### The Linguistic Legacy of Spanish and Portuguese

The historical spread of Spanish and Portuguese throughout the world provides a rich source of data for linguists studying how languages evolve. This volume analyses the development of Portuguese and Spanish from Latin and their subsequent transformation into several non-standard varieties. These include Portuguese- and Spanish-based creoles, bozal Spanish and Chinese Coolie Spanish in Cuba, Chinese Immigrant Spanish, Andean Spanish, and Barranquenho, a Portuguese dialect on the Portugal–Spain border. J. Clancy Clements demonstrates that grammar formation takes place not only in parent-to-child communication, but also, importantly, in adult-to-adult communication. He argues that cultural identity is also an important factor in language formation and maintenance, especially in the cases of Portuguese, Castilian, and Barranquenho. More generally, the contact varieties of Portuguese and Spanish have been shaped by demographics, by prestige, by linguistic input, and by general cognitive abilities and limitations, as well as by the dynamics of speech community.

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# The Linguistic Legacy of Spanish and Portuguese

Colonial Expansion and Language Change

J. Clancy Clements Indiana University





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For Richa, and Barack

In memory of my teacher, Antonio Tovar Llorente

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# Series editor's foreword

The series *Cambridge Approaches to Language Contact* was set up to publish outstanding monographs on language contact, especially by authors who approach their specific subject matter from a diachronic or developmental perspective. Our goal is to integrate the ever-growing scholarship on language diversification (including the development of creoles, pidgins, and indigenized varieties of colonial European languages), bilingual language development, code-switching, and language endangerment. We hope to provide a select forum to scholars who contribute insightfully to understanding language evolution from an interdisciplinary perspective. We favour approaches that highlight the role of ecology and draw inspiration both from the authors' own fields of specialization and from related research areas in linguistics or other disciplines. Eclecticism is one of our mottoes, as we endeavour to comprehend the complexity of evolutionary processes associated with contact.

We are very proud to add to our list J. Clancy Clements' *The linguistic legacy of Spanish and Portuguese*, a very informative account of, first, the evolution of Portuguese and Spanish from Latin and, then, their subsequent transformation into several non-European varieties. The general perspective throughout the book is that of colonial expansion, language spread, language contact, and language shift. Without explicitly espousing uniformitarianism, Clements highlights the role of substrate influence through naturalistic second language acquisition, as well as the particular ways in which the external ecologies of language contact variably constrain the significance of this particular factor, against inheritance from the lexifier, in the relevant evolutionary processes. He also addresses the question of why there are no Spanish creoles, which must prompt in the more informed reader that of why no Portuguese creole emerged in Brazil despite the colony's early and continuous engagement in sugarcane cultivation and mining, using extensive African slave labour, throughout the colonial period.

Clements invokes mechanisms of naturalistic second language acquisition to account for similarities between Chinese Coolie Spanish in nineteenthcentury Cuba and the xenolectal speech of recent Chinese immigrants to

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#### xiv Series editor's foreword

Spain. He highlights the role that lack of integration within the local population – in these cases largely a consequence of the behaviour and social attitudes of the immigrants themselves – plays in determining which particular substrate features the immigrants as individuals or as a population tend to incorporate in their idio- and ethnolects of the host language. The author also shows in the case of Andean Spanish how homogeneity of a common substrate, Quechua, a major regional lingua franca, influenced the colonial Spanish variety that evolved in western and southern parts of South America, making it distinct from the Central American and Caribbean varieties. He uses this contrast to explain the role that African substrate influence must have played in making Cuban Spanish equally distinct in its divergence from metropolitan Spanish varieties.

Also significant in this book is the way Clements invokes cultural identity to account for the mixed Portuguese–Spanish varieties spoken by border populations in both Europe and South America. These evolutions are largely the consequences of histories in which the relevant populations have felt tributaries of both Portuguese and Spanish heritages and find it natural to integrate into their speech elements from both languages. They are happy to distinguish themselves from their compatriots who speak Portuguese or Spanish varieties more typically associated with their respective nationalities. This is the case of both Fronterizo on the Uruguay–Brazil border (only mentioned in this book) and Barranquenho on the Portugal–Spain border, to which a whole chapter is devoted.

Overall, *The linguistic legacy of Spanish and Portuguese* is a rich, though not comprehensive, history of language diversification, focusing on the Iberian branch of imperial Latin in South-western Europe, the geographical expansion of Portuguese and Spanish since the fifteenth century with the European 'great explorations' and subsequent colonization of Africa, the Americas, and Asia, and on the concurrent evolution of the metropolitan varieties brought to the colonies into new ones. It is an excellent starting point for anybody interested in understanding how the local external and internal ecologies of a language interact to determine its differential evolution in various parts of the world and at different times in its history. It will certainly inspire similar studies seeking to account for the uniqueness of some other Portuguese and Spanish varieties that Clements does not discuss, as well as for the evolution of other languages. I am proud of this addition to CALC.

University of Chicago

SALIKOKO S. MUFWENE

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xvi Acknowledgements

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Finally, my deepest gratitude goes to my wife, Richa Clements, for all her support and for helping me in all aspects of preparing the typescript.

## Abbreviations and acronyms

1 2	first person second person
2 3	third person
ACC	accusative
AUX	auxiliary
BEN	benefactive
BP	Brazilian Portuguese
С	consonant
Cast.	Castilian
CAUS	causative
CCS	Chinese Coolie Spanish
CIS	Chinese Immigrant Spanish
CL	clitic
СОН	Causal Order Hypothesis
COMIT	comitative
COMP	complementizer
COND	conditional marker
CONT	continuous marker
CP	Continental Portuguese
CREA	Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual
DAT	dative
DBH	Distribution Bias Hypothesis
DIM	diminutive
DIR	directional
DO	direct object
EMPH	emphatic marker
EVID.1st.HAND	first-hand evidential marker
EVID.2nd.HAND	second-hand evidential marker
EVID.CONJ	evidential marking expressing conjecture
FAM	familiar pronominal form
FEM	feminine

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xviii List of abbreviat	ions and acronyms
FORMAL	formal pronominal form
Fr.	French
FUT	future marker
G	glide
GEN	genitive
GOAL	goal marker
IMP	imperative
IMPER	imperfective
INDIC	indicative mood
INF	infinitival form
INSTR	instrumental
IO	indirect object
IP	Indo-Portuguese
КСР	Korlai Creole Portuguese
L2	second language
LIM	limiting particle
LINK	adposition that links phrases
LOC	locative
MASC	masculine
MC	main clause
Ν	noun
NEG	negation
NEUT	neuter
NP	noun phrase
OBJ	object marker
OBL	oblique
PASSIVE	passive marker
PAST	past tense
PL	plural
POA	Primacy of Aspect Hypothesis
POSS	possessive determiner
PPART	past participle
PREP	preposition
PRES	present tense
PRET	preterit
Ptg.	Portuguese
Q	Quechua
REC	recipient
REFL	reflexive marker
SA.SUB	same-subject subordinator
SC	subordinate clause
SG	singular

List of abbreviations and acronyms

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SOV	subject-object-verb
Sp.	Spanish
SUB	subjunctive mood marker
SUBJ	subject
SUBORD	subordination marker
TMA	tense-aspect-mood marker
V	vowel
VM	Vehicular Malay
VM	verb phrase