

# Black Spanish: the Last Frontier of Afro-America

by John M. Lipski

The study of black American English has risen to prominence in recent years, although it has long been known that slave society in the British colonies and the early United States created unique forms of English among American Blacks, and the post-slavery racial policies did little to alter such patterns, despite the gradual integration of large numbers of black Americans into educational systems formed around, and conducted in, 'white' English.<sup>1</sup> The study of the Spanish spoken in the United States as an important minority language and as a legitimate variety of Spanish has more recently become accepted, and has moved U.S. Spanish into the mainstream of Hispanic dialectology. The English of Mexican-Americans has also been defined as an identifiable subdialect of American English,<sup>2</sup> although linguistic study of this dialect lags behind that of United States Spanish. These linguistic modes have come under scientific scrutiny as the result of social and political pressures and frequently violent confrontations, and embody a profound creation and refining of intellectual consciousness. Educational failures, public protests, civil rights struggles, court decisions and the support and role-model behavior of prominent literary and artistic figures have opened doors which may be reclosed only with great difficulty, if at all.

In the Hispanic world outside of the United States, linguistic consciousness-raising has come about more slowly, perhaps because of the heavy political and historical shackles that had to be cast off in many areas. Post-Franco Spain is grappling with the vexing problems of Catalan, Galician, and Basque, and with the interlocking prejudices and pressures that act on the many regional varieties of peninsular and Canary Island Spanish. Mexico must

deal with the linguistic integration of large indigeneous populations who speak little or no Spanish, a situation also faced by the governments of Guatemala, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and Paraguay, and to a lesser extent in most of the remaining non-island Latin American republics, although not all of these nations are at equivalent stages of social and intellectual awareness as regards the study and treatment of these linguistic questions. However, despite a long, tortuous yet illustrious history and a not inconsiderable bibliography of both serious and amateurish studies, there is one Hispanic speech mode that merits more concentrated attention than it has received: black Spanish.

Currently, in Latin America, the topic of black language styles is rarely broached, partially through the mistaken notions that the last word has been said about such language behavior, and that black Latin Americans are successfully imitating the speech of their non-black compatriots, and partially because of the nature of racial mixing and racism in Latin America, in which the term *negro* and *moreno* apply only to individuals of unadulterated African ancestry, and where the increasing mulatization and upward social mobility of the population decreases the number of socially identifiable 'blacks' and precludes the recognition and study of 'black' groups in countries which proudly proclaim a 'Hispanic' or 'mestizo' racial profile. Those countries whose black populations are miniscule, such as Uruguay, Paraguay, Chile, Bolivia, Argentina and even Mexico, rarely broach Afro-Hispanic themes, while those nations of the Caribbean and Central American region with large black populations step cautiously around the subject of racial boundaries and identifiable characteristics of particular ethnic subgroups. The overall result is the lack of serious perspectives on black language usage, despite the popularity of black slave and buffoon figures in Golden Age literature<sup>3</sup> and the *negrista* poetry of the early 20th century. Because of this fragmentation of Afro-Hispanic studies, of the social and political pressures which preclude synthetic and folkloric manifestations of Afro-Hispanics, a complete perspective on Afro-Hispanic language is a distant goal. Nonetheless, some preliminary remarks may help define the field of inquiry and partially demythify this great source of Afro-Americanism.

The Spanish American empire made use of African slave labor even in its furthest reaches, and particularly in the 16th and early 17th centuries, significant black populations were transferred to Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia, northern Argentina, highland Colombia and central Mexico,<sup>4</sup> areas which today are conspicuous for their lack of blacks and mulattoes. Most of these early black concentrations were decimated by high mortality rates, the result of physically devastating mine and agricultural labor and by the high male-to-female ratio among the African population; the reduction of the African population was further aided by the presence, in some areas, of

overwhelmingly large indigeneous populations, and by later massive European immigrations. Later waves of black slave importation were concentrated on the Caribbean region and the Pacific coast of South America, resulting from the boom of plantation agriculture, and this created a lifestyle that was to define black, mulatto, mestizo and Euro-Hispanic populations of succeeding generations. Black slaves (and later freedmen) worked almost exclusively as field hands on large plantations and as domestic servants, with smaller groups working as stevedores, teamsters and common laborers, with the consequent social divisions between 'field' and 'house' slaves, and the varying opportunities for contact with speakers of 'white' Spanish. A further pragmatic distinction effected from the outset involved *bozal* slaves (those born in Africa and only partially assimilated to Hispanic life) and *criollo* blacks, born in the colonies and largely Hispanized, being presumably more suited for immediate deployment in a variety of circumstances. This distinction goes even further back than the inception of the Spanish American colonies, since by 1492 Spain itself contained large number of black slaves and freedmen, in addition to Moors and other non-black slaves and servants, and most of southern Spain and Portugal was characterized by a contact between European and African cultures, as the latter groups formed *cofradías* and *cabildos* and partially maintained African traditions and customs on European soil.<sup>5</sup> An additional ethnic element was introduced into the African slave trade to Spanish America, since Spain rarely engaged in the trade, but bought slaves first from Portuguese and later from Dutch, British and French slavers. The Portuguese, especially, furnished slaves who in many cases had not come directly from their native regions of Africa, but had spent time in Portugal itself (in the late 15th and 16th centuries nearly half of the population of metropolitan Lisbon was black) or in one of the *factorías* or holding stations in Cape Verde, Sao Tomé and later, Brazil. These partially Lusified slaves often spoke some form of creole Portuguese, and the forced contact among slaves who had deliberately been chosen from different linguistic groups brought to the forefront the most widely used African trade languages, such as Yoruba, Kikongo, Ewe and Hausa, many of which were more widely used than the slave traders suspected.<sup>6</sup>

Yet another wave of black slaves reached Spanish America, this time principally from Cuba and to a lesser extent Venezuela, Santo Domingo and Puerto Rico, during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, stemming from the spectacular sugar boom. These slaves were frantically acquired from anywhere and everywhere in order to satisfy the almost instant demand for a vastly increased labor force, and cultural policies of linguistic estrangement were foregone in the haste to fulfill the needs of plantation owners. Relatively homogeneous African populations speaking a common language were implanted in Cuba and Brazil and partially in some other Caribbean islands. Slaves and free blacks also came from French, British and Dutch West Indian Territories,

speaking creole French, English, Dutch and Papiamentu, so that the linguistic cauldron of Spanish Afro-America was given another violent stir.

The final infusion of blacks into Spanish America occurred at the beginning of the 20th century, when the establishment of banana plantations and the construction of Central American railroads and the Panama Canal caused thousands of English- (and some French-) speaking blacks to be recruited from Jamaica, Barbados, Martinique, Trinidad and other islands. These groups have remained on the Atlantic coast of Central America, from Guatemala to Panama, and constitute a linguistically and culturally discrete minority which in many cases lives in almost complete isolation from the remainder of the national populations.<sup>7</sup>

Latin American nations which officially recognize an African ethnic component, and this includes the Antilles, Venezuela, Colombia, Panama, to a lesser extent Ecuador and to a far lesser extent Peru and some Central American nations, have created niches within which the negroid groups may be placed for inspection and study, particularly those maintaining the purest African bloodline. However, the study of black Spanish language has been fraught with political and methodological difficulties, and has in most instances been carried out by foreigners who were not subject to implicit and explicit policies of official disuasion.

The rich field of Afro-Hispanic linguistics must begin not in Spanish America, but in Spain itself, for history and literature provide us with significant testimony regarding the genesis of black Spanish. Actually, literary attestations of black Portuguese antedate those of black Spanish, given the Portuguese primacy in the importation of African slaves into Europe, and beginning in 1455 come indications of a highly reduced pidgin Portuguese spoken by blacks in Portugal.<sup>8</sup> This same linguistic mode was carried over to Spain, in the works of Lope de Rueda, Góngora, Lope de Vega, Quiñones de Benavente, and Diego de Badajoz, which employed the *habla de negros* in their dramatic and poetic works, almost always to stereotype and ridicule. An example from Lope de Vega (*La madre de la mejor*)<sup>9</sup> illustrates this language:

Samo tan regocijara  
de ver lo sielo tan beyo  
que non podemos hablar deyo  
siendo neglo y ellan crara.

as does the following excerpt from Góngora:<sup>10</sup>

La alma sa como la denta  
 crara mana  
 pongamo fustana e bailemo alegre  
 que aunque samo negra, sa hermosa tú.

A careful analysis of such examples<sup>11</sup> reveals that the predominant linguistic base is creole Portuguese rather than a simple deformation of Spanish by slaves recently arrived from Africa, but there is no doubt that, despite the humorous intentions of Golden Age writers, their desire to stereotype blacks, Moors and other foreigners as buffoons and knaves, *bozal* blacks in Spain did speak a distinctly identifiable Spanish, marked by phonetic and morphological deformation, syntactic simplification and some African words, mostly place names and tribal designations. By the time of the Spanish conquest of the New World, most blacks in Spain had been partially or totally assimilated, both linguistically and culturally, and the first blacks brought to the Americas were free sailors who presumably spoke the Spanish of their white compatriots. However, once the Spaniards began to import large quantities of black slaves directly from Africa, or via the Portuguese slaving stations, this situation changed drastically, for the black slaves were culturally and physically isolated from the Spaniards, and in addition to whatever rudimentary Portuguese they may have picked up in Africa or during the middle passage, spoke Spanish with the same characteristic deformations found in the Golden Age documents. Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz gives us testimony from early 17th century Mexico and the Caribbean<sup>12</sup> and documents from Colombia from the same time period<sup>13</sup> give evidence that the black slave societies of that area spoke in similar fashions:

Fiesa li San Perro  
 este noche es  
 Ya yo lo sabé.  
 Cantal lo Mastire  
 mus toca també.

The results of two demographic upheavals in the 17th century have also preserved data regarding black Spanish/Portuguese as spoken in the first phase of Spanish slave society in the New World. In 1559, a group of slaves rebelled in Cartagena de Indias, Colombia, and led by a self-proclaimed African king, escaped to an inaccessible jungle region. During succeeding decades more slaves joined this fortified community, which became known as Palenque de San Basilio, and continued to speak a special form of Africanized Spanish, while

gradually becoming integrated into colonial life, following Christianizing efforts by priests and amnesties declared by the Spanish government. At the present, most older *palenqueros* are still bilingual, speaking in addition to Spanish, the special dialect of their African ancestors, a unique speech mode not found elsewhere in Latin America. While this dialect has obviously evolved over the past 350 years, it stands as partially fossilized evidence of the existence of black Spanish in earlier centuries.<sup>14</sup>

Around 1640, the island of Curaçao passed from Spanish to Dutch sovereignty, and the black slaves of the island were cut off from continued contact with the Spanish language. From that point on, Dutch became the official medium of communication, although the importation of many creole Portuguese-speaking slaves and the arrival of Brazilian Jews added a significant Portuguese component to the Spanish spoken by Curacao blacks. This dialect, set adrift for 300 years, is known as Papiamentu, and is now a quasi-official language of the Netherlands Antilles.<sup>15</sup> Despite the significant Portuguese influence and the more recent leveling effects of nearby Venezuelan Spanish, Papiamentu also provides a window into the past, allowing reconstruction of the speech of black slaves in Spanish possessions.

For nearly 150 years following the above-mentioned events, we have no direct testimony as to the speech of blacks in Spanish America, although the importation of African slaves continued unabated, and reached a high point following the turn of the 19th century. At about this time, some literary and folkloric documents from the Caribbean, chiefly Cuba and Puerto Rico, begin to readdress the subject of black Spanish, as part of a general intellectual awareness of popular language usage, manifested in *gaucho* literature and in *costumbrista* works from all of Spanish America. These literary representations continued to gather force during the remainder of the 19th century, and reached a high point of international prestige in the early 20th century, due principally to the writings of such influential figures as Nicolás Guillén, Alejo Carpentier, and Luis Palés Matos. Nicomedes Santa Cruz in Perú, Adalberto Ortiz in Ecuador, Idelfonso Pereda Valdés in Uruguay, and Manuel Zapata Olivella in Colombia have continued the tradition of black Spanish literature, although at the present the vogue is nearly extinguished and in fact the topic of black Spanish is tacitly taboo in nearly all of Latin America.

During the course of the 19th century and continuing through the earliest part of the present century, a significant change came over literary and folkloric representations of black Spanish. The earlier attestations follow the patterns of previous centuries, giving evidence of a severely reduced creole or pidgin Spanish totally at odds with native Spanish usage, replete with errors of agreement, syntactic reductions and lexical and morphological modifications. An example from Puerto Rico is:<sup>16</sup>

Yo dici a tí. a branco me jíé.

From Cuba, we have:<sup>17</sup>

Pavo Real, tá bucán palo.  
Si cabeza m'enduele, bamo la casa Mundo.

and from Perú:<sup>18</sup>

Nega Casilda no moletá, amita. Ella ayudao matá cabrita José  
Manué, y pa nego congo na.

This form of speech continued until well into the 20th century in a few parts of Cuba and Puerto Rico, alongside more normalized popular Spanish.

Towards the end of the 19th century, literary and folkloric representations of black Spanish began to rely almost entirely on phonetic modifications, including loss of /d/ (*usté, ayudao*); the interchange, vocalization and loss of /l/ and /r/ (*mujé, cantal, papei*) and aspiration and loss of /s/ (*uté, ejto*). Other characteristics include popular Spanish forms such as *semos, haiga, nojotros, arrecordar, dir, entodavía*, etc, found throughout the Spanish-speaking world and in no way limited to Afro-Hispanic populations. In a few areas we find reduction of the trill /r/ (*corer*) and interchange of /d/ and /r/ (*nombre re rió*). Such literary representations of 'black' Spanish phonology occur largely in poetry and narrative which depicts the speech of black peasants, fishermen or laborers. In nearly all cases, the blacks whose speech is characterized by these literary devices are type-cast according to the usual racial and social stereotypes, and it is not infrequent, even in 20th century Latin American literature, for literary 'black phonology' to be used as one component of a derogatory portrayal of black and other minority groups. Typically, in such works, the phonological features in question are attributed only to black or mulatto speakers, although they are in fact common to all individuals of the lower socioeconomic classes, and in many instances even reach the highest strata. Loss of /s/ characterizes the speech of Spaniards from Andalusia, Extremadura and the Canary Islands, even distinguished intellectuals and politicians, and even in formal styles. /l/ and /r/ are lost with great ease in the same areas, although somewhat less frequently. In Latin America, educated speakers from the Caribbean region and many South American nations reduce /s/ and /r/ with frequencies as high as those found in southern Spain, and particularly in the Antilles, interchange of /l/ and /r/ reaches all sociolinguistic strata. Nonetheless, this state of affairs is not at all reflected by literature, which has always utilized popular phonetic tendencies that are used by nearly all speakers, as a means of stereotyping the socially most disadvantaged classes, with the

implication that only lower class speakers employ the patterns at issue. As a rudimentary demonstration, a survey was made of 120 works of Latin American literature from the 19th and 20th centuries, which depicted black, indigeneous and other marginalized speakers as employing the phonological devices described above.<sup>19</sup> In these works, reduction of /s/ was attributed to black speakers in 40%, to Indian peasants in 13%, to low-class white speakers in 25%, and to middle class white speakers in only 0.4% of the works. This contrasts strongly with quantitative data from the Caribbean nations represented in these works, in which reduction of /s/ ranges between 80-100% even among the most educated speakers of the upper social classes.<sup>20</sup> Interchange of /l/ and provided a clearer indication on sociolinguistic stereotyping, for this tendency was attributed to black speakers in 37% of the works, to Indian speakers in 10%, to poor white speakers in 33% and in no work was this phenomenon found among middle class white speakers, despite the fact that many Cubans, Puerto Ricans, Dominicans and Venezuelans of this social class pronounce /r/ as [l] with noteworthy frequency.

The clearest socio-ethnic variable is loss of /r/, which was attributed to black speakers in 25% of the works, to Indian speakers in 7%, to poor white speakers in 7% and in no works to middle class white speakers. Once more, middle-class speakers in the Caribbean region, southern Spain and elsewhere in Latin America frequently drop word-final /r/, and yet this phonetic trait is the one most frequently attributed exclusively to black speakers. There exists a considerable number of literary works in which, for example, in a line of poetry or drama in which a black character momentarily appears, the loss of word-final /r/ is considered sufficient to signal 'black' speech.<sup>21</sup>

Significantly, this literary black phonology has been used not only by white authors who consciously or unconsciously wish to reinforce stereotypes regarding blacks, but also by white authors whose attitude is clearly sympathetic towards Afro-Americans (Alejo Carpentier, Lydia Cabrera) and, most importantly, by an important group of black activist writers who have used this literary mode as a linguistic badge of Negritude. The first major writer to use this device was the Colombian Candelario Obeso, in his *Cantos populares de mi tierra*, written entirely in a phonetic imitation of the dialect of poor black speakers in northern Colombia in the 19th century.<sup>22</sup>

Negra re mi vira  
a ronde va?  
Quérate en mi rancho  
No te queje má.

The most famous writer to use literary black phonology is Nicolás Guillén, who in examples like 'Búcate plata' and 'Tú no sabe inglés' appropriates for black





Cubans a speech mode which is in reality popular Cuban Spanish with no racial connotations,<sup>23</sup> and which is increasingly associated with even educated Cubans. Despite Guillén's early espousal of Negritude as a social and literary movement, his use of literary black phonology is primarily used in an ironic mocking tone,<sup>24</sup> as a criticism from one black to another, using the popular speech forms as a linguistic mirror held before fellow blacks, lest they forget social reality in early 20th century Cuba. The exclusive attribution of popular Cuban Spanish phonetics to blacks is in this case not an assertion that only blacks speak this way, but rather that the poor socially marginalized blacks addressed in Guillén's poems normally do not possess a wider repertoire of styles, unlike more educated speakers, and consequently that their speech may only be represented literarily by phonologically modified variants.

In Perú, Nicomedes Santa Cruz has similarly used a phonetically reduced pronunciation, found in reality among uneducated speakers in most of coastal Peru, in mocking portrayals of poor blacks faced with an overwhelmingly non-black social system which excludes them:<sup>25</sup>

Como yo no sé rezá,  
perdóname, Jesucristo  
y perdona a lo negrito  
que te vienen a cantá.

His Peruvian shuck n' jive language is a taunt, a shrug of the shoulders, an angry brushoff, and in those poems where Santa Cruz vents his own feelings on social and racial inequities, 'black' phonology is conspicuously absent.

In Candelario Obeso and Aldaberto Ortiz, the clear social protest embodied in the use of literary black speech is not as evident. Obeso was one of the first black writers to use such techniques, and his verses are more folkloric, bringing to light the speech patterns and traditions of a group of Colombians not likely to have been well known to the late 19th century Colombian intellectual class, clustered in highland cities and who spoke with markedly different accents. Ortiz is one of a group of black Ecuadoran writers who have put the province of Esmeraldas on the literary map, and his verses that employ black phonology create a folkloric environment similar to Obeso's works. Most editions of Ortiz's poetry are accompanied by popular drawings in an African style. His famous novel, *Juyungo*, does contain a decided element of social protest, but in this work Ortiz realistically assigns popular phonetic patterns not only to blacks but also to white/mestizo *montuvios*, reflecting the true linguistic situation in northwestern Ecuador.

As with other poetic devices that have come and gone over the years, literary 'black' phonology has often been abused, introduced inappropriately

with the sole purpose of adding a humorous, exotic, sensual or earthy element to an otherwise uneventful bit of literary production, reflecting and reinforcing social stereotypes regarding blacks and mulattoes. This was certainly true of the Golden Age, where the black character that peopled the works of Lope de Vega, Lope de Rueda, Gil Vicente and others were early precursors of Rufus and Rastus, Amos and Andy, and the *negritos* of Cuban theater and radio broadcasting. Although it can be demonstrated that culturally unassimilated black speakers did use different speech modes at least through the end of the 19th century, and in a few areas well into the present century, *criollo* blacks and mulattoes normally have no distinguishing linguistic traits that separate them from non-blacks of the same social class. Thus, 20th century literary black speech, involving 'black' phonology and often a liberal dosage of popular Spanish grammatical forms, is a literary invention, used variously to stereotype or ridicule, or perhaps to assert black pride, and in no instance can be taken as more than an indication of the limited linguistic repertoire of socially disadvantaged groups, the fact that such speakers are normally unable to modify their popular speech to more nearly approach standard Spanish written forms. An illustrative case<sup>26</sup> involves a black Cuban radio comedian, Amador Domínguez, who had told his boss of his intellectual aspirations and love of reading, to which the *jefe* replied: '!Bah! El día que aprendas a hablar como blanco no te van a llamar para ningún programa y te quedarás sin trabajo. !Tu negocio es seguir hablando como negro!' The violently anti-communist Guatemalan writer Carlos Manuel Pellecer, who lived for several years in Cuba, has more recently used 'black' phonology to stereotype Cuban blacks in his novel *Útiles después de muertos*,<sup>27</sup> and exiled (white) Cuban writers in Miami continue to exploit the theme of 'black' Cuban Spanish, as in this excerpt from an anonymous 1968 poem:<sup>28</sup>

Qué cosa tiene la vida mi comadre Caridá  
ante de Fidé yo era una negrita atrasá  
vivía en Arroyo Apolo, un cualtico en un solá  
pero ahora etoy viviendo un chalé en Miramá.  
No hay silla onde sentalse, no tiene agua pa lavá,  
pero no impolta, ahora vivo en Miramá.

The immense notoriety and popularity of literary black language, from the 15th century to the present, has created the demonstrably mistaken impression that these literary works continue to describe an existent phenomenon, a black dialect of Spanish, and that this dialect is described faithfully.<sup>29</sup> This has deflected attention away from the existence of real cases of black Spanish, not as used by writers and actors, but as spoken in isolated linguistic enclaves throughout the Americas and in Africa. The study of true black Spanish has

not proceeded apace with its supposed literary manifestations, although Spanish dialectologists have dealt extensively with some of the black dialect zones, and inasmuch as the topic of black Spanish is broached at all, prevailing popular opinions are either that the literary stereotypes are accurate portrayals of the contemporary Afro-Hispanic speaker, or, especially among more socially enlightened Latin Americans, that black Spanish does not and cannot exist, and that to undertake any search for black Spanish is in effect a return to the prejudices and stereotypes of yesteryear (and today). The reality, it will be seen, is found between these two poles, and may be approached only by setting aside considerations regarding the justice of the socioeconomic status of blacks and the cultural legitimacy of Afro-American expression. Not surprisingly, most scientific linguistic studies have been realized by foreigners, usually white, and have often been ignored or repudiated in the countries being studied. Latin Americans writing about Afro-American cultural artefacts in their own countries have faced similar problems, particularly in those nations whose national mythologies include the lack of African presence (Mexico, the Southern Cone nations) or where blacks have more recently been the subject of severe discrimination, such as Costa Rica and Panama.<sup>30</sup> Anthropological studies describing isolated villages and limited to musical, culinary and religious customs are less objectionable, but any works dealing with topics as fundamental as language, or which attribute an African influence on larger segments of the national population, including countries that claim no African heritage or origin, are inevitably greeted with popular and even scholarly resistance. We may, nonetheless, point out the major contemporary instances of black Spanish, indicating from the outset that this list is of necessity incomplete, given the lack of documentation for some remote regions of Latin America, and it is hoped that remarks such as the present ones will stimulate additional inquiry into Afro-Hispanic interfacing and add greater credibility to the study of Afro-Hispanic linguistics.

Spain itself no longer has any African linguistic manifestations, nor do the Canary Islands, although in the latter case a few small towns may be found in which a significant proportion of the inhabitants are distinctly Negroid, in sharp contrast to the generally fair Canary Islanders.<sup>31</sup> Reaching down into Africa, Spanish continues to be spoken in that part of Morocco that was formerly the Spanish Sahara, a territory now struggling for national liberation, although Spanish speakers have largely fled to the interior, and in extreme northern Mauritania, a black nation, a rudimentary trade Spanish was once spoken by merchants who dealt with the *saharauis*. This language is no longer in use, but Africa does contain the only completely black Spanish-speaking nation, the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, formerly Spanish Guinea, the only officially Spanish-speaking nation in sub-Saharan Africa. The linguistic patterns of Guinean Spanish are of key interest to Spanish dialectology,<sup>32</sup> but the Afro-

Hispanic contact in this region is far different from that in Latin America, since Spanish Guinea, although acquired from Portugal in 1778, was never settled by Spaniards until the end of the 19th century (the island of Fernando Poo) and the early 20th century (Rio Muni). Unlike Latin America, a system of slavery never existed in Spanish Guinea, and when a large labor force was required, workers were brought from other African nations. Guineans were never uprooted in large numbers from their own traditional societies, so that to this day they continue to speak their native African languages, in addition to speaking a most adequate Spanish. A Spanish creole never developed in Equatorial Guinea, and the Spanish educational system reached large numbers of citizens, so that currently a higher proportion of Equatorial Guineans are fluent in the official language than in most of the neighboring countries. Equatorial Guinean Spanish, formed largely in imitation of Castilian and Catalan dialects of Spanish represented by colonial officials and planters, is remarkably similar to that found in central and eastern Spain, and since the majority of Spaniards who lived in Equatorial Guinea were educated civil servants, large landowners and entrepreneurs, who did not settle permanently but rather continued to travel to and from Spain, the Spanish spoken by Guineans is virtually free of popular elements so common in most of Latin America. Within Equatorial Guinea, the prevailing opinion is that 'peninsular' Spanish is spoken, indistinguishable from that of Spain, although any Spaniard or Latin American who visits the country immediately notes the unique accent, and even at the highest sociocultural levels, occasional differences from Spanish grammatical usage are found.

In Latin America, despite the remarks made earlier on the general lack of distinctly identifiable black Spanish dialects, the selection of possible candidates for such status is much wider, if only because the Americas still contain a large number of Afro-American population nuclei which have been only partially assimilated into the national cultures of the countries in which they are found. In the nation that heads everybody's most wanted list, Cuba, there exists the possibility that some form of *bozal* Spanish may still be spoken by a few of the oldest inhabitants, and it is certain that such a dialect was spoken until only a decade or two ago.<sup>33</sup> These last speakers were in all likelihood bidialectal, retaining aspects of *bozal* speech for religious, ceremonial or nostalgic reasons. Among younger black Cubans, the current government's official non-recognition of racial distinctiveness in its efforts to combat racism has had a homogenizing effect on the language behavior of black Cubans. Outside of some religious brotherhoods, there appears to be no survival of black Spanish in Cuba or among black Cubans living abroad.

Substantially the same is true for Puerto Rico, despite the existence of such areas as Loíza Aldea, which have conserved an extraordinarily high

number of African traditions and words, for racial mixture in Puerto Rico has been so all pervasive that any distinctively Africanized linguistic characteristics have been assimilated by the entire populations, or have disappeared altogether.<sup>34</sup> The Dominican Republic continues to manifest linguistic cases, such as the descendents of escaped North American slaves in Samaná who still speak a version of 19th century black English. In this same region, recent research has turned up examples of speech forms among the (nearly entirely black) population, which give evidence of possibly earlier creole Spanish. It is difficult to be certain of the existence of Afro-Hispanic speech forms in the Dominican Republic, given the nearly total mulatization of the country and the existence of unique linguistic features not found elsewhere in Spanish-speaking countries, but at least the Samaná area gives evidence of partially Africanized Spanish which is differentiated from more generalized Dominican Spanish.<sup>35</sup>

Belize is another country where Spanish is spoken natively by two racially distinct groups, the mestizo/indigenous group, and the black/mulatto coastal residents, most of whom prefer the official language, English. Those speakers who are descended from English-speaking West Indian blacks do not employ any characteristically 'black' speech forms, but from Belize through the Mosquito Coast of Honduras are found the *garifunas* or Black Caribs, descendents of slaves expelled from the British island of St. Vincent in the 18th century, and who settled on the Atlantic coast of Central America, intermingled with Carib Indians, and developed their own language, known as *moreno*.<sup>36</sup> The *garifunas* in Guatemala and Honduras and most of those in Belize speak Spanish natively, but they give to Spanish a curious set of intonational patterns and introduce *garifuna* words and phrases when speaking among themselves, using a freely code-switched format when no outsiders are present.

The Spanish spoken by black Central Americans of the Atlantic coast from Guatemala through Panama, is used in conjunction with the English of the descendents of plantation, railroad and canal laborers. Although most members of this group speak Spanish fluently, all but the youngest generation, and/or those who have studied extensively away from the coast, maintain a noteworthy accent while speaking Spanish and numerous syntactic and lexical transferences from English to Spanish are found. In Honduras and Panama, which have substantial black populations of colonial origin (*afrocoloniales*) who speak only Spanish, it is possible to linguistically distinguish the two groups, since while the Afro-colonial population speaks forms of Spanish indistinguishable from other popular varieties in the respective nations, the Afro-Antillean group may be recognized by the unique accent.

Panama also contains an important Afro-Hispanic group, for on the Caribbean coast from the Chagres through Portobelo to Santa Isabel are found the *negros congos*. These are Afro-Colonial Panamanians who during Carnival

season each January and February perform a series of elaborate rituals, dances, mock battles and games which symbolically reenact the fate of African slaves in colonial Panama. Part of the *congo* ritual is a special dialect used by active practitioners, and understood by nearly all participants, the *hablar congo*. The essence of this dialect, rarely used outside of the Carnival environment except for ethnic identification, to identify oneself as Afro-colonial and not Afro-Antillean, is the systematic deformation of Spanish grammar and pronunciation. Words are given opposite meanings and the pronunciation of many phonemes is regularly distorted through substitutions and extraneous elements, all designed to dazzle and confuse the spectators, who must pay 'fines' to the *congo* speakers. At the same time, the *congo* dialect does contain a basis of distinctly Afro-Hispanic language, carryovers from earlier days when *bozales* acquired the Spanish language through contact with other slaves, and although the *congo* dialect is obviously an attempt to keep alive a speech mode which died a natural death in Panama following the early decline of large slaveholdings, it continues to stand as an important Afro-Hispanic manifestation. Despite claims made by the *congos* themselves, the *congo* dialect is indeed used outside of Carnival period, and despite the considerable idiosyncratic variation stemming from the improvisation and variation from town to town, there is a sufficiently large common linguistic basis to warrant the designation of *congo* speech as a legitimate form of black Spanish.<sup>37</sup>

Colombia contains the most famous of the currently-spoken Afro-Hispanic dialects, the *lengua of Palenque de San Basilio*, which is a highly creolized language sharing more similarities with Papiamentu and African Portuguese creoles than with Colombian Spanish. *Palenquero* is a special case, having been cut off from Spanish at such an early date, and is best studied as an Afro-Iberian creole than as a true form of black Spanish. Colombia, however, contains other dialect pockets of afro-Hispanic language, particularly in the Pacific coastal region of Chocó, where in addition to distinctively identifiable local dialects, certain areas have special language forms used in fashions similar to the Panamanian *congo* dialect.<sup>38</sup> Considering the vast regions of the Colombian Pacific lowlands, the potential for discovering additional Afro-Hispanic manifestations is high, and the current dialect atlas projects are likely to discover some new cases.

Ecuador is well known for the considerable black population of Esmeraldas province,<sup>39</sup> and claims have been made to the effect that black speakers in some of the more remote areas of the province speak 'special' dialects that may be distinguished from the speech of non-black Ecuadorans. This in fact appears to be false, and black *esmeraldeños* speak the same popular Spanish as other *montuvios*, combining this language with a large number of indigenous and African words not current in the rest of Ecuador. This nation,





however, contains a less well-known black population in the valley of the Chota River, in the highland provinces of Imbabura and Carchi, perhaps the only significant black population remaining in highland South America. These blacks are the descendents of slaves who worked on sugar plantations maintained by the Jesuits until their expulsion in 1767, and later managed by Ecuadorian landowners. The blacks in the Chota valley speak a form of Spanish similar to that of their mestizo neighbors, that is to say, highland Ecuadorian Spanish, and this sets them apart in Latin America as the only significant black group speaking a dialect not part of the broad subset of 'coastal' dialects, as regards pronunciation and intonation.<sup>40</sup> Most Ecuadorians unfamiliar with the valley and even those who have visited it briefly or who have met *chotoños* elsewhere in Ecuador are of the opinion that these black Ecuadorians do speak with the 'coastal' accent, despite manifest evidence to the contrary. This mistaken impression stems from two sources. The first consists of certain slight but semi-consciously perceived phonetic reductions (loss of word-final /s/) and morphological mismatches occasionally found in the speech of black *chotoños* and not found in neighboring areas of mestizo profile. The second, more overriding criterion, is simple racial stereotyping, since the majority of Ecuadorian, Colombian and Peruvian blacks likely to be seen in Ecuador come from the coastal regions and speak with *costeño* phonological patterns. Ecuadorians meeting a *chotoño* are often guided by the racial stereotype and 'hear' coastal phonetic patterns merely by looking at a black face.

In Mexico, still ambivalently struggling with its indigenous heritage, denials of the African element have been strenuous, and the common designation of Mexicans as *aztecas* (not only disenfranchises the numerous other indigenous groups (and descendents of Europeans) but the remains of what was once a considerable African population. The Acapulco area still contains a not insignificant negroid element, although linguistically such speakers are indistinguishable from other residents of the area, but to the east lies the town of Cuajanicuilapa (Cuijla), a more homogeneous African population group, which until recently maintained language forms not completely consonant with those of neighboring non-black Mexicans.<sup>41</sup> Even today, certain special characteristics are to be found, which, however, are not extended to the occasional pockets of black citizens found in the state of Oaxaca. Mexican folklore gives clear evidence that black Spanish was once a way of life in Oaxaca and in coastal provinces such as Nayarit.<sup>42</sup> Today, black Mexicans are rarities, although other small groups are found in the town of Melchor Muzquiz (Nuevo León) and in the Vera Cruz area.

Moving away once more from officially Spanish-speaking countries, we may mention the Caribbean island of Trinidad, which passed from Spanish to British hands at the end of the 18th century, but where small group of rural

residents (known as *payoles*, from *españoles*) continues to speak a form of Spanish that is similar to, but distinguishable from, rural Venezuelan Spanish.<sup>43</sup> These Spanish-speaking Trinidadians are legitimate speakers of Black Spanish, since they maintain no contact with other Spanish-speaking nations, despite the close proximity to Venezuela, and Trinidad Spanish is a *sui generis* phenomenon, a colonial leftover that will probably disappear altogether with the next generation or two.

The examples mentioned above represent more than a bestiary of linguistic oddities, brought together only by the dark skin of their users. Black Spanish is a legitimate phenomenon, having exerted considerable influence in the past, when even the children of the most aristocratic families were raised by black nannies and later attended by black servants. Today, increasingly comprehensive educational and communicational systems are removing most vestiges of distinctly Afro-Hispanic speech from Latin America, not always by eliminating them altogether, but often by appropriating them for the speech of non-blacks. The remaining pockets of black Spanish in themselves exert little influence on other residents of their respective countries, but rather stand as beacons calling researchers to study the last glimmers of what was once a far-reaching cultural institution, the use of black Spanish. Failure to study such dialect pockets now, before they are absorbed into the mainstream of Latin American Spanish, constitutes a double peril. The first is the loss of data on forms of self-expression, that have ceased to exist and which may be reconstructed, if at all, only from indirect testimonies and historical documents. The mourning of this loss is purely intellectual. The second peril is much greater, for it involves facilitating and fortifying the self-complacent assertion of no discernible African influence in the Spanish of much of Latin America due to the non-existence of a distinctive black Spanish. Given the difficulties faced in the United States with demonstrating African influences on white English, even in the face of a patently unique black English, Latin American racism and the mythology of harmoniously homogeneous *café con leche* societies in which the African element has been whisked away will be given an additional boost if provably Afro-Hispanic manifestations are not closely studied, and their influences on larger sectors of the population traced. At the same time, the legitimacy accorded to scientific studies of Afro-Hispanic speech will add further substance to claims of more all-pervasive African influence in Latin American culture and language, and will make it impossible to deny the inevitable and unerasable intercrossing of cultures from three continents, the tracks of more than 300 years of tears, and the inexorable survival of linguistic carriers of Afro-Spanish-American history.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> The best perspectives are offered by J.L. Dillard, *Black English* (New York: Macmillan, 1972); David Dalby, 'Black through white,' in W. Wolfram, N. Clarke, eds., *Black-White Speech Relationships* (Arlington: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1971), pp.99-138.

<sup>2</sup> cf. Allan Metcalf, *Chicano English* (Arlington: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1979) and the review article by Jacob Ornstein in *English World Wide* 2 (1981), 117-121. See also P. Wilcott, J. Ornstein, eds., *College English and the Mexican-American* (San Antonio: Trinity University, 1977); J. Ornstein, ed., *Proceedings of the Research Conference on Chicano English* (El Paso: University of Texas El Paso, 1981); J. Ornstein, ed., *Chicano English* (Heidelberg: Steiner, 1983); John Lipski, 'Mexican-American English and Central American English: sociolinguistic mirror-images,' *English World Wide* (in press).

<sup>3</sup> Frida Weber de Kurlat, 'Sobre el negro como tipo cómico en el teatro español del siglo XVI,' *Romance Philology* 17 (1962), 380-91; Edmund de Chasca, 'The phonology of the speech of the negroes in early Spanish drama,' *Hispanic Review* 14 (1946), 322-39; Germán de Granda, *Estudios lingüísticos hispánicos, afrohispanicos y criollos* (Madrid: Gredos 1978), pp. 216-33.

<sup>4</sup> Leslie Rout, *The African Experience in Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976); Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, *La población negra de México* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1971, 2<sup>a</sup> ed.); Rolando Mellafé, *Negro Slavery in Latin America* (Berkeley: University of California, 1975); Jorge Palacios Preciado, *La trata de negros por Cartagena de Indias* (Tunja: Ed. 'La Rana y el Aguila' 1973); Frederick Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru 1524-1650* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974); Georges Scelle, *La traite négrière aux Indes de Castille* (Paris: Librairie de la Société du Recueil J-B Sirey y du Journal du Palais, 1966); Emiliano Endrek, *El mestizaje en Córdoba* (Córdoba: Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, 1966); Rolando Mellafé, *La introducción de la esclavitud negra en Chile* (Santiago: Universidad de Chile, 1979); Elena F.S. de Struder, *La trata de negros en el Río de la Plata durante el siglo XVIII* (Buenos Aires: Universidad de Buenos Aires, 1969); José Luís Masini, *La esclavitud negra en Mendoza* (Mendoza: Talleres Gráficos d'Accurzio, 1962); Roberto MacLean y Estenós, *Negros en el nuevo mundo* (Lima: Ed. P. T. C. M., 1948); Josefina Pla, *Hermano negro: la esclavitud en el Paraguay* (Madrid: Paraningo, 1972); Diego Luis Molinari, *La trata de negros-datos para su estudio en el Río de la Plata* (Buenos Aires: Universidad de Buenos Aires, 1944, 2<sup>a</sup> ed.).

<sup>5</sup> Alfonso Franco Silva, *Registro documental sobre la esclavitud sevillana (1453-1513)* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1979); Enriqueta Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos: los asientos portugueses* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, 1977); A. C. de C. M. Sanders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal 1441-1555* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1982); Ruth Pike, 'Sevillian society in the sixteenth century: slaves and freedmen,' *Hispanic American Historical Review* 47 (1967), 344-59.

<sup>6</sup> Marius Valkhoff, *Studies in Portuguese Creole* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1966); Granda, *Estudios lingüísticos, passim*.

<sup>7</sup> John Holm, ed., *Central American English* (Heidelberg: Steiner, 1982); Carlos Meléndez and Quince Duncan, *El negro en Costa Rica* (San José: Ed. Costa Rica, 1979, 2<sup>a</sup> ed.).

<sup>8</sup> Paul Teyssier, *La langue de Gil Vicente* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1959), p. 228; Antonio Ribeiro Chiado, *Autos das Regateiras*, ed. Giulia Lanciani (Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1970).

<sup>9</sup> Edition Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, *Obras de Lope de Vega*, t. VIII (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1965), p. 203.

<sup>10</sup> Luís de Góngora, *Letrillas*, ed. Robert Jammes (Madrid: Clásicos Castalia, 1980), p. 23.

<sup>11</sup> Anthony Naro, 'A Study on the origins of pidginization,' *Language* 54, (1978), 314-47; Granda, *Estudios lingüísticos*, pp. 216-33.

<sup>12</sup> Mónica Mansour, *La poesía negrista* (México: ERA, 1973), p. 61.

<sup>13</sup> Granda, *Estudios lingüísticos*, pp. 350-61.

<sup>14</sup> Aquiles Escalante, 'Notas sobre el Palenque de San Basilio, una comunidad negra en Colombia,' *Divulgaciones Etnológicas* (Barranquilla) 3, no. 5 (1954), 207-359; Derek Bickerton and Aquiles Escalante, 'Palenquero: a spanish-based creole of northern Colombia,' *Lingua* 24 (1970), 254-67; Granda, *Estudios lingüísticos*, pp. 424-80; María del Carmen Borrego Pla, *Palenques de negros en Cartagena de Indias a fines del siglo XVII* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, 1973); Roberto Arrazola, *Palenque, primer pueblo libre de América* (Cartagena: Ediciones Hernández, 1970).

<sup>15</sup> Manuel Alvarez Nazario, 'Un texto literario del papiamento documentado en Puerto Rico en 1830,' *Revista del Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña* 13 (1970), 1-4; 'El papiamento: ojeada a su pasado histórico y visión de su problemática del presente,' *Atenea* (Mayagüez, P. R.) 9 (1973), 9-20; Germán de Granda, 'Papiamento en Hispanoamérica (siglos XVII-XIX),' *Thesaurus* 28 (1973), 1-13.

<sup>16</sup> J. Alden Mason, Aurelio Espinosa, 'Porto-Rican folklore: folk-tales,' *Journal of American Folklore* 40 (1927), 313-414 (p. 410).

<sup>17</sup> Lydia Cabrera, *El monte* (Miami: Ediciones CR, 1983), pp. 183, 517.

<sup>18</sup> Enrique López Albújar, *Matalaché* (Lima: Ed. Juan Mejía Baca, 1966), p. 38.

<sup>19</sup> John Lipski, 'The sociolinguistic significance of literary "black phonology" in Latin America,' paper presented at annual meeting of the Linguistic Society of America, New York City, 1981.

<sup>20</sup> For a comparative presentation, which includes data from several authors, see John Lipski, 'On the weakening of /s/ in Latin American Spanish,' *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 51 (1984), 31-43.

<sup>21</sup> A few examples, chosen almost at random from the large bibliography of works employing 'black' phonology, are: Javier Auque Lara, *Los muertos tienen sed* (Caracas: Monte Avila, 1969); Virgilio Rodríguez Macal, *Guayacán* (Guatemala: Ed. 'José de Pineda Ibarra' 1967); Lucho Cárdenas Menacho, *Héroes de ceniza* (Lima: Ed. Universo, 1974); Ramón Díaz Sánchez, *Cumboto: cuento de siete leguas* (Santiago: Ed. Universal, 1967); Carlos Manuel Arita, 'El negro José,' in Claudio Borrera, ed. *Poesía negra en Honduras* (Tegucigalpa: Talleres Tip. Nacional, n. d.), p. 51; Arnoldo Palacios, *Las estrellas son negras* (Bogotá: Ed. Revista Colombiana, 1971); Enrique Laguerre, *La resaca* (Río Piedras, Ed. Universitaria, 1975).

<sup>22</sup> Candelario Obeso, *Cantos populares de mi tierra* (Bogotá: Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 1960), p. 18.

<sup>23</sup> Arturo Montori, *Modificaciones populares del idioma castellano en Cuba* (La Habana: Imp. de "Cuba Pedagógica," 1916), pp. 110-18; Antonio Bachiller y Morales, 'Desfiguraciones a que está expuesto el idioma castellano al contacto y mezcla de las razas,' *Revista de Cuba* 14 (1883), 97-104; Juan Dihigo, *El habla popular al través de la literatura cubana* (La Habana: Imp. "El Siglo XX," 1915), pp. 23-31; Concepción Teresa Alzola, 'Habla popular cubana,' *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares* 21 (1965), 358-69; Nicolás Guillén, *Summa poética* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1976), intro. by Luis Iñigo Madrigal, p. 25.

<sup>24</sup> Curiously, in contemporary Africa, pidgin languages have first appeared in literature in humorous, mocking passages, before finally striving for acceptance as legitimate national forms of self-expression. See Loreto Todd, *Pidgins and Creoles* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974), p. 79.

<sup>25</sup> Nicomedes Santa Cruz, *Antología, décimas y poemas* (Lima: Campodónico, 1971), p. 177.

<sup>26</sup> Oscar Luís López, *La radio en Cuba* (La Habana: Ed. Letras Cubanas, 1981), p. 393.

<sup>27</sup> Carlos Manuel Pellecer, *Útiles después de muertos* (México: Costa-Amic, 1967, 2<sup>a</sup> ed.), p. 20.

<sup>28</sup> Hortensia Ruíz del Vizo, *Poesía negra del Caribe y otras áreas* (Miami: Ed. Universal, 1972), pp. 17-18.

<sup>29</sup> This is even supposed by the distinguished critic Richard Jackson, in *Black Writers in Latin America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1979), p. 54, and *The Black Image in Latin American Literature* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1976), p. 41; in neither of the works is 'black' Spanish shown to be different from 'popular' Spanish of the same regions.

<sup>30</sup> Meléndez and Duncan, *El negro en Costa Rica*, Roberto de la Guardia, *Los negros en el istmo de Panamá* (Panamá: Instituto Nacional de Cultura, 1977).

<sup>31</sup> Germán de Granda, 'Algunas notas sobre la población negra en las Islas Canarias (siglos XVI-XVIII) y su interés antropológico y lingüístico,' *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares* 28 (1972), 213-28; Manuel Lobo Cabrera, *La esclavitud en las Canarias orientales en el siglo XVI* (Las Palmas: Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 1982).

<sup>32</sup> Germán de Granda, 'Perfil lingüístico de Guinea Ecuatorial,' in *Homenaje a Luís Flórez* (Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 1984), pp. 1-77; John Lipski, 'Observations on the Spanish of Malabo, Equatorial Guinea: implications for Latin American Spanish,' *Hispanic Linguistics* 1 (1984), 69-96.

<sup>33</sup> Alzola, *op. cit.*, p. 365-7; Granda, *Estudios lingüísticos*, pp. 481-91; Lydia Cabrera, *El monte, passim*.

<sup>34</sup> Manuel Alvarez Nazario, *El elemento afronegroide en el español de Puerto Rico* (San Juan: Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, 1974); Carmen Mauleón de Benítez, *El español de Loíza Aldea* (Madrid: Partenón, 1974).

<sup>35</sup> Carlisle González and Celso Benavides, 'Existen rasgos criollos en el habla de Samaná?' in O. Alba, ed., *El español del Caribe* (Santiago de los Caballeros: Universidad Católica Madre y Maestra, 1982), pp. 105-32.

<sup>36</sup> Pierre Beaucage, Marcel Samson, *Historia del pueblo garífuna y su llegada a Honduras en 1796* (San Pedro Sula: Ed. Paulino Valladares, n. d.); Ruy Galvao de Andrade Coelho, *Los negros caribes de Honduras* (Tegucigalpa: Ed. Guaymuras, 1981).

<sup>37</sup> Luz Graciela Joly, 'The ritual play of the Congos of north-central Panama: its sociolinguistic implications', *Sociolinguistic Working Papers* (Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, 1981), no. 85; Patricia Drolet, 'The Congo ritual of northeastern Panama, an Afro-American expressive structure of cultural adaptation,' Ph.D. thesis, University of Illinois,

1980; Manuel Zárate, *Socavón y tambor* (Panamá: Imp. Nacional, 1962); Víctor Franceschi, 'Los negros congos en Panamá,' *Lotería* 51 (1960), 93-107; John Lipski, 'El lenguaje de los congos panameños: vestigios de un criollo afrohispanico?' *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares* forthcoming.

<sup>38</sup> Granda, *Estudios lingüísticos*, pp. 323, 415-17; *Estudios sobre una área dialectal hispanoamericana de población negra: las tierras bajas occidentales de Colombia* (Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 1977).

<sup>39</sup> Julio Estupiñán Tello, *El negro en Esmeraldas* (Quito: Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana, 1967).

<sup>40</sup> John Lipski, 'El valle de Chota, enclave lingüístico afroecuatoriano,' *Boletín de la Academia Puertorriqueña de la Lengua Española*, forthcoming.

<sup>41</sup> Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, *Cuilja: esbozo etnográfico de un pueblo negro* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1958).

<sup>42</sup> Vicente Mendoza, 'Algo de folklore negro en México,' in *Miscelánea de estudios dedicados a Fernando Ortiz* (La Habana, 1956), v. 2, pp. 1093-1111.

<sup>43</sup> Robert Thompson, 'A preliminary survey of the Spanish dialect of Trinidad,' *Orbis* 6 (1957), 353-72; Sylvia Moodie, 'The phonetic system of the Spanish dialect of Trinidad,' *Caribbean Studies* 13 (1973), 88-98; 'Trinidad Spanish pronouns: a case of language death in the Caribbean,' in R. Nash, D. Belaval, eds., *Readings in Spanish-English Contrastive Linguistics*, v. 3 (San Juan: Inter American University Press, 1982), pp. 206-28.

