

CHAPTER 17

CONTACT-INDUCED LANGUAGE CHANGE IN SPANISH

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17.1 THE PRE-ROMAN LANGUAGES

THE oral varieties of Latin that the invading Roman troops spoke when arriving in the Iberian Peninsula in 218 BC can be considered the basis of the Spanish language. These Latin varieties entered into contact with the so-called pre-Roman languages, which include Iberian, Celtiberian, Lusitanian, Tartessian, and Basque, as well as two colonial languages, Greek and Phoenician. None of these has survived the ravages of time, except for Basque in the north of the Iberian Peninsula (for a linguistic characterization, see Correa Rodríguez 2008).

Although there is evidence for vernacular speakers learning Latin, indications of native Latin speakers learning any language other than Greek is virtually nonexistent (Adams 2003: 755). As such, the pressure to learn Latin was entirely on the subjugated populations, which ultimately gave rise to a language shift.¹ Another consequence of this contact situation is the presence of pre-Roman loanwords in the Spanish lexicon. Due to the military context in which contact between Latin and the pre-Roman languages took place, most pre-Roman loanwords are nouns that refer to concrete entities of the local fauna and flora, and not to abstract concepts, as illustrated by the following semantic fields: (1) geographical features (e.g., *arroyo* ‘stream,’ *barranco* ‘ravine,’ *barro* ‘mud,’ *charco* ‘puddle,’ *coto* ‘enclosed land,’ *vega* ‘meadow’); (2) plants, tree names, and crops (e.g., *álamo* ‘white poplar,’ *arándano* ‘cranberry,’ *berro* ‘cress’); (3) wild and domesticated animals (e.g., *ardilla* ‘squirrel,’ *becerro* ‘calf,’ *borrego* ‘yearling

¹ For textual evidence of this language shift in progress and the changing linguistic identities of the local population, see Adams (2003: 279–283).

sheep,' *perro* 'dog,' *sapo* 'toad,' *zorro* 'fox'); (4) agricultural life and products (e.g., *cencerro* 'cow bell,' *serna* 'plowed field'); and (5) clothing and objects of daily life (e.g., *borracha* 'wine pouch,' *cama* 'bed,' *camino* 'road,' *gancho* 'hook,' *manteca* 'lard'). Among the few adjectives and verbs of pre-Roman origin, we find *izquierdol-a* 'left,' *atollar* 'to get bogged down,' *mellar* 'to chip,' and *socorrar* 'to scorch' (Echenique Elizondo 2008: 75; Dworkin 2012: 18–40).

Importantly, not all Spanish loanwords of Celtic origin are due to direct contact: the intense Latin–Celtic contacts in Gaul and in the northern parts of Italy also resulted in lexical borrowings, which subsequently became part of spoken Imperial Latin and were then inherited by various Romance languages, for example *camisa* 'shirt,' *carro* 'cart,' and *cerveza* 'beer' (Dworkin 2012: 28). Similarly, considering that Basque is the only surviving pre-Roman language in the Peninsula and is thus both a substrate and an adstrate of Spanish, not all loanwords from this language have been borrowed in the same period: *zurdol-a* 'left-handed; awkward, clumsy' and *zulo* 'hiding place, hideout, cache,' for instance, are said to have resulted from later contact (Echenique Elizondo 2008: 76; Dworkin 2012: 35).²

As concerns the borrowing of morphosyntactic features, suffixes of pre-Roman origin include *-(i)ego* (e.g., *gallego* 'Galician,' *veraniego* 'summery'); *-ieco* (e.g., *muñeca* 'doll'); *-itano* and *-etano* (e.g., *lusitano* 'Portuguese') (Pharies 2002: 317–319; Dworkin 2012: 40). The genesis of the suffixes/suffixoids *-arro/-arra*, *-orrol/-orra*, *-urrol/-urra*, as in *mocarro* 'snot,' *aldeorro* 'backward little place,' and *cazurro/-a* 'stubborn, sullen,' is attributed to the lexical borrowings from Basque (Pharies 2002: 108–109, 445–447, 537–538; Dworkin 2012: 40). Fernández-Ordóñez (1994, 2001, 2012a) attributes the origins of *leísmo*, that is, the use of the dative clitic *le* instead of its accusative counterpart *lo* for a direct object, particularly in cases with a male animate referent, to the contact with Basque (for an overview of the different hypotheses on the origins of *leísmo*, see Gómez Seibane 2013: 15–33; see also Camus Bergareche and Gómez Seibane forthcoming, and Gómez Seibane forthcoming).³ Likewise, Rodríguez Molina (2010: 1951–1963) shows that the Romance-Basque contact in the North of the Peninsula could have been a contributing factor, one among others, to the loss of agreement between the past participle and the direct object in periphrastic perfect tense constructions, as is indicated by the geographical distribution of the loss of this morphosyntactic characteristic.

² The Basque language has also been said to have influenced the following phonological changes in Spanish: (i) the change from /f/ to /h/, (ii) the devoicing of the voiced sibilants, and (iii) the fusion of /b/ and /v/. For a summary of the discussion of the plausibility of the postulated contact-induced changes, I refer the reader to Klee and Lynch (2009: 28–31) and the references cited therein.

³ Although *leísmo* is generally considered a dialectal feature, which can be found in both Peninsular and Latin-American varieties of Spanish (e.g., Gómez Seibane 2012, 2013: 38–50, forthcoming), grammarians consider certain uses, such as personal *leísmo* with a male referent, to be part of standard Peninsular Spanish, whereas other instances, such as its use with a female referent, are deemed incorrect (e.g., Real Academia Española and Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española 2009: section 16.5.1).

17.2 THE LATIN HERITAGE

As mentioned previously, Spanish arose from the oral Latin varieties introduced by the Roman troops in the Iberian Peninsula during the Second Punic War and is, as such, a continuation of Latin. Despite this mother–daughter relationship between Latin and Spanish, and more generally between Latin and Romance, the total of Latin words transmitted directly to its daughter languages is said to be relatively small (Stefenelli 2011: 568; see also Dworkin 2016).⁴ Apart from the uninterrupted transmission of Latin elements, Spanish also underwent a thorough re-Latinization at different moments in its history through the massive influx of Latinisms, usually with minimal change, mainly from written sources (García Gallarín 2007: 391–399; Clavería 2008: 475–479; Dworkin 2008: 649–653, 2012: 157–181). Their presence has been so overwhelming that it has been claimed that “the number of Latinisms far exceeds the number of words inherited directly from spoken Latin” (Dworkin 2016: 587). Although the entry of Latinisms has been an ongoing process in the history of Spanish, there are periods in which their influx took place on a larger scale due to literary development in which translation from Latin or use of Latin literary models was frequent, such as in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries: for example *bautizar* ‘to baptize,’ *medicina* ‘medication,’ *multiplicar* ‘to multiply,’ *manifestar* ‘to demonstrate,’ *veneno* ‘poison’ (Penny 2002: 258; Dworkin 2012: 159–167; see also Castillo Lluch and López Izquierdo 2010 and the studies cited therein, such as Barra Jover 2010).

This re-Latinization also affected other areas of the language, such as the morphology (e.g., García Gallarín 2007: 65–209; Verdonk 2008: 905–907; Azofra Sierra 2009) and the syntax, albeit only in certain registers and discourse traditions (e.g., García Gallarín 2007: 294–344). To illustrate, the derivational nominal suffixes *-ancia* and *-ción* are of learned Latin origin, for example, *infancia* ‘infancy’ and *vacunación* ‘vaccination’ (Pharies 2002: 70–71, 148–149). The same is true for the absolute superlative suffix *-ísimo*, which might have entered through contact with Italian (Dworkin 2012: 155; Pons Rodríguez 2012, 2015; for an alternative hypothesis, see Zieliński 2013). The accusative and infinitive construction discussed in Pountain (1998) is a case in point for the borrowing of learned syntax.⁵ This structure, which contains a declarative verb

⁴ According to Stefenelli (2011: 568), the retention rate for the total Latin-Romance lexicon amounts quantitatively barely to 15%. However, when highly frequent words of the “central lexicon” of (written) Latin are examined, the rate of lexical stability increases to 67% and 90%, depending on the size of the central lexemes list. See Dworkin (2016: section 32.1) for a discussion of the problems encountered when trying to determine the survival rate of inherited Latin lexicon in Romance.

⁵ Cf. Bouzouita (2013, 2016) for future constructions; Castillo Lluch (2015) for preposed objects and participles; Cornillie and Octavio de Toledo y Huerta (2015) for the *amenazar* ‘threaten’ + infinitive construction; Del Rey Quesada (2017) and Romero Cambrón (2005–2006) for various syntactic Latinisms; Drinka (2016, 2017) for a discussion of the influence of Latin (as well as Arabic) on the grammaticalization of periphrastic perfects; Garachana (2016, 2017) for the influence of medieval Latin on the deontic periphrasis *ser tenudo/tenido Ø/a/de* + infinitive, which fell in disuse in the fifteenth century; and see Pons Rodríguez (2015) for an overview of Latinizing changes affecting fifteenth-century Spanish.

with a non-coreferential infinitive complement, has been described as “a constrained minority construction, [that] is attested in 15th-century authors of known Latinizing tendency [...] and is subsequently quite widely employed in the 16th century [...]” (Pountain 1998: 170). Today its use is restricted to very formal written registers.

17.3 GERMANIC INFLUENCES

The fifth century is marked by the invasion of the Iberian Peninsula by different Germanic tribes, such as the Suevi, Vandals, and, more importantly, the Visigoths, who established in Gallia Aquitania under Roman auspices a semi-autonomous kingdom. By circa 475 the Visigoths managed to take control of most of the Iberian territory, but only in 507 did they settle there in significant numbers, establishing Toledo as the new Visigothic capital. It is generally accepted that the Visigoths were partly Romanized before their entry into the Iberian Peninsula and spoke initially Latin alongside their Germanic vernacular (e.g., Kremer 2008: 137; Dworkin 2012: 66). It is thus not surprising that the influence of Gothic in Spanish is minimal and mainly limited to its lexicon, as in *agasajar* ‘to lavish, honor,’ (*a*)*gasajo* ‘warm welcome,’ and *ganso* ‘goose’ (Colón 2002: 32, 2007: 287; Kremer 2008: 139).

Some words of Germanic origin have been inherited from Latin, since they entered in contact with various Germanic languages in the frontier regions of its Empire: for example *yelmo* ‘helmet’ < helm (Colón 2007: 287; Kremer 2008: 139; Dworkin 2012: 69). Later borrowings from Gallo-Romance, in which the impact of Germanic was much greater, have also transmitted words with Germanic roots to Spanish, such as *albergue* ‘hostel’ (Colón 2002: 32, 2007: 287; Kremer 2008: 139; Dworkin 2012: 69).

Apart from the lexicon, the Germanic influence can also be observed in the morphology, in particular in the suffix *-engo*, which is used for relational adjectives, as in *abadengo* ‘belonging to an abbey’ and *realengo* ‘belonging to the Crown’ (Pharies 2002: 209–212; Kremer 2008: 137; Dworkin 2012: 77),⁶ and possibly in the suffix *-ez*, *-oz*, found in surnames that used to be patronymic, for example *Rodríguez*, *Fernández*, and *Muñoz* (Penny 2002: 16).

17.4 THE ARABIC HERITAGE

In 711 the linguistic landscape of the Iberian Peninsula changed dramatically as a result of the Islamic Conquest, which brought the early Hispano-Romance vernaculars in contact with colloquial Arabic varieties, which gave rise to Andalusian Arabic in Al-Andalus. The contact with Andalusian Arabic had a considerable impact on the

⁶ Dworkin (2012: 77) suggests that the Spanish suffix *-engo*, rather than being a direct borrowing of Germanic, might be a local adaptation of the Catalan/Provençal *-enc*.

Spanish lexicon, which various scholars have tried to quantify (e.g., Solà-Solé 1968: 276). Whatever the exact number may be, this contact influenced the makeup of the Spanish lexicon substantially, as Arabisms represent its second-largest component (Dworkin 2012: 83).

A high proportion of Arabisms are concrete nouns that designate material, techniques, and new cultural realities: (1) agricultural and irrigation techniques (e.g., *acequia* ‘irrigation channel,’ *alberca* ‘reservoir,’ *aljibe* ‘cistern,’ *noria* ‘chain pump’); (2) commerce and trade (e.g., *aduanas* ‘customs,’ *almacén* ‘warehouse’); (3) architecture (e.g., *adobe* ‘sun-dried brick,’ *alcoba* ‘bedroom,’ *azotea* ‘flat roof,’ *azulejo* ‘tile’); (4) weaponry and military (e.g., *atalaya* ‘watchtower,’ *adarga* ‘shield’); (5) civil life (e.g., *aldea* ‘village,’ *alcalde* ‘mayor,’ *barrio* ‘district of town’); (6) animals and plants (e.g., *alacrán* ‘scorpion,’ *albahaca* ‘basil,’ *aceituna* ‘olive,’ *algodón* ‘cotton,’ *arroz* ‘rice,’ *berenjena* ‘aubergine,’ *zanahoria* ‘carrot’); and (7) sciences (e.g., *alambique* ‘retort,’ *álgebra* ‘algebra,’ *cifra* which originally meant ‘zero’ but now ‘figure’) (Steiger 1967: 131–141; Colón 2002: 34, 2007: 289–290; Dworkin 2012: 95).⁷ A relatively small number of Arabisms are adjectives and verbs, such as *azul* ‘blue,’ *loco* ‘mad, crazy,’ *mezquino* ‘mean, miserable,’ *atar* ‘to finish,’ and *halagar* ‘to flatter.’ Interestingly, the preposition *hasta* ‘until, as far as’ is also of Arabic origin (e.g., Steiger 1967: 108; Dworkin 2012: 100–103).

The only Arabic morpheme to have been incorporated into the Spanish morphology is the suffix *-í*, which is used to derive adjectives from nouns to express belonging; for example *baladí* ‘of little importance, trivial,’ *jabalí* ‘wild boar,’ and *marroquí* ‘Moroccan’ (Corriente 1999, 2008: 197; Pharies 2002: 289–290).

The earliest Arabisms have been attributed to contact with the Christians from Al-Andalus, the so-called Mozarabs, who were commercial agents or who emigrated to the northern Christian territories (Corriente 1992: 146, 2008: 189; García González 2007: 528–532; Dworkin 2012: 88–89). Recently, however, this view has been challenged: Oliver Pérez (2004: 1075–1080), for instance, has argued that the first Arabisms not

⁷ As can be seen from these examples, many Arabisms contain the agglutinated Arabic definite article *al-* or one of its variants. According to Solà-Solé (1968), 60% of Spanish Arabisms present this peculiarity, whereas in Portuguese 65% and in Catalan only 32%. Considering that Italian Arabisms do not exhibit this feature, this agglutination has been said to be due to the contact with Andalusian Arabic. Various hypotheses have been proposed for this agglutination (e.g., Steiger 1967: 109; Solà-Solé 1968: 280–281; Noll 2006; Winet 2006), one of which is the explanation by Lüdtke (1967: 467–471), upheld by Corriente (1999: 58–62). According to these linguists, as the majority of the Islamic invaders were Berbers who had been Arabized only shortly before the Iberian Conquest, their knowledge of Arabic was likely superficial. Given that some Berber varieties do not possess definite articles, speakers are said to have reanalyzed this category as being part of the Arabic lexical item (for details on Arabic loanwords in Berber presenting this agglutinated article, see Kossmann 2009, 2013, and Souag, Chapter 20 in this volume). The Berbers who conquered the Italian regions of Magna Grecia, on the contrary, did not agglutinate the definite article, as they had been Arabized for a longer period. Winet (2006: 336), however, has demonstrated that for Arabisms which can be attested both with and without the agglutinated article, the forms without the agglutination tend to be documented earlier, refuting as such Lüdtke’s hypothesis.

only are due to the Mozarabs, but also are due to direct contact with Arabic in the North of the Peninsula. The Christian Reconquest (718–1492), which slowly moved southward, also caused the northern Hispano-Romance varieties to enter in direct contact with both Andalusian Arabic and Andalusian Romance in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, causing a large contingent of Arabic-speakers to come under Christian control (e.g., García González 2007: 532–533, 2008a: 676).⁸ At later times, however, the direct transmission of Andalusian Arabic words has been attributed to contact with the Mudejars (i.e., the Muslims of Al-Andalus who remained in Christian Iberia after the Reconquest) and the Moriscos, who were former Muslims who had been forced to convert to Christianity (Corriente 1992: 146, 2008: 189; Oliver Pérez 2004: 1085; García González 2007: 536, 2008a: 678; Dworkin 2012: 88–89). Widespread bilingualism in the Christian territories can thus not be regarded as the reason for the relatively heavy lexical borrowing from Andalusian Arabic. In fact, García González (2007: 545, 2008a: 682, 2008b: 276), using the scale of degrees of contact-induced language change developed by Thomason and Kaufman (1988), considers the medieval Spanish–Arabic contact situation to be a “category (1) case” of casual contact, in which “we expect only lexical borrowing, and then only in nonbasic vocabulary” (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 77). However, the borrowing of the preposition *hasta* ‘until, as far as’ indicates that the contact process started entering the second phrase of the continuum, in which the borrowing of function words becomes more common. The significant borrowing is said to stem from two factors, to wit: (1) the need to name new concepts introduced into the Iberian Peninsula, and (2) the high prestige associated with the Arabic language in the early Middle Ages as it was “the vehicle of a culture which was considerably more advanced than that of Christian Spain, and indeed than that of the rest of Christian Europe” (Penny 2002: 266).⁹

Although the vast majority of words with Arabic origins entered due to the contact with Andalusian Arabic, others were transferred via other European languages: for example *mafia* through Sicilian, *harén* ‘harem’ and *minarete* ‘minaret, tower of a mosque’ through French (Bustamante Costa 1998; Álvarez de Miranda 2008: 1055). Commercial and modern colonial contacts, for example during the Spanish Protectorate in Morocco, also gave rise to borrowings (e.g., *riesgo* ‘risk’ and *harca* ‘armed group of Moroccan rebels’; Bustamante Costa 1998).

⁸ Andalusian Romance, also infelicitously termed Mozarabic, is not an Arabic variety but a Romance one spoken in Al-Andalus, which is “the direct continuation of the Latin brought to Baetica by the Romans” (Dworkin 2012: 87). Loanwords of Andalusian Romance descent include *chícharo* ‘pea, chickpea, bean’ and *chocho* ‘lupin’ (Corriente 1999). The progressive ‘Arabization’ of the Andalusian Romance speakers led to the demise of their language (García González 2008a: 272).

⁹ Nevertheless, the sociolinguistic nature of this contact situation is complex, and the attitude toward the Muslim world in medieval Spain was not always positive (see García González 2007, 2008a, 2008b).

17.5 CONTACT WITH GALLO-ROMANCE

Unlike the contact situations described in the previous sections, the contact between Spanish and Gallo-Romance has been uninterrupted owing to their geographical contiguity.¹⁰ Consequently, Gallo-Romance loanwords have been entering the Spanish lexicon for over a thousand years.¹¹ Like Arabic, French has been the linguistic vehicle of a culture that has greatly influenced Spain. Additionally, there have been political, military, social, and religious contacts between Spain and France (Pottier 1967: 129–130; Dworkin 2012: 119).

We witness the borrowing of a whole range of Gallo-Romance nouns, verbs, and adjectives from various fields throughout the history of Spanish: (1) military terms (e.g., *aliar* ‘to ally,’ *botín* ‘booty,’ *flecha* ‘arrow,’ *galopar* ‘to gallop,’ and *malla* ‘chainmail’); (2) religious terminology (e.g., *capellán* ‘chaplain,’ *fraile* ‘monk,’ and *hereje* ‘heretic’); (3) feudal, chivalry, and lifestyle terms (e.g., *ardido* ‘bold, daring,’ *bailar* ‘to dance,’ *bello* ‘handsome, beautiful,’ *dama* ‘lady,’ *doncella* ‘maiden,’ *etiqueta* ‘etiquette, label,’ *jardín* ‘garden,’ *rima* ‘rhyme,’ and *trobador* ‘poet, troubadour’); (4) words related to the household and food (e.g., *arenque* ‘herring,’ *botella* ‘bottle,’ *champaña* ‘champagne,’ *chimenea* ‘chimney,’ *croissan* ‘croissant,’ *flan* ‘caramel custard,’ *fresa* ‘strawberry,’ *hotel* ‘hotel,’ *jamón* ‘ham,’ *jaula* ‘cage,’ *manjar* ‘food,’ *marmita* ‘cooking pot,’ *servilleta* ‘napkin,’ *vianda* ‘food’); (5) fauna and flora (e.g., *buganvilla* ‘bougainvillea,’ *laurel* ‘laurel,’ *faisán* ‘pheasant,’ *papagayo* ‘parrot,’ and *ruiseñor* ‘nightingale’); (6) terms related to the financial and commercial world (e.g., *bolsa* ‘stock exchange,’ *finanzas* ‘finances’); (7) technical terms (e.g., *avión* ‘plane,’ *garaje* ‘garage’); (8) political terms (e.g., *comité* ‘committee,’ *debate* ‘debate,’ *parlamento* ‘parliament,’ and (9) words related to clothes and fashion (e.g., *chal* ‘shawl,’ *chaqueta* ‘jacket,’ *corbata* ‘tie,’ *corsé* ‘corset,’ *gris* ‘grey,’ *marrón* ‘brown,’ *maquillaje* ‘makeup,’ *moda* ‘fashion,’ etc.) (Colón 1967a: 165–192; Pottier 1967: 132–141; Penny 2002: 273–275; Álvarez de Miranda 2008: 1053; Clavería 2008: 481–482; Verdonk 2008: 901–902; Dworkin 2012: 120–135). Interestingly, the adjective *español* ‘Spanish,’ which in the Middle Ages was mostly used to refer to the inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula and not the language, is also borrowed from Gallo-Romance (Penny 2002: 273; Dworkin 2012: 124). Additionally, a few Gallo-Romance function words can be found in the medieval Ibero-Romance varieties, such as the possessive *lur* ‘their’ (Pato 2010), the adverb/preposition *après* ‘after; behind,’ and the adverb *jamás* ‘never,’ the latter of which still exists in Spanish (Dworkin 2012: 125–126; see Octavio de Toledo y Huerta 2016: 86–89, 103–104 for more information on *après*, which was favored by the medieval oriental Ibero-Romance varieties).

¹⁰ Following Dworkin (2012: Chapter 6), I will subsume under the term “Gallo-Romance” borrowings from both French and Occitan due to the difficulty to distinguish them caused by their shared linguistic ancestry.

¹¹ However, most Occitanisms entered in the medieval period (e.g., Colón 1967a: 158; Penny 2002: 272).

As concerns the morphology, due to the lexical borrowing of technical terms, such as *homenaje* ‘homage,’ *lenguaje* ‘language,’ *viaje* ‘trip,’ speakers came to recognize *-aje/-age* as a derivational suffix and started using it to create denominal and deverbal derivations from existing lexical bases, as in *almacenaje* ‘storage’ (Pottier 1967: 128; Pharies 2002: 52–53; Dworkin 2012: 126–127).

All the previous leads Dworkin (2012: 138) to conclude that the linguistic contact between Spanish and Gallo-Romance can be classified on Thomason and Kaufman’s (1988) borrowing scale as a category (3) case, considering that minor structural borrowing takes place (see also section 17.7).

17.6 THE ITALIAN COMPONENT

The linguistic contact with Italian arose largely due to the spread of Humanism and the Renaissance and to the military involvement of Spain in the Italian Peninsula. The apogee of its lexical influence on Peninsular Spanish took place in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Dworkin 2012: 140–143).¹²

Although there are also verbs and adjectives, most Italianisms are nouns, the vast majority of which belong to the semantic fields of the arts, military, commerce, and navigation. Within the arts, we find (1) literary and theater terms (e.g., *comedia* ‘comedy,’ *payaso* ‘clown’); (2) plastic arts terminology (e.g., *acuarela* ‘watercolor,’ *diseñar* ‘to design,’ *esbelto* ‘svelte’); (3) architectural words (e.g., *balcón* ‘balcony,’ *fachada* ‘façade,’ *planta* ‘floor’); and (4) music vocabulary (e.g., *alto* ‘alto,’ *bajo* ‘bass,’ *ópera* ‘opera,’ and *soprano* ‘soprano’). Military terms include *batallón* ‘battalion,’ *bombardear* ‘to bomb,’ *emboscar* ‘to ambush,’ *escopeta* ‘shotgun,’ and *tropa* ‘troop(s).’ *Bancarrota* ‘bankruptcy,’ *banco* ‘bank,’ *cambio* ‘exchange,’ and *crédito* ‘credit’ are a few of the Italian lexical borrowings related to commerce. Maritime vocabulary from Italian includes *brújula* ‘compass,’ *dársena* ‘dock,’ *fragata* ‘frigate,’ and *piloto* ‘pilot’ (Terlingen 1967: 266–304; Penny 2002: 281–284; Colón 2007: 292; Álvarez de Miranda 2008: 1053; Verdonk 2008: 897; Dworkin 2012: 151–154).

The Italian influence can also be found within Spanish morphology: Italianisms, such as *arabesco* ‘arabesque,’ *burlesco* ‘burlesque,’ and *grotesco* ‘grotesque,’ rendered the adjectival suffix *-esco* productive in neologisms, such as *cervantesco* ‘Cervantine’ (Pharies 2002: 236–237; Dworkin 2012: 154–155).

¹² Due to the massive influx of Italian immigrants in the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, certain Latin American varieties, most notably River Plate Spanish, have a more pronounced presence of Italianisms and present intonation patterns similar to those found in Neapolitan (e.g., Meo-Zilio 1965; Colantoni and Gurlekian 2004; Munteanu 2007; Klee and Lynch 2009: 185–191).

17.7 CONTACT WITH OTHER IBERO-ROMANCE VARIETIES

As is the case for Gallo-Romance, Spanish has been in linguistic contact with its Ibero-Romance neighbor varieties throughout its history, especially considering their intertwined sociopolitical past.¹³ Although some have claimed that the impact of Ibero-Romance varieties on standard Spanish is fairly reduced (e.g., Dworkin 2012: 198 for the lexicon), recent studies point out the need for more fine-grained historical research to determine the full extent of their (mutual) influence in the domain of morphosyntax, where the influence of the eastern Ibero-Romance languages, in particular (Navarro-) Aragonese, appears to have been underestimated. To illustrate, Rodríguez Molina's (2010: 1217–1226) remarkably detailed study demonstrates that the grammaticalization process of the periphrastic perfect advances from the northeastern Navarro-Aragonese territories to the South and the West of the Peninsula in Old Spanish. Octavio de Toledo y Huerta (in press) makes similar diatopic observations for the diachronic advancement of the use of the perfect subjunctive *haya* + past participle (cf. Marcet Rodríguez 2013 for an account of the periphrastic perfect in medieval Leonese).¹⁴ It is further hypothesized that the Navarro-Aragonese varieties might have borrowed the periphrastic perfect from Gallo-Romance (Rodríguez Molina 2010: 1223; see also Drinka 2016, 2017: 193–216; see sections 17.1 and 17.2 in this chapter for the role of Basque and Latin, respectively, in the grammaticalization of verbal periphrases; see also Rosemeyer 2014).¹⁵ As such, these studies underline the importance of dialect and language contact in morphosyntactic language change and demonstrate the need for more research in this area.

As concerns the lexicon, most borrowings from Catalan in Spanish are nouns that reflect the Crown of Aragon's presence in commercial and maritime life in the Mediterranean area in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Among the lexical

¹³ Due to shared linguistic heritage, it is difficult to distinguish between Lusisms, Galicisms, and Leonisms, which explains why some linguists (e.g., Salvador 1967) subsume them under the term "Lusism" or "Occidentalism" (and their translational equivalents). A similar problem manifests itself when trying to differentiate between Aragonesisms, Catalanisms, and Occitanisms.

¹⁴ Apart from the importance of the eastern Ibero-Romance varieties, Octavio de Toledo y Huerta (in press) also highlights the role of Latin syntax as a contributing factor in the grammaticalization process of the periphrastic perfect subjunctive, as it was readily imitated in the fifteenth century (see also section 17.2).

¹⁵ A similar observation has been made for the grammaticalization of the future tense in Bouzouita (2016, in preparation); cf. Garachana (2016, 2017). See Fernández-Ordóñez (2011: 79, 2012b) for an overview of (potential) contact-induced changes that follow an East to West trajectory in the Iberian Peninsula; see del Barrio de la Rosa (2014) for a study of the importance of Navarro-Aragonese in the loss of gender distinction in the grammaticalization of the prenominal possessives, and Octavio de Toledo y Huerta (2016: 17–18, 227) for the spread of the adverbial constructions prefixed with the preposition *de*, as in *detrás de* 'behind' (cf. *encima* 'above, over,' which appears to have originated in western Ibero-Romance and spread from there to Castilian).

borrowings from Catalan we find (1) terms designating vessels (e.g., *buque* ‘ship,’ *bergatín* ‘brigantine’); (2) vocabulary related to the construction of vessels, such as *remolcar* ‘to tow’); (3) vessel parts (e.g., *velamen* ‘sail’); (4) fishing material (e.g., *esparavel* ‘net’); (5) terms referring to marine life (e.g., *calamar* ‘squid,’ *cigala* ‘sea crayfish’); (6) meteorological terminology (e.g., *maestral* ‘mistral’); and (v7) commercial terms and products (e.g., *lonja* ‘market,’ *mercader* ‘merchant,’ *bonete* ‘cap,’ *frazada* ‘blanket,’ and *reloj* ‘watch’) (Colón 1967b; Prat Sabater 2005: 365–366; Dworkin 2012: 197). Another example of the influence of the eastern Ibero-Romance varieties on Spanish can be found in the use of the plural subject pronouns *nosotros* ‘we’ and *vosotros* ‘you,’ as suggested by Fernández-Ordóñez (2011: 76–79) and corroborated by Gomila Albal (2016). These pronouns result from the reinforcement of the personal pronouns *nós* and *vós* by a derived form of the Latin ALTEROS, a construction that over time lost its contrastive and emphatic value, as evidenced by the replacement of the original subject pronouns by these new lexicalized forms. While thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Occitan and Catalan already display reinforced pronouns without a contrastive or emphatic meaning, their use isn’t widely disseminated in Castile until the fifteenth century. The fact that Aragonese texts of the end of the fourteenth century have proportionally a higher rate of use of the reinforced pronouns than Castilian documents and that their use trumps the simple subject pronouns also indicate that the spread of these lexicalized subject pronouns is due to dialect and language contact (Fernández-Ordóñez 2011: 77; see Gomila Albal 2016 for a quantitative study of this change).

It goes without saying that in the eastern varieties of Peninsular Spanish, Catalan’s influence can be observed in all levels of the language of monolinguals and bilinguals in Catalunya (e.g., Sinner 2004; Blas Arroyo 2008, 2011, in press; for a general overview of the characteristics of Spanish spoken in bilingual Peninsular areas, see Fernández-Ordóñez 2016: section 2; for commented fragments illustrating some of Catalan’s influences in Spanish, see Enghels et al. 2015: 162–165 and also section 17.10).

With respect to borrowings from western Ibero-Romance, these appear to be limited largely to the lexicon, although here, too, more morphosyntactic research is needed.^{16,17} Considering Portugal’s historical reputation as a seafaring power, Portuguese lexical borrowings are mainly found in the maritime vocabulary, ranging from marine

¹⁶ As pointed out by Fernández-Ordóñez (2011: 52, 68–69), although the loss of the non-deferential second-person plural subject pronoun *vosotros* in favor of *ustedes*, originally the deferential form, can be observed both in western Andalusian Spanish and the central and southern Portuguese varieties, the directionality of this potential morphosyntactic borrowing remains to be examined. Apart from western Andalusian (and Canarian) Spanish, this use of *ustedes* also forms part of the norm in Latin American Spanish, as is well known. For a discussion of remnants of the lost pronoun, see Dankel and Gutiérrez Maté in press.

¹⁷ Structural borrowing from western Ibero-Romance is known to have taken place in the Middle Ages, as is for instance the case with interpolation, the phenomenon whereby one or more constituents can intervene between the preverbal weak/clitic pronoun and the following finite verb (Chenery 1905; Menéndez Pidal 1908; Castillo Lluch 1998).

life (e.g., *almeja* ‘clam,’ *mejillón* ‘mussel,’ and *ostra* ‘oyster’) to navigation terms (e.g., *carabela* ‘caravel,’ *marejada* ‘ocean swell’) and to weather-related terminology (e.g., *chubasco* ‘rain shower’ and *garúa* ‘fine drizzle’) (Salvador 1967: 244–250; Baez Montero 2006: 1279–1280; Colón 2007: 293; Dworkin 2012: 182–190; Venâncio 2017: 21, 26). As can be expected, the western varieties of Peninsular Spanish contain Lusisms that did not manage to penetrate into the standard language (e.g., Andalusian *apañar* ‘to harvest olives’) (e.g., Alvar López 1963: 313; Franco Figueroa 2017: 135–136; see also Clancy Clements et al. 2011), as do European and Latin-American varieties that entered in contact with Portuguese or Galician during the colonial period and/or in later periods (e.g., Coll and Bertolotti 2017 for Uruguayan Spanish), as is exemplified by, for instance, *laja* ‘slab,’ found in Andalusia, the Canary Islands, Argentina, Bolivia, Chili, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Puerto Rico, Uruguay, and Venezuela; Canarian and Dominican Spanish *callao* ‘pebble’ (e.g., Corbella 2016: 83; Frago 2017: footnote 23, 217–218, 225) or Dominican Spanish *picar* ‘to wink’ and *gaguear* ‘to stammer’ (e.g., Salvador 1967: 259–261; Pérez Guerra 2015; Rincón González 2017: 311; see Corbella and Fajardo 2017 and the studies cited therein).

Curiously, the indefinite pronoun *alguien* ‘someone’ has also been said to be a borrowing from Galician-Portuguese *alguém*, which displaced the use of Old Spanish *alguno* with human referents (Malkiel 1948). More recent studies, such as Pato (2009) and Fernández-Ordóñez (2011: 85), agree that this pronoun proceeds from the West of the Iberian Peninsula, but point to Asturian-Leonese as its source language, considering that its first attestations appear in Leonese texts from the thirteenth century, from which it appears to have spread to central Ibero-Romance varieties, but not the eastern ones (e.g., Catalan).

17.8 CONTACT WITH AMERINDIAN AND AFRICAN LANGUAGES

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The arrival of the Spanish colonialists in the Americas brought their language in contact with a plethora of Amerindian languages. Despite the relatively profound linguistic consequences of these languages on Latin-American Spanish varieties, especially those spoken by bilinguals (e.g., Lipski 2008a; Klee and Lynch 2009: 113–168; Escobar 2011, 2014; Gynan 2011; Palacios Alcaine 2013), their influence on European Spanish appears to be restricted to the lexicon (Dworkin 2012: 202).

During the first decades after the arrival of the Spanish in 1492, contact was limited to the indigenous languages of the Caribbean islands, such as Taíno, an Arawakan language. These provided the first Amerindian loanwords in Peninsular Spanish and subsequently in other European languages, such as *batata* ‘sweet potato,’ *caníbal* ‘cannibal,’ *canoá* ‘canoe,’ *huracán* ‘hurricane,’ and *maíz* ‘corn’ (Buesa 1967: 331–334; Dworkin 2012: 203). Further colonialist expansion resulted in lexical borrowings mainly from Nahuatl (e.g., *aguacate* ‘avocado,’ *cacahuete* ‘peanut,’ *chicle* ‘chewing

gum,' *chocolate*, *tomate* 'tomato') and Quechua (e.g., *alpaca*, *cancha* 'field,' *condór* 'condor,' *patata* 'potato,' and *puma* (Dworkin 2012: 203–204).¹⁸

The contact of Spanish with African languages, due to the exploitation of Africans as slaves, also resulted in a few loanwords, such as *marimba*. Here, too, the African influence is more noticeable in Latin-American Spanish varieties, such as *banana*, *milonga* (e.g., in Uruguay: see Álvarez López and Coll 2012; in Bolivia: Lipski 2008b; for information on Afro-Hispanic varieties, see Lipski 2005, 2015; see also Klee and Lynch 2009: 78–112) than in Peninsular ones (see also Lipski 2014).

In the context of the Spanish colonialist expansion, we cannot forgo mentioning the existence of Spanish-based creoles, such as Chabacano and its various varieties spoken in different parts of the Phillipines (e.g., Grant 2002; Quilis and Casado-Fresnillo 2008; Sippola 2011; Sippola and Lesho 2020) and Palenque(ro) spoken in Colombia (e.g., Schwegler 2011; Gutiérrez Maté 2012, 2016; see also Sessarego 2016).

17.9 CONTACT WITH ENGLISH

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Most recently introduced loanwords in Spanish are Anglicisms. Although it is possible to find some dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, such as *stock*, *ponche* 'punch,' *mitin* 'meeting,' and *leader/líder*, *cheque*, the vast majority entered in the second half of the twentieth century through spoken and written transmission of American English, such as the media (Álvarez de Miranda 2008: 1054; Dworkin 2012: 228).

Lexical borrowings can be found in the semantic fields of (1) technology and science (e.g., *analgesia*, *best seller*, *cassette*, *clip* 'paperclip, video clip,' *colesterol* 'cholesterol,' *show*, *tráiler*); (2) fashion and cosmetics (e.g., *champú* 'shampoo,' *loción* 'lotion,' *pijama* 'pyjama,' *rímel/rimmel* 'mascara,' *suéter/sweater* 'sweater'); (3) commerce and finance (e.g., *boom*, *deflación* 'deflation,' *devaluación* 'devaluation,' *manager*); (4) sporting language (e.g., *béisbol* 'baseball,' *fútbol* 'football,' *gol* 'goal,' *golf*, *boxear* 'to box') (5) drug culture (e.g., *join/yoin/joint* 'marijuana cigarette,' *chutarse* 'to shoot up,' *esnifar* 'to snort,' *flipar* 'to flip out') (6) the Internet (e.g., *bloguero/bloguera* 'blogger,' *chatear* 'to chat,' *Internet*) (Lorenzo 1996; Penny 2002: 278–279; Dworkin 2012: 224–226; Detjen 2017: 174–237). Further, many Anglicisms take the form of semantic loans or calques, as can be observed in the following loan translations related to the Internet (e.g., *archivo adjunto* 'attached file, attachment,' *arrastrar* 'to drag,' *galleta* 'Internet cookie,' *página web* 'webpage,' *ratón* 'mouse') (Lorenzo 1996: 91; Dworkin 2012: 220–226). Some authors (e.g., Lorenzo 1996: 91; Rodríguez Medina 2002) have even suggested the existence of syntactic Anglicisms, in which existing Spanish constructions are being used more frequently: for example the increased use of (1) adverbs ending in *-mente*,

¹⁸ See Enguita Utrilla (1996) for a comparative study on the Amerindian borrowings in Madrid, Mexico City, and Santiago de Chile.

instead of the use of verbal complements of the type *de manera/forma*+adjective, mimicking the English adverbs in *-ly*, or (2) passive constructions with *ser* ‘to be’ at the detriment of the passive with the clitic *se* (Rodríguez Medina 2002).¹⁹ [AQ1]

Words of English origin have also entered the Spanish lexicon via other European languages, mostly French, as is the case for *biftec/bistec* ‘beefsteak’ and *club* (Álvarez de Miranda 2008: 1054). Apart from these, French also transmitted “pseudo-Anglicisms,” which consist of “English words that are not used in the donor language the way that they are in French or Spanish,” such as *autostop* ‘hitchhiking,’ *footing* ‘jogging,’ and *smoking* ‘tuxedo’ (Lorenzo 1996; Dworkin 2012: 224).

17.10 TEXT FRAGMENT WITH COMMENTARY

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In what follows we will discuss a fragment of a Spanish conversation to illustrate, albeit briefly, some of the influences from other languages that can be found in the linguistic makeup of Spanish.

- *di-me J. ¿qué recuerdas con más cariño de tus años en la escuela?*
tell-me J. what you-remember with more affection of your years in the school
de cuando ibas al colegio de pequeño
from when you-went to-the secondary-school from little
- [. . .] *los niños estaban en una parte y las niñas estábamos a otra// no*
the boys they-were in one part and the girls we-were in another not
eran como ahora que son unisexos// entonces/ las chicas que les
they-were like now that they-are unisex.PL then the girls that them.CL
traían a las maestras regalos estaban más bien miradas// [. . .] pues
they-brought to the teachers presents they-were more well looked well
no podíamos traer-le una docena de huevos a la maestra porque lo
not we-could bring-her.CL a dozen of eggs to the teacher because it.CL
necesitábamos para la casa// y también pues: si podía me escapaba y me
we-needed for the house and also well if I-could me.CL I-escaped and me.CL
iba a la parte de atrás para no leer/ para no hacer las cosas/ porque
I-went to the part of behind to not read to not do the things because

¹⁹ For an overview of contact phenomena found in the Spanish varieties spoken in the United States, see, for instance, Klee and Lynch (2009: 193–262), Escobar and Potowski (2015: 113–155), and Otheguy (2011). See also Enghels (2018) for a study on the socio-pragmatic functions of the bilingual expressions *sabes/you know* and *te lo juro/I swear* in code-switching literary essays.

en el fondo me sentía inferior/ [...] entonces boicotear como ahora hacen la-
in the bottom me.CL I-felt inferior then boycott like now they-do the
en la clase los niños// entonces no podías porque te castigaban/ te
in the class the boys then not you-could because you.CL they-punished you.CL
pegaban en la mano con una regla// entonces te tenían dominada o te
they-hit in the hand with a ruler then you.CL they-had dominated or you.CL
llevaban a casa y en casa pos era una paliza que también recibías
they-took to home and in home well it-was a beating that also you-received

In this fragment, taken from the corpus in Blas Arroyo et al. (2009: 382), most lexical items have been inherited from Latin: for example *recuerdas* (1.1), *años* (1.1), *escuela* (1.1), *ibas* (1.2), *chicas* (1.4), *maestra(s)* (1.5, 6), *docena* (1.6), *huevos* (1.6), *traer* (1.6), *escapaba* (1.7), *cosas* (1.8), *pegaban* (1.11), *regla* (1.11), *mano* (1.11), *llevar* (1.12), *recibías* (1.12), and so on.²⁰ Others, such as *colegio* (1.2), *necesitábamos* (1.7) and *dominada* (1.11), also proceed from Latin but were borrowed as learned words (DCECH; Dworkin 2012: 173). *Cariño* (1.1), first attested in the sixteenth century, has been considered by some scholars (e.g., Salvador 1967: 256) to be a Lusism, in which the diminutive suffix is combined with the adjective *caro* ‘dear.’ Others (e.g., DCECH), on the contrary, consider it a derivation of *cariñar* ‘to miss a person or place,’ found in Aragonese and as a Hispanism in Sardinian (Dworkin 2012: 184). *Regalos* (1.5) and *paliza* (1.12) are Gallo-Romance loanwords, the former a French one of Germanic origin and the latter probably an Occitanism (DCECH). This fragment also features two Anglicisms, *unisexos* (1.4) and *boicotear* (1.9), which have been adapted to Spanish morphology and orthography.

17.11 CONCLUDING REMARKS

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Most contact-induced changes in standard Spanish are found in the lexicon: these tend to be lexical borrowings of nouns, verbs, and occasionally adjectives, though a few function words are also known to have been borrowed. Due to lexical borrowing, some derivational suffixes of foreign origin have also become productive in Spanish. These are mainly adjectival suffixes but there are also a few nominal ones. Spanish also underwent a few sporadic contact-induced morphosyntactic changes, such as *leísmo* and the loss of agreement in the past participle of perfects.

²⁰ Interestingly, this fragment also displays an example of syntactic inference from Catalan: the use of the preposition *a* ‘in’ (1.3) instead of *en*.

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