Varieties of Spanish
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For more information consult A Linguistic Introduction to Spanish by Ian Mackenzie (University of Newcastle upon Tyne), LINCOM Studies in Romance Linguistics 35, ISBN 3 89586 347 5.

NOTAS SOBRE LOS SÍMBOLOS FONÉTICOS

\[ r = \text{vibrante sencilla (alveolar flap)} \]
\[ \text{Camino Oral: } r \]
\[ \text{Camino Oral: } \tilde{r} \]
\[ r = \text{vibrante múltiple (alveolar trill)} \]
\[ \text{Camino Oral: } \tilde{r} \]
\[ w = \text{semivocal o semiconsonante} = \text{aproximante/semiconsonante } j \]
\[ j = \text{semivocal o semiconsonante} = \text{aproximante/semiconsonante } j \]
\[ j = \text{fricativa palatal (similar a la aproximante/semiconsonante } j) \]
\[ t = \text{fricativa apical (similar a la aproximante/semiconsonante } t) \]
\[ t = \text{fricativa alveolar} = \text{aproximante/semiconsonante } s \]
\[ s = \text{‘s’ ápico-alveolar} \]

Dialects of Spanish by Area:

1. The Americas
   - General Remarks
   - Bilingualism in the Americas
   - Central American Spanish
   - Mexican Spanish
   - Spanish in Chile
   - Spanish in Paraguay
   - Spanish on the Pacific Coast
   - Andean Spanish
   - Caribbean
   - Indigenous Influences in MesoAmerica
   - Río de la Plata Spanish
   - Highland Colombia/Venezuela
   - Spanish in the USA
   - Spanish-based creoles

2. Spain
   - Languages & Dialects in Spain
   - Andalusian Spanish
   - Castilian Spanish
   - Spanish in the Canaries

3. Others
   - Equatorial Guinea (to be added)
   - Spanish in the Philippines
   - Judaeo-Spanish (to be added)
**General Remarks on Latin America**

Latin American Spanish has consistently attracted the attention of researchers, with some justification, given the immense variation in the Spanish that can be encountered there. Thus, for example, Caribbean varieties exhibit the extreme consonantal weakening that is characteristic of Canary Island and Andalusian usage, while the Spanish employed by middle class speakers in Mexico City, Lima and Bogotá is much more reminiscent of Castilian Spanish. In areas of language contact (the Andes, eastern Paraguay, southern Mexico) the local Spanish is likely to reflect interference from indigenous languages such as Aymara, Guaraní and Nahuatl. And in isolated pockets of Colombia, Ecuador and adjacent regions, it is still possible to come across vestiges of creole Spanish.

Some aspects of the linguistic situation in Latin America can be attributed to the way the territory was administered during the colonial period (1492 to 1899). For the first two centuries of colonial rule, the Spanish American empire was divided into two viceroyalties, that of New Spain and that of Peru, whose capitals were in Mexico City and Lima respectively. The viceroyalties were themselves subdivided into smaller administrative units called **audiencias**:

**Map 1. Viceroyalty of New Spain and its Audiencia Districts**
The viceregal capitals were essentially extensions of the Castilian administrative apparatus and, as a consequence, the prevailing sociolinguistic tendencies favoured Castilian or standardized varieties of Spanish. A similar state of affairs appears to have obtained in Bogotá, which was always an important administrative centre but which achieved parity of status with Lima and Mexico city in 1718, when New Granada, as colonial Colombia was called, became a viceroyalty. Buenos Aires too came to be a viceregal capital, but either because of the lateness of this development (the viceroyalty of Río de la Plata came into existence in 1776 only) or because of the city’s peripheral location, no standardizing effect appears to have been exercised on the local Spanish, which has developed along similar lines to other dialects south of the Tropic of Capricorn.
Away from the major administrative centres, Latin American Spanish has largely succumbed to internal pressures tending towards consonantal weakening or phonemic merger, processes that are likely to have been assisted, in the Caribbean area at least, by immigration from the Canary Islands and trade links with Andalusian cities (there may also be a grain of truth in theories that stress the demographic prominence of Andalusians among the early settlers, although any initial Andalusian effect was massively diluted once colonization gathered momentum). In addition, the preservation of archaic lexical or morphological items is widespread. Most notably, 40% of Latin Americans use the archaic pronoun vos instead of standard tú (go to Voseo page).

Seseo (i.e. the existence in the phonemic inventory of just one dental/alveolar sibilant, /s/, where standard Spanish has two, /s/ and /θ/), yeísmo (the merger of /ʎ/ and /j/ in favour of /i/), the use of ustedes in place of vosotros and the restriction of le(s) to the function of indirect object are common to most varieties of Latin American Spanish, although there are some exceptions, which are detailed on the relevant web pages on this site. It is also the case that certain vocabulary items have a general or near general currency in Latin America, and a selection of these is given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin American item</th>
<th>Corresponding Peninsular term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>almuerzo</td>
<td>comida</td>
<td>lunch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apurarse</td>
<td>apresurarse/darse prisa</td>
<td>to hurry up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>botar</td>
<td>tirar</td>
<td>throw out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carro</td>
<td>coche</td>
<td>car</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demorarse</td>
<td>tardar</td>
<td>to be late/slow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>escaparate</td>
<td>armario</td>
<td>wardrobe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>extrañar</td>
<td>echar de menos</td>
<td>to miss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fósforo</td>
<td>cerilla</td>
<td>match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lindo</td>
<td>bonito</td>
<td>pretty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mamá</td>
<td>madre</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manejar</td>
<td>conducir</td>
<td>to drive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maní</td>
<td>cacahuete</td>
<td>peanut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mordida</td>
<td>mordisco</td>
<td>bite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palanca</td>
<td>enchufe</td>
<td>inside help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>papa</td>
<td>patata</td>
<td>potato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pararse</td>
<td>levantarse</td>
<td>to stand up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saco</td>
<td>americana</td>
<td>men’s jacket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>timón</td>
<td>volante</td>
<td>steering wheel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tomar</td>
<td>beber</td>
<td>to drink alcohol</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many items in general Latin American usage are marinerismos; i.e. items that were originally used only in seafaring contexts but which have acquired a non-maritime sense. Some of the items above originated in this way. Thus timón, for example, originally meant (and still means) ‘rudder’ in Peninsular Spanish. Other common Latin American marinerismos are amarrar ‘to tie’, rancho ‘ranch’ (originally: ‘crew’s quarters’), playa ‘beach/car park’, estadía ‘stay’, fletar ‘to charter/hire’, balde ‘bucket’, abarrotes ‘groceries’ (originally: small items filling gaps in the cargo hold).

**Bilingualism**

Bilingualism can be an individual affair, as when someone decides to learn a foreign language; alternatively, it may occur within a small group of individuals defined in terms of work or family ties; finally, it may be societal in scope, resulting, as Escobar (1978:33) puts it, from el contacto de grupos étnicos que coexisten y compiten, en un régimen en el cual involuntariamente se deviene bilingüe para sobrevivir (‘contact between ethnic groups that coexist and compete, in a
regime in which involuntarily one becomes bilingual in order to survive’). It is bilingualism of this third type that constitutes the main theme of this section.

Many bilingual speakers will be more proficient in one language than another (note that the term ‘bilingual’ in linguistics applies to any person who can communicate, however rudimentarily, in two languages). Accordingly, we may draw a distinction between the primary and secondary languages, the first of which is often, though not always, a speaker’s ‘mother tongue’ or first-learned language. In terms of the secondary language, societal bilingualism is normally characterized by a bilingual continuum; that is, a spectrum of speech types that may range from an almost unrestricted or standard usage to the lowest possible levels of oral proficiency. The phenomenon is illustrated, for example, by the varieties of imperfectly learned Spanish employed in the Andes by native speakers of Aymara and Quechua. Escobar (1978) refers to those varieties collectively as the ‘interlecto’ or interlanguage, noting that a speaker’s level of proficiency se identifica por correlación con el juego de ciertas variables, a saber: a) la escala de castellanización, b) el lapso de escolaridad, c) el tiempo de exposición al castellano y d) la tasa de frecuencia de su uso (‘is conditioned by certain factors, viz. (a) the degree of Hispanization, (b) educational level, (c) length of exposure to Spanish, and (d) frequency of use’).

Although individuals may advance up the bilingual continuum as their linguistic competence in the secondary language develops, certain of the non-standard features they exhibit at one or more phases in their linguistic development may be widespread and enduring in the community as a whole. These socially generalized features frequently conform to determinate patterns, as the same solutions are reached time and again to the problems involved in using two distinct systems. A survey follows, illustrating the most common of these solutions in the phonological and grammatical areas, of some of the most notable bilingual Spanish phenomena. After this, a brief account is given of code-switching.

1. Bilingualism and phonology

The two most characteristic types of phonological interference phenomena are the under-differentiation of phonemes and phone substitution (Weinreich 1953:18–19). The first of these consists in the elimination in the secondary language of a phonemic distinction as a consequence of this distinction’s being absent in the primary language. A good illustration is provided by the vowel system in Peruvian interlanguage Spanish. Among speakers whom Escobar (1978) classifies as ‘bilingües iniciales’ (as opposed to ‘bilingües avanzados’), the three-way height contrast (low ~ mid ~ high) of mainstream Spanish is replaced by a binary opposition that replicates the structure of vocalism in Aymara. Thus where monolingual Spanish exhibits five vowel phonemes, /a, e, i, o, u/, some varieties of interlanguage Spanish have just three, which conventionally are represented as /a, i, u/. The front and back phonemes /i/ and /u/ may be realized high (as in [misa] mesa ‘table’ and [rutu] roto ‘broken’) or as mid (as in [tʃekas] chicas ‘girls’ and [ʃota] fruta ‘fruit’) but no clear linguistic rule seems to condition either type of articulation. The merging of the front pair /e/ and /i/ has a knock-on effect on the diphthongs [ie] and [ei], whose components constitute, for the speakers in question, allophones of the same phoneme. The solution consists generally in replacing both diphthongs by [e:] or by [i]; e.g. [peːɾas] piedras ‘stones’, [peːne] peine ‘comb’, [emolinte] emoliente ‘emollient’.

Phone substitution arises when the same phoneme occurs in the two contact languages but is realized differently in each of them. A tendency among bilinguals may be to replace the realization associated with the phoneme in the secondary language with its realization in the primary language. For example, both English and Spanish have the voiceless stops /p, t, k/, which are often aspirated in English – [pʰ, tʰ, kʰ] – but never in Spanish. One common feature of
the Spanish used by English-dominant bilinguals is the replacement of the standard non-aspirated allophones with the aspirated sounds, as in [pʰaˈtʰaˈtʰa] patata ‘potato’. Conversely, in the English spoken by Spanish-dominant bilinguals the aspirated stops may be replaced by their non-aspirated counterparts, a tendency that is often exploited in cinematic representations of Latino or Chicano accents.

A rarer phenomenon is the introduction into the secondary system of a wholly foreign phoneme. The presence of /ʎ/ in Peruvian interlanguage Spanish is perhaps a case in point, as the palatal lateral is absent from mainstream varieties of Latin American Spanish but present in Aymara and at least some dialects of Quechua.

2. Bilingualism and Grammar

Turning now to grammar, the strategies employed by bilinguals in this area include simplification, overgeneralization, the development of periphrastic structures in place of inflected forms, and transfer (compare Silva-Corvalán 1995:9-10). As will become evident, bilingualism rarely leads to the introduction of wholly foreign structures into the grammar of the secondary language. Instead, existing forms are assigned new meanings or the incidence is reduced of a given structure, in some cases leading to its complete abandonment by later generations.

2.1. Simplification

One feature of Andean interlanguage Spanish that might be characterized as tending towards simplification is the non-realization of object pronouns, an omission that enables a speaker to avoid observing rules concerning placement and gender/number marking (examples from Stratford 1989:116, and Escobar 1990:89):

(1) Aquí están los medicamentos. ¿Cómo has traído?
(2) A veces dejó su quacker ya preparado; en la mañana calientan y toman.

Null pronouns are of course common in standard Spanish, but only when the reference is indefinite:

(3) Necesitamos bombillas; a ver si compramos esta tarde.

The same bilingual varieties exhibit a strong tendency towards using count nouns as mass nouns, as in La señora vende huevo ‘The woman sells egg<s>’, Lleva piedra ‘He/She carries stone<s>’ (Escobar 1978:94) and Vende vaca ‘He/She sells cow<s>’ (Hardman de Bautista 1982:150). Again, the phenomenon is not uncommon in informal standard Spanish, but what is distinctive in the Andean case is its greater frequency. As with the null pronouns, the net effect seems to be a simplification of the grammar, given that mass nouns are not inflected for number and do not require a determiner.

2.2. Overgeneralization

The first illustration of overgeneralization concerns clitic se. In all varieties of Spanish including the standard, this may be used with certain verbs in an emphatic type of construction – e.g. Aquel hombre se bebió un litro de cerveza ‘That man drank a litre of beer’ – where it has neither a syntactic role nor a place in the lexical form of the verb. In the Andean interlanguage, however, this use of se may be extended to verbs with which the clitic cannot normally be construed in standard or other mainstream varieties of Spanish (examples from Solís 1988:196):

(4) Con los dos (quechua y castellano) lo que yo me bromeo, me hablo.
(5) Cuando ella también se hace casar sus hijos.
A phenomenon that is observable in Mexican, Central American and Andean interlanguage Spanish provides a second illustration of overgeneralization. The co-occurrence of a person direct object clitic with a lexical direct object, as in *Lo vi a tu tío* ‘I saw your uncle’, is not uncommon in informal mainstream Spanish, as long as the lexical object is a *definite* NP (note that this is a distinct phenomenon from the standard practice of prefixing a clitic to a verb whose lexical direct object has been preposed; see chapter 3, example (19)). In interlanguage Spanish, however, a direct object clitic (frequently invariant *lo*) can co-occur with a lexical direct object that is an *indefinite* NP, as in *Lo trae un chiquihuite* ‘He/she brings a basket’. Moreover, the same varieties exhibit the use of direct object clitics with intransitive verbs, as in *Lo llegó* ‘He/she arrived’ and *Dicen que lo nació en Belén* ‘They say he was born in Bethlehem’.

The possibility of syntactic transfer cannot be discounted, but this is unlikely, as transfer tends to rely on speakers identifying a specific element in the secondary language with another in the primary language, and none of the relevant indigenous languages (e.g. Nahuatl and Quechua) have any element whose function or sentence position consistently mirrors interlanguage clitic usage. The phenomenon is more plausibly treated as a case of overgeneralizing the pattern *lo* (or *la*) + verb, rather as students of Spanish frequently generalize falsely from *Lo siento* ‘I’m sorry’ to *Lo siento que* + subordinate clause.

### 2.3. Periphrastic Constructions

A case in point is the displacement of the synthetic preterite by the analytic perfect in bilingual Andean Spanish. Klee & Ocampo (1995), for instance, show that among Quechua-dominant bilinguals in the Peruvian town of Calca (50 kms from Cuzco) the perfect frequently occurs in extended discourse structures, where the preterite is strongly preferred in standard Spanish. For example (p. 62):

> Un [sic] tía que […] una vez que ha llevado comida a los obreros que trabajaban en el arriendo de mi abuelita … una culebra se lo había envuelto al pie […] y, la chica se ha asustado … y, por sí sola, la culebra se ha bajado.

Mendoza (1991) and Stratford (1991) document the phenomenon in La Paz Spanish and Altiplano Spanish (Lake Titicaca area) respectively.

### 2.4. Transfer

This, the final grammatical strategy to be considered here, is one of the most interesting and controversial areas of bilingualism, with some scholars taking the view that social factors, such as the intensity of intercultural contact, are the primary determinants of the degree of transfer between languages and others arguing that transfer only occurs in those areas of the system in which a degree of structural parity already exists between the two languages. The Spanish data point strongly to the possibility of fairly significant grammatical transfer, but always in ways that do not represent a radical departure from mainstream usage.

An interesting example is the increase in frequency of the *estar* copula at the expense of *ser* that has been observed in bilingual Los Angeles Spanish. What seems to be happening is that the twin-copula system of Spanish is being eroded under the influence of English, in which there is only one copula. Two uses of *ser* appear to be vulnerable.

The first concerns gradable adjectives, such as *grande* ‘big/large’ and *delgado* ‘thin/slim’. With *ser*, these are always *syncategorematic*, in that they must be construed, explicitly or implicitly, with another term. *Enrique es grande*, for example, means that Enrique is a big *man*, say, rather than that he is big in some absolute sense. When used with *estar*, on the other hand – in standard Spanish, at least – gradable adjectives are fully *categorematic* (the contrary of syncategorematic). Thus *X está delgado* says that *X* is thinner than normal, and this is a
property that in principle is independent of any secondary categorization of $X$ as a man, woman or anything else. Now Mexican American bilinguals in Los Angeles, particularly those for whom English is the dominant language, are starting to use *estar* not just for what we are calling the categorematic use of gradable adjectives, but also for the syncategorematic use (examples from Silva-Corvalán 1989:188-198):

(7) Tengo una casa; está grande mi casa, muy grande.

(8) Mi hermano está grande. No está delgado ni chiquito. Se ve fuerte.

Both of the sentences above could in theory illustrate the categorematic use of the adjectives in question; that is, (7) might have been uttered just after an extension was added to the speaker’s house and (8) might be prompted by a growth spurt on the part of the speaker’s brother. But, apparently, the full context rules out those (unlikely) interpretations.

The second encroachment of *estar* into the territory of *ser* consists in the use of the former with predicative nouns, as in

(9) Es imposible que me obedezcan mis hijos, ya están jovencitos.

Syntactically there is no reason why *jovencitos* in (9) should not be treated as an adjective. But such an analysis is ruled out by the meaning of the sentence. What is meant, obviously enough, is that the children have become youths or teenagers, and not that they have become young.

Ordering patterns, to change the example, are often prime candidates for interlinguistic transfer. However, given that the major syntactic constituents in Spanish can be ordered with quite a degree of freedom, transfer of this sort is often reflected in an increase in the incidence of a grammatical but marked sequence, rather than in the introduction of a wholly new model. A case in point is the placement of lexical objects before verbs in the speech of Quechua-dominant bilingual speakers in Calca, near Cuzco in Peru (Ocampo & Klee 1995), as in *Demasiado* [sic] *travesuras hacía* ‘He was doing too many pranks’ and *Cicatriz tengo* ‘I have a scar’. This sequence of constituents is not ungrammatical in standard Spanish, but it is normally reserved for focalizing the direct object. Bilingual speakers in Calca have, apparently, extended this word order pattern to cases in which no focalization is intended.

A similar case relates to the word order associated with intransitive verbs occurring with indefinite subjects, as in *Llegaron muchos chicos*. From the discourse–pragmatic point of view, such constructions have a partly *presentational* role, as they serve among other things to introduce new participants in the events described. The unmarked word order in this case is verb–subject in Spanish but subject–verb in English. In some varieties of bilingual Spanish in the USA, the English word order appears to have displaced the unmarked Spanish word order, as in (10) below (from Silva-Corvalán 1989:173), which sounds odd to the native Spanish ear but is not actually ungrammatical:

(10) Nos agarramos y, y, un montón de policías vinieron.

Perhaps the most striking example of interlinguistic transfer – a clear case, in fact, of grammatical convergence – concerns the encoding of *data source* or the grounds the speaker has for asserting a proposition. This is regularly indicated in sentences in Jaqi languages (including Aymara), as well as in Quechua, although not to the same extent. (According to Hardman de Bautista (1982:152), data-source marking in Quechua largely reflects borrowing from Jaqi in the first millennium.)

There are at least three grades of data source in Aymara: *personal knowledge, knowledge through language*, and *non-personal knowledge* (the examples that follow are from Hardman de Bautista 1982:152–153). Assertions based on personal knowledge are unmarked, in that only the assertoric affix *w(a)* is present, as in *Mama Marsilaw t’ant’ manq’i* ‘Ms. Marcela ate bread’, where the speaker has direct sensory experience of the event described. Knowledge through
language is indicated through the use of siw, the person 3 pres. tense of saña ‘to say’, as an independent particle, although again the assertoric affix w(a) may be present: Mama Marsilaw t’ant’ manq’i siw ‘Ms. Marcela ate bread (so I’m told)’. And the prototypical exponent of non-personal knowledge, in person 3/6, is the verbal affix tayna, as in Mama Marsilax t’ant’ manq’atayna ‘(Apparently) Ms. Marcela ate bread’. This category of data source also includes information that comes as a surprise to the speaker: Pitañ yatitayna ‘(So) they knew how to smoke!’ . Comparable evidential distinctions are made also in Quechua, especially using the suffix -sqá.

This tripartite system of data source marking is replicated in interlanguage Spanish and also, as a consequence of linguistic transfer, in popular dialects of monolingual Andean Spanish through a redeployment of existing resources. More specifically, both the pluperfect tense (había hecho) and the verb form dice ‘he/she says’, the latter recycled as a generally clause-final particle, come to have an evidential or data source-indicating meaning. The following examples of pluperfect usage are from an article about graffiti in a public lavatory that appeared in the Cuzco weekly paper El Tiempo (18th to 24th September 1994):

(11) El jefe había tenido pelos en su sentadera. (i.e. ‘has hairs …’
(12) El Justo Condorhuamán había sido hijo de Pablo Muchotrigo. (i.e. ‘is the son of …’)

Like the exponents of non-personal knowledge in Aymara and Quechua, the Spanish pluperfect in the varieties in question is used also to express surprise, a feature of usage that seems to have seeped into the monolingual speech of even educated Limeños:

(13) ¡Ahhh! ¡Vivo habías sido! (i.e. ‘Ah! So you’re alive!’)
(14) ¡Habían sabido fumar! (i.e. ‘Ah! So they knew how to smoke!’)

Evidential dice, which is frequent in the interlanguage, has perhaps a greater currency in monolingual Andean Spanish than the evidential pluperfect. This presumably is due to the fact that the dice phenomenon represents a smaller departure from mainstream Spanish. Hardman de Bautista (1982:154) gives the following examples:

(15) Marcela está enferma dice.
(16) Estaba enojada dice.

A variant form of this construction, involving the complementizer que, arises when dice occurs clause-internally:

(17) Shumaya dice que comió pan.

Note that the impersonal meaning of dice endures and so, unlike in standard Spanish, Shumaya cannot be interpreted as the subject of dice.

3. Code-Switching

To conclude this section, some remarks are required concerning code-switching, or alternating between two languages (or dialects) within the same stretch of discourse, as in I was ... I got to thinking vacilando el punto you know and No creo que son fifty-dollar suede ones (Gumperz 1982:133, Poplack 1980:584).

Code-switching does not occur at random but seems to be favoured in certain types of context, such as in direct quotations or when an assertion is reiterated:

Y un día, cuando la conocí, me dice, ‘Oh, my daughter used to dance at Knott’s Berry Farm.’ Y digo yo pa’ mí: ‘A poco es la muchacha que retraté yo.’ (Silva-Corvalán 1989:180)
The three old one [sic] spoke nothing but Spanish, nothing but Spanish. No hablaban inglés. (Gumperz 1982:133)

Furthermore, bilingual speakers themselves will often attribute a given code-switch to the fact that a determinate linguistic resource in one language is more attuned to the matter at hand than the corresponding unit or structure in the other language.

Code-switching among fluent bilinguals appears to be subject to two constraints (Poplack 1980). First, it never takes place within words (or between units that are not free morphemes) unless phonological adaptation has occurred. Consider the following three sentences (from Silva-Corvalán 1989:181):

(18) Mi hermano está watching the game.
(19) Mi hermano está huachando the game.
(20) Mi hermano está watchando the game.

Sentence (18) represents a possible utterance, because the switch to Spanish does not occur within a word. The switch is word-internal in (19) but the sentence is again likely to be uttered because the root has been Hispanized: [watʃ] rather than [wtʃ]. Sentence (20), on the other hand, would not occur naturally, as the switch is word-internal and the root has not been adjusted.

Secondly, fluent bilinguals only switch languages at those points at which the syntax in one language matches the syntax in the other. For example, a switch to Spanish would not be made within either ‘told him’ or ‘would bring it’ in (21) below, because the corresponding strings in Spanish (le dije) and (lo/la trajera) involve procliticization and so do not replicate the syntax of their English counterparts:

(21) I told him that so that he would bring it fast.

Similarly, given that the adjective tends to follow the noun in Spanish – a rule that admits of no exceptions in comparative constructions – but precedes it in English, a sentence such as (22) below is apparently ruled out, while (23) is quite legitimate (example from Silva-Corvalán 1989:182):

(22) ?Juan va a comprar una casa bigger in the valley.
(23) Juan va a comprar una bigger house in the valley.

Code-switching among weak bilinguals, in contrast, often represents a strategy for overcoming deficiencies in linguistic proficiency and so is less subject to the constraint that structural parity be preserved.

For more information consult A Linguistic Introduction to Spanish by Ian Mackenzie (University of Newcastle upon Tyne), LINCOM Studies in Romance Linguistics 35, ISBN 3 89586 347 5.

References


Central American Spanish

1. Introduction

The Central American Republics of Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala, together with the southern Mexican state of Chiapas, have a shared colonial history, the territories in question having originally formed a single administrative unit, the Audiencia of Guatemala (see map below).

The Viceroyalty of New Spain and its Audiencia Districts

Though nominally subordinate to the Viceroyalty of Nueva España, whose capital was Mexico City, this audiencia in practice enjoyed a good deal of autonomy. Even after the territory became independent from Spain in 1821, the Central American nations remained unified, as the Federal Republic of Central America, for a further 17 years.

This historical unity, allied to common economic and cultural trends of decline and isolation throughout the colonial period and afterwards, has resulted in a broad linguistic unity throughout the area. Essentially, Central American Spanish is characterized by a combination of archaism and non-standard innovation away from standard Spanish.

Parts of Central America lie outside the pale of Central American Spanish. Thus most of Panama belongs to the Caribbean dialect area, while the Caribbean lowlands of Nicaragua were never really Hispanized. They were never properly settled by the Spanish and were only incorporated into the Nicaraguan political and social system well after the end of the colonial period, with the consequence that Spanish is a minority language spoken mainly by immigrants from western Nicaragua. The rest of the population in this area speak an indigenous language – Miskito being the prevailing one – or Caribbean creole English.
2. Phonetics & Phonology

Central America is an area of weak consonantism. In the first place, syllable-final /s/ is routinely realized as [h] throughout the area, except in central Guatemala and central Costa Rica, where the tendency is for /s/ to be realized as [s] in all positions. The weakening of syllable-final /s/ appears to be at its most intense in Nicaragua, citizens of which country are sometimes referred to by neighbouring Hondurans as mucos (a term originally applied to cows that were missing a horn) on account of their tendency to ‘cut off’ final /s/.

[s] to [h] modification in syllable-initial position (as in [hanta] santa ‘saint’ and [etāhe] entonces ‘then’) is documented for El Salvador and Honduras but is likely to have a greater geographical extension. The process is often induced by dissimilation vis-à-vis an [s] in the same word, as in [nehesarjo] necesario ‘necessary’.

To a certain extent, all syllable-final voiceless stops are at risk in Central American speech. Firstly, they may be semivocalized, a process that is associated above all with rural dialects: [perfejto] perfecto ‘perfect’, [kawsula] cápsula ‘capsule’. Secondly, they can undergo a change in their place of articulation, the most frequent locus shift being from bilabial to velar: [asektaɾ] aceptar ‘to accept’, [konsekto] concepto ‘concept’. The converse pattern may occur, however, as a result of hypercorrection: [optuβɾe] octubre ‘October’. Finally, assimilation to the following consonant may occur, resulting in the production of a geminate: [konsetto] concepto.

Turning now to the sonorants, the main feature is the routine occurrence of the so-called r asibilada, whose distribution in Central American Spanish follows the usual pattern (see e.g. Castilian Spanish). Some linguists have highlighted a tendency in the region to affricate the voiced variant [ɾ] of the assibilated r at the beginning of a breath group or after a nasal/lateral (as in [#dɾesas] rezar ‘to pray’ and [aldrēdeðoɾ] alrededor ‘around’). This tendency may well, in fact, be typical of all Spanish dialects in which assibilations occur.

An additional phenomenon relating to sonorants is the velarization of nasals in word-final position, often with accompanying nasalization of the preceding vowel: [bastõŋ] bastón ‘stick’, [pan] pan ‘bread’. Nasals are also often velarized before [n], as in [koluŋna] column ‘column’, [iŋno] himno ‘hymn/anthem’.

Finally, in terms of the (x) variable, Central America (except Costa Rica) is an ‘aspirating’ zone (i.e. [x] to [h] modification is the norm). As an extension of this phenomenon, there is a tendency in rapid speech to elide the sound, as in [traβɾo] trabajo ‘work’.

3. Morphology

Central America is a strongly voseante region (go to Voseo page). As is usual in Latin America, the clitic corresponding to vos is te and the possessives are tu and tuyo. In most parts of the region, vos goes with oxytone verb forms with monophthongal endings in both the present indicative and the subjunctive; thus, for example, hablás ‘you speak’, tenés ‘you eat’ and vivís ‘you live’, with conjugation vowel reversal for the subjunctive (hablés, tengás, vivás). In the imperative, the endings are the archaic person 5 forms ending in -á, -é, -í. In the future tense, there is variation between forms ending in -ás and forms ending in -és or -ís, the last two being associated mainly with Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala. Elsewhere in the verb paradigm, the vos forms are identical to those that go with tú in standard Spanish.

The main exception to the pattern just sketched is provided by speech in the south west of Costa Rica (the part that borders Panama), where the vos verb endings are identical in the...
present tense to those that are associated with standard vosotros; thus cantáis/-éis, coméis/-áis, vivís/-áis.

In rural areas it may still be possible to hear the archaism habís in place of has as the vos form of the auxiliary verb haber ‘to have’.

In contrast to the situation in rioplatense speech, Latin America’s other main voseante dialect, tú is not completely absent from Central American Spanish, because in Guatemala and El Salvador at least that pronoun is often used as an intermediate term of address, indicating solidarity but not familiarity.

4. Syntax

A common feature of Central American Spanish – and one it shares with the adjacent Mexican Spanish – is the ellipsis of the negative particle in sentences involving the preposition hasta (see Mexican Spanish).

In northern Central America, extending into Chiapas and the Yucatán Peninsula in southern Mexico, possessive determiners may be preceded by another determiner, as in una mi hermana ‘my sister’, esa tu criatura ‘your baby’. This may be a syntactic calque from Maya, but it could also reflect an archaic Spanish pattern. Sequences such as la mi mugier ‘my wife’, for example, are well-documented in Old Spanish.

Finally, ‘intensive’ ser may be encountered in southern Central America, as in the sentence shown below below:

Me pegó fue en la mano. (‘It was on the hand that he/she hit me.’)

Presumably this usage has spread northwards from northern South America, as it seems to have originated in the Ecuador–Colombia region.

5. Lexicon

Much of the peculiarly Central American vocabulary is of Spanish origin although there are significant borrowings from Nahuatl. In the latter case, there are two vehicles for transfer. In the first place, the Spanish themselves brought Nahuatl loanwords with them as they advanced southwards from Mexico. Secondly a variety of Nahuatl known as Pipil was already spoken in Central America and this seems to have supplied the bulk of the Nahuatl borrowings in the local Spanish. In fact, some Mexican words of Nahuatl origin have slightly different counterparts in Central America. Compare, for example, Mexican guacamole with Central American guacamol, or Mexican cuate ‘twin/buddy’ with Central American cuache.

Among the Spanish word-stock are farolazo (also found in Mexico) ‘stiff drink’, marquesote (a diamond-shaped cake), gallo pinto (a dish of red beans and rice), cipote ‘child/little rascal’, patojo ‘child’, pisto ‘money’, zafada (mainly Guatemala) ‘excuse’, chinear ‘to carry in your arms/on your back’, jalar ‘to be dating’, galera ‘shed’, andén ‘pavement’.

Words of Nahuatl origin include cuache ‘twin’ (mainly Guatemala), guaro (spirit distilled from the juice of sugar cane), chele ‘blond’, cuto ‘one-armed’, atol (hot maize drink), chiquihuite (small reed basket [also Mexico]), tequio ‘nuisance’, chichigua ‘wet nurse’, tabanco ‘attic’.
**Mexican Spanish**

**Introduction**

The territory of contemporary Mexico is not coextensive with what might be termed Mexican Spanish. In the first place, the Spanish of the Yucatán peninsula is similar to the dialects of Central America, as is the Spanish spoken in the areas that border Guatemala (the southern state of Chiapas, for example, was originally part of the Audiencia of Guatemala and only became part of Mexico after the wars of colonial independence). Secondly, the waves of 19th and 20th century migration from Mexico to the USA have caused Mexican Spanish to become the most widely spoken variety of Spanish throughout the USA. The Caribbean coastal areas of Veracruz and Tabasco are also distinctive – at least at the level of vernacular speech – as the Spanish spoken there exhibits more Caribbean phonetic traits than that spoken in the remainder of Mexico.

Historically, the evolution of Mexican Spanish coincides in a number of respects with the development of Peruvian Spanish. Like Lima, Mexico City was for centuries the hub of one of the great viceroyalties of colonial America, one which stretched from the middle of what is now the United States in the north to Panama in the south (see map below).

**Viceroyalty of New Spain and its Audiencia Districts**

As a natural result of Mexico City’s prominent role in the colonial administration north of the equator, the population of the city included relatively large numbers of speakers from the centre of the Spanish empire, viz. Castile. Consequently, like Lima within the Audiencia of Lima and the adjacent territories, Mexico City tended historically to exercise a standardizing effect within its own sphere of linguistic influence, a state of affairs that is reflected in the praise showered upon Mexican speech patterns by 17th and 18th century commentators.
1. Phonetics & Phonology

A striking feature of Mexican Spanish, in the interior of the country at least, is the high rate of unstressed vowel reduction and elision, as in [trasts] \textit{trastes} ‘cooking utensils’ and [pintʃyəβətʃ] \textit{pinches gavachos} ‘damned Americans’. This process is most frequent when a vowel is in contact with [s], and [e] is the vowel that is most frequently affected.

In the same regions – most of the interior of Mexico – syllable-final /s/ is rarely weakened; this fact, combined with frequent unstressed vowel reduction, gives the sibilant [s] a special prominence. (Note that this situation contrasts with the situation in the coastal areas, on both the Pacific and the Caribbean sides, where syllable-final /s/ weakening is a sociolinguistic marker, reflecting the tension between the Mexico city norm and the historical tendency towards consonantal weakening that is so characteristic of coastal areas in Latin America.)

[r] and [r] are routinely assibilated throughout central and southern Mexico, as in [kaʃta] \textit{carta} ‘letter’, while in the northern states the tap and trill predominate.

In terms of the (x) variable, the articulation in inland Mexico is usually [x], as in [kaxa] \textit{caja} ‘box’. On the coasts the normal articulation is [h], as in most Caribbean and Pacific coast dialects throughout Latin America.

2. Morphology

Mexican Spanish is a \textit{tuteante} dialect, \textit{voseo} being confined to some parts of the state of Chiapas, where the local Spanish belongs to the Central American dialect zone. In Chiapas, the verb forms corresponding to \textit{vos} are the same as in Guatemala. In other words, the present indicative and subjunctive have oxytone forms with monophthongal endings (\textit{cántas/-és, comés/-ás, subís/-ás}), the imperative has no final /d/, there is sociolinguistic variation in the future between forms in -ás and forms in -és/-ís (the latter being the less prestigious of the alternants), and the remaining \textit{vos} forms are identical to those that go with \textit{tú} in standard Spanish.

3. Syntax

Several syntactic patterns that sound very ‘non-standard’ to the Peninsular ear are routine in Mexican Spanish. First and foremost is the more or less conventionalized ellipsis of the negative particle \textit{no} in clauses containing the preposition \textit{hasta} ‘until’:

(1) Será publicado hasta fines de año. (i.e. ‘It will <not> be published until the end of the year.’)
(2) Cierran hasta las nueve. (i.e. ‘They <don’t> close until 9 o’clock.’)
(3) Hasta que tomé la píldora se me quitó el dolor. (i.e. ‘Until I took the pill the pain did <not> go away.’)

In each case the sentence only has the sense indicated by the English translation if the main verb is understood as being negated.

A second departure from Peninsular usage involves using interrogative \textit{qué} in conjunction with the quantifier \textit{tan(to)}, as in (4) and (5) below:

(4) ¿Qué tan graves son los daños?
(5) ¿Qué tan buen concinero eres?

Thirdly, a sequence that is ungrammatical in Peninsular Spanish, viz. \textit{mucho muy}, is used colloquially in place of the superlative, as in (6) below:

(6) Es mucho muy importante. (Compare Peninsular \textit{Es importantísimo}.)
Note finally that phenomena relating to bilingualism are likely to be encountered among Spanish-recessive bilinguals or in isolated rural regions where the syntactic influence of indigenous languages has been important historically. One of the most discussed of these phenomena is the redundant use of verbal clitics, particularly lo, a tendency that is encountered in language contact areas throughout Latin America (see the Indigenous Influences in MesoAmerica page).

4. Lexicon
Mexican Spanish retains a number of archaisms which were once commonplace in the Spanish empire. For example, in requesting repetition of something not understood, the most common Mexican response is ¿Mande? (← mandar ‘to order’). Other commonly heard Mexicanisms include the following: ándale ‘let’s go/OK/I agree’, bolillo ‘American/foreigner’ (derog.), chamaco ‘small child’, charola ‘tray’, chingadera (used of any unspecified object [vulg.]), chingar ‘to screw/to ruin’ (vulg.), enjarocharse ‘to get amorously involved’, escuincle ‘small child/brat’, ¿ese? ‘why?’, gavacho ‘American’ (derog.), güero ‘blond’, hijole ‘wow!’, huercos ‘small child’, mero (e.g. Le pegué en la mera cabezota ‘I hit him right in the middle of his face’), mocharse ‘to help out’, naco ‘crybaby/in bad taste’, órale ‘OK/come on’, padre ‘brilliant’, pinche ‘cursed/damned’, popote ‘straw’, ya mero ‘almost’ (e.g. Ya mero llegamos ‘We’re almost there’).

Chile

1. Background
Like the rest of the Southern Cone, Chile occupied a rather peripheral position in the Spanish Empire. It belonged to the Viceroyalty of Peru and so was governed ultimately from Lima, albeit with a significant degree of administrative autonomy from 1563, when the Audiencia de Chile came into existence. For much of the early colonial period the indigenous Mapuches harried the Spanish, while the area’s natural resources – particularly in mining – were not properly exploited until the 19th century. Like the Spanish of Paraguay and the Río de la Plata nations, Chilean Spanish is characterized by archaism and non-standard innovation. On the other hand, a number of features set it apart from Spanish as spoken on the eastern side of the Andes and, ever since Henríquez Ureña put forward his seminal classification of American Spanish in 1921, linguists have tended to see Chile as forming a special dialectal enclave.

2. Phonetics & Phonology
One of the features by which a Chilean speaker can be recognized is the tell-tale palatalization of /x/ before front vowels. Slight fronting of velars before a front vowel occurs in Peninsular Spanish, as a natural result of coarticulation (the process whereby the position of the organs involved in one speech sound is affected by their position in a preceding or following sound). The effect is much more marked in Chilean Spanish, however. Thus the word gente ‘people’, for example, is likely to be pronounced as [çente], where ç is a voiceless palatal fricative. In some cases there may even be ephenthesis of the palatal semivowel [j], as inçente gente. An excessively palatal articulation of /x/ is perceived as being characteristic of lower-class speech. It is clear, however, that the phenomenon occurs routinely in educated Chilean Spanish as well.

As in the rest of the Southern Cone, syllable-final /s/ is subject in Chile to weakening processes (modification to [h], elision or assimilation). Rates of weakening are very high, even in word-final position before a word-initial vowel, as in [loh otroh] los otros ‘the others’. Elision and
assimilation carry a certain social stigma and are routine only among the urban lower classes and among less educated rural speakers.

Chilean varieties of Spanish may also be characterized by the assibilating of [ɾ] and [r], with the highest rates of assimilation corresponding to the lower socio-economic strata. As in other assimilating dialects, the voiceless variant of the assimilated sound, viz. [ʃ], tends to occur after a voiceless stop or in syllable-final position – as in [kwatʃo] cuatro ‘four’ and [seɲoʃ] señor – while the voiced variant [r] appears where standard Spanish has [r], as in [peɲo] perro ‘dog’.

Finally, CH-lenition (the weakening of /ʃ/ to [ʃ]) is not uncommon; thus muchacho ‘boy’ may be heard as [muʃaʃo] rather than as standard [muʃatʃo].

3. Morphology

Voseo was once as widespread in Chile as on the other side of the Andes (go to Voseo page). However, possibly as a consequence of the standardizing efforts of the great Chilean grammarian Andrés Bello in the 19th century, it has come to have a negative sociolinguistic value. Thus Modern Chile is a country in which tuteo predominates, especially in educated speech, but in which voseo is by no means uncommon.

It is difficult to generalize about the verb endings that go with vos in Chile, as there appears to be considerable variation in usage. A rough approximation of the situation is given in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>-ar</th>
<th>-er</th>
<th>-ir</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pres. Ind.</td>
<td>cantáis</td>
<td>comís</td>
<td>vivís</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres. Subj.</td>
<td>cantís</td>
<td>comáis</td>
<td>viváis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>canta ~ cantá</td>
<td>come ~ comé</td>
<td>vive ~ viví</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect</td>
<td>cantabas ~ cantabais</td>
<td>comías ~ comáis</td>
<td>vivías ~ vivíais</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Subj.</td>
<td>cantaras ~ cantarais</td>
<td>comieras ~ comiérais</td>
<td>vivieras ~ viviérais</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional</td>
<td>cantarías ~ cantaríais</td>
<td>comerías ~ comeríais</td>
<td>vivirías ~ viviráis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>cantarís ~ cantarás</td>
<td>comerís ~ comerás</td>
<td>vivirís ~ vivirás</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To complicate matters further, there is evidence to suggest that the monophthongal endings -ás and -és used, oddly enough, with the pronoun tú, are making inroads in the present tense in the speech of the middle classes, with younger speakers in the vanguard of the development.

4. Lexicon

The most unique features of the Chilean lexicon derive from indigenous roots (mainly Mapuche and Quechua). Reasonably common Mapuche-derived words include guata ‘paunch’, chilla ‘fox’, truto ‘chicken leg’, chuico ‘demijohn’, canco ‘clay pot’. The common verb achuntar ‘to hit the mark’ is lexically derived from chunta ‘palm tree’, which is of Quechua origin. Also from Quechua is callampa ‘shanty-dwelling’. From the Castilian lexical stock come rotol-a ‘bloke/woman/pleb’, a destajo ‘to your heart’s content’, lustrín ‘shoeshiner’, traba ‘hair clasp’. The commonly encountered word futre ‘well-heeled person’ is of French origin.
Introduction

Settlement of Paraguay was closely linked, during the earliest colonial phase, with the settlement of Argentina: both Asunción and Buenos Aires were founded in the mid 1530s as a consequence of expeditions led by the Andalusian Pedro Mendoza, and the population of Buenos Aires was temporarily evacuated to Asunción 20 years later as a consequence of hostile indigenous activity. Asunción was always more remote than Buenos Aires from the hub of the colonial administration, however. Until 1776, it was a distant outpost in the Viceroyalty of Peru, separated from what is now Bolivia by the desolate Gran Chaco plain and accessible (officially at least) only by sailing up the River Paraná from Buenos Aires.

In 1776 Paraguay was made part of the Viceroyalty of La Plata (together with Argentina, Bolivia, and Uruguay) but unity with Buenos Aires was always superficial. After gaining its independence from Spain in 1811, Paraguay endured the isolationist dictatorship of José Rodriguez de Francia (1819–1840), which resulted in much of country’s cultural apparatus being dismantled. The rest of Paraguay’s history is, if anything, bleaker still. Some 90% of the male population died in the devastating War of the Triple Alliance (1865–1870), which involved Paraguay, Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay. Paraguay was involved in another major war in the 1930s, this time with Bolivia over control of the Gran Chaco. And since the Chaco War, Paraguay has been under almost continuous military dictatorship.

One of the interesting aspects of Paraguayan social history is the frequency of mixed unions during the colonial period. Men greatly outnumbered women among European settlers, especially in the remote areas to the southeast of Bolivia (see Map 1 below), and an obvious solution to the problem was interethnic marriage.

Map 1. Paraguay

For much of the colonial era, then, the prototypical Paraguayan family consisted of a Spanish-speaking father and a Guaraní-speaking mother, a fact that may partly explain the widespread Spanish–Guaraní bilingualism that exists today in Paraguay. Among bilinguals, there is normally a preference for Guaraní in intimate, personal and familiar situations. Moreover, Guaraní is used more in rural than in urban areas. Thus in Asunción and other large towns, approximately 30% of the population habitually uses Spanish at home, about 20% prefers Guaraní and about 50% alternates between the two. In rural areas, only about 2% of the population prefers Spanish, 75% prefers Guaraní and the remainder alternate between the two.
Although Spanish as spoken by the Paraguayan middle and upper classes is not very different from the speech encountered in the rest of the Southern Cone, interference from Guaraní is frequently encountered at the lower end of the socioeconomic spectrum, particularly in eastern Paraguay (between the Paraguay and the Paraná rivers) and also in adjacent areas in Argentina (the provinces of Formosa, Misiones and Chaco, together with parts of Corrientes).

1. Phonetics & Phonology

Like the Andean region, the Paraguay area is one of the few parts of the Spanish-speaking world in which the /ʎ/~/ʝ/ distinction has any vitality. Indeed, the pronunciation of ʎ as [ʎ] is almost a badge of national identity for many Paraguayans. The reason for the retention of /ʎ/ is not easy to determine, however. It used to be regarded as an instance of Guaraní influence, although that language does not appear to have the phoneme in its inventory. A more plausible explanation is that /ʎ/-retention is simply an archaism, simultaneously reflecting the large number of Spaniards from northern Spain who colonized the region and the country’s persistent cultural isolation.

Like the rest of the Southern Cone, Paraguay is a syllable-final /s/-weakening area, although speakers will gravitate towards [s] in formal situations. Out-and-out elision or assimilation to a following consonant is common only among speakers from the lower socio-economic strata.

Assibilation of [ɾ] is also common, but usually only after [t]; thus, for example, [tʃipa] tripa ‘gut/innards’, [pɒˈʃo] potro ‘colt’.

Turning now to cases of possible Guaraní influence, a striking feature in certain Spanish varieties in Paraguay is the frequent insertion of a glottal stop at word boundaries, particularly when the second word begins with a vowel, as in [aβlaɾəspanjol] hablar español ‘to speak Spanish’. The geographical distribution of this feature coincides almost exactly with the distribution of Guaraní-speaking areas, viz. Paraguay, northeastern Argentina and eastern Bolivia. Moreover, an identical feature has long been identified in the Guaraní language itself.

Another salient feature that could well be due to substratum influence is the affrication of intervocalic /ʝ/, as in [madoʃ] mayo ‘May’ and [ledjes] leyes ‘laws’. Guaraní has a voiced palatal phoneme that is also normally pronounced as an affricate, and, like the glottal stop, this feature is encountered both in Paraguay and in the Guaraní-influenced areas of northeastern Argentina.

2. Morphology

Paraguay is a voseante region, and the accompanying verb forms are the same as the mainstream forms used in Río de la Plata area. Some use of tú is found among upper middle-class speakers.

3. Syntax

Certain sectors of the Paraguayan population – the educated urban elite, the upper classes etc. – will exhibit few regional syntactic features apart from leísmo, the use of le and les as masculine direct object clitics. On the other hand, among the lower socioeconomic strata in the area between the Paraná and Uruguay rivers and extending into northeastern Argentina, significant grammatical interference from Guaraní may be encountered. Such interference is probably not as far-reaching as in the case of Aymara or Quechua-influenced Spanish in the Andes, however. (This circumstance may be due to the fact that, in Paraguay, bilingualism was the rule from the very outset and so code-switching into Guaraní took the place of Guaraní-induced calques in Spanish. In other words, the very closeness of the contacts between
Guaraní and Spanish led to the two being kept relatively separate.) Nevertheless, a number of interesting phenomena have been identified.

In particular, a transfer has occurred of certain evidential particles. Guaraní has a set of modal particles that indicate the status of what is being said or talked about: personally vouched for by the speaker, derived from an indirect source, inexact or fictitious. Several of these seem to have been transferred wholesale into Guaraní-influenced dialects of Spanish, where they are placed in clause-final or postverbal position. The following examples are cited in Granda 1994 (138–139), although it must be stressed that they are themselves taken from literary works that attempt to capture vernacular speech patterns (in Granda’s view they are accurate reproductions).

In the first place, voi expresses a strong degree of commitment to a proposition:

(1) Ese pelotazo que venía de arriba, ¡mamó picó! Con eso no había caso voi.

The particle ndayé has a reportative function, in that it is used when the information conveyed comes from an indirect source, such as a reported utterance:

(2) Y eso, según me cuenta mi hijo Manolo, que etudia ciencia contaule, se llama ndayé ‘sociedá de consumo’.

Nungá has what Granda (1994:139) calls an ‘approximative’ function. It acts as a hedging device:

(3) Vino una vieja que es visitadora nungá y le dice que los mitaí tienen que hacer lo que quieren.

Other particles – viz. gua’ú, ko, nikó, nió, katú – have been borrowed into Spanish, although they have a less easily identifiable function. Gua’ú (where the apostrophe indicates a glottal stop) is said by some to indicate the falsity of a proposition, while the remaining four seem to appear in neutral assertions.

Terms of address represent an additional area of interference. Guaraní-dominant Paraguayans do not always master the differences between tú and usted, since Guaraní has no honorific term of address.

Other non-standard grammatical phenomena are quite salient, although a link with Guaraní is not as easy to demonstrate as in the preceding cases. One of the most striking of these is the use of de + disjunctive pronoun in contexts where other Spanish dialects would employ an indirect object clitic:

(4) Se perdió de mí mi chequera.

(Compare Se me perdió la chequera.)

(5) La madre cuida a su hijo para que no se ahogue de ella.

(Compare La madre cuida a su hijo para que no se le ahogue.)

As in Central America, clitic possessives may be preceded by quantifiers or other indefinite determiners, as in un mi amigo ‘my friend/a friend of mine’, otro mi hermano ‘another of my brothers’. This structure may be a case of substrate influence or it may be a continuation of archaic Spanish patterns.

Finally, as in other areas with a strong indigenous presence, vernacular speech in both Paraguay and northeastern Argentina exhibits null direct objects, as in (6):

(6) Llevé los papeles para la famarcia y no sé si perdí.
4. Lexicon
Apart from Guaraní loanwords, Paraguayan Spanish shares most of its lexicon with the Spanish of other Southern Cone areas. In particular, there is considerable overlap with the vocabulary of the Río de la Plata region. It is also worth noting that some of the Paraguayan vocabulary of Iberian origin is distinctly archaic. Thus *carpir*, for example, dropped out of usage in the Peninsula long ago, whereas in Paraguay it is a common word, translatable as ‘to hoe’.

General Southern Cone items found in Paraguay include *patotero* ‘hooligan’, *petizo* ‘short’, *pituco* ‘snob’, *bachicha* ‘Italian’, *batacazo* ‘windfall’, *canaleta* ‘gutter’, *chiche* ‘small’, *guaso* ‘rude/crude’, *negociado* ‘shady deal’, *paseandero* ‘inclined to go out a lot’, *rebuscàrsela* ‘to get by (on your wits)’, *retar* ‘to tell off’.

*Ríoplatense* items that are common in Paraguayan Spanish include the following: *bolilla* ‘topic’, *abatatarse* ‘to lose one’s nerve’, *banderola* ‘fanlight’, *bolada* ‘opportune moment’, *cachada* ‘joke’, *corpiño* ‘bra’, *despachante* ‘customs officer’, *desprender* ‘to undo (a button)’, *lavandina* ‘bleach’, *merengue* ‘mess’, *muñequear* ‘to pull some strings’, *palenque* ‘tethering post’, *pozo* ‘pothole’, *retacear* ‘to be sparing with’, *soquete* ‘ankle sock’.

The majority of words of Guaraní origin are terms for natural kinds or cultural products: *agatí* ‘dragonfly’, *ñahatí/ñetí* ‘small mosquito’, *buhú/mbutú* ‘horsefly’, *cama* ‘udder’, *había* ‘thrush/blackbird’, *mainunguí* ‘dragonfly’, *muá* ‘glow-worm’, *pehagüé* ‘late child’, *teyú/tiyú* ‘iguana’, *ñandutí* (exquisite lace), *ñandú* (ostrich-like flightless bird), *urubú* ‘vulture/buzzard’, *yopará* (hanging jungle vine). Two very common *guaranismos* are *mitaí* ‘child’ and *karaí* (instead of *señor*).

For more information consult *A Linguistic Introduction to Spanish* by Ian Mackenzie (University of Newcastle upon Tyne), LINCOM Studies in Romance Linguistics 35, ISBN 3 89586 347 5.

References

**Pacific Coast**

1. Introduction
Leaving aside Chile, which for historical reasons forms a special dialectal enclave, the speech of much of the South American Pacific coast exhibits a broad uniformity, in phonetic terms at least. Although the major focal points during the colonial period were located away from the Pacific (with the notable exception of Lima), some coastal cities, such as Trujillo in Peru and Guayaquil in Ecuador, are now major centres of population. Afro-Hispanic communities are sprinkled along the coast, from southern Peru to northern Colombia, a vestige of the colonial practice of using black slaves in mines and on plantations. In some areas, particularly in parts of Colombia, the black population is demographically dominant; a case in point is the low-lying Chocó area, which was shunned by settlers of European origin.

2. Phonetics & Phonology
Like virtually all of non-Andean South America, the Pacific coast is an area in which [h] and ∅ are statistically frequent variants of the syllable-final (s) variable. As is usually the case in dialects of this type, ∅ is more stigmatized than [h], and both variants are more stigmatized in
prevocalic (word-final) position than in preconsonantal position. This positional constraint appears to be weakening among younger speakers, however.

As in the Caribbean, the usual variant of (x) is [h]; thus [paha] paja ‘straw’, for example.

Word-final [n] is commonly velarized, although when the following word begins with a consonant, this process may be checked by the general tendency in Spanish for preconsonantal nasals to have the same place of articulation as the following segment. Nevertheless, preconsonantal velarization, as in [enʃukasa] en tu casa ‘in your house’, is by no means uncommon.

At the lower end of the socio-economic spectrum, syllable-final liquids may undergo some of the processes outlined for Andalusia, the Canaries and the Caribbean (specifically: [l] to [ɾ] modification and vice-versa, and elision).

Finally, features that are typical of creole Spanish may be encountered in vernacular dialects in coastal areas of Colombia, particularly in the Chocó area. In particular, /d/ may be realized as [ɾ], as in [maruro] maduro ‘mature’ and [morro] modo ‘modo’ and /k/ as the glottal stop [ʔ]: [lakasaʔural] la casa cural ‘the priest’s house’.

3. Morphology

In terms of the Pacific coast, voseo is widespread in Ecuador (except in Guayaquil and Esmeraldas city), not uncommon in Colombia and almost non-existent in Peru. In the present indicative, the accompanying verb forms are usually oxytone with monophthongal endings (cantás, comés, subís), but throughout the rest of the verb paradigm the vos verb forms are identical to those that go with tú in standard Spanish. Some social stigma attaches to voseo but, in Ecuador at least, it is deeply entrenched at the vernacular level.

4. Syntax

Spanish on the Pacific coast is not syntactically distinctive. The same phenomena are likely to be encountered as occur in general in the countries in question. The one notable departure from this state of affairs concerns the clause-final doubling of the negative particle no, as in No hablo inglés no ‘I don’t speak English’. This is essentially a coastal feature and is common among Afro-Hispanic speakers. It may well have a creole origin.

5. Lexicon


Andean Spanish

In the colonial era, the Andean region was part of the Viceroyalty of Peru and so was administered from Lima on the Pacific coast. But the major highland towns and cities were by no means cultural backwaters. Potosí, for example, at one time had a larger population than London, while Quito at the other end of the Andes was a centre of culture from the beginning of Spanish rule in 1534. Even Cuzco in Peru, which is often described as a provincial town of minor importance, had a substantial upper-class of European origin.
On the other hand, language contact between Spanish and indigenous languages (Quechua throughout the region and Aymara in southern Peru and Bolivia) has been long-lasting and intense. In many areas stable forms of interlanguage Spanish have been in use for centuries and it is likely that the speech of some monolingual speakers - especially in the remoter urban centres, such as Puno or Juliaca in southern Peru - represents a crystallization of such hybrid systems. The term ‘Andean Spanish’ is commonly applied to the spectrum of speech types, from interlanguage to indigenously-influenced monolingual Spanish, that are encountered in the highland area stretching from the equator to the Tropic of Capricorn (see Map 1 below):

Map 1. The Andes and the Andean Dialect Zone
2. Phonetics and Phonology

In general, syllable-final /s/ undergoes none of the ‘weakening’ or assimilatory processes that are typical of southern Spain, the Canaries and coastal Latin America. On the other hand, highland Ecuadorian Spanish exhibits routine voicing of word-final /s/ before a vowel, as in [lozamiɣos] los amigos ‘the friends’.

Throughout most of the Andes, a phonemic distinction is maintained that corresponds approximately to written ɣ. In Peru and Bolivia, this distinction replicates standard /j/ ~ /ʎ/, while in Ecuador it takes the form of /ʃ/ versus palato-alveolar /ʒ/; compare, for example, [jemá] yema ‘yolk’ and [lame]/[same] llame ‘call!’, [oʃe] oye ‘hears’ and olla [oʃa]/[oʃa] ‘pot’. This preservation of a distinction that has been eliminated in most other parts of the Spanish-speaking world may well be due to substrate influence, given that a /ʃ/ ~ /ʎ/ contrast exists in both Aymara and Quechua. Compare, for example, Aymara [ʃapu] yapu ‘field’ and [ʃapa] llapa ‘flat’, [xaʃa] jaya ‘far’ and [xaʃu] jallu ‘rain’.


/ʃ/ is commonly articulated as a voiceless bilabial fricative (symbol: [ϕ]): [ϕruta] fruta ‘fruit’. An epenthetic [w] is often inserted between [ϕ] and a following vowel: [ϕwamilja] familia ‘family’.

Turning now to vowels, these are routinely weakened in unstressed syllables when next to /s/.

This feature, combined with the usual retention of syllable-final /s/, results in Andean Spanish producing a strikingly different auditory impression from Caribbean and Pacific coast Spanish. Finally, in heavily Quechua- or Aymara-influenced dialects, the three-way height contrast (low ~ mid ~ high) of mainstream Spanish may be replaced by a binary opposition. Thus while standard Spanish exhibits five vowel phonemes, /a, e, i, o, u/, some Andean speakers may have just three, which conventionally are represented as /a, i, u/. The front and back phonemes /i/ and /u/ may be realized as high (e.g. [misa] mesa ‘table’ and [ʃutu] roto ‘broken’) or as mid (e.g. [ʃeʃas] chicas ‘girls’ and [ʃrota] fruta ‘fruit’) but no clear linguistic rule seems to condition either type of articulation.

3. Morphology

In the Ecuadorian and Bolivian Andes voseo is common, especially in rural areas or among economically marginalized speakers. In contrast, voseo is now all but extinct in the Peruvian Andes. The choice of associated verb forms tends to be an ethnolinguistic marker, with speakers who identify with the Hispanic component of society preferring forms that are identical to those that go with tú in standard Spanish and those with a markedly indigenous background gravitating towards the system shown below:

- Pres. Ind. cantás comís ~ comés vivís
- Pres. Subj. cantís ~ cantés comás vivás
- Imperative cantá comé viví

In the southern Bolivian Andes, extending into Chile and northwestern Argentina, it is common for speakers to have a system in which the forms corresponding to vos are identical to those that go with vosotros in standard Spanish, except in the imperative (where there is variation...
between root-stressed forms and ending-stressed forms without final /d/ and except where standard Spanish has -éis, which in the Andes is usually replaced by -ís.

4. Syntax

_Pues_ ‘well’, _nomás_ ‘just’, and _pero_ ‘but’ are routinely used in ways that recall the modal suffixes (i.e. suffixes signalling different degrees of speaker involvement) that are so characteristic of Quechua and Aymara. In particular, these words are frequently stock in postverbal position:

(1) Dile nomás pues pero.

Compare Aymara _Sa kirakipunï:ta_ - with an identical meaning - which is formed by agglutinating the suffixes _ki_, _raki_, _puni_ and _y_ (the last two being fused), plus the person 2 marker _ta_, to the verb root _sa_ (from _saña_ ‘to say’).

Another widespread feature is the use of ‘double possessives’, as in (2) below:

(2) De María en su casa estoy yiendo.

The sequence _de María […] su casa_ in place of _la casa de María_ will be instantly recognizable to the Quechua-hablante, as it is calqued directly on a Quechua construction. Thus, in _Mariyax wasin_ ‘María’s house’, for instance, _Mariya_ means ‘María’, _wasi_ means ‘house’ and _-x_ and _-n_ are both possessive markers.

Example (2) also illustrates the common locative use of the preposition _en_, a usage that is particularly frequent before a locative adverb, as in _Vivo en acá_ ‘I live here’ or _En allá sale agua_ ‘Water is coming out there’.

Certain varieties of Andean Spanish exhibit a system of data source marking that appears to reflect convergence with local indigenous languages, in particular Aymara. There are at least three grades of data source in Aymara: _personal knowledge_, _knowledge through language_, and _non-personal knowledge_ (the examples that follow are from Hardman de Bautista 1982:152-153). Assertions based on personal knowledge are unmarked, in that only the assertoric affix _w(a)_ is present, as in _Mama Marsila _w_ t’ant’ manq’i_ ‘Ms. Marcela ate bread’, where the speaker has direct sensory experience of the event described. Knowledge through language is indicated through the use of _siw_, the person 3 pres. tense of _saña_ ‘to say’, as an independent particle, although again the assertoric affix _w(a)_ may be present: _Mama Marsilaw _t’ant’ manq’i _siw_ ‘Ms. Marcela ate bread (so I’m told)’. And the prototypical exponent of non-personal knowledge, in person 3/6, is the verbal affix _tayna_, as in _Mama Marsilax _t’ant’ manq’a _tayna_ ‘(Apparently) Ms. Marcela ate bread’. This category of data source also includes information that comes as a surprise to the speaker: _Pitañ yatitayna_ ‘(So) they knew how to smoke!’. Comparable evidential distinctions are made also in Quechua, especially using the suffix _-sqa_.

This tripartite system of data source marking is replicated in interlanguage Spanish and also, as a consequence of linguistic transfer, in popular dialects of monolingual Andean Spanish through a redeployment of existing resources. More specifically, both the pluperfect tense ( _había hecho_ ) and the verb form _dice_ ‘he/she says’, the latter recycled as a generally clause-final particle, come to have an evidential or data source-indicating meaning. The following examples of pluperfect usage are from an article about graffiti in a public lavatory that appeared in the Cuzco weekly paper _El Tiempo_ (18th to 24th September 1994):

(3) El jefe había tenido pelos en su sentadera.

(4) El Justo Condorhuamán había sido hijo de Pablo Muchotrico.

Like the exponents of non-personal knowledge in Aymara and Quechua, the Spanish pluperfect in the varieties in question is used also to express surprise, a feature of usage that seems to have seeped into the monolingual speech of even educated Limeños:
¡Ahhh! ¡Vivo habías sido!
¡Habían sabido fumar!

Evidential *dice*, which is frequent in the interlanguage, has perhaps a greater currency in monolingual Andean Spanish than the evidential pluperfect. This presumably is due to the fact that the *dice* phenomenon represents a smaller departure from mainstream Spanish. Hardman de Bautista (1982:154) gives the following examples:

(7) Marcela está enferma dice.
(8) Estaba enojada dice.

A variant form of this construction, involving the complementizer *que*, arises when *dice* occurs clause-internally:

(9) Shumaya dice que comió pan.

Note that the impersonal meaning of *dice* endures and so, unlike in standard Spanish, *Shumaya* cannot be interpreted as the subject of *dice*.

In highland Ecuador at least, the use of *dar* ‘to give’ + gerund is common (a construction that may well be modelled on a similar structure in Quechua):

(10) Dame cerrando la puerta.
(11) Pedro dio componiendo mi reloj.

5. Lexicon

Andean Spanish is defined above all in syntactic and phonological terms. Moreover, as a consequence of Peru’s central position in the colonial effort, many of the Quechua loanwords in Spanish have a general currency throughout Latin America. Accordingly, there are not that many lexical items that could be described as typically Andean. Of those that can be, the following are derived from Quechua: *anticucho* ‘kebab’, *cancha* ‘toasted maize’, *chacra* ‘small farm’, *choclo* ‘corn on the cob’, *concho* ‘sediment/left-overs’, *chuño* ‘potato flower’, *opa* ‘foolish/clumsy’, *sorocche* ‘altitude sickness’, *amarcar* ‘to cradle in one’s arms’, *chulla* ‘odd [of sock]/single’, *acullico* (small ball of coca leaves), *oca* (root vegetable), *quinua* (high-altitude cereal plant), *guagua* ‘baby’, *me/te etc. tinca que* ... ‘I/you etc. get the feeling that ...’, *yanacón* ‘tenant farmer’.

Ayamara appears to have provided a mere handful of loanwords, three of which are *aguayo* (multicoloured cloth; mainly used in Bolivia), *yapa* ‘small amount given in addition’ and *challar* ‘to bless with alcohol’.

In addition to lexical borrowing, Andean Spanish reflects shifts in the meaning of common Peninsular words. For example, while in Peninsular Spanish, *pie* refers only to the foot, from the ankle down, in Andean Spanish, it may refer to the limb from the knee down or to the entire leg, thus reflecting the semantic field of Aymara *kayu*. Andean Spanish *pie* is in fact closer in meaning to Peninsular *pierna*. The adverb *siempre* has also changed its meanings, from ‘always’ to ‘still’. Thus *Siempre está aquí* means ‘He/She is still here’ rather than ‘He/She is always here’, which is what the sentence would mean in Peninsular Spanish.

References:

Spanish in the Caribbean

1. Introduction

The Caribbean dialect zone encompasses the island territories of Cuba, Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico, as well as the coastal areas of Venezuela, northern Colombia and eastern Panama. The Spanish colonial enterprise in the Americas was initiated in the Caribbean: Columbus’s famous discovery of America in 1492 actually consisted in the ‘discovery’ of Hispaniola, the island that is now split between the Dominican Republic and Haiti. For almost three decades after Columbus’s first voyage, Spanish settlement in the Americas was confined to the Caribbean islands and so the period 1492–1519 (the last date signalling the beginning of the conquest of Mexico) is known as the periodo antillano.

Certain points in the Caribbean basin were of considerable importance for much of the colonial period. For example, from the mid-16th century onwards the two annual fleets from Spain stopped at Havana on both the outward and the return journeys, an arrangement that brought enormous prosperity to western Cuba. The Colombian city of Cartagena also benefited from the fleet system and rapidly became the most important port on the Spanish Main. Puerto Rico, in contrast, was off the flotilla route between Spain and the New World and so became marginalized. And Santo Domingo, in the Dominican Republic, was initially Spain’s doorway to the Americas but the exhaustion of the Dominican gold deposits, coupled with the discovery of fabulous wealth in Mexico and Peru, soon deflected interest and investment away from the island. By the end of the 17th century, the territory was essentially a backwater.

Two themes dominate the demographic makeup of the Caribbean (in addition, of course, to mainstream Peninsular settlement): the importation of black slaves and immigration from the Canary Islands. Concerning the first of these, it is important to note that Caribbean ports—above all Cartagena—handled the bulk of slave imports from Africa until well into the 18th century, when the Río de la Plata area was opened up to large-scale maritime trade. Even after this period, however, the importation of slaves into the Caribbean if anything increased, as a consequence of the 19th century sugar boom. In the most extreme case, in Cuba, 40% of the population in the first quarter of the century consisted of black African slaves. The African contribution to Caribbean speech is consequently not negligible. At the most radical end of the spectrum there is the creole form of Spanish spoken in Palenque de San Basilio, located about 80 kms south of Cartagena. Elsewhere, isolated creole-like phenomena may be encountered, as well as pronunciation features and lexical items that may have an African origin.

Turning now to Canary immigration, Canary Islanders appear to have participated in the settlement of the Caribbean from the earliest phases of the colonial period (see Perez Vidal 1955). Nevertheless, their greatest impact stems from the waves of immigration that began in the 18th century and continued until the 1960s. The principal motivation for Canary settlement in the New World has generally been economic hardship at home but, in the 19th century, immigration was actively encouraged by the Spanish government as part of its attempt to stem the tide of nationalism in the colonies. Loyalist immigration of this type focused on Cuba and Puerto Rico, the two territories that remained under Spanish control for longest.

The demographic impact of the Canary Islanders was significant in the Caribbean. As early as 1714, for example, the governor of Caracas observed that half the white population of the city was composed of Canary Islanders. In Cuba, to take another example, the concentration of Canary Islanders in the 19th century was such that the isleño became a well-known figure in the literature of the time. As a consequence of this heritage, the Spanish spoken in many areas of the Caribbean exhibits undeniable similarities to Canary Island Spanish.
2. Phonetics & Phonology.

Caribbean Spanish is characterized by radical divergence from standard Spanish. This is evident above all in extreme consonantal weakening, but it manifests itself also in the tendency to nasalize vowels, particularly when these are adjacent to a nasal consonant; thus, for example, [säŋhwän] San Juan, [saliämö] saliamos ‘we were going out’, [ëmpesa] empezar ‘to begin’. A concomitant of this process is the frequent elision of syllable-final nasals, as in [tapö] tapón ‘cork’, [pelö] pelón ‘bald’.

Turning now to the theme of consonantal weakening, the classic illustration, as in Andalusia and the Canaries, is provided by the realization of /s/ in syllable-final position. Thus modification to [h], elision and assimilation to a following consonant are all routine. Elision and assimilation carry a social stigma in some circles, but the phenomena are common except in the most careful speech styles.

Modification of [s] to [h] may occur also in syllable-initial position, although this process is documented only in certain areas, such as Puerto Rico: [sĩŋköhentaβo] cinco centavos ‘five centavos’, [laŋemanapasaða] la semana pasada ‘last week’.

As in Andalusia and the Canaries, the lower sociolects tend towards eroding the distinction between laterals and vibrants in syllable-final position, although few speakers exhibit complete neutralization. In word-final position, at the end of the rhythm group or before a word-initial vowel, elision of the liquid is routine, as in [köme] comer ‘to eat’. Before a consonant (either within a word or at a word junction) confusion of [l] and [ɾ] is common (as in [bεlədε] verdad ‘truth’ and [ɾεβεɾdε] rebeldε ‘rebel’), as is assimilation. The latter process is well documented for Cuba and, to illustrate the scope of the phenomenon, a range of examples are shown below:

[kubba] curva ‘bend’
[seffino] ser fino ‘to be posh’
[ettakaŋo] el tacaño ‘the stingy man’
[poddonde] por dónde ‘where’
[kanne] carne ‘meat’
[pugga] pulga/purga ‘flea/laxative’

Semivocalization to [j] was once widespread also, but contemporary observers insist it is now limited to one geographical area, viz. Cibao in the Dominican Republic: [kajta] carta ‘letter’ and [ajto] alto ‘high’. Finally, syllable-final [ɾ] (although apparently not [l]) may be modified to [h], as in [kahne] carne ‘meat’, or absorbed by a preceding nasalized vowel, as in [bĩŋ] virgen ‘virgin’.

Other Andalusian/Canary-like features include CH-lenition (documented in Puerto Rico and Panama), the modification of [x] to [h] (general) and the velarization of word-final or syllable-final [n] (general). As is usual in such dialects, [−n] velarization is routine at the end of the rhythm group or before a word-initial vowel and less common before a consonant.

Turning now to other consonantal phenomena, two of the most striking of these relate to the articulation of the trill /r/. In Cuba and the Dominican Republic this segment is routinely devoiced, as in [pεɾo] perro ‘dog’ and [ɾoho] rojo ‘red’. In Puerto Rico, in contrast, /r/ is frequently articulated as uvular fricative, voiced or voiceless: [kamoŋ]/[xamɔŋ] Ramón. The voiced variant is more or less identical to the standard French pronunciation of the letter r, while the voiceless variant is very similar to the retracted articulation of /ʁ/ that is characteristic of male speech throughout the Iberian Peninsula (excluding Andalusia).
Finally, in areas with a high concentration of black speakers, intervocalic /d/ is often modified to [r], as in [kwirao] cuidado ‘care’, a process that is carried to an extreme in the creole Spanish of Palenque de San Basilio, Colombia.

3. Morphology

Voseo is now completely absent from Caribbean Spanish. Contemporary commentators such as the Cuban Esteban Pichardo speak of its survival as late as the 1830s (see López Morales 1970:136-142) but by the 1870s it appears to have become confined to a small number of speakers from the lowest social strata.

Note, however, that the form [bo] (< vos) occurs as a person 2 pronoun in the creole Spanish used in Palenque de San Basilio.

Possibly as a result of the routine elision of word-final [s], some speakers may use [se] as a plural marker, but generally this tendency is limited to words with singular forms that end in a stressed vowel: [kafe] café ‘coffee’ → [kafese] ‘coffees’, [sofa] sofá ‘sofa’ → [sofese] ‘sofas’.

4. Syntax

A number of phenomena appear to be common throughout the Caribbean region. The first of these is the placing of subject pronouns before an infinitive, as in para yo entenderlo ‘for me to understand it’, antes de yo llegar a Caracas ‘before I arrive(d) in Caracas’. This construction is common also in the Canary Islands.

Secondly, non-inversion is normal in qu-questions when the subject NP is a pronoun: ¿Qué tú quieres? ‘What do you want?’, ¿Cómo usted se llama? ‘What is your name?’. This pattern too is documented (particularly among older speakers) for the Canary Islands. Non-inversion is unusual if the subject pronoun is not directly adjacent to the verb. Thus *¿Qué tú no quieres?, for example, would be unacceptable to most speakers. What this suggests is that the subject pronoun is becoming cliticized, possibly to compensate for the reduction in suffix differentiation implied by consonantal instability in word-final position.

A phenomenon that appears to have been exported northwards from Colombia and which is now general in the Caribbean is the routine use of ‘intensive’ ser:

(1) Trabajo es en la universidad.  (i.e. ‘<Where> I work is at the university.’)

Compare standard Donde trabajo es en la universidad.

(2) Me fijaba era en la luz.  (i.e. ‘<What> I was watching was the light.’)

Compare standard En lo que me fijaba era en la luz.

A tendency that has been identified in the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico and coastal Venezuela is the redundant use of subject pronouns:

Bueno, hace como … sí dos años me mordió el perro […] Yo fui así a tocarle a la dueña de la casa para cobrarle … Yo estaba hablando con la señora y yo creía que el perro no me iba a hacer nada … (Perl & Schwegler 1998:51)

‘Well, it was about … yes, two years ago, that the dog bit me […] I went to touch the owner of the house to charge her … I was talking to the lady and I didn’t think the dog was going to do anything to me …’

In vernacular Dominican Spanish at least (and probably more generally in the Caribbean), this use of redundant subject pronouns occurs even when the pronoun has an anaphoric function.
(as opposed to the deictic function illustrated by the previous examples), as in the following sentence:

(3) Cómpralas, que ellás son bonitas. (‘Buy them, they’re nice.’)

Possibly by way of an extension of the above type of usage, neuter ello has come in vernacular Dominican Spanish to be used as a dummy subject expression in existential constructions and also in copular constructions in which the standard pattern would be for an infinitive to function as the subject of the verb ser:

(4) Ello hay maíz. (‘There is corn.’)

(5) Ello es fácil llegar. (‘It is easy to get there.’)

Compare (5) to standard Es fácil llegar/Llegar es fácil, in which llegar is the grammatical subject of es.

Reduplicated no in post-verbal position, as in example (6) below, is frequent in vernacular Dominican Spanish. Like /lal/ → [ɾ] modification, this phenomenon is characteristic of Afro-Hispanic speech and is also found in the creole Spanish of Palenque de San Basilio.

(6) Nosotros no vamos no. (‘We aren’t going.’)

5. Lexicon


References:


**Indigenous Influences in MesoAmerica**

1. Introduction

Although dozens of indigenous languages were spoken in colonial Mexico, Nahuatl quickly became the most important. In the Yucatán, Maya was also a major language, but not much importance was attached to it by the Spaniards.

Throughout Mexico and Central America, Nahuatl was used by Spaniards as a *lingua franca*, even in some areas where Nahuatl had not previously been spoken.

Spanish–Nahuatl linguistic contacts were fairly intense. The Spanish clergy used Nahuatl in their missionary work and it was also used to a certain extent in administration. This is all reflected in the fact that a large number of Nahuatl grammar books were published during the colonial period. In fact, the first books published in Mexico were written in Nahuatl.
Although the Spaniards never treated Nahuatl-speakers as equals, the political strength of the former Aztec empire and the need to maintain cordial relations with its heirs resulted in a certain diffusion, initially at least, of the Nahuatl language among Spaniards.

As in Paraguay, there were plenty of mixed-ethnic marriages, producing children raised by Nahuatl-speaking mothers. On the other hand, Nahuatl disappeared as an urban home language much faster in Mexico than Guarani in Paraguay, and there is no evidence that a stable interlanguage emerged as in the Andes. So the historical picture, in Mexico at least, is one of a rapid Hispanization of the Nahuatl community.

As a consequence, the indigenous influence on Spanish is not as great in Mexico as it is in the Andes and Paraguay. Nevertheless among Spanish-recessive bilinguals in rural areas there is some evidence of penetration of Nahuatl structures into Spanish.

Turning to the Maya family of languages, in the Yucatan Peninsula, the picture is essentially one of cities and towns being Spanish-speaking islands in the midst of a Mayan-speaking countryside. But there is virtually no upward socioeconomic movement on the part of the indigenous population. Thus there is no obvious way for Maya to have an influence on local Spanish, although there are one or two phenomena that can be attributed to Maya.

2. Vocabulary

A number of borrowings from Nahuatl have found their way into mainstream Mexican usage. In addition, as a consequence of the way Latin America was conquered, settled and administered by the Spaniards, a number of these words have acquired a general currency in the Americas. A selection of Nahuatl loanwords is given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word in Spanish</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aguacate</td>
<td>‘avocado’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cacahuate</td>
<td>‘peanut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cacao</td>
<td>‘coca’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>camote</td>
<td>= a type of sweet potato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chapulin</td>
<td>‘locust’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chicle</td>
<td>‘chewing gum’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chilaquiles</td>
<td>= corn tortilla in chile and tomato sauce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chile</td>
<td>‘chile’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chiquihuite</td>
<td>= straw basket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comal</td>
<td>= ceramic dish for cooking tortillas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coyote</td>
<td>‘coyote’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuate</td>
<td>‘twin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hule</td>
<td>‘rubber’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mezcal</td>
<td>‘mescal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mole</td>
<td>= a thick chile sauce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nopal</td>
<td>‘prickly pear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>petaca</td>
<td>= basket, pouch, suitcase (depending on region)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>petate</td>
<td>= reed mat used for lying on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tequila</td>
<td>‘tequila’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiza</td>
<td>‘chalk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tocayo</td>
<td>‘namesake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tomate</td>
<td>‘tomato’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Pronunciation

Syllable-final [s] is very strongly articulated, possibly through identification with Nahuatl [ts]. There are also high rates of unstressed vowel reduction, especially next to [s]:

[sɪŋkʰesɔs] cinco pesos
[entonsɔs] entonces
[mwiβonito] muy bonito

The introduction of Nahuatl loanwords into local varieties of Spanish of has meant that at least two non-Spanish sounds have been added to the Spanish phonetic inventory. The first of these is the palato-alveolar fricative [ʃ], corresponding to written x, which appears in such loanwords as nixtamal (= cooked maize used to make tortillas), xocoyote ‘youngest child’, and xixi (= a soap made from vegetables). The second phonetic borrowing from Nahuatl is the dental affricate [ts], written tz. This sound is perhaps best known in the word quetzal, which denotes a bird that occupies an important position in Aztec mythology in addition to being the name of the Guatemalan unit of currency.

Finally, Mayan-influenced varieties of Spanish in southern Mexico and Central America may exhibit a glottal stop at word junctions, especially if there is a flanking vowel:

[mɪʔixo] mi hijo
[noʔsabe] no sabe
[dʒaʔbamos] ya vamos

4. Morphology

Two common suffixes appear to be of Nahuatle origin. The first of these is –eco (< Nahuatl – ecatl), which is used in a number of nationality and origin adjectives, such as guatemalteco, yucateco, tolteco. The agentive suffix -i(n)che (?) < Nahuatl -tzín) may also be a borrowing from Nahuatl. Applied to a verbal root, this creates an adjective denoting an individual who habitually engages in the activity described by the verb: metiche ‘nosy parker’, pedi(n)che ‘scrounger’, caguiche ‘that dirties his/her nappies’.

5. Syntax

One of the most striking features of interlanguage Spanish in the Americas is the apparently arbitrary occurrence of redundant clitic pronouns, especially lo. This phenomenon, known as ‘clitic doubling’, is not restricted to the Mexican/Central American area, but it has been much studied by specialists in Mexican Spanish. A selection of examples is given below:

(1) Te lo ponés tu sombrero viejo. (‘You put on your old hat.’)
(2) Lo compramos la harina. (‘We buy the flour.’)
(3) Lo ponen abajo los platanos. (‘They put the bananas underneath.’)
(4) Yo no lo tengo milpa. (‘I don’t have a cornfield.’)
(5) Dicen que lo nació en Belén. (‘They say he was born in Bethlehem.’)
(6) Yo lo he venido. (‘I have come.’)

It has been suggested that the type of case illustrated by sentences (1) to (4), in which a transitive verb appears with both a full direct object noun phrase and the clitic lo, reflects an identification of Spanish lo with Nahuatl qui- (plural: quin), a 3rd person direct object marker. Like lo in clitic-doubling varieties of Spanish, Nahuatl qui(n)- is not sensitive to gender and it
routinely appears in cases in which the verb is already accompanied by a noun phrase that indicates the direct object. It is moreover a verbal prefix as lo effectively is:

Ni-qui-tta in cihuatl.

Tle ti-qui-tta?

In the sentences above, -tta is the verbal root meaning ‘see’, ni- means ‘I’, ti- means ‘you’, in cihuatl means ‘the woman’ and tle means ‘what’. Thus the first sentence means ‘I see the woman’ and the second means ‘What do you see?’. Given that qui-, as has been said, is a third person direct object marker, the structure of the two Nahuatl sentences above approximates to Yo lo veo a la mujer and ¿Qué lo ves? (both with redundant lo). Thus the argument is that bilingual speakers identify Spanish lo with Nahuatl qui(n) and then use lo in the same way that qui(n) is used, i.e. they prefix it to all transitive verbs (regardless of whether or not the direct object is already specified in the form of a noun phrase) and they take no account of the gender of the direct object.

This still leaves unexplained the use of lo with intransitive verbs, illustrated in the earlier sentences (5) and (6). Now it turns out that nearly all documented cases of lo + intransitive involve verbs in the past tense. For this reason, some have argued that the use of lo in this type of case reflects an identification of Spanish lo with the Nahuatl past tense marker o-, given the phonetic similarity between the two forms and given also that both are prefixed to verbs. Thus consider the following Nahuatl sentences:

o- ni-coch
o- tlacat
o- ti-nen

The root coch means ‘sleep’, tlacat means ‘be born’ and nen means ‘live’. As before, ni and ti mean ‘I’ and ‘you’ respectively, while a bare verb indicates a third person subject. Thus the three sentences above mean ‘I slept’, ‘He/She was born’ and ‘You lived’ respectively. Now, to a bilingual speaker who identified Nahuatl o with Spanish lo, the corresponding sentences in Spanish would seem to be Lo dormí, Lo nació, and Lo viviste, i.e. sentences in which lo occurred with an intransitive verb. It is in this way, some have argued, that lo comes to be used with intransitive verbs in Nahuatl–Spanish interlanguage.

**Río de la Plata Spanish**

1. **Historical Background**

The area around the Río de la Plata (the estuary formed by the convergence of the Paraná and Uruguay rivers) is now one of the most densely populated in Latin America. Throughout much of the colonial period, however, it was an economic and cultural backwater. With the prohibition on direct trade across the Atlantic, it was for centuries accessible only by an enormous overland journey down and across the southern continent. The full importance of the area was only acknowledged with the formation of the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata in 1776, comprising present-day Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay and Bolivia. This historical isolation from the centres of power, culture and education is reflected in a variety of Spanish that has traditionally been characterized by archaism and non-standard innovation.

The settlement of Argentina was carried out from three different points (see map below). In the first place, settlement of the area immediately around the Río de la Plata came directly from Spain, with the foundation of Buenos Aires in 1536 by the Andalusian Pedro de Mendoza. When hostile indigenous tribes from the Pampas forced the evacuation of Buenos Aires a few years
later, the settlement was moved to Asunción, several hundred miles up the Paraná river. Asunción in turn served as the base for the re-establishment of Buenos Aires in 1580. Throughout the bulk of Argentina, excluding the northwest, the Cuyo region next to Chile and the Guarani-speaking areas close to the northeastern border with Paraguay (Misiones, Corrientes, Resistencia and Formosa), Buenos Aires is regarded as the locus of the standard Argentine variety of Spanish.

Northwestern Argentina was settled from Peru, via Bolivia. Indeed the major city, Tucumán (established 1565), was under the jurisdiction of the Audencia of Charcas (Bolivia) right up until the establishment of the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata in 1776. The Spanish of this area is best classified with the Andean varieties of the language, especially as this region once contained a significant Quechua-speaking population. Despite geographically belonging to northwestern Argentina, the city of Santiago del Estero (founded 1553) is a linguistic enclave with unique dialectal features. This is probably due to the fact that it was rapidly overshadowed by Córdoba and Tucumán, and so fell into a state of cultural and economic isolation, after having initially enjoyed direct trade routes with Lima.

Finally, the Cuyo region in the extreme west was settled from Chile, with the cities of Mendoza (founded 1561), San Juan (1562) and San Luis (1591–1594) remaining under the jurisdiction of Chile until the creation of the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata nearly two centuries later. Today, the speech of this area still bears a close resemblance to the Spanish of central Chile, although the status of the Buenos Aires dialect as the national standard is beginning to be felt.

Uruguay, in contrast, has a much less elaborate history. Originally known as the Banda Oriental (the land to the east of the Uruguay river), it remained pretty much unsettled by Europeans until the Portuguese incursions from 1680 onwards. Montevideo was only established in 1726 (by

Varieties of Spanish, by Ian Mackenzie

Spaniards from Buenos Aires) and then only as a garrison designed as part of the effort to repel the Portuguese. From then on, the territory was fought over by Spaniards and Portuguese (later by Argentines and Brazilians), until in 1828 it was established as an independent state, intended primarily to act as a ‘buffer’ between Argentina and Brazil.

About 70 per cent of the Uruguayan population lives in Montevideo, and much of the Spanish spoken in Uruguay can be regarded as an extension of the Buenos Aires dialect. Apart, that is, from the bilingual *fronterizo* speech that is to be encountered close to the border with Brazil, the legacy of a long history of settlement and annexation on the part of Uruguay’s Portuguese-speaking neighbour.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries the arrival of tens of thousands of Italians in the Río de la Plata cities resulted in a major demographic shift, with residents of Italian origin accounting at the peak of the immigration for almost half the population of Buenos Aires and Montevideo. The Italo-Spanish interlanguage that flourished among Italian immigrants was known as *cocoliche*. Much caricatured in literature and on the stage, it came to occupy a prominent position in popular culture but has now more or less died out.

Canary Island immigration to the region in the 19th and 20th centuries was significant also (although the figures were never as high as in the Caribbean). Accordingly, it is not difficult to find items that belong to both *rióplatense* and Canary speech, a case in point being the common words *pibe* ‘boy’ and *piba* ‘girl’.

### 2. Phonetics & Phonology

Throughout Argentina (except the extreme west) and Uruguay the [ʝ] of mainstream Latin American Spanish is replaced by a palato-alveolar fricative, which may be voiced [ʒ] or voiceless [ʃ]; thus, for example, [aʃeɾ]/[aʝeɾ] *ayer* ‘yesterday’, [kaʃeɾ]/[kaʝeɾ] *calle* ‘street’. This phenomenon, known as *ʒeísmo* or *rehilamiento*, originated in Buenos Aires but is now associated with virtually all Argentinian Spanish, at all social levels. The voiceless sound [ʃ] appears to be an incoming prestige variant. According to Wolf & Jiménez (1979), it has a high frequency among young speakers in Buenos Aires, particularly educated females, and it is also spreading to other parts of Argentina.

Outside Buenos Aires, e.g. in Montevideo and in the Argentine hinterland, the voiceless variant has a lower frequency, and [ʒ] tends to dominate.

Dialects whose phonetic inventory includes [ʒ] are usually also yeísta (i.e. orthographic *ll* and *y* correspond to the same sound). In the province of Santiago del Estero, however, in northwestern Argentina, *ll* and *y* are pronounced differently, but the distinction is not [ʎ] ~ [ʝ] as in Castile/Paraguay/the Andes. Rather, the distinction is between [ʒ] and [ʃ]; thus [kaʃeɾ] *calle* ‘street’ but [aʝeɾ] *ayer* ‘yesterday’.

The other major areal feature is the ‘weakening’ of syllable-final /s/ (although note that /s/ is retained as a sibilant in a shrinking area of Santiago del Estero and in a tiny fringe along the Bolivian border in the far northwest of Argentina). As elsewhere in the Spanish-speaking world, the pronunciation of syllable-final /s/ is a major sociolinguistic variable, with higher rates of weakening in lower class speech than in middle class speech and higher rates too in informal situations than in formal situations.
3. Morphology

One of the most characteristic features of Argentine Spanish is voseo, which is the norm throughout the social spectrum. In the eastern half of the country (including Buenos Aires), the situation concerning the verb forms that go with vos is as in the table below (where there are two variants, the form to the left represents the form that carries the highest prestige value):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>-ar</th>
<th>-er</th>
<th>-ir</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pres. Ind.</td>
<td>cantás</td>
<td>comés</td>
<td>vivís</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres. Subj.</td>
<td>cantes ~ cantés</td>
<td>comas ~ comás</td>
<td>vivas ~ vivás</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>cantá</td>
<td>comé</td>
<td>viví</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>cantarás ~ cantarés</td>
<td>comerás ~ comerés</td>
<td>vivirás ~ vivirés</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preterite</td>
<td>cantaste ~ cantastes</td>
<td>comiste ~ comistes</td>
<td>viviste ~ vivistes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Despite the generally low sociolinguistic value currently attaching to the oxytone present subjunctive forms, there is some evidence (see Alvar 1996:216) that these forms are viewed more positively by the younger generations, which opens up the possibility that they represent a variant that is undergoing sociolinguistic promotion. An additional, separate, point is that in the linguistically distinctive province of Santiago del Estero, vos is routinely used with tú verb endings: vos cantás, vos comes, vos vivís.

The use of vos in Uruguay is not quite so entrenched. Thus tú predominates in several northern areas and in the southeastern corner of the country, while vos and tú compete in much of the intervening area. In Montevideo, the vos ~ tú alternation is a sociolinguistic variable, with many Uruguayans attaching low prestige to vos despite using it themselves. Such attitudes are reinforced in the prescriptive grammar taught in schools and one outcome of the ambivalent position of vos is that oxytone verb forms are frequently used with the pronoun tú, as in tú cantás, tú comés, tú vivís etc. Some scholars (Elizaincín 1981) even suggest that, in the present indicative, hybrid formulations of this kind represent the norm in educated Montevidean speech. Root-stressed verb forms carry more social prestige in the present subjunctive, however, although as in Buenos Aires and other cities in Argentina, oxytone forms (cantés, comás etc.) appear to be making inroads among the young.

The imperative endings that go with vos in Uruguay are the same as in Argentina. Usage in the preterite also parallels Argentina, as there is variation between endings with and without [-s], the latter being the socially less prestigious of the two variants.

4. Syntax

The preterite is often used in rioplatense Spanish where standard Spanish employs the perfect. Thus Martínez no llegó could mean either ‘Martínez has not arrived [yet]’ or ‘Martínez did not arrive’.

The present subjunctive may be used in an embedded clause governed by a verb that is inflected for the preterite or the imperfect, as in (1) below. This is a context in which standard Spanish usually requires the past subjunctive:

(1) Quería que lo acompañemos.

Vernacular speech in many parts of the region exhibits a range of what might be called (non-technically) vulgarismos, some of which have been immortalized in the once flourishing Gaucho literary genre. For instance, yo ‘I’ may be used as a focalized indirect object pronoun:

(2) Yo me parece que va a llover.
Compare standard *A mí me parece que va a llover*. Other examples include the proclitic use of *nos* in the imperative (as in *nos sentemos* instead of standard *sentémonos* ‘let’s sit down’) and the use of *se* with a verb form (as in *se llevamos bien* ‘we get along well’, *se vamos* ‘let’s go’).

One feature of rural Argentine dialects that may stem from the Canary inheritance is the placing of the subject of an infinitive before the verb rather than after it; e.g. *al yo venir* instead of standard *al venir yo* ‘when I came/come’.

5. Lexicon

Leaving aside the *lunfardo* slang of Buenos Aires and Montevideo, Argentine and Uruguayan Spanish share much of their lexicon with the rest of the Southern Cone. Such items include *pollera* ‘skirt’, *decir macanas* ‘to talk nonsense’, *playa* ‘car park’, *ammo* ‘(two-piece) suit’. Many items exist, however, that are distinctively *ríoplatense*. The best-known of these is vocative *che*, which is so common in Argentina that residents of neighbouring countries refer to the Argentines as *los che*. Others include, *canilla* ‘tap’, *pibe* ‘boy’, *piba* ‘girl’ (both of likely Canary origin), *añares* ‘ages’ (as in *Hace añares que* … ‘It’s ages since …’), *cebador* ‘choke (in car)’, *canilla* ‘apartil’, *cortinado* ‘curtains’, *desquicio* ‘chaos’, *gramilla* ‘lawn’, *pileta* ‘swimming pool’, *quilombo* ‘mess/whorehouse’, *sobre el pucho* ‘straight away’, *yerra* ‘branding [with a hot iron]’, *tilingo* ‘fussy/soft in the head’.

Turning now to *lunfardo*, the slang of the Buenos Aires and Montevideo working classes, typical items include: *bacán* ‘man’, *cafishiol/cafisio* ‘pimp’, *cana* ‘police/prison’, *falluto* ‘boaster/hypocrite’, *falopa* ‘illicit drug’, *fiaca* ‘laziness’, *minga* ‘no/nothing’, *farabute* ‘fool/wretch’, *gill* ‘fool’, *menega* ‘money’, *manyar* ‘to understand, know’, *mina* ‘woman/girlfriend’, *micho* ‘poor’, *mortar* ‘to eat’, *otario* ‘fool’, *sofaifa* ‘man’. *Lunfardo* developed among the lowest social classes in Buenos Aires, from where it spread to Montevideo. In its original sense, ‘lunfardo’ was a term that was applied to thieves and pickpockets, a circumstance that has given rise to the popular (and probably erroneous) view that the *lunfardo* lexicon originated as a criminal jargon. Nowadays *lunfardo* has become a source of regionalistic pride, a development that has no doubt been assisted by its use in the lyrics of the Argentine tango.

6. Uruguayan/Brazilian ‘Fronterizo’ Dialect

The northern Uruguayan departments of Artigas, Rivera, Cerro Largo, Salto and Tacuarembó were settled principally by Brazilians and form part of a territory that was the subject of a dispute with Brazil until 1861. The modern frontier with the Portuguese-speaking neighbour is about 1000 kilometres long and, until recently at least, it was unmanned. The linguistic result of this geo-political indeterminacy is that there is no clear boundary line marking the point where Portuguese ends and Spanish begins. Rather, a continuum exists with the Portuguese of Rio Grande do Sul (the Brazilian state that borders Uruguay) at one end, Uruguayan Spanish at the other, and a spectrum of *fronterizo* dialects in between that gravitate in varying degrees towards either Portuguese or Spanish.

The best-studied city on the Uruguayan side is Rivera, which is right on the border. There the upper classes tend to be bilingual, employing Spanish or Portuguese as the situation demands. The lower classes, in contrast, tend to speak a hybrid *fronterizo* language that is best described as Hispanized Portuguese or Luso-Spanish (hence the popular designation *portuñol*). As one moves further into Uruguay, the *fronterizo* dialect acquires more of a Spanish character.

The main linguistic characteristics of *fronterizo* are the following. In terms of the pronunciation: (i) the vowel /a/ may be articulated in unstressed syllables as a schwa-like central unrounded vowel [a], as in Portuguese; (ii) Portuguese-style nasal vowels may intrude into the system; (iii) the mid vowels /e/ and /o/ are normally raised to [i] and [u] in unstressed syllables, especially
(iv) the place of articulation of preconsonantal /s/ may be retracted to the palatoalveolar position, yielding voiceless [ʃ] or voiced [ʒ] depending on whether the following consonant is voiced or not. Some speakers may also affricate /t/ and /d/ to [tʃ] and [dʒ] before [i], as in [dentʃi] ‘tooth’), although this is rare.

On the grammatical side, interference phenomena abound. For example, cognate suffixes (e.g. Spanish -ón/Portuguese -ão, Spanish -ero/Portuguese -eiro) are likely to alternate, as do Spanish los, la(s) on the one hand and Portuguese os, a(s) on the other.

Finally, lexical mixing is all-pervasive, with Portuguese words like fechar ‘to close’ and janela ‘window’ routinely appearing in sentences composed primarily from Spanish lexical items. In this way, fronterizo is likely to have served as an entry point for some of the Brazilianisms that have come into general Uruguayan usage.

References


Highland Colombia–Venezuela

1. Introduction
While Venezuela is primarily a Caribbean nation with some inland settlement, Colombia has major cities in both coastal and inland areas. In particular, Bogotá in the Eastern Cordillera, exercises a cultural hegemony throughout Colombia. This stems mainly from the fact that Bogotá acquired a similar status to Peru and Mexico City in 1718 when Nueva Granada, as colonial Colombia was called, was made into a viceroyalty. From the sociolinguistic point of view, the important consequence of this development was that Bogotá acquired a university and other cultural and religious institutions, which in turn meant the arrival from Spain of clerics, academics and administrators, many of whom would have spoken a standard variety of Spanish. To this day the educated speech of Bogotá represents a prestige norm for many Latin Americans.

2. Phonetics & Phonology
Highland speech in Colombia diverges from its Venezuelan counterpart in terms of the syllable-final (s) variable. In the first area, the usual variant is [s] whereas, in the second, [ʃ] and [ʃ] (i.e. zero) are statistically very frequent. This state of affairs reflects in part the location of the respective capitals. Bogotá and Caracas, as capital cities have a pre-eminent role in determining the social value attached to linguistic variables. Now the usage in Bogotá, which is an Andean city, legitimizes the prevailing Andean tendency towards strong consonantism, a tendency that happens to coincide with the normative principal in Spanish that privileges sound–letter correspondence. Caracas, in contrast, is a Caribbean city, in which syllable-final /s/ weakening is routine, but because of Caracas’s pre-eminent position in Venezuelan society in
general, this ‘coastal’ tendency has spread into the mountainous hinterland. The legitimizing effect of the Venezuelan capital runs counter, then, to the tendencies that usually prevail in highland areas.

On the other hand, in both areas, /s/ may be realized as [h] in syllable-initial position, as in [unaheñaɾa] una señor[a] ‘a woman’. As elsewhere in the Spanish-speaking world, the process occurs most frequently in the context of a nearby [s] – presumably through dissimilation – as in [nehesidɔ] necesidad ‘necessity’ and [lihesjaðo] licenciado ‘graduate/lawyer’.

In parts of the western Colombian highlands, particularly Antioquia, /s/ may be retroflex (symbol: [ʃ]), as in Castile.

In rural districts, particularly in the Eastern Cordillera, assibilated variants of [ɾ] and [r] are common. In urban centres, however, assimilation is not likely to be encountered.

A similar geographical spread is associated with the retention of /ʎ/ as a phoneme. Retention of the palatal lateral was widespread until the end of the last century. For example, when the great Colombian linguist Rufino Cuervo described Bogotá speech in the 1870s, /ʎ/ was used throughout highland Colombia. By the beginning of the 20th century, however, the phenomenon was already becoming identified with rural areas in the Andes, both in Colombia and Venezuela.


In terms of the (x) variable, this region is principally a weakening region, the usual articulation being [h].

3. Morphology

Highland Colombia/Venezuela is an area of tuteo–voseo coexistence, with tuteo carrying the highest social prestige. The present-tense verb forms that accompany vos are usually oxytone with monophthongal endings: cantás/-és, comés/-ás, subís/-ás, the imperatives have no final /d/, and usage varies in the future between forms ending in -ás and forms ending in -és.

In some areas usted is used in place either of tú or vos (i.e. not as an honorific). A related phenomenon is the use of archaic su merce(d), often, though not in all cases, as an honorific.

4. Syntax

‘Intensive ser’, as in (1) below, is common in the highlands as well as in the rest of Colombia and Venezuela:

(1) Lo hice fue en verano. (i.e. ‘<When> I did it was in the summer.’)

The construction is encountered also in Ecuador and Panama but is likely to have originated in Colombia – where it has been attested for at least a century – and been transported to neighbouring countries in the speech of migrant workers.

As in the Caribbean, the subject of an infinitive may be placed before the verb, rather than after it as in standard Spanish:

(2) antes de yo salir de mi país
In Quechua-influenced dialects in southern Colombia, phenomena are likely to be encountered that are typical of language contact areas. For example, non-standard clitic usage is widespread, often with invariant lo, as in (4) below:

(4) Lo mató una danta.
Null direct objects may also be encountered, as in (5):

(5) Usted me llevó carne pero no me dio.

Finally, gerundial constructions may be used that are modelled on Quechua constructions, especially with the verb dar ‘to give’, as in

(6) Déles pasando el cafecito. (i.e. ‘Pass them the coffee.’)

5. Lexicon

Spanish in the USA

1. Introduction

Spanish is currently spoken by some 25 million US citizens. The main concentrations of Spanish speakers are located in the border area stretching from California to Texas, in the Florida Peninsula, and in the large Midwestern and northeastern cities (especially New York City). In St. Bernard Parish (Louisiana) and in the northern New Mexico/southern Colorado area there are small numbers of Spanish speakers who are the descendants of the ‘original’ Spanish settlers.

Key Locations for USA Spanish

The use of Spanish in what is now the USA dates from the 16th century. A permanent Spanish settlement was established at St. Augustine in Florida in 1565 and Santa Fe in New Mexico was founded by the Spanish in 1609. By the middle of the 19th century, however, Louisiana, Florida, Texas, California, Arizona, Colorado and New Mexico had all passed to US control. Louisiana was sold to the USA in 1803 (by Napoleon, who had recovered it from the Spanish in the same year); Florida was given to the USA by Spain in 1819; Texas – now part of an independent Mexico – was annexed by the USA in 1845; and California, Arizona, Colorado and New Mexico were given by Mexico to the USA in 1848 under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

With the exception of the archaic variety that persists in New Mexico/Colorado and also the isleño dialect of St Bernard Parish, the Spanish spoken in the USA does not represent a direct continuation from colonial times. Rather, it is the consequence of large-scale 19th and 20th century immigration, above all from Mexico, Cuba and Puerto Rico. Mexican varieties of Spanish (also known as Chicano Spanish) are found in the border area from southern California to Texas, Cuban varieties in the Florida peninsula and Puerto Rican varieties in the big northeastern cities such as New York. Such ‘transplanted’ Spanish will in many cases also have undergone processes relating to language contact and bilingualism.
2. General Features of US Spanish

Given the varying origins of most Spanish speakers in the USA, the main generalizations that can be made about US Spanish concern recurrent bilingual phenomena, principally relating to interference from English. For example, the gerund may be used where standard Spanish calls for an infinitive, as in the sentence below:

(1) El dinero que gana lo gasta en *tomando*.

In addition, determiners may be omitted where none appear in the corresponding English construction. Thus standard Spanish versions of (2) and (3) below would have a quantifier (e.g. *unos* or *algunos*) before *niños* and the appropriate form of the definite article before *religión*:

(2) Niños vinieron.

(3) Religión es algo importante.

Another recurrent phenomenon is the insertion of *a* before an infinitival complement in imitation of English *to*:

(4) Querían *a* comenzar.

The normal indirect object construction that is used with body parts – as in *Me lavo las manos* ‘I wash my hands’ – is often replaced by an English-style configuration involving a possessive determiner, as in (5) below:

(5) Lavo mis manos.

The integration into Spanish of English words is widespread. The main morphological process involves applying the suffix *-ear* to a Hispanized form of the English source word:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Derived Form</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>parquear</td>
<td>park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chequear</td>
<td>check</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dostear</td>
<td>dust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dumpear</td>
<td>dump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chipear</td>
<td>ship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trostear</td>
<td>trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friquearse</td>
<td>freak out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chapear</td>
<td>sharpen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally, Spanish lexical items undergo semantic shift under the influence of cognate or formally similar English words or through the contextually inappropriate use of partial translation equivalents. Thus *carpeta* ‘wallet’, for example, comes to mean ‘carpet’, *grosería* ‘rudeness’ comes to mean ‘grocery’, children may be said to *atender a la escuela* (= *asistir a la escuela* ‘to attend school’) and candidates might *correr para alcalde* (= *presentarse para alcalde* ‘to run for mayor’).

3. New Mexico/Colorado

In contrast to most other areas of the USA, northern New Mexico/southern Colorado still harbours communities of speakers whose Spanish is a direct continuation of the language spoken by the colonial settlers, albeit a dialect that has undergone some modification under the influence of Mexican Spanish and also English. Given that New Mexico was a peripheral area during the colonial period, the local Spanish exhibits many of the usual non-standard innovations and, as a consequence, has more in common with Central American Spanish than
with neighbouring Mexican Spanish. From the point of view of phonetics and phonology, the main distinguishing features are the following:

1. Modification of [x] to [h], as in [mehiko] México.
4. [s] to [h] modification in syllable-final position. With a following bilabial or velar consonant, assimilation normally occurs, whereby [s] + bilabial is modified to [φ] (as in [reφalaɾ] resbalar ‘to slip’) and [s] + velar is modified to [x] (as in [dixuhto] disgusto ‘shock’).
5. Intervocalic /s/ may also be realized as [h], as in [kahah] casas.
6. [r] and [ɾ] may be assibilated, as in [fi̱ko] rico ‘rich’ and [aʃko] arco ‘arch/bow’.

In terms of the lexicon, although some New Mexican dialectal items persist, such as molacho ‘toothless’ and calihero ‘index finger’, the bulk of the vocabulary bears a Mexican imprint (e.g. cachetazo ‘slap’, mancuernilla ‘twin’, chueco ‘knock-kneed’), with the usual sprinkling of Nahuatl borrowings (e.g. chapo ‘short’, huaraches ‘sandals’).

4. St. Bernard Parish

Some Spanish settlement of Louisiana took place during the brief period (1763–1803) when the territory was under Spanish control. At the end of the 1780s just over 2,000 Canary Islanders established themselves in the area around New Orleans. Some of their descendants, located mainly in St. Bernard Parish, still speak a variety of Spanish that is a direct continuation of the speech of the 18th century Canary Island settlers; hence the application of the name isleño to both the dialect and its speakers.

Isleño speech exhibits clear affinities with Caribbean and Canary Spanish. For example, syllable-final /s/-weakening is routine, as are phenomena relating to syllable-final liquids ([l] to [ɾ] modification and vice-versa, elision and assimilation) and the velarization of word-final [n]. CH-lenition is not uncommon either.

The isolation of the community until the 1940s has ensured the survival of many of the vulgarisms and archaisms that are typical of such groups. Metathesis, for example, is evident in [marðe] madre ‘mother’ and [ehtoγamo] estomago ‘stomach’, while /b, d/ to /g/ modification is apparent in [teyuron] tiburón ‘shark’ and [pjeγra] piedra ‘stone’. Archaism is prevalent in the morphology, with the routine use of such obsolete forms (i.e. obsolete in the standard language) as haiga and vaiga (pres. subj. of hacer and ir), truje and vide (pret. of traer and ver) and semos (pres. ind. of ser).

Other recurrent morphological phenomena include the application of diminutive suffixes directly to noun or adjective roots, as in lechita ‘milk’ and dulcito ‘sweet’ (compare standard lechecita and dulcece[l]ito); the use of -nos as the person 4 marker in verb endings, as in estábanos ‘we were’; and stress shifts from verb ending to root, as in vénanos instead of vengamos. These phenomena are all well-documented in Canary Island Spanish.

The Canary heritage is apparent also in the use of non-inverted QU-interrogatives and the para + NP + infinitive construction:

6. ¿Por qué usted llora?
7. Para un niño nacer, tenían partera.
It is in the lexicon, however, that the Canary origins of the dialect are most noticeable. The following items, for example, are typical of the Canary Islands and are also found in *isleño* Spanish: *andoriña* ‘swallow’, *enchumbarse* ‘to get wet’, *fecha* ‘bolt’ (these three are ultimately of Portuguese origin), *botarete* ‘extravagant person’, *despechar* ‘to wean’, *mancar* ‘to wound’, *nombrete* ‘nickname’, *virar* ‘to turn’, *vuelta de carnero* ‘somersault’, *cambao* ‘bent’, *cascarón* ‘crust (of bread)’, *enamorar* ‘to court’, *guirre* ‘vulture’, *quemar* ‘to be sore’, *gago* ‘who stammers’, *taramela* ‘doorstop’.

In addition to items of Canary origin, the *isleño* dialect exhibits English and French loanwords, some of the latter stemming from the Cajun variety. Anglicisms include *farmero* ‘farmer’, *marqueta* ‘market’, *siper* ‘zip’, *guachimán* ‘watchman’, *spring* ‘mattress’ and *suiche* ‘switch’. Gallicisms include *robiné* ‘tap’, *brasié* ‘bra’, *garmansé* ‘crockery sideboard’, *sosón* ‘sock’, *surito* ‘small mouse’, *tablé* ‘apron’, *piñi lonié* ‘bay leaf’, *pañé* ‘cesto’. Borrowings from Cajun include *(ar)ranchá* ‘to prepare’, *créon* ‘chalk’, *prería* ‘medow’, *politisián* ‘politician’, *bayul* ‘branch of a river’.

**Palenquero and Chabacano**

1. **Introduction**

A pidgin is the unstable and simplified form of a language that can emerge as a rudimentary means of communication among speakers with different mother tongues. A pidgin may come into existence as a consequence of trading activities between different nations or ethnic groups, but a more sinister cause, and one that is particularly associated with the colonial Americas, is slavery. Given that the black slaves thrown together on plantations or in slave depots were typically drawn from a wide range of ethnic groups, it was only to be expected that pidginized forms of the colonial European languages would frequently emerge as *lingua francas*.

A pidgin may in due course stabilise, at the same time extending its grammatical and lexical resources. The term *creole* is applied to those extended pidgins that have acquired mother tongue status. If the creole comes to be viewed as a substandard variety of the *lexifier language* – the language that provides the bulk of the creole’s vocabulary – and if sufficient contact exists between creole and lexifier, certain varieties of the creole may approximate towards the lexifier. In such cases, one may speak of a *post-creole continuum*, with the pure creole or *basilect* occupying one end of the spectrum, the lexifier or *acrolect* occupying the other end and a range of intermediate varieties or *mesolects* in between. The process whereby the creole gradually approximates to the lexifier is known as *decreolization*.

It appears that no more than three Spanish-based creoles survive: *Palenquero*, spoken in Palenque de San Basilio, located about 50 miles south of Cartagena, in Bolívar province, Colombia; *Papiamentu* spoken on the islands of Curaçao, Aruba and Bonaire, which currently form part of the Netherlands Antilles; and *Chabacano* or Philippine Creole Spanish, which is really a group of mutually intelligible dialects, the best-known being *Zamboanguéño*. As an illustration of creolization in Spanish descriptions are given below of Palenquero and Chabacano. For a detailed description of Papiamentu, see Munteanu 1996.

2. **Palenquero**

2.1. **Historical Orientation.**

The *palenque* or stockade at San Basilio was originally one of a number of strongholds founded by *negros cimarrones* (escaped slaves) in the 16th and 17th centuries. From about 1600 there appear to have been sporadic armed conflicts between *cimarrones* and Spaniards but the
particular community at San Basilio reached a truce with the colonial government in 1691 whereby it was granted its freedom. Nevertheless, Palenque de San Basilio was until recently isolated from mainstream Colombian society, a circumstance that may explain why its creole language has managed to survive. The current population numbers between 3,000 and 4,000, about half of whom speak the creole (in addition to Spanish).

As there is no official spelling system, in what follows a modified version of Friedemann & Patiño’s (1983) quasi-phonemic orthography will be used to represent Palenquero sentences.

2.2. Phonology

The one notable feature of Palenquero vocalism – but one it shares with rural speech in Bolívar province in general – is the tendency for the mid-high vowels [o, e] to be raised to [u, i]. This is partly a variable synchronic phenomenon, but it is above all a historical process, whereby a large number of Spanish words containing [o] or [e], generally in an unstressed initial or final syllable, have come in Palenquero to have [u] or [i] in their place: [kunose] < conocer ‘to know’, [kumina] < comida ‘food’, [<gandisimu] < grandísimo ‘very big’, [it[a] < echar ‘to throw’, [bitilo] < vestido ‘dress’. It appears that this phenomenon is of some sociolinguistic importance, as use of the higher vowel is strongly identified with creole phonology both by members of the Palenquero community and by monolingual Spanish-speakers from the surrounding area (Friedemann & Patiño 1983:90–92).


More striking is the prenasalization of initial voiced stops, as in [<dosi] < doce ‘twelve’ and [<bos] < bozal ‘halter’. The process is partly phonologically conditioned, as it occurs only in initial position. But is also partly lexically conditioned, as it occurs regularly in some words (e.g. [<da] < dar ‘to give’, [<gan] < ganar ‘to earn/win’, [<gande] < grande ‘big’, [<gome] ‘cattle’), variably in others (e.g. [<deha] ~ [deha] < dejar ‘to leave’), and is prohibited in a third group (e.g. [desi] < decir ‘to say’). Moreover, it is limited to the following word classes: nouns, adjectives, verbs and numerals. Today, prenasalization occurs frequently with /d/ and /g/ and infrequently with /b/. On the other hand, ritualistic funereal songs dating from earlier periods give tantalising glimpses of a previous wider distribution, approximating perhaps to the situation that is apparent in certain sub-Saharan languages.

The assimilatory processes undergone by syllable-final liquids that are so characteristic of Caribbean Spanish are taken to an extreme in Palenquero: [gwettesita] < huertecita ‘orchard’, [sebbesa] < cerveza ‘beer’, [bobbe] < volver, [agguno] algunos ‘some’, [pamma] < palma ‘palm’. In rapid speech, the geminate is frequently simplified, as in cerquita ‘near’ > [sekkit] → [sekita] and carne ‘meat’ > [kanne] → [kane]. The evolution of words like [pele] < perder ‘to lose’ and [bela] < verdad ‘truth’ appears to reflect both of these processes, plus the [d] > [l] development mentioned earlier.

Finally, voiceless stops may be voiced after a nasal: [tjembro] < tiempo ‘time’, [rjende] < diente ‘tooth’, [palen] < Palenque. This appears to be a variable synchronic phenomenon: ‘representa una opción socio-lingüística del hablante: el empleo de tiempo frente a tiempo señala inequívocamente la elección del canal criollo’ (Friedemann & Patiño 1983:107).
2.3. Grammar

As is typical of creoles, Palenquero has virtually no inflectional morphology, in that nouns, adjectives, verbs and determiners are almost always invariant.

In the first place, gender simply is non-existent as a grammatical category, with adjectives being descended from the masculine in Spanish: *lengua africano* ‘African language’, *Ese nata é susio* ‘This cream is dirty’.

Secondly, plurality in the NP is expressed through the particle *ma* (possibly of Bantu origin); thus *un ría* ‘a day’ → *un ma ría* ‘some days’. This particle is not normally used when a numeral is present that has a greater cardinality than 2: *ma ndo baka* ‘two cows’ but *tresi año* ‘13 years. Also, as there is no definite article and bare nouns normally carry definite import, *ma X* means ‘the Xs’: *Deha ma ombre komponé bo pekao* ‘Let the men prepare the fish for you’.

The absence of person and number marking in the verb is off-set by the fact that subject pronouns (listed in the table below) are obligatory in declarative and interrogative sentences if there is no lexical subject:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>í</td>
<td>uncertain</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yo</td>
<td>&lt; yo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bo</td>
<td>&lt; vos</td>
<td>you [sing.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ele</td>
<td>&lt; él</td>
<td>he/she/it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suto</td>
<td>&lt; nosotros</td>
<td>we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utere</td>
<td>&lt; ustedes</td>
<td>you [plu.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enú</td>
<td>of Bantu origin</td>
<td>they</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly, the tenselessness of verb forms is compensated by the routine use of pre-verbal particles. The most important of these are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Illustration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ta</td>
<td>&lt; estar</td>
<td>present progressive</td>
<td>Í ta ablá kateyano nu. ‘I’m not speaking Spanish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asé</td>
<td>&lt; hacer</td>
<td>habitual</td>
<td>¿Bo asé kumé kane? ‘Do you eat meat?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tan</td>
<td>uncertain</td>
<td>future</td>
<td>¿Ké í tan ablá? ‘What am I going to say?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>á</td>
<td>&lt; ha</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>Ané á enfemá po aora nu. ‘They haven’t got ill for the moment.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taba</td>
<td>&lt; estab</td>
<td>past progressive</td>
<td>Ma aguelo ele taba bibí a monte. ‘His/her grandparents were living in the bush.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Turning now to syntactic functions, these are obviously not in general marked by inflections. But, with the notable exception of locatives and *ku-* (< *con* ‘with’) phrases, prepositions tend not to be used either. In the possessive construction, this is illustrated by juxtapositions such as *kala Lole* ‘Lole’s face’ and *ngaina suto* ‘our hens’, while in VPs the only rule seems to be that complements follow the verb, with ‘oblique’ objects preceding direct objects:

(1) Nu obbirá poné bulo mbosá. (‘Don’t forget to put the halter [*mbosá* < *bozal*] on the donkey.’)
Moreover, the rich system of verb + preposition regimes that is observable in Spanish, the lexifier language, has largely been obliterated. For example, *arí* and *akoddá* take direct objects, whereas their Spanish etyma, *reír(se)* ‘to laugh’ and *acordar(se)* ‘to remember’, take *de*-phrases as complements:

(2) Ma jende lo ke ta arí ané é má bruto que ané. (‘The people who laugh at them are stupider than them.’)

(3) Í akoddá nombre d'ese mujé aora nu. (‘I don’t remember the name of that woman now.’)

Finally, and in line with the general tendency towards simplification outlined so far, Palenquero has no grammatical expression of voice. Instead, a patient NP can almost always be promoted to subject position, thereby forcing a passive interpretation of the (transitive) verb:

(4) Platika utere á ngatá toíto. (‘Your money has all been spent.’)

(5) Pokke lengua á rehá pelé? (‘Why has the language been allowed to be lost?’)

3. Chabacano

Chabacano is spoken in Ternate and Cavite, in Manila Bay, in Zamboanga and Cotabato on the Island of Mindanao, and also on Basilan Island, to the south of Mindanao. In Manila Bay Chabacano exhibits Tagalog influence, while in the south the influence is from Cebuano.

3.1. Pronunciation

The sound system of Chabacano is not complex. It diverges in the following ways from Spanish, the lexifier language:

(a) The voiced obstruents /b, d, g/ are almost always realized as stops, i.e. [b, d, g].

(b) The dental [d] has been eliminated from the *-ado* ending: *gente rabiao* ‘angry person’.

(c) Spanish /f/ has been displaced by /p/, as a result of substrate influence: [pondo] < *fondo*, [pweɾa] < *fuera*.

(d) Spanish /x/ surfaces as /h/: [huga] < *jugar*, [hente] < *gente*.

(e) Spanish /ts/ surfaces either as [ts] or [ʃ]: [petso]/[peʃo] < *pecho*.

(f) Unlike in most parts of the Spanish-speaking world, /ʎ/ is preserved as a distinct phoneme: [kaʎa] < *callar*, [ʎeno] < * lleno*.

(g) The Spanish trill /ɾ/ has merged with the tap /ɾ/: [rosas] < *rosas*.

(h) In Zamboanga and Cotabato, the vibrant /ɾ/ may be pre-aspirated: [tohɾe] < *torre*, [tohɾero*.

(i) [ɾ] to [l] modification is not uncommon in syllable-final position: [bilhen] < *virgen*, [talde] *tarde*.

(j) Infinitives end in a stressed vowel, rather than /ɾ/: [habla] < *hablar*.

(k) Spanish final /ɾ/ (except in infinitives) usually surfaces as a glottal stop [ʔ], as in [señoʔ].

(l) Syllable-initial stressed vowels are often preceded by a glottal stop (as happens in local indigenous languages): [lagrimeʔa] < *lagrimear*. 
3.2. Grammar

Chabacano has both a definite and an indefinite article, viz. *el* and *un*, but both are invariant: *el bata* ‘the boy’, *el voz* ‘the voice’, *un bata mujer* ‘the woman’. The contraction *del* also occurs: *debajo del olas*.

As is typical of creoles, Chabacano has virtually no inflectional morphology, in that nouns, adjectives, verbs and determiners are almost always invariant. In the first place, gender simply is non-existent as a grammatical category, with adjectives being descended from the masculine in Spanish: *El mujer alto ya andá na plaza* ‘The tall woman went to the market’, *El escuela limpio* ‘The school is clean’. Note that, as in many other creoles, the masculinity or femininity of animate nouns can be signalled through agglutination to the base noun of words meaning ‘male’ or ‘female’, viz. *macho* and *mujer*; thus, e.g., *el caballo mujer* ‘the mare’.

Secondly, plurality in the NP is usually expressed through the particle *mana* (< Tagalog *mga*); thus *el mana casa* ‘las casas’, *el mana compañera* ‘the companions’. Occasionally, suffixation of *-s/-es* may be used to mark the plural, as in Spanish: *rosa* → *rosas*, *plor* (< *flor*) → *plores*. Sometimes both plural formation process may occur at once: *su mana pulseras* ‘her bracelets’. Usually, no plural marker is used with numeric determiners: *siete mujer* ‘seven women’.

The absence of person and number marking in the verb is offset by the fact that subject pronouns (listed in the table below) are obligatory if there is no lexical subject:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Caviteño</th>
<th>Zamboangueño</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yo</td>
<td>yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tu, vo, usté</td>
<td>tu, evós, vos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>eli</td>
<td>ele, le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>nisós</td>
<td>kamé, kitá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>vusós</td>
<td>kamó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ilós</td>
<td>silá</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly, the tenselessness of verb forms is compensated by the routine use of pre-verbal particles. The most important of these are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Source Value</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ta</em></td>
<td>estar</td>
<td>¿Cosa hora di lligá vusos? ‘When will you arrive?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de/di (Cavit.)</td>
<td>de</td>
<td>Ay escribí yo cun mi anák. ‘I will write to my son.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ay (Zamb.)</td>
<td>hay</td>
<td>María ya regalá un relos cun su nobio. ‘María gave her boyfriend a watch.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya</td>
<td>ya past</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adjectives can usually be used as adverbs: *Eli ta clavá bueno el vista* ‘He/She stares’, *caminá chiquitito* ‘to walk in short steps’.

Turning now to syntactic functions, these are obviously not in general marked by inflections. *Con/Cun* is used to mark personal direct and indirect objects (in Zamboangueño, *con/cun* is used also with non-personal direct objects):

(6) *Ya mirá yo cun José.* (‘I saw José.’)

(7) *Nisós ya pidí pabor cun su papang.* (‘We have already asked your father for a favor.’)

(8) *Ele ya empesá buscá que buscá con el sal.* (‘He/She began to search everywhere for the salt.’)

The preposition *na* (probably of Portuguese origin) is used in locative and directional constructions:
(9) Eli ya andá na escuela. (‘He/She went to school.’)

(10) Mario ya dormí na casa. (‘Mario slept in the house.’)

Finally, copula omission is routine (as in the substrate languages):

(11) Yo pilipino. (‘I am Philippine.’)

References


Languages and Dialects in Spain

As is well known, four languages co-exist in Spain: Basque, Spanish, Catalan and Galician. The first of these is genetically unrelated to the other three, which are all Romance languages (vernacular descendants of Latin). Galician and Catalan are circumscribed to the extreme west and east of Spain, respectively, while Basque is limited to a small enclave that adjoins the western Pyrenees. In the remainder of Spain, an area that broadly coincides with the Kingdom of Castile at the height of its territorial expansion, Spanish is the pre-eminent language, having gradually displaced the Romance dialects of central Spain, viz. Asturian, Leonese, Riojan, Navarrese and Aragonese (see map below).

Within the area of Spanish linguistic hegemony on the mainland, a broad distinction can be drawn between Castilian Spanish (the Spanish spoken from Cantabria in the north to La Mancha in the south, and from Leon in the west to Aragon in the east) and Andalusian Spanish. There will obviously be internal dialectal variation within these areas, but the broad dichotomy just sketched is the one that has the greatest prominence.

Languages and Dialects in Modern Spain

![Languages and Dialects in Modern Spain](image-url)
Andalusian Spanish

1. Introduction

Andalusia was the last region in Spain to be wrested from Islamic control. It is presumably for this reason that a Hispanized version of the old Arabic term Al-Andalus, which originally applied to the whole of Islamic Spain, has survived as the regional name. The actual reconquest of Andalusia was carried through in several stages, with the western and northern cities (Córdoba, Jaen, Seville and Cadiz) falling to the Christians in the 13th century, but the mountainous kingdom of Granada in the west holding out until 1492.

Despite the region's Islamic background, the people of Andalusia are largely the descendants of the northern settlers who took part in the repopulation exercise that followed the Reconquest. Typically Castilian surnames such as Núñez and Roldán, for example, abound in Andalusia. Similarly, Andalusian varieties of Spanish are unlikely to have been heavily influenced by either Arabic or Mozarabic, the vernacular descendant of Latin spoken in Islamic Spain. On the contrary, in fact, as late medieval commentators appear in some cases to have regarded Andalusian speech as model of correct pronunciation.

The great dialect divergence that gave rise to the Castilian–Andalusian linguistic dichotomy appears to have begun during the 15th century. From then on, Andalusian speech has gradually drifted away from the Castilian standard, a process whose most conspicuous results are seseo/ceceo (see below) and extreme consonantal weakening, especially in syllable-final position.

2. Phonetics & Phonology

The most striking feature of Andalusian Spanish – one that it shares with Canary Island and Latin American Spanish – is the absence of any phonemic opposition corresponding to the orthographic distinction between s and z/c. Except in coastal areas in Cadiz and Malaga provinces, the letters s and z/c correspond to [s], a phenomenon known as seseo. In seseo dialects, su aceite 'his/her oil', for example, will be pronounced [swasejte]. In coastal areas in Cadiz and Malaga, ceceo is sometimes observable, whereby [θ] is the sound that corresponds to s and z/c, as in [θwaθejte]. Unlike seseo, ceceo carries a considerable social stigma outside those areas where it is common.

The other dominant theme of Andalusian Spanish is consonantal weakening. In syllable-initial position, this is reflected in the modification of [θ] to [h] (as in [paha] paja 'straw'), in a tendency towards eliminating intervocalic or pre-liquid voiced obstruents (as in [bestio] vestido 'dress' and [mare] madre 'mother'), and in so-called CH-lenition, the modification of [tʃ] to [ʃ] (as in [noʃe] noche 'night'). In syllable-final position, the weakening theme is reflected primarily in phenomena relating to /s/ and the liquids.

Syllable-final /s/ may be realized as [h] (as in [ehpaña] España), it may be elided (as in [laola] las olas ‘the waves’), or there may be a process of assimilation vis-à-vis the following consonant. When the following consonant is a voiceless obstruent or a sonorant, the output of the process is usually a geminate, as in [elɔβippo] el obispo ‘the bishop’ or [mimmo] mismo ‘same’. With voiced obstruents, on the other hand, the output is usually a single (voiceless) consonant: [laxaɲah] las gallinas ‘the hens’, [laʃolah] las bolas ‘the balls’.

Among some speakers, elision of final /s/ may be accompanied by a lowering of the tongue position during the articulation of the preceding vowel. As a consequence, the morphological
value expressed in standard Spanish by final /s/ comes to marked by vowel quality. For example, the distinction between mano ‘hand’ and manos ‘hands’ comes to be reflected in a vowel quality opposition, viz. [mano] ~ [manos]. In the same way, the distinction between tiene ‘he/she has’ and tienes ‘you have’ is indicated by the contrast between [e] and [e]: [tiene] ~ [tienes]. This process, which Spanish commentators usually refer to as a case of desdoblamiento fonológico (‘phonemic split’), is characteristic of Eastern Andalusian varieties of Spanish.

Turning now to syllable-final liquids, the lower sociolects (i.e. speech varieties associated with the lower social groups and/or informal situations) tend towards an erosion of the sound–letter correspondence that is enshrined in the standard form of the language, with [l] appearing where orthography calls for [ɾ] and vice versa: [kwelope] cuerpo ‘body’, [barkon] balcón ‘balcony’.

Alternatively, a syllable-final liquid may be assimilated to a following consonant (as in [bulla] burla ‘mockery’) or it may be elided, often with accompanying nasalization of the preceding vowel (as in [muhē] mujer ‘woman’). Semivocalization to [j] is not infrequent either, as in [ajto] alto ‘tall’.

Finally, the retention of [h] as a reflex of initial or post-prefix Latin /f/, as in [ahɔɣar] ahogar ‘to drown’, is sometimes a feature of vernacular Andalusian Spanish; it is certainly one that regularly finds its way into stereotypical representations of andaluz.

3. Morphology

The pre-eminent morphological feature of Andalusian Spanish – in the west at least – is the use of ustedes as a non-honorific, i.e. in those contexts where Castilian Spanish has vosotros/-as. Among educated speakers, ustedes is always accompanied by verb endings whereas, in vernacular speech, combinations such as ustedes habláis ‘you speak’, ustedes coméis ‘you eat’ etc. are not uncommon.

In eastern Andalusia – especially in the provinces of Granada and Almería – ustedes is usually limited to being an honorific, as in the Castilian standard.

4. Lexicon


Castilian Spanish

1. Introduction

Castilian Spanish – not any one localized dialect of it, but a supra-regional or ‘neutral’ variety – supplies the model for standard Spanish in Spain (some Latin Americans also regard Castilian usage as being the most prestigious, although in practice the majority of speakers now gravitate towards regional linguistic norms). The sociolinguistic pre-eminence of Castilian usage stems, obviously enough, from the way in which Spain the nation state came into being. Castile emerged as the driving force behind the Reconquest and was the senior partner in the 15th century union with Aragon, which effectively resulted in the formation of modern Spain. It was
only to be expected that the speech patterns that were characteristic of Castile would form the basis for any subsequent standardization of the national language.

Historically it seems that upper-class Toledo speech provided the basis for the first standard orthography, which was developed in the late 13th century apparently under the auspices of Alfonso X el Sabio. Over the centuries this spelling system has been progressively modified to bring it into line with changes in pronunciation, but the focus on Castilian usage has remained in place. Codification of the grammar occurred four hundred years later, with the publication in 1492 of Nebrija’s celebrated Gramática de la lengua castellana. This was distributed widely in Spain and the colonies, thus helping to entrench the privileged position occupied by Castilian usage in the Spanish-speaking world.

2. Phonetics and Phonology

Given the way standard Spanish is defined, features that are general in Castilian usage, particularly in terms of pronunciation, are likely to belong to the standard system enshrined in the normative manuals. Two possible candidates for non-standard but widespread Castilian phonological tendencies are the following: (i) the articulation of word-final /d/ as [θ], as in [saluθ] salud ‘health’, [bondaθ] bondad ‘goodness’; (ii) the articulation of /s/ as [r] before a dental consonant, as in [lorðjentes] los dientes ‘the teeth’ and [lorθapatos] los zapatos ‘the shoes’.

Almost uniquely in the Spanish-speaking world, Castilian /s/ is retroflex (phonetic symbol: [ʂ]) [or apico-alveolar: [ś]], with the tip of the tongue curled backwards to just behind the alveolar ridge. This type of sibilant has a lower pitch than the blade-alveolar or blade-dental sibilant [s] that is found in the rest of the Spanish-speaking world. On the other hand, the pitch is not as low as for palato-alveolar [ʃ], the sound foreign learners of Spanish often produce instead of [ś]. Among speakers who have emigrated from Andalusia to Castilian cities (especially Madrid), /s/ pronunciation is usually the last speech variable to be adjusted in any process of dialect shift.

It is also worth noting that, throughout Castile, the /θ/ ~ /j/ opposition is preserved mainly in the speech of the over 50s, both in urban and rural areas.

The remaining features that merit comment are constrained by geographical and/or sociolinguistic factors. With regard to vowels, the most important divergence from standard Spanish consists in the raising of the mid vowels in unstressed final syllables, as in [jelu] hielo ‘ice’ and [letʃi] leche ‘milk’. This phenomenon appears to reflect the influence of Asturian and is associated mainly with western Cantabria.

In terms of consonants, the most significant dialectalism is the so-called r asibilada (‘assibilated r’), which is common in the Spanish of north central and north-western areas of Spain (Alava, La Rioja, Navarre, Aragon). The term r asibilada refers to the occurrence of a voiceless or voiced retroflex sibilant ([ʂ] or [ʃ]) where standard Spanish has [r] or [ɾ]. In assibilating dialects, the word decir ‘to say’, for example, may be indistinguishable from decís ‘you say’, both being pronounced [deθis]. The assimilation of /ɾ/ and /ɾ/ is common also in Latin America and there, as in northern Spain, the distribution of the voiced and voiceless variants usually follows a common pattern. The voiceless variant [ʂ] usually appears in syllable-final position or after a voiceless stop, as in [paške] parque ‘park’ and [pʃopʃo] propio ‘own’. The sequence [tʃ] is sometimes barely distinguishable from the affricate [tʃ], with the result that words such as otro ‘other’ and ocho ‘eight’ may approach homonymy in assibilating dialects. The voiced variant [ɾ] tends to appear word-initially or intervocically (in words spelled with -rr-), as in [ɾoxo] rojo ‘red’ or [peɾo] perro ‘dog’.
3. Syntax

Surprisingly, given the normative status of Castilian Spanish, many speakers in Castile exhibit *leísmo* and/or *laísmo*; i.e. they use *le* (less commonly *les*) in the function of direct object and/or they use *la/las* in the function of indirect object (compare this to the ‘standard’ system). *Leísmo* is most common when the reference is to a human being, but it is quite frequent also when the antecedent is any animate entity. In some parts of Old Castile the phenomenon is related to the count–mass distinction, with *le(s)* being used whenever the antecedent is a (masculine) count noun (i.e. a noun that is used of discrete objects, such as *niño* ‘child’, *árbol* ‘tree’, *perro* ‘dog’, *coche* ‘car’ etc.). Compare, for example, (1) and (2) below:

(1) El coche no *le* mueven de ahí. (‘They don’t move the car from there.’)
(2) El café ya no *lo* pruebo. (‘I no longer drink coffee.’)

In most parts of the Spanish-speaking world, the anaphoric clitics are organized primarily on the basis of syntactic function (direct versus indirect object) and only secondarily on the basis of gender. In Castile, on the other hand, the spread of *leísmo* and *laísmo* is tending towards the creation of a system that is based primarily on gender. Thus a system such as the one shown below, which is not uncommon among younger speakers, may eventually become the regional Castilian norm:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Non-Human Referent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Human Referent</td>
<td>sing.</td>
<td>plu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct object</td>
<td><em>le</em></td>
<td><em>les</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indirect object</td>
<td><em>le</em></td>
<td><em>les</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A phenomenon that is characteristic of northern Castile, Cantabria and the Basque Country involves routinely using the conditional form in place of the past subjunctive:

(3) Si *haría* buen tiempo, iríamos a la ermita. (‘If the weather was good, we would go to the chapel in the country.’)
(4) Le compré los caramelitos para que se *estaría* callado. (‘I bought him the sweets so that he would be quiet.’)
(5) Yo me fui antes de que *llegaría*. (‘I left before he/she arrived.’)
(6) Ojalá me *tocaría* el gordo. (‘If only I won the lottery.’)
(7) No encontré a ninguno que lo *haría*. (‘I found no one who would do it.’)

With the possible exception of (7), each of the above sentences would be regarded as ungrammatical by speakers from outside the far north of Spain.

An additional feature of northern varieties is a preference for the preterite in cases where speakers from Madrid, say, or southern Spain would be likely to use the perfect. Thus, for example, ¿*Comiste ya?* ‘Have you eaten yet?’, *Eso no lo oí yo* ‘I haven’t heard that’.

4. Lexicon

As is to be expected, there are few lexical items that are general in Castile and yet do not belong to the standard vocabulary. Most studies of the Castilian lexicon have highlighted items whose use is limited to small geographical areas, such as individual provinces. On the other hand, most manuals report the widespread use of *caer* ‘to fall’ and *quedar* ‘to remain’ as transitive verbs.
Spanish in the Canary Islands

1. Introduction
The incorporation of the Canary Islands into the kingdom of Castile began in 1385 and reached completion at the end of the 15th century. Andalusians appear to have had a pre-eminent role in both the subjugation of the Islands (including the elimination of the native Guanche population) and the establishment of the new civic, religious and political apparatus. Las Palmas, for example, fell under the same fuero or political charter as Seville and documents from the Colonial period frequently contain injunctions from local magistrates or government officials to conduct business according to Sevillian precedents. The connections with Andalusia continued for centuries; in particular the Canaries were crucial stepping-stones on the flotilla routes that linked Andalusian ports to the Caribbean. Not surprisingly, then, Canary Island Spanish has developed along very similar lines to Andalusian Spanish.

2. Phonetics & Phonology
As in much of Andalusia, seseo is the norm, although isolated pockets of ceceo may persist in rural areas.

Canary speech coincides with Andalusian Spanish also in its strong tendency towards consonantal weakening. Thus \([x] \rightarrow [h]\) modification is routine and syllable-final /s/ undergoes the processes just outlined for Andalusian Spanish. The liquids too may be subject, in syllable-final position, to some of the pressures described in the section on Andalusian Spanish. Thus fieldworkers report cases of \([l] \rightarrow [r]\) modification (e.g. [arkile] alquiler ‘rent’), semivocalization (e.g. [ejkwejpo] el cuerpo ‘the body’), assimilation (e.g. [kanne] carne ‘meat’), and elision (e.g. [kome] comer ‘to eat’).

Finally, \([h]\) may be retained as a reflex of Latin /f/ in rural speech and the lower sociolects.

3. Syntax and Morphology
As in northern Castile, the preterite is often used where speakers from the central and southern Peninsula would use the perfect; thus, for example, Vine hoy ‘I arrived today’, ¿Te caíste, mi niño? ‘Did you fall over, child?’, ¿Dónde estuvieron? ‘Where have you been?’.

It is not uncommon for subject pronouns to be placed before an infinitive, instead of after, as in standard Spanish: para ellos entender ‘for them to understand’. As we shall see, this type of word order is common also in the Caribbean, an area noted for its historical and commercial links with the Canary Islands.

Older speakers may exhibit non-inverted QU-questions when the subject NP is a pronoun: ¿Qué tú dices? ‘What do you say?’.

Finally, as in Andalusian Spanish, ustedes is used in place of Castilian vosotros/-as.
4. Lexicon

Only a handful of Guanche items survive in the Canary lexicon. Examples include *gofío* ‘toasted maize’, *gánigo* ‘bowl’, *baifo* ‘goat’ and *ténique* ‘firebrick’.

More abundant are the words of western Iberian origin, i.e. Lusisms and items from Galician: *fechar* ‘to close’, *andoriña* ‘swallow’, *garuja* ‘fog/driizzle’, *empatar* ‘to lengthen’, *fañoso* ‘having a nasal pronunciation’.

Given the long tradition of Canary emigrants to the Caribbean returning to their homeland, it is not surprising that a number of Latin American words have found their way into Canary usage: *guagua* ‘bus’, *atrorrar* ‘to loaf’, *machango* ‘joker’, *rasca* ‘drunkenness’, *cucuyo* ‘firefly/glow-worm’.

Finally, it is important to note that a number of originally nautical or maritime words have acquired an additional everyday sense in Canary Spanish. For example, *jalar* does not just mean ‘to pull (a rope, an oar etc.)’, as its ancestor *halar* did in medieval Spanish, but also ‘to eat’ (via the idea of raising a spoon to one’s mouth); similarly, *liña* originally referred to a fishing line but has come to be used also of washing lines.

Spanish in the Philippines

1. Introduction

The Philippines were incorporated to the Spanish crown in 1571. The capital, Manila was founded by López de Legazpi (originally the Mayor of Mexico City) on 24th June 1571.

Spanish achieved rather less success in the Philippines than in the Americas. This appears to be due to a number of factors, primarily the low numbers of Spanish settlers in the islands and the peripheral location of the islands within the Spanish Empire. Fray Miguel de Benavides remarked in 1595:

En México hay ahora innumerables españoles, no sólo de los idos de acá, sino de los naçidos allá, que ya son como naturales de allá […] y no sólo hay esta multitud de españoles en la ciudad de México, sino también en otros ynumerables pueblos, de suerte que ya aquel reyno y república está aún en la gente muy mudada, lo qual no es ansí en las Philippinas, porque aunque en la ciudad de Manila ay españoles, pero en los pueblos de los yndios no vive español ninguno, y ansí están los pueblos de los yndios sin hacer en ellos mudança ninguna como se estavan antes que los españoles allá fuesen. (Cited p. 206 in L. Hanke Cuerpo de documentos del siglo XVI, Mexico, FCE, 1977.)

To reach the islands from Spain, the usual route was via Veracruz in Mexico, with an overland journey to Acapulco, to board the *Galeón de Manila*. Until the opening of the Suez Canal, Spanish communication with the Philippines was conducted entirely through Mexico and indeed throughout the colonial period the Islands formed part of the Viceroyalty of New Spain.

Unlike in the Americas then, Spanish never came to be the general language of the Philippines. There were efforts in the late 18th and 19th centuries to expand the provision of free schooling, which involved the obligatory teaching of Spanish. However, the slow process of Hispanization came to an abrupt halt in 1898, when sovereignty was ceded to the USA. The USA spent vast sums on establishing the usage of English in the Islands and on dismantling the educational apparatus set up by the previous administration. From 1935, Spanish and English co-existed as official languages in the Philippines, but in the Philippine Constitution of 1987 this status was withdrawn from Spanish. Thus according to the constitution, Pilipino (i.e. Tagalog) and English are the official languages of communication and instruction, while ‘Spanish and Arabic shall be promoted on a voluntary and optional basis’.
According to the latest figures, 1,816,773 persons or 3% of the population speak Spanish. To that figure can be added the 1,200,000 speakers of Chabacano or Philippine Creole Spanish. Thus the total number of Spanish and Spanish Creole speakers in the Philippines is just over 3 million.

2. Philippine Spanish

2.1. Pronunciation

In Philippine Spanish there is a tendency to raise the mid vowels /o/ and /e/:

[tinía] tenía
[kumen] comen
[nuse] no sé
[semubjo] se movió

The other salient feature involving vowels is the frequent insertion of a glottal stop [ʔ] before stressed syllable-initial vowels, as occurs in indigenous Philippine languages:

[ʔalma] alma
[poʔeta] poeta
[paʔis] pais

Turning now to consonants, the following facts are worthy of note:

The statistically most frequent realization of /f/ is bilabial [φ]. Occasionally, the realization may be [p], which mirrors the process whereby Spanish /f/ is usually merged with /p/ in indigenous Philippine languages (which all lack the phoneme /f/).

Alveolar sounds tend to become palatalized when they appear before [j]:

/s/ + [j] → [ʃ]: [negoʃjo] negocio
/n/ + [j] → [ɲ]: [matrimonio] matrimonio
/l/ + [j] → [ʎ]: [sandalia] sandalia

Some speakers preserve a distinction between [s] and [θ], but most are siseantes (i.e. the /s/ ~ /θ/ distinction is eliminated in favour of /s/).

Considerable variation attaches to the articulation of /x/ in the Philippines. The most common pronunciation is [h], although [x] is not unknown.

Virtually all speakers preserve the distinction between /h/ and /j/.

Among some speakers, /h/ may depalatalize in initial position: [iubja] lluvia.

2.2. Vocabulary

In keeping with the islands’ historical links with the Viceroyalty of New Spain, the Philippine vocabulary contains quite a few Latin Americanisms. Many of these stem ultimately from indigenous Latin American languages: bejuco ‘liana’, maguey (a kind of sisal), guayaba ‘guava’, camote (a type of sweet potato), maní ‘peanut’, tiangué ‘street stall’, petate (bedroll made from matting), atole (hot maize drink). Others stem from Castilian Spanish, but with the distinctive American meaning: lampazo ‘mop’, lampacear ‘to mop’, mancuernas ‘cufflinks’, estar parado ‘to be standing up’, fósforo ‘match’, escampar de la lluvia ‘to shelter from the rain’.


Finally, there are borrowings from indigenous Philippine languages: bolo (type of machete), abacá (plant that produces Manila hemp), baguio ‘typhoon’, jambunguero ‘braggart’.

**Voseo**

Early Old Spanish inherited from Latin the practice of using the subject pronoun vos as a singular honorific (as happens today in modern French with vous). Gradually, however, vos lost its deferential value, while retaining its capacity for singular reference. As a consequence, in the 15th century, a new honorific emerged, namely vuestra(s) merced(es) ‘your Grace(s)’. Denuded of its deferential value, vos was expanded in the plural to vosotros and in the singular it was now in competition with tú. During the Golden Age and the colonial period, this competition was resolved differently in different areas, with tú emerging triumphant in Spain, the Caribbean, Mexico and Peru, vos being preferred in Central America and the Southern Cone, and other regions exhibiting both forms (see chapter 5 for the modern situation).

At the same time, vuestra merced came to be contracted to usted (intermediate forms such as vuesarced, vucé etc. are common in the plays of Calderón, for example) and vuestras mercedes was modified along similar lines, with ustedes emerging as a result. This latter form acquired non-deferential value throughout Latin America, as well as in western Andalusia and the Canaries, thereby preventing vosotros from ever taking root in those areas.

Vos itself is often used with verb forms that descend from the Old Spanish person 5 verb endings. Except in the preterite, these were -ades, -edes and -ides. The d (pronounced [ð]) in these endings was lost, in the 15th century for forms stressed on the penultimate syllable and in the 17th century for forms stressed on the antepenultimate syllable. The resulting hiatus was resolved either through dissimilation ([e] > [j]) or assimilation ([e] > [ae/i] > [ə]). Except in the -ir conjugation, where such endings were the only ones available, the assimilated endings were abandoned in the Peninsula but they prevailed in the voseante areas of Latin America. In those regions, then, the forms shown in Table 1 below may be encountered, although the future tense endings and to a lesser extent those for the present subjunctive are often replaced by the corresponding tú endings. Note also that, through normal sound change, the vos endings that descend from forms that were stressed on the antepenultimate syllable (i.e. the imperfect, the past subjunctive and the conditional) coincide exactly with the corresponding tú forms.
Table 1. Voseo verb endings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>-ar</th>
<th>-er</th>
<th>-ir</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pres. ind.</td>
<td>cantás (&lt; cantades)</td>
<td>comés (&lt; comedes)</td>
<td>vivís (&lt; vivides)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres. subj.</td>
<td>cantés (&lt; cantedes)</td>
<td>comás (&lt; comades)</td>
<td>vivás (&lt; vivades)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect</td>
<td>cantabas (&lt; cantávades)</td>
<td>comías (&lt; comiádes)</td>
<td>vivías (&lt; viviádes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past. subj.</td>
<td>cantaras (&lt; cantárades)</td>
<td>comieras (&lt; comiérides)</td>
<td>vivieras (&lt; viviérides)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past. subj.</td>
<td>cantases (&lt; cantásessedes)</td>
<td>comieses (&lt; comiéssedes)</td>
<td>vivieses (&lt; viviéssedes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>cantarés (&lt; cantaríades)</td>
<td>comerés (&lt; comeríades)</td>
<td>vivirés (&lt; viviríades)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cond.</td>
<td>cantarías (&lt; cantariádes)</td>
<td>comerías (&lt; comeríades)</td>
<td>vivirías (&lt; viviríades)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The usual vos imperative (cantá ‘sing’, comé ‘eat’, salí ‘come out’ etc.) also appears to be the outcome of assimilation. Modern Peninsular -ad, -ed and -id stem, as was pointed out in 2.3.2 above, from the Latin plural endings -āte, -ēte, -īte through the voicing of [-t-] and the apocope of [-e]. The voseante forms have an identical source, but what seems to have happened in their case is that the [d]/[ð] resulting from the voicing of Latin [t] was lost and the subsequent hiatus was resolved through assimilation: [kantaðe] > [kantae] > [kanta] cantá etc. Assimilated imperatives were common in the Peninsula until the early modern period, surviving there only when followed by enclitic os (e.g. acordaos ‘remember!’).

In the preterite, usage varies between forms ending in -ste (as in vos cantaste) and forms ending in -stes (as in vos cantastes). The latter may simply be the old person 5 endings or they may be the outcome of the analogical addition of final [s] to the tú endings. Forms ending in -ste are generally preferred by educated speakers.

Finally, in the perfect, has is the usual form of the auxiliary used with vos. The archaism habís may still be encountered at the vernacular level in rural areas, however.

The clitic pronouns and possessives that correspond to vos are the same as for tú (see examples (1) and (2) below), but vos occurs as the object of a preposition (see example (3)):

1. ¿Te acordás de mí? (‘Do you remember me?’)
2. ¿Vos creés que en tu casa no se habrán dado cuenta? (‘Do you think that in your house they won’t have realized.’)
3. Claro, como todos viven pendientes de vos. (‘Of course, as everyone’s life centres around you.’)

For more information consult A Linguistic Introduction to Spanish by Ian Mackenzie (University of Newcastle upon Tyne), LINCOM Studies in Romance Linguistics 35, ISBN 3 89586 347 5.