

## THE INFLUENCE OF NATIVE LANGUAGES ON THE PHONOLOGY OF AMERICAN SPANISH

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In this paper I shall discuss the precise manner in which foreign language phonemes and sequences of phonemes have been adapted to the several American Spanish dialects where such contact exists. Particular attention will be paid to the alien phones which are generally considered to be most foreign to the Spanish dialect systems being investigated. Our *modus operandi* for this investigation was to examine bilingual glossaries, etymological dictionaries, lexical studies, and secondary source materials relevant to this topic. Caution was exercised concerning the consideration given available materials, since several sources — particularly etymological dictionaries — are dated or untrustworthy. The main contact languages investigated include: Nahuatl, Quechua, Guarani, Maya, and Araucan. Our study was complicated by dialect variation, particularly in the case of languages such as Nahuatl and Quechua, which are spoken over very wide geographical areas.

Native language phonological influences in our study are reducible to six types:

### 1. Phonemes borrowed by Spanish:

- (a) /iː, eː, aː, oː, uː/, /iˑ, eˑ, aˑ, oˑ, uˑ/ long vowels and glottalized vowels (Maya)
- (b) /i̠/: back unrounded vowel (Araucan)
- (c) /ə/: schwa (Araucan)
- (d) /p̚/: voiceless bilabial glottalized stop (Maya)
- (e) /t̚/: voiceless dental glottalized stop (Maya)
- (f) /k̚/: voiceless velar glottalized stop (Maya)
- (g) /t͡ʃ̚/: voiceless alveo-palatal glottalized affricate (Maya)
- (h) /ʃ̚/: voiceless pre-dorsal affricate (Nahuatl, Maya)
- (i) /ʃ̚/: voiceless pre-dorso-alveolar glottalized affricate (Maya)
- (j) /ʒ̚/: voiced dental affricate (Maya)
- (k) /ʃ̚/: voiceless palatal fricative (Quechua, Nahuatl, Maya, Araucan)
- (l) /θ̚/: voiceless interdental fricative (Araucan)
- (m) /t̪l̪/: voiceless laterally released affricate (Nahuatl)

2. The replacement of Spanish phonemes having no equivalents in contact languages by other Spanish phonemes which do have equivalents in these languages:

Spanish /i/ and /u/, generally in the unaccented position, is replaced by Spanish /e/ and /o/, sometimes in the speech of Spanish unilinguals, and often in the speech of bilingual Indians and Mestizos in certain regions of Spanish America.

3. The modification of the pronunciation of Spanish phonemes on the influence of similar or equivalent type phonemes in the contact languages: (a) the fortis quality of the Spanish voiceless velar fricative /x/ in the Spanish of the Argentine Province of Santiago del Estero seems to be attributable to the Quechua voiceless aspirated velar stop /kʰ/, (b) there is some evidence that the backing of the Spanish /k/ in a series of borrowings from the Quechua of the Peruvian Sierra is attributable to the influence of the voiceless post-velar stop /q/ of Quechua.

4. The extension of the distribution and the increase in the frequency of occurrence of phonemes already found in the Spanish dialect systems: Quechua: the increase in the frequency of occurrence of Spanish word-final unaccented /i/ and /u/; the extension of the distribution of the [z] of the Spanish of Ecuador to the intervocalic position may be attributable to Quechua influence; Nahuatl: the increase in the frequency of occurrence of Spanish word-final unaccented /i/; the extension of the distribution of Spanish dialectal /h/ to the syllable- and word-final positions; Maya: the increase in the frequency of occurrence of the following Spanish phonemes: word-final unaccented /i/ and /u/, and the extension of the distribution of the following Spanish phonemes to the final position: /p, t, k, b, m/, and the extension of the /č/ and /h/ to both the syllable-final and final positions; Araucan: the increase in the frequency of occurrence of the following Spanish phonemes: word-final unaccented /i/ and /u/, and the extension of the distribution of the following phonemes to the initial and/or final positions: /m/ to the initial and final positions: /ŋ/, to the initial, intervocalic, and absolute-final positions; /ŋ/ to the initial position (where it never occurs), the inter-vocalic position (where it occurs only dialectally), and to the final position where it occurs only dialectally; /l/ to the syllable-final and final positions; Guarani: the increase in the frequency of occurrence of Spanish word-final unaccented /i/ and /u/; the extension of the distribution of the Spanish phoneme sequence /mb/ to the initial position.

5. Consonant and vowel combinations attributable to foreign influence: Quechua: /kš, kč/; Nahuatl: /kp/, /htl/, and /waw/; Maya /bk, bč, bč', kn, km, kš, kč, kp, tč', tk, tb, mč, mh, mt, čm, tm, bt/; Araucan: /ɲf, ɭk, ɭw, dw, dl, fwk, dm, wɭ, dp, θl, θk, mwɭ, gwɭ/.

6. The reinforcement of newly developed or newly developing phonemes already found in the contact Spanish dialect systems or the reinforcement of Spanish phonemes which are normally being weakened, lost, or otherwise changed in most Spanish American dialects: Quechua influence: the reinforcement of Spanish syllable- and word-final /k/ and /s/; the retention of the /l/ of the Spanish of those regions co-occurrent with Quechua dialects which also have a /l/: Nahuatl influence: the reinforcement of phonemes normally being weakened in other Spanish dialects: the reinforcement of Spanish syllable- and word-final /k/; the possible reinforcement

of Spanish syllable- and word-final /s/; Guarani: the reinforcement of the newly developing Spanish dialect phoneme /ʒ̃/; Maya: the reinforcement of phonemes normally being weakened in other Spanish dialects; the reinforcement of syllable- and word-final /k/; the reinforcement of Spanish [b] in all positions (except the absolute-initial and post-nasal positions where the fortis stop [b] variant normally occurs). Araucan: reinforcement of a phoneme normally undergoing replacement in other dialects: Spanish /j/.

We shall examine the parallel internal development of these phonemes in Spanish dialects where they occur, and shall attempt to determine which of these foreign elements has not been or is not being developed internally by any American Spanish dialect known to us:

- (a) /i/: unparalleled in Spanish America to our knowledge
- (b) /ə/: a schwa is found in the dialect of Regla (a suburb of Havana) Cuba: e.g., *amiga* /amíga/.
- (c) /p'/: unparalleled in Spanish America to our knowledge
- (d) /t'/: unparalleled in Spanish America to our knowledge
- (e) /k'/: unparalleled in Spanish America to our knowledge
- (f) /č'/: unparalleled in Spanish America to our knowledge
- (g) /š/: develops from the syncope of atonic vowels in Mexico, the Sierra of Ecuador, and the Sierra of Peru: *bloques para apuntes* [bloksparapúnts]. Note also the fall of atonic vowels in El Salvador, and in Colombia and the Bolivian Meseta
- (h) /š'/: unparalleled in Spanish America to our knowledge
- (i) /ž/: develops from the syncope of atonic vowels in the City of Mexico: *ha de ser* [ažér], *es decir* [ežzír]
- (j) /š/: develops internally from /y/ in Buenos Aires; also from Spanish /sj/ in Cuban Spanish: *atención* [atenšón], *profesión* [profešón]; also from Spanish /č/ in New Mexico, Cuba, and sometimes Santo Domingo.

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#### DISCUSSION

##### FRANCESCATO (Amsterdam)

There is of course a theoretical problem, namely whether the elements you presented in this preliminary report can be considered as 'phonemes' or just 'phonetic elements'. In other words, did you ascertain their phonemic status in the local type of Spanish?

##### CASSANO

I agree that the structure status of the phonological elements discussed must be left in abeyance until micro-mesh field studies are done.

##### BIBEAU (Montréal)

Il arrive souvent que la comparaison entre un dialecte et une langue dite 'internationale' conduit à attribuer au dialecte un certain nombre d'emprunts simplement parce qu'on constate l'existence de formes semblables dans un autre dialecte en contact avec le premier. Il y a quelque temps, par exemple, on attribuait le relâchement des voyelles fermées en français canadien à l'influence de l'anglais, parce que ce relâchement existait en anglais mais n'existait pas en français 'international'. Une étude plus approfondie a montré qu'il s'agit en réalité non pas d'un emprunt mais bien de formes dialectales françaises archaïques. Est-ce que vous avez examiné cette possibilité pour l'espagnol américain?

##### CASSANO

Yes, micro-mesh studies are essential. It might transpire that phones originally posited as borrowed cannot be because of distributional discrepancies, etc.

##### ROCHET (Edmonton, Alta.)

You mentioned the extension of [z] to intervocalic position. Is there a parallel distribution — or (if it applies) extension of distribution — between voiceless and voiced allophones for the labial order; i.e., a labial fricative with voiced and voiceless allophones?

##### CASSANO

[v] is an allophone conditioned by a voiced consonant and is found only in pre-consonantal position in American Spanish; never in the intervocalic position (to my knowledge).

##### MALMBERG (Lund)

A phenomenon such as intervocalic voiced *s* (*casa*, in Ecuador) could be looked upon as an archaism. It is methodologically important not to make the same mistake as Lenz when he explained all particularities of Chilean Spanish by the mapuche substitution (theory refuted by Alonso *et al.*; compare with my *L'Espagnol dans le Nouveau Monde*, 1948). We have to examine carefully the geographic and sociological extension of the phenomena observed.

Another point, raised by Professor Pilch in his plenary lecture (found on pp. 157-178), is the question of when, and under what conditions a foreign phone in a loanword is to be looked upon as integrated in the system. We must have some criterion for determining the distinction between isolated foreign elements (like

Engl. [x] in Scottish place-names) and an accepted and current vocabulary. I wonder if, even in the latter case, the treatment of the foreign phonetic units invalidates Jakobson's theory.

CASSANO

I do not accept the contention that intervocalic [z] of the Sierra of Ecuador is an archaism, since it occurs only in *quechníumos*. I agree that one must proceed '*copies de plomo*' in substratum concerns.