TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of photos, figures and maps		11	
List of tables and charts			
Acknow	Acknowledgements		
Chapter 1: Afro-Bolivians and their language		19	
1.1.	Introduction	19	
1.2.	Bolivia's afrodescendientes and their environment	22	
1.3.	Life in the Yungas	26	
1.4.	Afro-Bolivian communities in the Yungas	27	
1.5.	Demographic profile: how many Afro-Bolivians are there?	29	
1.6.	Afro-Bolivians' arrival in the Yungas	30	
1.7.	National awareness of Afro-Bolivians	34	
1.8.	Who speaks Afro-Yungueño Spanish?	40	
1.9.	Why has Afro-Bolivian Spanish survived?	44	
1.10.	Afro-Bolivian "folk revival" and its implications for language		
	usage	50	
1.11.	Previous publications about Afro-Bolivians and their		
	language	52	
1.12.	Early Afro-Bolivian literary examples	56	
1.13.	Afro-Bolivian literary representations in the 20 th century	59	
1.14.	Data collection for the present study	61	
Chapter 2: Phonetics and phonology		63	
2.1.	The phonetics of Afro-Yungueño Spanish	63	
2.2.	Phonetic overview of highland Bolivian Spanish	63	
2.3.	Detailed phonetic traits of highland Bolivian Spanish	64	
2.4.	Phonetic characteristics of Afro-Yungueño Spanish	69	
Chapter 3: The noun phrase		81	
3.1.	The Afro-Yungueño noun phrase	81	
3.2.	Indefinite articles	81	
3.3.	Definite articles	82	
3.4.	Null definite articles	84	

	3.5.	Demonstratives	86
	3.6.	Possessives	87
	3.7.	Indefinite and negative pronouns and adjectives	88
		Suspension of gender agreement; masculine gender prevails	89
		Invariant plurals in Afro-Bolivian Spanish	91
		"Stripped plural" noun phrases	93
		Subject pronouns	98
		Use of overt subject pronouns	99
		Object clitics	102
	3.14.	Syntax of object clitics	103
Cl	haptei	4: The Afro-Bolivian verb phrase	105
		Introduction	105
	4.2.	Invariant verb forms: the 3 rd person singular	106
	4.3.	Verb tenses in Afro-Bolivian speech	109
	4.4.	Possible restructuring to an aspect-based verbal system	111
	4.5.	The infinitive in Afro-Bolivian Spanish	113
	4.6.	Gerunds and progressive forms	117
	4.7.	Past participles	117
	4.8.	Combinations of <i>ta</i> + INFINITIVE	118
	4.9.	Possible use of <i>ya</i> as perfective particle	124
	4.10.	Possible use of <i>va</i> as future / irrealis particle	125
	4.11.	Summary: particles in Afro-Bolivian Spanish?	127
	4.12.	Copulative constructions	127
	4.13.	Existence and possession	128
Cl	haptei	5: Phrase-level grammatical constructions	131
	5.1.	Phrase-level grammatical constructions	131
	5.2.	Prepositions	131
	5.3.	Questions and interrogative forms	133
	5.4.	Negative particles and negative constructions	136
	5.5.	Coordinate conjunctions and conjoined clauses	141
	5.6.	Complex sentence structure	141
	5.7.	Reduplication as intensification	142
	5.8.	Word order of major constituents in traditional Afro-Bolivian	
		Spanish	143
Cl	haptei	6: The Afro-Bolivian lexicon	145
	6.1.	Introduction	145
	6.2.	Lexical items derived from Spanish	145

6.3.	Lexical items derived from Aymara	150		
6.4.	Lexical items of uncertain origin	155		
Chante	r 7: Aymara influence in Afro-Bolivian Spanish	159		
7.1.	Aymara and Aymara-influenced Spanish in contact with Afro-	157		
	Yungueño Spanish	159		
7.2.				
	Yungueño Spanish	159		
	7.2.1. The filler element <i>jay</i>	159		
	7.2.2. <i>Tío</i> and <i>tía</i>	164		
	7.2.3. Awicha	164		
	7.2.4. <i>Cho</i>	165		
	7.2.5. <i>asti</i>	166		
	7.2.6. Other Aymara lexical items	167		
7.3.	Aymara-Spanish phonetics vs. Afro-Bolivian phonetics	167		
7.4.	Morphosyntax: Aymara-influenced Spanish as a possible locus			
	of transmission	168		
	7.4.1. Nominal and verbal morphology	168		
	7.4.2. Lack of noun-adjective gender agreement	171		
	7.4.3. Double possessives	172		
	7.4.4. Object-Verb word order	172		
	7.4.5. Elision of definite articles	173		
7.5.	Summary	174		
Chapte	r 8: The status of Afro-Bolivian Spanish	177		
8.1.	Introduction	177		
8.2.	Is Afro-Yungueño Spanish an Afro-Hispanic (post-bozal) survival?	177		
8.3.	Is Afro-Yungueño Spanish a creole language?	179		
8.4.	Implicational relationships in Afro-Yungueño Spanish: possible			
	decreolization	186		
8.5.	Gender and number agreement in noun phrases: gradual decreo-			
	lization?	186		
8.6.	The Afro-Yungueño verb phrase: in the footsteps of decreo-			
	lization	190		
8.7.	Further discussion: but is it really decreolization?	193		
8.8.	The importance of Afro-Yungueño Spanish to Afro-Hispanic			
	linguistics	195		
Appendix: Sample transcriptions of Afro-Bolivian Spanish				
Sample 1: Mururata, male speaker in his early 50's				

Sample 2:	Mururata, female speaker in her late 40's	201
Sample 3:	Chijchipa, female speaker in her late 60's (J), with female	
	speaker from Mururata, late 40's (A)	202
Sample 4:	Male speaker from Mururata, in his late 50's, describes the last	
	black king, Rey Bonifacio Pinedo	203
Sample 5:	Female speaker from Santa Bárbara (now living in Coroico),	
	in her early 70's	203
Sample 6:	Female speaker from Chijchipa (now living in Coroico), in	
	her early 40's	204
Sample 7:	Male speaker from Chijchipa (now living in Coroico), in his	
	late 70's	204
Sample 8:	Male speaker from Dorado Chico (now living in La Paz), in	
	his mid 50's	205
Bibliograp	phy	209