

## SPONTANEOUS NASALIZATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF AFRO-HISPANIC LANGUAGE

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Afro-Hispanic or *bozal* Spanish, from the sixteenth century to the early twentieth century, exhibited numerous cases of "epenthetic" nasal consonants, exemplified by *Punto Rico* < *Puerto Rico*; *limbre* < *libre* 'free'; *pincueso* < *pecuezo* 'neck'; and monosyllabic clitics such as *lon* < *lo(s)*, *lan* < *la(s)*, and so on. The present study, based on a comparison of Afro-Hispanic (AH) language data from a wide range of regions and time periods, provides alternative models for spontaneous nasalization. The first involves *vowel* nasalization, analyzed as the linking of a free (nasal) autosegment to the first available vowel of relevant words; Spanish speakers in turn reinterpreted the nasal vowels as a nasal consonant homorganic to the preceding consonant. Cases of apparent word-final nasal epenthesis, invariably involving phrase-internal clitics, resulted from prenasalization of following word-initial obstruents, a well-documented process in Afro-Iberian linguistic contacts. The preference for voiced obstruents to prenasalize is attributed to the lack of the normal fricative pronunciation of /b/, /d/, and /g/ in AH speech. In general, Spanish voiced obstruents are pronounced as stops only following nasals. The stop pronunciation of /b/, /d/, and /g/ by AH speakers was reinterpreted as an additional Root node, to which a floating (nasal) autosegment could be linked. AH nasalization generally seems to stem from Africans' underspecification of Spanish vowels and consonants, resulting from the precarious conditions under which Spanish was learned by speakers of various African languages.

### 0. *Introduction: Nasalization in Afro-Hispanic Language*

The arrival of African slaves and free laborers in Portugal and Spain began late in the fifteenth century, and by the middle of the sixteenth century the literary representation of the *bozal* (born in Africa and speaking

little or no Spanish) appears in Spanish literature, nearly always in the role of buffoon or at best whimsical victim of fate. Even before the slave trade to Spanish America had been established, Sevilla, Huelva, and other regions in southern Spain contained large AH populations, many of whom had arrived from southern Portugal (cf. Carriazo 1954, Larrea Palacín 1952, Pike 1967, Sancho de Sopranis 1958, Sanders 1982). Writers such as Gil Vicente, Henrique da Mota, and Antonio Ribeiro de Chiado depicted the Pidgin Portuguese spoken by *bozales* in Portugal beginning in the fifteenth century; by the early seventeenth century, the phenomenon of the *habla de negro* was so well established in Spain as to figure in the works of prominent Golden Age poets and dramatists, including Lope de Rueda, Lope de Vega, Góngora, and many others.<sup>1</sup> In Spanish America, the famous poet Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz described *bozal* Spanish later in the seventeenth century, and literary and folkloric testimony of distinctly Africanized Spanish as spoken by recently arrived slaves is found in nearly all parts of Latin America (cf. Lipski 1985b).

Although it is logical that adult Africans who learned Spanish under conditions of captivity and forced labor would exhibit typical traits of the struggling language learner, there is evidence both in Spain and in Latin America that Africans born and raised in Spanish-speaking regions spoke Spanish with no "African" accent, despite the fact that they may have learned socially non-prestigious forms from overseers, sailors, artisans, and the like. The linguistic value of early Spanish literary documents purporting to represent AH language is questionable in view of the obvious stereotyping and ridicule to which Africans were subject; but certain common traits may be discerned, particularly phonetic modifications. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, and even later in some parts of Latin America, where the last wave of slave trading had brought a fresh group of African natives to Spanish-speaking territory, written attestations of AH language contain phonetic traits not found in non-African regional and social dialects.<sup>2</sup> One of the earliest commentators was the seventeenth-century humorist Francisco de Quevedo (1988:127) in his "Libro de todas las cosas," who quipped that in order to speak *guineo*, as he called AH Pidgin, "sabrás guineo en volviendo las rr ll, y al contrario: como Francisco, *Flancico*; primo, *plimo*" ('you will be able to speak *guineo* by changing r's into l's and vice versa: like *Francisco* to *Flancico*, *primo* to *plimo*'). However, Latin American texts from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries generally attribute to Afro-Hispanics phonetic patterns which, while socially stig-

matized, are simply typical of the regional vernacular, and are used by all members of the lower social classes (Lipski 1985b).

Examples of purported AH speech from the late nineteenth century onward largely employ the popular phonetic traits of the regions in question, including loss of syllable-final /s/ and the neutralization or loss of syllable-final liquids. Among earlier texts, and those claiming to represent true *bozal* or pidginized AH language, a wider range of phonological and morphological distortions is found. Most commonly they consist of the interchange of /l/ and /r/ (usually in favor of [l]) in the syllabic onset (examples are *primo* > *plimo* 'cousin', *negro* > *neglo*, *Rosas* > *Losa* '[Argentina's General] Rosas', and *plato* > *prato* 'plate') and the shift of intervocalic /d/ to [r] (e.g., *todo(s)* > *turo* 'all').

Among the other recurring changes in written attestations of AH speech, one of the most intriguing developments is spontaneous intrusive nasalization, which resulted both in the slight modification of existing words and in the creation of new words, combining the function of articles, demonstratives, and pronouns. This spontaneous shift is typified by the evolution of *negro* to *nengre/ningre/nenguel/nenglo*, and so forth, which became a literary stereotype for AH speech (so common and hackneyed that the hundreds of written examples have been omitted from the Appendix), together with variants on the theme of "aunque negros, gente somos" ('although we are black, we are people too'). The full range of cases is illustrated in the Appendix.

Non-etymological nasalization in Spanish is not limited to AH language, since the vernacular Spanish of many regions exhibits items such as *dende* < *desde* 'since'.<sup>3</sup> In *bozal* texts, however, a number of recurring forms appears, derived from Spanish words lacking a nasal, and in which an /n/ has surfaced in word-final position or word-internal syllable-final position. These words are found in representations of AH language from the sixteenth century to the late nineteenth century, one of the few phonetic traits not traceable to vernacular non-Africanized Spanish that spans the entire time period for which some type of pidginized AH speech is attested. Together with spontaneous nasalization, there was denasalization — in the same corpus, apparent loss of word-final /n/ is attested (cf. Appendix Part L), with both phenomena often appearing in a single document. In view of these opposing tendencies, it is inaccurate to characterize AH speech as generally "more nasal" or "less nasal" than other dialects of Spanish.

Although the texts which form the bulk of the AH corpus are of questionable value, if taken individually (sharing this feature, for example, with the Work Project Administration Slave Narratives as examples of nineteenth-century Black American English), the totality of the recurring elements presents a strong case for the accuracy of the graphical representation of certain phonetic traits, particularly those involving nasalization. The present study takes as its point of departure the notion that there was a higher degree of consistency in the representation of spontaneous nasalization than would be due to chance or to simple stereotyping and exaggeration, and offers a largely phonological solution, at times tempered by morphological or lexical analogy. In essence, it is proposed that the "nasalization" found in AH speech represents the addition of a [+nasal] autosegment to the beginning of certain words, with independently motivated phonological constraints determining whether this autosegment attached to a consonant or to a vowel. The notion that portmanteau items like *lan* and *nan* (Alvarez Nazario 1974, Lipski 1987b) represent direct African borrowings or vestiges of a more widespread creole is called into question. The remainder of the discussion is organized as follows: Section 1 presents the AH nasalization data in detail. Section 2 offers an autosegmental analysis of spontaneous nasalization in initial syllables. Section 3 surveys earlier work on apparent word-final nasalization, and Section 4 proposes a new theory to account for such forms. Section 5 further motivates the claim that prenasalized obstruents were found in earlier AH speech. In Section 6, possible sources of a free nasal autosegment in AH speech are discussed. The discussion is summarized in Section 7.

### 1. *Details of Afro-Hispanic Nasalization/Denasalization*

It is often stated, though seldom substantiated, that "African" influence on Spanish included an increase of nasalization.<sup>4</sup> Although it remains to be convincingly demonstrated that AH speech in general was any more "nasalized" than other ethnic or regional varieties, several recurring types of addition or shift of nasal elements may be identified. The prominence of what was probably a relatively small subset of such elements, noteworthy for their differences with respect to other Spanish dialects, was responsible for the notion that AH speech was characteristically nasal.

The change of word-initial palatal consonants to [ɲ] is one common shift which is reported often in AH texts and which is found in contempo-

rary Spanish dialects in regions where an African presence was particularly strong. The most frequent example is *llamar* > *ñamar* 'to call'. Other instances which could be cited are *llapa* > *ñapa* 'bonus given by market vendors' and *chato* > *ñato* 'flat-nosed', (cf. Lipski 1989). This change is significant in that it is the only recurring case in which an initial non-nasal consonant was entirely replaced by a nasal consonant.

In many dialects of Spanish and Portuguese, as well as in Afro-Romance Creoles, the presence of a word-internal nasal consonant may cause nasalization of other elements in the word, both vowels and consonants. The most common process is vowel nasalization, with leftward, rightward, or bidirectional spreading. This is determined partly on a language-specific basis, but it is otherwise idiosyncratic. Cases of the apparent spread of nasalization are found in *bozal* texts, in what sometimes looks to be leftward spreading (with occasional rightward nasalization), e.g., *multiplicar* > *muntipricar* 'to multiply' (Chasca 1946:326), *Mingué* < *Miguel* 'Michael' (Alvarez Nazario 1974:150); they will be analyzed in a different fashion below. Some common cases, exemplified in greater detail in the Appendix Part J, include *brángaman* < *válgame* (*Dios*) 'Dear God', *simpañole* < *españoles* 'Spaniards', *ringalame* < *regalarme* 'give to me', *sintaliano* < *italiano* 'Italian', *dimpensa* < *dispensa* 'excuse', *prántano* < *plátano* 'banana', *sintimao* < *estimado* 'esteemed', *satinfasione* < *satisfacción* 'satisfaction', *tamberna* < *taberna* 'tavern', and so on.

Consonant harmony is almost nonexistent among the coastal West African languages that are known to have been spoken by the slaves carried to Spain and Latin America.<sup>5</sup> Vowel harmony, on the other hand, is a common process in the West African languages (Welmers 1973). In view of the frequent tendency for nasal consonants to spread their nasality to contiguous vowels, and the lack of feasible models of direct African transfer of leftward spreading of consonantal nasality, it is plausible to suppose that in the AH Pidgin represented by *bozal* texts, what was eventually written as an added nasal consonant began as subphonemic vowel nasalization. With the exception of a handful of cases in which word-initial consonants were nasalized, all cases of apparent nasal consonant spreading in *bozal* Spanish involve replacement or insertion of a syllable-final nasal consonant. There is an often-observed equilibrium between nasalized vowels and syllable-final nasal consonants in early and dialectal Portuguese (Nobiling 1903, Leite de Vasconcellos 1901, Trigo 1988), and a heavy nasalization of vowels in the proximity of nasal consonants in the Afro-Romance Creoles,



including Haitian (Tinelli 1981), Palenquero (Friedemann & Patiño Roselli 1983), and Papiamento (Lenz 1928). This leads to the conclusion that the nearly exclusive appearance of *bozal* nasal spreading in syllable-final position follows from a two-step process: first, spreading of vowel nasalization, followed by (or more reasonably, interpreted by Spanish speakers as) the insertion of an excrescent nasal consonant which is homorganic with a following consonant. As indirect support for this proposal, involving a similar unstable equilibrium between nasal consonants and nasalized vowels, one need only consider the treatment of nasal vowels in West African languages lacking phonemic nasal vowels. Thus, when Wolof speakers in Senegal absorbed French words containing word-internal pre-consonantal nasal vowels, an oral vowel followed by a homorganic nasal consonant resulted, while word-final nasal vowels at times caused an excrescent final nasal consonant to emerge, alternating with denasalization of the nasal vowel (Dumont 1983:116). Similar phenomena have been attested for French as used in the Central African Republic (Roulon 1972:143), Cameroon (Renaud 1979:428), Zaire (Faik 1979:454), Togo (Lafage 1985:167), Rwanda and Burundi (Shyirambere 1979:481), and elsewhere (Bal 1975, 1988). This suggests that even among Africans learning Spanish, reinterpretation of nasal vowels and nasal consonants could occur, contributing to the fluidity of nasal phenomena in *bozal* Spanish.

AH texts contain a large number of examples in which a nasal consonant was spontaneously introduced into words originally containing no nasal consonant. These cases cannot be handled as spreading or regressive nasalization, and the number and diversity of the words makes it unlikely that so many instances of analogy were at work. In every item in which a nasal consonant was added word-internally, it occurs in syllable-final position, which once more suggests that the original modification involved vowel nasalization, followed by reinterpretation of a transitional nasal element as a syllable-final nasal consonant. It often appears that the non-etymological nasal consonant actually displaced a Spanish consonant (usually /s/), but nearly all AH texts, as well as most of the matrix dialects they were in contact with, are characterized by the frequent loss of syllable-final consonants. Nearly all the cases of polysyllabic words not originally containing a nasal in which an intrusive nasal element is found in *bozal* texts exhibit the added nasal element on the *first* vowel, with alternate variants at times demonstrating rightward spreading, rarely if ever affecting the final vowel. Typical examples include *lango* < *largo* 'long', (*n*)*anquí* < *aquí*

'here', *limbre* < *libre* 'free', *dimparate* < *disparate* 'foolish remark', *rimpito* < *repito* 'I repeat', *pincueso* < *pescuezo* 'neck', *dimpachá* < *despachar* 'to send', *dingrasiao* < *desgraciados* 'unfortunate', *rimpicá* < *repica* 'to toll', *sincritore* < *escritores* 'writers', *ingresia* < *iglesia* 'church', *sintrella* < *estrella* 'star', *pintola* < *pistola* 'pistol', *dimbarató* < *desbarató* 'took apart', *unté* < *usted* 'you' (Alzola 1965:363), *Jesuncristo* < *Jesucristo* 'Jesus Christ', *Punto Rico* < *Puerto Rico*, *ringó* < *rigor* (Alvarez Nazario 1974:150), *Nantega* < *Ortega* (Alvarez Nazario 1974:147), and *nontron* < *otros* 'others'. In a very few words, spontaneous nasality appears to have spread rightward from the initial syllable: *brángaman* < *válgame*, 'God help me!' and *sumpricalsumpringa* < *suplica* 'begs'.

There are few counterexamples to the attachment of a nasal element to the initial vowel, and most can be accounted for by independent constraints or developments. Thus *sainfazione* < *satisfacción* may reflect the previous existence of a nasal in the root word. *Arintocrasia* < *aristocracia* 'aristocracy' can be explained through phonotactic constraints. If the first vowel was nasalized and then developed an excrescent syllable-final [n], the originally intervocalic /r/ would now find itself in postconsonantal onset-initial position, and according to Spanish phonotactics the /r/ would have to be realized as a trill, representing a non-structure-preserving transformation. *Prohimbido* < *prohibido* 'prohibited' actually contains a diphthong in the initial syllable (*h* is not pronounced and the unstressed /i/ is realized as a semivowel), to which the nasal element was added. Another apparent counterexample, *pecandora* < *pecadora* 'sinner' as used by Góngora (Becco 1946:35), can be explained through the obvious analogy with the gerund *pecando* 'sinning', whereby intrusive nasalization of the first vowel could conceivably result in potential confusion with *penca* 'cowhide used for whipping', thereby detracting from Góngora's attempted humor. Finally, the nasal element in *Jesuncristo*, *Sesunclito*, and so forth ('Jesus Christ') most likely was attached originally to *Jesús*, constituting a type of word-final nasalization to be discussed below.

The last type of spontaneous nasalization in the AH speech to be studied here involves word-final position: *callan* < *callad* 'be quiet' (Chasca 1946), *daremon* < *daremos* 'we shall give', *bucan* < *busca* 'looks for', and so on. A particularly intriguing set of forms exhibiting non-etymological word-final nasals are monosyllabic catchall morphemes such as *lan*, *lon*, *nan*, and so forth, as well as other monosyllabic function words derived from clitics, copulas, prepositions, and the like. In these instances, nasaliza-

tion almost never occurs phrase-finally, which provides a measure of support for the proposal, to be developed below, that apparent word-final nasal consonants were manifestations of word-internal or word-initial nasalization.

That AH speech was characterized by occasional *vowel* nasalization, but not by an overwhelming introduction of new nasal *consonants*, is also suggested by the frequent apparent *loss* of nasal consonants in word-final position (Appendix Part L): *tambié* < *también* 'also', *combinació* < *combinación* 'combination', *corazó* < *corazón* 'heart', *garafó* < *garrafón* 'demijohn', *Jua* < *Juan* 'John' (Alvarez Nazario 1974:150), and so on. Unlike apparent cases of spontaneous word-final nasalization, word-final denasalization did occur phrase-finally, as well as word- and phrase-internally (e.g., *atención* > *atesión/atesió* 'attention', *enredador* > *eredadó* 'busybody' (Alvarez Nazario 1974:150). Since many of the West African languages known to have come into contact with Spanish during the *bozal* period had either word-final nasal consonants or nasal vowels,<sup>6</sup> there is no reason to suppose that a total loss of nasality took place in *bozal* Spanish. A more likely hypothesis is absorption of the nasal consonant by the preceding vowel (following the general tendencies to reduce syllable-final consonants), whose nasality might not be perceived by a Spanish speaker unaccustomed to nasal vowels.

## 2. Analysis of Nasalization in Word-Initial Syllables

A brief survey of examples of spontaneous nasal insertion and apparent leftward spread suggests that a single process is involved, namely the addition of a [+nasal] autosegment to the *first* P-bearing unit of the word. Such a unit was in most instances a vowel rather than a consonant. Attachment of a [+nasal] autosegment to the first syllable of the word follows from a general principle of the linking of free autosegments, whereby unless specific stipulations intervene, a free or floating autosegment automatically links to the first available position, counting from the left or right edge of the domain as language- and situation-specific conditions dictate. Piggott (1988, 1989) has dubbed this principle the Mapping Parameter, with the parametric variant being the edge of attachment. In the AH examples, the attachment of a free nasal autosegment was to the left edge, namely to the first vowel or diphthong. Subsequent formation of an excrescent nasal consonant or the perception of such a consonant by Spanish writers then resulted in the attested forms with an orthographic *n*.

The motivation for attachment of a floating [+nasal] autosegment is not to be sought in a single language contact situation or a single linguistic environment, given the diversity of the forms and the geographic and ethnolinguistic diversity of AH contacts. In the case of words already containing a nasal consonant, regressive nasalization of the preceding vowel would occur as it does naturally in all varieties of Spanish. Speakers of African languages containing phonemic nasal vowels could reinterpret /VNC/ and even /VNV/ combinations as nasal vowels, thus providing a model for the attachment of additional [+nasal] autosegments. In a few instances, such as *dimpensa* < *dispensa* and *prántano* < *plátanos*, it is formally impossible to distinguish between the attachment of a [+nasal] autosegment to the beginning of the word and leftward spreading of nasality from a preceding vowel. However, autosegmental spreading cannot normally affect elements already specified for the feature in question. Given that Spanish obstruents are distinctively specified for the feature [nasal], potential leftward spreading of a [+nasal] autosegment attached to a vowel would be impeded by an intervening nonnasal consonant with supralaryngeal articulation. A similar restriction impedes autosegmental spreading of vowel nasalization in many languages (cf. Piggott 1987, 1988, 1989, and Rosenthal 1988). Words in which the original nasal element is separated by more than one syllable from the intrusive nasal (e.g., *ringalame* < *regalarme* and *satinfasione* < *satisfacción*) provide additional support for the attachment of a free nasal autosegment to the initial syllable, rather than leftward spreading of nasality.<sup>7</sup>

Although it is likely that no single mechanism was responsible for the attachment of a word-initial [+nasal] autosegment to *bozal* words containing a nasal element elsewhere in the word, similar processes in other languages hint that more than loose analogy may have been at work. In an analysis of apparent bidirectional nasal spreading in Capanahua, Halle & Vergnaud (1981) suggest that the original [+nasal] autosegment is set adrift and "floats" to the end of the word, where it attaches itself to the final vowel and spreads leftward until being blocked by an element distinctively specified for nasal, such as an obstruent. In this language, it must be stipulated that redundancy rules adding the feature [-nasal] must apply prior to the rightward movement of the floating [nasal] autosegment, since leftward spread of nasalization, blocked by non-nasal obstruents, never fails to include the position of the original trigger consonant (cf. Trigo 1988). In the AH cases under discussion, there is no evidence of detachment of a

[+nasal] autosegment. There is, however, evidence that a separate [nasal] tier may have existed during the formation of many *bozal* words. Therefore, the presence of a single nasal item in a word, i.e., a single association line attached to a [+nasal] autosegment, could very well trigger a process of leftward "drifting," followed by a regular process of autosegmental association blocked by appropriately specified segments (see below).<sup>8</sup>

It might also be possible to postulate a leftward drift of a reduplicated [+nasal] autosegment, ordered before the redundancy rule which adds the [-nasal] specification. The corpus of *bozal* words in which a word-internal nasal element appears to have triggered nasalization in a noncontiguous initial syllable is quite small: *simpañole* < *españoles*, *sintaliano* < *italiano*, *prántano* < *plátanos*, *satinfasione* < *satisfacción*, *ringalame* < *regalarme*, and so on. In all but the last example, the intervening consonants are not distinctively specified for nasality. Spanish has no distinctive nasal fricatives or liquids, nor does it have distinctively voiceless nasal consonants.<sup>9</sup>

AH words which originally contained no nasal element, and in which a free nasal autosegment or prosody was attached to the initial syllable, can be analyzed in an identical fashion. The configurations found in the AH corpus conform to attested patterns of autosegmental attachment and spreading in natural languages. Spanish obstruents are distinctively specified for nasality, so that a [+nasal] autosegment cannot attach to a word-initial consonant already specified for this feature. The next available P-bearing unit is the vowel. In the unmarked case, vowels are unspecified for nasality; a floating nasal autosegment can freely attach to this vowel. Whether or not nasal spreading occurs at all is a language-specific parameter, which in its positive setting can be specified as leftward, rightward, or in some cases as bidirectional (cf. Piggott 1987). The fact that Spanish obstruents are already specified for nasality precludes autosegmental spreading from creating a nasalized obstruent. Nearly all the *bozal* data in the present corpus are consistent with these constraints, which in itself is noteworthy in suggesting a higher level of accuracy of transcription than is generally accorded to these non-Africans' depictions of AH speech. Assuming that what appear to be intrusive nasal consonants are actually the result of vowel nasalization, the failure of consonantal nasality to spread is thereby accounted for.

### 3. Previous Analyses of Word-Final Nasalization

The only AH words exhibiting word-final nasalization that have been previously analyzed are the pair *lan/nan*, as demonstrated in the Appendix, Parts A–C, E–F. Given the phonetic similarity of these items with pronouns or articles in AH Creoles such as Palenquero, Papiamentu, São Tomense, and Annobonese, some investigators have suggested that they were actually derived from a proto-Hispanic Creole, or perhaps borrowed directly from African etyma (cf. the analysis of Lipski 1987b). Cotton & Sharp (1988:208) refer to *lan* in Afro-Caribbean speech as "an undifferentiated article in Black speech in the Caribbean," without further justification or explanation. In a more penetrating analysis of these items, Alvarez Nazario (1974:167, 185–97) postulates that the original form was *nan*, and that the change *nan* > *lan* took place through the influence of the definite article *la*. In Puerto Rican *bozal* Spanish, both *lan* and *nan* are found, but in Cuban texts, *lan* (with an occasional variant *lon*) occurs almost exclusively. Examples 10–11 in Appendix F are rare attestations for Cuba; example 9 in Appendix F suggests that *nan* may have existed in Afro-Dominican Spanish, while example 15 gives evidence that *nan* may have been used even in Spain. If the occurrence of *lan/nan* in Cuba and Puerto Rico stems from a common extraterritorial source, then the existence of both forms in Puerto Rico and the predominance of the former in Cuba would suggest an evolution of *lan* > *nan*, initiated and only partially completed in Puerto Rico. The opposite development would be suggested only if it could be demonstrated that *lan/nan* was attested in Cuba significantly before appearing in Puerto Rico, having undergone the putative evolution *nan* > *lan* before the latter form was transferred to Cuba, via an as yet unattested route of linguistic transplantation. However, the data collected for the present study (Appendix Part A) shows that *lan* occurs from the early seventeenth century on, both in Spain and in Spanish America, including Puerto Rico; *lon* makes its first written appearance shortly thereafter (example 10 in Appendix E hints at earlier progenitors). The almost total restriction of *nan* to nineteenth-century Puerto Rican texts thus suggests a route of evolution opposite to that proposed by Alvarez Nazario (1974), namely *lan* > *nan*, if in fact the two items are related etymologically.

Alvarez Nazario (1974) also attempts to identify *nan* with a host of other elements (*nano*, *na*, *ne*, and *nelle*), which appear in AH texts from the Golden Age to the nineteenth century. Additionally, he proposes that



the semantic replacement of a preposition plus article is related to the plural particle *ma* of Colombian Palenquero, e.g., *ma ngombé* 'the cattle', where he interprets *ma* as a fusion of *na* and the Spanish possessive *mi*. However, the Palenquero form is in reality a Bantu plural marker, only fortuitously similar to fusions of Romance items (Friedemann & Patiño Roselli 1983, Schwegler 1990).<sup>10</sup>

At this point, given the lack of other significant parallels with West African or Caribbean Creoles, and the fact that *lan/nan* does not occur in Palenquero (the one AH language demonstrably influenced by Bantu morphology), there is no compelling reason to identify *lan/nan* as direct transfers from African languages or creoles. The claimed similarity with Palenquero stems from a misunderstanding of the function of *ma* in the latter language. *Nan* is phonetically identical to the third person plural pronoun/plural marker in Papiamentu, but Papiamentu pluralizing *nan* is invariably placed *after* the noun: *e kasnan* 'the houses'. No use of Papiamentu *nan* parallels the examples in Appendix Part F. Since no *bozal* texts show *nan* used as a plural subject pronoun or postposed plural marker, it seems that the similarity with Papiamentu is fortuitous. The change *lan* > *nan* may simply result from regressive nasalization (a nearly identical change has occurred in Haitian), or it may represent a non-etymological replacement/insertion of a word-initial /n/, such as we frequently find in Antillean *bozal* texts in the form of the undifferentiated third person pronoun *nelle/neyelne*. For example, Brau (1894:138) observes that in nineteenth-century Puerto Rico, what he called "cimarrones bozales" used expressions such as *na-cosina*, *ne-pueblo*, *na-casa*, and so on, for *en la cocina* 'in the kitchen', *en el pueblo* 'in the town', *en la casa* 'in the house', again suggesting a simple phonetic shift, or conceivably *na* as derived from a Portuguese Pidgin, rather than a transfer of African morphological structures. We cannot exclude the possibility that West African or creole morphological structures influenced the development of *lan*. However, since the latter element fits in among a series of monosyllabic function words that all show the same spontaneous nasalization but otherwise exhibit no basic similarities, the case for an African/creole origin is not compelling. There is indeed a reason for not separating out *lan/nan*, namely the fact that AH materials reveal a large and potentially open-ended set of words in which a final nasal element was added.

#### 4. Towards a New View of Word-Final Nasalization

A significant number of the items exhibiting word-final intrusive nasalization are monosyllabic or bisyllabic determiners, or they are function words, e.g., *lan*, *nan*, *lon*, *len*, *den*, *tin*, *esen*, *sen*, *nen*, *man*, *min*, and *nun* (cf. Appendix). These forms share a striking similarity: each is phonologically (and often syntactically) a *clitic*, forming the first member of a clitic group.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, in nearly every case, the immediately following word is the head of the clitic group. Exceptions to this trend are very few:

- (1) a. si no *lan* quiere creer  
'if he doesn't want to believe'  
(Lope de Vega 1893:368) (*Creer* heads the clitic group.)
- b. *Len* fielo nimigo si va.  
'The fierce enemy is leaving.'  
(Lanuza 1967:132) (The qualifying adjective *fielo* intervenes between *len* and the head of the clitic group, *nimigo*.)
- c. e a *len* vile calancho  
'the terrible wide-faced ones'  
(Lanuza 1967:133) (*Vile* intervenes before the head, *calancho*.)
- d. *lon* da mayorá la monte  
'those of the majority in the hills'  
(Cruz 1974:161) (*Lon* stands before a deleted relative head.)
- e. *Nontron* [*< nosotros*] se jicieron rico.  
'We became rich.'  
(Alvarez Nazario 1974:192) (*Nontron* is the subject pronoun.)
- f. Por *eyan* derritimo.  
'For them we melt.'  
(Lope de Vega 1929:71) (*Eyan* is the object of a preposition and the head of a clitic group, a displaced prepositional phrase.)
- g. Siendo negro y *ellan* [*< ellas*] crara  
'[our] being black and they light-colored'  
(Lope de Vega 1893:368) (*Ellan* is the subject pronoun.)

Regardless of whether *lan*, *lon*, and so on are serving as articles, as object pronouns, or as other grammatical forms, they are phonologically clitics. Rarely do these elements stand alone (examples 1 d–g present corpus).

In each case, the nasalized element in the clitic occurs before a consonant-initial word. Assuming an originally vowel-final clitic, cliticization to the following word creates a clitic group whose phonotactic configuration is amenable to the insertion of a nasal autosegment which would ultimately be interpreted, by non-*bozal* listeners, as an intrusive nasal consonant at the end of the first syllable. Apparent word-final nasalization is *domain-internal*, where the clitic group, rather than the phonological word, is taken as the relevant domain. Putative word-final nasalization might be a special case of the intrusive nasalization process described earlier, namely the attachment of a [nasal] autosegment to the first vowel of the clitic group. Since the first syllable in these cases is orthographically and lexically a separate word, graphic representations such as *lan* and *lon* would be the logical result. It would be attractive to subsume all instances of spontaneous nasalization under a single model, but there are several key facts which render such an account implausible for the AH data under consideration.

The principal trouble spot involves polysyllabic words which were obviously clitics, and in which the intrusive nasal element was attached to the final syllable, rather than to the first, as would be predicted by the potential unification of a free autosegment to the first available anchor point hinted at above: *esem* 'those', *aguesan* 'those', *daremon* 'we shall give', *habemon* 'we have', and so forth. Spontaneous final nasalization also occurred in words which are not clitics by any definition, although sharing a close prosodic association with the word which follows them: *brángaman* < *válgame*, 'God help me!', *dalen* 'give him', *bucan* 'searching', *nontron* 'we', *biban* 'long live', *volveyan* 'return', *esten* 'these', *otron* 'others', *Jesún* (or *Jesuncristo* and its variants), and so on. No accepted autosegmental model allows attachment of an originally free (unattached) autosegment to a non-terminal P-bearing unit in that word, and nothing in the AH materials suggests addition of a nasal autosegment to the right edge of a domain. Quite to the contrary, there are abundant examples of apparent *loss* of word-final nasality, including examples in phrase-final position, whereas nominally word-final nasalization occurs uniformly in phrase-medial position before a consonant-initial word. Thus, both a word boundary and a following consonant are involved, and the presence of a word boundary suggests that both the following original consonant and the added nasal consonant played different roles than in the case of word-initial nasalization. In the latter process, nasality was originally attached to a vowel in a closed syllable, followed by the formation of an epenthetic nasal consonant.

##### 5. Evidence of Prenasalization in Afro-Hispanic Language

I suggest that what was eventually transcribed as a word-final /n/ in elements such as *lan*, *lon*, and *den* reflects the presence of a *prenasalized obstruent* in the following word, a transformation of an originally oral consonant resulting from a unique combination of West African areal characteristics and a particular interpretation of Spanish and AH phonotactic patterns by Africans and Spanish speakers alike. The substantiation of this hypothesis will proceed in several stages.

Prenasalized obstruents are a common feature of languages belonging to a variety of West African language families, among them several known to have been brought to Spain and Latin America. Such sounds have traditionally caused difficulties of interpretation and pronunciation for speakers of European languages, and when found phrase-initially they are often perceived and transcribed as preceded by a prothetic vowel, or as a *nasal + obstruent* cluster separated by an epenthetic vowel.

Although most AH texts reflect no particular linguistic sophistication with regard to the transcription of non-Spanish sounds, there are a few fragments which appear to reflect the presence of prenasalized obstruents directly. Several relevant examples are included in the Appendix Part K, but there are examples in other parts of the Appendix which also admit the prenasalized obstruent interpretation: examples 1, 5, 6–9 in Appendix B and example 8 in Appendix E are particularly likely candidates.

There is also evidence that African words containing prenasalized consonants were absorbed into AH language. For example, in Caribbean *bozal* Spanish, Africanisms (usually from the Bantu group) containing prenasalized consonants frequently lost the nasalization, but an alternative route of evolution included a prothetic *le*: *mbala* > *embala* 'bonito', *ndoki* > *endoki* 'witch doctor', *nkento* > *enkento* 'wife', *ngariga* > *enganga* 'witchcraft' (García González & Valdés Acosta 1978:21). Finally, there is evidence that African words containing prenasalized obstruents were at times resyllabified as a syllable-final nasal followed by a syllable-initial obstruent, when adapted into Spanish: e.g., KiKongo *siri* + *mpompa* > *cirimomba* 'drunken orgy' (Meggenney 1979:119).

Prenasalization of European words originally beginning in oral obstruents was a frequent concomitant of many Afro-European linguistic contacts, including the formative periods of Ibero-Romance based Creole languages of the Americas. In addition to the documented presence of pre-



nasalized consonants (e.g., in Gullah and Njuka), Palenquero, the most distinctively Africanized Spanish-based Creole, has not only retained African items containing prenasalized consonants (e.g., *ngombe* 'cattle'), but has also prenasalized Spanish word-initial obstruents, most particularly /d/ and /g/ (Friedemann & Patiño Rosselli 1983:99–100): *dejar* > *ndejá* 'to let', *gritar* > *ngritá* 'to scream', *ganar* > *nganá* 'to earn', *dolor* > *ndoló* 'pain', *doce* > *ndosi* 'twelve', *duro* > *ndulo* 'hard', (*a*)*garrar* > *ngalá* 'to take', and so on.<sup>12</sup>

A noteworthy bit of indirect support for the hypothesis of prenasalization in AH language is the treatment of Portuguese loanwords in the African languages of the Congo basin, whose presence in both Spain and Latin America is amply documented. In the case of Portuguese loans in KiKongo and KiMbundu, initial oral consonants were frequently, but not uniformly, interpreted as prenasalized obstruents when borrowed into African languages. A small sample of the hundreds of Portuguese borrowings in KiKongo which illustrate this shift are (Martins 1958a, 1958b, Bal 1961, 1968): *catequista* > *nkatikista* 'catechist', *João* > *Nzuau* 'John', *Pedro* > *Mpételo* 'Peter', *Paulo* > *Mpaolo* 'Paul', *Garcia* > *NgalasialNgala*, *sal* > *nsalu* 'salt', *açucar* > *nsucadi/nsucali* 'sugar', *pano* > *mpaanu* 'cloth', *fardo* > *mfwadu/mfwalu* 'bundle', *saco* > *nsaaku* 'sack', *tinta* > *ntinta* 'ink'. The list of obstruent-initial Portuguese words that did not undergo prenasalization is also lengthy, which indicates that the process was variable at best. Also interesting is the fact that Portuguese words beginning with an initial nasalized (or occasionally even oral) vowel were at times reinterpreted as a prenasalized obstruent in KiKongo: *Abel* > *Mbele*, *Ambrósio* > *Mbolozi*, *Agostinho* > *Ngositinu*, and so on. Occasionally, word-internal nasalization or nasal spreading occurred in KiKongo: *pipa* > *mpimpa* 'pipe', *Miguel* > *Minguiedi* 'Michael', *agulha* > *nguia* 'needle'. An initial CV syllable was often reinterpreted as a prenasalized obstruent, whether or not the initial consonant was originally a nasal: *bigode* > *ngode* 'moustache', *mulato* > *nlaato* 'mulatto', etc. Kimbundu also transformed Portuguese items through prenasalization (Atkins 1953): *João* > *Nzwazitu* 'John', *Joana* > *Nzwana* 'JoAnn'. Similar borrowing procedures occurred in other West African languages, a fact which provides a plausible basis for such developments in AH language. In many Bantu languages, the initial nasal element acts as a nominal class marker, and it is possible that borrowed items were assigned to nominal classes based on their perceived similarity with native nouns. This would be similar to the assignment of gender to loanwords in

Spanish which did not originally conform to the canonical Spanish patterns in which gender is predictable.

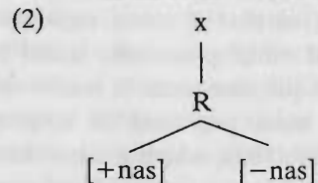
In reality, nearly all attestations of spontaneous "word-final" *n* in AH words occur preconsonantly, where a Spanish speaker would likely misinterpret *la ngallina* as *lan gallina*, for example.<sup>13</sup> Word-initial voiced stops form the majority of the examples, a finding which is consistent with the distribution of prenasalized obstruents in West African languages, as well as with the Palenquero data. Contact between Spanish and relevant African languages has been demonstrated, and a suitable linguistic environment for the phonological spread of nasalization has been identified. In order to provide additional justification for the claim that consonantal prenasalization actually occurred in AH Pidgin, it is necessary to take a closer look at the phonology of prenasalization. For word-internal spontaneous nasalization, it has been suggested that vowel nasalization was the original phenomenon, followed by the formation of excrescent nasal consonants. A word-initial prenasalized consonant in close juncture with a preceding word-final vowel might also pass through a stage of vowel nasalization. This would fit the prediction offered by Herbert (1986:129): "... some languages exhibiting prenasalized consonants synchronically will at some future time be characterized by underlying nasal vowels and will lack prenasalized consonants ...". The origin of prenasalized consonants has also been attributed to the presence of nasal vowels (cf. Herbert 1986:130) passing through the stage of ambisyllabic groups (Herbert 1986:173), so that if vowel nasalization occurred in *bozal* Spanish as the result of other processes, initial prenasalized consonants could arise as a sandhi phenomenon. It is also noteworthy that prenasalized consonants are most prevalent in languages characterized by open syllables (Herbert 1986:189), which is also characteristic of *bozal* Spanish, in which nearly all Spanish syllable-final consonants were eliminated.

Before continuing, it is interesting to note that Portuguese word-final nasal vowels were uniformly *denasalized* in KiKongo, a process which corresponds to the pattern frequently noted in *bozal* Spanish texts (cf. Appendix Part L), in which a word-final /n/ or nasal vowel was lost: *Sebastião* > *Sibaitiau* 'Sebastian', *limão* > *limão/nlimau/limanu* 'lemon', *mamão* > *mamaul/mamo* 'papaya', *serrão* > *selau* 'saw', *prisão* > *pelezo* 'prison', *capitão* > *kapitau* 'captain'. Modern Palenquero effectively denasalizes such words as *tambié* < *también* 'also', although at times a residual nasal resonance is detectable. It is unclear whether the examples of Appendix

Part L represent complete denasalization of the final vowel, or whether, given the presence of final nasal vowels in the large subset of African languages represented among speakers of AH Pidgin, Spanish-speaking writers simply missed the compensatory nasalization of the preceding vowel.

The fact that speakers of a given African language might reinterpret Ibero-Romance obstruent-initial words as containing prenasalized consonants does not in principle require a detailed explanation, given the prior existence of prenasalized consonants in African languages. It suffices to assume some variation in the perceived equivalence of Spanish/Portuguese sounds and available word-initial consonants in the corresponding African languages. The use of a nasal element as a nominal class marker is not to be excluded. *Bozal* speech, on the other hand, was the product of an intersection, both temporal and spatial, of the effects of many African languages on Spanish, and the postulate of prenasalization will be strengthened to the extent that some factor can be isolated that predisposed certain Spanish words to undergo such a process.

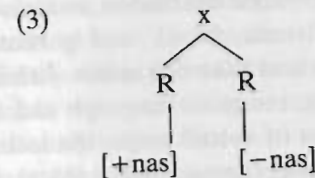
According to many phonological models (e.g., Anderson 1976, van der Hulst & Smith 1982) a prenasalized consonant is a *contour segment* in the sense of Sagey (1986), that is, it branches for the feature [nasal] at some node on the geometric representation of its phonological features. According to Sagey (1986), such branching must be at the root node itself, or at whatever class node the feature [nasal] is assumed to depend on:



This conclusion is forced by the view that no branching class nodes are allowed. The way in which such a branching structure comes into being is the subject of considerable contemporary research, especially in view of the fact that prenasalized consonants are not freely formed, e.g., by autosegmental spreading of [+nasal] or by reattachment of a floating autosegment following deletion of a root node. In the model of feature geometry and feature spreading such as offered by, for example, Clements (1987), Wetzels (1985), and Sagey (1986), who analyze intrusive consonants as partial feature spreading creating branching nodes, there is no reason why prenasalization of obstruents should not naturally arise in contact with nasal

vowels, or during nasal spreading. In the case of the AH materials under discussion, a model treating prenasalized consonants as contour segments would not explain why replacement of an oral consonant by a nasal consonant is never attested, nor why only certain consonants underwent prenasalization. There would be also be no reasoned explanation for the general failure of nasal spreading from either end of the word, nor of the occasional exceptions to this trend.

Piggott (1988, 1989) and Rosenthal (1988) claim that nodes may dominate only a single value for a given feature, suggesting that the observable constraints on prenasalization reflect the presence of two root nodes<sup>14</sup>:



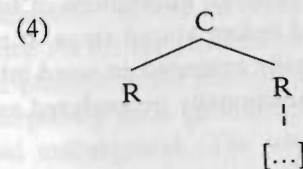
Spanish *bozal* data fits in with such observations, in that the non-nasal part of the postulated prenasalized obstruents impedes rightward spreading of nasality. This is to be expected, given that a feature cannot spread past a segment which is already specified for a value of that feature. Even assuming automatic rightward spreading of nasality in *bozal* Spanish (which seems to have affected glides, as in *prohimbido*), spreading was arrested upon attachment of a [+nasal] segment to an initial consonant by a structure such as (3), which is observationally the most adequate in accounting for the AH data.

Prenasalization is a manifestation of diphthongization (in the sense of Andersen 1972), taken as a temporal splitting of the value of a single feature. Assuming that each value of a feature is associated with a single feature-bearing segment (cf. Hayes 1990), a consonant which ultimately undergoes prenasalization must originally possess some type of multi-linked structure, since true diphthongization does not add previously nonexistent structural nodes. The universal default configuration is one root node per skeletal slot, and the existence of dual root nodes is a language-specific property; therefore, a process creating such structures in a language which previously lacked them (e.g., *bozal* Spanish) would be a major phonological innovation. It is not useful to stipulate simply that an "extra" root node was added to accommodate prenasalization. Piggott (1988, 1989), in analyzing prenasalization in Terena as the result of the

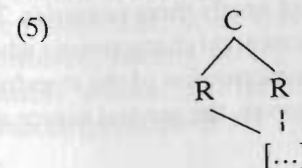
addition of a morpheme, proposes that the morpheme in question consists not only of a floating [nasal] autosegment, but also of an extra root node, whose attachment to the single root node associated with a word-initial consonant provides the requisite structure for a prenasalized consonant. However, in the AH case, there is no evidence of addition of a morpheme or even a recognizable prosodic constituent to which a free [+nasal] autosegment could be anchored. In order to adhere to the structure-preserving properties of prenasalization, we are forced to posit a dual structure for certain word-initial obstruents, either underlyingly or as added by a rule. The suggestion is offered here that the key to understanding AH prenasalization lies in the general pronunciation of Spanish voiced obstruents as noncontinuant in *bozal* Spanish. In most Spanish dialects, /b/, /d/, and /g/ receive fricative pronunciation except phrase-initially and following nasals. In bilingual contact situations, where Spanish is the recessive language and the main language does not exhibit spirantization of voiced stops, the lack of voiced fricatives is carried over to Spanish. Such pronunciation is found, for example, in many regions of Mexico, Central America, and South America, where Spanish is used by speakers of indigenous languages (Canfield 1981). In Belize and along the Caribbean coast of Central America (and also on San Andrés Island), where West Indian Creole English is the primary native language, similar patterns are found (Hagerty 1979, Lipski 1986e). The Spanish of the Philippines, even at the highest levels of fluency, is characterized by a lack of voiced fricatives (Lipski 1987c), as is the Spanish of Equatorial Guinea (Granda 1985, Lipski 1985a), and Spanish as used as a second language by other West Africans (Lipski 1986a). All AH Creoles and many vestigially AH dialects in Latin America contrast with other Spanish dialects in lacking the voiced fricative pronunciation of /b/, /d/, and /g/. Voiced obstruents are normally occlusive in Papiamentu (Lenz 1928), and in the special language of the *negros congos* of Panama (Lipski 1990). In Palenquero, the occlusive pronunciation alternates with fricative realizations in intervocalic contexts, possibly reflecting the combination of the Spanish and Palenquero phonological systems (Friedemann & Patiño Rosselli 1983:93, Megenney 1986:108-9). Intervocalic /d/ is pronounced as [r] (technically an occlusive pronunciation, and most probably resulting from [d] among some AH populations in the Dominican Republic (Núñez Cedeño 1982, 1987, Megenney 1990), and in the Chocó area of Colombia (Montes Giraldo 1974, Granda 1977).<sup>15</sup>

The retention of occlusion, while in its origins a reflection of African phonotactic patterns which did not contain the stop-fricative alternation, created a series of sounds which did not normally occur intervocalically in Spanish (including the word-initial postvocalic position). An occlusive pronunciation of the voiced obstruent in a combination like *la gallina* would, if interpreted within a Spanish phonotactic model, suggest the latent existence of a preceding consonant, most probably a nasal. Although nothing in the phonetic realization would give substance to such an analysis, the Spanish distributional possibilities, in combination with already existing prenasalized stops in the pool of African languages found in the *bozal* populations, would facilitate reinterpretation of word-initial voiced stops as containing two root nodes. Addition of a prenasalized segment fits smoothly within this pattern. In the case of prenasalized obstruents in *bozal* Spanish, there is nothing to suggest that the original word-initial consonants were analyzed as clusters, i.e., as two C slots linked to a single feature matrix. However, the occlusive pronunciation of word-initial /b/, /d/, and /g/ can in itself be analyzed as the addition of a bare root node which automatically became linked to the feature matrix defining the consonant. The presence of a dual root node accounted for the occlusive pronunciation (since /b/, /d/, and /g/ become fricatives after a [+continuant] root node), and this word-initial bare root node served as an anchor to attract the nasal autosegment.

Assuming the dual root node analysis of prenasalization, the initial configuration created by the occlusive pronunciation of word-initial /b/, /d/, and /g/ in *bozal* speech would be:

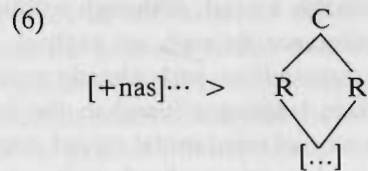


The Obligatory Contour Principle (e.g., McCarthy 1986) would preclude two separate feature matrices, and, arguably, would force the bare root node to link to the supralaryngeal features already defining the consonant:





The linking to a single skeletal slot would disallow increased length. (Spanish has no phonetic geminates, except for rare heteromorphemic combinations.) The occlusive pronunciations — [b], [d], and [g] — would in effect be the physical correlate of the multi-linked root nodes. Prenasalization, then, would simply change the specification for [nasal] on the first root node, leaving the remaining specifications intact:



Once the inclusion of prenasalized stops in *bozal* speech had begun to affect word-initial /b/, /d/, and /g/, this pattern could be extended to initial voiceless stops, providing that the pool of African languages serving as a substrate-trigger also contained prenasalized segments whose second element was voiceless. Both types of prenasalized obstruents are found among West African languages, although prenasalized voiced obstruents are more common (cf. Welmers 1973, Herbert 1986). Analogy with the voiced series, rather than a differential analysis of Spanish voiceless stops (which do not alternate with fricatives), would be at work here. There is also some indirect evidence suggesting that in AH speech voiceless stops were voiced following nasals; remnants such as Palenquero *planda* < *plátano* 'banana', Palenquero/Papiamentu *hende* < *gente* 'people', and Papiamentu *punda* < *punta* 'point' may signal an earlier time period when postnasal voicing of obstruents was more frequent. The majority of *bozal* attestations of function words apparently ending in [n] are found before voiced stops. If prenasalization via dual root nodes was analogically extended to word-initial voiceless obstruents, such elements would transitionally be analyzed as in (4)–(5), after which (6) could apply.

#### 6. On Possible Sources for an Afro-Hispanic [+nasal] Autosegment

The preceding discussion has postulated the addition of nasal elements in AH speech, a process which spans a period of nearly three centuries. The existence of prenasalized obstruents is an African areal characteristic whose transfer to *bozal* Spanish was facilitated by the suspension of the stop-fricative alternation among voiced obstruents. However, the general source of a

floating [+nasal] autosegment remains to be accounted for. Nothing in the transition from West African languages to received Spanish suggests an imperious drive to attach a free nasal autosegment anywhere, although once such a floating autosegment is postulated, its word-initial rightward association follows from general principles.

Although many West African languages have distinctive nasal vowels (with proportionately fewer found among the Bantu languages), it is not usual for only the first syllable of a word to be nasalized; there is in fact a recurring tendency to nasalize the *final* vowel of a morpheme (Welmers 1973:30). Similarly, although many West African languages contain word-initial prenasalized obstruents, such elements are not normally found to the exclusion of oral obstruents in word-initial position. It is therefore unlikely that individual or areal African influence was directly responsible for all AH spontaneous nasalization.

The most plausible motivation is to be sought in the fact that Africans from a wide variety of language backgrounds were forced to deal with the phonological system of a language which they barely understood, and whose feature specifications often had little in common with natively-spoken African languages. A free [+nasal] autosegment can only attach to an element not already specified for [nasal]; this would ordinarily exclude Spanish vowels, which are [–nasal]. *Bozal* speakers, who spoke languages with widely varying vowel specifications, would derive, as common denominators, minimal specifications for Spanish vowels, and would pronounce the vowels with characteristic instability and variability. The results of such specificational uncertainty would include non-etymological vowel nasalization, as well as other vocalic shifts amply attested in *bozal* documents. As for the attachment of a free nasal autosegment to the *first* available position in the phonological word, *bozal* speakers evidently chose the perceptually most prominent initial syllable as an anchor for the added nasal autosegment. The source of this autosegment was the combined phonological imprecision of the Africans' analysis of Spanish vowels and the existence of phonemic vowels or vowel nasalization processes in West African languages.

A recapitulation of the two types of spontaneous nasalization examined here reveals that, at an appropriate level of abstraction, a single process is involved, namely adding a floating [+nasal] autosegment to the first available anchor, starting from the leftmost word boundary. In those instances (particularly the heads of clitic groups) where the occlusive pro-

nunciation of a word-initial obstruent resulted in reanalysis as in (4)–(5), the requirements of autosegmental anchoring would require attachment of the [+nasal] autosegment to the extra word-initial root node, creating a prenasalized consonant. The [–nasal] specification of the second root node would preclude further rightward spreading of nasalization. In those instances where the word-initial consonant was not analyzed as in (4)–(5), the [+nasal] autosegment attached to the first available vowel, with further rightward spreading again being impeded by the presence of a supralaryngeal consonant. In those rare instances where spreading of nasality from a vowel traversed a consonant, the intervening consonant, momentarily analyzed as unspecified for [nasal], would itself be nasalized, although the orthographic representation did not always reflect this.

Occasional cases of apparent spread of nasalization past a supralaryngeal consonant (e.g., *suplica* > *sumpringa*) suggest that for some African speakers and for some Spanish words, obstruents were not always underlyingly specified for nasality, due to the same imprecise learning. They might have allowed attachment of a [+nasal] autosegment, in turn transmitting this element in the rightward direction found in AH speech patterns. In a word like *sumpringa*, it is likely that no oral voiceless [p] was present; most probably the nasalized /u/ resulted in conversion of the following consonant, originally unspecified for [nasal], to [m], with what is transcribed as *p* representing some sort of intrusive stop predictable from general phonotactic considerations (cf. Wetzels 1985, Clements 1987). The graphemes *ng* in turn most probably represented a single velar nasal.

### 7. Summary and Conclusions

It has been suggested that spontaneous nasalization in AH speech of the past had a primarily phonological motivation. Similarities between items like *lan/nan* and forms found in African languages or in Romance-based Creoles are largely fortuitous, although such similarities may have reinforced processes whose original motivation was phonological. While there is no overwhelming evidence that “Africanized” Spanish as a general rule presented a higher concentration of nasal elements than other varieties, the addition of nasal autosegments in key positions, largely word-initial or in the first syllable, gave to nasalization a special prominence that was seized upon by writers and imitators of *bozal* speech. The preceding discussion has attempted to abstract away from the comical stereotypes and

likely misperceptions of Spanish-speaking writers and transcribers, in order to reconstruct probable patterns of spontaneous nasalization among Africans learning Spanish. The degree of correspondence between the predictions of contemporary phonological theory and transcriptions of AH speech reveals more consistency than facetious improvisation, and it suggests that the literary and folkloric representation of spontaneous nasalization was in large measure accurate and unexaggerated, independent of the accuracy of other linguistic features found in written AH attestations. Two major discrepancies between the written form and the phonological structure of the inserted nasal element have been proposed:

- (1) Apparent word-internal nasal consonants, added syllable-finally, in reality represented *vowel* nasalization, possibly combined with low-level epenthesis of an occlusive nasal element before the following consonant.
- (2) Apparent word-final nasal consonants (e.g., *lan*) in fact represent prenasalization of word-initial consonants, the resulting sandhi with a preceding vowel being reinterpreted as a word-final /n/.

Much work remains to be done on the phonetic modifications of Spanish by Africans from different language backgrounds and under varying conditions. Written portrayals of AH speech have on occasion been taken uncritically at face value, and at other times have been rejected out of hand as meaningless stereotypes. The present study offers a middle ground, a comparison of written forms with increasingly specific claims advanced by contemporary models of phonology, as an implicit test of the consistency and accuracy of the transcription. The continued parallel evolution of phonological theory and analysis of AH texts will aid in the reconstruction of speech forms which can no longer be directly observed, promising to shed additional light on the development of regional and ethnic varieties of Spanish as well.

### NOTES

1) Cf. Alvarez Nazario (1974), Castellano (1961), Chasca (1946), Giese (1932), Jason (1967), Granda (1969), Lipski (1986b, 1986c, 1986d, 1988), and Weber de Kurlat (1962a, 1962b, 1970).

2) For a discussion of the feasibility of deriving information about AH speech patterns from literary examples, see for example Granda (1969), Lipski (1985b, 1986b, 1986c, 1986d, 1987a, 1988), López Morales (1980), Naro (1978), and Perl (1984).

3) In these cases, it usually appears that nasalization has affected a syllable-final obstruent, usually /s/; given the widespread attestation of "nasalized /s/" in many Spanish regions (e.g., Canfield 1960 for El Salvador, and Wright & Robe 1939 for Mexico), it is not necessary to postulate any extraterritorial roots.

4) Alvarez Nazario (1974:116) notes that in early AH texts from Spain one finds "introducción de un elemento consonántico de resonancia nasal, a veces en sustitución de otro sonido" ('introduction of a consonantal element with nasal resonance, sometimes substituting for another sound'). At another point, the author refers to "la tendencia del negro a la nasalidad" ('the Negro's tendency towards nasalization') (175). Rubén del Rosario (1956:6) refers to AH *bozal* speech in Puerto Rico as "habla muy grave, oscura y nasalizada" ('a deep, dark nasalized speech'), stating also (p. 8) that "los negros esclavos, base de la población negra y mestiza, tenían una clara propensión a la nasalidad ... el negro trajo o desarrolló su hábito de nasalizar ..." ('black slaves, from whom the black and mestizo population descends, had a clear propensity toward nasalization ... the Negro brought or developed his habit of nasalization ...'). Romero (1987:102) speaks of the "número abundante de nasalizaciones vocálicas, que parece provinieran de influencias afronegras" ('large number of cases of vocalic nasalization, which apparently come from African influence'). Chasca (1946:336) notes that "the tendency toward nasality of the [seventeenth-century Spain] Spanish speaking negroes would be increased by Portuguese influence." Pichardo (1976:11), describing nineteenth-century *bozal* Spanish in Cuba, observes the frequent change of /y/ to [ɲ], a phenomenon also observed by Henríquez Ureña (1940: 168) for Dominican Spanish, although not necessarily attributed to African influence. Lenz (1928:82) comments on the increased use of nasal consonants in Papiamento, attributing this at least partially to African influence, quoting Schuchardt's (1882) attribution to AH speakers of a tendency to nasalize vowels. Wagner (1949:153) also comments on increased nasality of Cuban *bozal* Spanish, Papiamento, and other Caribbean Creoles.

5) According to contemporary theories of autosegmental spreading and feature geometry, consonantal harmony is in most languages precluded by the very hierarchical arrangement of phonological features, whereby consonants are transparent to the spreading of most vocalic features involved in harmony, while consonantal articulator features cannot pass through vowels, which are also specified for the same articulators (cf. Mester 1986, Steriade 1987, Yip 1989 for some ideas).

6) Cf., for example, Alvarez Nazario (1974), Cabrera (1979), Deive (1974, 1978), Del Castillo (1982), Friedemann & Patiño Rosselli (1983), García González (1974), García González & Valdés Acosta (1978), Lanuza (1967), Megenney (1976, 1979, 1981, 1982, 1983, forthcoming), Pereda Valdés (1965), Rodríguez Molas (1957), Sojo (1943, 1967), and Valdés Acosta (1974).

7) Although the principal trend just discussed involves adding a nasal autosegment to a given position on the skeletal tier, namely the first available V, the relative position of the stress accent could conceivably have played a role. To the extent that a *bozal* speaker would introduce spontaneous nasality into a word, this would occur first in maximally stressed/emphasized syllables. That such a simple equation did not obtain is immediately apparent upon considering the set of examples of spontaneous nasalization. Two possible factors may have been at work. The first stems from the fact that most of the West African languages known to have been used among *bozal* speakers do not have an Indo-European type of stress accent, and it is likely that *bozal* speech gave a more nearly uniform intensity to each syllable, possibly using tone to distinguish certain syllables. The evolution of lexical tones versus stress in, e.g., the verbal paradigm of Papiamento, lends some plausibility to this hypothesis, which if correct would mean that no contravening factor such as accentual displacement could render the initial syllable unsuitable as

the recipient of a nasal autosegment. We also note that while few of the spontaneously nasalized syllables are tonic, a majority carry secondary accent. In any event, any role that stress accent may have played in determining the addition of nasalization was subordinated to general template conditions.

8) This approach would obviate objections to the "drifting autosegment" theory which in principle permits an autosegment such as nasality to be detached from its original bearer, drift to a word boundary, and then fail to "reach" its original anchor due to the blocking effect of intervening elements (cf. Trigo 1988). The objection is that such a theory presupposes differential blocking effects depending upon the direction of drift/spread. However, if no drifting, as such, occurred, but rather reduplication at the left edge, the original nasal attachment would remain in place, even if rightward spreading from an initial [+nasal] autosegment was blocked by intervening consonants.

9) Even the case of *ringalame* (assuming of course that such a word actually occurred in AH speech) might not be totally exceptional, since the eventual sound represented by the letters *ng* was very probably a simple velar nasal. This would suggest in turn that the intervocalic [g] of *regalar*, normally a weak fricative at best, had already lost its supralaryngeal features, as commonly occurs in colloquial Spanish today. I leave these speculative possibilities for future research. The point remains that the presence of a word-internal nasal element triggered the attachment of a nasal prosody (in the sense of Mester & Itô 1989) to the first available position beginning at the left word boundary.

10) Alvarez Nazario (1974:185-6) postulates that *nan* had its origins in West Africa, reaching *bozal* Spanish via the Portuguese-based Creoles of the Gulf of Guinea (Annobon, São Tomé, and Príncipe), where *ine(m)*, *ne*, and so forth are used as third person plural pronouns and as plural markers. These forms in turn have been traced to *enelana*, which is the third person plural pronoun in several Bantu languages. The extension of *ine(m)* to incorporate the function of the singular article would have occurred because *lan/nan* "ha rebasado la función de artículo plural ... ampliando sus alcances funcionales para servir también como artículo de singular" ('went beyond the function of a plural article ... expanding its functional value to serve also as a singular article'). The use of an African or Creole Portuguese element as a partial replacement of Spanish or Portuguese articles would be due to the lack of definite articles in the African languages which influenced Caribbean *bozal* Spanish. The extension of *lan/nan* as the equivalent of *preposition + article* is not explained by Alvarez Nazario.

11) Cf. Nespor & Vogel (1986) for a definition of the prosodic and syntactic characteristics of clitic groups. Harris (1989) offers some data from Spanish, which is compatible with the AH materials studied here.

12) Armin Schwegler (personal communication) informs me that such a process may be even more frequent in spontaneous speech, with only a few commonly recurring items consigned to written form by previous field workers.

13) Younger speakers of Palenquero in fact effect such wrong-division with a number of Palenquero words beginning with prenasalized consonants (Armin Schwegler, personal communication). Thus, an area of the town known as *Bajo Ngande* has been re-etymologized by some less fluent speakers of Palenquero as *bajón-gande*. In an informal experiment, I played selected Palenquero clips (tapes generously furnished by A. Schwegler) to Spanish speakers in a phonetics class who were unaware of the existence of prenasalized obstruents in Palenquero. These speakers "heard" combinations like *Bajo Ngande* as *bajón-gande* and transcribed them with word-final *n*. Indeed, even after close listening, it is nearly impossible to discriminate



between a word-final /n/ and a word-initial prenasalized obstruent in connected Palenquero speech.

14) Hualde (1987), in analyzing affricates, suggests that it is the supralaryngeal node which branches in such "contour segments," claiming that features are always inherently unordered and that only nodes are ordered. In later work (e.g., Hualde 1988), dual root nodes are postulated. Data on the feature [nasal] suggests attachment to a root node, rather than to a supralaryngeal node, but in a prenasalized segment an approach like Hualde's may also yield equivalent results.

15) One interesting alternative to the occlusive treatment of intervocalic /d/ is the conversion to flap [r], a phenomenon attested from seventeenth-century Spain onward and frequent today in many regions of Latin America characterized by heavy AH influence (Granda 1977, Megenny 1990). This process, which crucially depends on a non-fricative pronunciation of /d/, occasionally affects word-initial postvocalic /d/; but while many *bozal* texts exhibit the /d/ > [r] change, this change is not found when word-initial /d/ follows words like *lan/lon*, which have been analyzed as reflecting prenasalization of word-initial /d/.

## APPENDIX

### Examples of spontaneous nasalization/denasalization in Afro-Hispanic language

#### A. *lan* < *la(s)/lo(s)*

1. *lan* gallina yo dará (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:37)
2. Sarapi, diablo *lan* gato (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:37)
3. nanllí *lan* día se curía (Puerto Rico, late 19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:396)
4. yo no conocía *lan* guerra, no conocí su furó (Puerto Rico, late 19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:396)
5. yo bota *lan* garafó (Cuba, 18th c., Guirao 1938:17)
6. yo ba sé marío tuyo por *lan* grasia (Cuba, 19th c., Guirao 1938:17)
7. *lan* tiempo si piere (Cuba, 19th c., Guirao 1938:17)
8. pa que su mercé lo pue disí caracaraca! como *lan* gallo cuando pelea (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:118)
9. ya tú lo ve que pa andalo pallá riba como *lan* gallina (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:134)
10. Señó Redató *lan* Faro Sindutrió la Bana (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:157)
11. lo sucedí en lo monte a la nengrito de lo bujíf y a *lan* pero jusico-duro ... y *lan* gato no sabe ma que desí miau y comé picao (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:157)
12. gente piñucao como *lan* gallina en la gallinero (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:174)
13. pa que *lan* diablo no me lo tiente (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:179)
14. dende que *lan* diablo mema me lo meté a cumesiante ... cun *lan* gayina y cun güeve ... (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:214)

15. negrito ma fotuná no lo salí *lan* Guinea (Cuba, early 19th c., Morales 1976:151)
16. lo que lo dan *lan* gana (Cuba, mid-19th c., Alzola 1965:364)
17. cuando *lan* galla canta (Cuba, 19th c., Ballagas 1946:93)
18. a *lan* Dioso que sa yoranda (Puerto Rico/Mexico, 17th c., Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz 1953:257)
19. qui vini *lan* fieta (Puerto Rico/Mexico, 17th c., Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz 1953:277)
20. la trena yama a *lan* carsel (Spain, 17th c., Rosell 1874:35; Quiñones de Benavente, "El negrito hablador y sin color anda la niña")
21. si no *lan* quiere crear (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1893:368; "La madre de la mejor")
22. come lo ñame y deja *lan* gallo (Cuba, early 20th c., Cabrera 1976:14)
23. boma va a comese *lan* gaína (Cuba early 20th c., Cabrera 1976:16)
24. en *lan* tampa hemos caido (Spain, 17th c., Claramonte 1951:508)
25. fijo de la corazón y de *lan* trañas (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Rueda 1908:187; "Los engañados")
26. y que estando en *lan* tamberna (Spain, 17th c., Rosell 1874:36; Quiñones de Benavente, "El negrito hablador y sin color anda la niña")
27. ¿Qué queremos que *lan* diga? ... quemamo lo colazón y encendemo *lan* bariga (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1929:71; "El negro del mejor amo")
28. que *langalan* den Mieldina ... a *langueltan* por mi mano (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:375; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
29. muéranse *lan* beyaca (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:378; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
30. non si aquí a malo *lan* casa, ... *lan* casa, yo habemo vito Al Santo Neglo Benito que *lan* yama fora echaba (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:392; "El santo negro Rosambuco")

#### B. *an/en*

1. mi pecho esta girviendo como agua que pela *engallina* (Cuba, mid-19th c., Benítez del Cristo 1930:142)
2. *en* diablo esten sondado (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:364; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
3. por *an* mar y por *a* tierras (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Rueda 1908:184; "Comedia de los engañados")
4. voto *an* dioso (Spain, 17th c., Cotarelo y Morí 1911:231, 234; Simón Aguado, "Entremés de los negros")
5. quiera *en* Diozo que pasemo a España (Spain, 17th c., Claramonte 1951:499)
6. ¿Por qué *en* Juan matar queremos a Antoniyo? (Spain, 17th c., Claramonte 1951:500)
7. venganza de *en* branco infame (Spain, 17th c., Claramonte 1951:505)
8. estornudar gente *en* blancas (Spain, 17th c., Claramonte 1951:505)
9. juran Dioso, si espada *ensaco* (Spain, 17th c., Claramonte 1951:505)
10. *en* diablo yeve el amor (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:373; "El santo negro Rosambuco")

C. *len* < *le(s)* < *la(s)/lo(s)*

1. ¡Viva *len* constitusione! ¡Viva *len* ley patlisia! Que ne tiela den balanco se acabó *len* dipotima (Argentina mid-19th c., Lanuza 1967:118)
2. ya *len* fielo nimigo si ve (Argentina, mid-19th c., Lanuza 1967:132)
3. *len* bandido sondado de Losa (Argentina, mid-19th c., Lanuza 1967:132)
4. plepalemo *len* sable e fusí (Argentina, mid-19th c., Lanuza 1967:133)
5. e a *len* vile calancho e latone *len* dipojo dalemo lempué (Argentina, mid-19th c., Lanuza 1967:133)
6. *len* dalemo den fuehta a chupa (Argentina, mid-19th c., Lanuza 1967:133)
7. *len* gutará (Peru, 19th c., Romero 1987:102)
8. que esta nochen *len* mataron (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:375; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
9. durmendo sa, ya *len* vi (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:376; "El santo negro Rosambuco")

D. *den* < *de(l)*

1. que ne tiela *den* balanco se acabó *len* dipotima (Argentina mid-19th c., Lanuza 1967:118)
2. *len* dalemo *den* fuehta a chupá (Argentina, mid-19th c., Lanuza 1967:133)
3. ay, mi amito, un prato *den* güevo frito (Peru, mid-19th c., Carrera Vergara 1943:95)
4. haciendo burla *den* pretos (Spain, 17th c., Claramonte 1951:505)
5. *den* temor y *den* respeto cagayera la espantoso (Spain, 17th c., Claramonte 1951:507)
6. reniega *den* Belcebú (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:370; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
7. teno *din* tomar un poca (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:376; "El santo negro Rosambuco")

E. (*l*)*on* < *lo(s)*

1. que cuando lo tlopellamo *lon* diablo que no sujeta (Argentina, mid-19th c., Lanuza 1967:132)
2. que *lon* pueblo indefenso clavisa (Argentina, mid-19th c., Lanuza 1967:133)
3. *lon* branco só saca-cuento (Peru, mid-19th c., Biblioteca de Cultura Peruana 1938:185)
4. me lo peraba uno fuetaso duro con pruma tuyo como *lon* da mayorá la monte (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:161)
5. puruga, jerejene memoquiera m'eta comiendo y *lon* diablo m'etá llevando (Cuba, early 20th c., Cabrera 1976:15)
6. gaína saca tó *lón* día (Cuba, early 20th c., Cabrera 1976:15)
7. *lon* regüelva (Peru, 19th c., Romero 1987:102)
8. ¡Por *on* Dios! ... ¡Por *un* Dios! (Spain 17th c. Lope de Vega 1929:70-1; 'El negro del mejor amo')

F. *na(n)* < (*en*) *la(s)/lo(s)*

1. gallo ta *nan* so mi amo (Puerto Rico, mid-19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:385)
2. nunca se quita *nan* so trabajando como diablo (Puerto Rico, mid-19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:387)
3. mi suamo siempre ta brabo y me garra po *nan* pasa (Puerto Rico, mid-19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:387)
4. ahí ta *nan* galería, *nan* conversació con uno músico (Puerto Rico, mid-19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:387)
5. vine aquí *nan* Poto Rico de una bōrega *nan* fondo (Puerto Rico, late 19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:396)
6. fuehte namba, ciera *nam* pico (Puerto Rico, late 19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:396)
7. bota *nam* pañó la araña (Puerto Rico, late 19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:396)
8. y *nan* cañón hacía ¡pum! (Puerto Rico, late 19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:396)
9. zape, *ñangato*, no me robes las fritangas (Dominican Republic, 19th c. (?), Alvarez Nazario 1974:185)
10. suña como *nan* gato (Cuba, 19th c., Pichardo 1976:11)
11. cuando yo me pia de *na* caballo, porque miamo no toca con la batón (Cuba, mid-19th c., Estrada y Zenea 1980:72-3)
12. *nante* (< *aquí te*) presento mi queja (Puerto Rico, 19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:197)
13. lamo ta *nan* gallera (Puerto Rico, 19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:197)
14. ahí ta ... *nan* covesació (Puerto Rico, 19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:197)
15. que como *nan* sumo nieve *nan* derretimo al calore (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1929:71; "El negro del mejor amo")

G. *sen* < *silse*

1. ene sanja palele e cañone tulo seye *sen* viene a molí (Argentina, mid-19th c., Lanuza 1967:133)
2. e si aqueye *sen* viene a la calga (Argentina, mid-19th c., Lanuza 1967:133)
3. la niña *sen* va, probre cravo llorá (Cuba, 19th c., Villaverde 1979:185)

H. *nen* < *ni*

1. *nem* pedimo *nem* damo cualté (Argentina, mid-19th c., Lanuza 1967:132)
2. sin que vindamo gamote *nin* garbanzo a la vizina (Mexico/Puerto Rico, 17th c., Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz 1953:73)

I. *dempué/dimpué* < *después*

1. otra güeta salí las ocho: *dempué* vení horita (Peru, early 19th c., Pardo 1869:183)
2. e se yama *lempué* felelá (Argentina, mid-19th c., Lanuza 1967:133)
3. *len* dipojo dalemo *lempué* (Argentina, mid-19th c., Lanuza 1967:133)

4. pocque dieso de siera boca tuyo *dimpué* que lo imprinsipiate cun tanto bulla (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:162)
5. y cayéme *dempué* (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:378; "El santo negro Rosambuco")

#### J. MISCELLANEOUS CASES OF NASAL REPLACEMENT/INSERTION

1. mujé mi tierra tiene pelo *lango* (< *largo*) (Cuba, early 20th c., Cabrera 1979:18)
2. *brángaman* (< *válgame*) Dio (Puerto Rico, mid-19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:384)
3. mucha mujé tenía maca de buey en *nanga* (< *nalga*) (Cuba, early 20th c., Cabrera 1979:42)
4. *dalen* diablo (< *dale al diablo*) con *aguesan* (< *aguesa*) mouadilla (Spain, 17th c., Chasca 1946:337)
5. offresco *ten* (< *ofrézcode*) diablo (Spain, 17th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:125)
6. téngolo, señora, en la India de San Juan de *Puntorico* (< *Puerto Rico*) (Spain, 17th c. (Lope de Rueda), Alvarez Nazario 1974:115)
7. *nanquí* (< *aquí*) toy ma Makinley (Puerto Rico, late 19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:396)
8. *tran* (< *tras*) de tíguiri y líón, *limbre* (< *libre*) como el mismo sol (Puerto Rico, late 19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:396)
9. te lo *sumprica* (< *suplica*) tu cravo (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:71)
10. yo lo *sumpringa* (< *suplica*) mi suamo mío no me lo viene a catigá (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:101)
11. dámele dinero, dise la *simpañole* (< *españoles*) rifrane (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:103)
12. ya cuchá yo batante diese lago ringuilera de boba y de *dimparate* (< *disparates*) (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:103)
13. ¿Onde e que está *esem* (< *eso(s)*) branquillos? (Argentina, mid-19th c., Lanuza 1967:131)
14. si no *tin* (< *te*) guta tasajo de brujo que suamo da (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:37)
15. en primé lugá, *rimpito* (< *repito*), yo icribe nese lenguaje poque Dio no lo prime que notro mijó lo jabre (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:104)
16. me da to lo mese igüe con qué *ringalame* (< *regalarme*) (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:104)
17. como corenta pañuelo de to colore a la jembra se lo cuega en la *pinqueso* (< *pescuezo*) (Cuba early 19th c., Cruz 1974:113)
18. no podé *dimpachá* (< *despachar*) a tanto gente junto (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:117)
19. qué *dingrasiao* (< *desgraciados*) semo mosotro, que etando a la pie de coco no pudemo bebé lagua (Cuba early 19th c., Cruz 1974:118)
20. son meneté que campana de la Critea lo *rimpica* (< *repica*) sola sinu casión (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:118)
21. lo *sincritore* (< *escritores*) y piriodita que sempre se lo anda roendo la pata uno a lotro (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:128-9)

22. naitica lo tené de patricula que yo no lo se jabra luenga *sintaliano* (< *italiano*) o putugué o lo que seya (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:130)
23. pocque tú siempre lo fuite mu nimalé, y *dimpensa* (< *dispensa*) la cunfianza cun que te jabra (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:131-2)
24. ya tú lo ve que pa andalo pallá riba como lan gallina y la *linchusa* (< *lechuza*) cun tanto sincomorira (Cuba early 19th c., Cruz 1974:134)
25. adió trabajo y *sumpiro* (< *suspiro*) ... adió tierra de lo *prántano* (< *platános*) y la yuca (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:147)
26. y la judío me lo vuevé la *simpalda* (< *espalda*) (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:152)
27. la pare en la *ingresia* (< *iglesia*) (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:160)
28. vaya uno *rinsuello* (< *resuello*) que tú lo tené (Cuba early 19th c., Cruz 1974:160)
29. una cosa me lo tiene mu *dingutao* (< *disgustado*) en la Bana (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:170)
30. la so y la *sintrella* (< *estrellas*) de la sielo (Cuba early 19th c., Cruz 1974:174)
31. fuácata!!! *pintola* (< *pistola*) se *dincaga* (< *descarga*) (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:174)
32. *dimbarató* (< *desbarató*) la pajarera y toví lo taría juindo (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:185)
33. se lo jabra cun *dimpresio* (< *desprecio*) (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:194)
34. viene a *suncribise* (< *subscribise*) aprisa vieja ... pue ya que me *dincuatisa* (< *descuartiza*) la opinión como icritó (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:195)
35. tú no vuevera a *rincogé* (< *recoger*) la meria onsa (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:196)
36. lo *rinsabio* (< *resabios*) de lo criaio ... y la juega de lo sodao la que de *rin-cruta* (< *recluta*) subí hata generale (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:199)
37. taría güeno que lo *flimbutera* (< *filibusteros*) diese viní a sacánolo a mosotro de donde tata Dio no lo ha pueto (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:207)
38. mu *sintimao* (< *estimado*) siñó y de tuitico la *rimpeto* (< *respeto*) cun la cun-siderasione mía (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:230)
39. me lo jincha de contentamiento y *satinfasione* (< *satisfacción*) (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:230)
40. pue a lo branco se lo tené *prohimbido* (< *prohibido*) que lo baila en baile prúbico (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:238)
41. y que su *incravo* (< *esclavo*) mu fromamiento lo dijo (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:238)
42. de fro de la *arintocrasia* (< *aristocracia*) (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:240)
43. te *unfresé* (< *ofrece*) que yo lo viendra sin fatá (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:255)
44. qué cusitu *man* (< *mas*) güeno (Cuba, mid-19th c., Benítez del Cristo 1930:132)



45. camina como lo rayo pa la *engresia* (< *iglesia*) (Cuba, mid-19th c., Benítez del Cristo 1930:133)
46. salmo negra *pecandora* (< *pecadoras*) (Spain, 17th c. (Luís de Góngora), Becco 1946:35)
47. ¿Qué comió *min* (< *mi*) gallito jabao? (Cuba, early 20th c., Cabrera 1976:65)
48. a dioso *daremon* (< *daremos*) conta (Spain, 16th c., Cotarelo y Morí 1911:231; Simón Aguado, "Entremés de los negros")
49. desa manera le *habemon* (< *habemos*) de aplacar la colicas (Spain, 16th c., Cotarelo y Morí 1911:232; Simón Aguado, "Entremés de los negros")
50. ¿No *nun* (< *nos*) casamo? (Spain, 16th c., Cotarelo y Morí 1911:234; Simón Aguado, "Entremés de los negros")
51. pavo Real ta *bucan* (< *busca*) palo (Cuba, early 20th c., Cabrera 1971:183)
52. tiene un lengua tan *laingo* (< *larga*) (Cuba, early 20th c., Cabrera 1976:65)
53. *non* gurbia dinele (Cuba, 19th c., Pichardo 1976:12)
54. ¡*Bángame* (< *válgame*) Dio! Poquitico fata pa que señora murí agüoí (Cuba, mid-19th c., Estrada y Zenea 1880:47)
55. *nontron* (< *nosotros*) se jicieron rico (Puerto Rico, 19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:192)
56. ¿Dónde vamo *angora* (< *agora*)? (Spain, 17th c., Claramonte 1951:500)
57. rey mago, y yo *sun* (< *su*) lacayo. (Spain, 17th c., Claramonte 1951:500)
58. ¡Ay, señor *Jesum* Cristo! (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Rueda 1908:179; "Comedia de los engañados")
59. ofrezco *tan* (< *ofrézcote*) diablo (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Rueda 1908:183; "Comedia de los engañados")
60. ¿Pensar vosa mercé que *san* (< *salsar*) yo fija de alguno negra de par ay? (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Rueda 1908:185; "Comedia de los engañados")
61. y que estando en lan *tamberna* (< *taberna*) (Spain, 17th c., Rosell 1874:36; Quiñones de Benavente, "El negrito hablador y sin color anda la niña")
62. *yan* (< *ya*) viene (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1929:70; "El negro del mejor amo")
63. *biban*-Dios (< *viva Dios*) que es como un prata (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1929:70; "El negro del mejor amo")
64. que el cuerpo *hermosan* cublino, a cuya *hermosuran* plimo no hay comparación *enguale* (< *igual*) (Lope de Vega 1929:71; "El negro del mejor amo")
65. *uñan* blanca e *neglon* dedo (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1929:71; "El negro del mejor amo")
66. me dijo en *palablan* blebe (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1929:71; "El negro del mejor amo")
67. *biban*-diosa, *amigan* plimo, que por *eyan* derritimo (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1929:71; "El negro del mejor amo")
68. jente branca, vivandioso, que sa baya *can* (< *ca de*) vesino! (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1929:71; "El negro del mejor amo")
69. a mala cuchiyara en *san* bariga (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1929:76; "El negro del mejor amo")

70. ... y su madre *unan putan* cutureras (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1929:76; "El negro del mejor amo")
71. siendo neglo y *ellan* (< *ellas*) crara (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1893:368; "La madre de la mejor")
72. triste nubrero y *mencónico* (< *melancólico*) (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1893:368; "La madre de la mejor")
73. yerba buena mucha, *culantrillan* (< *culantro*) poco, y otras flores que podían un Mayo *volveyan* locos (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1893:368; "La madre de la mejor")
74. mas blanca que *niñan* de ojo (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1893:368; "La madre de la mejor")
75. *Sensucliso* (< *Jesucliso*) cagayera (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:363; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
76. con el *Vinley* (< *virrey*) ... Minsior fora *hanllarte* (< *hallarte*) sola (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:364; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
77. ¡*Sensú* (< *Jesús*)! En diablo *estén* (< *estos*) *sondado* (< *soldados*) nos *trunjo* (< *trujo*) (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:364; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
78. *otron* diablo tenemo (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:366; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
79. ya *liandoro* (< *le adoro*) (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:370; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
80. ¡*Rimbera* (< *Rivera*) amado! (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:370; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
81. *dentiliopala* (< *de Etiopía*) non yerra (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:370; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
82. *zampato* (< *zapatos*) de culdoban ... ma querido y *rengalado* (< *regalado*) ... como por muser *men* (< *me*) quera ... *onjos* (< *ojos*) míos de *anzabache* (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:370; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
83. *yon* (< *yo*) *ten* (< *te*) mataré a culadas (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:371; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
84. ¿Pue aun qué venimos *angora* (< *agora*)? (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:371; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
85. yo *ten* (< *te*) quero y *ten* bendigo (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:373; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
86. esta noche la *mantaron* (< *mataron*) a la cagayera (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:375; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
87. *sen* dulmió, Benito escucha (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:375; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
88. que esta *nochen* len mataron (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:375; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
89. *nenglo* a quien el *alman* plecía ... *bensalle* (< *besarle*) in boca recelo ... *quen* (< *que*) lindo, *quin* galán (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:376; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
90. tura ro neglo, hacemo *confadria* (< *cofradía*) (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:379; "El santo negro Rosambuco")

91. si esamo santa *Luncrecia* (< *Lucrecia*) (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:381; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
92. *nin falta unan cosan* sola (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:392; "El santo negro Rosambuco")

#### K. EVIDENCE OF PRENASALIZATION IN AFRO-HISPANIC SPEECH

1. si cabeza *m'enduele* (< *duele*) bamo la casa Mundo (Cuba, early 20th c., Cabrera 1971:517)
2. virítelo que *nfemo* (< *enfermo*) ta reventao (Cuba, early 20th c., Cabrera 1976:35)
3. ¿Pa qué *ngoddá* mi cuepo viejo ya ... (Cuba, early 20th c., Cabrera 1976:70)
4. *nvento* (< *invento*) ma grande que tregrafía y ferrocarrí son buey (Cuba, early 20th c., Cabrera 1976:47)
5. ay que tira, vuela a *ncogé* (< *encoger*) ... ncoge, ncoge la pata (Cuba, early 20th c., Cabrera 1976:57)
6. bailar como un *andimoños* (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1893:368; "La madre de la mejor")
7. no *ensa* (< *sa*) discreto (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:363; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
8. pues como samo lindo hoy, *en* samo (< *samos/somos*) malo de ojo (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:363; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
9. ya liandoro (< *le adoro*), ya linquiero (< *le quiero*) (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:370; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
10. sensucliso *en sa* (< *sa*) dolmid-a (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:375; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
11. si *lintoco* (< *le toco*) (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:363; "El santo negro Rosambuco")

#### L. MISCELLANEOUS CASES OF SPONTANEOUS DENASALIZATION

1. pa lo veneno *tambié* enrusa (Argentina, mid-19th c., Lanuza 1967:219)
2. ya sabemo *tamié* que como hijo de Dió (Peru, mid-19th c., Biblioteca de Cultura Peruana 1938:289)
3. marimba te tocará *tambié* pa te divití (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:36)
4. ma tú *tambié* uno peseta lo frojará (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:53)
5. *tambié* tú va drivití (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:70)
6. que *tambié* sabemo cantaye las Leina (Mexico/Puerto Rico, 17th c., Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz 1953:26)
7. pa tú *tambié* divretí (Puerto Rico, 19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:196)
8. lon branco *só* saca-cuento (Peru, mid-19th c., Biblioteca de Cultura Peruana 1938:185)
9. esi que si robo é baco tiene otro *combinació* (Argentina early 19th c., Rodríguez Molas 1957:21)
10. por eso tan depresiando mi *corazó* sinfelí (Puerto Rico, mid-19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:386)
11. ¿Tu dicí que yo son tu *corazó* y no retuece pecuezo pollo? (Cuba, early 20th c., Cabrera 1976:64)

12. *nan conversacio* con uno músico (Puerto Rico, mid-19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:387)
13. ahí ta ... *nan* covesació (Puerto Rico, 19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:197)
14. yo bota lan *garafó* (Cuba, 18th c., Guirao 1938:17)
15. na ma son mi *corasó* (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:36)
16. todo e' pedezo de mi *corazó* (Paraguay, 19th c., Carvalho Neto 1971:114)
17. tú *so* ma lindo que la lucero planetario (Cuba, mid-19th c., Benítez del Cristo 1930:132)
18. tierra *co* (< *con*) l'asaó (< *azadón*) (Cuba, 18th c., Guirao 1938:7)
19. na dotó, né comé lo *chicharró* caliente (33) (Cuba, 19th c., Cabrera 1976:23)
20. aquí vivamo con tu *bendició* (< *bendición*) (Mexico/Puerto Rico, 17th c., Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz 1953:97)
21. la fiesa le la *Asunció* ... mañana la *Prucisió* (< *procesión*) (Mexico/Puerto Rico, 17th c., Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz 1953:248)
22. hagamo fiesta en *Belé* (< *Belén*) (Mexico/Puerto Rico, 17th c., Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz 1953:258)
23. flasico, *atesió* (< *atención*) (Mexico, mid-17th c., Mansour 1973:70)
24. *Atenció* la uficia (Uruguay, 19th c., Pereda Valdés 1965:136)
25. ¡Aprenda *dicreció!* (Cuba, early 20th c., Cabrera 1976:66)
26. paléseme *be* (< *bien*) (Mexico, 17th c., Mansour 1973:70)
27. esi no tiene *opinió* (Argentina, early 19th c., Rodríguez Molas 1957:23)
28. yo juí *simaró* (< *cimarrón*), ñamito (Cuba 19th c., Santa Cruz 1908:132)
29. ño *Fracisco* (< *Francisco*) Machao me jizo sombra (Colombia, mid-19th c., Smith Cordoba 1984:53)
30. lo que agora é *cotante* (< *constante*) e variable a ese otro ría (Colombia, mid-19th c., Smith Cordoba 1984:59)
31. en ete *itante* (< *instante*) mía jacecte puero (Colombia, mid-19th c., Smith Cordoba 1984:57)
32. no rigo, *Fracica* (< *Francisco*), ná (Colombia, mid-19th c., Smith Cordoba 1984:77)
33. tuvo való y *cotancia* (< *constancia*) y libectaró se hizo (Colombia, mid-19th c., Smith Cordoba 1984:67)

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