Juchitán words borrowed from Spanish show different adaptations of Spanish pronunciation in different historical periods or strata. Sicoli (5) has shown that before 1650, when Sp. -s was an alveolar (retracted) [ʃ], it was borrowed as JCH -ʃi [ʃ], while later, when Sp. -s was a dental (fronted) [ʃ], it was borrowed as JCH -ʃi. Also, before 1650 both Sp. voiced and voiceless obstruents (e.g. -t and -d) were borrowed as JCH lenis stops (“weak,” optionally voiced; e.g. JCH -di), but later only Sp. voiced stops were borrowed as JCH lenis stops, and Sp. voiceless stops were borrowed as fortis stops (“strong,” often preconsonated; e.g. JCH -ti). Fig. 1 displays examples from my data that show these patterns.

### Shapes

Word shapes are the patterns of sequences of phonological segments (vowels, consonants, and tones). The shapes of native Juchitán words (Fig. 2) differ from those of loanwords (Fig. 3). All loanwords of one word shape, CVCV, date from the pre-1650 period (they adapt all consonants as lenis). These loans, then, are among the oldest in Juchitán.

This archaic layer, however, comprises only 2.6% of words surveyed. In fact, well over half of the loanwords are CV*CV#. Native words have a much greater and more evenly-distributed variety of shapes. CV*CV# is seen in native words (like go’dus’a ‘crazy’), but much less frequently (4.3%). This pattern is more recent and maintains an oppositional distinction between Sp. voiced and voiceless obstruents by reflecting them as lenis and fortis, respectively. These two classes of sounds, which were once merged in Juchitán, are now being differentiated.

The data suggest that the structure V*CV#, which is foreign to Juchitán, should be included as part of CV*CV#. These words begin with a vowel in Spanish and in the JCH citation form, but sometimes are treated as if they have an initial consonant. For example, when a longer “buhului” (from Sp. abuhuí) is possessed, it is prefixed by a and becomes lama’tu, not the expected lama’ta. Perhaps the lack of a native template for this pattern causes V*CV# to be treated like CV*CV.

### Future Research

Other patterns in the data demand further investigation. Many exceptions in my data, such as word-final [s] deletion, could be explained by the [s] having disappeared in the Spanish model prior to contact. Next, the usage of rearticulated vowels for several Spanish names is common, but in a few cases, common nouns (like piri–mi ‘deck’ for pisio) have unexplained rearticulation. Additionally, the correspondence Sp. -d - JCH -i (e.g. pe’re ‘at once’ for houn) indicates either that now-silent Sp. -d was pronounced at the time of borrowing or that Juchitán added a consonant because of CV*CV preference, a possibility which correlates with the treatment of CV*. Further research into similar cases could reveal the extent that Juchitán has preferred and continued to prefer native structures.