

Sociolinguistics Soziolinguistik

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216. Hispanophone South America/Hispanophones Südamerika

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1. The geographical delimitation of the area

Hispanophone South America (HSA) does not constitute a linguistic unit, but a combination of geographical and linguistic criteria. The major linguistic unit is Hispanic America, i.e. the ensemble of countries in the continent where Spanish is the official and national language. The H countries in SA (from north-west to south-east) are Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru, Paraguay, Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay. All HSA countries except Uruguay preserve speakers of indigenous languages, and all of them have enclaves of immigrant language groups.

2. The sociolinguistic history of the area

Before the beginning of the Conquest in 1492 aboriginal peoples divided into major language groups and a series of isolated languages populated HSA. The beginning of Spanish colonialism marked a process of Spanish language spread and the loss of indigenous languages (Cerrón-Palomino 1993). The independence of the new states after 1810 increased indigenous language shift; during the 19th and 20th century important immigrant groups from Europe speaking other languages than Spanish arrived and established their communities, some of which maintain their languages till today. During the second half of the 20th century speakers of indigenous languages increased in absolute numbers in most countries. Between 1980 and 2000 important indigenous movements struggled for legal recognition and improvement in indigenous legislation, including linguistic rights. Bilingual education is spreading, which is more and more maintenance oriented. Today the main language conflict situation in most

countries exists between Spanish as the national language and the indigenous languages.

When Pizarro conquered Peru between 1532 and 1535, he established Lima as the capital of the territory that later became a Viceroyalty. In the next centuries, Lima and Cartagena were the two best communicated cities with Spain in Southern America. These facts had important linguistic consequences for the development of American Spanish. The main linguistic norm in America was that of Seville, probably the largest city in Spain in the late Middle Ages, and later became the center for all trade with America. Only in the American areas with more political contact with the central Spanish norm (first that of Toledo, then that of Madrid, capital of Spain from 1561) there was a significant increase in non-Sevillian linguistic features. In this way, characteristics of American settlement conditioned the linguistic history of the area, more Andalusian and, furthermore, less standardized, in the regions outside the main lines of communication (see Penny 2000, 144-147; Lipski 1994, 34-62; Rivarola 1990, 149-171; Rivarola 2004). At the moment of Spanish language spread in HSA, an extensive process of koineization had already begun. Contact between European Spanish dialects was operating from the first American years, as is documented through the presence of speakers of northern and southern Spanish dialects in the same places right from the start in HSA (for Nueva Granada and Buenos Aires, see Fontanella de Weinberg 1993, 42-54; in general, Martín Butragueño 2004). Colonial times saw an array of different situations in the establishment of Spanish that was predominant in the cities, but not in the rural areas. Main colonial centers produced important writers (i.e. the Inca Garcilaso, Mateo Rosas de Oquendo, among many others). The idea of distinctiveness was growing slowly, more so in the 18th century. Independence brought new feelings of nationalism, and American Spanish was an important tool in the construction of the new countries. In the 19th century, Andrés Bello's (author of probably the most important Spanish grammar, *Gramática de la lengua castellana destinada al uso de los americanos*, 1847) and Cuervo's

work (who began the *Diccionario de construcción y régimen de la lengua castellana*, completed one century later in the Instituto Caro y Cuervo, Bogotá) gave relevance to the subcontinent and established a scholarship tradition that lives today (Penny 2000, 194–220; Brumme 2004).

3. The languages involved

3.1. Indigenous languages

Information about the pre-Colombian language situation in SA is still quite scarce, given the absence of written records except for Quechua, and the Spanish conquerors' destruction of written records. Another problem arises from divergent typologies and different principles of classification. The most complete and recognized typology, *The Ethnologue*, based on external description and mutual comprehension, is criticized by many Latin American linguists and anthropologists for its fragmentation of varieties into distinct languages which are felt by the speakers themselves to belong to the same language. More than 100 linguistic stocks and more than 1000 distinct languages have been identified for the whole of SA and the West Indies (Bright 1992; *Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia* 2000). The main indigenous language groups in HSA are considered to be Chibchan, Cariban, Quechua, Aymara, Araucanian, and Tupi-Guarani. The rating

of native language speakers today in HSA is extremely complicated due to the poor reliability of national censuses in many countries, and to the systematic underrating of indigenous language speakers in census data, which is in itself a relevant sociolinguistic topic (see table 216.1).

From a sociolinguistic perspective, today's indigenous population in HSA can be ordered into three main groupings, given their extreme diversity in numbers, demographic density, patterns of socioeconomic development, and degrees of assimilation. The first and most important comprises at least 80% of the indigenous population and is concentrated in the macro-ethnia of the ancient Inca empire in the Andes, from the south of Colombia to the north of Chile, including Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia with Quechua and Aymara as the main languages. The second grouping is subdivided into more than 300 languages from the Caribbean coast of South America, the Amazonian basin, to the extreme south of the continent (Argentina and Chile). Different from the first, this ensemble of Amerindian micro-ethnias is characterized by low demographic density, high linguistic diversity, and a wide variety of stages on the continuum of socio-economic and cultural assimilation that range from still fairly isolated hunter and collector societies to almost fully assimilated groups. The third and relatively new grouping is growing fast at the expense of the other two. It

Tab. 216.1: Indigenous Languages and their Speakers in Hispanophone South America

Country	Year	Population (thousands)	total IL Speakers (thousands)	% of total	Number of IL spoken	Main IL
Argentina	1997	35700	350	1	25	Quechua, Araucanian (Mapuche), Wichi, Toba
Bolivia		5373	4177	77.7**		Aymara, Quechua, Guarani
Chile	1995	14237	440		4	Araucanian, Aymara
Colombia		34939	200		79 SIL	Guajiro, Paez, Embera
Ecuador	1995	12314	2300		22	Quechua, Shuar
Paraguay	1997	5100	76***	1.5	21 SIL	
Peru	1995	25123			19	Quechua, Aymara
Uruguay	1997	3200	–	–		–
Venezuela	1995	22213	145		40 SIL	Wayuu, Warao, Piaroa, Yanomame

** Albó (1995) calculus which enlarges the 1992 census
 *** excluding Guarani spoken by 93% of the population other sources: *The Ethnologue*

comprises the urban indigenous population of several millions that share the living conditions of the urban sub-proletariat, dwelling in the huge shanty-towns that surround the big cities. Capitals like Lima, La Paz, or Quito bear the mark of an increasing Amerindian population that interferes decisively with recent urban processes and the forging of new multicultural societies.

3.2 South American Spanish: historical sociolinguistics and geolinguistics

The last decades have seen a special development in the field of historical sociolinguistics, even though Spanish American historical linguistics has always been sensitive to social factors (see Lapesa 1981, 535–602; Frago 1999 for a general perspective). As of 1980, Fontanella de Weinberg was directing an extensive project on diachronic development of Argentinean Spanish, from the 16th up to the 20th century, in its phonological, grammatical and lexical dimensions (see Fontanella 1987 for an overview), which has revealed downward and upward historical changes. A large standardization process has become critical in the linguistic development; nevertheless, some features have extended their radio to upper social classes, i. e. the use of 2nd sg. person: in the first half of 19th century, the usual forms among educated people in Buenos Aires were *vos cantas*, *vos tienes*, *vos eres*, but rural speakers used *vos cantás*, *vos tenés*, *vos sos* (*you sing, you have, you are*). In the second half of the century, the old rural forms spread to all social classes. Today, they are the only ones that survived (Fontanella de Weinberg 1996, 33). One of the most important and comprehensive projects about the history of American Spanish is 'Proyecto Pizarro' (see <http://pizarro.fll.urv.es/proyecto.htm>, and the special issue of *Lingüística* 9, 1997), developed over all HSA and other latitudes. Interest in historical and colonial data is now general (see *Romance Philology* 53, 1999–2000, and *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 149, 2001). Main linguistic features to characterize Spanish in HSA are *seseo*, *ustedeo*, *voseo*, *yeísmo*, weakening of syllable-final -s, neutralization of -r and -l, dorsalization of -n, r with sibilant quality, special past tense values, /h/ for f- (Penny 2000, ch. 5). Some of them are important to establish geolinguistic areas. *Seseo* is the reduction of the medieval sibilants to /s/ (northern and central Spain var-

ieties have also O); it appeared in Andalusia and it was carried to America. Today it is universal in SA. *Ustedeo* is also an Andalusian feature. SA Spanish does not distinguish between formal and informal second person plural address, and it uses only *ustedes son* 'you are' and not *vosotros sois* (the informal form is used in the main part of Spain; see Company 1997 regarding the syntactic consequences). *Voseo* competes with *tuteo* in some SA areas (i. e. *vos cantás/cantáis* 'you sing' vs. *tú cantas* for the second person singular familiar address). *Voseo* is used in the areas that were more peripheral in the colonial period, but today its sociolinguistic value is not the same everywhere. It is nearly generalized in Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay and Bolivia. In Chile, its use has receded; in some parts of Ecuador and Colombia it competes with *tuteo*. *Yeísmo* is the merger of /k/ and /j/; it is very general in HSA, but the distinction has been partially conserved in Andean Spanish, maybe due to the contact with Indoamerican languages with /k/. In some areas of Colombia, Ecuador, Perú, and specially in Argentina and Uruguay, one of the main results has been /z/, a process linked to many variable problems (among them, the voiceless result /f/ in some areas; see Zamora Munné/Guitart 1988, 90–95). Weakening of -s is one of the more important variables in the linguistic variation of Spanish. In SA, in the Caribbean and Pacific coasts, and in the Southern Cone, the weakening of -s is common, whereas the weakening and neutralization of -r and -l is relatively restricted in SA Spanish, but it appears sometimes in popular speech, i. e., in Santiago de Chile, or in Venezuela (Bentivoglio 1998, 35–36) and Ecuador. Dorsalization of -n appears in HSA in the highlands of Ecuador and Peru, and also in the coasts of Colombia, Ecuador, Perú, and in the main part of Venezuela (Alvar 1996). The r with sibilant quality can be heard in some highlands of Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and in Chile, Paraguay and northern Argentina. Maybe more generalized in SA is the use of the preterit in some cases where predominant Peninsular Spanish would use the perfect tense. Examples of the retention of h- (from Latin f-, where Standard has /ø/) appear nearly everywhere in rural speech (see specially Penny 2000, 142–163, and also Zamora Munné/Guitart 1988, 89–197; Lipski 1994, 1–150; López Morales 1996).

The traditional geolinguistic and dialectological framework has continued dominating the descriptive scene in the last decades (perhaps Zamora Munné/Guitart 1988 is the best introduction to Spanish American dialectology; see also Alvar 1996). Besides some national or regional atlases (as the *Atlas Lingüístico y Etnográfico de Colombia* or the *Atlas Lingüístico y Etnográfico del Sur de Chile*), an extensive and ambitious project, the *Atlas Lingüístico de Hispanoamérica*, is covering all the Hispanic territories in the Americas. Fieldwork seems to have concluded in North and Central America, but the work in the Southern part of the continent is still in progress. Its findings will probably show for the first time the overall geographical face of Spanish in the Americas. One of the most important dialectological projects studies standard Spanish in the main cities since 1964 (the *Norma culta* project, see Lope Blanch 1986). Dozens of descriptive studies relate to the project, specially on syntactic and lexical problems. Nowadays, the *Norma culta* project has already produced a macro-corpus (Samper Padilla 1998).

4. National and regional multilingualism: Spanish in contact with other languages

The relationship between Spanish as the national, dominant language and the indigenous, subordinate languages constitutes one of the most relevant sociolinguistic topics in the HSA countries with a sociologically significant aboriginal population. Different approaches have coined this relation as one of language contact (Muysken 1986; de Granda 1988; 1995), diglossia (Albó 1974; 1980) or diglossia as language conflict, following Catalan sociolinguistics (Cerrón-Palomino 1995; López 1990; Hamel/Sierra 1983). In general terms, structural conflict and dominance has marked this relationship since the Spanish conquest. Spanish language spread (Heath/Laprade 1982) produced language shift over time which displaced the indigenous languages in their geographical extension and functional use (domain shift), and affected their linguistic structure. About half of the indigenous languages have disappeared over the past 500 years, and the vast majority of the surviving languages are considered endangered today, and menaced with language death in

the course of the 21st century. On the other hand, significant processes of language maintenance, standardization and literacy spread, functional extension, and revitalization can be observed in a number of cases, especially in the Andean regions (Hornberger 1997; King 2000).

4.1. The relationship between Spanish and the indigenous languages: Language policy, bilingual education, and language status

Since the Conquest, language policy in Latin America as a whole has always been understood as the policy of the dominant colonial powers concerning the imposition and spread of the colonial languages at the expense of the native languages. Especially since independence in the early 19th century, all HSA countries have developed a policy of building homogeneous, monolingual and monocultural nation states, shaped on the European model. Throughout colonial and independent history, two basic strategies to reach the proposed aims developed over time in the fields of language policy (cf. Escobar 1988; Albó 1988a; b; Plaza/Albó 1989) and education for the indigenous peoples (cf. Rodríguez et al. 1983; Zúñiga et al. 1987; López 1989; López/Moya 1990; Hamel 1994a; 2000). The first and generally dominant strategy considered the assimilation (i. e. dissolution) of indigenous peoples and the suppression of their languages as a prerequisite for building up a unified nation state. A second position favored the preservation of Indigenous languages and cultures in this process, without giving up the ultimate aim of uniting nation and state. The first strategy imposed direct Hispanicization (castellanización) through submersion programs; the national language was considered to be the only target and medium of instruction. Transitional programs reflected the second strategy; they applied diverse bilingual methods where the indigenous language played a subordinate, instrumental role as the language of instruction and for initial alphabetization. This alternative emerged in the 1930s and 1940s as experimental programs (Montoya 1983) because of the total sociopolitical and educational failure of the submersion programs. The indigenous languages were no longer considered to be an obstacle, but a useful tool for cultural transition. The principle established later in the 1952 UNESCO confer-

ence, that anyone learns better in his or her mother tongue was already becoming accepted at that time. However, no clear maintenance programs materialized or persisted in that period. Important changes have begun to rise since the 1970's. The emergence of indigenous movements throughout the continent, progressive nationalist governments in some countries, and a growing awareness of the multilingual and multiethnic nature of their states among the more critical sections of society – all these elements are contributing to the rise of alternative, genuinely bilingual, intercultural and pluralistic models of indigenous education. Such projects appeared as official policy or pilot projects in Peru in the 1970s, and in Argentina, Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, Paraguay, Venezuela, and Chile, in the 1980s and 1990s of the 20th century.

Clearly opposed to previous models, the new programs are based on a pluricultural conception of the state and the full respect for indigenous peoples and their ethnic rights. They claim as their target the maintenance or revitalization of Indigenous cultures and languages (Amadio 1987; Moya 1996; Hornberger 1997). The development of indigenous movements, alongside with political change in many HSA countries since the 1980s, have led to a significant

status change of indigenous languages and the recognition of language rights (von Gleich 1992; 1997; Hamel 1994b). Whereas previously no language (except Quechua in Peru for a short period) was granted legal status, today most countries acknowledge some kind of legal (mostly constitutional) status to indigenous languages and implement specific bilingual education (see table 216.2).

The most relevant research in this field has been carried out in the Andean region, including Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador. Since the pioneering work by Albó (1974), Cerrón-Palomino (1972), Escobar (1972), Escobar et al. (1975), Wölck (1975), and Pozzi-Escot (1972), the field has grown significantly alongside the political development mentioned above (see the edited volumes López 1988; López/Moya 1990; López/Jung 1998). The most detailed sociolinguistic description of Bolivian multilingualism is Albó (1995). Only few detailed research monographs appeared in early Andean sociolinguistics (see however Escobar 1978); some of them are doctoral dissertations written by students from abroad (Myers 1973; von Gleich 1982; Hornberger 1988) that have been influential in the regional debate.

Given limited space, not all HSA countries can be covered here. We chose Para-

Tab. 216.2: Legal Status of Indigenous Languages and Indigenous Education in Hispanophone South America

Country	Legal status				Language of instruction, literacy in L1	Type of education EBI = bilingual intercultural education EIB = intercultural bilingual education
	official	co-official	National	Cultural heritage		
Argentina	no	no	no	yes	yes	Transitional bilingual (3 years) 1994
Bolivia	no	yes		yes	yes	Dual bilingual maintenance, EBI Law of Educational Reform 1994
Chile	no	no		yes	yes	Not specified, Indigenous law 1993 EIB
Colombia	no	yes		yes	yes	Etho-education, bilingual General Law of Education 1994,
Ecuador		yes		yes	yes	Bilingual maintenance, EBI
Paraguay	yes	no		yes	yes	Dual bilingual maintenance, Constitution 1992
Peru	no			yes	yes	Bilingual maintenance, General Law of Education 1992, EBI
Venezuela					yes	Not specified, Educational Law 1980, EIB

Sources: von Gleich (1997), updated and corrected from González Guerra (1999)

guay because of its unique sociolinguistic shape as the only American state with massive nationwide bilingualism that constitutes the axis of national identity (cf. Corvalán 1997). An urbanized indigenous language, Guaraní is spoken by more citizens than Spanish. To a certain degree, Paraguay was born out of a Jesuit state, with Guaraní as the "lengua general" of the mission, literacy and government (Barros 1993). During their existence and up until their expulsion in 1767 by papal edict, the Jesuit community developed a feverish activity of oral and written usage, as well as editing and publishing in Guaraní (Melià 1969; 1995; 1999). These historical roots of Guaraní as the merger of regional and functional varieties, constitute the basis for explaining its stability and unique extension. Therefore, the linguistic situation in Paraguay was taken by sociolinguistics as a paradigmatic case of massive social, but asymmetric, bilingualism from the very beginnings of the discipline (e.g. Garvin/Mathiot 1956; Rubin 1968). A comparison of the two censuses from 1950 and 1992 yields significant results: in 1950, 50% of the population was monolingual in Guaraní, while monolingual speakers of Spanish were limited to 4.7%. In 1992, Guaraní accounted for 37% of the monolingual speakers, while only 7% reported they were monolingual in Spanish, and 50% said they often spoke both languages (Corvalán 1997). These figures, absolutely unique in the Americas, show the great stability in the relationship between the languages and the degree of massive bilingualism encompassing all social strata. Notwithstanding the ample diffusion of Guaraní, education has worked exclusively through Spanish up until 1983. The new Constitution, promulgated in 1992 after decades of dictatorship, gave Guaraní the rank of an official language and placed it on the same level as Spanish. A kind of dual bilingual language education is being implemented since. Primary education is to be given in the mother tongue of each child (Spanish or Guaraní), and the teaching of both languages is obligatory in public education (Melià 1999; Penner 2003). This policy requires a significant "Sprachausbau" of Guaraní, not only in education and science, but in the domains of public administration and justice, where it had been absent so far, with the exception of oral tradition.

4.2 Regional language policy in the Mercosur

Sociolinguistic research in Argentina and Uruguay has concentrated on Spanish variation and, in Uruguay, on the contact situation between Spanish and the northern Portuguese dialects. The creation of the Mercosur (the Common Market of the Southern Cone) including Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay in 1991, has triggered off a process of regional integration with far-reaching consequences for the linguistic dynamics in the area. Contrary to the tradition of building homogeneous national states, the countries involved are starting to foster a policy of linguistic pluralism based on regional Spanish-Portuguese bilingualism promoted through the educational system of each country (Arnoux 1999; Axelrud 1999). At the same time, indigenous languages as well as Guaraní as co-official language in Paraguay (Corvalán 1997) play an increasing role alongside traditional immigrant heritage languages (Arnoux/Bein 1999). This new array has profoundly shaken traditional geolinguistic arrangements in each country's policy of foreign language teaching, historically oriented towards the prestigious European languages such as French and Italian (Barrios 1995; 1999; Gabbiani 1999). At the same time, English language globalization has made its inroads, thus provoking competition between different linguistic orientations: a functionalist and "globalized" view that favors English as the sole priority; a regional, Latin American (and partially anti-US-American) perspective that privileges Spanish and Portuguese as the languages of regional integration; and a traditionalist and at the same time plurilingual view, allied with international "Francophonie", which seeks to preserve relevant spaces for French and, to a minor degree, Italian (see Hamel 2003 for an overview). The richest publication on language policy, which integrates research on regional questions, indigenous and immigrant languages, as well as foreign language policy is at present Arnoux et al. (1999a; b).

5. Sociolinguistic topics and perspectives in HSA

The field of language conflict and indigenous bilingual education has proven central for sociolinguistic research in HSA, since

it connected the macro field of language policy, shift, and maintenance with the more micro approaches in the ethnography of communication and applied (socio)linguistics (L1 and L2 acquisition, literacy), as well as the description of structural contact phenomena. It also reflects the political, social, and educational involvement of many researchers. US models have been dominant in the field of bilingualism since the foundational work by Weinreich, Fishman, Hymes, Gumperz, and others. In the 1980s a more critical approach introduced the Catalan framework of language conflict (López/Moya 1990; Cerrón-Palomino 1992), as well as Skutnabb-Kangas' and Cummins' models of bilingual maintenance education (for a critical review see Hamel/Muñoz 1988; Hamel 1993; King 2000). Theoretical debate and exchange have been particularly rich in relation with social and cultural anthropology, focused recently on the concept of intercultural education (Godenzzi Alegre 1996; Moya 1996; Albó 1999). And, over the past decade, South American researchers have extended their work to new theoretical approaches in language policy and planning (see Arnoux et al. 1999a; b).

The study of change and variation processes of Spanish in HSA has inherited many of the traditional dialectological premises, specially the descriptive purposes. Truly, it is absolutely necessary to have a great deal of information about the historical, geographical and sociolinguistic aspects of the distribution of Spanish in urban and rural settings. But, at the same time, it is also the time in which many researchers along the continent are waiting for something more, a more explanatory approach to the linguistic and sociolinguistic problems.

Main linguistic questions and levels studied are phonetic and phonological variables, lexical borrowings, variable syntax and syntactic contact, and discourse markers. As general problems, historical components of American Spanish, display of dialectal areas, contact with indigenous languages (i. e. in Andean Spanish) and, more recently, Spanish Creole languages (as Papiamentu in Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao islands and Palenquero in Colombia; see Perl/Schwegler 1998), and the sociolinguistic structure of the main cities (Lima, Buenos Aires, etc.), are the more characteristic aspects dealt with in Hispanic sociolinguistic studies in HSA (for critical reflections, see López

Morales 1994; Silva Corvalán 1994; Granda 1994; and for a slightly different point of view, Lastra/Martín Butragueño 2000). The most complete and relatively recent bibliographical resources can be found in the series about American Spanish directed by Humberto López Morales (see Montes Giraldo/Chumaceiro/Malaver 1999 for Colombia and Venezuela; Donni de Mirandé/Granda, Elizaincín/Coll 1994 for Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay; and Valencia 1995 for Chile). The last three decades can be seen as a maturation process. The first works appeared in the beginning of the seventies, and they were mainly an adaptation of Labovian methodology to the specific circumstances, i. e., of the Buenos Aires Spanish in Argentina (see Fontanella de Weinberg 1973; 1974). Even though the innovative character of sociolinguistic research became evident, many of the problems were not different from the ones studied in the dialectological tradition. Three aspects have characterized work in the following years: First, the study of a specific array of problems, which broadens more and more. Second, the development of several sociolinguistic projects all over the continent (and really all over the Spanish world), collecting efforts of researchers from a number of countries. Third, the appearance of critical points of view about the sense of sociolinguistic research.

Interest in sociolinguistic problems has not been the same in all South American countries, given the very different research problems worked on in Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay: descriptive urban sociolinguistics and immigration, Spanish-Guarani contact and Hispano-Luso contact on the Brazilian-Uruguayan border, respectively (see Elizaincín 1996 for a brief state of the art). Linguistic consequences of contact between Spanish and indigenous languages is one of the most productive fields (see Granda 1996 for a catalogue of syntactic interference and convergence between Spanish and Guarani in Paraguayan Spanish; see also Granda 1988). Urban research has characterized much of the work in Peru (Caravedo 1990; 1999), Chile and Venezuela (see the special issue of *Español Actual* 69, 1998). In Colombia, dialectological and sociolinguistic research are closely linked. Syntax and phonology are the levels more frequently studied. Research in lexical questions is very necessary nearly everywhere. The reliability of sociolinguistic information

in lexicographical work is often questionable (Zimmermann 1994), and materials from linguistic atlases are not enough to consider in detail the sociolinguistic problems. Discourse markers and conversation analysis are also being studied in the last years (e. g. Rojas Mayer 1998).

A number of general projects are being worked on now in HSA. Spanish in radio and TV is the object of the DIES-RTV project (see Ávila 1992, <http://wodka.colmex.mx/dies-m/inicio.aspx>); it is active in almost all HSA countries. One of the most interesting findings is the relative convergence in the mass media. VARILEX has as a main purpose the study of lexical variation in Spanish (see Ueda 1995; Ueda y Tinoco 2003 and <<http://gamp.c.u-tokyo.ac.jp/~ueda/varilex.htm>>). PRESEEA is the framework for sociolinguistic urban research in a number of cities in Spain and in the Americas. In SA work has begun (2005) in Colombia (Bogotá, Barranquilla, Pereira), Venezuela (Caracas) and Argentina (Cipolletti), but there are prospects to initiate fieldwork in other urban settings in the near future (see Moreno Fernández 1996; and also <http://www.linguas.net>).

Critical thinking has developed more thoroughly in terms of sociolinguistic topics (language conflict, bilingual education, social stratification, language and power, etc.) than in relation to sociolinguistic theory and method (see however Lavandera 1978; 1984). Foundational work by sociolinguists like Fontanella, de Granda, Lavandera, Albó, Cerrón-Palomino, Escobar, Melià, among others, laid the groundwork for future development. In some areas, the implicit reasoning seems to have been to solve urgent political, educational, or descriptive problems first, as a basis for more critical work in the future. As a general perspective, the growing field of sociolinguistics seems to be oriented towards enlarging/extending the solid descriptive and analytical tradition to a greater involvement in social and linguistic theory.

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217. Brazil/Brasilien

1. The geographical delimitation of the area and ethnic features
2. The sociolinguistic history of the area
3. Problems in delimitation of the language, genetic relationships and language families and issue connected with language maintenance and language death
4. The sociolinguistic function of the different languages
5. Issues connected with standardization
6. Literature (selected)

1. The geographical delimitation of the area and ethnic features

Brazil covers an area of 8511965 km², and occupies 48.33% of the total land mass of

South America. Its northern region covers 80% of the Amazon Forest and contains the greatest biodiversity on the planet. French Guyana, Surinam, Guyana, Venezuela, and Colombia form the northern border, while Peru and Bolivia are to the west, Paraguay and Argentina to the southeast, and, to the south, Uruguay. Brazil is divided into five regions, containing 26 states and the federal district. At the present time the population stands at about 170000000, distributed as follows among the regions: 43% in the Southeast, 29% in the Northeast, 15% in the South, 7% in the North, and 6% in the Center-West.

The present day population of Brazil is the result of the miscegenation of many