

Golden Age "Black Spanish" Existence and Coexistence

by John M. Lipski

Beginning toward the middle of the 15th century, Portuguese explorations along the western coast of Africa gave rise to the importation of Africans into Portugal, originally as slaves, subsequently, a significant black population arose in Lisbon and the surrounding area, consisting of both slaves and freedmen. Soon after the establishment of the Portuguese slave trade, Spain began to import Africans from neighboring Portugal, eventually replacing the Moors as the source of African slaves and indentured labor, particularly in the areas of Sevilla, Huelva and Cádiz.¹ From the last decades of the 15th century, the figure of the enslaved African appears in Portuguese literature, usually as a comic figure. The "deformed" speech of these African characters indicates, in addition to the expected pidginization found among adult Africans forced to learn Portuguese, the incipient formation of a stable creole, which eventually became solidified in Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Annobon and São Tomé.² Shortly thereafter, the figure of the *bozal* (an African captured, enslaved and transplanted and speaking broken Spanish) appears in Spanish theater, and by the end of the 16th century the literary figure of the enslaved Black was an established element, whose speech ranged from the same pidgin Portuguese found among the 15th century Portuguese texts to literary Spanish as spoken by white characters, passing through a wide range of "deformed" Spanish variants. Spanish Golden Age *habla de negros* has been well-studied from the standpoint of historical and literary values,³ and the linguistic characteristics have been used as evidence in more wide-reaching theories of Hispanic dialectology and the putative existence and spread of a pidgin/creole Portuguese in Africa, Asia and the Americas.⁴ Despite the considerable attention that Golden Age *bozal* Spanish has received, fundamental lacunae remain in our knowledge of the speech of Africans in 16th-17th century Spain. In particular, despite the extensive corpus of literary examples, it has not been established (1) whether pidgin Portuguese quickly gave rise to some form of Spanish following the arrival of enslaved Africans in Spain, (2) whether *bozal* Spanish ever truly existed as a widespread phenomenon or whether it represented simply a transitional stage which arose by spontaneous generation each time Afri-

can natives came into contact with the Spanish language, (3) to what extent Africans born and/or raised in Spain spoke Spanish any different from the speech of European residents of the same areas, and (4) given that some form of *bozal* Spanish may have existed, to what extent it exhibited any temporal or spatial consistency. Clearly, a definitive answer to all these questions would imply a voluminous study, if the task could be accomplished at all. The following remarks have a more modest aim, to reevaluate the principal manifestations of Golden Age *bozal* Spanish in the light of current knowledge of Hispanic dialectology and creole studies, in order to separate linguistic variables from the inevitable element of stereotyping, exaggeration and humor which characterizes the Golden Age portrayal of Africans.

It is likely that the black *bozal* characters appeared in spontaneous popular theater and poetry throughout the 16th and 17th centuries, but the texts that have reached us are relatively few in number. Among writers who employed some version of *bozal* Spanish, we find: Lope de Rueda, Lope de Vega, Quiñones de Benavente, Sánchez de Badajoz, Rodrigo de Reinosa, Góngora, Feliciano de Silva, Luis de Miranda, Jaime de Guete, Simón Aguado, Gaspar Gómez de Toledo, and some more minor figures; Gil Vicente used contemporary versions of *bozal* language by Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz and Gabriel de Santillana, coming from Nueva España (Mexico) in the latter decades of the 17th century.⁵

Given the wide temporal span of *bozal* literary examples, it is natural to expect an evolution in the linguistic characteristics attributed to Africans learning Spanish, and in fact the variation is considerable. The first texts (coming from 15th century Portugal) exhibit few consistent tendencies, containing rather widely dispersed errors and distortions. Among the few consistent elements are (a) use of (*a*)*mi* as first person singular subject pronoun, (b) confusion of *ser* and *estar*, eventually giving rise to the hybrid form *sa* (and occasionally *santar*) for all persons and tenses; c) unstable verb conjugation, frequently tending toward the uninflected infinitive; (d) use of *vos* as the second-person subject pronoun. We find, for example, from the *Cançoneiro Geral* (Fernam de Silveira, 1455): "a min rrey de negro estar Serra Lyoa, se logo vos quer mandar a mym venho."⁶

By the 16th century, more recognizable pidgin Portuguese elements are found, from Gil Vicente (1524-30): "no sabe mi essa carreira; mi busca mulato bai; a mi abre oio y ve; eu chamar elle minha vira";⁷ from Antonio de Chiado's *Autos das Regateiras*⁸ (ca. 1550): "a mi catibar o judeu, nam quere c'a mim razá; a mim frugá boso matá, boso sempre bradá; a boso sempre sá graya; a mi não cabá besí; Prutugá santar djablo."

Although *bozal* Portuguese appeared in only a few literary texts spanning nearly a century, and was rather homogeneous linguistically and stylistically, *bozal* Spanish in one form or another is found from the early 16th century to the end of the 17th century in Spain, and until well into the 20th century in Latin America. Remaining among the 16th and 17th Spanish examples, a chronological study of "black" speech illustrates apparent evolutionary patterns, tempered by the difficulty surrounding the dating of some key Golden Age texts. The earliest Spanish texts in which *bozal* speech appears generally follow the same patterns as the Portuguese examples and at first the direct imitation of Portuguese writers is evident. One of the first examples of "black" Spanish comes from Rodrigo de Reinosa, whose texts may have been composed around 1520: "yo me ir a porta de ferro; a mí llamar Comba de terra Guinea, y en la mi tierra comer buen cangrejo."⁹ Shortly thereafter (approximately 1525-30), Sánchez de Badajoz offers *bozal* speech in which significant innovations are found, particularly involving phonetic deformations: "Fransico estar mi mariro, ya etar casá . . . no etar mueto . . . no ra tene re sotar. Veamo cómo mantea . . . así vueue trequilado ra bobo que bien po lana."¹⁰ Feliciano de Silva's *Segunda Celestina* (ca. 1534) adheres more closely to pidgin Portuguese/"Moro" patterns,¹¹ "amí no estar tan bovo como tu penxar; tú pensar que no entender a mí; ¿tú no querer andar? ¿qué querer vox, vox mercé?" Gómez de Toledo's *Tercera Celestina* (ca. 1536) uses almost identical configurations,¹² "anxi por tu vira, pux no yamar muger a mí . . . a mí entendendo . . ."; the same holds for *bozal* examples from Jaime de Guete (ca. 1550):¹³ "yo extar puto, dun vi-yaco maxgaruto? . . . no xaber qui xan poriro ajer . . . en toro oy mi no comer." It has been pointed out that the use of the grapheme *x* (prepresenting the prepalatal fricative [ʃ]) in early Spanish *bozal* examples is characteristic of Arabic speakers in Spain, and is probably a carry-over from earlier literary stereotypes of "Moro" speech rather than an accurate representation of the speech of *bozal* slaves.¹⁴

Following the tantalizing examples of Sánchez de Badajoz, the first major author to give any indication of a "naturalized" *bozal* language in Spain is Lope de Rueda, in the middle of the 16th century (1538-42). Some of Lope de Rueda's examples are reminiscent of Portuguese pidgin, for example from the *Comedia llamada Eufemia*: "agora sí me contenta mas ¿sabe qué querer yo, señor Pollos"; from the *Comedia de los engañados*: "ya saber Dios y tora lo mundo que sar yo sabrina na Reina Berbasina . . . ¿pensar vosa mercé que san yo fija de alguno

negra de par ay?" Other quotes, however, give evidence of a move away from Portuguese-influenced norms; for example from the *Coloquio de Tymbria*: "turo me lo conozco, turo me lo entiendes ma samo corrido que delante que bien quieres me ofrentar aquesa rapaza"; from the *Comedia de los engañados*: "ya tenemo un prima mía contrita na religiona monja priora nabadesa ayá en mi terra de Manicongo muy honradas. Yo, siñor, queremos muntripicar mundus."¹⁵

Once literary "black Spanish" became established in Golden Age theater, the linguistic characteristics move sharply away from pidgin Portuguese, and acquire traits typical of Spanish "foreigner talk," together with considerable phonetic deformation. Judging by the literary examples, one would place the dates of the transformation in the last decades of the 16th century, since after the turn of the 17th century, *bozal* language becomes consistently "broken Spanish." This apparent dating may, however, merely reflect the solidification of a characteristically Spanish literary stereotype, in that Portuguese features may never have been present in significant quantities in Africanized Spanish, or may have disappeared during the first decades of the 16th century. Following 1550, use of (*a*)*mi* as subject pronoun rapidly disappears (last used by Fuede), as does use of *bai/vai* for "to go" (used by Gil Vicente) and the *bozal* Portuguese items (of Arabic origin) *taybo* "good" and *marfuz* "bad." More important in "nativized" *bozal* Spanish are phonetic deformations, begun in the writings of Sánchez de Badajoz and Lope de Rueda, especially: (a) interchange of /l/ and /r/ in nearly all phonetic positions, with occasional loss in word-final contexts; (b) neutralization of /d/ and /r/, usually in favor of the latter element; (c) loss of /s/, originally only in word-final redundant contexts (e.g. in the verbal desinence *-mos* and in such words as *Jesús*, *además*, etc.) and later in other syllable-final cases; (d) neutralization of /y/ and /ll/, always in favor of the former phoneme; (e) epenthetic nasal consonants, particularly in the shift *negro* > *nenglo/nengro/nengre* and *llamar* > *ñamar*. Other phonological deformations are more sporadic, and include vocalic imprecision, frequently associated with the partial neutralization of niminal and adjectival gender. In the area of morphology and syntax, literary *bozal* Spanish beginning in the 17th century exhibits fewer discrepancies with respect to normal Spanish of the time period. Some cases of unstable gender and number assignment remain, as do incorrectly conjugated verb forms, although use of the uninflected infinitive becomes increasingly rare. Confusion of *ser* and *estar* is still found from time to time, augmented by use of *sar*, and loss of the copula occurs sporadically. Also found is the occasional loss of prepositions (particularly *de* and *a*) and relative pronouns, as well as a generally simplified syntax, avoiding embedded constructions and reminiscent of baby talk and foreigner talk, which were obvious models for literary *bozal* Spanish in the Golden Age.

We now consider some examples of later Golden Age "black" Spanish, beginning with Simón de Aguado

(1602).¹⁶ "aunque negro, samo honraro y no sufrimo cosiquillas, aunque sean del mismo demonios . . . si sa crabo o no sa crabo, á dioso daremon conta"; from Góngora (1609):¹⁷ "mañana sa Corpus Christa. Mana Crara: alcohelemo la cara a lavémomo la vista . . . ¡ay Jesús, cómo sa mu trista!"; from Lope de Vega's *El santo negro Rosambuco* (ca. 1605):¹⁸ "sensucliso cagayera, deseano bosamesé, no queremos que sabé lo que como bata fuera"; "si samo de monicongo . . . pensé samo de mi terra, si querer ser mi galán"; from *La madre de la mejor* (1610-12):¹⁹ "hoy que del meso setiembre, pensa que tenemos ocho, sando el cielo llovennero, triste nubraro y menconico." By the time of Quiñones de Benavente (1664), the morphological and syntactic deformations found in earlier *bozal* examples have all but disappeared, leaving only phonological neutralizations and misidentifications:²⁰ "El culazón me cosquiya, gitaliya. —Oh, cómo suena! No ce que liabo ce tiene ezte modo de instulmenta: como le tengo inficion y tora er arma me yeva." Of the phonetic changes exemplified in these *bozal* texts, neutralization of syllable-final /l/ and /r/ and loss of implosive /s/ are found in Andalusian Spanish, and comparative evidence suggests that as early as the beginning of the 17th century these processes may have been established at least among the lower classes in Andalusia.²¹ It was in Andalusia that most of the captive African laborers were found, and the attribution of popular phonetic tendencies exclusively to "black Spanish" speakers has been a frequent literary device at least since the 18th century. As for the shift (Cl) > /Cr/ (e.g. *clara* > *crara*), frequent in Portuguese and Galician, this may be a continued imitation of Portuguese texts in Golden Age "black" Spanish; at the same time, this shift is found in popular Andalusian Spanish at the present time,²² and it is to be supposed that in earlier centuries, in the virtual absence of standardizing influences, such tendencies may have been more widespread.

As significant as the use of deformed Spanish by black Golden Age literary characters is the number of black speakers of "normal" Spanish which appear in the same texts. For example, many of Lope de Vega's plays contain Blacks whose speech is devoid of *bozal* characteristics (*El negro del mejor amo*, *El arenal de Sevilla*, *Esclava de su galán*, *Los melindres de Belisa*. In Miranda's *Comedia pródiga* (1554),²³ the black character speaks natural Spanish, except for one line: "a mi señor atrever?" Among the many other 16th century writers whose black characters spoke apparently "normal" Spanish are Torres de Naharro, Tirso de Molina, Calderón de la Barca, Cervantes and the *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554). The rapid assimilation of Africans to contemporary norms of spoken Spanish is not surprising in view of the partial social integration of these same groups. Although deprived of the range of rights associated with full citizenship, the captured Africans were not confined in linguistically isolated zones such as occurred in Latin American plantations and mines, but lived in the cities and were normally employed as domes-

tic servants and laborers. Communities of black freedmen sprung up, which organized *cabildos* and *cofradías*, parallel to the homologous organizations of white Spaniards moreover, racial mixture was considerable, resulting in the disappearance of negroid features in areas of southern Spain which once contained a considerable black population. Given that African workers both slave and free were in frequent contact with more affluent sectors of the population, the adoption of normal and even erudite linguistic patterns could continue at a rapid pace. Naturally, the speech of linguistically assimilated Blacks was of no value for literary stereotyping, and those authors interested in preserving the facile stereotype of the *negro bozal* chose to ignore the growing population of Afro-Hispanics whose speech was indistinguishable from that of their non-black compatriots. It has even been suggested that the use of *bozal* language in Golden Age literature was a stylistic metaphor, standing for conversations held entirely in African languages among those captive laborers born in Africa;²⁴ this would have occurred at first, but given the apparent pan-African origin of blacks in Spain, it is unlikely that stable or even quasi-fixed groups of African language speakers ever existed in Spain, such as were formed in the 19th centuries in such areas as Cuba, Brazil and Trinidad.

Also to be called into question is the extent to which ordinary Spanish citizens were in close enough contact with the "deformed" speech of recently arrived African captives to be able to identify key *bozal* linguistic features. The tenor of the literary examples, and the facts of Afro-Hispanic demographics in 16th century Spain, suggest that non-black Spaniards expected Blacks to speak imperfect or at least noticeably accented Spanish, and thus "heard" such traits in speech of those Blacks whom they encountered or, in the case of writers, created; this same conception underlies most of Latin American *negrista* literature, by both white and black authors, and characterizes public opinion to this day in some areas of Spanish America.²⁵ Confusion of Africans brought in as slaves with Moors, deliberate or due to ignorance, may not be ruled out (Portuguese texts refer to Africans indiscriminately as *negros* or *mouros*), and although the *xexeo* is the normally accepted literary convention for "Moro" speech, grammatical "deformations" typical of "black" speech are also found: Gil Vicente's *Cortes de Júpiter* has "mi no xaber que exto extar, mi no xaber que exto xer, mi no xaber onde andar"; the anonymous *Farsa de los Lenguajes* has "mi xenior, porque llamar? No xaber qu'istar ligado? Xenpre yo estar ben creado."²⁶

It is significant that *bozal* Spanish ceased to be used by major Peninsular writers (the last being Quiñones de Benavente) at the same time as "black" speech arises in Hispanic American writings, beginning with Sor Juana in the 1660's. The attempts by Sor Juana and Gabriel de Santillana to depict *bozal* speech give evidence only of phonetic "deformation" and unstable nominal and verbal morphology, but contain none of the Afro-Lusi-

tanian creole features associated with early Peninsular Spanish texts:²⁷

Bya dici que redimi:
cosa palece encantala,
porque yo la oblaje vivo
y la Parre no mi saca.
La otra noche con mi conga
turo sin durmí pensaba
que no quiele gente plieta
como eya so gente branca.

Following shortly thereafter come some 18th century Cuban *cantos de cabildo*,²⁸ in which the patterns for Latin American "black" Spanish are already solidified: "palo ta duro/jacha no cotta/palo ta brabbo"; "bamo llorá/muetto pobre/mañana toca mí/pasao toca rí." These same characteristics are found in 18th century Afro-Mexican specimens, and throughout the 19th century, "black" Spanish from such areas as Argentina, Uruguay, Peru, Paraguay, Colombia, Ecuador and the Antilles exhibits only phonological "deformation," with the occasional loss of nominal and verbal concordance.²⁹ Only in 19th century Cuban and Puerto Rican *bozal* texts do innovations creep in, principally the use of the verbal particle *ta* in combination with the infinitive: "tu mamá ta la campo, y horita ta bení pa cá."³⁰ This combination, similar to structures found in Papiamentu, the Portuguese creoles of the Gulf of Guinea and the *lengua* of Colombia's Palenque de San Basilio, has been used in numerous theoretical accounts seeking to demonstrate that a unified *bozal* Spanish was spoken throughout Latin America until the end of the 19th century, but a detailed study of the appearance and distribution of *ta* + *Vinf* constructions indicates that these appear only in 19th century Cuba and Puerto Rico, possibly as the direct result of the arrival of Papiamentu-speaking slaves from the Dutch depot at Curaçao.³¹

Having thus briefly reviewed the principal literary attestations of 16th and 17th century Africanized Spanish, we now return to the questions posed at the outset. As to the shift from pidgin Portuguese to *bozal* Spanish, there is no evidence that the use of broken Portuguese by enslaved Africans in Spain was widespread anywhere except in literary texts, and then only as an initial reaction to the novelty of black figures in Spain. Any possible creole Portuguese influence on Latin American *bozal* Spanish must have bypassed Spain entirely, and would be due to the practice of holding slaves in Portuguese *feitórias* in Cabo Verde, São Tomé, Annobon, etc., and to the possible use of maritime Portuguese/pidgin during the middle crossing to the Americas. As for the postulated existence of Peninsular *bozal* Spanish as a consistent and widespread phenomenon, the verdict seems to be negative. The social conditions were not appropriate for the long term retention of *bozal* characteristics, for the formation of a stable non-standard dialect, or for the spread of specific linguistic traits from one area to another. Quite to the contrary, the linguistic features associated with 16th and 17th century Africanized Spanish are typical of those found in situations where

Spanish as a second language has come into contact with other languages under circumstances where rapid acquisition of useful communicative competence in Spanish far outweighs any possible pressures to adhere to grammatical norms. Contemporary examples whose linguistic features are nearly identical to those found in the Peninsular texts in question (except for certain phonetic features, which are more closely tied to the specific native language involved) include: Paraguay and Argentina (Guaraní), Peru and Ecuador (Quechua), the Philippines (Tagalog, Visayan and English), Mexico (several languages), the Atlantic coast of Central America (creole English) and Equatorial Guinea (several languages); only in the last case is there an African connection, and non-standard Equatorial Guinean Spanish is no closer to Spanish Golden Age texts than examples from Latin America and Asia.³² Moreover, the same grammatical features associated with *bozal* Spanish (unstable verbal and nominal morphology, occasional confusion of pronominal case, loss of common prepositions and relative pronouns, avoidance of embedded constructions, phonological misidentification) are frequent in the speech of vestigial Spanish "semi-speakers," found in various parts of the world where rapid shifts away from Spanish have occurred within the span of one or two generations.³³

Finally, there can be no doubt that the majority of black residents in 16th and 17th century Spain spoke Spanish with no distinctive accent, especially considering that black residents appeared in southern Spain at least as early as the 14th century. Those captured Africans who had arrived via Portugal may have spoken Portuguese, perhaps not as deformed as indicated in literary documents, which may have simply embodied the refusal to seriously countenance Portuguese as a literary equal of Spanish. Simultaneously, the increased Portuguese slave trade may have brought significant numbers of recently arrived *bozales* to southern Spain, whose speech could have impressed casual observers as being more widespread and consistent than it actually was. Given the formulaic nature of black character roles (e.g. reference to African place names, frequent singing and dancing and lamenting the fate of the slave while adopting seductive poses) and the frequent repetition of stereotyped phrases such as *aunque negro gente somo*, it is clear that the theater-going public of 16th and 17th century Spain had well-developed expectations as to the overall behavior patterns of Africans. The majority of literary "black speech," however, is more typical of foreigner talk in many languages,³⁴ invented or extended by Spanish writers as a verbal equivalent of the outlandish costumes and humiliating dances forced upon African actors by the Spanish public, eager to bury its own (Moorish) African roots and laugh heartily at Africans culturally and racially at safe remove from Golden Age society.

¹Cf. Ruth Pike, "Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century: Slaves and Freedmen," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 47 (1967), 344-59; Hipólito Sancho de Sopranis, *Las cofradías de morenos en Cádiz* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1958); J. de M. Carriazo, "Negros esclavos y extranjeros en el barrio sevillano de San Bernardo (1617-1629)," *Archivo Hispalense* 20:64-65 (1954), 121-33; A.C. de C.M. Sanders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal 1441-1555* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1982); Alfonso Franco Silva, *Registro documental sobre la esclavitud sevillana (1453-1513)* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1979); Enriqueta Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos: los asentamientos portugueses* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, 1977); Arcadio de Larrea Palacín, "Los negros en la provincia de Huelva," *Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos* 6:20 (1952), 39-57; Vicente Cortes, *La esclavitud en Valencia durante el reinado de los reyes católicos (1479-1516)* (Valencia: Excmo. Ayuntamiento, 1964); Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, "La esclavitud en Castilla durante la edad moderna," in *Estudios de historia social de España*, t. II, pp. 367-426 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigación Científica, Instituto "Balmes" de Sociología, 1952).

²Cf. Paul Teyssier, *La langue de Gil Vicente* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1959); José Leite de Vasconcelos, "Língua de preto num texto de Henrique da Mota," *Revue Hispanique* 81 (1933), 241-6; Wilhelm Giese, "Notas sobre a fala dos negros em Lisboa no princípio do século XVI," *Revista Lusitana* 30 (1932), 251-7; Germán de Granda, "Posibles vías directas de introducción de africanismos en el 'habla de negro' literaria castellana," *Boletín del Instituto Caro y Cuervo* 24 (1969), 459-69; Anthony Naro, "A Study on the Origins of Pidginization," *Language* 54 (1978), 314-47; Raul da Costa e Sá, *Influencia do elemento afro-negro na obra de Gil Vicente* (São Paulo: Saraiva, 1948); Jacques Taimundo, *O elemento afro-negro na língua portuguesa* (Rio de Janeiro: Renasença, 1933).

³The principal studies include Edmund de Chasca, "The Phonology of the Speech of the Negroes in Early Spanish Drama," *Hispanic Review* 14 (1946), 322-39; Juan Castellano, "El negro esclavo en el entremés del Siglo de Oro," *Hispania* 44 (1961), 55-65; Howard Jason, "The Language of the Negro in Early Spanish Drama," *College Language Association Journal* 10 (1967), 330-40; Germán de Granda, "Sobre el origen del 'habla de negro' en la literatura peninsular del Siglo de Oro," *Prohemio* 2:1 (1971), 97-109; Frida Weber de Kurlat, "El tipo cómico del negro en el teatro prelopesco: fonética," *Filología* 8 (1962), 139-68; "Sobre el negro como tipo cómico en el teatro español del siglo XVI," *Romance Philology* 17 (1963), 380-91; "El tipo del negro en el teatro de Lope de Vega: tradición y creación," *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 19 (1970), 337-59.

⁴The bibliography on Hispanic creoles and theories of creole formation is voluminous among the principal studies which specifically link the above-mentioned creoles, and which propose Afro-Lusitanian origins are: Manuel Alvarez Nazario, *El elemento afronegroide en el español de Puerto Rico* (San Juan: Instituto de Estudios Puertorriqueños, 1974); Germán de Granda, *Estudios lingüísticos afrohispanicos y criollos* (Madrid: Gredos, 1978); "La tipología 'criolla' de dos hablas del área lingüística hispánica," *Thesaurus* 23 (1968), 193-205; Ricardo Otheguy, "The Spanish Caribbean: A Creole Perspective," in C. Bailey, R. Shuy, eds., *New Ways of Analyzing Variation in English* (Washington: Georgetown University, 1975), 323-39; William Meggenney, "La influencia del portugués en el palenquero colombiano," *Thesaurus* 38 (1983), 548-63; "Traces of Portuguese in Three Caribbean Creoles: Evidence in Support of the Mongenic Theory," *Hispanic Linguistics* 1:2 (1984), 177-90; "La influencia criollo-portuguesa en el español caribeño," *Anuario de Lingüística Hispánica* (Valladolid) I

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(1985), 157-80; Matthias Perl, "Creole morphosyntax in the Cuban 'habla bozal,'" *Studii si Cercetari Lingvistice* 5 (1982), 424-33; "El fenómeno de descriptización del 'habla bozal' y el lenguaje coloquial de la variante cubana del español," *Anuario de Lingüística Hispánica* (Valladolid) 1 (1985), 191-202; "Die Bedeutung des Kreolenportugiesischen für ihre Herausbildung der Kreolensprachen in den Karibik" (MS, Karl-Marx Universität, Leipzig); Naro, "A study on the origins of pidginization"; for an opposing point of view, cf. Humberto López Morales, "Sobre la pretendida existencia y pervivencia del 'criollo' cubano," *Anuario de Letras* 18 (1980), 85-116.

⁵The examples from Nueva España are anthologized by Mónica Mansour, *La poesía negrista* (México: ERA, 1973), 61-75; cf. also *Obras completas de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz*, t. II *villancicos y letras sacras*, ed. by Alfonso Méndez Plancarte (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1952).

⁶Teyssier, *La langue de Gil Vicente*, 228-9.

⁷The first two examples are from the play *O clérigo da beira*, in *Obras de Gil Vicente*, t. I (Coimbra: Franca Amado, 1907), 353-5; the third is from *Nao d'amores*, in *Obras de Gil Vicente*, t. II, ed. J. Barreto Feio and J. Monteiro (Hamburg: Typographia de Langhoff, 1834), 312.

⁸Antonio Ribeiro Chiado, *Autos das regateiras*, critical edition by Giulia Lanciani (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1970), 57-61, 105.

⁹Rodrigo de Reinosa, ed. José M. de Cossío (Santander: Imp. de la Librería Moderna, Antología de Escritores y Artistas Montañeses, XVI, 1950), 111.

¹⁰From the *Farsa teologal*, in D. Barrantes, ed., *Recopilación en metro del bachiller Diego Sánchez de Badajoz*, t. I (Madrid: Librería de los Bibliófilos, 1882), 135.

¹¹Isabel Ann Mack, "The *Segunda Celestina* of Feliciano de Silva: A Study and an Edition," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Exeter, 1973, pp. 15-6.

¹²Gaspar Gómez de Toledo, *Tercera parte de la tragicomedia de Celestina*, critical ed. by Mac E. Barrick (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1973), 116-7.

¹³From the *Comedia intitulada Tesorina*, in *Teatro español del siglo XVI*, t. I (Madrid: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Madrileños, 1913), 177-266.

¹⁴Albert Sloman, "The Phonology of Moorish Jargon in the Works of Early Spanish Dramatists and Lope de Vega," *Modern Language Review* 44 (1949), 207-17.

¹⁵From the edition of the Real Academia Española, *Obras de Lope de Rueda*, t. I, II (Madrid: Librería de los Suc. de Hernando, 1908).

¹⁶From the *Entremés de los negros*, in *Colección de entremeses, loans, bailes jácaras y mojigangas desde fines del siglo XVI á mediados del XVIII*, ed. E. Cotarelo y Morí (Madrid: Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1911) 231-5.

¹⁷Luis de Góngora, *Letrillas*, critical ed. by Robert Jammes (Madrid: Clásicos Castalia, 1981), 153-5.

¹⁸*Obras de Lope de Vega*, t. X (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1965), 135-45.

¹⁹*Obras de Lope de Vega*, t. VIII (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1965), 203.

²⁰From *El negrito hablador, y sin color anda la niña*, in *Entremeses loas y jácaras excritas por el licenciado Luis Quiñones de Benavente*, ed. Cayetano Rosell, t. II (Madrid: Librería de los Bibliófilos, 1874), 31-9.

²¹Cf. Peter Boyd-Bowman, "A Sample of Sixteenth Century 'Caribbean' Spanish phonology," in W. Milan, J. Stacek, J.

- Zamora, eds., *1974 Colloquium on Spanish and Portuguese Linguistics* (Washington: Georgetown University, 1975), 1-16; Rafael Lapesa, *Historia de la lengua española* (Madrid: Gredos, 1980, 10th ed.), 248; John Lipski, "The reduction of /s/ in bozal Spanish," *Neophilologus* 1986; "On the Weakening of /s/ in Latin American Spanish," *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 51 (1984), 31-43, "A Test Case of the Afro-Hispanic Connection: Syllable-final /s/ in Equatorial Guinea," *Lingua* 68 (1986), 357-70.
- ²²Francisco Salvador Salvador, *La neutralización l/r explosivas agrupadas y su área andaluza* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1978).
- ²³Luis de Miranda, *Comedia pródiga*, facsimile edition (Valencia: Talleres de Tipografía Moderna, 1953), act 5.
- ²⁴P. E. Russell, "Towards an Interpretation of Rodrigo de Reinosa's 'poesía negra,'" in R. O. Jones, ed., *Studies in Spanish Literature of the Golden Age Presented to Edward M. Wilson* (London: Tamesis, 1973), 225-45.
- ²⁵Cf. John Lipski, "Black Spanish: The Last Frontier of Afro-America," *Crítica* (San Diego) 1:2 (1985), 53-75.
- ²⁶Sloman, "The Phonology of Moorish Jargon," 210.
- ²⁷Mansour, *La poesía negra*, 61, 71.
- ²⁸Aurora Albornoz and Julio Rodríguez, *Sensemaya* (Madrid: Editorial Orígenes, 1980), 55-6.
- ²⁹A representative selection of Afro-Hispanic language usage in Latin American includes the following: William Megenney, "Rasgos criollos en algunos villancicos negroides de Puebla, México," *Anuario de Letras* 23 (1985), 161-202; Isabel Aretz de Ramón and Luis Felipe Ramón y Rivera, "Resumen de un estudio sobre las expresiones negras en el folklore musical y coreográfico de Venezuela," *Archivos Venezolanos de Folklore* 3:4 (1955), 65-73; Ildefonso Pereda Valdés, *El negro en el Uruguay, pasado y presente* (Montevideo: Revista del Instituto Histórico y Geográfico del Uruguay, 1965); Juan Pablo Sojo, *Temas y apuntes afro-venezolanos* (Caracas: Tip. La Nación, 1943); Manual Alvarez Nazario, "Notas sobre el habla del negro en Puerto Rico durante el siglo XIX," *Revista del Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña* 2 (1959), 43-8; Concepción Teresa Alzola, "Hablar popular cubana," *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares* 23 (1965), 258-69; José Juan Arrom, "La poesía afrocubana," *Revista Iberoamericana* 55 (1942), 379-411; Antonio Bachiller y Morales, "Disfiguración a que está expuesto el idioma castellano al contacto y mezcla de razas," *Revista de Cuba* 14 (1883), 97-104; Ignacio Benítez del Cristo, "Los novios catedráticos," *Archivos del Folklore Cubano* 5:2 (1930), 119-46; Paulo de Carvalho Neto, *Folklore del Paraguay* (Quito: Editorial Universitaria, 1961); *Estudios afro-Brazil-Paraguay-Uruguay-Ecuador* (Caracas: Universidad Central de Venezuela, 1971); Modesto Chávez Franco, *Crónicas del Guayaquil antiguo* (Guayaquil: Imprenta y Talleres Municipales, 1930); Carlos Alberto Coba Andrade, *Literatura popular afroecuatorialiana* (Otavalo: Instituto Otavaleño de Antropología, 1980); Mary Cruz, *Creto Gangá* (Havana: Instituto Cubano del Libro "Contemporáneos," 1974); Enrique López Albújar, *Matalaché* (Lima: Ed. Juan Mejía, 1966, 3rd ed.); J. Alden Mason and Aurelio Espinosa, "Porto Rican Folklore: Décimas, Christmas Carols, Nursery Rhymes and Other Songs," *Journal of American Folklore* 34 (1918), 143-208; Vicente Mendoza, "Algo de folklore negro en México," *Miscelánea de estudios dedicados a Fernando Ortiz por sus discípulos, colegas y amigos*, t. II, 1093-1111 (Havana: n. p., 1956); Candelario Obeso, *Cantos populares de mi tierra* (Bogotá Ministerio de Educación, 1960); Víctor Manuel Ovalles, *Más frases criollas* (Caracas: Ed. Bolívar, 1935); José Antonio Ramos, *Caniquí* (Havana: Consejo Nacional de Cultura, 1963, 2nd ed.); Emilio Rodríguez Demorizi, *Poesía popular dominicana* (Santiago de los Caballeros: Universidad Católica Madre y Maestra, 1973, 3rd ed.); *Lengua y folklore de Santo Domingo* (Santiago de los Caballeros: Universidad Católica Madre y Maestra, 1975); Hortensia Ruíz del Vizo, *Poesía negra del Caribe y otras áreas* (Miami: Ediciones Universal, 1972); Nicomedes Santa Cruz, *Antología: décimas y poemas* (Lima: Campodónico, 1971); Anselmo Suárez y Romero, *Francisco* (Havana: Ministerio de Educación, 1947, 2nd ed.); Serio Valdés Bernal, "Sobre locuciones y refranes afrocubanos," *Beiträge zur romanischen Philologie* 15.2 (1976), 321-8; "Las lenguas africanas y el español coloquial de Cuba," *Santiago* 31 (1978), 81-110; Cirilo Villaverde, *Cecilia Valdés*, critical edition by Raimundo Lazo (México: Porrúa, 1979); Manuel Zapata Olivella, "Cuentos religiosos de los negros de Palenque," *Revista Colombiana de Folclor* 3:7 (1962), 205-10.
- ³⁰Jorge Luis Morales, *Poesía afroantillana y negrista* (Río Piedras, Ed. Universitaria, 1976), 188.
- ³¹John Lipski, "On the Construction *ta* + Infinitive in Caribbean *bozal* Spanish," forthcoming in *Romance Philology*; this article surveys the relevant bibliography and theories. Cf. also the studies cited above in fn. 4.
- ³²Rodolfo Cerrón-Palomino, "Calcos sintácticos en el castellano andino," *San Marcos* 14 (1976), 93-101; Douglas Gifford, "Field-notes on Chaco Spanish," in Karl-Hermann Körner, Klaus Rühl, eds., *Studia Iberica, Festschrift für Hans Flasche* (Bern: Francke, 1973), 166-74; Germán de Granda, "Fenómenos de interferencia fonética de fang sobre el español de Guinea Ecuatorial: consonantismo," *Anuario de Lingüística Hispánica* (Valladolid) I (1985), 95-114; John Lipski, "Observations on the Spanish of Malabo, Equatorial Guinea: Implications for Latin American Spanish," *Hispanic Linguistics* I (1984), 69-96; *The Spanish of Equatorial Guinea* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1985); Philippine Spanish: Remarks on Vestigial Usage," forthcoming in *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*; "El castellano en Filipinas," forthcoming in *Anuario de Letras*; Bartolomeu Meliá, "Hacia una 'tercera lengua' en el Paraguay," *Estudios paraguayos* 2:2 (1974), 31-72; "La entrada del castellano en el guaraní del Paraguay," in Reinhold Werner, ed., *Sprachkontakte* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1980), 151-60; Carroll Riley, "Trade Spanish of the Piñaguero Panare," *Studies in Linguistics* 10:1 (1952), 6-11; Giorgina Paulín de Siade, *Los indígenas bilingües de México frente a la castellanización* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1974); Beatriz Usher de Herreros, "Castellano paraguayo: notas para una gramática contrastiva castellano-guaraní," *Suplemento Antropológico* (Asunción: Universidad Católica) 11:1-2 (1976), 29-123; Inés de Quant and José Miguel Irigoyen, *Interferencia guaraní en la morfología y léxico del español substandard de Resistencia* (Resistencia: Universidad Nacional del Nordeste, 1980); María Cristina R. de Welti, "Bilingüismo en el Paraguay: los límites de la comunicación," *Revista Paraguaya de Sociología* 16:46 (1979), 63-97; Pieter Muysken, "Halfway Between Quechua and Spanish: The Case for Relexification," in A. Highfield, A. Valdman, eds., *Historicity and Variation in Creole Studies* (Ann Arbor: Karoma, 1981), 52-78.
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- ³⁴Cf. Jürgen Meisel, "Linguistic Simplification," in S. Felix, ed., *Second Language Development* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1980), 13-40 [p. 22]; Charles Ferguson, "Toward a Characterization of Foreigner Talk," *Anthropological Linguistics* 17 (1975), 1-14.