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.
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)
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.
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.
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 yeismo - Guaraní has no palatal lateral).
Guaraní feature

- Glottal stop between words, particularly, if next word begins in a vowel.
  - la ola > la ? ola

- Coincides almost exactly with Guaraní speaking areas, the feature is present in Guaraní, and Guaraní- dominant bilinguals do it more than others
Guaraní
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-\textit{ta} kuch-ni
  - flower-DO cut-1sg
  - 'I cut the flower.'

★ In interlanguage, clitic \textit{lo} is reinterpreted as DO marker; later, VO word order and \textit{lo} becomes clitic double:
  - El poncho-\textit{lo} tengo. \textgreater\textit{ Lo tengo el poncho.}
  - 'I have the poncho.'
Quechua
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.
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.
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