



Faculty Publications

1983-01-01

Two Features of Working-Class Phonology in Valladolid

Lynn Williams
lynn_williams@byu.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/facpub>



Part of the [Spanish and Portuguese Language and Literature Commons](#)

Original Publication Citation

Williams, L. "Two Features of Working-Class Phonology in Valladolid", *Orbis*, Vol. 32, No 1-2 (1983) [1987], pp. 72-84.

BYU ScholarsArchive Citation

Williams, Lynn, "Two Features of Working-Class Phonology in Valladolid" (1983). *Faculty Publications*. 1209.

<https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/facpub/1209>

This Peer-Reviewed Article is brought to you for free and open access by BYU ScholarsArchive. It has been accepted for inclusion in Faculty Publications by an authorized administrator of BYU ScholarsArchive. For more information, please contact ellen_amatangelo@byu.edu.

KATHOLIEKE UNIVERSITEIT LEUVEN
CENTRE INTERNATIONAL DE DIALECTOLOGIE GÉNÉRALE

ORBIS

Bulletin international de documentation linguistique

Fondé en 1952 et dirigé de 1952 à 1960 par
SEVER POP

dirigé de 1960 à 1985 par
A. J. VAN WINDEKENS

Édité par
R. BOSTEELS

Tome XXXII, 1-2, 1983 [1987]

EXTRAIT

*Publié avec le concours du Ministère de l'Éducation nationale
et de la Fondation universitaire de Belgique.*

LOUVAIN
CENTRE INTERNATIONAL DE DIALECTOLOGIE GÉNÉRALE

Rédaction et Administration
Blijde-Inkomststraat 21
B-3000 Leuven

Domaine roman

Two Features of Working-Class Phonology in Valladolid (*).

1. Introduction.

Two factors prompted the research which led to the writing of this article: first, the apparent general consensus amongst linguists both inside and outside Spain that the phonology of Old Castilian is monolithic in terms of geographic and social space, and that it has more or less stagnated in the mould of traditional grammars, and, secondly, the insistence of many linguists on seeing some aspects of contemporary Spanish phonology as characteristic of certain non-standard varieties of Spanish, without investigating whether the same features might not also be found in Old Castile.

The lack of internal dynamism in Old Castilian phonology together with its assumed vertical and horizontal homogeneity have been highlighted by linguists of not inconsiderable reputation. In his excellent survey of the history of the Spanish language published in 1942, Rafael LAPESA reported that 'en la época moderna el idioma se ha mantenido sin cambios esenciales en Castilla la Vieja, donde nació, y en buena parte de Castilla la Nueva'¹. In the 1968 edition, this description had not been revised and the precise meaning of 'cambios esenciales' remains vague. Antonio TOVAR likewise points towards general vertical and horizontal linguistic uniformity: 'El castellano rústico de las Castillas o de otras regiones centrales no difiere mucho de la lengua unificada de la literatura'². The significance of the words 'no difiere mucho' is again left to speculation.

The view that Old Castilian speech is a more or less stagnant variety of Spanish and that it is therefore possibly not worthy of continued study, has further encouraged many dialectologists to neglect all areas outside their immediate concern when defining the geographic limits of a

particular phonological feature. For example in his survey of the language of Western Santander, Ralph PENNY attempts to relate the speech of Tudanca to 'otras hablas vulgares, incluso las meridionales y aun el andaluz', two of the features on which he bases this affiliation being 'yeísmo' and the aspiration and neutralization of /s/ and /θ/ in syllable final position³. John G. Cummins in a recent review of this study emphasises, with obvious surprise, the singularity of the discovery by PENNY of the second feature in Tudanca: 'The aspiration or complete loss of s at the end of a syllable, followed by a consonant or vowel, is even more striking in this rural area; hitherto it had seemed an *andaluz* feature infiltrating the North only via the speech of the cities or perhaps the migrant or transhumant population'⁴. And as recently as 1977 LAPESA in a brief note declared 'Desde la yotización del latín vulgar tal vez no haya fenómeno fonético cuya capacidad revolucionaria se pueda comparar con la aspiración o pérdida de la -s implosiva, que repercute en los sistemas de vocales y consonantes, en la morfología y hasta en la sintaxis (esto último, por ejemplo, en la concordancia de número en el español dominicano). Pero es proceso o serie de procesos limitados al Mediodía español, Canarias, Antillas y tierras llanas o costeras de América, mientras la -s implosiva se mantiene con firmeza en los restantes dominios hispanófonos'⁵.

Both these attitudes described, coupled with the tremendous boom in rural dialectology experienced during the course of this century, enhanced by the depopulation of the Spanish countryside due to intolerable peasant conditions, the attraction of European industry in the fifties and that of the major Spanish industrial centres in the sixties, have contributed largely to the abandonment of linguistic research in Old Castile⁶. Partly, then, because of the vacuum in Old Castilian studies, and partly because impressionistic findings (especially regarding implosive -s) tended to refute the claims outlined above, I decided to perform a systematic vertical survey of the phonology of a particular Old Castilian urban community—the easier vertical survey being preferred to a horizontal or geographic survey of the region because of the limits on

³ Ralph J. PENNY, *Estudio estructural del habla de Tudanca*, Tübingen 1978, p. 240.

⁴ John G. CUMMINS, review of PENNY, *Estudio estructural del habla de Tudanca* in *BHS* 56 (1979) p. 327.

⁵ Rafael LAPESA, 'El yeísmo y las alteraciones de la -s implosiva', in: Rafael LAPESA, coord., *Comunicación y lenguaje*, Madrid 1977, p. 212.

⁶ The occasional exception can be found, e.g. V. GARCÍA DE DIEGO, 'Dialectalismos castellanos', *RFE* 3 (1916) pp. 301-18, and 'El castellano como complejo dialectal y sus dialectos internos', *RFE* 34 (1950) pp. 107-24; F. GONZÁLEZ OLLÉ, *El habla de la Bureba (Introducción al castellano actual de Burgos)*, *RFE* Anejo, Madrid 1964. But these studies, whilst highly interesting, are limited in scope and deal only with remote rural areas. There seems to be no systematic study of an Old Castilian urban community.

* This article represents a reworking of part of my unpublished doctoral thesis entitled 'Phonological Variables: Socio-Economic Class and Style-Shifting in 18-26 Year Olds in Valladolid', approved by the University of London, 1978.

¹ Rafael LAPESA, *Historia de la lengua española*, Madrid 1942 and 1968, p. 319. In the 1980 edition published by Gredos this sentence has been cut, but no information is added which affects the argument of this article.

² A. TOVAR LLORENTE, *La lucha de las lenguas en la península ibérica*, Madrid 1968, pp. 24, 25.

time and resources. I selected the community of Valladolid for a number of reasons. First, it is a university city and the task of comparing the language of local university students with that of informants in the same age-group from other socio-economic backgrounds seemed likely to be simple. Secondly, Valladolid has for some reason the reputation of being 'el sitio donde mejor se habla'⁷. It seemed that Valladolid might therefore best represent all that was linguistically most conservative, and traditional, and that the discovery of continued linguistic evolution and sociolinguistic differentiation here would be sufficient to cast serious doubt on the presumed homogeneity of any Castilian speech community.

For reasons of space, I want to look here at only two features which characterize the language of the working-classes in Valladolid. They are the variables (*muy*) and (*sc*)⁸. The behaviour of these variables in this community supplies evidence that eloquently refutes the belief that the phonology of Old Castile is homogeneous and lacking in internal dynamism, and shows that the aspiration of implosive -s within the Peninsula is certainly not restricted to southern varieties of Spanish.

2. Methodology.

The methodology employed in this sociolinguistic survey is based largely on the work of William LABOV in New York and Peter TRUDGILL in Norwich⁹. A suitable sample of 'vallisoletanos' born and brought up in the provincial capital was extracted from the census records held by the Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Valladolid, following the semi-random method described by TRUDGILL in his Norwich survey¹⁰. The twenty-seven informants used in the definitive survey, analysed according to sex, socio-economic class and one age-group (18-26 years), compare favourably with TRUDGILL's sample of sixty informants analysed according to sex, socio-economic class and seven age-groups. Informants were assigned to their respective socio-economic classes using the techniques of LABOV and TRUDGILL but according to the

⁷ This adage, which seems to have currency in everyday conversation on topics of language in Spain, is also reflected in writing. G. MOYA and J. LAGO refer to 'un castellano-español digno del hablado en Valladolid' in *Bilingüismo y trastornos del lenguaje en España*, Madrid 1977, p. 112.

⁸ The convention of notation adopted here is as follows: () represents the variable as opposed to the phonemic unit // or the phonetic unit []. A particular value or variant of the variable is shown as (-ado 1) or (-ado 2), for example.

⁹ W. LABOV, *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*, Washington 1966, and P. TRUDGILL, *The Social Differentiation of English in Norwich*, Cambridge 1974.

¹⁰ TRUDGILL, pp. 20-23.

values and criteria of Spanish sociologists¹¹. Each informant was given a socio-economic class index (SEC) along a scale from 0 to 9, arrived at by adding up the score which he or she achieved for three objective indicators, viz. education, occupation, and income, each set on its own scale from 0 to 3. This means that an informant achieving a score of 2 for education, 3 for income, and 2 for occupation would have an SEC index of 7. Those informants who gained totals of 9 were assigned to the Upper Middle Class (UMC), of 6-8 to the Lower Middle Class (LMC), of 3-5 to the Upper Working Class (UWC), and of 0-2 to the Lower Working Class (LWC). Given that TRUDGILL's SEC index is the product of six objective indicators of social status, namely occupation, income, education, housing, locality, and father's occupation, it could be argued that the SEC index used in the Valladolid survey is crude in comparison. However, several points can be made in defense of the Valladolid three-item index. First, it would be wrong to assume that there is only one method of constructing an SEC index. This will vary from one society to another. Indeed, TRUDGILL himself (p. 36) implies this when he seemingly justifies LABOV's three-item index on the grounds that social differentiation is probably much greater in New York city than it is in Norwich. This could equally be said of Valladolid, where it is infinitely easier to identify different socio-economic groups than in Norwich. Secondly, the structure of urban Valladolid is such that housing and locality are not very necessary indicators. All 'vallisoletanos' live in flats or apartments and, in the main, the generation to which informants' parents belonged owned or rented their home, depending on whether they were middle class or working class. Furthermore, the middle classes are geographically segregated from the working classes. As Jesús GARCÍA FERNÁNDEZ points out, the middle classes can be found 'acantonadas en una reducida parte de la ciudad histórica sin desbordar de ella en un ensanche bien planeado, como ha sido la norma en casi todas las ciudades españolas de una categoría similar'¹². In other words, the centrifugal structure of social degradation in Valladolid is reflected in the fact that the middle classes live in the city centre, whereas the working classes inhabit the suburbs. This division is almost absolute. Thirdly, the sociologists referred to in note 11 all use the same three-item SEC index based on occupation, income and education. As for the interview, this was tape-recorded, and proceeded with the aid of a

¹¹ I. FERNÁNDEZ DE CASTRO and A. GOYTRE, *Clases sociales en España en el umbral de los años setenta*, Madrid 1975; Fundación FOESSA, *Estudios sociológicos sobre la situación social de España 1975*, Madrid 1976; A. DE MIGUEL, *Recursos humanos, clases y regiones en España*, Madrid 1977.

¹² J. GARCÍA FERNÁNDEZ, *Crecimiento y estructura urbana de Valladolid*, Barcelona 1974, p. 103.

questionnaire designed to elicit different styles of speech¹³. The four sections of the questionnaire were (a) Normal Conversation Style (CS), (b) Reading Passage Style (RPS), (c) Word List Style (WLS), (d) Minimal Pairs Style (MPS), intended to represent progressive degrees of formality and therefore of attention paid to speech. Contrary to traditional sociolinguistic methodology, which has tended to divide Conversation Style into casual and formal speech, I opted for a single conversational style due to the surprising willingness of informants to produce spontaneous speech and their reluctance to use formal language except when reading. The aim was to elicit from each informant the use of specific sociolinguistic variables identified as such in a pilot survey performed in February and March 1976 and to observe how the behaviour of these variables varied according to SEC and social context.

In order to preserve the overall scientific nature of the survey, it was necessary not only to quantify the sociological parameters as mentioned, but also the linguistic data resulting from each recorded interview. To do this, the variants of each variable had to be identified and arranged in a sociolinguistic hierarchy of prestige. The hierarchy was established on the basis of the comments of reputable linguists, my own familiarity with the particular sociolinguistic situation, the attitudes of members of the speech community to the different variants of each variable, and, most importantly, the results of the pilot survey. A numerical value was then assigned to each variant. The methodology used can best be described with the aid of an example. If we were to take the -ado ending of first conjugation past participles as a variable, its variants could be arranged hierarchically, in accordance with the criteria enumerated, as follows:

- (-ado 1) [aðo]
- (-ado 2) [a^do]
- (-ado 3) [áo]
- (-ado 4) [au]

Using these allotted values, each informant could be assigned an (-ado) index for each of the contextual styles elicited with the aid of the questionnaire. This index would indicate the degree to which he/she deviated from a consistent realization of the prestige form and would be computed by noting each occurrence of the variable and assigning it a value according to the above scale, thus making it possible to calculate the average score for each social context. For example, in a given style an informant might show the following types of (-ado):

3 instances of (-ado 1)	3 × 1 = 3
3 instances of (-ado 2)	3 × 2 = 6
6 instances of (-ado 3)	6 × 3 = 18
4 instances of (-ado 4)	4 × 4 = 16
16	43

$$\text{Average score} = \frac{\text{Total Score}}{\text{Number of instances}} = \frac{43}{16} = 2.69$$

From this average score an index would be obtained by subtracting 1 and multiplying by 100. This would give the informant an index of 169 for the style in question. This method of computing indices would give a score of 0 for consistent use of (-ado 1) and 300 for consistent use of (-ado 4). The score of 169 in this example would represent a norm or average pronunciation for this contextual style nearer to (-ado 3) than to (-ado 2). In this manner, for each informant an index score could be calculated in every contextual style and averages could subsequently be computed for groups and social classes.

3. The variable (muy).

The variable (muy) as found in Valladolid possesses two variants: [mu] the prestige form, assigned the value (muy 1), and [muj] the stigmatized form, assigned the value (muy 2)¹⁴. Table 1 expresses statistically the differentiation of (muy) within the age-group 18-26 in Valladolid according to socio-economic class and contextual style. Stylistic variation is regular for all social classes, with index scores falling sharply as one moves from CS to more formal sections of the stylistic continuum. Except for the LWC, which shows occurrences of (muy 2) even as far as WLS, all other classes use (muy 2) in situations of spontaneity only.

Table 1. Variable (muy) by class and style: range 0-100.

	CS	RPS	WLS	MPS
UMC	1.00	—	—	—
LMC	4.16	—	—	—
UWC	18.60	—	—	—
LWC	50.14	4.71	4.71	—

¹³ The questionnaire will be found in my thesis, pp. 379-389.

¹⁴ I have preferred [mu] to the more familiar [mwj] of IPA in order to stress the syllabic character of the velar vowel.

The social class hierarchy is completely orthodox with index scores in CS rising consistently as one descends the social class continuum from the UMC to the LWC. Middle-class use of (muy 2), although not interrupting the social class hierarchy, is almost negligible. Indeed, only three of the twenty-one MC informants showed any occurrences of the stigmatized variant. These were Fernando O. (LMC), who achieved a score of 25 in CS, and Kiko V. (UMC) and Begoña V. (UMC), who both achieved a score of 5 in the same style. This clearly indicates the sharp stratificational character of (muy) as a variable. It dissects the social class continuum abruptly, separating the middle classes from the working classes. The variant (muy 2), whilst showing signs of beginning to infiltrate the language of the occasional MC speaker in situations of extreme informality, is above all, for the moment at least, a feature characteristic of WC speech.

Table 2. Variable (muy) by class, style, and sex: range 0-100.

		CS	RPS	WLS	MPS
UMC	M	1.25	—	—	—
	F	0.83	—	—	—
LMC	M	8.33	—	—	—
	F	—	—	—	—
UWC	M	43.33	—	—	—
	F	—	—	—	—
LWC	M	67.75	8.25	—	—
	F	26.66	—	11.00	—

Table 2 further analyses the data presented in table 1 to show how the usage of (muy) varies according to sex. This brings to light interesting information which can be related to the differences in roles of males and females in Valladolid society. Stylistic variation, except for the anomalous score achieved by LWC females in WLS, is again completely regular. Social class differentiation, however, is not entirely orthodox. Male informants can indeed be ranked hierarchically according to socio-economic class, with LWC speakers showing the highest frequency of stigmatized forms in CS and UMC speakers the lowest. But female informants tend to depart from the expected pattern. In CS, LWC females are not only far more conservative than the males of their own social class but also more conservative than the males of the UWC. However, they still use a considerable number of stigmatized variants in this style. Females of the UWC and LMC are conspicuous by their absence from the table, whilst UMC females are represented, albeit insignificantly.

If (muy) is typical of sharp stratificational variables in contemporary Valladolid society (and the behaviour of (sc), to be looked at later, confirms this view), it would suggest that such variables marking WC membership are predominantly features of male WC speech. This indicates that WC females are linguistically more conservative than males and that they tend to see language as a means of gaining status and prestige. Education and occupation do not appear to offer them a way of achieving these and so they attempt to signal their status either by modifying their speech in the direction of the standard language, or by preventing it, at least to a greater extent than the males of the same class, from evolving away from the traditional norms imposed from above. The incipient infiltration of (muy 2) into the language of UMC females compared with its absence in UWC and LMC female speech appears anomalous but can be explained if account is taken of the changing role of middle-class females (mainly UMC) in contemporary Spanish society, a topic which I hope to explore in a subsequent article dealing with phonological variables which characterise the language of middle-class 'vallisoletanos'. I mention this here simply in order to explain the apparent anomaly in the social class hierarchy in table 2. The main picture which emerges, however, is one of WC behaviour where females are seen to be faithful to traditional expectations. They lag behind their male counterparts in linguistic evolution. As regards the LWC, whereas the traditional prestige variant is recognized by both males and females in formal contexts, in situations of spontaneity there is a much greater tendency amongst the former to relax their language.

4. The variable (sc).

The variable (sc) as found in words like 'asco', possesses three variants in the Valladolid speech community, which can be arranged hierarchically in the following way¹⁵:

(sc 1)	(sk)
(sc 2)	(hk)
(sc 3)	(xk)

¹⁵ In his study of the language of Tudanca, PENNY refers to the aspiration not only of implosive /s/ but also /θ/, and their consequent neutralization in syllable final position (p. 240). This also occurs in Valladolid. In WC speech alongside the variable (sc) we find (zc) as a feature predominantly of male WC speech, although it is used less extensively than (sc). A third phoneme which can be confused with /s/ and /θ/ in syllable final position is /d/. Implosive /d/, pronounced as a fricative, not only can lose its voice to become confused with /θ/, but, when followed by a voiceless velar consonant, can also be aspirated in the same way as the other two phonemes are in this environment. One male WC informant provided a clear example of such aspiration in the phrase: 'Sólo conozco a cuatro de Valladolid que sean de Valladolid'. The words 'Valladolid que' were pronounced with so much tension that the aspiration became transformed into a 'jota'.

Table 3 represents the differentiation of (sc) according to socio-economic class and style. Stylistic variation is perfectly regular, with scores decreasing consistently as one moves from CS to WLS. There are no occurrences of the stigmatized variants (sc 2) and (sc 3) in WLS or MPS, and even in RPS the LWC is unique in its use of these forms. This would seem to indicate that (sc 2) and (sc 3) are appropriate in informal situations only.

Table 3. Variable (sc) by class and style: range 0-200.

	CS	RPS	WLS	MPS
UMC	0.44	—	—	—
LMC	—	—	—	—
UWC	12.70	—	—	—
LWC	34.85	7.00	—	—

Class stratification for this variable is orthodox except for the absence of the LMC. If, however, we take into account that the UMC is represented simply because of a score of 4 achieved by Kiko V. in CS (see note 19), then it becomes apparent that the stigmatized variants are today almost entirely peculiar to the working-classes of the community. The LWC uses the highest number of these forms, but in CS its members on average still achieve a frequency mix of only slightly less than 5:1 in favour of the traditional prestige variant. In other words, (sc 2) and (sc 3) do not appear to have made a great deal of progress as yet.

The sex differentiation of (sc) as expressed in table 4 illustrates how (sc 2) and (sc 3) are not only peculiar to WC speech but are, as in the case of (muy), predominantly characteristic of the language of WC males. Female use of these variants is limited to the LWC, where again they achieve considerably lower scores than both their male counterparts

Table 4. Variable (sc) by class, style, and sex: range 0-200.

		CS	RPS	WLS	MPS
UMC	M	1.00	—	—	—
	F	—	—	—	—
LMC	M	—	—	—	—
	F	—	—	—	—
UWC	M	29.60	—	—	—
	F	—	—	—	—
LWC	M	45.75	12.50	—	—
	F	20.33	—	—	—

and the males of the UWC. The social differentiation of (sc) appears to confirm what we have already learned from that of (muy), namely that features characteristic of WC speech are largely the result of a propensity amongst males of both WC groups to allow their language to evolve away from the standard forms of the official language. WC females appear to be more aware of the existence and weight of traditional prestige forms.

5. Conclusion.

Systematic observation of the sociolinguistic differentiation of the variables (muy) and (sc) in the city of Valladolid allows us to arrive at the following conclusions:

(a) In the industrial societies of the western world, it has been traditional to use the notion of competitiveness to justify the existence of a social hierarchy. Theoretically, competitiveness encourages social mobility, provides a means of shifting the balance of social inequality and, therefore, diminishes the conflict which exists between two basically antagonistic social groups, namely those who rule and those who are ruled. If, as seems generally accepted, social structures are mirrored in language, then it seems logical that the degree of social mobility in a given community, due to the ability which individuals have to compete with one another, will be reflected in the kinds of sociolinguistic variables to be found in that community. Sharp stratificational variables, therefore, point to a rather static society with only limited movement up and down the class continuum, whilst fine variables, which are spread out fairly evenly over the whole of the continuum, indicate a large amount of fluidity.

The presence of (muy) and (sc) as variables in the language of 18-26 year old 'vallisoletanos' is almost completely restricted to WC speakers. (There is also a whole series of variables peculiar to MC speakers which I will look at on another occasion.) Sociolinguistically, the Valladolid speech community presents two quite distinct varieties of Spanish, which expose the great rift separating the middle classes from the working classes. This would seem to support the views of many Spanish sociologists who maintain that Spanish industrial society is not typical of the western world, largely because individuals are not able to compete freely with one another. They see contemporary Spanish society as being characterized by a polarization of class consciousness which has its origins in the Spanish Civil War¹⁶. The behaviour of (muy) and (sc) in

¹⁶ See FERNÁNDEZ DE CASTRO and GOYTRE, p. 21; Fundación FOESSA, p. 836.

Valladolid confirms that industrial society in Spain is composed of two basically antagonistic social groups and that there is little movement up and down the class continuum.

(b) The variable (sc) provides particularly important information. Not only does it point to the vertical linguistic heterogeneity of a given Old Castilian speech community, but it also eloquently refutes the claim made by many linguists that the aspiration of implosive -s is peculiar to southern and like varieties of Spanish¹⁷. Moreover, the suggestion that, when it is found in central and northern Spain, this is due to infiltration from the south via the speech of the cities or possibly of migrants, no longer seems tenable. In the case of Valladolid, it does not appear to be the result of immigration or inter-city contacts, but a product of spontaneous development on the spot¹⁸.

¹⁷ Whereas in the language of the south of Spain implosive /s/ is aspirated before and even assimilated to almost any consonant, in Valladolid only aspiration, not loss, has been documented and this solely in front of a voiceless velar consonant. Both LAPESA, *Historia de la lengua española*, p. 322, and Diego CATALÁN, *La escuela lingüística española y su concepción del lenguaje*, Madrid 1955, p. 46, allude to the aspiration of implosive /s/ in Madrid, again only before a voiceless velar consonant. For LAPESA, it is a feature of the language of the lower classes. CATALÁN, however, points to its presence in the language of the Madrid student population, although he is quick to remind us that this is probably due to 'una actitud de abandono popularista'. It is well known that students tend to identify their interests with those of the working classes, then quickly become middle class when they leave their studies (see FERNÁNDEZ DE CASTRO and GOYTRE, pp. 267-270). Presumably this temporary support of the working classes is what CATALÁN is referring to here. My own observations of Madrid speech confirm that the aspiration of implosive /s/ before a voiceless velar is found in the speech of the working classes and of university students. But this feature is now also rapidly being acquired by middle-aged UMC speakers (mainly male) born in Madrid, and is patently not a temporary acquisition. Although still principally a feature of *andaluz*, aspiration of implosive /s/ is beginning to gain in currency and prestige in other areas.

¹⁸ The growth in the population of Valladolid through immigration since the last half of the nineteenth century really reached its peak in the 1960s, shortly after the arrival of the automobile industry in the city and the consolidation of Valladolid as the main development area of Old Castile. The vast majority of immigrants received in this decade were drawn from within the region, with the proportion of the total generally decreasing the further the place of origin is from the centre of attraction. I have extracted from *I.N.E. Censo de la población de España, Provincia de Valladolid*, tomo II-47, Madrid 1973, the number of immigrants arriving in Valladolid in the period 1960-1970 together with their place of origin. I have grouped the various provinces of origin into regions following the classification used in *Geographica—El hombre y la tierra*, tomo III, Barcelona 1968, regions being more interesting to the linguist in this instance than provinces, and these are listed in order according to the number of immigrants attracted from them to Valladolid:

Old Castile	11359	Asturias	1111	Valencia	609	Other	100
León	9420	Andalusia	1092	Spanish Africa	338	Balearics	70
New Castile	3111	Catalonia	956	Navarre	310	Canaries	35
Basque country	2283	Galicia	878	Aragón	301		
Abroad	1305	Extremadura	648	Murcia	207		

In Andalusia, the aspiration or loss of implosive -s is common to all Andalusians of every social class in even the most formal of social contexts. Instead of marking the divisions between different socio-economic groups, the feature is therefore generally recognized as an established dialectal phenomenon differentiating two major varieties of Spanish, the main dividing line geographically being Despeñaperros. Seen thus, it has become almost a symbol of regional solidarity, and that it should be overtly recognized as characterizing the Spanish of the south is only natural¹⁹. Nevertheless, although much less frequent and restricted to a single phonetic environment, the aspiration (though not loss) of implosive -s before a voiceless velar consonant also forms part of the language of Old Castile, where, in Valladolid capital, it can be particularly important in signalling WC membership. In short, then, what in Andalusia can be thought of as a symbol of regional or geographic solidarity, in Valladolid has socio-economic significance.

(c) The behaviour of (muy) and (sc) in the Valladolid speech community disproves the assumption that the language of Old Castile has ceased to evolve, and shows the danger, when that assumption is unchallenged, of highlighting as dialectal the presence of certain features in different parts of the Peninsula when they are also to be found in the heart of Old Castile²⁰. Although it would be unwise to pretend that the objectives of

It is not possible to ascertain from these figures the number of immigrants originating in southern Spain but moving to Valladolid from other areas. However, the figure is unlikely to be very high. If we accept that the numbers supplied in the table are reasonably accurate then it can be seen that southern influence in Valladolid is really very small and there is no reason to suppose that the pattern has ever been any different.

¹⁹ This appears to be the situation at present. However, with the increasing frequency of (sc) as a variable in Madrid (see note 17), things may well alter drastically in the near future. In table 3 the UMC was represented on the graph because of a score of 4 achieved by Kiko V. in CS. Kiko regularly spent considerable time in Madrid and had many friends there. It seems plausible that Kiko's language may have been influenced by this contact. The increasing frequency of (sc) in the language of MC Madrilians and its consequent growing prestige could mean that aspiration of implosive /s/ may soon be radiated from the capital to provincial capitals in the centre and north of the Peninsula. F. MARCOS MARÍN, *Aproximación a la gramática española*, Madrid 1972, p. 54, gives us reason to suppose that the language of the great capitals of the Spanish-speaking world constitutes today the linguistic standard which other areas use to measure their own correctness and try to follow. This being the case, we could find the incipient diffusion of (sc) in Valladolid greatly accelerated as UMC 'vallisoletanos' acquire the feature from Madrid and it descends the social-class continuum. Changes originating above often spread far more quickly than those which start at the bottom of the continuum, and we could find this feature spreading in Valladolid from both ends of the social-class continuum to meet in the middle. If this process were to be repeated elsewhere, (sc) might quickly cease to characterise southern and like varieties of Spanish.

²⁰ Although occasionally, for administrative purposes, the province of Valladolid is attached to León, linguistically it is clearly a part of Old Castilian.

traditional dialectology have been realized, perhaps the time has come for renewed interest in Old Castilian²¹.

University of Exeter.

Lynn WILLIAMS.

²¹ I would like to thank Professor K. WHINOM and Dr W. F. HUNTER of Exeter University for reading drafts of this article and offering many helpful suggestions.