

Afro-Asian and Afro-indigenous linguistic contacts in Spanish America

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1. Introduction

In reconstructing the language of the African diaspora in Latin America and assessing the possible imprint of African languages on Spanish and Portuguese, emphasis naturally falls on bilateral Afro-Spanish and Afro-Portuguese contacts. Whereas such an approach is substantially valid for the last century or so of African slavery in the Americas, when newly arriving Africans interacted with native speakers of Spanish and Portuguese in agricultural or urban environments, during earlier centuries and in other regions language contact was multi-lateral. Not only did African languages interact with a variety of indigenous languages—and later with a handful of Asian and Pacific languages—but Africans learning Spanish and Portuguese (known unflatteringly as *bozales* due to their struggles with European languages) often interacted with Native Americans, Asians and Pacific islanders as much as or more than with native speakers of Spanish and Portuguese, due to working conditions and societal segregation. This adds an important dimension to the study of second-language varieties of Spanish, non-native interlanguages that eventually coalesced into regional vernaculars, and in some cases, even the formation of creole languages, customarily assumed to stem directly from Afro-Iberian language contacts. In only a few instances was the language of Afro-indigenous and Afro-Asian contacts documented, and almost never with the objective clarity that would permit accurate linguistic reconstruction. By comparing a number of attestations with historical and demographic data, it is possible to sketch an expanded model of language contact involving speakers of African languages in the Americas. The present remarks, necessarily constrained by limits of time and available documentation, will summarily review some promising configurations of language contact, all the while embodying a call for additional research in this potentially fruitful direction.

Long before sub-Saharan Africans and their descendents were found in plantation agriculture in Latin America, and even before their numbers became significant in domestic servitude in the cities, African slaves were employed in highland mines throughout Spanish America, as well as in placer mining in some lowland regions. By far the largest number of African miners was found in Mexico, Peru, and Bolivia; proportionately fewer slaves worked in mines and placer deposits in Colombia, Guatemala, Honduras, and Ecuador. Since Africans were brought in as forced miners after unsuccessful efforts to employ large numbers of indigenous miners, African slaves frequently worked side by side with the remaining indigenous workers, and frequently outnumbered Spaniards for as long as two centuries. An estimate of slaves in Spanish American colonies around 1645 (Palmer 1976: 29) indicates the following distribution, including many areas of significant indigenous populations in the process of acquiring Spanish as a second language:

Tierra Firme (Venezuela + Santa Marta):	12,000
Panama	17,000
Cartagena	12,000

Guatemala/Honduras	10,000
Lima	60,000
Caribbean islands	16,000
Popayán	5,000
Pisco (Peru)	20,000
Trujillo (Peru)	7,000
Arequipa	9,000
Audiencia de Quito	6,500
Antioquia	2,500
Magdalena River basin	12,000
Mexico	80,000

In only a handful of cases does putative documentation of Afro-indigenous contact language exist, but even these tantalizing samples are significant enough to warrant a more thorough perusal. To date, no examples of the linguistic interactions of Africans and Pacific islanders (probably occurring only in coastal Peru and possibly Central America) have come to light. Finally, three-way Afro-Chinese-Spanish contact languages are documented in the mid-19th century for Cuba and Peru, with occasional attestations coming from other countries which imported Chinese laborers during the 19th century.

2. Afro-indigenous Spanish in colonial Mexico

During the first centuries of Spanish colonization, the African population of Mexico was considerable (Aguirre Beltrán 1958, 1972; Brading 1971; Brady 1965; Carroll 1991; Gutiérrez Avila 1988; Herrera Casasús 1989, 1991; Mayer 1974; Mendoza 1956; Naveda Chávez-Hita 1987; Serrano López 1993; Valdés and Dávila 1989; the articles in Martínez Montiel and Reyes 1993 and Martínez Montiel 1995). At various times and places during the colonial period, the African population was equal to or greater than the white European population, a proportion which rises even more when the mulatto population is taken into account. Veracruz was one of the three ports authorized to receive African slaves during much of the Spanish colonial era (Carroll 1991, Winfield Capitaine 1993), and once trans-Pacific trade with the Philippines was established, Africans also entered Mexico through the ports of Campeche (Ngou-Mve 1994: 150-52) and Acapulco (Aguirre Beltrán 1972). Africans worked in mines and agriculture, and then in cities and towns throughout Mexico, from the Gulf of Mexico to areas which are now part of the United States (Palmer 1976). Mexico, the homeland of an indigenous population which extended into the millions, at first had little need for imported labor. However, Indian mortality, spurred by European diseases, but also by wars of conquest and the internecine fighting spawned by the European presence, was wreaking havoc among the indigenous population. At the same time, Spaniards had established silver mines and sugar plantations, both enterprises which required large amounts of forced labor (cf. Palmer 1976). Indian slavery was abolished in 1542, which prompted the introduction of African slaves in ever greater numbers. Palmer (1976: 3) divides African slavery in Mexico into three periods. The first period extends from 1519 (the date of the first slave arrival, accompanying the

conquistadores) to 1580, the end of an epidemic which devastated white, African and indigenous populations. The second period extends from 1580 to 1650, and represents the heyday of Mexican slavery. It was during this period that Mexico was the second-largest slave importer in Spanish America (second only to Peru), and the period in which Africans greatly outnumbered Europeans in much of Mexico. The final period, stretching from 1650 to the official abolition of slavery in 1827, was marked by a rapid decline in slave importation, the development of an Afro-mestizo class with increasingly weaker cultural ties to Africa, and the absorption of much of the African population into the mestizo classes of Mexico. It is impossible to know how many African slaves were taken to Mexico during its colonial history; figures of 200,000 have been suggested (e.g. Palmer 1976: 3), but the true facts will probably never be known. The Afro-Mexican population grew rapidly in the 16th century, and it is during this century, extending to the early decades of the 17th century, that residents of African descent formed the largest proportion of Mexican society. Some approximate figures for 1570 are (Palmer 1976: 46):

CITY	SPANIARDS	BLACK SLAVES	MULATTOES
Veracruz	300	500	0
Guadalajara	80	120	50
Mérida	150	150	10
Puebla	800	500	100
Oaxaca	350	50	0
Mexico City	8000	8000	1000

Other scattered observations confirm these general tendencies (Palmer 1976: 46-7). For example in 1612, an estimate of the Mexico City population reported some 50,000 blacks and mulattoes, 15,000 Spaniards, and 80,000 Indians. Gemelli Careri, who visited Mexico City in 1698, claimed that the majority of the population (estimated at 100,000) were blacks and mulattoes. This observation, which in the past century had also been made for Seville and Lisbon, was surely an exaggeration, but attested to the visible presence of Africans throughout the Mexican capital. In 1646, Veracruz had a black/mulatto population of 5,000; 250 black slaves worked in the mines of Guadalajara in the 1570's, and 800 worked the Zacatecas mines in 1601. Black populations were also found in other areas of Mexico, including regions in which this history is all but unknown to most Mexicans. Paredes Martínez and Lara Tenorio (1995) trace the presence of African slaves in Puebla, from the 16th through the 18th centuries, peaking in the 17th century, when the black population of Puebla outnumbered white Europeans. In Michoacán, black Africans worked in agriculture, textile manufacture, and mining until the end of the 18th century (Chávez Carbajal 1993, 1995). The black population of Guadalajara reached its highest point around the turn of the 18th century (Lavrin 1982). In Guanajuato a significant black population remained through the 18th century (Guevara Sanginés 1993, 1995; Gálvez Jiménez 1995). As late as 1793, Sonora had some 8000 white residents, as opposed to 3000 mulattoes and an undetermined number of blacks (Aguirre Beltrán 1972: 228). Zacatecas at one point had a significant black population, drawn by the prosperous mines. A document from the 17th century (León-Portilla et al. 1974: 229-30) describes the city of Zacatecas as having some 800 blacks and mulattoes, as opposed to perhaps 2000

Spaniards. Even further to the north, the mining boom town of Parral (in the present state of Chihuahua) had a large black population in the 17th and early 18th centuries (cf. Mayer 1974). Following the decline of mining, this region fell into marginality. In the state of Coahuila, Saltillo also had a large black population, at times approaching 40% of the total, well towards the end of the 18th century (Valdés and Dávila 1989). The northern state of Tamaulipas also sustained a significant black slave population (Herrera Casasús 1989, 1995), as did another northern state, Nuevo León (Gómez Danés 1995), and the southeastern state of Chiapas (Soriano Hernández 1993). In Tehuantepec, black slaves worked alongside Indians in plantations. Entire villages of blacks and mulattoes were formed, including Petapa (Gutiérrez Brockington 1982: 295). Most of the original slave population died off by 1620; their descendents worked as free laborers, and importation of African-born slaves diminished rapidly by the middle of the 17th century. In Colima, the black population was evident well into the 19th century; even at the end of the 18th century, nearly 35% of the population was black or mulatto (Nettel Ross 1993; Reyes 1995: 325). Blacks in Colima worked mostly in agriculture, and in lesser numbers, in domestic servitude. Black slavery in Campeche state was also significant (Redondo 1995), extending well into the 19th century. In Yucatan, also, the black population played an important role (Fernández Repetto and Negroe Sierra 1995). Blacks worked in agriculture, helped repel many pirate attacks, plied the contraband trade, and even participated in the Guerra de Castas in the 19th century Yucatan Peninsula. Neighboring Tabasco state also contained a significant black population (Andrade Torres 1995), first coming from Africa and later from the Antilles, including English possessions. This population persisted until the latter part of the 19th century. Most worked in agriculture and cattle raising, and Tabasco, together with Campeche, Veracruz, and the Costa Chica, may be one of the few areas in Mexico where the African population left tangible linguistic traces. In Taxco, black Africans worked in the mines (Reynoso 1993), while Africans were also found in Querétaro (García Martínez 1993) and Oaxaca (Motta Sánchez and Machuca Ramírez). By the 18th century, the black population in Mexico was largely concentrated in the sugar plantations of Veracruz state: in Jalapa, Córdoba, and Veracruz (Carroll 1979, 1991; Naveda Chávez-Hita 1979, 1987; Martínez Maranto 1995). These plantations continued to buy some slaves from Africa, but for the most part relied on an already existent Afro-Mexican population. For all intents and purposes, following the middle of the 17th century, the presence of African-born *bozales* in Mexico was a rare occurrence. This partially explains the lack of identifiable vestigial Afro-Hispanic linguistic traits even in isolated Afro-Mexican villages; the absence of an African substrate has characterized these regions for several centuries. Muhammad (1995: 175) observes that 'the language of Afro-Mexicans is sometimes said to be "unintelligible Spanish ... this unique Spanish dialect ... developed because maroon communities were isolated from the rest of the country.' In reality, remaining Afro-Mexican speech bears more traces of isolation and lack of formal education than a direct African imprint (Aguirre Beltrán 1958, Althoff 1994).

Almost no commentaries on the speech of Afro-indigenous language contacts in Mexico can be found, although Aguirre Beltrán (1958) and more recently Althoff (1994) have commented on the significant interaction between the Afro-Mexicans of the Costa Chica (Guerrero and Oaxaca states) and the neighboring indigenous populations, who continue to use their native languages to this day. In the mid 19th century, during the Cuban sugar plantation

boom and as the African slave trade was gradually abolished, Cuban planters briefly imported Mayan Indian laborers from the Yucatan (Menéndez 1928, 1932); their approximations to Spanish were even documented by the lexicographer Esteban Pichardo in the 1848 edition of his dictionary of Cubanisms (1953 [1848]). Less well-known is the fact that a group of rebellious Afro-Cubans were exiled to the Yucatan region in 1795, following the Haitian slave uprisings (Fernández Repetto and Negroe Sierra 1995: 54-57). The black Cubans were relocated in a settlement known as San Fernando Aké, near Tizimín. This location was chosen since it was far from both Mérida and Campeche, and its isolation would prevent any further uprisings by its residents. Although the climate and working conditions evidently precluded a significant population increase, blacks from other areas eventually made their way to Aké. At the high point of population, in the early 19th century, the town contained Mandingas, 'Senegales,' Congos, 'criollos de Santo Domingo,' and (presumed free blacks) from Charleston, New York, and Jamaica. The principal language of the community was reported to be 'French,' but given the makeup of the community it is more likely that Creole French was in use. Further research may reveal the true nature of this transitory Afro-creole community in the Yucatan, as well as the nature of Afro-indigenous-Spanish language contacts.

A considerable body of circumstantial evidence combines to suggest an empirically verifiable linguistic correlate of Afro-indigenous influences on Mexican Spanish, namely the realization of word-final /s/. The apparent immunity of Mexican syllable- and word-final /s/ to aspiration and elision can be partially attributed to a prosodic innovation resulting in the reduction of unstressed vowels and the concomitant lengthening of adjacent /s/. At the same time, demographic and sociolinguistic shifts within colonial and post-colonial Mexico resulted in an ever greater prominence of the Mexico City dialect, while the developing sociolinguistic self-identity of the latter community increasingly promoted consonant-strong pronunciation.

In general, urban Mexican Spanish, highly influenced by the prestige norms of Mexico City, is characterized by an extremely strong final /s/, realized as a sibilant in nearly contexts. This prototypical Mexican final /s/ is not only more prominent than in most other Latin American and U. S. Spanish dialects (with the exception of the Andean region), but also resists effacement more than the dialects of Spain which provided input to colonial Mexican Spanish, even in Castile and the Basque Country. In earlier work (Lipski 1994), I have suggested that the sibilant /s/ of contemporary urban Mexican Spanish is not simply a retention of the early colonial pronunciation, but rather stems from the large number of Nahuatl speakers who borrowed Spanish words with a strong final /s/ and subsequently recycled these words back into the evolving Mexican Spanish as later generations became fluent in that language. A detailed linguistic survey of final /s/ across Mexico reveals that aspiration and loss—the expected results of nearly 500 years of evolution beginning with 16th century Andalusian and Castilian pronunciation—is quite widespread in rural regions throughout the country. The prestige of large Mexican cities has superimposed a pronunciation originally restricted to the Nahuatl-speaking region to other Mexican areas where a weaker /s/ might be naturally expected. Finally, the weakest realizations of /s/ in modern Mexico can be correlated with the largest and longest-standing African populations throughout the country.

Several important texts purport to represent the pidginized Spanish of African *bozales* in 17th and 18th century Mexico. The most famous are some *villancicos* by Sor Juana Inés de

la Cruz; in addition, a handful of songs and poems have survived, representing Mexico City, Puebla, Veracruz and the Costa Chica of Oaxaca (cf. Meggenney 1985, Mendoza 1956, Stevenson 1974, 1975). The sum total of these early Afro-Mexican texts, while insufficient in themselves to document 17th century pronunciation, are completely consistent with *bozal* texts from Spain, Peru, Bolivia, Colombia and the Río Plata region as regards retention, modification and loss of syllable-final consonants (Lipski 1995). The early Afro-Mexican texts document incipient loss of final /s/ by the 17th century, particularly in noun phrases containing several instances of plural /s/. Loss of preconsonantal /s/ is still very sporadic, with only a handful of cases in the Sor Juana corpus: *Flasica* [*Francisca*], *fieta* [*fiesta*], *naquete* [*en aqueste*], etc. In Sor Juana, we find some of the first consistent hints of loss of plural /s/ in nouns when preceded by a plural article in which /s/ is generally retained: *las leina* [*las reinas*], *las melcede* [*las mercedes*], *lus nenglu* [*los negros*], *las paja* [*las pajas*], etc. A few later Afro-Mexican texts reflect a more systematic loss of final /s/, in which the original morphological conditioning is disappearing. For example, from 18th century Puebla comes *la mujere*; from the Costa Chica de Oaxaca come *adió*, *vite*, *pué*, *Dió*, *cota* < *costa*. If Andalusian Spanish were already weakening (but not eliminating) /s/ in these positions, e.g. to an aspiration, Africans, most of whose languages do not contain the distinction between strongly and weakly stressed syllables, might easily fail to perceive any sound at all. By extension, a similar conclusion can be extended to coastal areas of Mexico such as Veracruz and Acapulco, where reduction of syllable-final /s/ now prevails. The first Afro-Mexican texts to suggest widespread weakening of /s/ in this region come from the 18th century. Even then, the fact that such pronunciation was attributed (by white writers) to Afro-mestizos indicates that at the beginning of the 18th century at least, the change was still primarily confined to the lowest sociolinguistic strata.

Although African slaves were used throughout Mexico, the largest stable concentrations, at times comprising entire towns, were found in coastal lowland regions. Africans employed in agriculture, both small-scale and on plantations, worked under conditions which were more propitious the formation of stable population nuclei. Traditional descriptions of Mexico in which either the formation of the principal dialects or the effects of the African slave trade are mentioned concentrate on a handful of major urban regions. These include the port of Veracruz, through which the vast majority of slaves entered Mexico, Puebla, which contained a major slave distribution center, Mexico City, the glittering viceregal capital in which numerous Africans worked in close contact with white Spanish speakers, and mining areas such as Zacatecas, Aguascalientes, Querétaro, San Luís Potosí, Parral, and Guanajuato. However, a closer look at the history of Mexico reveals a much more widespread presence of Africans, in proportions which often far exceeded in importance the contribution of indigenous elements. Moreover, while some areas in which /s/-reduction is common do not coincide with the proximity of any major port (although often representing coastal lowlands), the correlation between extreme /s/-weakening and the former presence of large Afro-Hispanic communities is much stronger. In fact it is only in the central provinces including Mexico City, Puebla, Michoacán, Guanajuato, etc., which once contained a large African population, where a formerly large African population is not correlated with /s/-weakening. In these regions, the African population, while still ethnically distinct, was overwhelmed by and eventually absorbed into the indigenous and mestizo masses, and after the early 18th century (i.e. at the time when

/s/-weakening seems to have acquired momentum in Mexico), the distinctively Afro-Mexican component of these cities declined rapidly. In order to search for a correlation between /s/-weakening and a former African ethnolinguistic presence, it is necessary to investigate areas removed from ports which directly received Andalusian/Caribbean influences, but in which the African population remained prominent until much later.

The case of the port of Acapulco is illustrative. This town represented the principal nucleus of Spanish commerce on Mexico's Pacific coast. Ships at times travelled northward from Panama to Acapulco, but the port grew in importance with the establishment of trade routes to the Philippines. The Hispanization of the Philippines was channeled through Acapulco, and the decidedly Mexican cast to both Philippine Spanish (Lipski 1987a) and the Spanish-based creoles of the Philippines (Lipski 1992) results from this route. In general, Acapulco was a point for exportation of Mexican Spanish, rather than the importation of dialectal features from other countries. It is known that African slaves were at times brought to Acapulco via Manila, where they had been purchased from Portuguese slave traders working along the East African coast. However, the probability that Acapulco absorbed 'Andalusian' phonetic traits with the same regularity as occurred, for example, in Caribbean ports, is very low. Moreno de Alba and López Chávez (1987) reject the explanation of Menéndez Pidal (1962) according to which the Pacific ports of Mexico received the same 'Andalusian' influence as ports on the Gulf coast. They note that the visits of all ships, those coming from Peru or Panama and the Manila Galleon, were very brief, and occurred only a few times each year. Moreover, the town was always very small, rarely exceeding a few hundred inhabitants, except for the annual fairs which coincided with the arrival of the Manila Galleon. The voyager Gemelli Carreri, in 1697, described Acapulco as follows: 'me parece que debería dársele el nombre de humilde aldea de pescadores, mejor que el engañoso de primer mercado del mar del Sur y escala de la China ... no habitan allí más que negros y mulatos ... y rara vez se ve en aquel lugar algún nacido en él de color aceitunado. Terminada la feria ... se retiran los comerciantes españoles ... y así queda despoblada la ciudad' (Carreri 1946: 6-15). This description almost exactly fits another Afro-Hispanic village which enjoyed prominence during the Spanish colonial maritime trade, Portobelo Panama, and in which the remaining Afro-Panamanian population (the *negros congos* – Lipski 1989) still retain traces of distinctive Afro-Hispanic speech. More than a century later, when Humboldt visited Acapulco in 1811, he observed that 'la población de esta miserable ciudad, habitada casi exclusivamente por hombres de color, asciende a nueve mil almas cuando llega la Nao de China, pero ordinariamente no pasa de cuatro mil' (Humboldt 1966: 156). With respect to Humboldt's account, Moreno de Alba and López Chávez (1987: 314) comment 'resulta difícil imaginar que este contacto de menos de un mes al año ... influyera de manera desiva en la fonética de los acapulqueños (negros y mulatos, pues los españoles prácticamente no vivían ahí).' In fact, it is possible to consider matters from the opposite perspective. Given that the population of Acapulco was predominantly of African origin, if any carryovers from earlier *bozal* speech patterns were to be found in Mexico, it would certainly be in such a region. When the population of Acapulco began to grow rapidly, beginning in the final decades of the 19th century and occurring explosively during the 20th century, the majority of the population represented new arrivals from other areas of Mexico. Typically, the latter would retain a stronger final /s/, particularly if they came from middle or upper classes based in urban

central Mexico. The characteristically Afro-Hispanic /s/-weakening pronunciation would then be relegated to progressively lower and more marginal sociolinguistic strata. Racial mixture and arrival of an overwhelming mestizo population has rendered the Afro-American population of Acapulco almost invisible, but the population which occupies the same social position as the earlier Afro-American residents has adopted the latter's phonetic patterns.

Another case discussed by Moreno de Alba and López Chávez is Mazatlán, which although nominally founded in the 17th century, came into stable existence towards the end of the 18th century. As late as 1796, the village then known as San Félix had only 19 inhabitants, all of African descent. In 1817, the population was only 21. López Chávez and Moreno de Alba (1987: 315) query '¿Puede pensarse que la relajación consonántica propia del habla de Mazatlán se debe a influencia andaluza y se explique por razones histórico-sociales semejantes a las que Menéndez Pidal proporciona para el andalucismo de la costa del golfo de México y las Antillas?' Once more, the question appears to have been stated backwards. The population of Mazatlán grew from this original nucleus, in which the weakening of /s/ was not related to date of foundation, nor to 'Andalusian' routes of maritime commerce. The Afro-American population of early colonial Mazatlán reduced final /s/ due to the combination of an originally /s/-weak patrimonial Spanish brought to Mexico, and of the further reduction characteristic of *bozal* speech, which under conditions of marginality and the absence of normative (white) speech patterns, persisted beyond the first generation.

Similar patterns of population define regions of Mexico in which reduction of /s/ occurs among the lowest sociolinguistic strata. Rural Sonora, for example, is characterized by high rates of aspiration of /s/, in syllable-final and word-initial position. This occurs despite the lack of any colonial port or other contact with lowland/maritime varieties of the language. During the colonial period, the population of African origin in Saltillo and its environs was quite significant (cf. Valdés 1989). As late as 1793, Sonora had some 8000 white residents, as opposed to 3000 mulattoes and an undetermined but large number of blacks (Aguirre Beltrán 1972: 228). Zacatecas at one point had a significant black population, drawn by the prosperous mines. A document from the 17th century (León-Portilla et al. 1974: 229-30) describes the city of Zacatecas as having some 800 blacks and mulattoes, as opposed to perhaps 2000 Spaniards. Even further to the north, the mining boom town of Parral (in the present state of Chihuahua) had a large black population in the 17th and early 18th centuries (cf. Mayer 1974). Following the decline of mining, this region fell into marginality, and although located in nominally /s/-retaining northern Mexico, much of rural Chihuahua state is characterized by aspiration of /s/. Speculating even further, since for almost two centuries the political and economic lifeline of the isolated colony of New Mexico was the *camino real* between Santa Fe and Chihuahua, and the massive trade fairs in the latter city (cf. Moorhead 1958), it is even conceivable that the highly weakened /s/ of northern New Mexican Spanish received at least some indirect contribution from the former Afro-Mexican population of Chihuahua.

In the state of Coahuila, Saltillo also had a large black population, at times approaching 40% of the total, well towards the end of the 18th century (Valdés and Dávila 1989). The northern state of Tamaulipas, formerly known as Nuevo Santander, also sustained a significant black slave population (Herrera Casasús 1989). Jones (1979) documents a not insignificant African presence in Nuevo León and other north-central Mexican states during the colonial

period. The Spanish *visitador* Nicolás de Lafora, who visited numerous outposts in northern New Spain in 1766, encountered significant *mulato* populations in the regions corresponding to the modern Mexican states of Querétaro, Durango, Zacatecas, Chihuahua, and Coahuila, as well as into New Mexico (Lafora 1939).

In the contemporary Spanish of the northern Mexican states, /s/-weakening does not occur at rates comparable to coastal regions. However, some of the existent patterns of /s/-weakening coincide strikingly with manifestations of /s/-weakening in earlier Afro-Hispanic language. For example in parts of Coahuila, final /s/ aspirates most frequently in the verbal ending /-mos/, precisely as in earlier *bozal* language (Gavaldón 1970). At the vernacular level, weakening of /s/ is even more prevalent, extending to many cases of word-final, word-initial and intervocalic /s/, as would be predicted by a model of early /s/-weakening followed by the superposition of an /s/-retaining pronunciation. The conclusion to be drawn from the preceding considerations is that in those regions of Mexico where a population of African origin remained demographically prominent for long periods of time, and where normative urban influences were slow in penetrating, an African slave population learning Spanish for the first time under adverse conditions further extended the reduction of final /s/. However, the mere former presence of an African population was not sufficient to inspire widespread weakening of /s/, as witnessed by the dialects of Mexico City, Puebla, Zacatecas, etc. The African component to /s/-weakening in Mexico only abetted a process which was already progressing unfettered; Afro-Mexican Spanish cannot be implicated in the initiation of such changes.

The combined weight of the evidence surveyed above points to the conclusion that, beginning perhaps in the first decades of the 18th century, the pronunciation of syllable-final /s/ in colonial Mexico was already showing some signs of weakening. Collateral evidence from Afro-Hispanic texts, beginning in Golden Age Spain and including the 17th century Afro-Mexican texts considered above, indicate that, at least in certain combinations such as the verbal desinence /-mos/, the dialects of southern Spain (Andalusia) and most of Spanish America were providing such a weak model of word-final /s/ that African *bozales* perceived no sound at all. Preconsonantal /s/ was apparently just beginning to weaken, as was word-final /s/ in other contexts. Prior to this time period, neither Afro-Hispanic texts nor Hispanisms taken into indigenous languages give evidence of systematic weakening of /s/. Given this state of affairs, and in view of the unidirectional tendencies of /s/-weakening which have been observed throughout the history of Romance, a progressively higher level of /s/-weakening would be expected in zones which remained untouched by contrary tendencies. Such a combination of linguistic isolation, drift, and unchecked evolution of an incipient process of consonantal reduction, characterizes the speech of such regions as northern New Mexico, northwestern Sonora, Sinaloa, Baja California, etc.

In effect, what requires explanation is not the weakening of syllable-final /s/ throughout much of Mexico, but rather its extraordinary resistance precisely in the central region which fell under the political, economic, and linguistic sway of Mexico City. The almost total lack of /s/-weakening in the central dialects could embody an arrested state of development, which went unchecked in other regions, or it could represent a later restoration in a region where a higher level of /s/-weakening had already been attained. At present, there is insufficient information to

make a definitive choice, but available data indicate that a combination of factors may have been at work, and that both eventualities may in fact have been realized.

In theory, it is possible that /s/-weakening in contemporary Mexico results from later selective Peninsular immigration to /s/-retaining and /s/-weakening regions of Mexico. There is, however, no trustworthy documentation of such systematic immigration from Spain to Mexico at any time period following the initial settlement of Spanish-speaking cities. Quite to the contrary, by the beginning of the 18th century, the Mexican commercial and social elite enjoyed both prestige and power, even though certain political positions were still given preferentially to Peninsular-born Spaniards. Mexican Spanish had reached a critical mass, and while imitation of European styles and manners might continue among the aristocracy, there is little evidence that any Peninsular linguistic variety was imitated. The lack, in Mexican Spanish, of *zeta* /θ/, uvular /x/, the pronoun *vosotros*, and consistent use of apicoalveolar /s/, indicates that later imitation of the Castilian prestige standard never successfully displaced evolving Mexican patterns (although these items may have been used by some native-born Mexicans, as well as by Peninsular immigrants). At the same time, none of the other features which characterize Andalusian Spanish coincide in all the areas of Mexico in which /s/-weakening occurs; this includes velarization of /n/, pharyngeal pronunciation [h] of /x/, and loss of final /r/, especially in verbal infinitives. From this it can be safely concluded that no later colonial linguistic influence from Spain shaped the pronunciation of /s/ in Mexico.

Occurring together with unstressed vowel reduction was the gradual creation of a Mexico City prestige dialect, in which retention of final consonants, particularly sibilant [s], came to be identified with the *habla culta*. Perhaps the most important single factor contributing to the formation of a powerful prestige standard in Mexico City was the city's enormous size, compared with other colonial cities, and its rapid transition to self-sufficiency and high self-esteem. Almost from the beginning, Mexico City was by far the largest city in Spanish America, attaining population figures so high as to make the developing dialect nearly impervious to the effects of subsequent immigration. This is strikingly different from other Latin American cities, where well into the 19th century the populations were often so small as to allow for massive immigration to change the developing speech patterns. The explosive demographic growth that has turned former colonial centers into impersonal urban sprawls has occurred within the past century or less (cf. Sánchez Albornoz 1974).

The centralizing influence of the Mexico City prestige standard has had profound consequences for Mexican dialectology, since the phonologically conservative, /s/-retaining dialect of the capital city is now heard throughout the nation, on radio and television. Areas such as Acapulco and Veracruz, where the original vernacular reduced /s/ and maintained unstressed vowels unaltered, are increasingly adopting the consonant-strong, vowel-weak dialect of the capital. The strong pronunciation of final /s/ found in (urban areas of) Mexico's northernmost states may also reflect later stages of Mexico City Spanish. Most of Coahuila, Tamaulipas, Chihuahua, and Nuevo León were not effectively settled until well into the 18th century, and a majority of settlers came from the central provinces surrounding Mexico City (cf. Jones 1979, Lister and Lister 1966). These dates of settlement are well past the postulated weakening of /s/ in peripheral Mexican dialects, and the corresponding retention of sibilant final [s] in Mexico City. The pronunciation of northern New Mexico partially confirms these

observations, since for more than two centuries the Spanish communities centered on Santa Fe (and also at El Paso del Norte) constituted a remote enclave, separated by nearly 1000 miles from the nearest large Spanish settlements in Mexico. New Mexico Spanish was formed during the period when /s/-weakening was generalized in most of peripheral Mexico, and New Mexico never received later infusions of colonists from central Mexico. Beginning in the 18th century, the intervening areas of Mexico were settled, often adopting the strong sibilant [s] of central Mexico. Thus a dialectal map of `Mexican' Spanish contains a discontinuity; New Mexican /s/ is substantially weaker than northern Mexican varieties, while bearing a greater similarity to peripheral Mexican dialects which were settled much earlier, e.g. much of Sonora, Sinaloa, Nayarit.

An intriguing possibility in seeking to account for the resistance of final /s/ in central Mexican Spanish involves a mutual resonance between Spanish and indigenous (principally Nahuatl-speaking) linguistic communities. The area centered on Mexico City in which sibilant final [s] is most prevalent coincides not only with the early provinces administered directly from the Mexican capital, but also with the territory in which Spanish-Nahuatl contacts were most systematic and profound, at times verging on symbiotic. Precisely in these central regions the Spaniards encountered a well-organized indigenous society, with an extensive and modularized administrative infrastructure which had been resilient enough to survive the numerous internecine wars which preceded the arrival of the first Europeans. Those indigenous residents who did not remain in their own self-contained communities lived outside the walls of the Spanish cities. As the cities grew, together with *mestizaje* and semi-licit contacts of all sorts, more and more *indios* moved to `Spanish' neighborhoods, despite repeated mandates by Spanish authorities to maintain an `apartheid' system of segregated neighborhoods. As the colony developed, Spanish-indigenous contacts began to deepen. Spanish families, at first through the medium of household servants and then personally, began to frequent `Indian' markets to obtain basic provisions, and Spanish entrepreneurs established businesses in indigenous neighborhoods. Nahua boys were trained as interpreters and later as sacristans and lay ministers, and were probably instrumental in furthering the incorporation of Hispanisms into Nahuatl. In these zones of extensive social and economic contact, bilingualism was frequent, and in particular a large number of Spanish speakers learned at least some Nahuatl. The importance of the latter language for Spaniards living in Mexican cities is attested by the numerous Nahuatl grammars and phrase-books written with the express purpose of enabling Spaniards to better communicate with their indigenous neighbors.

A course of events something like the following may have affected the articulation of final /s/ in central Mexican Spanish. During the most intense period of Spanish loanword assimilation into Nahuatl (Lockhart 1992's `period II,' roughly from 1550-1650), the still strongly sibilant Spanish final /s/ was borrowed into Nahuatl as [ŷ] or later [s]. Since a process of aspiration of syllable-final /s/ never affected Nahuatl, established Spanish borrowings containing this configuration would continue to exhibit [s], even when /s/ was weakened in surrounding Spanish dialects. This can be seen, for example, in the Veracruz area, where early Spanish borrowings into Nahuatl such as *cristiano* continue to retain syllable-final [s], while apparently later Spanish borrowings often alternate syllable-final [s] with [h] (cf. Wolgemuth 1969: 4). Spanish borrowings containing syllable-final /s/ = [s] would affect indigenous

speakers' acquisition of Spanish, even past the point where regional Spanish dialects had begun to weaken /s/. Nahuatl speakers who already recognized an incorporated Hispanism as containing [s] would likely retain the sibilant upon 'acquiring' the same word in Spanish. Once more, a variation between [s] and [h] in locally received Spanish would not be relevant to Nahuatl speakers, whose language exhibited no such alternation. Indeed, final [h] sometimes alternates with a glottal stop in Nahuatl adaptations of Spanish loanwords ending in a vowel. Had the received Spanish pronunciation consistently exhibited final [h], this latter sound could have been systematically incorporated as such in Nahuatl. The general lack of any such loan adaptations indirectly demonstrates that weakening of Spanish final /s/ was always variable at best, in Spanish-Nahuatl contact zones. The Nahuatl preference for Spanish final [s] is also reflected in the frequent presence of a non-etymological final [s] in Spanish loanwords (cf. Karttunen 1985: 111-114). This [s] was never added for purely phonotactic purposes (unlike the regular addition of [h] to vowel-final words), but rather because of the frequent appearance of final /s/ in Spanish plurals, evidently articulated as [s] in most instances.

Since Nahuatl consistently borrowed Spanish final /s/ as [s], despite possible alternation with [h] in local Spanish dialects beginning towards the end of the 17th century, and since an undetermined but large number of Nahuas supplemented their acquisition of Spanish with already-assimilated loanwords in Nahuatl, the earlier Spanish pronunciation would be 'trapped' within the Nahuatl-Spanish interface, like a fly in amber. Nahuatl speakers acquiring Spanish would reach for the earlier pronunciation embedded in the Hispanisms of their own language, in preference to the often more eroded pronunciation of final /s/ in the Spanish of the day. In areas and for time periods where Nahuatl-speaking bilinguals or their immediate descendants dominated the Hispanophone population, the earlier adaptation of Spanish final /s/ as [s] in Nahuatl would exercise a retarding and even repelling influence on the erosion of Spanish /s/.

3. Afro-indigenous language contacts in Peru and Bolivia

African slaves and their descendants were found in Peru from the earliest colonial periods to well into post-colonial independence, but the demographic distribution and geographical location varied across time, as did the interaction with speakers of Spanish. The Spanish government's interest in Peru and Alto Peru (now part of Bolivia), revolved around exploitable mineral wealth. The city of Lima was established in the coastal lowlands, originally as a supply point in a centrally-located region free from hostile indigenous groups. Although Lima eventually grew to be an important viceregal city, this growth was fueled by the mines of the southern highlands. Rich silver deposits were being exploited in southern Peru, and the world's richest silver lode was discovered in Potosí, a remote mountainous area. Indigenous residents had always mined small amounts of silver, but were unwilling to undertake the intensive mining demanded by the Spanish. Attempts to press local laborers into quasi-slavery in the mines were never successful, and new labor supplies were urgently required. The use of African slaves had already been authorized for other areas of Spanish America, to replace dwindling indigenous workers, and African slaves were carried to the highland mines of Bolivia and Peru (Bowser 1974; Bridikhina 1995; Crespo 1977; Cuche 1981; Gobierno Municipal de la Paz 1993; Harth-Terré 1971, 1973; Luciano Huapaya 1995; Millones Santagadea 1973; Luciano

and Rodríguez Pastor 1995; Pizarroso Cuenca 1977; Portugal Ortiz 1977; Tardieu 1993). Few demographic traces remain of these first African arrivals, for several reasons. Nearly all were adult males, who were deprived of opportunities for procreation. Mortality rates were extremely high; the combination of altitude, cold temperatures, inadequate nourishment and harsh working conditions ravaged the slave population.

Although three-way language contacts involving African and Andean languages together with Spanish began by the mid-16th century, it is not until the late 18th century that attestations—coincidentally embedded in literary texts—confirm what was clearly a widespread phenomenon. The 'Entremés del Huamanguino entre un Huantino y una Negra para la Navidad en el Monasterio del Carmen de Huamanga, año de 1797' (cf. appendix #1) was signed by 'una R. R. Madre del Monasterio de Santa Teresa para su representación en la Navidad del año 1797.' If this attribution is correct, then at least some Peruvian nuns were engaged in literary pastimes similar to those of Sor Juana, in another American colony, a century earlier. The 'Entremés del Huamanguino' is important not only as a source of information on *bozal* Spanish in 18th century highland Peru, but in a more general fashion as the first indication of what was apparently an important genre of popular theater in colonial Peru. This theater, according to Ugarte Chamorro (1974: LIII) was 'esencialmente popular y mestizo, caracteres éstos que se revelan con especial nitidez al través de las formas peculiares del habla castellano--quechua de sus personajes, formas lingüísticas en las que reside, básicamente, la razón de sus regocijantes escenas. Al respecto, resulta también muy interesante la presencia de la *Negra* con su jerigonza característica.' Unfortunately, nothing else is known about the author of this work, or the circumstances of its composition. The Quechua of the *Huamanguino* is accurate, as is the intercalation of Spanish and Quechua segments in the speech of the indigenous characters. The *negra* introduces a few Quechua words into otherwise pidginized Spanish, except for a sentence in Quechua with archaic Spanish borrowings: *Y patacuna tamana? `Y los tamaños patacones?'* [old silver coins]. Neither the indigenous characters nor the *Negra* are portrayed flatteringly, but neither does the play contain the crude stereotyping and puns of the Golden Age *habla de negros*. The linguistic characteristics of *bozal* speech are all found in independently verified specimens of Afro-Hispanic speech, and the black woman's use of occasional Quechua elements is consistent with the living patterns of black servants and slaves in highland areas. In the balance, this text provides an important insight into a period of Afro-colonial history that is scarcely represented by other documentation.

The other highland Afro-Peruvian language fragment comes from the 'Entremés para la Navidad que se ha de representar en el Monasterio del Carmen, siendo recrecionera la señora Sor Manuela Gálvez'. This play (cf. appendix #2) was written in 1828 in Ayacucho, and is linguistically very similar to the play from Huamanga. Despite the apparent attribution of authorship, this text is essentially as anonymous as its predecessor, since nothing is known about 'Sor Manuela Gálvez'; in fact, Ugarte Chamorro (1974: lxxxviii) disputes this authorship. In this *entremés*, the black character speaks much more Quechua, but a broken Quechua that can be reconstructed by contemporary speakers only with some difficulty (cf. Ugarte Chamorro 1974: lxxxvii), in addition to interspersing Quechua words into Spanish discourse (e.g. *aronde está ra zapato, OPA MACHO* 'where are the shoes, old fool?'). María also produces intrasentential and intersentential switches, always from Quechua to Spanish, e.g.:

Esta tu nengra, *amuyay* [amo mío]
 como no sabe rezá
 ¿qué riciendo aorará?
no yachancho, taytay [no sabe, mi señor]
 ¡ay! *cumuyuray, niñoyay* [cómo llora, mi niño]
 lleva uté a tu *masiquita* [semejante]

The language, although not as highly deformed as in the Huamanga text, is consistent with other reproductions of Afro-Hispanic pidgin, which lends credence to the author's depiction of the black servant's broken Quechua. The authors of both plays were obviously bilingual Quechua-Spanish speakers, who found Africans' limited proficiency in either language as amusing and worthy of inclusion in their literary texts. Presumably, these two surviving plays are merely part of what was once a much more widespread literary production, more of which may come to light one day. As the sole surviving documents of an important period in the history of *bozal* language, these plays cannot be dismissed as mere imitations or humorous broadsides. In these texts, the black characters shift into Quechua, thus constituting the only known Afro-Hispanic texts which document what must have been a much more widespread phenomenon, the use of indigenous languages by African slaves.

In the two above-mentioned Afro-indigenous texts from Peru, the linguistic traits suggest both African and Quechua influences. Common to Afro-Hispanic language but nonexistent in Spanish-Quechua interlanguage are:

- (1) elimination of syllable- and word-final consonants, particularly /s/ and /r/;
- (2) neutralization of /l/ and /r/;
- (3) realization of prevocalic /d/ as [r];
- (4) use of the invariant copula *son*;
- (5) intrusive nasalization, as in *negre* < *negro*;

Found among Quechua-influenced interlanguages but not normally present in Afro-Hispanic language are:

- (1) OV word order (e.g. *tu mi casuera yeba* in the 'Huamangino');
- (2) Realization of /x/ as [k] (*vieco* < *viejo*);
- (3) Use of the Quechua diminutive in *-ay*: *taytay, amuyay, mamayay*;
- (4) use of the gerund instead of finite verbs: *¿qué diciendo aorará* in the Ayacucho text...

In the balance, the Spanish language fragments of these texts (as opposed to the portions entirely in Quechua) reflect more African-influenced traits than characteristics attributable to Andean languages, but to the extent that the imitations are accurate, a picture of hybrid Afro-indigenous Spanish begins to emerge.

These texts are similar to other better-known Latin American examples, such as the anonymous *Güegüense* from colonial Nicaragua (Brinton 1884, Elliot 1884, Henríquez Ureña 1938), exhibiting fluent Nahuatl-Spanish code switching, and the poem *Diálogo cantado entre un guajiro dominicano y un papá bocó haitiano en un fandango en Dajabón* (1874) by the Dominican satirist Juan Antonio Alix (1961), in which the Haitian alternates smoothly between Haitian Creole and Spanish. In the Afro-indigenous Peruvian texts the relative grammaticality of

the Quechua segments as compared to the more distorted Spanish fragments is illustrative of the social condition of African *bozales* in colonial Peru.

The African population rapidly dwindled in modern Bolivia (known in colonial times as Alto Perú), although an identifiable Afro-American population still remains in the Yungas to the east of La Paz. It is difficult to distinguish those early colonial Afro-Hispanic texts from Bolivia and those from the remainder of Perú. Only two anonymous 17th century songs, both written in the Peninsular *habla de negro*, can be traced to Bolivia. One is the *bozal* song 'Esa noche yo baila' (Claro 1974: lxxv-lxxvii). Yet another anonymous text from Alto Peru, apparently written in the late 17th or early 18th century, is the *villancico* 'Afuela apalta' (Fortún de Ponce 1957: 122f.). Following these early examples, which suggest no independent Afro-Hispanic language in Bolivia, but rather the literary imitation of established Peninsular stereotypes, the Afro-Bolivian corpus is nonexistent until the beginning of the 20th century, when a few stories representing the late 19th century (Appendix #3) uncritically attribute to black Bolivians a language which contains some *bozal* characteristics (Paredes 1984: 299f.; 1987: 146f.). The contemporary Afro-Bolivian population, almost entirely concentrated in the Yungas to the east of La Paz, has intermarried with the Aymaras, most speak Aymara as well as Spanish, and identify themselves as more Aymara than black. The purported contemporary Afro-Bolivian texts contain legitimate eastern Bolivian regional characteristics, particularly diminutives in *-ingo* and aspiration of preconsonantal /s/. Within the central Yungas valleys, however, reduction of /s/ is not a normal concomitant; in fact this region shares with the Bolivian Altiplano a very resistant syllable-final /s/. Among the remaining features of the Afro-Bolivian texts, few are typical of Aymara interference, which is usually characterized by reduction of the Spanish 5-vowel system to three vowels, a tendency towards OV word order, pleonastic or non-agreeing direct object *lo* in combination with inanimate object noun phrases, and a wide gamut of lapses in subject-verb and noun-adjective agreement. This is exemplified in a Bolivian story (Pizarroso 1977: 111-115), whose black character speaks 'en su castellano peculiar y tonadeante que posée esta raza de color' (p. 111), but which is in reality an Aymara-based interlanguage (appendix #4). Despite these examples, Spedding (1995: 324) asserts that Afro-Bolivians 'speak a dialect of local Spanish with an accent and styles of expression different from those used by Aymara-Spanish bilingual speakers,' while the language of the Afro-Bolivian community of Chicaloma is described as '... el aymara y el castellano con ciertas variantes fonológicas' (Gobierno Municipal de la Paz 1993: 6).

These putative Afro-Bolivian texts also contain a few traits suggestive of an African contribution. Conversion of syllable-final /r/ to /l/ does not normally occur anywhere in Bolivia, while the shift /r/ > [l] in onset clusters and the change of intervocalic /d/ to [l] are exclusively Afro-Hispanic phenomena, documented since the early 17th century. It would appear that some form of Africanized Spanish characterized by these phonetic traits at the very least may have persisted in isolated Bolivian areas at least through the end of the 19th century. Ethnolinguistically marked language in folk literature almost invariably represents the speech of groups who have existed within living memory. Once the group in question has disappeared, or has shed its distinctive ethnolinguistic markers, subsequent generations of story tellers and listeners are no longer amused by linguistic stereotypes which they have never heard. The

recovery of Afro-Bolivian languages remains one of the most urgent tasks facing scholars who trace the development of Afro-Hispanic language in Latin America.

4. Afro-indigenous linguistic contacts in Ecuador

Although Ecuador is not one of the Latin American areas normally associated with large African populations, the Afro-Ecuadoran component may be as high as 25% of the national total (Rout 1976: 211, 232; Whitten et al. 1995; Preciado Bedoya 1995). The majority of the black and mulatto population is concentrated in the northwest sector, principally in Esmeraldas province, where over 80% of the residents are of African origin. Guayaquil once contained a large black population (Garay Arellano 1988a, 19988b, 1992; Jurado Noboa 1990a), although subsequent events changed the demographic profile of that city. Even Quito contained a considerable black population, not only in the early colonial years, but through the end of the 18th century (Castro Chiriboga 1990; García 1990; Jibaja Rubio 1988, 1990; Lucena Salmoral 1994). Smaller African populations were found in other highland towns, such as Loja (Anda Aguirre 1993). Although Afro-indigenous language contact presumably occurred throughout the country during the first century or two of Spanish colonization, the only stable Afro-indigenous interface which has remained to be studied is concentrated in the highland Chota Valley. In the highlands, the predominant racial type is the indigeneous or *mestizo* configuration, together with the small European population, and black or mulatto residents are quite rare in highland Ecuador. The one exception to this demographic trend is the Chota river valley and its environs, in north-central Ecuador in the provinces of Imbabura and Carchi. This valley, formerly known as El Valle Sangriento and Coangue, is a tropical lowland surrounded by Andean uplands, and the population of the Chota region is almost entirely black with some mulattoes, in contrast to the exclusively indigeneous/*mestizo* population of neighboring areas (Klumpp 1970). The Chota valley consists of some 10-15 small villages, with a variable population that probably does not exceed a total of 15,000, and the visual impact of travelling through this region is striking, for upon leaving the city of Ibarra and rounding a curve in the mountains to the north, the traveller descends a vertiginous stretch of the Pan American highway, and discovers a tropical sugar-growing area whose population is almost entirely black (Ferndon 1950: 7). The origin of this singular black population in highland Ecuador is surrounded by a great uncertainty; some investigators have suggested that *choteños* are descended from freed or escaped slaves from the coastal province of Esmeraldas, but it appears that most of the blacks in Imbabura and Carchi provinces are descendents of slaves held by the Jesuits on their extensive plantations. Up until the middle of the 18th century, the wealth of the Jesuit order was considerable in Ecuador, and in Carchi and Imbabura province the order owned a number of sugar plantations, each of which had its own mill and refinery. Among the more prosperous centers were La Concepción, Santa Lucía, el Chamanal, Carpuela, Santiago, Chorlaví and Cuájara (Coronel Feijóo 1988, 1991; Whitten 1965: 161-162; González Suárez 1970: 160; Chalá 1992). Most of these estates still exist, as do the settlements that arose around them, and when the Jesuits were expelled from Ecuador in 1767, most of these slaves simply changed masters, as the lands were taken over by Ecuadoran owners (Savoia 1992b, García Pólit 1992). Another fact shrouded in intrigue is the

establishment of black slave breeding centers owned and supervised by the Jesuits in the highland areas, with the aim of maintaining an adequate slave population while improving racial properties whenever possible. Obviously, it is difficult to uncover accurate documentation of this enterprise, which is nonetheless well-attested both in oral tradition and in historical references, but the fact is that when the Jesuits left Ecuador, behind them stayed a considerable group of slaves, freedmen and *cimarrones*, all of which gradually came to form the unified population nuclei of the Chota valley. It has even been claimed that much of the black population of Esmeraldas province derives from *choteños* who immigrated to the coast, but this remains to be demonstrated conclusively (Estupiñán Tello 1967: 49). Among the black residents of the Chota valley, oral traditions only make reference to the fact that the first black residents arrived from other unspecified lands, while in Esmeraldas there is no collective awareness of any immigration from the highlands to the coast.

According to Savoia (1992b: 147), the first black slaves arrived in the Chota valley (then still known as Coangue) in the last decades of the 16th century. Beginning in the 17th century, large-scale agriculture came to the valley, first in the form of vineyards and olive groves, and then sugar plantations. The Jesuits bought their first holdings in 1620. The Jesuits bought their slaves through the market at Cartagena, from 1627 through 1700. Savoia (1992b: 148) indicates that the Jesuits preferred *minas*, i.e. Akan-speaking Africans from the Gold Coast, then still dominated by Portuguese slave traders. By the middle of the 17th century, blacks and indigenous residents who had been brought from mountainous areas worked in the plantations of the Chota Valley. The Jesuit holdings increased, and by the end of the 17th century they were buying *carabalíes* (Igbo speakers) from English slave traders. A few years later, Bantu-speaking Africans from Congo/Angola arrived in the Chota Valley. From 1700-1767 the Jesuits imported thousands of African slaves to work in the Chota Valley plantations, and in other Jesuit estates throughout Ecuador. In 1767 the Jesuits were expelled from Ecuador, but the slaveholdings simply passed to other owners. However, the constantly changing ownership allowed for some slaves to escape and even form maroon communities (Costales and Costales 1990), and by the beginning of the 19th century, the black population of the Chota Valley was somewhat depleted.

Until recently, no serious research had been done on the Spanish dialect of the Chota Valley, and popular misconceptions about the 'coastal' and 'black' Spanish reputed to be spoken there were common in Ecuadorian society. Hassaurek (1868: 164), who travelled through Ecuador in 1861, noted, upon witnessing a celebration among *choteños* that 'I was unable to make out any of the verses, but my companions told me the songs were composed by the Negroes themselves, and in their own dialect. Like the Negroes of the United States, the Negroes of Spanish America have a dialect and pronunciation of their own. The same guttural voices and almost unintelligible pronunciation, the same queer gesticulation and shaking of the body, the same shrewd simplicity and good humor ...' It is evident that, regardless of his qualifications as an explorer and an anthropologist, Hassaurek was a questionable linguist, who was strongly influenced by stereotypes and generalizations that even in the 19th century were invalid for Hispanic American dialectology. The fact that the *choteños'* songs were incomprehensible to the visitor (who apparently was not entirely fluent in Spanish) says nothing essential about the local Spanish dialect, but rather exemplifies a natural phenomenon, the

phonetic deformation of sung language and the stylistic discrepancies between daily speech patterns and the lyrics of popular songs. During the course of my investigations, I interviewed Chota residents who were more than 90 years old, that is, who were born only a generation after Hassaurek's visit, and who stated (under indirect questioning) that neither their parents nor their grandparents had spoken any other than the popular regional dialects of Spanish.

Recent studies of Chota Spanish (Lipski 1986a, 1987b; Schwegler @) have concentrated on the search for traces of earlier Afro-Hispanic interlanguage or *bozal* remnants, dating to the time when African-born slaves lived in the Chota Valley. However, most of the features which distinguish vernacular Chota Spanish from other Spanish dialects and which suggest a stage of non-native interlanguage are characteristic of virtually all L₂ learners of Spanish: occasional lapses of noun-adjective and subject-verb agreement, missing or incorrectly used prepositions, and strange circumlocutions (cf. appendix #5). Moreover, black *choteños*, living in close proximity to neighboring indigenous populations in the surrounding mountains, frequently use constructions typical of highland Quechua-influenced Andean Spanish (e.g. OV word order and imperatives based on the *dame ...-ndo* construction):

dame comprando unas espermitas `buy me some candles`

ocupado estoy `I'm busy`

viéndote estoy `I see you`

As with the case of Afro-indigenous-Spanish language contacts in Mexico, the behavior of word-final /s/ in Chota Spanish is suggestive of the possible results of such three-way language encounters. Highland Ecuadoran Spanish is noteworthy among Latin American Spanish dialects for the tenacious resistance of syllable- and word-final /s/ to aspiration or effacement; this fact, coupled with the tendency to reduced unstressed vowels—especially in contact with /s/--gives final /s/ special prominence in this dialect cluster. As in Mexico, it is likely that the Quechua-speaking substrate has contributed to maintaining this early colonial trait alongside the more generally weakened /s/ characteristic of most of modern Spain and Latin America. Coastal Ecuadoran Spanish—and this includes the largely Afro-Ecuadoran province of Esmeraldas—shares with other coastal Latin American dialects a weakly aspirated or deleted final /s/. Chota Valley Spanish in general maintains final /s/ unmodified, thus departing significantly from other `black` varieties of Spanish in Latin America. When final /s/ is weakened in the Chota dialect (and /s/-weakening is significantly more frequent in Chota Spanish than in surrounding highland dialects), it normally is deleted rather than aspirated, suggesting morphological rather than phonetic motivation. Substantially the same configuration is found in the Spanish of Equatorial Guinea, where the Castilian strong final /s/ is frequently tempered by sporadic but persistent elimination of final /s/, but not by aspiration or other weakened varieties. Closer scrutiny of the behavior of word-final /s/ in *choteño* Spanish reveals that in nearly all cases, /s/ is lost when it is not morphologically significant. That is to say, loss of /s/ when only this consonant signals plural of nouns, second person singular of verbs, etc., is almost nonexistent in the Chota region, as in the rest of highland Ecuadoran Spanish, while in the case of lexical or grammatically redundant /s/, reduction is considerably more common. For example, in the verbal desinence *-mos*, the /s/ is redundant, as it is in such words as *Jesús*, *además*, *seis*, etc. The behavior of /s/ in the Chota dialect is at odds with other Ecuadoran dialects of Spanish, but is completely consistent with other attestations of semi-creolized and/or Africanized Spanish and Portuguese throughout the

world. From the earliest attestations of 'black' Spanish, found in literary documents of the 16th century, occasional loss of word-final /s/ was predominantly confined to the verbal endings in *-mos*, and in cases where the /s/ was solely lexical. Data from currently spoken Afro-Hispanic dialects where /s/ is not reduced in all phonetically weak contexts provide comparable configurations. In the Spanish of Equatorial Guinea, the only Spanish-speaking area of black Africa, /s/ is normally retained in all positions, but word-final lexical /s/ falls with relative ease (Lipski 1985, 1986b). The Colombian Chocó region exhibits a similar behavior, with non-morphological /s/ being lost more often than in other circumstances. Africanized Portuguese provides an identical panorama, for while no Portuguese dialect, past or present, reduces all instances of /s/ to the extent found in many Spanish dialects, loss of lexical /s/ was common in 15th and 16th century literary representations of 'black Portuguese', is found among currently spoken Portuguese-based creoles, and is a characteristic of many popular Brazilian Portuguese dialects, where African influence is not to be excluded. Since of all of the African languages known to have been current among black slave populations in Latin America, virtually none uses word-final consonantal desinences, it is not surprising that even in regions where word-final consonants are normally retained in Spanish, a subtle African substratum influence might weaken certain consonants under conditions of grammatical redundancy. Particularly with respect to the pronunciation of /s/, the Chota dialect differs from neighboring highland dialects, and suggests the possible existence of earlier, more creolized, varieties of Spanish among the black highlanders. At the same time, it is curious to note that most highland Ecuadorans who have come into contact with black *choteños* have the general impression that these Afro-Ecuadorans speak with a *costeño* accent, despite clear linguistic evidence to the contrary. From a purely linguistic point of view, it is probable that the highland Ecuadoran perceives, perhaps only subconsciously, the occasional loss of word-final /s/ in the Chota dialect, a feature absent from other nearby highland dialects. Moreover, the *choteño* frequently aspirates implosive /s/ in the word *mismo*, unlike neighboring highlanders, who pronounce the /s/ strongly, usually as [z], and who may reduce contiguous unstressed vowels (the very same phenomenon occurs in vernacular Angolan Portuguese, where *mesmo* is pronounced as *memo* while other instances of syllable-final /s/ remain unaffected). The other reason for the popular opinion that *choteños* speak with a coastal accent is the result of racial stereotyping, since the majority of black Ecuadorans are from the coastal province of Esmeraldas, whose phonetic characteristics are well known in the remainder of the country. Upon seeing a black face, many Ecuadorans automatically associate this with the *montuvio* (peasant) speech of the coastal provinces, which is reinforced by the writings of authors such as Nelson Estupiñán Bass, Adalberto Ortiz, and others, who have brought the speech of black *esmeraldeños* to national prominence. Many Ecuadorans, upon meeting a black *choteño*, are apparently so influenced by the racial features that they 'hear' the coastal dialect to a much greater extent than is objectively present, refusing to accept that a black Ecuadoran could speak with a highland accent.

5. (Afro-) Spanish in contact with Pacific languages

During the 19th century, several thousand Pacific islanders were forceably captured and transferred to nations around the Pacific rim. Pacific slavehunters or 'blackbirders,' although

largely supplying labor forces for colonies more to the west, at times brought their captives to Spanish-speaking Latin America, particularly the coastal islands of Peru and Chile. Smaller numbers were taken to Mexico, Guatemala, and other more remote Latin American countries. The fate of the Easter Islanders is the best known, since the island eventually became a territory of a Latin American nation and shared its documentary history with that of a larger sovereign power, but the Polynesia-Latin America connection reappeared in other moments of the slave trade (Lipski 1996a). The Peru-based slavers ranged throughout the South Pacific islands, and took significant numbers of captives from each island group. Most severely affected were the natives of the Gilbert Islands and Ellis Islands, with the latter islanders suffering proportionately more. During the 1860's, hundreds, perhaps thousands of Ellis Islanders were carried to Peru's coastal guano islands, and also to the saltpeter mines of Chile (Luke 1962: 160). Maude (1981) has suggested that fewer laborers ended up on the guano islands than is popularly believed, and that more were destined for mainland agricultural work and domestic service, but the matter continues to be the subject of debate. Gilbert and Ellis Islanders were also carried to plantations in Mexico and Guatemala (Robson 1946: 164). Little reliable information is available on the linguistic conditions which surrounded these forced expatriations of Pacific islanders, but few ever survived to return to their homelands (cf. Naval Intelligence Division 1944: 318), and the influence of the Spanish language on their respective islands was negligible. Since the slaving period in question was relatively short, it is unlikely that any stable pidgin or creole developed among the transplanted islanders, and no known sources documents the characteristics of the Spanish-Pacific linguistic contacts that must have occurred. In coastal Peru, the arrival of Pacific islanders coincided with the presence of the last group of African *bozales* as well as Chinese laborers, and it is likely that some symbiotic language contacts occurred over the period of several decades.

6. Afro-Chinese language contacts

In addition to the variety of Afro-American linguistic and cultural groups which added to the demographic mix in 19th century Cuba and Peru, and which interacted with *bozal* Spanish as spoken by African-born slaves and in some circumstances their immediate descendents, another group of imported laborers exercised a significant linguistic influence on late colonial Cuban Spanish. In the second half of the 19th century, Cuba received at least 150,000 Chinese laborers, who worked in the sugar plantations and mills as virtual slaves, side by side with Africans and workers from other Caribbean islands. The linguistic conditions surrounding the lives of Chinese laborers in Cuba closely parallels that of African *bozales*, and according to available evidence, Chinese workers' acquisition of Spanish followed similar paths. Moreover, the linguistic model for Chinese workers was frequently the speech of *bozales* who had already learned some Spanish, as well as the Spanish spoken as a second language by workers from (Afro-American creole speaking) Caribbean territories. Finally, since most of the Chinese were recruited through the Portuguese colony of Macau, where a Portuguese-based pidgin and creole was spoken among the native Chinese population, there exists the possibility that some of the Chinese workers added their knowledge of a Portuguese creole to the already rich mix of

creole and creoloid elements present in 19th century Cuba and to a lesser extent Peru (Lipski 1998, 1999a).

After the first decades of the 19th century, the efforts of European abolitionists, headed by the British, were seriously curtailing the African slave trade to Cuba. Cuban planters and Spanish authorities tried a number of sources to obtain workers, including the virtual commandeering of Yucatan natives (Menéndez 1928, 1932). This project did not yield the desired results, and before long the Spanish government turned to a labor source already known in Spanish America through commerce in the Spanish colony of the Philippines: the nearly inexhaustible labor force of China. In the following decades, several hundred thousand laborers would be taken to plantations in Cuba and coastal Peru, where most of them would remain indefinitely. In Cuba, the importation of Chinese laborers began in 1844, spurred by a black slave revolt in Matanzas. The Chinese were recruited through a process known ignominiously as *el enganche*, whereby Portuguese entrepreneurs in Macao would obtain laborers from neighboring Chinese areas between Macau and Canton, using methods which ranged from flattery and false promises to kidnapping; cf. Chang (1956), Chuffat (1927), Corbitt (1971), Deschamps and Pérez de la Riva (1974), Helly (1979), Jiménez Pastrana (1983), Martín 1939), Montalto de Jesus (1926: 399-412), Gomes (1957), Ordas Avecilla (1893), Pérez de la Riva (1966, 1978, Varela (1980). A comparable history of Chinese laborers in Peru is provided by Arona (1891), Bazán (1967), Díaz Canseco (1973), Fernández Montagne (1977), Rodríguez Pastor (1977, 1979, 1989), Sánchez (1952), Stewart (1976), Trazegnies Granda (1994), In Cuba, ethnic Chinese were often referred to as *chino Manila*, since for many Spanish subjects China was identified with the Philippine trade and the Manila Galleon, known as the *Nao de la China*, which brought Chinese merchandise to the port of Acapulco. However, most Chinese laborers taken to Cuba were from the Macao-Canton area, and spoke Cantonese. By 1853, Chinese immigration to Cuba was substantial, and the abuse of Chinese subjects increased to scandalous proportions, attracting much international attention, including human rights commissions in the United States.

From the beginning, relations between Chinese and Africans in Latin America were not cordial. Each group regarded the other with hostility and considered itself superior. Africans saw that some Chinese could purchase out their indentured contracts or otherwise 'buy their freedom,' and were technically subject to the same abject slavery as were Africans. Some plantation owners segregated Chinese and African workers in separate barracks to prevent conflict and violence, but even in these instances the two groups worked together in the fields, and in many cases also shared living quarters. Most Chinese brought to Cuba and Peru were men, and some married African women, thereby initiating the inevitable rapprochement of the two races. Common misery did the rest, and by the time of the Cuban independence wars of the late 1800's, it was a common sight for blacks and Chinese to fight together with Cubans of European origin as *mambises* or rebel fighters. Chinese-Cuban volunteers first fought in the Ten Years War (1868-1878), where many realized acts of heroism. In the wars of independence which began in 1895, Chinese Cubans also distinguished themselves; their participation was cut short by the United States invasion of Cuba in 1898. Until recently, there has been no linguistic research on Chinese laborers' acquisition of Spanish, the possible contributions of this Sino-Hispanic interlanguage to the ongoing development of Cuban and

coastal Peruvian Spanish, the possible contributions of Macao creole Portuguese to the speech of the coolies, and the interaction of Chinese-Spanish pidgin with other Spanish-based pidgins and creoles already present in Cuba when the Chinese workers arrived. In comparison with Africans in Cuba and Peru, the number of Chinese was small indeed, although once the Chinese moved to urban environments, their pidginized Spanish became nearly as familiar as the speech of African *bozales*.

As with *bozal* literary texts, even some transparently derivative literary texts which depict pidgin-speaking Chinese characters show substantially the same linguistic characteristics as authenticated instances of Chinese interference in Spanish. Some of the major linguistic features of these texts are as follows:

(1) The massive conversion of /r/ to [l] in all positions. This same change was frequently attributed to Africans during several centuries of Afro-Hispanic linguistic contacts in Spain and Latin America (Lipski 1995).

(2) Although Cantonese does allow some word-final consonants (normally /p/, /t/, /k/, and nasals), Chinese Spanish corpus does contain some examples of loss of syllable-final consonants, typically /r/, /s/, and /l/.

(3) In grammatical terms, there are almost no similarities between Cantonese and any first- or second-language variety of Spanish. Searching for direct grammatical interference from Cantonese is therefore a risky enterprise. There are, however, general tendencies of Cantonese which correspond with most African languages found in Cuba and Peru, and which result in similar configurations in the resulting Spanish pidgin. For example, Cantonese has no verbal inflexion, using only invariable monomorphemic verbs. There is no noun-adjective agreement, nor are there case-marked pronominal forms. Several Cuban-Chinese examples of undifferentiated pronouns reflect this tendency (also found among several African language families).

(4) Like Spanish, Cantonese permits null subjects. The manner in which null subjects are licensed is quite different however, given that Chinese languages have no subject-verb agreement, and arguably have no INFL node whatsoever. Subject identification is effected through discourse-level constraints, intimately linked to the possibility for null and non-gap topics, and syntactic binding of null subjects by discourse antecedents (cf. Huang 1984). Cantonese also permits null (definite) direct objects, a configuration which is not allowed in Spanish, except for some Andean varieties characterized by Spanish-Quechua bilingualism. The high degree of null subjects in Cantonese (which are often preferred over overt pronominal subjects in normal discourse contexts) is often carried over to Chinese pidgin Spanish, a feature which runs against the normal stable/expanded pidgin and creole tendency to employ overt subject pronouns to compensate for loss of verbal inflection.

In Cuban *bozal* Spanish, I have argued elsewhere that the full panorama of creoloid features cannot be accounted for without taking into consideration the frequent admixture with other Afro-Caribbean creoles which were brought into Cuba during the 19th century as the frantic search for sugar plantation laborers created a vortex into which were drawn natives of nearly all Caribbean islands. Eastern Cuba was dominated by Haitian and Jamaican workers, whose full linguistic impact did not come until the early 20th century, when contract labor from these islands became the major source of plantation workers in this part of Cuba. In central

Cuba numerous Haitians and some (Negerhollands and Creole English-speaking) Virgin Islanders arrived, while in Central and western Cuba Papiamento-speaking laborers from Curaçao were added to the labor force (Lipski 1996b, 1999b). Papiamento, like most other Iberian-based creoles (with the exception of those in the Gulf of Guinea) uses preverbal *ta* as an aspectual particle in combination with an invariant verb. In the Chinese-Cuban corpus, there are several indications of *ta* used as a preverbal particle in a fashion similar to that found both in Macao creole Portuguese and in Caribbean *bozal* Spanish; there are also many instances of *estar* reduced to *ta* as an invariant copula (appendix #6). Examples like *yo tá peliá* and *ta trabajá* cannot be readily explained through imperfect learning of native speaker models, and in fact these constructions are identical both to Macao creole Portuguese and to Afro-Iberian creoles, including some attestations of Cuban *bozal* Spanish. There is also some indication that Chinese workers isolated in the more remote *barracones* of the Cuban sugar plantations and condemned to work as virtual slaves surrounded by African slaves and paid laborers picked up much of their Spanish from Afro-Cuban role models. The limited corpus of Chinese-Cuban materials is not extensive enough to scan for other traces of Afro-Cuban language, but a few curious instances of convergence point in the direction of a more profound *bozal* legacy in Chinese pidgin Spanish. One involves the use of *son* as invariable copula, found in a couple of Chinese Cuban texts (appendix #7). Invariable *son* was a staple characteristic of Afro-Cuban speech, not only of African-born *bozales* but apparently also of at least the first generation of Afro-Cubans. There is also evidence that *son* became implanted in the Dominican Republic, in the Spanish as spoken non-natively by Haitians and by black settlers from the United States. A few instances are found in 19th century Afro-Peruvian materials, representing an Afro-Hispanic *bozal* community which also interacted at times with Chinese speakers. A single example of invariant *son* is also found in an Afro-Uruguayan poem. Chinese workers taken through the port of Macao to Cuba may also have been familiar with the invariant copula *sn* in Macao creole Portuguese, a form which may have its origins, or may at least owe its spread, to the contingents of Africans once found in the Portuguese East Asian colonies. Macao creole [sn] could easily be replaced by Caribbean Spanish [st] in the Chinese-*bozal* contact environment, further enhancing the spread of *son* among pidgin Spanish speakers in 19th century Cuba.

The Chinese data have potentially greater significance for the reconstruction of Afro-Caribbean Spanish. First, the Chinese workers brought to Cuba and to a lesser extent Peru spoke a language whose structural features shared many commonalities with the Afro-European pidgins and creoles already present in the Cuban sugar plantations and slave quarters. These similarities would both facilitate the Chinese workers' learning semi-creolized varieties of Spanish, and reinforce creoloid patterns used among other plantation workers for whom Spanish was not a native language. Some of the Chinese laborers may also have known Macao creole Portuguese, a language which is not only genetically related to Afro-Lusitanian creoles and hence—according to monogenetic theories at least—to some varieties of Afro-Hispanic speech, but which also received a direct African component that bypassed the developmental patterns of Portuguese creoles in other parts of southeast Asia. The presence of Macao Chinese laborers, African-born *bozales*, and creole-speakers from other Caribbean islands in mid-19th century Cuba brings the Euro-creole scenario full circle, creating intriguing possibilities for cross-fertilization and innovation.

Assessment of Afro-indigenous and Afro-Asian Spanish varieties

Given the geographical and temporal scope of Afro-indigenous and Afro-Asian linguistic contacts in Spanish America, as well as the diversity of languages involved, it is not feasible to point to a unified contribution of these language encounters to Latin American Spanish. Afro-Asian contacts, largely limited to Chinese and African workers in Cuba and Peru, mutually reinforced emerging pre-creole structures, which may have temporarily coalesced into short-lived creoles in isolated slave barracks. In the Caribbean, creole languages from neighboring islands frequently spurred the evolution of African and Chinese Spanish, while Macau creole Portuguese may have provided a backdrop to some Chinese speakers' acquisition of Spanish. These features include invariant non-conjugated verbs accompanied by preverbal particles signalling tense, mood, and aspect, and derived from Spanish adverbs or auxiliary verbs. Since the majority of the African and Asian languages present in Latin America allow few or no syllable-final consonants, loss of these consonants—already significant in the Caribbean and coastal Peru—was further accelerated in the presence of large numbers of African and Asian learners of Spanish.

Afro-indigenous contacts, at once more widespread and less well documented, were typically characterized by a lopsided demographic ratio in which speakers of indigenous languages far outnumbered Africans in three-way encounters with Spanish. In many instances (e.g. Mexico and the Andean region), the phonetic and grammatical tendencies of African and indigenous languages vis-à-vis Spanish were mutually contradictory, and the resulting Spanish-derived interlanguages were drawn in opposite directions. In the area of syntax, it was usually the indigenous patterns which prevailed, as typified by OV word order and non-canonical gerund usage in Andean Spanish and pleonastic object clitics in Andean, Mexican, and Central American Spanish interlanguages. In the phonetic dimension, the prevailing African tendency to reduce or eliminate syllable-final consonants (particularly /s/, /l/, and /r/) was frequently tempered by the tenacious retention of these consonants by speakers of Mexican and Andean languages. The distribution of final /s/ throughout Mexico and the unusual behavior of final /s/ in the Chota Valley of Ecuador are illustrative of these competing tendencies.

In the balance, the study of Afro-indigenous and Afro-Asian language contacts in the Americas is complementary to the broader paradigm of Afro-Hispanic linguistic reconstruction. The nature of forced labor, servitude, and contract labor in Spanish America resulted in multilingual environments in which acquisition of Spanish could only be approximated via a maze of intervening languages and cultures. The present remarks embody an urgent call for the further expansion of the Afro-Iberian research agenda, to embrace the full range of linguistic cross-fertilization.

APPENDIX

- (1) ANONYMOUS 'ENTREMÉS DEL HUAMANGUINO ENTRE UN HUANTINO Y UNA NEGRA [HUAMANGA, 1797] (ROMERO 1987: 164; UGARTE CHAMORRO 1974, VOL. 1, PP. 231-250). FRAGMENTS OF *BOZAL* SPEECH:

Justicia pide seño

una probe negra, conga,
porque toda mi mondonga
Huamanguino se comió ...
torara noche noche cocina
ra mondonga con ají
con seborbola y maní
para que tú me yeba? ...
yo son nengra, yo son ñata,
pero no conoce maccta.
Burbe pue lo que roba,
mi asarona, mi casuera
con que hace yo buñuera
para fieta Navidad ...
Mi tablaco y aquillotra? ...
Tu mi casuera yeba ...
Oya, y casuera se yeba
asarona con mocía
poro yo de su catía
ni una palabra sabega ...
aquí etá también pentiro ...
Clito ...
mestrío de motasnerio ...
qué destresa,
Huamanguino del demoño ...
A mi niño de Angola,
criollito como ito:
Jesu y que mala so,
acaso yo pañula?
Acaso niño ... cara,
tan plieta como la mía?
Acaso plima Matía
aunque nengla es retostara?
Yo no son negra Saba
para trahe cocicosa
pero son negra amorosa
que corazón te da.
Ya tu siarito caliente
ya ra buñuero con mie,
ya empanara con papé
ya bien mercado aguardiente.

- (2) ANONYMOUS 'ENTREMÉS DE NAVIDAD' [AYACUCHO, 1828] (ROMERO 1987: 163;
UGARTE CHAMORRO 1974; VOL. 2, PP. 283-299) FRAGMENTS OF *BOZAL* SPEECH.

Don Camacho, bueno ría ...
¿zapato ya ro has cosiro?
Ra zapato ro cosió?
Eso re pregunto yo ...
aronde está ra zapato
opa macho, malo trato ...
sua opa vieco, qué remonio ...
te voy a atá
y fue te ha de apretá
remonio macho roguero ...
ya etá, vieco malo trato
¿a donde etá ra zapato? ...
ar fin, ar fin zapatero ...
¿tamarito quiere uté?
Ra remonios te rare ...
¿traguito ra? Ra remonio ... de ra
corera me muero
con este vieco mañero ...
Santa Rita mamayay
de ra corera me muero
vieco ra zapato quiero ...
aca cabayero ...
¿caballero aronde está?
¿esta noche es Navirá? ...
pue voy Beren brevecito
a ver ra Niño branquito
como reche, como quesiyó ...
niño mío
má que este opa malo trato
no me ra entrega zapato ...
yo nunca he visto
tan bonito la Berén
y a Jesucristo también
como reche tan branquito ...
Sumac niño cabayero
yo ya muero de alegría
pues a vibrar mosiquía
tú ra bajas de ra ciero.
Ra escravo re mundo entero
de contento bayará
porque Niño romperá
escritura de ra escravo

y turo negro ar cabo
negro ribre se verá ...
esta tu nengra, amuyay,
como no sabe rezá
¿qué diciendo aorará ...
lleva uté a tu masiquita
a ra ciero gerarquía
ayá ya te quereré
y siempre te ro amaré
turo noche, turo ría ...
a mi tayta Jesucristo
¿qué re riera, que re riera?
Buñeritos con canera
y con pasas tamarito
tambien rarí mondonguito
rurasno merocotón
re sandía, ra merón
también taytay, te rareé
también a uté
torito mi corazón ...
y también la nengra conga
dice: viva su Manonga

(3) AFRO-BOLIVIAN TEXTS:

Mile patloncito, costal vacío no puede palalse ...
Mile patloncito, costal lleno no puede doblalse ...
me voy pa el pueblo, vas a vigilar bien a tu comagre porque el Pedrito está por acá. Si
le pego en el potó, mi lo meto más adentro, si li pego en la cabeza mi lo besa
mejor dejaré que terminen ...
Mañana mismo, negrito flegado, compra una frazada. Calentate perno con el sol
bendito, qué frazada ni que merda ...
alita comí, colita prové, me gutó pichón, mero acabé. A vijto so negro choropa ... mirá
negro nigüento, a ejte por ladrón lo clavarón, lo mismito haré con voji... ¿pol
qué lobaste? ¿por qué pue? Ya no lobes m'I tatingo, ¿lo quiere mi lolocingo?
Su locro del polbe negringo se la pala ujté, en caneco grandísimo le traygo su
agüita de tinaja pa su sé. Ya no lobe puej. Sea bueningo, no le hagan charque
con el trazado del mañazo e la esquina ...
Ya no pue m'hiniygo vengas con tapequi voj te ensebas el pico y te engordás la tripa
con tu comidita. Yo no sé comer, prontito irás al cielo con los angelitos, la
Mamita Virgen todito lo buenos, démelo comida a los pobres cuantingo le
pidan. No le sague al prevendao, usté le dará las cascaritas de lo que monde
en la cocina ...

Manda el señó bíscopo a decí que cómo se ha amanecido, que le mande pue la miera de oueja que le dijo ...

Patroncito, le trayo pué el hay y el no yan. Meta no ma sin pena la mano en este otro bolsillingo ...

Está bien mi amito. Aquí loy perdido aquí loyde hallar ...
señó diablo, si usté jela tan poleloso se dentalía en eta boteinga ...

Pala que lecuelde dialbito, tenga su castigo. Salga, y la oleja mía, colto en el latito.

(4) AFRO-AYMARA EXAMPLE FROM BOLIVIA:

Buenas noche, cumadre ... ¿qui tiene?

Cayá, cumadre, no yoris. Todo arreglari yo. Pero tienes qe darme tu ternero.

Gueno, ti lo voi hacer—il tal es, quil promesa lo cumplas. Il ternerito prieto ... mi lo darás in cuanto il obra ti lo haga.

Mamita, el obra te loi cumpliu. Loi matau con macheti, a cumpadre in chumi, nada minus. Istá bien matau. No es quién velva! El ternero prieto lo llivaré. Loi hecho feliz al cumpadre.

Gueno regrisaré, cuidado con yo.

Buen día mamita, ya hi regresao al indicación, mi lo das al ternero, o di como vamos arriglar. Porque cuidado con yo. Porque di yo voi irdonde el Corregidor, y ti vas a ir a sicarte il cárcel, porqui di vos mamita, istas di relación grande con cumpadre **Utahuahua**. Bueno, no mi rias? Cuidado con los pisaris!---di ahora mismo o voy decir Corregidor.

Mi debe, di lo que corté pescuezo di marido di mamita, in pago de ternero, porque mamita vive con nuevo cumpadre el **Utahuahua**.

(5) EXAMPLES OF VERNACULAR AFRO-ECUADORAN SPANISH (CHOTA VALLEY):

se trabajaban[Ø] en las haciendas vecino[-as] `people worked in the near-by plantations`

sobre la materia mismo[-a] de cada pueblo `with the materials from each town`

era barato[-a] la ropa, barato era `clothes were cheap`

hay gente colombiano[-a] `there are people from Colombia`

Chota [se] compone con [de], compone dos sequíos, se llaman un pueblo `The town called Chota is composed of two portions.`

Estamos [somos] 17 comunidades. `We are 17 communities [in all].`

Ultimamente la gente [se] está [de-]dicando a la agricultura. `Lately, the people have turned to agriculture.`

Comienza[-n] a colorearse las vistas `Their eyes start to get red.`

Se pone[-n] lo[-s] guagua medios[Ø] mal de cuerpo, se ponen amarillos `The babies get very sick, they turn yellow.`

Yo soy [de] abajo `I'm from down the road.`

Depende [de] las posibilidades del padre `It depends on the father's possibilities`

San Lorenzo que queda muy cerca con [de] la Concepción `San Lorenzo, which is very near La Concepción`

porque [el] próximo pueblo puede ser Salinas `Because the next town could be Salinas.`

Material de aquí de[l] lugar `material from around here`

con yerbas de campo curaban a nosotros [nos curaban] `They cured us with wild herbs.`

A poca costumbre se la tiene [??] cuando mucha [muy] fuerte está la fiebre `It's difficult when the fever is very high.`

Casi lo más lo más lo tocan guitarra y bomba [lo que más tocan son la guitarra y la bomba] `They mostly play guitars and bombas`

(6) EXAMPLES OF TA IN CHINESE PIDGIN SPANISH:

Ya poble chino ta jolí ... (Piedra Martel 1968: 91)

tó la gente ta qui jabla bonito na má (Jiménez Pastrana 1983: 92; Quesada 1892: 130-1)

pa mi no sabe, ta trabajá, quema carbón (Jiménez Pastrana 1983: 110)

Glacia, señola. Aquí ta suciando (Feijóo 1981: 149)

Celo ta bueno ... mucho caballelo con dinelo; mucho casa glande (Francisco de Paula Gelabert; en Bueno 1984: 459-463)

Aló ta balato ahola; yo ba complá una aloba ... (Francisco de Paula Gelabert; en Bueno 1984: 459-463)

Luce Pelanza ta muy macliá (Francisco de Paula Gelabert; en Bueno 1984: 459-463)

¿Londi ta Ginilá Maceo (Consuegra y Guzmán 1930: 163-4)

Campo ta mijó (Loveira 1974: 165)

Nosotlo tá Oliente, nosotlo peleá Oliente ... (Jiménez Pastrana 1983: 92; Quesada 1892: 130-1)

Yo tá peliá ¡tú tá la casa ...! (Jiménez Pastrana 1983: 128; Souza y Rodríguez 1939: 95)

Aguanta poquito, guajilo, que chinito tá quivocá (Feijóo 1981: 148-9)

Mujé tá buena todavía (Feijóo 1981: 152)

(7) INVARIANT SON IN CHINESE PIDGIN SPANISH:

No, Malía son mi mujé, y yo la llamo pa que vea un choque de tlene de su male paliba ... (Feijóo 1981: 150-1)

chino so pesona lesente ... Mentila, chino son pesona lecente. (Feijóo 1981: 152)

¿Londi ta Ginilá Maceo, que yo va pleguntá si son velá esi cosa? (Consuegra y Guzmán 1930: 163-4)

Svetlana, tú no sabe lo que son una ecuación ... (Sánchez-Boudy 1970: 24-5)

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