

ON THE LOSS OF /S/ IN "BLACK" SPANISH

One of the most noteworthy phonetic characteristics of Caribbean Spanish is the aspiration and deletion of /s/ in syllable- and word-final contexts. In the dialects of the Antilles, Venezuela, Panama and coastal Colombia, /s/ is severely weakened in these positions even among the most highly educated speakers. Needless to say, reduction of /s/ is not limited to this zone, for in Latin America, /s/ is also weakened, although to a lesser extent, in the Central American dialects of El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua,¹ and in South America, along the entire Pacific coast and in the Southern Cone nations, as well as being aspirated in much of coastal Mexico.² Moreover, reduction of /s/ is not an exclusively Latin American phenomenon, for in Andalusia, Extremadura, and the Canary Islands, as well as in other areas of central and southeastern Spain, /s/ is reduced at a rate equal to or higher than that found in the Caribbean dialects.³

Despite the weakening and loss of /s/ throughout the Spanish-speaking world, the occurrence of this process in Spanish America exhibits a noteworthy correlation with the presence of large numbers of African slaves during the colonial period, so much so that many investigators⁴ have suggested that these African speakers and their descendents may have influenced certain Latin American Spanish dialects in the direction of greater reduction of /s/. While it is true that virtually every area of Spanish America at one time contained significant proportions of African slaves, particularly during the 16th and 17th centuries,⁵ it was only in the Caribbean region that the slave trade continued unabated until the middle of the 19th century, due largely to the economic necessities stemming from commercialized plantation agriculture.⁶

In present day Latin America, it is in general impossible to distinguish between black and non-black native Spanish speakers,⁷ although in some regions socioeconomic stratification may provide strong correlations between ethnic origin and social class, with the resulting implications for linguistic usage. In previous centuries, however, the same assertion could not always be made, for there exists a considerable body of evidence for the fact that slaves born in Africa (known as *bozales*) and often their descendents for several generations thereafter, spoke Spanish with a number of characteristic phonetic and grammatical distortions which when combined formed a distinctly identifiable "black" Spanish. While it is obvious that slaves born in Africa would speak Spanish with the deficiencies common to poor and illiterate immigrants throughout the world, the continued existence of *bozal* speech forms among American-born Afro-Hispanics must be predicated upon socioeconomic conditions which precluded complete penetration of the metropolitan linguistic standards. Despite considerable controversy, it has still not been definitively determined whether black slaves in colonial Spanish America spoke creolized

dialects that were essentially identical (perhaps derived from creole Portuguese learned in Portuguese slaving stations or on shipboard during the middle passage), or whether each group of slaves employed locally generated adaptations of the Spanish language.⁸ One of the difficulties in assessing the nature of black Spanish of earlier centuries, and even of modern times, is the high level of racial prejudice, exaggeration and stereotyping which has always surrounded the description of black speakers of Spanish, and which attributes to all of them a wide range of defects and distortions that frequently are no more than an unrealistic social repudiation of this group. In more recent times, the linguistic characteristics attributed to black Spanish speakers have been simply those of the lower socioeconomic classes, and may even be found among the speech habits of more educated individuals, without any objective racial connotations.⁹ Even black writers, such as Nicolás Guillén, Candelario Obeso, Nicomedes Santa Cruz and Adalberto Ortiz, have employed such linguistic stereotypes as literary devices, while obviously not subscribing to the ethnocentric typecasting which is presupposed when the same techniques are used by non-black writers.

From the earliest literary and folkloric indications of *bozal* and *criollo* black Spanish, the reduction of /s/ has been an essential element, which underscores the interrelatedness of the sociocultural, racial and geographical factors that have affected the dialectal diversification of Spanish throughout the world. Careful comparison with other data regarding Afro-Hispanic language behavior, and closer scrutiny of the totality of earlier attestations of black Spanish, may offer new insights into the phonological reduction of /s/, and of its possible African connection.

Long before the establishment of African populations in the Americas, both Spain and Portugal contained significant groups of black slaves and freedmen, which by the end of the 15th century constituted nearly half of the population of Lisbon, and a significant proportion of the residents of Sevilla and other southern Spanish cities.¹⁰ Already in the 15th century, Portuguese literary documents give testimony to a unique pidginized Portuguese spoken by African natives in Portugal,¹¹ which ultimately would be transferred nearly intact to Spain, where it would eventually turn into the *habla de negros* so common in the writings of Golden Age authors. Gil Vicente employed *bozal* Portuguese speech since before the middle of the 15th century, and is generally credited with establishing the literary tradition of *bozal* language in Portuguese literature. Many of the earliest Spanish documents that attempt to portray Africanized Spanish, such as Feliciano de Silva's *Segunda Celestina* (1534), contain few of the features that later became associated with black Spanish, but rather use a highly reduced verbal system (largely consisting of uninflected infinitives) more reminiscent of Italian-based *sabir* or *lingua franca*, from the middle ages to the 19th century:¹² “amí no estar tan bovo como tú penxar; tú penxar que no entender a mí ruindadex . . . ¿tú no querer andar? . . . ¿qué querer vox,

voxa mercé?”¹³ These phonetic deformations are also typical of those characterizing Arabic interference, and it has been suggested¹⁴ that the “black” characters Zambrán and Boruca were really north African Moors. By a few decades later, however, *bozal* Spanish was already well established, and appeared in the works of Lope de Rueda, Quiñones de Benavente, and later, Góngora, Lope de Vega and others. In addition to a number of clearly Portuguese incursions, including *muyto*, *bai/vai*, *conhecer*, etc., the above-mentioned Golden Age literary works contain the seeds of a distinctly Afro-Hispanic language, which over the next two centuries would continue to diverge from Afro-Portuguese speech and would evolve into 19th and early 20th century Caribbean *bozal* Spanish, the last remnants of Afro-Hispanic creole. A survey of the behavior of /s/ in these texts will clarify the development of the process of weakening of /s/ in *bozal* Spanish, and in other Hispanic dialects.

Among the earliest Portuguese literary texts to employ truly Africanized Portuguese, Antonio Ribeiro Chiado’s *Autos das Regateiras* (ca. 1550), contains numerous characteristic Afro-Romance forms, including the subject pronoun *amí*, the use of infinitives lacking the final /r/, the formation of the verb *sar* (a blend of *ser* and *estar*¹⁵), and the nearly total lack of nominal inflection. Examples include: “a mi catibar o judeu, nam querê c’a mim razá” (v. 20); “a mim frugá boso matá, boso sempre bradá . . .” (v. 24); “A boso sempre sá graya” (v. 40); “a mi não cabá besí” (v. 50); “Prutugá santar diablo!” (v. 552). However, for the first indications of loss of /s/, we have to turn to Gil Vicente, where examples like the following are to be found:¹⁶ from “O clérigo da Beira”: “Jesu!”; “Não vamo paraiso”; and lack of plural /s/: “a mi abre oio e ve”; “Deoso graça.” From “Nao d’Amores,” we have: “Eu chamar elle minha vira e elle chamo-mo cãõ,” and in “Fragoa d’Amor,” we find “tu sá home o sá riabo?” Alongside such examples, we find retention of word-internal and word-final /s/ in the representation of *bozal* Portuguese, in forms such as *bos*, *Castilha*, *estai*, *Portugas*, *buscar*, etc., all of which indicates that no wide-spread loss of /s/ was found in *bozal* Portuguese of this time, nor is this process common among African and Asian Portuguese creoles of later centuries.¹⁷ What is found, both in Golden Age Africanized Portuguese, and in contemporary Portuguese and creole dialects, is the loss of morphological /s/, in first person plural verbal forms, and the instability of plural /s/ in nouns and adjectives. The latter process is common to popular Portuguese throughout Brazil, in *caipira* and other dialects,¹⁸ occurs sporadically in Portugal, and in (non-creole) African Portuguese.¹⁹

Turning to Spanish-language texts, examples of the literary *habla de negros* begin around the middle of the 16th century. Lope de Rueda²⁰ employed a *bozal* Spanish, in which /s/ was largely maintained. We find occasional loss of /s/, for example in the “Comedia de los engañados: “¿No barremo la casa? :no ponemo la oya? ¿No me manda señora Clavela que colamo la flor de la cucuceni?”; “Ya tenemo un prima mía.” From the

“Coloquio de Tymbria,” we find “samo corrido,” and in the “Comedia llamada Eufemia,” “sa bon xemplos á la ventana.”

Góngora²¹ introduced *bozal* language on several occasions, some of which present cases of loss of /s/: “Samo negra pecandora”; “:Ay Jesús, como sa mu triste!”; “alcoholemo la cara e lavemonó la vista”; “mas tinta sudamo, Juana, que dos pruma de crivana.” Góngora’s texts also provide examples of retention of syllable- and word-final /s/, as in *Corpus Christa, triste*, etc. Quiñones de Benavente, in his “El negrito hablador y sin color anda la niña,”²² employs a somewhat fanciful *habla de negros*, in which a rather high degree of grammatical and lexical precision is combined with a ludicrous phonetic distortion. The most common phonetic device is the interchange of /l/ and /r/, in nearly all positions, but /s/ is retained, except in the expression *lo bigoto rubio*, which illustrates the partial neutralization of nominal inflection. At the same time, the *negrito* is frequently represented as pronouncing /s/ as *z*, that is as a dental affricate or fricative, which may indicate a weakening of /s/ in some cases, or merely a defective *ceceo*: “Otlos que con laz balonaz tanto nuez echan de fuera, que, como en naris, ce pueden poner antojos en eyaz . . .”

Bozal Spanish appears in some of Lope de Vega’s plays, although in several other works, African slaves speak normal Spanish; among the latter are “El negro del mejor amo,” “El arenal de Sevilla,” “Los melindres de Belisa” and “Amar, servir y esperar.” Loss of /s/ is found²³ in “El santo negro Rosambuco,” in examples such as: “deseano bosamesé, no queremos que sabé lo que samo bata fuera”; “pues como samo lindo hoy en samo malo de ojo”; “decimo logo a la negra si samo de Monicongo.” In “La madre de la mejor,” we find “Samo tan regocijara de ver lo sielo tan beyo, que non podemos hablar dey, siendo neglo y ellan crara.” The latter case is significant, since for the first time we find repeated loss of /s/ in an environment which does not include the verbal desinence *-mos*, although what is found is partial neutralization of nominal inflection, using loss of /s/ as one strategy in this process. “El santo negro Rosambuco” also contains a few examples of loss of word-internal /s/, as in *no me reponde, an vito* and *epojo*. Documenting incipient Latin American *bozal* Spanish, Gabriel de Santillana (1688) offers the following examples from Mexico:²⁴ *Flasico (Francisco)* and *lo Mastine*, while Sor Juana²⁵ transcribed the by now famous line “aunque neglo gente samo.”

Later examples of *bozal* Spanish, nearly all from Latin America, include loss of /s/, not only in word-final position but also, increasingly, in word-internal position. However, it should be noted that the aspiration and loss of /s/ in the Caribbean Spanish dialects is already attested for non-black speakers from the beginning of the 18th century and conceivably much earlier,²⁶ and probably was in effect even before this, so that later representations of *bozal* language may simply represent exaggerations of phonetic traits already existent in local Spanish dialects. From Morelia, Mexico (1723)²⁷ comes “Al Dioso que sa na siro, con sonsonete que alegla,

contamo la gente negra.” Cuban *cantos de cabildo* dating from the 18th century include examples such as:²⁸ “Bamo llorá, muetto pobre.” From early 19th century Uruguay, we have:²⁹ “Semo nenglo lindo, semo vetelanu,” and from Argentina, at the same time period, comes³⁰ “Hacemi favol. ño Pancho, de aplical mi tu papeli . . . yo quisiela uté me diga . . .” An imitation of 19th century Peruvian *bozal* Spanish³¹ includes “negra Casilda no moletá” and “neguito no rirá ni cantará ma.”

In comparing these examples of *bozal* Spanish, spanning three continents and more than 300 years, we notice that loss of /s/ is most frequently confined to the verbal morpheme *-mos*, where erosion of /s/ is nearly categorical in *bozal* language. The second most frequent case, which appears somewhat later chronologically, is loss of /s/ as a redundant plural morpheme in noun phrases, such as in *lo bigoto*, *lo Mastine*, *samo neglo*, etc. In neither of these cases is loss of /s/ necessarily a phonetic phenomenon, but rather represents the instability of the Spanish morphological system among African speakers, and illustrates a common tendency among Spanish- and Portuguese-based creoles throughout the world, including African and Asian Portuguese creoles, Philippine creole Spanish, Papiamentu, Colombian *palenquero*, and the vestigial creole language of the Valle del Chota, Ecuador.³² Loss of word-internal implosive /s/, which has no morphological value (and which carries a low functional load), does not appear in Spanish literature until well into the last part of the 17th century, nearly 100 years after the first attestations of *bozal* Spanish, and does not become common in representations of black Spanish until the second half of the 18th century, generally in areas where loss of /s/ is already documented for non-African speakers. These data suggest that loss of /s/ in *bozal* Spanish did not follow the path of a regular phonetic evolution, but rather began as a manifestation of morphological instability, the elimination of redundant word-final /s/, and later included loss of word-internal /s/ as *bozal* Spanish interacted with Spanish dialects in which reduction of /s/ was becoming common, at least among the lower socioeconomic classes with which black slaves and servants would have frequent contact. The data from Chota, Ecuador, support this conclusion, since this is a highland dialect of black Spanish, in a region where /s/ is normally conserved in all positions. *Choteño* Spanish similarly retains /s/, being perhaps the only black Spanish dialect in Latin America to do so, but /s/ is rather frequently lost in the verbal desinence *-mos*, and occasionally in redundant noun phrases. In this sense, the Chota dialect differs from neighboring highland Ecuadorian dialects, spoken by Indians and *mestizos*, who never drop /s/ even in redundant positions. Another black dialect which confirms the findings from *bozal* language of earlier centuries is the Spanish of Equatorial Guinea, the only Spanish-speaking area in black Africa.³³ Unlike the Caribbean region, where Andalusian and Canary Island linguistic influences were strong, Guinean Spanish was largely formed through contact with Castilian and Catalan dialects of Spanish, and is characterized by a nearly

categorical retention of /s/, by (unstable) use of the interdental phoneme θ / by the alveolar pronunciation of word-final /n/, by the lack of neutralization /l/ and /r/, and by other features not normally associated with black or *bozal* Spanish. Careful quantitative analysis of Guinean Spanish reveals that while /s/ is hardly ever aspirated, it is rather frequently deleted from word-final position, in a fashion strongly correlated with the morphological value of the /s/. For example, whereas phrase-final lexical /s/ is deleted only about 6% of the time, when /s/ forms part of the verbal desinence -*mos*, the deletion rate rises to nearly 16%, and when the following word begins with a consonant, loss of /s/ in -*mos* rises to more than 28%. On the other hand, the rate of loss of word-internal /s/ in Guinean Spanish is only about 3%, a figure not much higher than in the phonologically most conservative dialects of Spain and Latin America. A similar behavior pattern for /s/ has been reported for the Chocó region of Colombia, another area of significant African presence.³⁴

These data contrast sharply with most accounts of the reductions of /s/ in Spanish, where it is normally assumed that aspiration and later deletion occurred virtually simultaneously in all implosive positions. It has even been suggested³⁵ that /s/ may have been reduced first in word-internal implosive position, and that this reduction was later extended across word boundaries. Finally, aspiration and loss of /s/ in word-final prevocalic positions (as in *los amigos*) is a later development, based on a drive for morphological regularity, the reduction of allomorphic variation. While most current Spanish dialects in which /s/ is reduced have carried this process so far that it is impossible to gain any insight into its initial stages, there are a number of dialects, particularly in Central America, the Southern Cone nations, and central Spain, where reduction of /s/ is largely confined to implosive positions; in nearly all of these dialects, the rate of reduction is significantly higher in word-final preconsonantal position than in word-internal implosive position.³⁶ These comparative data suggest that reduction of /s/ spread from word-final preconsonantal position, especially in redundant syntagms such as *todos los* and *todas las*, to gradually encompass all implosive positions, and thus to become a phonologically motivated rule. Among contemporary (non-Africanized) dialects of Spanish, there is no preferential reduction of /s/ in the verbal desinence -*mos*, and it is debatable whether in most dialects the morphological value of word-final /s/ has any effect at all on the reduction process,³⁷ although an /s/ may be deliberately restored when the speaker becomes aware of an occurring or impending confusion. The quantitative differential between word-internal and word-final contexts remains, however, and points to the complex interaction between morphological, lexical and purely phonological factors.

In tying together the observations on the behavior of /s/ in *bozal* Spanish and in modern non-creolized Spanish dialects, significant differences emerge. Reduction of /s/ in *bozal* language is seen to be the natural

concomitant of imperfect learning of the Spanish language, as manifested by morphological instability and the elimination of redundant elements. This was apparently more of a determining factor than the phonotactic limitations posed by the fact that the majority of African languages spoken by slaves in previous centuries made little use of implosive and word-final consonants. Reduction of /s/ in non-creolized Spanish, despite its evident origin as a phenomenon occurring only across word boundaries, gives no indication of having arisen through the elimination of morphological redundancy, but rather is a manifestation of a general phonological restructuring of closed syllables that has affected the entire Romance language family.³⁸ The partial intersection between current dialect areas where /s/ is strongly reduced and the presence of large groups of African slaves in colonial times should not be taken as a completely fortuitous coincidence, since *bozal* speakers may have had an influence in extending an already existent process of reduction, especially in the direction of complete elision, rather than mere aspiration of /s/. However, the qualitative differences between loss of /s/ in early *bozal* Spanish and in contemporary non-Africanized Spanish dialects strongly militate against a purely African origin for the reduction of /s/ in Latin American Spanish.

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Notes

1. John Lipski, “/s/ in Central American Spanish.” *Hispania* 68 (1985).

2. For general surveys, see John Lipski, “On the weakening of /s/ in Latin American Spanish.” *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 51 (1984), 31-43; “La norma culta y la norma radiofónica: /s/ y /n/ en español.” *Language Problems and Language Planning* 7 (1983), 239-62; D. Lincoln Canfield, *Spanish Pronunciation in the Americas* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1981).

3. Comparative quantitative data are offered by John Lipski, “Observations on the Spanish of Malabo, Equatorial Guinea: implications for Latin American Spanish.” *Hispanic Linguistics* 1 (1984) 69-96.

4. For example, Ricardo Otheguy, “The Spanish Caribbean: a creole perspective.” In C. Bailey, R. Shuy, eds., *New Ways of Analyzing Variation in English* (Washington: Georgetown University, 1975), pp. 323-39; Manuel Alvarez Nazario, *El elemento afronegroide en el español de Puerto Rico* (San Juan: Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, 1974); Rufino J. Cuervo, *El castellano en América* (Buenos Aires: Ateneo, 1927); a more cautious view is taken by Humberto López Morales, *Estudios sobre el español de Cuba* (New York: Las Américas, 1971); “Sobre la pretendida existencia y pervivencia del ‘criollo’ cubano.” *Anuario de Letras* 18 (1980), 85-116; and by Germán de Granda, *Estudios lingüísticos hispánicos, afrohispanicos y criollos* (Madrid: Gredos, 1978).

5. Cf. Leslie Rout, *The African Experience in Spanish America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1976); Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, *La población negra de México* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1971); Roger Bastide, *Las Américas negras*, tr. P. Azcárate (Madrid: Alianza, 1969); Frederick Bowser, *The African Slave Trade in Colonial Peru* (Stanford: Stanford University, 1974); Philip Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1969); José Masini, *La esclavitud negra en Mendoza* (Mendoza: Talleres Gráficos D’Accurzio, 1962); Rolando Mellafe, *La introducción de la esclavitud negra en Chile* (Santiago: Universidad de Chile, 1959); *Negro Slavery in Latin America* (Berkeley: University of California, 1973); Diego Molinari, *La trata de negros-datos para su estudio en el Río de la Plata* (Buenos Aires: Universidad de Buenos Aires, 1944); Idelfonso Pereda Valdés, *El negro en el*

Uruguay, *pasado y presente* (Montevideo: Revista del Instituto Histórico y Geográfico del Uruguay, 1962); Josefina Pla, *Hermano negro: la esclavitud en el Paraguay* (Madrid: Paraninfo, 1972); José Antonio Saco, *Historia de la esclavitud de la raza africana en el nuevo mundo y en especial en los países américo-hispánicos* (La Habana, 1938); Elena de Studer, *La trata de negros en el Rio de la Plata durante el siglo XVIII* (Buenos Aires: Universidad de Buenos Aires, 1958).

6. Cf. for example Sidney Mintz, “The socio-historical background to pidginization and creolization,” in D. Hymes, ed., *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1971), pp. 481-96.

7. Cf. John Lipski, “Black Spanish: the last frontier of Afro-America.” *Crítica* 2 (1985).

8. Cf. Granda, *Estudios lingüísticos*; Alvarez Nazario, *El elemento afronegroide*; Marius Valkhoff, *Studies in Portuguese and Creole* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University, 1966); Keith Whinnom, “Origin of European-based creoles and pidgins.” *Orbis* 14 (1965), 510-27; Ian Hancock, “Malacca creole Portuguese: Asian, African or European?” *Anthropological Linguistics* 17 (1975), 211-36; Douglas Taylor, “Grammatical and lexical affinities of creoles,” in Hymes, ed., *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*, pp. 293-6.

9. Cf. Lipski, “Black Spanish,” for a survey of contemporary attitudes and stereotypes.

10. Ruth Pike, “Sevillian society in the sixteenth century: slaves and freedmen.” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 47 (1967), 344-55; Alfonso Franco Silva, *Registro documental sobre la esclavitud sevillana (1453-1513)* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1979); Enriqueta Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos: los asientos portugueses* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, 1977); A. C. de C. M. Sanders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal 1441-1555* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1982).

11. Anthony Naro, “A study on the origins of pidginization.” *Language* 54 (1978), 314-47; Paul Teyssier, *La langue de Gil Vicente* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1958); W. Giese, “Nota sobre a fala dos negros em Lisboa no principio do século XVI.” *Revista Lusitana* 30 (1932), 251-57.

12. Keith Whinnom, “Lingua franca: historical problems.” In A. Valdman, ed., *Pidgin and Creole Linguistics* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1977), pp. 295-310; Barbara Collier, “On the origins of Lingua Franca.” *Journal of Creole Studies* 1 (1976), 281-98.

13. Isabel Ann Mack, “The *Segunda Celestina* of Feliciano de Silva: A Study and an Edition.” Doctoral dissertation, University of Exeter, 1973.

14. By Mack, *op. cit.*, and by Frida Weber de Kurlat, “Sobre el negro como tipo cómico en el teatro español del siglo XVI.” *Romance Philology* 17 (1962), 380-91; Edmund de Chasca, “The phonology of the speech of the negroes in early Spanish drama.” *Hispanic Review* 14 (1946), 322-39 [p. 325].

15. Cf. Naro, “A study on the origins of pidginization,” and Antonio Ribeiro Chiado, *Autos das Regateiras*, critical edition by Giulia Lanciani (Rome: Edizioni dell’Ateneo, 1970).

16. *Obras de Gil Vicente* (Coimbra: França Amado, 1907), t. I.

17. Cf. Graciela Nogueira Batalha, “Estado actual do dialecto macaense.” *Revista Portuguesa de Filologia* 9 (1958-9), 177-213; Valkhoff, *Studies in Portuguese and Creole*; M. Valkhoff, ed., *Miscelânea Luso-Africana* (Lisboa: Junta do Ultramar, 1975); Jorge Morais-Barbosa, ed., *Estudos linguísticos crioulos* (Lisboa: Academia Internacional de Cultura Portuguesa, 1963); W. A. A. Wilson, *The Crioulo of Guiné* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University, 1962).

18. Cf. Amadeu Amaral, *O dialeto caipira* (São Paulo: Anhembi, 1955); Ana Natal Rodrigues, *O dialeto caipira na região de Piracicaba* (São Paulo: Atica, 1974); Milton Azevedo, “Loss of agreement in Caipira Portuguese.” *Hispania* 67 (1984), 403-8; Gladstone Chaves de Melo, *A. língua do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 1975).

19. For an excellent example, see Orlando Mendes, *Portagem* (Porto: Notícias da Beira, 1965), illustrating the Africanized Portuguese of Mozambique.

20. Real Academia Española, *Obras de Lope de Rueda* (Madrid: Librería de los Sucesores de Hernando, 1908), t. I.

21. Luis de Góngora, *Letrillas*, critical edition of Robert Jammes (Madrid: Clásicos Castalia, 1980).

22. Cayetano Rosell, ed., *Entremeses, loas y jácaras de Luis Quiñones de Benavente* (Madrid: Librería Alfonso Durán, 1974), t. II.

23. Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, *Obras de Lope de Vega* (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1965), t. X.

24. Mónica Mansour, *La poesía negrista* (México: ERA, 1973), p. 61.

25. *Ibid.*

26. Cf. Peter Boyd-Bowman, “A sample of sixteenth century ‘Caribbean’ Spanish phono-

logy.” In W. C. Milan, J. Stacek and J. Zamora, eds., *1974 Colloquium on Spanish and Portuguese Linguistics* (Washington: Georgetown University, 1975); Maximiliano Jiménez Sabater, *Más datos sobre el español de República Dominicana* (Santo Domingo: Instituto Tecnológico de Santo Domingo, 1976), pp. 34-5.

27. Vicente Mendoza, “Algo de folklore negro en México.” In *Miscelánea de estudios dedicados a Fernando Ortiz por sus discípulos, colegas y amigos* (La Habana: 1956), t. II, pp. 1093-1111 [p. 1101].

28. Aurora Albornoz and Julio Rodríguez, *Sensemayá* (Madrid: Orígenes, 1980), pp. 55-7.

29. Pereda Valdés, *El negro en el Uruguay*, pp. 135-6.

30. Emilio Ballagas, *Mapa de la poesía negra* (Buenos Aires: Pleamar, 1946), pp. 250-1)

31. Enrique López Albújar, *Matalaché* (Lima: Juan Mejía, 1966, 3rd ed.), p. 38.

32. In addition to the studies cited previously, see Derek Bickerton and Aquiles Escalante, “Palenquero: a Spanish-based creole of northern Colombia.” *Lingua* 32 (1970), 254-67; Keith Whinnom, *Spanish Contact Vernaculars in the Philippines* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University, 1956); John Lipski, “El Valle del Chota: enclave lingüístico afroecuatoriano.” *Boletín de la Academia Puertorriqueña de la Lengua Española*, forthcoming.

33. Lipski, “Observations on the Spanish of Malabo.”

34. José Montes Giraldo, “El habla del Chocó: notas breves.” *Thesaurus* 29 (1974), 409-28; Germán de Granda, *Estudios sobre un área dialectal hispanoamericana de población negra: las tierras bajas occidentales de Colombia* (Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 1977).

35. For example, Tracy Terrell, “Final /s/ in Cuban Spanish.” *Hispania* 62 (1979), 599-612 [p. 610].

36. Cf. the studies cited in fn. 1 and 2. Interestingly enough, loss of morphologically significant and at times word-internal /s/ is found in child language, even in areas where reduction of /s/ is not common in adult language. Cf. María Josefa Canellada, “Sobre lenguaje infantil,” *Filología* 13 (1968-9), 39-47; Fuensanta Hernández Pina, *Teorías psicolingüísticas y su aplicación a la adquisición del español como lengua materna* (Madrid: Siglo XXI de España, 1984), pp. 238-9.

37. The most extensive study to date to demonstrate the lack of conclusive relationships between morphological values of /s/ and phonetic reduction is Barbara Lafford, “Dynamic structuring in the Spanish of Cartagena, Columbia: the influence of linguistic, stylistic and social factors on the retention, aspiration and deletion of syllable- and word-final /s/.” Doctoral dissertation, Cornell University, 1980.

38. Cf. Robert Politzer, “Final s in the Romania.” *Romanic Review* 38 (1947), 159-66; Germán de Granda, *La estructura silábica y su influencia en la evolución fonética del dominio ibero-románico* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigación Científica, 1966).