

# Language Acquisition and Contact in the Iberian Peninsula



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**DE GRUYTER**  
MOUTON

ISBN 978-1-5015-1679-5

e-ISBN (PDF) 978-1-5015-0998-8

e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-1-5015-0988-9

ISSN 1861-4248

**Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek**

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie;  
detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2018 Walter de Gruyter, Inc., Boston/Berlin

Typesetting: Integra Software Services Pvt. Ltd.

Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck

[www.degruyter.com](http://www.degruyter.com)

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Francisco Dubert-García and Juan Carlos Acuña-Fariña

# Restructuring and complexification of inflectional morphology under linguistic contact: The case of a Galician dialect

**Abstract:** Galician has been in contact with Spanish since the very origins of both languages. Galician and Spanish are strongly structurally, genetically and typologically related. As the intensity of the contact has been growing and the number of bilingual speakers has been steadily increasing along the 20th century, more and more grammatical Spanish features entered into Galician. In this study, we analyse how the borrowing of Spanish morphological patterns that hypercharacterize the expression of various morphosyntactic features of some verbs causes a restructuring in the grammar of an urban variety of Galician mainly spoken by bilinguals. The incorporation of those Spanish borrowings also seems to provoke an increase in the complexity of the grammar of this Galician variety. We reflect on whether what seems to be a complexification from the point of view of an isolated grammar may be considered a simplification from the point of view of a bilingual mind/speaker.

## 1 Introduction

Galician is a Romance language spoken in the Northwest of the Iberian Peninsula. It is commonly assumed that Galician and Portuguese resulted from the split of an old unitary medieval language, today known as Galician-Portuguese. From its very beginning, Galician has been in contact with Spanish, conforming a case of intense and old inter-community bilingualism. This contact has influenced the internal history of Galician and partially explains the separation of Galician and Portuguese (Mariño 2008; Monteagudo 1999; Dubert & Galves 2016; Dubert-García 2017). For example:

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**Note:** This research was supported by grants PSI2015-65116-P and FFI2015-65208-P from the Spanish Government and grants GRC2015/006 and ED431C\_2017/34 by the Autonomous Galician Government/ERDF. We owe many observations made in the text to Ana Iglesias, Xulio Sousa, Paul O'Neill, Iván Tamaredo, two anonymous reviewers and the editors, to whom we are grateful.

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- Galician and Spanish lack phonemic voiced fricatives and nasal vowels (present in Medieval Galician and preserved in Portuguese); Galician and Spanish share voiced non-lateral palatals replacing an old palatal lateral (preserved in European Portuguese); Galician and Spanish developed a devoiced dental fricative (lacking in Portuguese).
- Galician and Spanish share the form of some morphemes like *-ble* in *amable* ‘kind’ (Portuguese *-vel*, *amável*) or *-ción* in *admiración* ‘admiration’ (Portuguese *-ção*, *admiração*)
- Galician and Spanish substituted the Presents of Indicative and of Subjunctive for the Future of Subjunctive (preserved in Portuguese).

In this study, we will adopt the view by Thomason (2003: 688) that contact between languages “is a source of linguistic change whenever a change occurs that would have been unlikely, or at least less likely, to occur outside a specific contact situation”. These changes are externally motivated, in that they are guided by social, not structural considerations (Hickey 2012: 388). Although extended bilingualism is not a necessary condition to produce linguistic changes due to contact (Hock 1991: 493), the more widespread bilingualism is in a community, the more the possibilities of change due to contact exists. By bilingualism we understand here individual bilingualism, the ability by one person to use two languages with similar (not necessarily equal) proficiency for different purposes.

We will also adopt the view by Matras (2009, 2010) that from the *perspective of the individual multilingual speaker*, language contact is about “the challenge of employing *a repertoire of communicative resources* [...] in such a way that it will comply with the expectations of audiences and interlocutors in various interaction settings” (2009: 38, emphasis added). In this view, multilingual speakers have a single *multilingual repertoire*, not two or more linguistic repertoires; and they must maintain strict demarcation boundaries among subsets of their linguistic repertoire to be able to communicate in different monolingual settings.

One of our goals is to study linguistic change and its consequences by showing how the influence of Spanish has restructured the Galician dialect spoken in Santiago de Compostela. In order to do that, we shall analyse the results of various morphological changes that modified the roots of some verbs (*oír* ‘to hear’, *traer* ‘to bring’ and *caer* ‘to fall’; *salir* ‘to go out’ and *valer* ‘to be good at/for’; *poder* ‘to be able to/can’ and *haber* ‘to have’; verbs ending in the suffix *-ecer* like *obedecer* ‘to obey’), whose forms have become similar to the corresponding Spanish ones; those modifications rearranged those verbs in different morpholexical classes.

The other goal we have is to show that although the morphological borrowings taken from Spanish have produced a complexification in the abstract system of Galician grammar, a resulting related simplification has also taken place. In addition to the dynamics imposed by linguistic change, language shift and the various explicative phenomena covered in social network theory (Newman et al. 2006; Carrington & Scott 2011; Kadushin 2012), changes provoked by language contact may also be contemplated from the complexity vs simplification of the grammar of the recipient languages (Trudgill 2011; Thomason 2003). This *complexification* (or lack of it, but we will use ‘complexification’ in what follows to cover both directions of change) may simply occur as a result of the addition of features transferred from one language to another (Trudgill 2010: 301).<sup>1</sup> For analysing this complexification various approaches have been proposed, a prominent one being a distinction between *absolute* vs *relative* complexity (Miestamo 2008; Kusters 2008). Absolute complexity is a function of the number of elements conforming a *system* or the length of the description of its working; thus, a system including two allomorphs in complementary distribution for expressing Plural is more complex than a system including only one morph, since the first contains more units than the second and its description is longer. Relative, speaker-oriented complexity, is related to the difficulties that a concrete speaker has for using a language; Miestamo (2008: 25) calls this complexity *difficulty* or *cost* (“how difficult a phenomenon is to process (encode/decode) or learn”). Kusters (2008) defends the view that relative complexity offers the best approximation to the study of linguistic complexity, in line with the invocation of efficiency and computational principles in Hawkins (1994, 2004). In this contribution, we will not be too concerned with the specificities of the complexity literature but will rather be interested only in the basic debate whether language contact (a major theme for us here) brings about either a more complex (Nichols 1992: 193) or a less complex (e.g. Kusters 2008) *system*. Importantly, we *will* be concerned with whether that debate is framed from the perspective of the abstract *system of a grammar* or, alternatively, from the perspective of the mind of actual speakers (a different kind of *system*).<sup>2</sup>

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1 The term *complexity* is usually employed as a generic or neutral term to refer to the complexity of a system of grammar (the number of elements it contains, of connections among elements, etc. See the *Introduction* of Miestamo et al. 2008). *Complexification* implies an increase in the complexity of the system, and *simplification* a reduction thereof.

2 Part of the reason for not wishing to become involved here with the technicalities of the complexity literature is that the very concept of relative complexity has in our opinion never been defined with precision: it usually covers processing and/or learning difficulties and almost everything that may be relevant from the standpoint of the speaker/hearer. The distinction

In our discussion, we will adopt a usage based exemplar model (Bybee 1985, 1988, 2001; Langacker 2000), a non-derivative framework in which frequent complex words are stored in the lexicon, even if they are regularly formed and have a predictable meaning. Nevertheless, complex words stored in the lexicon have an internal structure emerging from the lexical connections that words sharing similarities of form and meaning establish among them. The lexical connections (that emerge through the reinforcement of the common features inherent in multiple experiences) produce the *schemata* that give structure to the stored words. Thus, *schemata* are “the commonality that emerges from distinct structures when one abstracts away from their points of difference by portraying them with lesser precision and specificity” (Langacker 2000: 3). Schemata, inherent in the stored words, are used to create, by analogy, infrequent complex words that are not stored.

We would like to stress the fact that our goal is not to write a study on contemporary linguistic variation from a sociolinguistic, Labovian, point of view, but to compare two varieties which are different according to the intensity of the morphological interference they have gone through.

In this article, lexemes and morphosyntactic features are written in small capitals (e.g. CANTAR ‘to sing’; 1SG ‘first person singular’); word-forms, unless they are phonetically transcribed, are written in italics (*cantar* ‘to sing’). The citation forms of the Galician verbs are the word forms of the infinitives (written in small capitals); the citation forms of the Latin verbs are the word forms of the 1SG. IND.PRS (written in small capitals).

All abbreviations for the morphosyntactic features are in accordance with the Leipzig Glossing Rules<sup>3</sup>: FUT future, COND conditional, PST past, PFV perfective, IPFV imperfective, IND indicative, SBJV subjunctive, INF infinitive, 1 1st person,

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between representational and processing difficulty is probably better captured in the distinction between *systemic* vs *structural* complexity (Dahl 2004: 40–45). *Systemic complexity* refers to the complexity of the grammatical rules (or constructions, templates, patterns etc.), whereas *structural complexity* refers to the complexity of the structures that are the result of those rules. This distinction complements the absolute vs relative complexity fork. Thus, for instance, we can talk about *absolute systemic complexity* (e.g. the number of rules that are necessary to explain the verbal morphology of a language) and about *absolute structural complexity* (e.g. the number of phonemes/morphemes that the verbal forms of a language may have). Likewise, we can also talk about *relative systemic complexity* and *relative structural complexity* to refer to the domains just mentioned above but from the perspective of the speaker (representational difficulties vs processing costs).

3 <https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/Glossing-Rules.pdf>

2 2nd person, 3 3rd person, SG singular, PL plural. The asterisk (\*) represents a reconstructed etymon, not documented in Latin (*\*pōneo* ‘I put’).

In §2 the source of our data will be presented; §3 contains a description of the linguistic community of Santiago in terms of social networks; §4 analyses cases of morphological borrowing; in §5 we discuss the data and in §6 we offer a few concluding remarks.

## 2 The case study: the Galician of Santiago de Compostela

The Galician dialects of Santiago were studied by Dubert-García (1999) in an exploratory survey that tried to discover their basic features. The data were gathered between 1991 and 1998 mostly through semi-directed conversations, although direct questions were needed to obtain grammatical structures difficult to obtain in spontaneous settings. This was the first time that a survey on the Galician dialects included an urban community and data taken from young people, university graduates, white-collar workers, and bilingual speakers of Galician and Spanish.

Dubert-García (1999) used 35 informants with different social backgrounds. 16 of them claimed to speak both Galician and Spanish depending on the language of their interlocutors; all of them lived or worked in the city. 4 of these 16 also declared that Spanish was the language learned at home and that they had learned Galician with their friends or at school, while, conversely, the other 12 pointed out that Galician was the language learned at home and that they had learned Spanish with friends or at school. The other 19 informants lived in the rural parishes surrounding the city; they were peasants or blue collar workers, and declared that they had Galician as their mother tongue (most of them were monolinguals in Galician); these last 19 people could be considered as the prototypical informants of classical linguistic geography (Chambers & Trudgill 1998: 29–30).

The data collected by Dubert-García will be complemented with those other gathered by the authors of the *Atlas Lingüístico Galego (ALGa)* among 1974–1977. In the survey network of the *ALGa*, Santiago was represented by point C35, Sar, which in the mid-1970s was a periurban neighbourhood of the city (see map in the Appendix).

In his survey, Dubert-García (1999) discovered a huge and surprising range of dialectal variation across the territories administrated by the municipality of Santiago. These territories, despite containing a city, were characterized by a



complicated lattice of numerous isoglosses. Dubert-García (1999: 237–239) considered that, at least in the past, the urban Galician spoken in Santiago did not have a great influence on the surrounding rural dialects, which were different in phonological and morphological features. After analysing his data, Dubert-García (1999: 236) also concluded that, roughly speaking, two *models* of language coexist in the municipality of Santiago: an *urban* and a *rural Galician*. The varieties are different not only in the features they present, but even in the way their speakers treat the linguistic variables: e.g., rural speakers overtly use phonological features that urban speakers condemn.<sup>4</sup> One of the features distinguishing both varieties is the presence of more Spanish morphological borrowings in the variety spoken in the city. Some of these borrowings are the object of this work.

### 3 Santiago, a bilingual city

To explain why there exists more Spanish morphological borrowing in the urban Galician of Santiago, we need a short sketch of the sociolinguistic landscape and of the linguistic history of the territory where the data were collected. We will try to show that the degree of contact between Galician and Spanish is different in the rural and urban parts of the municipality of Santiago de Compostela because the degree of contact is higher in the city than in rural areas.

Seat of the University of Santiago de Compostela, capital of the Community of Galicia, and see of the Archdiocese of Santiago, Santiago de Compostela is a city with nearly 100 000 inhabitants, a hub of a complex of hospitals servicing areas well beyond the municipality boundaries, as well as a commercial centre attending to a large geographic area. A large rural area, divided in parishes (autonomous religious and social entities), surrounds the city.

The growth of Santiago is very recent and came about through a migratory phenomenon that carried people from the countryside to the city; this process was accompanied by the parallel urbanization of the rural areas of Santiago. These phenomena surely had important consequences both in the original Galician dialect of the city and in the speech of the immigrants.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> This is the case of features like the *seseo* (the lack of [θ], whose lexical incidence is occupied by [s]: [faser] instead of [faθer] ‘to do’), or the *gheada* (the lack of [g], whose lexical incidence is occupied by [h]: [hato] instead of [gato] ‘cat’).

<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately, these consequences are yet to be studied. Santiago seems to be an ideal place to develop surveys like those of Bortoni-Ricardo (1985), García Mouton / Molina Martos (2009), Martín Butragueño (2004), and Molina Martos (2006)

Until the middle of the 20th century, the rural parishes of Santiago had an agrarian way of life (Torres Luna & Lois González 1995; López Iglesias 2016). In this rural world, social networks have strong ties among their members: relatives, acquaintances and workmates tend to be the same people. This organization contributes to the preservation of little autonomous speech communities and hinders the exchange of linguistic innovations (Milroy 1992; Valcárcel Riveiro 2001; Chambers 2009; Kusters 2008). In the decade of 1950s, the municipality of Santiago “demonstrated the impossibility to reach significant growth rates”, since it appeared marginalized “as an administrative capital and lacked industrial tradition” (Torres Luna & Lois González 1995: 733, our translation). Dubert-García (1999: 237–239) attributes to those facts the high degree of dialectal variation that he still found in the rural and periurban territories of Santiago in the 1990s. However, from the 1950s to the 1970s Santiago witnessed

The dismantling of the traditional country society, most plainly evidenced by the intense migratory process that, from the fifties to the middle of the seventies, leaves the interior and rural regions hardly without any young population (Torres Luna & Lois González 1995: 733, our translation).

From the 1950s onwards, the city of Santiago underwent a spectacular development: the growth of the University, the network of hospitals, the city’s status as the capital of Galicia, the creation of industrial parks and malls, transformed the city and increased its population. The municipality had 35 710 inhabitants in 1900, 61 852 in 1950, and 93 695 in 1981. The city had 15 386 inhabitants in 1900 (43,1% of the total population), while it had 61 480 in 1981 (65,6% of the total population). The creation of jobs in the city and the waning agricultural economy made the rural inhabitants turn their sights to the city as a place for living, leisure and shopping. From the beginning of the 1950’s onwards, the sharp contrast rural vs urban is difficult to maintain, as is the opposition countryside vs city. What is found is a complex continuum between some more densely inhabited human settlements and others with a more diffused population (Valcárcel Riveiro 2001: 196). In fact, what has been occurring in Santiago for the past 60 years is a process of urbanization.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> “The term *urbanization* is used in the Social Sciences to refer to three different complementary processes. First, it reflects the phenomenon whereby population concentrates around a series of principal centres or privileged spaces. Second, it refers to the location of industry and other economic and non-agricultural activities in cities and their peripheries. Finally, it expresses the way in which the urban ways of life diffuse throughout the territory to society as a whole” (Torres Luna / Lois González 1995: 732).

The diffusion of the distinction countryside vs city was closely related to a shift from Galician to Spanish. In urban communities, social networks have weaker ties, since relatives, workmates and acquaintances may be different people coming from different origins (Milroy 1992; Valcárcel Riveiro 2001; Chambers 2009; Kusters 2008). In these cases, speakers may easily introduce innovations (often via borrowings) in their language because they may take features they hear from the members of other groups; this social structure increases the chances of linguistic change and dialectal levelling (the loss of dialectal differences through the selection and spreading of some variants). Interaction among individuals with weaker ties may produce accommodation phenomena (Trudgill 1986: 1–38). More mobile individuals, who tend to occupy a marginal position to some cohesive group, usually carry information across social boundaries and diffuse innovations of various kinds (Milroy 1992: 180–181).

In comparison with the surrounding rural areas, the city of Santiago has been bearing a larger weight of Spanish as a “roof tongue”, that is, the preferred communication language (Muljačić 1991): in Galicia, the middle classes of the cities (craftsmen, shopkeepers...) are Spanish speakers and the popular working classes (labourer, peons...) are typically bilingual (Valcárcel 2001: 194). Table 1 contains data about the mother tongue in the municipality of Santiago at the beginning of the nineties (*MSG 1992-1*: 31). As can be seen, Galician tends to be the mother tongue of older people, originally from the countryside, and residing in the periurban area; Spanish tends to be the mother tongue of younger people born in the urban environment; even those who declare they acquired both languages in their childhood are generally urban people. Thus, we see that Spanish has a strong presence as the mother tongue in the people with an urban origin.

Table 2 contains data of the language which is most usually spoken in Santiago (*MSG 1992-2*; unfortunately, the authors of the survey did not correlate the origins of the speakers with their usual language, but we have data about the correlation between the mother tongue and the usual language); it shows that the differences in the current use of the two languages also correlate with age and residential environment; while the older population usually tends to use Galician, younger people tend to use Spanish. We also see that most speakers are bilingual independently of their mother tongue and those data are slightly favourable to Spanish.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> There exist data closer to our days (*MSG 2004-1*, *MSG 2004-2*), but we prefer to use those data of the nineties because they are contemporary to the linguistic data gathered by Dubert-García (1999). The data of *MSG 2004* show that, for example, in 2004 the index of Galician as the mother tongue in Santiago diminished: it was 35,1% (including “only Galician” and “more Galician”); regarding usual language, 20,2% answered “only Spanish”; 37,2%, “more Spanish”; 28,7%,

**Table 1:** Mother tongue in Santiago de Compostela<sup>a</sup>.

	Galician	Spanish	Both	Other
<b>AGE:</b>				
16–25	25,3%	53,6%	20,7%	0,4%
26–40	43,5%	39,0%	15,6%	1,9%
41–65	66,2%	22,4%	10,6%	0,8%
+65	76,3%	14,1%	8,3%	1,3%
<b>ORIGIN:</b>				
Urban	28,8%	50,7%	20,5%	
Periurban	86,9%	5,2%	8,0%	
Villages	31,0%	52,1%	16,9%	
Rural 1	67,1%	19,2%	12,3%	1,4%
Rural 2	79,1%	9,9%	11,0%	
Out of Galicia	4,9%	76,7%	6,8%	11,7%
<b>RESIDENTIAL ENVIRONMENT:</b>				
Urban	40,3%	41,8%	16,8%	1,1%
Periurban	80,2%	11,7%	6,9%	1,2%
TOTAL	51,9%	33,0%	14,0%	1,1%

<sup>a</sup> *Origin* refers to the kind of settlement (rural, periurban, urban) where the informant was born. *Periurban* settlements are areas surrounding the cities and having a great dependency on them. Rural-1 settlements have less than 2000 inhabitants, streets, squares, sewage systems, banks, etc.; Rural-2 settlements also have less than 2000 inhabitants, but are disperse, without an urban appearance (*MSG 1992-1*: 18).

The bilingual status of the urban population and the relative linguistic weakness of the urban networks affected the urban Galician dialects. In fact, Dubert-García (1999) has shown that the Spanish borrowings are producing dialectal levelling across all the dialects of the municipality (e.g. the Spanish borrowing *hermano* ‘brother’ eliminates the dialectal variation between *irmán* and *irmao*, both present in the rural dialects). In turn, the Galician substrate has created a specific Spanish dialect in Galicia that incorporated Galician features, depending on the social background of the speakers (Álvarez Cássamo 1989; Dubert 2002; Monteagudo & Santamarina 1993; Rojo 2004). Prominent among these features, for instance, are the use of the Galician

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“more Galician”; 13,2% “only Galician”. Those data show a decrease in the presence of Galician in the municipality. Anyway, in the *MSG 2004* survey, informants older than 54 years were excluded from the sample.

**Table 2:** Usual language in Santiago.

	Only Spanish	More Spanish	More Galician	Only Galician
AGE:				
16–25	16,5%	48,5%	20,3%	14,8%
26–40	13,2%	32,5%	33,9%	20,4%
41–65	7,7%	18,6%	33,8%	39,9%
+65	7,7%	11,5%	33,3%	47,4%
RESIDENTIAL ENVIRONMENT:				
Urban	14,8%	33,9%	32,1%	19,2%
Periurban	2,7%	14,4%	28,1%	54,2%
MOTHER TONGUE:				
Galician		6,0%	40,6%	53,3%
Spanish	32,0%	54,1%	12,3%	1,6%
Both	1,2%	49,7%	41,0%	8,1%
Other	46,2%	30,8%	7,7%	15,4%
TOTAL:	11,3%	28,3%	31,0%	29,5%

phonology and intonation patterns (Fernández Rei 2016), the use of simple past forms to refer to events coded in standard Spanish via the present perfect (*Me lastimé ahora mismo* ‘I’ve got hurt just right now’, instead of *Me he lastimado ahora mismo*), or the use of originally Galician morphological features (*dea* GIVE:1SG.SBJV.PRS, instead of *dé*) (Rojo 2004). The Galician borrowings into the Spanish spoken in Galicia made this language closer to Galician in general, which, in turn, might have helped to introduce Spanish borrowings into Galician (see below). The situation is that Santiago’s urban Galician has borrowed from Spanish not only words, but also elements of the morphology and syntax.

## 4 Inflectional borrowing in some Galician verbs in Santiago

The urban Galician dialects of Santiago de Compostela have taken more borrowings from Spanish than the rural ones, a fact that allows us to distinguish both varieties. In Galician linguistics, these items are usually known as *castelanismos* ‘castilianisms’ (since the common name Galician given to Spanish is *castellano* ‘Castilian’ in Spanish and dialectal Galician, or *castelán* in standard Galician).

These borrowings can be classified in two kinds, both present in the data gathered by Dubert-García (1999): *matter borrowing*, i.e., “the borrowing of concrete phonological matter” like words, affixes, roots, clitics...; and *pattern borrowing*, i.e., “the borrowing of functional and semantic morphological patterns” by which “a R[ecipient] L[anguage] rearranges its own inherited morphological structure in such a way that it becomes structurally closer to the S[ource] L[anguage]” (Gardani, Arkadiev & Amiridze 2015: 3).

## A little sketch of Galician verbal morphology

As shown in Table 3, the prototypical word-form of a Galician regular verb presents a *root* (simple, like *mat-* ‘to kill’; or complex, like *remat-* ‘to finish off, to conclude’) followed by a *thematic vowel*, a vowel that indicates the conjugation or inflectional class of the verb and that is located between the root and the inflectional endings. The root plus a thematic vowel make up a *theme*, the part of the word-form to which the inflectional endings are added to form the word-form. Finally, the prototypical inflectional ending is formed by two suffixes: a tense, aspect, and mood suffix and an agreement suffix (Álvarez, Regueira & Monteagudo 1986; Álvarez & Xove 2002; Freixeiro Mato 2000; Santamarina 1974; Villalva 2000).

**Table 3:** Morphological structure of *cantabamos* ‘we used to sing’.

Word-form			
Theme		Inflectional ending	
Root	Thematic vowel	Tense, Aspect, Mood	Number, Person
cant	a	ba	mos

Each Galician verb must belong to one inflectional class or conjugation, marked by the thematic vowel: /a/ for the 1st conjugation, *cantar* ‘to sing’; /e/ for the 2nd, *bater* ‘to beat’; and /i/ for the 3rd, *partir* ‘to split’. This is the same template that Spanish has. Some verbs belonging to the 2nd and 3rd conjugations share similar irregularities that allow us to group them in *morpholexical classes*, that is, groups of verbs with a special morphological behaviour: thus, the verbs *oír* ‘to hear’ and *caer* ‘to fall’ present a special root ending in a semivowel /j/ in the 1SG of the Indicative Present (*oi-o* and *cai-o*) and in all the Subjunctive Present (*oi-a*, *cai-a*; § 4.3), despite the fact that they belong to different conjugations. These shared irregularities between different verbs make

it possible to identify morphological formatives and patterns, and to show the inner organization and structure of the verbal paradigms.

### Borrowing in the FUT word-forms of the verbs POÑER, TER, VIR, VALER and SAÍR

The Galician verbs POÑER ‘to put’, TER ‘to have’, VIR ‘to come’, VALER ‘to be good at/for’, SAÍR ‘to go out’ are, in different degrees, irregular. The first three, strongly irregular, are historically related and share many family resemblances: their word-forms result from the palatalization of Lat. /VnjV/ (Lat. *tēneo* > Gal. *teño* ‘I have’) or the dropping of an intervocalic Lat. /n/ (Lat. *tēnes* > Gal. *tes* ‘you have’) (Ferreiro 1995).

As for VALER (< Lat. VALEO ‘to be strong’) and SAÍR (< Lat. SALIO ‘to jump’), these verbs have had different historical developments in the standard variety,<sup>8</sup> where both belong to different morpholexical classes; while VALER retained its intervocalic Lat. /l/, SAÍR lost it. In (1a) we present the standard conjugation of the FUT and in (1b) that of the COND:

1)	‘to put’	‘to have’	‘to come’	‘to be good to/at’	‘to go out’
a)	POÑER:FUT	TER:FUT	VIR:FUT	VALER:FUT	SAÍR:FUT
1SG	<i>poñ-e-re-i</i>	<i>t-e-re-i</i>	<i>v-i-re-i</i>	<i>val-e-re-i</i>	<i>sa-i-re-i</i>
2SG	<i>poñ-e-rá-s</i>	<i>t-e-rá-s</i>	<i>v-i-rá-s</i>	<i>val-e-rá-s</i>	<i>sa-i-rá-s</i>
3SG	<i>poñ-e-rá</i>	<i>t-e-rá</i>	<i>v-i-rá</i>	<i>val-e-rá</i>	<i>sa-i-rá</i>
1PL	<i>poñ-e-re-mos</i>	<i>t-e-re-mos</i>	<i>v-i-re-mos</i>	<i>val-e-re-mos</i>	<i>sa-i-re-mos</i>
2PL	<i>poñ-e-re-des</i>	<i>t-e-re-des</i>	<i>v-i-re-des</i>	<i>val-e-re-des</i>	<i>sa-i-re-des</i>
3PL	<i>poñ-e-rá-n</i>	<i>t-e-rá-n</i>	<i>v-i-rá-n</i>	<i>val-e-rá-n</i>	<i>sa-i-rá-n</i>
b)	POÑER:COND	TER:COND	VIR:COND	VALER:COND	SAÍR:COND
1SG	<i>poñ-e-ría</i>	<i>t-e-ría</i>	<i>v-i-ría</i>	<i>val-e-ría</i>	<i>sa-i-ría</i>
2SG	<i>poñ-e-ría-s</i>	<i>t-e-ría-s</i>	<i>v-i-ría-s</i>	<i>val-e-ría-s</i>	<i>sa-i-ría-s</i>
3SG	<i>poñ-e-ría</i>	<i>t-e-ría</i>	<i>v-i-ría</i>	<i>val-e-ría</i>	<i>sa-i-ría</i>
1PL	<i>poñ-e-ria-mos</i>	<i>t-e-ria-mos</i>	<i>v-i-ria-mos</i>	<i>val-e-ria-mos</i>	<i>sa-i-ria-mos</i>
2PL	<i>poñ-e-ria-des</i>	<i>t-e-ria-des</i>	<i>v-i-ria-des</i>	<i>val-e-ria-des</i>	<i>sa-i-ria-des</i>
3PL	<i>poñ-e-ría-n</i>	<i>t-e-ría-n</i>	<i>v-i-ría-n</i>	<i>val-e-ría-n</i>	<i>sa-i-ría-n</i>

<sup>8</sup> It is important not to lose sight of the fact that standard Galician is the result of a contemporary process of language planning by which some dialectal variants were conventionally selected among the pool of forms collected in the dialects; it was conceived on a purist orientation, in such a way that it avoids the castilianisms common in the dialects; it is also, fundamentally, a written variety. Standard Galician was elaborated in 1982 (Ramallo & Rei-Doval 2015).

The conventional, structuralist, morphological analysis of the FUT and the COND in current Galician linguistics is as follows:

(2)	R	TV	TAM(FUT)	Agr(2PL)	R	TV	TAM(COND)	Agr(2PL)
	<i>poñ-</i>	<i>-e-</i>	<i>-re-</i>	<i>-des</i>	<i>poñ-</i>	<i>-e-</i>	<i>-ria-</i>	<i>-des</i>
	<i>t-</i>	<i>-e-</i>	<i>-re-</i>	<i>-des</i>	<i>t-</i>	<i>-e-</i>	<i>-ria-</i>	<i>-des</i>
	<i>v-</i>	<i>-i-</i>	<i>-re-</i>	<i>-des</i>	<i>v-</i>	<i>-i-</i>	<i>-ria-</i>	<i>-des</i>
	<i>val-</i>	<i>-e-</i>	<i>-re-</i>	<i>-des</i>	<i>val-</i>	<i>-e-</i>	<i>-ria-</i>	<i>-des</i>
	<i>sa-</i>	<i>-i-</i>	<i>-re-</i>	<i>-des</i>	<i>sa-</i>	<i>-i-</i>	<i>-ria-</i>	<i>-des</i>

It should be noted that Galician and Spanish share all the endings of these verbal word-forms, except for the 1SG.FUT, Galician [-ej] (*cantarei*), Spanish [-e] (*cantaré*); and the 2PL, Galician [-des] (*cantaredes*), Spanish [-js] (*cantaréis*); the word-forms corresponding to the 1PL.COND and 2PL.COND are stressed on the penultimate syllable in Galician (*can.ta.ri.á.mos* ‘we would sing’) and on the antepenultimate syllable in Spanish (*can.ta.rí.a.mos*).

However, in most Galician dialects, SAÍR ‘to go out’ has word-forms preserving the Lat. /l/. Thus, depending on the dialect, SALIR belongs to different morphological classes (*ALGa*, maps from 161 to 174); *salir* is precisely the form found in Santiago. In (3) we present all the word-forms of the FUT and COND of POÑER, TER, VIR, SALIR, and VALER registered by Dubert-García (1999: 171–172):

3)	Santiago’s rural Galician		Santiago’s urban Galician	
	FUT	COND	FUT	COND
POÑER	<i>poñerei</i>	<i>poñería</i>	not found <sup>9</sup>	<i>pondría</i>
TER	<i>terei</i>	<i>tería</i>	<i>tendrei, tendrá, tendrán</i>	<i>tendría, tendríamos</i>
VIR	<i>virei</i>	<i>viría</i>	not found	<i>vendrían</i>
VALER	<i>valerei</i>	<i>valería</i>	<i>valdrei</i>	<i>valdrían</i>
SALIR	<i>salirei</i>	<i>saliría</i>	<i>saldrei, saldrán</i> <sup>10</sup>	not found

<sup>9</sup> A reviewer suggested that the authors might search for the forms not found in current urban Galician of Santiago. We prefer to use only the forms effectively registered by Dubert-García (1999) in order to avoid the mixing of new and old data. The forms lacking can be easily registered in spontaneous conversations with Galician speakers from Santiago. In fact, those forms can even be found in the literary language: e.g., the corpus *TILG* registers 6 tokens of *pondrei*, 59 of *poñerei* and 83 of *porei*; 4 tokens of *saldría*, 6 of *saliría* and 100 of *sairía* (07/20/2017). Forms like *pondrei* can be found in the web: <http://asmelloresrecetasengalego.blogspot.com.es/>, <https://ocioloxia.wordpress.com/2007/07/19/novecento/> (07/20/2017).

<sup>10</sup> The form *saldrei* was also collected in Santiago (C35) in the *ALGa*, map 168.



Those forms are found in the speech of informants XX1a, 003, 002a, 002f, XX2g, 004a, all bilinguals with Galician as the language learned at home, and in the speech of 002b and 002c, bilinguals who had Spanish as their mother tongue. As shown in (3), in the rural Galician of Santiago POÑER, TER, VIR, VALER, and SALIR, the FUT/COND word-forms have the same internal morphological structure as any other regular verb: [R-TV-TAM-Agr]; in urban Galician, however, we find word-forms following the template [R-/d/-TAM-Agr], i.e., lacking the thematic vowel, introducing an interfix /d/ between the roots and the endings. In (4) we analyse the urban Galician forms of Santiago according to (1) and (2) and present the corresponding Spanish forms. We also include the INF word-forms in both languages:

4)	Santiago's urban Galician	Spanish
	[R-/d/-TAM-Agr]	
POÑER:COND.1/3SG	<i>pon-d-ría</i> (INF <i>poñ-e-r</i> )	<i>pondría</i> (INF <i>poner</i> )
TER:COND.1/3SG	<i>ten-d-ría</i> (INF <i>t-e-r</i> )	<i>tendría</i> (INF <i>tener</i> )
TER:COND.1PL	<i>ten-d-ría-mos</i> (INF <i>t-e-r</i> )	<i>tendríamos</i> (INF <i>tener</i> )
VIR:COND.3PL	<i>ven-d-ría-n</i> (INF <i>v-i-r</i> )	<i>vendrían</i> (INF <i>venir</i> )
VALER:COND.3PL	<i>val-d-ría-n</i> (INF <i>val-e-r</i> )	<i>valdrían</i> (INF <i>valer</i> )
TER:COND.1SG	<i>ten-d-re-i</i> (INF <i>t-e-r</i> )	<i>tendré</i> (INF <i>tener</i> )
TER:COND.3SG	<i>ten-d-rá</i> (INF <i>t-e-r</i> )	<i>tendrá</i> (INF <i>tener</i> )
TER:COND.3PL	<i>ten-d-rá-n</i> (INF <i>t-e-r</i> )	<i>tendrán</i> (INF <i>tener</i> )
VALER:FUT.1SG	<i>val-d-re-i</i> (INF <i>val-e-r</i> )	<i>valdré</i> (INF <i>valer</i> )
SALIR:FUT.1SG	<i>sal-d-re-i</i> (INF <i>sal-i-r</i> )	<i>saldré</i> (INF <i>salir</i> )
SALIR:FUT.3PL	<i>sal-d-rá-n</i> (INF <i>sal-i-r</i> )	<i>saldrán</i> (INF <i>salir</i> )

While in Spanish the INF and the FUT/COND share the same root in the five verbs (*pon-*, *ten-*, *ven-*, *sal-*, *val-*), in urban Galician this only occurs in the case of SALIR and VALER (*sal-*, *val-*), since in POÑER, TER and VIR, the INF has different roots from the FUT/COND (INF: POÑER *poñ-*, TER *t-*, VIR *v-*; FUT/COND POÑER *pon-*, TER *ten-*, VIR *ven-*). The urban forms with /d/ and without a thematic vowel are to be considered Spanish borrowings.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> For the history of those word-forms in Spanish, see Penny (2002) and Lloyd (1987). In their evolution to Old Spanish, the Vulgar Latin forms lost the thematic vowel and inserted an epenthetic /d/: \**tener+é* 'I will have' > *tenré* > *tendré*. For their history in Galician, see Varela Barreiro (1998). The contemporary rural Galician forms of the kind *terei* are late-medieval analogical reconstructions. In their evolution to Old Galician, the Vulgar Latin word-forms also lost their thematic vowel, \**tener+ei* 'I will have' > *tenrei*, however, no epenthetic transitional /d/ was inserted between the consonants, but there were produced phonological assimilations (*terrei*, nowadays

Although the urban Galician of Santiago has taken the roots, the interfix /d/ and the lack of the thematic vowel from Spanish, the TAM and Agr suffixes are still those characteristic of Galician: the 1SG.FUT *tend-rei*, *sald-rei* in the urban Galician end in the same way as the rural Galician *te-rei*, *sali-rei*.

Dubert-García (1999: 170–171) has also detected other FUT/COND word-forms in the urban Galician of Santiago that lack the expected thematic vowel: in PODER ‘to be able’, *podría* 1/3SG.COND, *podrían* 3PL.COND, instead of *podería*, *poderían* (found in the rural dialects of Santiago and in standard Galician); in HABER ‘to have’, *habrá* 3SG.FUT, *habría* 1/3SG.COND in the urban speech, instead of the expected *haberá*, *habería* (found in the rural dialects and in standard Galician).<sup>12</sup> Again, we find the lack of the thematic vowel in the corresponding Spanish cognate word-forms, *podría*, *podrían*, *habrá*, *habría*, *sabré*. What is interesting is that the regular verbs of the urban Galician variety preserve their thematic vowel in this morphophonemic context if their Spanish cognates also preserve them: Gal. *deberían* ‘they should’, Gal. *beberei* ‘I will drink’, cf. Spanish *deberían*, *beberé*. In a way, then, both the omissions (loss of the thematic vowel) and the selective preservations seem to speak to the same underlying cause: the influence of Spanish.

To sum up, in the urban Galician of Santiago we find that:

- (a) In POÑER, TER, VIR, SALIR, VALER, PODER and HABER, the thematic vowel may be absent in FUT/COND; this seems to result from the replication of a Spanish morphological pattern ([R-TAM-Agr], without TV), i.e., a case of pattern borrowing.
- (b) In POÑER, TER, VIR, SALIR, and VALER, an interfix /d/ is found between the root and the TAM suffix; this seems to be a case of matter borrowing.
- (c) In POÑER, TER and VIR we find a different root in the FUT/COND than that in the INF word-forms; again, this seems a case of matter borrowing too.

All these urban formatives and patterns are the result of different interferences from Spanish. By comparing Tables 4 and 5, it is easy to see how different irregularities are introduced into the Galician urban grammar and some regularity is in fact lost: verbs that had a regular morphology, at least in the COND/FUT

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lost) or the triumphant analogical reconstructions based on the infinitival root (*tere*). The word-forms *poñer*, *poñerei*, *poñería* of POÑER are even more recent analogical innovations based on the root *poñ-* of the 1SG.IND.PRS and all the SBJV.PRS (Ferreiro 1995). A reviewer observes that these innovations of Galician illustrate a process of simplification. Thus, since the Spanish borrowings of the kind *tendría*, *pondría* have recently eliminated the Galician analogical forms of the kind *tería*, *poñería*, contact has resulted in the reintroduction of irregularities.

<sup>12</sup> In *ALGa*, map 349, we can find *sabrei* and *saberei* ‘I will know’ in C35 (Santiago).

**Table 4:** Exponence of FUT/COND in the rural Galician of Santiago.

DEBER, BEBER, HABER, PODER, POÑER, TER, VIR, VALER, SALIR
R-TV-TAM-Agr // R(FUT/COND) = R(INF) Regular exponence
<i>debería, habería, valería, viría</i>

**Table 5:** Exponence of FUT/COND in the urban Galician of Santiago.

Regular exponence	Lacking a thematic vowel (pattern borrowing)		
	interfix /d/ (matter borrowing)		
		Infinitival root	Special root
DEBER, BEBER	HABER, PODER	VALER, SALIR	POÑER, TER, VIR
<i>debería</i>	<i>habría</i>	<i>valdría</i>	<i>vendría</i>

word-forms, are now integrated in four different morpholexical classes. All these changes involve the generation of lexical exceptions to regular morphological exponence.

## Borrowing in the L-pattern context of OÍR, CAER, TRAER, SALIR and VALER

In standard Galician, the verbs OÍR ‘to hear’ (< Lat. AUDIO), CAER ‘to fall’ (< Lat. CADU), TRAER ‘to bring’ (< Lat. TRAHU) and SAÍR ‘to go out’ (< Lat. SALIU ‘to jump’) form a morpholexical subclass since they share the same irregularity in the root corresponding to the 1SG.IND.PRS and all the SBJV.PRS, although they belong to different conjugations: CAER and TRAER belong to the 2nd conjugation and OÍR and SAÍR to the 3rd. All these verbs present a palatal semivowel between the last vowel of their roots and the inflectional endings. The distribution of this /j/ behaves in what Maiden (2005, 2016) calls an L-pattern. In (4a) we offer CAER ‘to fall’ as a model of the conjugation of all the members of this morpholexical class; the roots with the /j/ (spelt <i>) are underlined.

4) a)	IND.PRS	SBJV.PRS	b)	IND.PRS	SBJV.PRS
	1SG	<u>ca</u> i-o		<u>va</u> ll-o	<u>va</u> ll-a
	2SG	ca-es		va-es	<u>va</u> ll-as
	3SG	ca-e		va-e	<u>va</u> ll-a

1PL	<i>ca-emos</i>	<u><i>cai-amos</i></u>	<i>val-emos</i>	<u><i>vall-amos</i></u>
2PL	<i>ca-edes</i>	<u><i>cai-ades</i></u>	<i>val-edes</i>	<u><i>vall-ades</i></u>
3PL	<i>ca-en</i>	<u><i>cai-an</i></u>	<i>val-en</i>	<u><i>vall-an</i></u>

In standard Galician, VALER ‘to be good at/for’ belongs to another morpholexical subclass, since it has one root ending in a palatal consonant<sup>13</sup> according to the L-pattern, in the 1SG.IND.PRS and in the SBJV.PRS, and another root ending in a lateral alveolar elsewhere (4b).

In the rural Galician of Santiago (5a), we find different groupings: in one subclass we find OÍR, CAER, and TRAER, with the semivowel /j/ in the L-pattern, as in (4a); and in another subclass, we find VALER and SALIR, which preserve the intervocalic /l/, with the alternation between a palatal (spelt <ll>) in the L-pattern and a lateral alveolar (spelt <l>) elsewhere (5b):

- 5) Santiago’s rural Galician
- a) Subclass: insertion of /j/  
 OÍR: *oi-o*, *oi-a*; but *o-es*, *o-ímos*  
 CAER: *cai-o*, *cai-a*; but *ca-es*, *ca-emos*  
 TRAER: *trai-o*, *trai-a*, but *tra-es*, *tra-emos*
- b) Subclass: palatal/alveolar alternation  
 VALER: *vall-o*, *vall-a*, but *val-es*, *val-emos*  
 SALIR: *sall-o*, *sall-a*, but *sal-es*, *sal-imos*

Nevertheless, in the urban Galician dialects, as illustrated in (6), we find a feature which seems to be Spanish in origin: the presence of a velar interfix (g)<sup>14</sup> at the right of the root, also following the L-pattern.<sup>15</sup> In these urban dialects, OÍR, CAER, TRAER, SALIR, and VALER belong to this subclass. Again, inside this subclass, OÍR, CAER, and TRAER also present the semivowel /j/ (spelt <i>) at the left of (g) in the L-pattern:

<sup>13</sup> In conservative dialects, the L-Pattern root ends in a lateral palatal, /baʎ/-; in innovative dialects, it ends in a palatal stop, /baj/-; both segments are spelt with <ll>, *vall*-. The presence of the palatal stop is known as *yeísmo* or *delateralization*.

<sup>14</sup> We use the notation (g) in order to show that what we see is a phonologic sociolinguistic variable, with three realizations: /g/, /x/ and /h/.

<sup>15</sup> For the origins of these velar consonants in Spanish, see Penny (2002) and Lloyd (1987). For the origins of the traditional Galician forms, see Ferreiro (1995). Mariño Paz (2003: 223) has found forms of the kind of *valga* in journalistic texts written in Santiago de Compostela in 1836.

- 6) Santiago's urban Galician
- a) OÍR: *oig-o*, *oig-a*, but *o-es*, *o-ímos*  
 CAER: *caig-o*, *caig-a*, but *ca-es*, *ca-emos*  
 TRAER: *traig-o*, *traig-a*, but *tra-es*, *tra-emos*
- b) SALIR: *salg-o*, *salg-a*, but *sal-es*, *sal-imos*  
 VALER: *valg-o*, *valg-a*, but *val-es*, *val-emos*<sup>16</sup>

All these cases are surely matter borrowings, and what has been taken was the entire Spanish roots *oig-*, *caig-*, *traig-*, *salg-* and *valg-*; the distribution of these forms in Spanish is in accordance with the morphomic L-pattern.

What we see now is that the two subclasses of (5) are imperfectly reduced to one in (6). The presence of (g) reinforces the L-pattern in OÍR, CAER, and TRAER; and its use in the five verbs implies the presence of new matter without new functions, since (g) only reinforces a pre-existing L-pattern that is marked enough in the rural Galician of Santiago. From this point of view, the adjunction of (g) is also a case of hyper-characterization of 1SG.IND.PRS and of SBJV.PRS. Note that the remaining word forms of the paradigms of OÍR, CAER, and TRAER preserve their Galician form: Galician *oes* 'you hear', *oe* '(s)he hears', *oísemos* 'we heard-SBJV' vs Spanish *oyes*, *oye*, *oyésemos*.

If we now compare the form and distribution of the roots of SALIR in the urban and rural Galician of Santiago, as illustrated in (7), we can see again how the conjugation of this verb has become more systemically complex under the influence of Spanish:

- 7) Rural Galician of Santiago
- root *sall-*, L-pattern: e.g., 1SG.IND.PRS *sallo* and SBJV.PRS *salla*, *sallas*, *sallamos*  
 root *sal-*, elsewhere: e.g., 3SG.IND.PRS *sale*, 1SG.FUT *salirei*, 1SG.COND *saliría*  
 Santiago's urban Galician
- root *salg-*, L-pattern: e.g., 1SG.IND.PRS *salgo* and SBJV.PRS *salga*, *salgas*, *salgamos*  
 root *sald-*, FUT/COND: e.g., 1SG.FUT *saldrei*, 1SG.COND *saldría*  
 root *sal-*, elsewhere: e.g., 3SG.IND.PRS *sale*, 1SG.PST.PFV *salín*, 1SG.PST.IPFV *salía*

Obviously, the same is true for VALER. We can compare this situation with the data taken from the dialect of the first author, the Galician of Muros (A Coruña), which presents *sal-* and *val-* as the only roots all across the conjugations of SALIR and VALER, respectively: *salo* in SALIR:1SG.IND.PRS, *sala* in SALIR:1SG.SBJV.PRS, *salirei*

<sup>16</sup> In the ALGa we could find *salgo* (map 161), *salga* (170), *valgo* (121), *valga* (133), *oigo* (294) and *traigo* (380).

in SALIR:1SG.FUT; *valo* in VALER:1SG.IND.PRS, *vala* in VALER:1SG.SBJV.PRS, *valerei* in VALER:1SG.FUT. Similar forms were gathered by Dubert-García (1999) in the westernmost rural dialects of Santiago (see the distribution of the forms *salo/sala*, *sallo/salla*, *salgo/salga* all across the Galician speaking territory in the maps 161, 170 and 171 of the *ALGa*; see also Map 1 in the appendix). We notice a progression from the greatest regularity / predictability in Muros to the least regularity / predictability in the urban dialect of Santiago.

Additionally, contact with Spanish has also produced a reorganization of the morpholexical subclasses of some other verbs of the 2nd and 3rd conjugations in urban Galician. For example, in two conservative rural speakers from Santiago (Y12c and Y13a) Dubert-García (1999: 188–193) found that the verbs TRAER ‘to bring’, CAER ‘to fall’, OÍR ‘to hear’, ROER ‘to gnaw’, and MOER ‘to mill’ behave in the way reflected in (5a); VALER and SALIR behave in the way of (5b); and CONOCER ‘to know’ (perhaps a loanword eliminating the Galician form *coñecer*) and PARECER ‘to seem’ are fully regular (unaffected by any L-pattern):

**Table 6:** Morpholexical classes in the rural Galician of Santiago (Y12c, Y13a).

L-Pattern		Regulars
Insertion of /j/	Palatal/alveolar alternation	PARECER ( <i>parezo/pareza</i> )
TRAER ( <i>traio/traia</i> )	SALIR ( <i>sallo/salla</i> )	CONOCER ( <i>conoza/conoza</i> )
CAER ( <i>caio/caia</i> )	VALER ( <i>vallo/valla</i> )	
OÍR ( <i>oio/oia</i> )		
ROER ( <i>roio/roia</i> )		
MOER ( <i>moio/moia</i> )		

In two young urban bilingual speakers from Santiago (XX1a and 003), however, Dubert-García (1999) has found that the frequent verbs TRAER ‘to bring’, CAER ‘to fall’, and OÍR ‘to hear’ have passed to the morpholexical class of (6a), *traigo/traiga*, *caigo/caiga*, *oigo/oiga*, while the infrequent verbs ROER ‘to gnaw’ and MOER ‘to mill’ have lost their /j/ in the L-pattern and have become regular (a typical phenomenon that links frequency of use and idiosyncrasy; Bybee 1985), *roo/roa* (not *roio/roia*), *moo/moa* (not *moio/moia*); the verbs CONOCER ‘to know’ and PARECER ‘to seem’ have been transferred to the L-pattern under the Spanish model, and now introduce an interfix /k/ (spelt <c>) between the old root and the inflectional endings, like their Spanish cognates do: *conozco/conozca*, *parezco/parezca* (Table 6). Thus, in the Galician variety of the bilingual urban speakers XX1a and 003, now TRAER, CAER, OÍR, SALIR, VALER, PARECER, and CONOCER group together under the L-pattern, while ROER and MOER have escaped the L-pattern and have become regular.

## 5 Discussion

We have seen how the reviewed phenomena of contact have restructured the grammar of the urban Galician varieties in a setting of extended bilingualism (the presence in the community of a great number of people speaking Galician and Spanish). We intend now to reflect (a) on the factors that could have helped in the introduction of the borrowings, and (b) on the consequences of the introduction of the borrowing in terms of the possible complexification of the Galician grammar.

With respect to the facilitative factors that helped the introduction of the morphological borrowings we may point out the strong structural similarities between Galician and Spanish. In fact, the basic morphological skeleton of the verbal word-forms in Galician is identical to that of Spanish: [R-TV-TAM-Agr]. Many differences between both languages tend to be only phonological, the (sequences of) phonemes constituting the morphemes: the 1PL.SBJV.PST. IPFV word-form of *COMER* ‘to eat’ in Galician is *com-é-se-mos*, with a TV /e/; in Spanish, it is *com-ié-se-mos*, with a TV /je/. Under a usage based exemplar model (Bybee 1985, 1988, 2001; Langacker 2000), it makes sense to say that the Spanish borrowing *tendrei* ‘I will have’ has emerged from the merge of an inflectional Galician schema like that of (8a), which links inflectional endings to morphosyntactic representations, with another Spanish schema that links the verbal lexeme *TER*, the properties *FUT* and *COND* with the Spanish root /ten/, followed by the interfix /d/, without a thematic vowel (8b), creating the form *tendrei* (8c):

8)	a)	FUT	1SG	b)	TER:FUT/COND	c)	TER:1SG.FUT
		/re/	/j/		/tend/		/ten'drej/

In a schema like (8a), *FUT* may be linked to /re/ in *cantarei*, (cf. *cantaremos* ‘we will sing’, *cantaredes* ‘you-PL will sing’); *1SG* to /j/ in *cantarei* (cf. *cantei* ‘I sang’, *dei* ‘I gave’, *hei* ‘I have’); and *IND.FUT.1SG* to /rej/ (Dubert-García 2014). Speakers extract schemata such as those thanks to the frequency of their types in language use (Bybee 2001): e.g., all the Galician *IND.FUT.1SG* verbal word-forms end in /rej/.

Schemata emerge and are also strengthened by high token frequency. This is important in irregular forms, which are usually very frequent in discourse. Speakers may also detect that some of these frequent items share commonalities. Spanish irregular forms like *tendré*, *vendré*, *saldré*, *salgo*, *valgo*, *oigo*, *caigo* are surely stored. Throughout the lexical connections that these forms establish among them (and with other regular ones), its structures emerge at different levels of abstraction (as shown in Tables 4–7). In the Spanish forms like *saldré*, *valdré*,

**Table 7:** Morpholexical classes in the urban Galician of Santiago (XX1, 003).

L-Pattern (Subclass: insertion of velar)		Regulars
Insertion of /g/	Insertion of /k/	ROER ( <i>roo/roa</i> )
TRAER ( <i>traigo/traiga</i> )	PARECER ( <i>parezco/parezca</i> )	MOER ( <i>moo/moa</i> )
CAER ( <i>caigo/caiga</i> )	CONOCER ( <i>conozco/conozca</i> )	
OÍR ( <i>oigo/oiga</i> )		
---		
SALIR ( <i>salgo/salga</i> )		
VALER ( <i>valgo/valga</i> )		

*tendré, pondré, vendré*, the 1SG.IND.FUT properties may associate with different phonological features (e.g., the position of stress, the presence of the /d/, etc.). Those associations produce possible schemata like that of (8b) that speakers may use to produce the innovative, borrowed, Galician forms like *sald-rei, vald-rei, tend-rei, pond-rei, vend-rei*.

A reviewer argues that, since only certain lexical items are affected, we face a problem of lexical storing and not of productive, compositional, morphology. It is important, however, to bear in mind that these few stored items present regular endings and are related among them by their similarities, producing lexical connections; besides, their roots are in complementary distribution with other roots (*val-e-s*, but *vald-riás* and *valg-o*). Thus, although stored as individual lexical items in the lexicon, irregular word forms like *saldrei, valdrei, tendrei, pondrei, vendrei* are complex and have internal morphological structure.

In its turn, the strong linguistic similarities between Spanish and Galician could have made it easier for speakers to fall into lapses during the linguistic processing of their multilingual repertoire. This has to do with the degree to which speakers are able to exercise control over the mental organisation of their linguistic repertoire. In fact, as is often noted (Matras 2009: 219), very often those phenomena that stand out as diachronic changes in the repertoire of structures that we define as the (system of the) grammar of a language are often the end result of old lapses on the part of speakers in exercising such control. In fact, in the present case, the consolidation and conventionalization of the results of those old lapses led to the recategorization as Galician of forms, patterns and schemata formerly classified as Spanish by the speakers; in the multilingual repertoire of the contemporary speakers, those forms are, nowadays, utilizable to create discourse categorized as Spanish and discourse categorized as Galician.

These facts also raise the question of the possible complexification or simplification of the Galician grammar because of the linguistic changes due to



borrowing. Resolving this question is not an easy task. The changes detected in the verbs analysed in this study seem to be a counterexample to the tendency predicted by Trudgill (2011), according to whom long-term co-territorial contact does not produce increases in the irregularity or in the redundancy of the grammar (via hyper-characterization, in the sense of Malkiel 1957–58, of the exponence of morphosyntactic properties) but rather the opposite, simplification, understood as the regularization of irregularities, an increase in lexical and morphological transparency and loss of redundancy (see also Mühlhäusler 1977; Thomason & Kaufman 1988; Trudgill 2009). In fact, the result of contact in urban Galician seems to be more absolute complexity, since more irregularities -exceptional behaviour- are introduced into the Galician system: e.g. the absence of the regular thematic vowel preceding the inflectional endings (*vald-rei*, *hab-rei* instead of *val-e-rei*, *hab-e-rei*) and the root changes depending on tense and mood (*vald-rei* instead of *val-e-rei*). More irregular forms entail an increase in absolute systemic complexity. We understand complexity here as a minimal inference that cannot be avoided if we compare Tables 4 and 5 or the data in (7). In fact, one morpholexical (Table 4) class was split in four (Table 5). All these changes involve the generation of lexical exceptions to regular morphological exponence, so that their result implies an increase in the overall complexity of the system of grammar, rather than the reverse (Nichols 1992; Trudgill 2011).

If, however, we contemplate these changes from the perspective of the actual language users, their representational and encoding challenges, then the very opposite might be true: in the actual multilectal morphological repertory of these speakers (which comprises all of the Galician morphology and all of the Spanish morphology in virtue of their being bilinguals) there are now in fact fewer and more similar forms. The *costs* or *difficulties* inherent to the processing of a more complex linguistic system in one language are in fact compensated by a simplification of the overall multilingual repertoire of the bilingual speakers. Consider the *Minimize Forms* principle of Hawkins (2004: 38), defined as follows:

The human processor prefers to minimize the formal complexity of each linguistic form F (its phoneme, morpheme, word, or phrasal units) and the number of forms with unique conventionalized property assignments, thereby assigning more properties to fewer forms. These minimizations apply in proportion to the ease with which a given property P can be assigned in processing to a given F.

Impressionistically at least, it seems clear that *Minimize Forms* applies here. It is also true that, as noted by Levinson (2000), the minimizations that Hawkins talks about often also result in greater ambiguity and in the need to have recourse to greater use of inferential processing, that is, the kind of global, strategic, extralinguistic processing that enriches interpretations when the form of the message

is underspecified. This, however, does not seem to be the present case. From the perspective of the actual language user, the minimization in question here boils down to a reduction in the number of forms that may do the same functional job. Given that both forms are in fact quite similar, the representational move taken by these speakers makes perfect usage-based sense. Of course, this begs the question why such moves are not more radical in view of their apparent utility. We suspect that little understood principles of ‘language preservation’ are at play, for otherwise languages like Galician would have succumbed under the pressure exercised by Spanish long ago. But indeed it is evident that such pressure exists, for the phenomenon we are analysing here is simply one of many that conform to a well-established pattern: the loss of features of Galician and the replacement of such features for the corresponding Spanish ones. A prominent case is, for example, the loss of phonemic contrasts in the domain of the mid vowels: traditional Galician has a vowel system with 4 heights, /i, e, ε, a, ɔ, o, u/, but mid vowels are merging in the speech of many speakers who have Spanish as their mother tongue; this brings about a system of 3 heights instead, /i, e, a, o, u/ (Vidal Figueiroa 1997).

We are therefore led to conclude that the increase in irregularity and redundancy in the urban dialects of Galician is possible due to the structural similarity between Galician and (Galician) Spanish; and, perhaps, also to the relative simplification of linguistic processing that it entails.

## 6 Concluding remarks

In this study, we have tried to show how very particular areas of the Galician system of verbal inflectional morphology have changed as a result of contact with (borrowing from) Spanish in the city of Santiago de Compostela and its surroundings.

We have shown how the introduction of those morphological borrowings have restructured the Galician system of grammar and have even increased its absolute complexity by augmenting morphological irregularity.

On the cognitive side, it has been argued that the extension of these morphological borrowings might have started as lapses due to the difficulty in processing a multilingual repertory that is largely very similar, a fact that invites a kind of ‘ironing out’ of the small differences. In this sense, the ‘ironing out’ seems to have been driven by processing considerations such as the (relative) need to reduce the number of forms that ultimately do the same functional job.

The reviewed facts show that borrowing is a complex multifaceted, process that must be explained from social, linguistic, and cognitive perspectives. They also show the explicative power of relative, language’s user-oriented complexity.

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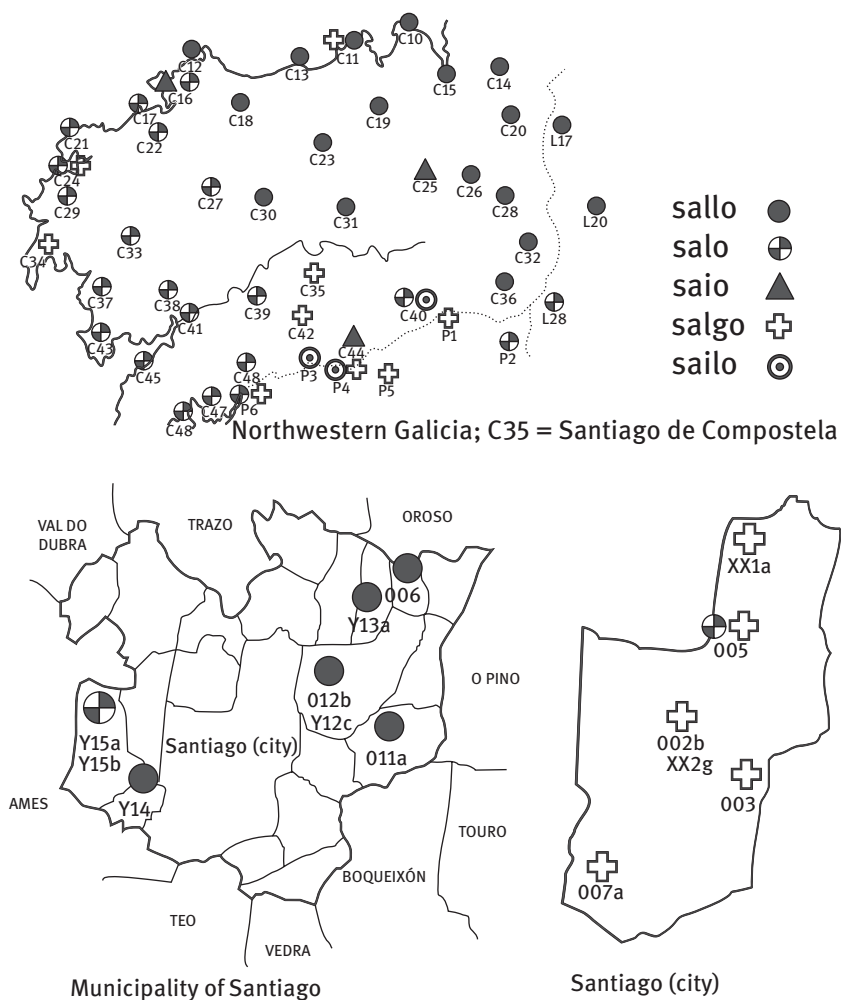
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## Appendix



**Map 1:** Distribution of the word-forms corresponding to the 1SG.IND.PRS of SALIR 'to go out' in North-western Galicia and in Santiago de Compostela.

**Sources:** ALGa and Dubert-García (1999).

