European Colonialism and its Linguistic Consequences

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The European colonial powers

Red: The five early powers (15c/16c onwards), mainly involved in the Carribean and South America, but also Asia.

Blue: Later powers (19c), mainly involved in Africa and South-West Pacific.

Green: Involved later (Italy) or not significantly at an earlier date (Denmark).
The concern of this talk is with countries whose colonial enterprises had linguistic consequences outside Europe and the North Atlantic and who were in contact with the English during this period. This approach would necessarily exclude Denmark which had colonies like Norway, Iceland and Greenland as well as trading stations in Ghana and South India.
However, the contact with local populations did not lead to forms of Danish arising in Africa or Asia and hence is not relevant here.
This then leaves the Big Five colonial powers which in a very approximate chronological order of their colonial enterprises are the following.

1) Spain
2) Portugal
3) England
4) Holland
5) France

The regions affected by the colonialism practised by these countries are:

1) The New World and the Caribbean
2) West, East and Southern Africa
3) South and South-East Asia
4) Australia and New Zealand
5) The Pacific
Initially, there was no notion of empire: commercial trading companies dominated the early colonial period, both in England and Holland. For Spain the interest in Latin America was, to begin with, as a source of precious metals like gold and silver.
Dutch colonialism
This is the colonial enterprise as undertaken by the low-lying country in the North Sea which has had the following designations throughout recent centuries: The Dutch Republic (1581-1795) – also known as the Republic of the (Seven) United Netherlands – followed by the brief Batavian Republic (1795-1806), then followed by the United Kingdom of the Netherlands (1815-1839) leading to the modern Kingdom of the Netherlands. Like the British, the Dutch allowed private companies to run their colonies – the Dutch East India Company was founded in 1602 – with the state earning indirectly (though taxes and duty) from their trade activities. Especially in the Dutch Golden Age (seventeenth century), the Dutch rose to become a major naval power and established colonies in Asia, often in areas first visited by the Portuguese or the Spanish. The Dutch maintained trading posts in south India, in Ceylon (Sri Lanka), in various parts of later Indonesia and in Japan where the Dutch used Dejima in the port of Nagasaki from 1641-1853 (after the Portuguese). With the rise of British colonialism in Asia the Dutch lost some of their locations there, e.g. in India, Sri Lanka and Mauritius but maintained the Malay Archipelago as the Dutch East Indies which later became Indonesia, after independence in 1945 (acknowledged in 1949).
Parallel to the East Indies, the Dutch Republic had possessions in the Atlantic arena, known collectively as the Dutch West Indies. These included islands in the Caribbean called the Netherlands Antilles: (i) Aruba, Curaçao and Bonaire (ABC islands), in the south Caribbean and (ii) Sint Maarten, Saba, and Sint Eustatius (SSS islands), in the east Caribbean. The Dutch also had a colony on the northern coast of South America which became Dutch Guyana (now Suriname). Other colonies did not survive, e.g. the Dutch settlements in the later USA and New Holland in the extreme west of South America, now part of Brazil. The Dutch colony in South Africa, the Cape Colony, founded in 1652, was an independent settlement which gave rise to Afrikaans, a language deriving from southern Dutch dialects and which probably went through a period of creolisation leading to the loss of most of the inherited inflections.
French colonialism
The colonial enterprise was undertaken by France between the early seventeenth and mid twentieth centuries. The earliest overseas settlements of the French were in North America where continuous rivalry with Britain for hegemony until the eighteenth century was notable, especially in Canada.

In the Caribbean, the French had an early presence on Haiti (starting as the colony of Saint Domingue in 1657, formally recognised in 1697) as well as on many islands of the Lesser Antilles. Of these only Guadeloupe and Martinique remain French possessions. In the Indian Ocean the French had a presence on the Seychelles and Mauritius before these were ceded to Britain in 1810. The Comoros declared independence in 1975 but the island of Mayotte is still French as is La Réunion, an island to the west of Madagascar.
In the Pacific Ocean the French still have a presence in New Caledonia, east of Papua New Guinea, in French Polynesia, the best known part of which is Tahiti, and in Wallis and Futuna. The French were jointly in control of Vanuatu (in Melanesia) with the British after 1906 until the middle of the twentieth century. In Asia, France had trading posts, e.g. along the east and south-east coast of India in the middle of the eighteenth century but lost these to the British later. In mainland south-east Asia France maintained a very large-area known into the twentieth century as French Indochina (indochine française). France also had African colonies which covered a vast area of west and north-west Africa and involved contact with English in a number of regions, e.g. in Cameroon. Many francophone countries border on anglophone ones, e.g. Benin (west of Nigeria), Sénégal (surrounding The Gambia), Côte d’Ivoire (west of Ghana and east of Liberia). There has also been considerable emigration by French to overseas locations, e.g. South Africa by the Protestant Huguenots fleeing persecution in France.
Spread of English in colonial period

Routes taken during the spread of English from the British Isles in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries by the English, Scottish and Irish
Two halves of the anglophone world
The anglophone world today

Dark blue regions: English as first language
Light blue regions: English as second language
A New and Accurate Map of the World (1627) by the English cartographer John Speed
The colonial world in the late 18th century

(The World (1772) map showing British, French, Spanish, and Portuguese colonies.)
The colonial world in the late 19th century
Some major differences between the hemispheres

The northern hemisphere was settled first (after 1600) while the southern hemisphere was settled much later (after 1800). This means that forms of English there are closer to English in south-east England today, e.g. in not having syllable-final /-r/ in words like *car* or *card*.

Other major differences between the two hemispheres involve the pronunciation of vowels, e.g. the short front vowels (as in *bad, bed, bid*) have a raised pronunciation whereas the long vowels and diphthongs (as in *tape, time, toy, taught*) tend to be lowered and/or retracted.
Several factors are responsible for the types of English which have arisen outside Europe during the colonial period, roughly from the early 17th to the late 19th century. Early settlers went to the New World, first to the Caribbean then to eastern Canada and the later United States (to form the original 13 colonies). Some people left the British Isles of their own free will, some were forcibly deported, some served as indentured labourers.

At the new locations, settlers sometimes mixed with indigenous peoples, with other settlers or with slaves from Africa. This mixture had an effect on the forms of English which arose at the new locations.
The Caribbean Sea with its islands
Main periods in the history of the Caribbean

• Pre-Columbian Period
  (before 1492)

• The Spanish Period
  (after 1492)

• British Involvement
  (from the early 1600s onwards)
English in the Caribbean area

The first Caribbean islands to be settled by the British were St Kitts (1623/4) in the north-east and Barbados (1627) in the south-east corner of the Caribbean Basin. When this island filled up, English-speakers left for other locations, especially for Jamaica after it was taken by the British from the Spanish in 1660.

Initially, the Caribbean was populated by whites, during the so-called ‘Homestead Phase’, later by blacks taken from West Africa as slaves and transported across the Atlantic along the infamous Middle Passage.

Many other smaller islands were populated by English-speakers and many changed hands between the colonial maritime powers, namely England, France, Spain, Portugal and the Netherlands. Most of these islands gained their independence in the mid 20th century.

In the late 17th century a number of Caribbean slaves were transported to the south-east of the United States to work on the large cotton plantations. Later slaves were transported directly. The system of slavery lasted until the end of the American Civil War (1860-65).
Source and destination of slave transportation
Slave ship
Slave market (Caribbean)
Slave auction (southern USA)
In the southern United States and on Cuba, the cultivation of tobacco is important. On the smaller Caribbean islands, sugar cane replaced tobacco as the main crop in the 17th century.
On the various Caribbean islands, the slaves were put to work where sugar cane was grown.
The Trade Triangle

Caribbean goods produced by slaves
1) Tobacco
2) Cane Sugar
3) Cotton (later southern USA)
Groups of anglophone pidgins and creoles
**Pidgin**

A pidgin is a variety which arises from the need to communicate between two communities. A pidgin which has become the mother language of a later generation is termed a creole. Pidgins are not subject to the normalising influence of a standard.

Classically, pidgins arose during trade between European countries and those outside of Europe. The lexicon of a pidgin is usually taken from the European language in question and its grammar from native input (such as the languages of West Africa during the slave trade with the Caribbean and America). The further development of a pidgin is a creole, although this stage does not have to be reached if there is no necessity to develop a native language.
**Creole**

A term to describe a pidgin after it has become the mother tongue of a certain population. This development usually implies that the pidgin has become more complex grammatically and has increased its vocabulary in order to deal with the entire set of situations in which a native language is used, i.e. not just in trade. A creole may 'invent' its own structures going on an innate blueprint which many linguists assume speakers have from birth.

A well-known creole is Tok Pisin, spoken in Papua New Guinea and with official status there. There are several creoles in the Caribbean which derive from earlier pidgins in this region.
Anglophone locations in the Caribbean

The Caribbean
(names of main anglophone pidgins are shown in red)

Jamaica
anglophone settlement after mid 17th century

Trinidad and Tobago
first English settlers arrive in 1620s

Barbados

Dominica
Martinique
St. Lucia
St. Vincent

Guadeloupe
Antigua & Barbuda

British Virgin Islands
U.S. Virgin Is.
Anguilla

Samaná Peninsula (African American diaspora)

Bahamas

Cayman Islands

Mexico

North America

South America
Anglophone locations in the Caribbean

Greater Antilles
Lesser Antilles
  The Leeward Islands
    The Windward Islands
  Other islands
    The Caribbean Rim

Lesser Antilles
  Cayman Islands
    Barbados
    Trinidad and Tobago

Other islands
  Virgin Islands (British)
    Anguilla
    Antigua and Barbuda
    Montserrat
    St Kitts and Nevis

The Caribbean Rim
  Southern Coast of the US
    Belize
  Miskito Coast (Nicaragua)
  Suriname
  Guyana
Two significant anglophone locations
Barbados
The settlement of Barbados

The English took control of the small island of Barbados in the south-east of the Caribbean in 1627. The first decades of their presence there are termed the *homestead phase* because only whites from the British Isles went to the island.

Working in the fields in the tropical climate proved difficult for the British and Irish indentured labourers (people bound to work for some years to defray the cost of passage). The British then decided to capture natives in West Africa and transport them to the Caribbean and use them as slave labour on the plantations. This happened in the later 17th century and afterwards.
English on Barbados developed out of transported varieties from the British Isles and later came under the influence of varieties which were created by Africans who were kept on the island as slaves.

Because of the small size of the island many people left and moved to other locations in the Caribbean carrying their forms of English with them. Some went to larger islands like Trinidad and Jamaica, some up the south-east coast of America, some indeed to the area of the Guyanas on the northern coast of South America.

These movements have meant that Barbadian English has had a significant influence on the formation of other varieties of English in the Caribbean region.
The English language in Jamaica has a history which reaches back to the mid 17th century when the English wrenched the island from the Spanish.

A creole developed on the plantations of Jamaica and spread to the entire country where it is still used as a vernacular medium.

There are also other forms which are closer to more standard varieties of English. Linguists speak of a basilect (the creole), the mesolect (a middle form) and the acrolect (the form closest to standard English).
The Spanish Empire

Flag of New Spain
(Cross of Burgundy)
Spain in the late 15th century

Isabella I of Castile and married Ferdinand V of Aragón in 1469 to become the couple known as the Reinos Católicos and joint rulers of their source regions in the 1470s.

Various events took place in their reigns, notably the Inquisition (1478-) and the Cortes de Toledo consolidating royal power in Castile.

A ten-year war against Grenada (the last Moorish stronghold in Spain) ended with its fall in 1492 and the subsequent conversion and/or expulsion of both the Jews and Muslims.

In this same year, Isabella granted support to a project by an Italian living in Spain, called Cristoforo Colombo (Cristóbal Colón), a seemingly minor matter.
Letter by Columbus seeking support from Isabella for his expedition to discover a shorter route to India.
European involvement with the Caribbean began in 1492 when Christopher Columbus arrived in the Caribbean, landing on Cuba and the island of Hispaniola (from Española) on his quest for a shorter route to India. Hence the inaccurate but popular term *West Indies* for the Caribbean.
Columbus sailed with three ships, the main Santa Maria and the smaller Niña and Pinta.

Columbus takes possession of land in the Caribbean (later romantic picture).
The Voyages of Columbus to the New World
The Voyages of Columbus to the New World
Lines of division between Spain and Portugal
Lines laid down by the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) and the Treaty of Zaragoza (1529). Basic result: Spanish to the West in South America, Portuguese to the East.
Treaty of Tordesillas (1494)

Signed by King John II of Portugal and Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile.

The demarcation line ran from north to south 100 leagues (about 483 km) west of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands. All new lands lying east of this line were to belong to Portugal; all those to the west to Spain.
Spanish (red) and Portuguese (blue) possessions in the sixteenth century
Later Portuguese overseas territories
Spanish colonial divisions in the New World (16th and 17th centuries)
Cortés, Hernán (1485-1547), Spanish explorer and conqueror of the Aztec empire in Mexico under Montezuma II (1519). He built up Mexico City on the ruins of the old capital, Tenochtitlán. Cortés also explored the Pacific coast claiming it for Spanish crown. He also became governor of New Spain (Virreinato de Nueva España) in 1523.
Extent of the Viceroyalty of New Spain in 1800 (before the Adam-Onís Treaty of 1819 which secured Florida for the United States).
The Adams-Onís Treaty
showing area claimed by the US before the treaty, and results of the new agreement

- Oregon Country
  (claimed by US, Great Britain)
- Viceroyalty of New Spain
- Natural boundary of Louisiana Purchase (then unknown)
- Arkansas River
- Red River
- Sabine River
- 42° N
- 100° W
- 32° N

Legend:
- US States
- US Territories
- New Boundary Line
- Area Ceded by Spain

Boundary of US after Revolutionary War (Treaty of Paris, 1783)
Boundary of US after 1818 Treaty with Britain
Disputed with Britain
Pizarro, Francisco (c. 1476-1541)

Explorer parts of the New World and laid the basis for Spain’s claim to the Pacific Ocean in 1513. In 1529 he was granted the right, by Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, to conquer and rule Peru. He conquered the Incas and founded Peru in 1535. In 1542 the Virreinato de Peru was formed.
After the 16th and 17th centuries Spanish continued to expand in Central and South America with the establishment of the Virreinato de Nueva Granada (far north of South America) the Virreinato de Peru (north-west of South America) and the Virreinato del Río de la Plata (later the Intendencia de Buenos Aires forming the core of later Argentina).
Central and South America at the beginning of the 19th century
Spanish and Portuguese dominate South America except for the Guyanas:

1) Guyana (former British Guyana)
2) Suriname (former Dutch Guyana)
3) French Guiana
The development of colonial Spanish in the New World
Colonial Spanish: ‘Out of Andalucía’
Most Spaniards involved in (early) colonialism left from the region of Seville and either came from the hinterland or spent time there before leaving for the New World, via Seville. However, leaders of expeditions may have come from other areas, e.g. Cortés and Pizarro were both from Estremadura. Seville was the center of the early colonial trade as the Quadalquivir was navigable through Las Marismas up to the city itself.

Later Huelva and Cádiz were important as ports as were others in regions outside of Andalucía, e.g. A Coruña in Galicia or various Basque ports.

Another important point is that the early emigration to central and south America was through the Caribbean and early features of Spanish there were probably continued in South America.
The source of Colonial Spanish: Ceceo versus Seseo
Some assumptions about the rise of colonial varieties

1) The early forms of a language taken to new locations are most important as they determine the path of development for the language there (called the ‘Founder Principle’ in pidgin and creole studies).

2) Input features which are associated with a written standard tend not to be favoured at the new locations. For instance, the loss of final /-s/ in southern Spain is also characteristic of New World Spanish, e.g. *dos chicos* is [do tʃiko] ‘two boys’. Note this loss of inflection does not lead to a decrease in comprehensibility (linguistically speaking the inflectional /s/ is redundant).

3) Phonetic forms which are maximally perceptual are favoured in dialect contact and second-language scenarios. For instance, the alveolar fricatives /s, z/ are favoured over the dental fricatives /θ, ð/ as they are more clearly audible. This fact would have supported the survival of *seseo* over *ceceo* in New World Spanish, e.g. *cerveza* is [serβesa] and not [θerβeθa].
Other features of New World Spanish

1) Other features of Spanish have survived overseas, e.g. yeísmo where former palatal /ʎ/ became /j/, e.g. calle [kaje]. There appears to have been no preference of /ʎ/ over /j/. Further developments can, and indeed have, taken place in the New World, e.g. /j/ has become /ʒ/ in some areas, e.g. in Argentina.

2) Overseas forms of Spanish have developed their own vocabulary from native words (typically for flora and fauna) or from the extension of existing Spanish words to new meanings, e.g. chifla ‘whistle’ to ‘bad mood’ in Mexican Spanish. In other cases one has creations when the European word was probably not known, e.g. European Spanish las fresas ‘strawberries’, New World Spanish las frutillas ‘small fruit’.

3) The archaic pronoun vos, originally a plural form, has survived in Latin America (with much variation in its application) as a form of the second person singular. The retention of vos is known as voseo and in Nicaragua and Costa Rica it has replaced tú entirely.
Voseo Spanish
Vos podés aprender el castellano de Argentina

Voseo Activities
Voseo Verb Charts
Conjugation Trainer
Guess-the-Tense

General Spanish
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Vos podés aprender el castellano de Argentina!
- Conjugation Charts
- Conjugation Trainer
- Guess-the-Tense

What is Voseo Spanish?
Spoken in Argentina, Uruguay, and parts of Bolivia and Central America. Voseo Spanish uses the alternative second person singular pronoun vos instead of tú, as well as an alternative conjugation of second person the present indicative and imperative.

For example, sos replaces eres, and tenés replaces tienes.

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Porteño

A resident of the city of Buenos Aires

Literally "Porteño" means "port person". As Buenos Aires is the principle port as well as capitol of Argentina, citizens of the city are known as "porteños". Outside the city, there is the province of Buenos Aires. People from there are called "bonaerenses".
Later Spanish in the New World

Spanish extended in South America in the 16th and 17th centuries after the basic contours of New World Spanish had already been established in Central America. The large numbers of later emigrants, e.g. Germans, Italians, etc. to Argentina and Brazil, did not re-shape New World Spanish.
Spanish outside the New World
In the 1840s the Spanish settled the region which later became known as Spanish Guinea. It became fully independent in 1973. Spanish is the official language, however, an English- and a Portuguese-based pidgin are spoken on the islands off Equatorial Guinea (on Bioko and on São Tomé & Principe respectively).
The Phillipines was the only Spanish colony in Asia, established in 1542 after Spain asserted its claim over Portugal. The islands were named after Philip II (1527-1598) who was later to become king (1556). Manila was established as the centre of the Spanish colonial presence in 1572. By the Treaty of Paris (1898), Spain ceded the Phillipines to the USA for $20m.
Overseas Forms of Spanish and English
A comparison with overseas forms of English

1) Colonial English shows some similarities with colonial Spanish, e.g. the dental fricatives of both languages have not been continued in the Caribbean (or in Central and South America for Spanish), most probably for similar reasons.

2) Many inflections of English have disappeared, in both dialects and vernacular forms of overseas English, e.g. the plural after numerals as in *twenty pound* instead of *twenty pounds* (elimination of redundancy).

However, there are major differences in the colonial history of both languages.
Differences between colonial English and colonial Spanish

1) English: In the early days of colonialism substantial numbers of English people settled in the new colonies (the Caribbean). This pattern continued well into the 19th century in other colonies.

   Spanish: Large numbers of people did not move to the New World.

2) English: Many groups left England and Ireland because they wished to gain religious freedom (different sects of Protestantism).

   Spanish: The entire colonial population was Catholic so religion was not an issue.

3) English: Emigration often took place for economic reasons, e.g. during and after the Great Famine in Ireland and similar events in Scotland.

   Spanish: This situation did not apply in Spain which was a much larger country with fewer people and so no population congestion.
Differences between colonial English and colonial Spanish

4) English: Due to the slave trade, many pidgin forms of English arose which on the early plantations became creoles. This happened in both the Atlantic and the Pacific arenas.

Spanish: Mixtures of Spanish and Portuguese, such as fronterizo in on the Uruguay-Brazil border developed. However, there are very few Spanish-based creoles because of the lack of a plantation economy in the early colonial period, exceptions are Chavacano spoken on the northern island of Luzón in the Philippines and Palenquero spoken south of Cartagena in Colombia. There are also some Portuguese creoles which have been influenced by Spanish, such as Annobonese in Equatorial Guinea and Papiamento spoken in the southern Caribbean on the ABC islands (Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao).
Differences between colonial English and colonial Spanish

5) English: Very diverse forms of English were transported, from different regions of England, from Scotland and from Ireland (all in the early phases of a large variety of colonies in the Atlantic and Pacific areas).

Spanish: A predominance of southern Spanish applied to early forms of colonial Spanish. Northern Spanish dialects and Catalan were practically not represented in the early colonial period, though emigration from the north of Spain did play a role later on.
Differences between colonial English and colonial Spanish

6) English colonialism continued well into the 19th century with the peak of the British Empire at the end of this century.

Spanish: The imperial enterprise began to decline with the defeat of the Spanish Armada of Philip II by the British in 1588. For instance, Argentina, which as a colony went back to the founding of Buenos Aires by Pedro de Mendoza in 1536, claimed independence from Spain in 1816, a much earlier date than any comparable event in the British Empire (apart from the United States in 1776).
Standards of English and Spanish

Standard English arose during the 18th century in England with the rise of the middle classes and education for the majority of the population. The regulation of the standard is normally done by large publishing houses, above all by Oxford University Press, rather than by a language academy.

Standard Spanish is based on the dialect of Castille in the centre of the country. The first Castillan grammar was written by the Seville scholar Antonio de Nebrija and published in Salamanca in 1492. Castillian Spanish was codified early on and reached an early zenith in the literature of Miguel de Cervantes (1547-1616), above all in his novel *Don Quixote*.

For the maintenance of language standards, there is an Association of Spanish Language Academies (founded in Mexico in 1951). In Spain the corresponding institution is the *Real Academia Española*. 
Literature on the history of Spanish


Literature on Varieties of English
Literature on Varieties of English

3

VARIETIES OF ENGLISH THE PACIFIC AND AUSTRALASIA

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4

VARIETIES OF ENGLISH AFRICA, SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

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More inclusive overviews of English
Literature on the spread of English
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Any questions?

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