Accusative Clitic Strategies in Mosquito Coast Spanish

Madeline Critchfield and Chad Howe *University of Georgia*

The Caribbean coast of Nicaragua is home to a linguistically diverse demographic of speakers, including Spanish, Nicaraguan Creole English, and various indigenous languages including Miskitu, a language with around 120,000 speakers. Miskitu, classified as part of the Misumalpan language family, is considered a heritage language by those whose second language is Spanish, the majority language in Nicaragua. The variety of Spanish spoken by these bilingual speakers is called Mosquito Coast Spanish (MCS). Due to the contact that exists between Miskitu and Spanish, MCS exhibits several interesting morpho-syntactic features. In this study, we will examine the use of clitic pronouns in accusative contexts in this contact variety, focusing on third-person forms.

Spanish has a distinct set of clitic pronouns for accusative and dative third-person forms (Table 1). In contrast, Miskitu has no dative/accusative distinction (Table 2), no singular/plural distinction for object pronouns, and obligatorily null third-person clitic pronouns (1).

(1) a. siknis ai daukisa sickness 1SG-CL 3SG-have-PRES 'I am sick' b. siknis Ø daukisa 3SG-have-PRES sickness 'He/She/It/They is/are sick'

Previous research in other contact varieties of Spanish illustrate several strategies used by bilingual speakers when approaching the complex clitic system in Spanish, including clitic omission (for Maya-Spanish contact see García Tesoro 2002, 2008; for Andean Spanish see Escobar 1990, 2012; for Paraguayan Spanish see Choi 1998), the neuter clitic *lo* (for Maya-Spanish contact see García Tesoro 2002, Klee and Lynch 2009:128; for Andean Spanish see Klee 1990, 1996) and the use of datives in lieu of accusatives (for Basque Spanish see Landa 1995, Ormazábal and Romero 2013; for Andean Spanish see Yépez 1986, Parades and Valdez 2008; for Paraguayan Spanish see de Granda 1988, Choi 1998).

Our analysis of MCS includes 12 participants, all bilingual speakers of Miskitu and Spanish. All of these individuals reside in the city of Puerto Cabezas, on the Caribbean coast of the country and consider Miskitu to be their first language. Using oral sociolinguistic interviews, we analyzed 198 tokens, extracting all cases of clitics used in accusative contexts. We find that our participants produced the masculine form *lo* with feminine referents in 94% (56/59) of cases and with plural referents in 86% (37/43) of cases, evidence that *lo* acts as a neuter clitic in this variety of Spanish. The lack of gender/number agreement indicates a simplification in the clitic system in MCS. We also observe several cases of clitic doubling, not permitted in accusative contexts, as well as the use of clitic pronouns when not grammatically necessary.

Table 1. Direct and Indirect Object Pronouns in Spanish

IO Clitics		DO Clitics	
First-person, Second-person	Third-person	First-person, Second-person	Third-person
sg. me, te pl. nos, os	le les	me, te nos, os	lo, la los, las

(adapted from Ormazábal & Romero 2013:314)

Table 2. Object Pronouns in Miskitu

First-person	ai	ai
Second-person	mai	mai
Third-person	-	-

(adapted from Salamanca 1988:251)

References

Choi, Jinny K. 1998. Languages in contact: a morphosyntactic analysis of Paraguayan Spanish from a historical and sociolinguistic perspective. PhD Dissertation. Georgetown University.

de Granda, Germán. 1988. Sociedad, historia y lengua en el Paraguay. Instituto Caro y Cuervo.

Escobar, Ana María. 1990. Los bilingües y el castellano en el Perú (Vol. 12). Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Escobar, Ana María. 2012. Spanish in contact with Amerindian languages. *The Handbook of Hispanic Linguistics*, ed. by J. Hualde, A. Olarrea, and E. O'Rourke, 65-88. New York: Blackwell

García Tesoro, Ana Isabel. 2002. El español en contacto con lenguas mayas: Guatemala. *El indigenismo americano* (III) 48: 31.

Instituto Nicaragüense de Estudios Territoriales (INETER). 2020. Mapa de la división política departamental. En línea: http://www.ineter.gob.ni/Geodecia/files/nicaragua.jpg.

Klee, Carol. 1990. Spanish-Quechua language contact: The clitic pronoun system in Andean Spanish. *Word*, 41(1):35-46.

Klee, Carol. 1996. The Spanish of the Peruvian Andes: The influence of Quechua on Spanish language structure. *Spanish in Contact. Issues in Bilingualism*, 73-91.

Klee, Carol and Andrew Lynch. 2009. *El español en contacto con otras lenguas*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Landa, Alazne. 1995. Conditions on null objects in Basque Spanish and their relation to" leismo" and clitic doubling. GSIL Publ.

Ormazábal, Javier and Juan Romero. 2013. Object agreement, clitics and dialectal variation. *Probus* 25. 301-344.

Paredes, Liliana, and María Luz Valdez. 2008. Language Contact and Change: Direct Object Leísmo in Andean-Spanish. *Selected Proceedings of the 4th Workshop on Spanish Sociolinguistics*, ed. by M. Westmoreland and J.A. Thomas, 140-148. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

Penny, Ralph. 2000. Variation and Change in Spanish. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Salamanca, Danilo. 1988. *Elementos de gramática del miskito*. Doctoral dissertation. Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Yépez, María Victoria. 1986. Direct object clitics in Quiteño Spanish. Doctoral dissertation. Cornell University.