

JOHN M. LIPSKI and ARMIN SCHWEGLER

Creole Spanish and Afro-Hispanic*

1. Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to present a comparative survey of research paradigms involving Creoles lexified from Spanish, as well as Afro-Hispanic dialects which promise to shed light on issues of Creole origins, the creolization process, and the formation of Spanish dialects. Among Romance-based Creoles, those lexified from Spanish are few in number, in comparison to Portuguese- and French-derived Creoles; they include Colombian Palenquero, Philippine Creole Spanish, and Papiamentu, the native language of Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao.

There is much evidence suggesting that several earlier creolized varieties of Spanish once existed, with some having disappeared only recently. As late as the turn of the 20th century, many African-born labourers in the Caribbean region spoke dialects of Spanish with Creole characteristics, which may furnish a missing link in theories of Creole formation and diffusion. The ethnolinguistic ceremonies of the *negros congos* of Panama's Caribbean coast include speech patterns that strongly suggest the previous existence of a Creole (Lipski 1990a). There are also a number of marginal areas of Latin America where regional varieties of Spanish coexist with or contain Creole remnants, and there is good reason to believe that Afro-Hispanic Creole pockets were once more widespread. There have been occasional but as yet unconfirmed reports that Afro-Hispanic Creoles (or remnants thereof) similar to Palenquero may continue to be spoken in heavily Black remote areas of South America. Such accounts have not, however, all been personally verified by linguists.¹

The speech varieties alluded to above have quite differing amounts of contact with Spanish. The situation in El Palenque, Colombia, ranges from active Spanish/Palenquero diglossia to only passive knowledge of the Creole language. The Afro-Hispanic isolates are also spoken side by side with Spanish. Due to their social and geographical proximity to

Venezuela, speakers of Papiamentu are generally also conversant in the language of that country. Philippine Creole Spanish is no longer exposed to the influence of everyday Spanish, as was still the case at the end of the Second World War when Creole speakers interacted frequently with Spanish nationals and Filipinos fluent in Spanish. Zamboangueno, the only viable dialect remaining today, does, however, continue to receive new hispanisms through the influence of writers, journalists, and radio/television personnel who turn to Spanish in order to enrich their vernacular (Lipski 1987c).

2. *Philippine Creole Spanish (Chabacano)*

The only Spanish-lexicon Creole outside of Latin America is spoken in the Philippines, and its varieties are collectively known as Chabacano. This term derives from a Spanish word meaning 'clumsy, bungling', which reflects Spaniards' attitudes toward what in urban form was also called *español de cocina* 'kitchen Spanish'. While this term currently has no pejorative connotations in the Philippines, the belief is widespread (particularly among native speakers) that Chabacano is merely 'broken Spanish' and 'has no grammar'. The following discussion will use only neutral regional designations.²

Despite significant lexical and morphological differences, Philippine Creole Spanish dialects are mutually intelligible and are unquestionably derived from a single source, usually identified with the precursor of Ternateño. Philippine Creole Spanish speakers not formally trained in Spanish are scarcely able to understand the latter, while native Spanish speakers who are unfamiliar with Philippine languages find much of Philippine Creole Spanish impenetrable, with Zamboangueno being the least intelligible.

Philippine Creole Spanish holds an important place among Creole languages. It is the only Spanish-lexicon Creole lacking African influence, and is unique among Hispanic Creoles in flourishing where Spanish is not the matrix language, thus making decreolization impossible. Philippine Creole Spanish does not adhere to the usual SVO Creole typology, but rather prefers the VSO order of most areal languages. Despite these unusual features, Philippine Creole Spanish has attracted a relatively small research paradigm.

The first linguistic study of Philippine Creole Spanish was undertaken by Schuchardt (1884) as part of his monumental survey of Creole languages. Schuchardt gave some relevant details of what he called 'Malay-Spanish', but the study was based on secondary sources, and the full

import of Philippine Creole Spanish for comparative Creole studies did not emerge. This early work was not taken up again until Whinnom (1956), a milestone of research which constitutes the benchmark for Philippine Creole Spanish studies. To Whinnom is due the hypothesis, still widely accepted, that Philippine Creole Spanish results from the relexification of an earlier maritime Portuguese Pidgin, brought to Manila Bay from the former Spanish garrison at Ternate. Frake (1971, 1980) provides the next major studies of Philippine Creole Spanish. He does not explicitly deny the possibility of Creole Portuguese origin in Manila Bay Philippine Creole Spanish, but develops the hypothesis that Zamboangueno is based on relexification of a central Philippine language (Hiligaynon, of the Visayan family) not spoken natively on Mindanao. His 1980 study contains a detailed analysis of the Zamboangueno verb phrase, including its aspectual-based structure and the incorporation of several Visayan particles. Aside from the refined genetic reconstruction, Frake's most important contribution is the analysis (in terms of relative markedness) of the alternation of Spanish and Visayan words, within several closely knit semantic paradigms, including *grande* 'big' versus *diutay* 'small', *si* 'yes' versus *hende* 'no', *ele* 'he, she' versus *silá* 'they'. Finally, Frake offers a sociohistorical model for the transfer of central Philippine lexical items to the Spanish garrison in Zamboanga.

A number of scholars provide descriptions of individual Philippine Creole Spanish dialects, including Forman (1972), Llamado (1972) and Riego de Dios (1976, 1978). Other investigators use Philippine Creole Spanish data in wider comparative studies. For example, Molony (1973, 1977a, 1977b, 1978) contributes to the historical reconstruction of the Manila Bay Philippine Creole Spanish dialects, and supports ranking Ternateño as the oldest variant. Lipski (1986b, 1987b) evaluates phonological variation in Philippine Creole Spanish as a source of quantitative information on Spanish pronunciation in earlier centuries. Although Philippine Creole Spanish does not coexist in a matrix of Spanish speakers, Lipski (1987c) finds evidence that standard Spanish (as spoken by influential community figures such as priests, radio announcers, and teachers) is influencing Zamboangueno. Lipski (1988), updating the observations of Whinnom (1956) and Batalha (1960), surveys putative Portuguese elements in Philippine Creole Spanish, comparing them with developments in other Spanish- and Portuguese-lexicon Creoles. He concludes that although some clear Portuguese > Creole transfers exist, an airtight case for relexification of a Portuguese-lexicon Creole or Pidgin cannot be made solely on the strength of currently available evidence.

As with the study of other Creoles, such as Palenquero, a major obstacle to research on Philippine Creole Spanish has been excessive reliance on second-hand sources or questionable data, often collected by outsiders or by Philippine investigators lacking resources required for in-depth analysis. Most scholars have approached Philippine Creole Spanish either from the perspective of the Hispanist or comparative creolist who is relatively unfamiliar with Philippine languages, or from the viewpoint of the anthropological linguist specializing in the Philippines who may be unaware of the development of Romance or Creole structures. The number of individuals with professional competence in all these disciplines is vanishingly small, and the eventual resolution of issues involving Philippine Creole Spanish will probably be the result of collaborative efforts.

On the positive side of the balance, Philippine Creole Spanish enjoys a large population of mono- and bilingual speakers, and is spoken in readily accessible areas. There are no substantial reasons to impede future research on Philippine Creole Spanish, and key issues remain unresolved, some of which have been surveyed above. Certain of these questions are specific to Philippine Creole Spanish or to Hispanic Creoles in general, but the availability of a typologically unique and fully vigorous Hispanic Creole in a Southeast Asian/Oceanic setting should encourage using Philippine Creole Spanish as a proving ground for a much wider range of theories and models.

3. *Panamanian 'Congo'*

Aside from the linguistically famous Colombian Palenque de San Basilio, other *Palenques* exist in Latin America. Reports of Creole language exist for the Panamanian coastal village of Palenque (Granda 1978: 382, citing unpublished work of Whinnom), Drolet (1980), Joly (1981), Lipski (1986c, 1990a), and others who have investigated the linguistic situation of this area have demonstrated that no Creole has been actively spoken in recent memory. However, the Caribbean coast of Panama, centering on the villages of Portobelo, Nombre de Dios, and Palenque (a few kilometers from the original site), still contains a large Afro-Hispanic population who refer to themselves as *negros congos*, and who stage elaborate dramatic rituals each year during Carnival. An essential component of the ritual is the use of a special language, which, according to oral tradition, is derived from the speech of the *negro bozal* (native of Africa with limited abilities in Spanish).

Detailed study of *congo* communities by Joly (1981), Drolet (1980) and Lipski (1986c, 1990a) has demonstrated that *congo* is a ceremonial language learned ritually by most community members, particularly by the protagonists of the Carnival festivities; it is used principally during Carnival but sporadically at other times, for enjoyment and as a demonstration of ethnolinguistic solidarity when travelling outside the region. Linguistically, *congo* is not entirely the result of natural evolution: it has incorporated deliberate phonetic, syntactic and semantic deformations, involving consonantal epenthesis, vowel substitutions, and semantic shifts centering on the idea of speaking in opposites, as in *vivi* < *vivo* 'dead', *entedo* < *entero* 'broken'. On the other hand, there is a substantial component of *congo* which coincides with records of *bozal* language elsewhere in Latin America, evidently derived from an earlier Pidgin or Creole. Among such features are reduction of nominal and verbal morphology, frequent loss of prepositions, articles, and relativizers, as well as phonological features which in comparative studies have been attributed to Afro-Hispanic areal tendencies.

Panamanian *congo* is important not only as a demonstration of the putative existence of an Afro-Hispanic Creole in a relatively unexplored region, but also as evidence against monogenetic Afro-Romance Creole theories. Absent from *congo* is neutralization of pronominal case, particularly use of originally disjunctive object pronouns as subject, such as Papiamentu *mi*, Palenquero *i*. Absent also from *congo* is the pronoun *vos*, which is a key component of Afro-Iberian Creoles such as Palenquero and Papiamentu, and is also found in Philippine Creole Spanish. *Vos* is used elsewhere in rural Panama by individuals of non-African descent. Most importantly, *congo* lacks verbal particles such as *ta*, which form an important link in theories claiming a common origin for most if not all Afro-Iberian Creoles. Panamanian *congo* thus stands as a possible example of spontaneous creolization independent of a prior Hispanic- or Portuguese-derived proto-Creole.

It is not feasible to postulate a model of diglossia, since *congo* is not used as a daily mode of communication outside of Carnival season. Perhaps as a result of increasing similarity between earlier speech as remembered and passed on to younger learners, and the local Spanish dialect, *congo* was supplemented by distortion and exaggeration typical of speech play. There are clear parallels between *congo* speech and Cuban *santería* and Puerto Rican *espiritismo*, both practised intensively by Afro-Hispanic groups, where speaking in *bozal* dialect is a requisite part of the religious ceremony. Because of fading recollection, imitators of *bozal*

speech increasingly improvise, stereotype and exaggerate in attempts to reproduce 'authentic' language. Herein lies a major potential pitfall when attempts are made to base comparative reconstruction of earlier creolized language on contemporary decreolized fragments.

4. Pan-Caribbean 'bozal' Spanish

Spanish-lexicon Creoles in Latin America are restricted to a few enclaves, while vestigial remains of earlier forms of Afro-Hispanic language are more widespread, having been detected in Cuba (Perl 1982), the Dominican Republic (Megenny 1990), Venezuela (Megenny 1988), Colombia (Granda 1977), Ecuador (Lipski 1987e), Trinidad (Lipski 1990b), and Mexico (Aguirre Beltrán 1958). Several investigators have assembled a corpus of 19th-century Cuban and Puerto Rican texts which, it is claimed, give evidence of an originally pan-Caribbean or even pan-American Creole, a 'missing link' between Papiamentu, Palenquero, and Portuguese-lexicon Creoles in Africa.³ Among elements of Caribbean *bozal* texts cited as evidence in favor of an Afro-Lusitanian Creole basis are: (1) unstable subject-verb and noun-adjective agreement; (2) retention of overt subject pronouns; (3) loss of some articles and prepositions; (4) occasional use of *tener* with existential force; (5) use of *vos* as familiar subject pronoun. Of these, (1)–(3) are general to pidginized or foreigner speech, and (4) is also documented for vestigial Spanish in areas removed from African influence (Lipski 1985b). *Vos* occurs only in a handful of *bozal* texts, and there is almost no use of disjunctive object pronouns – particularly (*a*)*mí* – in the role of subject. Concurrently, many common denominators found in other Afro-Iberian Creoles are conspicuously absent in reconstructed Caribbean *bozal*, including the fusion of preposition + article *na* (Pap. *na Corsou* 'on/in Curaçao'), plural formation via affixation of a plural pronoun (Pap. *buki* + *nan* 'book(s)'), and clause- or sentence-final negation, as found in Palenquero (*i ablá inglés nu* 'I don't speak English') and in popular Dominican and Cuban *bozal* Spanish (*no hablo inglés no*).⁴

The idea of a prior Caribbean Creole Spanish is rejected categorically by López Morales (1980) and Laurence (1974); Lipski (1986a) reviews many examples offered as evidence and concludes that most do not point unequivocally toward a homogeneous Afro-Hispanic or Afro-Lusitanian Creole, but simply document an earlier stage of pidginized approximations to regional Spanish by *bozales*. Arguing against an earlier pan-Caribbean *bozal* Creole, Maurer (1987a) postulates divergent origins for even such structurally similar Creoles as Papiamentu and Palenquero by

invoking linguistic drift coupled with occasional contacts with speakers of other varieties such as Cape Verdian Creole Portuguese.

There is one feature of certain *bozal* texts which is shared by many Iberian-lexicon Creoles (including Papiamento, Palenquero, Cape Verdian Creole, and Philippine Creole Spanish), and which cannot be explained by any plausible model of spontaneous pidginization: the temporal/aspectual particle *ta*: *yo ta yorá pocque Carlota ya ta mori* 'I'm crying because Carlota is dying'. This combination is found only in a few 19th-century *bozal* texts from Cuba and Puerto Rico. Given the documented arrival of Papiamento-speaking workers in Cuba and Puerto Rico in the first half of the 19th century, coinciding with the last major importation of African-born slaves, it may be that newly-arrived *bozales* acquired some Papiamento combinations through contact with workers transplanted from Curaçao (see Lipski 1987a). This hypothesis is supported by the occasional appearance, in the same *bozal* documents, of other elements coinciding with Papiamento, such as *riba* 'on top of'.

The major difficulty in the interpretation of *bozal* texts is the questionable authenticity of linguistic details. Deliberate or subconscious stereotyping is seen in the repeated portrayal of Africans as buffoons or miserable wretches, incapable of more than sensual music and dance. A common lament, repeated in too many literary texts to be attributable to spontaneous usage, is "aunque negro, gente somo". Linguistically, the validity of many literary texts is cast into doubt by generalizations such as that of the Golden Age author Quevedo (1988: 127), who asserted that in order to produce *guineo* (as he designated *bozal* language in Spain), it sufficed to interchange all instances of /l/ and /r/. Extracting elements which appear to have been minimally affected by stereotyping suggests that in addition to unstable concordance, *bozal* Spanish extended processes of phonological reduction already present in regional varieties of Spanish, especially neutralization and loss of syllable-final consonants. Interchange of syllable-initial or syllable-internal /l/ and /r/ (as in *negro* > *neglo*) probably occurred sporadically (as it does to this day in nonstandard Spanish of many regions). Another phonetic modification which apparently occurred in *bozal* speech was intrusive nasalization (*negro* > *nengre*) and nasalization of preconsonantal /s/: *disparates* > *dimparate* 'foolish remarks'). A recurring element in *bozal* texts beginning in 17th-century Spain and continuing through 19th-century Latin America, of various regions, is the portmanteau word *lan*, with variant *nan* as in:

cuando lan galla cantá 'when the roosters crow'
ma que lan tiempo si piere 'even if the time is wasted'
me garra po nan pasa 'he grabs me by the [curly] hair'
nan cañón hacía ¡pum! 'the cannon went boom!'

Lan is used variously as a singular or plural definite article, and as a combination of article + preposition. The origin of these forms is not known with certainty (Lipski 1987f), but their occurrence in Spain, and in Latin America from Puerto Rico to Argentina, suggests that at least a few core items may have been in general circulation among *bozal* speakers.

Regardless of the nature of *bozal* language in Latin America, there remains the issue of influence on supraordinate varieties of Spanish. That lexical transfer occurred is beyond a doubt, but little conclusive evidence exists in other areas of grammar (but see Schwegler MS). Meggeny (1982, 1990) suggests African influence on regional suprasegmental patterns. However, in the absence of information on suprasegmental attributes of *bozal* and post-*bozal* Spanish of the past, it is difficult to advance beyond mere speculation. Claims as to the African origin of reduction of syllable-final consonants, for instance, are undermined by the existence of identical processes in Andalusia and the Canary Islands, as well as the lack of these same phenomena in Afro-Hispanic contact zones where the original Spanish dialects did not exhibit them (Lipski 1985c, 1987e). We cannot at this time rule out the possibility that African speakers extended colloquial and regional patterns of articulation. New patterns could, in turn, filter upward and outward, away from Afro-American communities, producing the current Latin American sociolinguistic configuration, in which no distinguishably Afro-Hispanic speech patterns remain.

An interesting residue of previous Afro-Hispanic contacts has been produced in Latin America, in the form of sociolinguistic attitudes which have led many to believe that some form of 'Afro-American' Spanish still exists. Stereotypes of 'black' Spanish are invariably ascribed to poor, socially marginalized individuals, and literary examples are usually confined to phonetic 'eye-dialect' (Lipski 1985a). In all instances, the speech patterns are typical of the colloquial speech of much wider segments of the respective societies, regardless of ethnic background. The reasons behind these attitudes are complex, and go beyond simple prejudice and ignorance, particularly when stemming from Afro-Hispanic writers such as Nicolás Guillén, Adalberto Ortiz, and Nicomedes Santa Cruz. Suffice it to say that it is not entirely inappropriate to speak of distinctly Afro-Hispanic ethnolinguistics, even at the present time.

On balance, the 'true story' of Caribbean *bozal* Spanish has yet to be written. The speakers have disappeared, although living memories remain, as do dialect pockets with a higher than average proportion of Africanisms. Subsequent research must combine field work with archival searches, and, as comparative Creole studies advance, it is to be hoped that *bozal* reconstruction continues apace.

5. *Palenquero (Colombia)*

Limited to San Basilio de Palenque, Bolivar, Colombia, this Spanish-lexicon Creole is spoken by fewer than 4,000 descendants of runaway African slaves who, early in the 17th century, established their first *palenques* (primitive fortifications) in the hinterland of Cartagena.⁵ Until recently, the Palenqueros lived in relative cultural and geographic isolation. There is language-internal as well as external evidence (Del Castillo 1984: 80–85; Schwegler 1990b) that despite such isolation this maroon society has long been bilingual in Palenquero (locally known as 'lengua') and rural Colombian Spanish.⁶ The two languages share a vast number of lexical correspondences, but the Creole is hardly intelligible to outsiders. Although virtually all inhabitants of San Basilio still understand the local vernacular, those of the younger generation in particular are increasingly avoiding its use. Despite a growing awareness of 'negritud' among both Palenqueros and black Colombians, there is no institutional or political support to counter the current trend of Afro-Hispanic language loss.

Palenquero was first brought to the attention of the scholarly community by Ochoa Franco (1945). It was sampled in Escalante's anthropological monographs (1954 [1979], 1964), briefly described by Montes Giraldo (1962) and Bickerton–Escalante (1970), and analysed in Lewis' unpublished and difficult to obtain 1970 thesis. Between 1968 and 1978 there followed a series of short but important contributions by Granda (1968 and the collection of articles reprinted in his *Estudios lingüísticos* 1978), who, contrary to the claims made in the monumental *Bibliography of pidgin and creole languages* (Reinecke et al. 1975: 132), was first in identifying the Creole – rather than ordinary dialectal – character of Palenquero.

The article by Bickerton and Escalante (1970: 256) – pivotal for many linguists because it constitutes the only published survey of Palenquero written in English to date – recognized the centrality of Palenquero to the study of Caribbean Spanish and Creoles in general. Today, many but by no means all specialists agree that this Afro-Hispanic vernacular is a

survival of a once more widely distributed Creole which must have influenced the development of (Afro-)Hispanic dialects elsewhere in the Caribbean. Due to its possible genetic relationship with, among others, Papiamentu and Portuguese-based contact languages of West Africa (particularly the Creoles of Annobon, São Tomé, Príncipe, Cape Verde, and Guinea Bissau), the 'lengua' of San Basilio is of key importance to the debate on mono- versus poly-genesis, and is crucial to the question of 16th-century Afro-Portuguese language use along the coasts of West Africa and Asia. But because of (1) the widespread attitude among specialists of Spanish (as well as Romance philology at large) that African or Creole influence on American Spanish has been negligible or non-existent even in the most heavily Afro-American Caribbean areas, and (2) the long unavailability of Palenquero grammars and/or raw data, the language of Palenque has remained virtually excluded from theoretical discussions on Creoles, American Spanish dialects, or language in general.

Within the past few years, the monographs of Patiño Rosselli (1983)⁷ and Megenny (1986),⁸ Del Castillo's two lengthy contributions (1982, 1984), and, most recently, articles by Escalante (1988), Granda (1988: 223–233), and Schwegler (1989, 1990 b, 1991 a–c, 1992, in press a–c, f), as well as the more comparative studies by Lipski (1986 a, 1987 a, 1987 f), Maurer (1987 a), Megenny (1984), and Schwegler (1988, 1990 a, chapter 6, and in press d), have marked the beginning of renewed interest in Palenquero.⁹ *Lengua y sociedad en el Palenque de San Basilio* (Friedemann – Patiño Rosselli 1983) constitutes the most solid description of Palenquero to date and, importantly, contains the only corpus of transcribed spoken Palenquero texts (with accompanying Spanish translation), as well as an incisive sociohistorical analysis by the Colombian anthropologist Friedemann. Patiño Rosselli's linguistic description, conceived in a structuralist vein, remains true to Latin American tradition in concentrating – in order of importance – on phonology, morphology, and syntax, always with a view towards uncovering potential Africanisms, such as prenasalization of some word-initial consonants (Pal. *ndo* ~ Sp. *dos* 'two'; Pal. *ngalá* ~ Sp. *agarrar* 'to grab'), plural marking with the Bantu prefix *ma* (Pal. *ma kusa* ~ Sp. *las cosas* 'the things'), and postverbal negation (Pal. *i (nu) asé ablá lengua nu* ~ *yo no hablo lengua* 'I don't speak *lengua*').

Because of the strong genealogical and cultural affinity between today's Palenqueros and their modern sub-Saharan relatives, specialists like Megenny, Del Castillo, and Granda have centered their attention primarily on putative African elements. In an effort to determine the precise

geographical source of such influences. Megenney's *El palenquero: un lenguaje post-criollo de Colombia* (1986) first dedicates 50 pages to the origins of the slaves brought to Cartagena, then proceeds to a tripartite analysis of 'la lengua' (phonology, morphology, and especially syntax), and, after a brief synopsis of lexical items of Romance origins, eventually returns to African topics in his discussion of 43 potential sub-Saharanisms.¹⁰ An even greater fascination for Africanisms marks Del Castillo's consecutive contributions (1982, 1984) to Palenquero lexicography. Solidly familiar with the history of the slave trade, this Colombian author assembles and analyses an impressive collection of over one hundred Palenquero words of supposed African descent, thus confirming the findings of Megenney (1986), Granda (1978, 1988), and Schwegler (1991 a, in press e, f) about the predominantly Angolan/Congolese ancestry of Palenque. Although less firmly grounded in principles of modern linguistics, Escalante's latest contribution (1988) on Bantu influence on the Atlantic coast of Colombia, together with Granda's rekindled interest in Palenquero (1988) and the recent arrival of Maurer, Lipski, and Schwegler to the field, may well signal the beginning of greater coordination and cooperation among the few but widely dispersed specialists.

Despite relatively rapid advances in less than a decade, Palenquero studies still lag far behind those of other Creoles of equal or even lesser importance. The inquiries of Lipski (1987a) and Maurer (1987a) on certain facets of the tense/aspect system are good examples of how the recent monographs by Megenney and Patiño Rosselli enable comparativists to include Palenquero in their discussions, but at the same time significantly limit their efforts because of the limited availability of raw data and imprecisions in their source materials — such as questionable morphemic separations and occasionally doubtful transcriptions. Especially in the verbal system, there remain a number of serious problems which must be solved before these data can be incorporated satisfactorily into cross-linguistic endeavours. The problems include: the morphemic structure of the tense/aspect markers *asé* (or *a-sé*) and *atá* (or *a-tá*); the description of the frequent but heretofore overlooked (irrealis?) marker *aké*;¹¹ and the function and origin of the non-verbal enclitic (tense/aspect?) particle *-ba*, as in Pal. *i taba akí-ba* ~ Sp. *yo estaba aquí* 'I was here'. The currently available corpus of spoken Palenquero is, furthermore, excessively short and too fragmented to permit the kind of thorough analyses (often statistical) that have constituted the foundation of many modern investigations of better known languages.

Future field workers should avoid basing their conclusions on information obtained from Palenquero informants now residing in the more hospitable neighbouring urban centres of Cartagena or Barranquilla. As shown by Schwegler (1990 b), reliance on such data has, at times, been misleading, and threatens to blur further the already poorly delineated question of Palenquero decreolization.¹² But perhaps the most severe criticism of past research efforts concerns the frequent lack of rigour in the pursuit of Africanisms. With the possible exception of Granda, participants in this 'African' word hunt -- admittedly an unusually difficult task for a variety of reasons (see Megenney 1986, chapter 7) -- are without exception Hispanists without a formal training in synchronic, and much less diachronic, sub-Saharan linguistics. Equally significant is the fact that scholars of Palenquero -- and in particular those who had most to say about supposed 'African' remnants -- have never spent a prolonged period in San Basilio, thus failing to acquire a (near) native-like familiarity with 'lengua'. Because of such shortcomings, a number of false segmentations (such as **paloma mong* for *palo mamong* 'mamón tree') or 'strange' yet (after careful inspection) irrefutably Romance-derived words (such as *casariambe* < Sp. *casa de hambre* 'cemetery') have been assigned erroneously to African etyma, thereby artificially inflating the tally of substratal influences on 'lengua'.¹³ African languages clearly played an important, if not crucial, role in the genesis of Palenquero, but current evidence simply cannot support the tentative claim of Bickerton and Escalante (1970: 260; generally echoed in subsequent works) that as much as 10% of the Palenquero lexical stock may be of sub-Saharan origin.¹⁴

Given the strong signs of imminent language death in San Basilio, perhaps the most urgent task is the collection and publication of additional data: as Schwegler's recent monograph-length article (in press f) illustrates, much can still be learned about both the internal and external history of Palenquero by sampling archaic words still cherished by the last practitioners of the traditional Lumbalú songs. The unusually homogenous Palenquero community (which is practically free of sociolinguistic variation) provides a relatively undisturbed and, therefore, ideal testing ground for more theoretical issues such as language death, decreolization, or code switching. Several phenomena (like sandhi, topicalization, pluralization, possible variation in tone, negation) which may link Palenquero with African languages or other Creoles also beg for immediate further investigation. Thanks to the rapid advances that have

been made in identifying the relatively small northern Angolan territories as the principal homeland of Palenqueros,¹⁵ the outlook for such future comparative investigations are indeed very promising.

6. *Papiamentu*

Spoken on the Caribbean islands of Curaçao, Aruba, and Bonaire,¹⁶ Papiamentu has the largest number of speakers (more than 200,000)¹⁷ of any Hispanic Creole in the Americas, and, unlike most other contact vernaculars, has an increasingly flourishing written language. Although Dutch is the official tongue on all three islands, Papiamentu is an accepted national language, and is commonly used in most newspapers as well as on television. The sociolinguistic position of Papiamentu is distinctly different from that of other Caribbean islands in that this Creole does not have a recognized standard to relate to directly (in contrast to Jamaican English or Haitian French). There exist only minor differences between the types of Papiamentu spoken in the three adjoining islands, and there is reason to believe that the ongoing process of standardization (both in writing and on TV) will lead to even greater normalization (see Ahrens – Embleton 1987).

Because of its national prestige, considerable number of speakers, and, at least as regards Creoles, unusually long tradition of written language, Papiamentu boasts a greater number and variety of publications than any other Romance Creole (Reinecke's monumental *Bibliography* (1975) reserves 63 pages for Papiamentu alone!).¹⁸ Traditionally, two problems have attracted both attention and disagreement, and linguists continue to show considerable concern for them: first, whether Papiamentu was originally lexified from Portuguese or Spanish; and second, how the infelicitous vacillation between Dutch, Spanish, and phonetic spellings in Papiamentu orthography should be corrected. Being mainly of national concern, the second problem has received only minimal international attention. The debate about Papiamentu genesis, on the other hand, has led to (often heated) discussion in international circles. According to some (Ferrol 1982: 84–85; Stein 1984: 15), the Portuguese elements in Papiamentu may be explained through extensive influence of Portuguese Sephardic Jews and slave traders living in Curaçao, or via the operation of basic phonetic rules of Papiamentu upon originally Castilian models (Wood 1972: 861). Others (including Goodman 1987), believe that these Portuguese components in the Dutch, English, French, and Danish colonies in the New World can in large part be traced, either directly or indirectly, to the exodus of Dutch and Jewish refugees from Brazil.

Diametrically opposed to these two positions are those who uphold the theory of an Afro-Portuguese origin of Papiamentu (see the classic study of Lenz 1928; Navarro Tomás 1953; and, more recently, Granda 1974; Megenney 1984, 1985). According to them, the Portuguese components that have survived over the centuries in Papiamentu (as well as other Caribbean vernaculars, including Palenquero) from larger stocks of Portuguese elements, must once have been an integral part of the original Portuguese-based Pidgin or Creole supposedly spoken by 16th- and 17th-century slaves on both sides of the Atlantic.

Although the basic tenets of either theory of Papiamentu genesis have remained essentially unchanged and no definitive agreement has been reached, scholars now seek to formulate their arguments in a less categorical fashion. Thus Megenney (1985: 175), a long-time proponent of the importance of Afro-Portuguese 'reconnaissance language' in the formation of Caribbean dialects, recognizes that Portuguese elements may have been imported into the various areas via a hybrid Afro-Hispanic language rather than a full-fledged Pidgin or Creole. Basing himself on an analysis – etymological as well as functional – of the Papiamentu temporal system, Maurer (1986a) is equally cautious in concluding that, despite the unquestionable importance of the Afro-Portuguese contact language, Papiamentu may have originated from a variety of languages (Afro-Portuguese, Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch) rather than from a single source. Even more important perhaps is his recognition (1986a: 145) that the knotty issue of Papiamentu genesis cannot be resolved satisfactorily without additional study of language-external factors, particularly the provenance of African slaves and their linguistic preferences once they became freemen.

On the whole, the past 15 years of research on Papiamentu have not produced a coherent body of publications, nor a research program that might lead to a well-rounded analysis of the language. Although more theoretically oriented linguists clearly favour including Papiamentu over other Hispanic Creoles in their discussions,¹⁹ Papiamentu has generally been left out of the process of interpreting, testing, and refining the various linguistic theories that have been in vogue (with varying degrees of success) over the past thirty years.²⁰ By the same token, researchers on Papiamentu are notably absent at international symposia held outside Curaçao, and few newcomers to linguistics appear to choose this vernacular as their field of inquiry.²¹

There are, fortunately, a number of works that, though they have hardly set the stage for a new surge of research, are providing important

new insights into the history or structure of Papiamentu. Dijkhoff's paper (1983) is interesting in that it illustrates how pluralization is linked, in complex ways, to a classification of the noun phrase in three distinct semantic categories, through which it is possible to 'explain' the occurrence or non-occurrence of the plural marker *-nan* with different semantic categories.²² Bendix's (1983) contribution is of particular importance because it investigates in considerable detail (for the first time as regards Papiamentu) certain sandhi phenomena which are also unusually frequent in other Creole languages, but could not easily be studied cross-linguistically in a satisfactory manner because current orthographic conventions tend to hide these assimilatory processes.²³ Although focusing on a different problem, Maurer's analysis of Papiamentu reduplication and reiteration (in press) and his brief but penetrating "Substrate influence on the semantics of the Papiamentu particle *di*" (1987b) are related to Bendix's investigation in that they all posit African (rather than European) languages as the primary source for the respective Papiamentu phenomena.²⁴ Kouwenberg (1990) discusses clausal complements in Papiamentu which are introduced by *pa* in an attempt to show that, contrary to the claim of some specialists, there are syntactic and semantic tests which provide proof for a distinction between finite and nonfinite clauses introduced by the complementizer *pa*.

Until most recently, specialists — perhaps more familiar with the Curaçao Creole than with those of other, more isolated and less populous *bozal* speech areas — have rarely attempted to gain insights into the diachrony of Papiamentu by comparing its grammatical features to those of (arguably) related speech varieties such as Palenquero or Panamanian *Congo*. Recognizing the potential utility of such an approach, Lipski (1986a, 1987a) and Maurer (1987a) break new ground by contrasting the behaviour of *bozal* temporal/aspectual markers. Although working independently but with virtually identical raw data, both investigators conclude that Caribbean *bozal* Spanish, though possibly influenced by Afro-Hispanic Creole speech, can never have been a homogeneous phenomenon, but rather was characterized by considerable instability and variation.

Because Papiamentu does not suffer from strong pressures of standardization towards a more prestigious supralect (see above), decreolization, though not absent, is less imminent than in other Creole communities.²⁵ Since Wood (1972) and Baum (1976) concerned themselves with this issue, no one has examined the impact of the latest wave of hispanization on Papiamentu. Today's specialists should not, however,

fail to investigate points of cross-linguistic interference, however minor, since these could provide important insights into the mechanics of language change before decreolization is allowed to gain full momentum. Papiamentu deserves wider attention not only because of the peculiar mixture of local languages and the individuality of the Creole spoken on the three Dutch islands, but also on account of its relevance to the question of monogenetic Afro-Romance Creole theories.

7. *Conclusions*

Despite the intensity of research into Hispanic Creoles and Afro-Hispanic speech varieties in the past two decades, many of the issues surrounding the origin and spread of Iberian-based Creoles remain unresolved. The relative contributions of Spanish and Portuguese in the formation of the Creoles surveyed here continue to evoke controversy, as do strong versions of the monogenetic hypothesis, which posit a single, Portuguese-based, Pidgin or trade language as the precursor of all Romance-based Creoles. Much that has been said about the possible African contribution to the Latin American Creoles is still speculative and in need of further study. This should not be surprising in light of the fact that relevant research typically entails historical reconstruction, an enterprise beset by scanty, unreliable, and often contradictory source materials. The positive contributions of current research into Hispanic Creoles outweigh these inherent limitations, for nearly all contemporary investigation combines in-depth field work with refined theoretical perspectives. Much of the tenuous nature of earlier studies is due to an excessive reliance on anecdotal and second-hand information, as well as a superficial and empirically inadequate linguistic model. The contemporary trend is to apply to the study of Creole languages the same rigorous, theoretically solid and empirically verified models used to analyse other languages. Significant advances in sociolinguistics and variation theory, theoretical syntax and phonology, and historical linguistics are all reflected in current Creole research, and our knowledge of the nature of creolization, decreolization, and the specifics of individual Creole languages is increasing apace. Always needed are: additional field work in Creole-speaking areas, greater attention to the sociolinguistics of Creoles used in diglossic contexts, the formation of a verified comparative data-base, and a continued commitment to situate Creole studies firmly in the mainstream of linguistic research.

Notes

- * This research and the preparation of this paper were supported in part by the President's Fellowship in the Humanities, University of California.
1. For example, Granda (1978: 417–418) cites reports of what may be another vestigial Creole among Afro-Hispanic residents of the Colombian Chocó region (but see Schwegler 1991d). Upon attempting to follow up similar rumors, Lipski (1987e) found no evidence – either in the village of Palenque, or in Esmeraldas province – to substantiate anecdotes that an Afro-Hispanic Creole had recently disappeared in coastal areas of Ecuador. On the positive side of the balance, Granda (1978: 416–417) was able to confirm that a Creole similar to Palenquero existed until recently in the Colombian village of Uré.
 2. *Ternateño* is used in the village of Ternate, on Manila Bay, by an ever decreasing number of individuals (probably no more than a few thousand), all of whom are also native speakers of Tagalog. *Caviteño* is spoken in Cavite, another town on Manila Bay, also by a few thousand Tagalog bilinguals, and is disappearing due to the close proximity to Manila and to rising land values. This in turn results in inward migration of upwardly mobile suburbanites who do not know Philippine Creole Spanish, and in outward migration of Philippine Creole Spanish speakers to Manila. Both varieties are heavily influenced by Tagalog. An arguably distinct variety known as *Ermiteño* has recently disappeared from the Ermita district of Manila, but was once used extensively as a Pidgin throughout the Manila area. *Zamboangueño*, the only viable dialect of Philippine Creole Spanish, is spoken natively or near-natively by several hundred thousand residents of Zamboanga City (southwestern Mindanao). Transplanted Zamboangueño colonies, now on the verge of disappearing, exist in Cotabato and Davao, in the latter city arguably forming a separate dialect. Zamboangueño is heavily influenced by Cebuano and Hiligaynon (Ilongo), to a limited extent by normative Spanish, and, increasingly, by English. At least since Whinnom (1954) the contemporary existence of speakers of non-Creole Spanish in the Philippines has been acknowledged, but there continues to exist some confusion in the literature between Philippine Creole Spanish and what has been termed 'Philippine Spanish' (Quilis 1980). In an attempt to dispell the confusion, Lipski (1987d) studies samples of vestigial Philippine Spanish from throughout the country and encounters no creoloid structures, except for bilectal speakers in Cavite and Zamboanga.
 3. This theory is put forward to varying degrees, by the following, among many others: Otheguy (1973), Granda (1978), Megenney (1984, 1985), Perl (1982, 1989), and, less directly, by Alvarez Nazario (1974).
 4. A combination of preposed and postposed negation appears frequently in the Chocó region of Colombia, as well as in informal spoken Angolan and Brazilian Portuguese: *não falo inglês não* 'I don't speak English' (Schwegler 1991e and MS).
 5. Recent language-external evidence suggests that Palenque was not one of the original hiding places of numerous rebellious slaves that escaped from 17th-century Cartagena (Schwegler in press f).
 6. With the dubious exception of Papiamentu, Palenquero is the only true Spanish-based Creole in the entire western hemisphere. A number of lexical, morphosyntactic, and phonological features suggest that the language relexified towards Spanish from an earlier Afro-Portuguese base (Meggenney 1984; Schwegler 1991c, in press d, e).
 7. Reviewed by Byrne (1984), Del Castillo (1986), and Streicker (1987).

8. Discussed critically by Zamora Salamanca (1985).
9. Elizaincin (1985) is brief and, at least with regards to San Basilio, contains nothing not already mentioned elsewhere. Megenny (1978, 1983, 1984) seeks to identify remnants of Portuguese and/or African traces in Palenquero. Also noteworthy is the inclusion of Palenquero lexemes in the *Atlas lingüístico etnográfico de Colombia* (ALEC 1981–1983).
10. Most of these have been taken from the famous and difficult to decipher funeral songs called ‘Lumbalú’, analysed in Schwegler 1991a, in press f). See also Megenny 1976, 1978, 1980.
11. Studied for the first time in Schwegler 1992.
12. Schwegler 1991b illustrates how preconceived notions about Palenquero decreolization have led specialists to conclude that seemingly extraneous constructions are not the result of Spanish influence but are rather intricate ‘native’ components of a complex Creole system.
13. See Schwegler 1989, 1990b, in press a–c and f, and especially 1991a, where it is explained why there exists no direct correlation between the relative low number of Africanisms in Palenquero and the considerable role sub-Saharan languages must have played in its formation.
14. The true figure may be less than 3%.
15. Schwegler 1991a and 1991b contain numerous interpretive maps of the lower Congo–northern Angola region that trace the ethnolinguistic origins of Palenqueros.
16. According to Alvarez Nazario (1970) and Granda (1973), during the 18th and 19th centuries Papiamentu may also have been spoken on other Caribbean islands in pockets of expatriated slaves from Curaçao.
17. At least 10%–15% are native speakers of other languages (Dutch, Sranan, Spanish, or English).
18. These writings constitute a valuable body of research materials, now being studied by Salomon (1982) and Jeuda (1983).
19. Compare Schrotten’s (1983) typological investigation, Bickerton’s (1984) ‘language bioprogram’ proposal, Maurer’s (1985, 1987a) rejection of Bickerton’s ‘temporal’ ‘proto creole model’, Sebba’s (1987) study of the syntax of serial verbs, Allsopp’s (1983) examination of passivity in Creoles, or Mufwene and Dijkhoff’s (1989) investigation into the infinitive in Creoles.
20. The tendency to ignore Papiamentu is so widespread that comparative studies of Creole languages most often exclude data from the Dutch islands (see, for example, Boretzky 1983). A notable exception is Andersen (1990) whose study of Papiamentu tense-aspect forms part of a wider, cross-linguistic investigation into Pidgin and Creole tense-aspect systems.
21. Among the few dissertations on Papiamentu are: Andersen 1974; DeBose 1975; and Maurer 1988.
22. On which topic also see Munteanu 1981. Other studies on Papiamentu syntax within a generative framework include: Muysken 1977; Richardson 1977; Römer 1977 – these three, atypically for Papiamentu, conveniently united in a single publication, Römer 1983, on syntactic rules, and Muller 1983, on Papiamentu tones, are likewise grouped in a single volume and accompanied by four articles concentrating on language education and language planning on the islands.
23. Palenquero, which appears to be genetically related, shows similar tendencies. The Palenquero data currently available are essentially phonological rather than phonetic

(especially in Patiño Rosselli 1983) and do not faithfully reflect the abundance of apocope in natural speech. Munteanu 1978 also concentrates on the phonological system of Papiamentu.

24. Also noteworthy are: Maurer 1986 b and press, the latter of a more popularizing nature.
 25. It should be pointed out at this juncture that not all linguists are in full agreement about the Creole status of Papiamentu. Most recently Agard (1985: 241) has reinvoked Alleyne's claim that "there is no value in calling Papiamentu now a Creole" (1971: 183).

References

- Agard, Frederick B.
 1985 "Papiamentu grammars and the structure of the language", *Oceanic linguistics special publication* 20: 235–242.
- Aguirre Beltrán, Gonzalo
 1958 *Cuñila: esbozo etnográfico de un pueblo negro*. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Ahrens, Wolfgang P. — Sheila M. Embleton
 1987 "Toponymy, language, and spontaneous naming in Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao", *Onomastica canadiana* 69: 32–40.
- ALEC
 1981–83 *Atlas lingüístico-etnográfico de Colombia*. 5 vols. Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo.
- Alleyne, Mervyn C.
 1971 "Acculturation and the cultural matrix of creolization", in: Dell Hymes (ed.), 169–186.
- Allsopp, Richard
 1983 "The creole treatment of passivity", in: Lawrence D. Carrington (ed.), 142–154.
- Alvarez Nazario, Manuel
 1970 "Un texto literario del papiamentu documentado en Puerto Rico en 1830", *Revista del Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña* 47: 1–4.
 1974 *El elemento afronegroide en el español de Puerto Rico*. San Juan: Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña.
- Andersen, Roger W.
 1974 Nativization and hispanization in the Papiamentu of Curaçao, N.A.: A sociolinguistic study of variation. [Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Texas at Austin.]
 1990 "Papiamentu tense-aspect, with special attention to discourse", in: John Singler (ed.), *Pidgin and creole tense-modality-aspect systems* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins), 59–96.
- Batalha, Graciete Nogueira
 1960 "Coincidências com o dialecto de Macau em dialectos espanhóis das Ilhas Filipinas", *Boletim de filologia* 19: 295–303.
- Baum, Paul
 1976 "The question of decreolization in Papiamentu phonology." *Linguistics* (The Hague) 173: 83–93.

- Bendix, Edward H.
1983 "Sandhi phenomena in Papiamentu, other creoles and African languages: can they be used to reconstruct history?", in: Lawrence D. Carrington (ed.), 112–123.
- Bickerton, Derek
1984 "The language bioprogram hypothesis", *The behavioral and brain sciences* 7: 173–221.
- Bickerton, Derek — Aquiles Escalante
1970 "Palenquero: a Spanish-based creole of northern Colombia", *Lingua* 24: 254–267.
- Boretzky, Norbert
1983 *Kreolsprachen, Substrate und Sprachwandel*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Byrne, Francis
1984 Review of Friedemann — Patiño Rosselli 1983. *The carrier pidgin* 12: 5–6.
- Carrington, Lawrence D. (ed.)
1983 *Studies in Caribbean language*. St Augustine (Trinidad): Society for Caribbean Linguistics.
- DeBose, Charles Edward
1975 Papiamentu: a Spanish-based creole. [Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.]
- Del Castillo, Nicolás
1982 *Eslavos negros en Cartagena y sus aportes léxicos*. Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo.
1984 El léxico negro-africano de San Basilio de Palenque. *Thesaurus* 39: 80–169.
1986 Review of Megenny 1986. *Thesaurus* 41: 318–319.
- Dijkhoff, Marta
1983 "The process of pluralization in Papiamentu", in: Lawrence D. Carrington (ed.), 217–229.
- Drolet, Patricia
1980 The Congo ritual of northeastern Panama, an Afro-American expressive structure of cultural adaptation. [Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Illinois.]
- Elizaincín, Adolfo
1985 "La incidencia del portugués en dos dialectos hispanoamericanos mezclados: el palenquero de Colombia y los DPU del Uruguay", *Estudios filológicos* 20: 13–37.
- Escalante, Aquiles
1954 *Notas sobre El Palenque de San Basilio, una comunidad negra de Colombia*. (Divulgaciones etnológicas III, 5.) Barranquilla: Universidad del Atlántico. [Second edition: Barranquilla: Editorial Mejoras, 1979.]
1964 *El negro en Colombia*. (Monografías de Sociología 18.) Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia.
1988 "Influencia bantú en la cultura popular de la costa atlántica colombiana", *Desarrollo* 87: 37–47.
- Ferrol, Orlando
1982 *La cuestión del origen y de la formación del papiamentu*. The Hague: Smits.
- Flórez, Luis
1960 "Observaciones generales sobre la pronunciación del español en el Departamento de Bolívar (Colombia)", *Revista colombiana de folclore* 2: 157–159.

- Forman, Michael
 1972 Zamboangueno texts with grammatical analysis. [Unpublished PhD dissertation. Cornell University.]
- Frake, Charles
 1971 "Lexical origins and semantic structure in Philippine creole Spanish", in: Dell Hymes (ed.), 223–242.
 1980 "Zamboangueno verb expressions", in: Anwar S. Dil (ed.), *Language and cultural description. Essays by Charles O. Frake* (Stanford: Stanford University Press), 277–310.
- Friedemann, Nina S. de — Carlos Patiño Rosselli
 1983 *Lengua y sociedad en el Palenque de San Basilio* (Publicaciones del Instituto Caro y Cuervo 66.) Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo.
- Goodman, Morris
 1987 "The Portuguese element in the American creoles", in: Glenn G. Gilbert (ed.), *Pidgin and creole languages* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press), 361–405.
- Granda, Germán de
 1968 "La tipología 'criolla' de dos hablas del área lingüística hispánica", *Thesaurus* 23: 193–205.
 1973 "Papiamento en Hispanoamérica", *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", *Romance philology* 28: 1–16.
 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*. (Biblioteca románica hispánica 2. Estudios y ensayos, 282.) Madrid: Gredos.
 1988 *Lingüística e historia*. (Lingüística y filología 6.) Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid.
- Hymes, Dell (ed.)
 1971 *Pidginization and creolization of languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jeuda, David M.
 1983 "Early newspaper texts in Papiamentu: internal and external comparisons", in: Lawrence D. Carrington (ed.), 70–74.
- Joly, Luz Graciela
 1981 "The ritual play of the Congos of north-central Panama: its sociolinguistic implications", *Sociolinguistic working papers* 85. Austin: Southwest Educational Development Laboratory.
- Kouwenberg, Silvia
 1990 "Complementizer *pa*, the finiteness of its complements, and some remarks on empty categories in Papiamento", *Journal of pidgin and creole studies* 5: 39–51.
- Laurence, Kemlin
 1974 "Is Caribbean Spanish a case of decreolization?", *Orbis* 23: 484–499.
- Lenz, Rodolfo
 1928 *El papiamento, la lengua criolla de Curazao*. Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Bolcells.

- Lewis, Anthony R.
 1970 A descriptive analysis of the Palenquero dialect. [Unpublished Master's thesis, University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica.]
- Lipski, John M.
 1985 a "Black Spanish: the last frontier of Afro-America", *Crítica* (San Diego) 1: 53–75.
 1985 b "Creole Spanish and vestigial Spanish: evolutionary parallels", *Linguistics* (Amsterdam) 23: 963–984.
 1985 c *The Spanish of Equatorial Guinea*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
 1986 a "Convergence and divergence in *bozal* Spanish: a comparative study", *Journal of pidgin and creole languages* 1: 171–203.
 1986 b "On the reduction of /s/ in Philippine Creole Spanish: implications for historical Spanish dialectology", *Diachronica* 3: 43–66.
 1986 c "The speech of the *negros congos* of Panama: an Afro-Hispanic dialect", *Hispanic linguistics* 2: 23–47.
 1987 a "On the construction *ta* + infinitive in Caribbean *bozal* Spanish", *Romance philology* 40: 431–450.
 1987 b "Phonological reduction in Philippine Creole Spanish: implications for historical Hispanic dialectology", in: Terrell Morgan – James Lee – Bill Van Patten (eds.), *Language and language use* (Washington DC: University Press of America), 79–96.
 1987 c "Modern Spanish once-removed in Philippine Creole Spanish: the case of Zamboangueno", *Language in society* 16: 91–108.
 1987 d "Contemporary Philippine Spanish: comments on vestigial usage", *Philippine journal of linguistics* 18: 37–48.
 1987 e "The Chota Valley: Afro-Hispanic language in highland Ecuador", *Latin American research review* 22: 155–170.
 1987 f "The origin and development of *lan/nan* in Afro-Caribbean Spanish", *Beiträge zur romanischen Philologie* 26: 291–300.
 1988 "Philippine Creole Spanish: assessing the Portuguese element", *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 104: 25–45.
 1990 a *The speech of the negros congos of Panama*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
 1990 b "Trinidad Spanish: implications for Afro-Hispanic linguistics", *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 62: 7–26.
- Llamado, Librada
 1972 "Phrase-structure rules of Cavite Chabacano", *Philippine journal of linguistics* 3: 67–96.
- López Morales, Humberto
 1980 "Sobre la pretendida existencia y pervivencia del 'criollo' cubano", *Anuario de letras* 18: 85–116.
- Maurer, Philippe
 1985 "Le système temporel du papiamento et le système temporel proto-créole de Bickerton", *Amsterdam creole studies* 8: 41–66.
 1986 a "El origen del papiamento desde el punto de vista de sus tiempos", *Neue Romania* 4: 129–149.
 1986 b "Le papiamento de Curaçao: un cas de créolisation atypique?", *Etudes créoles* 9: 97–113.

- 1987 a "La comparaison des morphèmes temporels du papiamentu et du palenquero: arguments contre la théorie monogénétique de la genèse des langues créoles", in: Philippe Maurer - Thomas Stolz (eds.), *Varia creolica* (Bochum: Brockmeyer), 27-69.
- 1987 b "Substrate influence on the semantics of the papiamentu particle *di*: a reply to Bickerton 1986", *Journal of pidgin and creole languages* 2: 239-249.
- 1988 *Les modifications temporelles et modales du verbe dans le papiamentu de Curaçao (Antilles Néerlandaises)*. (Kreolische Bibliothek 9.) Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
- in press "El papiamentu de Curazao - un idioma verdaderamente americano", *Islas* (Cuba).
- Megenny, William W.
- 1976 "El elemento sub-sahárico en el léxico costeño de Colombia", *Revista española de lingüística* 6: 405-451.
- 1978 "El habla costeña de Colombia: un ejemplo de la influencia del substrato negroide", *Cuadernos americanos* 3: 146-162.
- 1980 "Sub-Saharan influences in Palenquero and Barloventero. Some African elements in the Spanish of the Caribbean coasts of Colombia and Venezuela", *Revista interamericana* 10: 143-155.
- 1982 "Elementos subsaháricos en el español dominicano", in: Orlando Alba (ed.), *El español del Caribe* (Santiago de los Caballeros: Universidad Católica Madre y Maestra), 183-202.
- 1983 "Common words of African origin in Latin América", *Hispania* 66: 1-10.
- 1984 "Traces of Portuguese in three Caribbean creoles: evidence in support of the monogenetic theory", *Hispanic linguistics* 1: 177-189.
- 1985 "La influencia criolla-portuguesa en el español caribeño", *Anuario de lingüística hispánica* 1: 157-179.
- 1986 *El palenquero. Un lenguaje post-criollo de Colombia*. (Publicaciones del Instituto Caro y Cuervo 74.) Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo.
- 1988 "Black rural speech in Venezuela", *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 73: 52-61.
- 1990 *Africa en Santo Domingo: su herencia lingüística*. Santo Domingo: Museo del Hombre Dominicano.
- Molony, Carol
- 1973 "Sound changes in Chabacano", in: Andrew González (ed.), *Parangal kay Cecilio López: essays in honor of Cecilio López* (Quezon City: Linguistic Society of the Philippines), 38-50.
- 1977 a "Semantic changes in Chabacano", in: Jürgen Meisel (ed.), *Languages in contact - pidgins - creoles - languages in contact* (Tübingen: Günter Narr), 153-166.
- 1977 b "Recent relexification processes in Philippine Creole Spanish", in: Ben Blount - Mary Sanches (eds.), *Sociocultural dimensions of language change* (New York: Academic Press), 131-160.
- 1978 "Lexical changes in Philippine creole Spanish", in: William McCormack - Stephen Wurm (eds.), *Approaches to language: anthropological issues* (The Hague: Mouton), 401-416.
- Montes Giraldo, José Joaquín de
- 1962 "Sobre el habla de San Basilio de Palenque (Bolívar, Colombia)", *Thesaurus* 17: 446-450.

- Mufwene, Salikoko - Marta Dijkhoff
1989 "On the so-called 'infinitive' in Atlantic creoles". *Lingua* 77: 297–330.
- Muller, Enrique
1983 "Papiamentu tones". in: *Papiamentu: problems and possibilities* (Zutphen, Netherlands: De Walburg Pers). 35–54. [No editor.]
- Munteanu, Dan
1978 "Considerations on some consonant phenomena in the Papiamentu language". *Studii și cercetări lingvistice* 29: 579–582.
1981 "The personal pronouns in Papiamentu". *Studii și cercetări lingvistice* 32: 49–51.
- Muysken, Pieter
1977 "Movement rules in Papiamentu". *Publikaties van het Instituut voor Algemene Taalwetenschap* 17: 80–102.
- Navarro Tomás, Tomás
1953 "Observaciones sobre el papiamentu". *Nueva revista de filología hispánica* 7: 183–189.
- Ochoa Franco, José V.
1945 *Consideraciones generales sobre costumbres y lenguaje palenqueros. (Precedidas de un estudio sobre el indio goajiro)*. Cartagena: Dirección de Educación Pública de Bolívar.
- Otheguy, Ricardo
1973 "The Spanish Caribbean: a creole perspective". in: Charles-James Bailey – Roger Shuy (eds.). *New ways of analyzing variation in English* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press). 323–339.
- Patiño Rosselli, Carlos
1983 "El habla en el Palenque de San Basilio". in: Nina de Friedemann – Carlos Patiño Rosselli. 85–284.
- Perl, Matthias
1982 "Creole morphosyntax in the Cuban 'habla bozal'". *Studii și cercetări lingvistice* 33: 424–433.
1989 "Zur Präsenz des kreolisierten Portugiesisch in der Karibik – ein Beitrag zur Dialektologie des karibischen Spanisch". *Beiträge zur romanischen Philologie* 28: 131–148.
- Quevedo y Villegas, Francisco Gómez de
[1988] *Libro de todas las cosas*. [Reprinted in: *Obras completas I: Prosa*. Madrid: Aguilar.]
- Quilis, Antonio
1980 "Le sort de l'espagnol aux Philippines: un problème de langues en contact". *Revue de linguistique romane* 44: 82–107.
- Reinecke, John E. et al.
1975 *A bibliography of pidgin and creole languages*. (Oceanic linguistics special publication 14.) Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.
- Richardson, Linda A.
1977 "The phrasal conjunctive and the comitative marker in Papiamentu". *Publikaties van het Instituut voor Algemene Taalwetenschap* 17: 55–68.
- Riego de Dios, María Isabelita
1976 "The Cotobato Chabacano verb". *Philippine journal of linguistics* 7: 48–59.

- 1978 "A pilot study on the dialects of Philippine Creole Spanish", *Studies in Philippine linguistics* 2.1: 77–81.
- Römer, Raul
 1977 "Polarization phenomena in Papiamentu", *Publikaties van het Instituut voor Algemene Taalwetenschap* 17: 69–79.
- 1983 "Some specific rules in Papiamentu syntax", in: *Papiamentu: problems and possibilities* (Zutphen, Netherlands: De Walburg Pers), 85–96. [No editor.]
- Salomon, H. P.
 1982 "The earliest known document in Papiamentu contextually reconsidered", *Neophilologus* 66: 367–376.
- Schroten, Jan
 1983 "On a typological difference among languages", *Linguistic analysis* 11: 281–284.
- Schuchardt, Hugo
 1884 "Über das Malaiospanische der Philippinen", *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien* 105: 111–150.
- Schwegler, Armin
 1988 "Word-order changes in predicate negation strategies revisited", *Diachronica* 5: 21–58.
- 1989 "Notas etimológicas palenqueras: *casarianbe, tungananá, agñe, monicongo, maricongo*, y otras voces africanas y pseudo-africanas", *Thesaurus* 44: 1–28.
- 1990 a *Analyticity and syntheticity: a diachronic perspective with special reference to Romance languages*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- 1990 b "Abakabraka, suchbesuchbe, tando, cobbejó, lungá y otras voces palenqueras (Colombia): sus orígenes e importancia para el estudio de dialectos afrohispanos caribeños", *Thesaurus* 45: 1–42.
- 1991 a "Africa en América: los 'juegos de velorio' y otros cantos funerarios afrohispanos remanentes en la Costa Atlántica de Colombia", in: James R. Dow – Thomas Stolz (eds.), *Akten des 7. Essener Kolloquium über Sprachminderheiten/Minoritätensprachen vom 15.–17. 6. 1990 an der Universität Essen* (= Bochum-Essen Beiträge zur Sprachwandelforschung 9) (Bochum: Brockmeyer), 189–221.
- 1991 b "Negation in Palenquero: synchrony", *Journal of pidgin and creole languages* 6: 165–214.
- 1991 c "Zur Problematik der afroportugiesischen Kontaktsprache in Amerika: neues aus El Palenque de San Basilio (Kolumbien)", *Lusorama* 15: 54–79.
- 1991 d "El habla cotidiana del Chocó (Colombia)", *América negra* 2: 85–119.
- 1991 e "Predicate negation in contemporary Brazilian Portuguese – a change in progress", *Orbis* 34 (1985–1987) [1991]: 187–214.
- 1992 "Future and conditional in Palenquero", *Journal of pidgin and creole languages* 7: 223–259.
- in press a "El origen de esp. *monicaco* 'hombre de poco valor': un ejemplo de convergencia hispana, criolla y africana", *Romance philology* 46.
- in press b "Afro-hisp. *marilandá* 'tipo de baile (negro)': su etimología e importancia para los estudios lingüísticos caribeños", *Anuario de lingüística hispánica*.
- in press c "El Palenque de San Basilio (Colombia): persistencia africana y problemas de (auto-)identificación de elementos lingüísticos subsaháricos", in: *Persistencia africana en el Caribe* (San Juan, PR: Universidad de Puerto Rico, Río Piedras).

- in press d "Subject pronouns and person number in Palenquero", in: Frank Byrne—John Holm (eds.), *The Atlantic meets the Pacific: papers from the Society for Pidgins and Creoles* (Amsterdam: Benjamins), 145–161.
- in press e "Hacia una arqueología afrocolombiana: restos de tradiciones religiosas bantúes en una comunidad negroamericana", *América negra*.
- in press f "La descodificación de las canciones fúnebres afrohispanas 'lumbalú' del Palenque de San Basilio (Colombia)", *Thesaurus*.
- MS La doble negación dominicana y la génesis del español caribeño.
- Sebba, Mark
1987 *The syntax of serial verbs*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Stein, Peter
1984 *Kreolisch und Französisch*. (Romanistische Arbeitshefte 25.) Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.
- Strecker, Joel
1987 Review of Megney 1986. *The carrier pidgin* 15.2: 1–3.
- Whinnom, Keith
1954 "Spanish in the Philippines", *Journal of oriental studies* 1: 129–194.
1956 *Spanish contact vernaculars in the Philippines*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Wood, Richard E.
1972 "The hispanization of a creole language: Papiamentu", *Hispania* 55: 857–864.
- Zamora Salamanca, Francisco José
1985 Review of Friedemann—Rosselli 1983. *Anuario de lingüística hispánica* 1: 261–265.