

Koineization and language contact in the history of Spanish: An examination of several morphosyntactic changes

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Throughout the medieval period, the linguistic situation of the Iberian Peninsula was much more diverse than it is nowadays, due to the coexistence, in the Northern part of the territory, of several Ibero-Romance languages/dialects, namely Catalan, Navarro-Aragonese, Castilian, Asturian-Leonese and Galician-Portuguese, and a non-Indo-European language, Basque. Traditionally, the historical development of Ibero-Romance, and more specifically Spanish, has been viewed as a process whereby, starting from the 14th-15th century, Castilian progressively extended its area of influence in present-day Spain and gradually supplanted some of the other Ibero-Romance languages, with varying degrees of success (Catalan and Galician are still widely used nowadays in everyday communication, while Aragonese and Asturian are severely endangered). Present-day Spanish is thus typically seen, according to this description, as the direct descendant of medieval Castilian. This view is commonly attributed to Menéndez Pidal (1972 [1926]) and has received widespread approval until recent years (e.g. García Martín 2008).

However, the importance of considering the role of other Ibero-Romance varieties in the formation of Spanish has (fairly) recently been highlighted, first by Lleal (1997) and later, more in depth, by Fernández-Ordóñez (2011), with principal reference to morphosyntactic aspects. Indeed, the traditional account outlined above is, crucially, largely based on the generalization of *phonetic* features, ascribed mainly to Castile in the earliest texts and later on encountered in most of the Peninsula (e.g. PL-, CL- > /k/; -CT-, -ULT- > /tʃ/, among other features), whereas only a handful of studies have dug into the geographical patterns of *morphosyntactic* changes in the history of Spanish. Those who have studied them note that the morphosyntactic changes in question tellingly seem to originate in the Eastern peninsular varieties (e.g. Navarro-Aragonese) and enter the Central and Western ones from the 15th century onwards by spreading westwards, a conclusion at odds with the traditional view (see, e.g., Rodríguez Molina 2010 on the grammaticalization of the compound tenses, e.g. *he cantado*; Gomila Albal 2016, 2018 on the 1st and 2nd person plural personal pronouns *nosotros* and *vosotros*; Romero Cambrón 2014, 2016 on the postnominal possessives *tuyos-suyos*). Furthermore, even scholars who have acknowledged the role of dialectal variation and recruited the notion of koineization in their description of the evolution of Spanish (e.g. Tuten 2003) seem to have limited their attention to the different varieties of Castilian (Burgos, Toledo, Seville, etc.) rather than integrating other Ibero-Romance varieties.

Recently, the same East-to-West geographical pattern has been posited for the grammaticalization of the Ibero-Romance future and conditional tenses (FC, e.g. CANTARE HABEO/HABEBAM > *cantaré/cantaría*), while suggesting that the change might have originated even further East than Navarro-Aragonese, specifically in Catalan or even Occitan (Bouzouita 2016). Drawing mostly on the results of a personal corpus study on the Ibero-Romance FC (13th-14th century), but also on previous research on other diachronic developments, this paper thus aims to contribute to a description of the history of Spanish as a contact-induced koineization process in which the phonology of the newly created koine is essentially Castilian and some morphosyntactic features seem to proceed from other dialectal areas, even outside of the Iberian Peninsula (cf. Rodríguez Molina 2010). Furthermore, as Old Ibero-Romance cannot be straightforwardly defined as a set of separate, discrete languages, but rather as a linguistic continuum deriving from Latin, with the surviving textual evidence usually showcasing a variety of diatopic features, this contribution also aims to investigate (i) the mechanisms and processes of language contact when one is not dealing with clearly delimited languages (cf. Britain 2010 on dialect contact), and (ii) the interaction of genetic inheritance and contact in structural convergence phenomena.

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