

CONVERGENCE AND DIVERGENCE IN *BOZAL* SPANISH: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

John M. Lipski
University of Houston

Afro-Hispanic language is attested from the 15th century to the early 20th century in Spain, Africa, and Latin America. The speech of *bozales* (slaves born in Africa and speaking Spanish only imperfectly) has frequently been used as evidence for monogenetic theories of Hispanic Creole formation, based on structural parallels and possibly Afro-Portuguese roots. The present study reviews the principal Afro-Hispanic manifestations over a period of more than 300 years, and traces those structures most frequently cited in monogenetic Afro-Iberian theories. The overall conclusion is that, while such cases as Papiamentu, Colombian Palenquero, and 19th century Cuban/Puerto Rican *bozal* language point to common origins or mutually shared influences, most other Afro-Hispanic language forms suggest merely imperfect learning and incipient pidginization which arose spontaneously each time Spanish and African languages came into contact.

1. Introduction

Monogenetic theories of Romance-based Creole formation cluster around a postulated Afro-Portuguese base, variously ascribed to medieval Mediterranean Sabir or lingua franca, to a form of pidginized maritime Portuguese that was spread around Africa and Asia from the 15th to the 18th century, or to an Afro-Lusitanian Pidgin and later Creole that developed in the Portuguese *feitorias* or slaving stations in São Tomé, Annobon, Cabo Verde, Fernando Poo, and Brazil.¹ In the case of creoles with ostensible French, English, or Dutch bases, the required relexification and expansion of the original proto-creole has been the subject of much controversy and hypothetical reconstruction, while in the area of Iberian and particularly

Spanish-based Creoles, the inherent similarities are greater and the cited evidence is more ambiguous in its possible interpretation. The present study is dedicated to a comparative overview of Afro-Hispanic language, from the 15th century to the present, with a view toward assessing (1) the nature and extent of essential structural similarities among the various dialects; (2) the demonstrable Afro-Hispanic dialects; and (3) the relative possibilities of transfer or spontaneous generation of creole structures in the various Afro-Hispanic dialects. This survey is offered since, although the claim has frequently been made that African slaves brought to Spanish America already spoke some form of Pidgin or Creole Portuguese (which later became extended in certain cases to full-blown creoles, while in other cases rapid decreolization in favor of regional Spanish took place), most studies have considered only a narrow range of evidence.

2. The Data

There is evidence for the existence of Africanized (sub-Saharan) varieties of Spanish beginning in the middle of the 15th century, since southern Spain, especially Seville, contained a significant population of black slaves and freedmen.² Many of the black Spaniards came from Portugal, where nearly half the population of metropolitan Lisbon was constituted by black Africans and their descendents, and 15th century dramatists in both Spain and Portugal give literary evidence for the halting, broken attempts of these Africans to speak the metropolitan languages of the time. Slaves born or raised in Africa and who spoke Spanish or Portuguese only imperfectly were known as *bozales*, and literary "black" Spanish and Portuguese became popular in numerous dramatic sketches of the Golden Age, in the 16th and 17th centuries.³ At the beginning of the 17th century, evidence from Spanish America, particularly the Caribbean region and coastal Mexico, indicates that *bozal* Spanish was already recognized as a distinct variety in those territories.⁴ Following these early indications, literary and folkloric testimony of Afro-Hispanic language is virtually nonexistent until the end of the 18th century, when "black" Spanish again becomes a popular theme in poetry and narrative (Lipski 1985a; Jackson 1976a, 1976b). The 19th century saw the flowering of the *habla bozal* in Cuban and Puerto Rican literature, but testimony of distinctly Afro-Hispanic language also comes from the Dominican Republic, Venezuela, Mexico, Colombia, Ecuador, Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, Peru, and Central America.⁵

Finally, at the present time, Afro-Hispanic dialect pockets exist in various regions of Latin America: the Samaná and *pororó* dialects of the Dominican Republic (González and Benavides 1982, Megenney in press), the Chota Valey of Ecuador (Lipski 1986a), and occasional vestigial elements in Loíza Aldea, Puerto Rico (Mauleón Benítez 1971), the Chocó region of Colombia (Granda 1977, Montes Giraldo 1974), and possibly Cuijla, Mexico (Aguirre Beltrán 1958) and central Cuba (García González and Valdés Acosta 1978, Valdés Bernal 1976). Also to be reckoned with is the region of sub-Saharan Africa, where Spanish is spoken in conjunction with several African languages (Granda 1984, 1985; Lipski 1984, 1985c).

In addition to the above cases of Africanized Spanish language usage, more stable long-lasting creole dialects were formed in several regions, the most noteworthy being the *palenquero* of Palenque de San Basilio in Colombia (Escalante 1954, Bickerton and Escalante 1970, Friedemann and Patiño Rosselli 1983, Friedemann and Cross 1979), the *congo* dialect of northeastern Panama (Joly 1981; Lipski 1985b) and arguably Papiamentu of the Netherlands Antilles, in which the relative proportion of Spanish and Portuguese elements continues to be debated.⁶ Outside of Africa and Latin America, a Spanish-based Creole (Chabacano) continues to be spoken in the Philippines in which, while African elements have rarely been directly postulated, the Afro-Asian Creole Portuguese element is frequently cited as the primary source (Whinnom 1956; Molony 1973, 1977, 1978; Frake 1971; cf. also Lipski forthcoming a, b).

At one time or another, nearly all of the dialects just mentioned have figured in discussions regarding the prior existence of a Pan-American Creole or Pidgin *bozal* Spanish, and its putative Afro-Portuguese input. In the remaining remarks, we shall examine first the common structures which most frequently serve as evidence for monogenetic/Afro-Lusitanian theories, next those structural elements common to most past and present Afro-Hispanic dialects and finally the likelihood of former widespread and essentially uniform Afro-Hispanic Creoles.

3. Possible Afro-Lusitanian Elements

The Afro-Hispanic dialects most frequently included in comparative analyses aimed at supporting Afro-Portuguese monogenetic theories are Colombian Palenquero, 19th century Cuban and Puerto Rican (literary) *bozal* Spanish, and Papiamentu. These speech modes are compared with

Portuguese-based Creoles in Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Annobon, São Tomé, and Príncipe, and occasionally southern and southeast Asia.⁷ Of the three Afro-Hispanic dialects in question, at least two are the result of very special circumstances, which it may be argued militate in favor of their exclusion from global theories of all-pervasive Spanish-based Creoles. Colombian Palenquero is ostensibly the result of a slave insurrection at the end of the 16th century, in which a handful of slaves escaped from Cartagena and formed a fortified *palenque*, to which were added subsequent 17th century arrivals, with all early residents contributing various but as yet undetermined quantities of African (predominantly Niger-Congo) and Spanish/Portuguese elements.⁸ Papiamentu is the distillate of several centuries' of slave trading in Curaçao, in which the island was used as a slave depot and where a natural linguistic alembic was further aided by maritime traffic with Europe, Africa, and the American colonies. The influence of Portuguese-speaking Sephardic Jews arriving from Brazil also had an impact on the development of Papiamentu, which is arguably more Portuguese- than Spanish-based (Granda 1973, 1974; Gosslinga 1979; Hartog 1968). Although major Papiamentu features are shared by many Afro-Portuguese Creoles, as are key lexical items, the contact between slaves, freedmen, and *cimarrones* from Curaçao and coastal areas of Venezuela and later with other Caribbean islands is not without significance, and a natural cross-fertilization appears to have taken place between the "broken Spanish" (español arañado) of the *curazoleños* and Spanish speakers.⁹ For at least a century, Papiamentu has been undergoing decreolization in the direction of (Venezuelan) Spanish, and this process may have occurred, at a slower pace, from the very beginning. Even the case of 19th century Cuban and Puerto Rican *bozal* Spanish is not without problems, since around the turn of the 19th century, attestations of Afro-Hispanic speech in these two territories change dramatically, away from forms common to earlier centuries and to other Latin American areas, and closer to Afro-Lusitanian Creoles, including Palenquero and Papiamentu (Lipski forthcoming c). The new creole structures coexisted with more "traditional" Afro-Hispanic patterns, but the extraordinary parallels with Papiamentu may be due to factors other than an originally common creole base. With the boom of the Caribbean sugar plantations beginning at the end of the 18th century, current labor sources were inadequate, and massive importation of black slaves and freedmen was initiated in territories containing significant Afro-Hispanic populations which by that time had already been partially integrated, lin-

guistically and socially, into the Spanish American fabric. The new arrivals came not only from Africa (the true *bozales* whose languages, including Yoruba and Kikongo, survived in Cuba until a few decades ago) but also from other Caribbean islands, principally the Dutch slave depot at Curaçao. Evidence exists that Papiamentu was spoken in Cuba and Puerto Rico during the first decades of the 19th century (Granda 1973, 1974; Alvarez Nazario 1970, 1972a; Bachiller y Morales 1883; Diaz Soler 1981; Morales Carrión 1978), and the intermingling of Papiamentu, vestigial *bozal* Spanish of earlier generations, and regional popular Spanish appears to have played a decisive role in the formation of 19th century Caribbean *bozal* speech. The combination of these caveats suggests that while convincing cases may be made for genetic relationships among the three Afro-Hispanic speech modes in question, these same dialects result from special circumstances which preclude the uncritical extension of conclusions to other Afro-Hispanic speech modes. Bearing these considerations in mind, let us briefly consider putative parallels among Afro-Hispanic Creoles.

(a) Frequently cited as a key factor is the use of the second person singular pronoun *bo(s) < vos*, instead of *tú*. This pronoun is found in Palenquero and Papiamentu, but is very rare in Cuban *bozal* Spanish (e.g., Ballagas 1946:92), and is not found in Puerto Rican texts (Alvarez Nazario 1974:190); *vos* is also found in most Portuguese-based Creoles in Africa and Asia, and in Philippine Creole Spanish. At the same time, use of *vos* is common in many Spanish American regions, including parts of coastal Venezuela, and *vos* was used vestigially in Cuba (but not in Puerto Rico) until well into the 20th century, precisely in the region whence come the few examples of *vos* in *bozal* Spanish (López Morales 1971:136-42). During the Golden Age, use of *vos* was still frequent in peninsular Spanish, whereas nowadays it is a regional Latin Americanism. In peninsular *bozal* Spanish of the 16th and 17th centuries, there is no extraordinary preference for *vos*; in fact this form is relatively infrequent in comparison with *tú*, *vossa merce*(d) (which later gave Spanish *usted*) and other indirect forms of address.¹⁰ Among other Afro-Hispanic manifestations in Latin America, use of second-person forms of address generally follows regional Spanish usage; thus *tú* is found in texts from Mexico, Venezuela, most of Colombia, Peru (in alternation with *vos*--López Albújar 1966:72), northwestern Ecuador, and even in such areas of widespread *voseo* as Argentina and Uruguay. The Panamanian *negros congos* use *tú* exclusively both in the congo dialect and in the local Spanish dialect, despite the fact that other

areas of Panama are characterized by the *voseo* (Lipski 1985b, Robe 1960). Among contemporary (non-Creole) Afro-Hispanic dialects, only the Chota Valley dialect of Ecuador regularly employs *vos* (Lipski 1986a), and this follows regional Spanish usage.

(b) Neutralization of pronominal case, usually in favor of disjunctive pronouns. In addition to the use of *vos*, Palenquero and Papiamentu employ variants of the disjunctive pronoun *mi* for subjects and objects, but such usage is not attested in 19th century Caribbean *bozal* texts (Alvarez Nazario 1974:190), except in imitation of Haitian Creole speakers' Pidgin Spanish in the Dominican Republic (Juan Antonio Alix, in Rodríguez Demorizi 1973:267-90).¹¹ Among Afro-Lusitanian Creoles, use of *mi* and *amí* (frequently reduced phonetically to *mí*) is the rule, and this form alternates with derivatives of the subject pronoun *eu* in Asian Portuguese Creoles; in Philippine Creole Spanish, only the Spanish subject pronoun *yo* is used, and there is no evidence of *mí* or similar disjunctive variants having been used in the past.¹² Use of (a)mí as subject is found in the earliest *bozal* Portuguese texts from 15th and early 16th century Portugal, and it appears that the Pidgin Portuguese formed during this time period solidified into the creoles of Annobon, Cape Verde, and São Tomé, and subsequently Palenquero and Papiamentu (Naro 1978, Leite de Vasconcellos 1933, Teysier 1959, Goodman 1964:36). The earliest Spanish *bozal* texts also use this pattern; for example from Reinosa (1950:111): *a mí llamar Comba de terra Guinea* 'my name is Comba from the land of Guinea'. However, *mí* is not used as subject among attestations of Latin American *bozal* Spanish even in the Caribbean region, which suggests that this form was not in widespread use among Afro-Hispanics in the late 18th and 19th centuries elsewhere in Spanish America.

(c) Use of subject pronouns as possessives. Papiamentu and Palenquero, as well as Afro-Lusitanian and French Creoles regularly use some variant of the subject pronouns as possessive markers, sometimes postposed to the respective nouns; for example from Palenquero: *bo é mamá mí nu* 'you are not my mother' and *pueblo mí ta pelí lengua ané* 'my people are losing their language' (Friedemann and Patiño Rosselli 1983:130, 147); Papiamentu *nan buki ta riba mesa* 'their book is on the table' and *bo buki nan ta riba mesa* 'your books are on the table' (DeBose 1974:68). Such usage is conspicuously absent in Latin American *bozal* Spanish, even in the Caribbean, and is also absent in Latin American Spanish texts of previous centuries. Among vestigial Spanish dialects in which no Afro-Lusitanian

connection is present, occasional use of subject pronouns as possessives does occur from time to time; for example, from vestigial Trinidad Spanish comes (Lipski 1986b): *la sarga e buena pa uté cabeza* willow [bark] is good for your head'. As a variant of this pattern, the combination of the preposition *de* + pronoun instead of the possessive adjectives *mi*, *tu*, *su*, etc. has at times been cited as a common thread in Caribbean *bozal* Spanish, with possible connections to other Afro-Iberian Creoles such as Philippine Creole Spanish, Palenquero, Papiamentu, and some African and Asian Portuguese Creoles (e.g., Alleyne 1980:11-3; Taylor 1971; Friedemann and Patiño Rosselli 1983:149; Goilo 1953:70). However, such usage has never been common in *bozal* Spanish dialects, current, 19th century, or Golden Age; at the same time, the use of *de nosotros* instead of *nuestro(s)* and *de usted(es)* instead of *su(s)* is common in many contemporary Latin American Spanish dialects (Kany 1951:68-70).

(d) Use of the third person plural subject pronoun (usually postposed) as a nominal plural marker. This combination is usual in Papiamentu (e.g., *buki* 'book', *bukinan* 'books'), as well as in most French Creoles, and may have occurred in 19th century Caribbean *bozal* speech in the form of the pronoun *nan* (variant *lan*) of possible Papiamentu origin:¹³ *como lan gallo cuando pelea* 'like roosters when they fight' (Cuba; Cruz 1974:118); *me garra po nan pasa* 'he grabs me by the [wooly] hair' (Puerto Rico; Alvarez Nazario 1974:387). However, this form, while at times used as definite article and possibly as a nominal plural marker (always preposed, unlike in Papiamentu), was never used as a true subject pronoun in *bozal* Spanish. It is also possible that the final /n/ of *lan/nan* results from the nasalization of the final /s/ of the definite articles *los/las*, since this process is also attested for *bozal* Spanish (Lipski forthcoming c; Perl 1981; Valdés Bernal 1978; Cruz 1974:37; Benítez del Cristo 1930:132; Bachiller y Morales 1883:100-1). Significantly, Palenquero does not use the third person plural pronoun to signal nominal plurality, but rather employs the (preposed) marker *ma*: *ma ngaina utere é ten pete* 'your chickens stink' (Friedemann and Patiño Rosselli 1983:148).

(e) Use of invariant third person subject pronouns, of the form *elelela* for the singular, and *eles* (Papiamentu *nan*, Palenquero *ané*) for the plural (e.g., Otheguy 1975; Granda 1968, 1978; Alleyne 1980:11-3). The scarcity of *nan* among *bozal* Spanish dialects has already been discussed, but use of a single third person variant (usually *nelle*, cf. Cruz 1974:168; Alvarez Nazario 1974:190) instead of the normal masculine/feminine dyad is found

variably in 19th century Caribbean *bozal* speech: *si yo lo tené uno niño como nelle, yo va murí de cuntentamienta* 'if I had a child like her, I would die of happiness' (Cuba; Cruz 1974:117-8). Use of invariable third person pronouns is normal in Philippine Creole Spanish, in Asian Portuguese Creole, and in most Afro-Lusitanian dialects, including Papiamentu and Palenquero. In other attestations of *bozal* Spanish, there is occasional confusion of *él* and *ella* and of *ellos* and *ellas*, but systematic neutralization in favor of a single third person form is not reflected in any known text, although such may have occurred for some *bozal* communities.

(f) Loss of the copula. Loss or nonexistence of a copulative verb is characteristic of many Afro-Iberian Creoles and occurs as an occasional variant in nearly all of them; this feature has been cited as a common Afro-Hispanic trait (Ziegler n. d.; Perl 1982; Alvarez Nazario 1959:46, 1974:115-20). However, all principal Afro-Hispanic Creoles, including Papiamentu and Palenquero, offer an alternative to the zero option; Papiamentu has *ta*, presumably derived from the verb *estar*, while Palenquero has both *ta* and *é* (Friedemann and Patiño Rosselli 1983:130). In 19th century Caribbean *bozal* Spanish several examples of loss of the copula are found, in alternation with correct and incorrect use of the copulative verbs *ser* and *estar*;¹⁴ substantially the same holds for other Afro-Hispanic dialects in Latin America, although use of some form of the copula is the general rule. For example, from *Los novios catedráticos* (Benítez del Cristo 1930:133): *tú so ma sabroso que la jonjolí con la guarapo, cuerpo tuyo tan bonito . . .* 'you are sweeter than honey and sesame, your body [is] so pretty . . .' Philippine Creole Spanish contains no copula, although this appears to be an imitation of the Philippine languages which have shaped the various Chabacano dialects, none of which employs a copula in the Romance fashion. In Golden Age *bozal* Spanish and Portuguese, the copula was frequently present, in the form of the verb *sar*, apparently a blend of *ser* and *estar* (Alvarez Nazario 1974:121; Naro 1978:342; Lipski forthcoming c). The confusion of *ser* and *estar* (at times resulting in the verb *santa*[r]), leading either to blended forms or apparently capricious variation, has occurred throughout the existence of Afro-Hispanic speech, and is found in Palenquero and occasionally in the Chota Valley dialect of Ecuador, as well as cropping up from time to time in non-Africanized vestigial Spanish (Lipski 1986a; 1986b; González and Benavides 1982; Megenney in press; Friedemann and Patiño Rosselli 1983:131-2).

(g) Lack of gender and number agreement in nouns and adjectives.

Most Romance-based Creoles have eliminated the original systems of marking nominal and adjectival gender and frequently number, although in the latter case external morphemes such as a subject pronoun may be used to indicate plurality. From the earliest attestations of Africanized Spanish and Portuguese, gender and number have been unstable and variable, usually resulting in incorrect assignment of gender, partial lapses in adjectival-nominal agreement, use of incorrect articles, use of singular forms for plural referents and vice versa. However, with the exception of established creoles such as Papiamentu, Chabacano, and Palenquero, such neutralization was never carried to completion, if the evidence of Afro-Hispanic texts is to be believed. At the same time, instability and reduction of gender/number is one of the most frequent characteristics of learners' and foreigners' Spanish (Gonzo and Saltarelli 1983; Gili Gaya 1960, 1972; Hernández Pina 1984; Plann 1979), and of the Spanish dialect of Equatorial Guinea (Lipski 1984, 1985c), as well as figuring prominently in vestigial Spanish (Saltarelli and Gonzo 1977, Lipski 1986b); it is, in fact, a function of imperfect learning or the erosion of grammatical systems.

(h) Loss of definite and indefinite articles. With respect to Standard Spanish and Portuguese, many Afro-Iberian dialects show drastic reductions in the use of articles, especially the definite article for generic functions, and the indefinite article with purely existential force. Despite the fact that this feature has been pointed out as a common feature of Afro-Hispanic Creoles (e.g., by Alvarez Nazario 1959:46; Perl 1982; Granda 1968, 1978), loss of articles is neither complete nor systematic in any dialect (cf. Janson 1984). Rather, as with reduction of nominal inflection, loss of articles is sporadic, somewhat idiosyncratic, and subject to modification during the first stages of decreolization, as well as in the beginning stages of language erosion. In the latter context, loss of articles is a key feature of vestigial Spanish dialects and idiolects. A typical example from *bozal* Spanish is: *gallo ta nan so mi amo* 'the roosters are in the sun, master' (Puerto Rico; Alvarez Nazario 1974:385).

(i) Loss of prepositions. Loss of possessive and material *de* and of directional *a* is frequent in *bozal* Spanish, and in other Afro-Iberian dialects (Alvarez Nazario 1959, 1974; Ziegler n. d.; Perl 1982, n. d.; Otheguy 1975; Granda 1968, 1972, 1978). Loss of the same prepositions is also frequent in vestigial Spanish, and even in nonstandard variants of non-Creole Spanish (Lipski 1986b; Kany 1951: chap. 10), given the minimal phonetic substance of the prepositions, and the fact that *de* is frequently reduced to [e] or [i] in

rapid colloquial speech, while *a* is frequently absorbed by preceding or following vowels (e.g., *él va a cantar* 'he is going to sing'). With respect to Standard Spanish, many specimens of *bozal* Spanish contain high rates of loss of *de* and *a*, but this is not sufficient to postulate a common origin for Afro-Hispanic Creoles, in view of the above observations. Typical examples from *bozal* Spanish are: *ya yo jablá mimo hoy [con] don Ciriaco* 'I already talked to Mr. Ciriaco today' (Beni-Átez del Cristo 1930:132); *bamo [a] la casa Mundo* 'let's go to Mundo's house' (Cabrera 1983:517).

(j) Use of *tener* 'to have' instead of *haber* 'for there to be' as the existential verb. Historically, Spanish *haber* suffered a modification from the original Latin meaning 'to have' to its present existential force, as well as being used as an auxiliary verb in the perfect tenses; the original meaning is retained in fixed forms such as *haberes* 'possessions', *tener en su haber* 'to have in one's possession'. Modern *tener* derives from a word meaning 'to hold' and is not normally used as an existential verb. In many English- and Romance-based Creoles, including Philippine Chabacano and even popular (non-Creole) Brazilian Portuguese, the verb 'to have' has developed an existential meaning, and this has been cited as evidence of monogenetic (Afro-Lusitanian) origin for *bozal* Spanish dialects (Megenney 1984, 1985a; Granda 1968). While use of *tener* in *bozal* speech may indeed come from an earlier proto-creole, this is not a necessary conclusion, since use of existential *tener* is also found in vestigial Spanish of many regions, and even in some popular Latin American Spanish dialects with no demonstrable Afro-creole connection. For example, in Louisiana *isleño* Spanish we find *a [en] casa [de] loh muchacho tiene una harmónica* 'at the fellows' house there is a harmonica', and in vestigial Mexican Spanish in the United States: *tiene muchos ranchos allí* 'there are a lot of ranches there' (Lipski 1986b, d). Even among *bozal* Spanish texts, use of *tener* with existential force is quite rare; one example (Cabrera 1969) is: *en botica tien de tó* 'in the drugstore there is everything'. Much more frequent is the use of *haber*, albeit with highly nonstandard forms and syntactic patterns: *yo lo ve craramente que lo habé en la mundo quiene me lo tené infisión y güena goluntá* 'now I clearly see that there are people in the world who like me and wish me well' (Cruz 1974:230).

(k) Categorical use of normally redundant subject pronouns. Standard Spanish permits and even requires elimination of subject pronouns in cases of semantic redundancy (Rosengren 1974), and the categorical employment of these pronouns in creole dialects has often been cited as a decisive com-

mon feature, a natural consequence of minimal verbal differentiation (e.g., Perl 1982, Otheguy 1975). However, even in non-Creole Spanish dialects categorical use of subject pronouns may arise when, for example, natural processes of consonantal reduction (e.g., /s/ > [h] Ø; /n/ > [v̄] > Ø) partially obliterate verbal endings; this has occurred in some parts of Andalusia and in Caribbean Spanish (Lipski 1977, Monéjar 1970, Poplack 1980). Vestigial Spanish of many areas also features a high percentage of subject pronouns, in some cases perhaps due to calquing from English, and in others to a simple loss of a rule of deletion under conditions of redundancy (Lipski 1986b).

(l) Constructions based on a preposition (frequently *para*) + subject pronoun + infinitive instead of a subordinate clause involving the conjunction *que* and a subjunctive verb form: *pa tú tener = para que tú tengas* 'in order for you to have'. This combination has at times been claimed as a creole remnant in several Caribbean Spanish dialects (Alvarez Nazario 1959:46), and is found among many Afro-Hispanic Creole dialects. At the same time, the same combination is frequent in popular Spanish of southern Spain and the Canary Islands, and is attested in many areas of Latin America (Kany 1951:159; Padrón 1949:164; Flórez 1946:377), as well as being a concomitant of many vestigial Spanish dialects, at times with a disjunctive object pronoun instead of the more usual subject pronoun: *pa tí tené un bote tieneh que sé sosedano americano* 'in order for you to have a [fishing] boat, you must be an American citizen', from Louisiana *isleño* Spanish (Lipski forthcoming d). It is likely that this construction has arisen spontaneously in more than one area, since it results from the reduction of a marked conjugated form to the maximally unmarked infinitive. It occurs in Spanish child language (Gili Gaya 1960:29, 1972) and has also occurred in Portuguese, where a conjugated "personal infinitive" has arisen (Maurer 1968).

(m) The frequent Caribbean preposing of *más* in negative expressions (*más nada* 'no more', *más nunca* 'never again'), instead of the more usual phrase-final position, has been claimed as the result of an earlier Portuguese-based Creole language (Megenney 1985a). The Portuguese connection is quite likely, but the presence of this construction in Caribbean Spanish is more likely due to the heavy Canary Island influence, in which such constructions (apparently due to earlier Galician-Portuguese maritime contacts) are common (D'Albuquerque 1953; Lorenzo Ramos 1976; Pérez Vidal 1944; Kany 1951:363-4; Torres Stinga 1981; Alvarez Nazario

1972b:95).

(n) Postposed demonstratives, of the form *piera ese* 'that rock' (Cabrera 1983:108), are found in many Afro-Iberian Creoles, and have been claimed as evidence in monogenetic theories (Taylor 1971, Ziegler n. d., Otheguy 1975). Clearly Spanish and Portuguese predominantly use preposed demonstratives, but in colloquial Spanish, postposed demonstratives are by no means unusual: *el hombre ese* 'that man', *el trabajo este* 'this job'. Within *bozal* Spanish texts, postposed demonstratives are used very infrequently, alternating with preposed demonstratives and lack of demonstratives.

(o) In the lexical dimension, a number of items have been claimed at one time or another to point to a common origin for Afro-Iberian Creoles, although none is found in all dialects. The portmanteau preposition *na* (found in many African and Asian Portuguese Creoles, in Philippine Creole Spanish, Papiamentu and Palenquero, and in other *bozal* dialects¹⁵) with varying values including 'on', 'in', 'to', has been attributed to Portuguese *na* < *em* + *a* 'in the (fem.)'.¹⁶ This form may have a multiple locus, given its phonological simplicity as a maximally unmarked CV element and the nature of creoles, pidgins, and *bozal* speech as approximative varieties. In Philippine Creole Spanish, *na* may come from native Philippine articles, while in Caribbean/Atlantic Creoles, *na* may have a single or multiple West African origin (Alleyne 1980:130). Even within *bozal* Spanish, *na* may stem from the frequently observed process of progressive nasalization, or from reduction of *nada* 'nothing', at times used in conjunction with following nouns in *bozal* speech.

Use of *caba(r)* < *acabar* with the meaning 'after' is found in Palenquero, Philippine Creole Spanish, and Papiamentu, and occasionally in Caribbean *bozal* Spanish, as well as in many African and Asian Portuguese Creoles (Megenny 1984; Whinnom 1956). Other recurring items include *vira(r)* 'to turn, become', *vai/bai* 'to go', *ma* 'but', *(que) cosa* 'what', and *(que) lado* 'where'; all of these elements may have a Portuguese base, possibly stemming from earlier Portuguese maritime contacts rather than from a single proto-creole.¹⁷ These same items are absent in most *bozal* Spanish attestations, from the 16th to the 20th century, with the exception of the three special dialects, and it is difficult to justify their inclusion as essential elements of any monogenetic theory.

(p) Perhaps the most frequently cited structural parallel among Afro-Iberian Creoles is the use of verbal aspectual particles in combination with

unconjugated verb stems; the particle *ta* is used for present/imperfective and durative aspect, with *yalja* and sometimes *ba* a frequent concomitant in the past/imperfective.¹⁸ In the future/irrealis series, more variation exists, with *lo* < Ptg. *logo* 'later' being a common denominator in many instances. In particular, *ta* and its variants occurs in Palenquero, Papiamentu, Philippine Creole Spanish, and most African and Asian Portuguese Creoles, and its existence in these dialects is a strong bit of evidence in favor of a common origin or at least mutually shared influences. Among *bozal* Spanish dialects, however, the combination *ta* + *V_{inf}* is found *only* in 19th century Cuban and Puerto Rican texts, where this construction alternates with the archetypical *bozal* pattern of partially or incorrectly conjugated verb forms. Typical examples include: *siempre ta regalá dinero a mí* 'he always gives me money' (Puerto Rico; Alvarez Nazario 1974:384); *horita ta bení pa cá* 'soon she will come here' (Cuba; Morales 1976:188). In a detailed study (Lipski forthcoming c), I have traced the appearance of *ta* + *V_{inf}* combinations in *bozal* Spanish and have demonstrated that such expressions were unknown in Golden Age Spanish and Portuguese texts, despite the fact that Afro-Iberian dialects such as those of Annobon, São Tomé, Palenquero, Saramaccan, and Papiamentu were apparently formed during this time period; among Latin American *bozal* texts, no trace of aspectual particles is found in any region other than Cuba and Puerto Rico, and in the latter countries only following the turn of the 19th century.¹⁹ While the existence of aspectual particles in Palenquero and Papiamentu is likely the result of common or shared Afro-Iberian antecedents, the presence of such particles in 19th century Cuban and Puerto Rican *bozal* speech is more likely the consequence of the importation of Papiamentu- and other creole-speaking slaves into these nations around the beginning of the 19th century (Alvarez Nazario 1959; 1974:65, 218-9; Granda 1973). An overview of Puerto Rican *bozal* texts reveals only a small number of cases of the aspectual particle *ta* (Alvarez Nazario 1974:193-4), and the same texts also mention the presence of Curaçao natives in Puerto Rico; while Cuban texts provide more examples, the most frequently employed imitations of *bozal* speech, in literature, theater, and popular culture, do not use such constructions, but merely employ a somewhat random assortment of incorrectly assigned conjugated verb forms.²⁰ In many cases, *ta* is used an invariant form of the copulative verb *estar* in combination with adjectives, which when distorted in *bozal* speech may appear to take the form of a verbal infinitive; for example, the 19th century Cuban writer Creto Gangá wrote *yo ta mori*

(Cruz 1974:36) which is preferably translated as 'I am dead' [Sp. *yo estoy muerto*, using the regularized participle *morido*] than as 'I am dying'; also found is *yo ya son libre, yo ta casá* 'I'm free now, I'm married' (Cruz 1974:67); we see a true progressive construction in *yo lo ta dibindo la casa* 'I am owing [on] the house' (Cruz 1974:133). In the 19th century play *Los novios catedráticos* we also find *ya yo ta contento* 'now I am happy' (Benítez del Cristo 1930:133) and similar examples of the ambiguous use of *ta*.

4. Similarities and Differences in bozal Spanish

The preceding overview has demonstrated considerable disparities among *bozal* Spanish manifestations, in which the three special Latin American cases (Papiamentu, Palenquero, and 19th century Cuban/Puerto Rican *bozal* speech) form a nucleus of shared characteristics which suggest Afro-Iberian origin, whereas other Afro-Hispanic manifestations over a period of nearly four centuries, exhibit more diversity. The very earliest attempts at representing *bozal* Spanish, in 16th century Spain, are merely imitations of contemporary Portuguese literary patterns, while also reflecting the speech of slaves recently arrived from Portugal. From the middle of the 16th century until the beginning of the 20th, *bozal* Spanish existed in its own right in various regions, with the following shared features:

(1) Unstable and variable nominal gender and, occasionally, number inflection.

(2) Unstable verb conjugation, manifested as incorrect conjugated forms (often gravitating toward the 3rd person singular) and occasional uninflected infinitives.

(3) Variable loss of definite and indefinite articles.

(4) Variable loss of prepositions, especially *a* and *de*.

(5) Occasional confusion of pronominal case (usually involving the first person singular pronouns), at times resulting in use of disjunctive pronouns as subject (*mí saber*) and at other times in the use of subject pronouns as verbal or prepositional objects (*para yo*).

(6) Frequent phonetic and phonological deformation, at times reflecting regular processes (loss of syllable-final /s/, /l/ and /r/; neutralization and interchange of syllable-final /l/ and /r/; neutralization of /r/ and /ʀ/ and of /l/ and /d/), and equally as often representing more idiosyncratic deformations and misidentifications.²¹

Of the above features common to Peninsular and Latin American

bozal Spanish, all are frequently found in vestigial Spanish worldwide in which no African connection can be demonstrated. They are also found in the non-Creole Spanish of Equatorial Guinea and in cases of marginal bilingualism with non-African languages in such areas as Mexico (Siade 1974) Paraguay (Meliá 1974, 1980; Usher de Herreros 1976; Gifford 1973 Granda 1979; Welti 1979), Argentina (Quant and Irigoyen 1980), Peru (Cerrón-Palomino 1976), Ecuador (Muysken 1981b), Venezuela (Riley 1952), etc. Moreover, features (1), (4), and (6) are frequently found in popular rural Spanish of many regions, and features (2) and (5) are not unknown in nonstandard Spanish dialects. All of these characteristics are natural consequences of imperfect learning, of the possible interference of a variety of non-Romance languages, of the lack of a wide pool of adequate native speaker models, and of the absence of individual and societal monitoring and feedback mechanisms that would partially counteract reductive tendencies. The fact that the same features are found in established Romance- and English-based Creoles is less indicative of potentially common origins than of quasi-universal tendencies of drift, reduction, and structural simplification. In particular, none of the features points convincingly to an Afro-Iberian base for general *bozal* Spanish. In Cuba, Pichardo (1836:liii) noted that *bozales* spoke "un castellano desfigurado, chapurrado, sin concordancia, número, declinación ni conjugación . . ." [a disfigured, blubbery Spanish, without concordance, number, declinations, or conjugations]; this description is more appropriate for an emergent pidgin than for a well-established creole governed by a system of rules and endowed with consistency across the linguistic community. Although it is unlikely that Pichardo was totally free of the ethnocentric bias which frequently ascribed totally chaotic and distorted patterns to black speakers (as suggested by his somewhat disparaging remarks about Chinese speakers' Spanish), he evidently had considerable firsthand experience with *bozal* Spanish. His observations and examples are consistent with those of other 19th and 20th century Cuban observers of *bozal* Spanish, none of whose descriptions suggests a stable usage which might signal an incipient creolization.

5. Homogeneity of bozal Spanish across Time and Space

It is evident that African slaves brought to Spain or Latin America and who learned Spanish as a second language would speak the latter language

imperfectly, and that under conditions of social marginality such as characterized large sugar plantations as well as communities of *cimarrones*, the offspring of such *bozal* Spanish speakers might also speak the language less than perfectly. In other conditions, however, it is assumed that *bozal* speech was by definition a transitory phenomenon, which arose and fell each time the Spanish language passed from the generation of recently arrived African slaves to their children (López Morales 1980; Montori 1916:112-8; Mintz 1971; Alleyne 1971; Bachiller y Morales 1883:100-1; Laurence 1974:487; Alzola 1965:365). We may even question the existence of homogeneous patterns of *bozal* Spanish, such as found, for example, in Golden Age literature, since purely literary devices, stereotyping, exaggeration, and metaphorical language may have been responsible for the texts which we consider today as legitimate examples of 16th and 17th century Afro-Hispanic language (Lipski 1985a). The earliest *bozal* Spanish of the Golden Age is demonstrably an imitation of the Africanized Portuguese already spoken in Lisbon, but it is not equally clear that African slaves in 16th century Seville continued to speak such Portuguese-influenced *bozal* Spanish (Weber de Kurlat 1962, Russell 1973, Naro 1978). Available evidence indicates that all but the most recently arrived generation spoke "normal" Spanish which, however, was of no interest for literary stereotyping (Russell 1973:237-8). It has also been suggested (Russell 1973:239) that literary *habla de negros* may have been used to represent not *bozal* Spanish but dialogues carried out entirely in African languages. The Pidgin Portuguese which is assumed to have arrived from Lisbon with the new arrivals may also have been "Hispanized" by Spanish writers for ease of recognition by an audience unaccustomed to any variety of either Portuguese or creole (Russell 1973:237). Thus there is no guarantee that "black" Spanish widely existed in Spain except in the minds of poets and dramatists, and a comparison of literary texts over a period of nearly a century suggests that once the *negro* became a comic figure (since virtually without exception *bozal* speakers were portrayed as buffoons or at best as unwilling victims of fate), imitation of an established stereotype took precedence over linguistically accurate portrayals.

In Latin America, there is no doubt that some form of Africanized Spanish arose in each situation in which large-scale importation of African slaves occurred. The same as in Spain, however, it appears that the offspring of such *bozal* speakers learned regional popular varieties of Spanish, and that any attempt to portray the speech of *criollo* blacks as any different

from that of their non-black counterparts stems from literary exaggeration and racist stereotypes, many of which characterize Latin American literary representation of blacks even today (Lipski 1985a). Until the advent of black Latin American writers toward the end of the 19th century, all literary portrayals of *bozal* Spanish came from white writers, nearly all of whom depicted *bozal* speakers in humorous, comic, and carnivalesque modes. Beginning in the second half of the 19th century, literary examples of Latin American "black" Spanish contain few if any creole-like grammatical modifications, and few phonological modifications that are not characteristic of regional popular Spanish dialects. What is found is an attempt at literary phonetic transcription of popular speech tendencies, common to rural uneducated speakers of all races in the regions in question, and at times also found in the colloquial speech of educated individuals. This tendency was extended by black writers like Nicolás Guillén, Candelario Obeso, Adalberto Ortiz, Nicomedes Santa Cruz, Arnoldo Palacios, and others, whose "black" speech is in reality indistinguishable from that of non-black compatriots of comparable sociocultural situations (Arrom 1950:128).

The survey of grammatical tendencies common to Latin American *bozal* Spanish indicates that none is likely to have resulted from the propagation of an initial common creole from one zone to another. In each region where Africanized Spanish is attested, the characteristics are those of a spontaneously formed pidgin, or at best of an advanced stage of foreigner talk, which eventually merged with local varieties of Spanish. There is also little evidence to suggest literary imitation of Latin American *bozal* Spanish between countries in Latin America, such as occurred in Golden Age Spain and Portugal; despite evident exaggeration and burlesque, it appears that writers in each area gave some approximation of the speech that they actually heard among African slaves and their descendents. Only in the case of the triad of Papiamentu, Palenquero, and 19th century Cuban/Puerto Rican *bozal* speech is there highly suggestive evidence of both common origins and of an Afro-Lusitanian basis, and it has been seen that in this case mutual influences may not be entirely ruled out. In conclusion, although Africanized Spanish was widely represented in Latin America over a period of nearly 300 years, it is suggested that a high degree of homogeneity never existed from one region to another, except for those features resulting naturally from imperfect learning, and that any early Afro-Lusitanian basis either disappeared among later shipments of slaves or was subsequently neutralized once the recently arrived *bozales* came into contact with sub-

stantial Spanish-speaking populations. The preceding remarks, while based on a wide range of data, must nonetheless be revised in the light of future documentary discoveries, which will undoubtedly occur as the investigation of the Latin American slave trade continues. This simply underscores the need for an expanded cross-disciplinary perspective in creole studies, particularly in the case of historical and demographic data regarding the Afro-American connection.

NOTES

1) Among the more prominent studies which advance some version of the Afro-Portuguese monogenetic hypothesis are: Granda (1968, 1978), Naro (1978) Valkhoff (1966), Taylor (1971, 1977), Whinnom (1956, 1965, 1977), Hancock (1975), Voorhoeve (1973), Alvarez Nazario (1974), Megenney (1984, 1985a), Perl (1982, 1984, 1985, n. d.); somewhat different approaches are suggested by Hesseling (1933), Alleyne (1980), Dalby (1971). For more information on the medieval lingua franca or Sabir, cf. Hadel (1969), Collier (1976), Whinnom (1977), Coates (1971), Schuchardt (1909).

2) The principal sources are Pike (1967), Vila Vilar (1977), Carriazo (1954), Sanders (1982), Raimundo (1933), Giese (1932), Sancho de Sopranis (1958), Larrea Palacín (1952).

3) The major studies are those of Weber de Kurlat (1962), Chasca (1946), Jason (1967), Castellano (1961), Alvarez Nazario (1974), and Granda (1978).

4) The first major examples come from Sor Juan Inés de la Cruz and Gabriel de Santillana in the second half of the 17th century (Mansour 1973:61); for other early Mexican examples, cf. Megenney (1985b), Mendoza (1956).

5) In addition to the previously cited studies, cf. the following. For Cuba: Bachiller y Morales (1883), Yacou (1977), Alzola (1965), Cruz (1974), García González (1978), Montori (1916), García González et al. (1984), Valdés Bernal (1978), Guirao (1938), López Morales (1971), Dihigo (1915), Arrom (1942, 1950), Fernández de Castro (1943), Benítez del Cristo (1930), Suárez y Romero (1947), Villaverde (1979); many of the examples of 19th century Cuban *habla bozal* are found in the folkloric materials of Lydia Cabrera (1969, 1970, 1976, 1979, 1983); for Puerto Rico: Mason and Espinosa (1918, 1929); for the Dominican Republic, cf. Morales (1976), Torres Morales (1959), Alix (1961), Rodríguez Demorizi (1973:266-86; 1975:103-9, 251-64); for Mexico: Aguirre Beltrán (1958); for Venezuela: Aretz de Ramón y Rivera (1975:103-9, 251-64); for Mexico: Aguirre Beltrán (1958); for Venezuela: Aretz de Ramón y Rivera (1975:103-9, 251-64); for Colombia: Zapata era and Ramón y Rivera (1955), Sojo (1943, 1967), Ovalles (1935:70); for Colombia: Zapata era and Ramón y Rivera (1955), Sojo (1943, 1967), Ovalles (1935:70); for Cuba: Olivella (1962), Obeso (1960); for Ecuador: Chávez Franco (1933), Coba Andrade (1980), Estupiñán Tello (1961), Ortiz (1945); for Argentina: Ballagas (1946:50-1) Ortiz Odefergo (1969:66, 72; 1974:34-9, 140-1); for Uruguay: Pereda Valdés (1965:135-6), Carvalho Neto (1966); for Paraguay: Carvalho Neto (1961:36; 1971:113-4); for Peru: López Albújar (1966), Mansour (1973:101-4), Santa Cruz (1971); for Central America: Arita (n.d.), Sanz y Díaz (1945:326-8).

6) The debate on the status of Papiamentu is far from over; for some relevant considerations, cf. Birmingham (1970, 1976a, 1976b), Andersen (1974), Hesseling (1933), Van Wijk (1958), Wood (1972a, 1972b), Munteanu (1974), DeBose (1974).

7) The principal exponents are Granda (1978), Naro (1978), Megenney (1984, 1985a), Perl (n. d.) Otheguy (1975), Alvarez Nazario (1974), Valkhoff (1966), Whinnom (1956); for contrary opinions cf. López Morales (1980, 1983).

8) Granda (1978), Friedemann and Patiño Rosselli (1983), Friedemann and Cross (1979), Bickerton and Escalante (1970), Escalante (1954), Ochoa Franco (1945), Arrazola (1970).

9) For a historical and linguistic panorama, cf. Granda (1973, 1974), Alvarez Nazario (1970, 1972a), Acosta Saignes (1967), Brito Figueroa (1961), Bachiller y Morales (1883).

10) Principal sources of Afro-Hispanic language in Golden Age literature include Góngora's *En la fiesta del santísimo sacramento* and *Al nacimiento de Cristo nuestro señor* (1980), Simón Aguado's *Entremés de los negros* (Cotarelo y Mori 1911:231-5), Gil Vicente's *O clérigo da beira*, *Fragoa d'amor*, *Nao d'amores* (1834, 1907), Quiñones de Benavente's *El negrito hablado* (Rosell 1874:29-39), Sánchez de Badajoz' *Farsa teologal*, *Farsa de Moysen*, *Farsa de la ventera*, (Barrantes 1882, 1886), Rodrigo de Reinoso's *Coplas a los negros y negras* (1950), Lope de Rueda's *Comedia llamada Eufemia*, *Comedia de los engañados*, *Coloquio de Tymbria* (1908), Antonio Ribeiro Chiado's *Auto das regateiras* (1970), Feliciano de Silva's *Segunda Celestina* (Mack 1973), Lope de Vega's *El santo negro Rosambuco*, *La madre de la mejor*, *Villancico*, and *El capellán de la virgen* (1917, 1964), a text by Henrique da Mota (Leite de Vasconcellos 1933).

11) One very questionable example of *mi* as subject pronoun comes in the 19th century Cuban novel *Cecilia Valdés* (Villaverde 1979:175): *mi recorde, niña* 'I remember ma'am'. All other *bozal* examples in this novel (which is characterized by considerable literary exaggeration and stereotyping) use *yo* as subject.

12) Cf. the survey in Lipski (forthcoming a); for up-to-date information on Portuguese-based Creoles, cf. Valkhoff (1966, 1975), Ferraz (1978) Boretzky (1983), Hancock (1973), Batalha (1974), Smith (1979), Barrena (1957), Wilson (1962), Günther (1973), Lopes da Silva (1957), Scantamburlo (1981), Goilo (1953); for an overview and comparative study, Mugler (1983).

13) Alvarez Nazario (1959:46; 1974:197) and Valkhoff (1966:96) consider this possibility, while DeBose (1974) suggests that Papiamentu *nan* may come from Spanish *están* or Portuguese *estam* (sic).

14) Cf. Alvarez Nazario (1974:115-20; Otheguy (1975), Ziegler (n. d.), Perl (1982, 1985, n. d.), Granda (1968), Lipski (1985a) for examples and analysis.

15) For example in Venezuela; cf. Aretz de Ramón y Rivera and Ramón de Rivera (1955:72): *tres corona na mi mano* 'three crowns in my hand'.

16) E.g., by Whinnom (1956, 1965), Taylor (1971), Megenney (1984, 1985a); for an assessment of *na* in Philippine Creole Spanish cf. also Lipski (forthcoming a).

17) For example, Megenney (1984, 1985a), Whinnom (1956, 1965), Batalha (1960), Hesseling (1905:68), Taylor (1971), Naro (1978).

18) A partial list of investigators who have used the existence of particles like *ta* as evidence of a common origin for Afro-Iberian Creoles and for the existence of a Afro-Lusitanian basis for Caribbean *bozal* Spanish includes Granda (1968, 1969, 1972, 1978), Alvarez Nazario (1959, 1974), Taylor (1971), Alleyne (1980:11-3), Ziegler (n. d.), Perl (1982, n. d.), Otheguy (1975), Megenney (1984, 1985a), Naro (1978). For an alternative interpretation, cf. Muysken (1981a).

19) One example comes from the Dominican Republic, in a poem by Alix purporting to represent a Haitian Creole speaker's rudimentary attempts at speaking Spanish (Rodríguez

Demorizi 1973:270): *manque tu tá dí que no* 'although you say no'. The existence of aspectual particles in this context is not surprising, given their usage in Haitian Creole.

20) For example, Cruz (1974) for the extensive works of Creto Gangá, Benítez del Cristo (1930) for the well-known play *Los novios catedráticos*, and the synthetic studies of Arrom (1942, 1950:109-45), Fernández de Castro (1943), Guirao (1938), and the anthologies of Albornoz and Rodríguez (1980), and Ballagas (1946), Mansour (1973), Morales (1976), and Ruiz del Vizo (1972).

21) The present study has deliberately ignored the frequent claims that phonological modifications in Caribbean Spanish may have African origins; this topic has been dealt with in Lipski (1985c, 1986c). Cf. Montes Giraldo (1974) Otheguy (1975), Alvarez Nazario (1974), Almedros (1959), Alzola (1965), Goodgall de Pruna (1970), Valdés Bernal (1978), Guy (1981), Perl (1981), Cuervo (1927), and Ploae Hanganu (1977) for a variety of suggestions as to the African origins or impulse of phonological modifications of Latin American Spanish.

REFERENCES

- Acosta, Saignes, Miguel. 1967. *Vida de los esclavos negros en Venezuela*. Caracas: Hespérides.
- Aguirre Beltrán, Gonzalo. 1958. *Cuijla: Esbozo etnográfico de un pueblo negro*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Albornoz, Aurora, and Julio Rodríguez. 1980. *Sensemaya*. Madrid: Editorial Orígenes.
- Alix, Juan Antonio. 1961. *Décimas*, ed. by Joaquín Balaguer. Ciudad Trujillo: Librería Dominicana.
- Alleyne, Mervyn. 1971. The cultural matrix of creolization. *Pidginization and creolization of languages*, ed. by Dell Hymes, 169-86. Cambridge: University Press.
- . 1980. *Comparative Afro-American*. Ann Arbor: Karoma.
- Almedros, Nestor. 1959. Estudio fonético del español en Cuba. *Boletín de la Academia Cubana de la Lengua* 7:1-2.138-76.
- Alvarez Nazario, Manuel. 1959. Notas sobre el habla del negro en Puerto Rico durante siglo XIX. *Revista del Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña* 2.43-8.
- . 1970. Un texto literario del papiamentu documentado en Puerto Rico en 1830. *Revista del Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña* 47.9-20.
- . 1972a. El papiamentu: Ojeado a su pasado histórico y visión de su problemática del presente. *Atenea (Majagüez)* 9.9-20.
- . 1972b. La herencia lingüística de Canarias en Puerto Rico. *San Juan: Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña*.
- . 1974. El elemento afronegroide en el español de Puerto Rico. San Juan: Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña.
- Alzola, Concepción Teresa. 1965. Hablar popular cubana. *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares* 23.358-69.
- Andersen, Roger. 1974. *Nativization and Hispanization in the Papiamentu of Curaçao*. Austin: University of Texas dissertation.
- Areiz de Ramón, Isabel, and Luis Felipe Ramón y Rivera. 1955. Resumen de un estudio sobre las expresiones negras en el folklore musical y coreográfico de Venezuela. *Archivos Venezolanos de Folklore* 3:4.65-73.
- Arita, Carlos Manuel. n.d. *El negro José. Poesía negra en Honduras*, ed. by Claudio Borrera, 64. Tegucigalpa: Talles Tipográficos Nacionales.
- Arrazola, Roberto. 1970. *Palenque, primer pueblo libre de América*. Cartagena: Hernández.
- Arrom, José Juan. 1942. La poesía afrocubana. *Revista Iberoamericana* 55.379-411.
- . 1950. *Estudios de literatura hispanoamericana*. Havana: n. publ.
- Bachiller y Morales, Antonio. 1883. Desfiguración a que está expuesto el idioma castellano al contacto y mezcla de razas. *Revista de Cuba* 14.97-104.
- Ballagas, Emilio. 1946. *Mapa de la poesía negra*. Buenos Aires: Pleamar.
- Barrantes, D. 1882, 1886. *Recopilación en metro del bachiller Diego Sánchez de Badajoz*, t. I (1882), t. II (1886). Madrid: Librería de los Bibliófilos.
- Barrena, Nicolás. 1957. *Gramática annobonesa*. Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos.
- Batalha, Graciela Nogueira. 1960. Coincidências com o dialecto de Macau em dialectos espanhóis das ilhas Filipinas. *Boletim de Filologia* 19.295-303.
- . 1974. *Língua de Macau*. Macau: Imprensa Nacional.
- Benítez del Cristo, Ignacio. 1930. *Los novios catedráticos*. *Archivos del Folklore Cubano* 5:2.119-46.
- Bickerton, Derek, and Aquiles Escalante. 1970. *Palenquero: A Spanish-based Creole of northern Colombia*. *Lingua* 32.254-67.
- Birmingham, John. 1970. *The Papiamentu language of Curaçao*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia dissertation.
- . 1976a. Papiamentu: The long-lost lingua franca? *American Hispanist* Dec. 1976.810.

- . 1976b. Papiamentu's West African cousins. 1975. *Colloquium on Hispanic Linguistics*, ed. by Francis Aid, Melvyn Resnick, and Bohdan Sacuk, 19-25. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Boretzky, Norbert. 1983. *Kreolsprachen, Substrate und Sprachwandel*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Brito Figueroa, Federico. 1961. Las insurrecciones de los esclavos en la sociedad colonial venezolana. Caracas: Cantaclaro.
- Cabrera, Lydia. 1969. *Refranes de negros viejos*. Miami: Editorial C. R.
- . 1970. *La sociedad secreta Abakuá*. Miami: Editorial C. R.
- . 1976. *Francisco y Francisca: Chascarrillos de negros viejos*. Miami: Editorial C. R.
- . 1979. *Reglas de congo*. Miami: Editorial C. R.
- . 1983. *El monte*. 3rd ed. Miami: Editorial C. R.
- Carriazo, J. de M. 1954. Negros esclavos y extranjeros en el barrio sevillano de San Bernardo (1617-1629). *Archivo Hispalense* 20:64-5. 121-33.
- Carvalho Neto, Paulo de. 1961. *Folklore del Paraguay*. Quito: Editorial Universitaria.
- . 1966. *El negro uruguayo (hasta la abolición)*. Quito: Editorial Universitaria.
- . 1971. *Estudios afros-Brazil-Paraguay-Uruguay-Ecuador*. Caracas: Universidad Central de Venezuela.
- Castellano, Juan. 1961. El negro esclavo en el entremés del Siglo de Oro. *Hispania* 44.55-65.
- Cerrón-Palomino, Rodolfo. 1976. Calcos sintácticos en el castellano andino. *San Marcos* 14.93-101.
- Chasca, Edmund de. 1946. The phonology of the speech of the negroes in early Spanish drama. *Hispanic Review* 14.322-39.
- Chávez Franco, Modesto. 1930. *Crónicas del Guayaquil antiguo*. Guayaquil: Imprenta y Talleres Municipales.
- Chiado, Antonio Ribeiro. 1970. *Autos das Regateiras*. Critical edition of Giulia Lanciani. Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo.
- Coates, William. 1971. The Lingua Franca. Papers from the Fifth Kansas Linguistic Conference, ed. by Frances Ingemann, 25-34. Lawrence: University of Kansas, Linguistics Department.
- Coba Andrade, Carlos Alberto. 1980. *Literatura popular afroecuatoriana*. Otavalo: Instituto Otavaleño de Antropología.
- Collier, Barbara. 1976. On the origins of Lingua Franca. *Journal of Creole Studies* 1:2.281-98.

- Cotarelo y Mori, Emilio. 1911. Colección de entremeses, loas, bailes, jácaras y mojigangas desde fines del siglo XVI á mediados del XVIII (Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, v. 17). Madrid: Casa Editorial Bailly/Bailliére.
- Cruz, Mary. 1974. *Creto Gangá*. Havana: Instituto Cubano del Libro "Contemporáneos."
- Cuervo, Rufino J. 1927. *El castellano en América*. Buenos Aires: Ed. "El Ateneo."
- D'Albuquerque, A. Tenorio. 1953. Cubanismos e brasileirismos. *Boletín de la Academia Cubana de la Lengua* 2.268-87.
- Dalby, David. 1971. Black through white. Black-white speech relationships, ed. by Walt Wolfram and Nona Clark, 99-138. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- DeBose, Charles. 1974. Papiamentu plurals. *Studies in African Linguistics* (University of California at Los Angeles) 5.67-73.
- Díaz Soler, Luis. 1981. *Historia de la esclavitud negra en Puerto Rico*, 2nd ed. Río Piedras: Editorial Universitaria.
- Dihigo, Juan. 1915. *El habla popular al través de la literatura cubana*. Havana: Imp. El Siglo XX.
- Escalante, Aquiles. 1954. Notas sobre el Palenque de San Basilio, una comunidad negra en Colombia. *Divulgaciones Etnológicas* (Barranquilla) 3.207-359.
- Estupiñán Tello, Julio. 1961. *El negro en Esmeraldas*. Quito: Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana.
- Fernández de Castro, José Antonio. 1943. *Tema negro en las letras de Cuba 1608-1935*. Havana: n. publ.
- Ferraz, Luiz. 1978. The creole of São Tomé. *African Studies* 7.3-67, 235-88.
- Flórez, Luis. 1946. Reseña de American Spanish syntax. *Boletín del Instituto Caro y Cuervo* 2.372-85.
- Frake, Charles. 1971. Lexical origins and semantic structure in Philippine Creole Spanish. *Pidginization and creolization of languages*, ed. by Dell Hymes 223-42. Cambridge: University Press.
- Friedemann, Nina S. de, and Richard Gross. 1979. *Ma Ngombe: Guerreros y ganaderos en Palenque*. Bogotá: Carlos Valencia.
- , and Carlos Patiño Rosselli. 1983. *Lengua y sociedad en el Palenque de San Basilio*. Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo.
- García González, José. 1978. Algunas consideraciones lingüísticas a prop-

- ósito de un nuevo cuento afrocubano. *Islas* 61.131-9.
- ; Ricardo Reyes Perrera; Luis Alfaro Echeverría; and Susana Carreras Gómez. 1984. Algunos fenómenos morfosintácticos en textos populares cubanos del siglo XIX. *Islas* 77.61-76.
- , and Gema Valdés Acosta. 1978. Restos de lenguas bantúes en la región central de Cuba. *Islas* 59.5-50.
- Giese, W. 1932. Nota sobre a fala dos negros em Lisboa no principio do século XVI. *Revista Lusitana* 30.251-7.
- Gifford, Douglas. 1973. Field-notes on Chaco Spanish. *Studia Iberica, Festschrift für Hans Flasche*, ed. by Karl-Hermann Körner and Klaus Rühl, 166-74. Bern: Francke.
- Gili Gaya, Samuel. 1960. Funciones gramaticales en el habla infantil. *Río Piedras: Universidad de Puerto Rico. Publicaciones pedagógicas, serie II*, número 24.
- . 1972. Estudios sobre lenguaje infantil. Barcelona: Bibliograf.
- Goilo, E. R. 1953. Gramatica papiamentu. Curaçao: Hollandsche Boekhandel.
- Góngora, Luis de. 1980. *Letrillas*. Critical edition by Robert Jammes. Madrid: Clásicos Castalia.
- González, Carlisle, and Celso Benavides. 1982. ¿Existen rasgos criollos en el habla de Samaná? *El español del Caribe*, ed. by Orlando Alba, 105-32. Santiago de los Caballeros: Universidad Católica Madre y Maestra.
- Gonzo, Susan, and Mario Saltarelli. 1983. Pidginization and linguistic change in emigrant languages. *Pidginization and creolization as language acquisition*, ed. by Roger Andersen, 181-97. Rowley: Newbury House.
- Goodgall de Pruna, Ruth. 1970. La geminación de consonantes en el habla de Trinidad. *Islas* 35.125-8.
- Goodman, Morris. 1964. *A comparative study of Creole French dialects*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Goslinga, Cornelis. 1979. *A short history of the Netherlands Antilles*. The Hague: Nijhoff.
- Granda, Germán de. 1968. La tipología "criolla" de dos hablas del área lingüística hispánica. *Thesaurus* 23.193-205.
- . 1969. Posibles vías directas de introducción de africanismos en el "habla de negro" literaria castellana. *Thesaurus* 24.459-69.
- . 1972. Estructuras lingüísticas y relación genética en un habla "criolla" de Hispanoamérica. *Filología* 16.119-33.
- . 1973. Papiamento en Hispanoamérica (siglos XVII-XIX). *Thesaurus*

- 28.1-13.
- . 1974. El repertorio lingüístico de los sefarditas de Curaçao durante los siglos XVII y XVIII y el problema del origen del papiamento.
- . 1977. Estudios sobre un área dialectal hispanoamericana de población negra: Las tierras bajas occidentales de Colombia. Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo.
- . 1978. Estudios lingüísticos hispánicos, afrohispanicos y criollos. Madrid: Gredos.
- . 1979. Calcos sintácticos del guaraní en el español del Paraguay. *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 28.267-86.
- . 1984. Perfil lingüístico de Guinea Ecuatorial. Homenaje a Luís Flórez, 1-77. Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo.
- . 1985. Fenómenos de interferencia fonética de fang sobre el español de Guinea Ecuatorial: Consonantismo. *Anuario de Lingüística Hispánica (Valladolid)* 1.95-114.
- Guirao, Ramón. 1938. *Orbita de la poesía afrocubana 1928-37*. La Habana: Ucar García.
- Günther, Wilfried. 1973. *Das portugiesische Kreolisch der Ilha do Príncipe*. Marburg: Universität Marburg/Lahn.
- Guy, Gregory. 1981. Parallel variability in American dialects of Spanish Portuguese. *Variation omnibus*, ed. by David Sankoff and Henrietta Cedergren, 85-96. Edmonton: Linguistic Research, Inc.
- Hadel, Richard. 1969. Modern creoles and Sabir. *Folklore Annual of the University Folklore Association* 1.35-43.
- Hancock, Ian. 1973. Malacca Creole Portuguese: A brief transformational outline. *Te Reo* 16.23-44.
- . 1975. Malacca Creole Portuguese: Asian, African or European? *Anthropological Linguistics* 17.211-36.
- Hartog, J. 1968. Curaçao: From colonial independence to autonomy. Aruba: de Wit.
- Hernández Pina, Fuensanta. 1984. Teorías psicosociolingüísticas y su aplicación a la adquisición del español como lengua materna. Madrid: Siglo XXI de España.
- Hesseling, D. C. 1905. *Het Negerhollands der Deense Antillen: Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis der Nederlandse Taal in Amerika*. Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff.
- . 1933. Papiamento en Negerhollands. *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde* 52.265-88.

- Hymes, Dell. 1971 (ed.) *Pidginization and creolization of languages*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Jackson, Richard. 1976a. The black image in Latin American literature. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- . 1976b. *Black writers in Latin America*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Janson, Tore. 1984. Articles and plural formation in creoles: Change and universals. *Lingua* 64.291-323.
- Jason, Howard. 1967. The language of the negro in early Spanish drama. *College Language Association Journal* 10.330-40.
- Joly, Luz Graciela. 1981. The ritual play of the Congos of north-central Panama: Its sociolinguistic implications. *Sociolinguistic Working Papers* no. 85. Austin: Southwest Educational Development Laboratory.
- Kany, Charles. 1951. *American Spanish syntax*. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Larrea Palacián, Arcadio de. 1952. Los negros en la provincia de Huelva. *Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos* 6:20.39-57.
- Laurence, Kemlin. 1974. Is Caribbean Spanish a case of decreolization? *Orbis* 23.484-99.
- Leite da Vasconcellos, José. 1933. Língua de preto num texto de Henrique da Mota. *Revue Hispanique* 81.241-6.
- Lipski, John. 1977. Preposed subjects in questions. *Hispania* 60.61-7.
- . 1984. Observations on the Spanish of Malabo, Equatorial Guinea: Implications for Latin American Spanish. *Hispanic Linguistics* 1.69-96.
- . 1985a. Black Spanish: The last frontier of Afro America. *Crítica* 2:1.53-75.
- . 1985b. The speech of the *negros congos* of Panama: An Afro-Hispanic dialect. *Hispanic Linguistics* 2.23-47.
- . 1985c. The Spanish of Equatorial Guinea. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.
- . 1986a. El Valle del Chota: Un enclave lingüístico afroecuatoriano. *Boletín de la Academia Puertorriqueña de la Lengua Española*.
- . 1986b. Creole Spanish and vestigial Spanish: Evolutionary parallels. *Linguistics* 23.963-84.
- . 1986c. A test case of the Afro-Hispanic connection: Syllable-final /s/ in Equatorial Guinea. *Lingua* 68.357-70.
- . 1986d. On the loss of /s/ in "black" Spanish. *Neophilologus* 70.208-16.
- . forthcoming a. The Portuguese element in Philippine Creole Spanish: A critical assessment. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*.

- . forthcoming b. Dialects of Philippine Creole Spanish: Problems and proposals. *Oceania*.
- . forthcoming c. On the construction *ta* + infinitive in Caribbean *bozal* Spanish. *Romance Philology*.
- . forthcoming d. The impact of Louisiana *isleño* Spanish on historical Spanish dialectology. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics*.
- Lope de Rueda. 1908. *Obras de Lope de Rueda*. Edition of the Real Academia Española. Madrid: Librería de los Sucesores de Hernando.
- Lope de Vega. 1917. *Obras de Lope de Vega*, t. III, VIII. Madrid: Tip. de la Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos (edition of the Real Academia Española).
- . 1964. *Obras de Lope de Vega*. Edition of Biblioteca de Autores Españoles. Madrid: Ediciones Atlas.
- Lopes da Silva, Baltasar. 1957. *O dialecto crioulo de Cabo Verde*. Lisboa: Junta do Ultramar.
- López Albújar, Enrique. 1966. *Matalaché*. 3rd ed. Lima: Editorial Juan Mejía.
- López Morales, Humberto. 1971. *Estudios sobre el español de Cuba*. New York: Las Américas.
- . 1980. Sobre la pretendida existencia y pervivencia del "criollo" cubano. *Anuario de Letras* 18.85-116.
- . 1983. Estratificación sociolectal frente a diglosia en el Caribe hispánico. *Lingüística Española Actual* 5.205-22.
- Lorenzo Ramos, Antonio. 1976. *El habla de los Silos*. Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Caja de Ahorros de Santa Cruz.
- Mack, Isabel. 1973. *The Segunda Celestina of Feliciano de Silva: A study and an edition*. University of Exeter dissertation.
- Mansour, Mónica. 1973. *La poesía negrista*. México: ERA.
- Mason, J. Alden, and Aurelio Espinosa. 1918. Porto Rican folklore: Décimas, Christmas carols, nursery rhymes and other songs. *Journal of American Folklore* 34.143-208.
- . 1929. Porto-Rican folklore: Folk-tales. *Journal of American Folklore* 42.85-156.
- Mauleón Benítez, Carmen. 1974. *El español de Loíza Aldea*. Madrid: Partenón.
- Maurer, Theodoro, Jr. 1968. *O infinito flexionado em português*. São Paulo: Editôra Nacional.
- Megenney, William. 1984. *Traces of Portuguese in three Caribbean*

- Creoles: Evidence in support of the monogenetic theory. *Hispanic Linguistics* 1.177-89.
- . 1985a. La influencia criollo-portuguesa en el español caribeño. *Anuario de Lingüística Hispánica* (Valladolid) 1.157-80.
- . 1985b. Rasgos criollos en algunos villancicos negroides de Puebla, México. *Anuario de Letras* 23.161-202.
- . in press. Africa en Santo Domingo: Su herencia lingüística. Santo Domingo: Museo del Hombre Dominicano.
- Meliá, Bartolomeu. 1974. Hacia una "tercera lengua" en el Paraguay. *Estudios Paraguayos* 2:2.31-72.
- . 1980. La entrada del castellano en el guaraní del Paraguay. *Sprachkontakt*, ed. by Reinhold Werner, 151-60. Tübingen: Narr.
- Mendoza, Vicente. 1956. Algo de folklore negro en México. *Miscelánea de estudios dedicados a Fernando Ortiz por sus discípulos, colegas y amigos*, t. II, 1093-1111. La Habana: n. publ.
- Mintz, Sidney. 1971. The socio-historical background to pidginization and creolization. *Pidginization and creolization of languages*, ed. by Dell Hymes, 481-96. Cambridge: University Press.
- Molony, Carol. 1973. Sound changes in Chabacano. *Parangal kay López: Essays in honor of Cecilio López on his seventy-fifth birthday*, ed. by Andrew González, 38-50. Quezon City: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.
- . 1977. Recent relexification processes in Philippine Creole Spanish. *Sociocultural dimensions of language change*, ed. by Ben Blount and Mary Sanches, 131-60. New York: Academic Press.
- . 1978. Lexical change in Philippine Creole Spanish. *Approaches to language: Anthropological issues*, ed. by William McCormack and Stephen Wurm, 401-16. The Hague: Mouton.
- Mondéjar, José. 1970. *El verbo andaluz*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigación Científica.
- Montes Giraldo, José Joaquín. 1974. *El habla del Chocó: Notas breves*. Thesaurus 29.409-28.
- Montori, Arturo. 1916. *Modificaciones populares del idioma castellano en Cuba*. Havana: Imp. de "Cuba Pedagógica."
- Morales, Jorge Luis. 1976. *Poesía afroantillana y negrista*. Río Piedras: Editorial Universitaria.
- Morales Carrión, Arturo. 1978. *Auge y decadencia de la trata negrera en Puerto Rico (1820-1860)*. San Juan: Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña.
- Mugler, France. 1983. A comparative study of the pronominal system of Romance-based Creoles. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan dissertation.
- Munteanu, Dan. 1974. Observaciones acerca del origen del papiamentu. *Anuario de Letras* 12.83-115.
- Muysken, Pieter. 1981a. Creole tense/mood/aspect systems: The unmarked case? *Generative studies in creole languages*, ed. by Pieter Muysken, 181-200. Dordrecht: Foris.
- . 1981b. Halfway between Quechua and Spanish: The case for relexification. *Historicity and variation in creole studies*, ed. by Arnold Highfield and Albert Valdman, 52-78. Ann Arbor: Karoma.
- Naro, Anthony. 1978. A study on the origins of pidginization. *Language* 54.314-47.
- Obeso, Candelario. 1960. *Cantos populares de mi tierra*. Bogotá: Ministerio de Educación.
- Ochoa Franco, José. 1945. *Consideraciones generales sobre costumbres y lenguaje palenqueros*. Cartagena: Dirección de Educación Pública de Bolívar, Extensión Cultural.
- Ortiz, Adalberto. 1945. *Tierra, son y tambor*. Mexico: Ediciones La Cigarra.
- Ortiz Oderigo, Néstor. 1969. *Calunga: Croquis del candombé*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires.
- . 1974. *Aspectos de la cultura africana en el Río de la Plata*. Buenos Aires: Plus Ultra.
- Otheguy, Ricardo. 1975. The Spanish Caribbean: A creole perspective. *New ways of analyzing variation in English*, ed. by Charles-James Bailey and Roger Shuy, 323-39. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Ovalles, Victor Manuel. 1935. *Más frases criollos*. Caracas: Editorial Bolívar.
- Padrón, Alfredo. 1949. Giros sintácticos usados en Cuba. *Boletín del Instituto Caro y Cuervo* 5.163-75.
- Pereda Valdés, Idelfonso. 1965. *El negro en el Uruguay--pasado y presente*. Montevideo: Instituto Histórico y Geográfico del Uruguay.
- Pérez Vidal, José. 1944. Portuguesismos en el español canario. *El Museo Canario* 9.30-42.
- Perl, Matthias. 1981. La influencia del francés y del francés criollo en el español del Caribe. *Islas* 68.163-76.

- . 1982. Creole morphosyntax in the Cuban "habla bozal." *Studii și Cercetări Lingvistice* 5.424-33.
- . 1984. Las estructuras de comunicación de los esclavos negros en Cuba en el siglo XIX. *Islas* 77.43-59.
- . 1985. El fenómeno de descriollización del "habla bozal" y el lenguaje coloquial de la variante cubana del español. *Anuario de Lingüística Hispánica (Valladolid)* 1.191-202.
- . n. d. *Die Bedeutung des Kreolenportugiesischen für die Herausbildung der Kreolensprachen in der Karibik*. Leipzig: Karl-Marx-Universität. ms.
- Pichardo, Esteban. 1836. *Diccionario provisional casi-razonado de voces cubanas*. La Habana: Imp. La Antilla.
- Pike, Ruth. 1967. Sevillian society in the sixteenth century: Slaves and freedmen. *Hispanic American Historical Review* 47.344-59.
- Plann, Sandra. 1979. Morphological problems in the acquisition of Spanish in an immersion classroom. The acquisition and use of Spanish and English as first and second languages, ed. by Roger Andersen, 119-32. Washington, DC: TESOL.
- Ploae Hanganu, Mariana. 1977. Sobre a base românica no sistema fonético dos crioulos portugueses da Africa. *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique* 22.211-3.
- Poplack, Shana. 1980. The notion of the plural in Puerto Rican Spanish: Competing constraints on (s) deletion. *Locating language in time and space*, ed. by William Labov, 55-67. New York: Academic Press.
- Quant, Inés de, and José Miguel Irigoyen. 1980. Interferencia guaraní en la morfosintaxis y léxico del español substandard de Resistencia. *Resistencia: Universidad Nacional del Nordeste*.
- Raimundo, Jacques. 1933. *O elemento afro-negro na língua portuguesa*. Rio de Janeiro: Renascença.
- Ramos, José Antonio. 1963. *Caniquí*. 2nd ed. La Habana: Consejo Nacional de Cultura.
- Reinosa, Rodrigo de. 1950. *Antología de escritores y artistas montañeses*, critical edition by José María de Cossío. Santander: Librería Moderna.
- Riley, Carroll. 1952. Trade Spanish of the Piñaguero Panare. *Studies in Linguistics* 10:1.6-11.
- Robe, Stanley. 1960. *The Spanish of rural Panama*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Rodríguez Demorizi, Emilio. 1973. *Poesía popular dominicana*. 3rd ed. Santiago de los Caballeros: Universidad Católica Madre y Maestra.
- . 1975. *Lengua y folklore de Santo Domingo*. Santiago de los Caballeros: Universidad Católica Madre y Maestra.
- Rosell, Cayetano. 1874 (ed.) *Entremeses, loas y jácaras de Luis Quiñones de Benavente*. t. II. Madrid: Librería Alfonso Durán.
- Rosengren, Per. 1974. *Presencai y ausencia de los pronombres personales sujetos en español moderno*. Stockholm: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis XIV.
- Ruíz del Vizo, Hortensia. 1972. *Poesía negra del Cariba y otras áreas*. Miami: Ediciones Universal.
- Russell, P. E. 1973. Towards an interpretation of Rodrigo de Reinosa's "poesía negra." *Studies in Spanish literature of the Golden Age presented to Edward M. Wilson*, ed. by R. Jones, 225-45. London: Tamesis.
- Saltarelli, Mario, and Susan Gonzo. 1977. Migrant languages: Linguistic change in progress. *Problèmes linguistiques des enfants de travailleurs migrants*, ed. by M. de Grève and E. Rosseel, 167-86. Brussels: AIMAV/Didier.
- Sancho de Sopranis, Hipólito. 1958. *Las cofradías de morenos en Cádiz*. Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos.
- Sanders, A. C. de C. M. 1982. *A social history of black slaves and freedmen in Portugal 1441-1555*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Santa Cruz, Nicomedes. 1971. *Antología: décimas y poemas*. Lima: Campodónico.
- Sanz y Díaz, José. 1945 (ed.) *Lira negra (selecciones españolas y afroamericanas)*. Madrid: Aguilar.
- Scantamburlo, Luigi. 1981. *Gramática da língua crioula da Guiné-Bissau*. Bologna: Editrice Missionaria Italiana.
- Schuchardt, Hugo. 1909. Die Lingua Franca. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 33.441-61.
- Siade, Giorgina Paulín de. 1974. Los indígenas bilingües de México frente a la castellanización. Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Smith, Ian. 1979. Convergence in South Asia: A creole example. *Lingua* 48.193-222.
- Sojo, Juan Pablo. 1943. *Temas y apuntes afro-venezolanos*. Caracas: Tip. La Nación.
- . 1967. *Alguans supervivencias negro-culturales en Venezuela*. *Archivos Venezolanos de Folklore* 8.309-20.

- Suárez y Romero, Anselmo. 1947. Francisco. 2nd ed. La Habana: Ministerio de Educación.
- Taylor, Douglas. 1971. Grammatical and lexical affinities of creoles. *Pidginization and creolization of languages*, ed. by Dell Hymes, 293-6. Cambridge: University Press.
- . 1977. *Languages of the West Indies*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Teysier, Paul. 1959. *La langue de Gil Vicente*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Torres Morales, José. 1959. El español en las Antillas. *Revista del Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña* 2:5.1-4.
- Torres Stinga, Manuel. 1981. Influencia portuguesa en el habla de Lanzarote. *Revista de Filología de la Universidad de La Laguna* 0.103-10.
- Usher de Herreros, Beatriz. 1976. Castellano paraguayó: Notas para una gramática contrastiva castellano-guaraní. *Suplemento Antropológico* (Asunción: Universidad Católica) 11:1-2. 29-123.
- Valdés Bernal, Sergio. 1976. Sobre locuciones y refranes afrocaribinos. *Beiträge zur romanischen Philologie* 15:2.321-8.
- . 1978. Las lenguas africanas y el español coloquial de Cuba. *Santiago* 31.81-110.
- Valkhoff, Marius. 1966. *Studies in Portuguese and creole*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- . 1975. A comparative study of São-Tomense and Cabo-Verdiano Creole. *Miscelânea Luso-Africana*, ed. by Marius Valkhoff, 15-39. Lisbon: Junta do Ultramar.
- Van Wijk, Henri L. A. 1958. Orígenes y evolución del papiamentu. *Neophilologus* 42.169-82.
- Vicente, Gil. 1834. *Obras de Gil Vicente*. t. 2. Hamburg: Langhoff.
- . 1907. *Obras de Gil Vicente*. t. I. Coimbra: França Amado.
- Vila Vilar, Enriqueta. 1977. Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos: Los asientos portugueses. Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos.
- Villaverde, Cirilo. 1979. Cecilia Valdés. Critical edition by Raimondo Lazo. México: Porrúa.
- Voorhoeve, Jan. 1973. Historical and linguistic evidence in favour of the relexification theory in the formation of creoles. *Language in Society* 2.133-45.
- Weber de Kurlat, Frida. 1962. Sobre el negro como tipo cómico en el teatro español del siglo XVI. *Romance Philology* 17.380-91.
- Welti, María Cristina R. de. 1979. Bilingüismo en el Paraguay: *Los límites*

- de la comucación. *Revista Paraguaya de Sociología* 16.46.63-97.
- Whinnom, Keith. 1956. *Spanish contact vernaculars in the Philippines*. Hong Kong: University Press.
- . 1965. Origin of European-based Creoles and Pidgins. *Orbis* 14.510-27.
- . 1977. *Lingua franca: Historical problems*. *Pidgin and creole linguistics*, ed. by Albert Valdman, 295-310. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Wilson, W. A. A. 1962. *The Crioulo of Guiné*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Wood, Richard. 1972a. The Hispanization of a creole language: Papiamentu. *Hispania* 55.857-64.
- . 1972b. New light on the origins of Papiamentu: An eighteenth-century letter. *Neophilologus* 56.18-30.
- Yacou, Alain. 1977. A propos du parler bossal, langue créole de Cuba. *Espace Créole* 2.73-92.
- Zapata Olivella, Manuel. 1962. Cuentos religiosos de los negros de Palenque. *Revista Colombiana de Folclor* 3:7.205-10.
- Ziegler, Douglas-Val. n. d. *A preliminary study of Afro-Cuban Creole*. San Diego State University. ms.