

Contents

Preface — V

List of abbreviations — XV

1 Introduction — 1

- 1.1 (Alveolo)palatal and palatalized consonants — 2
 - 1.1.1 Articulatory characteristics — 2
 - 1.1.2 Consonant formation — 3
 - 1.1.2.1 Gestural blending — 3
 - 1.1.2.2 Palatalization — 4
 - 1.1.2.3 Reinforcement — 4
 - 1.2 Stressed vowel changes — 5
 - 1.2.1 Explanatory hypotheses — 6
 - 1.2.1.1 Syllable type — 6
 - 1.2.1.2 Diphthongization — 9
 - 1.2.1.3 Off-glide insertion in non-Romance languages — 14
 - 1.3 Our approach and research goals — 16
 - 1.3.1 Vowel raising — 17
 - 1.3.1.1 Front and low vowels — 17
 - 1.3.1.2 Back rounded vowels — 18
 - 1.3.2 Diphthongization — 19
 - 1.3.3 Diphthongization and metaphony — 21
 - 1.4 Other issues — 24
 - 1.4.1 High vowel outcomes — 24
 - 1.4.2 Assimilatory mechanisms — 25
 - 1.4.3 Progressive vs. regressive processes — 26
 - 1.4.4 Dissimilatory changes — 27
 - 1.4.5 Prothesis — 27
 - 1.5 Goals of the study and methodology — 28

2 Spanish — 31

- 2.1 General development — 31
- 2.2 Contextual (alveolo)palatal consonants — 32
 - 2.2.1 Yod groupings — 32
 - 2.2.1.1 1st yod — 33
 - 2.2.1.2 2nd yod — 34

- 2.2.1.3 3rd yod — **38**
- 2.2.1.4 4th yod — **39**
- 2.2.2 Recapitulation — **41**
- 2.2.3 Other cases — **47**
- 2.3 Contextual labiovelar consonant — **48**

- 3 Asturleonese, Aragonese — 49**
- 3.1 Asturleonese — **49**
- 3.1.1 High, mid high and low vowels — **49**
- 3.1.2 Mid low vowels — **50**
- 3.1.3 Mid low vowels before velars and [w] — **55**
- 3.2 Aragonese — **56**

- 4 Portuguese — 61**

- 5 Catalan — 69**
- 5.1 General developments — **69**
- 5.2 Contextual (alveolo)palatal consonants — **70**
- 5.2.1 Mid high vowels — **71**
- 5.2.2 Low vowel — **72**
- 5.2.3 Mid low vowels — **74**

- 6 Occitan — 85**
- 6.1 Preliminaries — **85**
- 6.2 Off-gliding — **86**
- 6.2.1 Front vowels — **87**
- 6.2.2 Back rounded vowels — **89**
- 6.2.3 Recapitulation — **90**
- 6.3 Contextual (alveolo)palatal consonants (general tendencies) — **90**
- 6.4 Contextual (alveolo)palatal consonants (specific aspects) — **99**
- 6.4.1 Mid high vowels — **99**
- 6.4.2 Low vowel — **101**
- 6.4.3 Mid low front vowel — **102**
- 6.4.3.1 Phonetic developments and dialectal distribution of forms — **102**
- 6.4.3.2 High vowel outcomes — **108**
- 6.4.4 Mid low back vowel — **113**
- 6.4.4.1 Phonetic developments and dialectal distribution of forms — **113**

- 6.4.4.2 High vowel outcomes and prevocalic consonants — **121**
- 6.4.4.3 Falling diphthongs with a high vowel nucleus — **129**
- 6.5 Contextual labiovelar and velar consonants — **131**
- 6.5.1 Postvocalic labiovelar and labial — **132**
- 6.5.1.1 Front vowels — **132**
- 6.5.1.2 Mid low back vowel — **133**
- 6.5.2 Postvocalic velar — **134**
- 6.5.3 High vocalic outcome — **136**
- 6.6 Summary and discussion — **138**

- 7 Tuscan and Northern Italian — 145**
- 7.1 Tuscan — **145**
- 7.2 Northern Italian — **150**
- 7.3 General developments and contextual (alveolo)palatals — **155**
- 7.3.1 Mid high front vowel — **155**
- 7.3.2 Mid high back vowel — **156**
- 7.3.3 Low vowel — **157**
- 7.3.4 Mid low front vowel — **158**
- 7.3.4.1 General developments — **158**
- 7.3.4.2 Contextual (alveolo)palatal consonants — **160**
- 7.3.5 Mid low back vowel — **165**
- 7.3.5.1 General developments — **165**
- 7.3.5.2 Contextual (alveolo)palatal consonants — **166**
- 7.4 Contextual labiovelar and velar consonants — **188**
- 7.5 Summary and discussion — **189**

- 8 Ladin — 193**
- 8.1 Preliminaries — **193**
- 8.2 General developments and contextual (alveolo)palatals — **196**
- 8.2.1 Mid high vowels — **196**
- 8.2.1.1 Mid high front — **196**
- 8.2.1.2 Mid high back — **197**
- 8.2.2 Low vowel — **198**
- 8.2.2.1 After (alveolo)palatals — **198**
- 8.2.2.2 Before (alveolo)palatals — **199**
- 8.2.3 Mid low front vowel — **200**
- 8.2.4 Mid low back vowel — **203**
- 8.3 Contextual labiovelar and velar consonants — **215**
- 8.4 Summary and discussion — **215**

9 Romansh — 219

- 9.1 Preliminaries — 219
- 9.2 General developments and contextual (alveolo)palatals — 221
 - 9.2.1 High vowels — 221
 - 9.2.1.1 High front — 221
 - 9.2.1.2 High back — 222
 - 9.2.2 Mid high front vowel — 223
 - 9.2.3 Mid high back vowel — 226
 - 9.2.4 Low vowel — 229
 - 9.2.5 Mid low front vowel — 231
 - 9.2.5.1 General development — 231
 - 9.2.5.2 Before an (alveolo)palatal consonant — 233
 - 9.2.6 Mid low back vowel — 237
 - 9.2.6.1 General development — 237
 - 9.2.6.2 Before an (alveolo)palatal consonant — 238
- 9.3 Contextual labiovelar and velar consonants — 258
 - 9.3.1 Labiovelar — 258
 - 9.3.2 Velar — 259
- 9.4 Summary and discussion — 260

10 Francoprovençal — 267

- 10.1 Preliminaries — 267
- 10.2 General developments and contextual (alveolo)palatals — 269
 - 10.2.1 High vowels — 269
 - 10.2.2 Mid high front vowel — 269
 - 10.2.3 Mid high back vowel — 273
 - 10.2.4 Low vowel — 278
 - 10.2.4.1 After (alveolo)palatals — 278
 - 10.2.4.2 Before (alveolo)palatals — 280
 - 10.2.5 Mid low front vowel — 285
 - 10.2.5.1 General development — 285
 - 10.2.5.2 Before an (alveolo)palatal consonant — 288
 - 10.2.6 Mid low back vowel — 294
 - 10.2.6.1 General development — 294
 - 10.2.6.2 Before an (alveolo)palatal consonant — 297
 - 10.3 Contextual labiovelar and velar consonants — 339
 - 10.3.1 Labiovelar — 339
 - 10.3.1.1 Mid low front vowel — 339
 - 10.3.1.2 Mid back vowel — 340

- 10.3.2 Velar — **341**
- 10.4 Summary and discussion — **341**

- 11 French — 347**
- 11.1 Standard French — **350**
- 11.1.1 General vowel developments — **350**
- 11.1.2 After an (alveolo)palatal consonant — **351**
- 11.1.3 Before an (alveolo)palatal consonant — **352**
- 11.1.4 Before labiovelar and velar consonants — **354**
- 11.2 Eastern French dialects — **361**
- 11.2.1 High vowels — **361**
- 11.2.2 Mid high front vowel — **362**
- 11.2.3 Mid high back vowel — **364**
- 11.2.4 Low vowel — **365**
- 11.2.5 Mid low front vowel — **367**
- 11.2.6 Mid low back vowel — **372**
- 11.2.7 Contextual labiovelar and velar consonants — **377**
- 11.2.7.1 Labiovelar glide — **377**
- 11.2.7.2 Velar stop — **397**
- 11.3 Northern French dialects — **398**
- 11.3.1 High vowels — **398**
- 11.3.2 Mid high front vowel — **399**
- 11.3.3 Mid high back vowel — **401**
- 11.3.4 Low vowel — **402**
- 11.3.5 Mid low front vowel — **403**
- 11.3.6 Mid low back vowel — **405**
- 11.3.7 Contextual labiovelar and velar consonants — **410**
- 11.3.7.1 Labiovelar glide — **410**
- 11.3.7.2 Velar stop — **418**
- 11.4 Western French dialects — **419**
- 11.4.1 High front and back vowels — **419**
- 11.4.2 Mid high front vowel — **419**
- 11.4.3 Mid high back vowel — **421**
- 11.4.4 Low vowel — **423**
- 11.4.5 Mid low front vowel — **424**
- 11.4.6 Mid low back vowel — **428**
- 11.4.7 Contextual labiovelar and velar consonants — **450**
- 11.4.7.1 Labiovelar glide — **450**
- 11.4.7.2 Velar stop — **451**

- 11.5 Summary and discussion — **452**
- 11.5.1 Open and checked syllables — **452**
- 11.5.2 Contextual (alveolo)palatal consonants — **454**
- 11.5.3 Contextual labiovelar and velars — **457**

- 12 General summary and discussion — 459**
- 12.1 Effect of (alveolo)palatal consonants on preceding stressed vowels — **459**
 - 12.1.1 Mid high vowels — **462**
 - 12.1.2 Low vowel — **465**
 - 12.1.3 Mid low vowels — **466**
 - 12.1.3.1 Spanish, Portuguese — **467**
 - 12.1.3.2 Occitan, Catalan, Asturleonese/Aragonese — **467**
 - 12.1.3.3 Tuscan — **468**
 - 12.1.3.4 N. Italy, Ladin, Romansh — **468**
 - 12.1.3.5 Francoprovençal, French — **470**
 - 12.1.3.6 Summary — **471**
 - 12.1.4 The role of (alveolo)palatal consonants on vowel diphthongization and closing — **472**
- 12.2 Rationale for the mid low vowel diphthongization process — **475**
 - 12.2.1 From glide insertion to the formation of rising diphthongs — **475**
 - 12.2.1.1 Back consonants — **476**
 - 12.2.1.2 (Alveolo)palatal and front lingual consonants — **477**
 - 12.2.1.3 Summary — **478**
 - 12.2.2 Vowel diphthongization before (alveolo)palatals — **479**
 - 12.2.3 Diphthongization before labiovelar and velar consonants — **481**
 - 12.2.3.1 Sequences with [w] — **481**
 - 12.2.3.2 Words ending in -ocu — **482**
 - 12.2.4 Fake diphthongization — **483**
- 12.3 Raising to a high vowel as a function of contextual glides — **484**
 - 12.3.1 Mid front vowel — **484**
 - 12.3.1.1 Sequences *iei, ie, ei* — **484**
 - 12.3.1.2 Sequences *ieu, eu* — **486**
 - 12.3.1.3 Sequences *uei, ue* — **487**
 - 12.3.2 Mid back vowel — **488**
 - 12.3.2.1 Sequences *uou, uo, ou* — **488**
 - 12.3.2.2 Sequences *uoi, oi* — **488**
 - 12.3.2.3 Sequences *iou, io* — **489**

- 12.3.3 Sequences of high vocalic segments — 489
- 12.3.4 Summary — 490
- 12.4 Other vowel assimilations — 491
- 12.4.1 Dentals and alveolars — 491
- 12.4.2 Labials and labiovelar — 493
- 12.4.3 (Alveolo)palatals — 493
- 12.5 Dissimilatory effects — 494
- 12.5.1 High vowels — 494
- 12.5.2 Mid high front vowel — 494
- 12.5.3 Mid high back vowel — 495
- 12.5.4 Mid low vowels — 496
- 12.5.5 Summary — 497
- 12.6 Simplification of vocalic sequences — 498
- 12.6.1 Phonetic affinity — 498
- 12.6.1.1 [j] deletion next to a mid front vowel — 498
- 12.6.1.2 [w] (or [ʉ]) deletion next to a mid back or front rounded vowel — 498
- 12.6.1.3 [j], [w] (or [ʉ]) deletion next to a high vowel — 498
- 12.6.2 Other cases — 499
- 12.7 Prevocalic consonant — 499
- 12.7.1 Vowel raising — 499
- 12.7.2 On-glide integrity — 500
- 12.7.2.1 Gestural antagonism — 500
- 12.7.2.2 Gestural compatibility — 501
- 12.7.3 Prothetic consonants — 503

13 Conclusions — 505

References — 509