

## 2 \* *The Many Facets of Spanish Dialect Diversification in Latin America*

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### 1. Introduction: The Sources of Spanish Dialect Differentiation

Five hundred years ago, a rather homogeneous variety of Spanish spoken by a few thousand settlers was scattered across two continents. Although many regional languages were spoken in fifteenth-century Spain (and most are still spoken even today), only Castilian took root in the Americas, in itself a remarkable development. More remarkable still is the regional and social variation that characterizes Latin American Spanish today; some of the differences among Latin American Spanish dialects are reflected in dialect divisions in contemporary Spain, while others are unprecedented across the Atlantic.

In accounting for dialect diversification in Latin American Spanish, three main factors come into play, in addition to the inevitable linguistic drift. The first is the Peninsular roots of Latin American Spanish, meaning the varieties spoken by Spanish settlers from all over peninsular and insular Spain over a period of more than four centuries. The second is contact with other languages, these being principally the indigenous languages of the Americas spoken in the major Spanish colonies, but also African languages spoken by hundreds of thousands of slaves brought to the colonies and, to a lesser extent, languages of voluntary immigration in later centuries, mainly Italian, English, Cantonese Chinese, and Afro-European creole languages of the Caribbean, such as Haitian Creole, Jamaican Creole, and Papiamentu. The third factor is the catalytic effect that emerging cities in Spanish America exerted on regional varieties of Spanish, which ultimately spread far beyond the pale of the cities to become regional, national, and transnational standards. All three factors had their impact at one point or another, but central to all three themes is the question of how much linguistic influence a given group of individuals exerted on the Spanish language at particular times. That is, how many speakers of one language or dialect are needed to leave a permanent imprint on the evolving Spanish American varieties? Is the lemma "first is best" the appropriate slogan, or is "safety in numbers" (or, in the

case of involuntary servitude, "misery loves company") a more fitting label? Like the questions asked by journalists and detectives, the "who," "where," "why," and "when" must be determined in order to account for the "what" of language diversification.

### 2. The Dichotomy "Demographic Strength versus Chronological Primacy"

In searching for the roots of Latin American Spanish dialectal variation, proposals have grouped around two opposing viewpoints, as regards the relative importance of demographic strength versus chronological primacy (reviewed in Lipski 2002). The first proposal is that uniquely defining characteristics of a given dialect are directly correlated with the demographic proportions of groups—whether they are speakers of other varieties of Spanish or of other languages—assumed to have contributed the features in question.<sup>1</sup> The opposing postulate holds that the first settlers—the "founders"—exercise a permanent influence on the subsequent development of the dialect in a fashion far out of proportion to their demographic strength, an impact that continues past the time when descendants of the original founders enjoyed any special prominence.

### 3. The "Founder Principle" and the "Antillean Period"

Of the theories seeking to establish the roots of Latin American Spanish in the speech of the earliest settlers, the most influential is the "Antillean period" from 1493 to 1519 (e.g., Boyd-Bowman 1956; Catalán 1958; Guitarte 1980; Rosenblat 1977, 20; also Lockhart and Schwartz 1983, chap. 3). During this period Spain consolidated its settlements on Hispaniola and Cuba and launched expeditions to Central and South America. Santo Domingo was the point of departure for the first expeditions to Puerto Rico, Cuba, Trinidad, Jamaica, Darién, the Caribbean coasts of Venezuela and Colombia, and Mexico. According to one line of thought, the Andalusian influence became decisive during the early decades of the sixteenth century. As a result of the Spanish government's procedures for emigration, future settlers from all regions of Spain submitted their applications for passage at the Casa de la Contratación in Seville (at the time the major city in Andalusia and the second-largest city in Spain); they often waited a year or more before embarking for Spanish America. This waiting period provided the first occasion for dialect leveling and the incipient formation of a supraregional koiné, presumably dominated by Andalusian traits. The long passage to the Americas provided addi-

tional opportunities for the assimilation of Andalusian linguistic features, since ships' crews were often recruited from Andalusia and the Canary Islands. At a time when Spanish settlements in the New World were entirely sustained by maritime contact with Europe, successive arrivals who participated in explorations and settlements of the mainland were, it is claimed, immersed in the prevailing speech patterns of the American insular settlements and in turn carried this form of speech to colonies established on the mainland. Although Spanish trade with mainland colonies soon bypassed the Antilles, except for purposes of loading supplies, the seeds of "Andalusian-American" Spanish would have been sown.

Boyd-Bowman's "Antillean period" theory is an instantiation of Mufwene's "Founder Principle," a hypothesis applied to the origin and development of creole languages, in which it is claimed that "structural features of creoles have been predetermined to a large extent . . . by characteristics of the vernaculars spoken by the populations which founded the colonies in which they developed. European colonies often started with large proportions of indentured servants and other low-class employees of colonial companies, thus by speakers of nonstandard varieties of the creoles' lexifiers" (Mufwene 1996, 84). Unlike Boyd-Bowman's theory for the emergence of (Antillean) Latin American Spanish, the Founder Principle does not ascribe any special prestige to the creators of a creole language; indeed, they often represent the lowest social classes and marginalized groups, whose very marginality in a colonial setting gives precedence to their erstwhile nonprestigious speech forms, propelling them into a new linguistic norm. Both approaches coincide in attributing a significant proportion of major traits of a new language or dialect cluster to the earliest speakers, transplanted from a metropolis or from peripheral zones to a location where their languages and dialectal traits come together for the first time.

#### 4. The Chronology of Spanish Evolution

It is often stated that Latin American Spanish is "Andalusian" in character, as opposed to "Castilian," but when comparisons are made with the contemporary dialects of Spain, only the Spanish dialects of the Caribbean basin truly sound "Andalusian" in the modern sense, while highland dialects, such as of central Mexico, Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia, in many ways resemble "Castilian" Spanish. Spanish continued to evolve in Latin America whether or not in contact with European innovations. All dialects of Latin American Spanish acquired most of the major linguistic innovations that occurred in Spain at least through the end of the seven-

teenth century, and some more recent Peninsular phenomena were also transferred to Latin America. Among the pan-Hispanic changes occurring well past the first century of Spanish-American colonization are the following.

(1) In 1492, Spanish contained six sibilants: /s/ (ss), /z/ (s), /t̪s/ (ç), /d̪z/ (z), /ʃ/ (x), and /ʒ/ (g/j). /s/ and /z/ were apicoalveolar, like contemporary Castilian /s/. There is some indication that merger of the alveolar fricatives and the affricates was already beginning in Andalusia by the end of the fifteenth century, but the change was not complete (Catalán 1956-57).<sup>2</sup> In no Spanish dialect had devoicing of the voiced sibilants even begun. In Latin America, early Spanish borrowings into Nahuatl, Quechua, and Guaraní verify that Spanish colonists still maintained the contrast in voicing. Within Spain, devoicing of /z/ and /d̪z/ was complete by the end of the sixteenth century (Catalán 1957), even in Andalusia. If Latin American Spanish had received an Andalusian imprint during the "Antillean period," we should expect a voicing distinction between /s/ and /z/ to have remained indefinitely, as it has in Sephardic (Judeo) Spanish, which was delinked from other Peninsular varieties at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Instead, Latin American Spanish kept pace with both Castile and Andalusia in devoicing all sibilants, at approximately the same time as this was occurring in Spain. In the New World and in western Andalusia and the Canary Islands, all the anterior sibilants fell together to /s/. In the remainder of Spain, the reflex of /t̪s/-/d̪z/ became an interdental fricative /θ/.

(2) As another part of the general devoicing process, Spanish /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ merged to a voiceless fricative, which later velarized to /x/, and the change was complete by the middle of the seventeenth century (Lapesa 1981, 379). Judeo-Spanish still retains the phonemes /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ and has no velar fricative /x/. Early borrowings into Native American languages give proof that /ʃ/ was still a prepalatal fricative during the first century of Spanish settlement in the New World (and the word *Chicano*, from the old pronunciation of *mexicano*, bears witness to this early colonial sound), but it too followed the dialects of Spain.

(3) /b/ and /v/ were still separate phonemes in Spain during the "Antillean period" of Latin American settlement. Spanish words taken into Native American languages during the sixteenth century reflect this difference. /b/ and /v/ subsequently merged in all Peninsular and Latin American dialects.

(4) At the time of the first Spanish settlements in the Americas, the formal second person pronoun *usted* (s.) < *vuestra merced* 'your mercy' and the analogical *ustedes* (pl.) had not yet emerged (and neither is found

in Judeo-Spanish). In Spain, these pronouns did not come into general use until the end of the seventeenth century; Latin American Spanish acquired the pronouns at the same time.

The preceding survey amply demonstrates that early-sixteenth-century Spanish of the "Antillean period," or even the Spanish brought to colonies founded throughout the seventeenth century, is vastly different from all modern varieties of Spanish, in Spain and Latin America; only Sephardic Spanish (representing a quasi-fossilized early-sixteenth-century Spanish with some noticeably Andalusian traits) might be an approximation of what Caribbean Spanish might actually be like if the Founder Principle and the "Antillean period" model were viable hypotheses for the formation of modern Latin American Spanish dialects. Despite the vast cultural differences separating the Sephardim in exodus and Spanish settlers in the American colonies—not the least of which is that most Sephardic varieties were cut off from other dialects of Spanish—the retention of the "founders'" traits for the better part of five centuries can serve as a demonstration of what the diachronic results of the Founder Principle might look like.

Models of dialect formation that limit the formative period to the first half century or even full century of colonial settlement are unrealistic; linguistic cross-fertilization between Spain and Latin America extended over several centuries. In any nation arising from colonization, the speech and cultural patterns of the first settlers retains a nostalgic significance that transcends any objective contribution this group might have made. In reconstructing the true history of a nation, colonial heroes assume larger-than-life proportions, and the spirit of the original colonists is seen embodied in the current population. These sentimental issues rarely hold up under serious linguistic scrutiny, and in truth Latin American Spanish is the product not only of its first settlers but of the totality of the population, immigrants and natives alike.

If the crucial defining traits of contemporary Latin American Spanish were not forged during the early sixteenth century, then attention must be shifted to later events, from the late sixteenth century to the first decades of the twentieth century. In shaping the eventual form of Latin American Spanish dialects, language contact and the emergence of urban speech communities played decisive roles; these influences will be treated in turn.

### 5. In Search of Alternative Models: The Role of the City

For at least two centuries, Spanish settlement of the New World was planned in Castile, engineered in Andalusia, and aided by the Canary

Islands. Administrative matters involving the American colonies were handled by the Consejo de Indias, eventually moved from Castile to Seville. Future settlers made application for passage at the Casa de la Contratación in Seville and often waited a year or more before embarking for Spanish America. The Consulado de Sevilla, dominated by Seville merchants, long enjoyed a monopoly on trade with the Americas. Ships' crews were recruited from Andalusia and the Canary Islands. Many ships left directly from Seville; others departed from the Andalusian ports of Cádiz, San Lúcar, and Huelva. Prevailing winds and sea currents, as well as partially fortuitous Spanish colonizing patterns, shaped preferential routes into and out of the Caribbean. Ships arriving from Spain entered the southern Caribbean, often stopping at Jamaica or another eastern island, and docked at Cartagena de Indias, which became the major South American port and trade zone. Ships carrying goods and passengers bound for the Pacific coast of South America put in at Portobelo, Panama, whence cargo was transferred to Panama City on the Pacific side by a combination of mule trains and river boats. Guayaquil, El Callao, and later Valparaiso were the major Pacific ports, and once Spain began sending galleons to the Philippines, Acapulco was added to the list. On the Caribbean coast of Mesoamerica, Veracruz was the main point of entry. Ships returning to Spain from Portobelo usually put in again at Cartagena, then headed for the northern Caribbean. Havana became the foremost port of supply for returning ships, while other Caribbean towns such as Santo Domingo, the first Spanish city in the Americas, quickly lost their early importance.

Except for a few of the earliest towns, such as Nombre de Dios and Portobelo, Panama, which were soon abandoned in the Spanish colonial scheme, the hubs of Spanish colonial society have evolved into large urban masses, each with several million inhabitants. Each city is a complex sociolinguistic microcosm, and it is difficult to imagine how any external linguistic force could have a significant impact on the thriving Spanish dialects. The notion that the idiosyncrasies of literally a handful of people, no matter how rich or powerful, could permanently transform the speech of an entire city, region, or nation lies beyond belief. Aside from the internal dynamics of large urban areas, the only major linguistic shifts occurring in modern Latin America result from rural migration to the cities.

Matters were not always as they are today; the explosive demographic growth that has turned former colonial centers into impersonal urban sprawls has occurred within the past century or less. During the time when the foundations for Latin American dialects were laid, the major cities and towns were a tiny fraction of their present size, and models of

language change unthinkable today were viable options in past centuries. Moreover, the population did not always increase across time; the Spanish colonies were afflicted with epidemics and plagues that sometimes reduced the population of a given area by half or more. As a result, some cities experienced no net growth over a period as long as two centuries. If the "Antillean period" prior to 1530 is considered crucial, then only a handful of island villages with a total population of a few thousand colonists are at stake. If the entire sixteenth century is taken into account, few cities in Spanish America achieved a population of five thousand or more inhabitants. Some of today's major population centers, embodying national dialects, had not yet been founded. When one considers that a typical fleet arriving at Cartagena, Portobelo, or Lima might bring several hundred settlers, the possible linguistic effects of a contingent of new settlers on an evolving dialect could be considerable. A single fleet could, under some circumstances, bring new arrivals who amounted to nearly half the resident population, and even if not all new settlers remained in the port of entry, their linguistic contributions would not be inconsequential.

6. The Emerging Critical Mass of Spanish American Cities

Until at least the middle of the eighteenth century, the principal cities of Spanish America were small and relatively isolated, and they contained speech patterns that could easily be influenced by rather small numbers of incoming settlers and immigrants. By comparing linguistic innovations occurring in Spain since the early sixteenth century with emerging traits of Latin American Spanish, it is possible to identify with some accuracy the period in which Latin American dialects ceased to reflect major innovations occurring in Spain; essentially, by the 1700s most innovations in Spain did not pass unconditionally to Latin America. At the same time the first quintessentially Latin American innovations emerged as distinctive dialectal features. A comparison of the time line (figure 2.1) of changes in Spain and Latin America with the demographic patterns of Spanish American urban zones—ports and capital cities—reveals that once cities reached a critical mass of several tens of thousands (which usually occurred during the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century), these speech communities effectively resisted full incorporation of language changes that occurred in Spain and arrived with new settlers.

There are, at the same time, instances in which growing urbanization in colonial Spanish America is directly correlated with linguistic innovations. Most noteworthy is the *žeísmo* or groove fricative pronunciation

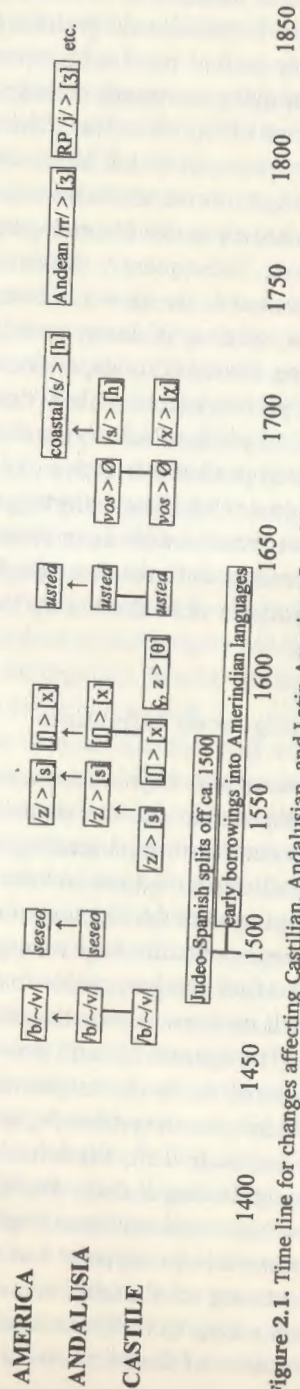


Figure 2.1. Time line for changes affecting Castilian, Andalusian, and Latin American Spanish

[3] of /j/ typical of the Río de la Plata area (Buenos Aires and Montevideo), which, according to Fontanella de Weinberg (1987), appears to have emerged in the early to mid nineteenth century, a time when Buenos Aires took the first of many enormous demographic leaps, to become one of the largest cities of the Americas. The demographic and economic strength of Buenos Aires, to which Montevideo can be added, consolidated this feature—which occurs at the sociolinguistic margins of other Spanish-speaking areas such as Seville and parts of Mexico—into a prestigious mainstream trait. Subsequently the devoicing of the same sound to [ʃ] evidently originated in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century in Buenos Aires, whence it slowly spread to other areas of Argentina and to Montevideo. Mexico City experienced a similar growth spurt during the same time period, and it is likely that the characteristic central Mexican realization of phrase-final /r/ as a sibilant [ɾ] arose at this point. The highly fronted posterior fricative /x/ realized as palatal [ç] in the Spanish of Santiago de Chile, now affecting most of the country and most noteworthy before front vowels as in *gente* ‘people’ and *ajeno* ‘foreign’, also appears to correlate with the demographic leap of Santiago during the nineteenth century, as does the highly fronted realization of /tʃ/ as in *Chile*.

### 7. Language Contact: Indigenous Languages

Language contact phenomena are, beyond any reasonable doubt, the most important factors responsible for the diversification of Spanish across the entire American continent. In chronological order—and probably also in order of overall impact—these involve contact with indigenous languages, with languages of involuntary immigration (enslaved Africans), and with languages of voluntary immigration, mostly from Europe. Beginning with the first category, aside from indigenous lexical items and toponyms, there is no consensus on the effects of Native American languages on Spanish. The Spanish of Latin America is widely varied, including features not attested in Spain. In pronunciation and syntax many Latin American dialects present systematic innovations that are not easy to explain away as linguistic drift, the inheritance of Spanish settlers, or borrowing from neighboring dialects. Particularly in areas where the indigenous population has remained demographically and ethnically prominent, it is not unreasonable to suppose that some unique features of regional Spanish dialects are attributable to prolonged contact with indigenous languages. Few claims of indigenous influence have been accompanied by a demonstration of the purported substrate patterns, nor

of the opportunity for second-language or ethnically marked varieties to percolate upward into regional dialects of Spanish. Too often, the mere demographic presence of a large indigenous or mestizo population has uncritically been taken as the source of “peculiarities” of a given dialect zone, without verifying either the viability of the hypothesis in linguistic and historical terms or the existence of alternative explanations. The case for an indigenous influence on nonlexical features of Latin American Spanish must be presented as in a court of law, demonstrating motive, method, and opportunity.

During the sixteenth century and even later, indigenous populations often outnumbered Europeans by a factor of several thousand to one, and yet the nature of Spanish settlement was not always conducive to substratum influences. For an indigenous language to permanently influence colonial Spanish required a special set of conditions, which were not present in all colonies or at all times. During the early colonial period, the entry of indigenous people into Spanish cities was carefully controlled, and most Native Americans could not reside or even spend the night inside the cities. Gradually a class of bilingual intermediaries arose, to supply the goods and services required by the Spanish colonists; the Spanish interlanguages as spoken by indigenous bilinguals did not begin to have a permanent effect on regional Spanish dialects until those speakers became absorbed into the urban setting.

Native Americans who use Spanish only occasionally, having learned it as a second language past childhood, speak varieties of Spanish (with considerable idiolectal variation) in which the phonology, morphology, and syntax of the native language are superimposed on Spanish patterns. Today such speech can be heard in indigenous redoubts throughout the Amazon Basin, the Andes, and Mesoamerica; in the past, it existed in nearly every Spanish colonial settlement. Even when Spanish is used on a daily basis, between workers and employers or between rural residents and priests, fluency may never rise above the level of a rough pidgin. Such indigenous-flavored Spanish has no ready way of expanding beyond the group that has created it, and ordinarily it leaves no traces on natively spoken Spanish. For a partially restructured form of Spanish to permanently penetrate regional varieties of Spanish, a major sociolinguistic shift must break the equilibrium that sustains the contact-influenced variety and confines it to second-language learners. Speakers of the indigenous-influenced varieties need to occupy positions in which their speech becomes the norm. Such speakers must be present in great enough numbers to make their speech patterns demographically prominent. The partially restructured variety, by definition the result of having learned Spanish

as a second language, must gradually become a first language, without shedding the indigenous accretions. This requires insulation from normative standards or a social environment in which such standards are no longer relevant. In a racially and socially segregated environment such as existed in colonial Latin America, Spanish is used not only for essential contacts with the population of European descent but also among members of the *same* indigenous community. Mestizos provide a bridge between the cultures and facilitate language transfer and the development of a stable ethnically marked variety of the colonial language. To exemplify potential consequences of contact with indigenous languages, I will mention four cases, all from the Andean linguistic zone. The first is found only among bilingual speakers for whom Spanish is nondominant, while the other three phenomena embrace a much wider cross-section of Andean Spanish.

### 8. An Example of Contact-Influenced Spanish: Double Possessives

In her analysis of Andean Spanish, Escobar (1994) describes the distinction between contact phenomena found only among bilingual indigenous speakers and those constructions that are found throughout the Andean region even among monolingual Spanish speakers. Bilingual Spanish combinations are nearly always highly stigmatized, and they connote lack of formal education and imperfect acquisition of Spanish. One of the prime shibboleths is the use of double possessive constructions involving both the preposition *de* 'of' and the third person possessive determiner *su*, especially with the possessor coming before the possessed object: *De Juan su mamá* 'John's mother,' *del perro su rabo* 'the dog's tail'. Only slightly more acceptable are double possessives with the opposite word order: *su marido de Juana* 'Juana's husband'. These constructions are clear calques of Quechua and Aymara and are readily produced and understood by bilingual speakers of these languages. A representative Quechua construction is

<i>Mariya-x</i>	<i>wasi -n</i>	
María -POSS	house-POSS	'Mary's house'

The monolingual Spanish speaker lacking any knowledge of Quechua structures, one whose grammar includes only the combination *la casa de María*, will be at a disadvantage in terms of rapid interpretation. This is not unlike what occurs when the bilingual Spanish-English speaker in the United States says *te llamo para atrás* 'I'll call you back' instead of the

Spanish-only *te vuelvo a llamar*, creating an equivalent for the English postverbal particle.

### 9. Contact-Induced Phenomena in Monolingual Andean Spanish Varieties

Given the heavy social stigma of anything that smacks of indigenous culture, such transparent calques are among the first linguistic elements to be shed en route to escape the dreaded classification of *cholo*. Many more subtle contact-induced phenomena have penetrated virtually all monolingual sociolects of Andean Spanish and are responsible for giving this dialect zone its unique characteristics. Three are worth mentioning as exemplars of the permanent imprint of indigenous languages on Latin American Spanish: clitic doubling, crypto-evidentials, and pitch accents.

#### CLITIC DOUBLING

Andean Spanish permits, and for large numbers of speakers actually requires, clitic doubling of inanimate [+DEFINITE] direct objects, a feature not found in other varieties of Spanish, where direct object clitics can combine only with animate direct object NPs or pronominals. At the most vernacular level, the Andean doubled clitic is invariant *lo*, that is, without the usual inflection for gender and number. Some examples follow.

Peru:

*Le pedí que me lo calentara la plancha* (Pozzi-Escot 1972, 130)

I asked her to heat up the iron for me

*Se lo llevó una caja* (Luján 1987, 115)

She took a box

Northwestern Argentina (Gómez López de Terán and Assís 1977; Rojas 1980, 83):

*¿Me lo va a firmar la libreta?*

Will you sign the book for me?

Bolivia:

*Tú lo tienes la dirección* (Stratford 1989, 119)

You have the address

*Cerralo la puerta* (Justiano de la Rocha 1986, 29)

Close the door

*Mientras tanto, vémele el asado* (Mendoza 1991)

Meanwhile, watch the roast for me

Ecuador (Suñer and Yépez 1988):

*Le veo el carro*

I see the car

Even a cursory glance at Quechua and Aymara grammar suffices to demonstrate that direct object clitics of the sort used in Spanish do not occur; moreover, the usual object-verb word order precludes the canonical linear combinations found in Spanish. At the same time, the facts that clitic doubling occurs only in dialect zones characterized by extended language contact, and that among Spanish-recessive bilinguals the invariant clitic *lo* functions more as a transitivity marker than as a true object clitic, motivate the search for subtle contact-induced transfer. Quechua marks direct object nouns with the suffix *-ta* (or *-man* if following a verb of motion). This suffix is invariable, cliticizes to all direct object nouns whether definite or indefinite, and even attaches to questions and relative clauses, as shown by the following (Peruvian) examples (an approximation in "Andean" Spanish is given in parentheses).

<i>T'ika-ta</i>	<i>kuchu-ni</i>
Flower-ACC	cut-1SG = 'I cut the flower' ( <i>lo corto la flor</i> )
<i>ima-ta</i>	<i>kuchi-ni?</i>
What-ACC	cut-1SG = 'What do I cut?' ( <i>¿qué lo corto?</i> )
<i>Challwa-ta</i>	<i>apa -niki</i>
Fish-ACC	carry-2SG (FUT) = 'You will carry fish' ( <i>lo llevarás pescado</i> )
<i>Asta-ni</i>	<i>unu -ta</i>
Carry-1SG	water-ACC = 'I carry water' ( <i>lo acarreo agua</i> )

The accusative marker *-ta* does not occupy exactly the same syntactic position as the invariable *lo* of the corresponding Andean Spanish sentences, which would be roughly as indicated above. However, it would be easy for a speaker of a second-language variety of Spanish to interpret the clitic *lo*, statistically the most frequent among the many Spanish object clitics, as some sort of direct object marker comparable to Quechua *-ta*. Although in Quechua this element is always attached to the direct object noun, in a canonical Quechua SOV transitive sentence where the direct object immediately precedes the verb, *-ta* coincidentally comes just before the verb, that is, in the identical position as the Spanish proclitic *lo*.<sup>3</sup> It is not irrelevant that Spanish *lo* itself marks an accusative relationship, albeit not in the fashion of Quechua *-ta*. A speaker of the emergent

indigenous-influenced variety, encountering preverbal *lo* only in clearly transitive sentences (including the possibility of clitic doubling with human DOs, as in the Southern Cone), would be all the more likely to overgeneralize *lo* for all transitive clauses. Since the quintessential Quechua-influenced varieties of Spanish maintain an O-V word order, Spanish *lo* would at first be misanalyzed as a case marker attached to the noun, in a direct calque of Quechua *-ta*: *el poncho-lo tengo*. As second-language speakers develop greater fluency in Spanish, word order gravitates to the more usual V-O for nonclitic DOs. It is at this stage that *lo*, now implicitly recognized as an object clitic, remains behind in proclitic position, yielding the stable Andean Spanish doubled-clitic pattern. This pattern of events is admittedly speculative, but it does correlate well with observations on the development of Spanish proficiency among Quechua speakers (see also Muysken 1984).<sup>4</sup>

#### CRYPTO-EVIDENTIALS IN BOLIVIAN SPANISH

Both Quechua and Aymara have morphological evidential markers, which indicate whether the information conveyed by a speaker is based on first- or secondhand knowledge. Spanish has no similar grammatical construction; paraphrases such as *dizque* 'it's said that', *tengo entendido que* 'I've heard that', and so forth, are normally used. In Bolivian Spanish and marginally, perhaps, in other Andean dialects, the Spanish pluperfect indicative has lost its usual meaning of PAST with respect to another past point and has acquired the meaning of SECONDHAND REPORTING. This allows for contrasts of evidentiality, particularly with respect to the past. The speaker who says *llegaste a las ocho* 'you arrived at 8:00', using the preterite tense, is indicating personal knowledge of the time of arrival, whereas *habías llegado a las ocho*, with the pluperfect indicative, reflects secondhand knowledge only. The pluperfect indicative can also be used epistemically to express the result of a deduction and as a reaction of surprise at learning a previously unsuspected fact. Thus, upon hearing a friend speaking French for the first time, one might exclaim *habías aprendido francés*, roughly 'I didn't know that you knew French.' A Bolivian herbal healer who was surprised at my awareness of local customs said *habías vivido en Bolivia* 'you must have lived in Bolivia (previously)'. Unlike the syntactic calques and clitic doubling, for which a plausible template for language transfer can be postulated, the evidential use of the pluperfect indicative must be approached circumstantially: it occurs only in contact with Aymara and occasionally Quechua, languages that have morphological markers of evidentiality, and is not found anywhere else in the Spanish-speaking world. The precise means by which the Spanish

pluperfect indicative developed the nuance of secondhand reporting in the Andean region is not known. The temporal relations expressed by the Romance pluperfect do not map directly onto Quechua and Aymara patterns; in fact, the entire range of Spanish compound verbs differ typologically from structures found in Andean languages. It may be that indigenous speakers acquiring Spanish initially analyzed compound verbs as involving some kind of particle. The Spanish present perfect, for example, has been generalized to take over most of the functions of the simple preterite, for example, in situations excluding the present moment. In this sense the Andean Spanish present perfect is similar to the French *passé composé* and the standard Italian present perfect, representing a more advanced evolution than is found in Peninsular Spanish dialects. In the Andean region, one can say *nos hemos conocido el año pasado* 'we met for the first time last year', a combination that would not be acceptable in the remainder of Latin America. The notion of grammatical encoding of evidentiality is presumably compelling to speakers of Aymara and Quechua, as also attested by the expanded use of *dizque* 'it's said that', *diciendo* 'saying', and other Spanish markers in Andean Spanish (Laprade 1976, 1981; Stratford 1989, 1991).

#### EARLY HIGH PEAK ALIGNMENT IN ANDEAN SPANISH

Phonetic and phonological influences of Native American languages on Spanish have been postulated for many speech communities, and in contemporary second-language and ethnically marked varieties clear cases of transfer can still be heard. As for monolingual Spanish dialects resulting from previous contacts between Spanish and indigenous languages, the evidence is less clear, and unsubstantiated claims abound. The most convincing cases can be made in those regions where bilingual speakers with varying degrees of proficiency in Spanish can still be found, alongside monolingual Spanish speakers. One promising area of research involves intonational patterns. Spanish intonational contours vary widely across dialect regions and according to pragmatic factors, such as focus, level of politeness, and so on. There are some rather robust common denominators as regards the pitch accents that accompany stressed vowels. Spanish signals word-level stress through a combination of phonetic features, which include lengthening, a greater intensity across a broad spectral range ("spectral tilt"), and especially the use of a rising tone correlated with the accented syllable. Intuitively one might suppose that the high tone coincides with the accented syllable, but this is usually the case only in the nuclear accent, that is, the final accent of the phrase. Across a wide range of dialects, in pre-nuclear accented syllables the high tone occurs

toward the end of the tonic syllable or on the immediately following syllable; this is late-peak alignment, and it is typical of nonfocused constituents (Beckman et al. 2002; Face 2000; Prieto et al. 1995; Sosa 1999). At the same time, there is a downdrift of high tones, so that the highest pitch accent is usually the first in the intonational phrase and each successive pitch accent is lower than the preceding ones. In one of the first studies of Spanish intonational patterns in bilingual environments, O'Rourke (2005) has demonstrated that in Peru, the Lima variety is characterized by the more typical late alignment of high tones with respect to pre-nuclear stressed syllables. This is an area where Quechua influence was historically minimal, although currently there are many Quechua-speaking migrants from the highlands. In Cuzco, the seat of the ancient Inca Empire and an area where Quechua still maintains vitality, intonational patterns are quite different, with a significant number of instances in which high tones coincide with pre-nuclear stressed syllables. Significantly, the latter pattern typifies regional Quechua. These patterns occur even among university-educated monolingual Spanish speakers, those least likely to be affected by neighboring Quechua-influenced speech varieties. The Cuzco data, in conjunction with data from dialects of Spanish in contact with northern Basque pitch accents (Elordieta 2003), as well as with data from other bilingual communities, suggest that prolonged bilingualism can alter Spanish pitch accents in subtle ways, not necessarily by directly copying patterns of indigenous languages, but rather through the creation of hybrid configurations that expand the monolingual Spanish possibilities.

#### 10. Contact with Languages of Voluntary Immigration: Italians in the Río de la Plata

Among the many languages other than Spanish carried by voluntary immigrants to Spanish America, few produced lasting imprints on Spanish, largely owing to the relatively small numbers of speakers involved in comparison with the already established Spanish dialect zones and the rapidity with which subsequent generations were integrated into the local speech communities, acquired Spanish, and lost their ancestral languages. In some cases, the typological distance between the immigrant languages and Spanish also represented an impediment to the retention of contact-induced variants (although very intense contact can ultimately override typological mismatches in the direction of quasi-universal tendencies of language change [e.g., Heine and Kuteva 2005]). A significant exception to this trend is the case of Italian immigration to Buenos Aires and Montevideo, a massive demographic displacement whose linguistic effects are readily apparent.



To give an idea of the magnitude of this immigration, nearly 2.3 million Italians emigrated to Argentina alone between 1861 and 1920, and more than half of them arrived after 1900; they constituted nearly 60 percent of all immigration to Argentina. Most of the immigrants ended up in greater Buenos Aires (Bailey 1999, 54) and accounted for between 20 percent and 30 percent of that city's population. As a result of immigration, largely by Italians, the population of greater Buenos Aires (including the surrounding countryside) grew from 400,000 in 1854 to 526,500 in 1881 and 921,000 in 1895 (Nascimbene 1988, 11). Similar proportions, scaled down to size, characterize Montevideo for the same time period. Italian immigrants were not speakers of standard Italian, which resulted from language-planning efforts that had not yet begun in the late nineteenth century; they spoke regional dialects and languages, mostly from southern Italy, and among the immigrants some dialect leveling inevitably took place, as it does in Italy. Given the partially cognate status of Spanish and Italian, contact-induced varieties developed that freely combined both Spanish and Italian elements, as well as many innovations based on analogy and language transfer. It may well have been the possibility for achieving meaningful communication with Spanish speakers by making only relatively small departures from their native Italian dialects that resulted in long-lasting acquisitional plateaus among Italian immigrants in Buenos Aires and Montevideo. The impact of Italian dialects on the Argentinian Spanish lexicon, beginning with the underworld slang known as *lunfardo* and passing into everyday usage, is undisputed. Two other less easily traceable features are also worth considering, one segmental and the other suprasegmental.

#### THE "LONG FALL" PITCH ACCENT OF BUENOS AIRES AND MONTEVIDEO

In the area of pronunciation, while claims of Italian-like prosody are frequently aired, only recently has empirical research been brought to bear on this topic. In particular, the notably rising+falling pitch accent on final stressed syllables in Buenos Aires and Montevideo Spanish—and now extending to provincial varieties in both countries—is impressionistically similar to stereotypical Italian patterns. Kaisse (2001) describes the quintessential Argentinian "long fall," in which the stressed syllable is significantly lengthened and the tone drops sharply across the elongated vowel. This distinctive pattern is combined with early peak alignment of high tones on prenuclear stressed syllables, similar to that found in Andean Spanish (O'Rourke 2005). Colantoni and Gurlekian (2004) provide a more detailed acoustic analysis of Buenos Aires pitch accents and

combine these results with a sociohistorical overview of the Italian presence in Buenos Aires beginning in the late nineteenth century. According to Argentinian observers from the time periods in question, the typical *porteño* (Buenos Aires and Montevideo) intonation pattern did not exist prior to the late nineteenth century, which coincides chronologically with the enormous surge in Italian immigration. At the same time studies of Italian intonation patterns (e.g., D'Imperio 2002 and references therein) confirm patterns congruent to those of modern Buenos Aires Spanish. The circumstantial evidence thus strongly points to an Italian contribution to Buenos Aires–Montevideo intonation, not as a simple transfer but, as in the case of Andean Spanish, via the creation of innovative hybrid patterns that could not easily be extrapolated in the absence of a sustained language contact environment.

#### LOSS OF WORD-FINAL /S/ IN PORTEÑO SPANISH

The other area in which the Italian-Spanish interface may be implicated in Buenos Aires–Montevideo Spanish is the realization of word-final /s/. Dialects of Spanish represent a cline of pronunciation patterns, ranging from the full sibilant realization of syllable- and word-final /s/ (the etymologically "correct" pronunciation) to nearly complete elimination of all postnuclear /s/. The intermediate stages, which represent the majority of the Spanish-speaking world, involve some kind of reduced pronunciation, usually an aspiration [h]. In nearly all of Argentina, as in the remainder of the Southern Cone (Chile, Uruguay, and Paraguay), syllable-final /s/ is weakened or elided. Final /s/ is retained as a sibilant in a shrinking area of Santiago del Estero and in a tiny fringe along the Bolivian border in the far northwest. Among educated speakers from Buenos Aires, aspiration predominates over loss, which carries a sociolinguistic stigma (Fontanella de Weinberg 1974a, 1974b; Terrell 1978). In word-final prevocalic position (e.g., *los amigos* 'the friends'), sibilant [s] predominates among more formal registers and in the upper socioeconomic classes. Aspiration or elision of prevocalic /s/ carries a sociolinguistic stigma in Buenos Aires, although this configuration is the logical result of /s/-weakening, following the route taken by many other Spanish dialects (Lipski 1984).

Preconsonantal /s/ is routinely aspirated in all varieties of Argentinian and Uruguayan Spanish, with the exception of the varieties spoken in northern Uruguay along the Brazilian border, where a stronger final /s/, influenced by the neighboring Portuguese dialect, still prevails. However, the complete loss of syllable- and word-final /s/ continues to be highly stigmatized in Buenos Aires and Montevideo and is immediately associated with uneducated rural and marginalized urban speakers. The

interface with speakers of Italian dialects is at least partially responsible for the extraordinary range of /s/-reduction in Río de la Plata Spanish. None of the Italian dialects implicated in contact with Río de la Plata Spanish contain word-final consonants, although word-initial and word-internal /s/ + consonant clusters are common. Moreover there are many near-cognates with Spanish in which the typical difference is the presence of a final /s/ in Spanish and the absence of a consonant in Italian; this includes the first person plural verb endings (-mos in Spanish, -iamo in Italian), and *meno/menos* 'less,' *ma/mas* 'but,' *sei/seis* 'six,' and many others. These similarities provided a ready template for Italian speakers to massively eliminate word-final /s/ in Spanish, while retaining at least some instances of word-internal preconsonantal /s/. At the same time, the aspirated realization of syllable-final /s/ in Argentinian and Uruguayan Spanish does not correspond to any regional Italian pronunciation, and it presents a challenge to phonological interpretation. Whereas speakers of Río de la Plata Spanish dialects routinely perceive aspirated [h] as /s/ and are often surprised to realize that they are equating sibilant and aspirated variants, speakers of languages where syllable-final aspiration does not occur more often perceive the aspiration as a total absence of sound and they reanalyze the Spanish words as not containing /s/. Italian immigrants typically dropped final /s/ in such items, even when regional varieties of Spanish realized final /s/ as an aspiration.<sup>5</sup>

### 11. Contact with Languages of Involuntary Immigration: The African Diaspora in Latin America

By far the largest non-Spanish demographic and linguistic presence to reach Latin America was carried by the more than 8 million African slaves who for nearly four centuries provided much of the labor force in colonial and postcolonial Spanish America. In much of colonial Spanish America, populations of African origin equaled or surpassed the European population up to the time of colonial independence in the early 1800s, particularly in large urban areas. Those areas include cities that are not currently identified with significant Afro-Hispanic populations, such as Mexico City, Puebla, Asunción, and especially Buenos Aires and Montevideo, whose black populations were between 30 percent and 40 percent. Despite hundreds of literary and folkloric documents describing the halting Spanish of Africans in Spanish American colonies, as long as these populations remained in rural areas (originally working in mining, later in plantation agriculture), their speech had little effect on urban language. Only when Africans and their descendants moved to cities—to work as servants, la-

borers, and, once freed, as artisans and entrepreneurs—was it possible for their language to be heard and to exert a slight but palpable influence on the surrounding Spanish dialects. In the cities, many African-born *bozales* (speakers of pidginized Spanish) worked as street vendors, crying out their wares in distinctive songs or *pregones*, and their approximations to Spanish were often imitated in popular culture (Lipski 2001, 2005). In the Southern Cone, African vocabulary items became implanted in Argentinian and Uruguayan Spanish, the most common being *mucama* 'female domestic servant,' evidently coming from Kimbundu (spoken in Angola) *mukamba*, meaning female attendant of a queen or female slave held in high regard by the master (Leal 2001, 292; Pereda Valdés 1965, 185). The formerly popular Argentinian dance *milonga* is also evidently derived from Kimbundu *mu-longa* (plural *mi-longa*) meaning 'multitude of words' (Pereda Valdés 1965, 185; Lienhard 2008, 111), as are other more local words. In the Caribbean, the African population was largely concentrated in rural plantations, especially in Cuba. Although dozens of authors imitated their *bozal* speech, it had no impact on Caribbean Spanish until freed Africans moved to the cities and their speech and music was absorbed by rebellious youth, always eager for novelty and iconoclastic behavior. This was particularly true in those regions in which large numbers of enslaved Africans arrived toward the end of the slaving period, most notably Cuba, Argentina, and Uruguay. Ultimately, the overwhelming torrent of African words and even some grammatical patterns became entrenched in the popular imagination (including the quintessentially Caribbean word *chévere* 'great, fantastic' as well as the modern Cuban *asere* 'friend'), using the centrifugal force of urban speech and, later, the potent international outreach of recorded music, to spread Afro-Cuban language to people with no African heritage. In wealthier families, children were cared for by black servants. The white children learned the language of their black caretakers and the caretakers' children and, as occurred in the southern United States, grew up in effect bidialectal.

During most of the colonial period, only in a few of the largest cities, such as Havana and Cartagena, was there even a minimal amount of ghettoization, which may have fostered the retention of certain ethnically marked words or pronunciation; such an influence was seen in inner-city neighborhoods in the United States and in the townships of apartheid-era South Africa. In the remaining places, the ratio of African-born workers who learned Spanish as a second language was always small in comparison to the native Spanish-speaking population, black and white. Matters changed rapidly following the Haitian Revolution, which began in 1791. The French half of the island of Hispaniola, then known as Saint-

Domingue, was by far the world's largest sugar producer at the end of the eighteenth century. After the slave revolt and the establishment of the free nation of Haiti at the turn of the nineteenth century, sugar production dropped almost to zero, and Cuban sugar planters moved in to supply the world market. This required the immediate importation of hundreds of thousands of additional laborers, the majority of whom came directly from Africa; subsequently they were brought also from other Caribbean colonies. Nearly 86 percent of the more than 1.3 million African slaves taken to Cuba arrived during the first half of the nineteenth century. Newly arrived African workers were highly concentrated on sprawling sugar plantations, housed in barracks, and deprived of the broad-based contact with native speakers of Spanish that earlier generations of Africans had experienced. The last African arrivals in Cuba were split between speakers of Yoruba and related Nigerian languages, on the one hand, and speakers of Kikongo, on the other, and in both instances substrate-induced phenomena survived the first-generation pidgin stage and left traces in Afro-Cuban ritual language (Fuentes Guerra and Schwegler 2005; Castellanos 1990; Lipski 2000a). African-born *bozales* rarely communicated with white plantation owners or even working-class whites, but rather with a small group of free black or mulatto foremen, slave drivers, and overseers. These free blacks spoke Spanish natively, although given their own relative isolation from wider segments of the Spanish-speaking population, they may have used an ethnically marked variety. The large slave plantations prevented most of the African-born workers from acquiring full native competence in Spanish, but even though some African languages were used on the plantations, the slaves inevitably had to use Spanish with the overseers, as well as with some of the other Africans.

## 12. Search for African Influences on Caribbean Spanish

The list of potential traces of African influence on Caribbean Spanish is quite lengthy; three frequently mentioned candidates are the loss of syllable-final /s/, atypical intonation patterns, and double negation.

### LOSS OF SYLLABLE-FINAL /S/

Some scholars have tried to trace the massive elimination of syllable and word-final consonants in all Caribbean Spanish dialects to an African substrate, but in fact these pronunciation patterns are the direct inheritance of southern Spain and the Canary Islands, regions that supplied the

majority of settlers in Caribbean colonies. In one of the few attempts to refine the search for an African imprint on Latin American Spanish pronunciation, Megenney (1989) notes the high degree of overlap between total loss of word-final /s/ (as opposed to aspiration or other forms of consonantal reduction) and majority Afro-Hispanic populations in the Caribbean basin. The late Cuban scholar Figueroa Arencibia (1994, 1995, 1998) made similar claims for the Spanish of eastern Cuba, but without supporting evidence. Given that rates of deletion of syllable-final /s/ reach 100 percent in southern Spain and the Canary Islands, for which no African influence can be postulated and which are strongly implicated in the formation of Caribbean Spanish dialects, the case for an African contribution to /s/-elision in the Caribbean is tenuous at best. As occurred elsewhere in Latin America, speakers of African languages that contained predominantly open syllables tended to overlook weakly pronounced syllable-final consonants in regional varieties of Spanish, therefore possibly extending to the logical extreme processes of phonetic reduction already in progress.

### MULTIPLE H\* PEAKS AND LITTLE DOWNSTEP

More likely candidates for African-influenced pronunciation patterns involve intonation and pitch accents, which only recently are emerging as objects of empirical study. Megenney (1982) noted that the vernacular speech of predominantly black communities in the Dominican Republic was characterized by unusual intonational patterns, with declarative utterances ending on a mid tone rather than the usually falling tone associated with other Spanish dialects. Subsequent work by Willis (2003a, 2003b, 2006) has confirmed typologically unusual phrase-final patterns for Dominican Spanish. In a recent study of the Afro-Iberian creole language Palenquero, Hualde and Schwegler (2008) also demonstrate intonational contours that are atypical of any Latin American Spanish dialects. In particular, all prenuclear stressed syllables receive a uniformly high tone, as opposed to the more usual downdrift and alignment of prenuclear high tones with the immediately posttonic syllable. They note that although contemporary Palenquero is a pitch-accent language like Spanish and not a tone language, unlike Kikongo and similar Bantu languages known to have participated in its formative period, "at some point in the past Palenqueros reinterpreted Spanish stress as requiring an association with a lexical H tone" (26).

My own research on Afro-Hispanic speech communities reveals similar intonational contours, all of which depart from other regional varieties

of Spanish, suggesting a common historical influence. The patterns all involve a series of early-aligned H\* tones and minimal downstep across nonexclamatory nonfocused declarative utterances. In addition to Palenquero, the following Afro-Hispanic dialects routinely exhibit multiple early-aligned H\* peaks.

Colombia: Chocó

H H H H H H  
*po ke la pri me ra pri me ra e a po a ki a ba xo*  
 Because the first one was here, down below

Venezuela: Tacaragüita (Barlovento)

H H H H  
*jo me ka se koj koj la ma ma mi si xo*  
 I married the mother of my children

Mexico (Costa Chica of Guerrero and Oaxaca): San Nicolás (Guerrero)

H H H  
*o ri ta hwis te pan ta mi*  
 You just went to my place

Afro-Bolivian Spanish (Lipski 2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2007, 2008a).

Dorado Chico (Nor Yungas, La Paz), Bolivia:

H H H H H H H H  
*ka da do se ma na noh to ka ba*  
 it was our turn every week

The *negros congos* of Panama (Lipski 1989, 1997, 2009b, 2011):

H H H H  
*ko mo no se ma ma u te ne*  
 What's your name?

Afro-Cuban imitation of *bozal* Spanish from Ortiz López (1998; see also Castellanos 1990; Fuentes Guerra and Schwegler 2005):

H H H H H H  
*mu tfa ko sa ta ol bi da pa loh ne gro*  
 Black people forget many things

Ecuador: Mascarilla, Chota Valley (Lipski 1987, 2008b)

H H H H H H  
*el pri mer dwe ño e ra un se ñor xe sus xa ko mi*  
 The first owner was Mr. Jesús Jácomi

Equatorial Guinea, Malabo (Lipski 1985, 1990, 2000b, 2004c; Quilis and Casado-Fresnillo 1995):

H H H H H H  
*es te pi tʃi sur xjo kwan do bi nje ron los ni xe rjanos a gi ne a*  
 This pidgin English came out when the Nigerians arrived

From the perspective of comparative Afro-Hispanic intonation, it is noteworthy that H\* pitch accents are aligned with all prenuclear stressed syllables and that typically there is no downstep of pitch accents across the expanse of an utterance. This adds to the circumstantial evidence that contact with African languages with lexical tone permanently influenced the development of Afro-Hispanic speech communities.

#### DOUBLE NEGATION

Negation in Spanish exhibits relatively little variation over the Spanish-speaking world, and the same is true of the remaining Ibero-Romance languages. One exception to the generally unremarkable behavior of negative structures in Spanish is double negation, typically represented by the combination of preposed and postposed *no* with no inflection suggesting reflection or focus. This construction is confined to a couple of dialects that are characterized by a significant historical presence of African languages. Double negation is also typical of vernacular Brazilian Portuguese and of the vernacular Portuguese of Angola, Mozambique, and São Tomé and Príncipe. In Spanish America double negation is found in the vernacular speech of the Dominican Republic (Benavides 1985; Jiménez Sabater 1975, 170; Megenney 1990, 121–28; Schwegler 1996b) and in the Chocó region of northwestern Colombia (Schwegler 1991; Granda 1977; Ruíz García 2000).

Chocó:

*Yo no aguanté el calor de allá no* (Schwegler 1991, 97)  
 I couldn't stand the heat there

*él no ha vuelto no* (Ruíz García 2000)  
 he hasn't returned

Dominican Republic (Schwegler 1996b):

*Yo no estoy llegando tarde no*  
 I'm not arriving late

The same construction is attested for nineteenth-century Afro-Cuban Spanish:

*yo no so pobre, no* (Benítez del Cristo 1930)  
I'm not poor

*No é mío, no* (Cabrera 1976, 44)  
It's not mine

*no señó, yo no soy cuchara, no* (Cabrera 1983, 443)  
No sir, I'm not a spoon

*El amo no quiere matar Eugenio, no* (Malpica la Barca 1890)  
The master doesn't want to kill Eugenio

*Yo no bebe guariente, no* (Fernández 1987, 96)  
I don't drink liquor

*yo pensá que mama suyo que lo parí nelle no lo va a cuñusé, no* (Cruz 1974, 231)  
I think that the mother that gave birth to you won't recognize you

*alma mio no va a juntar no, con cuerpo de otra gente . . .* (Laviña [1797]  
1989, 89)  
My soul won't join the body of another person

That these Cuban literary examples are not simple inventions is revealed by the unpublished correspondence between the Cuban scholar José de la Luz Caballero and the American encyclopedist Francis Lieber from around 1830.<sup>6</sup> Lieber queried whether Afro-Cubans spoke a creole language. Among other things, Luz Caballero commented on the use of double negation:

como ya dije en mi respuesta, hay algunos modos de corromper el idioma empleado generalmente por todos los bozales, pero estos se refieren mas bien á las construcciones que no á la pronunciación. . . . 10° Repiten los negros casi siempre la negativa asi dicen vg. "no va á juntar no" "no va á salir no."

[as I already said in my reply, there are some means of corrupting language that are generally used by *bozales*, but these are mostly constructions and not pronunciation. . . . The blacks almost always repeat the negative and say "I'm not going to get together," "I'm not going to leave."]

For scholars seeking an African source for double negation in Dominican, Chocó, and earlier Afro-Cuban Spanish, the most likely suspect is

Kikongo, which was clearly in the right place at the right time, at least in Cuba and Colombia. In Cuba Kikongo speakers formed the *palo mayombe* cult, which survives to this day, including many Kikongo linguistic elements (Fuentes Guerra and Schwegler 2005). In Colombia the creole language Palenquero has a strong Kikongo component (Schwegler 1996a). Kikongo, together with some other Bantu languages, shows "double negation," typically with *ke . . . ko* (cf. Bentley 1887, 607):

*ke be- sumba ko*  
NEG CL. buy NEG  
They do not buy.

Like Palenquero, the second negator (*ko*) occurs phrase-finally, allowing for intervening objects and adjuncts:

*ke be kuenda malembe ko*  
They don't walk slowly (A.M.D.G. 1895, 24)

*ke tukwendanga lumbu yawaonso ko*  
We do not go every day (Bentley 1887, 607)

This is a promising candidate for substratal influence on Spanish and Portuguese, given that the placement of *ko* sentence-finally correlates with the position of the second negator in Afro-Iberian double negation constructions. Since the final particle *ko* may be optionally absent in Kikongo (in which case the sentence carries an element of surprise [A.M.D.G. 1895, 23]), convergence with Spanish and Portuguese could be further facilitated.

The possibility for an African component to double negation is circumstantially plausible in the case of Colombia and Cuba, but significantly less so for the Dominican Republic. Unlike Cuba, Santo Domingo did not receive a massive surge of slaves in the early nineteenth century; most Africans arrived in Santo Domingo early in the colonial period, after which the arrival of African-born slaves slowed to a trickle (Lipski 2004b). The major extra-Hispanic influence on nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Dominican Spanish has been Haitian Creole, carried first by invading Haitian armies, then by settlers who arrived from the western end of the island during the Haitian occupation, and in the twentieth century by migrant sugar plantation laborers. Examples of double negation have also been recorded among elderly Haitians living in rural eastern Cuba, by Ortiz López (1998, 1999a, 1999b, 2001); similar constructions may be heard among Haitians living in the Dominican Republic:

*Cuando yo iba venir pa cá mi familia no quiere venir pa cá no*  
When I was going to come here my family did not want to come here

*La hija mía no entiende nada lo que yo hablo con él. No entiende no.*  
My daughter doesn't understand anything that I say to her. She doesn't understand.

The Cuban-Haitian data, when combined with the frequent use of double negation in rural regions of the Dominican Republic, suggest that a Haitian influence may be at least partially responsible. Haitian Creole is noted for use of a sort of double negation, combining the usual preverbal *pa* with cliticized phrase-final *-non* (ending affirmative sentences with cliticized *-wi* is an even more common strategy). Some of the Cuban-Haitian *tumba francesa* songs exemplify this (Alén Rodríguez 1986, 57; 1991):<sup>7</sup>

<i>yo di mué contan</i>	they say I am happy
<i>mué pa capa contan no . . .</i>	I can't be happy
<i>mué pa capa ri no</i>	I can't laugh

The presence of numerous other Haitian Creole items in rural Dominican Spanish (Lipski 1994, 2004b) reinforces the notion that Haitian Creole has penetrated Dominican Spanish for at least two centuries, despite the traditional hostility between the two peoples. Speakers of Haitian Creole were also in the right places at the right time to have influenced the formation of double negatives in Afro-Cuban *bozal* Spanish. The possibility that Haitian Creole has influenced (if not actually caused) double negation in Dominican Spanish is further enhanced by the existence in both *kreyòl* and Dominican Spanish of double affirmation (Toribio 2002), a trait not found in any other Spanish dialect.

Haitian Creole:

*m' byen wi*  
I'm doing fine

*ou gen pwoblèm wi papa*  
you've got problems, man

Dominican Spanish:

*Ella trabaja bien duro sí*  
she works really hard

*El gallito pinto puede ganar sí*  
the spotted rooster can win

### 13. Summary and Conclusions

The preceding sections have exemplified factors that at various times and under varying circumstances molded the Spanish language as originally transplanted to the Americas by Spanish settlers. The two main currents of influence can be grouped under the headings of sociodemographic profiles and language contact, with specific factors and relative proportions varying widely across time (five centuries) and space (two continents). Even though the majority of the early settlers came from southern and southwestern Spain (Andalusia and Extremadura), dialect leveling was already occurring among the first Spanish colonists, as evidenced by the noteworthy lack of highly regionalized features in early Latin American Spanish, as well as the absence of Ibero-Romance languages other than Castilian (e.g., Galician, Asturian/Leonese, and later Catalan and Aragonese) in the linguistic mix that set the stage for the development of Latin American Spanish. In reality it was not Andalusian Spanish that directly provided the scaffolding upon which Latin American dialects were constructed, but rather a set of common denominators resulting from dialect leveling, which, because they embodied fewer phonological oppositions and more simplified syllable structure than found in the entirety of Peninsular Spanish dialects, bear greater resemblance to Andalusian Spanish than to Castilian varieties. It is therefore difficult to separate the effects of the Founder Principle, namely the predominance of Andalusians among the earliest Spanish colonists, from the effects of dialect leveling among subsequent arrivals from diverse areas of Spain.

Regardless of the overall efficacy of the Founder Principle in Spanish America, it was tempered by the rapid switch of colonial administrative control centers from Andalusia (Seville) to Castile and the subsequent arrival of large contingents of colonists speaking nonsouthern varieties of Spanish. The constant renewal of Peninsular administrative and clerical personnel, as well as continued immigration from Spain, provided a ready conduit for the transmission of linguistic innovations to Spanish American colonies, through the end of the seventeenth century. These innovations made their way from port cities and administrative capitals (the latter nearly always located inland) to smaller regional population centers, but they frequently failed to reach far-flung outposts and isolated enclaves. The pathways of diffusion of Peninsular Spanish innovations, or the lack thereof, can be traced through the presence of clusters of archa-

isms in various Latin American regions, combined with the absence of traits arising in Spain and found in larger Latin American settlements. An example of this dichotomy is the retention of the subject pronoun *vos* (originally a second person plural pronoun) for familiar second person singular address, as opposed to modern Spanish *tú*. *Vos* and accompanying verb forms predominate in regions of Latin America that were geographically and sociolinguistically distant from colonial administrative centers (Páez Urdaneta 1981; Benavides 2003); this includes all of Central America, much of the Andean region, the Southern Cone, and isolated areas of Cuba.

By the early eighteenth century, numerous Spanish-American speech communities had reached a critical mass in terms of demographic strength, economic and social self-sustainability, and linguistic self-awareness and no longer echoed prevailing speech patterns from Spain. From this time onward, distinctly American varieties of Spanish coalesced in both urban and rural areas. Although many factors intervened in the formation of Latin American Spanish dialects, including the inevitable effects of stochastic variation in speech communities scattered across such an immense geographical area, contact with other languages provided the most powerful shaping force in most regions. Indigenous languages, never displaced from their heartlands and spoken natively by demographic majorities, provided the backdrop for partial restructurings of Spanish. These restructured elements percolated their way upward from the second-language speech of indigenous residents on the sociolinguistic periphery of colonial settlements to natively acquired Spanish, at times even as spoken monolingually by individuals with no indigenous language background. In the Andean region, Mexico, Paraguay, and much of Central America, contact with indigenous languages continues to shape local and regional Spanish dialects and is largely responsible for the unique traits of these varieties.

Immigrant languages provided comparatively fewer innovations, owing principally to the relatively small numbers of immigrants at any one time and place and the typical abandonment of the ancestral language after a single generation. Italian immigration to Argentina and Uruguay was exceptional in its massive demographic impact on Buenos Aires and Montevideo, as well as in the high proportion of recognizable cognate patterns that facilitated the creation of intermediate Italo-Spanish hybrid sociolects. Also to be reckoned with is the arrival, around the turn of the twentieth century, of thousands of creole English-speaking West Indians in Costa Rica and Honduras to work in the banana industry, in Panama to participate in the construction of the Panama Canal, and in Nicaragua across a longer time span and for various reasons. To this day, the re-

gional dialects of Spanish along the Caribbean coast of Central America reflect this bilingual contact (Lipski 1986).

Languages arriving with enslaved, indentured, and kidnapped laborers, from Africa, China, and Polynesia, respectively, seldom left more than occasional lexical traces, except in extraordinary cases such as the creation of Maroon communities, syncretic religious cults, or popular music and dance. In its totality, the linguistic impact of coerced servitude is smaller than might be expected given the numbers of individuals involved (several million Africans, several hundred thousand Chinese, and several thousand Pacific islanders); but when added to the crucible of language evolution, these languages provided yet another force of change (Lipski 1999; Maude 1981; McCreery and Munro 1993).

In a few areas of Spanish America, language contacts in border regions have resulted in microdialects that occasionally extend beyond the immediate border zones. The impact of Haitian Creole on the Spanish of the Dominican Republic is a case in point. More regionally confined contact phenomena can be found in Spanish-speaking regions near the border with Brazil: in northern Uruguay, northeastern Argentina, northern Bolivia, and eastern Paraguay (Lipski 2008c, 2009a; Elizaincín et al. 1987), where various Spanish-Portuguese hybrid varieties can be found. In perhaps the most extensive border contact environment, namely the vast Mexican border with the United States, the impact of English on the Spanish of Mexicans who work and study in the United States but return to Mexico daily or weekly has yet to be studied in depth, despite the vast quantity of research on Mexican Spanish in the United States.

In summary, it is not surprising that Spanish, a language spoken by some 400 million people spread over every continent, has diversified over the past five centuries; it would be quite surprising if this had not occurred. In Latin America, the particular trajectories of the emergent dialects were set by a unique combination of language contacts—some coincidental and others the result of deliberate practices—and the idiosyncrasies of Spanish imperialism. The preceding discussion is meant to be suggestive of the possibilities, a glimpse into both the predictable and the unexpected results of the multilingual and multicultural encounters that gave rise to the syncretic society known as Latin America.

#### Notes

1. Such claims must confront obvious contradictions within the data of Latin American Spanish; thus, while Basque influence has been suggested for retention of the phoneme /ʎ/ (written *ll*) in Paraguayan Spanish (e.g., by Granda 1979), other traits of Paraguayan Spanish, such as the weak aspirated pronunciation of final /s/, stand in sharp contrast to the consonant-strong Spanish of the Basque Country. More-

over, Basque influence was even stronger in colonial Venezuela, where the *Compañía Guipuzcoana* was once the major economic force, and yet Venezuelan Spanish bears absolutely no resemblance to the Spanish of the Basque region of Spain. New Mexico was also settled largely by Basques (including the founder of the first colony, Juan de Oñate), but New Mexican Spanish is vastly different from any variety heard in northern Spain. Similarly, although the early presence of Andalusian farmers in Costa Rica is undisputed, central Costa Rican Spanish is among the least "Andalusian-like" varieties of Latin American Spanish. In another striking demonstration, by 1898, on the eve of the Spanish-American War, nearly half of the Cuban population had been born in insular or peninsular Spain, and nearly 25 percent of the Cuban population came from areas of Spain where final /s/ resists effacement and where the phoneme /θ/ (*zeta*) is opposed to /s/, and yet this massively un-Cuban speech community left absolutely no trace on subsequent incarnations of Cuban Spanish. However, the arrival of hundreds of thousands of Italian immigrants to Buenos Aires and Montevideo beginning in the late nineteenth century left numerous traces, as will be shown here.

2. Evidence from early borrowings into Native American languages is ambiguous as regards the status of Spanish *ç* and *z* but is most consistent with the proposal of a fricative articulation (e.g., Canfield 1934, 1952; Mannheim 1988). This suggests that dialect leveling may have resulted in the selection of the fricative variants from among the variable realizations still found in late-fifteenth-century Spain. The same leveling probably occurred in Sephardic (Judeo) Spanish, a series of archaic varieties resulting from the forced diaspora that began in 1492.

3. This analysis is pursued further in Lipski 2004a. In Quechua, the case marker *-ta* has other functions, including adverbial and locative ones. It is also used to signal direct objects in certain double-object constructions involving verbs of helping and teaching. In nearly all(?) instances, however, *ta* does not appear in immediate preverbal position, nor in any other single canonical position that might cause *-ta* to be calqued by an object clitic in Andean Spanish. Postnominal *-ta* may also be followed by other enclitic particles in nondative constructions, in effect being "buried" among the clitics and not corresponding in any clear way with a Spanish element. Only in the case of accusative *-ta* is the linear order convergent enough with Spanish Clitic + Verb combinations to make transfer feasible.

4. A referee has suggested that Quechua "polyperson" constructions might lie at the root of clitic doubling in Andean Spanish. It may be that such configurations, together with the aforementioned reanalysis of *ta*, converged to push Andean Spanish in the direction of consistent clitic doubling.

5. Lavandera (1984, 64–66) confirmed that in the pronunciation of Italian immigrants in Argentina, word-final /s/ completely disappears, while preconsonantal /s/ (which is normally an aspirated [h] in Argentine Spanish), is retained as a sibilant [s]. This treatment of /s/, which departs drastically from Argentinian Spanish, duplicates Italian patterns. Meo Zilio (1989, 214) notes the widespread elimination of word-final /s/ among Italians in the Río de la Plata, except for some central-northern Italians, who sometimes added a paragogic vowel: *omnibus* > *onibusse*. The veracity of the *cocoliche* literary texts can also be put to the test by comparing them with contemporary Italo-Spanish contact language. Italian immigration surged in Montevideo in the mid-twentieth century, around 1950. Some examples were collected by Barrios (1996, 1999, 2003, 2006), Barrios and Mazzolini (1994), Barrios et al. (1994),

Ascencio (2003), and Orlando (2003) among Italian immigrants in Montevideo, all of whom had emigrated from southern Italy in the 1950s.

6. I am grateful to Clancy Clements for providing me with the text of this fascinating document.

7. An additional bit of suggestive evidence comes from the Spanish dialect spoken in Güiría, Venezuela, on the Paria Peninsula near Trinidad (Llorente 1994, 1995). In this community Spanish is in contact with Trinidad French Creole, known as *patois*, a variant of Lesser Antilles French Creole French. Double negation is found both in *patois* and in Güiría Spanish, but not in any other Venezuelan dialect, once more implicating Creole French as the source of double negation: *yo no estoy yendo no* 'I'm not going'.

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