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Linguistic levelling in Spanish: The analogical strong preterites

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The goal of this article is to examine analogical strong preterites (ASP, for example *dijon* instead of *dijeron*) in certain Peninsular Spanish varieties within a geolinguistic (linguistic geography) and historical dialectology framework, and to argue that the idea of linguistic levelling explains certain aspects of the evolution of Spanish. A synchronic account of the ASP facts is presented, with diachronic data, focusing on the concept of *levelling* (a characteristic phenomenon in linguistic geography), and on the models of *dialect contact* proposed by Trudgill (1986), Kerswill (2002), and Tuten (2003). The loss of a linguistic feature may be a result of dialect contact, usually in a rural or non-standard variety, and its replacement by another feature from a dominant or standard variety. Following Labov's (1972:101) Uniformitarian Principle — "the linguistic processes taking place around us are the same as those that have operated to produce the historical record" — I will establish the geographic distribution of ASP with both historical and modern data sources, showing that ASP are not a recent phenomenon and comparing the forms over the last century, to argue that linguistic levelling has reduced the presence of ASP in its traditional geographical areas.

In section 1, I present data showing the presence of analogical strong preterites in historical and modern Spanish in the Castilian and Leonese regions. In section 2, I discuss the geolinguistic distribution forms. I then consider historical factors influencing the current geographical distribution of ASP (section 3) and propose levelling as the mechanism that has reduced the extent of ASP in this region in the past century (section 4).

1. Analogical strong preterites in Spanish dialectology

Certain Peninsular Spanish varieties — eastern Leonese, western Castilian and Extemaduran — have two third-person plural forms in the preterite (simple past indicative) of certain verbs. In addition to standard forms such as *estuvieron* 'they were', *tuvieron* 'they had', *vinieron* 'they came', and *hicieron* 'they did', these varieties also have the vernacular forms *estuvon* [estúβon], *tuvon* [túβon], *vinon* [bínon],

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Table 1: Analogical strong preterites in Spanish

		Analogical	Standard
andar	'walk'	anduvon	anduvieron
decir	'say'	dijon	dijeron
estar	'be'	estuvon	estuvieron
haber	'have'	hubon	hubieron
hacer	'do'	hizon	hicieron
poder	'be able to'	pudon	pudieron
poner	'put'	puson	pusieron
querer	'want'	quison	quisieron
saber	'know'	supon	supieron
tener	'have'	tuvon	tuvieron
traer	'bring'	trajon	trajeron
venir	'come'	vinon	vinieron

hizon [íθon]. These forms are called analogical strong preterites because they have stress on the stem rather than on the verbal desinence [*-on*, 3PL], and are formed by analogy with the singular form by adding *-n* (Menéndez Pidal 1906, 1968; Zamora Vicente 1970). For example, the third-person singular for 'he was' is *estuvo*. The vernacular third person plural is formed simply by adding *-n*, creating *estuvon*.[1]

Analogical strong preterites are found in a limited number of irregular verbs, as shown in Table 1. The list in Table 1 is exhaustive, to the best of my knowledge, compiled from an extensive search of corpora including dialectal monographs (Cummins 1974, Llorente 1986, Pato 2006, etc.) data from the *Atlas Lingüístico de la Península Ibérica* (ALPI) (see Heap 2006, lines #257 and #320), the *Atlas Lingüístico de Castilla y León* (ALCyL) (Alvar 1995, lines #180, #189, and #192), and the *Corpus Oral y Sonoro del Español Rural* (COSER) (Fernández-Ordóñez 2004). Table 1 shows all the verbs found in these corpora in an ASP form.[2]

ASP forms occur in rural speech in casual contexts but they also appear in more formal contexts, such as newspapers. Examples (1a), (1b), and (1c) are taken from COSER. Example (1d) shows an ASP form in a media context. ASP forms can appear either alone (as in (1a), (1b), (1d)) or alternating with the standard form (1c).

(1) a. … ya de último, *vinon* pa' quí unos turistas que hacían como de maestros.
'… and at last, some tourists *came* here who acted as teachers'.
(Aldehuela, Cáceres)

b. Lo *tuvon* aquí una temporada. Sí, y lo vendían [la miel].
'*They had* it here over a season. Yes, and they sold it [the honey]'.
(Madrigal de las Altas Torres, Avila)

[1] ASP forms are distinguished from other vernacular preterites, such as the vernacular preterite in the Aragonese dialect that ends in *-oron*/*-ioron* (*entroron* 'they went in', *cumplioron* 'they carried out'), *-eron* and *-oren*, because only ASP forms have stress on the stem.

[2] Interestingly, these verbs are all derived from Latin verbs in *-si* (DIXI), *-ui* (HABUI, POTUI, SAPUI, TRAXUI, TENUI, POSUI) and *-i* (VENI, FECI) that had stress on the root in the preterite.

Figure 1: Spanish provinces where ASP are found

c. Y despuéh *ehtuvon* en Kuwai[t], allí *ehtuvon* tres años . . . cuando empezó la guerra del Golfo se *vinieron* . . .

'And afterwards *they were* in Kuwait, *they were* there for three years . . . when the Gulf War began *they came back* . . .' (Moraleja, Cáceres)

d. El Xerez [. . .] confía en repetir hoy la eliminación del Cacereño, al igual que *hizon* en la pasada edición de la Copa del Rey.

'The Xerez [. . .] counts on repeating today the elimination of Cacereño, as *they did* in the past edition of the Copa del Rey.' (*Europa Sur*, 08/10/2003)

Analogical strong preterite forms currently occur in the old Leonese region (León, Zamora, Salamanca, and Cáceres) and in the western region of old Castile (Palencia and western regions of the provinces of Burgos, Valladolid, Avila, and Segovia), as shown in Figure 1. This is the region that was resettled by the kingdom of León in the 10th and 11th centuries, following the expulsion of Arab invaders. As I will argue in section 3, this is no accident. Leonese speakers brought this dialect variant with them when they resettled the region.

2. GEOLINGUISTIC DISTRIBUTION OF ASP

The existence of this dialectal variant was first recorded in 1904 (see Menéndez Pidal 1904, García de Diego 1916). At that time, there was a significant interest in Spain in collecting and cataloguing the unique features of regional dialects, and a linguistic

Table 2: ASP vs. standard preterite forms by province source data

		ASP		Standard		Total
1.	León	14	(87.5%)	2	(12.5%)	16
2.	Zamora	7	(70.0%)	3	(30.0%)	10
3.	Salamanca	170	(87.2%)	25	(12.8%)	195
4.	Cáceres	58	(92.1%)	5	(7.9%)	63
5.	Burgos	25	(67.6%)	12	(32.4%)	37
6.	Palencia	26	(81.2%)	6	(18.8%)	32
7.	Valladolid	16	(69.6%)	7	(30.4%)	23
8.	Avila	3		—		3
9.	Segovia	3	(60.0%)	2	(40.0%)	5
	Total	322	(83.9%)	62	(16.1%)	384 (100%)

atlas was begun: the *Atlas Lingüístico de la Península Ibérica* (ALPI). Trained field workers travelled throughout the country, transcribing the distinguishing features of different dialects. They would generally elicit pronunciations from individuals in each locale from a set list of lexical items and morphological, syntactic and phonetic variants which they would transcribe; the results were published as a language atlas. This early corpus has its limitations (for example, it does not represent "natural" or spontaneous speech, as only specific pre-selected individual lexical items were recorded), but it does identify regional variation and provide a baseline for future research into language change.

The presence of the ASP forms in the Leonese area was identified in this early corpus and was also found by more recent researchers. Table 2, created from four more recent sources of (semi-)rural speech including the 509 folk tales published by Espinosa (1987–1988, but collected much earlier), the 161 folk tales compiled by Cortés Vázquez (1979), the traditional stories from Flores del Manzano (1998), and the data from COSER, shows the extent of ASP forms in various regions.

Table 2 is organized to reflect the geographical extent of the ASP phenomenon (compare to Figure 1): the provinces listed in 1 to 4 are in the area that is historically Leonese, and the provinces in 5 to 7 are historically Castilian. Only those provinces where the phenomenon is found are shown. Table 2 shows that Segovia and Avila do have the ASP phenomenon, but in very small numbers in comparison with the other provinces. They are the limit of the isogloss (see Alvar 1999, Pato 2006).

The distribution by provinces considers those points where the phenomenon was attested as the sole form (at some of the points) or in coexistence with the standard form. Note the very high percentage of ASP in Cáceres (92%), León and Salamanca (87%), and Palencia (81%), and the high percentage in Zamora, Valladolid, and Burgos (near 70%). The rate of appearance of the vernacular ASP forms is in no case lower than 60% in any of these provinces (total percentages compared Chi-square test $= .011, p \leq .05$).

The geographical areas in which these forms are currently attested coincide with their distribution in medieval and early modern Spanish. In other words, the current variation is not a recent phenomenon, and the geographical area where it is

attested has remained relatively stable. Of course, no linguistic atlases of transcribed medieval speech are available, but examples of ASP in this region can be found in documents from medieval to modern Spanish (see also Pato 2006).

The following examples are representative of those found during an extensive search in literary and non-literary sources from the 13th to 20th centuries (1259–1924). Sources examined include Davies' (2002–2006) on-line corpus (*Corpus del español: Libro de las Cruces, Primaleón, Fray Gerundio de Campazas*) and representative authors for regional data (Leonese-Salamanca dialect), such as Juan del Encina (1982) and José Gabriel y Galán (1924). In some cases, the standard form occurs generally in the work, and the ASP form occurs only once, as is the case in Alfonso el Sabio's *Libro de las Cruces* (Alfonso X) where the ASP *fizon* 'they did' occurs only once but *fizieron*, the standard form, occurs 43 times. This lone ASP form is important because it is the earliest example of ASP in medieval Spanish texts, and it tells us that ASP was attested even in the king's scriptorium. We can infer that ASP forms were not considered socially "inferior" at this time; and if ASP is found in the scriptorium of the king, we can assume that it was used to some extent in León and Castile (1252–1284).

(2) a. Et por a esto *fizon* las figuras en esta manera.
'And for this thing *they made* the figures in this way.'
(*Libro de las Cruces*, Alfonso X el Sabio, 1259)

b. … estávamos nel mercado ña aquella praça denantes, un rebaño d'estudiantes nos *hizon* un mal recado.
'… we were in the market in this square, a group of students *made* us a bad message [brought us bad things].'
(*Auto del repelón* (357–360), Juan del Encina — Zamora and Salamanca, 1499)

c. … embióla […] en casamiento y ellos, que eran muy buenos cavalleros, no gela *quison* dar, porque era muy desemejado.
'… he sent her for a marriage (to be married) and they who were very good men, *they* did not *want* to give her to him, because he was very deformed.'
(*Primaleón*, Anonymous — Salamanca, 1512)

d. … todas las santas y grandes señoras que sabemos *anduvon* en el siglo vestidas de los hábitos de varias religiones.
'… all the saints and important ladies who we know, *they walked* during that century wearing the veils of the various religions.'
(*Historia del famoso predicador Fray Gerundio de Campazas*,
El padre Isla — León, 1758)

e. Yo no pueo explicati el sentío/ de tanta palabras,/ pero *vinon* a dal a que el mundo/ no lo ha jecho el de arriba.
'I cannot explain to you the meaning of such words, but *they came* to say that God did not make the world.' (*Cara al cielo*, Gabriel y Galán — Cáceres, 1924)

In the last case (2e), Gabriel y Galán uses non-standard orthography to reflect dialect pronunciation in his poems of rural life *Extremeñas* (1902), and in this context the ASP can be seen as perhaps a deliberate representation of regional vernacular speech ("castúo").

3. HISTORICAL FACTORS IN THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF ASP

The geographical distribution of ASP forms appears to have been relatively stable from the medieval period to recent records — it appears to be confined to the Leonese area, but to be well-established within that area (see Pato 2006). The ASP dialect appears to have spread over the region initially and then to have been stopped when it came into contact with the standard variety (spoken by the Castilians). What factors could have led to this distribution?

I argue that the diffusion of this variant throughout this geographical area began in the 11th century, when the Arabs who had invaded and were occupying the region were expelled and the region was resettled by people from the north. Since ASP is restricted to areas dominated until the 12th century (in the north) by the kingdom of León, I argue that ASP was a feature of Leonese speech of the time, and that it spread throughout the region as Leonese speakers moved south to resettle the formerly occupied territory. Tellingly, although this variant is attested in parts of Cáceres that were settled by León alone, it is not attested in formerly occupied regions that were resettled by Castile alone (e.g., eastern Cáceres) or by the two kingdoms together (southern Cáceres and Badajoz), as I will show below.

From a historical point of view the linguistic history of the region suggests the existence of earlier competing (sub)dialects (Leonese, Extredamuran: e.g., -e > -i *est*e > *esti* 'this', -o > -u *perro* > *perru* 'dog', *-ino*/*-ina* diminutives, etc. vs. Castilian; see Menéndez Pidal 1906, 1968; García de Diego 1946; Zamora Vicente 1970). Existing models of dialect contact (Trudgill 1986, Kerswill 2002, Tuten 2003) predict that given the confluence of a number of factors, the long-term contact of speakers of different dialects will lead to the formation of a *koine*, that is, the stable result of the "blending" of regional subdialects.

As it spreads through space, a marked feature (non-standard such as ASP) tends to diminish. A regional koine implies a process of accommodation and reduction (Siegel 1985:363). The notions of *reduction* and *simplification* are also relevant. Reduction means "those processes that lead to a decrease in the referential or non-referential potential of a language" (Mühlhäusler 1980:21). Simplification refers to "either an increase in regularity or a decrease in markedness" (Siegel 1985:358) — that is, a decrease in irregularity in morphology and an increase in invariable word forms (Trudgill 1986:103). So the loss of ASP is a decrease in irregularity because the standard stress pattern matches the general pattern for third-person plural preterite forms.

More specifically, the loss of local features in rural varieties and their replacement by other features from the "dominant" variety (or the one with wider geographical distribution) in a koine is known as *dialect levelling* (Trudgill 1986). At least two possible mechanisms exist for analyzing this general linguistic change: geographical diffusion and levelling. The first case requires a major economic, population, and cultural centre that acts as a centre for diffusion to other points that adopt a given feature, replacing a local one. The second case, on the other hand, implies the reduction or alteration of marked variants (Trudgill 1986), which are less used and/or are associated with a minority.

In a space like the medieval area of León (the ancient kingdom of León in the Iberian Peninsula) a "vernacular" form (e.g., *dijon*) associated with a group or community can advance to the detriment of another "standard" or more general form (Castilian *dijeron* in this case) with a larger geographical distribution (see Milroy and Milroy 1985, Fernández-Ordóñez 2001, Tuten 2003, Pato 2004). That is why ASP is found in this region. But we should not forget that the final nature of linguistic change is determined by social structure (Trudgill 1986) — in this case, by the large number of Castilian speakers among the Leonese speakers. And, as we will see, levelling works the other way around.

Koineization consists of "processes of mixing, leveling, (limited) reduction or simplification, which occur in social situations of rapid and intense demographic and dialect mixing" (Tuten 2003:3). I will use the term *koineization* to refer to the process of creation of the variety of Castilian resulting from contact between speakers of mutually intelligible varieties, and to a particular case of dialect contact: a process in which mixing among speakers of different (sub)dialects and varieties (Asturian, Leonese, Castilian) leads to the formation of a new simplified variety (also called Castilian), so access to the input is easy even though the input is highly variable. This happened in newly annexed territories formerly occupied by Arabs, as a result of the resettlement of the south by emigrants from different zones in León. The migration is based on historical and social reconstructions (see González 1943, Barrios García 1985, Penny 2004), and is understood as one of the more relevant external factors conditioning linguistic change and in explaining the genesis of certain "archaic" phenomena (as we will see in section 4), which are currently in decline in varieties of Spanish (see Fernández-Ordóñez 2001 for discussion of clitic phenomena, and Pato 2004 for changes in the verbal system).

External history can help explain the spread of ASP and its current distribution, since a source of explanation in linguistic reconstruction is the phenomenon of linguistic levelling due to repopulation, as reconquest and resettlement were carried out from north to south. The development of the ASP is a phenomenon which occurred during resettlement; in the territories of the kingdom of León to the north of the Cantabrian Mountains (in present-day Asturias and Cantabria), ASP is not attested. It is restricted to the lands that the kingdom of León dominated until the 12th century (in the north) and up to its union with Castile in 1230 (in the south); territories resettled by Castile (east of Cáceres) or together with León (south of Cáceres and Badajoz) do not show the vernacular form. The union between Castile and León (1230) changed the process of resettlement and favoured the presence of settlers of diverse origins: Galicians, Asturians, Leonese, people from Zamora and Salamanca, and Castilians. Undoubtedly, as Tuten (2003:82–83) indicates, the homogeneity of the dialects (Castilian, Leonese) is due, among other causes, to the similar origin of the settlers. In such a situation, individuals come into contact with speakers of other dialects and varieties and they try to adjust their own speech to the other dialects and varieties, avoiding marked features (such as *dijon*). In this case, strongly localized regional features (such as the ASP) will disappear and widely accepted standard features will prevail (e.g., *dijeron*); speakers will prefer the majority verbal form and its social prestige.

ASP thus remained established as far as the south of Cáceres. The contribution of later mixing by settlers could be the reason for the different results obtained in Extremadura (and León, which kept the ASP), compared to Castile, which would explain why the ASP is not attested in the historical documentation consulted nor in the contemporary Castilian of the zone to the south of Cáceres and Badajoz. An important clue to understanding the phenomenon is provided by external history. During the 10th and 11th centuries, no city in the kingdom of León had acquired sufficient importance as an established "urban" nucleus. The capital of the kingdom of León was moved from Oviedo to León in about 917, but this move did not entail a massive population shift. The move was made for strategic and personal motives: with the broadening of the territory controlled by León, Oviedo was less centrally located and ceased to be a viable geographical situation from which to control the kingdom, so King Ordoño II established his court in the city of León.

Political divisions, social and economic differences, and the maintenance of two separate courts after the union of Castile and León in 1230 under Fernando III helped to support a region of León to a certain extent isolated from the Castilian region (with a more free and equal society), even though the two were politically joined. The mixture of settlers from different areas (from León, and Castile, but also from the other ancient kingdoms such as Aragon, Navarre, or Galicia) also enhanced the distinctiveness of the regions.

In addition to resettlement itself, changes in the type of land ownership also played a role in establishing the extent of the dialect in question. Settlement of territory by means of *presura* (a land parcelling system with smallholders), the most efficient way to get land under cultivation in the 9th century, gave way in the 11th and 12th centuries to "official" resettlement and town-based settlement focused essentially from the Douro River to the Central Mountain System (the natural separation between the provinces of Castile-León and Castile-La Mancha). The granting of privileges, by means of jurisdictions and charters, both stimulated new settlement and encouraged the new settlers to remain in the newly created towns.

These findings, together with the modern geographic distribution of the phenomenon, support the hypothesis of a spreading of the ASP dialect over the centuries, from eastern León to the region of Mérida (Cáceres). Presumably, the *Vía de la Plata* or 'Silver Road', the southern pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela, played a central role as the axis of diffusion for this phenomenon. This 463-km road was an ancient Roman road and a major axis for north-south movement. It served in the Romanization from north to south, in the Arab invasion from south to north, and again, for the Christian reconquest from north to south. Settlers following the reconquest would have come south along this road as well.

4. Levelling (elimination of minority variants)

Although the general geographic area where ASP is currently attested appears to have remained relatively stable over the centuries, a search of recent geolinguistic atlases shows a decline since the ALPI was compiled in 1931–1932.

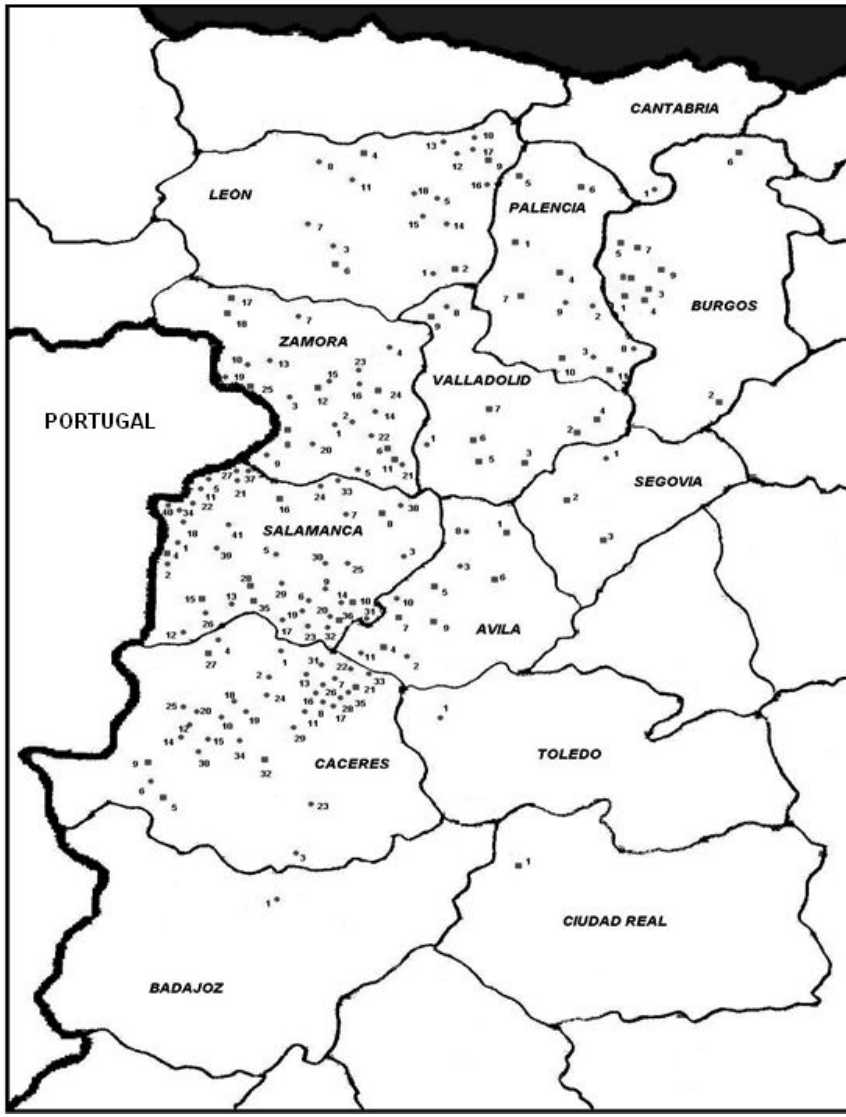

Figure 2: Distribution of analogical strong preterites

Figure 2 graphically represents the tokens of ASP forms (Chambers and Trudgill 1999 classify this type of map as an interpretative map vs. traditional linguistic maps). Each point on the map represents a rural community where ASP forms were found. The squares are based on data in the ALPI and other linguistic sources from approximately the same time period (Menéndez Pidal 1906, Garcia de Diego 1916, Espinosa 1936). The circles are based on more recent linguistic data, including COSER (2004), Fernández González (1959), and other references. Overall, 180 points

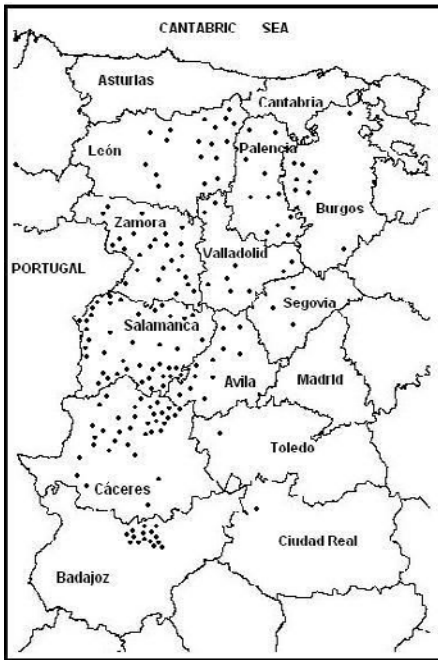

Figure 3: Distribution of analogical strong preterites before ALPI

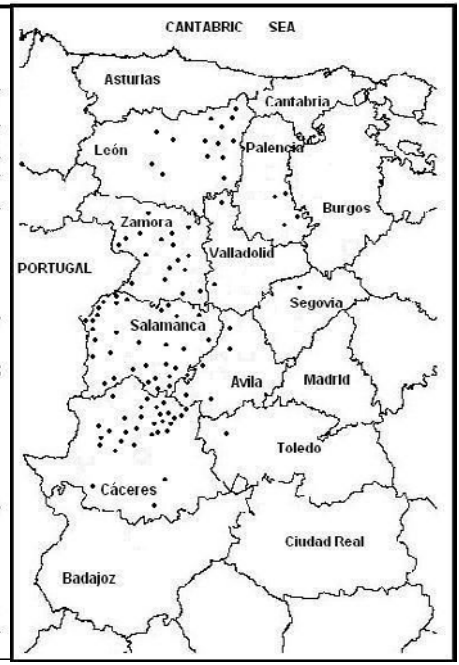

Figure 4: Distribution of analogical strong preterites after the Civil War

are identified (see Appendix for specific references for each point in each province). The map thus shows the extent of the ASP area over time (before and after the Spanish Civil War, 1936–1939). Comparing geolinguistic data from diverse sources such as these allows us to see the decline in ASP usage.

At its fullest extent, the tracing of the outer limit for the ASP forms went from Burgos to the west, through the provinces of Palencia and Valladolid to the northeast of Segovia and Avila, and through Toledo to Cáceres. The western tracing went from the northwest of León, through Zamora, to Salamanca.

Using two maps, one showing the points of ASP before the ALPI data collection (Figure 3) and one showing the points of ASP after the Civil War (COSER; Figure 4), the change over time is clearer. Although the data elicitation techniques are very different, there is a clear territorial reduction in the ASP during the 20th century.

Comparing distribution across time, we can see that, from the time of the ALPI surveys, when the distribution of the variants seems to confirm the marginal character of the standard form (*dijeron*) in the region, to the COSER interviews, when the documentation of the vernacular form (*dijon*) is reduced, the ASP forms have diminished in almost all the provinces. ASP forms have decreased in some provinces (Palencia, Valladolid, Segovia, and Avila) and disappeared entirely in others (Burgos and Badajoz). The ASP phenomenon has been reduced because of replacement by the standard form. Among the social differences between the time of ALPI and the

time of COSER are migration patterns from the country to the town, high educational levels, and greater knowledge of the linguistic norm (Real Academia Española).

5. CONCLUSIONS

The goal of this article has been to investigate the patterning of analogical strong preterites in Spanish and their loss. Levelling and simplification are two mechanisms in koineization. As Tuten (2003:79) indicates, the results of mixing dialects is koineization, and contacts between stable (sub)dialects still have not been well established in the Iberian Peninsula. The results obtained in the present work, in both the geographical and historical analysis, lead to the conclusion that the selection of analogical forms (e.g., *dijon*) versus standard forms (e.g., *dijeron*) is based on factors other than morphosyntactic function, since morphologically the forms are the same in mood (indicative), tense (past), number (plural), and person (third).

Simplification is one process in this patterning of forms. In this case, the temporal co-existence of (sub)dialects (Leonese and Castilian) involves the elimination of some irregularities, specifically the elimination of morphological irregularity in the verb ending (ASP). This phenomenon is not "vulgarism", as it has sometimes been called (Llorente 1947:151) but simply a dialectal variant used in rural areas (Pato 2006).

Regional dialect levelling, the other process, decreases the number of variants of a particular phonological, morphological, or lexical unit in a given dialect area, and should be distinguished from *diffusion*, which is the spread of linguistic features across a dialect area. Levelling leads to a reduction in differences between (sub)-dialects and hence a gradual homogenization of the vernacular speech of a region.

I have shown, then, that the two variants have co-existed for hundreds of years; they co-exist because of diffusion, but the use of the vernacular form has declined rapidly over the past century.

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APPENDIX: REFERENCES FOR FIGURE 2

ID	Point	Province	Reference
1	Bercianos del Real Camino	León	Aguado Candanedo (1980)
2	Calzada del Coto	León	ALPI [336]
3	Cembranos	León	COSER
4	Cofiñal	León	ALPI [331]
5	Cubillas de Rueda	León	COSER
6	Laguna Dalga	León	ALPI [335]
7	Lorenzana	León	COSER
8	Lugueros	León	COSER
9	Morgovejo	León	Espinosa (1936)
10	Oseja de Sajambre	León	Fernández González (1959)
11	Palazuelo de Boñar	León	COSER
12	Pió	León	Fernández González (1959)
13	Ribota	León	Fernández González (1959)
14	San Cipriano del Condado	León	COSER
15	Santibáñez	León	COSER
16	Soto	León	Fernández González (1959)
17	Vierdes	León	Fernández González (1959)
18	Villacidayo	León	Millán Urdiales (1966)
1	Almaraz de Duero	Zamora	COSER
2	Andavías	Zamora	ALCyL [Za 402]
3	Ceadea	Zamora	ALCyL [Za 302]
4	Cerecinos de Campos	Zamora	ALCyL [Za 202]
5	El Cubo de la Tierra del Vino	Zamora	ALCyL [Za 603]
6	El Pego	Zamora	ALPI [348]
7	Espadañedo	Zamora	Llorente (1986)
8	Fariza	Zamora	ALPI [347]
9	Fermoselle	Zamora	ALCyL [Za 500]
10	Figueruela de Arriba	Zamora	Baz (1967)
11	Fuentelapeña	Zamora	Espinosa (1936)
12	Losacio de Alba	Zamora	ALPI [346]
13	Mahide	Zamora	ALPI [343] & Baz (1967)
14	Matilla la Seca	Zamora	ALCyL [Za 403]
15	Pozuelo de Tábara	Zamora	ALCyL [Za 401]
16	San Cebrián de Castro	Zamora	COSER
17	San Ciprián de Sanabria	Zamora	ALPI [337]
18	San Martín de Castañeda	Zamora	ALPI [338]
19	San Martín de Pedroso	Zamora	Baz (1967) & ALCyL [Za 301]
20	Torrefrades	Zamora	ALCyL [Za 601]
21	Vadillo de (la) Guareña	Zamora	ALCyL [Za 602]
22	Venialbo	Zamora	ALCyL [Za 600]
23	Villabrázaro	Zamora	ALCyL [Za 201]
24	Villafáfila	Zamora	ALPI [344]
25	Villarino tras la Sierra	Zamora	ALPI [345]

1	Ahigal de los Aceiteros	Salamanca	ALCyL [Sa 300]
2	Alameda de Gardón (La)	Salamanca	ALCyL [Sa 500]
3	Alaraz	Salamanca	COSER
4	Aldea del Obispo	Salamanca	ALPI [354]
5	Aldeadávila de la Ribera/ Revilla	Salamanca	Llorente (1947)
6	Berrocal de Huebra	Salamanca	COSER
7	Calzada de Valdunciel	Salamanca	Riesco Chueca (2003)
8	Campo de Peñaparda (El)	Salamanca	ALPI [351]
9	Carrascal del Obispo	Salamanca	ALCyL [Sa 401]
10	Cespedosa de Tormes	Salamanca	Sánchez Sevilla (1928)
11	Corporario	Salamanca	Llorente (1947)
12	El Payo	Salamanca	ALPI (358) & Cortés (1979)
13	El Saúgo	Salamanca	ALCyL [Sa 503]
14	Endrinal	Salamanca	COSER
15	Fuenteguinaldo	Salamanca	ALPI [357]
16	Guejuelo del Barro (Gejuelo)	Salamanca	ALPI [350]
17	Herguijuela de la Sierra	Salamanca	ALCyL [Sa 602]
18	Hinojosa de Duero	Salamanca	ALPI [352] & Llorente (1947)
19	La Alberca	Salamanca	Cortés (1979)
20	Linares de Riofrío	Salamanca	ALPI [356] & ALCyL [Sa 600]
21	Masueco	Salamanca	Llorente (1947)
22	Mieza	Salamanca	Llorente (1947)
23	Miranda del Castañar	Salamanca	Cortés (1979)
24	Palacios del Arzobispo	Salamanca	Coca Tamame (1991) & ALCyL [Sa 200]
25	Pedrosillo de los Aires	Salamanca	ALCyL [Sa 402]
26	Peñaparda	Salamanca	Cortés (1979)
27	Pereña	Salamanca	Llorente (1947) & Cortés (1979)
28	Puebla de Yeltes	Salamanca	COSER
29	Retortillo	Salamanca	ALPI [353]
30	San Pedro de Rozados	Salamanca	COSER
31	Santibáñez de Béjar	Salamanca	ALCyL [Sa 601]
32	Santibáñez de la Sierra	Salamanca	Herrero Ingelmo (1996)
33	Santiz	Salamanca	Coca Tamame (1991)
34	Saucelle	Salamanca	Llorente (1947) & Cortés (1979)
35	Serradilla del Arroyo	Salamanca	ALPI [355]
36	Valdefuentes de Sangusín	Salamanca	ALPI [359]
37	Villarino de los Aires	Salamanca	ALPI [349], Llorente (1947) & Cortés (1979)
38	Villaverde de Guareña	Salamanca	ALCyL [Sa 202]
39	Villavieja de Yeltes	Salamanca	ALCyL [Sa 301]
40	Vilvestre	Salamanca	Llorente (1947) & Cortés (1979)
41	Vitigudino	Salamanca	COSER

1	Aceitunilla (La)	Cáceres	Flores del Manzano (1998)
2	Ahigal	Cáceres	Paniagua Montero (2002)
3	Alcuéscar	Cáceres	Menéndez Pidal (1968 [1904])
4	Aldehuela	Cáceres	COSER
5	Aliseda	Cáceres	ALPI [366]
6	Brozas	Cáceres	COSER
7	Cabezuela del Valle	Cáceres	Flores del Manzano (1998)
8	Cabrero	Cáceres	Flores del Manzano (1998)
9	Ceclavín	Cáceres	ALPI [364]
10	Calzadilla	Cáceres	Cummins (1974)
11	Casar del Castañar	Cáceres	Flores del Manzano (1998)
12	Casas de Don Gómez	Cáceres	Cummins (1974)
13	Casas del Monte	Cáceres	COSER
14	Casillas de Coria	Cáceres	Cummins (1974)
15	Coria	Cáceres	Cummins (1974)
16	El Torno	Cáceres	Flores del Manzano (1998)
17	Garganta la Olla	Cáceres	Flores del Manzano (1998)
18	Guijo de Coria	Cáceres	Cummins (1974)
19	Guijo de Galisteo	Cáceres	Cummins (1974) & Alcón Olivenza (2002)
20	Huélaga	Cáceres	Cummins (1974)
21	Jarandilla	Cáceres	ALPI [363]
22	Jerte	Cáceres	Flores del Manzano (1998)
23	Madroñera	Cáceres	ALPI [367] & Montero Curiel (1997)
24	Montehermoso	Cáceres	Cummins (1974)
25	Moraleja	Cáceres	COSER
26	Navaconejo	Cáceres	Flores del Manzano (1998)
27	Pinofranqueado	Cáceres	ALPI [361]
28	Piornal	Cáceres	Flores del Manzano (1998)
29	Plasencia	Cáceres	Lumera Guerrero (1992)
30	Portaje	Cáceres	Cummins (1974)
31	Segura de Toro	Cáceres	Flores del Manzano (1998)
32	Serradilla	Cáceres	Menéndez Pidal (1906)
33	Tornavacas	Cáceres	Flores del Manzano (1998)
34	Torrejoncillo	Cáceres	Cummins (1974)
35	Valdastillas	Cáceres	Flores del Manzano (1998)
1	Mérida	Badajoz	Zamora Vicente (1943)
1	Puebla de Don Rodrigo	Ciudad Real	ALPI [475]
1	Las Herencias	Toledo	Paredes García (1995)
1	Villaescusa de Ebro	Cantabria	ALECAN [S 600]

1	Fuenteodre (Fuenteodra)	Burgos	Espinosa (1936)
2	Junta de Otero	Burgos	García de Diego (1916)
3	Pampliega	Burgos	García de Diego & ALPI [425]
4	Santa María del Campo	Burgos	García de Diego (1916)
5	Sotresgudo	Burgos	ALPI [421]
6	Valle de Mena	Burgos	García de Diego (1916)
7	Villadiego	Burgos	Espinosa (1936)
8	Villaquirán	Burgos	García de Diego (1916)
9	Zumiel	Burgos	García de Diego (1916)

1	Acera de la Vega	Palencia	ALPI [414]
2	Astudillo	Palencia	Espinosa (1936) & COSER
3	Baltanás	Palencia	ALCyL [P 603]
4	Calzada de los Molinos	Palencia	ALPI [415]
5	Cardaño de Abajo	Palencia	ALPI [412]
6	Cervera del Río Pisuerga	Palencia	Espinosa (1936)
7	Cisneros de Campos	Palencia	Menéndez Pidal (1968 [1904])
8	Cobos de Cerrato	Palencia	ALCyL [P 602]
9	Frómista	Palencia	Díez Carrera (1993)
10	Santa Cecilia del Alcor	Palencia	ALPI [416]
11	Villaconancio	Palencia	ALPI [417]

1	Castromembribre	Valladolid	COSER
2	Langayo	Valladolid	ALPI [437]
3	Pedrajas de San Esteban	Valladolid	ALPI [438]
4	Peñafiel	Valladolid	Espinosa (1936)
5	Tordesillas	Valladolid	Espinosa (1936)
6	San Cebrián de Mazote	Valladolid	ALPI [436]
7	Villabrágima	Valladolid	Espinosa (1936)
8	Villalba de la Loma	Valladolid	COSER
9	Villavicencio de los Caballeros	Valladolid	ALPI [435]

1	Arévalo	Ávila	García de Diego (1916)
2	Bohoyo (de Tormes)	Ávila	ALCyL [Av 502]
3	Cantiveros	Ávila	ALCyL [Av 101]
4	El Barco de Ávila	Ávila	García de Diego (1916)
5	Grajos (San Juan de Olmo)	Ávila	ALPI [450]
6	Hernansancho	Ávila	ALPI [449]
7	La Horcajada	Ávila	ALPI [451]
8	Madrigal de la Altas Torres	Ávila	COSER
9	Piedrahita	Ávila	Menéndez Pidal (1968 [1904])
10	Santa María del Berrocal	Ávila	COSER
11	Solana de Ávila	Ávila	COSER

1	Cuéllar	Segovia	De la Torre (1945)
2	Nava de la Asunción	Segovia	Espinosa (1936)
3	Segovia (capital)	Segovia	García de Diego (1916)