SPONTANEOUS NASALIZATION
IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF AFRO-HISPANIC LANGUAGE

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Afro-Hispanic or *bozal* Spanish, from the sixteenth century to the early twentieth century, exhibited numerous cases of “epenthetic” nasal consonants, exemplified by *Punto Rico* < *Puerto Rico*; *limbre* < *libre* ‘free’; *pincueso* < *pescuezo* ‘neck’; and monosyllabic clitics such as *lon* < *lo(a)*, *lan* < *la(a)*, and so on. The present study, based on a comparison of Afro-Hispanic (AH) language data from a wide range of regions and time periods, provides alternative models for spontaneous nasalization. The first involves vowel nasalization, analyzed as the linking of a free (nasal) autosegment to the first available vowel of relevant words; Spanish speakers in turn reinterpreted the nasal vowels as a nasal consonant homorganic to the preceding consonant. Cases of apparent word-final nasal epenthesis, invariably involving phrase-internal clitics, resulted from prenasalization of following word-initial obstruents, a well-documented process in Afro-Iberian linguistic contacts. The preference for voiced obstruents to prenasalize is attributed to the lack of the normal fricative pronunciation of *bl/, dl/, and /g/ in AH speech. In general, Spanish voiced obstruents are pronounced as stops only following nasals. The stop pronunciation of *bl/, dl/, and /g/ by AH speakers was reinterpreted as an additional Root node, to which a floating (nasal) autosegment could be linked. AH nasalization generally seems to stem from Africans’ underspecification of Spanish vowels and consonants, resulting from the precarious conditions under which Spanish was learned by speakers of various African languages.

0. Introduction: Nasalization in Afro-Hispanic Language

The arrival of African slaves and free laborers in Portugal and Spain began late in the fifteenth century, and by the middle of the sixteenth century the literary representation of the *bozal* (born in Africa and speaking...
little or no Spanish) appears in Spanish literature, nearly always in the role of buffoon or at best whimsical victim of fate. Even before the slave trade to Spanish America had been established, Sevilla, Huelva, and other regions in southern Spain contained large AH populations, many of whom had arrived from southern Portugal (cf. Carriazo 1954, Larrea Palacín 1952, Pike 1967, Sancho de Sopranis 1958, Sanders 1982). Writers such as Gil Vicente, Henrique da Mota, and Antonio Ribeiro de Chiado depicted the Pidgin Portuguese spoken by bozales in Portugal beginning in the fifteenth century; by the early seventeenth century, the phenomenon of the habla de negro was so well established in Spain as to figure in the works of prominent Golden Age poets and dramatists, including Lope de Rueda, Lope de Vega, Góngora, and many others. In Spanish America, the famous poet Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz described bozal Spanish later in the seventeenth century, and literary and folkloric testimony of distinctly Africanized Spanish as spoken by recently arrived slaves is found in nearly all parts of Latin America (cf. Lipski 1985b).

Although it is logical that adult Africans who learned Spanish under conditions of captivity and forced labor would exhibit typical traits of the struggling language learner, there is evidence both in Spain and in Latin America that Africans born and raised in Spanish-speaking regions spoke Spanish with no “African” accent, despite the fact that they may have learned socially non-prestigious forms from overseers, sailors, artisans, and the like. The linguistic value of early Spanish literary documents purporting to represent AH language is questionable in view of the obvious stereotyping and ridicule to which Africans were subject; but certain common traits may be discerned, particularly phonetic modifications. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, and even later in some parts of Latin America, where the last wave of slave trading had brought a fresh group of African natives to Spanish-speaking territory, written attestations of AH language contain phonetic traits not found in non-African regional and social dialects. One of the earliest commentators was the seventeenth-century humorist Francisco de Quevedo (1988:127) in his “Libro de todas las cosas,” who quipped that in order to speak guineo, as he called AH Pidgin, “sabrá guineo en volviendo las rr Il, y al contrario: como Francisco, Flancico; primo, plimo” (‘you will be able to speak guineo by changing r’s into l’s and vice versa: like Francisco to Flancico, primo to plimo’). However, Latin American texts from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries generally attribute to Afro-Hispanics phonetic patterns which, while socially stigma-

matized, are simply typical of the regional vernacular, and are used by all members of the lower social classes (Lipski 1985b).

Examples of purported AH speech from the late nineteenth century onward largely employ the popular phonetic traits of the regions in question, including loss of syllable-final /s/ and the neutralization or loss of syllabic-final liquids. Among earlier texts, and those claiming to represent true bozal or pidginized AH language, a wider range of phonological and morphological distortions is found. Most commonly they consist of the interchange of /l/ and / İl/ (usually in favor of [l]) in the syllabic onset (examples are primo > plimo ‘cousin’, negro > neglo, Rosas > Losa ‘[Argentina’s General] Rosas’, and plato > prato ‘plate’) and the shift of intervocalic /l/ to /u/ (e.g., todo(s) > turo ‘all’).

Among the other recurring changes in written attestations of AH speech, one of the most intriguing developments is spontaneous intrusive nasalization, which resulted both in the slight modification of existing words and in the creation of new words, combining the function of articles, demonstratives, and pronouns. This spontaneous shift is typified by the evolution of negro to nengreñinengreñenengle, and so forth, which became a literary stereotype for AH speech (so common and hackneyed that the hundreds of written examples have been omitted from the Appendix), together with variants on the theme of “aunque negros, gente somos” (‘although we are black, we are people too’). The full range of cases is illustrated in the Appendix.

Non-etymological nasalization in Spanish is not limited to AH language, since the vernacular Spanish of many regions exhibits items such as dende < desde ‘since’? In bozal texts, however, a number of recurring forms appear, derived from Spanish words lacking a nasal, and in which an /l/ has surfaced in word-final position or word-internal syllable-final position. These words are found in representations of AH language from the sixteenth century to the late nineteenth century, one of the few phonetic traits not traceable to vernacular non-Africanized Spanish that spans the entire time period for which some type of pidginized AH speech is attested. Together with spontaneous nasalization, there was denasalization — in the same corpus, apparent loss of word-final /l/ is attested (cf. Appendix Part L), with both phenomena often appearing in a single document. In view of these opposing tendencies, it is inaccurate to characterize AH speech as generally “more nasal” or “less nasal” than other dialects of Spanish.
Although the texts which form the bulk of the AH corpus are of questionable value, if taken individually (sharing this feature, for example, with the Work Project Administration Slave Narratives as examples of nineteenth-century Black American English), the totality of the recurring elements presents a strong case for the accuracy of the graphical representation of certain phonetic traits, particularly those involving nasalization. The present study takes as its point of departure the notion that there was a higher degree of consistency in the representation of spontaneous nasalization than would be due to chance or to simple stereotyping and exaggeration, and offers a largely phonological solution, at times tempered by morphological or lexical analogy. In essence, it is proposed that the “nasalization” found in AH speech represents the addition of a [+nasal] autosegment to the beginning of certain words, with independently motivated phonological constraints determining whether this autosegment attached to a consonant or to a vowel. The notion that portmanteau items like lan and nan (Alvarez Nazario 1974, Lipski 1987b) represent direct African borrowings or vestiges of a more widespread creole is called into question. The remainder of the discussion is organized as follows: Section 1 presents the AH nasalization data in detail. Section 2 offers an autosegmental analysis of spontaneous nasalization in initial syllables. Section 3 surveys earlier work on apparent word-final nasalization, and Section 4 proposes a new theory to account for such forms. Section 5 further motivates the claim that prenasalized obstruents were found in earlier AH speech. In Section 6, possible sources of a free nasal autosegment in AH speech are discussed. The discussion is summarized in Section 7.

1. Details of Afro-Hispanic Nasalization/Denusalization

It is often stated, though seldom substantiated, that “African” influence on Spanish included an increase of nasalization. Although it remains to be convincingly demonstrated that AH speech in general was any more “nasalized” than other ethnic or regional varieties, several recurring types of addition or shift of nasal elements may be identified. The prominence of what was probably a relatively small subset of such elements, noteworthy for their differences with respect to other Spanish dialects, was responsible for the notion that AH speech was characteristically nasal.

The change of word-initial palatal consonants to [n] is one common shift which is reported often in AH texts and which is found in contempo-
including Haitian (Tinelli 1981), Palenquero (Friedemann & Patiño Roselli 1983), and Papamant (Lenz 1928). This leads to the conclusion that the nearly exclusive appearance of bozal nasal spreading in syllable-final position follows from a two-step process: first, spreading of vowel nasalization, followed by (or more reasonably, interpreted by Spanish speakers as) the insertion of an extrarescent nasal consonant which is homorganic with a following consonant. As indirect support for this proposal, involving a similar unstable equilibrium between nasal consonants and nasalized vowels, one need only consider the treatment of nasal vowels in West African languages lacking phonemic nasal vowels. Thus, when Wolof speakers in Senegal absorbed French words containing word-internal preconsonantal nasal vowels, an oral vowel followed by a homorganic nasal consonant resulted, while word-final nasal vowels at times caused an extrarescent nasal consonant to emerge, alternating with denasalization of the nasal vowel (Dumont 1983:116). Similar phenomena have been attested for French as used in the Central African Republic (Roulon 1972:143), Cameroon (Renaud 1979:428), Zaire (Fark 1979:454), Togo (Lafage 1985:167), Rwanda and Burundi (Shyiramere 1979:481), and elsewhere (Bal 1975, 1988). This suggests that even among Africans learning Spanish, reinterpretation of nasal vowels and nasal consonants could occur, contributing to the fluidity of nasal phenomena in bozal Spanish.

AH texts contain a large number of examples in which a nasal consonant was spontaneously introduced into words originally containing no nasal consonant. These cases cannot be handled as spreading or regressive nasalization, and the number and diversity of the words makes it unlikely that so many instances of analogy were at work. In every item in which a nasal consonant was added word-externally, it occurs in syllable-final position, which more clearly suggests that the original modification involved vowel nasalization, followed by reinterpretation of a transitional nasal element as a syllable-final nasal consonant. It often appears that the non-etymological nasal consonant actually displaced a Spanish consonant (usually /s/), but nearly all AH texts, as well as most of the matrix dialects they were in contact with, are characterized by the frequent loss of syllable-final consonants. Nearly all the cases of polysyllabic words not originally containing a nasal in which an intrusive nasal element is found in bozal texts exhibit the added nasal element on the first vowel, with alternate variants at times demonstrating rightward spreading, rarely if ever affecting the final vowel. Typical examples include largo < largo ‘long’, (n)anqui < aqui ‘here’, limbre < libre ‘free’, dimparate < disparate ‘foolish remark’, rimpito < repito ‘repeal’, pinek < pescuezo ‘neck’, dimpach < despachar ‘to send’, dingrasiao < desgravados ‘unfortunate’, rimpica < repica ‘to toll’, sincritore < escritores ‘writers’, ingresa < iglesia ‘church’, sintrelra < estrella ‘star’, pintola < pistola ‘pistol’, dimbarato < desbarato ‘took apart’, unit < usted ‘you’ (Alzola 1965:363), Jesucristo < Jesucristo ‘Jesus Christ’, Punto Rico < Puerto Rico, ríng < rifle (Alvarez Nazario 1974:150), Nantega < Ortega (Alvarez Nazario 1974:147), and nontron < otros ‘others’. In a very few words, spontaneous nasality appears to have spread rightward from the initial syllable: brángaman < valgame, ‘God help me!’ and sumpricalasmpingra < suplica ‘begs’.

There are few counterexamples to the attachment of a nasal element to the initial vowel, and most can be accounted for by independent constraints or developments. Thus satisfaeione < satisfacción may reflect the previous existence of a nasal in the root word. Arinocrascria < aristocracia ‘aristocracy’ can be explained through phonotactic constraints. If the first vowel was nasalized and then developed an extrarescent syllable-final [n], the originally intervocalic /n/ would now find itself in postconsonantal onset-initial position, and according to Spanish phonotactics the /n/ would have to be realized as a trill, representing a non-structure-preserving transformation. Prohibido < prohibido ‘prohibited’ actually contains a diphthong in the initial syllable (h is not pronounced and the unstressed /i/ is realized as a semivowel), to which the nasal element was added. Another apparent counterexample, pecadora < pecadora ‘sinner’ as used by Góngora (Becco 1946:35), can be explained through the obvious analogy with the gerund pecando ‘sinning’, whereby intrusive nasalization of the first vowel could conceivably result in potential confusion with penca ‘cowhide used for whipping’, thereby detracting from Góngora’s attempted humor. Finally, the nasal element in Jesucristo, Jesuculto, and so forth (‘Jesus Christ’) most likely was attached originally to Jesús, constituting a type of word-final nasализation to be discussed below.

The last type of spontaneous nasalization in the AH speeech to be studied here involves word-final position: callan < callad ‘be quiet’ (Chasca 1946), daremon < daremos ‘we shall give’, bucan < busca ‘looks for’, and so on. A particularly intriguing set of forms exhibiting non-etymological word-final nasals are monosyllabic catchall morphemes such as lan, lon, nan, and so forth, as well as other monosyllabic function words derived from clitics, copulas, prepositions, and the like. In these instances, nasaliza-
tion almost never occurs phrase-finally, which provides a measure of support for the proposal, to be developed below, that apparent word-final nasal consonants were manifestations of word-internal or word-initial nasalization.

That AH speech was characterized by occasional vowel nasalization, but not by an overwhelming introduction of new nasal consonants, is also suggested by the frequent apparent loss of nasal consonants in word-final position (Appendix Part I): también < también ‘also’, combinación < combinación ‘combination’, corazón < corazón ‘heart’, garafón < garrafón ‘demijohn’, Juá < Juan ‘John’ (Alvarez Nazario 1974:150), and so on. Unlike apparent cases of spontaneous word-final nasalization, word-final denasalization did occur phrase-finally, as well as word- and phrase-internally (e.g., atención > atesiónltesión ‘attention’, enredador > eredadó ‘busybody’) (Alvarez Nazario 1974:150). Since many of the West African languages known to have come into contact with Spanish during the bozal period had either word-final nasal consonants or nasal vowels, there is no reason to suppose that a total loss of nasality took place in bozal Spanish. A more likely hypothesis is absorption of the nasal consonant by the preceding vowel following the general tendencies to reduce syllable-final consonants, whose nasality might not be perceived by a Spanish speaker unaccustomed to nasal vowels.

2. Analysis of Nasalization in Word-Initial Syllables

A brief survey of examples of spontaneous nasal insertion and apparent leftward spread suggests that a single process is involved, namely the addition of a [±nasal] autosegment to the first P-bearing unit of the word. Such a unit was in most instances a vowel rather than a consonant. Attachment of a [±nasal] autosegment to the first syllable of the word follows from a general principle of the linking of free autosegments, whereby unless specific stipulations intervene, a free or floating autosegment automatically links to the first available position, counting from the left or right edge of the domain as language- and situation-specific conditions dictate. Piggott (1988, 1989) has dubbed this principle the Mapping Parameter, with the parametric variant being the edge of attachment. In the AH examples, the attachment of a free nasal autosegment was to the left edge, namely to the first vowel or diphthong. Subsequent formation of an extraconsonant nasal consonant or the perception of such a consonant by Spanish writers then resulted in the attested forms with an orthographic n.

The motivation for attachment of a floating [±nasal] autosegment is not to be sought in a single language contact situation or a single linguistic environment, given the diversity of the forms and the geographic and ethnolinguistic diversity of AH contacts. In the case of words already containing a nasal consonant, regressive nasalization of the preceding vowel would occur as it does naturally in all varieties of Spanish. Speakers of African languages containing phonemic nasal vowels could reinterpret /VNC/ and even /VNV/ combinations as nasal vowels, thus providing a model for the attachment of additional [±nasal] autosegments. In a few instances, such as dimensión < dispensa and pránitano < plátanos, it is formally impossible to distinguish between the attachment of a [±nasal] autosegment to the beginning of the word and leftward spreading of nasality from a preceding vowel. However, autosegmental spreading cannot normally affect elements already specified for the feature in question. Given that Spanish obstruents are distinctively specified for the feature [nasal], potential leftward spreading of a [±nasal] autosegment attached to a vowel would be impeded by an intervening nonnasal consonant with supralaryngeal articulation. A similar restriction impedes autosegmental spreading of vowel nasalization in many languages (cf. Piggott 1987, 1988, 1989, and Rosenthall 1988). Words in which the original nasal element is separated by more than one syllable from the intrusive nasal (e.g., ringalame < refalame and satisfacción < satisfacción) provide additional support for the attachment of a free nasal autosegment to the initial syllable, rather than leftward spreading of nasality.

Although it is likely that no single mechanism was responsible for the attachment of a word-initial [±nasal] autosegment to bozal words containing a nasal element elsewhere in the word, similar processes in other languages hint that more than loose analogy may have been at work. In an analysis of apparent bidirectional nasal spreading in Capanahua, Halle & Vergnaud (1981) suggest that the original [±nasal] autosegment is set adrift and “floats” to the end of the word, where it attaches itself to the final vowel and spreads leftward until being blocked by an element distinctively specified for nasal, such as an obstruent. In this language, it must be stipulated that redundancy rules adding the feature [−nasal] must apply prior to the rightward movement of the floating [nasal] autosegment, since leftward spread of nasalization, blocked by non-nasal obstruents, never fails to include the position of the original trigger consonant (cf. Trigo 1988). In the AH cases under discussion, there is no evidence of detachment of a
+nasal] autosegment. There is, however, evidence that a separate [nasal]
tier may have existed during the formation of many bozal words. There-
to, the presence of a single nasal item in a word, i.e., a single associa-
tion line attached to a [+nasal] autosegment, could very well trigger a process of
leftward “drifting,” followed by a regular process of autosegmental
association blocked by appropriately specified segments (see below).^8

It might also be possible to postulate a leftward drift of a reduplicated
[+nasal] autosegment, ordered before the redundancy rule which adds the
[−nasal] specification. The corpus of bozal words in which a word-internal
nasal element appears to have triggered nasalization in a noncontiguous
initial syllable is quite small: simpariole < españololes, sintalando < italiano,
prántano < plátanos, satinsafión < satisfacción, ringalame < regalarame,
and so on. In all but the last example, the intervening consonants are not
distinctively specified for nasality. Spanish has no distinctive nasal fricatives
or liquids, nor does it have distinctively voiceless nasal consonants.\(^9\)

AH words which originally contained no nasal element, and in which a
free nasal autosegment or prosody was attached to the initial syllable,
can be analyzed in an identical fashion. The configurations found in the AH
corpus conform to attested patterns of autosegmental attachment and
spreading in natural languages. Spanish obstruents are distinctively
specified for nasality, so that a [+nasal] autosegment cannot attach to a
word-initial consonant already specified for this feature. The next available
P-bearing unit is the vowel. In the unmarked case, vowels are unspecified
for nasality; a floating nasal autosegment can freely attach to this vowel.
Whether or not nasal spreading occurs at all is a language-specific parameter,
which in its positive setting can be specified as leftward, rightward, or in
some cases as bidirectional (cf. Piggott 1987). The fact that Spanish
obstruents are already specified for nasality precludes autosegmental
spreading from creating a nasalized obstruent. Nearly all the bozal data in
the present corpus are consistent with these constraints, which in itself is
noteworthy in suggesting a higher level of accuracy of transcription than is
generally accorded to these non-Africans’ depictions of AH speech.
Assuming that what appear to be intrusive nasal consonants are actually the
result of vowel nasalization, the failure of consonantal nasality to spread is
thereby accounted for.

3. Previous Analyses of Word-Final Nasalization

The only AH words exhibiting word-final nasalization that have been
previously analyzed are the pair lan/nan, as demonstrated in the Appendix,
Parts A–C, E–F. Given the phonetic similarity of these items with pro-
nouns or articles in AH Creoles such as Palenquero, Papiamentu, São
Tomense, and Annobonese, some investigators have suggested that they
were actually derived from a proto-Hispanic Creole, or perhaps borrowed
directly from African etyma (cf. the analysis of Lipski 1987b; Cotton &
Sharp 1988:208) refer to lan in Afro-Caribbean speech as “an undifferen-
tiated article in Black speech in the Caribbean,” without further justifica-
tion or explanation. In a more penetrating analysis of these items, Alvarez
Nazario (1974:167, 185–97) postulates that the original form was nan, and
that the change nan > lan took place through the influence of the definite
article la. In Puerto Rican bozal Spanish, both lan and nan are found, but
in Cuban texts, lan (with an occasional variant lon) occurs almost exclu-
ively. Examples 10–11 in Appendix F are rare attestations for Cuba; exam-
ple 9 in Appendix F suggests that nan may have existed in Afro-Dominican
Spanish, while example 15 gives evidence that nan may have been used
even in Spain. If the occurrence of lan/nan in Cuba and Puerto Rico stems
from a common extraterritorial source, then the existence of both forms in
Puerto Rico and the predominance of the former in Cuba would suggest an
evolution of lan > nan, initiated and only partially completed in Puerto
Rico. The opposite development would be suggested only if it could be
demonstrated that lan/nan was attested in Cuba significantly before appear-
ing in Puerto Rico, having undergone the putative evolution nan > lan
before the latter form was transferred to Cuba, via an as yet unattested
route of linguistic transplantation. However, the data collected for the
present study (Appendix Part A) shows that lan occurs from the early
seventeenth century on, both in Spain and in Spanish America, including
Puerto Rico; lon makes its first written appearance shortly thereafter
(example 10 in Appendix E hints at earlier progenitors). The almost total
restriction of nan to nineteenth-century Puerto Rican texts thus suggests a
route of evolution opposite to that proposed by Alvarez Nazario (1974),
namely lan > nan, if in fact the two items are related etymologically.

Alvarez Nazario (1974) also attempts to identify nan with a host of
other elements (nano, na, ne, and nelle), which appear in AH texts from
the Golden Age to the nineteenth century. Additionally, he proposes that
the semantic replacement of a preposition plus article is related to the plural particle ma of Colombian Palenquero, e.g., ma ngombé ‘the cattle’, where he interprets ma as a fusion of na and the Spanish possessive mi. However, the Palenquero form is in reality a Bantu plural marker, only fortuitously similar to fusions of Romance items (Friedemann & Patiño Roselli 1983, Schwegler 1990). At this point, given the lack of other significant parallels with West African or Caribbean Creoles, and the fact that lan/lan does not occur in Palenquero (the one AH language demonstrably influenced by Bantu morphology), there is no compelling reason to identify lan/lan as direct transfers from African languages or creoles. The claimed similarity with Palenquero stems from a misunderstanding of the function of ma in the latter language. Nan is phonetically identical to the third person plural pronoun/plural marker in Papiamento, but Papiamento pluralizing nan is invariably placed after the noun: e kasnan ‘the houses’. No use of Papiamento nan parallels the examples in Appendix Part F. Since no bozal texts show nan used as a plural subject pronoun or postposed plural marker, it seems that the similarity with Papiamento is fortuitous. The change lan > nan may simply result from regressive nasalization (a nearly identical change has occurred in Haitian), or it may represent a non-etymological replacement/insertion of a word-initial /n/ such as we frequently find in Antillean bozal texts in the form of the undifferentiated third person pronoun nèlleneynele. For example, Brau (1894:138) observes that in nineteenth-century Puerto Rico, what he called “cinarrones bozales” used expressions such as nacosina, ne-pueblo, na-casa, and so on, for en la cocina ‘in the kitchen’, en el pueblo ‘in the town’, en la casa ‘in the house’, again suggesting a simple phonetic shift, or conceivably na as derived from a Portuguese Pidgin, rather than a transfer of African morphological structures. We cannot exclude the possibility that West African or creole morphological structures influenced the development of lan. However, since the latter element fits in among a series of monosyllabic function words that all show the same spontaneous nasalization but otherwise exhibit no basic similarities, the case for an African/creole origin is not compelling. There is indeed a reason for not separating out lan/lan, namely the fact that AH materials reveal a large and potentially open-ended set of words in which a final nasal element was added.

4. Towards a New View of Word-Final Nasalization

A significant number of the items exhibiting word-final intrusive nasalization are monosyllabic or bisyllabic determiners, or they are function words, e.g., lan, nan, lon, len, den, din, esen, sen, nen, man, nín, and nun (cf. Appendix). These forms share a striking similarity: each is phonologically (and often syntactically) a clitic, forming the first member of a clitic group. Moreover, in nearly every case, the immediately following word is the head of the clitic group. Exceptions to this trend are very few:

(1)

a. Si no lan quiere creer
   ‘if he doesn’t want to believe’
   (Lope de Vega 1893:368) (Creer heads the clitic group.)

b. Len fielo nimigo si va.
   ‘The fierce enemy is leaving.’
   (Lanuza 1967:132) (The qualifying adjective fielo intervenes between len and the head of the clitic group, nimigo.)

c. E a len vile calancho
   ‘the terrible wide-faced ones’
   (Lanuza 1967:133) (Vile intervenes before the head, calancho.)

d. Lon da mayorá la monte
   ‘those of the majority in the hills’
   (Cruz 1974:161) (Lon stands before a deleted relative head.)

e. Nontron [< nosotros] se jicieron rico.
   ‘We became rich.’
   (Alvarez Nazario 1974:192) (Nontron is the subject pronoun.)

f. Por eyan derritimo.
   ‘For them we melt.’
   (Lope de Vega 1893:71) (Eyan is the object of a preposition and the head of a clitic group, a displaced prepositional phrase.)

g. Siendo negro y ellan [< ellas] crara
   [our] being black and they light-colored’
   (Lope de Vega 1893:368) (Ellan is the subject pronoun.)

Regardless of whether lan, lon, and so on are serving as articles, as object pronouns, or as other grammatical forms, they are phonologically clitics. Rarely do these elements stand alone (examples 1d–g present corpus).
In each case, the nasalized element in the clitic occurs before a consonant-initial word. Assuming an originally vowel-final clitic, citicization to the following word creates a clitic group whose phonotactic configuration is amenable to the insertion of a nasal autosegment which would ultimately be interpreted, by non-bozal listeners, as an intrusive nasal consonant at the end of the first syllable. Apparent word-final nasalization is domain-internal, where the clitic group, rather than the phonological word, is taken as the relevant domain. Putative word-final nasalization might be a special case of the intrusive nasalization process described earlier, namely the attachment of a [nasal] autosegment to the first vowel of the clitic group. Since the first syllable in these cases is orthographically and lexically a separate word, graphic representations such as lan and lon would be the logical result. It would be attractive to subsume all instances of spontaneous nasalization under a single model, but there are several key facts which render such an account implausible for the AH data under consideration.

The principal trouble spot involves polysyllabic words which were obviously clitics, and in which the intrusive nasal element was attached to the final syllable, rather than to the first, as would be predicted by the potential unification of a free autosegment to the first available anchor point hinted at above: esem ‘those’, aquesan ‘those’, daremon ‘we shall give’, habemon ‘we have’, and so forth. Spontaneous nasalization also occurred in words which are not clitics by any definition, although sharing a close prosodic association with the word which follows them: brángaman < valgame, ‘God help me’, dalen ‘give him’, bucan ‘searching’, nontron ‘we’, biban ‘long live’, volveyan ‘return’, esten ‘these’, orton ‘others’, Jesín (or Jesuncristo and its variants), and so on. No accepted autosegmental model allows attachment of an originally free (unattached) autosegment to a non-terminal P-bearing unit in that word, and nothing in the AH materials suggests addition of a nasal autosegment to the right edge of a domain. Quite to the contrary, there are abundant examples of apparent loss of word-final nasality, including examples in phrase-final position, whereas nominally word-final nasalization occurs uniformly in phrase-medial position before a consonant-initial word. Thus, both a word boundary and a following consonant are involved, and the presence of a word boundary suggests that both the following original consonant and the added nasal consonant played different roles than in the case of word-initial nasalization. In the latter process, nasality was originally attached to a vowel in a closed syllable, followed by the formation of an epenthetic nasal consonant.

5. Evidence of Prenasalization in Afro-Hispanic Language

I suggest that what was eventually transcribed as a word-final /h/ in elements such as lan, lon, and den reflects the presence of a prenasalized obstruct in the word's formation, a transformation of an originally oral consonant resulting from a unique combination of West African areal characteristics and a particular interpretation of Spanish and AH phonotactic patterns by Africans and Spanish speakers alike. The substantiation of this hypothesis will proceed in several stages.

Prenasalized obstruents are a common feature of languages belonging to a variety of West African language families, among them several known to have been brought to Spain and Latin America. Such sounds have traditionally caused difficulties of interpretation and pronunciation for speakers of European languages, and when found phrase-initially they are often perceived and transcribed as preceded by a prothetic vowel, or as a nasal + obstruct cluster separated by an epenthetic vowel.

Although most AH texts reflect no particular linguistic sophistication with regard to the transcription of non-Spanish sounds, there are a few fragments which appear to reflect the presence of prenasalized obstruents directly. Several relevant examples are included in the Appendix Part K, but there are examples in other parts of the Appendix which also admit the prenasalized obstruct interpretation: examples 1, 5, 6–9 in Appendix B and example 8 in Appendix E are particularly likely candidates.

There is also evidence that African words containing prenasalized consonants were absorbed into AH language. For example, in Caribbean bozal Spanish, Africanisms (usually from the Bantu group) containing prenasalized consonants frequently lost the nasalization, but an alternative route of evolution included a prothetic /le/: mblala > embala ‘bonito’, ndoki > endoki ‘witch doctor’, nkento > enkento ‘wife’, ngarga > enganga ‘witchcraft’ (García González & Valdés Acosta 1978:21). Finally, there is evidence that African words containing prenasalized obstruents were at times resyllabified as a syllable-final nasal followed by a syllable-initial obstruent, when adapted into Spanish: e.g., KiKongo siri + mpompa > cirimbomba ‘drunken orgy’ (Megenney 1979:119).

Prenasalization of European words originally beginning in oral obstruents was a frequent concomitant of many Afro-European linguistic contacts, including the formative periods of Ibero-Romance based Creole languages of the Americas. In addition to the documented presence of pre-
nalized consonants (e.g., in Gullah and Njuka), Palenquero, the most
distinctively Africanized Spanish-based Creole, has not only retained Af
can items containing prenasalized consonants (e.g., ngombe ‘cattle’), but
has also prenasalized Spanish word-initial obstruents, most particularly /d/
and /g/ (Friedemann & Patiño Rosselli 1983:99–100): dejar > ndeja ‘to let’,
gritar > ngrita ‘to scream’, ganar > nganá ‘to earn’, dolor > ndoló ‘pain’,
doce > ndosi ‘twelve’, duro > ndulo ‘hard’, (a)garrar > ngalá ‘to take’, and
so on.12

A noteworthy bit of indirect support for the hypothesis of prenasaliza-
tion in AH language is the treatment of Portuguese loanwords in the Afri-
can languages of the Congo basin, whose presence in both Spain and Latin
America is amply documented. In the case of Portuguese loans in KiKongo
and KiMbutu, initial oral consonants were frequently, but not uniformly,
interpreted as prenasalized obstruents when borrowed into African lan-
guages. A small sample of the hundreds of Portuguese borrowings in
KiKongo which illustrate this shift are (Martins 1958a, 1958b, Bal 1961,
nsalu ‘salt’, açucar > nsuscina ‘sugar’, pano > mpanu ‘cloth’, faro >
mswadum/mswalu ‘bundle’, saco > nasku ‘sack’, tinta > ntinga ‘ink’. The list
of obstruent-initial Portuguese words that did not undergo prenasaliza-
tion is also lengthy, which indicates that the process was variable at best. Also
interesting is the fact that Portuguese words beginning with an initial
nasalized (or occasionally even oral) vowel were at times reinterpreted as
a prenasalized obstruent in KiKongo: Abel > Mbele, Ambrósio > Mbolói,
Agostinho > Ngosíunu, and so on. Occasionally, word-internal nasalization
or nasal spreading occurred in KiKongo: pipa > mpipampa ‘pipe’, Miguel >
Minguidei ‘Michael’, agulha > ngua ‘needle’. An initial CV syllable was
often reinterpreted as a prenasalized obstruent, whether or not the initial
consonant was originally a nasal: bigode > ngode ‘moustache’, mulato >
nlato ‘mulatto’, etc. KiMbutu also transformed Portuguese items
Nzwana ‘JoAnn’. Similar borrowing procedures occurred in other West
African languages, a fact which provides a plausible basis for such develop-
ments in AH language. In many Bantu languages, the initial nasal element
acts as a nominal class marker, and it is possible that borrowed items
were assigned to nominal classes based on their perceived similarity with native
nouns. This would be similar to the assignment of gender to loanwords in

Spanish which did not originally conform to the canonical Spanish patterns
in which gender is predictable.

In reality, nearly all attestations of spontaneous “word-final” n in AH
words occur preconsonantly, where a Spanish speaker would most likely mis-
interpret la ngallina as lan gallina, for example.13 Word-initial voiced stops
form the majority of the examples, a finding which is consistent with the
distribution of prenasalized obstruents in West African languages, as well
as with the Palenquero data. Contact between Spanish and relevant African
languages has been demonstrated, and a suitable linguistic environment for
the phonological spread of nasalization has been identified. In order to pro-
vide additional justification for the claim that consonantal prenasalization
actually occurred in AH Pidgin, it is necessary to take a closer look at the
phonology of prenasalization. For word-internal spontaneous nasalization,
it has been suggested that vowel nasalization was the original phenomenon,
followed by the formation of exocrescent nasal consonants. A word-initial
prenasalized consonant in close juncture with a preceding word-final vowel
might also pass through a stage of vowel nasalization. This would fit the
prediction offered by Herbert (1986:129): “... some languages exhibiting
prenasalized consonants synchronically will at some future time be charac-
terized by underlying nasal vowels and will lack prenasalized consonants ....

The origin of prenasalized consonants has also been attributed to the pre-
sece of nasal vowels (cf. Herbert 1986:130) passing through the stage of
ambisyllabic groups (Herbert 1986:173), so that if vowel nasalization
occurred in bozal Spanish as the result of other processes, initial pre-
nasalized consonants could arise as a sandhi phenomenon. It is also note-
worthy that prenasalized consonants are most prevalent in languages
characterized by open syllables (Herbert 1986:189), which is also charac-
teristic of bozal Spanish, in which nearly all Spanish syllable-final cons-
sons were eliminated.

Before continuing, it is interesting to note that Portuguese word-final
nasal vowels were uniformly denasalized in KiKongo, a process which
corresponds to the pattern frequently noted in bozal Spanish texts (cf. Appen-
dix Part L), in which a word-final /n/ or nasal vowel was lost: Sebastião >
Sibatiau ‘Sebastiano’, limão > limámhlimainamanu ‘lemon’, mamão >
mamaumamou ‘papaya’, serrão > selau ‘saw’, prisão > pelezio ‘prison’,
kapitão > kapiatou ‘captain’. Modern Palenquero effectively denasalizes
such words as tambié < también ‘also’, although at times a residual nasal
resonance is detectable. It is unclear whether the examples of Appendix
Part L represent complete denasalization of the final vowel, or whether, given the presence of final nasal vowels in the large subset of African languages represented among speakers of AH Pidgin, Spanish-speaking writers simply missed the compensatory nasalization of the preceding vowel.

The fact that speakers of a given African language might reinterpret Ibero-Romance obstruent-initial words as containing prenasalized consonants does not in principle require a detailed explanation, given the prior existence of prenasalized consonants in African languages. It suffices to assume some variation in the perceived equivalence of Spanish/Portuguese sounds and available word-initial consonants in the corresponding African languages. The use of a nasal element as a nominal class marker is not to be excluded. Bozal speech, on the other hand, was the product of an intersection, both temporal and spatial, of the effects of many African languages on Spanish, and the postulate of prenasalization will be strengthened to the extent that some factor can be isolated that predisposed certain Spanish words to undergo such a process.

According to many phonological models (e.g., Anderson 1976, van der Hulst & Smith 1982) a prenasalized consonant is a contour segment in the sense of Sagey (1986), that is, it branches for the feature [nasal] at some node on the geometric representation of its phonological features. According to Sagey (1986), such branching must be at the root node itself, or at whatever class node the feature [nasal] is assumed to depend on:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(2)} & \\
\text{R} & \\
\text{[+nas]} & \text{[-nas]} \\
\text{X} & 
\end{align*}
\]

This conclusion is forced by the view that no branching class nodes are allowed. The way in which such a branching structure comes into being is the subject of considerable contemporary research, especially in view of the fact that prenasalized consonants are not freely formed, e.g., by autosegmental spreading of [+nasal] or by reattachment of a floating autosegment following deletion of a root node. In the model of feature geometry and feature spreading such as offered by, for example, Clements (1987), Wetzels (1985), and Sagey (1986), who analyze intrusive consonants as partial feature spreading creating branching nodes, there is no reason why prenasalization of obstruents should not naturally arise in contact with nasal vowels, or during nasal spreading. In the case of the AH materials under discussion, a model treating prenasalized consonants as contour segments would not explain why replacement of an oral consonant by a nasal consonant is never attested, nor why only certain consonants underwent prenasalization. There would be also no reasoned explanation for the general failure of nasal spreading from either end of the word, nor of the occasional exceptions to this trend.

Piggott (1988, 1989) and Rosenthal (1988) claim that nodes may dominate only a single value for a given feature, suggesting that the observable constraints on prenasalization reflect the presence of two root nodes:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(3)} & \\
\text{R} & \text{R} \\
\text{[+nas]} & \text{[-nas]} \\
\text{X} & 
\end{align*}
\]

Spanish bozal data fits in with such observations, in that the non-nasal part of the postulated prenasalized obstruents impedes rightward spreading of nasality. This is to be expected, given that a feature cannot spread past a segment which is already specified for a value of that feature. Even assuming automatic rightward spreading of nasality in bozal Spanish (which seems to have affected glides, as in prohimbido), spreading was arrested upon attachment of a [+nasal] segment to an initial consonant by a structure such as (3), which is observationally the most adequate in accounting for the AH data.

Prenasalization is a manifestation of diphthongization (in the sense of Andersen 1972), taken as a temporal splitting of the value of a single feature. Assuming that each value of a feature is associated with a single feature-bearing segment (cf. Hayes 1990), a consonant which ultimately undergoes prenasalization must originally possess some type of multilinked structure, since true diphthongization does not add previously nonexistent structural nodes. The universal default configuration is one root node per skeletal slot, and the existence of dual root nodes is a language-specific property; therefore, a process creating such structures in a language which previously lacked them (e.g., bozal Spanish) would be a major phonological innovation. It is not useful to stipulate simply that an "extra" root node was added to accommodate prenasalization. Piggott (1988, 1989), in analyzing prenasalization in Terena as the result of the
The retention of occlusion, while in its origins a reflection of African phonotactic patterns which did not contain the stop-fricative alternation, created a series of sounds which did not normally occur intervocically in Spanish (including the word-initial postvocalic position). An obstruent pronunciation of the voiced obstruent in a combination like la gallina would, if interpreted within a Spanish phonotactic model, suggest the latent existence of a preceding consonant, most probably a nasal. Although nothing in the phonetic realization would give substance to such an analysis, the Spanish distributional possibilities, in combination with already existing prenasalized stops in the pool of African languages found in the bozal populations, would facilitate reinterpretation of word-initial voiced stops as containing two root nodes. Addition of a prenasalized segment fits smoothly within this pattern. In the case of prenasalized obstruents in bozal Spanish, there is nothing to suggest that the original word-initial consonants were analyzed as clusters, i.e., as two C slots linked to a single feature matrix. However, the obstruent pronunciation of word-initial /bl/, /ld/, and /g/ can in itself be analyzed as the addition of a bare root node which automatically became linked to the feature matrix defining the consonant. The presence of a dual root node accounted for the obstruent pronunciation (since /bl/, /ld/, and /g/ become fricatives after a [+continuant] root node), and this word-initial bare root node served as an anchor to attract the nasal autosegment.

Assuming the dual root node analysis of prenasalization, the initial configuration created by the obstruent pronunciation of word-initial /bl/, /ld/, and /g/ in bozal speech would be:

(4)

       \      \     \     \     \  C
         \   \   \   \   \   \  R  R
          \ \    \ \    \ \    \ \  ![...]

The Obligatory Contour Principle (e.g., McCarthy 1986) would preclude two separate feature matrices, and, arguably, would force the bare root node to link to the supralaryngeal features already defining the consonant:

(5)

       \      \     \     \     \  C
         \   \   \   \   \   \  R  R
          \ \    \ \    \ \    \ \  ![...]

15
The linking to a single skeletal slot would disallow increased length. (Spanish has no phonetic geminates, except for rare heteromorphic combinations.) The occlusive pronunciations — [b], [d], and [g] — would in effect be the physical correlate of the multi-linked root nodes. Prenasalization, then, would simply change the specification for [nasal] on the first root node, leaving the remaining specifications intact:

\[ (+\text{nas}) \rightarrow \begin{array}{c}
C \\
R \\
R \\
\ldots
\end{array} \]

Once the inclusion of prenasalized stops in bozal speech had begun to affect word-initial /b/, /d/, and /g/, this pattern could be extended to initial voiceless stops, providing that the pool of African stops served as a substrate-trigger also contained prenasalized segments whose second element was voiceless. Both types of prenasalized stops are found among West African languages, although prenasalized voiced obstruents are more common (cf. Welmers 1973, Herbert 1986). Analogy with the voiced series, rather than a differential analysis of Spanish voiceless stops (which do not alternate with fricatives), would be at work here. There is also some indirect evidence suggesting that in AH speech voiceless stops were voiced following nasals; remnants such as Palenquero planda < plátano ‘banana’, Palenquero/Papiamentu hende < gente ‘people’, and Papiamentu punda < punta ‘point’ may signal an earlier time period when postnasal voicing of obstruents was more frequent. The majority of bozal attestations of function words apparently ending in [n] are found before voiced stops. If prenasalization via dual root nodes was analogically extended to word-initial voiceless obstruents, such elements would transitionally be analyzed as in (4)–(5), after which (6) could apply.

6. On Possible Sources for an Afro-Hispanic [+nasal] Autosegment

The preceding discussion has postulated the addition of nasal elements in AH speech, a process which spans a period of nearly three centuries. The existence of prenasalized obstruents is an African areal characteristic whose transfer to bozal Spanish was facilitated by the suspension of the stop-fricative alternation among voiced obstruents. However, the general source of a floating [+nasal] autosegment remains to be accounted for. Nothing in the transition from West African languages to received Spanish suggests an imperious drive to attach a free nasal autosegment anywhere, although once such a floating autosegment is postulated, its word-initial rightward association follows from general principles.

Although many West African languages have distinctive nasal vowels (with proportionately fewer found among the Bantu languages), it is not usual for only the first syllable of a word to be nasalized; there is in fact a recurring tendency to nasalize the final vowel of a morpheme (Welmers 1973:30). Similarly, although many West African languages contain word-initial prenasalized obstruents, such elements are not normally found to the exclusion of oral obstruents in word-initial position. It is therefore unlikely that individual or areal African influence was directly responsible for all AH spontaneous nasalization.

The most plausible motivation is to be sought in the fact that Africans from a wide variety of language backgrounds were forced to deal with the phonological system of a language which they barely understood, and whose feature specifications often had little in common with natively-spoken African languages. A free [+nasal] autosegment can only attach to an element not already specified for [nasal]; this would ordinarily exclude Spanish vowels, which are [−nasal]. Bozal speakers, who spoke languages with widely varying vowel specifications, would derive, as common denominators, minimal specifications for Spanish vowels, and would pronounce the vowels with characteristic instability and variability. The results of such specification uncertainty would include non-etymological vowel nasalization, as well as other vocalic shifts amply attested in bozal documents. As for the attachment of a free nasal autosegment to the first available position in the phonological word, bozal speakers evidently chose the perceptually most prominent initial syllable as an anchor for the added nasal autosegment. The source of this autosegment was the combined phonological impression of the Africans' analysis of Spanish vowels and the existence of phonemic vowels or vowel nasalization processes in West African languages.

A recapitulation of the two types of spontaneous nasalization examined here reveals that, at an appropriate level of abstraction, a single process is involved, namely adding a floating [+nasal] autosegment to the first available anchor, starting from the leftmost word boundary. In those instances (particularly the heads of civic groups) where the occlusive pro-
nunciation of a word-initial obstruent resulted in reanalysis as in (4)-(5), the requirements of autosegmental anchoring would require attachment of the [+nasal] autosegment to the extra word-initial root node, creating a prenasalized consonant. The [−nasal] specification of the second root node would preclude further rightward spreading of nasalization. In those instances where the word-initial consonant was not analyzed as in (4)-(5), the [+nasal] autosegment attached to the first available vowel, with further rightward spreading again being impeded by the presence of a supralaryngeal consonant. In those rare instances where spreading of nasality from a vowel traversed a consonant, the intervening consonant, momentarily analyzed as unspecified for [nasal], would itself be nasalized, although the orthographic representation did not always reflect this.

Occasional cases of apparent spread of nasalization past a supralaryngeal consonant (e.g., suplica > sumpringa) suggest that for some African speakers and for some Spanish words, obstruents were not always underlyingly specified for nasality, due to the same imprecise learning. They might have allowed attachment of a [+nasal] autosegment, in turn transmitting this element in the rightward direction found in AH speech patterns. In a word like sumpringa, it is likely that no oral voiceless [p] was present; most probably the nasalized /ul/ resulted in conversion of the following consonant, originally unspecified for [nasal], to [m], with what is transcribed as p representing some sort of intrusive stop predictable from general phonotactic considerations (cf. Wetzels 1985, Clements 1987). The graphemes ng in turn most probably represented a single velar nasal.

7. Summary and Conclusions

It has been suggested that spontaneous nasalization in AH speech of the past had a primarily phonological motivation. Similarities between items like laninan and forms found in African languages or in Romance-based Creoles are largely fortuitous, although such similarities may have reinforced processes whose original motivation was phonological. While there is no overwhelming evidence that “Africanized” Spanish as a general rule presented a higher concentration of nasal elements than other varieties, the addition of nasal autosegments in key positions, largely word-initial or in the first syllable, gave to nasalization a special prominence that was seized upon by writers and imitators of bozal speech. The preceding discussion has attempted to abstract away from the comical stereotypes and likely misperceptions of Spanish-speaking writers and transcribers, in order to reconstruct probable patterns of spontaneous nasalization among Africans learning Spanish. The degree of correspondence between the predictions of contemporary phonological theory and transcriptions of AH speech reveals more consistency than facetious improvisation, and it suggests that the literary and folkloric representation of spontaneous nasalization was in large measure accurate and unexaggerated, independent of the accuracy of other linguistic features found in written AH attestations. Two major discrepancies between the written form and the phonological structure of the inserted nasal element have been proposed:

(1) Apparent word-internal nasal consonants, added syllable-finally, in reality represented vowel nasalization, possibly combined with low-level epenthesis of an exclusive nasal element before the following consonant.

(2) Apparent word-final nasal consonants (e.g., lan) in fact represent prenasalization of word-initial consonants, the resulting sandhi with a preceding vowel being reinterpreted as a word-final /ul/.

Much work remains to be done on the phonetic modifications of Spanish by Africans from different language backgrounds and under varying conditions. Written portrayals of AH speech have on occasion been taken uncritically at face value, and at other times have been rejected out of hand as meaningless stereotypes. The present study offers a middle ground, a comparison of written forms with increasingly specific claims advanced by contemporary models of phonology, as an implicit test of the consistency and accuracy of the transcription. The continued parallel evolution of phonological theory and analysis of AH texts will aid in the reconstruction of speech forms which can no longer be directly observed, promising to shed additional light on the development of regional and ethnic varieties of Spanish as well.

NOTES


3) In these cases, it usually appears that nasalization has affected a syllable-final obstruct, usually /t/; given the widespread attestations of "nasalized /t/" in many Spanish regions (e.g., Canfield 1960 for El Salvador, and Wright & Robe 1939 for Mexico), it is not necessary to postulate any extraterritorial roots.

4) Alvarez Nazario (1974:116) notes that in early AH texts from Spain one finds "introducción de un elemento consonántico de resonancia nasal, a veces en sustitución de otro sonido" ("introduction of a consonantal element with nasal resonance, sometimes substituting for another sound"). At another point, the author refers to "la tendencia del negro a la nasalidad" ("the Negro's tendency towards nasalization") (175). Rubén del Rosario (1956:6) refers to AH bozal speech in Puerto Rico as "habla muy grave, en are y nasilizada" ("a deep, dark nasalized speech"), stating also (p. 8) that "los negros esclavos, base de la población negra y mestiza, tenían una clara propensión a la nasalidad... el negro trajo o desarrolló su hábito de nasalizar..." ("black slaves, from whom the black and mestizo population descend, had a clear propensity toward nasalization... the Negro brought or developed his habit of nasalization..."). Romero (1987:102) speaks of the "número abundante de nasalizaciones vocálicas, que parece provenirán de influencias africanas" ("large number of cases of vocalic nasalization, which apparently come from African influence."). Chacón (1946:336) notes that "the tendency toward nasalization of the [seventeenth-century Spain] Spanish speaking negroes would be increased by Portuguese influence." Pichardo (1976:11), describing nineteenth-century bozal Spanish in Cuba, observes the frequent change of /t/ to /θ/, a phenomenon also observed by Henríquez Ureña (1940: 168) for Dominican Spanish, although not necessarily attributed to African influence. Lenz (1928:82) comments on the increased use of nasal consonants in Papamiamento, attributing this at least partially to African influence, quoting Schuchardt's (1882) attribution to AH speakers of a tendency to nasalize vowels. Wagner (1949:153) also comments on increased nasality of Cuban bozal Spanish, Papiamento, and other Caribbean Creoles.

5) According to contemporary theories of autosegmental spreading and feature geometry, consonantal harmony is in most languages precluded by the very hierarchical arrangement of phonological features, whereby consonants are transparent to the spreading of most vocalic features involved in harmony, while consonantal articulator features cannot pass through vowels, which are also specified for the same articulators (cf. Mester 1986, Steriade 1987, Yip 1989 for some ideas).


7) Although the principal trend just discussed involves adding a nasal autosegment to a given position on the skeletal tier, namely the first available place, the relative position of the stress accent could conceivably have played a role. To the extent that a bozal speaker would introduce spontaneous nasality into a word, this would occur first in maximally stressed/emphasized syllables. That such a simple equation did not obtain is immediately apparent upon considering the set of examples of spontaneous nasalization. Two possible factors may have been at work. The first stems from the fact that most of the West African languages known to have been used among bozal Speakers do not have an Indo-European type of stress accent, and it is likely that bozal speech gave a more nearly uniform intensity to each syllable, possibly using tone to distinguish certain syllables. The evolution of lexical tones versus stress in, e.g., the verbal paradigm of Papamiamento, lends some plausibility to this hypothesis, which if correct would mean that no contravening factor such as accentual displacement could render the initial syllable unsuitable as

the recipient of a nasal autosegment. We also note that while few of the spontaneously nasalized syllables are tonic, a majority carry secondary accent. In any event, any role that stress accent may have played in determining the addition of nasalization was subordinated to general template conditions.

8) This would obviate objections to the "drifting autosegment" theory which in principle permits an autosegment such as nasality to be detached from its original bearer, drift to a word boundary, and then fail to "reach" its original anchor due to the blocking effect of intervening elements (cf. Trigo 1988). The objection is that such a theory presupposes differential blocking effects depending upon the direction of drift/spread. However, if no drifting as such, occurred, but rather repudiation at the left edge, the original nasal attachment would remain in place, even if rightward spreading from an initial [+nasal] autosegment was blocked by intervening consonants.

9) Even the case of ríngalame (assuming of course that such a word actually occurred in AH speech) might not be totally exceptional, since the eventual sound represented by the letters ng was very probably a simple velar nasal. This would suggest in turn that the intervocalic [s] of regular, normally a weak fricative at best, had already lost its supralaryngeal features, as commonly occurs in colloquial Spanish today. I leave these speculative possibilities for future research. The point remains that the presence of a word-internal nasal element triggered the attachment of a nasal prosody (in the sense of Mester & Itó 1989) to the first available position beginning at the left word boundary.

10) Alvarez Nazario (1974:185–6) postulates that nas has its origins in West Africa, reaching bozal Spanish via the Portuguese-based Creoles of the Gulf of Guinea (Annonbou, São Tomé, and Príncipe), where met(n), me, and so forth are used as third person plural pronouns and as plural markers. These forms in turn have been traced to enelana, which is the third person plural pronoun in several Bantu languages. The extension of met(n) to incorporate the function of the singular article would have occurred because laminan "ha resbado la función de artículo plural..." (transl. "...amplifying its function of articles..."). The use of an African or Creole Portuguese element as a partial replacement of Spanish or Portuguese articles would be due to the lack of definite articles in the African languages which influenced Caribbean bozal Spanish. The extension of laminan as the equivalent of preposition + article is not explained by Alvarez Nazario.

11) Cf. Nespov & Vogel (1986) for a definition of the prosodic and syntactic characteristics of hiatus groups. Harris (1989) offers some data from Spanish, which is compatible with the AH materials studied here.

12) Armin Schwengler (personal communication) informs me that such a process may be even more frequent in spontaneous speech, with only a few commonly recurring items consigned to written form by previous field workers.

13) Younger speakers of Palenquero in fact effect such wrong-divisions with a number of Palenquero words beginning with prenasalized consonants (Armin Schwengler, personal communication). Thus, an area of the town known as Bajo Ngande has been re-ethnologized by some less fluent speakers of Palenquero as bajon-gande. In an informal experiment, I played selected Palenquero clips (tares generously furnished by A. Schwengler) to Spanish speakers in a phonetics class who were unaware of the existence of prenasalized obstruents in Palenquero. These speakers "heard" combinations like Bajo Ngande as bajon-gande and transcribed them with word-final n. Indeed, even after close listening, it is nearly impossible to discriminate
between a word-final /n/ and a word-initial prenasalized obstruent in connected Paleoquero speech.

14) Hualde (1987), in analyzing affricates, suggests that it is the supralaryngeal node which branches in such “contour segments,” claiming that features are always inherently unordered and that only nodes are ordered. In later work (e.g., Hualde 1988), dual root nodes are supralaryngeal nodes, but in a prenasalized segment an approach like Hualde’s may also yield equivalent results.

15) One interesting alternative to the occlusive treatment of intervocalic /d/ is the conversion to flap [r], a phenomenon attested from seventeenth-century Spain onward and frequent today in many regions of Latin America characterized by heavy AH influence (Granda 1977; Meggengay affects word-initial postvocalic /d/; but while many broad texts exhibit the /d/ > [r] change, this change is not found when word-initial /d/ follows words like lando, which have been analyzed as reflecting prenasalization of word-initial /d/.

APPENDIX

Examples of spontaneous nasalization/denasalization in Afro-Hispanic language

A. lan < lan(y)/io(s)

1. lan gallina yo dará (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:37)
2. Sarapi, diablo lan gato (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:37)
3. volvul lan dia se curó (Puerto Rico, late 19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:396)
4. yo no conocía lan guera, no conocí su furó (Puerto Rico, late 19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:396)
5. yo bota lan gatá (Cuba, 18th c., Guirao 1938:17)
6. yo ba sé marío tuyo por lan grasia (Cuba, 19th c., Guirao 1938:17)
7. lan tiempo sí pierce (Cuba, 19th c., Guirao 1938:17)
8. pa que su mercé lo pue disi caracaras al como lan gato cuando pelea (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:118)
9. ya tú lo ve que pa anda to pallá riba como lan gallina (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:134)
10. Señó Redató lan Faro Sindurió la Bana (Cuba, 19th c., Cruz 1974:157)
11. lo bozó en lo monte a la nengrito de lo bufí y a lan pero jusico-duro ... y lan gato no sabe ma que des miav y cóm pico (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:157)
12. gente piúcauo como lan gallina en la gallinero (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:174)
13. pa que lan diablo no me lo tiente (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:179)
14. dende que lan diavro me ma me lo meté a cumesiente ... cun lan gayina y cun nieve ... (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:214)

B. omit

1. mi pecho está ardiendo como agua que pela engallina (Cuba, mid-19th c., Benitez del Cristo 1930:142)
2. en diablo estén sonado (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:364; “El santo negro Rosambuco”)
3. por an mar y por a tierras (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Rueda 1908:184; “Comedía de los engallados”)
4. voló en Dioso (Spain, 17th c., Cotoarelo y Moré 1911:231, 234; Simón Agudo, “Tres es de los negros”)
5. quiera en Dioso que paseo a España (Spain, 17th c., Claraamonte 1951:499)
6. ¿Por qué en Juan matar quiero a Antoniyo? (Spain, 17th c., Claraamonte 1951:39)
7. venganza de en branco infame (Spain, 17th c., Claraamonte 1951:505)
8. estornudar gente enblascas (Spain, 17th c., Claraamonte 1951:505)
9. juran Dioso, si espada ensaco (Spain, 17th c., Claraamonte 1951:505)
10. en diabro veve el amor (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:373; “El santo negro Rosambuco”)
C. \text{len} < \text{lo(s)} < \text{lo(s)}

1. ¡Viva \text{len} constitución! ¡Viva \text{len} ley de patrías! Que ne tiela den balanco se acabó \text{len} dipotima (Argentina mid-19th c., Lanuza 1967:118)
2. ya \text{len} feflo nimigo s' i ve (Argentina, mid-19th c., Lanuza 1967:132)
3. \text{len} bandido sonda de Losa (Argentina, mid-19th c., Lanuza 1967:132)
4. plepalemo \text{len} sable e fus (Argentina, mid-19th c., Lanuza 1967:133)
5. e a \text{len} vile calancho e latone \text{len} dipojo dañose \text{len} lempúe (Argentina, mid-19th c., Lanuza 1967:133)
6. \text{len} dalemo den fuelta a chupa (Argentina, mid-19th c., Lanuza 1967:133)
7. \text{len} gutará (Peru, 19th c., Romero 1987:102)
8. que esta nochein \text{len} mataron (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:375; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
9. durmendo sa, ya \text{len} vi (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:376; "El santo negro Rosambuco")

D. \text{den} < \text{de(f)}

1. que ne tiela \text{den} balanco se acabó \text{len} dipotima (Argentina mid-19th c., Lanuza 1967:118)
2. \text{len} dalemo \text{den} fuelta a chupa (Argentina, mid-19th c., Lanuza 1967:133)
3. ay, mi amito, un prato \text{den} güevo frito (Peru, mid-19th c., Carrera Vergara 1943:95)
4. haciendo burla \text{den} pretos (Spain, 17th c., Claramonte 1951:505)
5. \text{den} temor y \text{den} respeto cagayera la espatanosa (Spain, 17th c., Claramonte 1951:507)
6. reniegia \text{den} Belcebú (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:370; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
7. teno \text{din} tomar un poca (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:376; "El santo negro Rosambuco")

E. \text{lo(s)} < \text{lo(s)}

1. que cuando lo lloppiamo \text{lo(s)} diabólo que no sujeta (Argentina, mid-19th c., Lanuza 1967:132)
2. que \text{lo(s)} pueblo indefenso clavisa (Argentina, mid-19th c., Lanuza 1967:133)
3. \text{lo(s)} branco só saca-cuento (Peru, mid-19th c., Biblioteca de Cultura Peruana 1938:185)
4. me lo peraba uno fuetsoso duro con pruna tuyu como \text{lo(s)} da mayorá la monte (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:161)
5. puruga, jerejene memequera m'eta comiendo y \text{lo(s)} diabólo m'eta llevando (Cuba, early 20th c., Cabrera 1976:15)
6. gaina saca tó \text{lo(s)} día (Cuba, early 20th c., Cabrera 1976:15)
7. \text{lo(s)} regüevsa (Peru, 19th c., Romero 1987:102)
8. ¡Por on Dios! ... ¡Por on Dios! (Spain 17th c. Lope de Vega 1929:70-1; "El negro del mejor amo")

F. \text{na(s)} < \text{na(s)}

1. gallo \text{na} so mi amo (Puerto Rico, mid-19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:385)
2. nunca se quita \text{na} so trabajando como diablo (Puerto Rico, mid-19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:387)
3. mi suamo siempre ta brabo y me gárrea po \text{na} pasa (Puerto Rico, mid-19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:387)
4. ahi ta \text{na} galería, \text{na} conversa con uno músico (Puerto Rico, mid-19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:387)
5. vine aquí \text{na} Poto Rico de una borega \text{na} fondo (Puerto Rico, late 19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:396)
6. fuete namba, ciera \text{na} pico (Puerto Rico, late 19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:396)
7. bota \text{na} paño la araña (Puerto Rico, mid 19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:396)
8. \text{y} \text{na} cañón hacia ipum (Puerto Rico, late 19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:397)
9. zape, \text{ha}gato, no me robos las fritangas (Dominican Republic, 19th c.?, Alvarez Nazario 1974:185)
10. suña como \text{na} gato (Cuba, 19th c., Pichardo 1976:11)
11. cuando yo me pia de \text{na} caballo, poque miamo no toca con la batón (Cuba, mid-19th c., Estrada y Zenea 1980:72-3)
12. \text{nante} (< \text{aquí} \text{y})\text{e} presenta \text{mi} queja (Puerto Rico, 19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:197)
13. lamo ta \text{na} gallera (Puerto Rico, 19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:197)
14. ahi ta ... \text{na} covesación (Puerto Rico, 19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:197)
15. que \text{como} \text{na} sumo \text{nieve} \text{na} detsimo a\text{fi} calore (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1929:71; "El negro del mejor amo")

G. \text{sen} < \text{sise}

1. \text{en} sanja palele e cañonale tuvo seye \text{sen} viene a moli (Argentina, mid-19th c., Lanuza 1967:133)
2. \text{en} si aqeyue \text{sen} viene a la calga (Argentina, mid-19th c., Lanuza 1967:133)
3. la niña \text{sen} va, probre cravo llorá (Cuba, 19th c., Villaverde 1979:185)

H. \text{nem} < \text{ni}

1. \text{nem} pedimo \text{nem} damo cualité (Argentina, mid-19th c., Lanuza 1967:132)
2. sin que vinandamo gamote \text{nem} garbatzó a la vizina (Mexico/Puerto Rico, 19th c., Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz 1953:73)

I. dempuéldimpué < \text{después}

1. otra güeta sali las ocho: \text{dempue} vení horita (Peru, early 19th c., Pardo 1869:183)
2. \text{e} se yama \text{dempue} felelái (Argentina, mid-19th c., Lanuza 1967:133)
3. \text{len} dipojo dañose \text{dempue} (Argentina, mid-19th c., Lanuza 1967:133)
4. poquee dices de siera boca tuvo dimpué que lo imprinipate cun tanto bulla (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:162)
5. y cayemé dempué (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:378; “El santo negro Rosambuco”)

J. MISCELLANEOUS CASES OF NASAL REPLACEMENT/INSERTION
1. mují mi tiera tiene pelo lango (< largo) (Cuba, early 20th c., Cabrera 1979:18)
3. mucha mujé tenia maca de buey en nanga (< nalgas) (Cuba, early 20th c., Cabrera 1979:42)
4. dalén diabro (< del diablo) con aquesan (< aquesa) mousadilla (Spain, 17th c., Chasca 1946:337)
5. offresco tes (< ofresco) diabro (Spain, 17th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:125)
6. téngolo, siñøra, en la India de San Juan de Puntorico (< Puerto Rico) (Spain, 17th c. (Lope de Rueda), Alvarez Nazario 1974:115)
7. nanqui (< aquí) toy ma Makinley (Puerto Rico, late 19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:396)
8. tran (< tras) de tiguir y lión, limbre (< libre) como el mismo sol (Puerto Rico, late 19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:396)
9. te lo sumprica (< suplica) tu cravo (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:71)
10. yo lo sumpringa (< suplica) mi sumo mío no me lo viene a estigá (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:101)
11. dámele dinero, dise la simpastole (< españoles) rifrane (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:103)
12. ya cuchá yo batante diese lago ringuilería de boba y de dimparate (< dispares) (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:103)
13. ¿onde e que está ese (< eso) branquillos? (Argentina, mid-19th c., Lamuz 1967:131)
14. si no sin (< se) guta tasajo de brujo que suamo da (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:37)
15. en primé lugú, rimpito (< repito), yo icríbe nese lingüaje poque Dio no lo prímite que noto míjo lo jabre (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:104)
16. me da lo mese igüe con qué ringalame (< regale siempre) (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:104)
17. como corenta pañuelo de to colore a la jembra se lo cuega en la pinceus (< pescuez) (Cuba early 19th c., Cruz 1974:113)
18. no podé dimpachá (< despachar) a tanto gente junto (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:117)
19. qué dengrasio (< desgraciados) semo mosstro, que etando a la pie de coco no pudemo bebé lagua (Cuba early 19th c., Cruz 1974:118)
20. son meneté que campana de la Cratea lo rimpita (< repita) soja sincasión (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:118)
21. lo sincitare (< escritores) y pitridita que sempre se lo anda roendo la pata uno a letrito (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:128-9)

22. naitica lo tené de paticula que yo no lo se jabra luenga sintaliano (< italiano) o putugué o lo que seya (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:130)
23. poque tú siempre lo fuite mu nináile, y dimpessa (< dispensa) la cunflanza cun que te jabra (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:131-2)
24. ya tú lo ve que pa andalo pallá riba como lan gallina y la linchusa (< lechaza) cun tanto sincomoría (Cuba early 19th c., Cruz 1974:134)
25. adió trabajo y sumpio (< suspiro) ... adió tiera de lo prántano (< platanos) y la yuca (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:147)
26. y la judito me lo vuevé la simpaldia (< espaldia) (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:152)
27. la pare en las largas (< iglesia) (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:160)
28. vaya uno rinsuelo (< resuello) que tú lo tené (Cuba early 19th c., Cruz 1974:160)
29. una cosa me lo tienec muy dínguato (< disgustado) en la Bana (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:170)
30. la so y la sintrella (< estrellas) de la sielo (Cuba early 19th c., Cruz 1974:174)
31. fuicata!!! pintola (< pistola) se dincaga (< descargar) (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:174)
32. dimbarató (< desbarató) la pajarera y tovi lo tará juindo (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:185)
33. se lo jabra con dimipreto (< desprecio) (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:194)
34. viene a súncrsbse (< subscribirse) aprisa vieja ... pue ya que me dincuastiza (< descartarla) la opinión como icritó (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:195)
35. tú no vuvera a rincogé (< recoger) la meria onsa (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:196)
36. lo rinsabá (< resabios) de lo criao ... y la juega de lo sodao la que de rin- creta (< reclama) subí bata generale (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:199)
37. taría gíeno que lo filbubera (< filibusotería) diese vin a sacáno a mosstro de donde tata Dio no lo ha pueto (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:207)
38. tu sintima (< estimado) sinó y de tutico la rimpeta (< respeto) con la cur- niseransma (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:230)
39. me lo jinchá de cunflentamiento y sänfisasíon (< satisfacción) (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:230)
40. pue a lo branco se lo tené probhíbido (< prohibido) que lo bala en baile prúbico (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:238)
41. y que su incravo (< esclavo) mu fronmiento lo dijo (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:238)
42. de fro de la arístocrasia (< aristocracia) (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:240)
43. te unfrese (< oferece) que yo lo viendra sin fatá (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:255)
44. qué cuisti man (< mas) güeno (Cuba, mid-19th c., Benítez del Cristo 1930:132)
45. camina como lo rayo pa la engresia (<iglesia> (Cuba, mid-19th c., Benítez del Cristo 1930:133))
46. salmo negra pecadora (<pecadoras> (Spain, 17th c. (Luís de Góngora), Becco 1946:35)
47. ¿Qué comió min (<mi> gallito jibao? (Cuba, early 20th c., Cabrera 1976:65)
48. a dios daremon (<daremos> conta (Spain, 16th c., Cotarelo y Morí 1911:231; Simón Agudo, "Entremés de los negros")
49. desa manera le habernon (<habemos) de aplacar la colicas (Spain, 16th c., Cotarelo y Morí 1911:232; Simón Agudo, "Entremés de los negros")
50. ¿No nun (<nos) casamo? (Spain, 16th c., Cotarelo y Morí 1911:234; Simón Agudo, "Entremés de los negros")
51. puro Real ta bacan (<bucan> pato (Cuba, early 20th c., Cabrera 1971:183)
52. tiene un lengua tan lango (<largo> (Cuba, early 20th c., Cabrera 1976:65)
53. non gurbia dinelo (Cuba, 19th c., Pichardo 1976:12)
54. ¡Bángame (<bángame)> Díos! Poquítico fata pa que señora muri agiólo (Cuba, mid-19th c., Estrada y Zenea 1880:47)
55. nontron (<nosotros) se jicieron rico (Puerto Rico, 19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:192)
56. ¿Dónde vano angora (<agora>)? (Spain, 17th c., Claramonte 1951:500)
57. rey mago, y yo sun (<su) lacayo. (Spain, 17th c., Claramonte 1951:500)
58. ¿Ay, siñor Jesum Cristol, (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Rueda 1908:179; "Comedia de los engañados")
59. olrexo tan (<ofrecete) diabro (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Rueda 1908:183; "Comedia de los engañados")
60. ¿Pensar vosa mercé que san (<salasar> yo fija de alguno negra de par ay? (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Rueda 1908:185; "Comedia de los engañados")
61. y que estando en lan umberra (<taberna>) (Spain, 17th c., Rosell 1874:36; Quiñones de Benavente, "El negrito hablador y sin color anda la niña")
62. yon (<yo) viene (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1929:70; "El negro del mejor amo")
63. biban-Diois (<viva Dios) que es como un prata (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1929:70; "El negro del mejor amo")
64. que el cuerpo hermoso cubísmo, a cuya hermosura pleno no hay comparación enguale (<igual>) (Lope de Vega 1929:71; "El negro del mejor amo")
65. utan blanca e neglon dedo (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1929:71; "El negro del mejor amo")
66. me dijo en palabran blebe (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1929:71; "El negro del mejor amo")
67. biban-diosa, amigan plimo, que por eyan derritismo (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1929:71; "El negro del mejor amo")
68. jente branca, vivandioso, que sa baya can (<ca de) vesino! (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1929:71; "El negro del mejor amo")
69. a mala echiraya en san bariga (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1929:76; "El negro del mejor amo")

70. ... y su madre unan putan cutureras (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1929:76; "El negro del mejor amo")
71. siendo negro y ellan (<ellas) crara (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1893:368; "La madre de la mejor")
72. triste nabraro y mencénico (<melancólico>) (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1893:368; "La madre de la mejor")
73. yerba buena mucho, cuntrallan (<cuntrano) poco, y otras flores que podían un Mayo volveyan locos (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1893:368; "La madre de la mejor")
74. mas blanca que niñan de ojo (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1893:368; "La madre de la mejor")
75. Sensuctico (<Jesucristo) cagayera (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:363; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
76. con el Vinyer (<virrey) ... Minsior fora haillarte (<hallarte) sola (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:364; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
77. ¡Sens (< Jesús)! En diabro estén (<estos) sondado (<soldados) nos trujo (<trujo) (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:364; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
78. otro diabro tenemos (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:366; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
79. ya liandoro (<le adoro) (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:370; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
80. ¡Rimbere (<Rivera) amado! (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:370; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
81. dentillopala (<de Etiopía) non yerra (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:370; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
82. zampato (<zapatos) de culdoban ... ma querido y regavalado (<regalado) ... como por muser men (<me) quera ... onjos (<ojos) míos de anzabache (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:370; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
83. yon (<yo) ten (<te) mataré a culdad (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:371; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
84. ¿Pue aun qué venimos angora (<agora>)? (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:373; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
85. yo ten (<te) quiero y ten bendigo (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:373; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
86. esta noche la mantaron (<mataron) a la cagayera (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:375; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
87. sey dilmió, Benito escucha (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:375; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
88. que esta noche len mataron (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:375; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
89. negle a quien el alman plecia ... bensolle (<besolle) in boco recelo ... quen (<que) lindo, quin galán (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:376; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
90. tura ro neglo, hacemos confidna (<cofradia) (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:379; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
91. si esamu santo Luncrecia (< Lucrecia) (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:381; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
92. nin falta una cosan sola (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:392; "El santo negro Rosambuco")

K. EVIDENCE OF PRENASALIZATION IN AFRO-HISPANIC SPEECH
1. si cabeza m'enduele (< duele) bamo la casa Mundo (Cuba, early 20th c., Cabrera 1997:517)
2. virfetlo que nifemo (< enfermo) ta reventa (Cuba, early 20th c., Cabrera 1976:35)
3. ¿Pa qué ngodá mi cue mo viejo ya ... (Cuba, early 20th c., Cabrera 1976:70)
4. invento (< invento) ma grande que tregrafia y ferrocarrí sony buey (Cuba, early 20th c., Cabrera 1976:47)
5. ay que tira, vueve a nocé (< encoger) ... ncoge, ncoge la pata (Cuba, early 20th c., Cabrera 1976:57)
6. bailar como un adomíno (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1893:368; "La madre de la mejor")
7. no ens (< esa) discreto (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:363; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
8. pues como samo lindo hoy, en samo (< somos/somos) malo de ojo (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:363; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
9. ya llanador (< le adoro), ya linquiero (< le quiero) (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:370; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
10. sensuificio en sa (< sa) dolmíd-a (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:375; "El santo negro Rosambuco")
11. si lontico (< le toca) (Spain, 17th c., Lope de Vega 1894:363; "El santo negro Rosambuco")

L. MISCELLANEOUS CASES OF SPONTANEOUS DENASALIZATION
1. pa lo veneno tambié enrusa (Argentina, mid-19th c., Lanuza 1967:219)
2. ya sabemo tamie que somo hijo de Dío (Perú, mid-19th c., Biblioteca de Cultura Peruana 1938:289)
3. marimba te tocará tambié pa te divití (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:36)
4. ma tú tambié uno peséta lo frojará (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:33)
5. tambié tú va divití (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:70)
6. que tambié sabemo canta ye las Leina (Mexico/Puerto Rico, 17th c., Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz 1995:26)
7. pa tú tambié divrití (Puerto Rico, 19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:196)
8. ion branco só saca-cuento (Perú, mid-19th c., Biblioteca de Cultura Peruana 1938:185)
9. es que si robo él baco tiene otro combiniación (Argentina early 19th c., Rodríguez Molas 1957:21)
10. por eso tan deprimiendo mi corazó sinfeli (Puerto Rico, mid-19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:366)
11. ¿Tu dicé que yo son tu corazó y no retuece pecezuo pollo? (Cuba, early 20th c., Cabrera 1976:64)

13. ahí ta ... nan covesací (Puerto Rico, 19th c., Alvarez Nazario 1974:197)
14. yo bota lan garfó (Cuba, 18th c., Guirao 1938:17)
15. na ma son mi corazó (Cuba, early 19th c., Cruz 1974:36)
16. todo e' pedazo de mi corazó (Paraguay, 19th c., Carvalho Neto 1971:114)
17. tú se mía lindo que la lucero planetario (Cuba, mid-19th c., Benitez del Cristo 1939:132)
18. tiera co (< con) l'asado (< azadón) (Cuba, 18th c., Guirao 1938:7)
19. na dotó, n'é como lo chicarró caliente (33) (Cuba, 19th c., Cabrera 1976:23)
20. aquí viñeco con tu bendición (< bendición) (Mexico/Puerto Rico, 17th c., Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz 1953:97)
21. la fiesa le la Asunció ... mañana la Pruciós (< procesión) (Mexico/Puerto Rico, 17th c., Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz 1953:248)
22. hagamo fiesta en Belé (< Belén) (Mexico/Puerto Rico, 17th c., Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz 1953:258)
23. flasico, atesió (< atención) (Mexico, mid-17th c., Mansour 1973:70)
25. ¡Aprendía direció! (Cuba, early 20th c., Cabrera 1976:66)
26. paíseme be (< bien) (Mexico, 17th c., Mansour 1973:70)
27. es no tiene opinió (< opinión) (Argentina, early 19th c., Rodríguez Molas 1957:23)
28. yo juí simaró (< simitar) (Perú, 19th c., Cruz 1994:79)
29. no Frascó (< Francisco) Machao me jizo sombra (Colombia, mid-19th c., Smith Cordoba 1984:53)
30. lo que agora és cotante (< constante) e variable a ese otro ría (Colombia, mid-19th c., Smith Cordoba 1984:59)
31. en ete iante (< instante) mi jacece puerö (Colombia, mid-19th c., Smith Cordoba 1984:57)
32. no rigo, Frascó (< Francisco), ná (Colombia, mid-19th c., Smith Cordoba 1984:77)
33. tuvo való y cotación (< constancia) e librectó se hizo (Colombia, mid-19th c., Smith Cordoba 1984:67)

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