

African Influence on Hispanic Dialects

John Lipski

University of Houston

It is apparent to any linguist who has explored the domain of Latin American Spanish dialectology, particularly in the diachronic dimension, that the currently available theories regarding the relative contributions of Andalusian and Castilian dialects, Amerindian languages, and spontaneous independent formations are in their totality not adequate to explain both the diversity and the unity of the Spanish language as spoken across two continents. One of the most interesting and at the same time most controversial facets of Latin American dialectology is the African connection, the by-product of hundreds of thousands of African slaves imported to the New World, who spoke a variety of African languages and sometimes also European languages. In many areas of Latin America, the African population significantly outnumbered the Europeans for some time, including regions not currently noted for African cultural remnants, such as central Mexico, highland Colombia and Bolivia, and much of Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay and Argentina. In other regions, including the Caribbean, parts of Central America and the northern Pacific coast of South America, where plantation or urban slave labor continued over several centuries, the African presence is noteworthy even today, not only in the physical characteristics of many residents but also across wide-ranging cultural domains. The African contribution to the Hispanic American lexicon is undisputed, since in addition to the hundreds of Africanisms found in the local level in dialects of Spanish throughout the Caribbean and South America, such words as *marimba*, *mucama*, *guineo*, *congo*, *ñame*, *cachimbola*, *merengue*, *mandinga*, and *mondongo* are more widely used. A more controversial area is the possible African contribution to Spanish American morphology, syntax and especially phonetics, with the latter possibility either overlooked or overemphasized by the principal Africanist theories of Latin American dialectology.

There is literary evidence beginning at the dawn of the Spanish Golden Age that black Africans living in Spain spoke Spanish deficiently and with peculiar deformations, not only confusing grammatical categories such as gender, number and verb conjugations, but also with certain phonetic modifications.¹ These Africans were known as *bozales*, a term referring to slaves born and raised in Africa, who spoke European languages only with great difficulty; such speech is first described for 15th century Portugal, where blacks made up nearly half the population of metropolitan Lisbon for a while,² and where writers like Gil Vicente and Antonio de Chiado incorporated bozal Portuguese in their literary works. Bozal Spanish makes its appearance following the beginning of the 16th century, in works by Gil Vicente, Rodrigo de Reinosa, Feliciano de Silva, Quiñones de Benavente, Lope de Vega, Lope de Rueda, Sánchez de Badajoz, Simón Aguado, Góngora and Quevedo. In Latin America, early evidence of bozal Spanish comes in works by Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz and Gabriel de Santillana, who transcribed the speech of black slaves in the Caribbean and Mexico at the beginning of the 17th century, with characteristics similar to those found in Spain (Lipski 1985c; a, b).

Some early writers offered specific, if stereotyped, descriptions of bozal modifications; Quevedo remarked, for example, that in order to speak guineo (as he called Africanized Spanish), it sufficed to interchange /l/ and /r/ whenever they occurred: thus Francisco become Flancisco, *pobre* 'poor' became *poble*, and so forth. Despite the obvious exaggeration, interchange of /l/ and /r/ did figure in the literary depiction of partially Europeanized black Africans during the 15th and 16th centuries. Other phonetic traits of early bozal Spanish include, in addition to many apparently random and idiosyncratic shifts: (a) loss of syllable- and word-final /s/: *Jesús* > *Jesú*; *Francisco* > *Flasico*; (b) loss of the multiple trill /r̄/ in favor of the single tap [r]: *perro* > *pero* 'dog'; (c) interchange of /y/ and /ñ/: *llamar* > *ñamar* 'to call'; (d) interchange of intervocalic /d/ and /r/: *boda* > *bora* 'wedding'; (e) interchange of syllable-final /l/ and /r/: *cuervo* > *cuelpo* 'body'; (f) loss of word-final /r/, especially in verbal infinitives: *correr* > *coré* 'to run'; (g) appearing somewhat later, vocalization of syllable-final /l/ and /r/: *carta* > *caita* 'letter.' In considering literary documents, both early and more recent, one must exercise considerable caution, most of all because it is impossible to rule out stereotyping, exaggeration and outright fabrication of "Africanized" Spanish, since the authors in question were poets and playwrights and not phoneticians and anthropologists. This is adequately demonstrated in contemporary Latin American literature in which authors attempt to depict popular phonetic tendencies in the speech of their characters, revealing ex-

¹ Principal studies include Weber de Kurlat (1962), Chasca (1946), Castellano (1961), Granda (1969, 1978), Jason (1967); see also Lipski (1985c; a, b, c).

² Pike (1967), Sanders (1982), Vila Vilar (1977), Franco Silva (1979), Carriazo (1954).

aggerations and inaccuracies, despite several centuries of accumulated expertise in literary representations of popular speech (Lipski 1985c). Another, less easily discarded factor in the speech of sixteenth and seventeenth century black slaves in Spain and Spanish America is the possible substratum of creole Portuguese. Spain bought the majority of its slaves from Portuguese slave traders during the first two centuries of the Afro-American slave trade, and due to the nature of the Portuguese slaving empire, many of the slaves had apparently acquired a rudimentary pidgin or maritime Portuguese before being transferred to other regions. The Portuguese maintained *feito-rias* or slave depots in Angola, São Tomé, Fernando Poo, Cape Verde, Annobom and later Brazil, in addition to supplying some of the market from blacks already resident in southern Portugal. We have ample and indisputable evidence of the creole or pidgin Portuguese that sprang up as a lingua franca along nearly all of western and southern Africa and much of coastal Asia; this type of speech was evidently also used by slaves who spoke different and mutually unintelligible African languages, although the claims that such populations were deliberately chosen to minimize uprisings may have been overstated.

If we examine Spanish Golden Age literary documents with an eye toward creole Portuguese, instead of simply deficient Spanish, it becomes obvious that a Portuguese element did exist in bozal Spanish; examples include the change /Cl/ > /Cr/ (*blanco* > *branco* 'white,' *esclavo* > *escravo* 'slave'), and such lexical items as *bai* 'go, to go,' *muito* 'much,' the creole Portuguese subject pronoun *amí* and the Arabic borrowing in Afro-Lusitanian lingua franca *taybo* 'good.' The importance of creole and pidgin Portuguese goes far beyond sixteenth century Lisbon and Seville, since many specialists in creole languages have postulated, based on comparative evidence, that this early Portuguese creole was the basis for most if not all European-based creoles in Africa, the Caribbean and southern and southeastern Asia. If we compare the Portuguese-derived creoles of Annobon, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, and São Tomé with the Spanish- and Portuguese-based Papiamentu of the Netherlands Antilles and the lingua of the Colombian village of Palenque de San Basilio, we note structural similarities too great to be due to chance development in unrelated areas; such comparisons underlie claims that this same Portuguese-creole basis was relexified and aided in forming creole dialects of English and French in the Caribbean and Africa, Spanish and Portuguese in Asia, and Dutch in the West Indies, Guyana and possibly South Africa.³

Without going any farther afield, the importance of the creole Portuguese

³ This has been suggested by Naro (1978), Granda (1978), Valkhoff (1966), Le Page (1977), Hancock (1975), Whinnom (1965), Megenny (1983, 1984, 1985), among others. See also Alleyne (1971), Boretzky (1983), Mintz (1971), Reinecke (1938), Bickerton (1977), De Bose (1977), Todd (1974), Meier and Muysken (1977), Allsopp (1977), Taylor (1971), Perl (1982, a).

hypothesis for Africanist theories of Spanish dialectology should be obvious, for in its most radical form, this monogenetic Portuguese creole hypothesis indicates that this speech mode underlay virtually all of the bozal groups found in Spanish America over a period of more than three centuries, and therefore was more important than the strictly African element in determining the characteristics of bozal Spanish and its possible repercussions in general Latin American Spanish. At the same time, other investigators have attempted to trace phonetic and even morphological characteristics of Latin American Spanish directly to postulated African substrata, comparing patterns in West African languages most commonly attested among slave groups with those of different Spanish dialects in order to postulate wide-scale interference modes.

Since the variation among African languages is so enormous, almost any conclusion may be drawn if the comparative nets are cast wide enough, and new avenues of approach must be broached in order to shed further light on the problem of the African influence on Spanish world-wide. In particular, hypotheses as to the possible creole Portuguese substratum in Latin American Spanish, the postulated unity or identity of bozal Spanish across wide expanses of time and space, and the direct African contributions to Latin American Spanish phonology and morphology may be further tested and refined in several parallel and complementary fashions (Lipski *e*). The first consists of the discovery of Hispanic creole dialects that can be demonstrated to derive from sources other than the postulated 15th and 16th century Afro-Lusitanian creole, or in which such early Portuguese elements form only a small percentage of the total structure and do not account for the essential nature of the dialects in question. The second test case for the strong monogenetic hypothesis involves studying comparable situations of Afro-Hispanic linguistic interfacing, which failed to produce creole structures of the sort found in acknowledged Afro-Lusitanian creoles. Finally, it may be possible to discover dialects in which linguistic phenomena similar or identical to those occurring in Afro-Romance creoles have resulted in situations in which the Afro-Lusitanian and direct African connection is demonstrably absent. The successful demonstration of such cases would indicate that while an Afro-Portuguese base may be a sufficient condition for the formation of many creoles, and for the characteristics of the various bozal Spanish manifestations, it is not a necessary concomitant, in that other factors may converge to produce similar or identical results. In the following remarks, I will attempt to survey recent developments in Afro-Hispanic dialectology, principally those in which I have personally participated, with an eye toward assessing the prospects for pan-Hispanic Africanist theories and for a determination of the African component of Latin American Spanish.

It was long felt that no creolized dialect of Spanish had ever existed in the New World, unlike the creolized French, English, Dutch and Portuguese

which continue to be spoken. Subsequently, study of Spanish American folkloric and literary evidence turned up indications of distinctly creolized language spoken by African slaves and their descendants in such areas as Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic and Ecuador, some of which survived until well into the present century (Granda 1978; González and Benavides 1982, Perl 1982, a; Lipski 1985c; a, c). Only a few decades ago, studies were begun on the now famous creole dialect of Palenque de San Basilio in Colombia, which greatly resembles Papiamentu and Afro-Portuguese creoles (Escalante 1954, Bickerton and Escalante 1970, Friedemann and Patiño Roselli 1983). As a result of such findings, the perspective on Afro-Hispanic studies has been shifted partially, away from the search for direct Afro-American links to the postulate of an intermediate pan-Hispanic creole stage, which through contact with European Spanish following the abolition of slavery and the assimilation of the black population into the mainstream of Latin American society gradually came to resemble regional Latin American Spanish more and more, while perhaps transferring some of its own characteristics to the Spanish spoken by descendants of Europeans.

Let us consider first the possible African influences on Latin American Spanish phonetics. If we leave out occasional and sporadic phonetic deformations of early Africanized Spanish and consider only those consistent and persistent phenomena, we are left with: loss of syllable- and word-final /s/, interchange, loss and occasional vocalization of syllable-final /l/ and /r/, and occasional neutralization of intervocalic /d/ and /r/. To this we may add velarization of word-final /n/, which some have also suggested as being of African origin (Otheguy 1975, Guy 1981; also Alvarez Nazario 1974). Certainly, /s/, /l/ and /r/ are most severely reduced in precisely those areas of Latin America where the African presence was strongest and most persistent: the entire Caribbean region, including the Antilles and coastal Central and South America, and the northern Pacific coast of South America. Word-final /n/ is also velarized in these areas, but also throughout all of southeastern Mexico and Central America, in nearly all of Ecuador and much of Peru and Bolivia; /d/ and /r/ are only infrequently neutralized in Latin America, principally along the Pacific coast of Colombia and Ecuador, and in parts of the Dominican Republic. In those regions where an early African presence was later offset by indigenous influences or massive European immigration, the consonants in question are more resistant to reduction and modification; these areas include central Mexico, highland Colombia and Bolivia, and the Southern Cone nations. In every area of Latin America which exhibits these consonantal reductions, a significant African population was present during a significant portion of the colonial era (Alvarez Nazario 1974, Canfield 1981, Lipski 1985c; b, g).

Unfortunately for this apparent orderliness, most of the same consonantal modifications are found, at times in more advanced state, throughout all of southern and western Spain and the Canary Islands, and are responsible for

the well-known Andalusian theories of Latin American Spanish. According to the most coherent and well-documented theories, the Andalusian phonetic influence was strongest in major port areas, in close contact with Spanish fleets, sailors, stevedores and other workers (Menéndez Pidal 1962). Precisely these same port areas were the principal receiving points in the slave trade, and became the centers of the largest and most permanent African populations in Latin America: Havana, Santo Domingo, Portobelo, Cartagena, Guayaquil, and numerous smaller ports. Only in Lima, Peru and Veracruz and Acapulco, Mexico were the strong African influences subsequently diluted by other tendencies, while the ports of Chile, Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay came into prominence later, when the possible Andalusian influences were already tempered by other evolutionary forces. Thus it is difficult, if not impossible, to separate the two sets of variables: possible African influences and Andalusian characteristics, at least if only demographic data are used as evidence (Lipski 1986). In the background, there remains the question of creole Portuguese substrata to further complicate the reconstruction of earlier stages of colonial American Spanish. Let us therefore consider the three possible configurations described earlier, in the light of recent work in Afro-Hispanic linguistics; we begin with the possible existence of Afro-Hispanic creole dialects in which creole Portuguese and pan-American bozal Spanish elements are negligible or totally absent.

The first group to be considered are the *negros congos* of the *costa arriba* or eastern Caribbean coast of Panama, from Portobelo eastward to Miramar (Drolet 1980, Joly 1981, Zárate 1962, Lipski 1985b). Portobelo is of great historical importance, since it was for several centuries one of the major Atlantic ports of the Spanish Main, and, together with Cartagena and Veracruz, one of the few ports authorized for the importation of African slaves. Later abandoned by the Spaniards due to repeated pirate attacks, Portobelo degenerated into a sleepy community of a few hundred inhabitants, and until only a few years ago was cut off from the rest of Panama except by sea.

Up the coast from Portobelo is Nombre de Dios, the first Spanish port in Panama, abandoned even earlier than Portobelo, and yet another Palenque, derived from but not identical with an earlier community of escaped slaves or *cimarrones*. Unlike the residents of Colombia's Palenque, the inhabitants of Panama's *costa arriba* do not speak a Spanish creole as a home language, although the percentage of lexical Africanisms is rather high; their language is typical of rural uneducated Panamanian and Caribbean Spanish. There does exist, however, a peculiar subculture in this area known as the *negros congos*, a name derived from a ritual replayed each year during Carnival season, in which each town designates a group of congos whose leaders, Juan de Dioso and La Reina, construct a *rancho* or shack and defend it from mock attacks from congo groups of neighboring settlements. The congo ritual is elaborate and contains a rich heritage of African traditions, including dancing, singing and drumming; at the same time, there is a stylized dramatic

reenactment of the life of African slaves in Colonial Panama, including the existence of congo "kingdoms" and slave uprisings.

Of interest to the linguist is a form of speaking associated with the rituals, the so-called *hablar en congo*, which may provide a window into earlier Africanized pidgin and creole patterns in this area. Many residents of Portobelo and some in the easternmost communities claim not to be fluent in congo dialect, although nearly all understand it, and certain individuals are recognized virtuosos in this mode of speaking. Costeños frequently indicate that this dialect is only used during Carnival season, but this is not entirely accurate, since daily interaction at a personal level is often punctuated with congo dialect elements, and residents of the *costa arriba*, when travelling to Colón or Panama City, may speak to each other in the dialect, to impede being overheard and to distinguish themselves from black descendants of West Indians (known as *afroantillanos* in Panama), whom they feel to be inferior to legitimate descendants of colonial slaves (*afrocoloniales*).

On the surface, congo speech appears to be a modern imitation of bozal Spanish of earlier centuries, and yet the congo tradition is unbroken from the present time as far back as the regional oral history itself, which includes events occurring over a period of more than 200 years. Nowadays, the element of ritual and burlesque is foremost in congo speech, which is a prime example of play language as studied by anthropologists in other areas of the world. In this dimension, congo speech is loosely constrained by rules, less rigid than Pig Latin, Spanish *jerigonza* and similar verbal games. During the congo games, the dramatic players put old clothes on inside out, originally a mockery of finely dressed Spanish colonial administrators, who donated cast-off clothing to slaves and allowed them to "dress up" during the annual *feria* at Portobelo. Taking advantage of the double meaning of Spanish *al revés* as both "inside out" and "backwards," the congo players improvise speech so that many words receive the opposite meaning: *muerto* 'dead' becomes *vivi* 'alive,' *monte* 'up in the hills' becomes *ciudad* 'the city,' *sentarse* 'to sit down' becomes *padase* 'to stand up,' and so forth. Words are phonetically and morphologically deformed in a more or less improvised fashion, often mixing gender and number; *compañero* → *cumpuñede* 'friend,' *botella vacía* → *botijellene* 'empty bottle,' *corazón* → *codajozón* 'heart,' *mañana* → *muguña* 'morning,' etc.

In other respects, congo speech resembles Cockney rhyming slang, requiring a prior initiation in order to understand certain key words, such as *macha* for *esposa* 'wife,' *agua sodilla* (*agua de chorillo*) for *aguardiente* 'liquor,' *pingadilla/pringadigui* for *cigarillo* 'cigarette,' *maripoto* for *botella* 'bottle,' *bosonilla* for *copa* 'liquor glass.' There are also a number of lexical items of possible but unverified African origin, which are not used in the local Spanish dialect and are unknown outside of the *costa arriba* region; these include *fuda* 'rum, liquor,' *juduminga/judumingue* 'child,' *mojobrio/mojongo*

'woman, wife,' *sopodín* 'small boat or motorized vehicle,' *potoñá* 'to leave,' *dumia* 'to eat,' *mucuna* 'the congo dialect,' *jotá* 'to smoke,' and several others. Finally, and most importantly for Afro-Hispanic creole studies, the syntax is greatly simplified, most prepositions are eliminated and noun and adjective agreement all but disappears.

These latter features are common to most Romance-based creoles; at the same time, congo dialect does not reduce all verbs to the infinitive, does not use temporal/aspectual particles such as *ta* in conjunction with the infinitive, does not reduce pronominal paradigms to a single variant (usually a stressed object pronoun) such as *mí* (e.g. *mí ta come* 'I am eating'), shows no evidence of the second-person singular pronoun *vos* (which is found in some rural regions of Panama), does not use subject pronouns as possessives (e.g. *madre mí/madre yo* 'my mother'), and does not form noun plurals by postposing the third-person plural pronoun (e.g. Papiamentu *hende* 'person,' *henderan* 'people'). In these respects, and in other more subtle cases, congo speech suggests the existence of both an earlier pidgin or creole stage, and significant departures from Afro-Lusitanian patterns found in Papiamentu, Colombian palenquero, 19th century Caribbean bozal Spanish and the principal Portuguese creoles of Africa and Asia. This gives strength to polygenetic theories of Romance-based creoles, in at least admitting the possibility that creolized Spanish dialects may have spontaneously developed in several locations, rather than by relexification of a Portuguese-based creole.

In the phonological dimension, the congo dialect is also distinguished from prevailing Afro-Hispanic patterns. The consonants /l/, /r/, /r̄/ and /d/ are neutralized in word-initial and intervocalic position, not in favor of [r] but of the occlusive [d]: *arriba* ⇒ *adiba* 'up,' *cara* ⇒ *cada* 'face,' *lente* ⇒ *dente* 'lens.' Syllable-final /s/, /l/ and /r/ are normally lost, but this is characteristic of the regional Spanish dialect as well, as is velarization of word-final /n/. The only item in congo speech which shows any noticeable similarity with Portuguese-based creoles is the occasional shift of /Cl/ ⇒ /Cr/: *claro* ⇒ *crado* 'of course,' *diablo* ⇒ *diabria* 'devil,' *clavo* ⇒ *cravo* 'nail'; however, this change has been observed in areas of Spain far removed from Portuguese influence (e.g. Salvador Salvador 1978), and such spontaneous generation cannot be ruled out in the isolated and socially marginalized costa arriba. Portobelo and the rest of the costa arriba represents the last vestiges of a post-creole continuum, since there are no monolingual speakers of congo dialect, nor have there been for as long as the local oral tradition has existed; it is doubtful whether any two residents could speak entirely in congo for a long period of time since Spanish has become inextricably mixed with the earlier pidgin/creole patterns. An example of congo speech (Lipski 1985b: 40) is:

pedo yo dije que yo te venía buhco, y te dije aquí mineda fue pa con ehta, pedo dije no voy a sadime poque pueden darne un . . . un tido, yo te dije pedame que tengo mi cumpromiso contigo . . . bueno, aquí me midas, ¿qué quedes? Ponga en órbita, ahoda te acuedda que, ahoda somo loh dos,

¿sabo? Gruya, ¿tú midahte ese poco de macha que había en ese dao? ['but I said I would come for you, I told you that was my plan, but I said I won't go out because they could . . . shoot me, I told you to wait for me because I had a commitment; now here I am; what do you want? Let's get started, remember there are two of us now. Gruya, did you see that bunch of women there?']

Another region of possible significance for the separation of variables in Afro-Hispanic studies is the Chota Valley, which contains a small Afro-American population in highland Ecuador (Lipski c, h). Although Ecuador is not one of the Latin American areas normally associated with large African populations, the Afro-Ecuadoran component may be as high as 25% of the national total. The majority of the black and mulatto population is concentrated in the northwest sector, principally in Esmeraldas province, where over 80% of the residents are of African descent. The origin of Ecuador's black population is surrounded by some controversy, since although it is evident that black Ecuadorans arrived from the north, dates of arrival and region of origin have yet to be determined satisfactorily.⁴ One theory, as yet unproved, maintains that the first permanent black residents arrived on the Ecuadoran coast as the result of a shipwreck at the end of the 16th century, and another in 1600, although it is known that the first blacks arrived in Ecuador in 1533–1536. Subsequently, the Jesuits were responsible for large-scale importation of black slaves to work on plantations both on the coast and in the central highlands, and this example was followed by other planters and landowners, since indigenous labor was scarce in certain areas and rebellious in many others. Early in the 19th century, the wars of colonial liberation brought contingents of black soldiers to Ecuador, coming mostly from Colombia, and when manumission of slaves took place in Ecuador in 1852, many of these black subjects remained in Esmeraldas province. Yet another group of black citizens arrived in the late 19th century, when some 4000–5000 Jamaican laborers were brought to work on plantations and on construction projects; this was the last significant migration of Afro-Americans to Ecuador. Other scholars have maintained that the black population of Esmeraldas province results from the immigration of laborers from plantations in the central highlands; this theory, however, is difficult to reconcile with the historical and demographic facts of colonial and post-colonial Ecuador. It also leaves unanswered the ultimate origin of blacks in highland Ecuador.

In the highlands, the predominant racial type is the indigenous or mestizo configuration, and black or mulatto residents are quite rare. The one exception is the Chota River valley and its environs, in the north-central provinces of Imbabura and Carchi. This valley, formerly known as Coangue, is a tropi-

⁴ A composite of historical and linguistic sources on the Chota Valley includes: Estupiñán Tello (1967: 45–8), Toscano Mateus (1953: 19–20), Rout (1976: 211–32), Wolf (1892: 525), Whitten (1965: 22–5; 1974: 179), Peaherrera de Costales and Costales Samaniego (1959), Klumpp (1970), Coba Andrade (1980: 19–49), Whitten and Friedemann (1974).

cal lowland surrounded by Andean uplands, and the population of the Chota region is almost entirely black with some mulattoes, in contrast to the exclusively indigenous/mestizo population of neighboring areas. The Chota valley consists of some 10–15 small villages, with a variable population that probably does not exceed a total of 15,000. The origin of this black population in highland Ecuador is also surrounded by uncertainty; some investigators have suggested that choteños are descended from freed or escaped slaves from the coast, but it appears that most blacks in Imbabura and Carchi provinces are descendants of slaves held by the Jesuits on their highland plantations (and also, according to some evidence, in slave breeding centers). Up until the middle of the 18th century, the wealth of the Jesuit order was considerable in Ecuador, and in Carchi and Imbabura province the order owned a number of sugar plantations. Many of these estates still exist, as do the settlements that arose around them, and when the Jesuits were expelled from Ecuador in 1767, most of these slaves simply changed masters, as the lands were taken over by Ecuadorian owners. These slaves and freedmen came to form the population nuclei of the Chota valley. In the Chota valley, oral traditions only make reference to the fact that the first black residents arrived from other unspecified lands, while in Esmeraldas there is no collective awareness of any immigration from the highlands to the coast, despite the fact that some historians have traced the black coastal population to the immigration of choteños from the highlands.

When slavery was abolished in Ecuador, in 1852, the choteños continued working on the large landholdings that form the economic backbone of the region. Although it is possible that subsequent migrations may have brought black residents from the coast, the majority of the choteños share a history of more than 250 years of residence in the central highlands. It is not impossible that black choteños had subsequent contact with coastal speech modes, but given the isolation of the Chota Valley, the poor communication with the coast and the overwhelming linguistic influence of the surrounding highland dialects, this population is perhaps the only significant black settlement in Spanish America without close and recent ties to life and language of the coastal lowlands.

Ecuador is rarely mentioned in the context of creole Spanish; however, some indirect evidence exists which suggests that in previous centuries a creole or bozal Spanish may have been spoken among certain groups of Afro-Ecuadorians, particularly those living in isolated communities or cimarrón societies (Chávez Franco 1930:524–9, Granda 1978:381–3). In Esmeraldas province, where the majority of Ecuador's black population is concentrated, the local Spanish dialect is by no means creolized, although it is decidedly popular, with the costeño phonetic characteristics found throughout Latin America. Some researchers have claimed that in the jungle villages in the interior of the province, a “special” Spanish dialect is still spoken, or was spoken until not long ago (Estupiñán Tello 1967: 49). More

recently, I have been able to personally verify that the “special” dialects are merely popular variants of Spanish, and contain no creole traits. The Spanish dialect of the Chota valley has never been the object of serious linguistic investigation, although some indirect testimony suggests that in the past this dialect may have exhibited creole or at least highly nonstandard tendencies when compared with the other dialect zones of Ecuador, although presently the choteño dialect is not a creole. This does not preclude the prior existence of partially Africanized Spanish in the Chota region, as will be seen shortly, but it does set back the dates for the gradual decreolization which would have given rise to the present popular but noncreolized choteño Spanish, and casts a large measure of doubt on casual observations by Ecuadorians and foreigners with regard to the “deformed” and “unintelligible” speech of blacks.

In the provinces of Imbabura and the southern portion of Carchi, including the Chota valley, the linguistic characteristics belong to general highland Ecuadorian Spanish; in particular, word-final /n/ is velarized, syllable-final consonants are resistant to neutralization and effacement, word-final prevocalic /s/ is frequently pronounced as [z] (e.g. *los amigos* [lozámigos] ‘the friends’), and unstressed vowels may fall in contact with /s/. The only major deviations are found among indigeneous subjects who are not fluent in Spanish; the dialect of the black choteños in general shares the features of this dialect zone, rather than those of the coastal black and nonblack populations, whose speech is characterized by typical “coastal” pronunciation, including loss of implosive /s/ and /r/ and neutralization of implosive /l/ and /r/.

The behavior of /s/ is of particular interest in the Chota dialect (Lipski c), since in general it falls more nearly in line with the highland dialects, in retaining the sibilant [s], but the percentage of aspiration and loss (13%) is significantly higher than in other highland dialects, including nearby towns in Imbabura and Carchi provinces. Substantially the same is true for word-final preconsonantal and prevocalic /s/, whose phonetic parameters are virtually identical to the previous case, and where the Chota dialect does reduce /s/ to a greater degree (19% as compared to 4–5%) than in other highland zones). The most significant discrepancies come in phrase-final position, where the Chota dialect weakens or deletes /s/ to a notably greater degree than in neighboring highland dialects. These quantitative differences may not seem important, particularly when compared to the nearly categorical reduction of /s/ in the Esmeraldas region, but the black Chota dialect stands out clearly from its highland neighbors where loss of /s/ (with the exception of the word *entonces*, frequently pronounced without final /s/ in all of Ecuador) is so rare as to immediately call attention to even a single case of loss of phrase-final /s/. The noncategorical nature of the reduction of /s/ in the Chota dialect indicates that the process is not purely phonetically motivated, as it is in the coastal dialects. In many cases, word-final /s/ is lost in the choteño dialect when it is not morphologically significant, and is retained when it is an es-

sential part of nominal or verbal inflections. This is the type of configuration to be expected in the last stages of decreolization (or for that matter, in incipient creolization), where grammatical endings have largely been restored, but where the tendency to ignore grammatically irrelevant endings has not been totally overcome. With respect to the pronunciation of /s/, the Chota dialect differs from neighboring highland dialects, and suggests the possible existence of earlier pronunciation patterns among the black highlanders.

In addition to the rather subtle phonetic/phonological dimension, the black Chota dialect manifests some syntactic divergence from other Ecuadoran dialects, particularly among the area's oldest and/or least educated residents, whose speech patterns have been least influenced by non-choteño Spanish. In the area of grammatical concordance, particularly between nouns and adjectives, and between subjects and predicates, Chota Valley Spanish exhibits subtle but noticeable differences from other Ecuadoran dialects, where discrepancies of agreement are rare among monolingual Spanish speakers and fluent bilinguals.

Examples gleaned from the Chota Valley include:

se trabajaban[-0] en las haciendas vecino[-as]
'people worked in the near-by plantations'

sobre la materia mismo[-a] de cada pueblo
'with the materials from each town'

era barato[-a] la ropa, barato era
'clothes were cheap'

hay gente colombiano[-a]
'there are people from Colombia'

Lack of concordance in verb phrases also occurs, as does loss of the reflexive pronoun *se* and occasional confusion of the copulative verbs *ser* and *estar*:

chota [se] compone con [de], compone dos sequíos, se llaman un pueblo.
'The town called Chota is composed of two portions.'

estamos [somos] 17 comunidades
'We are 17 communities [in all].'

últimamente la gente [se] está [de-]dicando a la agricultura
'Lately, the people have turned to agriculture.'

comienza[-n] a colorearse las vistas
'Their eyes start to get red.'

se pone[-n] lo[-s] guagua medios[-0] mal de cuerpo, se ponen amarillos
'The babies get very sick, they turn yellow.'

Errors of prepositional usage are also rather frequent, consisting of elimination of certain common prepositions, and interchange of others:

yo soy [de] abajo
'I'm from down the road.'

depende [de] las posibilidades del padre
'It depends on the father's possibilities.'

San Lorenzo que queda muy cerca con [de] la Concepción
'San Lorenzo, which is very near La Concepción'

Also found is the occasional elimination of articles, which is rarely found in other Ecuadoran dialects, among monolingual Spanish speakers:

porque [el] próximo pueblo puede ser Salinas
'because the next town could be Salinas'

material de aquí de[l] lugar
'material from around here'

Finally, there are some examples which, in terms of significant syntactic deviance, fall more in line with creolized Spanish from other areas of Latin America, and from past centuries:

con yerbas de campo curaban a nosotros [nos curaban]
'They cured us with country herbs.'

a poca costumbre se la tiene [??] cuando mucha [muy] fuerte está la fiebre
'It's difficult when the fever is very high.'

casi lo más lo más lo tocan guitarra y bomba [lo que más tocan son la guitarra y la bomba]
'Mostly what they play are guitars and bombas.'

The above constructions, which occur relatively frequently in the Chota Valley dialect, are virtually unknown in their totality in other Ecuadoran Spanish dialects, although individual examples may at times be heard elsewhere.

An overall comparison between the grammatical characteristics of choteño Spanish and known Afro-Hispanic manifestations from other regions and

from past time periods, reveals certain structural similarities and strategies which suggest that in its earliest stages, black highland Ecuadoran Spanish shared some of the features of bozal/African Spanish of other regions. The study of the speech of black choteños, who have lived in highland Ecuador for 250 years, suggests an earlier stage when partially Africanized Spanish was generally spoken in the Chota Valley. This is significant in postulating the use of partially creolized Spanish away from the Caribbean "heartland" in which most such dialects are to be found, and because the choteños have always coexisted linguistically with non-African neighbors, and were never part of a resistance movement or cimarrón society. The surviving remnants of this language follow general patterns of creole language behavior, although no traces of putative Portuguese creole are found.

Turning to Afro-Hispanic contacts which failed to produce configurations associated with creole and bozal Spanish, the case of Equatorial Guinea is foremost. Equatorial Guinea is unique in being the only officially Spanish-speaking region in sub-Saharan Africa, and it is the only area in black Africa where Spanish has ever been spoken on a regular basis.⁵ This nation, which was known as Spanish Guinea until its independence in 1968, consists of the island territory of Fernando Poo (Bioko) and the mainland enclave of Río Muni, between Gabon and Cameroon, as well as several small islands, the most important of which is Annobon, whose residents speak a Portuguese-derived creole similar to that of São Tomé. Although Spain held Fernando Poo since the middle of the 18th century, serious colonization was not begun until the last decades of the 19th century, while Río Muni was settled only after the turn of the 20th century. Thus, the Spanish language is a relatively recent arrival in this territory, in comparison with European languages as used in neighboring nations. Despite the relatively recent date of Spanish presence in Equatorial Guinea, the Spanish language has been effectively implanted as the official medium of communication, set against the background of the still vigorous native languages, being principally Bubi on Fernando Poo and Fang and the *playero* languages in Río Muni.

On Fernando Poo, Pidgin English is widely spoken, being originally brought by the descendants of laborers from Sierra Leone and Liberia who were brought to Fernando Poo in the last century, and more recently by the thousands of Nigerian contract laborers who worked on the cacao plantations. Spanish is not spoken as a true native language by Equatorial Guineans except in a few cases of mixed-ethnic marriages, but all Guineans living in the cities and larger rural communities learn Spanish as the result of an effective educational system which was set up by the Spanish government in conjunction with several religious orders. Only Spanish is used in official communications, on the radio and in government offices, although the ver-

⁵ The principal sources for Guinean Spanish, which include a complete bibliography, are: González Echegaray (1959), Granda (1984, 1985), Lipski (1984, 1985a, 1986).

naulars are generally preferred in daily transactions, liberally mixed with Spanish elements. It is unlikely that Spanish will die out in Equatorial Guinea, since it provides the only bridge between traditionally hostile ethnic groups, and since it represents a symbol of national identity vis-à-vis the neighboring French-, English- and Portuguese-speaking nations of the Gulf of Guinea. During the unfortunate regime which governed the country for the first eleven years following independence, massive population shifts were forced upon the people, which had the effect of reinforcing the use of Spanish (as well as Pidgin English and Fang) as a means of communication between groups who spoke different languages. Currently there is no official position regarding public language usage, but the example set by the government openly favors Spanish, in the face of the lack of viable alternatives. The Spanish government campaigned against the use of Pidgin English, but the current Equatorial Guinean government appears to accept use of this language as a commercial vehicle useful in dealing with neighboring countries.

The Spanish as spoken in Equatorial Guinea has a definite and unmistakable "African accent" both in terms of phonetics and intonation and in terms of grammar and vocabulary, and yet the most noteworthy feature is that it is not creolized or pidginized, nor is there evidence that a creole stage ever existed. A pidgin stage evidently did exist, following the initial introduction of Spanish into the territory, but was soon followed by the formation of reasonably stable local varieties of Spanish. Language proficiency among Equatorial Guineans ranges from a low degree for a small percentage of speakers to a surprising degree of fluency, which approaches that of native monolingual speakers. At the same time, even the most educated Guineans occasionally commit slight but noticeable grammatical errors with respect to usage in other Spanish-speaking areas, and none has overcome the peculiar segmental and suprasegmental modality of Guinean Spanish. In answer to why creolization has not taken place, we consider the normally accepted preconditions for creolization and discover that many do not obtain in Equatorial Guinea:

- (1) Guineans have never been removed from contact with native speakers of Spanish for prolonged periods of time. Except for the final years of the previous xenophobic regime, Equatorial Guinea received a constant influx of Spaniards and boasted a sizable resident Spanish population. Thus Guinean society was divided into those members who interacted constantly with the Spaniards and those few who due to geographical isolation had little contact with Spaniards and who learned little Spanish. To this may be added the increasingly effective language instruction available to Guineans in larger population centers and in most rural areas.
- (2) There is little evidence for the "baby talk" aspect of creolization, since there is no record of Spaniards' consistently simplifying their speech

in order to communicate with Guineans. To the contrary, most Spaniards in Equatorial Guinea have used full forms of the language, even when this results in noticeable lack of total understanding among Guineans.

- (3) While at times some Spanish colonizers and plantation owners may have treated Guinean workers less than generously, slavery never existed in this territory, and the contacts between Guineans and Spaniards were marked by a different set of structural parameters than in the Spanish American colonies.
- (4) Most importantly, there was never a massive fragmentation or dispersion of Guinean ethnic groups which would have forced Spanish into the position of the only mutually comprehensible medium of communication. Equatorial Guineans have always been able to use their own languages for purposes of daily communication, combined with Pidgin English in the multiethnic communities on Fernando Poo, and until the genocidal attempts of the previous regime there was often little need for Guineans to speak to fellow citizens in Spanish.

The current political environment is resulting in a reconcentration of ethnic groups, but when Guineans do communicate with other compatriots in Spanish the results, while often grammatically and lexically simplified, do not give evidence of pidginization. Added to this factor is the fact that radio broadcasting has always used Spanish, although there are currently a few hours of daily programming in the indigenous languages, and newspapers and official publications have used only Spanish. The linguistic and cultural distance from European Spanish never became so great as to result in a cutoff of the sort that occurred in many other African and Caribbean regions, although one is free to speculate on the linguistic effects that would have occurred after 100 or more years of cultural isolation such as attempted by the previous government. A certain element of linguistic nationalism may also be at work, since Equatorial Guinea, with its checkered history, is a Spanish-speaking enclave in the midst of English-, French-, Portuguese- and creole-speaking nations, and Equatorial Guineans, long accustomed to exile and job hunting in neighboring countries, find that clinging to Spanish provides the only mark of national identity. A noteworthy feature of the speech of most Equatorial Guineans, especially when speaking to "Europeans" but even when conversing among themselves in Spanish, is the attention to correction and precision, the self-conscious striving for linguistic accuracy which bears a striking resemblance to the performance of conscientious foreign language students. Equatorial Guineans are proud of their ability to speak Spanish, including those who speak the language less than perfectly, and even 'off the record' conversations reveal self-conscious corrections, amendments and additions, virtually nonexistent among monolingual native Spanish speakers in other countries, as well as hypercorrections and malapropisms.

Phonetically, Guinean Spanish has intonational patterns radically different from those of Peninsular Spanish, maintains /b/, /d/ and /g/ as stops in all contexts, and separates individual words by a slight pause or glottal stop. However, in terms of the consonantal variables most frequently associated with Africanist theories of Spanish dialectology, the results are somewhat unexpected. The only pan-African phonetic trait is the neutralization of the single tap /r/ and the multiple trill /r̄/ in favor of [r]. The liquids /l/ and /r/ are never neutralized, there is no interchange of /d/ and /r/, word-final /n/ is uniformly alveolar, despite the fact that many of the indigenous languages contain word-final velar /ŋ/. Finally, syllable-final /s/ is resistant, never becoming aspirated and only occasionally being elided, and then only in cases of morphological redundancy. Although the indigenous Equatorial Guinean languages come from the same families as those represented among the African populations of Spanish America, and despite the lack of consonantal desinences in the Guinean languages, Equatorial Guinean Spanish is remarkably free of consonantal reductions, in comparison with "Africanized" Latin American dialects. One may question the possible role of the educational system on the relative recentness of the Spanish language in Africa and of the nonfragmentation of Guinean ethnic groups, but the most important factor in determining the characteristics of Equatorial Guinean Spanish is the dialect base brought from Spain. The majority of Spaniards who lived and worked in Spanish Guinea were Catalans and Valencians, with a lesser number coming from northern and Central Spain (Castille). In other words, the Spanish as spoken by the majority of Spaniards in Equatorial Guinea was characterized by

- (1) maintenance of syllable-final /s/ as a sibilant [s];
- (2) realization of word-final /n/ as alveolar [n];
- (3) lack of neutralization of /l/ and /r/;
- (4) variable incorporation of the interdental phoneme /θ/.

In the phonological dimension, then, the dialect base of Guinean Spanish is radically different from the Andalusian and Canarian dialects which circulated among the Spanish American coastal regions which were also characterized by significant African populations. Guinean Spanish serves as a test case not only for theories of pidginization and creolization of Spanish, but also of the necessary contribution of African languages to "Caribbean" phonological patterns, since while the native languages of Equatorial Guinea have almost no instances of syllable-final /s/, /l/ and /r/ and frequently velarize word-final /n/, modification of these consonants was not present in the received Spanish pronunciation, and did not penetrate into the newly emerging Guinean Spanish. This partial separation of the African language variable and the Spanish dialect base indicates that the presence of African languages is in itself not sufficient to trigger the wholesale consonantal

modifications found in Caribbean Spanish. This in turn gives weight to the more moderate hypothesis that African speakers in Spanish America imitated and extended the already weakened consonantal articulations of the regional Spanish dialects found in many port and coastal regions of the New World. Some examples of Equatorial Guinean Spanish are (Lipski 1985a: 25-9):

yo no vivo de [en] Malabo, yo soy de Bata y vive [vivo] ahí
'I'm not from Malabo, I'm from Bata and I live there.'

entonces ellos preguntó [preguntaron]
'then they asked'

¿cómo voy [va] a asustarme el frío de allí?
'How could the cold there frighten me?'

los fang, alguna[os] hace[n] trampa, prepá[ran] nipa
'The Fang, some make traps, some prepare nipa.'

cacao hay poca[o], no hay tanto
'There's only a little cacao.'

The final case to be considered is the existence of speech communities in which linguistic phenomena similar or identical to those occurring in Afro-Romance creole dialects have been produced in situations where the Afro-Lusitanian connection is demonstrably absent. The successful demonstration of such cases would indicate that while a Portuguese/African basis may be a sufficient condition for the formation of many creole languages, it is not a necessary concomitant, in that other factors may converge to produce identical results. While several possible cases immediately come to mind, the most profitable area of research lies in the domain of vestigial Spanish, as spoken by individuals and groups in which rapid language shifts away from Spanish have created configurations that strongly resemble those found in creole languages. Regardless of the wide disparity among theories of creolization, one common denominator that permeates all theoretical accounts is the deficiency of the language-learning environment, in terms of providing adequate models of native-speaker performance. It is generally postulated that pidgins and creoles are formed in the absence of sustained contact with a sufficiently large corpus of native-level linguistic material, aided by social and political policies that take a hostile or at best indifferent view towards the speakers in question and their language behavior. The other side of the coin, the gradual erosion that occurs in situations of language shift leading to language death, has rarely been studied with a view toward the similarities with creolization; nevertheless, available information points to this configuration as a significant element in the evaluation of theories of creolization. Currently, vestigial Spanish speakers are found in various areas, which share no common defining characteristics except for the existence of Spanish vestigial or "semi" speakers: the Caribbean island of Trinidad; St. Bernard Parish.

Louisiana; the Philippines; and nonfluent second and third generation Hispanic bilinguals in the United States, of Mexican, Puerto Rican and Cuban origin. The speech of these groups exhibits the following features associated with Romance-based creoles, and which have at times been cited as evidence in favor of a unique or monogenetic origin:

- (1) reduction of verbal and nominal morphology;
- (2) occasional neutralization of pronominal paradigms;
- (3) elimination of common prepositions;
- (4) elimination of articles;
- (5) use of *tener* with existential force;
- (6) overall reduction of syntactic complexity, especially embedded constructions;
- (7) phonological reduction, incorrect word division and insecurity.

Language erosion, leading to ultimate language death, has only in the past few decades come under serious scrutiny by linguists, and the transfer mechanisms between vestigial language and "full" language usage are gradually being explored. The erosion of Spanish has usually been studied in the United States setting, and most typically has involved tracing the penetration of Anglicisms in vocabulary, structure and pronunciation, as well as general loss of fluency and manipulation of normally accepted grammatical patterns. Since much of the research has been oriented toward educational policy and language identification and maintenance, less emphasis has been placed on the processes and strategies that characterize "dying" Spanish, and more attention has been directed at speakers whose language usage is, while regarded as nonstandard, within the limits of native-speaker proficiency. A comparison of these speakers with the former groups yields radically different patterns, which while perhaps of only limited relevance to educational programs, are significant for creole studies. Within the United States, Spanish speakers of Cuban (CU), Puerto Rican (PR) and Mexican (MX) origin exhibit a continuum of linguistic proficiency, ranging from complete fluency in comparison with the countries of origin, to a nearly total lack of ability in the Spanish language. Among the latter group, loss of Spanish typically occurs during the process of transculturation, and normally involves a phase of passive bilingualism, in which children hear Spanish spoken by older relatives, while their own active linguistic production is effectively limited to English. Alternatively, a marriage between a Spanish speaker and a non-Spanish speaker may create a home environment conducive to the formation of semispeakers. Naturally, such speakers do not live in discrete geographic areas, but may be found throughout the nation, although the density of semispeakers increases in areas where no large homogeneous Hispanic populations are found. The main criterion for the existence of semispeakers is lan-

guage shift within the immediate environment of the speakers in question: the variables of educational level, socioeconomic status and geographical location are of considerably less importance in determining eventual language loss.

The case of the *isleños* (IS) of St. Bernard Parish, Louisiana is rather special, since this group does not represent the result of recent immigration, but is rather a remnant of colonial migrations, in this case of a group of Canary Islanders who arrived in the then Spanish territory of Louisiana at the end of the 18th century (MacCurdy 1950, Guillotte 1982, Lipski f). Since the region, inhabited by the *isleños* lies in a sparsely populated part of swampy east Louisiana, until the 1940s this group was able to maintain a certain cultural and linguistic autonomy from the rest of the state's population, and even today many members of the group cling to the traditions and life styles of previous decades. However, language shift has occurred; the youngest *isleños* generally have only a passive knowledge of Spanish, and many middle-aged *isleños* fall into the category of semispeakers, although there are still a number of speakers of fluent, if somewhat Anglicized, Spanish in this group.

Trinidad Spanish (TR) is another curious phenomenon, since this island passed from Spanish to British hands at the end of the 18th century, and the implantation of the Spanish language lasted fewer than fifty years (Moodie 1973, 1982, a; Thompson 1957). Although the island of Trinidad saw considerable immigration of Venezuelan peons in the 19th century, the number of Spanish speakers is currently only a fraction of a percent of the total population, few speakers of any level are found that are less than 50 years old, and except for a literal handful of the oldest speakers, most Spanish-speaking Trinidadians are legitimately classed in the semispeaker category. The failure to implement Spanish in any official capacity, including in the school system, has resulted in the nearly complete deterioration of the language, although through a curious set of circumstances, many Trinidadians sing Spanish-language Christmas songs, known as *parang* (from *parranda*) each year, with only a few understanding the words they sing.

Vestigial Philippine Spanish (PH) is the most peripheral case, both geographically and sociolinguistically. Although Spain held the Philippines for nearly 400 years, only a tiny percentage of Filipinos ever learned Spanish by official design, although a Hispanic creole (Chabacano) sprang up in Zamboanga and in several points along Manila Bay (Whinnom 1954, 1956; Frake 1971; Quilis 1980, 1984; Bowen 1971; Sibayan 1971). Following the Spanish-American war, the linguistic shift to English as a second language was rapidly effected, while the campaign to make Tagalog (Pilipino) a nation-wide second language is having considerable success. Currently in the Philippines fewer than 1% of the national population claims (noncreole) Spanish as a first or second language; these speakers are nearly all from *mestizo* (Eurasian) families of the upper socioeconomic classes, and speak

Spanish only under limited circumstances. Few families are found which use Spanish consistently, although many claim to do so, and the desire to retain Spanish is frequently a strategy designed to reclaim the last vestiges of aristocratic prestige vis-à-vis the progressive Tagalization of the Philippines. Enough Spanish speakers remain in the Philippines, however, to constitute a pool of linguistic material, which up until now has never been adequately studied, attention always having been drawn to the creole dialects and indigenous languages. Virtually all Philippine Spanish speakers speak one or more of the national languages natively or as a strong second language, although many individuals claim no knowledge of these languages; in addition, all but the oldest speakers have at least some knowledge of English. Philippine Spanish is clearly a dying language, with almost no speakers under the age of 60 to be found, except for language teachers who learned Spanish in school or through foreign scholarships. Among the last generation of Spanish speakers, continuous variation exists from the most aristocratic and refined Peninsular Spanish (with late 19th century overtones) to a rudimentary and hesitant "semi-Spanish" only slightly more proficient than that of foreign learners. In Guam, once part of the Spanish Pacific empire, Spanish has completely disappeared, after having left significant traces on the native language, Chamorro. My survey uncovered only three speakers with any knowledge of Spanish, although a few more may exist, and all fit into the category of semispeakers (cf. also Bowen 1971, Trifonovitch 1971). The last fluent Spanish speakers disappeared from Guam more than a generation ago. A few examples of vestigial Guam Spanish (GU) have been included to indicate yet another case of language erosion in a situation of total isolation.

Let us now consider the creole-like manifestations of the various vestigial Spanish dialects under consideration. First, in the area of verbal morphology, where, in addition to the production of correct forms, the most frequent strategy is to use the third person singular verb form, i.e., the least marked; the second most common case is the use of third person plural forms for first person plural. Thus, there is a tendency for some variant of the third person to become the canonical verb form in vestigial Spanish, although this only occurs in a small proportion of the total number of conjugated verbs. In Hispanic creoles, the third person singular verb form vies with a form of the verbal infinitive for canonical status.

yo bailo y come [como]
'I dance and eat.' (MX)

viene [vienen] mis tíos del rancho d'él [de su rancho]
'My aunt and uncle come from their ranch.' (MX)

se m'olvida [olvidan] muchas palabra[s]
'I forget a lot of words.' (CU)

tó[dos] nojotro trabajaban [trabajábamos] junto[s]
 'We all worked together.' (TR)

yo tiene [tengo] cuarenta ocho año
 'I am 48 years old.' (TR)

asina, yo pone [pongo] todo
 'I put everything like that.' (TR)

yo no sabe [sé] bien
 'I don't know.' (TR)

sí, yo entiende [entiendo]
 'Yes, I understand.' (IS)

ahí todos eh [son] raza isleña
 'There they are all isleños.' (IS)

Nosotros saben [sabemos] trabajá junto
 'We know how to work together.' (IS)

Por aquí entra [entran] los barcos internacionales
 'The international ships enter here.' (PH)

Cuando vino [vinieron] los japoneses
 'when the Japanese came' (PH)

*Los padres españoles, aquellos [ellos] habla [hablan] buen [bien] en
 chamorro*
 'The Spanish priests, they spoke Chamorro well.' (GU)

These examples are notably similar to those reported for bozal Spanish of previous centuries, and for presently occurring Afro-Hispanic dialect pockets. In addition to the examples from Equatorial Guinea and Ecuador, other cases come from Samaná, Dominican Republic (González and Benavides 1982):

supongo que debe [debo] tener 60 años
 'I guess I'm 60 years old';

from 19th century Puerto Rican bozal Spanish (Alvarez Nazario 1974: 386; Mason and Espinosa 1927: 410):

yo dicí a ti [yo te digo]
 'I'm telling you';

ese [esa] Nazaria son [es] mugé mala
 'That Nazario is a bad woman.'

Bozal Spanish from previous centuries provides similar examples. From Lope de Rueda (1908), in the 16th century, comes:

mas ¿sabe qué querer [quiere] yo?
 'But do you know what I want?'

Diego de Badajoz wrote, in the same century (Barrantes 1882):

¿Quen dis [dice] aquí tene [tiene] pan?
 'Who is said to have bread here?'

Góngora (1980) offered

La alma sá [las almas son] como la denta [los dientes]
 'Souls are like teeth.

In all of these examples, the strategy represented by the verbal instability is the same: partial use of verbal conjugations, with a general gravitation toward the third person singular forms as the most "unmarked."

The second category is reduction of nominal morphology. In the vestigial Spanish dialects under study, reduction and neutralization of nominal and adjectival gender is frequent, and takes the form of nonetymological gender or number assignment to particular lexical items, or of inconsistent use of gender and number morphemes across a single noun phrase. While the most common outcome is the maximally unmarked masculine singular, which normally forms the basis for creole adjectives and articles, other less systematic substitutions also occur, at times reflecting uncertainty as to the gender of morphologically opaque nouns.

mi blusa es blanco [blanca]
 'My blouse is white.' (MX)

tenemos un [una] casa allá
 'We have a house there.' (MX)

¿cuál es tu favorito [favorita] parte?
 'What is your favorite part?' (CU)

decían palabras que eran inglés [inglesas]
 'They said words that were [in] English.' (PR)

eha décima fue composío [compuesta] pol mi tío
 'This décima was composed by my uncle' (IS)

un[a] rata asina
 'a muskrat this big' (IS)

ahora tiene casa[s] uno [una] sobre otro [otra]
 'Now there are houses one on top of another' (TR)

no quieren ser español[es]
 'they don't want to be Spanish' (PH)

En estos días no hay escuela[s] español [españolas]
 'These days there are no Spanish schools' (GU)

The examples presented in the preceding section indicate the existence of nominal instability in creole Spanish, and of contemporary Afro-Hispanic language, employing exactly the same patterns of partial neutralization of gender and number inflection. In the Spanish Golden Age, Góngora wrote:

*samo negra pecandora e branca la Sacramenta [somos negras pecadoras,
 y el Sacramento es blanco]*
 'We are black sinners and the Sacrament is white.'

Lope de Rueda wrote:

ya tenemos un [una] prima mía
 'now we have a cousin . . .'

The third category, modification and reduction of pronominal paradigms, is rarely manifested in vestigial Spanish dialects. In the vestigial dialects under study, radical shifts of pronominal case are extremely infrequent. Only a handful are found in the present corpus. From Trinidad, comes:

Si pa mí tocaba [si yo tocara] un cuatro, yo no volví [volvía a] cantar
 'If I knew how to play the cuatro, I wouldn't sing any more'

la salga eh buena pa uté [su/de usted] cabeza
 'sarga is good for headaches [good for your head].'

From Guam, we have:

los pobres samorro [chamorros], como a mí [yo]
 'the poor Chamorros, like me'

Neutralization and elimination of prepositions is extremely frequent in vestigial and creole Spanish dialects; the most frequent case is the elimination of the prepositions *de* and *a*, whose semantic value can frequently be reconstructed from the surrounding context. Also found is the substitution of prepositions, particularly among those which accompany specific verbs; this is ordinarily done in a nonsystematic fashion. Examples include the following.

¿Tienes oportunidades en [para] hablar el español?
 'Do you have opportunities to speak Spanish?' (CU)

a casa [de] loh muchacho
 'at the boys' house' (IS)

ya recibirá carta [de] Ehpaña
 'I will get a letter from Spain.' (IS)

hay un poco [de] cacao
 'There's a little cacao.' (TR)

bahtante fueron diferente lugal [a diferentes lugares]
 'Many went to different places.' (TR)

si uté pasa [la] casa [de] Lili
 'if you pass Lili's house'(TR)

comenzaba [en] setiembre
 'It began in September.' (IS)

hoy etamo [a] siete
 'Today is the 7th.' (PR)

mi yerno es descendiente [de] italiano
 'My son-in-law is descended from Italians.' (PH)

los empleados [de] gobierno en tiempos de Hoover
 'government employees during Hoover's time' (GU)

Afro-Hispanic and other creole dialects exhibit similar behavior of prepositions, especially loss of *de* and *a*.

Reduction of syntactic complexity through elimination of embedded constructions (normally in violation of generally accepted syntactic norms) is a frequent feature of vestigial Spanish dialects:

[cuanto] más nombres [haya] mejor se va [a] ver
 'The more names there are, the better it will look' (MX)

hay muchah manera loh muchacho salí [para que los muchachos salgan]
 'there are many ways for the boys to go out' (IS)

tú tiene [cuando tú tengas] tiempo, viene[s] aquí
 ‘when you have time, come back here’ (TR)

la gente aquí [que] hablaron [hablaba] español se murieron
 ‘the people here who could speak Spanish all died’ (TR)

lo quieren quitar y a no ser [que no sea] obligatorio
 ‘they want to remove it and not have it be obligatory’ (PH)

antes tú que llegarte [antes que tú llegues] al monumento
 ‘before you get to the monument’ (PH)

es uno de los idiomas [que] enseñan aquí
 ‘it’s one of the languages that they teach here’ (PH)

hay [había] muchos [que] bebimos tuba
 ‘there were many of us who drank tuba [palm wine]’ (GU)

Such constructions are also found in creole Spanish, as may be seen by comparing the cases already presented.

Another fundamental feature of many creole dialects, also shared by vestigial Spanish, is the elimination of articles, particularly definite articles, in cases where fluent native speakers would employ them:

cuando tú deja [la] música
 ‘when you give up music’ (PR)

[la] crihtofina cogió [el] puehto del cacao
 ‘cristofina took the place of cacao’ (TR)

no ponen [los] zapato en la mesa
 ‘they don’t put their shoes on the table’ (IS)

[el] español es muy bonita[o]
 ‘Spanish is beautiful’ (PR)

me gusta[n] [las] clases como pa escribín[r]
 ‘I like classes like writing’ (CU)

tengo miedo de [los] exámen[e]s
 ‘I’m afraid of exams’ (MX)

está arriba, fuera de [del] tráfico
 ‘it’s high up, away from the traffic’ (PH)

antes, [las] mujeres solas podíamos caminar por las Ramblas
 ‘before, women could walk alone through Las Ramblas’ (PH)

A good example from bozal Spanish comes from the 19th century Peruvian novel, *Matalaché* (López Albújar 1966: 38):

[la] negra Casilda no moletá, amita, ella ayudao matá [la] cabrita [de] José Manué
 ‘Negra Casilda isn’t angry ma’am; she helped kill José Manuel’s goat.’

Another point of convergence between vestigial Spanish and bozal/Africanized Spanish, is the frequent use of redundant subject pronouns, particularly *yo, tú, usted, nosotros*, and *ustedes*. Since use of redundant pronouns is never strictly ungrammatical in Spanish, discrepancies between marginal dialects such as bozal and vestigial language and fluent Spanish are differences of degree. Nonetheless, a speaker who uses redundant subject pronouns upwards of 80% of the time, who uses coreferential subject pronouns two or more times in the same sentence, or who employs two or more noncoreferential 3rd person plural pronouns in the same sentence, would never be taken for a native speaker. Some examples from the present corpus illustrate the nonnative configurations that may be produced by vestigial speakers:

cuando ello hablo [ellos hablan], ello[s] comprenden
 ‘When they₁ speak, they₂ understand.’ (TR)

yo comprendo y yo jablo
 ‘I understand and I speak.’ (TR)

él tiene el cuatro y él juga [toca] y juga y él canta
 ‘He has a cuatro and he plays and he sings.’ (TR)

elloh quieren el velso que ello jacen ahora
 ‘They₁ like the verses that they₂ are writing now.’ (TR)

yo lo jablo onde yo quiero
 ‘I speak it wherever I want.’ (PR)

yo tengo do sijo; yo tengo a Al y yo tengo a Paul
 ‘I have two sons, I have Al and I have Paul.’ (IS)

cuando ella termina, ella tiene que tirá el agua
 ‘When she finishes, she has to throw out the water.’ (IS)

ello[s] venden y ello[s] van
 ‘They sell and they go.’ (CU)

cuando yo fui a Los Angeles, yo vi

'When I went to Los Angeles, I saw . . .' (MX)

Yo les digo que yo enseño en Silliman

'I tell them that I teach in Silliman [University].' (PH)

Hispanic creole dialects normally employ subject pronouns obligatorily, due to the minimally inflected verbal systems; similar examples may be found in the Spanish of Equatorial Guinea, Chota, Ecuador, and bozal Spanish.

The vestigial Spanish dialects described above do not share all of the characteristics found among Afro-Iberian creoles, such as use of the second person singular subject pronoun *vos*, use of aspectual particles such as *ta*, massive neutralization of pronominal case and complete elimination of nominal inflection. On the positive side of the balance, several major areas have been delineated in which significant parallels are found between Afro-Hispanic creole and vestigial Spanish dialects deriving from demonstrably noncreole Spanish. Other cases of partial convergence could be added, including use of *tener* 'to have' as an existential verb, and phonological misidentification of word-initial and word-final consonants. It must be noted that the examples of creole-like structures found among vestigial Spanish speakers often represent a relatively small percentage of total usage; that is, grammatically acceptable utterances are produced alongside the examples cited above. It is not feasible to compute percentages of deviation from "standard" grammatical patterns among semispeakers, but the successive production of creolized and noncreolized forms by the same speakers is an index of the incomplete dominance of a consistent grammatical apparatus. Presumably, bozal/creole Spanish exhibited similar patterns in its later stages, as contact with large numbers of native speakers increased, and decreolization intensified. Partially decreolized contemporary dialects such as Colombian Palenquero, Zamboanga Chabacano, Panamanian Congo, the Chota Valley of Ecuador and even Papiamentu, exhibit similar alternation between earlier creole and modern Spanish forms. Since the only attestations of earlier Afro-Hispanic creoles are literary imitations, which stressed nonstandard forms while often paying no attention to the use of standard variants, it is not possible to know with certainty what percentage of non-creole forms were produced by Afro-Hispanic speakers at each successive stage of linguistic evolution.

The comparison of vestigial and creolized or post-creole Spanish dialects, as well as the noncreolized Spanish of Equatorial Guinea, leads to the conclusion that the conditions that have produced vestigial Spanish are parallel to those which led to earlier creolization (and are effectively the temporal inverse of the decreolization process), with the result that the similarities between vestigial and creole dialects are not fortuitous, but are rather a reflec-

tion of inherent evolutionary parallels. These conditions include the following:

- (1) First generation creole speakers and vestigial language speakers are characterized by a lopsided competence/performance ratio, since their active abilities in the target language are far below their passive comprehension. Both groups, however, are capable of carrying out conversations in some form of the target language, and are thus a step above the passive bilingual.
- (2) Both groups suffer from the lack of extensive contact with accurate native-speaker models, and do not develop the necessary self-monitoring feedback and correction mechanisms which eliminate certain deviations from widely accepted patterns among true native speakers. In the case of African slaves and servants in Spanish colonies, contact with native speakers of Spanish was usually limited to a few non-Africans, and in the case of plantation workers, who often interacted only with overseers of African descent, no contact with true native Spanish speakers may have been possible. Vestigial Spanish speakers typically are able to speak Spanish only with a tiny subset of their acquaintances, usually the oldest relatives or neighbors (many of whom may themselves exhibit reduced fluency in Spanish), and are not surrounded by an environment where Spanish in any form is spoken on a daily basis.
- (3) As a consequence, both groups of speakers are forced to think partially or entirely in another language when speaking the target language (in this case Spanish), and their production in the latter language is characterized by considerable on-the-spot improvisation resulting in the high degree of heterogeneity among vestigial and pidgin/creole speakers.
- (4) Neither bozal/creole nor vestigial Spanish speakers are under pressure to produce grammatically and/or socially acceptable Spanish; whether Spanish is spoken by choice or under protest, its use is purely pragmatic, and effective communication is valued more highly than grammatical precision. Both groups have arrived at approximations to received Spanish using similar linguistic strategies. No historical connection among the vestigial Spanish groups is necessary in order to account for the paths of evolution from fluent to vestigial Spanish in each area; it is enough to invoke natural and quasi-universal tendencies of imperfect learning. Reduction of phonological oppositions, conversion of variable phonological processes into categorical rules, preference for a single gender/number marker and for third-person (i.e., minimally marked) verbal forms, neutralization and elimination of prepositions in cases where general word order

permits extraction of meaning, avoidance of embedded structures and categorical use of subject pronouns, are all natural consequences of imperfect language acquisition under conditions where the need for essential communication prevails over pressures for normative precision.

The demonstration of linguistic parallels between bozal Spanish and vestigial Spanish derived from noncreole dialects does not in itself invalidate the postulate that a unified Afro-Hispanic creole with Portuguese roots was once widely spoken in Latin America and perhaps elsewhere. It does, however, weaken the force of arguments stressing the necessarily monogenetic origin of congruent grammatical structures among several creole dialects. Moreover, the preceding demonstrations stress the importance of the study of vestigial dialects and semispeakers in the context of historical linguistics and language creolization.

The preceding remarks have surveyed a number of contemporary Afro-Hispanic linguistic phenomena, as well as a set of speech phenomena reminiscent of Afro-Hispanic language but which stem from a significantly different set of parameters. The three possible counterexamples to unified monogenetic theories of Afro-Iberian creole formation have thus been given substance: (1) existence of Afro-Hispanic creoles significantly different from acknowledged Afro-Portuguese variants (Panamanian congo dialect and possibly Ecuadorian choteño); (2) Afro-Hispanic linguistic contacts which failed to produce configurations found in Afro-Iberian creoles (Equatorial Guinean Spanish); (3) the existence of archetypal Afro-Iberian creoloid structures in noncreole dialects in which the African/Portuguese element is absent (vestigial Spanish dialects). The results of the survey do not detract from the serious scholarship that has gone into demonstrating common structures and possibly common origins for many Iberian-based creoles; they do demonstrate, however, that a wider range of data must be taken into consideration before the book on creole formation can be closed. Such data can only come from the study of marginal, vestigial and isolated dialect pockets, most of which are little known and little studied, and many of which are rapidly disappearing. The search must go on.

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