

## **Spanish world-wide: the last century of language contacts**

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### INTRODUCTION

Spanish—a language spoken on every continent—is the product not only of its Peninsular heritage and of internal evolution, but also of a variety of language contacts, with indigenous languages, languages of forced immigration (the slave trade), and of voluntary immigration. During the period of worldwide expansion of Spanish—above all the 16th through 18th centuries—language contacts represented the principal factors leading to dialect diversification: thus, for examples the various Andean, Caribbean, Central American, Southern Cone, and New Mexican varieties coalesced into configurations close to the present form. These seismic changes molding Spanish arose and spread during these high-growth years of linguistic expansion: the evolution of sibilants, seseo and yeísmo, the use of vos (voseo), reduction and loss of final consonants, devoicing of unstressed vowels, assibilation of rhotic consonants and the many syntactic shifts which delimit the contemporary dialect zones of Spanish. In view of the importance that accrues to these major periods of modernization and dialect diversification of Spanish, language contacts occurring over the past century and a half have received short shrift in dialectology: Spanish territorial expansion had ceased (with the exception of a few incursions in Africa), regionalist folk literature had already presented the major dialect features of Spain and Spanish America, and the more recent linguistic changes were stratified socially rather than geographically, stemming from rural to urban migration, large-scale literacy campaigns in many countries, and the gradual erosion of linguistic enclaves where regional languages and minority dialects were spoken. Despite this general lack of attention, Spanish has continued to be enriched by ongoing contacts with an ever-widening series of languages and speech

communities, and in many Spanish-speaking countries this sustained multilingualism deserves careful attention. In some of these cases, the language contacts have not left permanent traces in regional Spanish, with the exception of occasional lexical borrowings, but taken together, the full range of bilingual contact phenomena has exerted a definitive influence on the dialect diversification of Spanish throughout the world. In the next few minutes we will direct our attention to a select but representative group of language contact situations currently found in Spanish-speaking countries or recently disappeared, together with the possible linguistic repercussions. For reasons of time and coherence the dozens—perhaps hundreds—of instances of bilingualism have been pared down to a literal handful known to have exerted more than a token influence on local and regional Spanish varieties. With few exceptions, the cases to be presented here have only affected the microdialectology of the countries in which they occur, and have exercised little influence beyond the pale of the villages and enclaves in which they occur. Many of these microdialects will ultimately disappear without a trace, but given the massive demographic shifts found in the modern world, the linguistic effects of these small bilingual speech communities frequently extend beyond territorial boundaries and become known by large sectors of regional and national populations. We shall therefore begin our journey with some contemporary manifestations of language contact between Spanish and indigenous languages in Africa and Asia, after which attention will be directed to some Latin American speech communities characterized by recent immigration.

#### THE SPANISH LANGUAGE IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Although Spanish has at one time or another been used in various coastal locations in Sub-Saharan Africa, it is found today only in the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, formerly Spanish Guinea. Equatorial Guinea consists of the island of Bioko (formerly named Fernando

Poo), which contains the capital, Malabo (formerly Santa Isabel), and the continental enclave of Rio Muni (with capital Bata), between Gabon and Cameroon, as well as tiny Annobón Island, located to the south of São Tomé. In 1964 Spanish Guinea (as the colony was known) achieved status as an autonomous region, and the nation became independent in 1968, when Spain yielded to international pressure. Despite the lack of colonial independence wars, Equatorial Guinea lurched violently into the post-colonial era with a nightmarish 11-year regime, headed by Francisco Macías Nguema, which nearly destroyed the country's infrastructure, expelled all foreigners and exiled, jailed or murdered nearly half of the Equatorial Guinean population.

Like most other African nations, Equatorial Guinea contains a variety of ethnic groups, each speaking its own language. The indigenous group on Bioko is the Bubi. Also found in Malabo and its environs are numerous *Fernandinos*, descendants of pidgin English-speaking freed slaves from Sierra Leone and Liberia, who arrived in Fernando Poo in the 19th century, as well as a handful of natives of São Tomé and Príncipe, Cape Verde and other African nations. During the colonial period, nearly half of the island's population consisted of Nigerian contract laborers (largely Ibos and Calabars), who worked on the cacao plantations, and although nearly all Nigerians were expelled by the Macías government (and few have returned), this group reinforced the English spoken by the *Fernandinos*, with the result that nearly all residents of Fernando Poo speak pidgin English, known as *pichi*, *pichinglis* or *broken-inglis*, which constitutes the true lingua franca of Fernando Poo/Bioko. The principal ethnic group in Rio Muni is the Fang, also found in Gabon and Cameroon, who have dominated the remaining groups and have formed the strongest nuclei in the national government; the Fang have also emigrated in large numbers to Fernando Poo, although not originally native to that island. The *playero* groups (Ndowé/Combe, Bujeba, Benga, Bapuko, etc.) are found along the coast of Rio

Muni, and most of their languages are at least partially intelligible mutually. There are few remaining pygmies in Rio Muni, and those that are found live in scattered areas of the interior and do not constitute a linguistically or culturally influential group.

Pidgin English is not widely used in Rio Muni, except in Bata, due to the influx of residents of Fernando Poo and of natives of Cameroon, Nigeria and other English-speaking areas. Most *playero* speakers and a large number of Bubis also speak Fang, due to the impact of the latter group in the national government, and the forced learning of Fang during the Macías government, although the Fang rarely speak other indigenous languages. In Rio Muni, the principal lingua franca for inter-ethnic communication is in theory Spanish, although Fang vies with Spanish, given the political and social hegemony of this group. On Fernando Poo, pidgin English has generally been preferred, despite fierce campaigns by Spanish missionaries and educators and complaints by many Equatorial Guineans, who scold their children for speaking *pichi*. Spanish is also widely used for inter-ethnic communication, and occasionally French surfaces, due to the presence of numerous natives of Cameroon, and the fact that thousands of Guineans took refuge in Cameroon and Gabon during the Macías regime, and learned at least the rudiments of French.

In comparison with most other West and Central African nations, Equatorial Guinea contains a high proportion of proficient speakers of the metropolitan language, in this case Spanish, which is largely attributable to the efforts of the Spanish educational system (cf. Negrín Fajardo 1993). Colonial education was predominantly in the hands of missionary groups, particularly the Claret order, but Spanish government schools also played a significant role in implanting Spanish as an effective language of communication. On Fernando Poo, nearly all natives of the island speak Spanish with considerable fluency, although there are a few elderly

residents who had little or no contact with Spaniards during the colonial period and who consequently have limited abilities in this language. On Annobón Island, despite its nearly total isolation from the remainder of the country (and indeed, from the remainder of the world), nearly all residents speak Spanish quite well, although this language is rarely used spontaneously in daily communication, since Annobón Islanders speak *fa d'ambú*, a Portuguese-derived creole similar to the dialects of São Tomé and Príncipe. In Rio Muni, nearly all *playeros* speak Spanish, except for those who have remained in isolated areas distant from schools and government centers, and the same is true for Fang living in the principal cities and towns. In the interior, it is still possible to find many Fang in more remote areas who speak little or no Spanish, despite its status as the national language, and official announcements, masses and speeches are often delivered in Fang to ensure communication. This diversity of language ability is largely due to the historical facts of colonization, for although Fernando Poo, Annobón and Rio Muni were ceded to Spain in 1778 by Portugal, effective colonization of Fernando Poo by the Spanish only began after 1850, and Annobón contained no Spanish presence until 1885. Rio Muni was not colonized until after 1900, when territorial disputes with French African territories were finally settled, and Spanish colonization of the interior of Rio Muni did not become effective until after 1930.

From the beginning, the Spanish government insisted on exclusive use of Spanish as the colonial language, although missionaries and other functionaries had to learn pidgin English and the native languages in order to function effectively, and Equatorial Guinea had and has one of Africa's highest functional literacy rates. This has occurred despite the fact that during the last 7-8 years of the Macías regime, use of Spanish in public functions and even in private life was prohibited, and a largely unsuccessful attempt was made to implement Fang as the sole national

language. At the same time, the post-colonial educational system largely ceased to function. The result of this hiatus is a generation of young Guineans whose active competence in the Spanish language is significantly below that of older and younger compatriots, although it is not likely that this relatively short time period of separation from active use of Spanish will have any major long-range linguistic consequences for Equatorial Guinea. Despite the high percentage of Guineans who possess a considerable active competence in Spanish, this language is not used extensively in daily interaction, at least not in pure form; in Equatorial Guinean homes, the vernacular languages continue to hold sway, mixed with pidgin English on Fernando Poo. In those cases of mixed-ethnic marriages, originally rare but recently somewhat more frequent, use of Spanish or pidgin English is more common, although given the wide knowledge of Fang, if one of the partners is Fang this language is also used. Officially, all government activities are carried out in Spanish, and yet a visit to any government dependency reveals that whenever Guineans sharing a common native language (including pidgin English) come together, these languages predominate in all but the most formal ritualized communications. Even the socially stigmatized *pichinglis* continues to play an important role in day-to-day activities of the government, although not the slightest mention is made of this language in any government document. {HANDOUT #1} contains a representative bibliography of Spanish in sub-Saharan Africa; in {HANDOUT #2-9} various imitations and observations on the status of Spanish in Guinea are found. Since Spanish is not the first language for most Guineans, their Spanish is characterized by considerable individual variation, but some common traits emerge which are found at least some of the time in the speech of nearly all Equatorial Guineans. {HANDOUT #10} lists some of the principal traits, nearly all of which are found among a broad cross-section of second-language learners of Spanish, including English-speaking students in this country.

Since the Peninsular dialects having the greatest presence in Equatorial Guinea came from central Spain (Madrid) and Valencia, Guinean Spanish sounds very Castilian, unlike the more Andalusian/Canarian influenced Spanish acquired by Africans as well as Europeans in the Caribbean, and often erroneously identified as “black” Spanish.

#### SPANISH IN NORTH AFRICA

Spanish is still spoken in North Africa, principally in the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla, but also in the former territory of the Spanish Sahara (now part of Morocco and the scene of a bloody civil war). Speaking of the north of Morocco, remaining Spanish varieties strongly resemble those of Andalusia, especially Cádiz and Seville, which provided the linguistic input for Tangier and other Moroccan cities. Moroccans frequently pronounce /p/ as [b], and lack the sounds /ñ/ and the trill /rr/, speaking Spanish with these same traits. In Ceuta and Melilla, where the Arab population exceeds 15%, the mix of Arabic and Andalusian influence is palpable.

Tarkki (1995) presents a monograph on the speech of the former Spanish Sahara, largely based on informants living in refugee camps in Algeria. Western Sahara was a province of Spanish from 1958 to 1976, but no studies of Saharan Spanish were carried out during this time period. As Spanish prepared to withdraw from the Western Sahara, Mauritania and Morocco signed accords to divide this territory between the two countries. With the final withdrawal of Spain in 1976 the Polisario Liberation front declared the independent Saharai Republic, initiating a bloody conflict that continues even today. Mauritania quickly lost interest, and Morocco has replaced Saharai natives with Moroccan soldiers and settlers from more northern regions of the country. During the colonial period, Spanish was the only language of school instruction, although the population continued to speak Arab vernaculars natively. Spanish took

root in the Sahara, particularly in the colonial capital, El Ayoun. When Morocco subsequently invaded this region, any use of Spanish was considered suspicious and potentially subversive; those Saharais who remained have largely abandoned the use of Spanish. Saharais exiled to refugee camps continue to use Spanish, often in preference to their native language, as a means of affirming their ethnic differences from neighboring Algerian and Moroccan groups. Given the proximity of the Canary Islands and the fact that many Saharais lived and worked in the Canary Islands, Saharan Spanish bears many Canary Island and Andalusian traits, particularly the weak pronunciation of syllable- and word-final consonants. Final /s/ is often aspirated and lost; since Spanish is largely a language transmitted orally in this region, the loss of /s/ has sometimes been lexicalized in borrowings. Less proficient Saharais superimpose the three-vowel system of Arabic, producing vocalic neutralizations reminiscent of those found in the Andean region, where Quechua and Aymara also distinguish only three vowels *misa-mesa*. Saharais have difficulty with the phoneme /p/, and realize /b/, /d/, and /g/ as stops. There are many lapses of subject-verb and noun-adjective agreement, similar to the Spanish of Equatorial Guinea. Unlike in Equatorial Guinea, the Saharans consistently maintain the *tú-usted* opposition. Definite articles and prepositions are occasionally eliminated, but in general Sahara Spanish closely resembles neighboring Canary dialects. The future of this dialect is dim, considering the persecution by Morocco and the tendency to abandon the language as refugees move out of the camps and into areas where other languages are spoken. {HANDOUT #11} gives some examples.

#### SPANISH IN THE PHILIPPINES AND THE PACIFIC

Spanish continues to be spoken in the Philippines, by a rapidly dwindling number of native speakers and occasionally by Filipinos who learned Spanish as a second language;



bibliography in {HANDOUT #12}. Studies of the Spanish language in the Philippines have largely taken two directions. The first is the incorporation of Spanish words in native Philippine languages, and the second is the formation of Spanish creole dialects, known collectively as Chabacano, in Cavite, Ternate y Zamboanga (examples in {HANDOUT #13-14}). Although the Spanish presence in the Philippines lasted for almost four centuries, but although the Spanish language still enjoys quasi-official status in the Philippines and although a few Spanish speakers are found in the country, little is known about non-creole Philippine Spanish. The more than three centuries of Spanish occupation of the Philippines were not sufficient for the Spanish language to take root, unlike what happened in Spanish America, since native Philippine languages were more frequently used in cross-cultural contacts. Among the most significant factors were the official Spanish government and religious policies, which favored the use of indigenous languages for church and official interchanges. To this may be added the always small number of Spaniards at any given time, in comparison to the indigenous population, the lack of significant demographic displacements among the indigenous population, which might have propelled the Spanish language into greater prominence. With the exception of the Chabacano creoles, which arose around military garrisons and multi-ethnic trading ports, Spanish never became the native language of significant sectors of the Philippine population, and was never used as a trade language beyond the mestizo groups that participated in the colonial administration. With the arrival of the United States administration following the Spanish-American war in 1898, and the impact of English-language teaching programs, a rapid linguistic shift towards English as the principal non-Philippine language rapidly occurred. Spanish as a viable language disappeared from the Philippine linguistic profile in little more than two

generations. Today, Spanish continues to be a school subject, but is no longer obligatory in most curricula.

The scarcity of studies on contemporary Philippine Spanish is due to the small number of Spanish speakers in the Philippines; the majority of studies claiming to deal with “Philippine Spanish’ instead deal with lexical borrowings into Philippine languages, or to descriptions of the Chabacano creole dialects. There have even been cases in which Chabacano—a legitimate Philippine language—has been confused with Philippine dialects of non-creole Spanish {HANDOUT #15}. Although most non-creole Spanish speakers in the Philippines come from recent mestizo families, there is a large but uncounted number of Filipinos who possess some competence in Spanish, less than that of the mestizos, but more than a rough pidgin {former examples in HANDOUT #16-20}).

Contemporary non-creole Philippine Spanish has an aristocratic conservative flavor, and lacks popular and regional variants, as well as archaic and rustic variants which permeate the Chabacano dialects and in most Latin American Spanish dialects. The influence of religious figures, literary texts, and Spanish-language newspapers is apparent in modern Philippine Spanish, which is concentrated in a handful of major urban areas: the metro Manila area, as well as the sugar-growing regions of the island of Negros (Bacolod and Dumaguete), and the fruit-growing regions of Mindanao, near Cagayan de Oro and Davao. Other small groups of Spanish speakers are found in Legaspi and Naga, Iloilo, Tacloban, Cotabatu, Vigan, Cebú and Zamboanga, in the latter city Spanish and Zamboanga Chabacano are mixed. Despite the considerable variety among Philippine languages, no regional varieties of non-creole Philippine Spanish have emerged, and it is nearly impossible to determine the native Philippine language spoken by a Philippine Spanish speaker. {HANDOUT #21} gives basic characteristics of

Philippine Spanish. Less fluent speakers commit errors of agreement and syntax, while the more proficient speakers are distinguished only by the phonetic patterns which identify them as native speakers of a Philippine language. Entre los hablantes vestigiales del español filipino, son frecuentes los errores de concordancia nominal y verbal, aunque es evidente que las generaciones anteriores no cometían los mismos errores, ya que el español era la lengua predominante y de uso diario. There are many Latin American words in Philippine Spanish, mostly from Mexico, since Manila was supplied from the port of Acapulco. Still surviving are zacate `grass, lawn, césped,' petate `rustic cot,' changuue [tianguue] `market,' chili `hot pepper,' camote `yam, sweet potato,' chongo [chango] `monkey,' palenque `market,' sayote [chayote] small green squash.' To ask for the repetition of something not quite understood, Filipinos ask ¿mande? just as in Mexican Spanish, and the three daily meals are el almuerzo, la comida and la cena, en vez de el desayuno, el almuerzo and la cena. Chabacano speakers employ curse words derived from Mexican Spanish in addition to those of indisputably Peninsular origin; most of these words are known but not as frequently employed by speakers of non-creole Philippine Spanish. Other lexical Americanisms are amarrar `atar,' pararse `ponerse de pie,' hincarse `arrodillarse,' and the nickname Chu for `Jesús.' Curiously the word for peanut is the Caribbean maní, (also found in the Canary Islands and some parts of Andalusia), rather than the Spanish *cacahuete* or its Mexican ancestor *cacahuate*. Today, both vestigial Philippine Spanish and the Chabacano dialects draw principally from English, especially in the provinces, where the rejection of Pilipino (the official version of Tagalog, the language of the capital) is very strong.

#### IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES IN PARAGUAY

We now turn to the microdialectology of Latin American Spanish, beginning with immigrant communities in Paraguay, whose Spanish dialects already bear the heavy traces of

Spanish-Guarani bilingualism. Paraguay has received many groups of immigrants in the past century, principally from Europe and Asia, and beginning with the second half of the 19th century several communities were formed in which neither Spanish nor Guarani is the primary language {HANDOUT #22}. The combination of geographical isolation and the desire of many immigrant groups to maintain language and culture, many of the immigrant languages have survived over several generations, despite an end to immigration, and may have left their traces on local dialects of Spanish in the zones in which they occur. The first Japanese immigrants arrived in Paraguay after 1924, when the prohibition against Asian immigration was lifted. The first Japanese community in Paraguay was founded in 1936; others were founded in 1955 and 1956. In 1959 the bilateral treating allowing for Japanese immigration expired, and since then Japanese immigration to Paraguay has dwindled to a mere trickle. The total number of Japanese immigrants arriving in Paraguay is not known with certainty, but most estimates place the total figure at least at 50,000; today Paraguay acknowledges some 2500 ethnic Japanese and more than 10,000 individuals of Japanese descent. .

German immigration to Paraguay was also significant, and several dozen German communities were established throughout the country. To these were added European and Canadian Menonites, speaking Dutch and Low German dialects, who still maintain their linguistic and cultural autonomy in the remote Paraguayan Chaco. The first Menonites arrived in 1926, having fled from Russia and Poland and after having spent a frustrating period in Canada. Currently more than 10,000 Menonites live in the Chaco, descendents of Russians, Ukrainians, Poles, Germans, and Canadians, and nearly all maintain their ethnic languages. In all, Paraguay has more than 160,000 German speakers and 19,000 speakers of *plattdeutsch*, a Germanic

dialect from northern Germany and the Netherlands. In these German colonies, the local Spanish dialects, already tinged with Guarani, acquire fleeting traces of Germanic languages.

#### WELSH IN ARGENTINA

Argentina is best known for its Italian immigration, which represents 60% of the total immigration to this South American nation. Most Italian immigrants stayed in metropolitan Buenos Aires, where they once made up between 20% and 30% of the total population. As a result of Italian immigration, urban Buenos Aires grew from 400,000 inhabitants in 1854 to 526,500 in 1881 and 921,000 in 1895. The effects on Argentine Spanish are well-known and need not be repeated here. In more remote regions, the Italian presence was less intense, but other European groups brought their own languages, some of which were retained in preference to Spanish until recently. A prototypical case of Argentina microbilingualism is the Welsh community, spread among several towns in the southern provinces{HANDOUT #23}. The Welsh presence in Argentina dates from around 1865, when the first Welsh colony was founded in Patagonia, in the modern province of Chubut. From this point until 1914 the Welsh immigration was constant, with more than 3000 Welsh arriving in this sparsely populated area. Until the end of the 19th century the proportion of these communities who spoke Welsh (and often no Spanish) was between 87% y 98%. By the time of the 1972 census, among the population under 20 years of age, only 5% of the men and only 3,5% of the women had any proficiency in Welsh; among the population older than 60 these figures rose to 25% for men and 41% for women. These data reveal the rapid erosion of the language, due to greater social and economic integration of the Welsh enclaves, new immigration, mixed marriages, and a more effective school system and mass media. Although Welsh has practically disappeared from

Patagonia, a few elderly residents recall the days when local Spanish bore the traces of the Welsh language, a second language used only occasionally in these remote rural communities.

#### ITALIAN COMMUNITIES IN MÉXICO

Mexico received considerable Italian immigration, with most of the immigrants rapidly assimilating to Mexican life without leaving linguistic traces. {HANDOUT #24}. New Mexico also received a significant number of Italian immigrants in the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, and some have claimed Italian influence in the traditional Spanish still spoken throughout the state. In some parts of Mexico, Italian immigrant colonies maintained their linguistic and cultural integrity; for example a group of Trentinos founded the cooperative La Estanzuela in 1924. This colony did not prosper as its founders had hoped, but it reproduced in miniature the contact situations found in such Italo-Hispanic communities as the Rio de la Plata. Other Italian colonies were established in Villa Luisa in the state of Veracruz, in 1858. Some Italian villages are still found in northern Mexico, based on agriculture and cattle raising, and regional Italian languages still survive. The best-known case is the town of Chipilo, near Puebla, where the Veneto dialect still coexists with Spanish, and where a number of interesting cross-linguistic phenomena have occurred in both languages. The Veneto dialect is closer to Spanish than standard Italian; for example first conjugation verbs end *-ar* instead of *-are*, and past participles end in *-á* instead of *-ato/-ata*, which sounds very much like the colloquial reduction of *ada* to *a* in Spanish (e.g. *nada* > *na*). These similarities have facilitated the interweaving of Spanish and Veneto (from the town of Segusino), for example use of the pronoun *nos* instead of *ci/noi*. Veneto also has influenced local Spanish, for example the neutralization of /r/-/rr/ (*areglao* for *arreglado*), Veneto plurals (*añi* for *años*, *aseitune* for *aceitunas*) and verbal suffixes (*acepten* for *aceptaba*, *establesesti* for *establecidos*).

In addition, an Italian colony was founded in 1951 in San Vito, Costa Rica; for the first generation, the Italian language predominated in this community, but today most traces of Italian have disappeared from the local Spanish dialect. Unlike Chipilo in Mexico, in San Vito immigrants came from all parts of Italy, so that a pan-Italian koiné was used instead of a specific regional dialect.

#### AFRO-SEMINOLES IN MÉXICO

The only creole language spoken in Mexico is Gullah, an Afro-American English creole, found in the small community of Nacimiento de los Negros, near Múzquiz, Coahuila {HANDOUT #25}. Most residents of this village are descendents of Afro-Seminole, mixed-race speakers of the Afro-English creole Gullah (of the Georgia and South Carolina Sea Islands) and Seminoles from Florida and Georgia (themselves the product of multi-ethnic mixing). Through various forced resettlement efforts, the 'Afro-Seminole' were sent to locations in Oklahoma and southwestern Texas, where small groups of people have continued to speak Gullah up to the present. In antebellum Florida and Georgia, Creeks and other Native American groups who settled on uninhabited lands were known collectively as *Seminole* 'maroons.' Eventually the Seminole communities in southern Florida became refuges for escaped slaves from the southern states. During the Spanish occupation of Florida the Spanish government actually established a community of escaped (English) slaves near St. Augustine, and the Florida Seminoles continued to regard themselves as Spanish rather than English or American long after Spain departed from Florida. The southern states, together with the U. S. military, made numerous incursions into Seminole territory during the first half of the 19th century, and after many skirmishes and coercive moves, the majority of Afro-Seminole left for Oklahoma, Arkansas and other western sites in what was then 'Indian territory.' Running into long-

smouldering tribal rivalries with Creeks in Arkansas, a group of resettled Afro-Seminole moved to Mexico, whence a group was recruited by the U. S. Army to return to Texas in the 1870's. Almost most Seminoles in Florida speak Creek, Afro-Semioles speak an archaic form of Gullah, which until a generation was the primary language of this tiny isolated community in northern Mexico. Today only a handful of the oldest residents speak Gullah, and Nacimiento Spanish differs only slightly from surrounding rural varieties, but slight differences mark the speech of Afro-Seminole, suggesting even greater departures from regional Spanish dialects in previous generations.

#### UNITED STATES ENGLISH IN CENTRAL AMERICA

The presence of United States English in Central America goes back at least to the 19th century, with the participation of mercenary soldiers and “filibusters” in the many civil wars and annexation attempts of Latin American nations, but the formation of stable US English-speaking communities began early in the 20th century, with the expansion of multinational fruit companies and railroads. In Honduras, Costa Rica, Guatemala and subsequently in other countries, United Fruit, Standard Fruit and other US corporations established communities of American employees who lived in close contact with local workers, giving rise to the insertion of many Anglicisms in regional Spanish dialects (for example *búfalo* and *daime* for 10 and 20 cents of the Honduran *lempira*, which for many years were equivalent to 5 and 10 US cents, respectively (recall the old US nickel had a buffalo on the reverse side; *daime* is simply the Hispanization of *dime*). A number of United States religious communities have established villages in Mexico and Central America; the best known community is Monteverde in Costa Rica, founded by Quakers beginning in 1950, when a handful of families from the Society of Friends abandoned their native Alabama and headed for the Costa Rican rain forest.



{HANDOUT #26}. Other English-speaking Quaker communities are found in Mexico. These communities have lasted a mere half century, and the limited Spanish competence of the founders has been replaced by total fluency in Spanish among later generations; the linguistic effects on local Spanish dialects are relatively small in comparison with other language contact zones in Latin America, but given the independent life style of these communities, these microdialects are likely to survive for some time. Monteverde in particular has become a popular site for international ecotourism, as the religious community has purchased a large segment of the rain forest to safeguard against unrestrained land development, and contact with thousands of tourists, many of whom speak English, continues to reinforce the use of English in Monteverde.

#### CREOLE ENGLISH IN CENTRAL AMERICA

All along the Caribbean coast of Central America, from Belize to the Panama Canal, the majority population is of Afro-Antillean origin, and speaks varieties of West Indian Creole English, often in preference to Spanish {HANDOUT #27}. In Belize, creole English competes with standard English, Spanish, and Mayan languages, resulting in a wide range of multi-lingual contact phenomena affecting all of the languages. The tiny Caribbean ports of Livingston and Puerto Barrios in Guatemala contain creole-English speaking communities, which extend along the Honduran coast up to the Mosquito coast, where the Miskito language takes over as the primary means of communication. Miskito is found along the upper Nicaraguan coast, although creole English predominates in Puerto Cabezas and Bluefields. In the Honduran Bay Islands, the popular of strong Scottish and English roots speaks mostly non-creole varieties of English, similar to those found in the Cayman Islands,. In Costa Rica the creole English-speaking community is centered on Puerto Limón, where Spanish is only now taking over as the main

language. In Panama use of creole English begins in Bocas del Toro, in the extreme northwest, and continues more or less continuously until the Canal. Although the various Central American varieties of creole English exhibit considerable differences from one to another, their effects on local varieties of Spanish are quite consistent, ranging from fluent code-switching to phonetic and grammatical interference found among less fluent bilingual speakers whose native language is creole English.

The origins of these creole English speaking communities are as varied as the areas in which they live, although most arrived during the 19th and early 20th centuries. In Costa Rica Antillean workers were imported to build the railroad, then to work in the expanding banana industry. For several decades the Costa Rican government forbade black workers from leaving a narrow coastal strip. In Bocas del Toro, Honduras and Guatemala, Afro-Antilleans also worked in fruit plantations and railroads, while in Colón, Panamá most creole English speakers are descendents of workers who constructed the Panama Canal, and who later worked in the Canal administration. The Honduran Bay Islands speakers include a mix of British farmers and fishermen, as well as immigrants from other Caribbean islands. Belize and the Mosquito coast were once home to corsairs, pirates, smugglers, fishermen, and victims of shipwrecks, and the creole English varieties of these regions are the most archaic and idiosyncractic of the entire Caribbean. In the same areas, non-creole English speaking missionary groups from the United States and Great Britain have added their language to the mix, with Spanish only gradually taking over and never completely supplanting the English-derived varieties.

#### WEST INDIAN ENGLISH IN THE SPANISH ANTILLES

The presence of Jamaican and other West Indian workers in Cuba and the Dominican Republic began in the middle of the 19th century, but the largest number arrived in the early 20th

century{HANDOUT #28; examples in HANDOUT #29-32}. In the Dominican Republic, English-speaking West Indians are called *cocolo*, and their attempts at speaking Spanish in the *bateyes* or sugar plantations appear in popular Dominican literature. Jamaican creole English is documented for Cuba beginning at the turn of the 20th century, but groups of Jamaicans were undoubtedly present in Cuba before this. On the Isle of Pines (now known as the Isla de la Juventud), English-speaking communities were once found, speaking both black and white American varieties of English, which today have all but disappeared. In Puerto Rico, thousands of creole English speakers have arrived from the neighboring Virgin Islands, whose contributions to Puerto Rican Spanish have yet to be seriously studied. More recently Santurce, in metropolitan San Juan, is home to a large community of workers from all of the Anglophone Caribbean, mostly undocumented workers, and creole English is the lingua franca of this neighborhood; St. Thomas, St. Croix, St. Kitts, St. Lucia, Antigua, Barbuda, and St. Barts are among the many islands represented in this speech community. The majority of these immigrants speak some Spanish, but few are fluent, and all add second-language characteristics to their speech. As undocumented workers these immigrants do not attend schools or receive many social services, so that their second-language varieties of Spanish will presumably exist beyond the first generation, to gradually affect certain strata of San Juan vernacular Spanish.

#### LESSER ANTILLES FRENCH CREOLE IN SPANISH AMERICA

French creole from the Lesser Antilles is in contact with Spanish in several regions of the Caribbean, with the expected linguistic consequences {HANDOUT #33}. For example in the Güiría Peninsula of Venezuela, Spanish is in contact with Trinidad creole French, and local Güiría Spanish exhibits double negation of the sort *yo no estoy yendo no*, a pattern found in creole French but not elsewhere in Venezuela. Also unique to this local Venezuelan dialect are non-

inverted questions such as *¿Qué tú quieres?*, otherwise absent in Venezuela, but typical of creole French. In Puerto Limón, Costa Rica, a considerable number of creole French speakers from Guadalupe, Martinique and other Caribbean islands arrived, and mixed with the predominantly Jamaican population. Their speech occasionally appears in popular literature; for example in a story by the Limon writer Dolores Joseph, an Afro-Limonense says, in pidginized Spanish, 'para mí no puede saber' instead of "yo no puedo saber/yo no sé." According to the author, the speaker's mother was Haitian and her father was Jamaican. Haitian Creole, just like other Caribbean French creoles, permits a contrastive possessive combining *pa* and the corresponding subject pronoun: *liv-pa'm`el libro mío,* *kay pa-u`la casa tuya,* etc. This appears to be the basis for the speech in Josephs' story; a similar construction appears in a few 19th century Cuban stories in speakers of Haitian origin.

#### HAITIAN CREOLE IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC AND CUBA

The use of Haitian creole in the Dominican Republic is well documented throughout the history of the two nations that share the island of Hispaniola. In eastern Cuba, Haitian creole is documented from the end of the 18th century, and was undoubtedly present even before this time {HANDOUT #34}. With the exodus of Spaniards following the Haitian revolution, and the French occupation of the Spanish colony as a result of the treaty of Basilea in 1795, thousands of Haitian creole speakers arrived in Cuba, as slaves and free soldiers who fought against the French armies. In the late 19th century and well into the 20th century expressions and words from Haitian creole were well known in the Cuban Oriente. In the 20th century Haitian cane cutters represented the most important group of immigrants in Cuba, and their descendents continue to speak Haitian Creole. The attempts of Haitians to speak Spanish have often been confused with earlier imitations of African-born *bozales* or second-language learners of Spanish,

and have added to the confusion surrounding the possibility that Afro-Hispanic language of slaves and their descendents once creolized in the Spanish Caribbean, and the even more daring proposal that contemporary vernacular Caribbean Spanish is itself the outgrowth of a gradually decreolized Afro-Hispanic forebearer. {examples in HANDOUT #35}.

#### PALENQUERO AND SPANISH IN PALENQUE DE SAN BASILIO

The only indisputably Afro-Hispanic creole language is the so-called “lengua” of the Afro-Colombian village of Palenque de San Basilio, known to linguists as *palenquero*. San Basilio was founded by maroon slaves who escaped from the port of Cartagena de Indias around 1600, when the importation of slaves from Congo and Angola was at its height. As a consequence, the Palenquero creole shows many similarities with the Afro-Portuguese creole of São Tomé in the Gulf of Guinea. Some researchers have even suggested that Palenquero was not born in Colombia, but is rather an adaptation of São Tomé creole brought by slaves to Cartagena; Granda (1970) cites the comments of the Spanish priest Alonso de Sandoval, living in Cartagena, who declared in 1627 that slaves arriving in Cartagena from the Portuguese slave-concentrating Island of São Tomé spoke "con la comunicación que con tan bárbaras naciones han tenido el tiempo que han residido en San Thomé, las entienden casi todas con un género de lenguaje muy corrupto y revesado de la portuguesa que llaman lengua de San Thomé ...". Despite this clear reference to São Tomé creole, Sandoval did not claim that slaves from other parts of Africa spoke this creole, as he later stated "... al modo que ahora nosotros entendemos y hablamos con todo género de negros y naciones con nuestra lengua española corrupta, como comúnmente la hablan todos los negros."

Structurally Palenquero is quite different from Spanish, revealing its multiple origins in the Kwa-Benue languages of southern Nigeria and the Bantu languages of Congo/Angola. The

verb system consists of an invariant stem (usually derived from the Spanish infinitive) preceded by particles to mark tense, mood and aspect. The subject pronouns are a mix of Spanish, Portuguese, and African languages of the Congo Basin: *i`yo,* *bo`tú,* *ele`él/ella,* *suto`nosotros,* *utere y enú* (arcaizante) *`ustedes,* *ané`ellos/ellas.* The possessive always occurs after the noun: *casa suto`nuestra casa,* *moná Juan`el hijo/la hija de Juan.* The negative element *nu* is placed at the end of the entire clause: *e kelé fruta nu`él/ella no quiere fruta(s).* In the phonetic dimension, many Spanish words acquire prenasalized initial consonants: *ndo`dos,* *ngande`grande.* The Spanish as spoken by Palenqueros (and all community residents speak Spanish) is in general part of the general Caribbean macro-cluster, with little influence of the local creole language, but occasionally code-switching or hybrid combinations occur, including double negation or phrase-final negation in Spanish (*no lo sé no, tengo no*), and sometimes combinations with postposed possessives {HANDOUT #36-37}.

#### OTHER LANGUAGE CONTACTS IN THE HISPANIC CARIBBEAN

The Spanish Caribbean has been the scene of many other Hispano-creole language contacts, especially in the 19th and 20th centuries, as has been pointed out in other work {HANDOUT #38}. To cite only a few of the many sustained bilingual contacts that left lasting imprints on surrounding Spanish dialects we can mention Papiamentu in Venezuela, Cuba and Puerto Rico, Cantonese and Macau Creole Portuguese in Cuba and Peru, Negerhollands (creole Dutch) in Puerto Rico, black United States English in the Samaná Peninsula of the Dominican Republic, and West African Pidgin English in Cuba occidental en Cuba. These languages—in their majority Afro-Atlantic creoles—have largely disappeared from Spanish America, but the many structural similarities among these creoles may have profoundly affected vernacular

Caribbean Spanish, interacting with the Spanish of African slaves who acquired it as a second language, and with contract laborers from numerous Caribbean islands.

#### CONCLUSIONS

And so we conclude this brief survey of recently formed bilingual communities throughout the Spanish-speaking world and their consequences for the microdialectology of Spanish. Few of the areas mentioned have been the subject of serious linguistic analysis, and some are entirely lacking in research bibliography and field data. New bilingual encounters continue to arise (for example the many immigrant communities in contemporary Spain), while others consolidate bilingual configurations initiated in previous generations. More than just the study of isolated curiosity, the detailed analysis of these microdialects will contribute to a greater understanding of the development and spread of Spanish throughout the world, and they offer a dramatic demonstration of the important fieldwork and discoveries which still remain. This new journey has only just begun, and I welcome the thoughts and efforts of fellow-travellers.

# Spanish world-wide: the last century of language contacts

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(2) EXAMPLES OF THE SPANISH OF SPANISH GUINEA (MODERN EQUATORIAL GUINEA):

'Vayamos a la relación del indígena con esta otra autoridad que es el maestro. Si éste es misionero, aprende malogradamente el castellano. Sabe decir "buenos días" cuando es por la noche y "buenas tardes" cuando es por la mañana. No sabe apenas el castellano para poderlo hablar ... si van a la escuela oficial, aprenden un castellano correcto y enrevesado, y saben escribir con bastante claridad'; 'El castellano de los indígenas es por regla general el mismo que puede balbucir un niño de tres años. No sabe lo que es conjugar un verbo ni analizar una frase cualquiera en castellano' (Madrid 1933: 114-5, 145)

(3) EXAMPLES OF SPANISH IN AFRICA OBSERVED BY MANUEL IRADIER:

*Mí* no sabe, señol (Iradier 1887: 55) [Senegambia]  
*Mí* marcha esta noche a uaka (Iradier 1887: 219) [Río Muni]  
*Mí* piensa que esa cosa es como culebra grande (Iradier 1887: 229) [Corisco]

(4) EARLY EXAMPLE: BUBI SPANISH IN FERNANDO POO (FERRER PIERA 1900: 105-8):

El bosque rompe la ropa, y bubí anda mejor desnudo y descalzo ...  
 Yo gusta más ir vestido, quitar botas para no caer y andar mejor ...  
 Bubís estar en el bosque

(5) RECENT LITERARY IMITATIONS OF THE SPANISH OF EQUATORIAL GUINEA (Fleitas Alonso 1989):

Massa, parece que está "palabra" grande en Gobierno ... parece que gobernador tiene "palabra" grande con España ... pregunta en Cámara. Todas gente lo sabe. Señora tiene niño y no puede marchar ahora. Mañana después de la forma, marchará a Bata porque massa Ramírez ya no está en la compañía. Tiramos en poblado ... si quieres vamos a poblado ... Ese sitio no está bien. Están más serpientes.

(6) FROM *LA SELVA HUMILLADA* (SOLER 1957):

En el río siempre?  
 ---No; río, poco. En mar, *massa*.  
 ---Siempre en cayuco.

---Sí, *massa*. Veces no; no hay cayuco, hay *tumba*; no tiene *tumba*, tiene chapeo ...  
 ---Tú no duermes nunca?  
 ---Claro. Morenos duermen ... ahora yo duerme cuando tú no estabas. Moreno piensa que *massa* blanco quiere cosas.

(7) EARLY OBSERVATIONS ON THE SPANISH OF EQUATORIAL GUINEA:

'la progresiva hispanización ... precisamente por sus características de rapidez e intensidad, no ha permitido la formación de un dialecto criollo, ya que tales productos suelen provenir de una larga convivencia y fermentación del idioma colonizador y del nativo' (González Echegaray 1951)

'... el castellano, puesto en boca de los negros, constituye una especial modalidad muy interesante y digna de estudio, especialmente en lo que afecta a la fonética y a la sintaxis' (González Echegaray 1951)

'aquí se ha extendido el castellano, sin haber hecho desaparecer a las lenguas vernáculas y sin que se haya producido corrupción o adulteración fundamental en éstas o en aquél. Pero como siempre sucede en estos casos, ha experimentado la lengua española una serie de transformaciones y adiciones superficiales, de las más diversas procedencias.' (González Echegaray 1959: 57)

'se recurría a todos los medios al alcance ... para estimular a los niños a expresarse en castellano, como el llamado "símbolo", especie de sambenito que se llevaba colgado del cuello por quien se sorprendía hablando un idioma nativo o el *pichin-english*' (Castillo Barril 1964: 8)

'el tono de voz elevado, el timbre nasal, cierta debilitación de las consonantes de articulación dura, el seseo, una entonación ligeramente melosa con el ritmo entrecortado y una variedad de tonos silábicos.' (Castillo Barril 1969: 58)

'nuestros niños hablan la lengua materna o el pichin-ingles en el hogar y en la calle, y sólo se expresan en castellano durante las pocas horas que permanecen en las aulas escolares.' (Castillo Barril 1969: 57)

(8) A MORE RECENT APPRAISAL OF GUINEAN SPANISH (GRANADOS 1986: 135):

'Al ser una lengua artificial ... el español guineano está ligeramente fosilizado, los errores se encuentran muy dispersos y las variantes fonéticas, léxicas y gramaticales son muy amplias ... en pocas palabras, el español guineano corre peligro de ver reducida su área a Malabo y Bata'

(9) EXAMPLES RECORDED IN MALABO, EQUATORIAL GUINEA

Nosotros son lo mimo, pero el combe y el ndowé no son iguales ... porque no llama todos combes ...  
 si coge muy pronto el embarazo, entonces es cuanto tú como el hombre, no, si no quie(r) e cosa oculto, es que usted presenta directamente a la familia ...  
 ¿Cómo voy a asustarme el frío de allá? Eso podías hacer a principio, poco de llegarme ahí, pues después de tanto tiempo, bah, estoy deseando de irme ...  
 Tortugas, los chicos, hay unas temporadas que las tortugas vienen en la costa, se le encuentran en la playa pa poner huevos, y los chico, ahora los chico se dedican ... con la lanza, lo matan.  
 Hay unos tambores grande que uno va sentando  
 Como tento así los hijo, hablan mi lengua, y cuando hay que ir en la clase, tienes que aprender para hablar castellano ...  
 El padre del señó paga el dote donde familia de la mujé ...  
 Nosotra las mamá bailabas ahí  
 Desde los cinco años [yo] lleva en España...  
 Cada vez que llegamo, la casa esta está cerao

(10) MAIN FEATURES OF EQUATORIAL GUINEA SPANISH:

- prevocalic /b/, /d/, /g/ are usually stops, not fricatives.
- Word-final /d/ varies between elimination and realization as [d].
- /t/ and /d/ are more often alveolar than dental.
- Word-final /n/ is uniformly alveolar; there is no velarization of final /n/.
- /s/ is sometimes apicoalveolar. /s/ is never aspirated, but occasionally falls in word-final position.
- Variable occurrence of the interdental phoneme /ʔ/
- Intervocalic /y/ is weak and sometimes disappears.
- Distinction between single /r/ and trill /rr/ is neutralized.
- Many errors of noun-adjective and subject-verb agreement.
- Frequent use of subject pronoun *usted* together with verb forms corresponding to the familiar pronoun (*tú*)

- (k) Confusion and elimination of common prepositions  
 (l) *Ustedes-vosotros* distinction not always maintained  
 (m) Use of the preposition *en* with verbs of movement: *voy en Bata*  
 (n) No neutralization of /l/ and /r/ in any position

(11) EXAMPLES OF SPANISH FROM THE FORMER SPANISH SAHARA (TARKKI 1995)

No, lah primera semana no ... toová e difísil, si te digo la vardá ... ya llevamo casi disiséis año ...Pue nosotros también, algo son algo ... claro, nosotros costumbrau como lah persona, por lo meno, tengo un dormitorio pa loh niño ...

Todo quedó allí, nosotroh no trajimo nada máh que el cuerpo únicamente y la mitad quedó allí del cuerpo ... aquí nosotroh pueh como entra Marrueco allí en el Sáharrá, pueh nadie se preocupa ya de llevar algo, dise nosotros preferemo o tenemo la estependencia o morimo, no pasa nada, preferemo nosotros que morimoh que ehtamo a mano de Marrueco ...

(12) SPANISH AND CHABACANO IN THE PHILIPPINES: BIBLIOGRAPHY

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(13) EXAMPLE OF ZAMBOANGUEÑO CHABACANO (CUARTOCRUZ 1921:153):

Trenta y cuatro kilometro desde na pueblo de Zamboanga, Bunguiao un diutay barrio, estaba como un desierto. No hay gente quien ta queda. Abundante en particular de maga animal como puerco, gatorgalla, venao y otro pa. Maga pajariador lang ta puede visita con este lugar.

Bunguiao, a small village, thirty four kilometers from the city of Zamboanga, was once a wilderness. No people lived here. The place abounded with wild animals like pigs, wildcats, deer, and still others. The place was visited only by (bird) hunters.

(14) EXAMPLE OF CAVITEÑO CHABACANO (ANON. 1998:1):

Puede niso habla: que grande nga pala el sacrificio del mga heroe para niso independecia. Debe nga pala no niso ulvida con ilos. Ansina ya ba numa? Debe haci niso mga cosa para dale sabi que ta aprecia niso con el mga heroe que prepara din niso haci sacrificio para el pueblo. Que laya? Escribi mga novela como Jose Rizal?

We can say what great sacrifices our heroes made to achieve our independence. We should therefore not forget them. Is it like this? We should do things to let it be known that we appreciate the heroes; that we are prepared to make sacrifices for our people. How? [should we] write novels like José Rizal?

(15) EXAMPLES OF THE AMBIGUITY OF THE TERMS "SPANISH" AND "CHABACANO":

En la actualidad la situación del español es bastante precaria ... el dialecto español que se habla en aquellas islas recibe el nombre de chabacano [ (Diez, Morales, Sabin 1977:85)

...el español como dialecto conservado en Cavite y Zamboanga ... este dialecto es el que se conoce con el nombre de *chabacano*. Su estructura es bastante peculiar: es un español con los recursos gramaticales del tagalo y del cebuano ... [Quilis (1975:34)

(16) PIDGINIZED SPANISH AS ONCE SPOKEN BY CHINESE IMMIGRANTS IN THE PHILIPPINES:

sigulo, señolía ... como no tiene ahola talabajo; como no tiene capé, y ha de ganalo la vida, sigulo tiene que hace tabaco `of course, sir; since {I} do not have a job now, and since {I} don't have any coffee, and {I} have to earn a living, of course {I} have to make cigars' (López 1893:58)

Mia quiele platicalo `I want to speak with you' (Montero y Vidal 1876:241)

guerra, señolía, malo negocio ... mía aquí vendelo, ganalo `war is bad business, sir; I am here selling and earning {money}' (Feced 1888:77)

mueno dia señolía ... ¿cosa quiele? mia tiene nuevo patila ... `good day, Sir, what do you want? I have new merchandise' (Moya y Jiménez 1883:334)

si que le compela cosa, cosa siñolita `yes, buy many things, miss' (Mallat 1846: 352)

todo balato, balato `everything {is} cheap' (Saenz y Urraca 1889:142)

siño Simoun, mia pelilo, mia luinalo' [Mr. Simon, I lost it, I ruined it]; `Cosa?

No tiene biligiensa, mas que mia chino mia siempele genti. Ah, sigulo no siñola bilalelo ...' what? Have you no shame; although I'm Chinese, I'm still a person. Surely {she} is not a true lady' (Rizal 1891:221-2)  
Mía cobalalo? Ah, sigulo suyo no sabe. Cuando pelilo ne juego nunca pagalo. Mueno suya tiene consu, puele obligá, mia no tiene `Me collect {the debt}? Oh, of course you don't know. When {someone} loses in gambling, they never pay. You have a consulat e, you can oblige {them to pay}; I don't have any' (Rizal 1891:221-2)

(17) FROM MONTERO Y VIDAL (1876: 97) TO A SPANISH COMPATRIOT RECENTLY ARRIVED IN THE PHILIPPINES:

`---¿Y eso de que los criados entienden todas las cosas al revés? ---Aprenda a hablarles en el idioma *sui generis*, que llamamos aquí *español de cocina*, repieéndoles tres veces la misma cosa. Verá V. cómo lo entienden

(18) ESCOSURA (1882: 5) ON PHILIPPINE SPANISH :

los indios mismos que se tienen por instruídos en castellano, lo están tan poco, que es preciso para que comprendan hablarles una especie de algarabía que vulgarmente se llama *español de cocina*; y para entenderlos a ellos, estar habituados al mismo bárbaro lenguaje...

(19) PIDGINIZED SPANISH AS ONCE USED BY FILIPINO SERVANTS:

No puede, ama; aquel matandá Juancho, casado también [it] isn't possible, ma'am; that no-good Juancho is also married'

¿Cosa va a hacer ya si nació viva? Seguro yo pegué plojo aquel día `what can [I] do if [the baby] was born alive? I must have been wrong that day.' (Rincón 1897: 22-3)

Pues suya cuidado, pero esa tiene novio castila y seguro no ha de querer con suya `That's your business, but that woman has a Spanish boyfriend and she surely won't have anything to do with you' (Montero y Vidal 1876: 240)

Mira, jablá tú con aquel tu tata que no suelte el cualtas `Hey, tell your father not to give out the money' (López 1893: 35)

Camino, señor bueno `The road [is] good, sir'

Usted señor, bajar, y yo apartar animales `You sir, will get down [from the carriage]; I will disperse the animals'

Señor, malo este puente `Sir, this bridge [is] no good' (Feced 1888: 20-1)

Bueno, señor, aquí comer `Well, sir, here [you can] eat' (Feced 1888: 24)

Ese palo largo con cordeles atados a su punta y a las puntas de los cordeles anzuelos, cosa buena, señor. Cuando se escapa un preso, corro yo tras de él, se lo echo encima y queda cogido. `Sir, that long stick with ropes tied to the end and hooks on the ends of the ropes is a good thing. When a prisoner escapes, I run after him and I throw the thing over him, and he's caught' (Feced 1888: 34)

No hay ya, siñol; pudo quedá sin el plasa, porque sisante hace tiempo, cuando aquel cosa del flata ... pero no necesitá `He [doesn't work there] any more, sir; he lost the job, he's been out of work for some time, since the time of the money affair, but [he] doesn't need [it] (Rincón 1896: 16-17)

Siguro ha roto aquel rienda, pero en un poco arreglarlo `Those reins have probably broken, but [I] can fix them in a short time' (Rincón 1896: 27)

You're premature. So you don't know, eh?' (Rizal 1891:98) {mockingly said by a Spanish professor to a Philippine student}

Usté ya no más cuidado con mi viuda y mis huérfanos `You won't take care of my widow and my orphan children' (Rizal 1891:222)

(20) DAUNCEY (1910:212), AN AMERICAN TRAVELLER IN THE PHILIPPINES

I daresay you are surprised at my accounts of these and other conversations in Spanish, but the fact is, though I have not tried to learn the *patois* that obtains in the Philippines, I find it impossible not to pick up a good deal ... They speak badly, though, and the accent does not sound a bit like what one heard in Spain, besides which, there are so many native and Chinese words in current use. Instead of saying *andado*, they say *andao*; *pasao* for *pasado*; and so on, with all the past participles, besides other variations on the pure Castilian tongue. I found that the Spanish grammars and books I had brought with me were of so little use for every-day life that I gave up trying to learn out of them ...

(21) MAIN FEATURES OF CONTEMPORARY NON-CREOLE PHILIPPINE SPANISH :

- (a) /b/, /d/, /g/ are stops, not fricatives
- (b) /s/ is never aspirated or lost
- (c) distinction /r/-/rr/ is tenuous and unstable
- (d) variable use of the interdental phoneme /ʔ/
- (e) General use of *vosotros* and corresponding verb forms
- (f) General retention of palatal lateral phoneme /ʎ/
- (g) Glottal stop in hiatus combinations and between words
- (h) Elision of /d/ in the ending *-ado*
- (i) *yo cuidao, tú cuidao*, etc. = 'I'll take care of it,' that's your affair,' etc.

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(29) EXAMPLES OF THE SPEECH OF ELDERLY JAMAICANS IN CUBA (FROM THE DOCUMENTARY FILM *MY FOOTSTEPS IN BARAGUÁ*)

Desde que yo viene de Jamaica, yo me quedó ... en Oriente, ahí [yo] aprendió ... yo me gutaba má español que inglés ... [mi mamá] me llevó pa Jamaica otra vé ...

(30) EXAMPLES RECORDED BY J. LIPSKI IN SANTURCE, PUERTO RICO (ENGLISH-SPEAKING WEST INDIANS)

Yo viene pa cá pa vacacione (Jamaica)  
Yo conoce Trinidad, yo fuite de vacacione  
yo puede hablal pero a vece no puede comunicarse con la gente (St. Kitts)  
Yo vengo pa cá y yo aprende (St. Kitts)

(31) VESTIGIAL SPANISH IN TRINIDAD (J. LIPSKI):

Tó nojotro trabajaban [trabajábamos] junto  
Yo tiene [tengo] cuarenta ocho año

Asina, yo pone [pongo] todo  
Yo no sabe [sé] bien  
yo mimo [misma] me enfelmó [enfermé]  
nosotro ten[emos] otro pehcado que se come bueno  
hahta la fecha yo tiene [tengo] conuco  
cuando yo viene [vine], tiene [tuve] que trabajá mucho  
paltera lo llamo [llamamos] nosotro  
lo que ello ehtudian en lo [las] ehcuela  
Si pa mí [yo] tocaba un cuatro, yo no volví cantá  
me complace de encontrarse[me] con uhtedeh  
si el gobiemo encontraba con tú [te encontraba] con calzón lalgo  
La salga eh buena pa uté [su] cabeza  
Tú tiene [cuando tú tengas] tiempo, viene aquí  
[la] crihtofina cogió [el] puehto del cacao  
yo tiene cuatros helmano

(32) AFRO-DOMINICAN EXAMPLES—POSSIBLY REPRESENTING COGNITIVE LANGUAGE DISORDER (GREEN 1997, 2002)

No yo no a mendé e zapote no. 'No vendo zapotes'  
sí, a siguí 'sí [ella] siguió'  
A cogé aquelloh mango. '[yo] recoí mangos'  
Hay muchacho sí tabajá sí. 'Hay hombres jóvenes que trabajan mucho'  
yo no hacé eso 'No hice eso'

Reduction of onset clusters: *flojo* > *fojo*, *pobre* > *pobe*, *trabajo* > *tabajo*, *gringa* > *ginga*, *grande* > *gande*, *flores* > *fore*, *doble* > *dobe*, *libra* > *liba*, *pueblo* > *puebo*

(33) CREOLE FRENCH FROM THE LESSER ANTILLES IN SPANISH AMERICA—BIBLIOGRAPHY

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(34) HAITIAN CREOLE IN CUBA AND THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC—BIBLIOGRAPHY

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(35) EXAMPLES OF THE SPEECH OF ELDERLY HAITIANS IN CUBA (ORTIZ LÓPEZ):

No púe decil na, si ta mal ... yo prende habló catellano con cubano ... yo me guta habló catellano ... pichona que nació aquí alante de mí, en la casa mía ... nosotros habla catellano, habla creol también ... yo cría mucho animal, siembra mucho animal, se roba to, toro, toro ... yo no sabe mucho catellano, pero sabe poquito ... el valón son tieniente La Habana ...

(36) SPANISH AND PALENQUERO IN PALENQUE DE SAN BASILIO, COLOMBIA—BIBLIOGRAFÍA

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(37) EXAMPLES OF SPANISH-PALENQUERO HYBRIDS (MORTON 1999)

Esa agua ta malo  
Nosotro no quedamo con ese grupo no  
Yo me voy mi camino esta vaina 'voy a dejar tranquila esta cosa'  
Yo no conocí al abuelo mí  
Yo había a tenía [hubiera tenido] experiencia

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