework: Dialectometry

Coloma's proposal is wide-ranging; he aims to study the capacity to delimit dialect zones for the Spanish language based on ten phonetic characteristics: seseo, yeísmo, aspiration of /s/ and /x/, assibilation of /j/, assibilation of /r/, velarization of /n/, deaffrication \widehat{tj} , uvularization of /x/ and \widehat{tj} voicing and isolate those which are less suited for the task. Coloma analyses the relevance of each variable, comparing the geographical distribution of each, and grouping them into areas that are reached by the successive exclusion of each variable. This method is first simultaneously, and then sequentially, applied to each of the variables to finally identify five that are more important than the others because they generate compact dialect regions.

The variables are ordered following an innovation index that indicates the longer or shorter lifespan of the linguistic change represented by each in the history of the Spanish language, joining them with areas that are more or less innovative or conservative. The results obtained following this procedure are coherent with the literature on Spanish dialects, since the most conservative areas, or those with the lowest innovation rates, include modern Castilian, central Mexico and the highlands of Andean Peru, whereas the innovative group, with higher innovation rates, includes the Canaries and the Caribbean Antilles. Likewise, Coloma calculates the linguistic differentiation index, which measures the difference existing between each area and the others. So, we find that the areas least differentiated from the others are the

regions of central Mexico, northern Andes and coastal Peru, whereas the most different are the traditional Castilian zone followed by Paraguay and Extremadura. These results appear to coincide with the idea that the three former represent a type of American Spanish that is more neutral or standard, while the latter three are representative of the dialects with highly idiosyncratic characteristics, due either to their innovative or conservative nature (Coloma 2012: 7 and 8).

Finally, a comparison of variables to measure their capacity to discriminate dialects concludes that the most important are aspiration of /s/, aspiration of /x/, velarization of /n/, uvularization of /x/ and assibilation of /r/.

A sequential method, which only includes other new variables to divide zones that are too heterogeneous or not compact, is applied to these five variables to separate dialect areas by means of a minimum number of characteristics.

2.11.2 Classification of dialects and subdialects

The procedure is applied to the five variables, as Figure 1 illustrates:

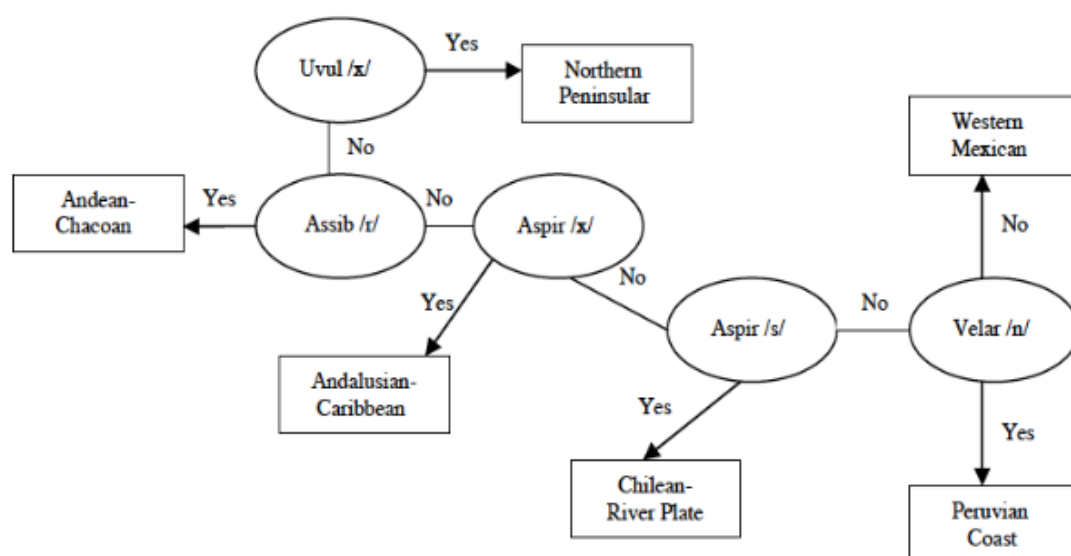


Figure 1. Sequential definition of dialect regions (Coloma 2012)

This sequential mechanism can be generalised to include new variables that allow the division of the defined regions into others that are smaller.

2.12 Gonçalves and Sánchez (2014)

Bruno Gonçalves holds a PhD in the Physics of Complex Systems, has contributed to computational linguistics analysis, and currently works at the intersection of data science and finance. David Sánchez Martínez holds a PhD in physical sciences and a degree in Spanish linguistics. Their main lines of research are nanophysics, quantum thermodynamics and linguistic variation.

2.12.1 Framework: Dialectometry

Following similar lines to the quantitative research of urban lexicon, the field of engineering has made new proposals for zoning based on massive corpora of data accessible thanks to new technologies. Here, specifically, we refer to the Gonçalves and Sánchez (2014) large-scale analysis of the diatopic variation of Spanish employed in geographically tagged data from microblogging. The authors compiled all Twitter messages written in Spanish over a two-year period and performed a cluster analysis on the corpus.

2.12.1 Classification of dialects and subdialects

Gonçalves and Sánchez distinguished two well defined macro-regions with common lexical properties. These represent two superdialects:

- Urban language, used in the main Spanish and American cities.
- The language of rural areas and small towns.

The conclusions of this research provide new proof of the incidence of globalisation on languages, leading to a homogenisation that is clearly defined in lexical terms. In this development, cities exert a centripetal force on language that

promotes dialect unification and levels lexical differences. This centripetal force is counteracted, but with much less strength, by the centrifugal force of rural areas, where some traditional lexical elements still remain. Thus, for the rural lexicon, Gonçalves and Sánchez (2014) identify three regions, each of which is characterised by a set of dominant words: a wide zone that includes Mexico, Central America, the Caribbean and zones of north-eastern South America; the Southern Cone; and Spain.

In turn, the first region (Mexico, Central America, the Caribbean and north-eastern areas of South America) can be divided into two subgroups, on the one hand (1) the Mexican Plateau, inland Central America and Andean Colombia, and on the other (2) Venezuela, the Antilles and coastal areas, a division between highland and lowland varieties that coincides with the classic classifications identified by Wagner (1927) or Rosenblat (1962).

2.13 Roxana Sobrino (2018)

Roxana Sobrino (1982-) is a specialist in sociolinguistics, dialectology and lexicography, and assistant professor at the University of Bergen, where she participates in the Pan Hispanic project, *Actitudes lingüísticas e Identidad en Hispanoamérica y España*, directed by Miguel Ángel Quesada Pacheco.

2.13.1 Framework: Perceptual Dialectology

The inclusion of the perceptual perspective to Spanish dialectology studies occurred later than for other languages of the Western World (Preston 2010). The pioneering works in this area are the Moreno Fernández and Moreno Fernández study (2002) on the perception of Madrid residents to other varieties of Spanish; the Alfaraz (2002) study on the attitudes of Cuban inhabitants to the varieties of Spanish spoken in Florida; Boomershine (2006) on the perception of some phonological variables by Mexican and Puerto Rican listeners; or the Díaz-Campos and Navarro-Galisteo study (2009) that researched the perceptive categorisation of dialect variety by listeners

from Venezuela and Spain. While these studies constitute significant precedents for investigation into the perceptual dimension of Spanish, their focus is only partial, and related to one or a few varieties of Spanish.

The first person to trace the dialect division of the whole Spanish language of America based on speakers' opinions was Quesada Pacheco (2014). In tune with Moreno Fernández (2009), he conceives perceptual dialectology as a hybrid discipline, situated between two complementary ways of viewing language – sociolinguistics and dialectal – that acquire an interactive role when scientifically evaluating the opinions of speakers with the objective of studying their views and opinions (Quesada 2014: 261; Iannàccaro & Dell'Aquila 2001). To conduct perceptual dialect zoning of the Spanish of America, Quesada used the following query: “Say three countries where they speak Spanish that is the same as or similar to the way you speak it.” Combining all of the answers gives a perceptual map of the whole that leads to the following conclusions: the principle of proximity proposed by Montgomery (2012) is met. This predicts that when informants are asked to draw dialect areas, they tend to draw areas with places close to them, so that the similarities perceived by the interviewees form a perceptual dialect continuum. Likewise, the parameter of reciprocity is met (a speaker from country A sees similarities with speakers of country B and vice versa).

Sobrino analyses the way in which varieties of Spanish are perceived depending on their consideration as correct, incorrect and pleasant. Sobrino's data, in common with that of Quesada (2014) comes from the Pan Hispanic project *Actitudes lingüísticas e identidad en Hispanoamérica y España* (LIAS).

2.13.2 Classification of dialects and subdialects

Although Sobrino does not establish a dialect zoning, she does present three maps with the varieties considered most correct, incorrect and pleasant.

This type of analysis systematises common perceptual procedures in the Spanish-speaking world about the categorisation of varieties of Spanish. The basis for most opinions are the cultural, geographical, historical or linguistic significance attributed to the varieties, so the Spanish of Spain and of Colombia tend to be identified with the

ideal of correctness, whereas the opinions about the varieties considered most pleasant show solidarity with the Spanish variant at the same time as identification with the speaker's own variety. In short, the data provide a configuration of the Spanish language from the subjective point of view of its speakers.

3. Discussion

The selection of research that has been presented aims to reflect on the one hand, the new focuses and directions that linguistic variation studies have taken; on the other, societal development and the changes derived from it. Over the course of more than a century, linguists and dialectologists have progressively shifted the focus of their interest from traditional dialectal forms of speech towards pluridimensional geolinguistics that includes sociolectal levels in its analysis. Likewise, research has advanced in parallel with the massive displacement of populations to urban spaces. Social change has meant a loss of traditional dialect forms that had been in use until the second half of the 20th century, at the same time as the generation of linguistic levelling dynamics and the genesis of urban regiolectal varieties. A few short decades have seen faster, more profound social changes than ever before, and forms of speech have developed in the same way, meaning that study methodologies have had to evolve, and inviting consideration of the most suitable models for research into our new realities. Investigation is increasingly planned in a more coordinated way, organised into international networks that prepare macro corpora of data with comparable methodological criteria. In turn, technological development has provided researchers with powerful quantification and representation procedures that had been unimaginable until recently. We are, therefore, better placed than ever to establish dialect zoning of the Spanish language from a complex model that includes all its dimensions. Whereas traditional dialectology represented linguistic factors in space, interpreting them as categorical features, sociolinguistics has refined this perception based on models underpinned by probabilistic formulations that distinguish the

significant aspects of residuals (Martín Butragueño 2013: 1398). Research with these characteristics is the objective of *dynamic linguistics* aimed at the analysis of processes that act on complex linguistic systems, and their explanation in terms of cognitive factors and individual interactions (Schmidt 2010: 202). This focus has developed a tool, the *dynamic linguistic atlas*² that requires data about the competence and behaviour of groups of speakers located in a specific space and time.

In conclusion, and to summarise:

The proposals for dialect division presented in these pages reveal an evolution of objectives and methods based on the following aspects:

- The development of linguistic disciplines that focus on the study of variation. In particular, the development of the concept of variation itself as a reflection of the dynamism of languages and the driving force behind dialect diversification.
- The perception of the development of society and of Spanish-speaking communities and, very clearly, the incidence of urbanisation on linguistic change, with the accompanying tendency to displace traditional dialect forms and substitute them for new, levelled varieties that can influence both within and beyond national states.
- The development of quantitative analysis tools that allow management and representation of massive datasets and, consequently, achieve better knowledge of historical and synchronic linguistic facts.
- Faced with the development of societies and linguistic varieties, new theoretical models are necessary. Of these, dynamic dialectology appears to be a suitable framework to track the tendencies of the Spanish language in the 21st century and to configure new linguistic areas.

Various theoretical frameworks have been used in dialect classifications carried out in Spanish: isoglottic, perceptual dialectology, and dialectometry. Placing each classification in the history of Spanish dialectology can throw light on understanding it better (Table 1):

² In the European context, one example of a dynamic atlas is the *Digital Wenker Atlas* available online: Schmidt and Herrgen 2001-2009; <<http://www.diwa.info>>

Year	Ethnological Classification	Isoglottic Dialectology	Perceptual Dialectology	Dialectometry
1900-1949		Menéndez Pidal (1926) Lapesa (1942) García de Diego (1949)		
1950-1999		Menéndez Pidal (1950) Lapesa (1942) Pop (1950) Catalán (1958; 1975) Zamora Vicente (1960) Alvar (1977)		
2000>		Moreno Fernández (2009)	Sobrino (2018)	Ueda & Ruiz Tinoco (2003) Fernández Planas, Roseano, Martínez Celdrán & Romera (2011) Coloma (2012) Gonçalves & Sánchez (2014)

Table 1. Analysis of different theoretical frameworks in Spanish dialectology.

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