

Chapter 3. A description of Afro-Peruvian Spanish grammar

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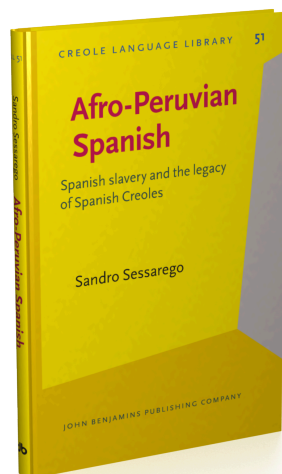
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Afro-Peruvian Spanish: Spanish slavery and the legacy of Spanish Creoles

Sandro Sessarego

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A description of Afro-Peruvian Spanish grammar

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the main grammatical features characterizing traditional Afro-Peruvian Spanish (APS). The Afro-Hispanic population studied in this work lives in rural communities located in the proximities of Chinchá, on the southern Peruvian coast, more precisely in the villages of San Regis, San José, El Guayabo and El Carmen. For this reason, APS shows many of the features that characterize coastal dialects. At the same time, this variety presents linguistic patterns that deviate from those found in the surrounding dialects, but that can be commonly encountered in other Afro-Hispanic vernaculars spoken across the Americas.

Romero (1987) and Lipski (1994a, 2005) described the main features of Afro-Peruvian grammar by analyzing literary works, theatrical texts, and traditional songs from the 17th–20th centuries reporting Peruvian *bozal* speech. On the other hand, Cuba (2002) offered the first synchronic account of APS by investigating the speech of the Afro-Chinchano communities mentioned above.

The present chapter will describe the main grammatical traits of APS, as they emerged during my fieldwork. The analysis will focus on APS phonetics and phonology, morphosyntax and lexicon. When appropriate, these features will be compared to the data offered by Romero, Cuba and Lipski. Before entering into the details of APS, the following section will provide a phonetic account of the main Spanish dialects spoken in Peru (cf. Lipski 1994b). This will help us locate APS in its surrounding dialectal context.

3.2 Peruvian Spanish varieties

Several authors have provided an account of the phonetic and phonological patterns characteristic of the main Peruvian Spanish dialects (Benvenuto Murietta 1936; Escobar 1988; Canfield 1981; etc.). In particular, Lipski (1994b) offered a comprehensive description of the major Spanish varieties spoken in this country.

He divided Peru into four main dialectal zones: Andean highlands, Lima/central coast, Northern coast, southern coast/southwestern Andean region, and Amazonian lowlands. In the following paragraphs, I will present a brief sketch of Lipski's dialectological account for such areas to provide a general overview of the main Spanish varieties found in the country.

3.2.1 Andean highlands

- a. The distinction between the phonemes /j/ and /ʎ/ is maintained.
- b. Cases of /n/ velarization and elision are common.
- c. The phoneme /tʃ/ is sometimes produced as a fricative /ʃ/.
- d. The phoneme /r/ in syllable final position is oftentimes produced as a voiceless sibilant.
- e. The rhotic /r/ is usually produced as a fricative [ʀ], especially in the southern regions of the country (e.g. Cuzco).
- f. The sound /r/ may be pronounced as a fricative when is found in the onset clusters /tr/, /pr/, /kr/.
- g. The sibilant /s/ is maintained and produced as [s].
- h. The phonemes /d/, /d/, /g/ are generally maintained. Sometimes they are even pronounced as occlusive sounds when encountered in intervocalic position.
- i. The fricative /x/ may be pronounced as a palatal before front vowels.
- l. Unstressed vowel reduction is common.
- m. The sound /f/ may be pronounced as [h]. Before unrounded vowels it may be pronounced as [h^w].
- n. Quechua-Spanish bilingual speakers may shift the stress of Spanish words to the penultimate syllable. Lipski (1994b:321) reports some examples provided by (Escobar 1988) such as *corázon* < *corazón* 'heart', *platáno* < *plátano* 'plantain'.
- o. Spanish /e/ and /o/ are sometimes raised to /i/ and /u/ due to Aymara and Quechua influence.

3.2.2 Lima/central coast

- a. The phonemic distinction between /j/ and /ʎ/ has been lost, so that Lima Spanish is considered a *yeísta* dialect.
- b. /x/ is pronounced with a weak aspiration.
- c. The sound /d/ in intervocalic position is oftentimes lost; to a lesser extent, also /b/ may be deleted.
- d. The phoneme /tʃ/ is generally maintained.

- e. Syllable-final /ɾ/ is generally a tap or an alveolar fricative.
- f. Syllable-final /s/ represents a strong sociolinguistic indicator in Lima. The phoneme /s/ is often weakened to [h] or elided altogether in the lowest social classes, while it tends to be preserved among the speakers belonging to higher social groups. Middle-class Limeños frequently aspire /s/ to [h] preconsonantly, while they maintain [s] in other phonological contexts. However, /s/ reduction in word final position has become more frequent in the younger generation.
- g. /n/ is generally velarized.

3.2.3 Northern coast

The phonetic and phonological traits of this dialect resemble those encountered in the Lima/central coast region. Lipski (1994b:322) indicates that the main differences between these two varieties consists of a more pronounced weakening of consonant segments. Lipski, in fact, highlights the presence of higher levels of consonant reduction in coda position as well as a more marked debilitation of intervocalic /b/, /d/, /g/ and /j/. In the author's view, these phenomena are probably related to a more accentuated sociocultural marginality of the region.

3.2.4 Southern coast / south-western Andean region

This dialectal region does not present radical differences from the central and northern parts of the coast. The main features pointed out by Lipski are a less frequent velarization of /n/ and a stronger pronunciation of the sound /j/. The author also indicates that the older generation still maintains in certain cases the distinction /ʌ/ vs. /j/. However, it is quickly disappearing among the younger speakers.

3.2.5 Amazonian lowlands

Lipski indicates that in this area Spanish is often used as a second language. However, certain features can be systematically identified:

- a. /j/ is produced as an affricate.
- b. /x/ tends to be realized as a pharyngeal [h].
- c. /tʃ/ is often pronounced without occlusion.
- d. Syllable-final /s/ tends to be weakened or elided altogether.
- e. /r/ and /ɾ/ are produced as [r] and [ɾ] respectively.

- f. Intervocalic /b/, /d/, /g/ are often realized as occlusive sounds rather than [β], [d̪], [ɣ].
- g. /f/ tends to be pronounced as [h] and [hʷ].

3.3 A phonetic account of Afro-Peruvian Spanish

As mentioned above, the Afro-Peruvian population studied in this work lives in the coastal region of Chíncha. The main phonetic features encountered in APS are therefore those detailed for the dialectal zones depicted in Section 3.2.4. However, in APS we also encounter phonetic traits that are frequently found in other Afro-Hispanic dialects across Latin America and are not necessarily reported for the rest of the Peruvian coastal varieties.

Romero (1987:94) begins his description of the APS sound system by reminding the reader that he did not carry out direct fieldwork with Afro-Peruvian informants; rather, he relied exclusively on literary texts extracted from books, theatrical compositions and traditional songs from the 17th to the 20th centuries. For this reason, the author acknowledges that they should not be considered as a completely faithful representation of this speech. Lipski (1994a, 2005) provides an account of the APS phonetics and phonology by analyzing similar materials. He points out that, even though this information may not be completely accurate, certain patterns recur systematically across the corpora, thus indicating that some of the features identified in these studies belonged to the dialect used by Peruvian *bozales*. Another literary attempt to represent black Peruvian speech can be found in Gálvez Ronceros' novel (1975) *Monólogo desde las tenebras* 'Monologue from the darkness', which consists of a collection of stories taking place in contemporary Chíncha. Some of these features have also been reported by Cuba (2002), who is the only author, to date, who has published linguistic results based on fieldwork investigation in Afro-Chinchano communities.

3.3.1 Vowels

(I) *Vowel variation and lengthening*

My fieldwork analysis revealed a general tendency toward vowel quality maintenance, even if in some cases I could find instances of vowel rising /o/→[u], /e/→[i]. More common were the cases of vowel lengthening due to consonant loss (*naa* < *nada* 'nothing', *pa comé* < *para comer* 'in order to eat') (1). On the other hand, Romero (1987:101–102) highlights a certain degree of vowel variability,

which he relates to the different vocalic values encountered in the African languages that were taken to the Peruvian coast. In the colonial texts he analyzed, in fact, the Spanish segment /o/ was not only represented orthographically with <o> (*oylemo* < *oiremos* ‘we will hear’, *compondlá* < *compondrá* ‘he will compose’, *fosico* < *hocico* ‘snout’); it could be encountered also as <e> (*pronunciá* < *pronunciar* ‘to pronounce’, *semos* < *somos* ‘we are’), and especially <u> (*currendo* < *corriendo* ‘running’, *pulqué* < *por qué* ‘why’, *turu* < *todos* ‘all’, *cun* < *con* ‘with’, *Jusepa* < *Josefa* ‘Jusy’, *rumí* < *dormir* ‘to sleep’, *burica* < *borrica* ‘donkey’, *tesuro* < *tesoro* ‘treasure’). The sound /e/ presented orthographic variability too; it was reported as <e> (*pellico* < *perico* ‘parakeet’, *moleniyo* < *morenillo* ‘little black person’, *bel* < *ver* ‘to see’), <a> (*yebe* < *llave* ‘key’), <i> (*molinio* < *moreno* ‘black’), and <o> (*Josucrito* < *Jesucristo* ‘Jesus Christ’). The vowel /i/ is found as <i> (*viyancico* < *villancico* ‘carol’, *Zuanico* < *Juanico* ‘John’), and <e> (*cogé* < *cogí* ‘I took’, *senefica* < *significa* ‘it means’, *memo* < *mismo* ‘same’). The segment /u/ was reported as <u> (*gulumbé* < *gulumbá* ‘traditional song’) and, more sporadically, as <e> (*pentiro* < *punter* ‘pointer’). The vowel /a/ was usually the most stable one (*vamo* < *vamos* ‘we go’, *dilá* < *dirá* ‘she will say’, *Baltasale* < *Baltazar* ‘Baltazar’). Romero (1987: 102) also identifies several cases of diphthong reduction (*engrio* < *engreído* ‘conceited’, *rir* < *reír* ‘to laugh’, *queto* < *quieto* ‘quiet’, *quero* < *quiero* ‘I want’, *currendo* < *corriendo* ‘running’, *nostla* < *nuestra* ‘our’, *contino* < *continuo* ‘to continue’, *individuo* < *individual*, *proba* < *prueba* ‘test’, *pode* < *puede* ‘he can’, *conciolo* < *consuelo* ‘comfort’) and many instances of resyllabification, resulting in vowel fusions and diphthongation (*semiacabao* < *se me ha acabado* ‘I finished it’, *mestá haciendo* < *me está haciendo* ‘he is doing to me’, *quel* < *que él* ‘that he is’, *nuay* < *no hay* ‘there is not’, *nues* < *no es* ‘it is not’, *quiora* < *qué hora* ‘what time’).

As for cases of vowel lengthening, my research appears to be more in line with previous investigations. In fact, Romero (1987: 107) and Lipski (1994a: 202) could also identify many instances of this phenomenon (*¡Eh fruté!* < *¡Eh frutero!* ‘Hey fruit seller!’, *no tiee* < *no tiene* ‘she does not have’, *¡tamalée!* < *¡tamalera!* ‘tamale seller!’, *coosa* < *cosa* ‘what’, *ooye* < *oye* ‘listen’, *negriito* < *negrito* ‘little black person’, *tú me vaas a decí que coosa alias dicho* < *tú me vas a decir qué cosa le has dicho* ‘you are going to tell me what you told her’, *naa* < *nada* ‘nothing’).

The cases of vowel lengthening and vowel rising found during my fieldwork on APS (2) have also been reported for past and present Afro-Hispanic varieties (3), and appear to be characteristic of rural Spanish worldwide.⁸

8. All the speech examples provided in this study have been collected during the fieldwork carried out by the author in Chincha communities, unless indicated otherwise.

- (2) a. *Toditu [toditos] quieren trabajá [trabajar] en la ciudá [ciudad].*
 all want.PRES.3.PL work in the city
 ‘Everybody wants to work in the city.’
- b. *Nu [no] he víu [visto] naa [nada], pero naa [nada]*
 no AUX.PRES.1.SG seen nothing but nothing
de naa [nada] digo.
 of nothing say.PRES.1.SG
 ‘I have not seen anything, but absolutely nothing I say.’
- c. *Mucha genti [gente] ya no quieri [quiere] eso pa comée [comer].*
 many people already no want.PRES.3.SG this for eat
 ‘Many people do not want to eat this anymore.’
- (3) a. *Nosotrus [nosotros] somos di [de] Caldera.*
 we be.PRES.1.PL. of Caldera
 ‘We are from Caldera.’ (Chota Valley Spanish; Sessarego 2013c: 61)
- b. *Porque mucho año estuvi [estuve] yo al hospital.*
 because many year be.PAST.1.SG I at-the hospital
 ‘Because I spent a lot of time at the hospital.’
 (Afro-Bolivian Spanish; Sessarego 2011a: 120)
- c. AFRO-URUGUAYAN COPLA
Semo nenglu lindu [negros lindos]
 be.PRES.1.PL black pretty
 ‘we are pretty black people’
Semo vetelanu [veteranos]
 be.PRES.1.PL veteran
 ‘we are veterans’
Y cum milicianu [con milicianos]
 and with militiaman
 ‘and with militiamen’
Quiliemi piliá [queremos pelear]
 want.PRES.1.PL fight
 ‘we want to fight’
 (Afro-Uruguayan; Pereda Valdés 1965: 135–136, in Lipski 2008: 75)

(II) *Paragogic vowels*

A feature often found in APS and in several other Afro-Hispanic dialects is the presence of paragogic vowels (*mare* < *mar* ‘sea’, *vere* < *ver* ‘to see’), as shown in (4). Romero (1987: 141) identifies many instances of this phenomenon in the Peruvian *bozal* speech reported in the 17th–20th-century texts he analyzed (*quere-ré* < *querer* ‘to want’, *mare* < *mar* ‘sea’, *Baltasale* < *Baltazar* ‘Baltazar’, *Melcholo* < *Melchor* ‘Melchor’). Romero suggests that this phenomenon may be due to the

fact that many *bozales* spoke Kikongo languages, since in this linguistic family there is a strong tendency toward creating CV syllabic structures (cf. Bentley 1887: 521). My findings are also in line with Lipski's (1994a, 2005), who reports several cases of paragogic vowels, especially in the texts from the 17th century (*turrona* < *turrón* 'nougat', *ziolo* < *señor* 'sir', *Diose/Dioso* < *Dios* 'God', *belena* < *belén* 'nativity scene').

Paragogic vowels are also encountered in several other Afro-Hispanic languages (5). For example, it is a feature of Chota Valley Spanish (Lipski 2009; Sessarego 2013c), Afro-Bolivian Spanish (Lipski 2008; Sessarego 2011a) and Afro-Mexican Spanish (Lipski 2007a) to mention a few.

- (4) a. *Eyo iba a la playa para nadá en el mare [mar].*
 they go.PAST.3.SG to the beach to swim in the sea
 'They were going to the beach to swim in the sea.'
- b. *Eso no va a volver [volver]; ya no*
 this no go.PRES.3.SG to come back already no
vuelve.
 come back.PRES.3.SG
 'This will not come back; this is not going to come back anymore.'
- c. *La comunidad quiere justicia, pedir justicia*
 the community want.PRES.3.SG justice ask for justice
es normale [normal].
 be.PRES.3.SG normal
 'The community is asking for justice, asking for justice is normal, right?'
- (5) a. *Vamo a correré [correr], ¿qué me va*
 go.PRES.1.PL to run what me go.PRES.3.SG
a hacere [hacer]?, le dio de comere [comer].
 to do him give.PAST.3.SG of eat
 'We are going to run, what do you want to do to me?, I gave him something to eat.' (Afro-Mexican Spanish; Lipski 2007a: 46)
- b. *Encontré a mi mujere [mujer] en la fiesta.*
 meet.PAST.1.SG to my wife in the party
 'I met my wife at the party.' (Chota Valley Spanish; Sessarego 2013c: 43)
- c. *Lo hicieron pegare [pagar], lu han hecho pegá.*
 him made.PAST.3.PL beat him AUX.PRES.3.PL made beat
 'They had him beaten, they had him beaten.'
 (Afro-Bolivian Spanish; Lipski 2008: 73)

3.3.2 Consonants

(I) Weakening of syllable-final /s/

The sound /s/ is commonly aspirated and deleted in coda position (*Dioh* < *Dios* ‘God’, *casah* < *casas* ‘houses’, *tre* < *tres* ‘three’, *me* < *mes* ‘month’), in line with other costal Peruvian dialects (cf. Lipski 1994b: 319–322). Lipski (1994a: 190) indicates that /s/ deletion and aspiration could be normally encountered in *bozal* speech, especially in 19th century works (*bucá* < *buscar* ‘to look for’, *critiano* < *cristiano* ‘christian’, *sabemo* < *sabemos* ‘we know’, *tamale* < *tamales* ‘tamales’). My APS corpus is rich in data with this feature (6). These instances of consonant reduction are more clearly observed on words where /s/ does not represent a plural marker, since plural markers may be absent for syntactic reasons not related to /s/ weakening processes (see Section 3.4).

- (6) a. *Dioh noh* [*Dios nos*] *llama* *cuando quiere* *él*.
 God us call.PRES.3.SG when want.PRES.3.SG he
 ‘God calls us whenever he wants.’
- b. *Había tre casah* [*tres casas*] *que ya nu hay*.
 EXIS.PAST three houses that already no EXIS.PRES
 ‘There were three houses that are not here anymore.’
- c. *Hace un me* [*mes*] *que no sé na de*
 do.PRES.3.SG a month that no know.PRES.1.SG nothing of
esah personah [*esas personas*].
 these people
 ‘I have not heard of these people for a month.’

Similar instances of /s/ weakening for contemporary APS have also been identified by Cuba (2002: 26–27) (*hata ahora* < *hasta ahora* ‘until now’, *tú tah viendo* < *tú estás viendo* ‘you are seeing’, *le pegan a uté* < *le pegan a usted* ‘they beat you’). Romero (1987: 141) reports several cases for colonial *bozal* Spanish too (*uté* < *usted* ‘you’, *ete* < *este* ‘this’, *equina* < *esquina* ‘corner’, *pecuezo* < *pescuezo* ‘neck’, *econder* < *esconder* ‘to hide’, *decubres* < *descubres* ‘you discover’). He also points out instances in which the word initial syllable /es/ is deleted altogether (*ta* < *esta* ‘it is’, *taba* < *estaba* ‘it was’, *pañola* < *española* ‘Spanish’, *carapela* < *escarapela* ‘rosette’). Syllable-final /s/ weakening is a common phenomenon in Afro-Hispanic contact varieties (7), and, more generally, it can be encountered in several Latin American and Peninsular dialects (i.e. Caribbean Spanish, Andalusian Spanish, etc.).

- (7) a. *Treh* [*tres*]; *demá* [*demás*]
 three more
 ‘Three’ (Afro-Bolivian Spanish; Sessarego 2011a: 45)

- b. *Vario día [varios días]*
 several day
 ‘Several days’ (Barlovento Spanish; Megenney 1999: 168)
- c. *Somo [somos] loh doh [los dos]*
 be.PAST.1.PL the two
 ‘It is the two of us’
 (Afro-Puerto Rican Spanish; Álvarez-Nazario 1974: 135)

(II) *Loss of word-final /r/*

The sound /r/ is oftentimes eliminated in coda position (*mueto* < *muerto* ‘dead’; *pueto* < *puerto* ‘port’); especially in word-final position on infinitive verb forms (*bailá* < *bailar* ‘to dance’; *mirá* < *mirar* ‘to watch’; *decí* < *decir* ‘to say’; *bebé* < *beber* ‘to drink’) (8).

- (8) a. *El día de la h^wiesta la h^wamilia Vallumbrosio, todo la h^wamilia*
 the day of the festival the family Vallumbrosio all the family
se pone a bailá [bailar].
 REFL put.PRES.3.SG to dance
 ‘On the day of the festival the Vallumbrosio family, all the family dances.’
- b. *Ese señó [señor] ya ta mueto [muerto].*
 this man already be.PRES.3.SG dead
 ‘This man is already dead.’
- c. *Allá hay como un muelle, un pueto [puerto].*
 there EXIS.PRES like a pier a port
 ‘Over there there is something like a pier, a port.’

Romero (1987: 104) and Lipski (1994a: 201) report several similar cases (*señó* < *señor* ‘sir’, *coló* < *color* ‘color’, *apretá* < *apretar* ‘to tighten’, *rezá* < *rezar* ‘to pray’, *temé* < *temer* ‘to fear’, *comé* < *comer* ‘to eat’, *viví* < *vivir* ‘to live’, *sufrí* < *sufrir* ‘to suffer’, *amará* < *amarrar* ‘to tie up’, *atá* < *atar* ‘to tie’, *clibi* < *escribir* ‘to write’, *cogé* < *coger* ‘to take’, *cosé* < *coser* ‘to sew’). Lipski points out that this phenomenon was relatively limited in early texts and became highly frequent in 19th century materials. Cuba (2002: 33) points out the omission of /r/ on infinitive verbs, also when followed by enclitic pronouns (9).

- (9) a. *Querían sembralo [sembrarlo].*
 want.PRES.3.SG plant-it
 ‘They wanted to plant it.’
- b. *No tenía que dale [darle] de comer a sus hijos.*
 no have.PAST.3.SG that give-her of eat to her sons
 ‘She should not have fed her sons.’

- c. *Era pa'lumbrále [lumbrarle].*
 be.PAST.3.SG for illuminate-it
 'That was done to illuminate it.'

Word-final /ɾ/ reduction is also commonly found in other Afro-Hispanic vernaculars in the Americas (10).

- (10) a. *Doló [dolor]; amó [amor]; altá [altar].*
 Pain love altar
 'Pain, love, altar' (Afro-Bolivian Spanish; Sessarego 2011a: 46)
- b. *Yo con él acabó de limpiá [limpiar].*
 I with he finish.PAST.3.SG of clean
 'He and I finished cleaning' (Afro-Cuban Spanish; Ortiz López 1996: 90)
- c. *Sirbí [servir]; pidí [pedir].*
 serve-INF ask-INF
 'To serve, to ask'
 (Afro-Puerto Rican Spanish; Álvarez-Nazario 1974: 148)

(III) Neutralization of /ɾ/ and /d/ in syllable-initial position

My corpus shows that intervocalic /ɾ/ and /d/ are sometimes used interchangeably in onset position (*toro* < *todo* 'all', *todo* < *toro* 'bull', *cara* < *cada* 'each', *cada* < *cara* 'face'). This matches with the results by Romero (1987: 103–142), who reports a variety of cases where /ɾ/ and /d/ may alternate in colonial texts (*perí* < *pedí* 'I asked for', *aronde* < *adonde* 'where', *empanara* < *empanada* 'empanada', *turu* < *todos* 'all', *tirito* < *todito* 'all', *dade* < *darle* 'to give him', *Madía* < *María* 'María', *cabayedo* < *caballero* 'knight', *cuedpo* < *cuerpo* 'body', *hoda* < *hora* 'hour', *dotoda* < *doctora* 'doctor', *dedecho* < *derecho* 'law', *agada* < *agarra* 'to get', *quiedo* < *quiero* 'I want'). Lipski (1994a: 187), Donaire Vizarréta (1987: 39–40), and Gálvez Ronceros (1975) provide a variety of data of this kind. Their examples are in line with the fieldwork findings by Cuba (2002: 33) (*ahoda* < *ahora* 'now', *yo eda repadidó* < *yo era repartidor* 'I was the roundsman', *se bajadon ellos* < *se bajaron ellos* 'they came down'). The alternation between /d/ and /ɾ/ is common to many other Afro-Hispanic dialects (11) and it is also clearly noticeable in my APS corpus (12).

- (11) a. *Toravía [todavía]; todo [toro]; ayura [ayuda]*
 yet bull help
 'Yet; bull; help' (Chocó Spanish; Ruiz-García 2009: 72)
- b. *Ahoda [ahora]; Cadaca [Caracas]*
 now Caracas
 'Now; Caracas' (Barlovento Spanish; Megenney 1999: 77)
- c. *Toro [todo]; vira [vida]*
 all life
 'All; life' (Afro-Puerto Rican Spanish; Álvarez-Nazario 1974: 116)

- (12) a. *Toro [todo] parece mentira.*
 all look.PRES.3.SG lie
 ‘Everything looks like a lie.’
- b. *Tiene una cada [cara] de monstruo.*
 have.PRES.3.SG a face of monster
 ‘He has the face of a monster.’
- c. *La vira [vida] de ese hombre no tuvo na de alegría,*
 the life of this man no have.PAST.3.SG nothing of joy
 h^wue una vira [vida] muy triste.
 be.PAST.3.SG a life very sad
 ‘His life did not have any joy, it was a very sad life.’

(IV) Neutralization of /ɾ/ and /l/

The liquid sounds /ɾ/ and /l/ sometimes alternate both in coda (*pol* < *por*, *carma* < *calma*) and onset positions (*cora* < *cola* ‘tail’, *milá* < *mirar* ‘to watch’) (13). Romero (1987: 142) reports several cases of this kind (*torara* < *toda la* ‘all the’, *tarega* < *talega* ‘moneybag’, *ingré* < *inglés* ‘English’, *arza* < *alzar* ‘to rise’, *derante* < *delante* ‘before’, *plimos* < *primos* ‘cousins’, *poltariyo* < *portalillo* ‘little gate’, *plecio* < *precio* ‘price’, *talifa* < *tarifa* ‘tariff’, *eclibio* < *escribió* ‘he wrote’, *velde* < *verde* ‘green’, *comel* < *comer* ‘to eat’); he also indicates that the phoneme /l/ is sometimes elided in final position (*e* < *el* ‘the’, *mie* < *miel* ‘honey’, *arbo* < *árbol* ‘tree’).

Lipski (1994a: 188–189) indicates that beginning in the 16th century the majority of the Afro-Peruvian texts he analyzed show cases of /l/ and /ɾ/ neutralization and confusion (*moleno* < *moreno* ‘black’, *palese* < *parece* ‘it seems’, *aleglar* < *alegrar* ‘to delight’, *nostla* < *nuestra* ‘our’, *coltezano* < *cortesano* ‘courtier’, *hasel* < *hacer* ‘to do’, *melse* < *merced* ‘reward’, *poltal* < *portal* ‘gate’). Cuba’s (2002: 32) contemporary data align with the examples just presented (*puelta* < *puerta* ‘door’, *El Calme* < *El Carmen* ‘El Carmen’, *velde* < *verde* ‘green’). Similar cases of variation are also common to several other Afro-Hispanic dialects in the Americas, as example (14) shows.

- (13) a. *Ese chico vinió a pol [por] pan.*
 this guy come.PAST.3.SG to for-the bread
 ‘This guy came looking for bread.’
- b. *Le pisaron la cora [coda] al perro y*
 him step on.PAST.3.PL the tail to-the dog and
 ecaparon.
 escape.PAST.3.PL
 ‘They step on the dog’s tail and escaped.’

- c. *Carma, carma, [calma, calma] ya t'he dicho*
 calm calm already to you AUX.PRES.1.SG said
 “¡tate tranquilo!”
 be-you quiet
 ‘Calm down, calm down, I’ve already told you “be quiet!”’
- (14) a. *Mier [miel] de abeja.*
 honey of bee
 ‘Bee honey.’ (Barlovento Spanish; Megenney 1999: 74–75)
- b. *Cravo [clavo]; probriema [problema]*
 nail problem
 ‘Nail; problem’ (Afro-Panamanian Spanish; Lipski 1989: 40)
- c. *Parma [palma]; vilgen [virgen]*
 ‘Palm; virgin’ (Chocó Spanish; Ruiz-García 2009: 75–76)

In Romero’s corpus, /l/, /r/, and /d/ are often confused. Such a phenomenon is quite common in colonial Afro-Hispanic texts; for example, it can be easily found in the corpus analyzed by Álvarez Nazario (1974) for Afro-Puerto Rican Spanish. However, in contrast with the Puerto Rican examples, in colonial Afro-Peruvian the assimilation of /l/ to the following consonant is not common (*atta* < *alta* ‘tall’, *amma* < *alma* ‘soul’). Romero indicates that the lack of such phenomena in the Peruvian corpus is probably due to the fact that the authors of these texts were more influenced by the Peninsular style of depicting black speech than by the Caribbean one. The author backs this hypothesis by highlighting that in Golden Age Spanish texts such processes were also lacking.

(V) Neutralization of /r/ and /l/

My data (15), in line with Romero’s, indicate that /r/ and /l/ distinction is sometimes lost (*amará* < *amarrar* ‘tie up’, *pero* < *perro* ‘dog’, *sigaro* < *cigarro* ‘cigar’, *derame* < *derrame* ‘spillover’, *ariba* < *arriba* ‘above’) (Romero 1987: 142). This case of neutralization is also commonly encountered in other Afro-Hispanic languages spoken in the Americas, as the examples in (16) illustrate.

- (15) a. *Este pero ladra siempre, toro [todo] el día ladra*
 This dog bark.PRES.3.SG always all the day bark.PRES.3.SG
el perro este.
 the dog this
 ‘This dog is always barking, this dog barks all day long.’
- b. *El vaso de Juan lo puso ella ariba [arriba].*
 the glass of Juan it put.PAST.3.SG she above
 ‘She put Juan’s glass up there.’

- c. *Eso es una bara [barra] de metal, es un tubo*
 this be.PRES.3.SG a stick of metal be.PRES.3.SG a pipe
de hierro.
 of hiron
 ‘This is a metal bar, it is an iron pipe.’
- (16) a. *Parra [para]; caru [carro].*
 For car
 ‘For; car.’ (Afro-Bolivian Spanish; Sessarego 2011a:46)
- b. *Tera [tierra]; buru [burro]*
 land donkey
 ‘Land; donkey’ (Afro-Puerto Rican Spanish; Álvarez-Nazario 1974: 165)
- c. *El perito [perrito]*
 the little-dog
 ‘The little dog’ (Dominican Spanish; Willis & Bradley 2008:89)
- d. *Tonces agara [agarra]*
 then grab.PRES.3.SG
 ‘Then he grabs’ (Dominican Spanish; Willis & Bradley 2008:91)

(VI) /Cr/ onset consonant clusters

Traditional APS speakers tend to simplify onset consonant clusters of the type /Cr/ (17). This phenomenon has also been previously reported by Cuba (2002:28) (*madina* < *madrina* ‘godmother’, *nosotos* < *nosotros* ‘we’, *poramas* < *programas* ‘programs’) and appears to be in line with the aforementioned tendency leading to the creation of CV syllabic structures.

- (17) a. *Nosoto [nosotros] no queremo salí de Chíncha, aquí*
 we no want.PRES.1.PL leave of Chíncha here
es un paraíso.
 be.PRES.3.SG a paradise
 ‘We do not want to leave Chíncha, this is a paradise.’
- b. *La gente potesta [protesta] porque les robaron la tierra*
 the people protest.PRES.3.SG because to them steal.PAST.3.PL the land
y no les dieron nada.
 and no to them give.PAST.3.PL nothing
 ‘People protest because they stole their land and did not give anything to them.’
- c. *El contato [contracto] era algo para ayudá a los*
 the contract be.PAST.3.SG something for help to the
peones de acá.
 peons of here
 ‘The contract was something to help the local peons.’

(VII) *Conversion /f/ > [h^w] and pronunciation of <h>*

The phoneme /f/, when found in the onset position, especially word-initially, tends to be pronounced as [h^w]; this phenomenon can be heard in words such as *h^wamilia* < *familia* ‘family’ and *h^weria* < *feria* ‘vacation’ (cf. Cuba 2002:31). In some cases, the same sound may also be encountered in word-initial position for lexical items that are spelled with the grapheme <h>: *h^wumar* < *humar* ‘to smoke’, *h^weder* < *heder* ‘to stink’, while, as we know, in standard Spanish such a grapheme is phonetically mute (cf. Romero 1987:138) (18). This is a phenomenon that can be encountered in other Afro-Hispanic languages (19) and, more generally, in several Latin American and Peninsular Spanish rural varieties.

- (18) a. *La h^wamilia [familia] Vallumbrosio es muy conocida acá.*
 the family Vallumbrosio be.PRES.3.SG very known here
 ‘The Vallumbrosio family is well-known here.’
 b. *La h^wiesta [fiesta] de la santa no hay que perderla.*
 the party of the saint no EXIS.PRES that miss-it
 ‘We cannot miss the Saint celebration.’
 c. *H^wuimo [fuimos] todos para ver a la virgen.*
 be.PRES.1.PL all for see to the virgin
 ‘Everybody went to see the virgin.’
- (19) a. *Nosotros h^wuimos [fuimos] al río.*
 we go.PAST.1.PL to-the river
 ‘We went to the river.’ (Chota Valley Spanish; Sessarego 2013c:50–51)
 b. *H^wruta [fruta]; h^wlor [flor].*
 fruit flower
 ‘Fruit; flower.’ (Afro-Bolivian Spanish; Lipski 2008:72)
 c. *Ah^wuera [afuera]; h^wuerza [fuerza]*
 outside strenght
 ‘Outside; strength’
 (Afro-Puertorican Spanish; Álvarez-Nazario 1974:181)

(VIII) *Yeísmo and /j/ weakening*

Unlike Highland Peruvian Spanish, where the distinction between the palatal sound /ʎ/, written as <ll> and the phoneme /j/, written as <y> is found, APS presents the typical features of coastal Peruvian dialects, where such a distinction has been lost, and the only sound encountered is /j/: *caye* < *calle* ‘street’; *yama* < *llama* ‘he calls’. Romero (1987:125) indicates that much variation is found in his texts, so that both <ll> and <y> are often found (*llama* ‘he calls’, *criollito* ‘little Creole person’, *allá* ‘there’, *beya* < *bella* ‘pretty’, *oya* < *olla* ‘pot’, *cabayero* < *caballero* ‘gentleman’). He ascribes this pattern to the fact that the colonial authors were probably generally biased toward writing these words with the proper

Spanish spelling, even though they were pronounced differently by the slaves. In contemporary APS, it is also possible to hear words like *gaina* < *gallina* ‘hen’ and *chiquío* < *chiquillo* ‘little boy’, where the sound /j/ has been completely lost (20). Romero (1987: 126) also reports examples of this kind *molenío* < *morenillo* ‘little black’, *mocía* < *morcilla* ‘blood sausage’, *mosquía* < *musiquilla* ‘little music’. Lipski (1994a: 188) indicates that even the Afro-Peruvian colonial texts proceeding from Cusco, a highland town where *lleísmo* has always been the norm, clearly show that the speech used by *bozales* slaves was *yeísta*. In this respect, APS is also in line with the majority of the Afro-Hispanic dialects, which, excluding a few exceptions (e.g. Chota Valley Spanish, cf. Sessarego 2013c: 65), are for the most part *yeístas* (21).

- (20) a. *Elena, pásámelo el martío [martillo].*
 Elena give.IMP.2.SG me it the hammer
 ‘Elena, give me hammer.’
- b. *La canción “Me yaman caye” de Manu Chao me*
 the song me call.PRES.3.PL street of Manu Chao to me
gusta mucho.
 like.3.SG much
 ‘I like Manu Chao’s song “Me llaman calle”.’
- c. *Hay que yamar [llamar] a señor del Zarandango pa que*
 Have.PRES that call to man of the Zarandango for that
abra.
 open.PRES.3.SG
 ‘We have to call the guy from Zarandango so that he will open.’
- (21) a. *Eyu [ellos]; caye [calle]*
 they street
 ‘They; street’ (Afro-Bolivian Spanish; Sessarego 2011a: 46)
- b. *Biyete [billete]*
 ticket
 ‘Ticket’ (Afro-Cuban Spanish; Lipski 2005: 154)
- c. *GaZina [gallina]; aZí [allí]*
 hen there
 ‘Hen; there’ (Chota Valley Spanish; Sessarego 2013c: 65).

(IX) Velarization of /n/

Word-final /n/ is often velarized (*son amigos* < *son amigos* ‘they are friends’, *tan amable* < *tan amable* ‘so lovely’) (22). Lipski (1994a) reports this phenomenon on several occasions for APS. However, final /n/ velarization is also often found in other Peruvian coastal dialects and in other Afro-Hispanic varieties (23). Romero (1987) also indicates cases of nasal palatalization [ɲ] (*ñiedo* < *miedo* ‘fear’, *ñudo* <

nudo ‘knot’, *cañuto* < *canuto* ‘felt’, *demoño* < *demonio* ‘demon’), which, however, I was not able to find in my data; while Cuba reports cases in which stops have been nasalized by assimilation (*donne* < *donde* ‘where’, *innorante* < *ingnorante* ‘ignorant’), and instances of vowel nasalization, where the nasal consonant has been completely lost (*ũ yato* < *un llanto* ‘a crying’, *sããgru* < *santa cruz* ‘holy cross’). These last examples align perfectly with those encountered by Lipski (1994a: 202) and Romero (1987: 107) in colonial texts (*lon branco* < *los blancos* ‘the white men’, *len gutará* < *les gustará* ‘you will like it’, *lon reguelva* < *lo revuelva* ‘turn it’, *yo son negra* < *yo soy negra* ‘I am black’, *nengla* < *negra* ‘black’, *ansía* < *hacía* ‘he used to do’, *manque* < *más que* ‘more than’, *dempués* < *después* ‘after’, *lon branco* < *los blancos* ‘the white men’).

- (22) a. *Estos chicos son [son] amigos desde hace mucho tiempo.*
 these guys be.PRES.3.PL friends from ago much time
 ‘These guys have been friends for a long time.’
 b. *Lo que dijo Sarli no me pareció tan [tan] amable.*
 it that say.PAST.3.SG Sarli no to me seem.PAST.1.SG so lovely
 ‘What Sarli said did not seem to me so lovely.’
 c. *Es una canción [canción] de Vallumbroso.*
 be.PRES.3.SG a song of Vallumbroso
 ‘That is a Vallumbroso’s song.’
- (23) a. *Sin [sin] eso*
 without this
 ‘Without this’ (Barvolento Spanish; Megenney 1999: 82)
 b. *Muy bien [bien]*
 very well
 ‘Very well’ (Afro-Panamanian Spanish; Lipski 1989: 43)
 c. *Bien [bien] hecho.*
 well done
 ‘Well done’ (Afro-Panamanian Spanish; Lipski 1989: 43)
 d. *Sin [sin] saber*
 without knowing
 ‘Without knowing’ (Chota Valley Spanish; Sessarego 2013c: 50)

(X) *Weakening and deletion of /b/, /d/, /g/*

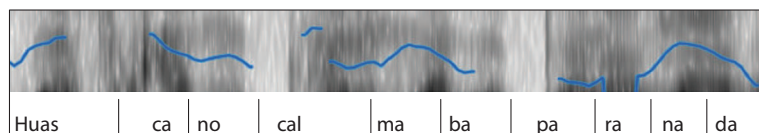
My corpus shows several instances of intervocalic /b/, /d/, /g/ weakening and deletion (*cantaa* < *cantaba* ‘he used to sing’, *naa* < *nada* ‘nothing’, *mujerieo* < *mujeriego* ‘womanizer’) (24), in line with the cases encountered by Romero (1987: 141) (*tamién* < *también* ‘too’, *taurete* < *taburete* ‘stool’, *mae* < *madre* ‘mother’, *parino* < *padrino* ‘godfather’). These phenomena for contemporary APS have been extensively described by Cuba (2002: 26–28) (25), while similar phonological processes

have also been reported for a variety of Afro-Hispanic languages in the Americas, as example (26) confirms.

- (24) a. *Todo eso no me impota naa [nada].*
 all this no to me matter.PRES.3.SG nothing
 ‘I do not care about all of this.’
- b. *Mi tío cantaa [cantaba] y mi padre tocaba.*
 my uncle sing.PAST.3.SG and my father play.PAST.3.SG
 ‘My uncle used to sing and my father used to play.’
- c. *Le dicen que es mujerieo [mujeriego] porque*
 to her say.PRES.3.PL that be.PRES.3.SG womanizer because
ni se sabe cuánto hijo tiene.
 nor REFL know.PRES.3.SG how many son have.PRES.3.SG
 ‘They tell him that he is a womanizer because nobody knows how many children he has.’
- (25) a. *Me lo roaron [robaron].*
 to me it steal.PAST.3.PL
 ‘They stole it from me.’ (Cuba 2002:26)
- b. *Pa’ oce [pa’doce] días.*
 for twelve days
 ‘For twelve days.’ (Cuba 2002:27)
- c. *Seundo [Segundo].*
 second
 ‘Second.’ (Cuba 2002:28)
- (26) a. *Caeza [cabeza]; pare [padre]*
 head father
 ‘Head; father’ (Eastern Afro-Venezuelan Spanish; Megenney 1999:84)
- b. *Mandau [mandado]*
 sent
 ‘Sent’ (Afro-Bolivian Spanish; Sessarego 2011a:117)
- c. *Boliare [bolivares]*
 bolivarians
 ‘Bolivarians’ (Barlovento Spanish; Megenney 1999:84)

3.3.3 Intonation patterns

Afro-Peruvian Spanish suprasegmental features appear to parallel those encountered in other Afro-Hispanic dialects. This variety shows multiple early-aligned peaks and minimal downstep across non-exclamatory non-focused declaratives. This is quite divergent from the pattern encountered in other Spanish dialects;



‘The whip did not stop at all.’

Figure 3.1 Multiple early-aligned peaks and minimal downstep across non-exclamatory non-focused declaratives

while it has often been detected in Afro-Hispanic varieties across the Americas, such as black Dominican Spanish (Willis 2003), Palenquero (Hualde & Schwegler 2008; Correa 2012), and the black dialects of Mexico, Venezuela, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Panama and Cuba (Lipski 2007b).

3.4 Afro-Peruvian Spanish morpho-syntax

Traditional APS shows a variety of morpho-syntactic features that deviate from standard Spanish and are commonly encountered in other Afro-Hispanic dialects and second-language varieties of Spanish. The following sections will provide an overview of such grammatical patterns.

3.4.1 Noun Phrase

(I) *Number agreement*

A common feature encountered across a variety of Afro-Hispanic languages and in APS is the lack of number agreement across the Noun Phrase. In fact, unlike Spanish, which marks the feature number redundantly on all the nominal elements, traditional APS conveys plurality only on determiners, thus not showing plural markers on nouns and adjectives. In particular, APS presents striking similarities with Afro-Bolivian Spanish and Chota Valley Spanish (Sessarego 2013c, 2014a), where number is expressed exactly in the same way. APS Noun Phrases can express plurality by recurring to plural -s morphology on definite and indefinite articles (27a–b), possessives (27c) and demonstratives (27d), or by being headed by quantifiers (27e) and numerals (27f), which can convey plurality inherently, without recurring to morphological markers (cf. Baptista & Guéron 2007).

- (27) a. *Los trabajador internacional.*
 the.PL worker.SG international.SG
 ‘The international workers.’

- b. *Unos trabajador internacional.*
some.PL worker.SG international.SG
'Some international workers.'
- c. *Mis trabajador internacional.*
my.PL worker.SG international.SG
'My international workers.'
- d. *Esos trabajador internacional.*
this.PL worker.SG international.SG
'These international workers.'
- e. *Mucho trabajador internacional.*
many worker.SG international.SG
'Many international workers.'
- f. *Cinco trabajador internacional.*
five worker.SG international.SG
'Five international workers.'

Due to contact with standard Spanish, it was possible to find much variation in the speech of the informants interviewed; thus forms deprived of plural marking would alternate with those presenting such an inflection, as in (28).

- (28) *Cuando ibamos a las fiesta, algunos amigos compraban*
when go.PAST.1.PL to the.PL party.SG some.PL friend.PL buy.PAST.3.PL
muchas bebidas, otros ponían el dinero para las
many.PL drink.PL other.PL put.PAST.3.PL the.SG money.SG for the.PL
comida y algunos armaban las cosa para tocar las
food.SG and some.PL set.PAST.3.PL the.PL thing.SG for play the.PL
canción tradicional.
song.SG traditional.SG
'When we went to the parties, certain friends bought many drinks, others put in the money for the food and others set things so that they could play the traditional songs.'

Non-redundant plural marking across the Noun Phrase was also identified by Cuba (2002: 37), who offered a variety of naturalistic examples (29).

- (29) a. *Tre día.*
Three day.SG
'Three days.'
- b. *Ella tiene doce maceta grande.*
she have.PRES.3.SG twelve pot.SG big.SG
'She has twelve big pots.'

- c. *Santa María tiene sus ola como un río.*
 Saint.SG Mary have.PRES.3.SG her.SG wave.SG like a.SG river.SG
 ‘St. Mary has waves like a river.’

Lipski (1994a: 209) indicates that the lack of plural marking on nouns was highly common in the colonial texts he analyzed. He points out that this phenomenon is typical of L2 Spanish learners and that it may also be due to the African substrates. In fact, in several African languages, nouns do not carry plural inflection. Rather, the semantic notion of plurality can usually be inferred from the context or is expressed by a particle, which can either appear prenominally (e.g. in Yoruba) or postnominally (e.g. in Ewe). In Chapter 4, I will further elaborate on the nature of these constructions to suggest that they appear to be the result of advanced, conventionalized L2 strategies, which might not necessarily have been significantly affected by the L1s spoken by the learners. Instances of number agreement mismatches are a common feature of all Afro-Hispanic dialects and, more generally, of all contact varieties, where inflectional morphology tends to be lost. Some Afro-Hispanic examples are reported in (30).

- (30) a. *Eso son la gente que son hijo*
 this.SG be.PRES.3.PL the.SG people.SG that be.PRES.3.PL son.SG
de Congo...
 of Congo
 ‘These are the people who are son[s] of Congo...’
 (Afro-Cuban Spanish; Ortiz López 1996: 102)
- b. *Tán chiquito puej mij nene.*
 so little.SG well my.PL kid.SG
 ‘My kids are so little’ (Afro-Mexican Oaxaca Spanish; Mayén 2007: 117)
- c. *Ele a-tené ndo muhé*
 he have.PRES.3.SG two woman.SG
 ‘He has two wives’ (Palenquero; Schwegler 1996a: 262)
- d. *Cuatro hermano joven.*
 four brother.SG young.SG
 ‘Four young brothers.’ (Chota Valley Spanish; Sessarego 2013c: 52)

(II) Gender agreement

Another phenomenon commonly encountered in Afro-Peruvian Spanish is variable gender agreement. After carrying out grammatical judgments on a sample of twelve informants, three different gender agreement patterns were attested (Groups A, B, C) (see Gutiérrez-Rexach & Sessarego 2014). Group A (2 elderly speakers) had grammatical intuitions that can be exemplified in (31), where gender agreement affects all the categories but strong quantifiers.

- (31) a. *Todo la sopa rica.*
 all.M the.F soup.F tasty.F
 'All the tasty soup.'
- b. *Mucha/esta/una sopa rica.*
 much.F/this.F/a.F soup.F tasty.F
 'Much/this/a tasty soup.'

Group B (2 elderly speakers) presented the agreement configuration instantiated by example (32), where the only non-agreeing category is post-nominal adjectives.

- (32) a. *Toda la sopa rico.*
 all.F the.F soup.F tasty.M
 'All the tasty soup.'
- b. *Mucha/esta/una sopa rico.*
 much.F/this.F/a.F soup.F tasty.M
 'Much/this/a tasty soup.'

Finally, Group C (the 8 remaining speakers) presented the fully generalized pattern from standard Spanish (33).

- (33) a. *Toda la sopa rica.*
 all.F the.F soup.F tasty.F
 'All the tasty soup.'
- b. *Mucha/esta/una sopa rica.*
 much.F/this.F/a.F soup.F tasty.F
 'Much/this/a tasty soup.'

The results from grammaticality judgments were also compared to data extracted from sociolinguistic interviews. The comparison between these two different sources clearly indicated that several informants who claimed to use gender agreement for certain grammatical categories during the questionnaires were found lacking it in the sociolinguistic recordings. To obtain a more detailed picture, 2,445 tokens from the sociolinguistic interviews were extracted and coded according to the factor groups 'grammatical category' and 'generation'. Thus the factor group 'grammatical category' consisted of the following individual factors: demonstratives/definite articles, weak quantifiers, pronominal adjectives, strong quantifiers, and postnominal adjectives. The factor group 'generation' included the three following age groups: 21–50, 51–80, 81+. Given the lack of variation for certain factors, the first run provided knock-outs (cf. Tagliamonte 2006: 152–153). For this reason, tokens had to be recoded and several grammatical categories were collapsed, as well as the generations 21–50 and 51–80. Such a recodification allowed Varbrul to run the data, providing the results presented in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Cross-generational variable rule analysis of the contribution of internal factors to the probability of lack of gender agreement in Afro-Peruvian Spanish (Total = 2455; Log likelihood = -210.896; Total Chi-square = 5.2353; Chi-square/cell = 0.8725; Significance = 0.000; Input = 0.007)

	Factor weight	% Lack agreement	N	% Data
GRAMMATICAL CATEGORY				
Post-Nom. Adj.	.94	11	261	11
Strong Q.	.92	9	249	10
Other Ds.	.34	1	1945	79
	<i>Range</i>			
	60			
GENERATION				
81+	.76	6	781	32
21–80	.37	1	1674	68
	<i>Range</i>			
	39			

As can be observed, post-nominal adjectives and strong quantifiers in APS strongly disfavor concord (factor weights .94 and .92), while the other determiners favor it (factor weight .34). The factor group ‘generation’ is also significant, with generation 81+ favoring lack of gender agreement (factor weight .76) and generations 21–50 and 51–80 favoring agreement (factor weight .37). These results show that little variation occurs among the speakers younger than 81+, thus indicating that lack of gender agreement is in APS a phenomenon primarily concerned with older informants, not very relevant for the rest of the speech community and in all likelihood destined to disappear within the next twenty years or so. Figure 3.2 summarizes the results obtained for the evolution of gender agreement across the nominal categories in APS.

As can be noted, even though the tokens had to be recoded to obtain significant results with Varbrul, the evolutionary agreement trend of APS appears to follow the hierarchical steps depicted in (34), which parallels those found in previous studies for Afro-Bolivian Spanish and Chota Valley Spanish (cf. Sessarego & Gutiérrez-Rexach 2011, 2012; Gutiérrez-Rexach & Sessarego 2014).

- (34) Demonstratives/Definite Articles > Weak Quantifiers >
Prenominal Adjectives > Strong Quantifiers > Postnominal Adjectives.

The examples in (35)–(38) provide a sample of naturalistic data extracted from the sociolinguistic interviews presenting instances of variable gender agreement. It is found on prenominal and postnominal adjectives (35), indefinite articles (36), and weak and strong quantifiers (37). On the other hand, definite articles

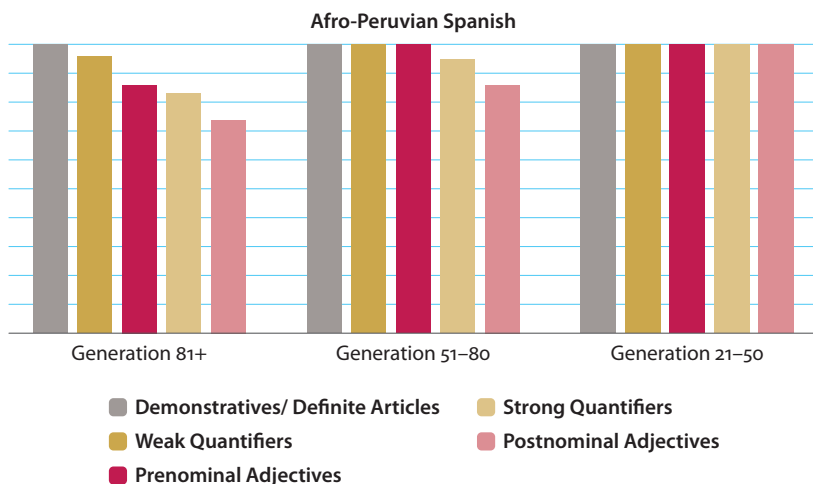


Figure 3.2 Gender agreement evolution in APS

and demonstratives appear to always agree with the noun they precede (38). As can be observed, all the cases of lack of gender agreement correspond to the appearance of the default masculine forms, thus no cases of mismatch between a masculine noun and a feminine adjective or determiner were found.

- (35) a. *Esa gente peruano, esa gente peruano de los*
 this.F people.F Peruvian.M this.F people.F Peruvian.M of the.M
Andes son diferente.
 Andes be.PRES.3.PL different
 ‘These Peruvian people, these Peruvian people from the Andes are different.’
- b. *Una muchacha borracho no me gusta.*
 a.F girl.F drunk.M no me like.PRES.3.SG
 ‘I do not like drunk ladies.’
- c. *Buen persona no ha venío.*
 good.M person.F no AUX.PRES come
 ‘The good person did not come.’
- d. *Se trata de una cuestión problemático.*
 REFL matter.PRES.3.SG of a.F issue.F problematic.M
 ‘It is a matter of a problematic issue.’
- (36) a. *Un hoja se ha caío del árbol.*
 a.M leaf.F REFL AUX.PRES felt of the.M tree.M
 ‘A leaf fell from the tree.’

- b. *Un bandera de un nación importante.*
a.M flag.F of an.M nation.F important
'A flag of an important nation.'
- c. *Fue un semana sin descanso.*
be.PAST.3.SG a.M week.F without rest.M
'It was a week without rest.'
- d. *Dició que un vez vino con mi pare.*
say.PAST.3.SG that a.M time.F come.PAST.3.SG with my father.M
'He said that one time he came with my father.'
- (37) a. *Mucho persona ya se han ido.*
many.M person.F already REFL AUX.PRES.3.PL went
'Many people have already left.'
- b. *Todo la gente que conozco no quiere al gobierno.*
all.M the.F people.F that know.PRES.1.SG no want to the.M government.M
'All the people I know do not like the government.'
- c. *Algún típico comida son papa con arroz.*
some.M typical.M food.F be.PAST.3.PL potato.M with rice.M
'Some typical foods are potatoes with rice.'
- d. *Poco hambre tiene la huawa.*
little.M hunger.F have.PRES.3.SG the.F kid.F
'The kid is not very hungry.'
- (38) a. *La escuela ha ayudado mucho a la gente de acá.*
the.F school.F AUS.PRES.3.SG helped much to the people.F from here
'The school has helped the local people a lot.'
- b. *La amiga de María cocina muy rico.*
the.F friend.F of Mary cook.PRES.3.SG very well
'Maria's friend cooks very well.'
- c. *¿Esas mujé que habían preparao?*
These.F woman.F what AUX.PAST.3.PL prepared
'What did these women prepare?'
- d. *Esta música yo ya la había escuchao.*
this.F music.F I already it.F AUX.PAST.1.SG listened
'I had already listened to this music.'

Variability in gender agreement is a feature frequently reported for the speech of black communities in the Americas; it is also commonly found in second

language varieties of Spanish. The examples in (39) present some cases encountered in other Afro-Hispanic vernaculars.

- (39) a. *Mugué malo.*
 woman.F bad.M
 ‘Bad woman.’ (Afro-Puerto Rican Spanish; Álvarez Nazario 1974: 189)
- b. *Quieren cosa ligero.*
 want.PRES.3.PL thing.F light.M
 ‘They want light things.’ (Chocó Ruiz-García 2009: 77)
- c. *En este semana.*
 in this.M week.F
 ‘This week.’ (Afro-Bolivian Spanish; Lipski 2008: 86)
- d. *Todo esa gente vieja.*
 all.M this.F people.F old.F
 ‘All these old people.’ (Afro-Cuban Spanish; Ortiz López 1996: 101)

(III) Bare nouns

In line with other Afro-Hispanic dialects and unlike standard Spanish, APS presents bare nouns in both subject and object positions, where they may take on either a generic or specific reading depending on the context in which they appear (cf. Baptista & Guéron 2007).

- (40) a. *¡Gente de acá ya ha dicho ‘que no’!*
 people of here already AUX.PRES.3.SG said that no
 ‘People from here have already said ‘no!’
- b. *Venía mayordomo y mandaba las cosa.*
 come.PAST.3.PL overseer and order.PAST.3.SG the thing
 ‘The overseer used to come and give orders.’
- c. *Madre quiere jugar con huawa.*
 mother want.PRES.3.SG play with kid
 ‘The mother wants to play with the kid / Mothers want to play with kids.’
- d. *Mujé trabajaba también, más que hombre.*
 woman work.PAST.3.SG too more than man
 ‘Women worked too, more than men.’
- e. *Mi tía prepara plato tradicional.*
 my aunt prepare.PRES.3.SG dish traditional
 ‘My aunt prepares a traditional dish / My aunt prepares traditional dishes.’

Instances of APS bare nouns have also been spotted by Lipski (1994a: 207–209), who reported the following examples (41).

- (41) a. *Niño no responde nara.*
 baby no answer.PRES.3.SG nothing
 ‘The child does not answer anything.’
- b. *Nega Casilda no moleta, amita.*
 black Casilda no bother.PRES.3.SG madam
 ‘The black woman Casilda does not bother anybody, madam.’
- c. *Neglo será presilente.*
 black be.FUT.3.SG president
 ‘A black man will be president.’
- d. *Ella [me ha] aydao matá cabrita.*
 she me AUX.PRES.3.SG helped kill little goat
 ‘She helped me kill the little goat.’

Additional examples of bare nouns in other Afro-Hispanic dialects are presented in (42).

- (42) a. *Lorenzo come naranja.*
 Lorenzo eat.PRES.3.SG orange
 ‘Lorenzo eats oranges.’ (Chota Valley Spanish; Sessarego 2013c: 54)
- b. *Jilicata tiene que ehtá masiendo.*
 overseer have.PRES.3.SG that be.PRES.3.SG weeding
 ‘The overseer has to be weeding.’ (Afro-Bolivian Spanish; Lipski 2008: 85)
- c. *Yo trabajo mina.*
 I work.PRES.3.SG mine
 ‘I work the mine.’ (Chocó Spanish; Ruiz-García 2009: 45)

3.4.2 Verb Phrase

(I) *Regularization of irregular verb forms*

Across the Afro-Peruvian verbal system it is possible to find cases of regularization that tend to homogenize the conjugations, thus eliminating some of the irregularities found in standard Spanish. This phenomenon is quite noticeable with past participles (43), with irregular verbs presenting stem-vowel changes (44), and with some imperfect past forms that are used in APS with the *-ba* ending while in standard Spanish they require the *-ía* morpheme (45). Similar cases of overgeneralization are typical of Spanish interlanguages and have also been reported for other Afro-Hispanic dialects such as Afro-Bolivian Spanish (46) (see Sessarego 2011a: 53).

- (43) a. *Dizque se ha muríu [muerto].*
 apparently REFL AUX.PRES.3.SG dead
 ‘They say he died.’

- b. *El Zarandango ha abríu [abierto] más tarde hoy.*
 the Zarandango AUX.PRES.3.SG opened more late today
 ‘The Zarandango opened later today.’
- (44) a. *Él dició [dijo] que había un fantasma.*
 he say.PAST.3.SG that AUX.PAST.3.SG a gost
 ‘He said that there was a ghost.’
- b. *Ese duende vinió [vino] al campo donde estaba la bruja.*
 this elf come.PAST.3.SG to the field where be.PAST.3.SG
 the witch
 ‘This elf came to the field where the witch was.’
- (45) a. *El muchacho ese abriba [abría] toda las lata.*
 the guy this open.PAST.3.SG all the can
 ‘This guy opened all the cans.’
- b. *Te hablo del hombre que dormiba [dormía] bajo el árbol.*
 you talk.PRES.1.SG of the man that sleep.PAST.3.SG under
 the tree
 ‘I am talking about the man that was sleeping under the tree.’
- (46) a. *Pulga mi ha víu [visto].*
 Pulga me AUX.PRES.3.SG seen
 ‘Pulga saw me.’
- b. *Pedro hició [hizo] todú.*
 Pedro do.PAST.3.SG all
 ‘Pedro did everything.’
- c. *Lu joven saliba [salían] di fiesta.*
 the young go-out.PAST.3.SG of party
 ‘The young people used to go out to party.’

(II) *Archaic forms*

Cuba (2002: 34–35) pointed out the presence of some archaic forms in the verbal system of this Afro-Hispanic dialect. In particular, she reported high frequencies of use for the past subjunctive marker *-se*, which in contemporary colloquial Spanish is not very common and has been for the most part substituted by the morpheme *-ra* (47).

- (47) *Yo hubiese [hubiera] sembrado dos parcelas.*
 I have.PAST.SUBJ.1.SG planted two fields
 ‘I would have planted two fields.’

She also found verbal conjugations for the verb *ver* ‘to see’ that have been completely lost in contemporary Spanish, but were commonly used centuries ago (48).

- (48) a. *Yo lo vide [vi].*
 I him see.PAST.1.SG
 ‘I saw him.’
 b. *Él también lo vido [vio].*
 he too him see.PAST.3.SG
 ‘He saw him too.’

(III) *Ser and estar*

The verb *ser* is sometimes used where *estar* would be employed in standard Spanish; in some occasions copulas are omitted.

- (49) a. *Felipe ya es [está] cansado.*
 Felipe already be.PRES.3.SG tired
 ‘Felipe is already tired.’
 b. *Mi marido es [está] a Trujillo.*
 my musband be.PRES.3.SG at Trujillo
 ‘My husband is in Trujillo.’
 c. *Eyos (son) mayó.*
 they be.PRES.3.PL old
 ‘They are old.’

These findings are in line with the data reported by Cuba (2002: 34) (50).

- (50) *Es grande, sí, pero es más triste ... más desolado ...*
 be.PRES.3.SG big yes but be.PRES.3.SG more sad more remoted
porque ... por ejemplo, acá hay una casa ¿no? Más arriba, por
 because for example here EXIS.PRES a house no more above for
‘onde Almeida hay otra casa. No son [están] juntas,
 where Almeida EXIS.PRES other house no be.PRES.3.PL together
son [están] distanciadas las casas.
 be.PRES.3.PL apart the houses
 ‘It is big, yes, but it is more sad ... more desolate, because, for example, here
 there is a house, right? Over there, where Almeida lives there is another
 house. The houses are not together, they are far apart.’

Similar cases have been widely encountered in L2 Spanish varieties and in several Afro-Hispanic dialects across the Americas (51).

- (51) a. *Yo soy mucho enjuermo.*
 I be.PRES.1.SG very sick
 ‘I am very sick.’ (Afo-Bolivian Spanish; Sessarego 2011a: 54)
- b. *El 23 de diciembre eran la gente [...] por la calle.*
 el 23 of december be.PAST.3.PL the people for the street
 ‘On December 23rd people were along the street.’
 (Afro-Cuban Spanish; Ortiz-López 1996: 81)
- c. *Tú [eres] comunita.*
 you be.PRES.2.SG communist
 ‘You are a communist.’ (Afro-Panamanian Spanish; Lipski 1989: 26)

(IV) Haber ‘to exist’ / tener ‘to have’

While in standard Spanish the verb *haber* expresses existence and *tener* conveys possession, in APS (52), as in other Afro-Hispanic dialects (53), their uses may overlap. In my corpus, *tener* may be found in existential constructions, while *haber* can be preceded by ‘no’ to express negation of possession.

- (52) a. *Tiene una maestra en la escuela que cuida a todos*
 EXIS.PRES a teacher in the school that care.PRES.3.SG to all
los estudiante.
 the students
 ‘There is one teacher in the school who takes care of all the students.’
- b. *Aquí tenía ingenio de azúcar.*
 there EXIS.PAST refinery of sugar
 ‘There was a sugar refinery there.’
- c. *Esa gente no había nada de dinero.*
 this people no have.PRES.3.SG nothing de money
 ‘These people did not have money at all.’
- d. *Ella no había miedo.*
 she no have.PRES.3.SG fear
 ‘She is not scared.’
- (53) a. *Los mayor no había esa costumbre.*
 the old no have.PAST.3.PL this habit
 ‘Old people did not have this habit.’
 (Chota Valley Spanish; Lipski 2009: 105)
- b. *Tenía mucho bicho antes.*
 EXIS.PAST many insect before
 ‘There were many insects before.’
 (Chota Valley Spanish; Sessarego 2013c: 59)

- c. *Yo nu hay cajué.*
 I no have.PRES.3.SG coffe
 'I do not have coffee.' (Afro-Bolivian Spanish; Lipski 2008: 136)
- d. *Tiene gallina en la casa.*
 EXIS.PRES chicken in the house
 'There are chickens in the house.'
 (Afro-Bolivian Spanish; Sessarego 2011a: 54)

(V) *Reflexive se*

Oftentimes APS speakers do not use reflexive pronouns in constructions in which their use is compulsory in standard Spanish (54). This phenomenon, as is well-known, is common to many Spanish interlanguages, and for this reason it is addressed by several advanced Spanish grammar textbooks (cf. King & Suñer 2007). It is also frequent in a variety of Afro-Hispanic dialects across the Americas (55).

- (54) a. *Ella [se] llama Juana.*
 she REFL call.PRES.3.SG Juana
 'Her name is Juana.'
- b. *Los joven de aquí [se] están mudando a Lima*
 the young of here REFL be.PRES.3.PL moving to Lima
 'Young people from here are moving to Lima.'
- c. *Aldo [se] quedaba en el campo a tabajá.*
 Aldo REFL stay.PAST.3.SG in the field to work
 'Aldo used to stay in the field to work.'
- (55) a. *Eyus [se] llamaban Sarvo Sarvito*
 they REFL call.PAST.3.PL Sarvo Sarvito
 'They were called Sarvo Sarvito.'
 (Afro-Bolivian Spanish; Sessarego 2011a: 96)
- b. *Si no venía aquí al pueblo y taba bailar*
 if no come.PAST.1.SG here to the village and be.PAST.1.SG dance
[me] quedaba bailando arriba.
 REFL stay.PAST.1.SG dancing above
 'If I did not come here to the village and I was dancing I would have danced there.'
 (Chocó Spanish; Ruiz-García 2009: 83)
- c. *Pa tú tambié [te] divertí*
 for you too REFL enjoy
 'So that you will also enjoy.'
 (Afro-Puertorican Spanish; Álvarez Nazario 1974: 195)

3.4.3 Prepositional Phrase

(I) *Pleonastic prepositions de and a*

Lipski (1994a: 207–208) indicates that the prepositions lacking semantic import are those that tend to be omitted the most in the Afro-Peruvian *bozal* texts he analyzed. In particular, he highlighted the frequent omission of *a* ‘to’, which in standard Spanish marks the indirect object and the personal direct object, as well as the preposition *de* ‘of’, which has multiple functions in the standard variety (e.g. it indicates possessor, theme, agent, etc. cf. Sessarego 2014a: Ch. 6). Lipski (1994a: 207–208) and Cuba (2002: 36) provide a list of examples (56) that are in line with some of the cases I found in my corpus (57).

- (56) a. *Salí [a] las ocho, dempué...*
 go-out.PAST.1.SG at the eight after
 ‘I went out at eight, after ...’ (Lipski 1994a: 207)
- b. *Bucá rebajo [de] la cama.*
 look under of the bed
 ‘Looking under the bed.’ (Lipski 1994a: 207)
- c. *Cuando yo ta la congreso, yo negro, yo va [a] dici.*
 when I be.PRES.3.SG the congress I black I go to say
 ‘When I am in the congress, I am black, I will say.’ (Lipski 1994a: 208)
- d. *Ella ayudao [a] matá cabrita.*
 she helped to kill little goat
 ‘She has helped kill the little goat.’ (Lipski 1994a: 208)
- e. *Pare [de] familia.*
 father of family
 ‘Family man.’ (Cuba 2002: 36)
- (57) a. *Hay que ver [de] dónde son.*
 EXIS that see of where be.PRES.3.PL
 ‘We must see from where they are.’
- b. *Sácalo [de] ahí.*
 remove.IMP.2.SG it of there
 ‘Take it out from there.’
- c. *Nosotros vamos [a] trabajá mañana también.*
 we go.PRES.1.PL to work tomorrow too
 ‘We will work tomorrow too.’
- d. *Vino [a] comer con nosotros.*
 come.PAST.3.SG to eat with us
 ‘He came to eat with us.’

Moreover, in my fieldwork recordings, I encountered several cases where the preposition *a* ‘to’ is used with a locative function, where standard Spanish would employ *en* ‘in’ (58).

- (58) a. *Ana trabaja a [en] la oficina de su tío.*
 Ana work.PRES.3.SG at the office of her uncle
 ‘Ana works in her uncle’s office.’
 b. *Eyu estudiaron a [en] la escuela profesional.*
 they study.PAST.3.PL at the school profesional
 ‘They studied in the professional school.’
 c. *Estaba a [en] Lima luego ha vuelto.*
 be.PAST.3.SG at Lima after AUX.PRES.3.SG came back
 ‘He was in Lima then he came back.’
 d. *Vive a [en] Lima con Aldo.*
 live.PRES.3.SG at Lima with Aldo
 ‘She lives in Lima with Aldo.’

This locative function of the preposition *a* has also been reported for Afro-Bolivian Spanish and Chota Valley Spanish (59).

- (59) a. *Mi novio vive a [en] Guayaquil.*
 my boyfriend live.PRES.3.SG at Guayaquil
 ‘My boyfriend lives in Guayaquil.’
 (Chota Valley Spanish; Sessarego 2013c: 61)
 b. *Estoy trabajando a [en] otro campo.*
 be.PRES.1.SG working at other field
 ‘I am working in another field.’
 (Chota Valley Spanish; Sessarego 2013c: 61)
 c. *Juan nació a [en] La Paz.*
 Juan born.PAST.3.SG at La Paz
 ‘Juan was born in La Paz.’ (Afro-Bolivian Spanish; Sessarego 2011a: 55)
 d. *Mi hijo vive a [en] Mururata.*
 my son live.PRES.3.SG at Mururata
 ‘My son lives in La Paz.’ (Afro-Bolivian Spanish; Sessarego 2011a: 55)

(II) *Con*

The preposition *con* ‘with’ often substitutes the standard Spanish preposition *de* ‘of’ as well as the conjunction *y* ‘and’ (60). Parallel phenomena have been reported in other Afro-Hispanic languages; in particular, Afro-Bolivian Spanish and Chota Valley Spanish appear to behave identically in this respect (61).

- (60) a. *Persona con [de] corazón ya no hay.*
 person with heart already no EXIS
 ‘There are no generous people anymore.’
- b. *La bailarina con [de] pierna flaca fue el alma*
 the dancer with leg skinny be.PAST.3.SG the soul
de la h^uiesta.
 of the party
 ‘The skinny-legged dancer was the life of the party.’
- c. *Pisco con [y] huevo pa hacía el trago.*
 Pisco with egg for make the drink
 ‘Pisco and egg to prepare the drink.’
- d. *Yo con [y] ella compramo jruta en el mercao.*
 I with she buy.PAST.1.PL fruit in the market
 ‘She and I bought fruit at the market.’
- (61) a. *Hombre con [de] esta edad no tiene que trabajá.*
 man with this age no have.PRES.3.SG to work
 ‘A man that old should not work.’
 (Chota Valley Spanish; Sessarego 2013c: 60)
- b. *Wawa cun [de] esta edad pesa 20 kilo.*
 kid with this age weight.PRES.3.SG 20 kilo
 ‘A kid of this age weighs 20 kilos.’
 (Afro-Bolivian Spanish; Sessarego 2011a: 56)
- c. *Yo con [y] él acabó de limpiá.*
 I with he finish.PAST.3.SG of clean
 ‘He and I finished cleaning.’ (Afro-Cuban Spanish; Ortiz López 1996: 90)
- d. *Yo con [y] él fuimos al mercado.*
 I with he go.PAST.3.SG to the market
 ‘He and I went to the market.’
 (Chota Valley Spanish; Sessarego 2013c: 80)

3.4.4 Phrase-level constructions

(I) *Non-emphatic non-contrastive subject pronouns*

The difference between an overt subject and *pro* in a pro-drop language like standard Spanish is the presence of a [+topic shift] feature in the former which would be absent in the latter. Such a distinction does not exist in non-pro-drop languages such as English, where all subject pronouns must be spelled out (Grimshaw & Samek-Lodovici 1998). APS, in line with many other Afro-Hispanic languages and Caribbean Spanish, appears to show a hybrid system, where overt subjects

deprived of such a [+topic shift] feature are used redundantly, without signaling either emphasis or contrast, as in example (62).

- (62) *Mauricio fue también. Él se tomó una botella*
 Mauricio be.PAST.3.SG too he REFL drink.PAST.3.SG a bottle
de cerveza y después él se fue de fiesta.
 of beer and after he REFL go.PAST.3.SG of party
 ‘Mauricio went too. He drank a bottle of beer and afterwards he left to have fun.’

The use of non-emphatic, non-contrastive overt subjects, sometimes co-occurring with unconjugated verb forms, is found in a variety of Afro-Hispanic contact varieties (63).

- (63) a. *Yo tando muy pequeña yo conocí a una señora.*
 I being very young I meet.PAST.1.SG to a woman
 ‘When I was young I met a woman.’
 (Barlovento Spanish; Megenney 1999: 117)
- b. *Claro yo como fue chico yo no acorda*
 obviously I since be.PAST.3SG child I no remember.PRES.3.SG
vela
 candle
 ‘Obviously since I was a child I do not remember the candles.’
 (Afro-Bolivian Spanish; Lipski 2008: 101)
- c. *Y yo ya me salí con eso porque yo taba*
 and I already REFL leave.PAST.1.SG with it because I be.PAST.1.SG
onde mi mamá y yo me salí con él de la casa.
 where my mother and I REFL leave.PAST.1.SG with he of the house
 ‘And I left because I was where my mother was staying and I left the house with him.’
 (Chocó Spanish; Ruiz-García 2009: 88–89)

In some cases, these features have been analyzed as the remaining traces of a previous creole stage, elements showing a genetic link between these Afro-Hispanic dialects, Afro-Brazilian Portuguese, creole varieties, and certain Western African languages (Perl 1998:7). For example, Perl indicates that a key feature commonly encountered in these languages is “a remarkable increase in the use of non-emphatic subject pronouns” (1998:6), probably related to the parallel impoverishment of inflectional verbal morphology. Megenney, who is of a similar opinion, suggests that the high rate of overt pronouns in Afro-Venezuelan Spanish may be linked to a previous creole phase, since “the constant presence of personal pronouns is one of the typical features found in creole languages, and in

Colombian Palenquero these pronouns are used categorically” (1999:117).⁹ We will return on this topic in Chapter 4, where I will show that these features commonly found in Afro-Hispanic languages should not necessarily be analyzed as the traces of a previous creole stage (see also Sessarego 2012).

(II) *Subject-verb agreement*

In line with the rest of the Afro-Hispanic varieties of the Americas (64), APS shows variable subject-verb agreement (65). In fact, third person singular forms may appear as default forms, especially in the speech of the eldest informants; also Cuba (2002:38) reports an instance of this phenomenon (66).

- (64) a. *Ellos dijo [dijeron] que iba [iban] al campo.*
 they say.PAST.3.SG that go.PAST.3.SG to the field
 ‘They said that they would go to the field.’
 (Chota Valley Spanish; Sessarego 2013c: 76).
- b. *Tú jabla [hablas] y no conoce [conoces].*
 you speak.3.SG and no know.3.SG
 ‘You speak and you do not know.’ (Afro-Cuban Spanish; Guirao 1938:3)
- c. *Yo sabe [sé].*
 I know.PRES.3.SG
 ‘I know.’ (Afro-Puertorican; Álvarez Nazario 1974:194–195)
- d. *Nojotro trabajaba [trabajábamos] hacienda.*
 we work.PAST.3.SG hacienda
 ‘We worked on the hacienda.’ (Afro-Bolivian Spanish; Lipski 2008:107)
- (65) a. *Ellas comía lo que yo cocinaba.*
 they eat.PAST.3.SG what that I cook.PAST.3.SG
 ‘They ate what I cooked.’
- b. *Ello vive de eso*
 they live.3.SG of this
 ‘They make a living out of this.’
- c. *Yo compró un pedazo de tierra.*
 I buy.PAST.3.SG a piece of land
 ‘I bought a piece of land.’
- d. *Nosotros vivía con poca plata.*
 we live.PAST.3.SG with little money
 ‘We used to live with little money.’
- (66) *Muy esclavizado el trabajo. Y en verano llega visitas.*
 very enslaved the work and in summer come.PRES.3.SG visits
 ‘The work is like slavery. And visitors come during the summer.’

9. Cf. Schwegler (2002) for an account of Palenquero subject pronouns.

As is well-known, cases of subject-verb lack of agreement are common among L2 learners of Spanish. Lipski (1994a: 208–209, 2005: 253) identified similar cases in the Afro-Peruvian *bozal* texts he analyzed. Example (67) reports some of the instances he found.

- (67) a. *¿Para qué tú me yeba?*
 for what you me take.PRES.3.SG
 ‘Why do you take me?’
 b. *Yo negro, yo va dicí.*
 I black I go.PRES.3.SG say
 ‘I am black, I’m going to say.’
 c. *Yo quiele [quiero] sé diputá.*
 I want.PRES.3.SG be deputy
 ‘I want to be a deputy.’

(III) *Lack of subject-verb inversion in questions*

Cuba (2002: 37) identifies constructions that do not present subject-verb inversion in questions (68). My fieldwork confirms her data (69) and show an interesting parallelism with other Afro-Hispanic dialects as well as Caribbean Spanish and Palenquero (70).

- (68) a. *¿Ves cómo tú no crees?*
 see.PRES.2.SG how you no believe.PRES.2.SG
 ‘Do you see that you do not believe?’
 b. *¿Por qué el chiquito no va?*
 for what the kid no go.PRES.3.SG
 ‘Why doesn’t the kid go?’
 (69) a. *¿Cómo uté se llama?*
 what you REFL call.PRES.3.SG
 ‘What is your name?’
 b. *¿Qué tú comiste en la posada? ¿Carapulcra?*
 what you eat.PAST.2.SG in the motel carapulcra
 ‘What did you eat in the motel? Carapulcra?’
 c. *¿Cuándo tú vuelve?*
 when you come-back.PRES.3.SG
 ‘When are you coming back?’
 d. *¿Qué ella dijo? ¿Que yo soy listo?*
 what she say.PAST.3.SG that I be.PRES.1.SG smart
 ‘What did she say? That I am smart?’

- (70) a. ¿Qué tú comes?
 what you eat.PRES.2.SG
 'What do you eat?' (Caribbean Spanish; Lorenzino 1998: 36)
- b. ¿Onde tú taba, mijito?
 where you be.PAST.3.SG my son
 'Where were you, my son?' (Barlovento Spanish; Megenney 1999: 118)
- c. ¿Oté tiene coca?
 you have.PRES.2.SG coca
 'Do you have coca?' (Afro-Bolivian Spanish; Sessarego 2011a: 68)
- d. ¿Ke bo ta buká akí tiela anginí Pambelé?
 what you TMA look for here land back Pambelé
 'What are you looking for here in this black land of Pambelé?'
 (Palenquero; Schwegler 1996a: 408)

3.5 Lexical items in Afro-Peruvian Spanish

This section offers an account of forty lexical items characteristic of Afro-Peruvian Spanish. These words are the result of direct observations and interviews I carried out in these black communities along the Peruvian coastal region. In order to elicit lexical entries that were relevant for the Afro-Chinchano identity, at the end of each interview, speakers were asked to think about a set of words they considered to be representative of the local culture. A part of them have also been reported in the book written by Romero (1988), *Quimba, fa, malambó, ñeque: Afronegrismos en el Perú*, which is entirely dedicated to the Afro-Peruvian lexicon.

- I. *Arrebiatado*: insect that attacks cotton plants.
- II. *Atajo de negritos*: traditional Chinchano dance.
- III. *Azumagar*: to dry leaves or other parts of a plant.
- IV. *Batán*: a brass mortar, for kitchen use.
- V. *Bruja*: witch who is mentioned in a variety of traditional legends.
- VI. *Cajon*: wood drum.
- VII. *Catacumbas*: underground tunnels located under the San José hacienda. They were built by the Jesuits and connect the hacienda to several other properties.
- VIII. *Cau cau de mondongo*: typical local dish made of rice, potatoes and tripe (*mondongo*).
- IX. *Chandú*: artifact, lie, fake object; possibly from Kikongo *nzándú* (joke, offense).
- X. *Chauca*: grey bird that is supposed to bring bad luck.
- XI. *Chicote*: whip, also called *huasca*, from Quechua *waskha*.
- XII. *Chivato*: goatherd.

- xiii. *Condesa*: rich woman who used to own a local hacienda in colonial times. A local legend tells that her ghost can be seen at night on a horse wagon running across the fields.
- xiv. *Cuculemu*: local insect.
- xv. *Cuculí*: white bird, similar to a dove.
- xvi. *Cututeo*: gossip, possibly from Kikongo *kūtutu* (to bundle up), *kutama* (reunion, group, to agree).
- xvii. *Danta*: tapir; possibly from Wolof *lamt* (big antelope).
- xviii. *Guagua*: child; possibly derived from Northern Zaire languages, where *wa-wa* is said to put babies to sleep, or from Quechua *wáwa*.
- xix. *Guarango*: local plant with many spines.
- xx. *Lingo*: children's game that involves jumping around.
- xxi. *Lumbé*: children's game where people form a circle by joining their hands; possibly from Kikongo *lúmbe* (joining hands).
- xxii. *Macuco*: old person; possibly from Kimbundu *kuuka* (old person).
- xxiii. *Malambó*: black neighborhood of Lima.
- xxiv. *Mamainé*: famous traditional restaurant located in El Guayabo.
- xxv. *Marrajo*: said of a sly person.
- xxvi. *Melchorita*: Melchora Saravia Tasayco (Chincha, Perú, January, 6 1897 – December, 4 1951). Religious woman who became a nun and dedicated her life to care for the poor. She is well-known in Peru as 'Melchorita'. Her case is currently being considered for canonization by the Catholic Church.
- xxvii. *Ñacudo*: said of somebody with uncombed, messy hair.
- xxviii. *Ñeque*: said of somebody with a strong personality, arrogant (cf. Romero 1988: 206–207).
- xxix. *Ñuto*: dust; possibly from Kikongo *nyúka* (to pulverize).
- xxx. *Palangana*: said of somebody who is stuck-up.
- xxxi. *Pichingo*: grey bird living on the Peruvian coasts.
- xxxii. *Quimba*: agile movement made during traditional dances; possibly derived from the word *kikimba*, name of a secret language that was apparently taught to the blacks who joined the Ndembo confraternity in Peru at the beginning of the 19th century. Members of this organization practiced dance, manual skills, war tactics, and were taught this secret language (cf. Romero 1988: 226).
- xxxiii. *Rufa*: agricultural tool used to prepare the field before placing the seeds.
- xxxiv. *Suró*: sweat, from Spanish *sudor*.
- xxxv. *Tacutacu*: traditional dish made of rice and beans.
- xxxvi. *Taita*: father; most likely from Quechua *taita* (father), possibly from Kikongo *taàta* (father, uncle, hunt, boss, slave master).
- xxxvii. *Virgen del Carmen*: patron saint of the El Carmen village, current folkloric and cultural center of the black Chinchano community.

xxxviii. *Zapatear*: to tap one's feet, typical custom in traditional dances.

xxxix. *Zarandango*: traditional restaurant located in El Carmen.

xxl. ¡Újele! / ¡Yújele!: exclamation often used by children to express joy.

Some of the aforementioned lexical items could only be recalled by the oldest informants interviewed, since they refer to traditional activities or objects that are no longer in line with contemporary Afro-Peruvian lifestyle (i.e. *batán*, *lumbé*, etc.). Other items, on the other hand, were often reported by younger Afro-Chinchanos, since they refer to habits and/or traditions that are still alive in these Afro-Hispanic communities (i.e. *cajón*, *zapatear*, etc.). All of them, however, were indicated by the members of these communities as representative of their local identity. For this reason, they testify to a linguistic shift that is not only affecting APS phonology and morphosyntax, but also to the fact that the APS lexicon is undergoing a transgenerational change.

3.6 A final note on Afro-Peruvian Spanish grammar

This chapter has offered an overview of the main grammatical features characterizing traditional APS. The phonological, morpho-syntactic and lexical elements described here make traditional APS a variety of Spanish that diverges quite significantly from its surrounding dialects. At the same time, such elements align this vernacular with a number of other Afro-Hispanic varieties spoken across the Americas. The presence of these linguistic features, however, does not make APS a language apart, incomprehensible to Spanish speakers. On the contrary, we must remember that APS remains intelligible, even in its most traditional form.

As far as the status of APS is concerned, it should be pointed out that the use of the traditional dialect appears to be limited to a few elderly speakers. Indeed, the aforementioned vernacular features are for the most part absent from the speech of the younger generations. This situation can be classified as a case of transgenerational language shift, which consists of the systematic substitution of stigmatized basilectal APS features in favor of more prestigious coastal Peruvian Spanish ones. This phenomenon, driven by a recent increase in mobility and by the arrival of public education to Afro-Chinchano communities, is resulting in a drastic decline of traditional APS, which is likely to lead to its complete disappearance within a couple of generations, in line with the progressive shrinking of many other Afro-Hispanic speech varieties across the Americas (cf. Sessarego 2011a for Afro-Bolivian Sanish and Sessarego 2013c for Chota Valley Spanish).