## Spanish in the Pacific

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The relevant map is listed at the end of this text.

#### 1. Overview

At the present time, the Spanish language is not widely used in the South Pacific, being unknown outside a handful of places. Spanish is an official language spoken by a resident population only in the Ecuadoran Galapagos Islands, the Chilean possessions of Rapa Nui (Easter Island), Juan Fernández and a few other tiny islands. Most Pacific insular posessions of Latin American nations are either unpopulated or used as military outposts, staffed by natives of the mainland. Until recently, Spanish was a co-official language in the Philippines where it fell increasingly into disuse following the Spanish-American War of 1898. It was also used in Guam and surrounding islands, although never as extensively as in the Philippines. Finally, in the early decades of the 20th century, Spanish carried from Puerto Rico made an impact in the evolving linguistic mosaic of Hawaii. In earlier centuries, when the Manila Galleon made its way between Acapulco and the Philippines, Spanish speakers could be found on many South Pacific Islands, and if no traces are found today, other than the occasional place or personal name, the history of Spanish in the Pacific is interesting to trace.

## 2. The Philippines

## 2.1. Historical Background

Magellan had discovered the Moluccas while sailing eastward under the crown of Portugal. As he had gained little recognition for his services and was having doubts about the legitimacy of Portuguese claims, he went to Spain and obtained permission from Charles V to try and reach the islands by sailing westward. He reached the Philippines in 1521 where he was killed in battle while assisting the king of Cebu who had pledged allegiance to the king of Spain. Elcano sailed on in

command of Magellan's two remaining ships to the Moluccas where he loaded a cargo of spices and returned to Spain in 1522. At this point the Portuguese realized the need for a permanent garrison in the Moluccas and established one in Ternate.

In 1526 a fleet of Spanish ships which had sailed by Magellan's route reached the Moluccas where they intended to establish a base against the Portuguese but the relief expedition sent by Spain never arrived. Subsequently, Charles V ceded all his rights in the Moluccas to the Portuguese. In 1529, by the Treaty of Saragossa, the Treaty of Tordesillas was extended to the Pacific and both the Moluccas and the Philippines were recognized as belonging to Portugal.

The Philippine venture might have been abandoned then if it had not been for the Church who persuaded the king that the conversion of the indigenous population and the rescue of old prisoners were sufficient motives to disregard the treaties. In 1565, Legazpi arrived in the Philippines with an order from the king to take possession of all the islands for Spain. He took Cebu, Manila, the island of Masbate, the Camarines, Ilocos and Cagayan.

For two centuries after the conquest of the Philippines, there was no direct contact between the Philippines and Spain. The islands were only visited once a year by a galleon from Acapulco, Mexico. The army with a strategic ring of forts held off the onslaught of the Moorish pirates, the Dutch, the Portuguese and the Chinese and quelled the risings of the natives. The Missions set to work among the natives but settlers were few, most of them preferring to settle in Mexico on the way from Spain.

Between 1536-40 the Portuguese extended their authority over all the Moluccas but the

control of the spice islands remained the source of considerable conflict between Spain and Portugal till the unification of both countries in 1580 (Bowen 1971). In 1605, the spice islands were seized by the Dutch but in 1606 Spanish supremacy was re-established over Tidor and Ternate and a Spanish colony established on Ternate. The Dutch attempted to retake the islands several times and finally, in 1655, destroyed the clove trees on Ternate. By 1658-59, the Spaniards lost interest in the now barren islands and in 1663 withdrew their garrison, evacuating 200 families to Tanza and the New Ternate on Manila Bay in the Philippines (de la Costa 1961).

In 1896 revolution broke out against Spain in the Philippines. The War of Independence was more a protest against the imposition of the Church on every action of the people rather than a political war and a revolt against the Spaniards as such. Spain lost the Philippines in 1898 as a result of a war with the United States over Cuba and the Philippines were placed under American administration.

#### 2.2. Status of Spanish

Spanish never became a national language. According to the Augustin de la Cavada y Mendez de Vigo 1870 census report, only 2.46% of the population spoke Spanish. Since 1898, the advent of American administration and a rapid and effective implementation of education programs in English, Spanish has been pushed aside. Lipski (1987a) notes that Spanish never became the native language of a substantial proportion of the Filipino population nor a lingua franca outside of the groups closely linked with the colonial administration.

Between 1898 and 1935, Spanish and English were the two official languages of the Philippines; however, during this period, Spanish rapidly lost ground to English in the domains of government and legislation while it remained widely used in the courts of law till world War II (Gonzalez 1980). Most of the legal code was in Spanish. Since 1939, the proclamation of Tagalog as the third national language has contributed even further to the decline of Spanish.

According to the figures given by the Philippine Bureau of the Census and Statistics in 1954, less than 350,000 people or 1.8% of the population spoke Spanish and it was the mothertongue of a much smaller number (Whinnom, 1954). In the 1985 census the percentage of Spanish speakers was down to 1%. The fact that despite 350 years of Spanish occupation Spanish did not manage to get established in the Philippines as in the other colonies of Spain may be explained by the following factors:

- the maintenance of local laws and customs instead of the implementation of Spanish law
- the large number of native languages and dialects
- the remoteness of the new territories from Spain
- the small number of schools and teachers
- the lack of interest shown by Spaniards or Latin Americans to settle in the Philippines (Quilis 1980)
- the government official and non-official policy of using vernacular language in the dissemination of Christian doctrine.
- the small number of Spanish native speakers who could function as teachers of models
- the lack of significant demographic shifts among the native groups which did not encourage the use of Spanish as a lingua franca.

Nowadays Spanish is spoken by (Lipski 1987a):

- a small number of older non mestizo Filipinos who learnt Spanish through contact with the previous generations of Spanish speakers.
- Spanish-Filipino mestizos for whom Spanish is the mother-tongue. They are directly descended from Spanish settlers and have at least one grandparent who was born in Spain. They are land-owning and business/commercial families who have retained the use of Spanish at home and even in public life. Socio-economically, they are at the top of the scale. They represent the last wave of Spanish emigration to the Philippines. Most of them are proficient in English and they regard Tagalog

with scorn and resentment, whereas speaking Spanish is a source of pride and a mark of aristocratic authenticity. According to Whinnom, in 1954, the Spanish-speakers belonged exclusively to the upper class of Manila and all held responsible positions. Even though the number was relatively small, the fact that in 1935 Spanish became one of the official languages of the Philippines shows that they were an influential political group. Contemporary Philippine Spanish is an aristocratic language, maintained artificially by those who feel nostalgia for earlier privileges and by Filipinos who have studied in Spain or whose immediate ancestors came from Spain.

Today Philippine Spanish is a dying language with very few speakers under the age of 60 except for Spanish teachers. The Spanish spoken by the most refined speakers retains few of the Mexican/Andalusian features that participated in the formation of PCS dialects in the 16th and 17th centuries. The regional characteristics of Spanish are from Central and Northern Spain and exhibit features of late 19th century Spanish (Lipski 1986). Spanish which remains in the Philippines is quite modern, essentially peninsular and decidedly middle-class, as opposed to the plebeian and rustic characteristics of earlier contact vernaculars (cf Lipski 1990).

#### 2.3. Distribution of Spanish speakers

The largest numbers of Spanish speakers are to be found in Manila. Smaller numbers live in other regions: Negros (Bacolod and Dumaguete), Mindanao (Cagayan de Oro and Davao), Bikol (Legaspi city and Naga), Iloilo, Tachoban, Cotabato, Vigan, Cebu and Zamboanga (Lipski 1987a).

In 1954, Whinnom gave a distribution of Spanish speakers:

in percentage of the total population of selected population centers:

7.5 Manila, 4.9 Rizal, 4.9 Zamboanga, 3.4 Batanes, 2.6 Davao, 2.1 Bulacan, 2.1

- Camarines Norte, 2.1 Camarines Sur, 2.1 Iloilo, 2.1 Zambales, 2.0 Sorgoson.
- and in total numbers:
  Manila 73,597, Rizal 32,837, Zamboanga 25,602, Cebu 17,632, Iloilo 17,134, Negros Occidental 16,831, Camarines Sur 11,438, Pangasinan 11,315, Leyte 10,863, Davao 9,305.

Official estimates of Spanish-speaking people range from 400,000 to more than one million but are not to be trusted.

According to Lipski (1987b), Zamboanga City is one of the most thoroughly Hispanized cities in the Philippines. Several newspapers were published in Spanish till World War II, signs and announcements in Spanish were frequently seen around town and 'Spanish national' priests used Spanish. It appears that the form of Spanish used in everyday conversation was a partially 'decreolized Chabacano' (see 2.8.1.) which contained a high percentage of recent borrowings from Spanish.

#### 2.4. Language and education

In education Spanish governmental policy was never implemented. No adequate provision was made for teachers, class-rooms or text-books so that the priests had to take on the charge of educating the people. Elementary education was given in the native language and higher education became the privilege of a few, the mass of the people was never given a chance to learn Spanish (Whinnom 1954). Several important learning centers were established by the various religious orders like the Jesuit colleges of San José and San Ignacio and the Dominican University of Santo Tomás. However, no attempt was ever made by Spanish priests to make a lingua franca of one of the native languages. Traditionally, in the convents communication was in Spanish and till World War II, Spanish was used by priests in Manila (Lipski 1987a).

According to the decree on Public Instruction issued in October 1898, a knowledge of Spanish grammar and orthography was compulsory for

those seeking admittance to secondary school. After the American takeover in 1901, instruction was supposed to be given in the vernacular languages of the people. But owing to the difficulty of communication between speakers of different vernaculars, it was decided that English would be the only medium of instruction and the only language used in primary and secondary schools. As a result, in 1939, 26.6% of the total population claimed to be able to speak English (Gonzalez 1980).

In June 1940, the national language based on Tagalog was introduced as a subject in the 4th year of high school and the 2nd year of normal school.

During World War II and the Japanese military administration, instruction was carried out in English although supplemented as much as possible by the local vernaculars. From January 1943, Japanese was taught in elementary schools. The Japanese were very much in favour of Tagalog as a national language and it became part of secondary and normal schools curricula from 1940 onwards. In 1944, the education minister made compulsory the teaching of Tagalog in all public and private schools, colleges and universities and ordered the training of Tagalog teachers for this purpose. By 1946, Tagalog was taught in all grades. At the end of World War II, English was still the primary medium of instruction, Japanese was taught as a foreign language. However, till 1974, when the Bilingual Education Policy was enacted, Tagalog was taught as a subject instead of being used as a medium of instruction.

In 1957-58, the use of the eight vernacular languages was prescribed by the board of education as medium of instruction in grades 1 and 2 while Tagalog and English were to be taught as subjects. From grade 3 onwards, English continued to be the medium of instruction. In 1974-75, the use of native languages was discontinued in grades 1 and 2 as a bilingual program in Pilipino and English went into effect. Native languages are still in use as auxiliary medium of instruction in primary grades (Sibayan 1986).

## 2.5. The teaching of Spanish

Spanish was formerly taught widely in public and private schools and is still a compulsory subject in the university curriculum (Lipski 1987a).

After World War II, it was decreed that Spanish should be a compulsory subject in all schools, however in 1949 a restricted interpretation was placed on the decree by Republic Act 349 which specified that Spanish should be included in the high school curriculum. This last act had little effect on the programs. In 1952, the teaching of the equivalent of 2 years of Spanish was made compulsory in all public and private universities and colleges by the Magalona law. This last law was only a token gesture and was never implemented (Whinnom 1954). The requirements were increased to 4 years in 1957 for students in law, commerce, liberal arts, foreign service and education. Even then 2 out of 3 students could understand very little Spanish. In 1967 the requirements were brought back to 2 years in response to strong public pressure after years of opposition and demonstrations by students who felt that Spanish was a useless anachronism (Bowen 1971).

Even though two years of Spanish are still compulsory at the secondary level, students receive poor grades and are far from fluent in the language (Lipski 1987b).

## 2.6. Spanish in the media

According to Whinnom (1956) in 1954, out of the 295 publications which appeared periodically in Manila, 8 were in Spanish, 10 bilingual in English and Spanish, 11 trilingual in English, Spanish and Tagalog. In the provinces, only 2 out of 84 periodical publications were in Spanish (Whinnom 1954). In 1927, 22.3% of the periodicals were published in Spanish compared with 7.3% in 1937 and 1.9% in 1952.

According to Gonzalez (1974), the leading magazines were published in English and out of 8 nationally circulated dailies 6 were in English, 2 in Tagalog and most weeklies were in English.

Whinnom noted that there was no market for Spanish books and some Spanish novels were only available in English or Tagalog translation.

A similar situation was found in the cinemas. In 1954 only one film in Spanish out of 24 was shown in one week in Manila compared with 19 in English. The films were shown without subtitles (Whinnom 1954).

Again, with radio and television, even in homes where other languages were spoken, the preferred language for programming was Tagalog except in Zamboanga City where 43% preferred Zamboangueño (see 2.8.4.). Most television programs were in English, a few in Tagalog (Gonzalez 1974).

In Zamboanga City all the radio stations and local television broadcast in Zamboangueño, except for a few newscasts in English and 'public service' announcements in regional languages or Tagalog as appropriate (Lipski 1987b). At the same time, the city prides itself on having maintained the Spanish language longest and some influential citizens, including radio announcers, writers and politicians continue to introduce new Spanish elements into Zamboangueño (Lipski 1986). Contemporary Zamboangueño is rapidly relexifying in the direction of English and to a lesser extent Visayan.

## 2.7. Influence of Spanish

Even though a very small percentage of the population speaks Spanish the vast majority of Filipinos have Spanish names. The native system of personal nomenclature was so confusing that in the 19th century Spain decreed by law that every Filipino should have a Spanish surname alongside his local name.

While the Spanish spoken by Filipinos of various social backgrounds acquired a strong local flavour, the local languages were strongly influenced by Spanish. Roots of Spanish persist through personal and place names and through Spanish words which were borrowed by the native languages.

In Aspillera's 750 basic word list intended to assist Filipinos to learn Tagalog. 22% are of Spanish origin (Whinnom 1954). Tagalog has adapted its borrowings from international or Spanish words to suit its own orthographic

system, e.g. *electricidad* in Spanish becomes *elektrisidad* in Tagalog.

Bowen (1971) estimates that the total Tagalog lexicon is made up of between 16% and 23% of Spanish loan words.

Quilis (1980) has shown that the vocabulary of Tagalog and Cebuano contains as many as 20.5% of Spanish words and that the borrowing of foreign words has brought about phonological and morphological changes in these native languages. He also remarks that, as a result of the galleon trade with Mexico, many Mexican Spanish words were introduced into Philippine Spanish. This is confirmed by Giese (1963).

Loan words from Spanish are found in many categories and more particularly in the following: law, religion and architecture. The Spanish number system, the names of the months and the days of the week, abstract nouns and kinds of food also found their way into the Tagalog lexicon (Bowen 1971).

Almost all Philippine languages show the results of years of contact and a comparative study by Bowen (1971) indicated that Maranao, spoken in Mindanao, the area most distant to the Tagalog-speaking area, has borrowed between 5.3% and 5.9% of its total vocabulary from Spanish.

For more than two centuries the Philippine languages absorbed a large number of Spanish lexical items (more than 25% in the most common languages), with a depth of penetration indicating a profound cultural and social influence of Spanish, even in the absence of large numbers of native speakers who could implant their language (c.f. Lopez 1965; Panganiban 1961; Quilis 1973, 1976; Wolff 1973-74). It was not until the abrupt independence of Spain's Latin American possessions, in the first decades of the 19th century, that attention reverted to the Philippines, and large contingents of Spanish officials, landowners and merchants arrived in the Philippines. At this stage, non-creole Spanish became a viable language in the Philipines, and although some earlier Mexicanisms and archaic forms had been absorbed into Philippine Spanish, the Spanish which remains in the Philippines is quite modern.

More recently, nationalistic movements of linguistic planning have attempted to replace Spanish borrowings in Tagalog with native terms. Most of the artificial replacements have not been popularly accepted, but the sociolinguistic message is clear: Spanish is no longer a prestige language to be cherished or used as a source of lexical innovation and its vitality has been reduced past the point where it will ever compete as a viable language of intercultural communication.

## 2.8. Philippine creole Spanish

#### 2.8.1. Overview

Six varieties of Philippine Creole Spanish were spoken till recently in two main areas of the Philippines. They emerged from the symbiosis of Spanish in contact with native languages. In some instances, they can be traced back to Ternate in the Moluccas when Spanish and Portuguese based pidgins had been in use. Batelha (1960) provides a list of grammatical and lexical properties by the Philippine Creoles and the Portuguese Creole of Macau. 'Chabacano' is the commonly used generic term for the various dialects. This term derives from a Spanish word meaning 'clumsy, bungling'; currently the term has no pejorative connotations, however, among native speakers of Spanish, Chabacano is only 'broken Spanish'. Philippine Creole Spanish dialects are mutually intelligible despite their lexical and morphological differences.

Ternateño, Caviteño and Ermiteño were spoken in or near Manila on the island of Luzon, Zamboangueño, Davaueño and Cotabato Chabacano were spoken on the island of Mindanao. However the American occupation, World War II and the promotion of Tagalog as one of the national languages have progressively led to the near extinction of the regional dialects with the exception of Zamboangueño (Lipski 1987b).

Molony (1977) claims that the Chabacano sound system has many similarities with that of Tagalog but also incorporates a number of Spanish sounds such as [l], [ñ], [r] and [c] from Spanish and [s] and [j] from English. Sounds which are not characteristic of Austronesian

languages have been excluded. Other features of the sound system have been influenced by Philippine languages, such as the stress on certain words which has shifted toward the Philippine stress system.

As far as the lexicon is concerned it seems that Ternateño has retained pre-19th century forms whereas Caviteño and Zamboangueño have 19th century forms (Molony 1977).

Reliable figures are difficult to come by. The following information on Chavacano excluding Caviteño is given by Sibayan (1986: 615)

1939:	1,290
1948:	100,6451
1960:	100,367
1970:	179,928
1980:	209,550

## 2.8.2. Ternateño

According to Whinnom (1956), it was the first Spanish contact vernacular and arose in Ternate in the Moluccas, it resulted from the contact between Spanish and a Portuguese Malay pidgin. It had already achieved creolization before the evacuation of the Mardikas, inhabitants of Ternate, to the Philippines in 1663 [Mardika, merdeka, merdeheka are Malay variants of a Sanskrit loan word meaning 'freedom, in contrast to servitude'. Tagalog has maharlika, 'aristocratic', 'high class', from the same source (Frake 1971)]. The Mardikas were allowed to resettle in the new settlements of Tanza San Roque and the new Ternate, near Maragondong on the South shore of Manila Bay (See Map 1). According to Whinnom (1956), they would have brought with them an already formed creole dialect. The Mardikas were a group of local Christians converted by Jesuit missionaries in the Moluccas. Soon after their arrival, they were reported to have spoken their 'own language', Tagalog and Spanish. Eventually, they came to speak Philippine Creole Spanish as their native tongue. Frake (1971) suggests three possible sources of their dialect, they may have invented it themselves, adopted a Philippine Spanish military dialect or relexified a Portuguese pidgin brought from the Moluccas.

Molony (1973) has traced back the origins of Ternateño through lexical changes and etymological analysis. She found that there are several common words in Ternate which can be demonstrated to be Portuguese, not Spanish in origin. In a conversation with Batalha in 1972, the latter confirmed the Portuguese origin of prietu 'black', agora<sup>2</sup> 'now', buneka 'doll', bung, bong, beng, 'very, too (much)' and agwelu 'grandfather'. Molony concluded that the presence of these words in Ternateño, suggest Portuguese influence in the language and argues for the development of the language before the Mardikas immigrated to the Philippines. Another possibility is that Portuguese words were introduced in the intensive trade between China and the Philippines (Kuhn 1966: 67ff.). Batalha (1960), without commenting on their source, lists a large number of similarities between Macanese and Philippine Creole Spanish. One has to remember that between the 17th and 19th centuries Pidgin Portuguese was the principal trade language in all eastern Asia. In support of this argument, Molony also discovered that several Ternateño words were of Malay and Moluccan origin and did not occur in other Philippine languages. Twenty of these words were identified to be Bahasa Ternate, an Austronesian language spoken in the Moluccas in the 17th century (e.g. kuning 'yellow' (Malay), muda 'young, of plants' (Malay) and possibly bay 'uncle' (Moluccan).

Lipski (1988) argues that, although some form of Pidgin Portuguese was spoken in the Moluccas at the time of the Spanish takeover, it is not certain that the Mardikas evacuated from Ternate to Manila spoke a fully developed Portuguese or Spanish creole, nor that their relatively small number immersed in the Spanish colony of Manila was sufficient to transmit whatever creolized language they may have brought with them. He adds that 'Mardika' words do not have any recognizable Spanish or Portuguese roots and concludes that there is no sufficient current evidence to infer the 'relexification of a Portuguese-based creole or pidgin' (forthcoming). The Mardikas soon left Manila to settle on the shores of Manila Bay in what is now known as

the towns of Tanza and Ternate in the province of Cavite. Lipski proposes that this small group of Mardikas who later moved to Cavite brought with them some 'creolized Spanish or Portuguese constructions, which, when added to the multilingual flux characterizing Cavite and Intramuros/Ermita catalyzed and channelled Pidgin Spanish usage in those regions'.

Molony (1973) notes that modern Ternateño is the first language of the 8,000 inhabitants of Ternate and that it is rapidly borrowing Tagalog words due the nationalistic trend towards the use of Tagalog and the fact that there is continual contact with people outside the community. Nearly all Ternateños speak Tagalog, however the only outsiders to learn Ternateño are the few men and women who marry residents of Ternate.

Ternateño is still used by several thousand speakers, although their total number seems to be steadily decreasing.

#### 2.8.3. Caviteño

The Cavite peninsula on the shores of Manila Bay became a Spanish fortification guarding the entrance to Manila. In 1641, the Spaniards established a naval yard which became the site of Cavite City. Whinnom (1956) claims that Caviteño is 'the modern descendant of Ternateño'. Caviteño and Ternateño share common features which denote a common origin. Lipski (1988) argues that Caviteño was formed by the contact of creole-speaking Ternateños with troops speaking some Spanish and a variety of Philippine languages. During World War II Cavite City was destroyed and though the Caviteñospeaking community moved en masse to the town of Caridad, the disruption caused by the war brought about the decline of Caviteño. According to Lipski (1986) this dialect was more influenced by Spanish than Ternateño since Caviteños dealt with Spaniards on a daily basis in the port of Cavite City and in the Intramuros and Ermita regions of Manila where they sold fish and engaged in commercial activities. Consequently, Caviteño may not simply be a direct descendant of Ternateño but a result of a more complex contact situation. By the time the Spaniards established a shipyard at Cavite, the presence of Spanish in Manila and other Philippine major cities was significant and a rudimentary sort of creole continuum may have existed with español de cocina at one end, Caviteño/Ermitaño in the middle and fluent Spanish at the other extreme.

According to Molony (1973), 5,000 people, mostly over 40 years of age claimed Caviteño to be their first language.

The census figures interpreted by Sibayan (1986: 615) point to a significant decline in speaker numbers:

1939:	18,820
1942:	18,000
1948:	100,645
1960:	10,628
1970:	4,057
1980:	4,275

#### 2.8.4. Zamboangueño

The Spanish garrison established at Zamboanga in 1636 to fend off attacks from Muslim pirates was destroyed by Muslims in the second part of the 17th century. In 1719, when the Spaniards reoccupied this area at the heart of Muslim territory and built a fort, they brought with them garrison troops which consisted of 'American Indians or mestizos married to Filipino women' (Reinecke 1937), Tagalogs and Visayans from the Central Philippine islands. A new contact vernacular, Zamboangueño (Lipski 1987b), emerged and was reinforced by the arrival of former slaves who had been freed from their Muslim captors in the Sulu Sea and set ashore at Zamboanga. It is probable that many of the Tagalogs spoke Ermitaño or Caviteño. Zamboangueño contains words directly derived from Caviteño and other elements which developed in situ.

According to Whinnom (1956), the verbal systems of Zamboangueño, Ermitaño and Caviteño are identical and though Zamboangueño is more influenced by Visayan and Tagalog elements which make up nearly 20% of its lexicon (Frake 1971), it is structurally similar to Caviteño and Ternateño. Frake suggests that it differs from

other forms of Philippine Creole Spanish in that it has a prominent and clearly identifiable non-European component whose distribution across semantic domains is not that normally associated with lexical borrowings. Because he has found no evidence to suggest that native creole-speaking Mardikas participated in the resettlement of Zamboanga by the Spaniards in 1719, he believes that Zamboangueño may represent an independent creolization of the same pidgin as the Mardikas found upon their arrival at Ternate. At the same time he adds that the similarities between Zamboangueño and Manila Bay creole are such that they make historically independent derivation from Spanish unlikely. Frake's study of pronouns has shown that Zamboangueño singular pronouns are similar to Spanish and that the plural forms are identical to those of several Central Philippine languages.

It is interesting to note all the varieties share the same set of singular pronouns and that their solutions for plural pronouns differ. This could suggest that we are dealing with three independently creolized forms of a Spanish Pidgin. Here follow the documented pronoun forms (Frake 1971):

	Zamboangueño	Ternateño	Caviteño		
singular					
1	yo	yo	yo		
2	tu	tu/bo	tu		
3	ele	ele	ele		
plural					
1	(excl) kamí	mihótroh	nisós/nosos		
	(incl) kitá		nisotros		
2	kamó	buhótroh	busós/bosos		
			busotros		
3	silá	nótroh	ilos		

Molony (1973) notes that some words of Portuguese origin in Ternateño, (e.g. na, eli, and kilaya) also occur in Zamboangueño which supports the argument that people from the Manila Bay area moved to Zamboanga.

Zamboangueño is probably best regarded as an independently developed creole which, like the

others is ultimately derived from Spanish through the Manila Bay dialects (cf. Lipski 1987b). As a result of the immigration of Visayan speakers from the Central Philippines, Zamboangueño has absorbed a lot of Visayan lexical and grammatical items. And as it came in contact with contemporary varieties of Spanish during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, it incorporated Spanish items and underwent an incipient 'decreolization' which, however, never got beyond the initial stages. More recently, the predominant source of lexical borrowing has become English; not only are individual words borrowed, but entire expressions can be introduced into Chabacano speech (Lipski 1987b).

Zamboangueño spread to Cotabato City and Davao City, Basilan Island, the Sulu Archipelago and Jolo Islands around the turn of this century (Lipski 1986) (Map 2). In Zamboanga City, it is the first language of nearly all the natives of the city and it is the preferred language in most informal situations, although liberally mixed with English. Four main groups are responsible for introducing Hispanisms into contemporary Chabacano; they are the clergy, school teachers, media personalities and political figures; they all share a common concern for language usage and the desire to have an impact on the public at large.

In schools, particularly in the lower grades, most teachers use some Zamboangueño while teaching, even though English is the official medium of instruction. In the 60s and 70s programs for 'vernacular language instruction' were implemented in the lower grades and some rural schools still use Zamboangueño materials even though the programs have mostly been suspended (Lipski 1987b). De facto bilingual instruction is the rule in all public and many private schools.

## No. of speakers

1939: 1,290

1948: 100,645 (see footnote 1)

1960: 110,376

1971: over 100,000 (Frake 1971)

#### 2.8.5. Ermitaño

Whinnom (1956) feels that Ternateño is the direct ancestor of Ermitaño and that it has preserved the dialect in its archaic form whereas Caviteño has made further innovations and in some cases 'corrected it' in imitation of Spanish. Ermitaño was spoken in the whole urban district of Ermita, one of the sections of Manila, till the turn of the last century which saw the beginning of its decline.

In 1942 it was spoken by about 12,000 residents of Ermita but during the last phase of World War II Ermita was destroyed and the language is now functionally dead. According to Molony (1973) Ermitaño was the mother-tongue of only a few dozen people in their 60s or older.

#### 2.8.6. Davaueño

In 1900, a considerable colony from Zamboanga settled in the region around Davao, this community spoke Zamboangueño, of which Davaueño is the direct descendant (Molony 1973).

Waves of immigrants moved to the area at different times and it seems that Davaueño was the outcome of contact between Zamboangueño, Tagalog, Cebuano and other Visayan dialects. There were two forms of Davaueño, the language spoken on the East Coast and that spoken in the city which was more contaminated by English.

The language was never written nor spread outside of the Chavacano community, both factors contributing to its extinction.

There were an estimated 3,500 speakers of Davaueño in Davao in 1942 (Whinnom 1956).

## 2.9. Marginal languages Cotabato Chabacano

The speech community of Cotabato includes the environs of Cotabato City which extend as far as Tamontaka, Porang and Polloc Point (Map 3). The Cotabato community started in the 1870s when the Jesuits ransomed some 100 Muslim children from the local slave market in order to educate them to become 'exemplary men and women who would win the Muslims to the faith by sheer force of good example' (Riego de Dios 1979). Till the end of the 19th century.

Tamontaka was the headquarters of a Spanish military garrison. By 1897, the Tamontaka community numbered over a hundred catholic families and 250 children who lived in an orphanage and were educated in Spanish by Jesuit priests. One hundred of these children came from the Muslim slave market, and the remainder had become orphans during a cholera epidemic in Zamboanga. When Spanish forces withdrew from Tamontaka at the advent of the Spanish American war, the missionaries decided to bring to safety to Zamboanga 400 members of the community. After the war, some returned to Tamontaka. Zamboangueño influenced Cotabato Chavacano but at the same time, there was a certain amount of independent development of Cotabato Chavacano. The language situation was further affected by a large increase of population due to the emigration of home seekers and settlers to the province of Cotabato. Later on the American missionaries took over the spiritual guidance and Christian education of the people and brought about a 'linguistic invasion' into the language of Cotabato native speakers. Nowadays the number of Cotabato speakers is difficult to evaluate, but a considerable number of them still remains.

## 'Bamboo Spanish'

Up to 1945, 28,000 Japanese lived in the area of Davao and used a simplified form of Spanish which served as a means of communication with the Filipinos and even found its way into the courtroom. It was quite distinct from Chabacano, its main characteristic being the use of curious periphrases and paraphrases which had achieved a certain degree of standardisation (Whinnom 1956).

## Examples:

'When were you born?' 'Cuando sale ikaw nanay?'

'What is the name of your wife?'

'Nombre oksan tiene?'

#### Español de cocina

Schuchardt (1882) notes that a form of 'corrupt' Spanish was spoken in Manila, commonly known as 'español de cocina' (kitchen Spanish), 'de tienda' (trader's stall), 'del parian' (the bazaar), or 'del trapo' (ragged Spanish). He believes that this dialect was not a creole proper but only a jargon because 'it exists on innumerable levels with greater or lesser approximation to Spanish grammar and structure and with greater or lesser use of Malay vocabulary'.

## Chinese Tagalo-Spanish

Reinecke (1937) notes that the Chinese residents of Manila spoke Tagalo-Spanish with peculiarities of their own, (e.g. substitution of [1] for [r].

# 2.10. Some dates of importance for the *Philippines*

ramppines			
1565:	Legazpi first lands in Cebu		
1565-1600:	The Portuguese attempt to take		
	possession of the Philippines		
1606:	Spanish colony established on		
	Ternate		
mid-1600s:	Spanish colony on Ternate		
	relocated to the Manila Bay area		
1719:	Spanish garrison at Zamboanga		
	rebuilt		
1898:	Spanish occupation of the		
	Philippines ended		
1935:	Spanish reintroduced as an official		
	language in the Philippines		
1940-45:	Destruction of speech communities		
	during Japanese occupation		
1949:	Advisory act which recommende		
	that Spanish be included in school		
	and university curricula		
1952:	Spanish made a required subject at		
	public and private schools and		
	universities; 12 units requirement		
1957:	Spanish language requirement		
	raised to 24 units		
1967:	Spanish language requirement		
	returned to 12 units		

## 3. Guam and surrounding islands

The Spanish occupation of Guam and the surrounding Marianas Islands largely coincided with Spanish presence in the Philippines, but due to the small size of the former possessions and the unproblematic geography the Spanish contact was more prevalent. Guam was discovered by Europeans in 1521, when Magellan touched at the island on his circumnavigation of the globe. Legazpi reached Guam in 1565, prior to arriving in the Philippines and took possession for Spain. The Manila Galleon made irregular stops at Guam, but no significant Spanish settlement was made for more than a century. The first Spanish missionary activities began in 1668 and the first (Jesuit) church was built the following year. The Jesuits continued their activity until the expulsion of the Company of Jesus in 1767, and the Augustinians replaced them in missionary and educational activities until the Spanish-American War. During this time, contact was also made with neighboring islands, including Rota, Saipan and Tinian, and when Caroline Islanders visited Guam during the Spanish occupation, Spanish contact with the Carolines, which was to culminate in a 19th century territorial dispute, began to take form.

Beginning in the 18th century, the Spanish military and religious presence on Guam was not insignificant, in proportion to the population, and the Hispanization of the native Chamorros took place intensively. Even to a greater extent than in the Philippines, the Chamorros absorbed Spanish religious practices, and the Chamorro language has a much higher proportion of Hispanic lexicon, including many functional words, than any other indigenous language that came into contact with Spanish; estimates run to well over 50%. Despite the small and relatively concentrated native population on Guam, and what eventually became a continual Spanish presence, the Spanish language never replaced Chamorro, the heavy relexification of the latter being the alternative result. By the time of the first American occupation of Guam, most of the natives could speak Spanish, many quite well (cf. Cox 1917: 74-75). Spain continued to maintain religious orders on Guam well into the 20th century, and the Bishops of Guam were Spaniards until after World War II, but the use of Spanish dropped to negligible proportions in the wake of the heavy Americanization of the island. Currently, a few dozen native Guamanians still speak Spanish, and these vestigial speakers are among the oldest living residents. They would be classified as semi-speakers, the last fluent Spanish speakers, having disappeared more than a generation ago (Lipski 1985).

English is in competition with Chamorro, particularly in the public domain and it is the preferred medium of written and spoken communication. It is also the medium of instruction in public schools (Combs et al. 1981).

Chamorro is receiving increasing scholarly and educational attention, and Tagalog is the de facto number two language on Guam. Twenty per cent of the total population are of Philippine descent. The Chamorro elders are very dissatisfied with the level of proficiency in Chamorro. They claim that people below 18 only possess receptive skills in the language. In order to redress the situation a Chamorro Bicultural, Bilingual Program has been implemented in elementary schools with the view of revitalizing the Chamorro language and traditional customs. However it is still at an experimental stage (Combs et al. 1981)

The heavy concentration of Spanish words in Chamorro represents a fossilized presence of the Spanish language, which, when combined with the large number of Hispanisms found in Tagalog, may give the casual listener the impression that Spanish is spoken on Guam. Bowen (1971) claims that the influence of Spanish on Chamorro is similar to that on the Philippine languages. A three vowel language was stretched to five vowels, consonant clusters with a second-member liquid or semivowel were added, as well as the sound r. A large loan vocabulary from Spanish was acquired, many persons names were adopted and the Spanish number system, the names of the months and the days of the week have come from the Spanish system. Chamorro loans from Spanish include examples of function words that are usually considered as basic to the structure of a language and not likely to be borrowed, (e.g. demonstrative *esti*, article *un* and futurity markers *para syimpri*) (Bowen 1971), but, in Topping's opinion (1973) the borrowing from Spanish was 'linguistically superficial', 'the bones' of the language remaining intact. He claims that in nearly all cases Spanish words were made to conform to the Chamorro sound system (e.g. *verde* 'green' became *betde* and *libro* 'book' *lepblo*). In his view the Spanish influence was mostly on the lexicon whereas the grammatical system was nearly left intact.

Two other linguistic influences on Chamorro are of interest, Japanese and English which are confined to borrowings of words to designate manufactured or newly introduced objects.

Some dates of importance to Guam are:

1521:	Guam visited by Magellan
1565:	Legazpi lands on Guam

Spanish missionary activity beginsJesuits replaced by Augustinians as

educators/missionaries

1700+: Increasing Spanish military

presence. Chamorro absorbs extensive lexical borrowings from Spanish

Spanish

1898: Spanish-American war; Guam

ceded to United States

1900+: English becomes official language

and sole language of instruction.

1940+: Increasing permanent U.S. military

presence on Guam

1950+: Last Spanish bishops replaced by

Guamanian religious personnel

# 4. Spanish presence on other western Pacific islands

Although the Spanish presence in the Pacific islands was largely limited to Guam and the Philippines (except that a very short-lived colonization attempt on Tahiti occurred in the 1770s), many of the island groups in the Pacific had first been visited by Spanish explorers, and in 1686 Spain formerly claimed the Carolines, the Marshalls and the Marianas. Of these sprawling territories, only Guam received any attention, but

in the 19th century Spain reasserted its early territorial claims. As pointed out in the discussion of Pidgin English in the 19th century, Pidgin English and not Spanish was the language of communication between Europeans and indigenes in most of Micronesia. The independence of Spanish America had reduced Spain's empire to a fraction of its original size. Most of Africa and Asia had already been carved up by European powers, and the remaining Pacific islands were rapidly being snapped up. Spain formally (re-) claimed the Caroline Islands and Palau in 1874, although diplomatic negotiations were never conclusive. In 1885 the Germans staked a claim in the Carolines, and following the Spanish-American war, Spain lost Guam to the United States, and in 1899 Spain sold its rights in the Carolines, the Marshalls and the Marianas to Germany.

# 5. Mexican territories and settlements in the Pacific

The Mexican insular possessions in the Pacific, including Guadalupe Island and the members of the Revilla Gigedo group, have usually remained uninhabited (Guadalupe currently has a military garrison of a few dozen members), although it is likely that smugglers, whalers and guano dealers made occasional stopovers on these rocky and inhospitable islets (cf. Banning 1925). The same is not true of Clipperton Island, which was disputed by Mexico and France until a settlement by Italy's King Victor Emmanuel III in 1931 definitely pronounced in favour of France. The first recorded Western visit to the island came in 1705, by a Captain Clipperton, one of Dampier's officers and France officially claimed the atoll in 1858. Little effort was made to occupy the island, but towards the end of the 19th century, a group of entrepreneuring Americans attempted to extract phosphate. Early in the 20th century, Mexico established a small military garrison, in an attempt to stake a defensible clain to Clipperton, and some phosphate miners were also sent. The evidence suggests a military force of some 50 soldiers, and problably an equal number of workers, some of whom may also have been soldiers (Prescott

1985: 252-254). Mexico soon lost interest in Clipperton and stranded at least one contingent of soldiers, resulting in the death of most of the garrison. The few survivors were eventually rescued by a passing American vessel. There are undocumented stories of blacks, possibly Americans, living on Clipperton (cf. Banning 1925: Chap. 5). They were presumably phosphate workers who, finding themselves abandoned by Mexican supply lines, mutinied against the soldiers. In any case, the use of Spanish on Clipperton was a fleeting event, a historical curiosity with no discernible impact on the Pacific linguistic situation.

## 6. The Spanish language in Hawaii

The presence of Spanish speakers in Hawaii came in two significant phases. The first arrivals came in the decade beginning in 1830, when the presence of wild cattle on the islands occasioned the recruitment of cowboys from California, well known for their cattle-handling abilities. Although most such cowboys were citizens of the newly independent Mexico, natives of Spain and pureblood Native Americans were undoubtedly among the recruits. These cowboys came to be known as paniolos, from español 'Spanish [speaker]', and the term *paniolo* was incorporated into Hawaiian English with the meaning of 'cowboy'. The term *poncho*, originally of Andean origin, also became part of the islands' vocabulary, together with many other early Spanish loanwords (some of which are difficult to distinguish from Spanish loanwords taken into Philipine languages and later passed by Filipino immigrants into Hawaiian English (Carr 1972: 105-108). Most of these 'Spanish' cowboys eventually merged with the rest of the population, and there is no indication that their varieties of Spanish survived beyond the turn of the 20th century.

Shortly following the Spanish-American war, when Puerto Rico was taken over by the United States, some 6,000 Puerto Ricans were recruited as sugar-cane cutters in Hawaii, beginning in 1901. Several thousand Spaniards were also recruited at the same time, but most apparently

moved on to California and left no linguistic traces in Hawaii. The Puerto Ricans, descendants of whom are identifiable even today, became known as *Pokolikoor*, *Poto Riko* and the Puerto Rican arroz y gandules 'small green beans cooked with rice' became transmuted to gandule rice. A small but identifiable number of Puerto Ricans continue to speak Spanish in Hawaii, and interest in this group has been spurred by several contemporary research programs. While the speech of the Puerto Ricans and other paniolos is but another piece of the Hawaiian patchwork, the early lexical contributions remain for all to use.

## 7. Rapa Nui (Eastern Island)

Chile's Rapa Nui (Easter Island) is the only officially Spanish-speaking territory in Polynesia, but the presence of the Spanish language is recent and minimal. The first reported landing of Europeans on Easter Island came in 1722, the first Spanish expedition came in 1760 and Spain 'officially' annexed the island in 1770, but European interests in the island did not develop until the 19th century, and it was French entrepreneurs who first began exploiting the island (Campbell 1987). Although the original intentions were agricultural in nature, one of the most unsavory aspects of European presence on Easter Island was the forced deportation of many native islanders to labour on Pacific plantations. A significant number of Rapa Nui, whose total may be as high 1,000, were also shipped to Peru in the 1860s (Porteus 1981: 13). Of these captives, all but about 100 died during the first year of captivity. Due to international protest, the surviving islanders were eventually repatriated (apparently a few were sent to Tahiti, this being the first port of call for most ships leaving Peru). but smallpox killed all but a handful on the return voyage (Luke 1962: 241). These unfortunates in turn introduced smallpox to the island, further decreasing the already decimated population. This is the first well-documented contact between large numbers of Easter Islanders and the Spanish language. The slave trade and forced exploitation resulted in a drastic reduction of the island's native population, from an estimated 3,000-4,000

to just a few hundred by the end of the 19th century. It was during this period that France attempted to establish territorial claims, but in 1888 Chile officially annexed the island. At that time, fewer than 200 native islanders remained. Several Chilean colonization attempts failed, and the island was eventually run by a joint Chilean-Scottish sheep-ranching enterprise. The native islanders were not integrated into the commercial exploitation, and so Easter Island remained a foreign outpost until the 1950s.

In the 1960s, Easter Island began to modernize, with the arrival of foreign medical teams, satellite tracking installations, anthropologists and for the first time, tourists, the latter spurred by the imaginative voyages of Heyerdahl. Chileans from the mainland began to live on the island, and hundreds, later thousands, of tourists stayed over in hotels. By the end of the 1970s, the islands population was near 2,000, over a quarter of which were mainlanders. Of the remainder, somewhat over half are native islanders (many other islanders have migrated to the mainland), and the rest are foreign nationals, including other Polynesians. The Spanish language is now becoming the principal means of communication, and given the long-standing official neglect of the Rapa Nui language, Easter Island is likely to become a Spanish-speaking enclave in Eastern Polynesia.

Important dates in the history of Easter Island/Rapa Nui are:

1722: First reportedEuropean visit 1760: First Spanish expedition

1770: Spain officially claims Easter Island 1800s: French entrepreneurs begin exploi-

tation

1860s: Forced immigration of Easter

Islanders to Peruvian coastal plan-

tations and mines

1888: Chile annexes Easter Island

1900: Island population reaches all-time

low of 200-300

Early 1900s: Unsuccessful Chilean colonization

attempts, followed by Scottish-run

sheep ranching

1960s: Modernization of Easter Island;

beginnings of tourism and immigration from Chilean mainland

1970s: Island population rises to 2,000,

one quarter of which are Chilean

mainlanders

#### 8. Malpelo

Being an uninhabited islet of bare rock, Malpelo has no political history. It was probably one of the first islands off the American continent to be discovered by sailors. It was shown on a map of Peru published in 1530. Malaspina is the only explorer to have mentioned a landing on the islet between 1789 and 1794. From the time of its discovery Malpelo belonged to Spain and subsequently was annexed by Peru and finally by Colombia (Prothero 1920).

#### 9. Other Chilean insular territories

In 1966 Chile changed the names of the three tiny islands comprising the Juan Fernández group, located between Rapa Nui and the Chilean mainland. Individually, the islands had been known as Más a Tierra (unofficially also known as Juan Fernández), Más Afuera and Goat Island. The new names, reflecting the island's history, are Robinson Crusoe, Alexander Selkirk and Santa Clara, respectively. The first reported visit by Europeans occurred when the Spaniard Juan Fernández landed in 1574. Discovered on the same expeditions were the tiny islands of San Félix and San Ambrosio to the North, which have never been inhabited except for occasional pirate visits. Several colonization attempts in the Juan Fernandez group were made in the 16th century, and in the 17th century the island of Más a Tierra was an important stopover for ships, including pirate vessels, and at one point the Spanish outpost was destroyed by hostile privateers. In the early 1700s, the British privateer Alexander Selkirk, during a dispute with his captain, chose to maroon himself on the island, planning to join the next privateering vessel that passed by. This planned short stopover turned out to be a selfexile lasting more than four years, and the account of Selkirk's adventures inspired Defoe's famous

novel Robinson Crusoe. This book and particularly translations into a number of European languages did much to reinforce the foreigner talk register of a number of European languages (Werkgroep 1978), and this indirectly may have influenced the shape of other Pacific Pidgin languages. In the mid-18th century, after much contention with the British, the Spanish government built a fortified settlement on Juan Fernández, and by the turn of the 19th century a considerable garrison existed on the island. When Chile won its independence from Spain, Juan Fernández became part of the new republic, and Bernardo O'Higgins established a penal colony on the island. An Englishman was enlisted to govern the island, but the settlement was briefly abandoned in the mid 1800s following revolts and a tidal wave. During the California Gold Rush, Juan Fernández once more became important as a source of provisions for ships rounding Cape Horn bound for California, and eventually the island population settled on fishing, particularly lobsters. During the 20th century Más a Tierra has known periods of tourism, when cruise ships carried passengers intrigued by the Robinson Crusoe story, but fishing has remained the principal activity of the population, which is currently around 500. Virtually all residents are Chileans (who according to one earlier source, Naval Intelligence Division 1943: 59, 'speak corrupt Spanish'), with a significant proportion being military personnel, so that the Juan Fernández Islands legitimately qualify as Spanishspeaking Pacific islands (Woodward 1969).

#### 10. The Galapagos Islands

Ecuador's Galapagos Islands are popularly known as the home of a unique collection of fauna that inspired Darwin's evolutionary theorizing. Currently the islands are administered by the Ecuadorian government as a nature reserve and are visited primarily by tourists, but this is a relatively recent development. The Galapagos Islands were discovered accidentally in 1535, by a Spanish bishop sailing from Panama to Peru. The islands, uninhabited at the time, aroused little

interest, and it was not until the newly independent Ecuador annexed them in 1832 that any real exploration took place. With Darwin's 1835 visit, the islands' potential scientific interest first became known, although the full impact of his observations was not felt until much later. In the intervening period, the islands were frequently visited by pirates, and in 1812 an improvized American naval base was briefly set up on the islands. At the time of the Ecuadoran annexation of the Galapagos Islands, and perhaps at the root of Ecuador's interest in these odd islands, the lichen orchilla, used as a dyestuff was discovered in commercializable quantities. The Ecuadoran government made several colonization attempts, with settlers ranging from traditional homesteaders to criminals and political exiles, but the early attempts were largely futile. The first stable settlements were achieved towards the end of the 19th century and the 20th century saw additional settlements. Most were commercial in nature, involving exploitation of salt, sulfur, fish and other local products. More recently, the Ecuadorian government has restricted access to the island group, much of which has been turned into a national park, and attempts have been made to promote non-intrusive tourism. Of the current residents of the Galapagos Islands, nearly all are Spanish speakers, although some bilingual Quechua-Spanish Ecuadorians also live on the islands.

## 11. Cocos Island

Tiny Cocos Island, belonging to Costa Rica, finishes the survey of nominally Spanish-speaking areas in the extreme Eastern Pacific. The island was first discovered in the 16th century and during the next two centuries was an occasional stopoff point for pirates, whalers and following some shipwrecks, treasure-hunters. Costa Rica officially claimed the island in 1888 and recruited a German-speaking family as the first settlers. These settlers left after a few years and Cocos has seen no permanent settlement since that time, although the Costa Rica military usually maintains a small garrison.

## 12. Pacific islanders in Spanish America

Pacific slavehunters of 'blackbirders', although largely supplying labour forces for colonies more to the West, at times brought their captives to Spanish-speaking Latin America. The fate of the Easter Islanders is the best known, since the island eventually became a territory of a Latin American nation and shared its documentary history with that of a larger sovereign power, but the Polynesian-Latin American connection reappeared in Pacific Islands, and took significant numbers of captives from each island group. Most severely affected were the natives of the Gilbert and Ellis Islands, with the latter islanders suffering proportionately more. During the 1860s large number of islanders were carried to Peru's coastal guano islands, and also to the saltpeter mines of Chile (Luke 1962: 160).

Maude (1981) has suggested that fewer labourers ended up on the guano islands than is popularly believed, and that more were destined for mainland agricultural work and domestic service, but the matter continues to be the subject of debate. Since the slaving period in question was relatively short, it is unlikely that any stable pidgin or creole developed among the transplanted islanders, and no known sources document the characteristics of the Spanish-Pacific linguistic contacts that must have occurred.

### 13. New World Spanish

To survey the role of Spanish in those American countries bordering on the Pacific would be an enterprise far beyond the scope of our project. We have therefore opted to limit ourselves to a few themes, including:

- 1. The linguistic consequences of contacts between South America and the Pacific;
- 2. The development of Spanish-based pidgins and creoles;
- 3. The competition between Spanish and English;
- 4. The imposition of Spanish as the lingua franca or official language.

We have not touched on questions relating to the standardization of New World Spanish (see Milan 1983) or those of regional dialects of Spanish.

#### 14. Spanish North America

## 14.1. General background

In 1513, Ponce de Leon who had conquered Puerto Rico and discovered and named Florida proceeded to Yucatan, Mexico. The conquest of Mexico or New Spain began in 1519 under the leadership of Cortes. It was completed in 1521. Another Spanish captain, Piñeda who was overwhelmed and killed by the Indians, sailed the Gulf coast from Florida to Mexico, thus proving that both formed part of the same land mass. Guzman, one of Cortes' enemies marched East and North in search of the seven wealthy cities an Indian had told him about. He never discovered any of the cities but added another province, New Galicia, to New Spain. In 1533 Cortes lead the expedition that discovered California which fell under the authority of the Viceroy of New Spain.

Regardless of whether they were actually occupying the territories or not, the Spaniards considered that the entire New World, from Labrador to Tierra del Fuego belonged to them by right of discovery. This view was challenged by the French and the English who recognized Spain's title only where the Spaniards were actually established. However, the English failed to establish a foothold on the New World while Spain kept on extending its empire to which it added the province of New Leon, to the North of New Spain, in 1596 and the province of New Mexico, along the upper Rio Grande. At the end of the 17th century, the Northern part of Florida and the Southern half of California were brought into the Spanish orbit thanks to the dedicated work of Spanish missionaries. Texas was successfully brought within the Spanish empire in 1716-17, a series of permanent posts were established and in 1728 the territory was given formal status as a province. In 1747, the Gulf coast to the South of the Río Grande was occupied and formally became the province of New Santander. On the West coast a third new province, Sinaloa, came into existence thanks to the work of Jesuit missionaries in the area.

Spain had to give up Florida in 1762 and the Spanish also had to recognize the existence of the British settlement at Belize in Central America. By

the Treaty of Paris in 1783, British rule was established over the lands lying East of the Mississipi while Eastern Florida, New Orleans and the lands West of the river were passed on to the Spanish. In 1800, Napoleon pressured Spain into returning Louisiana to France. Shortly after, the Spanish empire collapsed and in 1821 the birth of a new Mexican nation was announced, it included all the lands West of the Mississipi River, minus Louisiana. As an outcome of the war between the Mexican Republic and the United States, a treaty was signed in 1848 which gave New Mexico, Texas and California to the United States. (Map 4).

Important dates in the history of North America are:

1492:	Christopher	Columbus	discovers
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the New World

1521: Cortes completes the conquest of

the Aztec empire and founds New

Spain.

1533: Cortes discovers California

1600: Spanish territories are extended to

include New Mexico, New Leon,

New Vizcaya and New Galicia.

Texas becomes a Spanish province.

1821: Birth of the Mexican nation.

The United States take possession

of New Mexico and California.

1910-40: The Mexican Revolution

## 14.2. The United States

1848:

The immediate effect of the war of 1848 was to strengthen the position of the United States and to weaken that of Mexico which lost a third of its territory. In the early years, intermariage between high status Mexicans and high status Anglos was not uncommon but as the Mexicans lost their land and status and were assigned to work in the fields, mines or railroads, a line was drawn between the dominant and subordinate cultures and the post-conquest bilingual society became a linguistically segregated society since little English was required for the menial jobs available to Chicanos (Peñalosa 1980)

In the late 19th and early 20th century, while the rest of the United States industrialised, the Southwest remained as a peripheral area producing agricultural and mineral products. Mexican immigration was then encouraged in times of need for low paid, docile, unskilled and mostly seasonal labourers. World War II promoted industrialisation in the Southwest and Chicanos moved to the cities in large numbers and became an urban and largely segregated minority. After World War II and owing to the predominant status of the United States in the world, English became the de facto international language.

In the late stages of industrialisation and urbanization, there was an increasing need to fill the subproletarian positions in the economy, hence the influx of Chicanos and Puerto Ricans to take up these positions and a concern to educate these migrants. Since then, the business community has been promoting bilingual education and the teaching of English as a second language. However, because Chicanos have been concentrated in low-paying, marginal occupations, they remain highly segregated from the Anglo community and this situation promotes the maintenance of Spanish and the inadequate mastery of English. But the primary cause of Spanish language loyalty in the United States is the continuing migration from Mexico, Puerto Rico and other Latin American countries. Chicanos generally shift to English by the third urban generation, which is at present the fastest growing segment of the Chicano population.

Many Chicano children do not acquire a full command of English and some students fail the speech test required for teacher certification in California. Given the natural ability of children to pick up a foreign language, one question is raised: Is Chicano English simply English with Spanish interference or a variety of English which has evolved from the contact between English and Spanish and has become standard in the Chicano community? (Peñalosa 1980). There now exists an extensive body of writings on Spanish in the USA which we cannot survey here.

#### 14.3. Mexico

In the days before the Spanish conquest, educational language policy encouraged language diversity throughout the Aztec empire. However, Nahuatl functioned as the official language of the Aztec rulers and functioned as a lingua franca. When the Spanish took over they chose to ignore the degree of sophistication of the Indian culture and its linguistic realities. The aim of the Spanish monarchy in the late 15th and early 16th centuries was to unify the kingdom and develop a national identity by implementing a forceful language policy and promoting Castilian as the only official tongue for the indio and later on, the mestizo of New Spain (Mc Evedy 1988)

According to Diebold (1961), there are no recorded examples of Indian Spanish pidgins in Mexico. Convergent change either leads to the extinction of the Indian language or to bilingualism. Diebold takes the example of Huave spoken in a few villages along the Isthmus of Tehuantepec in the state of Oaxaca and shows that no pidgin or creole language based on convergent change has resulted from Spanish-Huave contact. However Spanish contact vernaculars in Mexico, like in most Spanish-speaking countries remain under-researched and Grimes (1957) has drawn attention to the use of simplified 'trade language' varieties of Spanish in rural parts of Mexico. The fact that a bible translation (St Luke) has been produced in this language suggests that one is dealing with a relatively stable variety.

Mexico like most American countries also had a sizeable Negro population (see King 1944 and deGranda 1968). Their linguistic history remains to be investigated. More on the use of Nahuatl-Spanish in Mexico is given in the section on Nicaragua (15.2.). Numerous references on Mexican Spanish are found in Garibi (1939).

				interoceanic canal.
Important dates in the history of North America:		1909-33:	U.S. intervention and	
	1492:	Christopher Columbus discovers		Nicaragua
		the New World	1914:	The Panama Canal o
	1521:	Cortes completes the conquest of	1944-54:	The Guatemalan Rev
		the Aztec empire and founds New	1977:	Panama and the U.S
		Spain.		to return the Car
	1533:	Cortes discovers California		Panamanian contro

1600:	Spanish	territ	ories are	extended to
	include	New	Mexico.	New Leon

New Vizcaya and New Galicia.

1728: Texas becomes a Spanish province. 1821: Birth of the Mexican nation.

1848: The United States take possession

of New Mexico, and California.

1910-40: The Mexican Revolution

Important dates in the history of Central America and the Pacific Coast of South America:

1513: Balboa discovers the Pacific Ocean 1521: Discovery of Nicaragua by Gil

Gonzales de Avila

1535: Francisco Pizarro completes the conquest of the Incan empire.

1543: The first vice-roy arrives in Peru.

1821: Mexico, Peru and Central America declare their independence, putting an end to Spanish domination

1824: The battle of Ayacucho marks the final defeat of the Spaniards in

South America.

1824-38: The United Provinces of Central

America come into existence.

1830: The political union of Gran Colombia dissolves, leaving Colombia, Venezuela and Ecuador

to go their independent ways.

1839-65: The populist caudillo Rafael Carrera governs Guatemala.

1879-84: The war of the Pacific pits Chile

against Peru and Bolivia.

1901: In the Hay Paunceforte Treaty,

> Great Britain acknowledges U.S. supremacy in Central America.

1903: Panama gains its independence and

signs a treaty with the United States for the construction of an

d occupation of

opens.

volution.

S. sign a treaty anal Zone to ol, putting the canal under Panamanian direction by 1999.

1979: The Nicaraguan Revolution.

## 15. Spanish Speaking Central America

#### 15.1. Guatemala

Between 1867 and 1880 over 6,000 Gilbertese emigrated to work in Samoa, Fiji, Tahiti and Hawaii. Gilbert and Ellis Islanders were also carried to plantations in Mexico and Guatemala (Robson 1946: 164). Little reliable information is available on the linguistic conditions which surrounded these forced expatriations of Pacific islanders, but few ever survived to return to their homelands (cf. Naval Intelligence Division 1944: 318), and the influence of the Spanish language on their respective islands was negligible. The Gilbertese were the most active labour migrants in the Pacific on a per capita basis. In 1890-92, approximately one thousand Gilbertese signed a three year contract to work on coffee plantations in the pacific piedmont of Guatemala. According to Mc Creery (1991), they did comparatively well in Guatemala despite a high mortality and some of them chose to stay when given the option to return home. Seventen years later eighteen Gilbertese returned to their islands. Although there must have been some language contacts between the Gilbertese and the Guatemalans, we are not aware of any research carried out in this area.

#### 15.2. Nicaragua

According to Reinecke (1937), the Spanish found Nicaragua occupied by a branch of the Nahuatl people. The Castilian language was made the official language of administration and the Indian tribes either continued to speak their own languages or became bilingual. They either adopted a pure Spanish or a 'mixed dialect composed of a broken down Nahuatl and a corrupt Spanish, which at first, served as a means of communication between the conquerors and their subjects, and later became, to some degree, the usual tongue of the latter' (quoted by Reinecke). This dialect spread over large areas of Central America and Mexico. The bulk of its

vocabulary is Spanish which has preserved its 16th century character and many terms which are obsolete to-day. It also contains words created by grafting a Romance flexional ending to Aztec words either whole or reduced to a stem. The Spanish syntax is basically kept but all flexional endings have been removed and nominal and verbal roots have just been juxtaposited (Reinecke 1937).

A vocabulary and extensive sociolinguistical information on this language is given by Garibi (1939).

#### 15.3. Panama

The first European to visit the Western part of the Isthmus was the Spaniard Rodrigo de Bastidas in 1501. Columbus visited the North Coast and established a settlement at Santa María de Belén in 1503 which was shortly abandoned owing to the resistance and fierceness of the Indians. The first successful settlement occurred on the East Coast at Santa María de la Antigua which was founded in 1510. The city of Panama was founded in 1519. Since 1520 and the founding of Nata in the central regions the Indians were encouraged to form towns in which they served the newly arrived conquerors and were pressed into forced labour, particularly in the mines. During the colonial period and in the 19th century, the population decreased considerably as the conquerors brought with them diseases which killed the Indians and forced them to work in conditions which they could not withstand. On the other hand, the Spaniards never settled in great numbers and as a result the central provinces have been sparsely populated since the 16th century.

After it gained its independence from Spain, Panama remained under Colombian dominion until 1903.

The 1940 census gives an indication of the various racial groups which composed the Panamanian population. The mestizos made up 72% of the population, the negros 14.5% and the Europeans 12%. The Negro element immigrated from British and French possessions in the West Indies.

According to Robe (1960) the first Spanish colonists were predominantly from Andalusia followed closely by Castile but after the conquest of Peru in 1532, Panama became a transit point with a fluctuating population. Although multiple similarities have been identified on a phonetic level between Panamanian and Andalusian Spanish, no suitable studies have been undertaken to establish a relationship between their vocabularies (Robe 1960).

Contact of Spanish with the indigenous languages occurred with the first expeditions of settlers; however, there is little evidence to suggest that the priests and missionaries of the early 16th century used Spanish when converting the native populations,—it seems that they preferred to use native interpreters. In 1556 the use of Spanish as a means of communication was accelerated by the gathering of Indians into settlements in the Pacific lowlands where they could be more easily controlled and indoctrinated in the Catholic faith. Fifty years later, the native tongues were forgotten and had been supplanted by Spanish. In the more isolated mountain areas, the native languages were more tenacious; although other villages were created to re-settle some of the native tribes, only a few groups have, however, retained their indigenous languages.

Only at the beginning of the colonial era did the Spanish live in close contact with the Indians; since then there has been very little opportunity for word borrowing.

The largest contribution to the Panamanian Spanish vocabulary has been made by the native languages of the West Indies, especially Tainan, the language of the Arawaks, extinct since the middle of the 16th century, and to some extent Carib. Bryce-Laporte (1973) believes that the immigrants from the West Indies already spoke a creole language created from the contact of African languages with old colonial French or English. However, the descendants of the precolonial period and of the slaves brought in during the colonial period have assimilated and become identified with the mestizos. Few have retained their customs and speech, others have only recently adopted European manners and speech.

In large part, the borrowed words refer to objects unknown to Europeans before the Spanish conquest and designate items of flora and fauna. They came to Panama with the first Spanish soldiers and colonists who had learnt them in Santo Domingo.

Contributions of Mexican origin resulting from contacts with Mexico do not appear before the 17th century and are not numerous. A similar situation exists with regard to Quechua terms. Other indigenous American languages have made little contribution. A few words have a French origin and were imported by immigrants from French Caribbean possessions and certain terms of contemporary Panamanian vocabulary can be attributed to African origin.

Negroes formed a sizable element of the colonial population as early as the first half of the 16th century. Their numbers were estimated at 8,629 in 1575. One thousand of them were in domestic service in and around Panama City and in very close contact with the Spanish language. Another 2,000 were employed in the mines or plantations in northern Veraguas and 2,500 had fled to the jungle. The Negro slaves who were imported came directly from Africa. In 1789, the total number of Negroes was estimated at about 12,000, that is over 50% of the total population of Panama (Calvo 1966).

Despite reports of a creole language existing in the coastal village of Palenque, Lipski (1995) argues that no creole has been actively spoken in this area in recent years. However the Caribbean coast of Panama, centering around the villages of Portobelo, Nombre de Dios and Palenque still contain a large Afro-Hispanic population. An essential component of the ritual is the use of a special language which, according to oral tradition is derived from the speech of the Negro Bozal (native of Africa with limited abilities in Spanish). Congo is a ceremonial language learned by most of the members of the community and used mainly during Carnival festivities. However, it is also used sporadically for enjoyment or to demonstrate ethnolinguist solidarity travelling outside the region. Linguistically, Congo has adopted deliberate phonetic, syntactic

and semantic deformations and on the other hand, there is a substantial component of Congo which coincides with records of Bozal language elsewhere in Latin America, evidently derived from an earlier pidgin or creole. It stands as a possible example of spontaneous creolization independent of a prior Hispanic or Portuguese derived proto-creole (Lipski 1995).

English did not really infiltrate the language until the 20th century despite a close contact with it during various periods. Since the construction and operation of the canal at the beginning of the 20th century, the situation has been much different. During the depression of the 30s and world War II, residents of the provinces have migrated to the Canal Zone or to Panama and Colón where both Spanish and English are spoken. In the cities, Panamanian vocabulary has absorbed a large number of American English terms and many of those have appeared in the speech of the central provinces, especially in the towns and to some extent the rural areas. The proximity of English has not affected the pronunciation of Panamanian Spanish; however, the pronunciation of some English words has been adapted to suit the Spanish phonological system.

In her study of Panamanian creole English Alphonse (1976) notes that the interferences of Spanish in English are numerous and that Spanish has strongly influenced the phonological system, the lexicon and the syntax. Bilingual communities have retained their mother tongue, English, and learnt Spanish as a second language.

#### 16. Spanish Speaking South America

### 16.1. General background

According to Megenny (1983: 1) more than 1.5 million Africans were imported as slaves to Spanish America and labour recruitment from the Pacific Area and South East Asia continued after the abolition of slavery. Such groups provided a strong reason for the development of Spanish-based contact languages.

An even stronger motif were contacts between the Spanish-speaking conquerors and indigenous Indian people. The following sections provide no more than a superficial account of contact languages in the Pacific coast countries of South America. We hope that our notes will stimulate more comprehensive research on language contacts in this area. Additional useful references can be found in Appel and Muysken (1987).

#### 16.2. Colombia

A Spanish creole is spoken in an isolated village called El Palenque de San Basilio, Bolivar, on the Caribbean coast of Colombia. It is only spoken by the older members of the community (Holm 1989). In 1954 there were 1,486 speakers who lived in the village and another 742 who resided outside it (Bickerton 1970). The creole is descended from the language spoken by the slaves employed in building the fortifications of Cartagena during the late 16th and early 17th century (Holm 1989). The ancestors of the Palenqueros came mainly from Angola and the Congo.

According to a document of 1772 (quoted by Bickerton, 1970), the group of slaves who had escaped and built the fortified village of Palenque were bilingual in Palenquero and rural Colombian Spanish, even though they remained mostly isolated from the Spanish community till the beginning of this century. It is only recently that they have been employed on banana or sugar cane plantations and in the construction of the Panama canal. At primary school level children are now taught in Spanish which is the language that young people speak among themselves. Even though all inhabitants of San Basilio understand the creole it is usually only spoken by the older members of the community (Friedemann & Patino Rosselli 1983).

Palenquero has had some phonological influences from Spanish, however the creole features of the language are more marked in its morphology and syntax. The Palenquero lexical stock is drawn mostly from Spanish but Bickerton (1970) estimates that about 10% of the lexicon is presumably of African origin. This figure has been questioned (Schwegler 1989), but no conclusive results have been reached to date.

Many specialists agree that Palenquero is a survivor of a once more widely distributed creole which must have influenced the development of Afro-Hispanic dialects elsewhere in the Caribbean and the Pacific Coast. Baxter (personal communication 1991) informs us that:

- (i) 'The Pacific lowlands, including el Choco and the area extending down to Ecuador (the Pacific areas of Cauca and Narino provinces) has a huge African population and is of extremely difficult access (as I found out in 1988). There are numerous isolated villages (Granda has a collection of articles on some aspects of the more accessible areas—Estudios sobre un area dialectal hispanoamericana de población negra 1977, Bogota: Instituto Caro y Cuervo. The region has been very superficially studied by traditional lexical dialectologists of the Instituto Caro y Cuervo—frankly it is largely an unknown entity. It is well known for its preservation of numerous African cultural traits, e.g. architecture, musical instruments, music, dances.
- (ii) 'A further area deserving attention is that of the Magdalena river (specifically, the area known as Magdalena medio) in Santander province, where it is reported (Baxter p.c.) that there is a village speaking a possibly creole-influenced dialect... Evidently the dialect was detected some years ago but the Magdalena medio region has witnessed a lot of guerrilla activity and has not been accessible to outsiders.'

## 16.3. Choco languages

Choco Indian languages are spoken by 20,000 or 25,000 Indians inhabiting an area along the Pacific Coast of northwestern South America (Loewen 1965). The area includes the Pacific Coast of Colombia, extends into Panama and Ecuador. In Panama the area extends to the Sambu River, and several small groups have migrated as far North as the Chepo River. In Ecuador, small groups have migrated to the Cayapas River, the Sinú and San Jorge River basin, the line being drawn West of the Cauca River.

Spanish functions as a lingua franca among the Indians who speak different dialects. In Colombia

the Spanish spoken by the Choco Indians has many archaic remnants from medieval Spanish, vestiges of early contacts with Spanish conquerors. Many of the Spanish speakers use the third person singular form of the verb invariably, suggesting that some pidginisation has occurred.

Flórez (1950) has identified specific Choco lexical items in the following domains: flora and fauna, agriculture, food, housing, minerals, commerce and transports.

Both in Panama and Colombia efforts have been made to teach Spanish to the Indians, but few of the schools have remained and as a result of their poor level of achievement, the Indians have adopted a defeatist attitude toward learning Spanish.

#### 16.4. Ecuador

The Afro Ecuadoran component of the population may account for as much as 25% of the national total. The majority of the black and mulatto population is concentrated in the Northwestern sector of the country mostly in the provinces of Esmeraldas where 80% of the residents are of African origin. The first blacks arrived in Ecuador between 1533 and 1536. Later on the Jesuits and other landowners imported large numbers of black slaves to work on plantations along the coast and in the central highlands. Early in the 19th centurey the wars of colonial liberation brought contingents of black soldiers to Ecuador from Colombia and many of these black subjects remained in the province of Esmeraldas. The last significant migration of Afro-Americans to Ecuador took place in the late 19th century when between four and five thousand Jamaican labourers were brought in to work on plantations and construction projects

In the highlands, the predominant racial type is the indigenous or mestizo configuration. In the Chota Valley, and in the North central province of Imbabura and Carchi, the population is almost entirely black with some mulattoes. The Chota Valley consists of about 15 small villages whose variable population probably does not exceed more than fifteen thousand inhabitants who are presumably descendants of slaves held by the

Jesuits on their highland plantations. When the Jesuits were expelled from Ecuador in 1767, most of the slaves changed masters as the lands were taken over by Ecuadoran owners. When slavery was abolished in 1852, the Choteños continued working on the plantations. The Choteños share a history of more than 250 years of residence in the central highlands. It is not impossible that black Choteños had subsequent contact with coastal speech modes, but given the isolation of the Chota Valley, the poor communication with the coast and the overwhelming influence of the surrounding highland dialects, this population may be the only significant black settlement in Spanish America without close and recent ties to the life and language of the coastal lowlands. Some indirect evidence suggests that in previous centuries a creole or Bozal Spanish was spoken among certain groups of Afro-Ecuadorans, particularly those living in isolated communities or cimarrón societies of fugitives. De Granda (1970) found some evidence that such a group of fugitives lived in a place called Palenque, East of Guayaquil, between Ojiva and Babahoyo and most likely spoke a Spanish creole now completely extinct.

In Esmeraldas, the local Spanish dialect is not creolized although it features the Costeño phonetic characteristics found throughout Latin America. The behaviour of /s/ in the Chota dialect is at odds with other Ecuadoran dialects of Spanish but is consistent with semicreolized or Africanized Spanish and Portuguese throughout the world. From the earliest attestations of 'black Spanish' found in 16th century literary documents, occasional loss of word-final /s/ was predominantly confined to the verbal endings in *-mos* and in cases where the /s/ was solely lexical. Data from currently spoken Afro-Hispanic dialects where /s/ is not reduced in all phonetically weak contexts provide comparable configurations. One potentially significant feature of both the Esmeraldas dialect and the Chota Valley usage is the use of redundant subject pronouns, also a feature in many other Afro-Hispanic dialects. An overall comparison between the grammatical characteristics of Choteño Spanish and known

Afro-Hispanic manifestations from other regions and periods reveals certain structural similarities and strategies suggesting that black highland Ecuadoran Spanish in its earliest stages shared some of the features of Bozal or African Spanish of other regions. The specific linguistic traits of the language are symptomatic of imperfectly learned Spanish and are peculiar to the influence of a single African language (Lipski 1987).

Quechua is a South American language (or language family) spoken in the Bolivian, Peruvian and Ecuadorian Andes, in the North of Argentina and in the Amazonian jungle areas of Northern Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador (Muysken 1977). Muysken (1975) suggests that Quechua spoken in the Amazon basin of Eastern Ecuador, the 'Oriente', has undergone a process of creolization. However very little is known about the movements of population in the Oriente and one can only speculate as to the origins of the language. Muysken believes that little pockets of Quechua speakers already lived in the area prior to the Spanish conquest. These groups may have been displaced during the Spanish conquest, or, as a result of the masive depopulation which followed, a reshuffling of populations on a large scale could have taken place and brought about the use of Quechua as a trade language among groups who did not speak the same language.

#### 16.5. Chile

The following vernacular languages are or have been spoken in Chile: Aymara, Quechua limited to the region of Putre, Cunza, now totally extinct, Mapuche or Mapugundu, Qawasqar or Alacalufe, Yámana or Yagan and Selknam or Ona. Of all these languages Mapuche is considered as the only specifically Chilean language (Gallardo 1986).

The first contact between Mapuche and Spanish occurred around 1895 with the arrival of the first group of missionaries from Bavaria to Chile. They settled in the territory of the Auracania where the majority of the population was monolingual and proceeded to teach the Christian doctrine in Mapuche.

A contact language emerged from the contact of Spanish and Mapuche. It is a form of Spanish strongly influenced by the Mapuche sound system which has incorporated lexical and morphological elements of Mapuche (Salas.1980).

Qawasqar, Yamana and Selknam are Amerindian languages spoken in the Tierra del Fuego and nearby territories of Patagonia around 42 degrees of latitude. Clairis (1977) has classified them as 'Fueguina' languages. Fueguina languages also include Gününa Küne, Tehuesh and Haush which are no longer spoken. Some authors consider Gününa Küne as a form of Tehuelche. The Gününa Küne people used to live along the large rivers of Northern Patagonia and their territory extended as far as Northern Chubut to Río Negro. Tehuesh, also considered as a form of Tehuelche, was spoken in the central, precordillera area Comodoro Rivadavia and Chubut. Haush was spoken at the southern end of Isla Grande of the Tierra del Fuego. Only about 20 people still speak Tehuelche in the reserve of

Lago Cardiel y Tres Lagos and in various parts of Santa Cruz and another dozen in the area of Río Gallegos. The Tehuelches are divided into two ethnic groups, a Northern group from the North of the Río Chubut to the Río Grande and a Southern group from the South of the Río Chubut to the Strait of Magellan.

The territory of the Yámana or Yagan speaking people included the Southern coast of the Isla Grande of the Tierra del Fuego, the Islands of Hoste, Navarino Picton and Wollaston. Five different dialects were spoken in various geographical areas. According to Gallardo (1986), only five native speakers of Yámana and Selknam are left, they are very old and their knowledge of the language has deteriorated.

The Qawasqar territory stretched from the gulf of Penas to the South of the Strait of Magellan. In 1971, 47 Qawasqar were still alive (Clairis 1977) but according to Gallardo (1986), Qawasqar is only spoken by about twelve people in the area of Puerto Eden.

## Notes

- 1. The large increase of speakers from 1939 to 1948 is explained by a note of the 1948 census: "The phenomenal increase of the number of persons able to speak Chabacano is due to the instructions given to the census
- enumerators to report as able to speak Spanish only those persons who speak the pure language of Cervantes" (Sibayan 1986: 616).
- 2. The Portuguese origin of some of these forms, patricularly *agora* and *agwelu*, is not certain.

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## Relevant map

The Spanish language in the Pacific area.
Compiled by John M. Lipski, Peter
Mühlhäusler and F. Duthin. Map 39.