1 Introduction: English and Spanish in Contact – World Languages in Interaction

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With the inception of European colonialism during the Renaissance, European languages started to spread around the globe. The prime agents were Portuguese, Spanish, English, and French, with Dutch, German, Russian, Italian, and Danish playing a less important role. As a result of their colonial histories and twentieth-century developments, English and Spanish have become the two most widely spoken post-colonial languages world-wide today. Taken together, recent calculations estimate that they have slightly over 820 million native speakers across the globe (with English contributing around 378 million and Spanish about 442 million).[1] Moreover, the two languages share aspects of their colonial and post-colonial development while, at the same time, showing striking differences in the sociolinguistic and typological developments of their respective offspring varieties. Surprisingly, however, a systematic comparative account of the rise of English and Spanish to their current roles as world languages has not been attempted so far. It is one of the aims of the present volume to fill this gap.

The two Iberian nations Portugal and Spain pioneered the colonial enterprise and took Portuguese and Spanish into the world from as early as the fifteenth century onward. The English colonization belongs largely to a later period and sees the language expand quickly across territories on a truly global scale, including the secondary expansion of the independent U.S.A. and its military dominance in the wars against Mexico and Spain in the nineteenth century. Technological and industrial innovation as well as the increasing economic and political power of English-speaking nations during the eighteenth century were the prime factors that promoted the rise of English to its current position of global dominance.

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[1] We are aware of the fact that reliable information on speaker numbers is difficult to obtain (and often riddled by political, if not ideological, concerns). The figures, taken from the most recent, freely available calculations on *Ethnologue* (https://www.ethnologue.com, last visited 7 July 2019) are therefore only to be taken as relatively rough approximations. Note also that, while the totals of L1 speakers are similar for both languages, they differ markedly in their number of L2 speakers, with estimates for English around 743 million and those for Spanish at only around 70 million speakers.

What English and Spanish share is that their expansion did not primarily involve a unified standard variety but rather various regional and social varieties. In both cases, specific patterns of colonization led to the expansion of certain dialects in more prominent ways than others. The transplanted varieties then came into contact with each other as well as with other languages, which had further restructuring effects on them. The local languages in contact ranged from typologically similar languages, such as other European colonial languages, to very distant ones, such as Maori and English in New Zealand or Guarani and Spanish in South America, and the restructuring in the newly emerging varieties was shaped individually in each setting. Continuing migration contributed further elements and enhanced local koinéization processes, which over time allowed for the creation of different regional standards in an overall pluricentric configuration. All of this is not a linear evolution, and sometimes factors vary considerably during the emergence of new varieties of English and Spanish.

While English and Spanish share a history of colonial expansion and current global presence, their individual trajectories and current roles as world languages show a great deal of variation, to the extent that a common typology of contact situations, for instance, would not do justice to the complexity of the underlying processes and outcomes of language contact. Even if English may have slightly fewer native speakers than Spanish, it has a substantially larger non-native speaker community (see Footnote 1). Its adoption as a lingua franca has led to the current situation of English and not Spanish having become indispensable for international trade and politics today. It is the appeal for second- and foreign-language speakers that has given English the advantage on a global scale. English is the world's main language in most areas of life, including entertainment and tourism, whereas the impact of Spanish as a world language is rather limited outside of Europe and the Americas. In Europe, Spanish has approximately 40 million native speakers on the Iberian Peninsula including the Canary Islands, and well over 400 million native speakers in twenty officially Spanish-speaking countries elsewhere. Moreover, it is by far the largest minority language in the U.S.A., where the numbers of people using Spanish as a home language officially reported in the most recent census data amounts to just under 40 million, a figure that is likely to be conservative with respect to actual speaker numbers.[2]

Likewise, the social and political status of English and Spanish vary across the globe. English, for example, is usually dominant and prestigious, including in the U.S.A., where Spanish has the status of a numerically strong minority

[2] The information is taken from the statistics reported for population older than 5 years who speak Spanish at home (2009–2013; reported October 2015; see information available at https://www.census.gov/data/tables/2013/demo/2009-2013-lang-tables.html, last visited 7 July 2019)

language that carries high covert prestige in the Hispanophone community but is often stigmatized by parts of mainstream U.S. American society. Spanish, by contrast, is dominant almost only in Southwestern Europe and Latin America, where small English-speaking enclaves exist, and English is recognized as an important foreign language without being widely spoken. Language contact also played out differently for the two languages: while contact with English has spawned an array of contact languages, such as pidgins and creoles spoken in many different settings (mostly around the equator), the same does not hold for Spanish. The number of Spanish-based contact languages having evolved as a result of colonization is conspicuously low; a fact that has given rise to much debate (cf. McWhorter 2000; Lipski 2005; see Clements, this volume). The comparison of contact processes in these two main world languages thus promises to cast new light on the sociohistorical factors and contemporary forces behind these similarities and differences.

The present book provides an in-depth overview and comparison of the social and linguistic development of English and Spanish as they turned into the world's most widely spoken post-colonial languages. It is organized into three thematic blocks: The first block describes the social and linguistic expansion and current sociolinguistic situation of English and Spanish. The second block looks more closely at the current (typological) status of English and Spanish, i.e. their levels of standardization across the globe, as well as the typological distance between post-colonial varieties. The topics covered in the first two blocks are addressed separately for both English and Spanish, with the juxtaposition of the respective chapters allowing for a direct comparison. The third block offers four case studies that look at current uses of English and Spanish, or both of them at once, in different settings.

1.1   The Emergence and Diversification of Global Languages

The first section opens with the question as to why English and Spanish rose to their current role of dominance. Schneider, in the first chapter of the section, outlines the emergence of English as a world language and shows why it is practically impossible to provide accurate statistics, i.e. because it is not clear who should count as a speaker of English and where the cut-off for such a classification is. English has become dominant in public discourse and global communication (e.g. particularly on the Internet), and varieties of English as a Second- and Foreign-Language are booming particularly. Schneider discusses the driving forces behind the establishment of English as the world's dominant language and presents the models that have been suggested. Industrialization, colonization, and globalization (the first two involving Great Britain from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, the third one the United States in the twentieth century) have caused English to spread into nearly all domains, from

technological innovation, international politics and trade, to leisure, entertain-
ment, and tourism. Persisting myths, such as the commonly held idea that
English is easier to learn than other languages due to its rather isolating structural
properties, are strongly dismissed. Clements' companion chapter describes the
history of Spanish from an 'evolutionary' and 'ecological' perspective. Based on
Croft's (2000) and Mufwene's (2001) approaches to language variation and
change and the idea of "communicative intercourse" as the relevant factor for
language spread, Clements analyzes economic and cultural factors which led to
the expansion of Spanish in America. He argues that ecological conditions
determined this process considerably, as warfare and famine triggered the explor-
ation of overseas territories by the Spanish in the first place, and environmental
factors then facilitated the cultural and also physical dominance of certain groups
over others. Speakers of Spanish commonly belonged to the dominant group,
which ensured the success of Spanish in the long run. The comprehensive
adoption of Spanish by large communities particularly during the twentieth
century turned it into the language with the second-largest number of first-
language speakers today, outnumbered only by Chinese.

The chapters by Hickey and Noll show how English and Spanish have
evolved over time and how new varieties of the two languages have emerged
in the colonies as a result of both dialect and language contact. Hickey
illustrates that the varieties of English around the world vary greatly today,
and that the speakers' origins decisively determined the establishment of
certain features in the colonies. He discusses the differential impact of contact
scenarios overseas (ecologies, proportions of varieties, and interaction patterns
involving speakers of social and regional varieties of English and local lan-
guages) and the processes that determine the shape of overseas varieties and
new-dialect formation generally. Contact-induced developments, such as
mixing, leveling, and simplification, are illustrated with features of post-
colonial Englishes, for instance the presence or absence of post-vocalic /r/ or
the FOOT–STRUT split. Noll shows in his chapter that, similar to world
English, Spanish on a global level is divided into two main varieties, i.e. a
Castilian and an 'Atlantic' one, with one of the main distinctive features being
a slightly reduced or altered consonant system in most post-colonial varieties
vis-à-vis the peninsular standard. Similarly, the use of the second person plural
pronoun *vosotros* is only used in Spain, while the remaining Spanish-speaking
world uses the plural form *ustedes* as the neutral form of address, and large
parts of South America have also retained *vos* (as opposed to *tú*) as the second
person singular pronoun. The main explanation given for these differences has
long been the *Andalucista* hypothesis, holding that American Spanish is a mere
descendant of Andalusian Spanish. These differences, however, are not only
the result of independent developments of medieval forms in the input var-
ieties, because more complex processes, such as koinéization and contact,

were decisive as well. Thus, as in English, the two main varieties of Spanish are further split into many different dialects that differ from each other depending on the chronological arrival of input varieties as well as on contact patterns over time.

While Hickey and Noll focus on the emergence of new standard and/or standardizing varieties of English and Spanish, Hackert's and Perez's chapters home in on the results of language contact: they sketch the scenarios where each of the two colonial languages came into closer contact with an array of typologically diverse local languages, resulting in the emergence of new, more divergent language varieties, including pidgins, creoles, and mixed languages. Hackert shows that, as a result of contact with typologically very distinct languages, many English-lexifier contact languages have emerged. In multilingual West Africa, for example, earlier pidgin varieties have acquired large speaker numbers; at the same time, they lexically adjusted and structurally expanded into fully developed languages, such as Nigerian Pidgin English. And while geographically close varieties, such as West African or Caribbean creoles, are relatively similar to each other typologically, the different types of English-lexifier contact varieties diverge from each other on a global level to the degree of constituting languages in their own right. English-lexifier contact languages thus provide a prime example to identify the challenges of classifying such newly emerged languages on the basis of structural differences. As opposed to English, Spanish has developed a conspicuously low number of creole languages. Perez's chapter therefore tackles the challenge of classifying Spanish-based contact varieties that have been restructured to different degrees and revisits McWhorter's (2000) much-debated explanation for the low number of Spanish-based creoles. His Afrogenesis Hypothesis (2000: 211) claims that Spanish lacks originally Spanish-based creole languages because Spain did not establish any slave trading settlements on the West African coast from where a basic Spanish-based pidgin could have been taken into the colonies to sow the seed for a creole to evolve. Recent research has shown that the classification of intermediate varieties, such as Afro-Hispanic varieties, indeed underwent a degree of restructuring that questions their classification as either dialects of Spanish or as creole languages, which makes a case in point to show that the classification of language varieties is highly debated and dependent on high-quality data sets. The reasons for the low number of Spanish-based creoles, however, continues to be subject to debate (see, e.g., McWhorter 2018: 60).

1.2 Standard(ization) and Language Typologies: A Comparative Look at English and Spanish

The two chapters by Peters and Pöll look at the codification and standardization of English and Spanish across the world. It turns out that the two world

languages share a number of parallels in that they are both acknowledged to be pluricentric languages that accept different standards, with newly emerging regional standards (and possibly even new epicenters). Both of them have a rather long history of codification of different norms, in the case of English in the form of a range of dictionaries, and in the case of Spanish in the activity of the Real Academia Española in collaboration with the other Spanish academies that codify and establish the norm. Peters' chapter provides a novel perspective on the concepts of pluricentricity and codification, contrasting the codification in some first-language varieties with that in a number of institutionalized second-language varieties of English. Peters links this with Schneider's (2007) evolutionary model of World Englishes, in particular how reference works can be instrumental in the process of a variety's progress from the stage of exo-normative stabilization to endo-normativity.

Similarly, Spanish also has two main central varieties, i.e. peninsular Spanish and 'Atlantic' Spanish. Each of them has evolved into further sub-varieties that vary greatly depending on the respective input varieties and linguistic ecologies. Pöll shows that, on a global level, there seem to be varieties of Spanish that are perceived as less salient, or more 'neutral', and which are preferred by international and non-native speakers. This *español neutro* 'neutral Spanish' may not exist as a naturally grown variety, but particularly on the international level and in diaspora communities, as well as in the entertainment industry, it is becoming more popular.

The typological similarities and distances between the varieties are then addressed in the two chapters by Szmrecsanyi (for English) and Sippola (for Spanish). Szmrecsanyi surveys different bottom-up and top-down statistical approaches that have been used to model the typological relatedness of varieties, including aggregate and frequency-based measures as well as varia-tionist approaches to dialect typology. These approaches can, in principle, be applied to the comparison of varieties of any language. On the basis of studies on English dialect typology (with a focus on grammatical phenomena), the chapter shows that each method provides a slightly different picture of how varieties of English are related typologically. The survey further highlights the need for integration of structure-based modeling with work on perceptual dialectology. Sippola applies phylogenetic trees to compare Latin American varieties of Spanish and confirms the claims outlined by Pöll regarding the typological grouping and closeness of certain varieties. Varieties with a similar history of contact, such as Andean Spanish and Caribbean Spanish for instance, cluster in the network. Such statistical modeling on the basis of structural features, though still in need of typological specification, sheds new light on larger, even global, patterns of language evolution. An interesting parallel emerging from Szmrecsanyi's and Sippola's chapters is that they reach a similar conclusion, namely that geographically close varieties tend to be

typologically more similar than distant ones. It is noticeable, however, that the types of variety differ between English and Spanish, as English has a large number of contact languages and indigenized second-language and even learner varieties, while Spanish has very few of this variety type but retains a number of heritage varieties, such as Judeospanish.

1.3   Case Studies: English and Spanish in Use

The use of English and Spanish in the media and in virtual space is taken up in the two chapters by Mair and de Benito Moreno. In his case study on language use by U.S. Latino communities, Mair draws on language data in the media and the World Wide Web. Using de Swaan's (2002, 2010) 'World Language System' as a theoretical backdrop, he demonstrates how varieties of English and Spanish interact in hierarchically structured transnational ethno- and mediascapes (terms he borrows from Appadurai 1996). In particular, he argues that there is mutual influence in the Americas, with U.S. Spanish and American English having an influence on language use in Latin America and vice versa. While Mair's chapter draws on various media in his analysis and looks at English and Spanish language contact in Anglophone North America, de Benito Moreno's chapter focuses on the use of Spanish on the Internet. In particular, she looks at Twitter data and shows that non-standard forms and the creative use of derivational morphology lead to novel forms on the web. The innovative diminutive suffix *–is*, as in *primis* 'cousin', is becoming more frequent on Internet forums, and other forms that are rather infrequent in everyday speech, particularly the adjectival augmentative *–érrimo*, are experiencing a revival in the malleability of online discourse. The processes of language change observed for English thus occur in a similar fashion in Spanish, though the study of Spanish on the Internet, as opposed to that of English, is still in an initial phase.

Torres Cacoullos and Travis, as well as Erker and Reffel, analyze the effects of contact between English and Spanish in bilingual settings. The former focus on code switching and the use of overt subject pronouns in bilingual New Mexican heritage Spanish, while the latter look at the realization of syllable-final /s/ among second-generation Spanish speakers from the Caribbean in the Boston and New York areas. Both studies show that against expectations, which would predict changes to occur in the heritage language, speakers keep structures of the two languages apart so that contact-induced change happens at a slower pace, if at all. In particular, neither open subject pronouns from English nor coda /s/ dropping from Caribbean Spanish have an impact on the speakers' second language. Joseph rounds the volume off with insights on how issues of identity may determine certain uses. Starting off from an overview of developments in identity-related research into language use, he contrasts and

compares the various ways in which different varieties of English and Spanish are used to construct speaker identities. Beyond mono- and bilingual identity construction, the chapter looks at the effects of globalization, notably the more recently discussed notion of 'superdiversity' and phenomena covered under the notion of 'translanguaging' (cf., e.g., Canagarajah 2013).

The outline of the book, with corresponding chapters for English and Spanish on major aspects of their spread, development, and current use, thus highlights both parallel developments and differences. As for the former, one notable outcome in both English and Spanish is that as polycentric languages, they embrace diversity by accepting several standard varieties. The two dominant national standards for English continue to be British and American English (despite the emergence of other regional standards, for instance in the Asia-Pacific region). In a similar fashion, Spanish acknowledges Castilian (Peninsular) versus Atlantic Spanish (including the Canary Islands and parts of southern Spain) as the principal varieties. A number of features have been identified that characterize the respective regional standards on a descriptive level, such as rhoticity in English or the differences in the distinction of /s/ and /θ/ in peninsular and Atlantic Spanish, as well as a number of regionally specific lexical items. For both languages, national varieties are most distinct on the level of pronunciation and the lexicon, whereas grammatical differences typically manifest themselves in terms of usage preferences rather than categorical differences. In other words, the shorthand "accent divides and grammar unites" (Mair 2008: 156) applies to regional varieties of both world languages.

One of the most striking differences is that English has become substantially more rooted as an institutionalized second language in the world (see Schneider, this volume). Postcolonial societies where English is spoken are most often multilingual, and English is firmly established as the main language of official as well as interethnic communication. This is the case in India,[3] the Philippines and other parts of the Pacific region, or West Africa, to mention just a few. Moreover, English-based creoles are widely used as a lingua franca alongside standard varieties of English in West Africa and the Pacific. Spanish, by contrast, is only marginally used in similar functions of intercultural communication in multilingual societies, the notable exceptions today being Equatorial Guinea and perhaps Belize. In most of the nations where it was introduced during colonization, Spanish has become the dominant (first) language of the majority of speakers after marginalizing and even replacing indigenous languages. Even in regions where large indigenous languages were

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[3] India is a particularly interesting case because English continues to hold its strong position as an official language and lingua franca despite earlier attempts of legislators who attempted to replace it in this role with one of the local languages.

dominant, as in the Andean region and Paraguay, Spanish has been gaining ground, and new post-colonial contact varieties have emerged.

All in all, the present volume contributes to an integrative understanding of the historical developments of two of the world's major languages. English and Spanish share a perhaps surprising number of similarities, both in their spread and also their current usage, and the differences between them can be explained by historical, social, and political factors that continue to shape their post-colonial ecologies. Moreover, there has been much contact between speakers of both languages, in colonial times as well as today. It is well possible that these interaction patterns continue to give rise to processes of contact-induced language change that will shape the landscape of world languages in the twenty-first century.

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2 The Emergence of Global Languages
Why English?

Edgar W. Schneider

2.1 English Globalized: Some Baseline Facts

It is a rather trivial truism to state that English is the leading global language today, by far. This is not a statement which should result in a triumphalist attitude, and it is a fact which clearly also meets with some opposition, predominantly on the side of so-called 'critical' linguists (e.g. Phillipson 1992). However, whether this is perceived as desirable or not, despite some efforts to the contrary and the need to recognize the importance of cultural and linguistic diversity, the pull toward English in many regions and contexts simply cannot be denied. This fact can be documented by various aspects, including speaker numbers, regional distribution patterns, and functional expansions of English, such as its default role as a lingua franca in trans-national and intercultural contacts or its leading role in various cultural domains such as cyberspace, media, etc.

An obvious initial question is the one for speaker numbers: How many speakers of English are there around the globe today? For reasons to be discussed in a moment, this is actually a more complex question than one would expect at first sight. The most recent reasonable estimate suggests remarkably high figures: Crystal (2008) assumes that by now there are up to 2 billion speakers of English, divided into roughly 370 million native speakers, ca. 500 to 600 million second-language speakers in countries in which English functions as an important second language internally (ESL), and somewhere between 600 million and 1 billion of foreign language speakers in various countries (see also Mair, this volume). What is perhaps even more interesting and suggestive of the ongoing dynamics are two additional points which Crystal (2008) emphasizes. One is the tremendous, almost exponential increase of speaker numbers in the very recent past: within just one generation the proportion of English speakers on a global scale has increased from roughly one fifth to roughly one third of the world's population. Secondly, this rise is not due to changes in native speaker numbers: native speakers of English are outnumbered by about three to four times as many fluent non-native speakers nowadays.

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While these observations are robust, it needs to be conceded that no really reliable figures are available; essentially, all we can come up with are just educated guesses. One reason is the problem of defining and identifying threshold proficiency levels: What level of linguistic competence is required to count as 'a speaker of English'? A conventional baseline which usually stands behind such estimates is the definition of a speaker as someone who is able to conduct an everyday conversation in English – but even that obviously leaves room for interpretation. Secondly, we lack census data and reliable figures of speaker numbers from many countries, especially some of those with both a high rate of population growth and a substantial increase in the social contexts in which English is employed. Such huge uncertainties characterize a number of countries and world regions; I would like to mention three examples, quite briefly. For India, conservative and older estimates, including the one posited by Kachru (1985), assumed that only an elite minority, some 3 percent of the population, are able to speak English. Clearly this has changed drastically over the last few decades, with the language having moved into new, non-elitist contexts. Based on personal impressions and projections, Crystal (2008) estimates that as many as about one third of India's population speak English today. Out of a population of about 1.33 billion (a 2016 United Nations estimate reported by Wikipedia) this would imply more than 400,000 speakers of Indian English (which would return this as the variety with the largest speaker number globally!) or an uncertainty range (between both poles reported above) between 40 and 400 million speakers. Similarly large numbers and uncertainties are obtained for Nigeria, where English (or English Pidgin, with fuzzy boundaries) is spreading rapidly, with a literacy rate in English of more than 50 percent reported (Wikipedia). In China, learner numbers are reported to be as high as 390 million (Wei and Su 2012) or 400 million (Bolton and Graddol 2012: 3) learners, with a huge range of uncertainty as to both these numbers and the proficiency levels which they reach in reality. In general, the global number of fluent foreign-language speakers is next to impossible to estimate – but is clearly very high, and growing quickly.

Exact figures are also difficult to obtain for other countries and territories. One reason for uncertainties in this domain is the widely varying legal status of English, both in sovereign countries and nation states, and in various kinds of non-sovereign political entities. English can be a de jure official language in a country (whether it is the primary language or not, e.g. in Namibia), a de jure co-official language (usually in multilingual settings, e.g. in Nigeria), or the de facto official language or primary language without an explicit legal status (which, incidentally, also applies to the two main English-speaking nations: the United Kingdom lacks a written constitution, and the Constitution of the United States does not mention an official language). However, there are various lists and counts of countries which are somehow 'English-speaking'.

Crystal (2009: 62–65) lists 84 territories where English has a "special relevance". McArthur (1998: 49–52) offers 113 territories, plus 139 "EFL territories". According to the lists in Wikipedia (2017), English is the de jure official language in 55 countries and 20 "non-sovereign entities", and the de facto official language in several others as well. Schneider (2011: 58) presents a map which shows around one hundred countries in which English has some special status.

The functional diffusion of English into new domains on a global scale takes many forms and facets (for a closer documentation and examples, see Buschfeld, Kautzsch, and Schneider 2018); only a small selection of examples can be referred to here. Clearly, English is the predominant language of the Internet and is spreading vehemently in cyberspace (Mair, this volume). Figures 2.1a and b illustrate its dominant role on the web.

Similarly, English holds a substantial proportion when it comes to global markets or other international activities. The share of English on the global book market is 28% (Leitner 2009: 18); out of all sciences publications, 90.7% are in English (Leitner 2009: 19); and English predominates even in scholarly domains where the discourse is not necessarily global in outreach, with 76.0% of all social sciences publications (Ammon 2015: 580) and 53.3% of philosophical publications (Ammon 2015: 594). The status of English as the world's leading lingua franca also becomes evident in its role in many transnational contexts and organizations. For example, English is the official or working language of many international organizations, including APEC, OPEC, ECOWAS, OECD, ASEAN, and many more. It is also the working language of many large companies with a national base but international business activities – for instance, Siemens or BMW in Germany. To some extent this is motivated by contacts with customers and plants in other countries, and to another extent by the increasingly international staff of such companies, though, as I understand it, based on personal communications, this may vary in practice.

An obvious question, then, is the one concerning the causes of this development: Why has English, out of all possible candidates, obtained this very special global status?

2.2   Causes: Structural Properties – The Erroneous Path

There is a widespread laypersons' assumption which often pops up as the first response offered to this question in conversations, namely the putative simplicity of English; it counts as a language which is 'easy to learn'. Discussing this line of reasoning, Crystal (2009) quotes as suggested properties the assumption that English has a "familiar" vocabulary (which basically means mixed of Romance and Germanic components) making it "internationally appealing" (8)