

# Introduction

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**Spanish in Contact: Policy, Social and Linguistic Inquiries**

**Edited by Kim Potowski and Richard Cameron**

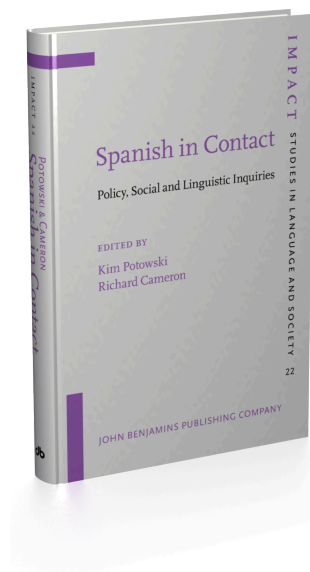
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# Introduction

In the fall of 1980, a group of researchers participated in a conference on Spanish-English bilingualism in the United States as a response to the increasing Hispanic population in areas outside of the Southwest. Until then, very little research had been conducted in other areas of the country, nor had United States Spanish linguistic phenomena been studied within the context of actual language use. The meeting was organized by Lucía Elías-Olivares at the University of Illinois at Chicago, and the product of that meeting was a collection of 16 papers (Elías-Olivares 1983). Between 1980 and 2002, the conference met an additional eighteen times at locations around the United States, and produced six more volumes of research papers – listed at the end of this introduction – studies that are still frequently cited in contemporary research. In 1991, the twelfth meeting of the conference, which had come to be known as Spanish in the United States, saw the addition of the first International Conference on Spanish and Portuguese in Contact with Other Languages. This conference has met intermittently with the Spanish in the United States conference over the years.

We were pleased and honored to host the 20th anniversary of this event back at its birthplace, the University of Illinois at Chicago. This volume is a collection of papers presented at the XX Conference on Spanish in the United States and the V International Conference on Spanish in Contact with Other Languages that took place in March 2005. Over 80 scholars from around the world presented their research at this event. We were especially honored by the participation of six plenary speakers: Frances Aparicio, Anna María Escobar, Ricardo Otheguy, Almeida Jacqueline Toribio, Guadalupe Valdés, and Kathryn Woolard. The papers read by Escobar and Otheguy appear in this volume. In addition to regular sessions, there was an invited panel on Spanish in contact with African languages (John Lipski, William Meggeney, Luis Ortíz López, and Armin Schwegler), another discussing the impact of bilingualism on the status of Spanish (Luis Moll and Otto Santa Anna), and a workshop on the teaching of Spanish to heritage speakers (María Carreira and Cecilia Colombi). We wish to thank all of our colleagues for making this such a successful event.

Current demographic realities in the United States make this volume particularly timely. Spanish continues to be the second language of the United States, and the Spanish-speaking community in the United States represents the fifth largest Spanish-speaking community within a national territory in the world. The situation in the US constitutes one of many around the world where Spanish is in contact with another language. Other examples include Spanish in contact with the Quechua language

in Peru, with Haitian Creole along the Haitian-Dominican border, and with former African slave dialects in the Caribbean, all of which are reported on in this volume.

As the Table of Contents shows, we have organized the research presented here into sections that revolve around five major themes: Spanish as a Heritage Language in the United States, Educational and Policy Issues, Pragmatics and Contact, Variation and Contact, and Bozal Spanish. The first section contains five papers that examine issues of Spanish heritage speakers in the United States. Heritage speakers are defined as those who acquired a minority language in their homes and communities, but who live in a society where the majority speak a different language. Many heritage speakers, particularly those who immigrated to the United States as children or who were born to immigrant parents from Latin America, have productive abilities in Spanish. However, those heritage speakers of the third generation and beyond often evidence only limited comprehension and generally lack productive abilities. While 40% of U.S. Hispanics were born abroad, the other 60% were born and raised in predominantly English-speaking environments in the United States, and thus the Spanish of the majority of heritage speakers in the United States shows evidence of incomplete acquisition, attrition, and other phenomena that have attracted the attention of sociolinguists. The first of these papers, by Silva-Corvalán and Sánchez-Walker, focuses on subject use in English (a non pro-drop language) and in Spanish (a pro-drop language) by a child acquiring these two languages from birth. Their paper contributes to closing a gap that currently exists in the literature: although acquisition by monolingual children of the knowledge of whether their language requires overt subjects is a widely studied phenomena, the acquisition of this knowledge by bilingual children has not received the same degree of attention. The authors determine the frequency of subject usage at five MLU (mean length of utterance) stages between the ages of 1;5:8 and 2;8:9, and examine discourse-pragmatic and processing factors that may account for the variable realization of subjects in each language. The analysis shows that the child under study realizes at a very early age that English requires overt subjects and Spanish does not. The results also indicate that in regard to subject use in Spanish, there does not exist an immature interface between grammar and the discourse-pragmatic domain. The child expresses subjects in contexts where monolingual speakers would also use them: contrastive and focal subjects are expressed, and coreferential subjects are not. With respect to the issue of interlinguistic influence, the study leaves no doubt that Spanish and English develop autonomously with respect to subject expression. That is, the child seems to be matching the input he receives in English and Spanish without showing any effect of one language on the other. Longitudinal case studies such as this one are sorely lacking yet essential for illuminating issues of language development among bilingual children.

Next, Montrul's contribution focuses on the mental representation of mood in second generation Spanish heritage speakers. A variety of studies have amply documented the loss or incomplete acquisition of subjunctive mood in these speakers, analyzing production data and finding that the subjunctive is replaced by the indicative in cases where the use of subjunctive or indicative is variable and subject to differ-

ent semantic or pragmatic implications. Montrul's goal, however, was to go beyond production and probe into the interpretations bilinguals assign to sentences with indicative and subjunctive in obligatory and variable contexts. The study assumes the theoretical framework of generative grammar by which mood is represented as a functional category MoodP in Spanish. Subjunctive morphology carries the feature [+MOOD], which is crucial for the interpretation of the morphology. If MoodP is absent from the bilinguals' grammars, then they should have difficulty with the interpretation of mood morphology in addition to their already documented production difficulties. Monolingual and bilingual heritage Spanish speakers completed a recognition task of subjunctive in obligatory contexts and a judgment task that tested interpretation of subjunctive in variable contexts. Results showed a correlation between recognition of modal morphology and semantic interpretations. Those bilinguals whose apparent loss of Spanish subjunctive mood was most pronounced in the morphological recognition task had difficulty discriminating between indicative and subjunctive sentences in the interpretation task, suggesting that the feature [+MOOD] was not operational. Thus, it appears that the loss of a functional category involves loss of semantic features in addition to morphophonology.

Next, and moving from the grammatical into the lexical, Moreno-Fernández analyzed the degree of English present in the available lexicon of adolescent first and second generation Hispanics in Chicago. Available lexicon is defined as the sum of words that speakers have in their mental systems and whose use is conditioned by a particular topic. Given the English environment in which these youth live and are educated, the hypothesis was that their Spanish would show notable influence from English in the form of lexical loans. The author elicited available lexicon by asking the teens to list words by association within 22 different semantic fields, such as the human body, clothing, parts of the house, food and drink, school, transportation, means of heating and cooling interior spaces, etc. Once the lists were obtained, the frequency of the words was calculated to arrive at a statistical index of availability. Of the 20 words most commonly listed in each of the semantic fields, only 26 (6.5%) were Anglicisms, indicating that the Spanish lexicon of these young U.S. Latinos is sufficiently solid to permit communication about general topics. A greater number of English words were present in more esoteric fields such as "means of heating and cooling interior spaces," which is to be expected given that this field is not part of the everyday experience of most teenagers. There were no significant differences related to gender or even to generation; it was the participants' level of Spanish, defined by the level of Spanish course in which they were enrolled, that showed the greatest correlation with the presence of English lexical items. Moreno-Fernández points to the relevance of these findings in the efforts of designing Spanish curricula for heritage speakers.

The Spanish language education of heritage Spanish speakers has, indeed, become of critical importance in the country. According to the 2000 Census, the U.S. Latino population grew to a total of 13% of the country's population, which has profoundly impacted the education system at all levels of instruction. Currently, Hispanics constitute 32% of the student population in the 100 largest public school districts in the

United States. In our largest urban areas, there are numerous public schools whose proportion of Hispanic students is even greater – between 50% and 100% – including 71% of all public schools in Los Angeles, 46% of schools in Dade County, Florida, and a third of all schools in New York City and in Chicago. Not only in areas where Hispanics are highly concentrated, but also where their presence is less strong, researchers and educators are increasingly concerned with the Spanish language education of these students, which is commonly known as *Spanish for Native Speakers* (SNS). Many academic publications and reports in mainstream media in recent years underscore the challenge represented by creating Spanish curricula that, unlike typical foreign language curricula, take into account heritage speakers' particular linguistic, educational, and affective needs.

In this section, Carreira tackles the complexities of mixed ability language classes. Current approaches to foreign language teaching can be characterized by uniform learning objectives, activities, pacing, and assessment tools for all students. The author argues that, regardless of whether the class design is one of SNS or foreign language, bilingual Latino students, with their divergent academic and linguistic backgrounds, inevitably compose a context of mixed-ability language classrooms. Furthermore, she notes that such classrooms may be on the way to becoming the norm rather than the exception in Spanish-language programs throughout the country. Carreira advocates the application of Differentiated Teaching, which is based on the notion that teaching should be responsive to student differences and reach out to learners at their level of readiness, as an effective way to address Spanish instruction as well as issues of equity and access to learning. She presents useful concrete examples of differentiated activities for use in mixed-ability Spanish classes.

The three remaining papers in this section explore policy issues in different areas of the world where Spanish is spoken. Language policy, both official as promoted by the government, as well as unofficial as promoted by communities and local attitudes, can exert important influences on the languages and varieties spoken by individuals. Torres' article is an examination of linguistic behavior and ideologies among Puerto Ricans. Discussions of Puerto Rican language practices are inextricably tied to issues of nationalism and political loyalties both in Puerto Rico and the United States. The linguistic behavior and the language ideologies of island and mainland Puerto Ricans are often presented in polarized ways: island Puerto Ricans are defined as fervently loyal to Spanish and mostly uninterested in speaking English, while mainland Puerto Ricans are presented as English dominant and unable to communicate in Spanish. A more nuanced analysis suggests that a greater degree of bilingualism exists in both contexts. Recent proposals that seek to promote bilingualism in both settings provide promise for increasing the range of Puerto Rican bilingualism both stateside and on the island.

The two final papers in this section bring us to Spain. Triano-López' paper examines language planning in Valencia, exploring the importance of acknowledging speakers' attitudes about lexical purification. The Valencian vernacular is heavily Castilianized at the lexical level, despite more than twenty years of planning aimed at raising

the status of Valencian and purging this variety of Spanish (Castilian) borrowings. The author contends that planners who wish to widen the current scope of the lexical de-Castilianization of Valencian should first change speakers' attitudes towards the non-Castilian replacements. Positive attitudes towards these lexical items are expected to strongly correlate with linguistic behavior, i.e., with the use of these lexical replacements. Finally, Triano-López advances an attitude-changing construct that local planners could follow should they decide to intensify the lexical de-Castilianization of Valencian.

Finally, Loureiro-Rodríguez focuses on diglossia in Galicia. Galician has traditionally been considered a non-standard and much stigmatized dialect, from the 15th century through Franco's dictatorship. The author analyzes the legal language used to refer to Spanish and Galician in the Spanish Constitution, the Autonomy Statute of Galicia, and the Linguistic Normalization Act, as well as the relatively new construct of standard Galician and its use in school curriculum, public institutions, and the media. The paper also explores speakers' attitudes towards standard Galician as well as their linguistic choices in Galician society. Recent standardization efforts meant to confer linguistic prestige have attempted to extend standard Galician to formal contexts. Having a Galician standard would allow citizens to converge onto this variety instead of Spanish, avoiding the presently common Spanish/Galician diglossia. Furthermore, the standardization movement has tried to reinforce Galician identity and attract the loyalty of speakers. But, "standard" Galician has become a source of diglossia in and of itself: speakers may shift into "standard" Galician because they consider it more appropriate and higher in status than the local varieties. This may lead to a more traditional diglossic society where speakers who are not competent in standard Galician shift into Spanish in formal contexts. These ramifications are discussed in light of the ethnographic data gathered for this study.

The next set of articles, a very heterogeneous group, draw on multiple types of pragmatic and discourse analysis. Some evoke socially informed approaches to discourse as a site for identity construction. Others focus strictly on linguistic objects, gathered in social contexts, which require a pragmatic explanation. The work of Fuller, Elsam, and Self on classroom code switching among bilingual elementary school children draws on two important approaches to code switching: the Markedness Model of Myers-Scotton and the Sequential Approach found in the work of Auer and Wei. Whereas the Markedness Model originates within Gricean pragmatics, the Sequential Approach emerges from the Conversation Analysis. The researchers demonstrate that the majority of the switches can be explained within either model. However, the authors generally prefer the Markedness Model because it sheds light on the discursive construction of social identities through code switching. Yet in cases of code switching as the unmarked choice, the Markedness Model falters. In such interactions, they show how the Sequential Approach can provide an insightful analysis of bilingual discourse.

The work of Fuller et al. trades on conceptions of identity not unlike those found in social constructionism, wherein identity is a stylistic collaborative achievement worked out in discourse. In contrast, the work of Sánchez-Muñoz investigates style

and register not as sites of identity construction but as frames for analyzing an apparent change in the use and functions of the discourse marker *como*. Specifically, she claims that among certain Spanish heritage language speakers in the United States, the marker of *como* is adopting some of the pragmatic functions associated with the American English marker *like*, a feature that has not been previously reported in the literature.

The notion of pragmatic functions also figures in Ohlson's treatment of code switching in the Spanish-English lyrics of *bachata* songs. She demonstrates that code switching may serve as stylistic tool which permits speakers to achieve the effects known as subjectification and objectification. Ohlson further proposes that such effects could not be produced within these texts were the singers to sing only in one language or another.

In the following piece by Manley, the author turns her attention to a variety of features in Peruvian Spanish that show cross-linguistic influence from the remarkable set of epistemic suffixes in Cuzco Quechua. Speakers of Quechua convey their attitudes toward the knowledge they pass on through the use of five epistemic markers. In Cuzco Quechua, these include three epistemic suffixes, *-mi/-n*, *-si/-s*, and *-chá*, and two past tense verb forms, *-rqa-* and *-sqa-*. There has been much debate and inconsistency in the literature concerning the semantics and pragmatics of these epistemic markers as well as the ways in which these markers exert cross-linguistic influence on Andean Spanish. Manley provides evidence supporting meanings and uses for the Cuzco Quechua epistemic system beyond the distinction of firsthand vs. secondhand information source. She also addresses the claim that the Andean Spanish present perfect and past perfect verb tenses serve to communicate the epistemic meanings conveyed in Quechua, and presents ways in which speakers exhibit cross-linguistic influence of the Cuzco Quechua epistemic markers on Andean Spanish, such as through the use of *dice* to calque the Quechua *-si/-s* epistemic marker, as well as seven strategies, some of which have not been documented previously, for calquing the Quechua *-mi/-n* epistemic marker. This is an excellent example of pragmatic analysis of form based on data gathered in social contexts.

Another example of pragmatic analysis of data gathered via sociolinguistic fieldwork is the work of Ortiz-López on double negation of the type *no V no*. Ortiz-López investigates pragmatic and sociolinguistic factors that condition the use of double negation along the Haitian-Dominican Republic border in the speech of Spanish monolinguals and in that of Haitian Creole/Spanish bilinguals. In Dominican Spanish, researchers have proposed two basic syntactic configurations for negation: a single pre-verbal negative marker of *no* + verb, and a set of configurations that entail double negation. Double negation may involve simultaneous pre- and post-verbal negative markers, preverbal and sentence final negative markers, and a preverbal negative marker plus a negative polarity item such as *nada*, *tampoco*, or *nadie*. With respect to social groups, Ortiz-López finds two points of interests. First, monolingual speakers of Dominican Spanish show a higher frequency of double negation than do the bilingual Haitian Creole-Spanish speakers. Second, Haitian learners of Dominican Spanish, in-



dependent of their degree of proficiency in Spanish, predominantly acquire and use the pattern of single pre-verbal negation. They display very few cases of double negation. Those Haitian speakers who do display some double negation show certain patterns of negation that may be interpreted as transfer from Haitian Creole. However, as these speakers increase in proficiency, they progressively diminish such transfer. Therefore, the relative absence of double negation in the Spanish of the Haitian Creole-Spanish bilinguals and the presence of double negation in the monolingual Dominican Spanish speakers do not provide support for claims that double negation in Dominican Spanish results from contact with Haitian Creole.

Notice that the work of Ortiz-López draws on both pragmatics and sociolinguistics. The work of Manley also involves some statistical analysis. This brings us to the next set of articles which directly instantiate quantitative sociolinguistics and the study of variation. The full range of sociolinguistic variables in this section is impressive as are the range of findings regarding language change in contexts of contact. Contact can and does promote linguistic change, but not always and, frequently, not at all.

We begin with Escobar, who investigates data from the early stages of the development of Andean Spanish. She focuses on bilingual documents written between 1595 and 1746. Given that Andean Spanish emerged initially in a context of language contact between the native Spanish community and the indigenous Amerindian bilingual community, it would seem reasonable to assume that early documents would provide evidence of contact-induced change in the developing Spanish of the community. This evidence could be apparent in patterns of variation that such documents would provide. However, after careful analysis, Escobar discounts the bilingual documents written between 1595 and 1746 as evidence of early stages in the formation of the Andean Spanish dialect for various reasons. For such change to occur, extensive face-to-face interaction among communities, not merely select individuals, has to occur, but this in fact did not happen. Thus, a close variationist analysis of bilingual documents contributes to the social history of early Andean Spanish as well as models of language contact and dialect birth. In short, a study of the linguistic features of texts is transformed into social history.

Whereas Escobar goes back in time, Geeslin and Guijarro-Fuentes pursue the present in a new study of a much studied variable: the variation of the two copular verbs, *ser* and *estar* ‘to be’. Much sociolinguistic research to date has shown that in contexts where both copulas are allowed, some features (e.g., adjective class, frame of reference and susceptibility to change) can affect the degree to which one copula is favored over the other. In line with an evolving research agenda in Galicia, Spain, they further investigate this variable by expanding their participant group to include a less homogeneous population than previously investigated. Participants include a group of monolingual Spanish speakers residing outside Galicia to whom the bilingual participants are compared, and a group of Spanish speakers in Galicia who vary in degree of bilingualism, language learning histories, and language use profiles. Results show significant effects for gender, occupation, the first language of the participant’s mother, and the language normally used by the participants.



The work of Geeslin and Guijarro-Fuentes finds clear evidence of social factors that influence their syntactic variable. Otheguy and Zentella also investigate a syntactic variable, the alternation of null and pronominal subjects. However, this is one in which past research has found virtually no social conditioning. Yet, in their close analysis of pronoun expression across six dialects and various generations of Spanish speakers in New York City, they identify a pattern of social influence derived in part from the source dialects, in part from regional dialects, and in part from English influence. Among the six dialects investigated within New York City, Otheguy and Zentella find that one basic division exists: Dominican Spanish versus all others. There is some evidence to support a further distinction of Mexican Spanish from all others. However, with respect to pronoun expression, one may not actually speak of Puerto Rican or Cuban or Ecuadorian or Colombian Spanishes as separate dialects. In contrast, a regional division of the dialects does emerge if one groups the six dialect groups into two: Caribbean speakers, with a relatively high rate of pronominal expression, and South American speakers with a somewhat lower rate. In addition, the influence of English is identified through a close comparison of recent arrivals to long-term residents of New York City. Thus, the frequency of subject pronouns in New York Spanish is changing, slowly, as speakers from these two regional sets converge and as they continue to live in contact with English over many years.

Flores-Ferrán also investigates Spanish in New York City, but with a focus on Puerto Rican residents. Her study looks at tense as conditioned by narrative unit, conflict narrative style, and foreground and background information within the narrative. Two social factors, gender and age, are also analyzed. The verb forms with the highest rate of production in this study are the present, the preterite and imperfect indicative, findings also documented by other scholars. With regard to foreground and background information, the results show that speakers recount stories mainly using the present, the preterite, and the imperfect indicative forms in the main skeleton of the storyline. Narratives that contain conflict, however, had the tendency of being recounted with past tense verbs. As expected, age and gender did not show a significant difference in the verb tense production of these NYC residents.

With the rich heterogeneity of Spanish dialects in New York City, it is not surprising that Orozco's article investigates yet another group: Colombians in Queens. Taking as a point of departure Guy's work on language change, Orozco notes that the linguistic factors constraining language change and variation are consistent within different segments of a speech community. In this case, the object of study involves alternation between three ways of expressing futurity: the morphological future, the periphrastic future, and the simple present. Using a fine-grained variationist approach, Orozco identifies a subset of statistically significant linguistic factors most strongly affecting this alternation. Additionally, he contrasts these results to those from a comparable monolingual population based in Colombia. The distribution of forms is congruent with reports of the prevalence of the periphrastic future in all varieties of Spanish, including situations where Spanish is in contact with other languages, as well as those regarding the drastic reduction of use of the morphological future as a marker of fu-

turity. The results of this study also revealed the same factor groups that significantly constrain the expression of futurity in Colombia. Such findings lend validity to Guy's theory. That is, the similarity of constraint effects found in New York and in Colombia suggests that, despite the influence of language contact, the two populations are still members of the same speech community. Additionally, the results of this study indicate that the change in progress from the preferential use of the morphological future to that of the periphrastic future seems to have been accelerated in the immigrant setting.

Leaving New York City, we turn to yet another North American city, Houston, Texas, where Aaron and Hernández also pursue quantitative sociolinguistic methodology. In contrast to the previous work on syntactic or morphological variables, they turn to a classic sociolinguistic variable in Spanish, that of word or syllable final /s/. In terms that echo some of the concerns of Otheguy and Zentella, they note that in studies of dialect accommodation that focus on the acquisition of new features, a speaker's age of arrival is often significant. Yet, by studying /s/ reduction among Salvadorans in Houston, they demonstrate that accommodation may also involve a redistribution of features already present within the dialect. For instance, although age of arrival is found to have the strongest effect in their analysis, surrounding phonological segments also contribute to and moderate the accommodation. Thus, even as Salvadorans accommodate their speech to patterns found in Mexican Spanish, their linguistic system also constrains those places in their phonological grammars where such accommodation plays out.

Finally, in the section on sociolinguistic variation, we return yet again to the alternation of *ser* and *estar*, with a focus on innovative uses of *estar* in New Mexican Spanish. Salazar employs quantitative methods to identify the influence of several sociolinguistic factors on the variable use of the two copulas. Results for linguistic factors show the greatest magnitude of effect for type of adjective, followed by the presence of a time adverbial, codeswitching, and the presence of an intensifier. Of the three social variables evaluated, level of education was significant while gender was not, and the factor of age of speaker was eliminated due to inconsistent results. These results concur with those of the other researchers and show that the same factors effecting the slow, gradual change in the usage of *estar* in both educated and uneducated dialects in Mexico City, Caracas, Morelia, Cuernavaca, and Los Angeles are also at work in the archaic and stigmatized northern New Mexico/southern Colorado variety of Spanish.

The last section of the book contains articles by John Lipski and William Meggeney. Investigations into contexts of language contact have long known that in such settings, new languages, either as pidgins, creoles, or mixed languages, may emerge. Yet, in contact contexts involving Spanish across the world, it is rare to find this. One exception to this is what is known as *bozal* Spanish. Lipski's contribution is a brief yet informative overview of aspects of *bozal* Spanish. He asks where and how *bozal* Spanish has survived, if at all. *Bozal* Spanish, a contact language once spoken by African-born slaves acquiring Spanish under duress, has usually been approached only through historical reconstruction based on second-hand written documents. Central to the debate over the reconstruction of *bozal* language is the extent to which *bozal* speech exhibited

consistent traits across time and space, and the possibility that Afro-Hispanic pidgins may have creolized across large areas of Spanish America. Literary imitations are insufficient to resolve the issue; only first-hand data from legitimate Afro-Hispanic speech communities may shed light on earlier stages of language contact. The present study reviews four alternative sources of data: surviving Afro-Hispanic linguistic isolates, collective memories of recently disappeared *bozal* speech, ritualized representations of *bozal* language, and descendents of return-diaspora *bozal* speakers. The surviving Afro-Hispanic speech communities that have been studied to date are found in Cuba, Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, Mexico, the Dominican Republic, and Ecuador. These speech communities exhibit only a few deviations from monolingual Spanish, and do not suggest the prior existence of a stable Spanish-derived creole. New data are presented on a recently discovered Afro-Bolivian speech community, where a fully restructured Afro-Hispanic dialect still survives. The Afro-Bolivian dialect provides a scenario for the formation of reconstructed varieties of Spanish in the absence of a pan-American creole. Ritualized representations of *bozal* language are found among the *negros congos* of Panama and in Afro-Cuban *santería* and *palo mayombe* ceremonies. Collective recollections of recent *bozal* language are found in Cuba, where the last African-born *bozales* disappeared less than a century ago. Finally, return-diaspora speakers have been reported for Benin, Nigeria, and Angola, and may be found elsewhere in West Africa. By combining data from these remaining sources and comparing them with literary and folkloric texts, a more realistic reconstruction of emergent Afro-Hispanic contact varieties can be obtained.

Note that Lipski identifies literary sources as insufficient data sources in debates on the linguistic features of *bozal* Spanish. However, it is precisely to a fascinating set of literary sources that Megenney directs his attention. Towards the end of the 19th century, in both Cuba and Brazil, scholars became increasingly interested in the contributions of African slaves to the formation of these societies. In Cuba, the ethno-historical and scientific studies of Fernando Ortíz, among others, inspired numerous writers to produce literary works reflecting *el ethos del negro* as an integral part of Cuban society. These writings, which evoked numerous Afro-Cuban themes, were supposedly written in a style of language that reflected how Afro-Cubans spoke as a consequence of contact between Spanish and various sub-Saharan languages. Similar literary works were produced in Brazil. During the arrival of waves of African slaves to Brazil in 19th century, above all from the Kwa group, an indelible imprint was left on the society. Along with the various scientific studies that emerged from this time, the *Semana de Arte Moderna* served to inspire authors to write literary works aimed at capturing cultural trends termed “*neoafronegroide*.” One important aspect of this was language use. Megenney turns his attention to an analysis of the literary antecedents of these movements in Cuba and Brazil as well as to a study of the language of these texts. Did these texts authentically reproduce creole or *bozal* varieties of language, or did they merely produce varieties of literary style that achieved a kind of “African ambiance”? His research also demonstrates a few ways in which these authors incorporated *bozal* varieties into their writings, principally in poetry.

This volume of research, and the event that produced it, would not have been possible without the dedication and labor of many individuals, some of whom we would like to thank here. The members of the conference organizing committee at the University of Illinois at Chicago included members of the Department of Spanish, French, Italian and Portuguese – Luis López Carretero, Rafael Núñez-Cedeño, Graciela Reyes, and Bill VanPatten – as well as Flora Rodríguez-Brown (who was involved in the organization of the conference's first meeting 25 years ago) and Irma Olmedo from the Department of Curriculum Instruction in the College of Education. Special thanks go to Chris Comer, Dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, and to Vicki Chou, Dean of the College of Education, for providing necessary financial resources, as well as to Bill VanPatten, who was Acting Head of the Department of Spanish, French, Italian & Portuguese.

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Kim Potowski and Richard Cameron  
The University of Illinois at Chicago

### **Past publications resulting from this conference, in chronological order:**

- Elías-Olivares, L. (ed.). 1983. *Spanish in the U.S. Setting: Beyond the Southwest*. Rosslyn VA: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education.
- Elías-Olivares, L., Leone, E. A., Cisneros, R. & Gutiérrez, J. R. (eds.). 1985. *Spanish Language Use and Public Life in the United States*. Berlin: Mouton.
- Bergen, J. J. (ed.). 1990. *Spanish in the United States: Sociolinguistic issues*. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Roca, A. & Lipski, J. M. (eds.). 1993. *Spanish in the United States: Linguistic contact and diversity*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

- Silva-Corvalán, C. (ed.). 1995. *Spanish in Four Continents: Studies in language contact and bilingualism*. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Roca, A. (ed.). 2000. *Research on Spanish in the United States: Linguistic issues and challenges*. Somerville MA: Cascadia Press.
- Ortiz López, L. & Lacorte, M. (eds.). 2005. *Contactos y contextos lingüísticos: El español en los Estados Unidos y en contacto con otras lenguas*. Madrid: Lingüística Iberoamericana.