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Spanish Linguistics: the Past 100 Years: Retrospective and Bibliography

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Abstract: The entire field of general and Spanish linguistics is circumscribed by the last 100 years of scholarship. Fields as diverse as historical linguistics, phonetics, phonology, syntactic analysis, first- and second-language acquisition studies, morphology, sociolinguistics, and dialectology are products of twentieth-century linguistic thought. From the outset, Spanish has enjoyed a prominent place in the evolution of contemporary linguistics. A survey of the major accomplishments of twentieth-century Spanish linguistics sets the stage for linguistic research in the next century.

Key Words: linguistics (Spanish), syntax, phonology, phonetics, sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, dialectology

One hundred years ago, linguistics as currently practiced had not yet emerged as a field of study. Philology and historical grammar—based exclusively on written texts—were the immediate precursors, while the newly emerging discipline of anthropology concentrated its attention on peoples without a written tradition. Thus to trace the path of Spanish linguistics over the past century is to circumscribe the development of all of modern linguistics, a task which far outstrips the limits of a single article. Limiting the domain of inquiry to Spanish hardly improves matters, since Spanish has been at the forefront of linguistics since its inception. The interested reader can consult one of the many histories of linguistic thought, leaving to the present article the role of chronicle, a register of the major achievements in Hispanic linguistics. The paths to such an end are many, and any summary will of necessity be overly reductionist and exclusionary of excellent scholarship. With some trepidation, fully aware of the pitfalls of the present enterprise and acknowledging from the outset the necessary incompleteness of the scope and therefore the sometimes arbitrary (but hopefully never capricious) choice of works, I have opted to subdivide Spanish

linguistics into a number of universally recognized subdisciplines, and to indicate in chronological order milestone achievements—primarily books or anthologies—in each category. All mention is of first editions; many of the books are better known through subsequent revisions. The exceptions are works originally unpublished or written in German which became known to Hispanists only through translation into Spanish.

Historical Grammar

The first works in Spanish linguistics were historical grammars; by the end of the nineteenth century, work in comparative Romance philology included descriptions of Spanish. Diez (1882) was among the first, followed by Meyer-Lübke (1890–1902), and much later Lausberg (1963) and Bourciez (1967). It was, however, with the works of Menéndez-Pidal (1904, 1926) that the history of the Spanish language achieved the status of a separate discipline, endowed with penetrating scholarship that has withstood the test of time. Menéndez-Pidal's disciple Lapesa (1942) published a comprehensive history of the Spanish language, which combined external events with inter-

nal changes, laid out by chronological period and correlated with major literary currents. Lapesa has continued to revise his historical grammar, which is the benchmark standard for courses in Spanish historical linguistics.

Lapesa's work was complemented by Spaulding (1943), who made historical linguistics accessible to non-specialists, and by Entwistle (1936), who included Portuguese, Catalan, and Basque. Williams (1938) wrote a definitive treatise on the history of the Portuguese language. Martín Alonso (1962) traced the syntactic development of Spanish based on literary works, while Keniston (1937) gave an in-depth snapshot of Spanish grammar as of the sixteenth century.

Matters remained relatively static until the 1980s, when several books appeared: Resnick (1981), which provides exercises and a textbook-oriented approach; Lathrop (1980), which gives considerable background on Vulgar Latin, and Penny (1991), which combines information on the historical development of Late Latin with theories of language change. Lloyd (1987) emerged as the most comprehensive treatise, while Pensado Ruíz (1984) gives a thorough treatment of Spanish historical grammar with a chronological orientation. Maia (1986) offers the most comprehensive historical grammar of Portuguese, including considerable information on morphosyntactic developments.

The history of Peninsular Spanish pronunciation was masterfully examined by Amado Alonso (1955), while Baldinger (1963) proposed a model for the diversification of the Ibero-Romance dialects, stressing sociohistorical factors over the substratum approach supported by Jungemann (1956), among others.

The above-mentioned works have concentrated on philological facts and incorporate little in the way of theoretical orientation, although descriptive theories of specific changes abound. Studies of Mozarabic language, for example Galmés de Fuentes (1987) and Peñarroja Torrejón (1990), have attempted to reconstruct the sociolinguistic milieu in which Spanish and

Arabic coexisted for several centuries, while Wright (1994) offers sociohistorical reconstructions of the interaction between early Ibero-Romance languages and Latin.

Descriptive Phonetics

The first major description of Spanish phonetics was Navarro Tomás (1918), which still ranks as the most complete treatise of its kind. Focusing on normative Castilian pronunciation, Navarro Tomás included articulatory diagrams and palatograms, in addition to detailed phonetic transcriptions and allophonic distributions. More recently, Quilis (1981) has offered a complete treatise on Spanish acoustic phonetics, complementing Navarro Tomás's strictly articulatory approach. Stockwell and Bowen (1965) was a product of the contrastive linguistics school and presented a systematic if rudimentary comparison of common denominators in Spanish and (American) English phonetics. Hadlich et al. (1968) and Dalbor (1969) became classic textbooks of Spanish pronunciation for English-speaking students, while Quilis and Fernández (1964), published in Spain, offered a Spanish-language alternative. Dalbor's book included brief comments on regional usage, and supplementary materials marketed directly by the author extended the range of examples. Macpherson (1975) is unique in combining descriptive Spanish phonetics with a brief treatise on historical phonetics. Barrutia and Terrell (1982) added descriptions of syllable structure, while the completely revised Barrutia and Schwegler (1994) gives a more detailed treatment of semivowels, accentuation, and intonation, as well as more details on Peninsular and Latin American Spanish regional variation. Teschner (1996) combines regional variation with exercises in pronunciation. Phonological theory plays no role in these books, except for rudimentary descriptions of phonemes and allophones.

Spanish Phonology

While descriptions of Spanish phonetics

have always played a central role in Hispanic linguistics, theoretical phonological accounts have been few and far between. Although structuralist accounts of Spanish phonology appeared in articles, the first monograph focusing exclusively on Spanish phonology was Alarcos Llorach (1950), based on the Prague school of structuralism. In the United States, Harris (1968) provided the first monograph on Spanish phonology based on the early generative phonology paradigm. Foley (1965), an earlier account within a similar theoretical framework, remained unpublished, although Foley (1977) included many of the author's innovative ideas. Cressey (1978), also presented within the early generative model, was directed at an advanced student audience (the earlier books were doctoral dissertations), while Hooper (1976) reacted against the overly abstract derivations of classical generative phonology by proposing a surface-structure based Natural Generative Phonology, most of whose examples were drawn from Spanish. Harris (1983) represented the next major milestone, reintroducing the syllable into phonological theory and presenting the first fully elaborated metrical phonology of Spanish.

The studies edited by Bjarkman and Hammond (1989) run the gamut from early generative phonology to non-linear models and include versions of Natural Phonology and Natural Generative Phonology; this book provides a useful survey of phonological analyses of Spanish through the end of the 1980s. D'Introno et al. (1995) is a more advanced treatise which provides a comprehensive treatment of autosegmental, metrical, and lexical phonological analysis as applied to Spanish. Martínez-Gil and Morales-Front (1997) brings together the latest phonological analyses of the 1990s.

Contrastive Structures

The contrastive analysis movement of the 1960s and early 1970s produced comparative studies of Spanish and English grammar, which often included phonetic comparisons as well. Stockwell, Bowen, and

Martin (1965) proposed an explicit hierarchy of difficulty in the acquisition of Spanish structures by English-speaking students, and suggested error types. Terrell and Salgués (1979) gave brief comparative accounts of Spanish and English phonetic and syntactic patterns. Whitley (1986) covers many of the same structures in greater depth. Bull (1965) studied both phonological and grammatical contrasts, in the latter dimension offering theoretical proposals which continue to attract followers. Bull's ideas on the nuances of the distinctions between preterite-imperfect, indicative-subjunctive, and *ser-estar* gave rise to lively debates, many of which were conducted in the pages of *Hispania*, while the accompanying posters which graphically illustrate exemplary contrasts have become underground classics, continuing to resurface in Spanish classes throughout the country. In recent years, the contrastive analysis approach has fallen into disfavor, particularly in the area of grammar, since second language acquisition research has revealed few demonstrable first-language transfers, but rather error patterns based on learning strategies and cognitive universals. As a consequence, the once popular "comparative structures" courses have largely disappeared from Spanish curricula, although methods courses for Spanish teachers often implicitly include a contrastive approach.

Descriptive Grammar

Spanish descriptive grammar has been the beneficiary of many excellent treatises, beginning with the monumental work of Ramsey (1894), later revised by Robert Spaulding, and still the most complete description of the intricacies of Spanish usage. Gili Gaya (1943) brought to the study of Spanish grammar a profound respect for observed usage and offered well-crafted explanations of verb tense and mood selection, grammatical concordance, and other sticking points where prescriptive grammars do not fully coincide with prevailing use. Solé and Solé (1977) present a modern-

ized treatment of Spanish grammar written in English, which implicitly compares English and Spanish structures. More recently, Butt and Benjamin (1988) put forth a comprehensive grammar of Spanish designed primarily for English speakers. King (1992) offers theoretical accounts of several syntactic and semantic structures, including verb tense and mood selection.

Spanish Syntax

Treatises on Spanish syntax before the advent of generative grammar were in reality atheoretical descriptive grammars, in which “logic” and prescriptive norms prevailed over a comprehensive model of language structure. Structuralist approaches to syntax had few repercussions for the study of Spanish, and it was not until the early generative grammar of Hadlich (1971) that Spanish syntax received a theoretically-grounded treatment. Generative grammar advanced rapidly in the following decades, to the Government and Binding/Principles and Parameters model, the Barriers model, and the Minimalist paradigm. D’Introno (1979, 1985) kept pace with the evolution of Spanish syntax during the 1970s and early 1980s. Demonte (1991) gives a more modernized government and binding approach; a number of important articles appear in Campos and Martínez-Gil (1991).

Details from Spanish were also instrumental in shaping the course of syntactic theory in the 1970s and 1980s. Constraints on the order of object clitics motivated Perlmutter’s (1971) theory of surface structure constraints, while the combination of null subjects, subject-verb inversion, and more subtle extraction and movement phenomena in Spanish were adduced as evidence of a “null subject parameter,” given the widest diffusion in Chomsky’s seminal Government and Binding lectures (1981). Chomsky’s “Managua lectures” (1988), aimed at a non-specialist audience, contained key examples from Spanish which illustrate the evolving syntactic theory.

Peninsular Spanish Dialectology

The second half of the twentieth century has seen numerous monographic descriptions of Peninsular Spanish dialects, many published by the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Among the studies which transcend the boundaries of a single community are Mondéjar’s study (1970) of the Andalusian verb, and the *Sociolingüística andaluza* series, beginning with Carbonero (1982). García de Diego (1946) offered a book on Spanish dialectology, covering several Ibero-Romance languages in addition to Spanish. Zamora Vicente (1960), revised several times, concentrates on dialects of Spain, including marginal or defunct regional languages, while also giving some attention to Latin American dialects. Among the many contributions of Manuel Alvar to Peninsular dialectology, Alvar (1975a, 1991) offers a sociohistorical approach to the diversification of Spanish dialects. Alvar (1996b) brings together panoramic articles surveying contemporary Spanish dialectology.

The twentieth century also saw the publication of monumental dialect atlases in Spain, beginning with the *Atlas lingüístico de la Península Ibérica* or ALPI (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas 1962), which contains numerous maps tracing phonetic and lexical variants across a wide range of largely rural communities. Other important dialect atlases include the *Atlas lingüístico y etnográfico de Andalucía* (Alvar 1961), and the *Atlas lingüístico y etnográfico de Aragón, Navarra y Rioja* (Alvar et al. 1979–83), all following the same methodology of transcription of individually pronounced words elicited by a team of fieldworkers. Alvar (1975b) published a linguistic atlas of the Canary Islands using a similar approach.

Latin American Spanish Dialectology

“El español de América” has fascinated observers on both sides of the Atlantic, and from the beginning of Spanish linguistics, numerous scholars have sought to describe

and explain the enormous dialectal diversity of Latin American Spanish. Cuervo (1901, 1935) and Armas y Céspedes (1882), both strongly adhering to prescriptive usage, were among the first to address the complex topics. Henríquez Ureña (1921, 1932) gave an early theoretical basis for dialect classification, based largely on supposed substratum influence. He also entered into a polemic with the German scholar Max Wagner (1927, 1949) as to the Andalusian contribution to Latin American Spanish (cf. also Guitarte 1958). Boyd-Bowman (1964, 1968) extended this discussion by providing demographic data on tens of thousands of Spanish settlers in Latin America during the first century of colonization, establishing the predominance of southwestern Spain beyond any doubt.

Linguistic geography is represented by the linguistic atlases of Colombia (Instituto Caro y Cuervo 1981) and Mexico (Lope Blanch 1990), together with a number of smaller regional projects, most of which have yet to reach completion. There are few monographic works describing national variants of Spanish (Oroz 1966 and Lenz 1940 for Chile, Vidal de Battini 1964 for Argentina, Navarro Tomás 1948 for Puerto Rico, Henríquez Ureña 1940 and Jiménez Sabater 1975 for the Dominican Republic are noteworthy exceptions); found instead are monographs describing regional varieties, or those confined to a particular dimension, usually the lexicon or aspects of pronunciation. Historical accounts of the development of specific dialects are scarcer still: Alvarez Nazario (1991) for Puerto Rico and Fontanella de Weinberg (1987) for Buenos Aires are superb treatises which stand virtually alone in historical dialectology.

Overviews of Latin American Spanish pronunciation appear in the seminal works of Canfield (1962, 1981); the former book also contains the author's views on the relationship between chronology of settlement and the retention of certain phonetic features in American Spanish dialects. Classification schemes of Latin American Spanish form the basis for Rona (1964), who uses a combination of phonetic variables

and variants of *voseo*, and Resnick (1975), who employs a complex matrix of binary phonetic features. Zamora and Guitart (1982) also offer a classification scheme as well as global analyses of Latin American Spanish. Panoramic treatments of Latin American Spanish are found in Cotton and Sharp (1988), Fontanella de Weinberg (1976, 1992), Malmberg (1971), Lipski (1994), Montes Giraldo (1982), Kubarth (1987), and Rosenblat (1970, 1977). Alvar (1996a) has provided an anthology of useful articles covering specific Latin American dialects, following up on the early articles in the *Presente y futuro de la lengua española* volumes (OFINES 1964). Hernández Alonso (1992) contains an important collection of articles tracing the historical development of Latin American Spanish, as well as descriptions of contemporary dialects.

Language contact and ethnolinguistically based interlanguages form the basis for much dialect diversification in Latin America. The indigenous contribution is the most frequently studied although not necessarily the best-understood facet of language contact. Rivarola (1990) brings together important studies of the Spanish-Quechua interface, while Spanish-Guaraní contacts in Paraguay have been studied by Granda (1988a), Krivoshein de Canese and Corvalán (1987), and Usher de Herreros (1976). The *fronterizo* dialect formed by Spanish-Portuguese contacts in northern Uruguay has been analyzed by Elizaincín (1973, 1979, 1987), Hensey (1972), and Rona (1969). The full impact of Nahuatl and Mesoamerican languages on regional varieties of Spanish has yet to receive monographic treatment, although a number of articles treat this topic. In the Caribbean, Alvarez Nazario (1977) has studied the indigenous contribution to Puerto Rican Spanish.

Non Spanish-speaking immigrants to Latin America, both voluntary and enslaved, also brought their languages into contact with Spanish. Varela (1980) has studied the impact of the Chinese population on Cuban Spanish. The Italian contribution to the Río de la Plata dialects—including the literary

stereotype known as *cocoliche*—is the subject of monographs by Meo Zilio (1989), Lavandera (1984), Rosell (1970), and Donghi de Halperin (1925). The African contribution to Latin American Spanish is the subject of numerous articles, and of books by Alvarez Nazario (1961), Megenney (1990), Granda (1977, 1978, 1985, 1988b, 1991, 1994), Del Castillo Mathieu (1982), Lipski (1990b), Ortiz (1924), Ortiz López (1998), Alvarez (1987), Romero (1987, 1988), Valdés Bernal (1987) and the articles in Perl and Schwegler (1997). Canary Islanders' linguistic contributions to Puerto Rican Spanish are the subject of work by Alvarez Nazario (1972).

Studies of Latin American lexical variation are many, but the masterful works of Kany (1945, 1960a, 1960b) stand out in their completeness, albeit based entirely on literary sources. Sala (1982) has initiated a comprehensive lexical survey of Latin American Spanish.

Spanish in Africa and Asia

Spain once possessed colonies in northern and sub-Saharan Africa, and the Spanish language has become implanted in several parts of Africa. The most stable variety is spoken in Equatorial Guinea, formerly Spanish Guinea. Spanish is known and used by most of the population, although African languages predominate in daily usage. Following the early remarks of González Echegaray (1959), the Spanish of Equatorial Guinea has been the subject of monographs by Lipski (1985b) and Quilis and Casado-Fresnillo (1995), as well as numerous articles by Granda (1985, 1988b, 1991, 1994). Tarkki (1995) has described the Spanish as used by residents of the former Spanish Sahara (now a highly disputed territory of Morocco), most of whom have fled to refugee camps in Algeria.

Spanish still survives as a vestigial language in the Philippines, together with several varieties of a Spanish-based creole, known collectively as Chabacano. Although most studies of "Philippine Spanish" concentrate principally on the creole varieties

(Quilis 1992), there have been a few descriptions of the non-creole Spanish dialect of the Philippines (Lipski 1987a, 1987b, 1987c).

Sociolinguistics of Spanish-speaking Societies

The development of sociolinguistics as an identifiable discipline has occurred only within the past three decades, and not surprisingly, relatively little modern research on Spanish-language sociolinguistics is available. Silva-Corvalán (1989) provided the first Spanish-language overview of sociolinguistics, including data from Spanish-speaking communities. Lastra de Suárez (1992) and Lavandera (1984) have offered excellent analyses of Latin American sociolinguistics, while an ever-increasing number of theses and monographs detail the specifics of dialects in Spain and Latin America, beginning with the pioneering work of Cedergren (1973). The majority of studies have focused on phonetic variation, using contemporary quantitative models; grammatical variation is less often the subject of research. The sociology of Spanish-speaking communities, particularly in bilingual areas (Catalunya, Valencia, the Basque Country, the United States, the Andean zone) has been a constant topic of scholarly inquiry. Important anthologies dealing with sociolinguistics and language contact include Bergen and Bills (1983), Klee and Ramos-García (1991), Roca and Jensen (1996), and Silva-Corvalán (1995).

Spanish in the United States

The study of the Spanish language in the United States warrants a special section, since the peculiarities of bilingualism, attitudes, and sociocultural milieu are inextricably connected. The earliest studies of traditional Spanish varieties in the United States (Espinosa 1909/1930, 1946 for New Mexico) were cast within the framework of traditional dialectology, and considered incursions of English only tangentially. By the 1940s, Mexican-American Spanish was the

focus of many articles, a representative selection of which was anthologized by Hernández-Chávez et al. (1975). The articles tended to focus on non-standard, archaic, or slang elements of Southwestern Spanish, rather than treating this speech community in neutral terms. Dictionaries and glossaries of "Chicano" Spanish uncritically combine uniquely regional words with colloquial forms found throughout the Spanish-speaking world (Galván and Teschner 1975; Cobos 1983; Coltharp 1965). Important collections of articles on Southwest Spanish include Bowen and Ornstein (1976), Green and Ornstein-Galicia (1986), and Bixler-Márquez et al. (1989).

Chicano Spanish as a legitimate domain of sociolinguistic inquiry came of age with the publication of Peñalosa (1980) and Sánchez (1983), as well as many theses and dissertations. Lipski (1985a) studied the linguistics of code-switching in this variety of Spanish. Although sectors of the general public continue to view Southwestern Spanish and other varieties of Mexican-American Spanish throughout the United States as undesirable hybrids, linguists have maintained high standards of objective scholarship.

Puerto Rican Spanish in the United States was first seriously approached by a team of fieldworkers in Jersey City (Fishman et al. 1971). Poplack (1979) provided a variational analysis of the Puerto Rican community in Philadelphia while Casiano Montañez (1975) described the pronunciation and Gutiérrez González (1993) the vocabulary of Puerto Rican Spanish in New York City. Numerous articles have described the sociolinguistics of Puerto Rican bilingualism, including code-switching and the possible interaction with English. Zentella (1997) describes the linguistic behavior of bilingual Puerto Rican children in New York City, while Torres (1997) profiles the sociolinguistic structure of a New York Puerto Rican neighborhood.

Cuban Spanish in the United States has not received scholarly attention in proportion to the demographic importance of this

group, although Varela (1992) goes a long way towards rectifying this bibliographical scarcity. The numerous Dominican, Colombian, and Central American (Peñalosa 1984) populations in the United States have yet to receive monographic studies on language usage, although a few articles have emerged. Finally, small isolated dialects have been studied intensely; the *Isleño* dialect of Louisiana, descended from Canary Island settlers, is the subject of monographs by MacCurdy (1950), Lipski (1990a), and Armistead (1992), while the even more vestigial *Brule* dialect of Louisiana has recently been described in detail by Holloway (1997). The linguistic aspects of Sephardic Spanish in the United States have been examined by Armistead et al. (1981) and Harris (1994), among others. Collections of articles examining diverse varieties of United States Spanish include Amastae and Elías-Olivares (1982), Bergen (1990), Elías-Olivares (1983), Elías-Olivares et al. (1985), Fishman and Keller (1982), Roca and Lipski (1993), and Valdés et al. (1981)

Spanish Applied Linguistics

Early work in what was considered Spanish applied linguistics took place within the contrastive analysis framework and focused on practical language pedagogy, producing classic works such as Bull (1965), Politzer (1961), and Stockwell, Bowen, and Martin (1965). Contemporary trends in linguistic thought conceive of applied linguistics as the rigorous study of first and second language acquisition. Contrastive analysis has taken a back seat to the examination of cognitive strategies and the interaction of universal grammar with language-specific structural patterns. Within this framework, Licerias (1993) and Pérez-Leroux and Glass (1997) bring together studies of second-language acquisition of Spanish, while Hernández Piña (1984) and López Ornat et al. (1994) study Spanish child language, updating the early work of Gili Gaya (1960). Scores of articles and dissertations document first- and second-language acquisition of Spanish from a variety of theoretical per-

spectives, with the majority of the work concentrating on morphology and syntax. Acquisition of vocabulary has remained relatively unexplored, while second-language acquisition of Spanish phonology has retained its contrastive analysis flavor. Studies of Spanish child language phonology have dealt primarily with the order of acquisition of segments and oppositions, and with the development of accentual systems.

Linguistic Approaches to Spanish-Language Pedagogy

During the course of the twentieth century, Spanish has evolved from an elitist university subject centered around literary classics to the most commonly taught language other than English in the United States, at all levels of education. As the emphasis on acquiring usable competence in Spanish gradually replaced the exclusive focus on literary appreciation of bygone epochs, the contributions by linguists to Spanish-language pedagogical materials have become crucial. Some textbooks incorporated vaguely articulated approaches, such as the Audio-Lingual Method (e. g. Modern Language Association 1960), while others include detailed analyses and viewpoints derived from specific linguistic theories. Bull, Lamadrid, and Briscoe (1978) placed the theories of Bull (1965) in a classroom setting; Politzer and Urrutibehéty (1972) contained lessons based on structuralist analyses of Spanish (Politzer 1961), while Terrell (1986) exemplifies the Natural Approach (Krashen and Terrell 1983), and VanPatten and Lee (1996) treat modern communicative approaches to language teaching. Colombi and Alarcón (1997) brings together linguistic approaches to teaching Spanish to native speakers.

There are also several introductions to linguistics which focus on the Spanish language; these include Azevedo (1992), Klein (1992), and D'Introno and Zamora (1988).

Spanish Linguistics in the Next Century

Several research paradigms within Spanish linguistics are sufficiently well-focused as to point to future developments, as well as fertile areas for exploration. First- and second-language acquisition of Spanish will be further integrated into the evolving theory of universal grammar. Spanish will continue to be a major focus of research within syntactic and phonological investigations. Within Latin America, major dialect atlas projects are well underway in a number of nations which lack such comprehensive surveys. Finally, advances in theoretical linguistics will continue to be informed by data from Spanish syntax and phonology, thus guaranteeing for Spanish a front-row seat in the linguistic arena of the next century.

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