Castile and the hydra: the diversification of Spanish in Latin America

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ABSTRACT: 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 15th 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 which characterizes modern Latin American Spanish; some of the differences among Latin American Spanish dialects are reflected in dialect divisions in contemporary Spain, while others are unprecedented across the Atlantic. This presentation will focus on the search for causes of Latin American Spanish dialect diversification, with emphasis on varieties spoken in Central and South America. In addition to the regional dialect backgrounds of Spanish-born settlers—a factor which rapidly diminished in importance—two primary motivating forces will be examined: language contact, and the emergence of idiosyncratic speech communities in the colonies. Language contact was threefold: with indigenous languages, with languages of involuntary immigration (resulting from African slavery), and languages of voluntary immigration. At the same time the peculiarities of the Spanish monopolistic colonial system, together with the growing importance of what closely approximated Latin American city-states, provided a powerful mechanism of linguistic change. This presentation will sketch out the relative contributions of each of these factors, in a cross section of time and space.

1. Introduction

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 15th century Spain (and most are still spoken even today), only Castilian made its way to the Americas, in itself a remarkable development. More remarkable still is the regional and social variation which characterizes modern Latin American Spanish; some of the differences

among Latin American Spanish dialects are reflected in dialect divisions in contemporary Spain, while others are unprecedented across the Atlantic.

2. The sources of dialect differentiation

In accounting for dialect diversification in Latin American Spanish, three main factors come into play. 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, and to a lesser extent languages of voluntary immigration in later centuries, mainly Italian, English, Cantonese Chinese, and Afro-European creoles 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. The flip side of this factor is linguistic drift, spontaneous changes which occur in the absence of standardizing forces of a large metropolis, found in many isolated and rural areas. 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. Put in other words, 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. In this presentation these issues will be approached in outline form, with greatest attention being devoted to language contact as well as the emergence of linguistically self-sustaining speech communities.

3. The dichotomy DEMOGRAPHIC STRENGTH vs. 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. The first proposal is that uniquely defining characteristics of a given dialect are directly correlated with the demographic proportions of groups—be they speakers of other varieties of Spanish or other languages—assumed to have contributed the features in question. Thus, for example, a high percentage of Basque settlers in a colony's history might account for local Spanish traits not otherwise derivable from the early colonial mix, while the fact that Costa Rica was largely populated by small farmers from Andalusia during most of its colonial history could account for features of Costa Rican Spanish. 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 /λ/ (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. Moreover, 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 than any variety heard in northern Spain. Similarly, although the early presence of Andalusian farmers is undisputed for Costa Rica, 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% 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. On the other hand, the arrival of hundreds of thousands of Italian immigrants to Buenos Aires and Montevideo beginning in the late 19th century left numerous traces, as will be seen shortly

The opposing postulate holds that the first settlers—the `founders'—exercised a permanent influence on the subsequent development of the dialect in a fashion far out of proportion to their demographic strength, continuing on past the time when descendents of the original founders enjoyed any special prominence. This debate is played out against the backdrop of the rural-urban axis, with many distinctive dialectal traits apparently stemming from rural sources, while—it can be argued—the consolidation of dialect zones, the effective operation of dialect leveling, and the most telling instances of contact-induced language change, are all the product of cities.

4. 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 so-called `Antillean period' from 1493-1519 (e.g. by Boyd-Bowman 1956; Catalán 1958; Guitarte 1980; Rosenblat 1977:20; cf. 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

coast of Venezuela and Colombia, and Mexico. According to one line of thought, the Andalusian influence became decisive during the early decades of the 16th century, when the Spanish settlements in the New World were entirely sustained by maritime contact with Europe. Successive arrivals who participated in exploration and settlement of the mainland would, it is claimed, be immersed in the prevailing speech patterns of the American insular settlements, and would in turn carry this form of speech to colonies established on the mainland. Although Spanish trade with mainland colonies soon bypassed the Antilles, except for purposes of reprovisionment, the seeds of `Andalusian-American' Spanish would have been sown.

Boyd-Bowman's `Antillean period' theory is an instantiation of Mufwene's (1996a, `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 1996a: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 non-prestigious speech forms, propelling them into a new linguistic standard. Both approaches coincide in attributing virtually all major traits of a new language or dialect cluster to the earliest speakers, transplanted from a metropolis or from peripheral zones where their languages and dialectal traits come together for the first time.

Let us evaluate the feasibility of a hypothesis such as the Founder Principle for the formative period of Latin American Spanish dialects. 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, e.g. 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 17th 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, voiced and voiceless: /s/ (*ss*), /z/ (*s*), /t^{s}/ (*ç*), /d^{z}/ (z), /š/ (*x*), /ž/ (*g/j*). /s/ and /z/ were apicoalveolar, like contemporary Castilian /s/. There is some indication that merger of the alveolar fricatives and affricates, the precursor of *seseo*, was already beginning in Andalusia by the end of the 15th century, but the change was not complete (Catalán 1956-7). 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 difference in voicing. Within Spain, devoicing of /z/ and /d^{z}/ was complete by the end of the 16th 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 16th century. Instead, Latin American Spanish kept pace with both Castile and Andalusia in

devoicing all sibilants, at approximately the same time as was occurring in Spain. In the New World and in western Andalusia, all the sibilants fell together to /s/. In the remainder of Spain, the reflex of /t^{s}/-/d^{z}/ became an interdental fricative /θ/.

(2) As another part of the general devoicing process, Spanish /š / and /ž/ merged to a voiceless fricative, which later velarized to /x/, with the change being complete by the middle of the 17th century (Lapesa 1981:379). Judeo-Spanish still retains the phonemes /š / and /ž/ and has no velar fricative /x/. Early borrowings into Native American languages give proof that /š/ 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 16th 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 pronouns *usted* and *ustedes* 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 17th century; Latin American Spanish acquired the pronouns at the same time.

The preceding survey amply demonstrates that early 16th Spanish of the `Antillean period,' or even the Spanish brought to colonies founded throughout the 17th century is vastly different from all modern varieties of Spanish, in Spain and Latin America; only Sephardic Spanish is a reasonable approximation to what Caribbean Spanish might actually be like if the

`founder principle' or `Antillean period' models were viable hypotheses for the formation of modern Latin American Spanish dialects.

Models of dialect formation which limit the formative period to the first half century or even full century of colonial settlement are unrealistic, for incontrovertible evidence exists that linguistic cross-fertilization between Spain and Latin extended over several centuries. In any nation arising from colonization, the speech and cultural patterns of the first settlers retains a nostalgic significance which transcends any objective contribution which 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.

5. In search of alternative models: the role of the city

If the crucial defining traits of contemporary Latin American Spanish were not forged during the early 16th century as suggested by the `founder principle,' then attention must be shifted to later events, from the late 16th century to the first decades of the 20th century. In shaping the eventual form of Latin American Spanish dialects, language contact and the emergence of urban speech communities played decisive roles and will be treated in turn.

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, in Madrid. 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 and El Callao 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, which were quickly abandoned in the Spanish colonial scheme, the hubs of Spanish colonial society have evolved into large urban masses. Mexico City is in the running for the world's largest city; Bogotá, Caracas, Santiago, Buenos Aires, and Lima each boast several million inhabitants; Panama City, Guayaquil, Havana, Montevideo, Acapulco, San Juan somewhat less; Cartagena, Santo Domingo, Quito, La Paz, Asunción, Veracruz, Cochabamba, Tegucigalpa, San Salvador and Managua are also major metropolitan areas. In Spain, Seville has several million inhabitants, Madrid has more than twice that number. 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 a literal 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. The relatively small size of colonial Latin American cities, and the consequent likelihood that new arrivals could affect speech patterns, can be seen by considering some representative population figures:

The importance of these population figures is obvious upon consideration of the proposed formative periods of Latin American Spanish. 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 16th century is taken into account, few cities in Spanish America achieved a population of 5000 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 18th century, the principal cities of Spanish America were small and relatively isolated, and contained speech patterns which could be easily influenced by rather small numbers of incoming settlers and immigrants. By comparing linguistic innovations occurring in Spain since the early 16th 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 the1700's 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 (in the Appendix) 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, these speech communities effectively resisted full incorporation of language changes occurring in Spain and arriving with new settlers.

There are, at the same time, instances where growing urbanization in colonial Spanish America is directly correlated with linguistic innovations. Most noteworthy is the *žeísmo* or groove fricative pronunciation [Z] /y/ typical of the Rio de la Plata area (Buenos Aires and Montevideo), which according to Fontanella de Weinberg (1987), appears to have emerged in the early to mid 19th century, a time in which 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 [Σ] evidently originated in Buenos Aires in the late 19th or early 20th century, whence it slowly spread to other areas of Argentina, and to Montevideo; in the latter city devoicing of /y/ has not yet reached the entire population, but is still more frequent among female speakers. Mexico City experienced a similar growth spurt during the same time period, and it is likely that the characteristic *chilango* realization of phrase-final /r/ as a sibilant [♦] arose at this point. The highly fronted posterior fricative /x/ realized as palatal [X] in the Spanish of Santiago de Chile, now affecting most of the country and most noteworthy before front vowels as in *gente* and *ajeno*, also appears to correlate with the demographic leap of Santiago during the 19th century, as does the highly fronted realization of /tΣ/ as in *Chile*.

7. Contact with 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 terms of overall impact—these involve contact with indigenous languages, with languages of involuntary immigration (African slaves), 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 configurations not attested in Spain. In pronunciation and syntax, many Latin American dialects present systematic innovations which 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 bilingual interlanguage 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 non-lexical features of Latin American Spanish must be presented as in a court of law, demonstrating motive, method and opportunity.

During the 16th century (the first major formative period of Latin American Spanish) and even later, indigenous populations often outnumbered Europeans by hundreds to one, and yet the nature of Spanish settlement was not always conducive to substratum influences. In order for an indigenous language to permanently influence colonial Spanish, a special set of conditions was required, which were not present in all colonies nor at all times. Native Americans who use Spanish only occasionally, having learned it as a second language past childhood, speak an interlanguage 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 indigenously-flavored Spanish has no ready way of expanding beyond the

group which has created it, and ordinarily leaves no traces on natively spoken Spanish. In order for an indigenous interlanguage to permanently penetrate regional varieties of Spanish, a major sociolinguistic shift must break the equilibrium which sustains the interlanguage. Speakers of the interlanguage need to occupy positions in which their speech becomes the norm. Such speakers must be present in great enough numbers to make the interlanguage demographically prominent. The interlanguage itself, 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. The permanent insertion of indigenous elements into regional Spanish follows the same pattern by which a pidgin, originally a survival-level contact language spoken natively by no member of a linguistically hetereogenous population, evolves into a creole, learned as a native language. As with creolization, a myriad of different events can lead to the same result. In order to exemplify potential consequences of contact with indigenous languages, four cases will be mentioned, all from the Andean linguistic zone. The first is found only among bilingual speakers for whom Spanish is non-dominant, while the other three phenomena embrace a much wider cross-section of Andean Spanish.

DOUBLE POSSESSIVES

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 ethnic interlanguage. Indigenous patterns freely enter the Spanish of these balanced bilinguals, and unimpeded communication is ensured by the fact that all bilingual speakers will implicitly draw

on the same indigenous linguistic patterns when interpreting innovative Spanish structures. In her analysis of Andean Spanish, Escobar (1994) describes the distinction between contact phenomena found only among bilingual indigenous speakers, and those constructions which are found throughout the Andean region even among monolingual Spanish speakers. Bilingual Spanish combinations are nearly always highly stigmatized, and 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 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. For example the relevant Quechua construction is:

Mariya-x wasi -n

María -POSS house-POSS `Mary's house'

The monolingual Spanish speaker lacking any knowledge of Quechua structures, and 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.

CONTACT-INDUCED PHENOMENA IN MONOLINGUAL ANDEAN SPANISH VARIETIES

Given the heavy social stigma carried by anything smacking 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 only combine with animate direct object NPs or pronominals. At the most vernacular level, the Andean doubled clitic is invariant *lo,* i.e. without the usual inflection for gender and number. Some examples are:

PERU:

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

`I asked her to heat up the iron for me'

Lo veo mi poncho

`I see my poncho'

Se *lo l*levó 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:

ya *lo* he dejado la llama (Stratford 1989:119)

`Now I have left (working with) llamas'

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

`You have the address'

Cerra*lo* la puerta (Justiano de la Rocha 1986:29)

`Close the door'

Mientras tanto, véme*lo* el asado (Mendoza 1999)

`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 fact that clitic doubling only occurs 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, motivates 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):

T'ika -ta kuchu-ni

Flower-ACC cut 1S = `I cut the flower' (lo corto la flor)

ima- ta kuchi-ni?

What-ACC cut 1S = `What do I cut?' (¿qué lo corto?)

Challwa-ta apa -nki

Fish -ACC carry 2S (FUT) = `You will carry fish' (lo llevarás pescado)

Asta -ni unu -ta

Carry 1S water-ACC = `I carry water' (lo acarreo agua)

The accusative marker -*ta* does not occupy the identical 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 Spanish interlanguage to interpret the clitic *lo*, statistically the most frequent among the many Spanish object clitics, as some sort of transitivity 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, i.e. in the identical position as Spanish proclitic *lo*.[1] It is not irrelevant that Spanish *lo* itself marks an accusative relationship, albeit not in the fashion of Quechua -*ta*. A speaker of the developing indigenous interlanguage, encontering 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 interlanguage maintains 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 interlanguage speakers develop greater fluency in Spanish, word order gravitates to the more usual V-O for non-clitic 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 clitic-doubled pattern. This pattern of events is admittedly speculative, but it does

correlate well with observations on the development of Spanish proficiency among Quechua speakers (also Muysken 1984).

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 second-hand knowledge. Spanish has no similar grammatical construction; paraphrases such as *dizque* `it's said that,' *tengo entendido que* `I've heard that,' etc. are normally used. In Bolivian Spanish and peripherally 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 second-hand 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' is indicating personal knowledge of the time of arrival, whereas *habías llegado a las ocho* reflects second-hand knowledge only. The pluperfect indicative can also be used 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 even 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 only occurs 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 second-hand 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 compound verbs were initially analyzed by indigenous speakers developing their interlanguage 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, e.g. 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 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 evidentiality is presumably compelling to speakers of Aymara and Quechua, as also attested by the expanded use of *dizque, diciendo* and other Spanish markers in Andean Spanish (Laprade 1976, 1981; Stratford 1989, 1991).[2]

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 interlanguage 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 among dialect regions, as well as in conjunction with pragmatic values, focus, levels of politeness, etc. 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, i.e. the final accent of the phrase. Across a wide range of dialects, in prenuclear accented syllables the high tone occurs towards the end of the tonic syllable or on the immediately following syllable; this is late-peak alignment, and is typical of non-focused constituents. 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 prenuclear stressed syllables. This is an area where Quechua influence was historically minimal, although currently there are many Quechua-speaking migrants from the highlands. In Cusco, 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 prenuclear 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 interlanguage speech varieties. The Cusco 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.

8. 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 due to the relatively small numbers of speakers involved in comparison with the already established Spanish dialect zones. 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, with more than half arrived after 1900, making up nearly 60% of all immigration to Argentina. Most of the immigrants ended up in greater Buenos Aires ((Bailey 1999:54), and made up between 20% and 30% 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, the result of language planning efforts that had not yet begun in the late 19th 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, interlanguage 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.

Immigrants came from all over Italy, which prior to unification in the 20th century was truly a patchwork of oftentimes mutually unintelligible regional dialects and languages. A speaker of Piemontese could not communicate with a Calabrese unless some linguistic common denominator were found. Nowadays standard Italian, based loosely on educated Florentine speech, bridges the gap, but in the 19th and early 20th centuries the rural residents who made up the bulk of Italian immigration to Latin America had not been the beneficiaries of any language planning effort and were usually unaware of any language or dialect other than their own. At the same time most immigrants had little or no awareness of the social and linguistic conditions that awaited them upon arrival at their destination. As a consequence, considerable linguistic improvisation and dialect leveling took place among Italian immigrants in Buenos Aires and Montevideo, even as they were coming to terms with the reality of their new situation. Instrumental in fomenting a pan-Italian linguistic integration was the infamous Hotel de los Inmigrantes in Buenos Aires, which at its peak had a capacity for over 8000 newly arrived immigrants at a time (Blengino 1990:87-88). This initial refuge for indigent and ignorant immigrants was founded in 1883, and consisted of a huge tower-like structure which could be seen from on board ships approaching the Buenos Aires harbor. Immigrants from all over Italy were thrust together in squalid and hugely overcrowded conditions, and for many this was the first occasion to come into contact with the true linguistic diversity of Italy itself. The time period spent in the hotel, which could last several months or more, had a leveling effect similar to that which has been postulated for the Casa de la Contratación in Seville, where emigrants bound for the Americas waited between six months and a year for passage on the next available

ship. The linguistic diversity of Spain, including such regional languages as Galician, Catalan, Asturian-Leonese and Aragonese, and excluding Basque, is nowhere near that found in 19th century Italy. Nor were prospective emigrants in Seville forced to share quarters with thousands of fellow travelers; the Casa de la Contratación was a central meeting place for voyagers lodged throughout the city, which at the beginning of the emigration boom had close to 100,000 inhabitants.

Among Italians in Argentina a seemingly paradoxical situation obtained. On the one hand the extreme diversity of regional dialects impeded communication among many Italian immigrants, except though recourse to the emerging common second language, Spanish. At the same time each immigrant was able to employ a scaffolding of cognate items and similar grammatical structures en route to acquiring an Italo-Spanish interlanguage. This interlanguage became immortalized in the literary *cocoliche* humorous texts, which suggest a relatively homogeneous mixture of colloquial Buenos Aires Spanish and dialects of central and southern Italy, especially the Neapolitan dialect. This is largely due to the fact that Naples has long been the butt of jokes within Italy, and these prejudices were simply transferred to the New World environment (Blengino 1990:42-3). In reality the initial approximations to Spanish by speakers of distinct Italian dialects would be quite dissimilar; for example the northern dialects such as Veneto employ derivatives of Latin object pronouns as subject pronouns, particularly *mi* and *ti* instead of *io* and *tu*; some literary imitations suggest that these traits were carried over into initial approximations to Spanish (Blengino 1990:125). For example a Genoan character in the skit *La ribera* by Carlos Pacheco) says:

> Che, Tonín, *mi* sun qui il patrón del barco ... *mi* que digo que Italia e più bella
>
> `Hey Tony, I'm the captain of the ship ... I say that Italy is the most beautiful'

This usage is unlikely to have survived long in a Spanish-speaking environment, but is exemplary of the non-uniform nature of *cocoliche*-like L2 Spanish as spoken by Italian immigrants. A fact overlooked by literary imitators and those who have studied these written parodies is the fact that the longevity of *cocoliche* and its eventual real common denominators result from this being the preferred medium of exchange among Italians from different regions of Italy. In other words, a partial linguistic unification—spanning the gap between the non-existent dialect leveling and the eventual acquisition of Spanish—characterized the Italo-Spanish interlanguage spoken in Buenos Aires and Montevideo, and was in all probability responsible for the longevity of the contact varieties known collectively as *cocoliche*.

The impact of Italian dialects on the Argentine 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/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 Argentine "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 19th century. According to Argentine observers from the time periods in question, the typical *porteño* intonation pattern did not exist prior to the late 19th 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 the 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 be easily 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, 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 (e.g. Lipski 1984).[3]

In both Buenos Aires and Montevideo, aspiration of word-final /s/ in prevocalic contexts (as in *los amigos* `the friends') still carries a social stigma, although such pronunciation is common among working-class speakers, and aspiration or loss in phrase-final position is also avoided in carefully monitored speech. Preconsonantal /s/ is routinely aspirated in all varieties of Argentine and Uruguayan Spanish, with the exception of northern Uruguay along the Brazilian border, where a stronger final /s/, influenced by the neighboring Portuguese dialect, still prevails. On the other hand 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 Rio de la Plata Spanish. None of the Italian dialects implicated in contact with Rio de la Plata Spanish contains 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 only 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 Argentina/Uruguayan Spanish does not correspond to any regional Italian pronunciation, and presents a challenge to phonological interpretation. Whereas speakers of Rio 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 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; this is frequently portrayed in literature: `Chichilo, qué sabé vo ... vo no ve nada' (Discepolo 1958). Lavandera (1984:64-6) 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 Argentine Spanish, duplicates Italian patterns.

Unlike "eye-dialect" literature from other Spanish-speaking regions, no known Argentine or Uruguayan literary texts gives graphic representation of syllable-final aspirated /s/. This contrasts sharply with literature from coastal Ecuador and Colombia, as well as from Nicaragua and some Caribbean nations, suggesting that the Rio de la Plata writers consider final /s/ to remain essentially unchanged. On the other hand, literary representations of Italians' approximations to Spanish, as well as texts purporting to represent the speech of uneducated poor urban speakers (usually of Italian origin) routinely delete final /s/ in fashions consistent with Italian phonotactic patterns.[4] Literary examples include:

"FRAY MOCHO" (JOSÉ ÁLVAREZ; BLENGINO 1990:112):

eh so bene que la mochacha e [es] linda

`It's good that the girl is pretty'

yo le rompería arguno güeso [algunos huesos]

`I would break some of his bones'

CARLOS PACHECO (BLENGINO 1990:125):

vamo [vamos], va a l'inferno

`Let's go, go to hell'

H. GONZÁLEZ AND JUAN COMORERA (BLENGINO 1990:125):

semo o o semo [somos]

`we are'

E. HOMERO (BLENGINO 1990:125):

Endunce [entonces] yo ha ido una noche a la cucina, osté estaba lavando lo plato [los platos]

`Then one night I went to the kitchen, you were washing the dishes'

GIRULAMO SCIURANO (ROSELL 1970:52):

...cuando arriva estos tres hombre[s] deponerle[s] nela infantería porque esto[s] tres son los Gefe[s] de todas las revolución [revoluciones] ...

`When these three men come put them in the infantry, because they are the leader of all the revolts'

MIGUEL CANE (ROSELL 1970:55):

Levántasi, muchachi

que la[s] cuatro sun

e lo federali [los federales]

sun vení a Cordún

`Get up boys, it's 4:00, and the Federal troops have come to Cordún'

RAÚL CASTAGNINO (ROSELL 1970:56): buenas noche[s], siño Carlos `good night Mr. Carlos'

Carlos Pacheco (Rosell 1970:76): ...nosotro[s] non somo[s] lo hico [los hijos] re lu paise

`we are the children of the country'

ARMANDO DISCEPOLO (ROSELLL 1970:92):

aquí estoy, haciendo una bella fumata, e visitando a lo[s] bueno[s] vecino[s]

`Here I am having a good smoke and visiting the good neighbors'

ALBERTO NOVION (ROSELL 1970:107):

o vamo[s] lo[s] do[s] cuntos a la comisaría o no vamo[s] nenguno de lo[s] do[s]

`either we both go to the police station or neither one goes'

ALBERTO VACAREZZA (ROSELL 1970:119): vamo[s] puntiando `let's take aim'

The veracity of the *cocoliche* literary texts can be put to the test by comparing them with contemporary Italo-Spanish contact language. Italian immigration surged in Montevideo in the mid 20th century, around 1950. Some examples collected by Barrios (1996, 1999, 2003, 2005, Barrios and Mazzolini 1999, Barrios et al. 1994, Ascencio 2003, Orlando 2003) among Italian immigrants in Montevideo, all of whom had emigrated from southern Italy in the 1950's:

FROM CAMPANA:

depué [desepués] de Pinarola poi kedai biuda, e me bení per centro

`After Pinarola I was widowed and then I came here to downtown'

si, tenia do iko [dos hijos] `yes, I had two children'

kompramu [compramos] nu kampo, nu... e teniano... [teníamos] e teniamo tutto, facíamo [hacíamos] vino, acíamo [hacíamos] tutto `we bought a house in the country, we had everything, we made wine, we made everything'

lu kuatro nietto, aora tengo sei [los cuatro nietos, ahora tengo seis]

`the four grandchildren, now I have six'

FROM CALABRIA:

e depoé [después], dise, eso é [es]mal de mar

`and then, that is seasickness'

otra kosa ke le dammo [damos] a lo canco [los chanchos]

`something else that we give to the hogs'

depué [después] me mekoré. kuando tenía uno kinse o dicisei ano [dieciseis años]

`then I got better when I was 15 or 16 years old'

ante [antes] de benir para aká `before coming here'

endonse [entonces] aí etabano [estábamos] todo los enfermero [enfermeros]

`then there we were, all the nurses'

... i nosotto [nosotros] ibamo [íbamos] a la kucina a trabaXare

`and we went to the kitchen to work'

All of these examples combine to implicate the extended interface with Italian dialects in the loss of word-final /s/ in lower working-class Spanish of Buenos Aires and Montevideo.

9. Contact with languages of involuntary immigration: the African diaspora in Latin America

By far the largest extra-Hispanic demographic and linguistic presence to reach Latin America was carried by the nearly ten million African slaves who for nearly four centuries provided much of the labor force in colonial and post-colonial 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 1800's, particularly in large urban areas. This includes cities which 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 30-40%. 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 descendents moved to cities—to work as servants, laborers, 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; thus the Africanized realization of *escoba* as *shicoba* was imitated by white songwriters and poets in Buenos Aires and Montevideo, representing the black *shicobero* or itinerant broom-vender. Similarly, the *tango*, now a highly formalized European dance, was once the exclusive purview of Africans in Buenos Aires, and the *tango de negros* (a term also used in Cuba) was the equivalent of the *juke joint* in the United States. Forbidden by social taboos from openly socializing with Africans, young white residents of Buenos Aires would disguise themselves and slip to the edges of town in order to participate in the Africanized dances and songs. The tendency to introduce popular language into the words of tangos originally involved African contributions, only later turning to the Italian-derived *lunfardo* spoken by Italian immigrants in the port of Buenos Aires (Lipski 2001, 2005). African vocabulary items became implanted in Argentine and Uruguayan Spanish, the most common being mucama `female domestic servant,' coming from the kiMbundu word (spoken in Angola) meaning female attendant of a queen (this is similar to Spanish *azafata* `airline hostess,' originally an Arab word referring to a female court servant). The formerly popular Argentine dance *milonga* is also derived from an African word, as are other more local words. In the Caribbean, the African population was largely concentrated

in rural plantations, especially in Cuba, and 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. 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 those 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 their children, and as occurred in the southern United States, grew up in effect bi-dialectal.

The African contribution to the Spanish lexicon of various Latin American countries is beyond dispute. In other dimensions matters are much murkier, due to a combination of unrefined research techniques and limited historical demographic data. Given the chronology of the African slave trade to Spanish America, only in the Caribbean dialects is there a high probability of detecting an African contribution that goes beyond lexical borrowings.

Until the 19th century, Africans in the Spanish Caribbean usually worked on small farms, in placer gold deposits (panning for gold in river beds), or as domestic servants and laborers in cities and towns. In the largest cities, Africans were sometimes allowed to form socio-religious societies based on membership in a specific African ethnic group, which may have facilitated retention of some African languages beyond the first generation, but in general when Africans found themselves together in Latin America, they had to resort to Spanish. This situation predominated throughout the entire Caribbean area, including Cuba, Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo, coastal Venezuela and Colombia, and Panama, until the very end of the 18th century.

Following the early use of Africans in placer gold mining, pearl diving, and agriculture, the importation of Africans dropped drastically in all of these areas, except for the Colombian port of Cartagena de Indias, through which nearly all slaves destined for the northwestern part of South America passed. Thus although in some regions the population of African origin was considerable, most Afro-Hispanics had been born in the colonies in close contact with native speakers of Spanish. Only in a few of the largest cities, such as Havana and Cartagena, did even a minimal amount of ghettoization take place, which may have fostered the retention of certain ethnically marked words or pronunciation, similar to inner city neighborhoods in the United States, or the townships of *apartheid*-era South Africa. In the remaining places, the ratio of African-born workers who learned Spanish as a second language (these were known as *bozales*) 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, known as Saint-Domingue, was by far the world's largest sugar producer at the end of the 18th century, and the ratio of black slaves to white masters was as high as 100:1 on some plantations. Following the revolution and the establishment of the free nation of Haiti by the 1820's, sugar production dropped almost to zero, and other Latin American countries which had previously been reluctant to compete against the French near-monopoly rushed to fill the gap. This required the immediate importation of hundreds of thousands of additional laborers, the majority of whom came directly from Africa, with a considerable number also drawn from other established Caribbean colonies. The two largest participants in the new sugar boom were Brazil and Cuba. In Cuba, to give an idea of the explosive growth of the African population, up until 1761, approximately 60,000 African slaves had been taken to Cuba. Between 1762 and 1780 some 20,000 more slaves were imported. From 1780 to 1820 the

number jumps dramatically: more than 310,000 African *bozales* arrived during this period, bringing the total number of slaves taken between the first colonization and 1820--the **beginning** of the sugar boom--to around 390,000. By 1861, this number had jumped again, to an astonishing 849,000, which means that nearly 86% of all slaves taken to Cuba arrived during the first half of the 19th century. Extrapolating to allow for underreporting and clandestine traffic, some historians estimate a total as high as 1.3 million African *bozales* taken to Cuba during the entire slave trade.

Puerto Rico also participated in the explosive growth of sugar plantations, although on a proportionally smaller scale. Out of a total of 75,000 African slaves estimated to have arrived in Puerto Rico during the colonial period, almost 60,000 arrived in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Among other Spanish American colonies which saw rapid grown of the African-born population to meet new agricultural production demands were Venezuela (principally the production of cacao, which had started in the 17th century) and Peru (cotton and sugar cane).

Unlike in earlier times, the last wave of Africans arriving in the Spanish Caribbean was often divided into larger groups speaking a single language. This is because only a few large slave traders remained in business, and had established themselves in ethnically homogeneous African ports. In Cuba, Yoruba speakers from southwestern Nigeria (known as *lucumíes*) represented the largest group, and provided the linguistic and cultural basis for the Afro-Cuban religion *santería*. Igbo- and Efik-speaking *carabalíes* (from southeastern Nigeria) also arrived in large numbers, and their language contributed to the secret Afro-Cuban society known as *Abakuá*. Groups of KiKongo speakers (known as *congos*, from modern Zaire and northern Angola) and Fongbe speakers (known as *ararás*, from modern Benin and Togo) were also found in Cuba, and to this day musical, cultural, religious, and linguistic traditions from these African

ethnic groups remain in Cuba, Haiti, Trinidad, and other Caribbean areas. This created the conditions for wider use of African languages in the Caribbean colonies, and Africans who spoke less common languages learned major African languages such as Yoruba and KiKongo in the Caribbean, much as major regional languages are used as lingua francas throughout Africa.

Equally important in the search for African roots in Caribbean Spanish is the fact that the newly arrived African workers were highly concentrated in sprawling sugar plantations known as *ingenios*, housed in barracks or *barracones*, and deprived of the broad-based contact with native speakers of Spanish that earlier generations of Africans had encountered. A description of one such estate written in 1849 by the English traveller Richard Madden (1849:156), graphically describes the living conditions:

> The appearance of the negroes on this estate was wretched in the extreme; they looked jaded to death, listless, stupified, haggard, and emaciated: how different from the looks of the pampered, petted, well-fed, idle, domestic slaves of the Dons of the Havana! The clothing of the Olanda negroes was old and ragged ... they lived here in huts, near the Ingenio, but very miserable places, unfit for the habitation of wild beasts that it might be thought desirable to keep in health or comfort ...

Newly-arrived *bozales* rarely communicated with white plantation owners or even working-class whites, but rather with a small group of free black or mulatto foremen, slavedrivers, and overseers, known as *mayorales*, *contramayorales*, *mayordomos,* and *capataces*. 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. These large slave plantations deprived most of the African-born workers from acquiring full

native competence in Spanish, although even with the use of some African languages, the slaves inevitably had to use Spanish with the overseers, as well as with some of the other Africans.

For more than half a century in the Spanish Caribbean, social and demographic conditions existed which necessitated the use of a Spanish-based pidgin by African-born *bozales*. Their attempts at speaking Spanish are well-documented, as we shall see shortly. What is less clear is whether *bozal* pidgin Spanish ever became a native language in the Caribbean, and whether subsequent reentry into mainstream regional varieties of Spanish produced a permanent African imprint. In the most isolated slave barracks of large plantations, Spanish pidgin undoubtedly became the native languages of children born in these difficult conditions, and given the social isolation of black plantation laborers, a creolized Spanish may have existed for at least a generation in a few of the largest *ingenios*. However, following the abolition of slavery in the Spanish Caribbean around the middle of the 19th century, even African-born *bozales* were placed in contact with large numbers of native Spanish speakers. If a Spanish-based creole ever existed in the 19th century Caribbean, it was a fleeting occurrence in a few of the largest plantations, and quickly rejoined the mainstream of Spanish following the integration of the Afro-Hispanic population. There is less likelihood that Spanish became a creole language in the Caribbean prior to the 19th century, except in highly exceptional cases. From the earliest colonial times, slaves often escaped and formed isolated maroon villages, where Spanish-based pidgins and creoles undoubtedly flourished briefly before being extinguished or re-absorbed by the dominant population. A few of these `special' forms of Afro-Hispanic language made their way into historical accounts, and in addition to fragmentary hints scattered throughout remote Afro-American communities in the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Panama, Colombia, and

Venezuela, at least one full creole language has survived to the present day, in the Colombian village of San Basilio de Palenque, near Cartagena.

11. Search for African influences on Caribbean Spanish

On those occasions where Afro-Hispanic populations have received serious attention--usually by cultural anthropologists and historians--the groups have been studied in isolation, as transplanted African societies in miniature, having little or no impact on the remainder of the population. Turning specifically to language, opinions by writers from inside and outside of the Caribbean zone have clustered around two equally untenable poles. The first position, representing Afrophobic insecurity or simple ignorance, affirms that there are **no** African traces to be found in Caribbean Spanish, other than the undeniable presence of at best a dozen or so words of limited circulation. The other position--most often sustained by non-Caribbean observers lacking knowledge of the full range of Spanish dialect variation--ascribes **all** typically Caribbean Spanish traits to African influence, regardless of whether they also occur in other areas of the Spanish-speaking world. The reality lies somewhere in between these two positions; traces of contact with African languages are undoubtedly subtle and much altered across time and space. Moreover within the Caribbean region the search for an African linguistic contribution is complicated by the hundreds of thousands of speakers of Atlantic creole languages who arrived as laborers in Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico, in effect representing African influence twice-removed. The main creole languages involved are Papiamentu in the 19th century, and Haitian Creole and Jamaican Creole (and related French- and English-derived creoles from the lesser Antilles) in the 20th century.

What sort of permanent traces on Caribbean Spanish might be directly attributable to contact with African languages? The list of potential suspects is quite lengthy, but three

promising candidates will be mentioned here: 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 which 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 Cuban scholar Figueroa (1994, 1995, 1998) makes similar claims for the Spanish of eastern Cuba, but without supporting evidence. Given the fact that rates of deletion of syllable-final /s/ reach 100% 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 fo /s/-elision in the Caribbean is tenuous at best. As occurred elsewhere in Latin America, speakers of African languages which 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

Much more likely candidates for African-influenced pronunciation patterns involve intonation and pitch accents, which only recently have been the subject 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 amd Schwegler (2007) 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 post-tonic syllable. They note (p. 36) 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."

My own research on Afro-Hispanic speech communities reveals similar intonational contours, all of which depart from other regional varieties of Spanish, and which suggest a common historical influence. The patterns all involve a series of early-aligned H* tones and minimal downstep across non-exclamatory non-focused declarative utterances. This can be seen in one of my own recordings of Palenquero, shown in Figure 1.

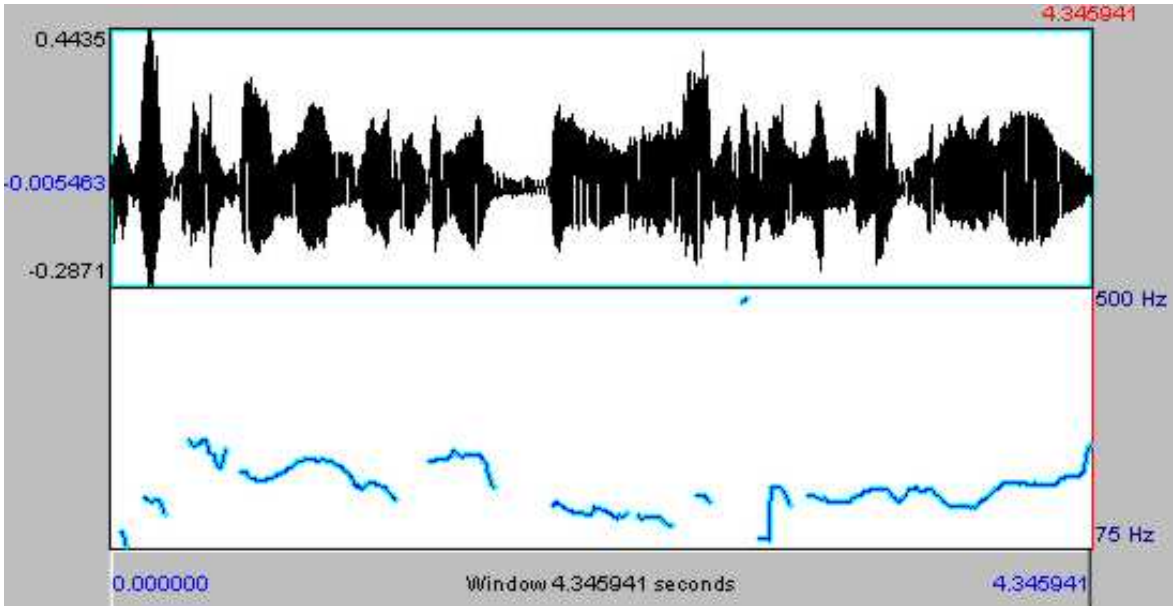

Figure 1: Palenquero intonation

H H H H H H
a ki pa leN ge su to a se sem bra xu a lo
`here in Palenque we grow rice'

In Colombia, this can be found in the Afro-Hispanic dialects of the Chocó, in the northwest, as shown in Figure 2.

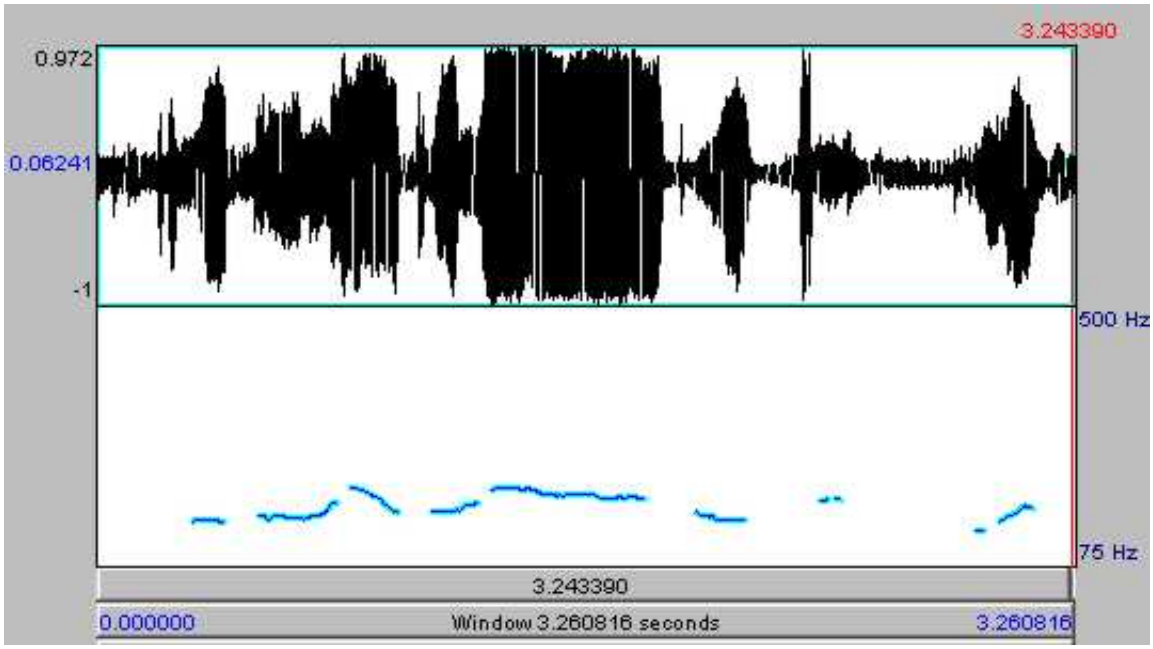

Figure 2: Chocó (Colombia) intonation

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'

Similar patterns are found in the Afro-Venezuelan speech of the Barlovento region, to the east of Caracas (Figure 3).

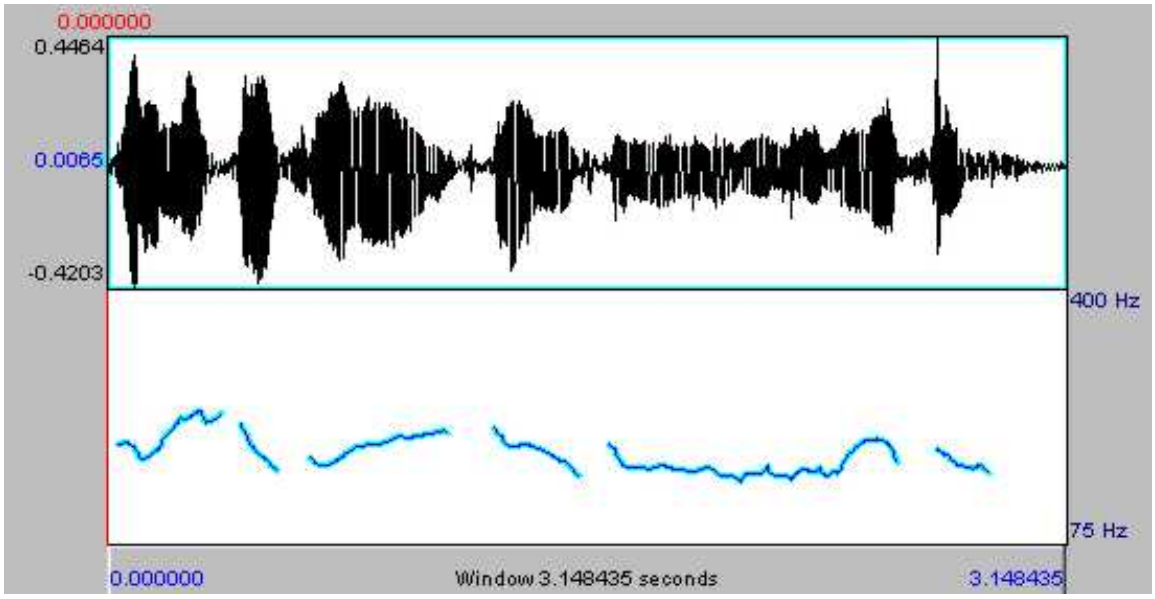

Figure 3: Tacarigüita (Distrito Brión), Barlovento, Venezuela

H H H H
jo me ka se koN koN la ma ma mi si xo
`I married the mother of my children'

The Afro-Mexican dialects of the Costa Chica of Guerrero and Oaxaca, on the Pacific coast to the east of Acapulco, provide a similar case within the same geographical region (Figure 4):

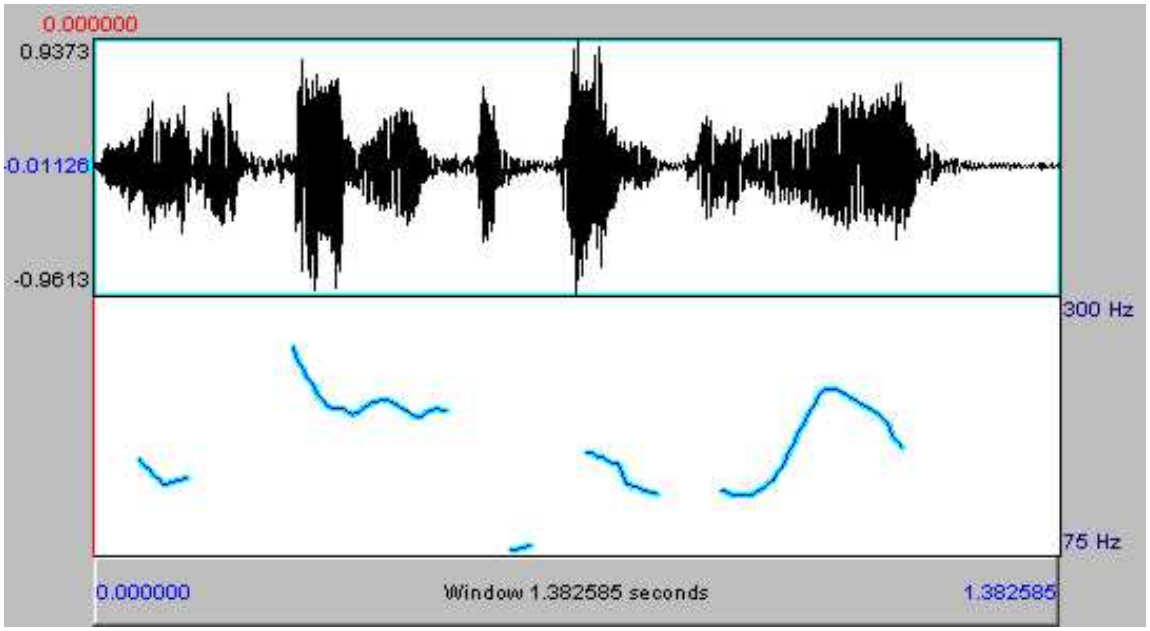

Figure 4: San Nicolás (Guerrero), Mexico

	H			H			H	
o	**ri**	**ta**	**hwis**	**te**	**pan**	**ta**	**mi**	

`You just went to my place'

Another case involves the unique Afro-Bolivian dialect, still spoken by at most a few hundred individuals in the remote Yungas region of central Bolivia (Lipski 2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2007). Systematic differences between the Afro-Yungueño dialect and highland Bolivian Spanish involve segmental and suprasegmental phonetics, phonological structures, morphology, syntax, and lexicon. Even from a distance, when individual words cannot be clearly distinguished, one immediately hears different intonational curves and segmental phonetic behavior. The example (Figure 5) *cada semana nos tocaba* `every week it was our turn' illustrates this phenomenon, which is not typical of any other Bolivian dialect even in the immediately surrounding communities, and which is not found in the speech of the same Afro-Bolivian speakers when they use contemporary non-Afro Spanish.

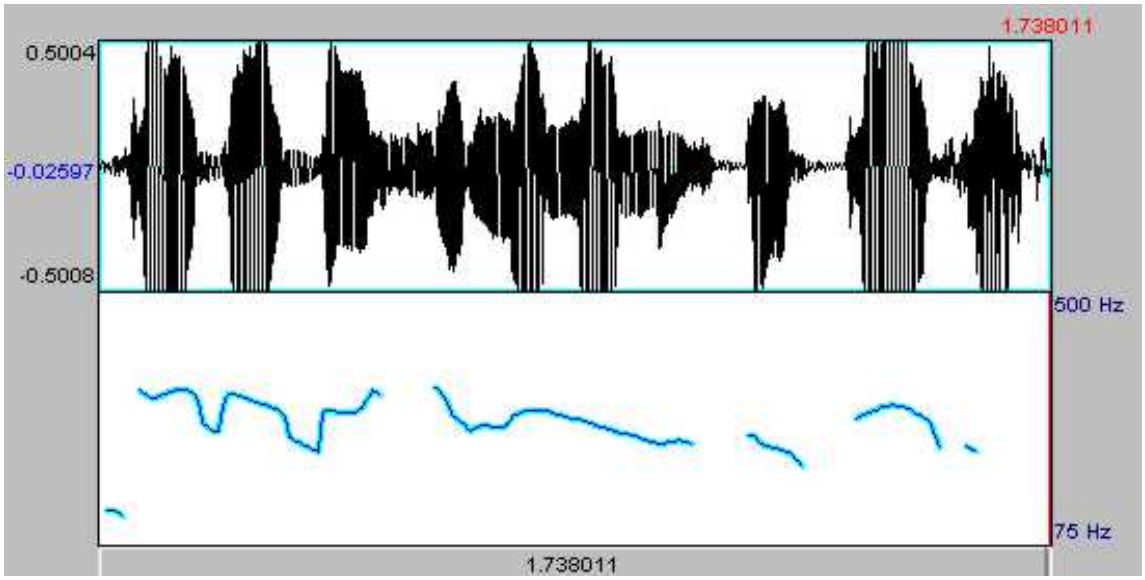

Figure 5: Dorado Chico (Nor Yungas, La Paz), Bolivia

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

Another case involves the *negros congos* of Panama, Afro-Panamanian groups living in various communities along Panama's Caribbean coast (Lipski 1989, 1997). During the spring Carnival season and at other times Afro-Hispanic residents of these communities—whose daily speech is simply the local vernacular Spanish—employ a restructured variety of Spanish referred to as *hablar congo* `Congo talk' and which contains, in addition to humorous distortions of patrimonial Spanish words, a considerable number of African or pseudo-African lexical items grafted onto a Spanish grammatical system with Spanish functional categories. The *congo* dialect, spoken only by Afro-colonial Panamanians, is in some way related to the linguistic situation which obtained among black slave and free groups in colonial Panama, particularly in the 16th and 17th centuries, when slave trade through Portobelo was at its peak. Members of the community assert that *congo* speech is the direct descendent of the speech of the *negros bozales*, but the reality is much more complex. Nowadays, speaking *congo* involves a high degree of

verbal improvisation and prowess, based on the notion of saying things "backwards" (Spanish *al revés*, which also means `upside down' and `inside out'). According to Afro-Panamanian oral tradition, during the colonial period Spanish slaveowners would allow their African slaves some liberties during the Carnival season, allowing the slaves to wear castoff finery, which the slaves put on backwards or inside out as a visual demonstration of their resistance to slavery. Contemporary *congo* speakers use semantic reversals, such as *vivi* (Spanish *vivo*) `alive' to mean `dead,' *entedo* (Sp. *entero*) `whole' to mean `broken,' etc. True *congo* adepts can put on dazzling improvisations, at times also introducing formulaic phonetic deformations into each word. These deformations are neither entirely random nor completely systematic, but fall somewhere in between. Nearly all *congo* speakers routinely realize /r/, /rr/, /l/ , and /d/ as stop [d] (e.g. [ka-de-te-da] for *carretera `road*; [e-te-dao] for *este lado* `this side'), which departs sharply from normal Panamanian pronunciation, in which postvocalic voiced stops do not occur. These neutralizations are found in other Afro-Hispanic dialects; in particular the three-way neutralization suggests a Bantu substratum. Intonational patterns also change dramatically when practitioners switch into the *congo* dialect, once more exhibiting the series of non-downstepped high peaks (Figure 6):

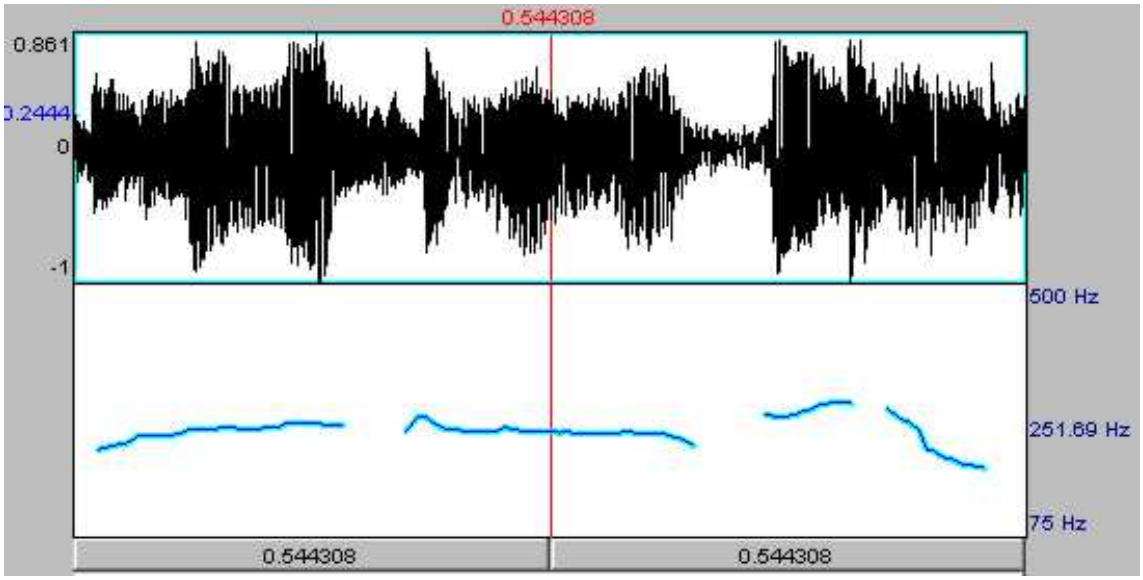

Figure 6: *Congo* from Curundú (Panama City), Panama

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

A cross-section of other Afro-Hispanic speech communities shows similar intonational patterns. In Cuba, for example, Afro-Hispanic language survives in several venues, including the ritual trances of *santería* practitioners, who when possessed by the spirits of their ancestors often speak in what is claimed to be *bozal* pidginized Spanish; also practitioners of the Bakongo-derived *palo mayombe* introduce *bozal* Spanish elements into their songs (Castellanos 1990, Fuentes Guerra and Schwegler 2005). Many older Cubans can also imitate *bozal* pidginized Spanish, which due to popular music and film continues as a popular linguistic stereotype. These *bozal* imitations, in addition to the more obvious morphosyntactic simplifications and segmental phonetic modifications exhibit atypical intonational patterns, characterized by numerous high peaks (Figure 7; an example from Ortiz López 1998).

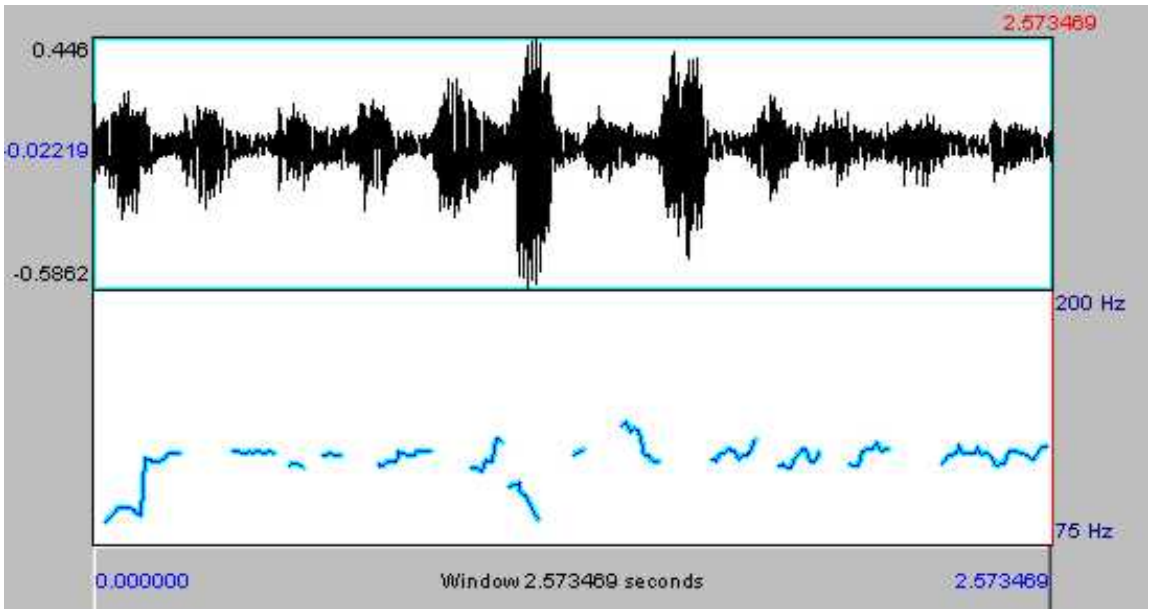

Figure 7: Afro-Cuban *bozal* Spanish imitation

H H H H H H
mu tΣa ko sa ta ol bi da pa loh ne gro
`Black people forget many things'

Yet another instance of multiple early-aligned high peaks comes in the speech of the Chota Valley in highland Ecuador, home to a traditional Afro-Ecuadoran population linguistically distinct from the more well-known black coastal communities (Lipski 1987). Although the Chota dialect bears fewer similarities with Afro-Hispanic speech from the Caribbean region, the use of multiple early-aligned high peaks with little downstep (Figure 8) also characterizes this dialect, in contrast to neighboring non-Afro Ecuadoran dialects.

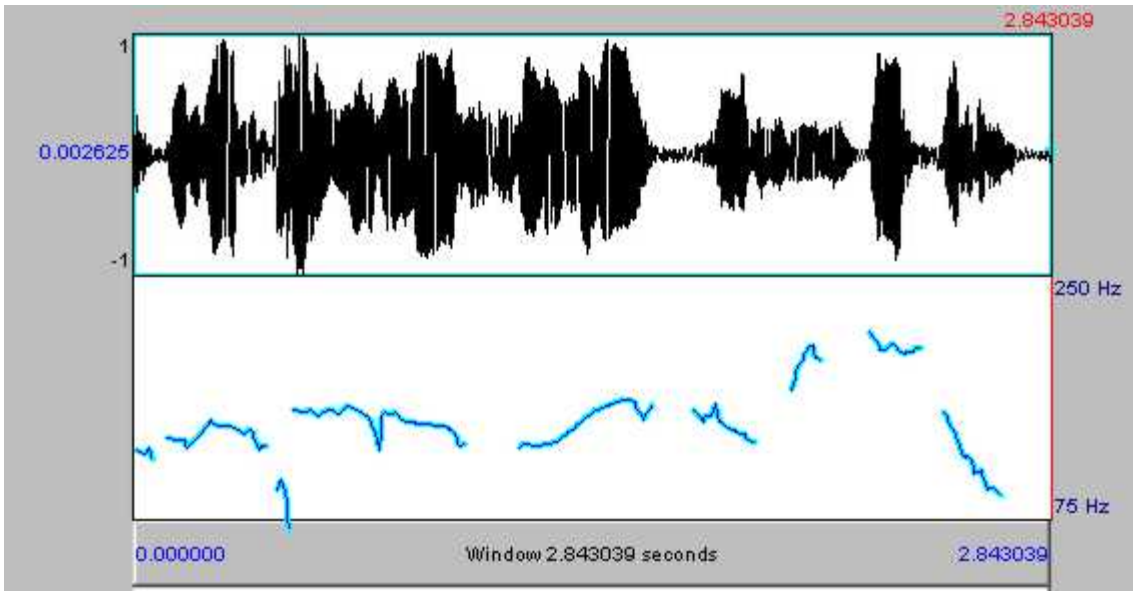

Figure 8: Mascarilla, Chota Valley, Ecuador

H H H H H H
el pri mer dwe ʝo e ra un se ʝor xe sus xa ko mi
`The first owner was Mr. Jesús Jácomi'

An interesting test of the possible African imprint on certain Afro-Hispanic intonational patterns comes from considering the only variety of contemporary Spanish in contact with African languages, spoken in Equatorial Guinea (Lipski 1985, 1990, 2000, 2004a; Quilis and Casado-Fresnillo 1995). In this former Spanish colony Spanish is the official language, and is spoken as a second language by nearly all citizens. All native languages belong to the Bantu family, and are characterized by lexical High and Low tones. One common strategy, observed among most Equatorial Guineans when speaking Spanish is the more or less systematic assignment of a different tone to each syllable, often at odds with the simple equation tonic stress = high tone and atonic syllables = low tone. This is because in the indigenous languages of the country (with the exception of Annobonese creole), every vowel carries a lexically-determined tone, either high or low. When speaking Spanish, the tones rarely are used consistently, so that a given polysyllabic word as pronounced by a single speaker may emerge with different tonal

melodies on each occasion. What results is a more or less undulating melody of high and low tones, at times punctuated by mid tones and rising/falling contour tones (Figure 9).

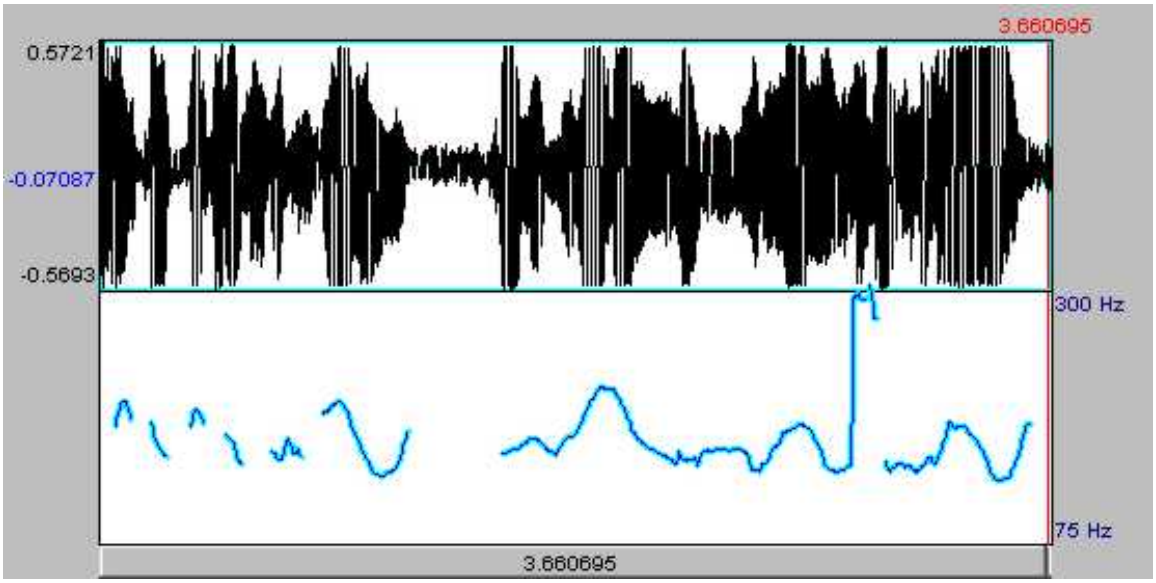

Figure 8: Malabo, Equatorial Guinea

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

Such a pronunciation is radically different from the more usual intonational patterns in native varieties of Spanish, where the pitch register varies smoothly and gradually across large expanses of syllables, and where a syllable-by-syllable tonal change rarely or never occurs. To the European ear, a syllable-based tonal alternation as produced by ay African learner of Spanish causes a sing-song cadence, and may blur the intonational differences between statements and questions. In the absence of a perceptible stress accent, syllable-level tonal shifts may obliterate such minimal pairs as *trabajo* `I work' / *trabajó* `he/she worked.' 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. Etymologically, Spanish *no* is a continuation of Latin *non* and its syntax differs little from its Latin progenor. 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 found only in dialects characterized by a significant historical presence of African languages. Thus double negation is 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 1990:121-8; Schwegler 1996a), and in the Chocó region of northwestern Colombia (Schwegler 1991, Granda 1977, Ruíz García 2000):

Chocó:

No me gustó eso allá no (Schwegler 1991:95)

`I don't like that there'

Yo no aguanté el calor de allá no (Schwegler 1991:97)

`I couldn't stand the heat there'

No duró no. No duró nada (Schwegler 1991:111)

`It didn't last, it didn't last at all'

De esas cosas de sembrado, yo no sé no (Ruíz García 2000)

`I don't know that stuff about planting'

él no ha vuelto no (Ruíz García 2000)

`he hasn't returned'

No me había ocurrido esas cosas más no (Ruíz García 2000)

`I hadn't thought of those things'

Ellos no le hacen caso a él no (Ruíz García 2000)

`They don't pay attention to him'

Dominican Republic (Schwegler 1996a):

Bueno eso no sé decirle no `Well I don't know what to say'

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

Por aquí casí nunca lo usa así no `Around here it's never used'

Aquí no hay no `There isn't any here'

No creo no que eso es factible `I don't think that it is feasible'

Yo no sé nada que se llama así no `I don't know anything called that'

The same construction is attested for 19th century Afro-Cuban Spanish:

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

Yo no so planeta, no (Benítez del Cristo 1930) `I'm not a planet'

No moja no (Cabrera 1976:25) `Don't dip [the bread in oil]'

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 1989:89 [1797])

`My soul won't join the body of another person'

That these 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.[5] 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 [...] 10º 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 1996b), indicating the viability of Kikongo influences in other Afro-Colombian communities. KiKongo, together with some minor Bantu languages, shows `double negation,' similar to French *ne ... pas* constructions. KiKongo typically uses *ke ... ko* (cf. Bentley 1887: 607):

(33)

ke be- sumba ko

NEG Cl. buy NEG = `They do not buy.'

Like the above-mentioned Afro-Iberian language varieties, and unlike Quechua, the second negator in kiKongo (*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 19th century; most Africans arrived in Santo Domingo early in the colonial period, after which the arrival of African-born slaves slowed to a trickle. It is therefore useful to look at the major language contact scenario in the Dominican Republic: with Haitian Creole. The major extra-Hispanic influence on 19th and early 20th 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 20th century by migrant sugar plantation laborers. Within the Dominican Republic, double negation is particularly frequent in the Samaná

Peninsula, and also in western regions where the Haitian presence is especially prevalent. 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 venil pa cá mi familia *no* quiere venil pa cá *no*

La hija mía no entiende nada lo que yo hablo con él. *No* entiende *no*

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 exmplify this (Alén Rodríguez 1986:57; 1991):

yo di mué contan	`they say I am happy'
mué pa capa contan no ...	`I can't be happy'
mué pa capa ri no	`I can't laugh'

Given that Spanish *no* is cognate with Haitian *non*, while Spanish *no* occupies the same syntactic position as Haitian *pa* and is easily acquired by speakers of the latter language, the pathway to the formation of double negation in Haitian-Spanish contact situations is straightforward. 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. In addition to the well-organized slave and plantation

laborer supplies offered by commercial traders, Cuba attracted thousands of workers from throughout the Caribbean, who emigrated to Cuba voluntarily and individually. The largest contingent came from Haiti and settled in eastern Cuba. This immigration began in the latter part of the 19th century, but in the early decades of the 20th century the Cuban and Haitian governments entered into accords which guaranteed a steady annual supply of Haitian contract laborers, not only in Oriente but also in the sugar-growing areas of central Cuba. The plight of these hapless workers is documented in Alejo Carpentier's first novel, *Ecue-Yamba-O*. The possibility that Haitian Creole has influenced (if not actually caused) double negation in Dominican Spanish is further enhanced by the existence of double affirmation in both *kreyòl* and Dominican Spanish (Toribio2002), 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'

An additional bit of suggestive evidence comes from the Spanish dialect spoken in Güiria, 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 Creole French. Double negation is found both in *patois* and in Güiria 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'

12. Summary and conclusions

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. Today's remarks have condensed the most significant events shaping Latin American Spanish over the past several centuries, while of necessity leaving out many other factors. Today's remarks are 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.

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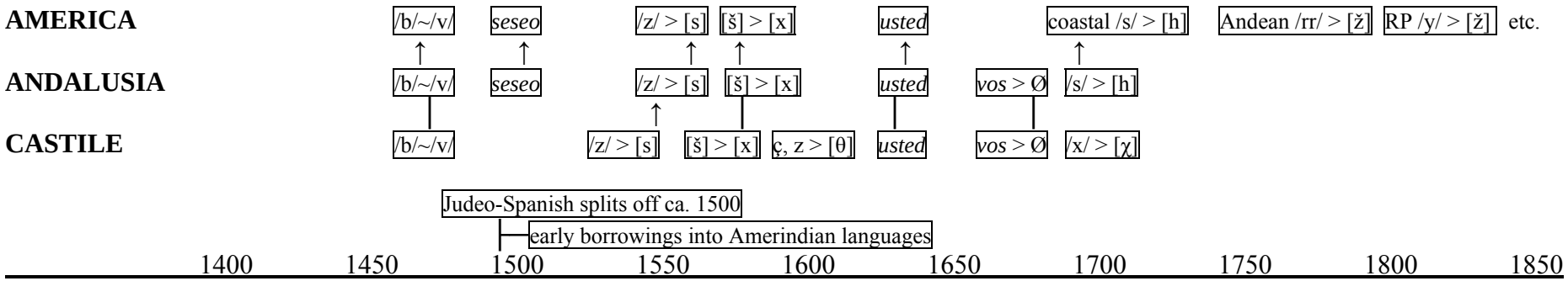
Appendix: Time line for changes affecting Castilian, Andalusian, and Latin American Spanish



Notes

[1] In Quechua, the case marker *-ta* has other functions, including adverbial and locative uses. It is also used to signal direct objects in certain double-object constructions involving verbs of helping and teaching. In nearly 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 non-dative 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.

[2] This is similar to the various ways in which the distinction inclusive-exclusive first person plural among Austronesian languages has been encoded into Pacific creole languages. Tok Pisin has *yumi-mipela,* while the Zamboanga variety of Philippine Creole Spanish (Chabacano) has simply taken over the plural pronoun series from Central Philippine languages (the Cavite and Ternate varieties, being closer to Spanish, have retained derivatives of the Spanish pronoun *nosotros*: *nisós* in Cavite and *mihotro* in Ternate).

[3] In other Argentine areas, reduction of /s/ is less subject to sociolinguistic constraints, and reaches higher levels than in Buenos Aires. Even in Bahía Blanca (Fontanella de Weinberg 1967, 1974a, 1974b) and Rosario (Donni de Mirande 1987), in the general area of Buenos Aires, reduction of /s/ is all-pervasive. In Corrientes and Misiones, loss of syllable-final /s/ is common even among educated speakers, contrasting with the heavy sociolinguistic stigma which this

pronunciation carries in Buenos Aires. Observations carried out in Patagonia, Mendoza, Jujuy (Lacunza de Pockorny and Postigo de de Bedia 1977) and Tucumán (Rojas 1980:57-61) confirm these tendencies. Research by Fontanella de Weinberg (1974a, 1974b) indicates that reduction of /s/ occurs more frequently among male speakers than among female speakers of a given social class, in greater Buenos Aires at least. Loss of /s/ is most frequent among the lowest classes and least frequent among the middle class, with the upper class representing an intermediate level. This is explained by the sense of sociolinguistic insecurity exhibited by upwardly mobile members of the middle classes, who in many societies are very sensitive to linguistic class markers, and are the most frequent committers of hypercorrection. Although nowhere in Argentina is loss of final /s/ phonologically compensated by vowel laxing, as in eastern Andalusia, aspiration of /s/ may affect a preceding vowel. The most striking cases are found among uneducated rural speakers in central Argentina, where aspirated final /s/ occasions significant lengthening of the preceding vowel (Vidal de Battini 1949:42).

[4] 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: *ómnibus* > *onibusse*.

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