

The Panamanian Language Landscape

A Systematic Literature Review
of the Panamanian Languages

ELÍAS DE LEÓN

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THE PANAMANIAN LANGUAGE LANDSCAPE
A SYSTEMATIC LITERATURE REVIEW OF THE PANAMANIAN LANGUAGES

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Prologue

The current book encompasses systematic literature review (SLR) research to map the current state of academic research concerning the multilingual landscape of Panama as of the time of publishing. It recognizes Panama as a highly diverse confluence point—where Spanish coexists with English, various creoles, and multiple indigenous languages (such as Ngäbere, Guna, and Wounaan)—the study aims to synthesize existing knowledge through rigorous review protocols. The current is the result of a systematic literature review (SLR) research comprising the analysis of linguistic research journal articles on Panamanian languages from 1975 to 2025. The study follows detailed inclusion and exclusion criteria, as well as search terms: ‘*linguistic + Panama*’ and ‘*linguistics + Panama*’. The preliminary results showed 62986 inclusions of the terms, but they were systematically decanted to 85 articles. The complete articles were analyzed in two stages. The results are represented in two sections (bibliometrics and content analysis) with mentions of language, dialects, and variants grouped into Spanish (41%), English (14%), seven native languages (28%), and 65 additional languages (the remaining 17%). It is worth noting that 91% of the corpus studied was published after 2001. Based on the content, this SLR found that linguistic studies in Panama revolve around three main themes: language and identity (including Spanish, indigenous languages, and others), history (including colonial and republican periods, and the Panama Canal), and EFL (including Creole varieties). The articles include qualitative (ethnography, case studies, documentary and descriptive analysis), quantitative (dialectometry, corpus linguistics), and mixed (bimodal) approaches, with a variety of methods and techniques. The book concludes with the identification of common themes and research gaps, emphasizing that future research must adopt advanced methodologies—such as mixed methods and detailed corpus linguistics—to better document Panama's vibrant yet vulnerable linguistic heritage.

Introduction

Spanish is the official language of the Republic of Panama, as established by Article 7 of *Title I* of the Panamanian Constitution (Gaceta Oficial, 1972). Nonetheless, Panama is a unique confluence point where people from all over the world converge; the melting pot of multiple cultures, hence, languages. It is in Panama where all six major UNESCO languages are spoken—Spanish, English, Russian, Italian, Arabic, and French (UNESCO, 2024)—and mixed with current native languages (Guna, Ngäbere, Buglere, Emberá, Teribe, and their subdivisions). It is there that the amalgamation of languages lives through phrases, idioms, and regional sociolects.

It is not unthinkable to consider Panama as a living language in-contact lab. And, as such, it ought to be linguistically profiled. The present study is more in line with van Halteren's (2004) linguistic profiling, which counts the instances of various linguistic features in a text; in this case, the quantitative results are paralleled with a corpus. Otherwise, the proficient categorization qualities of a particular language leads to a subsequent linguistic categorization (Polinsky, 2000), which is ideal, though falling beyond the scope. The present study aims to review the findings in the Panamanian language landscape portrayed in the academic literature. An attempt to gather the language-related academic literature that possesses unique properties, as the speakers of the different languages and dialects in the Central American country. Despite surface similarities, the Panamanian case might not directly correspond to previous studies. Previous cases like Baugh's (2003) study on the social matter of racial profiling might partially find a niche scholar vein in the Panamanian linguistic landscape. Even from different viewpoints, the Isthmian language case matches, though only partially, the language and *social justice* (Fine, 2022; Forrester, 2023; Cushing, 2024), the credible marginalized linguistic cases, as well as language-disability (Coy et al., 2025). It requires a different analysis to determine the current state of the art of the languages in the country. The best way to exemplify the academic dissemination in language studies within Panama comes from what Thomas Kuhn labeled as the *Normal Science* (Kuhn, 1968).

Kuhn's definition encompasses research findings that a specific scientific community recognizes as the foundation for future works until a yet-to-come result replaces it. Considering the foundations of normal science, it is possible to map the uncharted language landscape of Panama using the existing academic literature as a canvas. Given the onstage of language studies in Panama plus the *normal science* principles, it is imaginable to ponder the *accumulation of knowledge* as the umbrella expression to address the linguistic studies in Panama. Considering the analogous organization, the concept of research validity becomes prominent. Some literature suggests that a systematic literature review (SLR) increases the validity (replicability) of the research (Carrera-Rivera et al., 2022a; Oyarce Salamanca, 2025), or seeks connections, contradictions, or gaps to the possible *reproducibility* that defends the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine (2019). On the current onset, it is worth noting that several authors concur that a research methodology must be consequent to the replicability, scientific, and transparency of the process, something that SLR excels at (Carrera-Rivera et al., 2022a; Briner & Denyer, 2012). According to Rivera et al. (2022a), SLR provides a comprehensive overview of available evidence on a given topic, while Briner and Denyer (2012) consider that the SLR research methodology might be useful in understanding the state-of-the-art in a field and can identify gaps in existing knowledge to suggest areas for further examination. Different studies have applied the SLR principles to diverse and more specific subareas. As an example, the *systematic mapping research* (SMR) category, particularly in the IT field (Carrera-Rivera et al., 2022a; Carrera-Rivera et al., 2022b; Petersen et al., 2015), as well as social sciences subfields within education, citizenship, and interculturality (Oyarce Salamanca, 2025; Perez et al., 2025). Notwithstanding, all sources point to the SLR rigor as the pinnacle of its confidence results, thus, its relevance to the current study. Despite its beginnings in the medical field, SLRs are applicable across all fields thanks to the general guidelines for reporting systematic reviews provided by the PRISMA 2020 statement (McKenzie et al., 2021) and the Cochrane Handbook (Higgins et al.,

2023), both placing compelling weight on accuracy, completeness, and transparency. The process of this SLR follows the PRISMA reporting as it comprehends the search strategies for the databases, labeling the definitions of outcomes and data items, outlining all synthesis techniques, and presenting the hierarchical themes based on the body of evidence. The current study aims to identify and evaluate the relevant literature on the languages spoken in Panama to draw conclusions about the question under consideration, as well as to identify research gaps for future investigation.

Contextualizing SLR of the Panamanian Linguistic Landscape

The Panamanian language outlook portrays several unique aspects that are not fully developed within the academic literature. A comprehensive look at the field of linguistics in Panama is demanded to set the grounds for future linguistic research, SWOT analyzes, as well as future policies based on informed decisions. Linguistic research is often spread out in different areas, languages, and educational settings. Therefore, it is imperative to survey the Panamanian language landscape with objective reports, as objectiveness is essential for language research, and choices must be based on the best available data. An overview of the academic literature landscape via an SLR lowers the chance of biased reporting and personal interpretation. Furthermore, the SLR sets clear inclusion/exclusion criteria, organized search methods, and standardized quality assessment tools such as PRISMA, providing a wide range of linguistic research based on high-quality academic publishing. The current SLR work procures a comprehensive understanding of linguistic research to identify trends, contradictions, and gaps within the local linguistic field. This thorough analysis is indispensable in cultivating a comprehensive language landscape. Thus, the overarching objective falls on the construction of a state-of-the-art of the languages spoken in the Republic of Panama, delving further into the specificities of identifying what languages and linguistic variations have been studied in Panama. The study also classifies the different methodological approaches to studying the languages spoken in Panama.

Methodology

The methodology employed is the Systematic Literature Review (SLR). According to the PRISMA Statement, SLR adheres to a prescriptive method to guarantee transparency, reproducibility, and comprehensiveness (McKenzie et al., 2021). In contrast to traditional literature reviews, Petticrew and Roberts (2006) assert that the primary objective of an SLR is to identify, evaluate, and synthesize all pertinent studies on a given subject, thereby establishing a high-quality evidence base for decision-making and identifying research gaps. Two important aspects of SLR that distinguish it from other studies are the use of predetermined inclusion and exclusion criteria and the precise formulation of the research questions. The current SLR compiles the themes found in scholarly works related to language research in Panama. For this purpose, the PICO (Population, Intervention, Comparison, Outcome) was used as the search strategy to develop the objectives and inclusion/exclusion criteria (Richardson et al., 1995). PICO is used within SLR methodology as an ancillary process of question and objective generation (Eriksen & Frandsen, 2018; Oyarce Salamanca, 2025). Nonetheless, the current study employs the extended version called PICOS—to accommodate the *S* for the *study types*—considering the goal of the present research. The rationale for PICOS is in Table 1.

Table 1. PICOS framework

P - Population	Academic publications that focus on language studies in Panama.
I - Intervention	The various linguistic research methodologies, theoretical frameworks, or analytical approaches employed in these Panama studies over the last 50 years (from 1975 to 2025).
C - Comparison	The different methodological approaches and findings from the publications.
O - Outcome	Patterns of language use in public spaces, language shift, visibility of minority languages.
S - Study type	Peer-reviewed journal articles (corpus linguistic studies, ethnographic language studies, empirical studies, theoretical papers, case studies, comparative linguistic analyzes, plus <i>in-vivo</i> when required).

Source: Author.

The implementation of the PICOS framework supported the research questions:

- *What is the state of the art of research about the languages spoken in the Republic of Panama?*
- *What languages are spoken in Panama and their different variations?*
- *What are the different methodological approaches used in the research on Panamanian languages?*
- *What are the relevant findings about the study of languages spoken in Panama?*

The PICOS also supported the development of the inclusion and exclusion criteria (Table 2). Studies must meet all applicable inclusion criteria to be considered for review. If any study meets the exclusion criteria, it will be removed from consideration.

Table 2. Selection criteria

	Inclusion Criteria	Exclusion Criteria
Publication Type	• Peer-reviewed academic journal articles. • Open-access publications.	• Non-peer-reviewed sources (e.g., dissertations/theses, book chapters, conference abstracts/proceedings, working papers, preprints, reports, newsletters, blog posts). • Books, book chapters, or book reviews. • Editorials, opinion pieces, or commentaries without original research. • Gray literature (theses, institutional repositories, non-academic papers, etc.)

Research Context: Linguistics & Languages	• Directly addresses a research question within linguistics (e.g., syntax, semantics, phonology, morphology, pragmatics, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, discourse analysis, applied linguistics, historical linguistics, computational linguistics, language acquisition). • Focuses on languages or language families spoken in Panama (e.g., English, Spanish, aboriginal languages). • Investigates phenomena related to language structure, use, learning, or teaching.	• Studies primarily focused on general education, literature (unless directly related to linguistic analysis), or cultural studies without a clear linguistic or language focus. • Studies outside the specified subfields of linguistics or language families. • Studies not directly addressing the core research questions of the SLR. • Not spoken in Panama.
Methodology	• Employs rigorous qualitative, quantitative, mixed-methods, or theoretical argumentation as appropriate for the research question. • Clearly describes the research design, data collection methods, and analysis procedures.	• Studies lacking a clear methodology or not reporting of methods. • Studies that are not empirical or theoretical in nature (e.g., purely descriptive surveys or essays without analysis).
Publication Date Range	• Published from 1975 to 2025.	• Published outside the specified timeframe for the SLR.
Language of Publication	• English, Spanish	• Published in languages other than those specified for inclusion.
Data availability	• Full text is available through academic databases, institutional repositories, or open-access repositories.	• Full text is not available through academic databases, institutional subscriptions, or open-access repositories.
Duplicates	• Accounts for a single DOI or permanent link to the research database.	• Duplicate records of the same study identified across different databases by metadata (author, title, year, journal, DOI)

Source: Author.

Search strategy

The main bibliographic database of reference was Scopus; additionally, other indexes and repositories supporting the search pool are included in Table 3.

Table 3. Reviewed databases

• Scopus	• LA Referencia	• Scielo
• Emerald eJournal	• Redalyc	• Google Scholar

Note 1. The online research platform EBSCOhost was not available for review due to institutional access. Source: Author.

The list of searched terms (keywords) includes two generic terms, *Language* and *Linguistics*, in both English and Spanish. The search formulas appear detailed in Table 4.

Table 4. Searched Terms

Keywords	Database	Search Strings
Linguistics AND Panama	Scopus	(ALL (linguistics) AND (Panama) AND PUBYEAR > 1986 AND PUBYEAR < 2025 AND (LIMIT-TO (OR , “all”)) AND (LIMIT-TO (LANGUAGE , “English”) OR LIMIT-TO (LANGUAGE , “Spanish”)) AND (LIMIT-TO (DOCTYPE, “ar”))
	Google Scholar	Linguistics Panama “open access” OR “open-access” – “To purchase”
	Non-Boolean	Linguistics AND Panama
Lingüística AND Panamá	Scopus	(ALL (Lingüística) AND ALL (Panamá)) AND PUBYEAR > 1974 AND PUBYEAR < 2026 AND PUBYEAR > 1975 AND PUBYEAR < 2026 AND (LIMIT-TO (SRCTYPE, ”j”)) AND (LIMIT-TO (OR,”all”)) AND (LIMIT-TO (LANGUAGE,”Spanish”) OR LIMIT-TO (LANGUAGE,”English”)) AND (LIMIT-TO (DOCTYPE,”ar”)))
	Google Scholar	Lingüística Panamá “open access” OR “open-access” – “To purchase”
	Non-Boolean	Lingüística AND Panamá

Note 2. The inclusion of the open access term for Google Scholar was a discriminatory term to increase the chances of full-text access; however, the non-open-access primed results even after the explicit criteria. Source: Author.

The analysis comprises two parts (screenings): literature through the inclusion/exclusion criteria, and the categorization of the results. In addition, there were subroutines applied within every process, starting the with the initial screening until the qualitative analysis, arriving to the final conclusions.

How was the data analyzed?

The results through the inclusion/exclusion criteria

The title/abstract screening process was used to sift through the search results for keywords, considering the inclusion and exclusion (I/E) criteria. The screening process involved the use of a two-step process that, according to Covidence (2024), began with the titles and progressed to the remaining studies, which were screened using both the titles and abstracts.

As reference, initial search in Scopus revealed 1193 results for *linguistics AND panama*; from which, only 217 results coped with the I/E metadata filters. A similar situation occurred with the *lingüística AND panamá* search; the initial results showed 466 results, but only 99 passed the initial I/E filters on this database. The initial screening process appears sequenced from Figure 1 through 4.

Figure 1. Scopus search results for Linguistics AND Panama

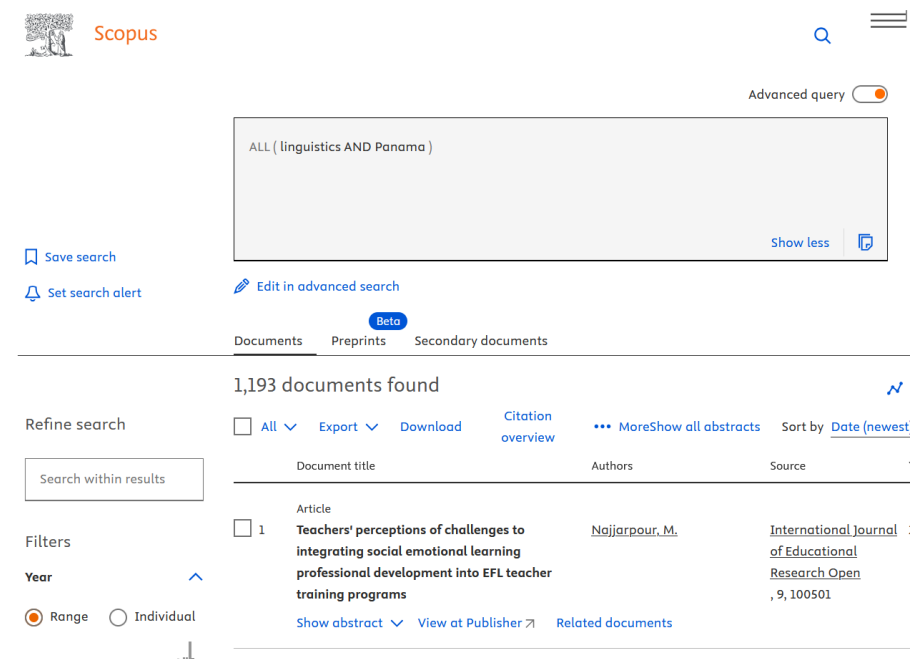


Figure 2. Scopus search results for Linguistics AND Panama – I/E filters

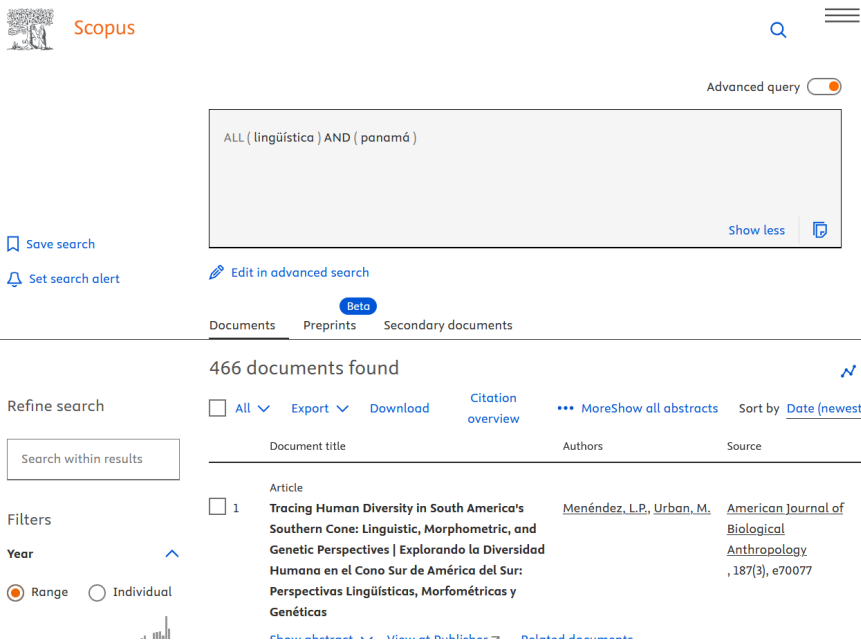


Figure 3. Scopus search results for *lingüística AND panamá*

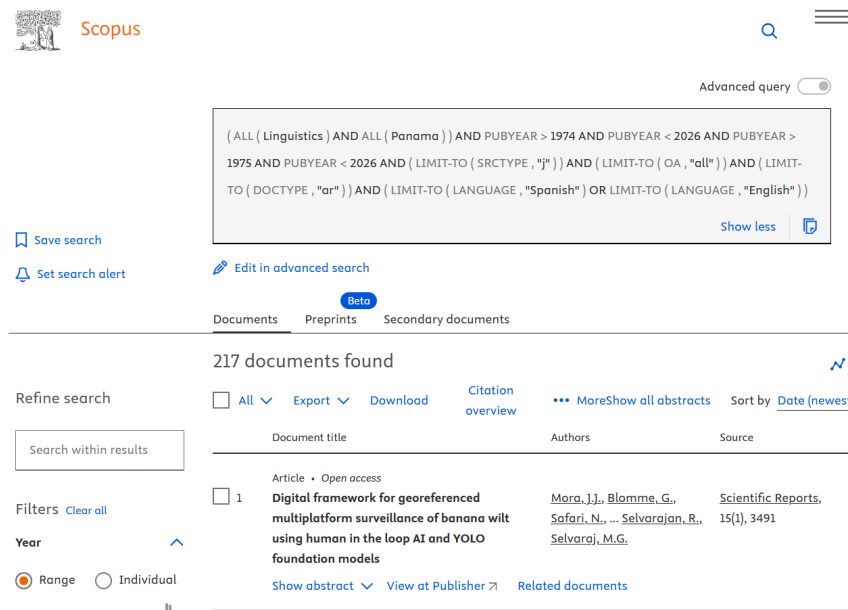


Figure 4. Scopus search results for *lingüística AND panamá* after I/E filters

(ALL (Lingüística) AND ALL (Panamá)) AND PUBYEAR > 1974 AND PUBYEAR < 2026 AND PUBYEAR > 1975 AND PUBYEAR < 2026 AND (LIMIT-TO (SRCTYPE , "j")) AND (LIMIT-TO (OA , "all")) AND (LIMIT-TO (DOCTYPE , "ar")) AND (LIMIT-TO (LANGUAGE , "Spanish") OR LIMIT-TO (LANGUAGE , "English"))

Show less



 Save search

 Set search alert

 Edit in advanced search

Documents **Beta** Preprints Secondary documents

99 documents found



Refine search

☐ All ☐ Export ☐ Download [Citation overview](#) [More](#) [Show all abstracts](#) Sort by [Date \(newest\)](#)

Search within results

Filters [Clear all](#)

Year

☒ Range ☐ Individual

Document title	Authors	Source
Article • Open access Academic Publication and Researchers' Attitudes: A Systematic Review La Publicación Académica y las Actitudes de los Investigadores: Revisión Sistemática	Pérez Pulido, G.	European Public and Social Innovation Review , 10
Show abstract View at Publisher Related documents		

The case of Emerald Insight reflected only 40 results for *linguistics AND panama*, from which 2 met I/E criteria. The Spanish search (*lingüística AND panamá*) shews 0 results, as seen in Figure 5.

Figure 5. Emerald Insight OA for “*linguistics AND panama*” and “*lingüística AND panamá*”

Welcome Secretaría Nacional de Ciencia Tecnología e Innovación

emerald insight
Discover Journals, Books & Case Studies

linguistics AND panama Advanced search

Home / Search results

Search results 1 - 10 of 40

Per page Sorted by relevance

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Citations: download RIS

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Book part Publication date: 17 May 2018

Archival Records and Training in the Age of Big Data

Richard Marciano, Victoria Lemieux, Mark Hedges, Maria Esteve, William Underwood, Michael Kurtz and Mark Conrad

Purpose – For decades, archivists have been appraising, preserving, and providing access to digital records by using archival theories and methods developed for paper records...

Access

Only content I have access to
Only Open Access

Year

Last 3 months (1)
Last 6 months (1)
Last 12 months (2)
All dates (40)

From Year To

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lingüística AND panamá Advanced search

Home / Search results

Search results

Per page Sorted by relevance

☒ (0)
Citations: download RIS

No Search results

Access

Only Open Access [X](#)

Year

From Year To
Year Go

Figure 6. Emerald Insight OA for “linguistics AND panama” and “lingüística AND panamá after I/E criteria filters

The figure displays two side-by-side screenshots of the Emerald Insight search results page. Both pages show the search query '(content-type:article) AND (linguistics AND (panama))' and are sorted by relevance. The left page shows 2 results, with the first result being 'Classifying online corporate reputation with machine learning: a study in the banking domain' by Anette Rantanen, Joni Salminen, Filip Ginter and Bernard J. Jansen, published on 5 November 2019. The right page shows 0 results.

As for the repository LA Referencia, the initial search for *linguistics AND panama* resulted in 63 articles, from which 32 passed the initial after metadata I/E criteria filters. The search for *lingüística AND panamá* showed 110 results, and 41 passed after I/E criteria review. The results are displayed from Figures 7 to 10.

Figure 7. LA Referencia results for “linguistics AND panama”

The figure shows a screenshot of the LA Referencia search results page for the query 'linguistics AND panama'. The page displays 63 results, with a narrow search filter applied to 'Country'. The results are sorted by relevance. The first result is 'La incidencia de los textos en la enseñanza del Inglés en Panamá: Reflexiones para la discusión.' by Cárdenas P. Rafael A., published in 2018. The page also shows a list of countries with the number of results for each: Colombia (30), Panamá (12), Costa Rica (11), España (4), Brasil (3), Argentina (2), and Perú (1).

Figure 8. LA Referencia results for “lingüística AND panamá”

LA Referencia
Red de repositorios de acceso abierto a la ciencia

Inicio Institucional Nodos Servicios Contacto Idioma ▾

lingüística AND panamá Todos los Campos 🔍 Buscar Avanzado

Buscar: lingüística AND panamá

Mostrando 1 - 20 resultados de 110 para la búsqueda de 'lingüística AND panamá', tiempo de consulta: 0.30s Ordenar Relevancia ▾

RESULTADOS AGRUPADOS

País	Resultados
Colombia	16
Panamá	16
España	10
Costa Rica	7
Perú	4
Argentina	3
Brasil	2
Chile	2

Autor

Autor	Resultados
Berrio Cabello, Yoban Alfredo	2

☐ Seleccione página | Con selección: [Correo Electrónico](#) [Exportar](#) [Imprimir](#)

☐ **ARGENTINA** [artículo](#)

-M y -n implosivas en el español de Panamá

por Alvarado de Ricard, Elsie
Institución: Universidad Nacional de La Plata, Facultad Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación
Repositorio: Memoria Académica (UNLP-FAHCE)

Publicado 1972

☐ **PERÚ** [artículo](#)

El lenguaje de los negros congos de Panamá: estudio lingüístico

U

Figure 9. LA Referencia results for “linguistics AND panama” after I/E filters

LA Referencia
Red de repositorios de acceso abierto a la ciencia

Inicio Institucional Nodos Servicios Contacto Idioma ▾

Sus términos de búsqueda: "(Todos los Campos:linguistics AND panama)"

Tipo de recurso: **artículo** año de publicación: **1975-2025**

Buscar: (Todos los Campos:linguistics AND panama)

Mostrando 1 - 20 resultados de 32, tiempo de consulta: 0.52s Ordenar Relevancia ▾

RESULTADOS AGRUPADOS

País	Resultados
Costa Rica	11
Panamá	7
Colombia	5
España	4
Argentina	2
Brasil	2
Perú	1

☐ Seleccione página | Con selección: [Correo Electrónico](#) [Exportar](#) [Imprimir](#)

☐ **PANAMÁ** [artículo](#)

La incidencia de los textos en la enseñanza del Inglés en Panamá: Reflexiones para la discusión.

por Cárdenas P, Rafael A.
Institución: Universidad de Panamá
Repositorio: Repositorio Institucional Digital de la Universidad de Panamá

Publicado 2018

Figure 10. LA Referencia results for “lingüística AND panamá” after I/E filters

LA Referencia
Red de repositorios de acceso abierto a la ciencia

Inicio Institucional Nodos Servicios Contact Language

Your search terms: "(All Fields:lingüística AND All Fields:panamá)"

Format: article Year of Publication: 1975-2025

Publications search: (All Fields:lingüística AND All Fields:panamá)

NARROW SEARCH

Showing 1 - 20 results of 41, query time: 0.70s

Sort: Relevance

Country

Country	Results
Colombia	0
España	9
Panamá	9
Costa Rica	7
Argentina	2
Chile	2
Perú	2
Brasil	1

Select Page | with selected: Email Export Print

PERÚ

El lenguaje de los negros congos de Panamá: estudio lingüístico

by Lipski, John M.
Institution: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú
Repository: PUCP-Institucional

Published 1986

CHILE

It is worth mentioning that the database Redalyc contains sources from 1991 onwards; therefore, the results prior to 1991 are not accounted within. The case of like Redalyc contained only open-access material, but it showed the search results, mostly without visible abstracts. This situation required accessing the full text article to identify if the generic mentions within the document reader embedded search—i.e., Central America, Hispanic-American, among others—to review the adherence to the I/E criteria, as shown in Figure 4.

Figure 11. Redalyc results for “linguistics AND panama” and “lingüística AND panamá”

redalyc Sistema de Información Científica Redalyc Red de revistas científicas de Acceso Abierto diamante Infraestructura abierta no comercial propiedad de la academia

Búsqueda de artículos

linguistics AND panama

Resultados para "linguistics AND panama"

1 a 10 de 203 artículos

lingüística AND panamá

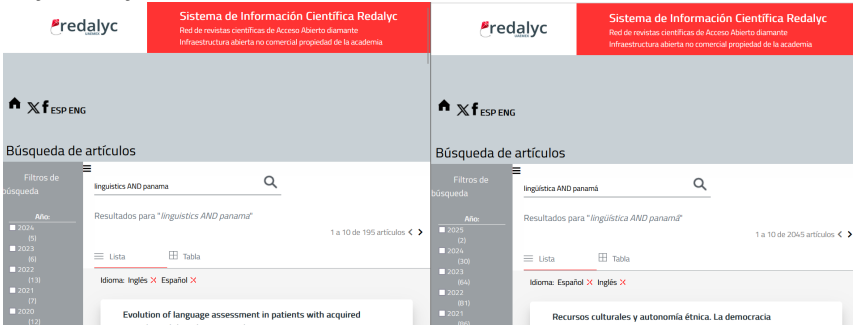
Resultados para "lingüística AND panamá"

1 a 10 de 2104 artículos

ESTADO DE CONSERVACIÓN Y DOCUMENTACIÓN DE LAS LENGUAS DE AMÉRICA

TRF'S DIC'IONARIO PANAMÁFÓN DE SIG'N XX

Figure 12. Redalyc results for “linguistics AND panama” and “lingüística AND panamá” after I/E filters



Redalyc showed 203 results for the *Linguistics AND Panama* keyword, from which 13 results met the I/E criteria (after full document individually—and manually—downloaded, reviewed, and filtered).

Table 5. Articles listed in Redalyc for the keyword *Linguistics AND Panama*

Area of study	Code	Total Results
Language and Literature	RIb01	109
Education	RIb02	17
Anthropology	RIb03	16
Sociology	RIb04	13
Multidisciplinary (Social Sciences)	RIb05	9
Biology	RIb06	7
Medicine	RIb07	4
Psychology	RIb08	4
History	RIb09	4
Cultural Studies	RIb10	3
Engineering	RIb11	2
Computation	RIb12	2
Information Science	RIb13	2
Legal	RIb14	2

Multidisciplinary (Sciences, Social Sciences, Arts and Humanities)	Rlb15	1
Philosophy	Rlb16	1
Administration and Accounting	Rlb17	1
Politics	Rlb18	1
Health	Rlb19	1
Earth Sciences	Rlb20	1
Communication	Rlb21	1
International relations	Rlb22	1
Agrosciences	Rlb23	1
Total		203

Singling out Redalyc after the application of I/E criteria, the first screening (part 1) released 123 results for the *Linguistics AND Panama* keyword. Meanwhile, Redalyc showed 2104 results for the *Lingüística AND Panamá* keyword, as observed in Table 6.

Table 6. Articles listed in Redalyc for the keyword *Lingüística AND Panamá*

Area of study	Code	Total Results
Language and Literature	Rla01	355
Multidisciplinary (Social Sciences)	Rla02	304
Education	Rla03	243
History	Rla04	212
Sociology	Rla05	157
Anthropology	Rla06	129
Right	Rla07	96
Politics	Rla08	71
Bless you	Rla09	63
Medicine	Rla10	53
Cultural Studies	Rla11	47
Communication	Rla12	42
Information Science	Rla13	36
Philosophy	Rla14	35
Psychology	Rla15	35

Territorial Studies	Rla16	32
Art	Rla17	29
International relations	Rla18	29
Administration and Accounting	Rla19	28
Economy and Finance	Rla20	28
Biology	Rla21	11
Agrosciences	Rla22	9
Engineering	Rla23	9
Environmental Studies	Rla24	7
Earth Sciences	Rla25	7
Multidisciplinary (Natural and Exact Sciences)	Rla26	6
Multidisciplinary (Sciences, Social Sciences, Arts and Humanities)	Rla27	6
Demography	Rla28	6
Tourism Studies	Rla29	5
Agrosciences	Rla30	4
Architecture	Rla31	4
Geography	Rla32	3
Computation	Rla33	1
Geology	Rla34	1
Veterinary	Rla35	1

After the application of I/E criteria, the first screening (part 1) released 48 results for the *Lingüística AND Panamá* keyword. On the other hand, the SciELO database showed 1 consistent result for *linguistics AND panama* even after review, and 6 results for *lingüística AND panamá*, from which 4 results coped with I/E criteria, as seen in Figure 13 and Figure 14.

Figure 13. SciELO results for “linguistics AND panama”



PORTUGUÊS  ESPAÑOL 

linguistics AND panama  All indexes 

Search

Add field +

 Search history

Results: 1

#1 linguistics AND panama

Filters

Filter

 Collection

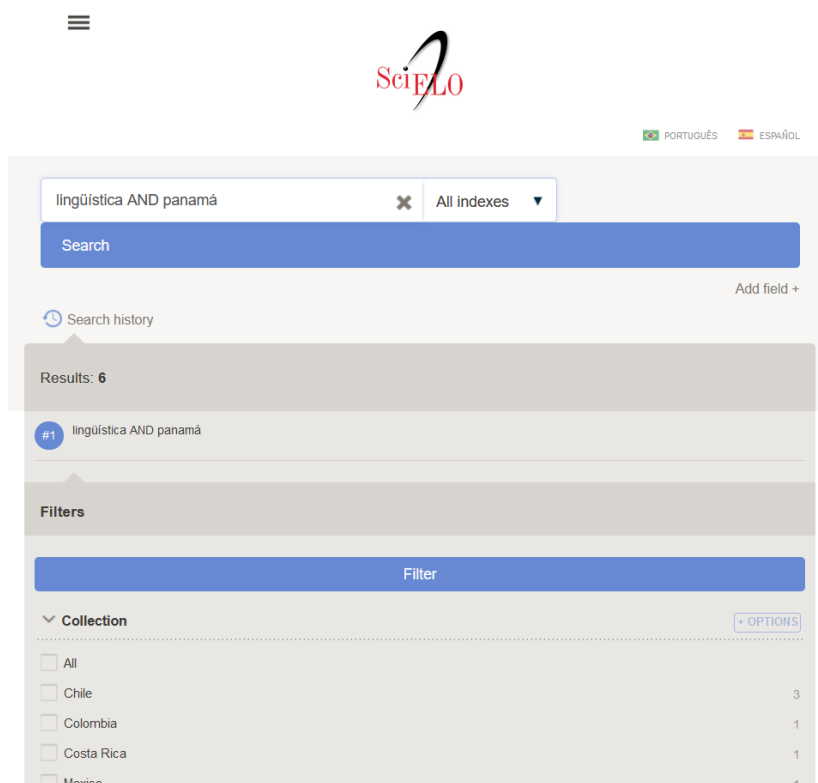
☐ All

☐ Chile 1

 Journal

☐ All

Figure 14. SciELO results for “*lingüística AND panamá*”



The case of Google Scholar was a kind of its own. The search engine did not have filters for open-access (OA) or the kind referenced material (peer-reviewed journal article, university repository/self-published article, editorial note, book, thesis, etc.), as they all fall under the *academic literature* broader concept. Thus, the initial review required siphoning through the 43500 results for *linguistics AND panama*; filters applied as well to the 32500 results for the *lingüística AND panamá* term. At that point, it was suggested the use of ChatGPT. The use of AI (ChatGPT) was attempted, but the AI rejected the task due to content window limitations (e.g., “Note: Due to model limitations, the response may not account for all data...” [ChatGPT]); it requested batch processing using API Key access through Python to complete the task; the request was denied by the human user. The search results were refined when including year ranges (1975-2025)

and the *Reviewed Articles* options, which reduced the results to 2100 and 263 results respectively. As seen in Figure 6.

Figure 15. Google Scholar results for “linguistics AND panama”

The screenshot shows the Google Scholar search interface. The search bar at the top contains the text "linguistics AND panama". Below the search bar, it indicates "About 43.500 results (0,17 sec)". The results are listed in a vertical column. Each result entry includes a title, author information, a brief abstract snippet, and a row of interactive links (Save, Cite, Cited by, Related articles, All versions).

The impact of English in Panama [PDF] tandfonline.com
 EA De Ricord - Word, 1982 - Taylor & Francis
 ... **linguists** who have come to **Panama** to make some recordings have claimed), I wish to say that such statements are mistaken, and due to a defective interpretation of the material ...
 ☆ Save Cite Cited by 14 Related articles All 4 versions

Linguistic landscape of Panama in the early 21st century: An indigenous orthography striving to decolonize
 GA Sánchez Arias - Handbook of the Changing World Language Map, 2019 - Springer
 ... This chapter first presents an overview of the current **linguistic** landscape of **Panama** (Fig. 1)... At a smaller scale, internal discord paints over this indigenous **linguistic** landscape. A new ...
 ☆ Save Cite Cited by 4 Related articles All 2 versions

[book] **Linguistic Political Ecology with the Ngäbe Indigenous People of Panama**
 GAS Arias - 2018 - search.proquest.com
 ... and **linguistic** knowledge that continues to serve their progress. This research applies lessons learned from studying with Ngäbe communities of western **Panama**... how to apply **linguistic** ...
 ☆ Save Cite Cited by 2 Related articles All 3 versions

[book] **A SOCIOLINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION OF THE SPANISH OF PANAMA CITY.**
 RA BROWN JR - 1976 - search.proquest.com
 ... The problem of the **linguistic** delimitation of an urban capital exists in **Panama** and ... a dearth of **linguistic** studies on Spanish American urban areas. El Español de **Panama** has helped to ...
 ☆ Save Cite Cited by 10 Related articles All 3 versions

Vernacular shift: Language and the built environment in Bastimentos, Panama
 P Snow - Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power, 2007 - Taylor & Francis
 ... Using the example of a Caribbean community's architectural and **linguistic** metamorphosis, this article examines the provocative parallels between language shift and architectural shift. ...
 ☆ Save Cite Cited by 11 Related articles All 2 versions

Figure 16. Google Scholar results for “lingüística AND panamá”

The screenshot shows the Google Scholar interface with the search query "lingüística AND panamá". The results are filtered for the years 1975-2025. The first result is a PDF titled "Métodos para la investigación de la lingüística inglesa en publicaciones de revista de la Universidad de Panamá" by AM González-Johnson and MG Vega, published in 2024. The second result is a PDF titled "Actitudes lingüísticas en Panamá. Incursión en la percepción sociolingüística y la valoración de la lengua por los hispanohablantes panameños" by T Tinoco, published in 2014. The third result is a PDF titled "Algunos préstamos en el español de Panamá" by J Giralt Latorre, published in 1991. The fourth result is a PDF titled "Fonética del español de Panamá" by MA Cardona Ramírez, published in 2010.

Métodos para la investigación de la lingüística inglesa en publicaciones de revista de la Universidad de Panamá [PDF] up.ac.pa
 AM González-Johnson, MG Vega. - Acción y Reflexión ..., 2024 - revistas.up.ac.pa
 ... lingüística inglesa en revistas académicas del área de Ciencias Sociales y/o Humanidades publicadas por la Universidad de Panamá ... en la investigación lingüística, y estos resultados ...
 ☆ Save Cite Cited by 3 Related articles All 9 versions

Actitudes lingüísticas en Panamá. Incursión en la percepción sociolingüística y la valoración de la lengua por los hispanohablantes panameños [PDF] uib.no
 T Tinoco - Bergen Language and Linguistics Studies, 2014 - bells.uib.no
 ... lingüística de medir la autoestima y la lealtad lingüísticas frente al habla de otros países, estudiando una muestra de informantes en la ciudad capital de la República de Panamá ...
 ☆ Save Cite Cited by 11 Related articles All 3 versions

Algunos préstamos en el español de Panamá [PDF] ua.es
 J Giralt Latorre - ELUA. Estudios de Lingüística, N. 7 (1991); pp. 137 ..., 1991 - rua.ua.es
 ... en la prensa escrita de Panamá, país centroamericano, ... Panamá, por su situación y por otra serie de factores que en su momento se indicarán, no escapa a la influencia lingüística ...
 ☆ Save Cite Cited by 18 Related articles All 13 versions

Fonética del español de Panamá
 MA Cardona Ramírez - ... en América Central: nivel fonético -(Lingüística ..., 2010 - torrossa.com
 ... de Panamá Desde el enfoque dialectológico tradicional propuesto por la lingüística romá... que abarcan todo el territorio nacional de Panamá, de manera relativamente equidistante, con ...
 ☆ Save Cite Cited by 18 Related articles

Figure 17. Google Scholar results for “linguistics AND panama” after I/E filters

The screenshot shows the Google Scholar interface with the search query "linguistics AND panama". The results are filtered for the years 1975-2025. The first result is a PDF titled "Language variation in caribbean creole/non-lexifier. Contact situations: Continua or diglossia" by P Snow, published in 2000. The second result is a PDF titled "Settlement and subsistence change among the Choco Indians of the Darién Province, eastern Panama: an overview" by PH Herlihy, published in 1985. The third result is a PDF titled "Three waves of variation study: The emergence of meaning in the study of sociolinguistic variation" by P Eckert, published in 2012. The fourth result is a PDF titled "Linguistic outcomes of language contact" by G Sankoff, published in 2004.

Language variation in caribbean creole/non-lexifier. Contact situations: Continua or diglossia [PDF] utexas.edu
 P Snow - Trabajo presentado en el Eighth Annual Symposium ..., 2000 - asol.ling.utexas.edu
 ... language of Dutch constitute discrete linguistic systems. ... del Toro in the Republic of Panama. The main settlement on the ... The national language of the Republic of Panama is Spanish ...
 ☆ Save Cite Cited by 18 Related articles

Settlement and subsistence change among the Choco Indians of the Darién Province, eastern Panama: an overview [PDF] researchgate.net
 PH Herlihy - Cultural Survival Quarterly, 1985 - researchgate.net
 ... from northern Ecuador to the Panama Canal. The Chocó are ... The ethnic term "Chocó" is applied to two distinct linguistic ... recent investigations in eastern Panama, coupled with previous ...
 ☆ Save Cite Cited by 22 Related articles All 3 versions

Three waves of variation study: The emergence of meaning in the study of sociolinguistic variation [PDF] osu.edu
 P Eckert - Annual review of Anthropology, 2012 - annualreviews.org
 ... This study established without question that speakers exploit linguistic variability in a ... of most linguists. And in so doing, it raised a congeries of questions about both the linguistic and ...
 ☆ Save Cite Cited by 2277 Related articles All 15 versions

Linguistic outcomes of language contact
 G Sankoff - The handbook of language variation and change, 2004 - Wiley Online Library
 ... of the twenty-first century, linguistic minorities can be found. ... and to a reduction of linguistic diversity (as documented in ... processes produced different linguistic outcomes? The crucial ...
 ☆ Save Cite Cited by 663 Related articles All 2 versions

Figure 18. Google Scholar results for “linguistics AND panama” after I/E filters

The screenshot shows the Google Scholar search interface. The search bar contains 'lingüística AND panamá'. Below the search bar, it indicates 'About 263 results (0,06 sec)'. A date filter is set to '1975 - 2025'. A tip suggests searching for English results only. The first result is a bibliographic review of lexical availability studies in Central America, specifically Costa Rica, Guatemala, Panama, and El Salvador, by CV Herranz-Llácer (2022) from scielo.sa.cr. The second result is a bibliographic review of lexical availability studies in Central America, specifically Costa Rica, Guatemala, Panama, and El Salvador, by CV Herranz-Llácer (2022) from scielo.sa.cr. The third result is an evaluation of aphasia: dialectal and cultural considerations in neurology, by J Peña-Casanova, L Vinaixa, and F Diéguez-Vide (2022) from Elsevier. The fourth result is a review of the historical novel 'panameña' by E Santos (2022) from revistas.up.ac.pa.

The use of a web-crawler—*Publish-or-Perish*—was limited to only 1000 results per search. Not complying with the 2100+ results available, and having a new filter at the user disposal (Exclude: *Citations, Patents*; Include: *Only review articles*), the search added a new layer of complexity in the keywords: <NOT "To purchase this">. With the exclusion of the common paywall phrase for the pay-per-view “close access science,” the result count dropped to 971 for *linguistics AND panama*, and 263 for *lingüística AND panamá*. Another attempt to use AI for the open-access review for the new number of matches resulted in the same unfruitful results having the AI requesting API Key access for batch processing. It was further attempted to perform the task individually per result, but the human user was promptly rejected due to token depletion despite using a ChatGPT Plus account (the system requested upgrading to a ChatGPT Pro account).

After the AI attempts, the search for OA was handled using the DOI with the *Simple Query Tool* from *Unpaywall.org*, as an attempt to fulfill the I/E criteria on this regard. As fallback, the manual, individual search opening the article permalink page (DOI or repository) was required to check for OA downloadable access for each article when DOI was not available. A process deemed unnecessary in the Scopus and Emerald, as the open-access filter syphoned the results; furthermore, *Redalyc*, *SciELO*, and *L.A. Referencia* are open-access only databases, thus all results were downloadable as PDF, HTML, or DOC/DOCX to download.

The outcomes from the current section appeared in Table 7, encompassing comprehensive results from each database, only open-access, peer-reviewed journal articles, within all their fields, after screening 1.

Table 7. Keyword results after screening 1

Keywords		Scopus	Emerald Insight	Google Scholar	EBSCO Host	L.A. Referencia	Redalyc	ScieLo
<i>Linguistics</i>	Bef Sc	217	40	971	-	63	123	1
<i>AND Panama</i>	Aft Sc	27	2	68	-	32	12	1
<i>Lingüística</i>	Bef Sc	99	-	263	-	110	2121	6
<i>AND Panamá</i>	Aft Sc	4	-	205	-	41	48	4

Note 3. Bef Sc – Before Screening | Aft Sc – After Screening. The online research platforms EBSCOhost was not available during the reviewing process due to institutional access. Dashes (-) represent zero (0) or no search results. Source: Author

Coding texts

The next step was the qualitative analysis of the literature to itemize each text within the emergent criteria. This section employed MS Excel to categorize the text coding and classification based on the academic publications and methodological approaches for the full texts. The results are shown in Table 8.

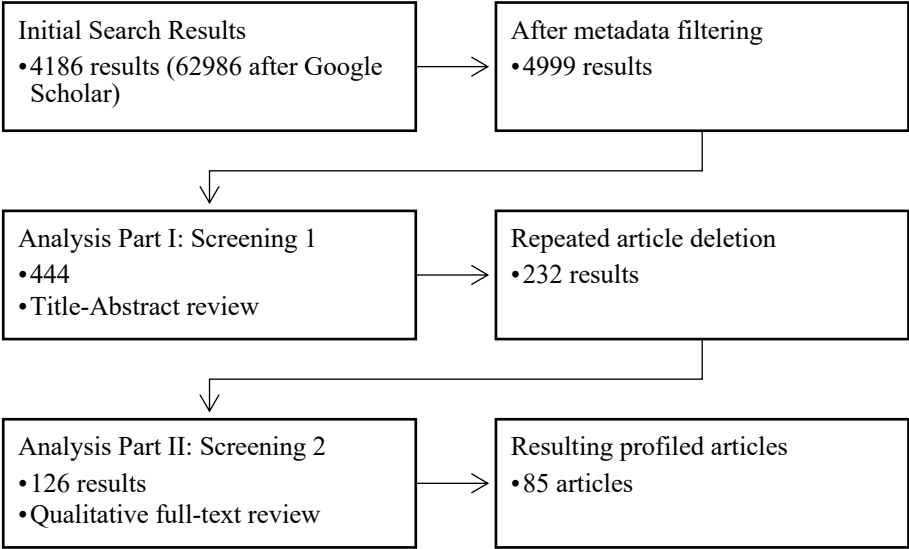
Table 8. Keywords after screening 2

Keywords		Scopus	Google Scholar	L.A. Referencia	Redalyc	ScieLo
Linguistics	Bef Sc	27	68	32	12	1
AND Panama	Aft Sc	6	6*	-*	-*	-
Lingüística	Bef Sc	4	205	41	48	4
AND Panamá	Aft Sc	2	105	17	8	4

Note 4. *Non-repeated. Spanish search results from Google Scholar, LA Referencia, and Redalyc comprise the repeated results for English and Spanish searches. Source: Author.

The ‘subroutines’ before screening 2 contained the cross review for repeated articles and the unification of the review format. Consequently, the final count incorporated the database and language results in the coding nomenclature *database-language (number)*, where rolled-out numbers are left blank as placeholders for the analysis metrics. The article selection applying the inclusion criteria followed different screening subroutines, resulting in 232 articles ready (Table 7). 106 were further discarded during screening because of inconsistencies with journal article format (the texts were conference proceedings, book chapters, prologues, and others) and repeated results. Of the 126 remaining resulting articles, 41 deviated from the objectives, not containing relevant information to contribute to the research questions. The condensed version appears in Figure 1.

Figure 19. Article selection process



Source: Author.

It is noteworthy that the non-inclusion of a set of topic-accurate texts because to not meeting the inclusion criteria. Examples like *Institutional Language Policy in Panama: The Place of Linguistic Diversity and Its Implications for Language Education*, by Barbosa and Severo (2024), delving into language policies and attributions, were ultimately discarded because of their publishing language—Portuguese. As well as, the chapter *Linguistic Landscape of Panama in the Early 21st Century: An Indigenous Orthography Striving to Decolonize* (Sánchez Arias, 2019), in the book *Handbook of the Changing World Language Map*, as a contrastive updated view to some of the studied journal articles regarding the enablement efforts to revitalize the indigenous Panamanian languages, as well as the importance of Chinese, Hebrew, Hindi, and Arabic languages to the Panamanian society and economy. Some notable works not included are those by authors John Lipski and Richard Cook, considered foundational studies in the Panamanian linguistic landscape; unfortunately, their works reside in university repositories, not as peer-reviewed published articles. The previous are just examples among several other insightful works excluded. The appropriateness of the

current SLR framework outweighs the regret of not including such texts. However, having the Panamanian scientific literature surveyed for the first time is an accomplishment. Hence, the publication of the collected corpus, along with the analyzes, opens the door to future improvements.

The decanted results appeared as tagged codes for the titles within the collected corpus. Saved and publicly accessible, future researchers could download and run analyses and replicate results, or as a canvas for future research tools and validity tests. The datasets generated and analyzed during the current study are available in the *Figshare* repository accessible through the QR code from Figure 2. *Figure 20. QR code for the dataset repository*



<https://doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.32002494>

The corpus is further divided into *folders* representing the body of texts compiled through the *research preparation*—with its subdivisions—and the *analyzed corpus*. For the text coding section, the salient aspects for each article were compiled in a single MS Excel

spreadsheet and analyzed using color codes for overlapping—repeated—elements. The significant aspects (salient) of each studied text were catalogued in four main categories. Seven secondary categories arose, reconstructing the metadata. The resulting categories are show in Table 8.

Table 9. Analysis categories

Main categories	Secondary categories (Metadata)
• State-of-the-art • Languages and Dialects • Methodologies • Key Findings	• Authors • Year of publication • Name of the article • Journal name • Volume • Number • DOI

Source: Author.

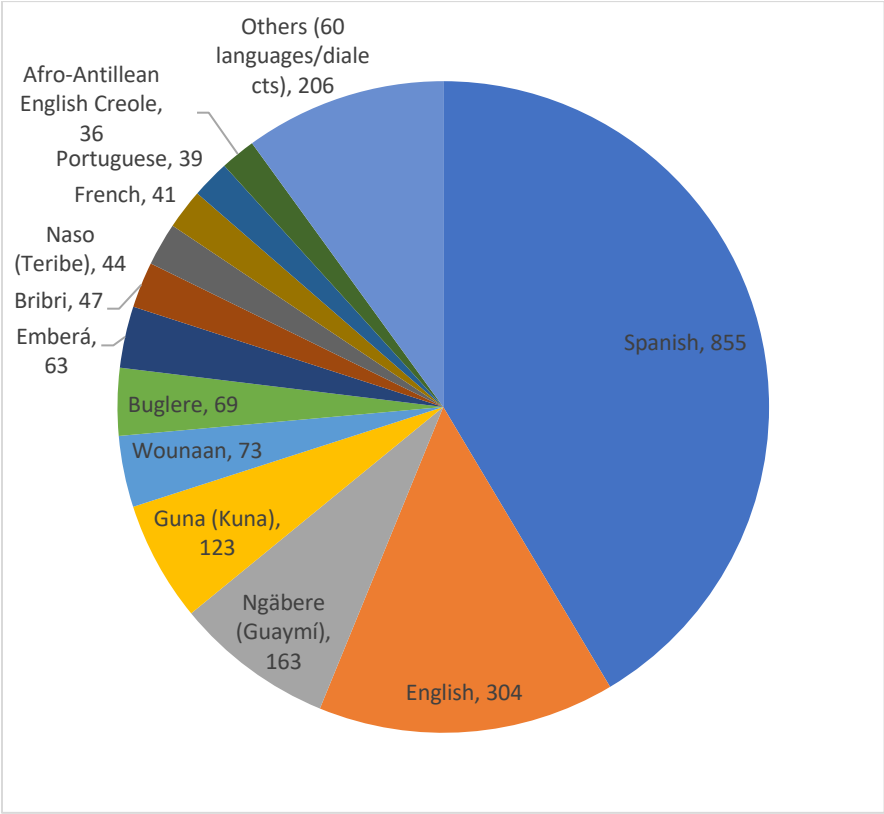
The categories were arranged in the MS Excel file in a single sheet but later segregated for their individual analyzes in different sheets; in the case of the secondary categories, some articles remained with blanks for unavailable elements (especially true for DOI published before 1997). The second procedure was a double-check during the final review in search of duplicated articles once all inclusion/exclusion criteria were applied and all databases’ results were compiled in a single file. The spreadsheets with the resulting articles are available in the shared folder as well.

What do the language research show in Panama?

Bibliometric overview

Analyzing the recurrent elements in the Panamanian linguistic journal articles shows that there were 2097 mentions of the names of languages. Several language iterations were synthetized due to different spellings (e.g., Embera/Embërá/Emberá → Emberá; Ngöbere/Ngäbere/Guaymí → Ngäbere (Guaymí)). Despite the differences, it was noticeable that the number of mentions for Spanish, amounting to ~41% of instances, followed distantly by English, ~14%. The indigenous languages hold the next seven positions, accounting for 28% of the studies (Ngäbere [Guaymí], 8%; Guna [Kuna], 6%; Wounaan, 4%; Buglere, 3; Emberá, 3%; Bribri, 2%; and Naso [Teribe], 2%). On the other hand, French, Portuguese, and Afro-Antillean English Creole share 2% each, becoming the largest groups above the 1% threshold. All other languages mentioned in the literature appear individually with less than 1%, but sum the 12% of the total of the studied texts; these languages include Chinese, African languages (non-specified), Italian, Cabécar, Kikongo, Miskito, Boruca, German, Dutch, Guarani, Various Creoles, Palenquero, Papiamentó, Quechua, Rama, Ulwa, Sumo, Guatuso (Maleku), Japanese, Arabic, Garifuna, Lenca, Huetar, Pech, Tolupan (Jicaque), Latin, Choco, Terraba, Bantu, Korean, Greek, Hebrew, Hindi, Catalan, Aymara, Mandinka, Chimila, Cacaopera, Matagalpa, Changuena, Dorasque, Twahka-Panamahka, Sign language, Portuguese Creole, Nahuatl, K'iche', Machigua, Yoruba, Kimbundu, Umbundu, Angola, Hindustani, Sanskrit, Armenian, Celtic, Slavic, Thai, Lithuanian, Russian; along with the non-specific mentions of Indigenous languages (generic), American indigenous languages (generic), and Afro-Iberian Creole languages (generic) (Figure 21).

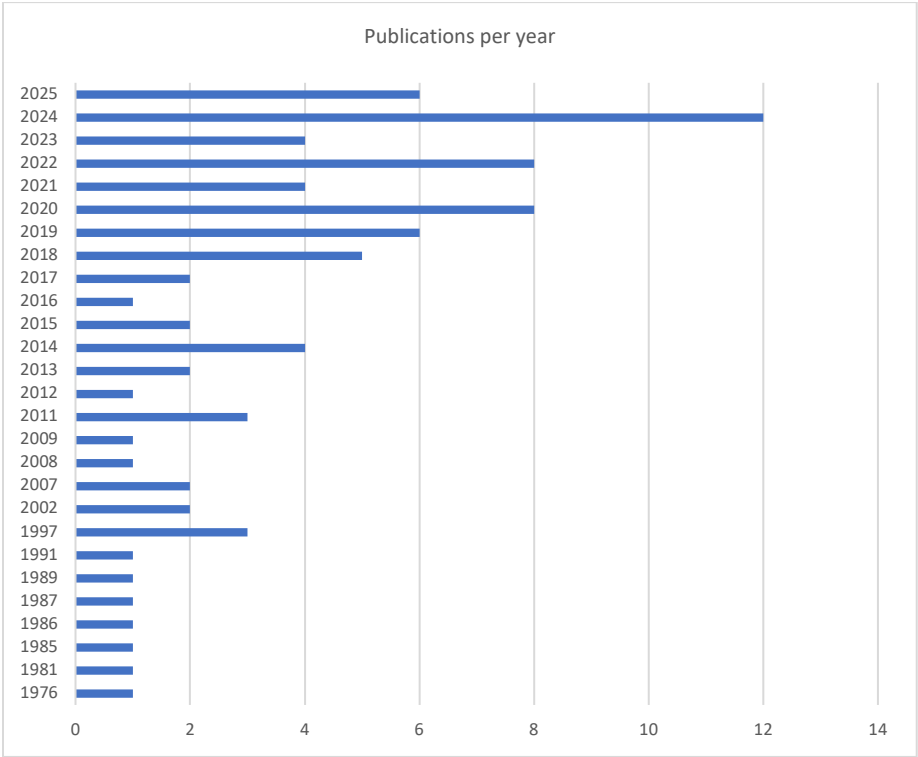
Figure 21. Languages mentioned in Panamanian linguistic literature



Note 5. Quantitative view. The nomenclature ‘general’ refers to non-disclosed languages or dialects (when literature employed regionalisms or language continua). Source: Author.

Based on the number of publications each year, linguistic research is steadily growing, having the years after 2000 as the most prolific, with over 90% of the overall production within the current study framework. The year with the most publications was 2024, with twelve articles. 2020 and 2022 concluded with eight articles each, taking the second year ranked by the number of publications. The third place was a tie between 2019 and the first half of 2025, the latter produced six articles by the time this text was written, along with the other publication years in Figure 22.

Figure 22. Number of linguistic research per year in Panama



Source: Author.

Content analysis

The studied articles explore several sources of language and linguistic studies in Panama, its diverse indigenous languages, the historical evolution, and contemporary usage of Spanish in the Panamanian context, and the complexities of bilingualism and language education. Within the indigenous languages, several texts focus on the indigenous languages Ngäbere, Wounan, and Guna, among others. For example, they study their phonology, the impact of Spanish language displacement, and efforts to preserve it. Regarding the creole, the seminal works focus on the called Afro-Panamanian Congo (Spanish creole) and the Afro-Antillean English (English creoles), the most widely analyzed depictions of creolization, with discussions on their origins and sociolinguistic implications. Furthermore, the sources examine dialectal variations within

Panamanian Spanish, including phonetic features and orality patterns. Finally, there are several mentions of languages spoken in Panama within their contexts (specific purposes), alongside noteworthy mentions of the challenges and strategies for English language acquisition among Panamanian students. The Panamanian linguistic stage is diverse, and studies vary across sources. The current study focuses only on articles published in academic journals to standardize the scientific rigor. Nonetheless, there are comprehensive themes that, because of the systematic structure of the current study, were not accounted for; for example, published books, popular magazine series, along the institutional repositories.

Research on Panama's linguistic landscape shows that language transcends mere communication—which is a core component of the Panamanian uniqueness. The recurrent characteristics found in the literature span an array of concepts that the current SLR attempts to encompass within the comprehensive realms of history and identity, language, and diversity, and challenges and opportunities.

Overview of common themes

Language, historical significance, and identity foundation

Whether examining individual, ancestral, cultural, or national contexts, language emerges as essential to identity construction, making its preservation fundamental for cultural continuity. Panamanian identity is deeply rooted in a history marked by a colonial and republican past, migrations, and the construction of the Panama Canal. The act of remembering and documenting these historical experiences is crucial for understanding the present.

Panamanian identity is expressed and reinforced through various cultural forms, reflecting both indigenous and Afro-Caribbean influences, as well as broader historical narratives. According to Pinto Rodríguez (2024), the *saloma*—a form of musical expression—is a foundational element of Panamanian identity and culture, acting as a vehicle for cultural expression, reflecting and shaping the social life and experiences of the Panamanian people.

Language is also a means for conveying history. The course “History of the Relations between Panama and the United States of America,” established by Law No. 31 of January 29, 1963, was highlighted by Villarreal Castillo (2015) as contributed to “the integral formation of the student, positively orienting them towards achieving a critical and reflective analytical capacity in the face of each of the topics addressed” (p. 12). This course aims to strengthen national consciousness, sovereignty, and the valorization of patriotic history.

Another interesting perspective comes from Nwankwo’s (2002) article about keeping alive the memory of the oppression and alienation of the West Indian community in early Panamanian history. Her article analyzed Melva Lowe de Goodin’s book *From Barbados to Panama*, while illustrating the “intensification of memory,” to ensure that Panamanian youth remember the history of “the diggers, the washerwomen, and also, significantly, the history of the racism that both of those groups endured in Panama” (Nwankwo, 2002, p. 3). The author also praised Melva Lowe de Goodin’s collaboration with the Panamanian government on the creation of *Mi Pueblito*—a city center museum dedicated to the three roots of Panamanian society (Indigenous, European, and African/West Indian) using art, artifacts,

music, food, and performances to convey the flavor of each community.

The Panama Canal

According to López (2011), the Panama Canal is a “recurrent issue in Panamanian literary fiction,” symbolizing both national pride and complex historical relationships, particularly with the United States. Another linked element is that the reinforced historical racial conflicts were exacerbated by the U.S. presence during the Canal’s construction (López Cruz, 2011; Nwankwo, 2002; López Cruz, 2011; Stephenson Watson, 2015). Panamanian literature, particularly the “canal novel,” addresses the sociopolitical complexities of languages in use nationwide. According to Pérez and Becerra (2020), Joaquín Beleño’s *Luna Verde* portrays the conflicts and contradictions of a “neocolonial reality” and a “deeply fragmented society” (p. 95). As the same authors further explained, the foreign presence imposed “a polarized racial construction on Panama” (p. 90), leading to a strict segregation in the Canal Zone, where according to these authors, “the gringo is taboo, the Latino is his vassal and the black his slave” (Pérez Hernández & Becerra Bolaños, 2020, p. 90). This historical context continues to impact social dynamics and identity decades after the Panama Canal became a full-fledged Panamanian asset.

The influential role of language in popular culture is relevant when language becomes the gateway to presenting a social commentary through music. Authors like Martínez and Salcedo (2023) quoted how performers such as Pedrito Altamiranda used calypso, a musical variety. Even Lipski (2022) identified the *Congos*’ linguistic features, or Nwankwo (2002) discussed Ruben Blade’s lyrics, as they all serve as social, political, and economic barometers in Panama, reflecting the country’s usage of popular language and slang. Several authors studied the use of songs as language teaching tools, particularly English (Álvarez J. et al., 2025; Chau Colley, 1997). Culture is a comprehensive concept, though the preeminence of secular language features disseminated within the musical production is worth noting as a research interest in the Panamanian language landscape.

Language and Diversity

Panama's multicultural heritage and intricate historical interactions have been reflected in the country's rich linguistic tapestry. This emerged because of its position as a transit route from the pre-Columbian era to its status as the Hub of the Americas.

Before the European arrival, indigenous peoples in *Abya Yala* (the Motherland for Guna people), the Guna language enjoyed remarkable linguistic diversity. It is said that there was such "linguistic richness, it was like the Tower of Babel, people spoke in different mother tongues" (García Ch., 2024, p. 21). On the word of Sarsaneda (2023), the majority of indigenous languages in Panama originate from the Macro Chibcha family (e.g., Ngäbere, Buglere, Naso, Guna), while Emberá and Wounaan stem from the Caribbean Chocó ancestry. Many indigenous languages face a steep decline, from the Panamanian colonial past until the present day. Tamayo et al. (2022) consider indigenous language loss a permanent risk, particularly for students residing in the city. Constenla Umaña (2011) found that many indigenous languages are extinct (e.g., Dorasque, Cueva) or in a state of decline or obsolescence, meaning "the percentage of speakers is greater among the older generations," "not always fluent among younger speakers," and "the number of speakers decreases over time" (p. 145).

Spanish in Panama is influenced by its unique geographic location and historical interactions, becoming the de facto Panamanian lingua franca throughout the country. González Vega et al. (2023) categorized Panama within the "Caribbean zone" of dialectal Spanish; while Tuñón and Subiyanto (2023) observed that informal Panamanian Spanish exhibits specific phonological changes such as the elision of intervocalic /d/ (e.g., *comido* becoming *comio*) and cluster reduction in suffixes like *-ada* (e.g., *desesperada* becoming *desespera*). Codita (2024) found that the weakening and omission of implosive /s/ is also noticeable, providing historical evidence that pushes back the earliest known instances.

Herranz-Llácer (2022) declares that research on lexical availability in Panamanian Spanish is in its initial stages. However,

some studies highlight distinctive Panamanian terms and the strong influence of English on the lexicon. According to Chau (1997), words like “city,” “parking,” and “guachiman” (from “watchman”) are more common than indigenous terms. Giralt Latorre (1991) emphasized that the lexical area is “the most open of the language to foreign influence” (p. 143). For example, English loanwords are easily found in Panamanian newspapers, especially in everyday contexts like “sports, cars, home, and appliances,” with examples including “basket” (*baloncesto*), “blower” (*secador de pelo*), “bonus” (*prima*), and “money orders” (*giros postales*). And the best counter-argument to the gap within the lexical availability research comes from Villarreal Castillo (2015) and his *Glosario de disponibilidad léxica de Panamá* (Glossary of lexical availability in Panama, for its English translation), predating Herranz-Llácer’s (2022) statements.

Lexical features are emblems of local languages. According to Escobar Samaniego (2025), the particle “dizque” in Panamanian Spanish functions primarily as an introducer of reported speech (“79.5% of documented occurrences”) and to a lesser extent as an epistemic modalizer, signaling the indirect source of information and varying degrees of epistemic distancing. González Vega et al. (2023) observed that the language used in media, such as radio, reflects the linguistic variations present in Panamanian Spanish, even when the presenters aim for standard forms.

This dynamic interplay between standard and non-standard forms shapes perceptions of linguistic identity. For example, Panamanians identify their mother tongue as “*español*,” although there is a recognition of regional differences. Bonilla (2022) demonstrates this by examining the dialects in various regions of Panama’s geography. On the other hand, according to Quesada Pacheco (2019), a majority (51.5%) believe it would be beneficial for everyone to speak the same Spanish, indicating a desire for linguistic unity, even though a significant portion (39.8%) prefer variety. This reflects a balance between a shared linguistic heritage and unique national characteristics. Even if the language is not always used to boost the culture, diversity, and identity, as Jamieson (2011) asserts, the terms

“cholo/a” (designating a person of Indigenous ancestry) and “chombo/a” (to designate a person of Antillean descent) are lexical items understood in Panamanian Spanish, reflecting existing ethnic categories. Sarsaneda Del Cid (2023) also showed that “cholo” is sometimes used “in pejorative or, at least, not correctly valued” (p. 256).

Despite misvalued uses, foreign languages still thrive along with Spanish, mainly due to the close contact and interchange. Jamieson (2011) found that Caribbean Englishes have evolved significantly. These varieties have coalesced into a “predominantly Jamaican-based Creole English continuum that can rightfully be termed Panamanian (Creole) English” (p. 174). Creole languages have influenced Panamanian Spanish and vice versa, particularly in culinary terms. García León (2014) noted that the continued use of Creole languages is linked to “reactive ethnicity,” where a minority group reinforces its identity when in a subordinate situation.

Another vast pole of flourishing content is the renaissance of indigenous language pride, use, and preservation efforts. For example, the Wounaan people keep their distinctive spiritual and linguistic practices. According to Velásquez Runk (2020), the Wounaan people’s “*haaihi jëeu nam*” ritual (supplication to the creator) and shamanic rituals are described as crucial for their well-being, involving “a required moral exchange between the human and non-human realms of reality” (p. 156). The constitution of another language application asserting the profound connection to nature embedded in their language (Murillo Miranda, 2010; Murillo Miranda, 2015). Le Carrer (2013) documented that the Ngäbe people possess a sophisticated numeration system that combines mathematical operations with linguistic units, based on decimal and vigesimal principles. Autochthonal language studies are opening new avenues of research as the country’s language landscape intricacies taps into the multicultural heritage of a country.

English as a Second Language

In the early 20th century, Spanish, the Panamanian main language, was challenged by the overwhelming presence of the English language and the background culture (Vásquez Quirós, 2015). Displaying the single most influential writing of the Spanish language, the Cervantine masterpiece, as fabric whose interwoven threads unite the speakers across borders throughout the non-English speaking America, there was the underlying idea of counterbalancing power with the United States of America, as noted by Vásquez Quirós (2015). All the early 20th-century linguistic-sociopolitical clashes occurred while writing the early chapters of the history of the relations between Panama and the United States of America. Early efforts of nationalism limiting the outreach of English within the Panamanian nascent republic marked a generation that grew with a painful relationship with the English language, while attempting to appreciate the premature national history and identity. Though the same subtle but steady influence of English morphed into a globalized identity that would shape the next century.

According to Gooding de Palacios (2021), Panama considered English as its second language in 2003 as “a product of the economic and financial relations of the nation with other countries of the world,” which led to a “great revolution in the area of English language teaching” (p. 40). However, despite its official status, Panamanian university students face difficulties in learning English because of “interference, due to the age at which they begin contact with the language under study, exposure time, and linguistic and social contact with the new language” (Gooding, 2021, p. 54). In the same line, González and Díaz (2025) identified common errors, including false cognates, preposition usage, adjective placement, and verb tenses. Roman and Nuñez (2020) observed that instrumental motivation (learning for academic and professional milestones) is more prevalent among EFL learners than integrative motivation, which presents both challenges and opportunities for developing more comprehensive language learning approaches, especially in the Information and

Communication Technologies (ICT) context. While ICT offers fresh opportunities for English teaching, Jiménez Julio (2014) found that a significant number of professors (33%) at the University of Panama's School of English feel they are “not trained” to use ICT for this purpose. The author further develops that numerous professors (58%) also state they do not use ICT as a teaching resource in the classroom, primarily relying on multimedia for presentations and videos.

English language teaching has grown from being a neglected discipline to being a prominent and future-proof investment. The human capital, the Panamanians, within the educational system, represents another outlet of linguistic research that—likely—will not cease with time. The Panamanian language instruction outlook evolves with new research; English language classrooms are a fertile land to seed the future research.

Current linguistic studies in Panama

Linguistic studies in Panama require macro lenses to capture the details. The analogy attempts to convey the idea that the current SLR captures only the fine-grained details of language. In fact, most of the literature reveals a state-of-the-art revolving around four main poles: Spanish studies, Indigenous languages, English Creole varieties, and Inter-linguistic studies.

Spanish in Panama

The historical evolution of Spanish in Panama remains under-explored, with much of the existing scholarship relying on casual observations rather than a thorough analysis of archival materials. Early works, such as those by Amado Burgos in 1945 and 1949, offered basic linguistic insights from sparse sources (Pato, 2019). Some authors concur that the efforts by Robe in 1953 and 1960 shed light on rural varieties but focused more on tracing historical elements in modern speech than on reconstructing the past comprehensively (Codita, 2024; Pato, 2019). This gap becomes especially clear in studies of pre-modern phonetics, phonology, and morphosyntax.

Recent initiatives have filled these gaps by carefully transcribing colonial documents, creating a solid foundation for tracking changes over time. Such work proves essential for grasping how Panamanian Spanish developed its unique traits among Latin American dialects. It also highlights connections to Caribbean and South American varieties. For instance, when Teixeira and Leal (2017) named features like *seseo*, typical of southern Iberian Spanish, when it appeared in sixteenth-century records, suggesting their early rooting in the colonial setting. These findings underscore the blend of influences that shaped the language. Furthermore, they reveal how regional exchanges contributed to its distinct profile. Overall, this diachronic approach enriches the understanding of Panama's place in the broader Hispanic linguistic world.

Panamanian Spanish aligns closely with Caribbean dialects, sharing traits with those in the Antilles and along the coasts of Colombia and Venezuela. Perhaps, that is why González et al. (2023) and Bonilla (2022) observed common features in different regions of

the country; easy examples are over the aspiration of /s/ at the end of syllables and the softening or loss of intervocalic /d/ and post-vocalic /r/. Yet, variations exist within Panama itself. Scholars have identified five dialect zones, which cluster into three main groups: one central and two peripherals (Bonilla, 2022). These divisions come from projects like the ALPEP (*Multidimensional Linguistic Atlas of Panama*, for its Spanish acronym), which shows that while Caribbean characteristics appear nationwide, some areas exhibit rapid changes or unique sounds. Border regions near Costa Rica and Colombia display influences from neighboring countries. In informal speech, processes such as elision, assimilation, and prothesis are prevalent, drawing from multicultural sources. Such elements not only reflect diverse heritages but also strengthen speakers' sense of cultural and social belonging. This internal diversity highlights the dynamic nature of the language across Panama's geography.

Debate continues over whether the capital's preference for *tú* fully disrupts the widespread use of *usted* elsewhere (Teixeira & Leal, 2017). Other features include *medio* as an agreeing adjective and the suffixes *-azón* and *-azo* (Pato, 2019). A fuller picture of colonial morphosyntax awaits deeper research to map historical patterns. Morphosyntactic elements of Panamanian Spanish have drawn less attention than phonological ones, though they still attract notable study. The system of address pronouns—*tú*, *usted*, and *vos*—stands out, with research exploring their social and regional patterns. In peripheral cities, *usted* predominates, while the capital shows a mix of *tú* and *usted*.

Sociolinguistic studies in Panama include attitudes, everyday usage, and barriers in social settings. The Language Attitudes and Identity in Spanish America and Spain (LIAS) project, from 2009 to 2012, revealed how speakers perceive their dialectal variation in comparison to others. While there is mutual respect for varieties from Argentina, Colombia, Spain, and Mexico, locals prioritize their own, linking language to identity.

These views intertwine with socioeconomic and intersectional factors; women often lean toward standard forms, while men embrace

local idiosyncrasies, linking speech to cultural expression. Informal Spanish boasts a rich vocabulary and slang. For instance, as observed by Escobar (2025), the marker *dizque* serves mainly as an epistemic tool and speech reporter, with secondary evidential roles.

Tourism's growth has spotlighted English proficiency gaps in service roles, affecting visitor experiences in bookings and issue resolution. Proposals call for targeted English training to boost tourism, especially in remote regions (i.e., Puerto Armuelles, Chiriquí, Isla Escudo de Veraguas, and Bocas del Toro) with vast touristic potential. There have been efforts for local authorities to take Spanish instruction side-by-side with English, but the definitive official language of the country, Spanish, prevails in the Panamanian language research landscape.

Indigenous Languages

Panama stands as a multicultural, multiethnic, and plurilingual country, where all languages have their space. As testament, the country accommodates seven indigenous groups, each with its own ancestral language. The indigenous languages encompass *Ngäbere* (Ngäbe), *Buglére* (Buglé), *Dulegaya* (Guna), *Emberá Bedea* (Emberá), *Woun Meu* (Wounaan), *Teribe* (Naso Tjerdi), and *Bri-Bri* (Bri-Bri). Genealogically, five fall under the Chibcha family, and two under Chocó. Ngäbere, the most spoken with over 150,000 speakers, joins Buglé in the Isthmian Chibcha subgroup. Despite protections, these languages are under risk, especially among urban indigenous youth in Panama City, where dominant languages and media impact language loss. UNESCO considers Ngäbere vulnerable, with potential decline without intervention. This situation reflects broader challenges to linguistic vitality in the nation. Scholarly agreement accentuates the need for urgent preservation strategies to counter these threats.

Panamanian laws affirm indigenous languages as rights vital to preserving knowledge and values. Law N° 88 of 2010 recognizes them and their alphabets, supporting bilingual education. The 1972 Constitution, as amended, mandates their study and promotion (Article 88), while cultural laws protect heritage (Article 25). The implementation lags, with Spanish often overshadowing indigenous

tongues. More research on bilingualism and vitality is needed for revitalization. Efforts by UDELAS (Specialized University of the Americas) to study indigenous students and foster integration mark important steps forward.

English in Panama

English occupies a prominent role in Panama, forged by historical ties, financial interests, and economic links, especially those related to the Panama Canal. In 2003, Panama designated English as its second language, requiring its instruction in both public and private schools from primary through university levels (Gooding, 2021). Despite this mandate, Castillo et al. (2024) specified that the country ranked 58th out of 98 in the 2018 English Proficiency Index by Education First, signaling ongoing issues in English language education.

Research highlights substantial interference from Spanish as the first language in learning English as a second language (Gooding, 2021). Such interference complicates pronunciation, stress patterns, comprehension, and overall communication. Frequent errors involve false cognates, preposition misuse, verb tenses, and direct translations from Spanish. Gooding (2021) documented an 82% rate of Spanish interference in English learning processes. And concludes by stating that these challenges demand targeted pedagogical strategies.

Calls for reform emphasize a shift to experiential learning methods, given English's limited cultural experience in Panama. Investigations show teachers incorporate slang in classrooms (Álvarez J. et al., 2025), yet optimal approaches require deeper exploration. University freshmen often arrive with deficiencies in speaking, listening, reading, and writing.

English is a compulsory subject in the Panamanian educational system (schools and universities), as directed by the Ministry of Education (Jiménez, 2014). There are different motivations for learning a language. First, Roman and Nuñez (2020) consider the instrumental motivations to dominate among learners, driven by goals like university admission or career advancement. Meanwhile, the same authors mentioned that integrative motivations, focused on cultural

engagement, hold appeal but remain secondary. The studies on English as a foreign language in Panama, though limited, offer glimpses into these drivers, regularly confined to specific institutions like Quality Leadership University in Panama City (Roman Jr. & Nunez, 2020). Broader research is essential to examine motivation types more thoroughly. At universities, English courses aim to build professional communication skills, and assessments of students' self-perceived abilities in core areas highlight improvement activities. Several authors concur that the scarcity of comprehensive studies points to gaps in understanding effective instruction (González D. , 2019; Torres et al., 2018). Gonzalez (2019) and Rosas et al. (2024) perceive that proficiency exams influence certification program outcomes.

English language studies usually fall under language teaching, as professors are the researchers behind the studies. The present SLR attempted to separate the two concepts of pure linguistics and language teaching as separate categories, though both concepts are framed within the mesh of the Panamanian linguistic landscape.

Inter-linguistic Studies

Inter-linguistic studies comprise the mixture of language-dialect interplay. It should include pidginization, but there are no new languages in contact situations other than the already established confluence of languages with several generations of native speakers: a language in contact described as Creole. In Panama, Creole English is often spoken among Afro-descendant communities, particularly in Colón Province (López, 2021), but it shows signs of decline. In combating these effects, López (2021) considers policies for ethnoeducation relevant and urges applying them to preserve it, fostering interculturalism by integrating the mother tongue into formal schooling. This approach seeks to elevate the language's status, boost self-esteem among speakers, and encourage freer usage.

Panamanian Creole English, derived from Caribbean varieties, has infused Panamanian Spanish with loanwords, notably in West Indian cuisine (Jamieson, 2011). Reciprocally, Spanish has shaped Creole. Despite the West Indian community's cultural significance,

sociopolitical factors have marginalized studies of this group and its language.

Since the 19th century, the American and Caribbean English have coexisted in Panama, with American variants typically viewed as more prestigious. Within the creole studies, Jamieson's (2011) study considers contemporary dialects of Panamanian Creole those in Puerto Armuelles, Bocas del Toro (the most creolized and least esteemed), Colón, and Panama City (the most decreolized). Tourism's rise in areas such as Bocas del Toro has revived English usage, potentially enhanced Creole's prestige, and resisting Spanish dominance. However, sustained contact might accelerate decreolization and language loss, justifying further investigation. Comparative studies of Creoles in Spanish-contact zones, such as Costa Rica, Panama, and San Andrés and Providencia, reveal diglossic patterns: Creole for informal use, Spanish for formal (García León, 2014).

Works of John Lipski (1986; 1987; 2007) reveal that the African influences extend beyond Creole to Latin American Spanish, evident in dialect pockets like the speech of *negros congos* on Panama's Caribbean coast. A distinctive phonetic change—prevocalic /r/ shifting to [d]—appears solely in Afro-Hispanic communities, possibly tracing to Kikongo influences during colonial Spanish acquisition (Lipski J. , 2007).

Panama's linguistic landscape lies within a broad cultural diversity. Advances in documenting Spanish features and historical impacts mark progress, yet deeper analyzes remain necessary. Indigenous language revitalization demands ongoing efforts, alongside examinations of Creole English's sociolinguistic shifts amid the growing English influence.

Methodological Approaches in Language Research

The current SRL portrays not only the methods but also emphasizes the prevalence of significant factors and challenges unique to the Panamanian context. These include the absence of a diverse and meticulously transcribed collection of archival documents, which has led to a substantial gap in historical linguistic research on Panamanian Spanish. Numerous studies recognize limitations related to sample size, geographic scope, or specific informant characteristics. This restricts in-depth diachronic studies and requires significant effort in corpus compilation. For instance, the generalizability of certain studies is restricted to a single institution or a limited number of participants.

Approaches in the Research Articles

Despite the prevalence of quantitative methods, particularly surveys, there is a recognized need for a greater variety of methodological approaches, such as more experimental designs, corpus studies (beyond basic analysis), field observations, and ethnographic projects, as presented in Table 9.

Table 10. Approaches in the Research Articles

Category	Approach/Method	Techniques & Instruments	Analytical Methods	Articles
QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGY	Documentary Studies	Documentary analysis, bibliographic sources, written press, digital texts, visual materials	Content analysis, interpretive and critical analysis	[GS - ES (10).pdf; GS - ES (26).pdf; GS - ES (52).pdf; GS - ES (58).pdf]
	Descriptive Studies	Interviews (semi-structured, individual), observations, field work	Grounded theory, content analysis	[GS - ES (10).pdf; GS - ES (80).pdf; GS - ES (86).pdf; GS - ES (87).pdf]
	Case Studies	Interviews, sociolinguistic questionnaires, voice recordings	Grounded theory, interpretive analysis	[GS - ES (231).pdf ; GS - ES (17).pdf;

				GS - ES (25).pdf]
	Ethnographic Approaches	Field observations, interviews, sociolinguistic histories	Ethnographic analysis, interpretive methods	[GS - ES (231).pdf ; GS - ES (17).pdf]
	Hermeneutic Approach	Textual analysis, analogical hermeneutics	Hermeneutic interpretation	[GS - ES (63).pdf; GS - ES (52).pdf]
	Descriptive/ Exploratory Designs	Surveys, questionnaires (Likert scales), diagnostic tests	Statistical analysis (descriptive & inferential statistics)	[GS - ES (17).pdf; GS - ES (14).pdf]
QUANTITATIVE METHODOLOGY	Non-experimental Designs	Corpus linguistics, compiled language corpora	Frequencies, means, standard deviation, t-tests, ANOVA	[GS - ES (17).pdf; GS - ES (6).pdf; GS - ES (329).pdf]
	Dialectometry	Linguistic atlases, quantitative dialectal data	Quantitative dialectal variation analysis	[GS - ES (3).pdf; SL-ES-01.pdf]
MIXED METHODS	Bimodal Studies	Combined qualitative-quantitative instruments	Integrated statistical and interpretive analysis	[GS - ES (17).pdf; GS - ES (25).pdf; GS - ES (84).pdf]

Source: Author.

Subfields of linguistic studies

The complex linguistic landscape of Panama, which includes indigenous languages, creole varieties, and language in contact phenomena, frequently requires interdisciplinary approaches that integrate linguistics with anthropology, sociology, and other social sciences. The most common subfields of linguistics found in the literature appear in Table 10.

Table 11. Subfields of linguistic studies

Category	Approach/Method	Techniques & Instruments	Analytical Methods	Articles
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SOCIO LINGUISTICS & DIALECTOLOGY	Linguistic Attitudes	Direct/indirect questionnaires, matched guise technique	Quantitative-qualitative combined analysis	SC-EN-04.pdf GS - ES (208).pdf
	Forms of Address Studies	Online questionnaires, corpus analysis (ALEP, CREA, CORPES XXI)	Sociovariational analysis	GS - ES (6).pdf GS - ES (84).pdf
	Dialectal Variation	ALPEP questionnaires, recorded speech analysis	Distinctive feature analysis, discourse analysis	GS - ES (3).pdf SL-ES-01.pdf GS - ES (47).pdf GS - ES (83).pdf
HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS	Colonial Spanish Studies	Archival documentation transcription, historical texts	Morphosyntactic and phonetic analysis	GS - ES (214).pdf GS - ES (312).pdf SL-ES-03.pdf
	Afro-Hispanic Creole Studies	Spoken texts analysis, historical sources	Sociolinguistic and ethnographic analysis	GS - ES (108).pdf GS - ES (12).pdf GS - ES (23).pdf GS - ES (312).pdf SC-EN-07.pdf GS - ES (214).pdf
APPLIED LINGUISTICS	Second/Third Language Acquisition	Interviews, sociolinguistic questionnaires, voice tests	Case study analysis, ethnographic methods	GS - ES (231).pdf GS - ES (58).pdf
	Curriculum & Pedagogy	Documentary analysis of study plans, academic programs	Descriptive analysis of educational materials	GS - ES (9).pdf GS - ES (61).pdf
INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES	Grammatical Descriptions	Phonological data collection, structural analysis	Phonological analysis, grammatical description	GS - ES (42).pdf GS - ES (5).pdf, Rlb01-08 NGöbe Math.pdf Rlb01-10 NGöbe Frase Nom.pdf Rlb01-11 NGöbe Orac Simple.pdf Rlb01-06 wounan.pdf

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS & PRAGMATICS	Language Document- tation	Surveys, direct observation, sociolinguistic histories	Ethnographic data analysis	GS - ES (25).pdf GS - ES (68).pdf GS - ES (335).pdf
	Lexicography	Vocabulary compilation, dictionary creation	Lexical analysis and compilation	Rlb01-07 America Central.pdf
	Colloquial Language	Audio recordings, Val.Es.Co. transcription system	Discourse analysis, pragmatic analysis	GS - ES (80).pdf
	Journalistic Discourse	Newspaper samples, textual analysis	Analogical hermeneutics, content analysis	GS - ES (63).pdf
	Linguistic Units Analysis	Corpus data (AntConc), spoken dialogue	Evidentiality theory analysis	GS - ES (86).pdf
	LEXICOLOGY	Surveys using “centers of interest”, vocabulary collection	Lexical frequency analysis	Rlb01-09 Rev Bib Disp Lex.pdf GS - ES (209).pdf
		Visual surveys of public spaces, categorization	Multilingual categorization analysis	GS - ES (26).pdf

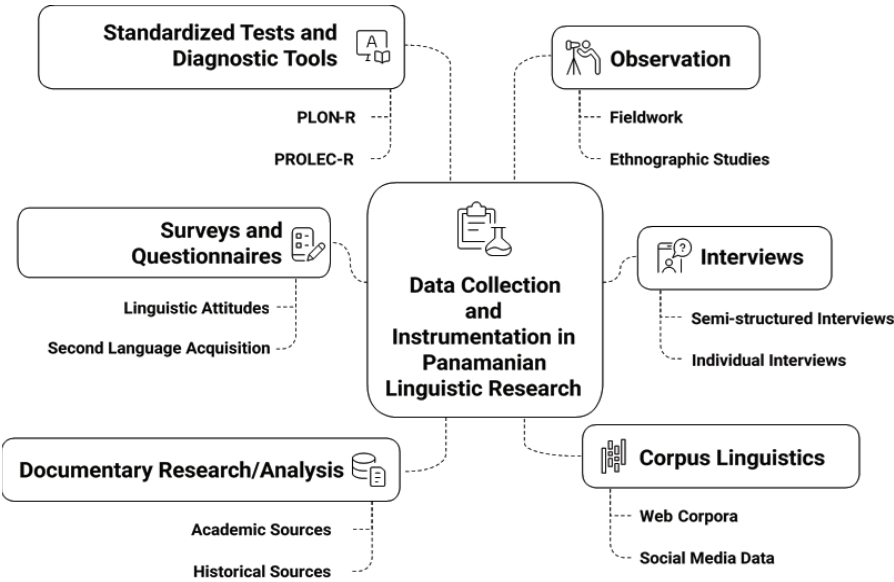
Note 6. Article names are coded with [databases – language (number)], as appeared in the shared repository. Source: Author.

The research on Panamanian languages is displaying a growing level of methodological sophistication. Although quantitative and qualitative descriptive methods, which predominantly involve surveys and interviews, are the foundation of much of the Panamanian linguistic research. There is a growing appreciation for the value of mixed methods, corpus linguistics, and specialized approaches such as participatory research and dialectometric analyzes.

Data Collection and Instrumentation Methods

The constant demand for stronger historical corpora and more varied methodologies highlights how dynamic and ever-changing linguistic research is in Panama. A depiction of the current methodological implications appears in Figure 5.

Figure 23. Data Collection and Instrumentation Methods



Note 7. Recurrent strategies. Source: Author prompt in Napkin.ai (modified manually).

Relevant findings about the study of languages spoken in Panama

The current SLR reveals that Panama's linguistic landscape encompasses several interconnected domains that collectively examine the nation's complex multilingual reality. This comprehensive examination shows how linguistic diversity in Panama reflects deeper cultural, social, and historical dynamics that continue to shape contemporary language use patterns.

Panamanian Spanish: Dialectal Features, History, and Sociolinguistics

Panama functions officially as a Spanish-speaking nation, with research consistently positioning Panamanian Spanish within the broader Caribbean dialectal continuum alongside Antillean varieties and those found along the Caribbean coasts of Colombia and Venezuela (Bonilla, 2022; González Vega et al., 2023). While scholarly discourse has traditionally assumed the existence of a unified Panamanian dialect, recent dialectometric investigations have revealed a more nuanced linguistic landscape that challenges this perspective. Bonilla's (2022) article about contemporary analyzes identifies five distinct dialectal zones distributed across the country's geography: central-western, western, central-eastern, eastern, and Guna Yala. The phonological characteristics of Panamanian Spanish exhibit distinctly Caribbean features that manifest consistently across different social and economic strata, though their frequency might have been somewhat reduced compared to certain Iberian varieties. These phonological processes include the systematic weakening, aspiration, or complete deletion of /s/ in syllable-final positions, the elimination of intervocalic /d/ in past participle forms and specific nominal constructions, and the deletion of post-vocalic /r/ in infinitive verb forms (Codita, 2024; González Vega et al., 2023; Tuñón & Subiyanto, 2023). These variations serve as markers, either for external linguistic influences and the cultural and social identities of speakers, demonstrating how phonological choices reflect deeper sociolinguistic allegiances (Tuñón & Subiyanto, 2023).

Morphosyntactic investigations have devoted considerable attention to the complex system of address forms, particularly the

interplay between *tú*, *usted*, and *vos* usage patterns throughout Panama. Research findings indicate that “*ustedeo*” (the use of formal “*usted*”) demonstrates greater prevalence in peripheral urban centers, while the capital region exhibits a coexistence of “*tuteo*” (informal “*tú*” usage) with other forms (Codita, 2024; Teixeira & Leal, 2017). Furthermore, the discourse marker “*dizque*” has emerged as a significant focus of morphosyntactic analysis, revealing its dual function as both an introducer of reported speech and an epistemic modalizer that conveys information from indirect sources while often signaling speaker doubt or ironic distance (Escobar Samaniego, 2025).

The lexical dimension of Panamanian Spanish represents a particularly rich area of investigation, encompassing the study of “*Panameñismos*” or localisms that reflect unique cultural and geographical influences (Pato, 2019; Villarreal Castillo, 2015). Similarly, Pato (2019) and Giralt Latorre (1991) proved that these lexical studies extend beyond domestic vocabulary to examine Anglicisms that reflect Panama’s historical relationship with English-speaking communities, as well as Africanisms that trace the linguistic legacy of African diaspora communities. Furthermore, Jamieson (2011) ponders that Panamanian Spanish has incorporated a distinctive culinary vocabulary derived from Caribbean English sources, illustrating the dynamic nature of lexical borrowing and cultural exchange. In the contemporary linguistic landscape research, Salcedo Murillo (2024) conducted a detailed analysis of restaurant nomenclature, providing valuable insights into how linguistic variation, cultural dynamics, and identity construction are dynamized through the adoption of foreign terms and local vernacular expressions.

Despite the richness of synchronic research, historical linguistic investigation of the Castilian development in Panama remains underdeveloped, representing perhaps the most significant gap in current scholarship. Most existing research adopts synchronistic approaches that focus exclusively on contemporary Panamanian Spanish varieties. Codita (2020a; 2020b; 2024) demonstrated the limited engagement with historical archival documentation. The author

also delved into early historical works, providing the scarce historical linguistic data drawn from extremely limited source materials (Codita, 2020; Codita, 2024). Therefore, scholars have issued urgent calls for more rigorous and systematic historical linguistic investigations utilizing comprehensive archival resources to adequately trace the diachronic evolution of Panamanian Spanish (Codita, 2020a; Codita, 2020b; Codita, 2024).

Indigenous Languages: Vitality, Endangerment, and Preservation

Panama's indigenous linguistic heritage encompasses seven distinct groups, each maintaining its own ancestral language, yet the sociolinguistic status of these languages presents significant concerns that demand scholarly and policy attention. In accordance with García (2024), the endangerment patterns affecting these languages reveal complex dynamics that interweave urbanization pressures, educational policies, and intergenerational transmission challenges.

Research has identified a latent but accelerating risk of native language loss among indigenous students residing in Panama City, highlighting how geographic displacement from traditional communities creates conditions conducive to linguistic shift (Tamayo et al., 2022). This progressive linguistic displacement operates as an intergenerational phenomenon, driven primarily by internal migration patterns toward urban centers where indigenous communities experience intensive transculturation processes. For Domínguez Córdoba (2024), these are the experiences that frequently generate negative attitudes toward ancestral languages and contribute to their systematic devaluation within broader social contexts.

The decline trajectory of indigenous languages has been explicitly documented through various indicators of linguistic vitality. For García (2014) and Sarsaneda Del Cid (2023), a phenomenon that impacts languages when they are considered to be “losing popularity” results in others facing more severe endangerment classifications. The United Nations has established a minimum threshold of 30,000 speakers for sustainable language maintenance, a demographic benchmark that many indigenous languages in Panama may not meet (Sarsaneda Del Cid, 2023). Moreover, UNESCO has formally

expressed concerns regarding indigenous language loss throughout Panama, showing international recognition to this critical sociolinguistic situation (García Ch., 2024).

Legislative interventions in Panama, including Law No. 88 of 2010, have attempted to address language endangerment through official recognition of indigenous languages and promotion of intercultural bilingual education initiatives. However, implementation of these policies frequently falls short of their ambitious goals, resulting in continued assimilation pressures from dominant Spanish that undermine indigenous language maintenance efforts (García Ch., 2024). On this basis, legal implementations might only serve as a prescriptive framework, though not always connected to the reality in the educational curricula or within the non-formal social interaction front.

Current research initiatives and preservation strategies demonstrate both promise and limitations in addressing indigenous language endangerment. Sociolinguistic investigations, such as Sarsaneda Del Cid (2023), explored the specific dangers facing individual languages while examining ongoing efforts to prevent linguistic extinction, with particular attention devoted to Ngäbere challenges. Scholars have called for more comprehensive studies investigating the current degree of bilingualism and assessing the vitality of all seven ancestral languages to inform evidence-based revitalization strategies (Domínguez Córdoba D. , 2024; Sarsaneda Del Cid, 2023).

For authors such as López (2021), ethno-education policies have the potential to become mechanisms for revaluing and preserving minority languages through their integration into formal educational curricula. Additionally, teacher training programs in *Intercultural Bilingual Education* (IBI, for its Spanish acronym) at institutions such as UDELAS are undergoing assessment to enhance support systems for indigenous language instruction (Guainora Guainora, 2024). Specific linguistic documentation projects contribute to preservation efforts through detailed analyzes of phonological, morphosyntactic, and discourse features in languages such as Wounana (Murillo

Miranda, 2015) and Ngäbere (Le Carrer, 2013; Lininger Ross, 1981; Murillo Miranda, 2009; Murillo Miranda, 2010). Despite being more a Spanish variety, research into the Panamanian borne “Congo speech” of Afro-Panamanian communities added another dimension to minority language documentation efforts (Lipski J. , 2022).

Indigenous language opportunities arise with the societal awareness of their importance. of revitalization efforts are visible from the academic standpoint, exercising the legal gears in Panama—at least for scholars. On the other hand, threats compromising autochthonous languages rise with the internal migratory movements—countryside-city—and the educational system often missing nation-wide preservation policies. Against odds, the aforementioned studies comprise the efforts of the academia to preserve the language diversity in the Panamanian linguistic landscape.

Panamanian Creole English: A Language Under Threat

Panamanian Creole English represents a distinct linguistic variety spoken primarily by Afro-descendant communities, particularly concentrated in Colón province, yet faces severe endangerment that threatens its existence. This Caribbean English-derived creole occupies a precarious position within Panama's linguistic landscape, experiencing simultaneous pressures from Spanish dominance and Standard English influences.

Research explicitly contextualizes “the decline of Creole English in Panama among the Afro-descendant population, mainly of the province of Colón,” identifying this linguistic system as one that is demonstrably “losing popularity” and therefore “deserving rescue and preservation” (López, 2021, pág. 198), though targeted ethno-education policies. This endangerment pattern aligns with broader regional trends affecting Caribbean English-based Creole languages, which García León (2014) considers as “endangered languages” throughout the Caribbean basin. The cultural assimilation processes affecting Panamanians of Caribbean origin create direct threats to their linguistic heritage, including their distinctive vernacular English varieties. It is remarkable the lack of studies of Pacific Coast creole-based languages, such as the Puerto Armuelles English, a gap that authors have mentioned through the years (Aceto, 1996; Herzfield, 1983).

The sociolinguistic dynamics surrounding Panamanian Creole English reveal complex patterns of linguistic interaction and domain restriction that further complicate maintenance efforts. Historically, this creole variety has contributed numerous loanwords to Panamanian Spanish. For Jamieson (2011), the language influence over the culinary terminology reflects on the deep cultural connections between creole linguistic communities. Conversely, Salamanca (2012) suggests that Panamanian Spanish has also influenced the creole lexicon, creating bidirectional borrowings that demonstrate the permeable boundaries between these language varieties.

Over the years, usage patterns exhibit what researchers characterize as a “diglossic relationship” wherein Panamanian Creole

English remains confined primarily to informal domains such as family and community interactions, while Spanish maintained dominance in formal contexts, including education, media, and governmental communication (García León, 2014). This functional restriction significantly limits opportunities for creole maintenance and transmission across generations.

The re-emergence of Standard English in Panama, partially driven by tourism, introduces additional complexity to creole maintenance dynamics through processes that scholars coined “decreolization.” García León (2014) considers that this phenomenon raises fundamental questions about whether increased English presence might ultimately contribute to creole loss or, paradoxically, support its maintenance. Some communities, such as those in Bastimentos, actively resist Hispanization of their Anglophone names and demonstrate welcoming attitudes toward English speakers globally, suggesting potential pathways for creole preservation through English language connection (García León, 2014). Curiously, historical documentation shows records with concerns that Spanish might disappear from Bocas del Toro due to the prevalent influence of local Panamanian Creole English varieties, illustrating the complex power dynamics that have characterized language contact in this region.

English as a Foreign and Second Language Teaching: Policy and Proficiency Challenges

Standard English acquisition and instruction in Panama represents a different domain from endangered Panamanian Creole English, driven by national policy initiatives and economic development objectives that have positioned English proficiency as essential for modernization goals. Since 2003, English has been regarded as Panama's second language, with mandatory instruction required in both public and private educational institutions. Roman Jr. and Nunez (2020) reflect on the governmental commitments to modernizing the national education system, including English.

Despite these ambitious policy frameworks, Panama demonstrates persistently low English proficiency levels that significantly impact economic and tourism development objectives. According to Gooding (2021), in the international assessment of the 2018 English Proficiency Index (from *English First*), Panama ranked 58th among 98 countries, illustrating the substantial gap between policy aspirations and actual linguistic outcomes. These proficiency deficits create significant barriers, particularly affecting the quality of customer service available to foreign tourists. University students frequently enter higher education with low English foundations across all basic skill areas: speaking, listening comprehension, reading, and writing.

The research landscape addressing English language learning in Panama remains underdeveloped, with scholars noting a recognized scarcity of research materials focused specifically on local learning contexts and challenges. This research gap emphasizes the urgent need for more comprehensive studies to identify effective teaching strategies to improve students' linguistic competence within Panamanian educational environments (González & Díaz, 2025).

Challenges and Opportunities

The preservation and development of Panama's linguistic diversity face numerous challenges while also presenting significant opportunities for cultural and educational advancement. Diversity has been relevant to the Panamanian territory; nonetheless, Spanish colonial rule and subsequent Panamanian government policies actively sought to '*assimilate*' indigenous populations. According to Sarsaneda Del Cid (2023), Law 56 of 1912 aimed to "*the reduction to civilized life of barbarian, semi-barbarian and savage tribes*" (p. 259). This policy, designed to "*ciudadanizar*" (a vague equivalent to *civilize*) and convert into standard Panamanians those different, often led to accentuating marginalization and disrespecting indigenous and other-than-Spanish languages.

While Panamanian legislation recognizes indigenous languages as human rights to safeguard ancestral knowledge and cultural values, as García (2024) noted, their implementation faces challenges. For example, Sarsaneda Del Cid (2023) documented that a 2001 Executive Decree regulating indigenous collective rights contained "21 errors in the writing of said objects, only regarding the Ngäbe culture" (p. 266), including the word "Ngäbe" itself. Indigenous peoples in Panama have historically resisted attempts at assimilation and actively sought to preserve their cultures and territories. For Voisin et al. (2022), community mapping evolved from a scientific tool to "an essential tool of the political technicality of their indigenous movement" (p. 4), enabling dialogue with the State and international environmental policies.

Panamanian linguistic and cultural identity represents a vibrant and evolving mosaic shaped by deep historical roots, significant external influences, and internal dynamics. This ongoing process of consolidating Panamanian national identity involves acknowledging unbiased realities of the languages spoken within the territories. The ongoing efforts to preserve indigenous languages and Afro-descendant heritage, alongside the pervasive influence of Spanish and English, highlight a continuous negotiation and redefinition of what it means to

be Panamanian, presenting both significant challenges and valuable opportunities for the nation's cultural and linguistic future.

Future Research Directions

The current SLR underscores Panama's fundamental character as a plurilingual and multicultural society where linguistic diversity interweaves intimately with cultural and social identity construction (García Ch., 2024; González & Díaz, 2025; Tuñón & Subiyanto, 2023). The imperative to promote and investigate this diversity through rigorous linguistic research emerges as a consistent theme throughout the literature (Salcedo Murillo et al., 2024).

Future linguistic research in Panama, projected from the current academic trends, encompasses several critical areas requiring immediate attention. On the same line, historical linguistics demands more comprehensive and systematic investigations of Panamanian Spanish evolution utilizing extensive archival documentation to trace diachronic development patterns (Codita, 2020a; Codita, 2020b; Codita, 2024). Furthermore, Sarsaneda (2023) and Dominguez (2024) consider that indigenous language studies require in-depth assessments of vitality and bilingualism across all seven ancestral languages to inform evidence-based revitalization programming.

Creole studies require sustained sociolinguistic investigations into Panamanian Creole English dynamics, as García León (2014) exposed, which might include decreolization processes, as well as language maintenance strategies to preserve this endangered variety. Lastly, English language pedagogy requires expanded research initiatives addressing the proficiency gaps that González and Díaz (2025) mentioned. These processes could develop more effective instructional approaches tailored to the Panamanian learning context. This SLR thus reveals Panama's linguistic landscape as simultaneously vibrant and vulnerable, where ongoing research endeavors prove essential for understanding, documenting, and preserving its diverse linguistic heritage while addressing contemporary educational and policy challenges.

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- Vergara Esturaín M.S., K. (2013). Estructuración de la hispanofonía en el pueblo naso Una perspectiva socio-discursiva. *Canto Rodado*, 8.
- Villarreal Castillo, M. (2015). Glosario de disponibilidad léxica de Panamá. *Revista Lotería*, 521.
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APPENDIX

List of works compiled for the current study (85 texts)

#	File Name	Cited works
1	GS - EN (406).txt	Nwankwo, I. C. K. (2002). The Art of Memory in Panamanian West Indian Discourse: Melva Lowe de Goodin's De/From Barbados alto Panama. PALARA: Publication of the Afro-Latin/American Research Association, 6.
2	GS - ES (2).txt	García Ch., F. (2024). El uso y protección de la lengua indígena en la legislación panameña. Karakol, 4.
3	GS - ES (3).txt	Bonilla, J. E. (2022). Análisis dialectométrico del nivel fonético del Atlas Lingüístico Pluridimensional de Panamá. Moderna Språk, 116(1). https://doi.org/10.58221/mosp.v116i1.6946
4	GS - ES (5).txt	Lininger Ross, B. (1981). ESTUDIOS SOBRE EL GUAYMI NGABERE: FONOLOGIA. ALFABETO y DICCIONARIO PROVISIONAL. Filología y Lingüística, 7(1y2).
5	GS - ES (6).txt	Teixeira, F. J. A., & Leal, K. A. (2017). LAS FORMAS DE TRATAMIENTO EN EL ESPAÑOL PANAMEÑO: LA VIGENCIA DEL "USTEDEO". Travessias Interativas, 7(14).
6	GS - ES (7).txt	Almendras Bravo, M. (2024). Niveles de incrustación de estructuras subordinadas en textos escritos por universitarios de primer ingreso de la Universidad de Panamá. Revista Saberes Apudep, 8(1). https://doi.org/10.48204/j.saberes.v8n1.a6791
7	GS - ES (8).txt	López Baloy, V. M. (2021). EL INGLÉS CRIOLLO EN PANAMÁ: DESDE UNA PERSPECTIVA ETNOEDUCATIVA. Cátedra, 18.
8	GS - ES (9).txt	Arona Castillo, E. M. (2025). Fortalecimiento de competencias comunicativas y lingüísticas en el currículo de Periodismo en la Universidad de Panamá. Synergía, 4(1). https://doi.org/10.48204/synergia.v4n1.7197
9	GS - ES (10).txt	Castillo, D. H. M., & Padilla, M. (2024). Impacto del servicio al cliente bilingüe en la satisfacción de turista extranjeros en Panamá. Semilla Científica, 6. https://doi.org/10.37594/sc.v1i7.1762
10	GS - ES (11).txt	Pinto Rodríguez, R. A. (2024). Comunicación y saloma como valor del léxico del fenómeno cultural en Panamá. Revista Contacto, 4(2). https://doi.org/10.48204/contacto.v4n2.6690

11	GS - ES (12).txt	LIPSKI, J. M. (2022). La historia (socio)lingüística del habla congo afropanameña: una primera aproximación. <i>Revista de Historia de la Lengua Española</i> , 17. https://doi.org/10.54166/rhle.2022.17.06
12	GS - ES (13).txt	Alvarado, J., Moreno, M., & Carpintero, J. (2025). Impacto de las barreras de comunicación lingüística en el proceso de atención enfermera-paciente hemato-oncológico en The Panamá Clinic. <i>VISIÓN360 Revista Científica de Enfermería</i> , 4(1).
13	GS - ES (14).txt	Tamayo, D., de Small, C., Guainora, D., & Madrid, J. (2022). Características lingüísticas de estudiantes indígenas becados de la Universidad Especializada de las Américas, Ciudad de Panamá. <i>Revista REDES</i> , 1(14).
14	GS - ES (17).txt	González-Johnson, A. M., González Vega, M., Cisneros, R. W., & Arrocha, E. (2024). Métodos para la investigación de la lingüística inglesa en publicaciones de revista de la Universidad de Panamá. <i>Acción y Reflexión Educativa</i> , 49. https://doi.org/10.48204/j.are.n49.a4594
15	GS - ES (18).txt	De Granda, G. (1976). Algunos rasgos morfosintácticos de posible origen criollo en el habla de áreas hispanoamericanas de población negra. <i>Anuario De Letras. Lingüística Y Filología</i> , 14, 5–22. https://doi.org/10.19130/iifl.adel.14.0.1976.358
16	GS - ES (23).txt	Lipski, J. M. (1986). El lenguaje de los negros congos de Panamá. <i>Estudio lingüístico. Lexis</i> , 10(1).
17	GS - ES (25).txt	Domínguez Córdoba, D. (2024). El desplazamiento lingüístico del ngäbere en favor del español en historias de vida de los estudiantes ngäbe de la Escuela de Español de la Universidad de Panamá. <i>Cátedra</i> , 21.
18	GS - ES (26).txt	Salcedo Murillo, Z. A. (2024). ANÁLISIS DEL PAISAJE LINGÜÍSTICO VISTO A TRAVÉS DE LOS NOMBRES DE LOS RESTAURANTES UBICADOS EN EL BOULEVARD COSTA VERDE. <i>Revista Colegiada de Ciencias</i> , 5(2). https://doi.org/10.48204/j.colegiada.v5n2.a5025
19	GS - ES (31).txt	Solano Acuña, A. S. (2018). Tierra y vida para administrar - Resistencia guaymí en el occidente de Panamá, 1880-1925. <i>Mesoamérica</i> , 39, 60.

20	GS - ES (39).txt	Alveo Pimentel, C. (2022). La lucha olímpica en los niños Gunadules en la comunidad de Koskuna, Veracruz, Panamá Oeste. <i>Karakol</i> , 2, agosto.
21	GS - ES (42).txt	Jara Murillo, C. V. (1989). ANALISIS COMPONENTIAL DEL PARENTESCO EN BOCOTA DE CHIRIQUI. <i>Revista de Filología y Lingüística</i> , 15(2).
22	GS - ES (47).txt	González Vega, M., Cisneros, R. W., & González-Johnson, A. M. (2023). DISCOURSE ANALYSIS IN THE SPEECH USED IN A PANAMANIAN RADIO STATION. <i>Revista Colegiada de Ciencias</i> , 1(2).
23	GS - ES (48).txt	Domínguez, D. C., Rodríguez Peñate, M., & Balmaseda Neyra, O. (2020). Sistemas de actividades para la construcción del texto expositivo escrito: una experiencia en el primer año de la carrera en Español de la Universidad de Panamá. <i>VARONA, Revista Científico-Metodológica</i> , 71.
24	GS - ES (52).txt	Jaén, F. E. (2020). LA LINGÜÍSTICA Y LA PRODUCCIÓN DEL TEXTO ESCRITO EN LOS ESPACIOS VIRTUALES. <i>Revista Colegiada de Ciencia</i> , 2(1).
25	GS - ES (56).txt	Constenla Umaña, A. (1985). LAS LENGUAS DORASQUE y CHANGUENA y SUS RELACIONES GENEALOGICAS. <i>Revista de Filología y Lingüística de la Universidad de Costa Rica</i> , 11(2).
26	GS - ES (58).txt	Gooding de Palacios, F. A. (2021). INTERFERENCIA DEL IDIOMA ESPAÑOL EN EL APRENDIZAJE DE INGLÉS COMO SEGUNDA LENGUA. <i>Societas</i> , 23(2).
27	GS - ES (61).txt	Jiménez Julio, A. (2014). El uso de las TIC en la enseñanza del inglés: El caso de la Escuela de Inglés, Universidad de Panamá. <i>Acción y Reflexión Educativa</i> , 36.
28	GS - ES (63).txt	Jaén, F. E. (2021). Ambigüedad semántica en los titulares de la prensa escrita panameña a nivel nacional. <i>Revista Científica Orbis Cognita</i> , 5(2).
29	GS - ES (64).txt	Jaén, F. E. (2020). Referentes anafóricos y catafóricos como mecanismos de cohesión lingüística textual. <i>Revista Científica Orbis Cognita</i> , 4(2).
30	GS - ES (68).txt	Quesada Pacheco, M. Á. (2008). Las lenguas ístmicas: entre obsolescencia y resistencia. <i>LETRAS</i> , 43(2008). https://doi.org/10.15359/rl.1-43.2
31	GS - ES (73).txt	Álvarez, J., Batista, Y., Pérez, P., Bravo, N., & Sonhouse, M. (2025). La jerga una herramienta en la enseñanza del inglés

		en Panamá. <i>Synergía</i> , 4(1). https://doi.org/10.48204/synergia.v4n1.7174
32	GS - ES (74).txt	Guainora Guainora, D. (2024). Formación Docente en Educación Bilingüe Intercultural en la Educación Superior, caso UDELAS-Panamá. <i>Karakol</i> , 4.
33	GS - ES (75).txt	Alonso C., A. E., Binda de López, M., & Rodríguez, R. (2014). Hábitos de la lectura en el proceso de la enseñanza y el aprendizaje en los estudiantes de primer año de la Escuela de Relaciones Públicas de la Universidad de Panamá. <i>ACCIÓN Y REFLEXIÓN EDUCATIVA</i> , 36.
34	GS - ES (77).txt	González Bravo, N. L., & Díaz, P. (2025). La interferencia de la lengua materna en la adquisición del inglés como segunda lengua. <i>Revista de Estudios Académicos</i> , 4(1). https://doi.org/10.48204/rea.v4n1.7299
35	GS - ES (78).txt	Torres, G., Vanega De León, L., & Britton, A. (2018). Análisis de los problemas que influyen en el aprendizaje del idioma inglés en los estudiantes de sexto grado en la provincia de Panamá. <i>Revista de Iniciación Científica</i> , 4(Especial).
36	GS - ES (80).txt	Domínguez Córdoba, D. C. (2024). La intensificación en el relato conversacional panameño. <i>Synergia</i> , 3(1). https://doi.org/10.48204/synergia.v3n1.5070
37	GS - ES (82).txt	Hernández Campos, A. (2017). UNA PARTE DE LA AUTONOMÍA GUNA: LA EDUCACIÓN BILINGÜE INTERCULTURAL. <i>Americanía. Revista de Estudios Latinoamericanos</i> , Número Especial.
38	GS - ES (83).txt	Tuñón Salazar, I. A., & Subiyanto, A. (2023). The Phonological Changes in Informal Panamanian Spanish: A Distinctive Feature Analysis. <i>Revista Multidisciplinaria Voces de América y el Caribe</i> , 1(1).
39	GS - ES (84).txt	Puga, M. (2023). VARIANTES PRONOMINALES –TÚ Y USTED- EN LAS CONVERSACIONES DE LOS HABLANTES DE LA COMARCA NGÄBE BUGLÉ, PROVINCIA DE VERAGUAS, REPÚBLICA DE PANAMÁ. <i>Revista Colegiada de Ciencia</i> , 4(2).
40	GS - ES (85).txt	González, D. A. (2019). CONSIDERACIONES SOBRE LA ENSEÑANZA DEL INGLÉS EN LOS COLEGIOS PÚBLICOS DE PANAMÁ. <i>Revista Científica Orbis Cognita</i> , 3(2).

41	GS - ES (86).pdf	Escobar Samaniego, L. E. (2025). DIZQUE EN EL HABLA DE PANAMÁ: ¿TIENE FUNCIÓN DISCURSIVA? Traslaciones. <i>Revista Latinoamericana de Lectura y Escritura</i> , 12(23).
42	GS - ES (87).txt	Martínez Coronado, D. G., & Salcedo Murillo, Z. A. (2023). LA VISIÓN DEL PANAMEÑO Y EL USO DEL LENGUAJE POPULAR VISTO A TRAVÉS DEL DISCURSO MUSICAL DE PEDRITO ALTAMIRANDA. <i>Revista de Estudios en América</i> , 2(1).
43	GS - ES (103).txt	Cubilla-Bonnetier, D., & Sánchez-Vincitore, L. V. (2025). Precusores psicolingüísticos de la lectura y ajuste de la concepción simple de la lectura a lo largo de la educación Primaria en un contexto de bajo rendimiento lector. <i>Revista signos</i> , 58(117). http://dx.doi.org/10.4151/s0718-0934202501170954
44	GS - ES (104).txt	Stephenson Watson, S. (2015). La identidad afropanameña en la literatura desde el siglo XX hasta el nuevo milenio. <i>LiminaR</i> , 13(2).
45	GS - ES (106).txt	Vásquez Quirós, M. (2015). El Quijote en Panamá. Universidad de La Habana, 280.
46	GS - ES (108).txt	Lipski, J. M. (2007). El cambio /r/ > [d] en el habla afrohispánica: ¿un rasgo fonético "Congo"? <i>Boletín de Linguística</i> , 19(27). http://dx.doi.org/10.4151/s0718-0934202501170954
47	GS - ES (200).txt	Roman Jr., R., & Nunez, A. M. (2020). Motivational Factors that Influence English as a Foreign Language Learners at Quality Leadership University, Panama City, Panama. <i>Journal of Language Teaching and Research</i> , 11(4). http://dx.doi.org/10.17507/jltr.1104.03
48	GS - ES (203).txt	Sarsaneda Del Cid, J. (2023). MÄ KUGWE ÑAKA NÜGE GARE TIE (NO ENTIENDO TU PALABRA) FUTURO DE LOS IDIOMAS INDÍGENAS EN PANAMÁ. <i>CÁTEDRA</i> , 20. https://doi.org/10.48204/j.catedra.n23.a4196
49	GS - ES (204).txt	Chau Colley, L. C. (1997). Métodos de inmersión para lograr la eficiencia en el idioma inglés en estudiantes de nivel universitario en Ciudad de Panamá. <i>CÁTEDRA</i> , 14.
50	GS - ES (208).txt	Sobrino Triana, R. (2018). Las variedades de español según los hispanohablantes: corrección, incorrección y agrado lingüísticos. <i>Cuadernos de Lingüística de El Colegio de México</i> , 5(2).

51	GS - ES (209).txt	Villarreal Castillo, M. (2015). Glosario de disponibilidad léxica de Panamá. Revista Lotería, 521.
52	GS - ES (210).pdf	Rodríguez Fuentes, A. (2018). Estudio sobre alfabetización de la población escolar con discapacidad en Panamá. Pinceladas Inclusivas de Educación, Investigación y Desarrollo, 2016.
53	GS - ES (212).docx	Pérez-Vega, F., & Calderón, E. (2019). Estudio de la competencia lectora y escritora de alumnos con discapacidad de la provincia de Herrera (Panamá). Retos XXI, 3.
54	GS - ES (213).txt	Muñoz, S. Á. (2019). Estudio de la competencia lectora y escritora de alumnos con discapacidad intelectual de aulas inclusivas de la provincia de Los Santos en Panamá. RETOS XXI, 3.
55	GS - ES (214).txt	Codita, V. (2020). Notas para una caracterización de la morfosintaxis de los documentos coloniales panameños. Tonos Digital, 39.
56	GS - ES (215).txt	Salcedo Murillo, Z. A., Martínez Coronado, D., & Gómez Sánchez, Á. (2024). Significación lingüística y literaria del llanto de Panamá para las letras panameñas. Synergia, 3(1). https://doi.org/10.48204/synergia.v3n1.5066
57	GS - ES (226).txt	López Cruz, H. (2011). Revisando la Nación panameña en las primeras novelas de Ramón F. Jurado. Cuadernos Inter.c.a.mbio, 9.
58	GS - ES (227).txt	Salamanca, D. (2012). Nuestra variedad lingüística como variedad biológica. Letras, 51.
59	GS - ES (230).txt	Small, M. C. (2019). Técnicas para mejorar pronunciación y producción oral en el idioma inglés en un grupo de estudiantes Günas de la Universidad de Panamá. Revista Redes, 1(11).
60	GS - ES (231).txt	Tamayo, D. A. (2018). La percepción lingüística y cosmovisión de un estudiante Buglé en el aprendizaje del idioma inglés. Revista Redes, 1(10).
61	GS - ES (232).txt	Voisin, Y., Foyer, J., & Velásquez Runk, J. (2022). El mapeo comunitario en Panamá: Apropiación indígena de un dispositivo sociotécnico (1990-2022). Anuario de Estudios Centroamericanos, 48. https://doi.org/10.15517/aeca.v48i00.54218

62	GS - ES (237).txt	Rosas, F., Quintero, K., Hils, L., & Álvarez, J. (2024). Percepción de los estudiantes y profesores coordinadores de inglés sobre el examen de suficiencia de inglés de la Universidad de Panamá. <i>Cátedra</i> , 21. https://doi.org/10.48204/j.catedra.n21.a5556
63	GS - ES (248).txt	Quesada Pacheco, M. Á. (2014). División dialectal del español de América según sus hablantes. <i>Análisis dialectológico perceptual. Boletín de Filología</i> , 49(2).
64	GS - ES (266).txt	Giralt Latorre, J. (1991). ALGUNOS PRÉSTAMOS EN EL ESPAÑOL DE PANAMÁ. <i>E.L.U.A.</i> , 7.
65	GS - ES (306).txt	Jamieson, M. (2011). Culinary Caribbean English Lexicon in Panamanian Spanish. <i>Revista Alicantina de Estudios Ingleses</i> , 24.
66	GS - ES (307).txt	de Benito Moreno, C., & Estrada Arráez, A. (2018). Aproximación metodológica al estudio de la variación lingüística en las interacciones digitales. <i>Revista Estudios del Discurso Digital</i> , 1. https://doi.org/10.24197/redd.1.2018.74-122
67	GS - ES (312).txt	Codita, V. (2020). LA DOCUMENTACIÓN DE ARCHIVO Y LA HISTORIA DEL ESPAÑOL PANAMEÑO. <i>Scriptum digital</i> , 9.
68	GS - ES (329).docx	Pato, E. (2019). Principales rasgos gramaticales del español de Panamá. <i>Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie</i> , 135(4). https://doi.org/10.1515/zrp-2019-0060
69	GS - ES (330).txt	Corrales Ulloa, F. (2016). LA GRAN CHIRIQUÍ: Una historia cada vez más profunda. <i>Canto Rodado</i> , 11.
70	GS - ES (335).txt	Vergara Esturaín, K. (2013). Estructuración de la hispanofonía en el pueblo naso Una perspectiva socio-discursiva. <i>Canto Rodado</i> , 8.
71	Rlb01-06 wounan	Murillo Miranda, J. M. (2015). NOTAS SOBRE LA SINTAXIS DEL WAUNANA DE PANAMÁ. <i>Lingüística y Literatura</i> , 68. https://doi.org/10.17533/udea.lyl.n68a01
72	Rlb01-07 America Central	Constenla Umaña, A. (2011). ESTADO DE CONSERVACIÓN Y DOCUMENTACIÓN DE LAS LENGUAS DE AMÉRICA CENTRAL PERTENECIENTES A LAS AGRUPACIONES JICAQUE, LENCA, MISUMALPA, CHIBCHENSE Y CHOCÓ. <i>Revista de Filología y Lingüística de la Universidad de Costa Rica</i> , 37(1).