

# Native American Influence

- ◆ There is clearly significant Native American lexical influence in many varieties of Latin American Spanish (and Spanish in general)
- ◆ There may be some influence on grammar and phonology, but this is more difficult to determine



# Borrowings

- ◆ When languages come into contact, lexical borrowings are inevitable
- ◆ New items (food, etc.) require new words - often borrowed from local language
- ◆ Often borrowed word exists alongside other word, and is a social marker (e.g. *pavo* vs. *guajalote*)



# Mainstream borrowings

- ◆ Cervantes, Lope de Vega, and other Golden Age writers used Americanisms, making them mainstream
- ◆ In Latin America, borrowings are used extensively, and vary from region to region



# Early borrowings

## ◆ From Carib:

- ají 'pepper'
- hamaca 'hammock'
- huracán 'hurricane'
- canoa 'canoe'
- maiz 'corn'
- maní 'peanuts'

◆ Note several later borrowed into English



# Place names

- ◆ Several Latin American place names combine a Spanish religious name with a local place name:
  - Santa Fe de Bogotá
  - San Francisco de Quito
  - San Miguel de Tucumán



# Grammatical features

- ◆ Lexical borrowing requires minimal contact
- ◆ Phonological and Grammatical influence requires sustained interaction and sociological factors that were relatively rare in Latin America



# Regional differences

- ◆ Different regions of Latin America differed in the interaction of Spanish and Native American languages
- ◆ In the Caribbean there was almost no Native American component
- ◆ In the Amazon region, parts of rural Mexico, and parts of Guatemala, there was not much Spanish
- ◆ Long-lasting contact occurred in Paraguay, and in the areas of the former Aztec and Inca empires



# Colonial caste system

- ◆ From the 18th Century, colonial Latin America kept track of various racial groups through an articulated caste system - this distinguished Europeans (*sangre limpia*: *Peninsulares* and *Criollos*) from *cruces*. The *cruces* were:
  - Mestizo (European + Indian)
  - Castizo (European + Mestiza)
  - Zambo (Indian + African)
  - Mulato (European + African)
  - Morisco (European + Mulata)
  - Cholo (Mestizo + Indian)
  - Chino (Mulato + Indian)



# Libro de Castas





# Interlanguage

- ◆ Native Americans who learn Spanish imperfectly speak an interlanguage
- ◆ Native American phonology and grammar superimposed on Spanish lexical items
- ◆ Still spoken in Amazon, Andes, and Mesoamerica
- ◆ This will not have an effect on regional mainstream Spanish



# Sociological shift

- ◆ A sociological shift is needed for elements of the interlanguage to become a norm in the regional Spanish
- ◆ The barrier between Indian and Spanish speakers needs to be broken.



# Mestizo interlanguage

- ◆ As a Mestizo class develops, with Spanish dominance and, at least at first, bilingualism, an indigenous Spanish dialect develops
- ◆ The European norm is isolated from this as long as the European and Mestizo classes are separate
- ◆ However, when the Mestizo class expands socially, the Indo-Spanish will influence the European norm



# Mestizo influence

- ◆ Mestizo influence and social expansion happens in a number of ways, including:
  - Revolution (Mexico, Bolivia)
  - Marriage (Paraguay)
  - Caregivers
- ◆ Early colonists were overwhelmingly male; hence a large Mestizo class



# Paraguay

- ◆ Typical family: European father, Guaraní mother and Mestizo children
- ◆ Children brought up bi-lingual
- ◆ Unlike other parts of Latin America, the children were recognized by the church and were given *Criollo* status.



# Paraguayan Spanish

- ◆ Originally isolated, intermarriage, and Jesuit established system of Guaraní cooperatives - led to sustained contact between Guaraní and Paraguayan Spanish
- ◆ Almost every aspect of Paraguayan Spanish has been attributed to transfer. However, most are doubtful (e.g. lack of yeísmo - Guaraní has no palatal lateral).



# Guaraní feature

- ◆ Glottal stop between words, particularly, if next word begins in a vowel.
  - la ola > la ʔ ola
- ◆ Coincides almost exactly with Guaraní speaking areas, the feature is present in Guaraní, and Guaraní- dominant bilinguals do it more than others



# Guaraní



-



# Andean Spanish

- ◆ Former Inca Empire - Inca and Aymara are the major Native American languages
- ◆ Priests learned Inca in their missionary work
- ◆ Mineral wealth and seat of Viceroyalty meant there were more upper-class Castilian colonists
- ◆ More rigid caste system, hence Mestizos and Interlanguage speakers were isolated from Spanish speakers



# Possible Influences

- ◆ Assibilated /r/ (trabaxo > tšabaxo)
- ◆ Lack of *yeísmo*
- ◆ Hard to prove, as these features existed in Spain, and elsewhere in Latin America
- ◆ Vowel reduction (Ivo > Evo) stigmatized and associated with 'Indios'.



# Clitic doubling

- Lo tengo el carro.
- 'I have the cart.'
- ◆ Only found in Spanish dialects with Native American substrata. In Andean, found more in bilingual speakers, and socially stigmatized.



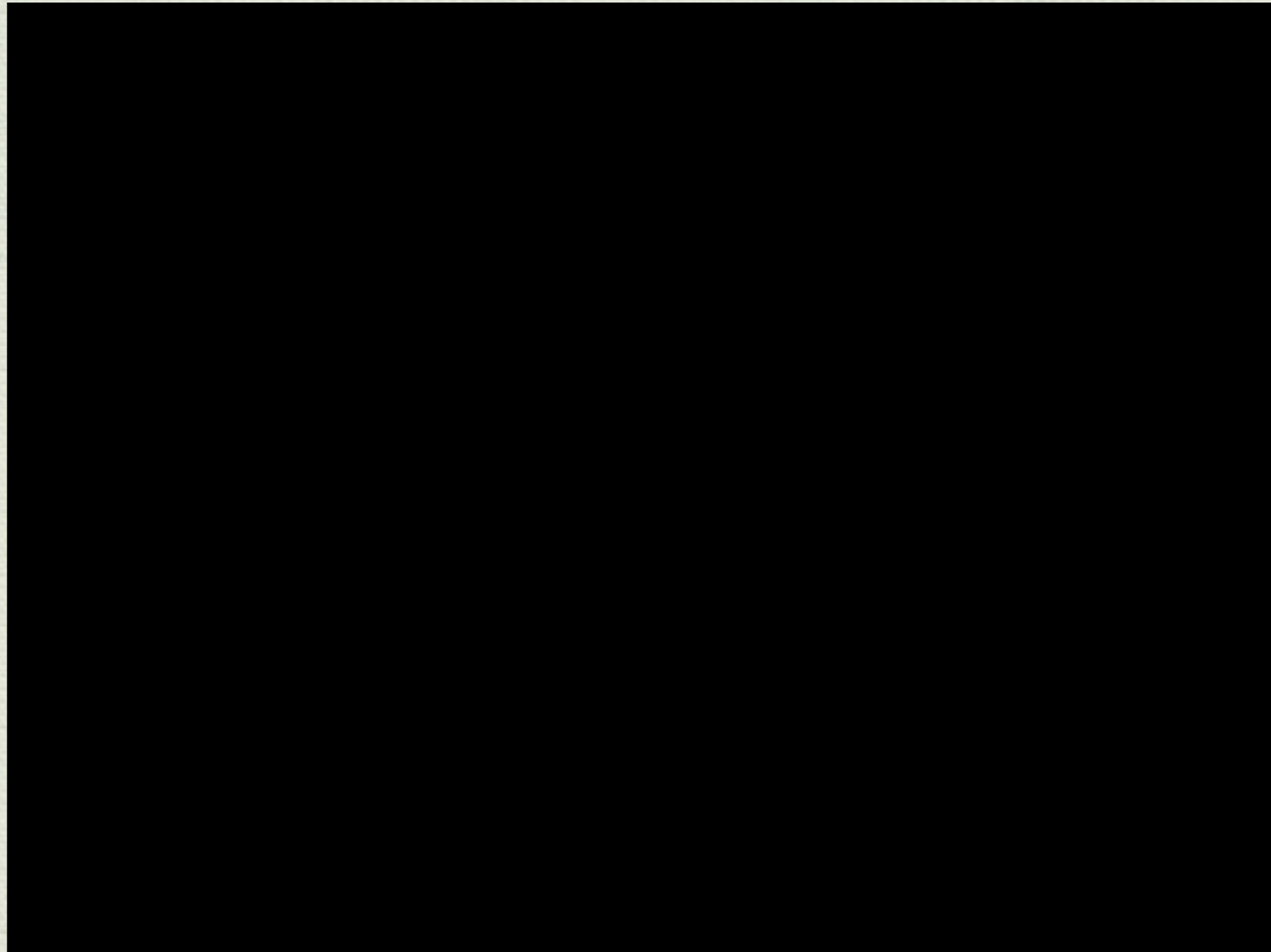
# Quechua transfer effect

- ◆ Quechua is an OV language, with DOs marked with *-ta*:
  - T'ika-*ta* kuch-ni
  - flower-DO cut-1sg
  - 'I cut the flower.'
- ◆ In interlanguage, clitic *lo* is reinterpreted as DO marker; later, VO word order and *lo* becomes clitic double:
  - El poncho-*lo* tengo. > *Lo* tengo el poncho.
  - 'I have the poncho.'



# Quechua

- 





# Mexican Languages

- ◆ Several Native languages spoken in Mexico: e.g., Nahuatl, Mayan, Zapotec, and Mixtec, among many others
- ◆ Oaxacan languages in diaspora: Zapotec is the Native American language with the most speakers in California; Mixtec bilingual schools in Tijuana
- ◆ Nahuatl and Mayan languages remain robust in Mexico
- ◆ Priests learned Nahuatl for missionary work; resulted in its spread beyond Aztec Empire and Lingua Franca status



# Mayan influence

- ◆ In Yucatán and Chiapas, Mayan features, including glottalized consonants are present in interlanguage
- ◆ Never made it beyond interlanguage



# Nahuatl Influence

- ◆ Many features of Mexican Spanish have been attributed to a Nahuatl substratum: *yeísmo*, assibilated r, intonation, vowel reduction, vowel raising
- ◆ None have been carefully argued and may have alternative accounts
- ◆ /s/ retention claimed to be related to Nahuatl's lack of syllable-final /s/; hence, /ts/ replaced /s/, resulting in a stronger syllable-final consonant.
- ◆ This is not true - Nahuatl had a syllable-final /s/, and /ts/ never replaced Spanish s in a consistent manner.



# Nahuatl loanwords

◆ Mexican Spanish has lots of Nahuatl loanwords:

- *guajalote* 'turkey'
- *camote* 'yam'
- *elote* 'corn' (*tamal* from Mayan)
- *chile* 'chile'
- *jitomate* 'tomato'
- *aguacate* 'avocado'
- *comal* 'skillet'
- *molcajete* 'grinding stone'



# Nahuatl

- 

