



## *Literary 'Africanized' Spanish as a Research Tool: Dating Consonant Reduction*

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**1. Introduction.** Many Spanish dialects of Spain, the Canary Islands, and Latin America are characterized by the reduction of syllable- and word-final /s/, /l/, and /r/. Weakening of /s/ most commonly involves aspiration to [h], sometimes followed by gemination of the following consonant, then by complete elision. Reduction of /l/ and /r/ offers a more varied panorama of possibilities, including interchange, unilateral replacement, vocalization, nasalization, gemination, aspiration, and elision. This cluster of consonantal phenomena typifies the pronunciation of Andalusia, Extremadura, and the Canary Islands, and has been used to support "andalucista" or "español atlántico" theories of Latin American Spanish.

Early Spanish retained most, if not all, instances of syllable-final /s/, /l/, and /r/. Descriptions found in Nebrija's grammar of 1492 and Juan de Valdés' *Diálogo de la lengua* of 1529 make no mention of severe consonantal weakening at the turn of the 16th century, suggesting that even at the end of the Middle Ages these consonants were resistant in southern Spain. Fragmentary evidence of systematic consonantal weakening in southern Spain appears shortly thereafter, but the lack of accurate documentation is so critical that for most of Spain and Latin America the first unequivocal accounts of weakened /s/, /l/, and /r/ do not appear until the late 18th or early 19th century. Evidence for the intervening period is meager, scattered, and inconclusive, which leaves one of the most significant phonetic alterations in the history of Spanish without a firm chronological basis. That margin of error of more than 300 years separates the proposed dates of final consonantal weakening, and encourages the search for new evidence as well as the re-evaluation of previous materials. The present study suggests that greater attention be paid to literary imitations of African pronunciation of Spanish, from the 15th century to the 19th. This is not the first time that specimens of the *habla de negro* are drawn into the discussion of consonantal reduction, but what follows offers an extensive validation of the testimony of literary texts, using data from independently documented Afro-Iberian linguistic contacts.

## 2. Dating the reduction of /s/.

2.1. Dating the reduction of Spanish final /s/ is the subject of an unresolved debate, with probable dates of inception ranging from the early 16th century or before (e.g., Boyd-Bowman 1975, Frago García 1983, Lapesa 1980:387–89, Menéndez Pidal 1962) to the early 19th century (e.g., Alonso 1953:351). Claims of a very early date are based on isolated words, such as the often-cited *Sophonisba* > *Sofonifa* written by Fernando Colón (1488–1539) and highlighted by Menéndez Pidal (1942:34), and may well be due to scribal error or idiosyncratic developments. Torreblanca (1989b:284–85) questions why, if at the beginning of the 16th century even educated Andalusians like Diego Colón already weakened /s/, there exist large regions of Latin America where final /s/ is retained as a sibilant. He also points out that no variety of Sephardic Spanish systematically reduces final /s/, thereby pushing the earliest possible dates for widespread loss of /s/ in Andalusia well into the 16th century. Torreblanca finds no firm evidence of /s/ reduction before the early 18th century in either Andalusia or Latin America.

2.2. Turning to Latin America, Jiménez Sabater (1975) presents evidence that /s/ reduction became prevalent in the Dominican Republic at the beginning of the 18th century. Fontanella de Weinberg (1987a), tracing the development of Spanish in Buenos Aires, discovered sporadic examples of /s/ reduction prior to the 18th century, but postulates that widespread weakening of /s/ began well into the 18th century. Costa Rica is not noted for reduction of final consonants, except in the northwestern Guanacaste region, which once belonged to Nicaragua and which shares with it widespread /s/ reduction. In Guanacaste, evidence of systematic loss of final /s/ begins to appear in the middle of the 17th century, and becomes prominent by the early 18th century (Quesada Pacheco 1990:51–52).

Lloyd (1987:349) arrives at a different conclusion, namely, that weakening of /s/ was common at least among the lower social classes of Andalusia (and by extension in at least some American colonies), by the end of the 16th century. Alvarez Nazario (1982:83–84) also favors a late 16th- or early 17th-c. origin for /s/ weakening in the Caribbean. Boyd-Bowman (1975) presents examples from the 16th-c. Caribbean which he interprets as evidence of an early weakening of /s/.

## 3. Dating reduction of final /l/ and /r/.

3.1. Reduction of Spanish syllable-final liquids appears in so many different phonetic manifestations as to make it unlikely that a single chronology could account for interchange of preconsonantal liquids, as well as the interchange and loss of phrase-final liquids. In each context, evidence is limited and contradictory, allowing an uncomfortably wide margin of error. In Latin America, modification of liquids is not well documented until the 19th century, although chronological extrapolation from the Caribbean suggests that modification of liquids began substantially earlier. In Latin America, some

early attestations may reflect Peninsular Spanish arrivals rather than local developments.

Lapasa (1980:385) suggests a very early origin of liquid reduction in some regions of Spain: Mozarabic examples from Toledo dating from the 12th and 13th centuries, and Andalusian examples (generally /r/ > [l]) in the early 16th century. The first examples are isolated, and scribal error or idiosyncrasy cannot be ruled out. Lapasa's examples involve the shift of /r/ to [l]; in contemporary Andalusia the opposite change of /l/ to [r] is more common in preconsonantal contexts, whereas elision of liquids is the preferred solution word finally. Sephardic Spanish, often used as a linguistic time capsule from the early 16th century, is of little help, since sporadic interchange of liquids occurs in all Sephardic dialects (involving different words in each case), just as in regional Spanish dialects far removed from Andalusia.

3.2. Lloyd (1987:347–48) analyzes the bulk of 14th and 15th century interchange of liquids as dissimilation rather than neutralization, since most involve words with two or more liquids. By the middle of the 16th century, the accumulation of words exhibiting interchange of /l/ and /r/ as well as loss of final /r/ leads Lloyd to suggest that liquid-reduction was common in southern Spain before the end of that century. Adopting a much different stance, based on dialect geography as well as historical documentation, Alonso and Lida (1945) conclude that widespread interchange of syllable-final /l/ and /r/ did not occur until the beginning of the 19th century, particularly in America. In opposition, Alvarez Nazario (1982:85–86) uses early examples from Puerto Rico to conclude that at least some weakening of liquids was occurring in Caribbean Spanish by the middle of the 16th century. Fontanella de Weinberg (1984, 1987a) cites 17th- and 18th-c. examples of interchange of preconsonantal /l/ and /r/ in the Río de la Plata zone, a zone where neutralization of liquids is today conspicuous by its absence. She concludes that by the end of the 18th century, neutralization of liquids was not uncommon among native-born residents of Buenos Aires. This neutralization included not only syllable-final liquids, but also intervocalic and postconsonantal /l/ and /r/. The incompatibility of these findings with contemporary Río Plata Spanish and other South American dialects remains unexplained. Similar data appear in 18th century Costa Rica (Quesada Pacheco 1990:47–48), particularly in Guanacaste, although today this zone is not characterized by neutralization or loss of liquids in any position.

#### **4. Afro-Hispanic language of the 16th and 17th centuries.**

4.1. Lacking in the reconstruction of Spanish consonantal reduction is a linguistic time capsule similar to Sephardic Spanish, but coming a century or two later and embracing Latin America as well as Spain. I suggest that representations of Afro-Hispanic language provide one such source of evidence, which, while not without problems, can be refined into a useful research tool.

Beginning in the mid 15th century, a large sub-Saharan African popula-

tion arose in southern Spain, principally in Seville (Carriazo 1954; Pike 1967), with smaller groups in Huelva (Larrea Palacín 1952), Cádiz (Sancho de Sotomayor 1958), and surrounding areas (Cortés Alonso 1966, Cortés López 1986, 1989). Many of these Africans arrived via Portugal, where estimates of the black population of Lisbon run as high as 20 to 30 per cent (Sanders 1982, Tinhorão 1988). Spanish and Portuguese dramatists, beginning at the end of the 15th century, imitated the halting attempts of these Africans to speak the metropolitan languages. Slaves born or raised in Africa who spoke Spanish or Portuguese only imperfectly were known as *bozales*, and literary 'black' Spanish and Portuguese became popular in humorous dramatic sketches of the 16th and 17th centuries. In Spain, the literary imitation of *bozal* speech faded away in the early 18th century. By the 17th century, evidence from Spanish America indicates that *bozal* Spanish was already recognized as a distinct variety in those territories (cf. Lipski 1985b, 1986a, 1986b, 1986c, 1988).

4.2. *Bozal* characters appeared in popular Spanish theater and poetry throughout the 16th and 17th centuries, but the texts that have reached us are relatively few in number.<sup>1</sup> The appendix contains a list of major works which contain literary *habla de negros*, as well as a representative selection of minor works, nearly all of which agree in their depiction of African attempts at speaking Spanish.

At the beginning of the 17th century, *bozal* texts made their appearance in Mexico (Meggeney 1985; Mendoza 1956) and Peru (Romero 1987). During the 18th century, documentation of Afro-Hispanic language in Latin America was comparatively scarce (only a couple of examples from Mexico and Cuba survive), but with the turn of the 19th century, there occurred a rich outpouring of literature and folklore representing the speech of Afro-Hispanics in Cuba, Peru, Argentina, and Uruguay, along with a few texts representing Puerto Rico and Venezuela. Examples claiming to represent Afro-Hispanic speech, but in reality limited to regional phonetic and lexical

1. The earliest Spanish Golden Age texts reflect an even earlier *bozal* language, attested in Portugal from the middle of the 15th century and represented in early poems in the *Cancioneiro geral* of Garcia Resende, by Gil Vicente in works written in the 1520s, and by António de Ribeiro Chiado. Many *bozal* Portuguese items appear in early Spanish works by Sánchez de Badajoz, Lope de Rueda, Rodrigo de Reinosa and other writers; some instances probably represent legitimate carry-overs from slaves transhipped through Portugal, but other instances doubtless show the early establishment of a literary comic stereotype. Spanish literature of the period was prone to such stereotypes, as witnessed by the language attributed to the *sayagués*, the *moro*, the *gitano*, and in a sociolinguistic sense, the *bobo*, the *simple*, and the *gracioso*. The presumed date of composition of a play or poem does not necessarily reflect the state of Afro-Hispanic language at the place and time of writing. Many writers based their literary representation on recollections of previous decades, while others followed prevailing stereotypes (some of which may already have been dated), without firsthand experience with Afro-Hispanic *bozal* speakers.

characteristics, also appeared in Colombia, Ecuador, and the Dominican Republic, reinforcing a literary stereotype which continues to the present day.

4.3. Golden Age *habla de negros* has been the subject of considerable linguistic research, although the interpretations are still debated.<sup>2</sup> The search is blurred by frequent stereotyping and exaggeration, reflecting a negative attitude toward ethnolinguistically marked varieties of Spanish, and which attributes to all of them a wide range of defects and distortions that are frequently an inaccurate repudiation of this group. In more recent times, the linguistic characteristics attributed to black Spanish speakers, in regional literature and folklore, have been simply those of the lower socioeconomic classes, traits likewise found among the speech habits of more educated individuals, without necessarily any racial connotations (Lipski 1985b). However, a careful examination of texts from 16th- and 17th-c. Spain, numbering several dozen plays, *entremeses*, *villancicos*, *romances*, and other items, reveals a striking degree of phonetic and morphological consistency, which suggests a reasonably accurate representation of *bozal* language. Quevedo (1988: 127) once joked in the 'Libro de todas las cosas', that "sabrás guineo [= *bozal* Spanish] en volviendo las rr ll, y al contrario: como Francisco, *Flancico*; primo, *plimo*." However, most writers gave a more realistic approximation to the speech of at least some Africans. The most frequent stereotyping was not phonetic distortion but humorous plays on words, e.g., the frequent *cagayero/cagayera* for *caballero*, the use of onomatopoeia and humorous pseudo-African songs, and the repetition of stock lines such as 'aunque negro(s), gente somo(s)'. It is therefore useful to begin in 16th- and 17th-c. Spain, when Andalusian consonantal reduction probably began and when Afro-Hispanic language was first recorded.

### 5. The linguistic value of Afro-Hispanic literary texts.

5.1. Analysis of literary texts of this period is based upon two fundamental research hypotheses: first, that the phonological structures attributed to African slaves in Golden Age and colonial Latin American texts are qualitatively accurate: although stereotyping and formulaic repetition is found, the most egregious cases of exaggeration and distortion involve the lexicon and plot lines; second, that a comparative analysis of these texts will aid in determining the chronology of consonant reduction in other Spanish dialects. The relationship between the literary representation of *bozal* speech and regional Spanish pronunciation was ultimately bilateral and reciprocal, and this is reflected in the texts. African slaves altered regional phonetic tendencies to

2. A review of the principal viewpoints includes Castellano (1961), Chasca (1946), Dunzo (1974), Granda (1969), Jason (1965, 1967), Lipski (1986a, 1986b, 1986c), Ríos de Torres (1991), Veres (1950), Weber de Kurlat (1962a, 1962b, 1970).

conform to a broad cross-section of West African phonotactics.<sup>3</sup> To the extent that consonantal reduction had already begun in regional Spanish varieties, *bozal* speech effaced the weakened variants even further, categorically eliminating sounds only partially or variably weakened by native Spanish speakers. Spanish writers gave graphological recognition to *bozal* pronunciation only when the latter departed significantly from prevailing regional trends, with the possible exception of the very lowest Spanish-speaking social classes, whose speech was also the object of ridicule. The lack of a given weakening process in *bozal* texts does not necessarily imply that the phenomenon was absent in the speech of Africans, but only that Spanish writers found Africans' speech no different from their own in this feature. The consonantal reductions in question follow independently verified historical patterns; therefore a comparison between Spanish and *bozal* texts can potentially delimit the earliest possible date for a given reduction process.

5.2. The earliest texts from Portugal and Spain contained no phonetic modification, but concentrated on quirks of grammar, such as lack of agreement, use of uninflected infinitives instead of conjugated verbs, substitution of subject pronouns, and drastic syntactic simplification. Also found were African place names, onomatopoeic words which created the flavor of African speech or song, and inappropriate use of Spanish lexical items. Beginning with Sánchez de Badajoz in the first quarter of the 16th century (ca. 1525–1530), phonetic modifications began to appear in literary representations of Africanized Spanish, although many texts from the same period contained no such modifications. Lope de Rueda incorporated phonetic deformations more consistently in his plays (ca. 1538–1542), and by the end of the 16th century, certain phonetic characteristics had been established in the *habla de negros*, as *bozal* language was known to writers of the time. In the 17th century, Africanized Spanish was used extensively by major and minor writers, particularly in drama. Once 'black Spanish' became established in Golden Age theater, the linguistic characteristics moved sharply away from pidgin Portuguese, and acquired traits typical of Spanish 'foreigner talk', including considerable phonetic deformation. Judging by the literary examples, the transformation was completed in the last decades of the 16th century; after the turn of the 17th century, *bozal* language became more consistently 'broken Spanish'. This apparent dating may only reflect the solidification of a Spanish literary stereotype, in that Portuguese features may never have been present in significant quantities in Africanized Spanish, or may have disappeared during the first decades of the 16th century.

3. In the present study, the term 'West African' refers to African languages spoken from the Senegambia to southern Angola, representing several language families, including Atlantic, Mande, and Kwa-Benue. The languages encompassed by this designation account for the majority of Africans taken into slavery in the Iberian Peninsula and in Spanish America.

5.3. Given the lack of independent verification of Afro-Hispanic pronunciation between the 16th and 18th centuries, evaluation of literary texts must proceed via several routes, the extent of whose convergence can be taken as a measure of the reliability of the texts in question. One test is to compare apparent dates of Afro-Hispanic texts with known or reconstructed dates for other regional and social dialects of Spanish. Another is to demonstrate a high internal consistency among the texts that cannot be dismissed as the simple copying of an early stereotype. A third method is to sift data from documented contacts between Spanish or Portuguese and African languages in search of comparable phenomena, the accumulation of which exceeds the bounds of pure coincidence. Finally, early Afro-Hispanic texts can be compared with contemporary areas of Afro-Hispanic linguistic survival, in the search for telltale items in early texts which are unattested in non-Africanized (e.g., Andalusian) varieties of Spanish, but which recur in geographically and temporally scattered Afro-Hispanic enclaves.

## 6. Non-surviving phonetic features of *bozal* Spanish.

6.1. Some of the phonetic changes found in Afro-Hispanic texts, from the late 16th century to the 19th, represent sound shifts also found in Andalusian and Latin American Spanish. Literary *bozal* Spanish also exhibits traits which were never documented for any Spanish dialect, but which do bear noteworthy resemblance to Afro-Iberian contact dialects in other regions. *Bozal* texts reveal at least three non-Hispanic developments, none of which survives in contemporary Afro-Hispanic language except for the Afro-Colombian creole Palenquero (Friedemann and Patiño Rosselli 1983), and vestigially in Papiamentu and in a few areas of Colombia and the Dominican Republic.

6.2. Frequent in Afro-Hispanic (and Afro-Lusitanian) literary texts, from the 16th century to the 19th, is the conversion of intervocalic /d/ to [r]:<sup>4</sup> A representative sample of Golden Age examples includes:

*apalcibiro* [apercibido] (S-26); *aviro* [habido] 'had' (S-38); *ayuro* [ayudo] (S-37); *bajaro* [bajado] (S-3); *bira* [vida] (S-46); *buxcaro* [buscado] (S-31); *comiro* [comido] (S-1); *criaror* [creador] (S-43); *daro* [dado] (S-32); *delgaros* [delgados] (S-38); *delicara* [delicada] (S-43); *desichara* [desdichada] (S-47); *dulmiro* [dormido] (S-23); *encalnarro* [encarnado] (S-3); *floriro* [florado] (S-61); *furtaro* [furtado] (S-61); *honraro* [honrado] (S-1, S-6, S-18); *juraro* [jurado] (S-1); *juría* [judía] (S-59); *leiro* [leído] (S-1); *mariro* [marido] (S-49); *piro* [pido] (S-23); *porer* [poder] (S-32); *quera* [queda] (S-42, S-57); *raba* [daba] (S-49); *rará* [daré] (S-47); *re/ri* [de] (S-10, S-16, S-17, S-52); *rentlo* [dentro]

4. Judging by the pronunciation of intervocalic /d/ in contemporary Afro-Hispanic dialects, it is likely that the sound that emerged was not always a tap but sometimes an occlusive intervocalic [d], which Spanish writers accustomed to the usual fricative variant, transcribed as /r/. See Alleyne (1980:62) for examples from African-influenced creoles in the Americas.

(S-16); *riabro* [*diablo*] (S-46); *rios* [*Dios*] (S-44); *rioso* [*Dios*] (S-1); *suro* [*sudo*] (S-48); *toro/turo* [*todo*] (S-1, S-3, S-6, S-8, S-10, S-17, S-18, S-23, S-26, S-27, S-32, S-35, S-43, S-44, S-48, S-55, S-61); *veniro* [*venido*] (S-26, S-32).

*Bozal* texts from Latin America, from the late 17th to the 19th centuries, follow identical patterns. Typical examples of /d/ > [r] include:

ARGENTINA/URUGUAY: *contaro* [*contado*] (R-5); *merio* [*medio*] (R-5); *pueri* [*puede*] (R-5); *rame* [*dame*] (R-14); *repué* [*después*] (R-7); *riclará* [*declarar*] (R-14); *rinerá* [*dineral*] (R-14); *rió* [*Dios*] (R-20); *toro/turo* [*todo*] (R-14, R-18, R-20); *turito* [*todito*] (R-18);

PERU: *ecribiro* [*escrito*] (P-7); *estornure* [*estornudé*] (P-1); *habiro* [*habido*] (P-8); *libetaró* [*libertador*] (P-7); *porió* [*por Dios*] (P-9, P-10); *puere* [*puede*] (P-8); *rebajo* [*debajo*] (P-11); *rejá* [*dejar*] (P-10, P-11); *rió* [*Dios*] (P-11); *sacaro* [*sacado*] (P-8); *suirarano* [*ciudadano*] (P-7); *toro/turo* [*todo*] (P-1, P-3, P-4, P-11);

MEXICO: *combirara* [*convidada*] (M-14); *re/ri* [*de*] (M-8, M-14); *rió/rioso* [*Dios*] (M-2, M-6); *turo* [*todo*] (M-4, M-8, M-9, M-10); *veniro* [*venido*] (M-14);

COLOMBIA: *comeria* [*comedia*] (C-3); *naciro* [*nacido*] (C-6); *parira* [*parida*] (C-3); *puro* [*pudo*] (C-3); *turo/tura* [*todo*] (C-2, C-6).

Currently, the pronunciation of intervocalic /d/ as an occlusive or tap is common in bilingual areas of Latin America where the indigenous language has no fricative realization of /d/. It is found in Afro-Hispanic speech of Equatorial Guinea (Lipski 1985a), in parts of the Dominican Republic (Meggeny 1990a; Núñez Cedeño 1982, 1987), Venezuela (Meggeny 1989, 1990b), and Colombia (Granda 1977; Schwegler 1991), and typifies the speech of West Africans who learn Spanish (Lipski 1986e). This feature, though, never characteristic of any major regional variety of Spanish, was typical of *bozal* Spanish of all levels of fluency.

6.3. Another change found in Golden Age and Latin American *bozal* texts is neutralization of word-initial and intervocalic liquids, usually involving lateralization of /r/ to [l] (cf. also Alleyne 1980:61–62 for other African-based creoles). This shift, although occasionally affecting a few words in marginal dialects of Andalusia, the Canary Islands, and Latin America, is not typical of any stable Spanish dialect, and was dropped by Africans who learned Spanish natively, regardless of the variety acquired. Many *bozal* texts extend this neutralization to interchange of intervocalic /d/ and /l/, a shift which is frequent in Portuguese borrowings into kiKongo, kiMbundu and other Bantu languages (Atkins 1953; Bal 1968; Dunzo 1974; Martins 1958a, 1958b; Raimundo 1933:69–71), and which reflects the frequent phonological alternation between /d/ and /l/ in many Bantu languages (cf. also Granda 1989 for Colombian Palenquero). Among surviving Afro-Iberian linguistic groups, this change is found in Panamanian *congo* language (Lipski 1990), highland Ecuador (Lipski 1986d, 1987), vestigial Afro-Venezuelan speech (Meggeny 1989, 1990b), Palenquero (Friedemann and Patiño Roselli 1983), São Tomense (Ferraz 1979), and Annobonese (Barrena 1957,



Ferraz 1984, Vila 1891), but is not found in non-Africanized Spanish dialects. Among the many Golden Age examples are:

*agola* [*agora*] (S-23, S-38, S-57); *adola* [*adora*] (S-2, S-26, S-40); (S-3); *ciola/siola* [*señora*] (S-11, S-21, S-52, S-63); *colazón/culazón* [*corazón*] (S-38, S-56, S-62); *dulo* [*duro*] (S-24); *fluleçe* [*florece*] (S-63); *glolia* [*gloria*] (S-52); *ignola* [*ignora*] (S-23); *labial* [*rabiar*] (S-2); *lebaño* [*rebaño*] (S-2); *lesir* [*decir*] (S-44); *levés* [*revés*] (S-40, S-41); *liabo* [*diablo*] (S-38); *malacina* [*medecina*] (S-43); *mayolal* [*mayoral*] (S-2); *mila* [*mira*] (S-2, S-16, S-26, S-40); *molimo* [*morimos*] (S-63); *muelo* [*muerdo*] (S-16, S-41, S-57); *oliente* [*oriente*] (S-6); *pala* [*para*] (S-2, S-16, S-17, S-24, S-26, S-38, S-42, S-44, S-63); *palece* [*parece*] (S-3, S-5, S-8, S-23, S-63); *palió* [*parió*] (S-40); *pecadola* [*pecadora*] (S-35); *puelo* [*puedo*] (S-38); *pulo* [*pudo*] (S-24); *quelo* [*quiero*] (S-2, S-3, S-4, S-5, S-8, S-11, S-18, S-23, S-40, S-41); *selemo* [*seremos*] (S-52); *tiela* [*tierra*] (S-3, S-17, S-26); *tilado* [*tirado*] (S-63); *tolo* [*todo*] (S-24, S-52); *velemo* [*veremos*] (S-17); *yola* [*llora*] (S-2, S-26, S-52).

Latin American *bozal* examples are similar:

ARGENTINA/URUGUAY: *adola* [*adora*] (R-16); *ahola* [*ahora*] (R-20); *amalá* [*amarrar*] (R-2); *balbalilá* [*barbaridad*] (R-13); *baliga* [*barriga*] (R-1); *bulullo* [*barullo*] (R-1); *colasone* [*corazón*] (R-1); *colespondel* [*corresponder*] (R-16); *colole* [*colores*] (R-1, R-2); *comololo* [*comodoro*] (R-2); *compañelo* [*compañero*] (R-1, R-2); *dalemo* [*daremos*] (R-2); *dulo* [*duro*] (R-2); *emblomá* [*embromar*] (R-6); *emfemelá* [*enfermedad*] (R-8); *fedelá/felelá* [*federal*] (R-2, R-6, R-11, R-20); *fielo* [*fierro*] (R-2); *julemo* [*juremos*] (R-1); *latone* [*ratones*] (R-2); *lem-pué* [*después*] (R-2); *liliandu* [*lidiando*] (R-15); *liputalo* [*diputado*] (R-1); *lisen-densia* [*descendencia*] (R-1, R-6, R-9); *losa(s)* [*Rosas*] (R-2); *losalio* [*rosario*] (R-1); *mejole* [*mejores*] (R-2); *melece* [*merece*] (R-2); *milá* [*mirar*] (R-6, R-7); *moliendo* [*muriendo*] (R-6, R-17, R-20); *mulí* [*morir*] (R-15); *orientale* [*orientales*] (R-1, R-2); *palece* [*parece*] (R-18); *palejo* [*parejo*] (R-2); *pintole* [*pintores*] (R-2); *puele* [*puede*] (R-2); *quelila* [*querida*] (R-1); *selá* [*será*] (R-26); *sulole* [*sudor*] (R-1); *teodola* [*Teodora*] (R-16); *tiela* [*tierra*] (R-1, R-2); *tulito* [*todito*] (R-2); *veltule* [*virtud(es)*] (R-16);

PERU: *afuela* [*afuera*] (P-1); *ahola* [*ahora*] (P-7); *dilá* [*dirá*] (P-5); *moleno* [*morenos*] (P-3); *palese* [*parece*] (P-2, P-3); *quiele* [*quiere*] (P-7); *selá* [*será*] (P-3, P-7); *siolo/siola* [*señor/señora*] (P-1, P-2, P-5); *velemo* [*veremos*] (P-5);

MEXICO: *adolación* [*adoración*] (M-12); *alivinalé* [*adivinaré*] (M-8); *ayula* [*ayuda*] (M-8); *baylalemo* [*bailaremos*] (M-14); *cayalito* [*calladito*] (M-12); *cuatreló* [*cuarterón*] (M-8); *dalemu* [*daremos*] (M-8); *envialá* [*enviará*] (M-8); *glolia* [*gloria*] (M-8); *legla* [*regla*] (M-14); *lipiti* [*repite*] (M-12); *Malía* [*María*] (M-8, M-12); *milal* [*mirar*] (M-8); *milalo* [*mirarlo*] (M-12); *moleno* [*moreno*] (M-14); *nalís* [*nariz*] (M-8); *pala* [*para*] (M-8); *palese* [*parece*] (M-8); *pastola* [*pastora*] (M-12); *pilico* [*perico*] (M-8); *pula* [*pura*] (M-14); *puleso* [*por eso*] (M-12); *pulo* [*pudo*] (M-8); *quiele* [*quiere*] (M-15); *siola* [*señora*] (M-14); *siolo* [*señor*] (M-14); *tolo* [*todo*] (M-8); *tula* [*toda*] (M-12); *yolá* [*llorar*] (M-8); *yolamo* [*lloramos*] (M-14);

COLOMBIA: *alegla* [*alegra*] (C-1); *colamo* [*corramos*] (C-2); *dalemo* [*daremos*] (C-4); *pala* [*para*] (C-6); *palece* [*parece*] (C-6); *pastola* [*pastora*] (C-6); *pela* [*pera*] (C-5); *plimela* [*primera*] (C-3); *quelemo* [*queremos*] (C-4, C-5).

6.4. Also frequent in Afro-Hispanic texts, and inspiring the remarks of Quevedo cited earlier, is the shift /r/ > [l] in obstruent + liquid clusters.

Interchange of /l/ and /r/ in the syllabic onset occurred sporadically in Ibero-Romance, although the shift of /l/ to [r] was much more frequent (see Torreblanca 1989a). In contemporary Andalusian Spanish, the same process occasionally occurs (F. Salvador 1978), but never with the frequency found in *bozal* texts. Some stereotyping was involved (as suggested by the high frequency of selected items, such as *Francisco* > *Flancico* and *primo* > *plimo*). However, *bozal* texts do not constitute evidence that Africans' confusion of Spanish liquids always took the direction /r/ > [l]. It is simply that the opposite change, /l/ > [r], was unremarkable in rustic non-African Spanish, and was not as frequently incorporated into literary *habla de negros*.<sup>5</sup> A small sample of Golden Age examples includes:

ablaso [abrazo] (S-57); aglada [agrada] (S-17); aleglo [alegro] (S-2, S-3, S-10, S-17, S-26, S-57); alfombla [alfombra] (S-23); atlebe [atreve] (S-63); blasa [brasa] (S-24); blavo [bravo] (S-36); blebe [breve] (S-56); canglejo [cangrejo] (S-38); clestas [crestas] (S-39); clistiano [cristiano] (S-57); Clisto [Cristo] (S-38); clofladía [cofradía] (S-6); cublimo [cubrimos] (S-56); dieztlá [diestra] (S-17); enflente [enfrente] (S-63); entla [entra] (S-16, S-17, S-35, S-38); esclibano [escribano] (S-38); flacico/flancico [Francisco] (S-5, S-8, S-16, S-17, S-41, S-52); flente [frente] (S-33); flío [frio] (S-33); flesca [fresca] (S-38); flito [frito] (S-62); glande [grande] (S-24); hamble [hambre] (S-24); inglato [ingrato] (S-33); lieble [liebre] (S-63); maestla [maestra] (S-11); neglo [negro] (S-3, S-4, S-5, S-6, S-10, S-11, S-16, S-17, S-18, S-19, S-20, S-23, S-25, S-35, S-40, S-41, S-52, S-54, S-55, S-56, S-57, S-61, S-62, S-63); nuestla [nuestra] (S-3); obla [obra] (S-33, S-63); otlo [otro] (S-3, S-8, S-16, S-17); palabla [palabra] (S-63); plegunta [pregunta] (S-16, S-23, S-26); plimero [primero] (S-23); plimo [primero] (S-6, S-10, S-17, S-18); plopongo [propongo] (S-23); podlá [podrá] (S-2); saclamente [sacramento] (S-24); sangle [sangre] (S-2); suegla [suegra] (S-38); suflir [sufrir] (S-19, S-38); teneblosos [tenebrosos] (S-55).

Latin American *bozal* texts provide similar prominence of the /r/ > [l] shift in consonant clusters:

RIO PLATA: aflentoso [afrentoso] (R-16); agladecido [agradecido] (R-11); blilla [brilla] (R-1); branquillo(s) [blanquillos] (R-2, R-4, R-23); clibano/esclibano [escribano] (R-1, R-8); clidita [(a)credita] (R-1); contla [contra] (R-2); esclibí [escribir] (R-11); flancese [franceses] (R-2); Flancisca [Francisca] (R-7, R-14);

5. *Bozal* texts do contain examples of the shift /l/ > [r], most often *diablo* > *diabro* and *blanco/blanca* > *branco/branca*, but in many cases these may represent carryovers from Portuguese, Leonese, or even Andalusian, and are of little use in tracing the development of *bozal* pronunciation. Shift of /r/ to [l] in consonant clusters is also found in São Tomense. Not all the examples of /r/ > [l] in consonant clusters in *bozal* Spanish texts can be taken entirely at face value, especially in view of combinations such as *tl*, *dl*, *stl*, etc., which are difficult for fluent Spanish speakers to pronounce and which, judging by available comparative studies, are rare, if not nonexistent, among West African languages. The authors of such examples were obviously following a simple formula like that proposed by Quevedo, mechanically replacing all instances of *r* by *l*, regardless of the absurdity of the resulting combinations. With the exception of the still debatable clusters *tl* and *dl*, most of the /r/ > [l] transpositions used by Golden Age writers conform with existent or independently documented Afro-Iberian contact languages.

*glande* [grande] (R-1); *glita* [grita] (R-1, R-12); *homble* [hombre] (R-1); *musotlo* [nosotros] (R-1, R-14); *neglo* [negro] (R-3, R-4, R-7, R-11, R-14, R-16, R-26); *nuetle/nuestlo* [nuestro] (R-1, R-11); *otlo* [otro] (R-16); *padle* [padre] (R-11); *patlia* [patria] (R-1, R-4, R-11); *plepala* [prepara] (R-2); *plesenta* [presenta] (R-2); *plufana* [profana] (R-2); *poble* [pobre] (R-14); *sangle* [sangre] (R-1, R-2); *siemple* [siempre] (R-26); *tliste* [triste] (R-1); *tlompeta* [trompeta] (R-4, R-23);

PERU: *aleglar* [alegrar] (P-5); *aplista* [prisa] (P-3); *coflades* [cofrades] (P-5); *compondlá* [compondrá] (P-5); *congleso* [congreso] (P-7); *estleya* [estrella] (P-5); *flasico* [Francisco] (P-3, P-5, P-7); *ingré* [inglés] (P-11); *minitulo* [ministro] (P-7); *neglo* [negro] (P-1, P-2, P-3, P-4, P-5, P-7); *nostla* [nuestra] (P-5); *otlo* [otro] (P-7); *peseble* [pesebre] (P-5); *plebenga* [prebenda] (P-3); *plieta* [prieta] (P-7); *plosion/plosiona* [procesión] (P-1, P-3); *siemple* [siempre] (P-7); *tlabajá* [trabajar] (P-7); *tlas* [tras] (P-5); *tlés* [tres] (P-5); *tlopa* [tropa] (P-1);

MEXICO: *aleglía* [alegría] (M-8); *flasiquiyo* [Francisquillo] (M-8, M-14); *lible* [libre] (M-8); *lumble* [lumbre] (M-12); *neglo* [negro] (M-5, M-6, M-8, M-14); *nomble* [nombre] (M-8); *nosotlo* [nosotros] (M-8); *plimo* [primo] (M-8, M-14); *sobla* [sobra] (M-8); *tluxo* [truxo] (M-14);

COLOMBIA: *alegla* [alegra] (C-1); *Flacica* [Francisca] (C-5, C-6); *madle* [madre] (C-3); *neglo* [negro] (C-1, C-2, C-3, C-4, C-6); *plegona* [pregona] (C-3, C-6); *plimiyo* [primillo] (C-1, C-4); *tlæmo* [traemos] (C-5).

6.5. The preceding observations show a high degree of correlation among Afro-Hispanic texts spanning three centuries and encompassing widely separated areas. Phonetic developments which cannot be analyzed as Ibero-Romance tendencies consistently appear in the reported speech of Africans whose first language was not Spanish. A number of other consistent modifications could also be added to the list, among them neutralization of /r/ and /rr/ in favor of a single tap, and intrusive nasalization, which at times may have represented an occlusive pronunciation of intervocalic /b/, /d/, and /g/ (Lipski 1992; cf. a possible morphological analysis proposed by Dunzo 1974:chap. 4). These same modifications are found in vestigial or creolized Afro-Hispanic language of the present day, as well as in words borrowed from Spanish and Portuguese into West African languages. This consistency suggests that phonetic representation of *bozal* Spanish in literary documents was substantially accurate, at least in qualitative terms. This in turn encourages the use of Afro-Hispanic texts as tools in dating phonetic traits which do appear in non-African Spanish dialects, such as reduction of syllable-final consonants.

## 7. Reduction of /s/ in Afro-Hispanic language: a first approximation.

7.1. Although documentation of /s/ weakening in pre-19th c. Spanish is scarce, literary *habla de negros* exhibits loss of final /s/ beginning early in the 16th century. Many objections have been raised against accepting *bozal* cases as valid evidence for the evolution of Andalusian Spanish. G. Salvador (1981), noting the early loss of /s/ in *bozal* texts such as those of Lope de Rueda and Góngora, suggests that if loss of final /s/ had already been wide-

spread in Andalusia beginning in the 16th century, these authors would not have attributed the phenomenon only to African slaves. Alvarez Nazario (1971:84) categorically rejects any connection between Golden Age *bozal* texts and the development of regional Spanish dialects, claiming that the former “vienen a ser completamente independientes por su origen de las correspondientes evoluciones en el consonantismo del castellano central y meridional.” Pereda Valdés (1965:179–80) is of the opinion that “había más inventiva humorística que autenticidad en aquel lenguaje literario deformativo y onomatopéyico.” The opposite point of view is sustained, e.g., by Dunzo (1974:121): “In an effort to transport local color to the stage, the Spanish playwrights portrayed in a remarkably accurate fashion the speech common to the Blacks of the era.” Deeper investigation into early Afro-Hispanic texts suggests that *bozal* speech is indeed of use in dating consonantal reduction in southern Spain, although not serving as a simple mirror of contemporary events. For example, loss of /s/ in Golden Age *bozal* texts demonstrates both internal consistency and compatibility with independently documented Afro-Hispanic language varieties, thus giving to the *bozal* documents more credibility than suggested by the more pessimistic of the comments reviewed above.

7.2. Loss of final /s/ first appears in *bozal* Spanish texts in the first decades of the 16th century, beginning with Sánchez de Badajoz and Lope de Rueda. The only consistent case involves the verbal desinence *-mos*.<sup>6</sup> By the time of Vélez de Guevara's *El negro del seraphín* (S-64, ca. 1643), the final /s/ of second person verb forms is also variably elided (Sánchez 1979). These same texts show very limited instances of /s/ reduction where no morphological conditioning is involved, e.g., in word-internal preconsonantal position, or final lexical /s/. The frequent loss of /s/ in *Jesús* is probably attributable to Portuguese, or to clipping based on *Jesucristo*. Sánchez de Badajoz (S-49) shows a few examples of loss of preconsonantal /s/, as in *crito* [*Cristo*], *trequilado* [*trasquilado*], and *etar* [*estar*] (the unreduced form *estar* occurs more frequently). These may be scribal errors or idiosyncracies,

6. Cf. Lipski (1986a, 1986b, 1986c, 1988), Megenney (1989:317), Sarró López (1988:606), and Weber de Kurlat (1962a, 1962b). Weber de Kurlat and Megenney have also noted the frequent omission of 'plural /s/' in these early *bozal* texts. For Veres (1950:212) this omission is devoid of linguistic significance, and is merely a stylistic device: “en la persona NOS del presente de indicativo . . . podemos rastrear la dificultad de los negros para pronunciar la -s final, rasgo completamente convencional, ya que Lope de Rueda hace hablar continuamente a sus negros articulando la -s final.” The examples in this study suggest, rather, a phonological basis for this differential treatment of final /s/. Megenney relates the morphologically conditioned cases of /s/-elision in Golden Age *bozal* Spanish to vernacular Brazilian Portuguese, where /s/ frequently falls in similar circumstances, without passing through a process of phonetic reduction. It is worth noting that in *bozal* Portuguese texts from the early 16th century, the final /s/ of the desinence *-mos* is also lost (e.g., the plays *O clérigo da beira*, *Nao d'amores*, and *Fragoa d'amor* of Gil Vicente, from the 1520s), although there is no evidence of general weakening of final /s/ in 16th-c. Portuguese.

but their scarcity, in comparison with numerous cases of retained preconsonantal and word-final /s/, renders it unlikely that early *bozal* Spanish was eliminating syllable-final /s/ in a wholesale fashion.

Elimination of preconsonantal /s/ appears occasionally in a few of Lope de Vega's plays, written in the first two decades of the 17th century. In *El santo negro Rosambuco* (S-57) we find *vito* [*visto*], *riponde* [*responde*], and *Franchico* [*Francisco*] (the latter name and the pronunciation without /s/ became a stereotype in *bozal* literary texts). The form *paqua* [*Pascua*] is found in a late 16th-c. *romancerillo* (S-12), alongside numerous instances of retained preconsonantal /s/. In the late 17th-c. *bozal* texts (M-8) of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (actually written in Mexico), loss of preconsonantal /s/ is still very sporadic, with only a handful of cases in her entire Afro-Hispanic corpus: *Flasica* [*Francisca*], *fieta* [*fiesta*] (alongside *fiesa* and *fiesta*), *naquete* [*en aqueste*], etc.

In Sor Juana, we find some of the first consistent cases of another example of morphological conditioning of /s/ reduction: loss of plural /s/ in nouns when preceded by a plural article in which /s/ is generally retained: *las leina* [*las reinas*], *las melcede* [*las mercedes*], *lus nenglu* [*los negros*], *lo billaco* [*los bellacos*], *las paja* [*las pajas*], etc. This configuration, where plural /s/ appears only on the first available position of a NP, is typical of vernacular Brazilian Portuguese (Guy 1981) and of an isolated Portuguese creole spoken until recently in Brazil (Ferreira 1985), and is found in many basilectal varieties of Latin American Spanish, particularly those with a strong African connection, in the Dominican Republic, Colombia, Ecuador, and in the Spanish of Equatorial Guinea. In Brazil, highland Ecuador and Equatorial Guinea, syllable-final /s/ is generally not weakened to [h], while in the other dialects morphologically conditioned retention of /s/ is combined with general loss of word-final /s/.

Other late 17th-c. *bozal* texts from Spain begin to show loss of /s/ across all components of the noun phrase, while retaining final lexical /s/ as well as the second person singular verb ending. In a *villancico* dated 1673 (S-26), we find *¿Lo bajo habemo veniro? . . . ¿Lo tiple essá tura junta?* Another song, dated 1699 (S-18), contains lines like *Reye zamo del Oriente*. An anonymous *villancico* dated 1661 (S-10) provides *Hagámole plaça a lo Reye Mago turo lo neglo, e turo lo branco*; another dated 1676 (S-6) offers *Tlaemo mucho cantare*, and still another dated 1694 (S-3) contains the lines *turu lo Neglico la noche de Nasimienta ha de andal como pimienta*. These examples indirectly suggest that as late as the beginning of the 18th c., reduction of final /s/ in southern Spain and the Caribbean was still not conditioned by purely phonetic factors.

The Golden Age texts show a striking imbalance in apparent cases of /s/ reduction. The corpus used for the present study reveals more than 500 instances of loss of /s/ in the verbal ending /-mos/, beginning in the early 16th century. This compares to a handful of other cases of /s/-loss, none of which occurs until well into the 17th century. Among the latter, most in-

volve plural /-s/. Although the exact proportions are irrelevant, it is clear that *bozal* pronunciation of the verbal ending *-mos* extended an already weakened pronunciation found in local Spanish dialects.<sup>7</sup>

7.3. The earliest Afro-Hispanic texts from Latin America, such as those of Sor Juana, and some songs from Mexico and Peru, properly belong to the Spanish Golden Age tradition, but by the turn of the 18th century a legitimately Latin American *bozal* language was developing. Afro-Mexican texts are of special interest, since many come from interior areas (e.g., Puebla, Oaxaca) where consonantal reduction has never been characteristic, but where contact with evolving dialects of southern Spain was intense in the 17th and 18th centuries. A small corpus of 17th-c. Afro-Colombian texts (cf. Perdomo Escobar 1976) also comes from interior highlands where final consonants are not usually reduced. Afro-Peruvian texts are also instructive, since they represent both coastal areas (Lima) where consonantal reduction is characteristic, and the Andean zone (Cuzco) where elimination of final consonants never took root. A few of the 17th-c. Afro-Peruvian texts (e.g., P-1, P-2) appear to have come from Bolivia, known in colonial times as Alto Peru. In Buenos Aires and Montevideo, Afro-Hispanic texts represent the period of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, and provide a sample of a dialect zone where the rate of consonantal reduction was slower than in Andalusia/Caribbean dialects and faster than in the Castilian/Andean zones.

7.4. The earliest surviving Latin American *bozal* texts, from 17th-c. Mexico, Colombia, and highland Peru, show some loss of /s/ in the verbal ending /-mos/, as well as in *Jesú/Sesú* [*Jesús*], and various derivations of the stereotyped *Francisco/Francisca*. Hardly any other examples of loss of /s/ are found (although *etreyá* < *estrella* appears in P-1, from late 17th- or early 18th-c. Bolivia):

MEXICO (17th century): *agreguemo* [*agreguemos*] (M-4); *aleglamo* [*alegramos*] (M-14); *azuntamo* [*ajuntamos*] (M-4); *bamo* [*vamos*] (M-5); *baylalemo* [*bailemos*] (M-10, M-14); *baylemo* [*bailemos*] (M-5); *contamo* [*contamos*] (M-15); *decimo* [*decimos*] (M-5); *halemo* [*haremos*] (M-5); *morremo* [*morimos*] (M-4); *pantamo* [*espantamos*] (M-5); *queremo* [*queremos*] (M-10); *repicamo* [*repicamos*] (M-14); *samo* [*somos*] (M-6); *sesú* [*Jesús*] (M-14); *tenemo* [*tenemos*] (M-8, M-10, M-14); *untamo* [*untamos*] (M-14); *venimo* [*venimos*] (M-5, M-14); *vimo* [*vimos*] (M-11, M-14); *yegamo* [*llegamos*] (M-9, M-10);

PERU (17th century): *admiremo* [*admiremos*] (P-3); *benimo* [*venimos*] (P-3); *comamo* [*comamos*] (P-3); *cuidemo* [*cuidemos*] (P-3); *entlamo* [*entramos*] (P-1); *hagamo* [*hagamos*] (P-3); *Jesú* [*Jesús*] (P-4); *mandamo* [*mandamos*] (P-1); *podamo* [*podamos*] (P-3); *saquemo* [*saquemos*] (P-3); *seamo* [*seamos*] (P-3); *yebaremo* [*llevaremos*] (P-3);

7. Much the same occurred in early 20th-c. Buenos Aires and Montevideo, when speakers of *cocoliche*, the Spanish pidgin spoken by Italian immigrants, categorically eliminated final /s/ in the ending *-mos* (normally aspirated to [h] in *porteño* Spanish), while at the same time reinforcing other instances of (already weakened) preconsonantal /s/ to [s] (cf. Donghi de Halperin 1925; Lavandera 1984:64–66).

COLOMBIA (17th century): *adoramo* [adoramos] (C-4); *hacemo* [hacemos] (C-1); *salimo* [salimos] (C-5); *saltemo* [saltemos] (C-2); *samo* [samos < somos] (C-6); *tlacemo* [traemos] (C-5, C-6).

7.5. *Bozal* texts from 19th-c. Argentina and Uruguay, as well as Afro-Peruvian texts from the 19th century (all representing coastal areas), show loss of /s/ not only in the desinence /-mos/, but in more general syllable-final environments. The earliest of these texts are from the end of the 18th century, while the latest date to nearly a century later. Typical examples include:

RIO PLATA (19th century): *acabamu* [acabamos] (R-4); *cansione* [canciones] (R-1); *cantemo* [cantemos] (R-1); *cañone* [cañones] (R-2); *contitusione* [constitución] (R-1); *cuetión* [cuestión] (R-20); *dalemo* [daremos] (R-2); *damo* [damos] (R-2); *dipará* [disparar] (R-2, R-20); *dipojo* [despojo] (R-2); *dipotima* [despotismo] (R-1); *ecape* [escape] (R-21); *ecribiti* [escribirte] (R-20); *encalguemo* [encarguemos] (R-1); *etá* [estar] (R-4, R-11, R-20, R-21, R-23); *etima* [estima] (R-1); *fundadore* [fundadores] (R-14); *hacelemo* [haremos] (R-2); *Jesú* [Jesús] (R-14); *julemo* [juremos] (R-1); *lebemo* [levemos] (R-1); *lempué* [después] (R-2); *leye* [leyes] (R-1, R-2, R-20); *musotlo/musotro/nusotro* [nosotros] (R-1, R-4); *nuetle/nuetro* [nuestro] (R-1, R-4); *papeli* [papeles] (R-11, R-20); *pedimo* [pedimos] (R-2); *plepalemo* [preparemos] (R-2); *puelemo* [podemos] (R-1); *pueto* [puesto] (R-20); *quilitiano* [cristiano] (R-1); *semo* [semos] (R-15); *somo* [somos] (R-1, R-2, R-27); *sotenguemo* [sostenguamos] (R-2); *tendremo* [tendremos] (R-7); *tengamo* [tengamos] (R-20); *tinemu* [tenemos] (R-4); *tlopellamo* [atropellamos] (R-2, R-23); *vamonó* [vámonos] (R-20); *vemo* [vemos] (R-20); *vosotro* [vosotros] (R-4);

PERU (late 18th-/early 19th-c.): *bucá* [buscar] (P-7, P-11); *clibí* [escribir] (P-7); *critiano* [cristiano] (P-10, P-11); *Dió* [Dios] (P-7); *diremo* [diremos] (P-7); *ecravo* [esclavo] (P-10); *equina* [esquina] (P-11); *Flasico* [Francisco] (P-7); *ingré* [inglés] (P-11); *ma* [más] (P-8, P-11); *minitlo* [ministro] (P-7); *moletá* [molestar] (P-8); *sabemo* [sabemos] (P-7); *sei* [seis] (P-11); *somo* [somos] (P-7); *tamale* [tamales] (P-10); *toro lo cuato* [todos los cuartos] (P-11); *tre muchachito* [tres muchachitos] (P-11); *uté* [usted] (P-7); *utena* [ustedes] (P-7).

7.6. Of the Spanish *bozal* texts, none shows reduction of preconsonantal /s/ without reduction in the ending *-mos*; at the same time, there are many texts in which loss of /s/ in *-mos* is the only instance of this change. The consistency of the textual data suggests that by the end of the 17th century, Afro-Hispanic speech was just beginning to effect generalized elimination of preconsonantal /s/ and lexical word-final /s/. Andalusian and Caribbean Spanish were obviously not providing a model for elimination of all syllable-final /s/, since the imperfect language acquisition represented by *bozal* speech invariably reduced syllable structure, and never added new elements. However, this does not necessarily mean that Andalusian Spanish showed no reduction of /s/ before the beginning of the 18th century, only that weakened variants were still perceivable by Africans. It will be argued below that some preconsonantal and word-final /s/ among both Andalusians and Africans was already aspirated [h], as early as the last decades of the 16th century. In

contemporary Spanish dialects where aspiration rather than loss of pre-consonantal /s/ is the rule (e.g., Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, Chile, and much of Central America), native speakers are often unaware of the weakened pronunciation of /s/, asserting that they are actually pronouncing [s]. Literature from these regions rarely represents the aspirated /s/, which is considered unremarkable (cf. Lapesa 1980: 387); only when /s/ disappears altogether is this loss reflected in written form. A diachronic scan of Golden Age *bozal* texts shows that apparent loss of pre-consonantal /s/ is more common towards the end of this period. Moreover, all instances of /s/ loss discussed so far have been in perceptually weak positions, pre-consonantly or word-finally following an unstressed vowel. If Andalusian Spanish were already weakening (but not eliminating) /s/ in these positions, then Africans, whose languages do not normally contain the distinction between strongly and weakly stressed syllables, might easily fail to perceive any sound at all.<sup>8</sup>

### 8. Loss of /r/ in Afro-Hispanic language: a first approximation.

8.1. The behavior of syllable- and phrase-final /r/ varies between Andalusian and Latin American dialects, and also shows a variety of manifestations in Afro-Hispanic speech across time and space. In contemporary Andalusia, phrase-final /r/ is most commonly lost; pre-consonantly, a greater number of variants exists, but retention of some sound usually remains. In the Canary Islands, the situation is more varied, with retention of phrase-final /r/ in some form (often a lateral [l]) more common than in Andalusia. In Latin American dialects where /r/-reduction is common, principally in the Caribbean, phrase-final realizations usually vary between [l] and elision of /r/, while pre-consonantly the manifestations include loss, lateralization, gemination of the following consonant, glottalization, and vocalization. All of these phenomena fall under the general rubric of weakening, a process often assumed to have originated in southern Spain.

8. Colombian Palenquero, an Afro-Iberian creole formed in the environs of Cartagena de Indians at the beginning of the 17th century, shows generalized reduction of final /s/, alternating with occasional cases such as *dioso* < *dios*. The paragogic vowel suggests that Spanish final /s/ was still not significantly weakened in early 17th-c. Cartagena, at least in stressed syllables, while the generalized loss of final /s/ in Palenquero apparently indicates that Spanish /s/ began to weaken shortly thereafter. As interesting as the Palenquero data are, they do not necessarily constitute an airtight case for early loss of /s/ in the Cartagena region. Early accounts indicate that (regional Colombian) Spanish was spoken in Palenque de San Basilio as early as the end of the 17th century. In 1713, Fray Antonio María Casiani negotiated a peace settlement with the village (it was he who gave it its present name). That the Palenqueros were already bilingual is indicated by an observation of the Bishop of Cartagena, Diego de Paredo, a few years later (Urueta 1887: 228–29): “hablan entre sí un particular idioma en que a sus solas instruyen a los muchachos, sin embargo de que cortan con mucha expedición el castellano, que generalmente usan ...” If this is true, then /s/ reduction in Palenquero could conceivably have developed in tandem with the regional Spanish vernacular.



8.2. Although reduction of /r/ occurs in many Afro-Hispanic texts, most Golden Age examples are limited to the final /-r/ in verbal infinitives. This morphological correlate of /r/-loss is also well-attested in Andalusia, the Canary Islands, and Latin America.<sup>9</sup> Examples of the loss of /r/ in verbal infinitives, among Golden Age *bozal* texts, include:

*bailá* [bailar] (S-13, S-18); *cogé* [coger] (S-23); *llové* [llover] (S-15); *morí* [morir] (S-12); *oflezé* [ofrecer] (S-18); *poné* [poner] (S-3, S-10); *sabé* [saber] (S-57); *soná* [sonar] (S-12); *tené* [tener] (S-56); *volvé* [volver] (S-18); *yové* [llover] (S-9).

This nearly exhaustive list is set against the backdrop of hundreds of infinitives with written final /-r/, from which it may be deduced that loss of /-r/ even in verbal infinitives was becoming prevalent in Andalusia only towards the end of the 17th century. During this same time period, loss of final /r/ in non-infinitives was even scarcer, being limited to a few cases involving the nominal endings *-or* and *-ar*, such as *amó* [amor] (S-57); *calentaró* [calentador] (S-4); *cantó* [cantor] (S-8); *luguá* [lugar] (S-24); *sinó* [señor] (S-57). In texts of this study, the only case where final /r/ was lost following an unstressed vowel was *asuca* [azúcar] (S-3).

8.3. In Latin America, loss of final /-r/ in infinitives is found in *bozal* texts from 18th-c. Mexico and Colombia, from Peru (beginning of the 19th century) and from the Río de la Plata (late 18th/early 19th century). In these same texts, loss of word-final /r/ also occurred in other words, such as *señor*, and loss of preconsonantal word-internal /r/, while rare, is attested. Of these areas, only coastal Peru and Colombia, and a few marginal areas of Guerrero and Oaxaca in Mexico routinely elide verb-final /r/; the areas exhibiting this elision are characterized by populations with a high percentage of African ancestry. Loss of final /r/ is also typical in Colombian Palenquero, once more suggesting a relatively early date for /r/ reduction in the Caribbean. In Mexico and the Río de la Plata, where pronunciation eventually became dominated by other patterns and where the Afro-Hispanic population dwindled, the reduction of /r/ gradually subsided. Latin American *bozal* examples include:

RIO PLATA: *acabá* [acabar] (R-20); *acuerá* [acordar] (R-20); *agarrá* [agarrar] (R-20); *ahocá* [ahorcar] (R-20); *amalá* [amarrar] (R-2); *azuca* [azúcar] (R-15); *bailá* [bailar] (R-21); *bautizá* [bautizar] (R-22); *cantá* [cantar] (R-1, R-27); *castigá* [castigar] (R-6, R-17); *complá* [comprar] (R-26); *confesá* [confesar] (R-8); *conocé* [conocer] (R-20); *conseba* [conserva] (R-20, R-21); *convesá* [conversar] (R-20); *cusiná* [cocinar] (R-8); *chupá* [chupar] (R-2, R-7, R-14); *decí* [decir] (R-6, R-11, R-17); *defendé* [defender] (R-20); *dipará* [disparar] (R-20); *emblomá* [embromar] (R-6); *enredadó* [enredador] (R-20);

9. For example, Cartagena, Colombia (e.g., Becerra 1985); Las Palmas de Gran Canaria (Samper Padilla 1990); Panama City (Cedergren 1973).

*esclibí* [escribir] (R-11); *favó* [favor] (R-20); *fetejá* [festejar] (R-20); *flegá* [fregar] (R-8); *gobenadó* [gobernador] (R-20, R-21); *gualdá* [guardar] (R-2); *hacé* [hacer] (R-20); *imaginá* [imaginar] (R-7); *lavá* [lavar] (R-21, R-22); *mandá* [mandar] (R-20); *mijó* [mejor] (R-4, R-17, R-20); *milá* [mirar] (R-6, R-7); *molí* [morir] (R-2); *patido* [partido] (R-20); *pensá* [pensar] (R-20); *piliá* [pelear] (R-15); *pofió* [porfiar] (R-20); *poqué* [porque] (R-17, R-20); *preguntá* [preguntar] (R-14); *provocá* [provocar] (R-20); *riclará* [declarar] (R-14); *señó* [señor] (R-2, R-20, R-27); *való* [valor] (R-20); *vení* [venir] (R-6, R-17, R-27);

PERU: *amará* [amarrar] (P-9, P-11); *arañá* [arañar] (P-6); *avisá* [avisar] (P-11); *cantá* [cantar] (P-2); *clibí* [escribir] (P-7); *cogé* [coger] (P-11); *consultá* [consultar] (P-8); *cosé* [coser] (P-7); *decí* [decir] (P-7); *entrá* [entrar] (P-11); *faltá* [faltar] (P-10); *gritá* [gritar] (P-11); *hablá* [hablar] (P-8); *moletá* [molestar] (P-8); *refrescá* [refrescar] (P-6); *repondé* [responder] (P-11); *señó* [señor] (P-7, P-8, P-8, P-10, P-11); *tené* [tener] (P-11); *vení* [venir] (P-8, P-11);

MEXICO: *amó* [amor] (M-2); *cantá* [cantar] (M-8); *coló* [color] (M-8); *doló* [dolor] (M-8); *durmi* [dormir] (M-8); *escuchá* [escuchar] (M-8); *gobelná* [gobernar] (M-8); *hacé* [hacer] (M-8); *llorá* [llorar] (M-1); *mayó* [mayor] (M-8); *mijó* [mejor] (M-6, M-8, M-12); *parí* [parir] (M-9); *retó* [rector] (M-8); *señó* [señor] (M-8); *tambó* [tambor] (M-8);

COLOMBIA: *comé* [comer] (C-5); *decí* [decir] (C-6); *entendé* [entender] (C-6); *plásé* [placer] (C-6).

These data provide further support for the notion that in Andalusian and some vernacular Latin American dialects, word-final /r/ was being reduced in verbal infinitives and some other forms by the mid-17th century or perhaps even earlier.

## 9. Lateralization of /r/ in Afro-Hispanic texts.

9.1. In many contemporary Caribbean Spanish dialects, /r/ is lateralized to [l] both preconsonantly and in phrase-final position. In Spain this change is rare, occurring sporadically in rural areas of Murcia and eastern Andalusia. Lateralization of /r/ is somewhat more common in the Canary Islands, but nowhere approaching rates found, e.g., in vernacular speech of Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, and parts of Cuba and Venezuela. As with loss of /r/ and reduction of /s/, dating of the lateralization of /r/ in non-African dialects is hampered by the lack of credible documentation. In most areas of Spain and Latin America the first unequivocal written examples do not come until the 19th century, although it seems certain that the process had begun earlier.

9.2. In contrast to the general scarcity of early attestations of the lateralization of syllable-final /r/ in Spanish, Afro-Hispanic texts from the Golden Age onward frequently exhibit the shift /r/ > [l], at first only in word-internal preconsonantal position but eventually encompassing word-final and phrase-final positions as well. Lateralization of preconsonantal /r/ appears at approximately the same time as loss of word-final /r/, viz. in the early decades of the 17th century. A small sample of Golden Age examples from Spain includes:

*acoldez* [acordes] (S-17); *acueda* [acuerda] (S-5); *adolal* [adorar] (S-2); *advuelta* [advierta] (S-38); *apaltan* [apartan] (S-38, S-40); *apalcibiros* [apercibidos] (S-26); *calbón* [carbón] (S-38, S-40); *calnero* [carnero] (S-38); *calnisero* [carnicero] (S-38); *calol* [calor] (S-35); *colol* [color] (S-38, S-40); *despielta* [despierta], *dispeltamo* [despertamos] (S-23, S-57); *dolmir* [dormir] (S-23, S-38); *dulçula* [dulzura] (S-24); *dulmió* [durmió] (S-5, S-41, S-57); *encalgar* [encargar] (S-38); *eztal* [estar] (S-41); *gualdapié* [guardapié] (S-16); *haltula* [harta] (S-24); *hasel* [hacer] (S-8); *ilmosa* [hermosa] (S-2, S-8, S-35, S-40, S-57, S-63); *impeltinensia* [impertinencia] (S-38); *infielna* [infierno] (S-24); *leel* [leer] (S-23); *melcede* [mercedes] (S-3, S-10, S-17, S-18, S-63); *mermal* [mermar] (S-38); *molme* [morirme] (S-33); *pielna* [pierma] (S-38); *pol cierto* [por cierto] (S-57); *polfiado* [porfiado] (S-38); *polque* [porque] (S-2, S-3, S-4, S-18, S-26, S-35, S-38, S-40); *polquerías* [porquerías] (S-38); *puelca* [puerca] (S-38); *puque* [porque] (S-63); *sel* [ser] (S-23); *sinol* [señor] (S-57); *tentadol* [tentador] (S-38); *venil* [venir] (S-2, S-5); *yolal* [llorar] (S-2).

9.3. Lateralization of syllable-final /r/ is found in Latin American *bozal* texts from all regions, even in areas such as Mexico, highland Colombia, Peru, and the Río de la Plata region, where this change never became permanently implanted in the local dialects.<sup>10</sup> In Mexico, Colombia, and Peru, lateralized /r/ in Afro-Hispanic language is confined to the earliest texts, from the 17th and early 18th centuries. Later Afro-Peruvian texts show loss of /r/, particularly in verbal infinitives, a pronunciation still found in coastal areas of predominantly African descent. Representative examples from Afro-Hispanic Latin American texts include:

RIO PLATA: *amal* [amar] (R-16); *aplical* [aplicar] (R-11); *balbalilá* [barbaridad] (R-13); *Baltasal* [Baltasar] (R-3); *calbón* [carbón] (R-3); *calga* [carga] (R-2); *colespondel* [corresponder] (R-16); *conselba* [conserva] (R-11); *cualté* [cuartel] (R-2); *favol* [favor] (R-11); *gobelnadol* [gobernador] (R-11); *gualdá* [guardar] (R-2); *homenajeal* [homenajear] (R-3); *infelná* [infernál] (R-2); *libeltá* [libertar] (R-11); *mejol* [mejor] (R-16); *moldé* [morder] (R-2); *mujel* [mujer] (R-6, R-11); *pol* [por] (R-1, R-6, R-26); *polque* [porque] (R-6, R-11, R-16, R-26); *señol* [señor] (R-3, R-11); *tambolileal* [tamborilear] (R-3); *veltule* [virtudes] (R-16);

MEXICO: *cualteló* [cuarterón] (M-8); *cultés* [cortés] (M-8); *dolmi* [dormir] (M-15); *duelme* [duerme] (M-15); *entelneccé* [enternecer] (M-8); *libeltá* [libertad] (M-8); *Maltín* [Martín] (M-15); *melcede* [mercedes] (M-8); *peldoná* [perdonar] (M-8); *pol* [por] (M-8, M-14); *poltal* [portar] (M-15); *puelto* [puerto] (M-5, M-14); *pultilica* [Puerto Rico] (M-12); *sel* [ser] (M-8); *tomal* [tomar] (M-8);

PERU: *apalta* [aparta] (P-1); *coltezano* [cortesano] (P-5); *gualde* [guarde] (P-3); *hasel* [hacer] (P-3); *melse* [merced] (P-3); *plegonal* [pregonar] (P-3); *poltal* [portar] (P-3); *señol* [señor] (P-3); *soplal* [soplar] (P-1);

10. According to Fontanella de Weinberg (1987a), lateralization of /r/ was at one point relatively common in Buenos Aires, peaking in the middle of the 18th century and dwindling precipitously thereafter. It is perhaps not coincidental that at the same time period, the African and Afro-American population of Buenos Aires rose to its highest proportion (roughly 30%), and also dropped drastically in the following decades, being eventually overwhelmed by European immigration.

COLOMBIA: *helmosa* [*hermosa*] (C-3); *libeltá* [*libertad*] (C-6); *pol* [*por*] (C-1); *pulque* [*por qué*] (C-6); *pulta* [*puerta*] (C-3).

9.4. Lateralization of syllable-final /r/ has never been a common trait of any regional dialect of Spain, and it might be thought that when representing Africanized Spanish, Golden Age writers, following Quevedo's formula, simply exchanged syllable-final /l/ and /r/. This facile assumption is misleading, as shown by two facts: (1) the interchange of syllable-final liquids does not appear in *bozal* texts until well into the 17th century, fully a century after *bozal* Spanish is attested; and (2) although lateralization of /r/ is very common in later *bozal* texts, conversion of syllable-final /l/ to [r] is limited to only a handful of items. In order for lateralization to occur, we have postulated that syllable-final /r/ was already being reduced, in Andalusian Spanish, to something less than a distinct tap, which was replaced in a broad cross-section of West African languages by [l], the sound most readily considered as equivalent. Lateral [l] is quite common throughout sub-Saharan Africa, while even in those (considerably fewer) African languages which oppose /l/ and /r/, the latter phoneme does not often correspond to the Spanish alveolar tap [r]. In this instance, lateralization of syllable-final /r/ may well have its roots in *bozal* speech. At the very least, Africans contributed to the spread of this process, which today is concentrated in areas where the African presence was prolonged, and where the current population shows a heavy demographic proportion of African descent (Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, central and eastern Cuba, parts of Venezuela and coastal Colombia, Trinidad).

## 10. Paragogic vowels and the validation of Afro-Hispanic texts.

10.1. A study of the extensive Afro-Hispanic corpus reveals both convergence with and divergence from theories of Andalusian consonantal reduction. Assuming that systematic elimination of final consonants in *bozal* speech reflects consonant weakening in regional Spanish dialects, reduction of /s/ and /r/ in Andalusia might be dated as early as the middle of the 16th century. On the other hand many *bozal* texts, from the early 16th to the early 18th centuries, show more retention than weakening of final consonants. Towards the end of this period, some authors may have chosen not to associate consonantal reduction with *bozal* Spanish because such pronunciation was no longer uncommon or exotic, but the apparent inconsistencies of the earlier data remain unexplained.

10.2. More is at stake than the mere presence or absence of consonants in regional Andalusian and Africanized Spanish. The African languages which came into contact with Spanish do not distinguish between syllables with strong and weak stress, and in general do not exhibit the reduction in intensity which accompanies atonic syllables in Spanish. The African perception of Spanish syllable-final consonants was directly correlated with metrical struc-

tures is supported by an examination of paragogic and anaptactic vowels in *bozal* texts. The majority of African languages which came into contact with Spanish and Portuguese do not contain syllable-final consonants (except for extrasyllabic final nasals), and almost none contains syllable-final /s/, /l/, or /r/. When borrowing words containing syllable-final consonants, a frequent strategy was the addition of a paragogic vowel. Sometimes a vowel was also added to break up two-consonant onsets, but reduction of the onset (usually by elimination of the second consonant) was more common. For example, kiKongo and kiMbundu began to borrow words from Portuguese beginning in the 15th century (cf. Bal 1968; Martins 1958a, 1958b; Mendonça 1935: 116–8). Leite de Vasconcellos (1901: 158) noted that as late as the end of the 19th-century, kiMbundu speakers in Angola still added these paragogic vowels. KiKongo and kiMbundu are of particular importance to the study of Afro-Hispanic speech, since these two languages were among the most frequently used African languages in Cartagena, Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Lima, and other colonial cities in Latin America. Examples of adaptation of Ibero-Romance borrowings include:

KIKONGO: *dotolo* < *doutor*; *katekisimu* < *catesismo*; *kidisitu* < *Cristo*; *kulunsi* < *cruz*; *loosu* < *arroz*; *mptulukeesu* < *português*; *nanasa/nanasi* < *ananás*; *ngelesi* < *inglés*; *nsaalu* < *sal*; *poosita* < *posto*;

KIMBUNDU: *calalo* < *claro*; *Culaudio* < *Cláudio*; *lapassi* < *rapaz*; *Rodolofu* < *Rodolfo*.

Portuguese preconsonantal /s/ was not always salvaged by addition of a paragogic vowel, but was sometimes lost, as in kiKongo *fofolo* < *fósforo*; *kipeelo* < *espelho*; *lupitaalu* < *hospital*. Metathesis was an occasional option:<sup>11</sup>

KIKONGO: *sikoba* < *escoba*; *sikoola* < *escola*; *siponza* < *esponja*; *sitadu* < *estado*;

KIMBUNDU: *sicora* < *escola*; *sikarera* < *escalera*; *supada* < *espada*; *supoleta* < *espoleta*.

The final paragogic vowel (whose timbre was normally dictated by processes of vowel harmony), was almost invariably added after a *stressed* syllable; when the final syllable was unstressed, the Portuguese final consonant was most frequently lost, as in kiKongo *kilapi* < *lápiz*; *vokolo/ukolo* < *óculos*; *woolo* < *ouros*; *zikopu* < *copas*.

10.3. Similar developments are found in Afro-Lusitanian creoles, particularly those of the Gulf of Guinea. To cite only a few examples, from São Tomense (ST), Principense (P), Angolar (A) (Ferraz 1979), and Annobonese (Ann) (Barrena 1957):

11. A few cases, such as *sicoba* < *escoba*, may represent paragogic vowels inserted after the loss of the first vowel (e.g., *escoba* > *scoba* > *sicoba*), rather than metathesis. This is especially true in the case of borrowings from Portuguese, where reduction of unstressed vowels appears to have had an early start (cf. Naro 1971). Regardless of the process involved, the retention of /s/ in the modified forms attests to a relatively strong pronunciation in both Spanish and Portuguese at the time of borrowing.

*arroz* > ST *loso*, Ann. *aloso*, P. *urosu*; *azul* > ST *zulu*; *barril* > ST *balili*; *Deus* > ST *desu*; *doutor* > ST *dotolo*; *flor* > Ann. *foli*; *garfo* > ST *galufu*; *mais* > ST, P, A *mashi*; *óculos* > ST *oklo*; *paz* > ST *pazi*; *Pedro* > Ann. *Pédulu*; *sabedor* > Ann. *sabedolo*; *senhor* > Ann. *sholo*; *sol* > Ann. *solo*; *três* > ST *tleshi*; *voz* > ST *vozu*.

Instances of paragogic vowels are also found in Afro-Brazilian Portuguese, especially in place names and nicknames, where the kiKongo and kiMbundu input was very strong. Some of the modified forms have become fixed in nonstandard rural varieties (Machado Filho 1964:71, 84, 109–10; Raimundo 1933:69–71; Ramos 1935:248), for example: *baranco* < *branco*; *baravo* < *bravo*; *buruto* < *bruto*; *faraco* < *fraco*; *Firimino* < *Firmino*; *Fulugença* > *Fulgêncio*; *Puludença* < *Prudêncio*; *purugunta* < *pergunta*; *Quelemente* < *Clemente*; *suporeta* < *espoleta*. Alleyne (1980:45–48) documents the extensive use of paragogic vowels in other African-influenced creoles.

10.4. The presence of paragogic and epenthetic vowels in *bozal* Spanish texts can be applied as a diagnostic of regional Spanish pronunciation. In so doing, it must be conceded that the precarious situation in which adult slaves learned a pidgin Spanish was far different from extended language contact which resulted, e.g., in Portuguese borrowings into kiKongo. In the latter case, a community gradually and voluntarily adopted foreign words to its own phonological patterns. *Bozal* learners might be expected to perform more drastic reduction of words than West African communities who learned European words from missionaries and traders, but a comparison with Afro-Lusitanian creoles and Afro-Brazilian Portuguese suggests a consistent adaptation of final consonants: paragogic vowels were added when the preceding vowel was stressed, and the consonant was usually lost following an unstressed vowel. The same general trends hold, in diminished fashion, for word-internal syllable-final consonants. Extrapolating to cognate structures in *bozal* Spanish, we would expect to find paragogic vowels in the same configurations, if the final consonants were still pronounced in the regional dialects of Spanish during the time periods in question. These expectations are realized in many instances, with the paragogic vowels distributed according to the prediction:

*amore* [*amor*] (S-54, S-56, S-62); *amolo* [*amor*] (S-63); *bajone* [*bajón*] (S-2); *Belena* [*Belén*] (S-35); *bicicochos* [*bizcochos*] (S-1); *bolocado* [*brocado*] (S-15); *bueya* [*buey*] (S-29); *calore* [*calor*] (S-56); *cansiona* [*canción*] (S-10); *casicabele* [*casca-bel*] (S-61); *colchono* [*colchón*] (S-55); *colore* [*color*] (S-62); *corasono/curazona* [*corazón*] (S-18, S-55); *de trasa* [*detrás*] (S-33); *desdene* [*desdén*] (S-33); *dioso/diozo/diosa* [*Dios*] (S-1, S-5, S-10, S-23, S-24, S-26, S-30, S-31, S-33, S-55, S-57, S-60, S-63); *disiparates* [*disparates*] (S-1); *efetulu* [*efecto*] (S-23); *favore* [*favor*] (S-61); *flore* [*flor*] (S-62); *fresicura* [*frescura*] (S-62); *Gasipar* [*Gaspar*] (S-1, S-6); *generalala* [*general*] (S-35); *guruganta* [*garganta*] (S-6); *latrone* [*ladrón*] (S-31, S-61); *Madrillos* [*Madrid*] (S-62); *Melchoro/Mechoro* [*Melchor*] (S-55); *melacotona* [*melocotón*] (S-10); *mercede* [*merced*] (S-33); *meso* [*mes*] (S-61); *nuece moscada* [*nuez moscada*] (S-61); *pavillono* [*pabellón*] (S-55);

*peore* [peor] (S-25); *perejila* [perejil] (S-61); *pesicaros* [pecado] (S-1); *piñone* [peñón] (S-62); *portalo* [portal] (S-29); *procesiona* [procesión] (S-31); *pulufleto* [perfecto] (S-24); *religiona* [religión] (S-44); *reya* [rey] (S-28, S-29); *salamandra* [salamandra] (S-44); *sioro/seoro/sinoro/siñolo/zeolo* [señor] (S-1, S-2, S-3, S-6, S-7, S-16, S-17, S-23, S-25, S-26, S-33, S-35, S-50, S-55, S-60); *sole* [sol] (S-60); *temora* [temor] (S-33, S-63); *traidororo* [traidor] (S-55); *Tumbucuto* [Tumbuctú] (S-1); *turumento* [tormenta] (S-23).

These data point to the conclusion that Andalusian final /s/, at least following a stressed vowel, was in general articulated strongly enough to be analyzed by Africans as requiring a paragogic vowel, through the end of the 17th century and perhaps later.<sup>12</sup>

10.5. The data from Latin American *bozal* texts allow for a refinement of the suggestion made in the preceding section. Mexican *bozal* texts (M-8, M-15), representing the late 17th and early 18th centuries, contain some instances of *dioso* [Dios], but mid-18th-c. texts from Veracruz (part of the Caribbean dialectal zone) and the Pacific coast of Oaxaca (also sharing Caribbean/coastal phonetic traits) exhibit the alternative *Dió* (M-1), as well as *langohta* [langosta] (M-1), *pue* [pues] (M-1, M-8), *eta* [esta] (M-1), *cota* [costa] (M-1), etc. Since these texts represent areas of Mexico which today show reduction of /s/, weakening (although probably not elimination) of /s/ in Caribbean and coastal South American Spanish was evidently well underway by the middle of the 18th century. Mexican *bozal* texts provide other examples of paragogic vowels, indicating the validity of an approach in which presence of paragogic vowels signals retention of a consonantal articulation, while absence of such a vowel at times permits the inference that consonantal reduction had already begun: *belena* [Belén] (M-12); *cascabela* [cascabel] (M-12); *dioso* [Dios] (M-8, M-15); *redentola* [redentor] (M-8); *siñolo/siolo* [señor] (M-8, M-14, M-15); *tulumenta* [tormenta] (M-8).

10.6. *Bozal* texts from the Río de la Plata region are also instructive, in that reduction of final /s/ was never complete in this dialect, and in the late 18th and early 19th centuries when the *bozal* texts were produced, reduction of /s/ in regional varieties of Spanish was even less advanced (Fontanella de Weinberg 1987a, 1987b). In Afro-Porteño texts, although the /s/ of the verbal ending *-mos* is routinely lost, paragogic vowels are also common, especially when final consonants follow stressed vowels. Typical cases of paragogic vowels (and occasional metathesis) include:<sup>13</sup>

12. It is possible that alternative pronunciations such as *Dioso/Dió* may have coexisted for a considerable time. The forms including a paragogic vowel reflect the variable pronunciation of Spanish final /s/ as [s] or at least a strong aspiration, while the truncated forms were triggered by the variant Spanish pronunciation in which final /s/ was weakened to the point where Africans failed to perceive it. In favor of this scenario is the fact that Palenquero *dioso* alternates with *dió*, with the latter form (possibly a borrowing from regional Spanish) tending to drive out the former (Armin Schwegler, personal communication).
13. The forms *shicoba* and *seclava*, most likely involving metathesis (cf. the preceding footnote), are almost identical to the form taken by the cognate Portuguese words in kiKongo.

*balanco/baranco* [blanco] (R-1, R-20); *conterera* [Contreras] (R-20); *contitusione* [constitución] (R-1); *conversacione* [conversación] (R-20); *diabolo* [diablo] (R-20); *dioso* [Dios] (R-1, R-21); *intenciona* [intención] (R-20); *jesuquinista* [Jesucristo] (R-20); *jesuso* [Jesús] (R-20); *ladrone* [ladrón] (R-20); *mejole* [mejor] (R-2); *ofelenda* [ofrenda] (R-1); *otoros* [otros] (R-20); *papeli* [papel] (R-11, R-20); *pobere* [pobre] (R-20); *quilitiano* [cristiano] (R-1); *sabelemo* [sabremos] (R-2); *schicoba* [escoba] (R-26); *seclava* [esclava] (R-1); *señolo* [señor] (R-1); *sulole* [sudor] (R-1); *tambiene* [también] (R-2, R-20); *tenguerá* [tendrá] (R-7, R-14); *vapole* [vapor] (R-2).

Loss of /s/ before consonants and word-finally after *unstressed* vowels is a recurring trait in *bozal* texts from Argentina and Uruguay:

*contitusione/conditusione* [constitución] (R-1); *dalemo* [daremos] (R-2); *dipará* [disparar] (R-20); *dipotima* [despotismo] (R-1); *etando* [estando] (R-20); *fetejar* [festejar] (R-20); *guta* [gusta] (R-20); *nuetle/nuetro* [nuestro] (R-1, R-4); *pueto* [puesto] (R-20); *quilitiano* [cristiano] (R-1); *repué* [después] (R-7); *uté* [usted] (R-6, R-11, R-17, R-20).

By the end of the 18th century, /s/ weakening was apparently well underway in the Río de la Plata, principally affecting preconsonantal /s/. Then, as today (among middle class speakers at least; see Calvis de Bon 1987; Fontanella de Weinberg 1974; Terrell 1978; Vásquez 1953), phrase-final and word-final prevocalic /s/ was pronounced as a sibilant. The fact that *bozal* speakers failed to register many instances of word-final /s/ after unstressed vowels does not entail that this /s/ had disappeared in regional Spanish, but is consistent with the general *bozal* tendency to ignore word-final consonants following unstressed vowels.

10.7. In early *bozal* texts from Peru and Colombia (ca. 17th century), paragogic vowels appear in circumstances identical to those of other *bozal* corpora:

PERU: *baltasale* [Baltasar] (P-5); *belena* [Belén] (P-3); *ciolo* [señor] (P-5); *diose/dioso* [Dios] (P-1, P-2, P-3, P-4); *Gazpala/Gazipala* (P-1); *melchola* [Melchor] (P-5); *pasaqualiyo* [Pascualillo] (P-3); *plosesiona* [procesión] (P-3); *turrona* [turrón] (P-3); *ziolo* [señor] (P-5);  
 COLOMBIA: *Dioso/Diossa* [Dios] (C-3, C-5, C-6); *reye* [rey] (C-1); *siolo* [señor] (C-4); *tulona* [turrón] (C-5).

Later Peruvian *bozal* examples, from the end of the 18th century to the middle of the 19th century, show no paragogic vowels. By the late 18th century, syllable-final consonants were already weakened or lost in coastal Peruvian Spanish. In particular, no final /s/ was pronounced strongly enough for Africans to add a paragogic vowel. In addition to the nearly categorical loss

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The known existence of kiKongo speakers in 19th-c. Río de la Plata (indeed, the Congo *nación* was the largest and most organized in Buenos Aires and Montevideo; cf. Lanuza 1967; Pereda Valdés 1965; Rodríguez Molas 1957), bolsters the legitimacy of *bozal* texts as linguistic reflections of the time. The use of *sh* rather than *s* may indicate transfer from Portuguese, where preconsonantal /s/ is pronounced as [ʃ].



of /s/ in the verbal ending /-mos/, examples of loss of syllable-final /s/ in later Peruvian *bozal* Spanish include:

*branco* [blancos] (P-7, P-9); *bucá* [buscar] (P-7, P-11); *critiano* [cristiano] (P-10, P-11); *dempué* [después] (P-11); *Dió* [Dios] (P-7); *ecravo* [esclavo] (P-10); *Flasico* [Francisco] (P-7); *ingré* [inglés] (P-11); *minitlo* [ministro] (P-7); *repondé* [responder] (P-11); *tamale* [tamales] (P-10); *uté* [usted] (P-7).

10.8. The presence of paragogic vowels in *bozal* texts also permits verification of the weakening of syllable- and word-final /r/ in regional varieties of Spanish. Spanish Golden Age examples show that final liquids in stressed syllables were quite resistant in Spain, and only began to weaken towards the end of the 17th century. The conditioning was not only metrical but also morphological: by far the most common instances of loss of final /r/ involve verbal infinitives, where towards the end of the 16th century *bozal* speakers were evidently in the presence of a variably deleted /r/ in Andalusian Spanish. There is no reason to suppose that Afro-Hispanic speakers invented this morphological correlate of /r/-loss; it is well-attested in /r/-reducing dialects where an African substratum has never existed, in Andalusia, the Canary Islands, and Latin America.

## 11. Afro-Hispanic language and the canonical CV syllable.

11.1. Consonantal reduction in Afro-Iberian language, including contemporary Spanish dialects where an African component is prominent, has often been attributed to reduction of syllabic complexity, the striving for a canonical CV syllable in languages whose syllable prototypes contained no closed syllables. The supposed inexorability of such a drive has been used to dismiss early loss of consonants in Afro-Hispanic speech (e.g., Alvarez Nazario 1974; Chasca 1946; G. Salvador 1981), despite the well-documented trend toward open syllables in vernacular Spanish worldwide which began prior to the 15th century. According to such 'African-only' theories, Africans simply ignored Spanish (or Portuguese) final consonants, straining local Spanish varieties in which these consonants were intact through a rigid CV template which ruthlessly separated out even the most strongly articulated final consonants. A comparative study of Afro-Hispanic *bozal* language over a period of several centuries challenges this simplistic assumption, as do data from several Afro-Lusitanian pidgins and creoles.

11.2. Treatment of both Spanish and Portuguese words by real speakers of African languages normally follows more complex paths than mere truncation of 'offending' consonants (for an overview, see Bal 1974; Bradshaw 1965; Cabral 1975; Kiraithe and Baden 1976; Prata 1983). A major conditioning factor is the treatment of stressed vs. unstressed syllables by speakers of languages lacking a stress accent. Simple truncation of syllable-final consonants has never been the prevailing strategy among African languages when borrowing words from European languages. Particularly when stressed syl-

lables are at stake, paragogic vowels are more common, and strongly articulated consonants (e.g., sibilants) in unstressed syllables are more often than not retained through the addition of a vowel.

Studies of Afro-Hispanic language which ignore correlations with local varieties of Spanish also overlook the fact that the prototypical West African syllabic template not only contains no syllable-*final* consonants, but also contains no syllable-*initial* consonant clusters. Putative exceptions include co-articulated consonants such as [gb], or prenasalized obstruents which behave phonologically as single consonants. When these languages borrow words from European languages, epenthetic vowels are also typically used to break up syllable-initial clusters, typified by the evolution *flor* > *fuló*. This presupposes contact intense enough to require adaptation of Romance onset clusters. Under more urgent and transitory linguistic contact, such as might occur during a slave raid, on a slaving ship, or on a plantation, onset reduction would be favored, much as happens in child language.

11.3. A study of the manner in which the Spanish syllable template was treated by *bozal* speakers as represented in literature reveals that *bozal* language was considerably less drastic than the simple truncation of any and all consonants which stood in the way of a canonical CV syllable.<sup>14</sup> Afro-Hispanic literary texts reveal syllable types not found in a cross-section of West African languages, as do most currently existing Afro-Hispanic contact languages. In order to observe the type of drastic syllable reduction predicted by an inexorably CV model, one has to turn to Afro-Iberian creoles which were: (a) formed very early (16th or early 17 centuries), (b) formed very rapidly, within the space of a single generation, and (c) cut off from further contact with Spanish or Portuguese for several centuries. The list includes the Gulf of Guinea creoles spoken on Annobón (Barrena 1957; Vila 1891) and São Tomé (Ferraz 1979), as well as Saramaccan (Herskovits 1931).<sup>15</sup> Palenquero (Friedemann and Patiño Rosselli 1983) qualifies as having been formed early and rapidly, although contact with Spanish was reestablished (if it had ever been totally severed) within perhaps half a century.

11.4. Literary *habla de negros* contains very few examples of the reduction of syllable-initial consonant clusters, either through loss of one consonant or through addition of an epenthetic vowel; one of these two processes

14. In Afro-Hispanic *bozal* texts, the occasional *nego* < *negro* is more likely to be a writer's invention, possibly based on child speech, which reinforces the stereotype of *bozal* language as baby talk. Thus a poster advertising an Afro-Argentinian *comparsa* of the late 1800s shows a stereotyped barefoot black *escobero*, broom in one hand and hat in the other, and the caption is "voy a pintá la cara a la donseya. ¡Dice que no me quiere po sé nego! Pues la pinto de nego, y nega es eya" (Matamoro 1976:68).
15. Reduction of syllable-initial clusters is also found in some isolated vernacular dialects of Brazilian Portuguese in which a heavy African presence can be documented (e.g., Jeroslow 1974:45–50; Mendonça 1935:114; Raimundo 1933:70–72). In these dialects, isolation and drift are probably at the root of the severe syllabic reduction, rather than a basis in a radical Afro-Lusitanian pidgin or creole.

would be expected if Africans were indeed adapting Spanish to a CV template. The only verifiable cases from Golden Age Spain are *bolocado* [*brocado*] (S-15), *ezturumento* [*instrumento*] (S-23), *falauta* [*flauta*] (S-35), and *salamandera* [*salamandra*] (S-44). A handful of cases is found in Argentina/Uruguay at the turn of the 19th century: *balanco/baranco* [*blanco*] (R-1, R-20); *conterera* [*Contreras*] (R-20); *ofelenda* [*ofrenda*] (R-1); *otoros* [*otros*] (R-20); *pobere* [*pobre*] (R-20); *quilitiano* [*cristiano*] (R-1); *sabelemo* [*sabremos*] (R-2).

These examples may reflect the fact that, as the slave trade to the Río de la Plata region peaked in the late 18th century, a large proportion of the Africans were transshipped from Brazil, where at least some had learned the rudiments of Portuguese. Other features of *bozal* language from Buenos Aires and Montevideo support this hypothesis, particularly the frequent raising of final unstressed /o/ to [u].

In Afro-Hispanic language of various time periods, syllable-initial clusters were at times *created* by metathesis as one means of resolving an unacceptable syllabic coda. Metathesis was frequent both in African assimilation of Spanish and Portuguese words, and within vernacular Spanish and Portuguese, at times with convergent results. The use of metathesis to displace a syllable-final consonant to syllable-initial position has already been noted, for example *sicoba/shicoba* < *escoba*. In Ibero-Romance, liquids are common in syllable-final position, and initial obstruent + liquid clusters are also frequent. Metathesis of syllable-final liquids to produce obstruent + liquid onset clusters is a common process. Afro-Iberian *bozal* speakers evidently made use of the same process, judging by the greatly increased number of metathesis in Afro-Hispanic and Afro-Portuguese texts. There is no indication that Africans spontaneously invented metathesis in the absence of models in received Spanish.<sup>16</sup> In their totality, these examples show that simple truncation of consonants in the syllabic coda was an infrequent option in Afro-Hispanic language, and that in order for such truncation to occur, a weak articulation was usually already in place in local varieties of Spanish.<sup>17</sup> At the

16. Metathesis was already a viable strategy in the vernacular Spanish which formed the basis for *bozal* language, and Africans adopted and extended metathesis to words not metathesized by other speakers. The common *drumi(r)* < *dormir* is found in Afro-Hispanic language both past and present, in Papiamento, in Palenquero (*ndrumi*), and in Afro-Brazilian Portuguese; similar forms abound in Afro-Iberian language varieties from many areas and time periods. Some examples of metathesis in Afro-Hispanic texts are probably continuations of patterns generally found in isolated and rural Spanish. In other instances, rather than creating open syllables, *closed* syllables were formed during metathesis, but such examples, common in vernacular Spanish worldwide, are most likely not of Afro-Hispanic origin. Afro-Portuguese metathesis follow the same pattern; some examples are: *fruta* < *furta* (Ramos 1935:248), *Fulosina* < *Eufrasina* (Machado Filho 1964:109), *incrontá* < *incontrá* (Jeroslow 1974:53), *pruqué* < *porqué* (Ramos 1935:52), *trocá* < *tocar* (Ramos 1935:52), *vredade* < *verdade* (Raimundo 1933:71).

17. Armin Schwegler (personal communication) has pointed out that in many Caribbean dialects in which the African presence was strong (e.g., Cartagena and much of Cuba), results

same time, the comparative Afro-Hispanic data demonstrate a variable tolerance of syllable types. Syllable-final consonants were usually avoided in *bozal* language, but there was not such a strong avoidance of obstruent + liquid clusters in the syllabic onset. It is possible that first generation *bozal* speakers did insert a fleeting epenthetic vowel in such combinations, which was ignored by Spanish writers unless its duration approximated that of an originally present vowel.

**12. Conclusions.** A comparison of *bozal* texts representing more than three centuries of Afro-Hispanic contacts suggests that these documents may, if used with caution, represent a key component in the assessment of the African contribution to Spanish dialect differentiation. Although *bozal* characters became frozen as a literary stereotype, authors' depictions of Afro-Hispanic pronunciation continued to reflect the evolution of regional speech. These documents bear an intimate relationship with regional Spanish pronunciation, and are not to be treated as irrelevant foreigner-talk or xenophobic ramblings of Spanish writers.

A comparison of Spanish *bozal* texts from Spain and Latin America, from the beginning of the 16th century to the end of the 19th century, and an extrapolation of the development of word-final consonants in various Spanish dialects reveals a picture of considerable complexity, which cannot be resolved by simplistic formulae, whether unilateral attribution of African influence, or a complete rejection of an African contribution to Spanish consonant-weakening. Allowing for exaggeration, fanciful invention and uncritical imitation, the data reveal qualitative changes in consonantal behavior as Africans acquired Spanish, at different times and in different regions. The data do not suggest that Africans who spoke Spanish as a first or second language were responsible for instigating any process of syllable-final consonant reduction. As Africans achieved fluency in Spanish, consonantal modifications became limited to those found in other varieties of Spanish. To the extent that reduction of final consonants was already present in surrounding Spanish dialects, Africans living in sociolinguistic marginality probably extended such incipient reduction to categorical status.

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like *algo* > *aggo*, *carne* > *canne*, etc. are frequent, while in Andalusia elimination of word-internal liquids in syllable-final position is all but unattested. However, even though *algo* and *carne* may occasionally surface as *ago* and *cane*, respectively, the geminate pronunciation appears to be earlier, with geminate reduction being a fast-speech phenomenon. Gemination (i.e., total assimilation of syllable-final liquids to a following consonant) is indeed attested in Andalusian dialects (e.g., G. Salvador 1957), although there is nothing to suggest direct imitation of a regional Andalusian trait in Afro-Caribbean Spanish. In any event, gemination is not to be confused with simple loss of coda consonants.

## Appendix: Afro-Hispanic Texts

*Spain (16th–18th centuries)*

- Aguado, Simón. *Entremés de los negros* (Cotarelo y Morí 1911, 1:1) {S-1}
- Anon. 'A Belén han venido' (Tejerizo Robles 1989:310–11) {S-2}
- Anon. 'Ah mi siolo Juanico' (Lucena, ca. 1694; Bravo-Villa-Sante 1978:63f.) {S-3}
- Anon. 'Aquí za' (Huesca, ca. 1661; Bravo-Villa-Sante 1978:36–37) {S-4}
- Anon. 'Con el zon zonezito del zarabuyi' (Madrid ca. 1696; Bravo-Villa-Sante 1978:185f.) {S-5}
- Anon. 'Desde Angola benimo' (Madrid, ca. 1676; Bravo-Villa-Sante 1978:88f.) {S-6}
- Anon. *Entremés segundo del negro* (Anonymous [n.d.]) {S-7}
- Anon. 'Flasico? Ziol.' (Madrid, ca. 1676; Bravo-Villa-Sante 1978:111f.) {S-8}
- Anon. 'Gurumbé' (ca. 1650; Becco 1951:23) {S-9}
- Anon. 'Hagámole plaça' (Huesca, ca. 1661; Bravo-Villa-Sante 1978:41–43) {S-10}
- Anon. *La negra lectora* (Anonymous 1723) {S-11}
- Anon. 'Romancerillo' (published in Valencia, ca. 1590; Foulché-Delbosc 1919) {S-12}
- Anon. 'Tumbalá' (ca. 1670; Ballagas 1946) {S-13}
- Anon. 'Zarambeque' (Galán 1979:331) {S-14}
- Avellaneda, Francisco. *Entremés de los negros* (Avellaneda 1622) {S-15}
- Blas y Sandoval, Alonso de.  
 'Aquellos negros que dieron' (ca. 1694; Tejerizo Robles 1989:188–89) {S-16}  
 'Azí Flaziquiya' (ca. 1701; Tejerizo Robles 1989:223–24) {S-17}  
 'Qué gente, plima?' (ca. 1699; Tejerizo Robles 1989:212) {S-18}
- Calderón de la Barca, Pedro.  
*La casa de los linajes* (Lobato 1989) {S-19}  
*La pandera* (Lobato 1989) {S-20}  
*La rabia—primera parte* (Lobato 1989) {S-21}  
*Las carnestolendas* (Lobato 1989) {S-22}  
*La sibila de oriente* (Calderón de la Barca 1682) {S-23}
- Caro de Mallén, Ana. 'Loa sacramental, que se representó ... en las fiestas del Corpus de Sevilla, este año de 1639' (Serrano y Sanz 1903:212–13) {S-24}
- Claramonte, Andrés de. *El valiente negro en Flandes* (Claramonte 1951) {S-25}
- García Montero Solano, Francisco. '¡Ah, Flansiquiya!' (ca. 1673; Tejerizo Robles 1989:178–79) {S-26}
- Gómez de Toledo, Gaspar. *Tercera parte de la tragicomedia de Celestina* (Barrick 1973) {S-27}
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- Anon. 'Turu lu neglo' {C-2}
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- Cascante, Joseph de (1620–1702). 'Cucua, cucua' {C-4}
- Contreras, Julián de.  
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**Mexico (17th–18th centuries)**

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- Anon. 'Fasicos' (Mendoza 1956) {M-3}
- Anon. 'Hy, hy, hy, que de riza morremo' (17th century; Megenney 1985) {M-4}
- Anon. 'Negrilla: a palente a palente' (1649; Stevenson 1974:52) {M-5}
- Anon. 'Negrilla: por selebrar este día' (mid 17th century; Stevenson 1975:83–84) {M-6}
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- Fernandes, Gaspar. (early 17th century)  
 'Dame allbricia mano Anton' (Stevenson 1975; Megenney 1985) {M-9}  
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**Peru/Bolivia (17th–19th century)**

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- Anon. 'Esa noche yo baila' (Bolivia; Claro 1974:lxxv–lxxvii) {P-2}
- Anon. 'Pasacualillo' (mid 17th century; Claro 1974:lxxi–lxxix) {P-3}
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