

# Substrate influences in highland Spanish varieties of South America: Afro-Yungueño and Antioqueño from a comparative perspective

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The absence of research into the influence of West African and lesser-studied Amerindian languages<sup>1</sup> on contemporary Spanish varieties in highland regions of South America is a significant yet unexpected gap in knowledge, given the well-developed fields of dialectology, sociolinguistics, and language contact in Latin America as a whole. In this paper, we focus on contact features from Afro-Yungueño Spanish, spoken in the highlands of Bolivia, and Antioqueño Spanish, spoken across a vast region in the northwestern highlands of Colombia. The former language variety combines different semantic encodings in the multifunctional locative markers, *en*, *a*, and zero marking (examples 1-3 from Sessarego 2010 and Perez 2015). By adopting an integrated approach in which we analyze the contact situation through the lens of sociohistorically-motivated second language acquisition, we argue that speakers used the locative marking structural patterns from their L1s (Bantu languages) and imposed them on the newly created Spanish that emerged from contact.

- (1) *Por lo meno en Cochabamba yo he analizado que muy caro*  
at least LOC Cochabamba I had analyzed that very expensive  
*todo yo extrañaba mucho.*  
everything I missed a-lot.  
'At least in Cochabamba I had analyzed that everything is very expensive, I miss it a lot.'
- (2) *Mi hijo vive a Mururata.*  
my son lives LOC Mururata  
'My son lives in Mururata.'

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<sup>1</sup> Here a distinction is being made between more frequently discussed Andean contact varieties – particularly those influenced by Quechua, Aymara, and Guaraní – and those which demonstrate substrate influence, be it historic or contemporary, of lesser spoken Amerindian languages.

- (3) *Mi tata cun mi mama nació Ø Mururata.*  
 My dad and my mom born LOC Mururata  
 'My dad and my mom were born in Mururata.'

In the case of Antioqueño Spanish, spoken across a vast region in the northwestern highlands of Colombia, we provide a sociohistorical sketch that supports the hypothesis that speakers of Amerindian (Embera) and West African (Kikongo, Caboverdianu, Kiriol) languages, each with congruous patterns of 'hand + arm' and 'foot + leg' reference, contributed to the innovative semantics in (4)-(5), below, demonstrating the ambiguous use of *mano* 'hand' to refer to any part of the upper limbs and the same for *pie* 'foot' in reference to the lower limbs. This phenomenon is typical in casual speech throughout Antioquia, including Medellín, from which the below examples were extracted (PRESEEA 2014).

- (4) *No podía mover la-s manos porque me quebré por acá.*  
 NEG could move the **hands** because REFL.1SG broke around here  
 'I couldn't move my hands/arms because I broke (something) around here.'
- (5) *Se me partió la carne de-l pie izquierdo a-l lado de la rodilla.*  
 REFL DAT.1SG opened the flesh of-the **foot** left to-the side of  
 the **knee**  
 'The skin of my left foot/leg was cut open on the side of my knee.'

We adopt an integrated approach, in which we consider micro-linguistic (Odlin 1989; Winford 2003; Matras & Sakel 2007; Baptista 2020) and macro-social (Mintz 1971; Winford 2020) factors to analyze the contact situations that shaped these language varieties. Our findings suggest remarkable structural and typological parallels between Afro-Yungueño and Antioqueño and their respective substrate languages with regard to the linguistic phenomena studied here. Our main contribution lies in our claim that Niger-Congo and Amerindian speakers were positioned subjects whose actions were sociohistorically constrained (Sicoli 2011). They most likely did not instantly shift to Spanish once they were trafficked, enslaved, and/or forced into labor in Bolivia and Colombia. We argue that this was likely a gradual process that ultimately led these speakers and their descendants to shift to a new Spanish variety that was highly impacted by contact.

**Keywords:** language contact, sociohistorically-motivated SLA, Afrodescendent communities

## 1. Introduction

In this paper we apply a single guiding principle to two linguistic phenomena, highlighting the sociohistorical and ethnolinguistic context in which naturalistic second language learning was most likely to have yielded structural changes to Spanish colonial varieties by way of contact, making evident the most plausible substrate language(s), and speakers, that motivated those changes. In both cases the patterns we observe in synchronic data are most plausibly derived via processes of second language acquisition variably described in the literature as pattern replication (Matras & Sakel 2007), transfer (Odlin 1989), imposition (Winford 2003, 2017, 2020) or substratum interference through language shift (Thomason & Kaufman 1988). We adopt a combination of these frameworks to analyze all synchronic descriptions of the past contact situations we outline here. Meanwhile, we use the term ‘transfer through shift’ to describe the diachronic process by which the patterns under analysis became entrenched features in the Spanish varieties that developed out of those instances of language contact.

The study we present below may best be categorized as sociohistorically-motivated SLA. For this reason, in the following sections we will proceed first from a discussion of the sociohistorical context that conditioned each scenario of language contact (Mintz 1971), i.e., the situations in which naturalistic second language acquisition was most likely to have had an impact on the structure of the Spanish varieties emerging there.

Throughout this paper, we use an integrated approach that includes linguistic, sociolinguistic, and psycholinguistic components to describe contact-induced change and contact language formation. In this model, Winford (2020) focuses on the transfer from learners’ L1s linguistic features, defined as “extreme” and not found in most cases of SLA, considering some particularities from the social contexts in which Creole languages were formed. This line of thought is also followed by Thomason & Kaufman (1988) given that these authors argue for multiple causations in language contact-based change. An essential aspect of this approach is the notion that there is often a restructuring process in creating the new grammars that emerge by contact. Winford defines it as “the gradual and cumulative process of building and rebuilding the learner’s developing grammar” (Winford 2020:16).

He adds that there are three elements in this restructuring process, namely: 1) Input, or intake, from the target language; 2) Input from learners’ L1s; and 3) Internally motivated innovations in learners’ developing L2 systems. The input from the L1 molds the learner’s variety through a process of

transfer (Odlin 2012) or imposition as defined by Winford (2020). The author proposes that second language learners employ creative strategies which “have no counterpart in either the TL or their L1s, thus creating new structures that are purely the result of internal motivations” (Winford 2020:16). Lastly, Winford’s model integrates macro-level factors, such as the social structure and organization in which the new variety or language was created, and micro-level factors, such as the individual background and relationships that are also part of this linguistic creation process.

Considering that this model proposes an integration of aspects that we value as fundamental in the language contact scenarios we analyze here, we will further discuss the sociohistorical context that conditioned each scenario of language contact chosen in this paper, i.e., the situations in which second language acquisition was most likely to have impacted the structure of the Spanish varieties emerging in Bolivia and Colombia in the respective communities studied.

The NSLA model acknowledges that micro-level, or individual factors, play an essential role in the restructuring process involved in the emergence of new contact varieties. Specifically, this component is better captured by the concept of speakers’ agency proposed by Sicoli (2011).

Some works in Linguistics often fall into a common misconception, in which scholars assume that in language contact/shift scenarios, speakers choose to give up one language over the other. In that context, monolingualism would compose the “normal state” for individuals and communities, and bi(multi)-lingualism would be just a “transitional state”, assuming that all speakers would always become monolinguals (Sicoli 2011). Agency in this conceptualization of language shift equals “free will”, given that individuals would be motivated to maximize their gain.

On the contrary, Sicoli (2011) proposes that speakers are positioned subjects, considering that their actions are socioculturally constrained, and this exclusive focus on the individual is misleading. He defines agency as “emergent in practice and not reducible to individuals and societies” (Sicoli 2011:162). Furthermore, in this proposal, it is understood that language loss is different from the loss of culture. He reminds us that, empirically, monolingualism is not a natural human state, considering, for instance, that in the continent of Africa, multilingualism is the norm (Bamgboṣe 1966; Van de Velde et al. 2019). Lastly, he also proposes that the choice speakers make to shift or maintain their languages is conditioned by speakers’ community practice and their social organization. Sicoli’s perspective on language shift is fundamental to the

linguistic analysis that follows since it provides a more complex view of this type of phenomenon.

The studies presented thus far provide evidence that social aspects play a central role when analyzing situations of Second Language Acquisition. Furthermore, Sicoli's perspective on agency and monolingualism ideology will also guide our linguistic analysis in the sections that follow.

In the next sections, we outline a linguistic analysis comparing the potential contribution of relevant substrates to the substrate patterns found in these particular varieties. Finally, we offer a brief discussion where we return to the basis of this analysis, that is, the application of rich, varied sociohistorical data and the principles of naturalistic second language acquisition (see Winford 2017, 2020) to shed light on two language contact situations involving Spanish and diverse substrates in highland South America.

## **2. Location marking in Afro-Yungueño**

How has the Atlantic slave trade influenced the languages currently spoken in the Americas? This is one of the main questions that has been pursued in the field of Creole studies in the past decades and it addresses the central aspect of this paper. Europeans' invasion of the Americas and use of forced labor had major sociohistorical implications for the lives of the native peoples and the almost 12 million African individuals forcibly brought to this continent (Borucki et al. 2019). Nevertheless, the linguistic consequences of the Atlantic slave trade in the region still lack extensive consideration. Afro-Bolivian Spanish, a.k.a. Afro-Yungueño, spoken in Los Yungas valley, Bolivia, is an understudied Afro-Iberian contact language. We specifically concentrate on its location marking system, given that this language present innovative locatives such as zero marking and the preposition *en* with motion verbs. Furthermore, location marking has been analyzed as a fruitful grammar component to research contact-induced change (Mann 1993, Creissels 2006, Gonçalves 2010). In order to understand the origins of location marking in Afro-Yungueño Spanish, we will review the history of Los Yungas and provide a linguistic analysis of this phenomenon in the following sections.

### **2.1. The history of the African diaspora in Bolivia**

The geographical location that is currently known as Bolivia was first invaded by the Spaniards in the 1530s. Between 1532 and 1620 the local population

from Tahuantinsuyo (the Inca empire) was reduced from 15 million to roughly 600,000 people due to the spread of infectious diseases and a genocide caused by the Spanish conquest wars (Balladares et al. 2014). Charcas, the name by which Bolivia was referred to before its independence, had a local government situated in Chuquisaca (Sucre) and it was part of the Virreinato del Peru (Ballivian 2013).

Around 1.51 million Africans were enslaved and kidnapped to the Spanish Americas for almost 400 years; nevertheless, there are limited historical accounts about slavery in Bolivia (Busdiecker 2006; Borucki et al. 2019). According to Busdiecker (2006), the minimization of slavery in Bolivia, or on some occasions, its complete erasure, caused a process of invisibilization of Afro-Bolivians in several spheres of the Bolivian society.

Enslaved people started to be imported robustly to the Andean region after the spoils of Cajamarca (Peru) in 1532. The first Africans in Bolivia were forcibly brought mainly from Spain and other parts of Latin America and worked in the military expeditions led by the Spaniards during the conquest wars (Orías & Vega 2017). The nature of their participation in early colonization was anonymous and involuntary (Busdiecker 2006).

Furthermore, during the first wave of slave importation to Charcas, from 1530 to 1650, there were few reported numbers, and the origins of enslaved people are hard to define. The importation routes during this period used to disembark in the port of Cartagena; subsequently, Africans were taken to Callao port (Peru), and from there, they would be relocated to different regions of Charcas. These trips were long and challenging due to geographical obstacles, and because of that, there was not a massive slave importation to Charcas during this first period. Different historical accounts demonstrate that there were never more than ten enslaved people imported in one single trip, given these logistical barriers.

Nonetheless, at the beginning of the 17th century, which characterized the second wave of importations, Africans were trafficked in more robust numbers to Charcas to work in mining, farming, and as domestic servants across several regions of the colony (Ballivian 2013). Busdiecker (2006) states that around 100,000 Africans (out of 1.5 million, considering Spanish America) were forcibly relocated to Bolivia during the entire slave trade period. The human trafficking routes also changed during this period, and enslaved people started to be forcibly relocated from the Río de la Plata port to Charcas. The specific route of importation would start in the Río de la Plata port in Argentina, then they would be moved through Córdoba, Tucumán, Salta, Jujuy, Potosí,

Oruro, and La Paz; the last three locations being their final destinations in Bolivia. That trip would take an average of four months to be completed.

Lastly, slavery in Bolivia had a long history, and it officially ended in 1851 after a series of decrees and treaties (Sessarego 2010). However, several authors (Maconde 2007; Klein 2011; Ballivian 2013) claim that most Bolivians, including Afro-Yungueños and indigenous people from Los Yungas, kept living in a system analogous to slavery even after 1851. They were still submitted to the *minga*'s semi-feudal work regime, in which *campesinos* 'farmers' did not have access to land and tools, so they kept working on the coca farms doing free work as a form of loan payment for small pieces of land (Balladares 2014).

Considering these work conditions, scholars agree that "true abolition" in Bolivia was only recently achieved in 1952 with Land Reform laws, in which all forms of work exploitation were abolished, and Afro-Bolivians could finally own land and have access to full citizenship through the right to vote and education (Maconde 2007).

## 2.2. Afro-Yungueño Spanish: Features and History

The genesis of Afro-Yungueño Spanish is an ongoing topic of discussion in Creole studies and there are three main hypotheses in the literature on the topic. Lipski (2008) claims that Afro-Yungueño originated as 'Bozal Spanish' in the 16th century, starting out as a Pidgin. This author posits that most of the enslaved people who were imported to Los Yungas valleys in the 18th century already spoke Bozal Spanish, and that this variety survived through the years via linguistic and geographical isolation. Lipski's evidence to justify the existence and relevance of Bozal Spanish in Los Yungas is mostly based on a few Bolivian 20th-century folktales and regionalist novels which provide imitations of late 17th to the 19th century-Black speech from the region. Lipski (2008:72) claims that one of the features of historical Bozal Spanish is the variable occlusive pronunciation of prevocalic /d/ that alternates with the usual Spanish fricative. This linguistic feature is found in the following literary excerpt (6)<sup>2</sup>:

(6) *Nu voy poder tingu qui vender, **ocuparu** vuy a istar.*

'I can't do it, I have to sell, I am going to be busy.'

(Barrera Gutiérrez 2000a: 62 apud Lipski 2008:72)

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<sup>2</sup> Examples from other authors are reproduced in their original forms and glossing.

On the other hand, Perez (2015) disagrees with Lipski, arguing that Afro-Yungueño was not formed in situ, but instead had more Portuguese than Spanish input at the time of its genesis. Perez justifies her argument claiming that most enslaved people trafficked to Los Yungas during the 18th century came via the Angola-Brazil slave route, a historical record that makes her believe that these people most likely spoke a Portuguese-based language variety. Some of the linguistic evidence provided by Perez is the raising of /e/ and /o/ and the open syllable structure of Afro-Yungueño, which according to her, resembles similar phonological processes from Brazilian Portuguese. Perez ultimately concludes that AY is related to certain varieties of Afro-Portuguese. A similar discussion on the discussion of Romance-contact varieties is introduced by Clements (2002) in which the author compares Chinese immigrant Spanish to two Portuguese-based Creoles spoken in India (Daman and Korlai Creole Portuguese). Based on his field data, the author concludes that these and other Romance-contact languages should be placed in a continuum, a possible solution to Perez analysis of resemblant features between Afro-Yungueño and Brazilian Portuguese.

Lastly, Sessarego (2010), who has extensively worked with Afro-Yungueño as well, does not attribute any of the Afro-Yungueño grammatical components to African languages. Using historical and mostly demographic evidence, he claims that all Afro-Yungueño's linguistic features can solely be traced back to Spanish.

Even though the previously mentioned authors have dedicated themselves to reveal the origins of Afro-Yungueño using different methods and data sources, the African linguistic contribution to the formation of Afro-Yungueño has not yet received the proper in-depth attention. Therefore, we set out to understand what exactly is the role of African languages in the formation of Afro-Yungueño. And, more importantly, how we can identify them. To address these questions, we look at two main factors. First, by researching the origins of the enslaved people trafficked to Bolivia in the 19th century, and, secondly, by investigating synchronic linguistic phenomena that can arguably be traced back to African languages.

Due to the systematic processes of historical and cultural oppression that African people suffered in Bolivia and Colombia, the only reliable information we have available are the ports of embarkation where these individuals were trafficked from. Ballivian (2013) and Wheat (2011) estimate that during the first wave of migrations, Africans would mostly come from the São Tomé island and later from Luanda, Angola, and other ports of West Central Africa. On the contrary, Busdiecker (2006) claims that the first enslaved people in Bolivia

mainly were Wolof, coming from what is today southern Senegal. Some of these historical accounts differ given the already mentioned scarcity of precise recordings of the African slave trade in Bolivia.

The Yungas valleys are located in a semitropical region, which has implications for the type of agricultural activity employed there. Landowners would (and still do) produce coca and fruits, given the climate conditions. At the beginning of the 19th century, the Yungan hacien­deros started to import significant amounts of coca to Potosí and Oruro, which caused the Yungas coca haciendas to grow economically. Consequently, the *haciendas'* owners compelled a growing number of enslaved people to work in Los Yungas during this period.

There were three classes of workers in the coca haciendas. The first worked in a system called *minga*. They would generally be paid and were hired when landowners needed extra work. These workers were primarily indigenous and free black individuals. The second class was composed of *peones*, who were also indigenous and free black workers but who would be given a piece of land where they could work in exchange for their labor. Lastly, the third class was composed of enslaved Africans and their descendents who would not be given any compensation or land in exchange for their work.

Busdiecker (2006) claims that, even though there are historical accounts of these divisions, all workers were submitted to a virtual slavery system, in which they would become dependent on the landowners given the monopolistic hold they had on the economic system of Los Yungas.

Concerning the demographics and origins of Africans who worked in the Yungas haciendas, this *provincia* had the highest concentration of African descendents in Bolivia between the 18th and 19th centuries (Busdiecker 2006). In terms of the demographics of Los Yungas during this period, few historical sources provide a reliable estimate of this population. Crespo (1977) presents some historical data in his book that can be seen in Table 1.

**Table 1:** Demographics of Los Yungas (Crespo 1977)

Year	Yungas locality	Black	Mestizo	Whites	Indigenous	Total
1802	Ocabaya	32 (4%)	80 (9%)	94 (11%)	643 (76%)	849 (100%)
1883	Pacallo	56 (11%)	63 (12%)	67 (13%)	340 (64%)	526 (100%)
1883	Mururata	321 (41%)	183 (23%)	55 (7%)	236 (29%)	798 (100%)

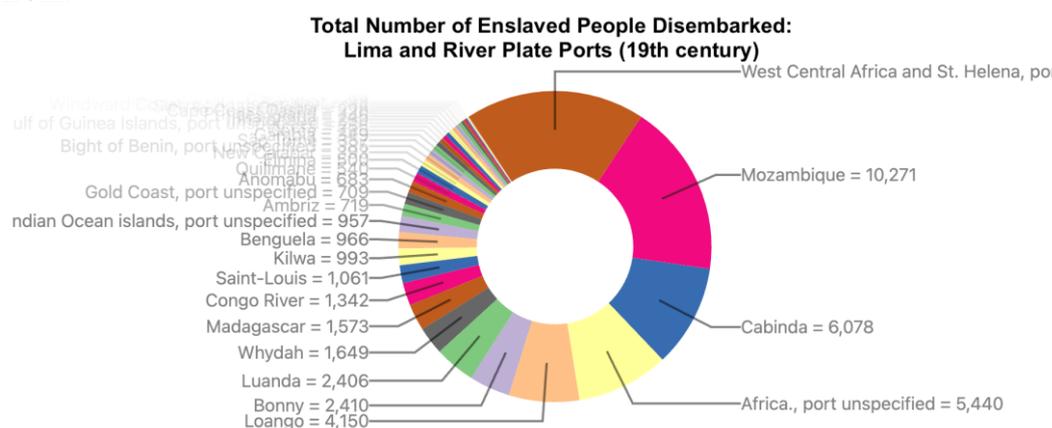
This table shows that the black population in Los Yungas was a minority in the Ocabaya and Pacallo localities but a majority in the Mururata haciendas. This

is an important fact in this location, given that our linguistic data includes speakers from this specific region. Another critical observation is that white people never made up more than 13% of the total population, which provides us hints about the language models available for the newly arrived Africans.

At the same time that the Europeans and their descendents formed a minority - not just in Los Yugas but in Bolivia throughout the whole colonization period (Lipski 2008) - the indigenous and mestizo population were by far the majority in Los Yungas (having roughly the same percentage as Africans in Mururata).

However, where were the newly arrived Africans coming from, and ultimately, what languages would they speak? Ballivian (2013) estimates that Africans in Los Yungas were trafficked via the Peru and River Plate ports, while some were forcibly relocated directly from La Paz, located around 60 miles from the Yungas valley. Consequently, we are considering the River Plate and Lima as the main arrival ports.

The ports of embarkation do not represent the precise origins of this population since the commissions to enslave people would sometimes happen several miles away from these ports and their exact origins are almost impossible to know (Gomes 2019). Wheat (2011) adds that more is known about the places where enslaved people would arrive, than the ports where they would be trafficked from during the whole Atlantic Slave Trade period. However, figure 1 provides an estimate of where enslaved people were being brought from.



**Figure 1:** Place of Purchase: 1700-1866 (Borucki et al. 2019)

The Slave Voyages project generated this graph, and it includes the principal place where enslaved people were purchased between 1700 and 1866, including

the Lima and River Plate disembarkation ports. This data shows that most Africans were being trafficked from the ports of West Central Africa, Mozambique, and Cabinda (located where today is Angola).

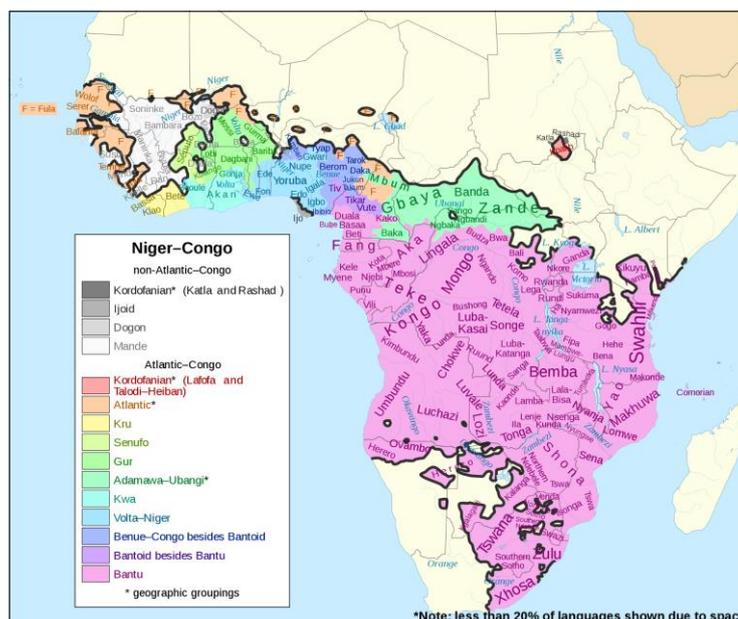
As most of the demographic data from Los Yungas, there is scarce information about the exact languages Africans would speak or their precise origins. In one of few historical recordings, Crespo (1977) found a report about the origins of Africans and their descendents in La Paz between 1650-1710 (see Table 2).

**Table 2:** Origins of Enslaved People in La Paz: 1650-1710 (Crespo 1977)

<b>Ethnicity</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Unknown</b>	98	45%
<b>Angola</b>	33	16%
<b>Criollos La Paz</b>	22	10%
<b>Criollos Other</b>	19	9%
<b>Others</b>	17	8%
<b>Congo</b>	9	4%
<b>Banguela</b>	9	4%
<b>Mulatos</b>	9	4%
<b>Total</b>	216	100%

This is relevant information because it is likely that the same or similar groups were being trafficked to Los Yungas, given the geographical proximity between La Paz and Los Yungas. Therefore, taking into account the places of purchase illustrated in figure 1 and the origins of La Paz's enslaved people in table 2, we deduce that most newly arrived Africans in Los Yungas were Bantu speakers.

West Central Africa, Mozambique, and Cabinda have a high concentration of people who speak languages from the Bantu subgroup (see figure 2 for reference). Moreover, the Angola, Congo, and Banguela terms refer to people from these same regions who most likely spoke Bantu languages. Nonetheless, considering that we have a better understanding of the demographics of Los Yungas in the 18th and 19th centuries, we can now move on to the question of the type of community settings and codes of social interaction (Mintz 1971) that existed among the different groups who lived and worked together in Los Yungas, given that this will broaden our understanding of the linguistic ecology in this community.



**Figure 2:** Niger-Congo Languages (Commons 2022)

Los Yungas' workers were submitted to unhealthy working conditions, and there were high mortality rates among this population. Enslaved people were frequently submitted to abuse, and the only reason why there were no slave revolts was that they were not agglomerated in large plantations like the ones in Brazil or the Caribbean, where the creation of maroon societies was common (Busdiecker 2006). Historical accounts of these mistreatments are cited by Busdiecker (2006), such as the time when a young enslaved child suffered several injuries and was reported for property damage. This is to be said that an argument based on the idea that enslaved Africans learned Spanish early on, given their “less harsh treatments” in Bolivia such as the one defended by Sessarego (2010), is not consistent with the historical reality of slavery in this country. The African population and their descendants were subjugated for centuries and treated inhumanely by white Spanish colonizers, a fact that cannot be measured.

Another important fact related to the community settings in Los Yungas is that, frequently, landowners were absentees (Busdiecker 2006; Lipski 2008), which was a common practice in Portuguese and Spanish slave societies. Absentee ownership was the dominant form in all the areas in Bolivia, and the majority of landowners had urban professions (Klein 2011). This meant that enslaved people would mostly interact with their mayordomos and other

workers, who composed most of the population, primarily indigenous and mestizos.

Los Yungas valley has been historically inhabited by Aymara people, and this is a relevant language in the linguistic environment we are analyzing here. Given this scenario, we argue that it is improbable (as previously proposed) that standard Spanish was the only model available to enslaved Africans, if this was ever a model at all. In a context where more than 50% of the population was composed of Aymara speakers, and many Africans were being brought to Los Yungas in the 18th century, given the increase in coca production, we cannot argue that Spanish was the only spoken language by Africans in this community. These people did not associate with Spaniards, and, considering the demographic information we have access to, Africans probably had little to no connection with standard Spanish in Los Yungas.

Still, what were the language(s) they were acquiring? We argue that it was a contact variety of Spanish spoken by criollos, i.e., Afro-Bolivians born in the community or La Paz who were forcibly relocated to Los Yungas. They were probably learning Aymara as well to communicate with most of the people who were monolinguals in this language and who worked side by side with them. Furthermore, considering the newly arrived Africans, this group likely spoke Bantu languages. It is known that Bantu groups have a history of trading and multilingualism (Nurse 2008). Therefore, it is not implausible that they found a common language to communicate with each other.

In conclusion, the complexity of the linguistic scenario we historically observe in Los Yungas makes us believe that Afro-Yungueño grammar was shaped by the contact between three main inputs: a Spanish contact variety, Bantu languages, and Aymara. In this paper, we specifically focus on the Bantu contribution. However, this does not cover all the linguistic elements involved in the formation of Afro-Yungueño. Lipski (2008), for instance, focuses on some of these other elements.

### **2.3. Location marking in Afro-Yungueño: a contact-induced phenomenon**

Some linguistic features common to several contact varieties such as negation patterns, preverbal TMA (tense, mood, and aspect) particle systems, some forms of articles, plural markers, and prepositions patterns in Afro-Iberian varieties have been attributed to the influence of Niger-Congo languages in previous studies (Holm 1988; Thomason & Kaufman 1988; Winford 2003; Lipski 2005). However, there is still a need for well-grounded analyses when talking about

the specific substrate origins for each language contact phenomenon (Schwegler 2010).

We specifically chose to analyze how location is encoded in Afro-Yungueño Spanish. The spatial domain was previously shown to be a fruitful area of grammar in which to research similarities and differences among languages (Essegbey 2005). In addition to that, in second language acquisition, it is known from previous studies that speakers' native languages' patterns of spatial reference are often transferred to the target language (Odlin 1989). Likewise, Holm (1988) identifies prepositions as a topic of discussion that still needs more investigation in comparative studies of Afro-varieties and African languages. Heine & Kuteva (2005:166-167) point to Bantu languages' rich and often complex morphological paradigms as having influenced the Nilotic language Luo, which has very limited verbal derivation. According to those authors, "apparently on the model of neighbouring Bantu languages [...], Luo speakers have developed a set of what look like verbal suffixes", but which are ultimately derived from a limited set of Luo prepositions, including the locative *e*.

Afro-Yungueño Spanish is an underdocumented language. There is some debate in the literature about the status of these languages; for instance, Perez (2015, 2021) classify it as a Creole, while Sessarego (2010, 2013) consider this language variety as "dialect" of Spanish given the mutual intelligibility with its standard counterpart.

Perez (2021) in a recent chapter discusses the challenges of classifying Afro-Iberian varieties. Different accounts have been proposed to classify Afro-Yungueño as a Creole or a contact variety, and mutual intelligibility is one of the criteria previously suggested. However, Perez (2021) points to the fact that, in the case of Afro-Yungueño, the most basilectal variety presents superficial intelligibility given that Afro-Yungueño "encodes fewer grammatical categories morphologically than its lexifier" (Perez 2021:130). In addition, in comparison to standard Spanish, Afro-Yungueño does not present a plural marker on the noun and it lacks definite articles. Considering that evidence, Perez (2021) argues that, even though Afro-Yungueño presents mutual intelligibility with standard Spanish, these varieties are typologically distant.

To describe and classify the location marking system in Afro-Yungueño Spanish, we used the data collected by Sessarego (2010). The author conducted fieldwork research in Los Yungas between July 2008 and August 2010. He went on three different fieldwork trips to the community during these years. He carried out semi-structured sociolinguistic interviews with more than 50 speakers from the communities of Tocaña, Mururata, and Chijchipa, three

villages in the municipality of Coroico, North Yungas. In the interviews, informants could talk about any topic of their preference. According to Sessarego (2010) speakers were all monolingual in Afro-Yungueño Spanish; none of them were bilinguals in Aymara or Quechua.

Another source of data used in this work comes from the sociolinguistic interviews recorded by Lipski (2008). These data are based on several field trips conducted in June 2004, August and October 2005, August 2006, and June 2007 in Dorado Chico, Coscoma, Khala Khala, Coripata, Arapata, Coroico, Tocaña, Mururata, Chijchipa, Negrillani, and Chicaloma. Lipski gathered all data accompanied by Juan Angola Maconde, a local Afro-Yungueño. More than 100 Afro-Bolivians were interviewed and recorded. Nonetheless, we had access to just a couple of excerpts provided in his 2008 book about Afro-Yungueño Spanish (Lipski 2008).

Perez (2015) has also conducted extensive fieldwork in Los Yungas during the first decade of the 2000s. The author warns of the challenges in documenting the most “basilectal” Afro-Yungueño. Given the stigmatization speakers have suffered throughout the years, she claims that Afro-Bolivians do not use the most “restructured” Afro-Yungueño with outsiders. According to her, the interviewer needs to have some familiarity with the community in order for her to collect the most accurate data, something Perez claims to have done. However, unfortunately, we were not able to access her data. Furthermore, given that we did not go to Los Yungas ourselves, we trust Sessarego and Lipski’s claims that their recordings represent a legitimate form of Afro-Yungueño Spanish spoken in the community.

**Table 3:** Afro-Yungueño Data: Speaker Information

<b>Speaker</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Source of Data</b>
A1	Feminine	40	Lipski’s Database
A2	Feminine	40	Sessarego’s Database
A3	Masculine	50	Lipski’s Database
A4	Masculine	50	Sessarego’s Database
A5	Masculine	59	Sessarego’s Database
A6	Feminine	60	Sessarego’s Database
A7	Feminine	60	Lipski’s Database
A8	Masculine	62	Sessarego’s Database
A9	Feminine	66	Sessarego’s Database
A10	Masculine	70	Lipski’s Database
A11	Masculine	70	Lipski’s Database
A12	Masculine	81	Sessarego’s Database
A13	Masculine	90	Sessarego’s Database

We selected data from thirteen speakers, eight men and seven women, recorded by Lipski (2008) and Sessarego (2010). On table 3, it is possible to see some information about each speaker. What is contained in this table was reported by both researchers, and we had no access to any further sociolinguistic information about these speakers. Moreover, these subjects were selected based on their reported sexes and ages. We selected a balanced number of males and females who were more than 40 years old during their interviews.

The small dataset size meant that it was not possible to collect a large token count of location markers, given the nature of these interviews. We collected, transcribed, and classified a total of 191 locative constructions found in these interviews. The main categories used are seen in table 4. Using example 7 as reference, we classified the verb that heads the locative construction, which in this case is *morir* ‘die’.

**Table 4:** Data Classification: Categories Used (Afro-Yungueño)

Locative Construction	Context	Verb	Verb Class	Verb Orientation
En	Example 5	<i>morir</i>	static	location

- (7) *El uno se murió en Caranavi, el otro en Pussilluni,*  
 the one REFL.3.SG died LOC Caranavi, the other LOC *Pussilluni,*  
*el otro se murió en La Paz no sé donde se*  
 the other REFL.3.SG died LOC La Paz not know where REFL.3.SG  
*haiga perdido.*  
 have lost

‘That one died in Caranavi, the other one in Pusilluni, the other one died in La Paz I do not where he got lost.’

In the first category, **verb class**, for instance, the verb *morir* ‘to die’ describe motionless activities. The second class considered under the verb class category was existential verbs. These verbs in Afro-Yungueño could be *estar* ‘to be’ or *haber* ‘to have’. We wanted to test if there were any differences between this category and the other ones: static and motion verbs. The latter category can be exemplified with the verb *ir* ‘to go’ which indicates a change of location.

The third category examined in this work was **verb orientation**, which could be goal, source, path, and location. Another subcategory of the verb orientation class in our data is called **location**, in which the Ground is neither a source nor a goal. In these contexts, there was no change of location, illustrated by the verb *vivir* ‘to live’ which does not express a change of location. We chose to code for these categories because, comparatively, Bantu languages and Spanish present different ways of encoding the Search Domain (through verbs in Bantu and prepositions in Spanish).

### 2.3.1 Data Analysis

This section presents the research findings, focusing on three key themes: the results of location marking strategies in Afro-Yungueño that constitute arguments encoding static location, the results with motion verbs, and a final crosslinguistic comparison between those results with how location marking works in Bantu languages.

The locative strategies *en* (8), *a* (9), and  $\emptyset$  ‘zero’ (10) are the most common, making up to 94% of all the static verbs’ data (see figure 3 with the summary of these findings). What is interesting about this is that apart from *en*, the standard Spanish locative strategy with static arguments, Afro-Yungueño speakers can also employ *a* and zero locative markers. As described by Lipski (2008a) and Sessarego (2010), Afro-Yungueño has these innovative location marking strategies in this context. Two other low frequency locatives in this context were *pue*, and *de*. *Pue* encodes an approximate (less certain) location, and *de* indicates origin. Both uses can also be found in standard Spanish.

- (8) *O sea, gente de La Paz, gente Boliviano, son como Boliviano no*  
 or be, people LOC La Paz, people Bolivian, are like Bolivian, no  
*más, cuantos presidentes han matado en La Paz, que querrian*  
 more, many presidents have killed LOC La Paz, who wanted  
*arreglar ante pero no podian.*  
 fix before but no could

'I mean, people from La Paz, Bolivian people, they are like Bolivian people no more, how many presidents were killed in La Paz, who wanted to fix things before but could not.'

(9) *Uno vive pues aquí, uno a la Argentina.*

one lives well here, one LOC the Argentina

'One lives here and another (son) in Argentina.'

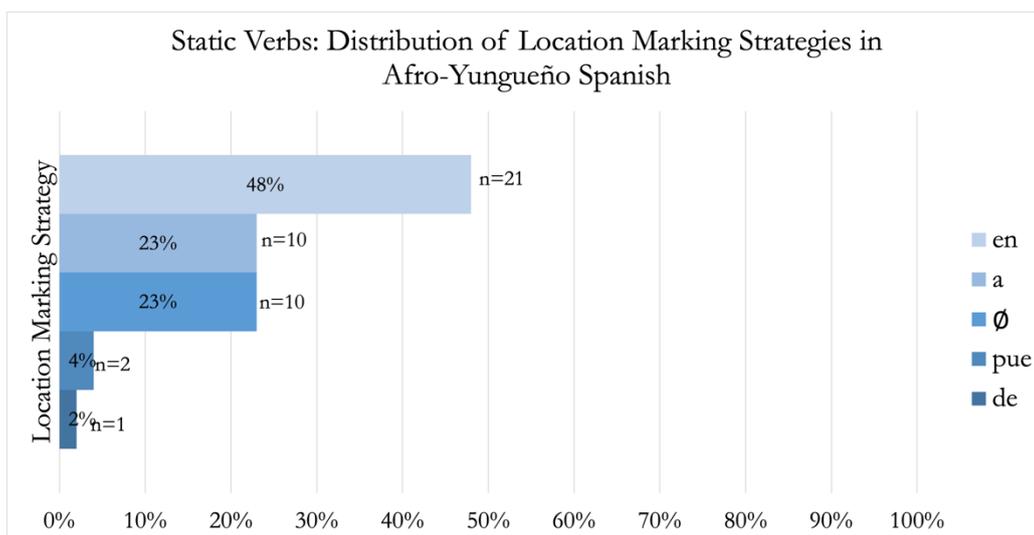
(10) *Y Ø la iglesia había habido un altar bien grande y en*

and LOC the church had had an altar very big and LOC

*este altar nadie había podido subir.*

that altar no-one had able to-climb

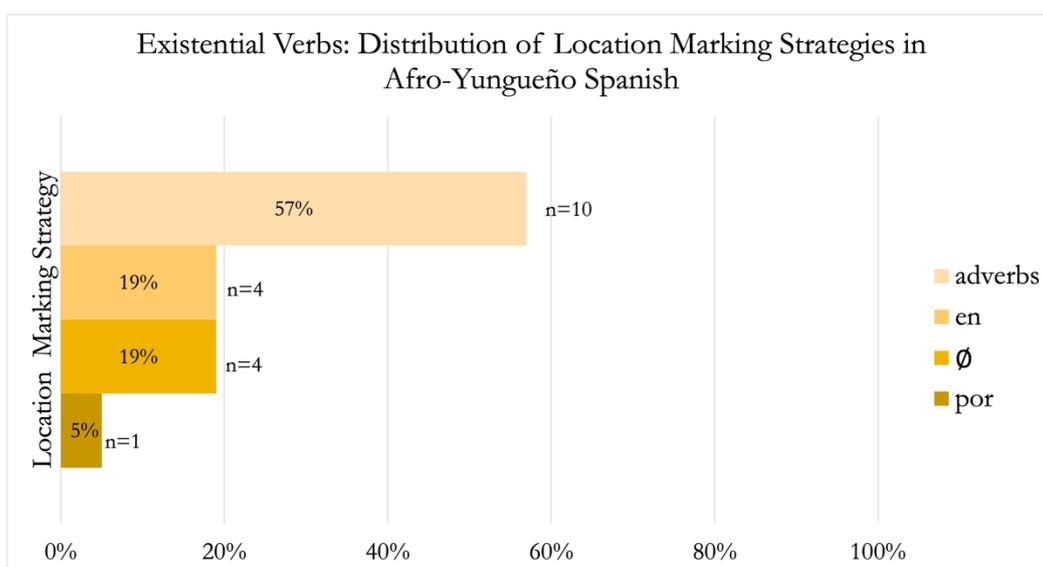
'And there was a big altar at the church, and no one could climb it.'



**Figure 3:** Static Verbs: Distribution of Location Marking Strategies in Afro-Yungueño Spanish

Turning now to the results with existential verbs (see figure 4), the most frequent strategies found were adverbs, *en*, and zero marking, making up to 95% of the data. The adverbial constructions are the preferred forms in this context. One reason why this happens is related to the nature of these constructions; in example 11, the adverbial construction *abajo* specifies the Search Domain of the locative construction and given that existential verbs often describe a specific spatial location, it makes sense that adverbs are the most common type of locative strategies found with existentials.

Then the second and third most common locatives occurring with existential verbs are *en* (12) and zero marking (13). *En* in conjunction with the adverbial constructions resemble the standard Spanish uses; however, zero marking, as previously seen with other static arguments, is an innovation from Afro-Yungueño. Furthermore, it is interesting that zero marking is one of the most frequent strategies with both static and existential verbs in this variety.



**Figure 4:** Existential Verbs: Distribution of Location Marking Strategies in Afro-Yungueño Spanish

(11) *Allí abajo hay una casa grande de tres piso de pura piedra.*

there LOC there-is a house big of three floor of pure rock

'Below there there is a three-floor big house made of pure rock'

(12) *Coripata está en Los Yungas también.*

Coripata is LOC Los Yungas too.

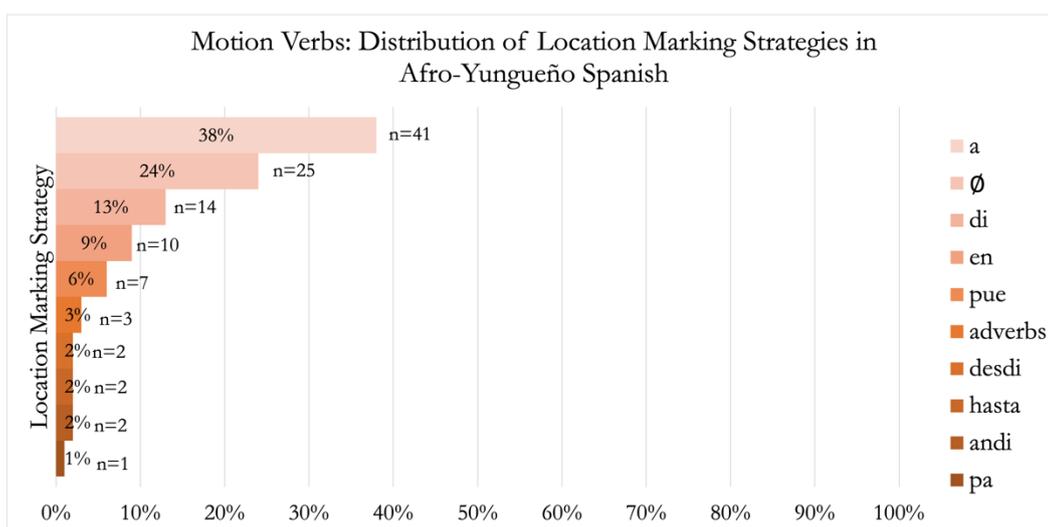
'Coripata is in Los Yungas too.'

(13) *Hay hospital Ø Coroico.*

there.is hospital LOC Coroico.

'There are hospitals in Coroico.'

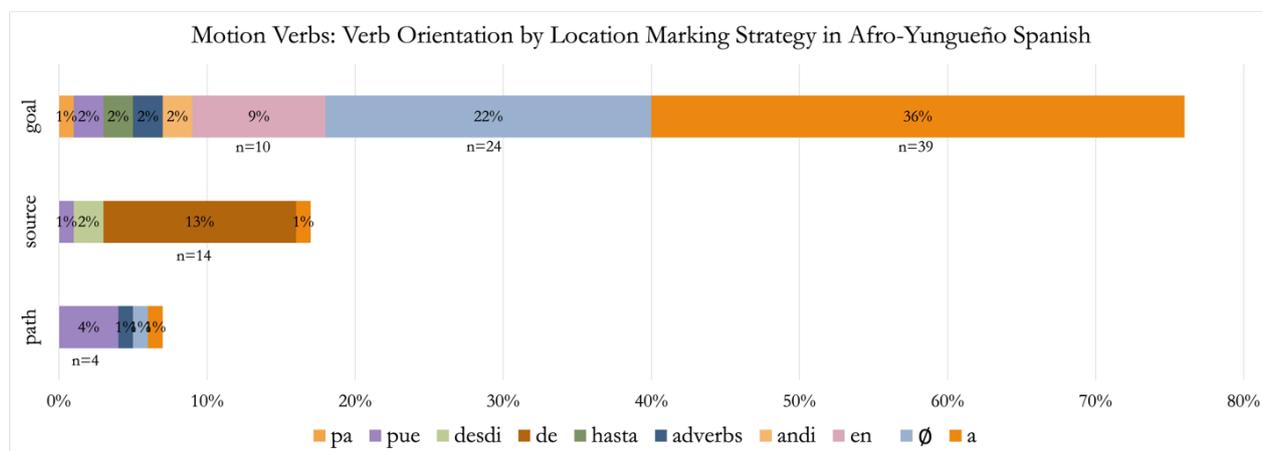
If we now turn to the results with motion verbs (Figure 5), ten different locative strategies are used in this context. However, to better interpret these results, we must see the distribution of this data presented in figure 6, where we observe the distribution of these locative strategies according to the three different verb orientation categories we established previously, namely, goal, source, and path.



**Figure 5:** Motion Verbs: Distribution of Location Marking Strategies in Afro-Yungueño Spanish<sup>3</sup>

In contexts with motion verbs that express goal, *a* (14), zero marking (15), and *en* (16) are the most frequent strategies used by Afro-Yungueños, making up to 67% of the data. The most frequent form, *a*, is the preferred form in standard Spanish. Nonetheless, two other innovative forms, zero marking and *en* can be used in Afro-Yungueño as well. Turning now to the other two contexts of motion verbs: the source and path orientations. As shown in figure 6, the most

<sup>3</sup> Some count numbers (n) are omitted in Figure 6 because they were lower than 2 token counts (representing less than 2% of the total data in each category).



**Figure 6:** Motion Verbs: Verb Orientation by Location Marking Strategy in Afro-Yungueño Spanish

frequent locative strategy with source orientation is the preposition *de*, and the preposition *pue* in path verb orientation contexts. These uses are similar to the ones found in standard Spanish.

(14) *Y tengo a mis hijo, ha venido a Santa Cruz.*

and have ACC my kids, has come LOC Santa Cruz

‘And I have my kids, this one has come to Santa Cruz.’

(15) *Mi mamá cogía su palo nos hacía correr Ø la chumi.*

my mom caught her stick REFL.3.PL made run LOC the bush

‘My mom would catch a stick and make us run to the woods.’

(16) *Antes no consentía un extranjero en Bolivia, uno no llegaba en*

before no allow a foreigner LOC Bolivia, one no come LOC  
*Bolivia.*

Bolivia

‘Before no foreigner would come to Bolivia, no one would come to Bolivia.’

In summary, we found that in contexts in which the verb arguments encode a static location, Afro-Yungueños tend to use the *en*, *a*, and zero marking strategies. In addition to that, *en* is most likely the preferred form used in Afro-Yungueño Spanish. Then moving to the motion verbs domain, our results have shown that the preposition *a* and zero marking vary to encode goal-oriented activities in which there is a change of location. In source and path-oriented activities, the most frequent strategies employed were *de* and *pue*, respectively.

Together these results provide important insights into the genesis of the innovative locative strategies from Afro-Yungueño, such as zero marking. Avelar (2017) has found that in contact varieties, such as the Angolan and Mozambican Portuguese (17-18), the zero marking strategy is frequent with motion verbs and, more precisely, to express a goal-oriented activity with a change of location.

Angolan Portuguese, from Avelar (2017:23)

- (17) *vou.ISG*  $\emptyset$  *igreja*  
 go LOC church  
 'I will go to the church.'

Mozambican Portuguese, from Avelar (2017:23)

- (18) *fomos.IPL*  $\emptyset$  *jardim*  
 went LOC garden  
 'We went to the garden.'

However, what do all these varieties have in common, including Afro-Yungueño Spanish? These languages were or still are highly shaped by contact with Bantu languages. This clue, combined with the historical overview previously introduced will guide us to the next section of this paper, in which we will describe the location marking system from Bantu languages to test the hypothesis that Bantu influenced the same grammatical component from Afro-Yungueño.

### 2.3.2 Crosslinguistic Comparison with Bantu Languages

Languages encode the categories of motion, direction, and location in a variety of ways, even though there is a misleading assumption in Linguistics that these categories are exclusively expressed by adpositions (Shay & Seibert 2003). Additionally, locative adpositions or case affixes in some languages do not distinguish between localization, the source, and direction of motion (Creissels 2006). This pattern is exceptional in European languages but very prominent in the languages that belong to the Niger-Congo phylum. According to Creissels (2006), in these languages, adpositions, case-marked noun phrases, or locative adverbs individually provide no clue to the choice between motion, direction, and location. Moreover, localization is often the default interpretation, and the verbs generally assign these roles. Dimmendaal (2003) adds that Niger-Congo and Afroasiatic languages tend to convey location through core and peripheral case marking. For instance, several of them have the same linguistic item to designate location, motion, path, and direction, and these differences are marked through verb-framed strategies.

The expression of location via syntactic and semantic categories is widespread in Bantu languages (Dimmendaal 2003). Bantu languages, a subgroup of the Niger-Congo phylum, have around 240 million speakers (Van de Velde et al. 2019). These numbers represent more than half of all Niger-Congo speakers in the continent given that Bantu languages are spoken in 23 countries, distributed throughout Central, South, and West Africa. Bantu languages are classified according to “a referential classification, devised by Malcolm Guthrie, in which every language is identified by means of a so-called Guthrie code, which gives an indication of the language’s geographical location” (Van de Velde et al. 2019:2).

The Bantu languages have, on average, about 15 noun classes, considering their known rich noun class systems (Van de Velde et al. 2019). In this section, all the examples presented are labeled following a class number convention established by Bantuists. Table 5 introduces this system using Swahili as an example.

Typologically, Bantu languages similarly mark location through core elements of their grammar, but they differ depending on different languages. Here we introduce examples of location marking from different Bantu languages used throughout different Bantu-speaking regions. Furthermore, it is

**Table 5:** Nominal Classes in Swahili (Craig 1986)

<b>Class Number</b>	<b>Prefix</b>	<b>Typical Meaning</b>
1	m-, mw-, mu-	singular: persons
2	wa-, w-	plural: persons (a plural counterpart of class 1)
3	m-, mw-, mu-	singular: plants
4	mi-, my-	plural: plants (a plural counterpart of class 3)
5	ji-, j-, Ø-	singular: fruits
6	ma-, m-	plural: fruits (a plural counterpart of class 5, 9, 11, seldom 1)
7	ki-, ch-	singular: things
8	vi-, vy-	plural: things (a plural counterpart of class 7)
9	n-, ny-, m-, Ø-	singular: animal, things
10	n-, ny-, m-, Ø-	plural: animals, things (a plural counterpart of class 9 and 11)
11, 14	u-, w-, uw-	singular: no clear semantics
15	ku-, kw-	verbal nouns
16	pa-	locative meanings: close to something
17	ku-	indefinite locative or directive meaning
18	mu-, m-	locative meanings: inside something

essential to remind the reader that the historical evidence available on the genesis of Afro-Yungueño is heavily incomplete, given that it is almost impossible to know which specific languages were spoken by the several Bantu speakers who were kidnapped and forcibly brought to the Los Yungas region in the 19th century.

Previous studies have shown that proto-Bantu included locative prefixes and locative agreement, as what we find in modern Chichewa (19). This is a double marking system in which both the argument position occupied by the dependent noun phrase and the verb mark location (Dimmendaal 2003). In some Bantu languages, locative constructions include three pre-nominal morphemes generally identified as prefixes of three locative Noun Classes, known as locative prefixes. These are *mu* (20a), *ku* (20b), and *pa* (20c); each one of them correlates with a distinctive pattern of agreement and a predictable range of interpretive possibilities. Carstens (1997) also notes that these are case-markers and not prepositions, considering that they head their own NPs as we can observe in the structure of a locative phrase being as in figure 7.

Chichewa

- (19) *chi-tsîme chi-li ku-mu-dzi*  
 7-well 7:su-be 17-3-village  
 ‘the well is in the village’

(Dimmendaal 2003)

- (20) a. *Mu-nyumba mu-ku-nunkh-a*  
 18-9house 18AGR-ASP-stink-FV  
 ‘Inside the house stinks.’

- b. *Ku-nyumba ku ndi ku-tali*  
 17-9lake 17DEM COP 17AGR-far  
 ‘That house and its environs are far away.’

- c. *Pa-nyumba pa-ku-on-ek-a ngati pa-ku-psy-a*  
 16-9house 16AGR-ASP-see-STAT-FV like 16AGR-ASP-burn-FV  
 ‘The house and surrounding yard look like they’re burning.’

(Carstens 1997)

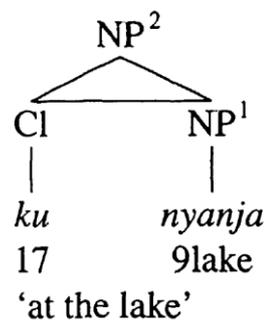


Figure 7: Structure of the Locative Phrase in Chichewa (Carstens 1997)

Swahili, on the contrary, has locative agreement but lacks locative prefixes, given that the three locative case-markers have been dropped in favor of the single suffix *-ni* (21a-21b). This pattern is common across Bantu languages such as in Makua, spoken in Mozambique, and in Ganda, one of the Uganda languages, in which the locative marker *ku-* is used with both motion and static verbs (Haddon 1951).

## Swahili

- (21) a. *Nyumba-ni pangu pana watu wengi*  
 9house-LOC 16my 16be 2people 2many  
 ‘There are many people at my house.’

- b. *Nyumba-ni mwangu m-na-nukia*  
 9HOUSE-LOC 18my 18AGR-PRES-smell good  
 ‘Inside my house smells good.’

(Carstens 1997)

However, what happens to other Bantu languages spoken in Mozambique and Angola, considering this is our main region of interest? In Kikongo, a Bantu language spoken in several Central and Western countries in Africa, including Angola, speakers use *ku-* as a locative marker when the Ground is in object position (22a). However, another possibility is the use of zero marking to encode location (22b-22e). There are some conditions for that structure surface, such as the fact that the Ground has to be in the subject position, and the verb has to be a VIDM (Verb of Inherently Directed Motion), in which it includes a specification of the direction of motion, even in the absence of an overt directional complement (Fernando 2015). These verbs differ as to how they express Goal, Source, or Path of motion, being *-kwenda* ‘go’, *-kwiza* ‘come’, *-kota* ‘enter’, and *-vaika* ‘go out/exit’.

Kikongo

(22) a. *Mu-ana di-ka-end-ele ku-zandu mpasi vo ka-sumba ki-nkutu*

1a-child CP-1-go PST LOC-market so that 1-buy 7-shirt

‘The child went to the market so that s/he buys a t-shirt’

b. *Mu-∅-suku mu-vaik-idi mu-ana*

18-LOC-bedroom 18-exit-PST 1a-child

‘From the bedroom is the place where the child exited.’

c. *∅-zandu di-y-ele mu-ana mu-kalu*

LOC-market 5AGRS-go-PST 1a-child 18-car

‘The market is the place where the child went by car.’

d. *∅-zandu di-y-ele mu-ana mu-nswalu*

LOC-market 5AGRS-go-PST 1a-child 18-fast

‘The market is the place where the child went fast.’

e. *∅-zandu di-dy-end-ele mu-ana ekuma ka-sumba ∅-mbolo*

LOC-market CP-5AGRS-go-PST 1a-child because 1-buy 9-bread

‘The market is the place where the child went to buy bread.’

(Fernando 2015)

According to Fernando (2015), “the flexibility with which the Kizombo VIDMs occur in the locative-subject alternation finds its explanation in the inherently lexical semantics of the verb root”; i.e., as we have observed in other Bantu languages, the locative markers are less informative, considering that the Search Domain of the locative expression is often encoded in the verb.

We have demonstrated that Bantu languages do not have prepositions similar to the ones found in Romance languages. Bantu languages present a variety of ways to encode location; this could be done via double marking, as we observed in the examples from Chichewa, or through one single marker, that depending on the language we look at, such as *-ni* found in Swahili. Kikongo is one of the most relevant languages for this research because there are linguistic and historical evidence that this language has had a significant impact on other Afro-Hispanic varieties, such as Afro-Cuban Spanish and Palenquero (Schwegler 2000, 2016).

Furthermore, this review has also shown that Kikongo has zero marking in locative contexts with Verb of Inherently Directed Motion (Fernando 2015). This evidence is crucial for the analysis proposed here, considering the clear parallels between this construction and the zero marking strategy found in Afro-Yungueño.

### 2.3.3 Conclusion

Table 6 introduces a comparison of the location marking strategies found in standard Spanish, Afro-Yungueño, and Kikongo. We chose Kikongo considering the traffic ports (4.16) from where most of Los Yungas' enslaved people embarked. Therefore, considering these ports, it is possible to hypothesize that Africans working in Los Yungas spoke Kikongo, or other Bantu languages. Furthermore, the forms appearing in each table cell are not the exclusive strategies used in each language; however, for visualization reasons, I chose the most frequent strategies in each language.

**Table 6:** Preferred Locative Strategy in Each Language Analyzed: Afro-Yungueño

Language	Static Verbs	Specific Location of the Figure	Motion Verbs (Goal)	Motion Verbs (Source)	Motion Verbs (Path)	Existential Verbs
Standard Spanish	en	a	a	de	por	en
Kikongo	ku-	ku-	ku-; Ø	ku-; Ø	ku-	ku-
Afro-Yungueño	en; a	a	a; Ø	di	pue	en

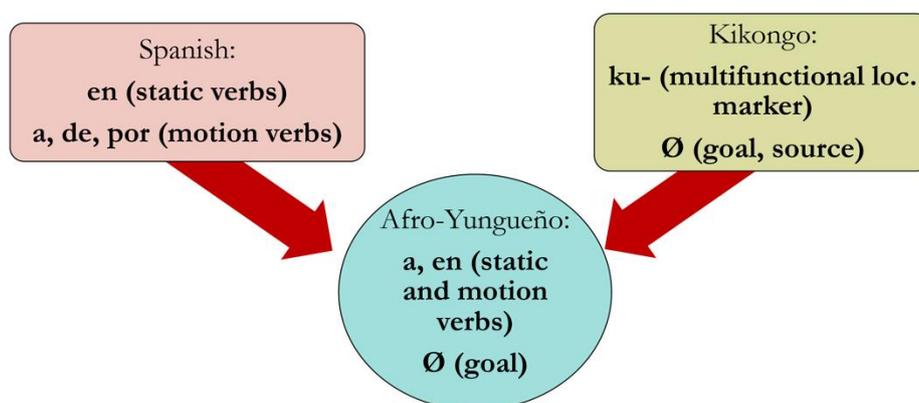
There are some remarkable structural and typological parallels between Afro-Yungueño and Kikongo. First, in Afro-Yungueño, speakers use the same locative marker *a*, for instance, with both static and dynamic verb arguments, as was shown in the results. This feature is present in all Bantu languages analyzed, in which the same locative suffix/marker is used to encode location, location to/from/through where the Figure is located. Spanish has historically used different prepositions to encode these categories, setting Afro-Yungueño apart from Spanish regarding location marking. In addition to that, in table 6, we observe that the zero marking innovative locative strategy found in my data is present in the same context in Kikongo. In both languages, zero locative marking is allowed with goal-oriented directional verbs. To our knowledge, this parallel has not been previously described in the literature regarding Afro-Yungueño.

These results show that, just as Bantu languages, Afro-Yungueño does not rely solely on locative markers to encode location. The verb, in those cases, plays a vital role in encoding information about location, motion, and direction. Zero marking occurs in a highly informative context; it is favored with goal-oriented verbs, such as *ir* ‘to go’. According to Brown (1994:782), “our analytical thinking about spatial language has been so dominated by prepositions that we have overlooked how important the predicates are.” This statement partially explains the minor focus that zero marking has received in the literature, considering the Indo-European bias scholars have when analyzing languages that were influenced by typologically different languages.

Nevertheless, how did these strategies come about? The Natural Second Language Acquisition framework (Winford 2020) predicts that one of the contributors to contact-induced change is the input from learners’ L1s. Specifically, the mechanism underlying these kinds of transfer is imposition (Van Coetsem 1988), which Winford (2020) defines as “the strategy of employing the language production procedures of a dominant language in producing a less dominant language” (Winford 2020:28).

Considering this mechanism from contact situations and Creole formation, we hypothesize that Bantu speakers “imposed” location marking features on the new variety they created. Our results suggest that two main features were transferred: zero location marking in goal-oriented contexts, and a general locative marker, *a*, that can be used with both static and motion verbs. The first was a direct transfer, in which speakers transferred the possibility to omit the locative marker in goal contexts; this feature from Bantu is, again, related to the fact that the languages from this subgroup do not rely heavily on adpositions/suffixes, considering that most of the location marking information is contained on the verb.

Furthermore, the second feature transferred was of a structural nature, i.e., Bantu speakers having the possibility to use the same suffix with both static and motion verbs, as we see in Kikongo with *ku-*, structurally imposed that feature to the newly created variety of Spanish. They reanalyzed the preposition *a*, given that in Afro-Yungueño, it can be used with both motion and static verbs to encode location. Therefore, our hypothesis about location marking in Afro-Yungueño is that Bantu speakers, by relying on their L1 knowledge and creativity, produced a third system that is not identical to either their native languages or the Spanish location marking strategies (see figure 8 for visualization of this contact scenario). The creation of a new system via contact is a common strategy encountered in other contact varieties (Thomason & Kaufman 1988; Matras & Sakel 2007).



**Figure 8:** Language Contact Scenario: Location Marking in Afro-Yungueño

In sum, we argue that Africans in Los Yungas reanalyzed the expression of location in Spanish. They perceived that different location, motion, and direction information could be expressed in the verb in Spanish and then used that information to create a new system. Coming from the perspective that there was no need to encode this information solely with adpositions, they approximated the new Spanish contact variety to their native languages.

In the next section of this paper, we will analyze a similar contact phenomenon that involves the convergence of grammatical features between the native (i.e., L1) and additional (L2, L3, etc.) languages of African(-descendent) and Amerindian speakers in the colonial period in northwestern Colombia, the present-day location of Antioquia.

### 3. Limb paronymy in Antioquia, Colombia

The absence of research into West African and Amerindian influences on the diachronic development of a regional, monolingual Spanish vernacular variety in Antioquia is a significant oversight in the otherwise rather well-developed fields of dialectology, sociolinguistics, and language contact in Colombia, the latter of which has primarily centered on the region of Chocó (*see, e.g.,* Flórez 1950; Granda 1977; Montes Giraldo 1974; Ruiz-García 2001; Schwegler 1991; Sessarego 2016, 2017a, b, c, 2019). This is perhaps due to the fact that the African-descendent population in the neighboring region of Chocó, in contrast to Antioquia, is demographically dominant, with a small minority of self-identifying white/mestizo people.<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile, according to the 2005 census by the Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística (DANE), 88.59% of Antioqueños identified as white/mestizo, or *sin pertenencia étnica* ‘without (specific) ethnic membership’ (DANE 2010). In the most recent census from 2018, the number of white/mestizo identifying Antioqueños has increased to 94.15% (DANE 2019a, b), reflecting the historical process of *blanqueamiento* or ‘whitening’ which played a major role in many regions of Colombia, including Antioquia, from the latter half of the 19th century to the present (Appelbaum 2003; Rappaport 2014; Wade 1993).

Through a close analysis of the colonial history and demography of Antioquia, however, one can begin to envision how, according to anthropologist Peter Wade, “[b]lack and indian forms penetrate into this world as black and indian people also penetrate it, altering their social identity in the process” (1993:22). According to Wade, by way of this alteration of social identity, many originally African and Amerindian cultural elements were “gradually redefined as mestizo forms, losing their previous identification and adapting their actual form” (22). In this section, we highlight one example of this process in the transfer of a substrate pattern of limb paronymy, wherein *mano* ‘hand’ and *pie* ‘foot’ came to mean ‘arm, upper limb’ and ‘foot, lower limb’, respectively, in Antioquia. We argue that this occurred via a sustained period of language contact in this region in the 16th and 17th centuries, ultimately leading to shift-induced transfer. It is significant to note here that the non-canonical usages of *mano* and *pie* as above are commonplace and unmarked for ethnic/racial identity, social class, urban/rural status, etc., in Antioquia, since, as noted above,

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<sup>4</sup> It should be noted that the Amerindian population of Chocó is also superior to that of the white/mestizo-identifying people, as indigenous Embera- and Waunana-speaking communities live throughout the region, in both urban centers as well as the remote reaches of river tributaries.

most identify as white/mestizo. Indeed, both in the previous literature and in everyday interaction, this pattern is unremarked upon, even if its origins are rather remarkable.<sup>5</sup> A monograph by Flórez (1969) entitled *Léxico del cuerpo humano en Colombia*, explicitly concerned with documenting variants of words for body parts, provides no evidence of the pattern under discussion here, nor is it mentioned in the relevant volume of the *Atlas Lingüístico-Etnográfico de Colombia* (Flórez 1983, vol. V), a six-volume set including hundreds of dialect maps demonstrating lexical variation across Colombia.

Specifically, we propose that speakers of Embera indigenous to the region alongside West Africans trafficked there speaking Kikongo and/or other varieties of the Bantu H subgroup, and perhaps speakers of the Portuguese-based Creole languages Caboverdianu (Cape Verde) and Kiriol (Guinea-Bissau) introduced the substrate pattern of body partonomy into Antioqueño Spanish, as in (23-24, below, repeated from 4-5, above).

(23) *No podía mover la-s **manos** porque me quebré por acá.*

NEG could move the **hands** because REFL.1SG broke around here

‘I couldn’t move my hands/arms because I broke (something) around here.’

(24) *Se me partió la carne de-l **pie** izquierdo a-l lado de la*

REFL to.me opened the flesh of-the **foot** left to-the side of the

***rodilla.***

**knee**

‘The skin of my left foot/leg was cut open on the side of my knee.’

The above examples are demonstrative of a pattern of limb partonomy that is non-canonical to Spanish, and has not previously been reported for either ‘standard’ or ‘vernacular’ varieties of Ibero-Romance languages; that is, no

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<sup>5</sup> Based on the second author’s impressions from fieldwork in the region, metalinguistic awareness of the pattern appears to be minimal, and attitudes towards its use do not indicate stigmatization. By exception, one informant from northern Antioquia recalled a primary school language teacher discouraging the use of *mano* to indicate ‘upper limb’; nevertheless, the teacher’s exhortations apparently had no impact on the informant’s own use of *mano* and *pie* to indicate ‘upper limb’ and ‘lower limb’, respectively.

dialects of European or Brazilian Portuguese, Peninsular or Latin American Spanish have been reported to display this feature. Meanwhile, the same pattern and a similar contact-based analysis, albeit with different substrates in each case, is seen via the extension of Portuguese *mão* ‘hand’ and *pé* ‘foot’ to refer to parts of the limbs canonically referred to with *braço* ‘arm’ and *perna* ‘leg’, respectively, in the Portuguese-lexified creoles of São Tomé, Príncipe, Annobón, Cabo Verde, and Guinea-Bissau, all of which have been attributed to West African substrates relevant to each of those varieties (see Ferraz 1979:100-101 on Sãotomense/Santome, and the broad survey in Parkvall & Baker 2012:237-239). Relevant in light of the geographic context of the present analysis is that the Spanish-based Creole language Palenquero, also spoken in Colombia, does not present this ‘hand’/‘arm’ and ‘foot’/‘leg’ identity pattern (Huber & APiCS Consortium 2013, data provided by Armin Schwegler), instead using the distinct lexemes *mano* ‘hand’ and *blaso* ‘arm’. This is worthy of mention given Kikongo speakers' undeniable influence on both the lexicon and grammar of that language (e.g., Schwegler 2002, 2011, 2016; Gutiérrez Maté 2017, 2020).

The pattern of limb partonomy demonstrated in the data from Antioqueño and the above-discussed contact languages/varieties, wherein the notions of ‘hand’ and ‘arm’ are referenced by a single lexeme, is rather common cross-linguistically, occurring in 228 of the 617 languages surveyed in the *World Atlas of Linguistic Structures* or WALS database (Brown 2013). Some degree of caution is necessary when extracting data for specific languages in WALS – for instance, each of the Chocoan varieties discussed here are coded as ‘differentiating’ by the database, that is, where two distinct and non-overlapping terms are used to refer to the limbs. The dictionary entries referenced in the present paper, however, present quite a different picture, including that which WALS used to code “Catío” and “Emberá (Northern)”.

### 3.1. Ethnolinguistic contacts in early colonial-era Antioquia (16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> c.)

The presence of a semantic pattern derived by way of contact with indigenous and West African languages disquiets commonly-held beliefs of a *raza antioqueña* (Twinam 1982:8-13). Contemporary ethnic identity in Antioquia is primarily associated with notions of whiteness, which, in the case of Colombia, is typically used as a means of erasing rather than embracing historical processes of *mestizaje* (see Appelbaum 2003:19; Wade 1993). This is particularly apparent when compared to Antioquia’s neighbors to the west and

north, the departments of Chocó and Córdoba, which are more commonly associated with blackness, indigeneity, and racial mixture more generally.

Some of the earliest insights into interethnic contacts in the region comprising the contemporary department of Antioquia come from the Spanish *cronista* Pedro Cieza de León's *Parte Primera de la Crónica del Perú* (1864 [1553]:39-92).<sup>6</sup> Cieza de León travelled alongside Juan de Badillo inland from the Caribbean through the Urabá region, passing through early Spanish settlements in Buriticá, Antioquia (now known as Santa Fe de Antioquia), Anserma, and Cartago, among others. Of these, his descriptions of Buriticá and Santa Fe de Antioquia are the most relevant to the present analysis, since they would eventually become centers of Antioquia's colonial economy and government. These locations drew Spanish colonial interest from an early date due to an abundance of easily accessible gold deposits; indeed, by the time Cieza de León reached the region, he refers to 'the rich and famous hill of Buritic[á], whence such a vast quantity of gold has been taken in times past' (56).

The type of gold extraction associated with lode mining, which spurred the early Spanish gold rush to Buriticá, however, was the exception to the rule, and alluvial or placer mining for riverine gold dust soon became the norm throughout Antioquia (Colmenares 1978:252-53). Thus, of the city that became contemporary Santa Fe de Antioquia, Cieza de León writes:

This city of Antioquia is situated in a valley between the famous, notable, and rich rivers of Darien [Atrato] and Santa Martha [Cauca], for these valleys are between the two Cordilleras. The position of the city is very good, with wide plains, near a small river. [...] All the rivers are full of very fine gold, and their banks are shaded by many kinds of fruit-trees. Antioquia is surrounded by extensive provinces, inhabited by Indians, very rich in gold, who use small scales to weigh it. (1864 [1553]:52)

Both forms of mining were heavily dependent on Antioquia's indigenous communities both in terms of the strategies and technologies involved as well as their forced or coerced labor (Colmenares 1978:247, 258), at least until the large-scale introduction of enslaved Africans. Twinam points out that "[a]s early as 1550, African slaves were mining Buriticá, and by 1583 two hundred Spaniards controlled a force of three hundred blacks and fifteen hundred Indians" (1982:17). Cieza de León's chronicle mentions enslaved Africans

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<sup>6</sup> The Markham translation is used here for the practical purpose of avoiding re-translating a text that has already been translated into English (possibly introducing defects as a non-historian). Besides this, scholars writing in both English and in Spanish tend to refer to the Markham translation, since it tends to be the most readily available print edition and is considered a faithful rendering of the original.

working alongside the indigenous inhabitants of Antioquia when describing how “during the summer the Indians and Negroes get much wealth from the banks, and hereafter, when there are more Negroes, they will procure more gold’ (1864 [1553]:58). The second half of this passage foreshadows what direction the demographic progression of Antioquia would take as gold mining became the primary industry in the region.

Amidst a wealth of other data on a diverse array of local mining techniques, flora, fauna, topography, and so forth, confirming (to some degree) the accuracy and reliability of Cieza de León’s chronicle, crucially we find first-hand information concerning the size of indigenous population of this region at the time of Spanish conquest, as well as endonyms, exonyms, toponyms, and names of *caciques*.<sup>7</sup> Cieza de León’s account is in accordance with Parsons’ general conclusion that “[p]opulation estimates for aboriginal Colombia have been unrealistically low” (1949:29). Meanwhile, we also acknowledge Parson’s observation that “[f]or few parts of the Americas is our knowledge [of ethnolinguistic affiliations of indigenous populations at the time of conquest] so meager and uncertain as it is for western Colombia” (30). Concerning these questions, Cieza de León (1864 [1553]) often makes general observations such as that ‘[t]he Indians [between Antioquia and Anserma] are the same as those we had already met with, in language and customs’ (57), or, contrastively, ‘[t]he people of this province [Caramanta] are warlike, and their language is different from the others we had met with’ (59).

From the account of the Spanish *conquistador* and later founder of the city of Santa Fe de Antioquia, Jorge Robledo, we see a bit more explicitly that these early determinations of what constituted the ‘same language’ versus a ‘different language’ to Europeans in this region of Colombia was based primarily on the presence or absence of an interpreter (i.e. a need for interpretation due to mutual unintelligibility):

This province [Cartago] is of another tongue than that of Santa Ana, very different, that one cannot understand anything if not for the interpreters that there are among them, that understand the one and the other.<sup>8</sup> (1864 [1539]:398)

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<sup>7</sup> Cacique is the term used by Cieza de León throughout, but it is likely a misnomer, given what is now known of the organization of native societies in western Colombia prior to and during the Spanish conquest, insofar as political power was never centralized, and where leaders were designated primarily for the purposes of warring expeditions (Isaccson 1976, 1980; Vargas Sarmiento 1993).

<sup>8</sup> Our translation from the original in Spanish: “Esta provincia es otra lengua que la de Santa Ana, muy diferente, que no se entiende sinoes por intérpretes que entre ellos hay, que saben la una y la otra.”

This conception of distinct linguistic groups, it should be noted, leaves out the possibility that two groups may have spoken different languages and yet whose social contexts could be characterized by widespread bilingualism, to the extent that the interpreters would have been unnecessary. Regardless, Robledo's account provides some basis for believing that linguistic homogeneity would have been the norm in the region including contemporary Santa Fe de Antioquia and Medellín, the most significant municipalities in colonial and post-colonial Antioquia, respectively, as outlined below.

As Robledo travelled northeast of Medellín towards where he would eventually found Santa Fe de Antioquia, his descriptions seem to suggest that there was a continuum of mutually intelligible lects: 'The languages of the provinces of Hevejico reach forty leagues long and wide' (404).<sup>9</sup> Given the trajectory of his expedition, we might assume here that Robledo means forty leagues west and forty leagues north of somewhere in the vicinity of the contemporary municipality of Ebéjico, located a few dozen kilometers just northwest of Medellín. Given the contemporary distribution of the indigenous languages of northwestern Colombia, one would thus expect Robledo to have been referring to varieties of Chocoan languages such as Katío or Chamí (see map in González & Rodríguez, 2000:54).

The above is similar to conclusions drawn by Rivet (1943), Hernández de Alba (1948), and Loewen (1960, 1963a, b) in their descriptions of the history of contemporary Amerindian populations in northwestern Colombia. Hernández de Alba outlines a tripartite division of dozens of cohesive communities, consistently named across archival sources:

The ethnology of the peoples who occupied the territory which, at the time of the Conquest, was called 'between the three rivers'—the Magdalena, Cauca, and Atrato Rivers—will be treated in three divisions. The first includes the tribes of the right bank of the Cauca River, the *Quimbaya*, *Carrapa*, *Picara*, *Paucura*, *Pozo*, and *Arma*. The second division includes the several tribes from the *Ancerma* to the *Abibe*, between the left bank of the Cauca River and the Atrato River, which was formerly called the San Juan River and the Río Grande del Darién. The third comprises the *Aburrá* (*Avurrá*), *Nutabe*, *Urezo*, *Tahamí*, and *Yamicí* of the Province of Aburrá." (1948:307).

Only the second and third divisions are relevant to the present discussion, since those discussed in the first were or are spoken primarily in the contemporary departments of Cauca and Valle del Cauca. Regardless, Hernández de Alba

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<sup>9</sup> Our translation of original: 'Las lenguas de las provincias de Hevejico duran mas de cuarenta leguas de tierra de largo é ancho.'

claims definitively that ‘Almost without exception these tribes speak dialects of the *Chocó* language’ (1948:308, italics in original).

From all of the above, we can presume with a reasonable degree of certainty that the Amerindians living in the contemporary department of Antioquia at the time of contact and Spanish conquest and occupation were speakers of Chocoan languages, similar at least typologically to present day varieties of Embera Chamí (Aguirre Licht 1999) and Embera Katío (Mortenson 1999) spoken in the region. Also worth noting here is a comment made by the early 20th century Colombian historian Álvaro Restrepo Euse:

One can easily deduce, that the Colony of Antioquia did not exceed, originally, six hundred Spaniards, who in their crossings with the Indians produced the white population that in the year 1600 served as foundation for the colonization of the territory.<sup>10</sup> (1903:59)

Thus, one might plausibly surmise that the ‘founder population’ of Antioquia had significant cultural and linguistic influence from its Amerindian population, given the social and demographic context discussed thus far.

Jorge Robledo’s (1864 [1539]) account also provides evidence that enslaved Africans were present among the earliest settlements in 16th c. Antioquia, as they were in many other contexts in the Spanish American colonies. In describing his and other Spanish colonists’ ability to wrest control of the region surrounding the settlement of Santa Fe de Antioquia from indigenous resistance, Robledo paints a scene in which, “if it weren’t for the Blacks that were with them with axes and hoes, we wouldn’t have saved a single horse” (1864 [1539]:408).<sup>11</sup> The demographic significance of this African(-descendent) group, as well as the Chocoan-language speaking Amerindian population can be seen in Table 7, below, adapted from MacFarlane (1993:362-3). Table 7 summarizes the demographics of six representative settlements that were cataloged in a series of censuses across colonial New Granada towards the latter end of the 18th century – earlier censuses of this type for Antioquia are not known to the authors.

As demonstrated above, in the three most populous settlements, (Santa Fe de) Antioquia, Medellín, and Rionegro, an overwhelming majority of the po-

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10 Our translation of original: ‘[S]e puede fácilmente deducir, que la Colonia de Antioquia no pasó, originariamente, de seiscientos españoles, quienes en sus cruzamientos con los indios produjeron la población blanca que en el año de 1600 sirvió de base á la colonización del territorio.’

11 Our translation of original: ‘si no fuera por los negros que traian con hachas é azadones, ningun caballo sacáramos’.

**Table 7:** Demographic breakdowns of six settlements in Antioquia, 1778

	<b>‘Whites’</b>	<b>‘Slaves of all colors’</b>	<b>‘Free people of all colors’</b>	<b>‘Indians’</b>
Antioquia	1,235	8,121	6,360	--
Medellín	2,653	2,501	9,100	--
Rionegro	551	686	2,953	--
Peñol	1	--	--	696
Buriticá	1	--	--	364
Sabanalarga	1	--	--	547

pulation consisted of *libres de varios colores* ‘free people of all colors’ and *esclavos de varios colores* ‘slaves of all colors’.<sup>12</sup>

Data from the *Transatlantic Slave Trade Database* (Voyages Database 2009) demonstrates that three main groups prevailed demographically among those trafficked from West Africa to Cartagena and Santa Marta, the main ports feeding interior regions of Colombia with enslaved laborers at the time of earliest conquest and colonization in the 16th c., as summarized in the below table:

**Table 8:** Origins of enslaved Africans in Cartagena and Santa Marta, Colombia, 1514-1600

	<b>Portuguese Guinea</b>	<b>Cape Verde</b>	<b>West Central Africa</b>	<b>Other<sup>13</sup></b>
<b>Raw numbers</b>	20,684	20,482	18,756	12,211
<b>Percentage of total</b>	28.67%	28.39%	26.00%	16.93%

<sup>12</sup> One modification that has been made from MacFarlane’s (1993:362-3) table is our inclusion of the full terms, ‘slaves of all colors’ and ‘free people of all colors’ used in the original archival document (accessible online via the Archivo General de la Nación de Colombia, Sección Colonia, Censos Redimibles, Departamentos, Legajo 6, Folio 442r: <http://consulta.archivogeneral.gov.co/>). MacFarlane’s abbreviation does not faithfully render the complexity of racial categorization in the late colonial era when this census was prepared. The descendents of Amerindians and West Africans (as well as mestizos and European-West African descendents) would at times have been included within the two groups explicitly designated ‘of all colors’.

<sup>13</sup> Included in this ‘other’ category are two groups of considerable size: ‘Senegambia and offshore Atlantic’ (10.43%) and São Tomé (4.43%). The remaining groups – ‘Congo River’, ‘Princes Island and Elmina’, Sierra Leone, and Luanda – consisted each of less than 500 individuals, though they do demonstrate a relatively wide range of origins for this early phase of Spanish trafficking of enslaved Africans into colonial Colombia. It should also be noted that the largest chunk of the entire data set for this period (31,155 or 43.19%) pertains to those enslaved Africans for which no port of origin was specified. Lacking evidence, we have made no assumptions here as to the origins of those individuals, therefore those were subtracted from the overall totals prior to calculating the percentages presented in Table 8.

The tendencies – though not the precise percentages in Table 8 – follow the trends demonstrated in, e.g. Wheat (2011:12-13), who demonstrated that of all captives disembarking in Cartagena between 1570 and 1640, the same three groups predominated, 45% comprised of those trafficked from Angola, with slightly lesser numbers coming from “Rivers of [Upper] Guinea” at 27.4% and Cape Verde 11.6%. Parkvall and Jacobs (2020) point to the significance of “Upper Guinea” in the context of the early trade of enslaved Africans to Cartagena, while also pointing to the importance of the periodization of the Spanish trade to that port, which fluctuated drastically both in numbers of arrivals as well as the specific provenances of Africans trafficked there.

For the purposes of brevity, we will not enumerate all possible candidate substrate languages that could have arrived via ‘Portuguese Guinea’, Cape Verde, or ‘West Central Africa’. Rather, we will make a few assumptions to both simplify and clarify our analysis of the most plausible West African substrates at play in Antioquia in the early colonial period. Our assumptions are, on the whole, supported by recent research both on the Spanish slave trade to the Americas (e.g., Borucki et al. 2020; Wheat 2011), though we cannot exclude the possibility that other languages played important roles in local contexts. Diversity of ethnolinguistic origin would have been the norm throughout the colonial period. However, for the early colonial period discussed here, the specific sociohistorical contexts of most immediate relevance would have been dominated demographically by Amerindians speaking languages typologically similar to Embera, and in lesser numbers by West Africans speaking Kikongo, Kimbundu, Caboverdianu, Kiriol, Ewe, Fon, Akan, and many other languages.

Our first assumption is that ‘West Central Africa’ was an area where people who could have been enslaved and trafficked to Colombia predominantly spoke languages of Bantu-H subgroup. This appears a plausible assumption based on Eltis & Richardson’s (2010:136-37) map demonstrating the presence of the Kongo kingdom in a broad region of West Central Africa which experienced the most intense impact of the slave trade during the 16th century, particularly as compared to later periods in which the trafficking of enslaved Africans from this region persisted, in which the Kongo kingdom was less predominant across this area. The second assumption is that the only languages that were spoken widely enough in ‘Portuguese Guinea’ – contemporary Guinea Bissau, roughly – and Cape Verde would have been the Portuguese-based Creole languages that emerged there over the through the course of early Portuguese exploration, later colonization, and finally the trans-Atlantic slave trade, through which these (perhaps-nascent) Creole languages

may have been spoken by enslaved Africans in colonial Antioquia, via Cartagena.

Thus, the three substrate languages most likely to have been represented among early arrivals of West Africans in Antioquia are Kikongo (representative of the Bantu-H subgroup), Cape Verdean Portuguese Creole (*Caboverdianu*) and Guinea Bissau Portuguese Creole (*Kiriol*).

### 3.2. Limb paronymy in plausible substrate languages

Table 9 below shows patterns of limb paronymy in four Chocoan<sup>14</sup> languages as compiled in the comparative dictionaries of Huber and Reed (1992:19, 22, 25, 29) and Loewen (1957:44a, 219a). All four varieties listed here are spoken contemporaneously throughout the area comprising the western cordillera of the Andes in Colombia, the bridge between the department of Chocó in the west and Antioquia and Córdoba to the east. In all four languages it is readily apparent that one lexeme each can be used for ‘hand, arm’ and ‘foot, leg’, respectively.

**Table 9:** Limb paronymy in Chocoan languages of northwestern Colombia

	‘hand’	‘arm’	‘foot’	‘leg’
Embera Catío	<i>huwá</i>	<i>huwá</i>	<i>hě́rǔ</i>	<i>hě́rǔ</i>
Embera Chamí	<i>húa</i>	<i>húa</i>	<i>hǐrǔ</i>	<i>hǐrǔ</i>
Embera Tadó	<i>húa</i>	<i>húa</i>	<i>hǐrǎ́ / bǐrǐ</i>	<i>hǐrǎ́</i>
Wounaan	<i>húa</i>	<i>húa</i>	<i>bǐ</i>	<i>bǐ</i>

Transitioning to the West African population, in broad terms, the three ethnolinguistic backgrounds most likely to have been represented in greatest numbers among the enslaved population trafficked to colonial Antioquia would have been speakers of Bantu H subgroup languages (e.g. Kikongo), followed by speakers of *Caboverdianu*, alternatively known as Cape Verde Portuguese Creole, and *Kiriol*, a/k/a Guinea Bissau Portuguese Creole. Table 10 draws together data from Laman (1964:303,304,328) and Parkvall and Baker

<sup>14</sup> In passing, here we also include data from Nasa Yuwe (alternatively known as Páez), a language isolate and thus outside the Chocoan family, and whose relationship to the general linguistic ecology of colonial Antioquia, which lies to the north of all major areas currently inhabited by Nasa Yuwe speakers, is unlikely to have been that of intense contact. It should be noted, though, that a similar pattern appears in this language, wherein *cuse* is equivalent to *mano* ‘hand’ and *cuse pil* refers to the *antebrazo* ‘forearm, lower part of arm’, and, furthermore, the single lexeme *chinda* is used to refer to both *pie* and *pierna* ‘foot, leg’ (Slocum & Gerdel 1983:76, 375, 436, 453).

(2012:237-8) to demonstrate that each of these languages features the above-discussed pattern of non-distinction between ‘hand’ vs. ‘arm’ and ‘foot’ vs. ‘leg’.

**Table 10:** Limb partonomy in Kikongo, Kaboverdianu, and Kiriol (Guinea Bissau)

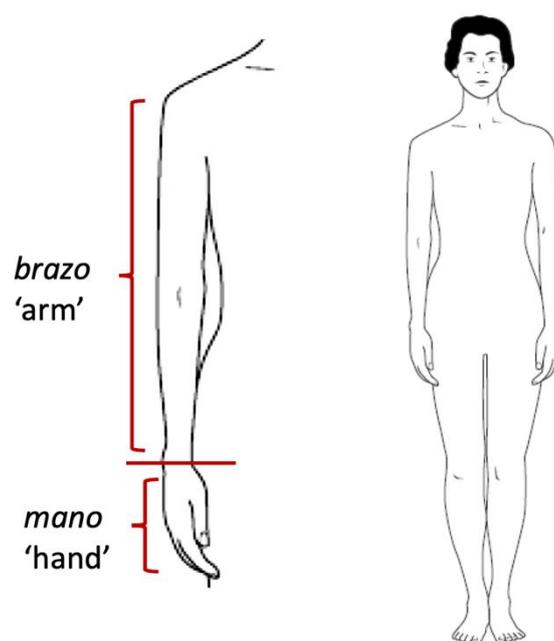
	‘hand’	‘arm’	‘foot’	‘leg’
Kikongo	<i>kóoko</i>	<i>kóoko</i>	<i>kúulu</i>	<i>kúulu</i>
Caboverdianu <sup>15</sup>	<i>mo</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>pe</i>	<i>pe</i>
Kiriol	<i>mõ</i>	<i>mõ</i>	<i>pe</i>	<i>pe</i>

### 3.3. Origins of *mano* for ‘upper limb’ in Antioqueño Spanish

In this section, we outline the linguistic process that gave rise to the contemporary usage of *mano* for ‘upper limb’ in Antioqueño Spanish, as in example (4), repeated in (23), above.<sup>16</sup> The following discussion is analogous to that which covers the lower limb domain, that is, the area referred to as either *pie* ‘foot’ or *pierna* ‘leg’ in canonical Spanish usage, whereas in Antioquia *pie* may be used for ‘leg, lower limb’ as seen in example (5), repeated in (24). Specifically, we point to the typological congruence in L1 patterns, and their likely replications in L2 Spanish as having a central role in emerging varieties of Antioqueño Spanish as used, initially, by other L2 speakers, and then later adopted by L1 speakers with little or no contact with ancestral substrate languages.

<sup>15</sup> The gloss in Parkvall and Baker (2012) for the Santiago variety of Caboverdianu *mo* is in fact ‘hand and **lower** arm’; a similar incomplete overlap is true for *pe*, which is glossed as ‘foot and **lower** leg’. On the other hand, the *Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Structures Online* (abbrev. APiCS) reports that the Santiago variety of Caboverdianu has two distinct terms, *mo* for ‘hand’ and *brásu* for ‘arm’, differentiating the upper arm (Huber and APiCS Consortium 2013). However, the existence of a dictionary entry for both ‘hand’ and ‘arm’ does not mean that the former cannot be used in reference to the latter (see, e.g., Majid and van Staden 2015); indeed, this partial overlap is analogous to the pattern found in the Colombian Spanish varieties discussed here.

<sup>16</sup> The following discussion is analogously relevant for the lower limb domain, that is, the area referred to as either *pie* ‘foot’ or *pierna* ‘leg’ in canonical Spanish usage, whereas in Antioquia *pie* may be used for ‘leg, lower limb’ as seen in example (2).

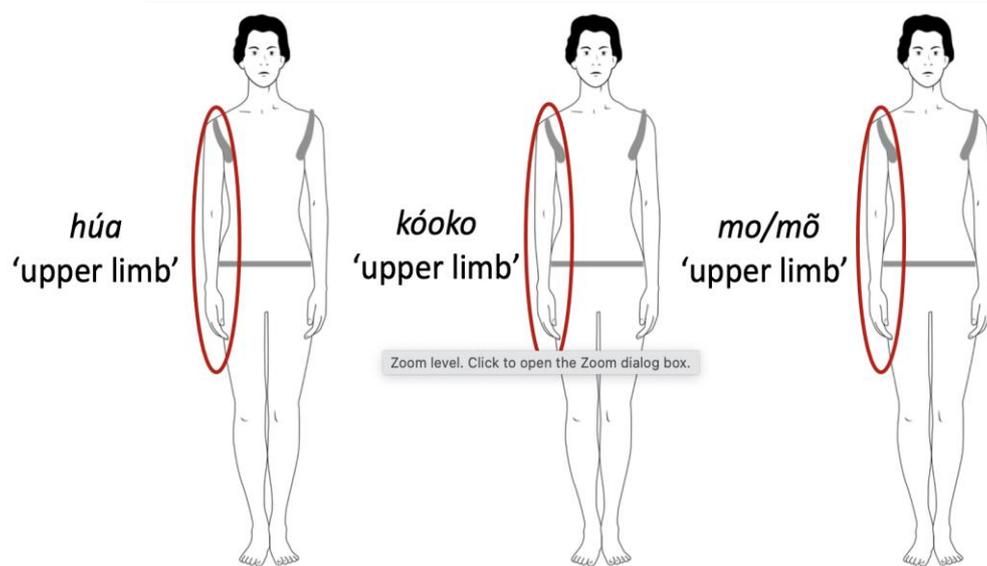


**Figura 9:** Upper limb partonomy in Spanish, assumed superstrate<sup>17</sup>

As illustrated in Figure 9, the canonical Spanish pattern for upper limb autonomy is one in which *mano* ‘hand’ is sharply distinguished from *brazo* ‘arm’. For speakers of Spanish varieties where this pattern is entrenched – including from other regions of Colombia – the extended use of *mano* to refer to anything above the wrist is confusing, as it is to speakers of English unfamiliar with contact-derived varieties in which this occurs frequently (e.g. Jamaican). Indeed, as discussed above, in the relatively frequent instances of this pattern’s discussion in the literature on Creole languages, it is nearly always tied to substrate semantic transfer, with the source language varying depending on the sociohistorical profile of the language or contact variety.

In contrast to the strictly distinguishing pattern of ‘hand’ versus ‘arm’ reference, Figure 9 demonstrates a relative underspecification of the upper limb in each of the relevant substrate languages. We would expect, then, for those individuals who were adult language learners in this context to make an ‘interlingual identification’ between *mano* and *húa*, *kóoko* or *mo/mõ*, as is often the case for Russian learners of English, as noted by Uriel Weinreich in *Languages in Contact* (1974 [1953]:7-8). The exact proportion of adult learners among the Amerindian- and African-(descendent) population – as compared to

<sup>17</sup> All body partonomy figures are adapted from the template in van Staden & Majid (2006), in accordance with the permissions for reproduction outlined therein.

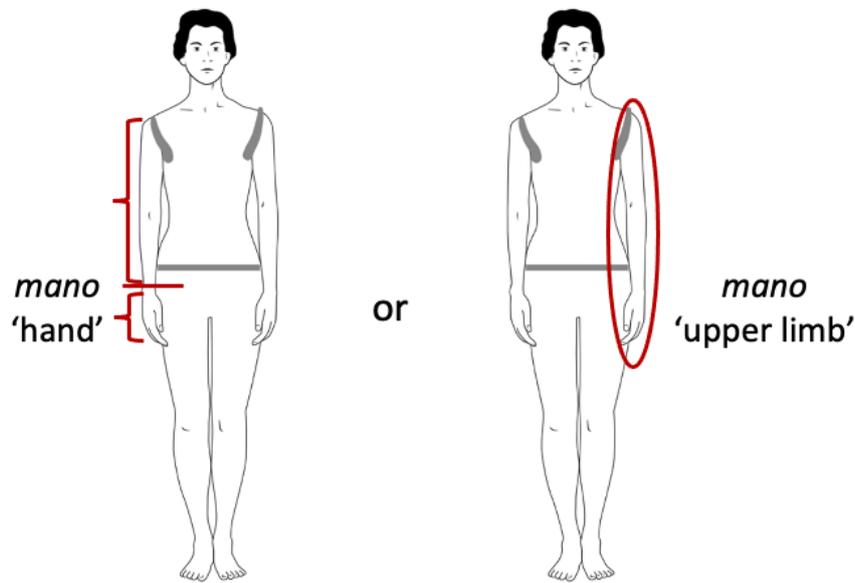


**Figure 10:** Upper limb paronymy in plausible substrate languages: Embera, Kikongo, and Portuguese-based Creole languages (Caboverdianu, Kiriol)

those born in colonial New Granada – is unclear, but the linguistic and historical evidence presented here suggests that they would have played a significant role as in the emergence of Antioqueño, in the least as the creative agents in the production of communicative acts which brought innovative variants of *mano* and *pie* into this new colonial variety.

This coincidental congruence of patterns means that a case for contact is somewhat less impeachable than single-origin proposals, and it also may help to explain why this substrate pattern in particular (and few if any others) became entrenched in Antioqueño Spanish. Accumulated replications (i.e. utterances) of a semantic map of *mano* associating it with the entire upper limb domain made it more likely for younger learners as well as adult L1 Spanish speakers, the latter of whom Thomason and Kaufman describe as simply “giving in” to the innovation (1988:42-3). We also argue here that a contact-induced change is more plausible than a language-internal origin via metonymy, based on the absence of any evidence of this variant in Ibero-Romance varieties without historical and/or contemporary influence from substrates like those represented in Figure 10.

Figure 11 highlights that there is some ambiguity of reference in the contemporary use of *mano* in Antioqueño Spanish, as seen in examples (25-26), below.



**Figure 11:** Antioqueño Spanish limb paratomy

(25) *Ya la tenía en mis brazos una bebé.*  
 already her had.1SG in my arms a baby  
 ‘I already had her in my arms, a baby.’

(26) *Las piernas a mí no me respondían.*  
 the legs to me not DAT.1SG respond  
 ‘My legs weren’t responding to me.’

To the left, *mano* appears to have a restrictive meaning, contrastive with *brazo* ‘arm’, as in the canonical pattern in Figure 11. Meanwhile, on the right we see that *mano* is not actually restricted, since the range of reference goes well beyond that which is usually delimited by *brazo*. This co-existence of *brazo* ‘arm’ and *mano* ‘upper limb’ is similar to ‘overlapping’ patterns used in contact languages such as Bahamian Creole and Sri Lankan Portuguese (Huber and the APiCS Consortium 2013).

### 3.4. General remarks on *mano* and *pie* semantics in Antioqueño

The apparent synchronic ambiguity in the meanings of *mano* and *pie* in Antioqueño Spanish is a window into a history of language contact in a region not often associated with Amerindian or African(-descendent) people. Here we have offered linguistic and historical evidence supporting the hypothesis that the semantic change ‘hand’ > ‘upper limb’ – an innovation otherwise unattested in any ‘standard’, ‘vernacular’, or contact variety of Spanish – came about through contact between Amerindian, West African, and European peoples in Antioquia during its foundation in the colonial period (mid- to late-16th c.)

## 4. Discussion and Conclusion

This study’s main goal was to shed light on the West African and Amerindian linguistic contribution for language contact phenomena found in two Andean Spanish varieties, Antioqueño and Afro-Yungueño. We set out to fill in a gap in the literature: the little or, in some cases, no mention of the role of the African and local indigenous peoples in shaping the Spanish that is currently spoken in Colombia and Bolivia. These groups spoke a range of languages which were nevertheless in some cases congruous in certain syntactic-semantic domains, and, more importantly, defined the Spanish that would later be dominant in the Antioquia and Los Yungas regions. Here we use the concept of agency proposed by Sicoli (2010) in which we assume that these speakers actively participated in shaping the grammar of contemporary Afro-Yungueño and Antioqueño since “individuals are not simply free agents of their actions but are positioned subjects” (Sicoli 2010:162).

Given the current state of the field of linguistics and all the important contributions that this discipline has provided to our universal understanding of how languages in contact work, it seems very counterproductive to posit that all the colonial languages spoken in the Americas have little or no influence from the languages that the native peoples and Africans spoke, considering that, for most of the colonization period, they composed often times the majority of the population that lived in what we now call the Americas.

We have spent some time discussing the sociohistorical details of each community studied in this paper because we understand that without full consideration of the context in which these dialects were formed, we cannot access the exact origins of the linguistic phenomena analyzed here. Mintz (1971) was one of the pioneers to point out the intrinsic relationship that exists

between the specific sociohistorical background of the communities we study and language formation. In his framework, he proposes that the relative proportions between Europeans and Africans (or indigenous groups in the case of Antioquia), the codes of social interactions between them, and their community settings are all equally important when discussing Creoles and language contact varieties. The results of our sociohistorical research indicate that languages from the Bantu-H subgroup, Portuguese-lexified Creoles, and Chocoan languages were the most relevant for the language formation scenario in Antioquia and Los Yungas. In our linguistic analyses, we provided evidence that traces the substrate origins of location marking in Afro-Yungueño and body partonomy in Antioqueño. We claim that speakers, in both contexts, exploited existing patterns from their native languages and replicated those into the new variety that was created through contact (Baptista 2020; Matras & Sakel 2007).

Furthermore, based on our historical research, there is enough evidence to claim that a period of widespread multilingualism happened in the formation of both varieties, and that fact most likely propelled the change we see in the Spanish spoken in those regions nowadays. Sicoli (2010) warns of a misconception in which some works assume that speakers choose to give up one language for another in situations of language contact and shift and that, consequently, (multi)bilingualism is just a “transitional state” In our study, we claim that the contact languages were in intense contact with Spanish for a substantial period of time in order for them to have had the influence we see in Afro-Yungueño and Antioqueño today. We cannot forget that these speakers of Bantu and Chocoan languages were positioned subjects whose actions were socioculturally constrained (Sicoli 2010), meaning that they most likely did not instantly shift to Spanish once they were enslaved or forced into labor in Bolivia and Colombia and that this was likely a gradual process that ultimately led these speakers and their descendents to shift to a Spanish that was highly impacted by Bantu and Chocoan languages.

These language varieties are still understudied and poorly described. In previous attempts to reveal the origins of these languages, scholars have primarily focused on what they “lack” in contrast to Spanish. A hypothesis that assumes that Africans and Amerindians had full access to standard Spanish since the foundation of both communities lacks historical support. Scholars who are specialists in Afro-Yungueño, for instance, often claim that this language is a direct result of “imperfect acquisition” (Sessarego 2010) or that “fossilized or incomplete SLA played a role in their emergence of the most outstanding features that diverge from patrimonial Spanish” (Perez 2021:121). However,

how can we define imperfect or incomplete acquisition for monolingual communities?

In the fields of Applied Linguistics, Second Language Acquisition, and Education, these ideas would be classified under the Deficit View of Linguistic Minorities umbrella (MacSwan 2000), which, lacking any empirical evidence, may be regarded as an ideological construct, like prescriptivism before it. MacSwan (2000), in the field of bilingual education, and DeGraff (2020) talking about the foundations of Creole studies, both disregard these harmful views on SLA, bilingualism, and Creole formation, given that they believe that these terms should be abandoned on empirical, theoretical, and moral grounds.

Ultimately, we follow their suggestion in this paper, and this is one of the main reasons why we provided detailed accounts of linguistic phenomena studied here and their languages in contact. Our results do not corroborate a hypothesis in which we assume a period of “imperfect” acquisition; on the contrary, we defend that different SLA and contact mechanisms were present in shaping the innovative location marking system and body partonomy semantic patterns we find nowadays in Afro-Yungueño and Antioqueño Spanish.

Our work offers an important contribution to the studies of Ibero-Romance Creoles and their contact varieties given that we demonstrate that the role of substrate languages in the formation of Afro-Yungueño and Antioqueño Spanish is rather central than minimal as it was argued by previous studies. Spatial relations and body partonomy patterns are fundamental elements of any language’s grammar and our findings show that these components were drastically affected by contact-driven change through pattern replication (Matras & Sakel 2007). We believe that during the formation period from both languages, speakers relied on their creativity by using existing properties of their native languages to construe innovative patterns of location marking and body partonomy we observe in contemporary Afro-Yungueño and Antioqueño Spanish. These features are considered innovative here, because they do not resemble entirely neither of the contact languages, speakers in both contexts created a new system.

In the case of Afro-Yungueño, Africans relied on the Spanish motion, static and existential verbs to encode locative information just as they did in their native Bantu languages. Afro-Yungueño speakers employ the preposition *a* with both static and motion verb, in addition to presenting zero location marking with goal-oriented motion verbs. These last two features are possible in Bantu languages as well, considering that in Kikongo, for instance, the locative suffix *-ku* is multifunctional, and zero marking is an available strategy in both goal and source-oriented motion verbs.

And in the case Antioqueño Spanish, a diverse group of Amerindians and West Africans with typologically similar body partonomies mapped the semantics of their L1 lexical entries for ‘upper limb’ and ‘lower limb’ onto Spanish *mano* and *pie*, resulting in the non-canonical usages of these core vocabulary items as used today in Antioquia and northwestern Colombia more generally.

In sum, this paper offers some theoretical implications. Firstly, we argue that both phenomena studied here are typologically more similar to the contact languages than Spanish, providing a fruitful discussion that can be later generalized to other elements of the grammar from both Afro-Yungueño and Antioqueño. Secondly, our research positions the subjects of language change as central to the directions that both languages have developed. This was done by the major focus we gave to the sociohistorical context of each community and how this aspect is central when we talk about language-contact phenomena. We follow Thomason & Kaufman (1988) claim that the history of language is the history of its speakers. In previous studies about Spanish spoken in the Americas, and more specifically the Andean varieties, the role of West Central African languages still needs to be more explored, given that there is a focus mostly on the contribution of the indigenous languages, such as the ones from the Quechuan family for example, on the formation of these varieties. Therefore, our work provides a new perspective on language contact phenomena from this region by focusing on the contribution that the languages from the Niger-Congo phylum had to the grammars of Andean Spanish. Lastly, further research should be undertaken to investigate the role of these languages in the formation of other components of the Afro-Yungueño and Antioqueño grammar since our findings suggest that this seems to be a productive area of study.

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