Chapter 5

A Gbe substrate model for discontinuous negation in Spanish varieties of Chocó, Colombia: Linguistic and historical evidence

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In this paper I highlight the central role of an oft-neglected source language model in the presence of discontinuous negation, also known as NEG2 (e.g. *yo **no** sé cuál es **no*** 'I don't know which one it is'), in the Spanish of Chocó, Colombia. Namely, I point to the presence of analogous negation patterns in Ewe, a widely-spoken variety of Gbe across modern-day Ghana, Togo, and Benin. Data from the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database as well as a 1759 census of the enslaved African(-descendant) population in Chocó mining camps strongly suggest that Gbe languages were spoken by one-third of enslaved Africans taken to the Pacific lowland region of Colombia via the Caribbean port of Cartagena in the 17th and 18th centuries. Traditionally, non-canonical patterns of negation in Ibero-Romance contact varieties involving discontinuous (i.e. pre-verbal and utterance-final) and strictly utterance-final negator morphemes have been attributed to Bantu languages such as Kikongo, some varieties of which feature similar structures. However, for the years in which enslaved Africans were being trafficked directly from West Africa to Chocó via Cartagena (1650–1800), archival sources indicate that those from Bantu-speaking regions of West Central Africa comprised close to one-sixth of the total African-born population, and thus just around half as many as the Gbe-speaking group. Together these findings lead to the conclusion that speakers of Gbe (especially Ewe) played a foundational role in the development of non-canonical negation patterns in Spanish varieties spoken in Chocó, Colombia.

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1 Introduction

The specific origins of non-standard linguistic structures in varieties of European languages spoken by majority African-descendant populations in the Americas are the subject of persistent inquiry and much debate among scholars of Atlantic creoles as well as other Caribbean and mainland contact varieties of European languages. The present analysis centers on the presence of one such structure, referred to here as discontinuous negation (abbrev. NEG2), in varieties of Spanish spoken in the Pacific lowland region of northwestern Colombia, exemplified in (1–4).

(1) (Ruíz-García 2001)[1]
     Yo **no** sé   un nombre **no**
     1SG NEG know a   name   NEG
     'I don't know (of) a name.'

(2) (Ruíz-García 2001)
     Yo **no** voy a subir allá **no**
     1SG NEG go   to go.up there NEG
     'I'm not going to go up there.'

(3) (Ruíz-García 2001)
     Esse niñito   **no** me habla a mí **no**
     That child-DIM NEG me talks to me NEG
     'That kid doesn't talk to me.'

(4) (Schwegler 1991a: 109)
     Mi papá sí   **no** fue a la escuela **no**
     My father EMPH NEG went to the school   NEG
     'My father definitely didn't go to any school.'

The prototypical NEG2 pattern consists of the pre-verbal negative morpheme *no* plus a duplicate utterance-final *no* with no perceivable prosodic break. The seamless transition from the end of the propositional content and the utterance-final negator morpheme can be seen in Figure 1.

1.1 Discontinuous negation in Ibero-Romance

The use of NEG2 in varieties of Chocó Spanish is of sufficient salience that it has often been reported as a distinguishing feature of this variety, for instance

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[1]All examples from Ruíz-García (2001) were extracted directly from that author's corpus of tape-recorded conversational speech collected in and around Tadó, Chocó.
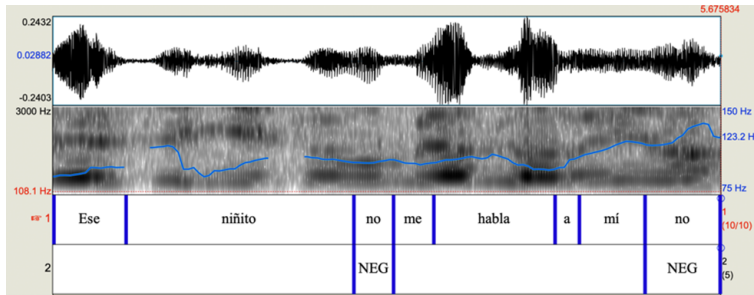
Figure 1: Pitch contour of NEG2 token from example (3)

in the work of Colombian dialectologists (Flórez 1950, Granda 1988, Montes Giraldo 1974). Analogous patterns have been documented as well for other Ibero-Romance contact varieties, including Dominican Spanish (Megenney 1990, Ortiz López 2007, Schwegler 1991b) and Brazilian Portuguese (Schwegler 1991d, Schwenter 2005). Significant to the present analysis is the fact that discontinuous negation has been discussed extensively in the literature on creole languages, in particular Spanish-based Palenquero (Dieck 2000, Schwegler 1991c, 2016, 2018) and Portuguese-based Santome (Ferraz 1979, Güldemann & Hagemeijer 2019, Hagemeijer 2008, 2009), Angolar (Maurer 1995), and Fa d'Ambô (Post 2013).

The use of NEG2 in negated propositions is not categorical in Chocó Spanish lects, however, since it appears alongside and with less frequency than the canonical Spanish pre-verbal negation structure (NEG1), as in (5–7).[2]

(5) (Schwegler 1991a: 96)
     No me gustó y   me vine
     neg me pleased and me came
     'I didn't like it (there), and I came (here).'

(6) (Schwegler 1991a: 107)
     Yo **no** me caí
     1sg neg me fell
     'I didn't fall.'

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[2]Not discussed here is a third option (NEG3) in which only the utterance-final negative morpheme is used, e.g. *ellos llegan aquí no* 'they don't come here' (Ruíz-García 2001: 102). While NEG3 is a robust negation strategy in other Ibero-Romance contact varieties such as Brazilian Portuguese, Palenquero, and Principense, this variant is especially infrequent in Chocó Spanish. Schwegler (1991a) found only one NEG3 example and Ruíz-García (2001) found just three in a speech corpus of 37 hours; thus while its existence is noted, its import is considered marginal.

(7)   (Schwegler 1991a: 111)

No   hubo cura   para él
NEG was   priest for   him
'There wasn't a priest for him.'

   While a lengthy discussion of the degree of markedness of NEG2 lies out-
side the scope of the present discussion, informants from my own fieldwork in
the capital city of Quibdó described the pattern as stigmatized and yet still *muy
común* 'very common' and *inconsciente* 'unconscious'.

1.2 Discourse-pragmatic considerations

The factors governing the variation between NEG1 and NEG2 in Chocó Spanish
are at present not well understood and have not been discussed in detail in pre-
vious work; this is largely due to the fact that no balanced sociolinguistic corpus
of Chocó speech exists at present. Pragmatics-based analyses of variable nega-
tion strategies in Brazilian Portuguese (e.g. Schwenter 2005) suggest that NEG2
is licensed only in contexts where the negated proposition is mentioned or "ac-
tivated" in the immediately preceding discourse. However, in an analysis of 66
tokens of NEG2 extracted from spontaneous conversational data from Chocó,
Ruíz-García found that only 54.6% of cases involved negation of a proposition ac-
tivated in the prior discourse (i.e. old information), while slightly less than half
(45.4%) negated new, "out of the blue" propositions (2001: 109–123). A comparison
of these cases is demonstrated in examples (8–9), which reveals the immediate
discourse preceding the use of NEG2 from examples (2) and (3) above.

(8)   (Ruíz-García 2001)

Speaker A: ¿Y   ustedes ya   lo   fueron a   ver a   él allá?
             and 2PL   already him went   to see to he there
             'And you already went to see him there?'

Speaker B: Yo **no**   voy a   subir allá   **no.**
             1SG NEG go   to go.up there NEG
             'I'm not going to go up there.'

Speaker C: ¿Quién llegó   abuela?
             who   arrived grandmother
             'Who's here, grandma?'

Speaker D: Ese   niñito   **no**   me habla a   mí **no**
             that child-DIM NEG me talks   to me NEG
             'That kid doesn't talk to me.'

In (8), B's negated proposition 'I'm not going to go up there' is activated in A's question as to whether B 'already went to see him there'. However, the negation by D relates to the proposition 'X doesn't talk to me', which is not directly activated by C's question about who has just arrived. Thus, the use of NEG2 in Chocó Spanish does not appear to involve the same pragmatic conditioning that has been proposed for Brazilian Portuguese, but rather constitutes an alternative to NEG1 licensed across a wide range of discourse-pragmatic contexts.

1.3 Goal and outline

The objective of the present study is to shed light on the plausible origins of NEG2 in Chocó Spanish, departing from an analysis of the sociodemographic data available regarding the African-descendant population in the Pacific lowlands from the beginnings of significant gold-mining operations in the late 17th c. through the boom and eventual collapse of the slave-labor-based economy in the region in the late 18th century. Section 2, below, presents a sketch of the sociohistorical context in which Chocó Spanish emerged, which can be broadly characterized as one of vast demographic disproportion, wherein the European(-descendant) population never numbered greater than 2.5% of the total population. Section 3 then outlines the patterns of negation in each plausible substrate language – that is, any language that the historical record suggests would have been the L1 of non-negligible numbers of speakers during the relevant time period (1650–1800). Finally, Section 4 weighs the contribution of the most likely substrate candidates in light of the historical evidence and the presence or absence of NEG2-like negation patterns in those languages, concluding that the large proportion of L1 Gbe speakers present in the early stages of Chocó's transformation to a central mining hub of western Colombia provided an analogous and plausible source language model for NEG2. A numerically less prominent yet substantial group of L1 Kikongo speakers likely helped to reinforce the NEG2 pattern, such that it became entrenched in some of the Afro-Hispanic contact varieties that emerged in Chocó.

2 Social and historical considerations

Chocó is one of the thirty-two *departamentos* 'provinces/states' of Colombia, an administrative status it has held since 1944. In the most recent nationwide census, Chocó's total population numbered 388,476, the vast majority of which (82.1%) self-identified as *negro o afrocolombiano* 'black or Afro-Colombian', while the

second largest group (12.7%) self-identified as *amerindio* 'Amerindian'; significantly, only 5.2% of Chocó's residents self-identified as *blanco o mestizo* 'white or mixed white/Amerindian ancestry' (DANE 2010). These percentages contrast starkly with nationwide demographic figures, in which the *blanco o mestizo* category comprises 86% of the total Colombian population, dwarfing that of both *negro o afrocolombiano* (10.6%) and *amerindio* (3.4%).

2.1 Demographics of 18th c. Chocó

An overview of the history of Chocó shows that similar demographic trends have existed since the earliest large-scale censuses of the region were prepared in the mid- to late-18th century.

Table 1: 18th c. demographics of Chocó by ethnic group

Year	"Whites"	"Slaves"	*Libres*	"Indians"	Total
1778	332	5,756	3,160	5,414	14,662
1779	335	5,916	3,348	5,693	15,292
1781	336	6,557	3,612	6,202	16,707
1782	359	7,088	3,899	6,552	17,898
1808	400	4,698	15,184	4,450	24,732

Table 1 above, adapted from Sharp (1976: 199), shows that in terms of proportions of the total population, the European-descendants ("Whites") category reached its maximum in 1778 at just 2.26%, steadily dropping to 1.62% by 1808. On the other hand, the percentages of enslaved Africans and African-descendants ("Slaves") and Amerindians ("Indians") are roughly equal throughout the same time period, the former reaching a maximum of 39.3% in 1782 and the latter peaking at 37.2% in 1779 before both decreased both in terms of raw numbers and percentages in 1808, which saw a massive increase in the number of *libres de todos los colores* 'freed people of all colors'. While the factors leading to this drastic rise in the number of *libres* remain unclear, contemporary Colombian historian Claudia Leal has suggested some possible explanations:

> [T]he Afro-descendant population (slaves plus *libres*) increased from 61.4 percent of the total to 80.6 percent, while Indians decreased from 36.6 percent to 17.8 percent. The extraordinary rise in the number of libres is hard to explain. It could be justified if slaves and Indians changed categories to

> libres with the same rates of their decrease in numbers. The purchase of
> freedom could explain how some individuals moved from slaves to libres,
> but no similar explanation exists for Indians becoming libres. (Leal 2018: 50)

The decrease in the Amerindian population very well may reflect an increased
tendency towards marronage, a process noted by Werner Cantor (2000) as a com-
mon method of escape from semi-captivity employed by the indigenous popula-
tion of Chocó. This is better understood in light of the fact that the category
"Indians" as tabulated in 18th and early 19th century censuses almost certainly
referred *only* to tribute-paying Amerindians forced to live in *corregimientos* and
provide labor for mine-owners (e.g. riverine transportation, food production, and
housing construction), while a proportion of the total Amerindian population
maintained their traditional ways of living outside the bounds of Spanish con-
trol.

The sociodemographic data from Table 1 point to two groups from which any
substrate features of Chocó Spanish must be derived: African(-descendant)s and
Amerindians. Tracing the linguistic background of the Amerindian population
in Chocó is straightforward, as only Emberá- and Wounaan-speaking communi-
ties have inhabited this region continuously[3] from the first contacts with Span-
ish colonists in the early 16th c. through the present day (Jiménez Meneses 2004,
Williams 2005). While serious discussion of the Amerindian influences on Chocó
varieties of Spanish has unfortunately been omitted in previous accounts, socio-
historical factors including the size of the population, coupled with relative lin-
guistic homogeneity within the Chocoan language family (Loewen 1957, 1960,
1963), lend weight to the importance of considering these languages when dis-
cussing issues related to language contact in Chocó.

On the other hand, it must be acknowledged that the vast majority of the cur-
rent population of Chocó is of African descent, as noted above. Prior analyses and
the author's own fieldwork suggest that this population is currently monolingual
in what has been described as a "partially restructured" variety of Spanish (Ruíz-
García 2001) reflective of "advanced second language acquisition" at an earlier
stage in the development of the variety (Sessarego 2016, 2019). Indeed, even as

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[3]The qualifier "continuously" is important here, since Cuna-speaking communities once resided
in Chocó as well. Historical accounts by Werner Cantor (2000), Williams (2005), and Vargas
Sarmiento (1993) point out that tensions between the Emberá and Cuna populations of Chocó,
exacerbated by early contacts with Spanish and English colonists, caused the Cuna to perma-
nently relocate north to Darién, Panama, along the border with Colombia, as well as to the San
Blas islands off the Panamanian coast.

early as 1816, two entries from the diary of a Spanish military officer on an expedition to root out revolutionaries in Chocó suggest that the African-descendant population of Chocó spoke target-like Spanish:

> May 19: [W]e came across two blacks, and they said the enemies had spent the afternoon prior in the hills above... May 20: [F]rom some blacks that we found along the way we know that the enemies have fled in great haste.[4]

In order to highlight possible substrate sources of NEG2, a variety of sources are considered below to discern the plausible linguistic backgrounds of the largest groups within the African-born and African-descendant population that was trafficked to Chocó between the late 17th c. and 18th century.

2.2 Origins of enslaved Africans arriving in Cartagena, 1650–1800

Cartagena was the primary port of entry of enslaved Africans into colonial New Granada (modern-day Colombia) and thus is the relevant place to look for archival information concerning their places of origin. Regarding Chocó in particular, William F. Sharp states that "most of the miners in the Chocó during the last decades of the seventeenth century were *bozales* [African-born] and most came from Cartagena by way of the Atrato" (Sharp 1976: 111).[5] Sharp also cites archival accounts from as late as 1777 demonstrating mine owners' preference for "newly imported blacks who were best suited for work in the mines" (117).

Table 2 summarizes data from the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade database showing the provenance of 13,371 enslaved Africans sold in Cartagena during the time period spanning 1650–1800 (Voyages Database 2009). The range of locations from which Africans were purchased was vast, stretching from the French-held posts of Cacheu and Saint-Louis in Upper Guinea in the north all the way

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[4]Transcription and translation here are mine of an original archival document located in the "Latin American mss.— Colombia, 1558–1890" collection at the Lilly Library in Bloomington, Indiana.

[5]Sessarego argues that "it would be a mistake to assume that blacks in Chocó were all *bozales* who spoke African languages" (2017: 40) and suggests instead that *criollo* [American-born] slaves were more prominent in Chocó. In doing so, he highlights the sales of *criollos* in southeastern city of Popayán, pointing out that most mine (and slave) owners were from there. While these are relevant considerations, it must be noted that a total of only 1,074 *criollos* were sold in Popayán over the course of the entire century (1690–1789) in which mining peaked in Chocó (Colmenares 1997 [1979]: 36). For comparison, if we set aside local birth and death rates, these *criollos* would have constituted just 12% of the entire African(-descendant) population of Chocó in 1778.

Table 2: Broad regions of origin of Africans disembarking in Cartagena (late 17th-18th c.)

Time Period	Upper Guinea	Sierra Leone	Gold Coast	Bight of Benin	Bight of Biafra	Central Africa	Cape Verde	Príncipe Island
1651–1675	556			966	1,088	650		
1676–1700	820		131	1,138		1,078	313	1,005
1701–1725	245	403	1,801	1,955	344	720		
1776–1800					158			
Total	1,631	403	1,932	4,059	1,590	2,448	313	1,005
%	12.1%	3.0%	14.5%	30.4%	11.9%	18.3%	2.3%	7.5%

south to West Central Africa (present-day Angola, Congo) and including all major regions of the West African slave trade in between. Notably these include the islands of Cape Verde and Príncipe, which served as entrepôts for the shipment of slaves to the Americas, and where Portuguese-based creole languages had already emerged prior to this time period.[6] On the other hand, the largest percentage (30.4%) arrived from the Bight of Benin, also often referred to as the Slave Coast, a region which Eltis & Richardson (2010: 110–112) illustrate would have stretched from contemporary eastern Ghana to western Nigeria and thus would have covered areas occupied by speakers of Gbe languages, especially Ewe and Fon – for a dialect map of contemporary varieties of Gbe, see Capo (1991: xxiii–xxiv). From this broad region the database shows that more than two-thirds (2,899) of enslaved Africans purchased in the Bight of Benin and arriving in Cartagena were purchased from a single location, Whydah,[7] between the years 1676–1725. Those arriving in the earlier period between 1651–1675 primarily came from "Ardra", also known as "Allada".[8] This half-century span of time corresponds fairly closely with the earliest period in which it is known that

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[6] While slaves arriving from each of these islands comprised relatively smaller groups (especially Cape Verde), their presence is noteworthy, given the claims of McWhorter (1999, 2006) that small numbers of slaves speaking African-origin pidgins or creoles were responsible for catalyzing the creation of creoles across the Atlantic.

[7] "Whydah" corresponds to the modern-day city Ouidah in Benin (for a social history of Ouidah, see Law 2004).

[8] Aboh (2015: Ch.2) provides a helpful overview of the history and significance of the kingdom of Allada, the center of which was a city of the same name situated 50 kilometers inland in modern-day Benin. This is the source of the ethnic denomination Arará, which was applied to enslaved Africans arriving from this location (as seen below).

large numbers of African-born slaves were purchased in Cartagena and transported to Chocó for work in the nascent gold mining industry.

Considerably less specific are the details provided by the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade database concerning the places of purchase of the second-largest group (18.3%) of Africans disembarking in Cartagena, labelled simply "West Central Africa and St. Helena, port unspecified". Thus, we can state with some degree of certainty only that this group would have been broadly comprised by speakers of Bantu languages, among them certainly Kikongo, which was central to the formation of Palenquero in the maroon community of San Basilio de Palenque just inland from Cartagena (Schwegler 2002, 2011). Similarly vague is information about Gold Coast arrivals. These comprised the third-largest group (14.5%) of slaves arriving in Cartagena, for which a specific place of purchase, Cape Coast Castle, is known only for 426 of the 1,801 enslaved Africans arriving between 1701–1725, all others falling under the headings "Gold Coast, port unspecified" and "Gold Coast, Fr. definition". For the purposes of this analysis, then, we will make the general (and rather commonplace) assumption that many among this population would have been Akan/Twi-speaking.

2.3 Origins of enslaved Africans in Chocó, 1759

Some of the uncertainty inherent in the assumptions made above is mitigated by the existence of a census dated 1759 providing information about the enslaved peoples working in fifty-eight mining camps across the region of Chocó at the time.[9] Particularly illuminating from this document are lists of the names of enslaved Africans and African-descendants working in each camp. What follows below is a summary of the data gleaned from a detailed tabulation of the names found in this original handwritten document.

Out of 2,741 named[10] individuals, 1,535 consist of just a first name, while 1,206 provide a second element consisting of either a surname, an African ethnic denomination, or some type of descriptor. Each of the descriptive second elements

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[9]Accessed in the online database of the Archivo General de la Nación de Colombia (Sección Colonia, Negros y Esclavos, Cauca, Legajo 4) http://www.archivogeneral.gov.co. It should be noted that Granda (1988) analyzed the same document and reached similar conclusions. However, the numbers reported here do not match precisely those summarized in Granda's article, and do not invoke a priori assumptions, such as general groupings of diverse ethnonyms under a single linguistic family label (e.g. Kwa).

[10]The total population of Chocó in 1759 was 3,918. The difference between the overall total and the 2,741 accounted for here are individuals described collectively as *muleques* 'children', *viejos* 'elderly', and/or *chusma* 'unfit for work'.

of the individuals' names was labelled with a code designating subtypes of naming conventions. The range of subtypes included African ethnic denominations (e.g. *Bambará, Lucumí*), the generic terms *Criollo* and *Bozal*, surnames of Spanish origin (e.g. *García, Figueroa*), racial descriptors (e.g. *Mulato, Negro*), other descriptors (e.g. *Cabezón* 'big-headed', *Bailador* 'dancer'), toponyms/demonyms (e.g. *Cartagena, Panameño*), marital status (e.g. *Casado* 'married', *Soltero* 'single'), and others which were not immediately discernible (e.g. *Cuco, Pino*). Table 3 gives an overview of the subtypes used in the second elements of names found in the census. Most evident is the largest group (43.9%) described in terms describing a range of African ethnicities, the most frequent of which are listed in Table 4.

The predominance of the names *Mina* (137 individuals) and *Congo* (85 individuals) suggest that the linguistic backgrounds associated with these ethnic denominations would have been likely candidates as West African substrate languages in 18th c. Chocó. In the past, historians have tended to associate *Mina* with the Gold Coast port of Elmina in modern-day Ghana. However, Hall points out that

> [i]n the Portuguese, Spanish, and French colonies, the 'Mina' were the *casta* Mina, and they are to be identified with the Gbe language speakers as described by Alonso de Sandoval in both the 1627 and 1647 versions of his

Table 3: Subtypes of descriptions following names in 1759 census of Chocó

African ethnic denomination	Criollo[a]	Spanish surname	Race	Demonym	Other[b]
529	405	123	67	10	72
43.9%	33.6%	10.2%	6.0%	0.8%	5.5%

[a]It is noteworthy that such a large proportion of individuals are described as *Criollos*, given the evidence discussed in Section 2.2 that this population would have been considerably smaller than the African-born population in Chocó. An important consideration here is that the percentages reported in Table 3 were calculated in reference to the total of just those individuals whose names are accompanied by a second element in the 1759 census. Thus, if we consider all 2,741 named individuals, the names followed by *Criollo/Criolla* comprise a considerably smaller percentage (14.8%) of the total. Further, since the term *criollo* was typically applied to African-descendant slaves who were born in the colony and spoke Spanish, we may fairly safely assume that few of the remaining 1,535 individuals who were not described explicitly as Criollo would have been in fact *criollos*, since this aspect of their identity would have been apparent to the census preparers upon demonstration of their linguistic abilities.

[b]Subsumed in the 'Other' category are those elements which do not provide any hints as to the provenance of the person. Besides the elements which were undiscernible as mentioned above (totaling 39 individuals), these also included the term *Bozal* (3 individuals), marital status (8 individuals), and other descriptors (22 individuals).

Table 4: African ethnic denominations in 1759 census of Chocó

Mina	Congo	Arará	Carabalí	Chambá	Chalá	Setre	Mandinga	Popó	Other[a]
137	85	47	46	28	26	25	21	18	96
25.9%	16.1%	8.9%	8.7%	5.3%	4.9%	4.7%	4.0%	3.4%	18.1%

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[a]'Other' subsumes forty-seven distinct ethnic denominations, most appearing only once or twice (e.g. *Fori, Bran*), while a few others, such as *Nangó* (13 individuals) and *Tembo* (11 individuals), appear more frequently.

> book. .... He distinguished the *casta* Mina from the Popos, Fulaos, Ardas or Araraes, although he considered that all were related and they were all one (*que todo es uno*). .... Sandoval makes it clear that the Mina casta is to be identified with Gbe-speaking Africans of the Bight of Benin, and specifically the Ewe, Aja, Fon and others of the Gbe language group, and not immigrants from the Gold Coast. (Hall 2003: 70–71)

Law has called into question the definitive nature of Hall's claim about the meaning of *Mina*, pointing out that in many cases

> the aggregation of peoples who were linguistically distinct but geographically adjacent (in Africa) are best explicable on the assumption that many people in these groups were bilingual, so that smaller groups could be assimilated into larger ones in the Americas. (Law 2005: 267)

In light of this, it is relevant to note that Mosquera (2008: 84) provides archival testimony from a mining settlement in Tadó, Chocó, in 1728 displaying the multilingual abilities of an individual named Antonio Mina, who it appears was able to serve as an interpreter for other enslaved Africans of various ethnolinguistic backgrounds, as indicated by their names: José Nongo, Marcos Chalá, and Francisco Arará.

In any case, the high frequency of appearance of *Minas* in the 1759 census, coupled with the presence of significant numbers of both *Arará* (47 individuals) and *Popó* (18 individuals), suggests that the Gbe-speaking and/or Gbe-descendant[11]

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[11]This is an important consideration, since second-generation African-descendants were likely among those who still identified as *Mina*. Indeed, the surname *Mina* (as well as others, e.g. *Carabalí*) is still found in African-descendant communities from the Pacific lowlands of Colombia and Ecuador.

population recorded in the document reaches a total of 202 individuals, or 38.2% of those described in terms of African ethnic denominations.

In the case of *Congo*, which appears in 18.1% of the names from the 1759 census, there is little room for debate as to the provenance of these individuals, particularly given the close correspondence with the data in Table 2 showing that 18.3% of the slaves arriving in Cartagena came from West Central Africa. I will again assume (as in Section 2.2) that members of this group were speakers of Bantu languages, especially Kikongo. As for other ethnic denominations appearing in the 1759 census, in the interest of clarity and a degree of certainty, here no specific claims are made as to their linguistic backgrounds.[12]

3 Negation strategies in candidate substrate languages

In this section, I present the morphosyntactic structures used to express negation in each of seven likely candidate substrate languages highlighted above in Section 2: Emberá, Wounaan, Ewe, Gen, Fon, Kikongo, Akan/Twi, and Principense. These negation strategies are illustrated in examples (9–20) below.

3.1 Amerindian languages

I begin with two indigenous languages of the Chocoan language family, given that these (especially Emberá) were the most widely spoken for the longest time period in Chocó, i.e. from initial contacts with Spanish-speaking colonists in the early 16th c. through to the present. As illustrated in examples (9–12), three varieties of Emberá as well as Wounaan express negation in the form of suffix attached to the verb stem, which can optionally be followed by additional suffixes expressing tense, mood, or aspect.

(9) Emberá Pedee (Harms 1994: 131)
mi warra kʰãi-**ʔe**
my son   sleep-NEG
'My son is not sleeping.'

(10) Emberá Katío (Mortenson 1999: 98)
ũnũ-**ẽ**-pa-sʰi-a
see-NEG-EQ-PAST-DECL
'He didn't see her.'

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[12]For instance, *Carabalí* appears frequently but can be traced to a range of languages in modern-day Nigeria.

(11) Emberá Chamí (Aguirre Licht 1999: 112)
    íd̶i̶   kúi-**wẽ**-a
    today bathe-NEG-DECL
    'Today I haven't taken/won't take a bath.'

(12) Wounaan (Holmer 1963: 129)
    mə yeka-**ba**-m
    1SG talk-NEG-FUT
    'I'm not going to talk.'

Examples (9–12) demonstrate that each of the Chocoan languages spoken by indigenous peoples in contact with Spanish in Chocó has a similar typological profile with respect to the expression negation, that is, morphologically by way of verbal suffixation. As such, neither Emberá nor Wounaan make particularly good candidates for the introduction of NEG2 into Chocó Spanish, since no pre-verbal element is present in any variety.

3.2 West African languages

Next I turn to Ewe and Fon, the two varieties of Gbe most likely to have been present in Chocó during the early stages of transformation of this region into a major center of the gold mining industry in the 18th century. Examples (13–14), drawn from 19th c. and 20th c. grammars of Ewe, demonstrate that negation in this variety involves the placement of a free morpheme *me* before the verb – as well as before any TMA markers, as seen in (13) – plus the morpheme *o* at the end of the sentence, following any post-verbal complements or adjuncts. Crucially, both pre-verbal *me* and sentence-final *o* are obligatory in the expression of negation in these varieties.

(13) Ewe (Ellis 1890: 234)
    Nye **me** a   du **o**
    1SG NEG FUT eat NEG
    'I will not eat.'

(14) Ewe (Ameka 1991: 64)
    Kofi **me** va   afi   sia **o**
    Kofi NEG come place this NEG
    'Kofi did not come here.'

Similarly, Gen negation requires the expression of both pre-verbal *mú* and utterance-final *ò* negator morphemes (Aboh 2004: 46–47).

On the other hand, the Fon variety of Gbe can express negation pre-verbally with the morpheme *ma* or post-verbally with the sentence-final morpheme *a*, but according to Aboh (2004: 45), the pre-verbal negator *ma* and post-verbal *a* cannot co-occur – unless they are in a conditional clause introduced by *ni* 'if', in which case they must both be present. See (15–16) for examples.

(15)   Fon (Aboh 2004: 44)
       Kɔku **ma** na   xɔ   asɔn le
       Koku NEG FUT buy crab NUM
       'Koku will not buy the crabs.'

(16)   Fon (Aboh 2004: 45)
       Kɔku na   xo asɔn le   **a**
       Koku FUT buy crab NUM NEG
       'Koku will not buy the crab.'

Generally, then, while Ewe, Gen, and Fon have some similarities in terms of negation through the use of free morphemes appearing pre-verbally and/or sentence-finally, only Ewe and Gen appear to have a pattern of negation that could have provided a substrate source for NEG2 in Chocó Spanish.

Continuing within the Niger-Congo language family, examples (17–18) below are from Kikongo. Given the historical data presented above and prior proposals for the origin of NEG2 in Chocó (e.g. Schwegler 1991a, 2018), this language is considered particularly relevant as a possible substrate. On the other hand, Bantu languages in general, and Kikongo in particular, present the most complex range of possibilities of any of the languages considered here in terms of negation strategies. *The World Atlas of Linguistic Structures* describes Kongo as the only language[13] "with an obligatory clause-final negative word, a choice between an immediately preverbal negative word or a negative prefix, and an optional suffix" (Dryer 2013).

Examples (17–18) present cases in which Kikongo negation partially aligns with that of the NEG2 pattern found in Chocó Spanish, but in both cases the pre-verbal negator is attached as a prefix to the verb and followed by a series of morphemes for person/number and tense/aspect also prefixed to the verb. Furthermore, in (17) the post-verbal negator appears before an adverb and prepositional phrase, whereas in Chocó Spanish the post-verbal negative morpheme in NEG2 follows those same types of constituents (see examples 2 and 4, above).

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[13]Here and below names for this language are presented in the sources that have been cited. In all cases it is clear that varieties of the same language (Kikongo) are being described.

Thus, while NEG2-like constructions are possible, the number of variable strategies of negation in Kikongo and the complexities of its morphosyntactic realization do not make it an ideal candidate as a substrate for the NEG2 structure as used in the Spanish of Chocó.

(17) Kisikongo
ki-a-mon-idi   o   npangi aku **ko** mazono   ku zandu
NEG.1SG-PAST-see-PRF AUG brother your NEG yesterday at market
'I didn't see your brother yesterday at the market.'

(18) Kongo (Lumwamu 1973: 200)
ka-t-a-dí-di-éti   **ko**
NEG-1PL-COMPL-eat-PAST-REL.COMPL NEG
'We have not yet eaten.'

While not as likely a candidate in light of the sociohistorical profile of Chocó, Akan/Twi should be considered as well, since languages of the Kwa branch of Niger-Congo are often lumped together and considered typologically similar in language contact work (see, e.g., Granda 1988). Akan/Twi negation, as in (19) below, involves the use of a verbal prefix – in this case preceded by an aspectual marker – with no post-verbal marking whatsoever.

(19) Akan/Twi (Amfo 2010: 104)
Papa no   a-**n**-kɔ   adwuma nnɛra
man   DEF COMPL-NEG-go work   yesterday
'The man didn't go to work yesterday.'

Similar to the Chocoan languages, then, Akan/Twi is an unlikely source model for NEG2 in the Spanish of Chocó.

Finally, to conclude the discussion of possible substrate models for NEG2, example (20) below comes from the Portuguese-based creole Principense. While there is no definitive evidence to suggest that speakers of any Portuguese-based creole were trafficked to Chocó, it is possible that speakers of Principense may have been among the 1,005 enslaved Africans that arrived in Cartagena via Príncipe between 1676–1700, some of whom may have indeed been taken to the Pacific lowland region.

(20) Principense (Maurer 2009: 58)
Te   ninge nhon di pasa lala   **fa**
have person no   of pass there NEG
'There is nobody who passes by over there.'

However, as the sentence in (20) shows, Principense uses only a sentence-final negator *fa*[14]. The morpheme *nhon* glossed as 'no' above has scope only over the word *ninge* 'person', combining to mean 'nobody' as seen in the English translation. Thus, Principense is also not a strong candidate as a source for the appearance of NEG2 in Chocó.

3.3 Summary

Table 5 summarizes the types of negation strategies found in the seven candidate substrate languages considered most relevant to the context in which Chocó Spanish emerged. The NEG2 pattern presented by Chocó Spanish involves the use of pre-verbal *and* sentence-/utterance-final negator morphemes; therefore, the most likely candidate in purely linguistic terms is Ewe, which presents an analogous pattern. Kikongo may also be of relevance given the *possibility* of analogous structure, with the caveats discussed above.

Table 5: Types of negation among candidate substrate languages

Language	Subgroup (Family)	Negation type
Emberá	Chocoan (Amerindian)	Verbal suffix
Wounaan	Chocoan (Amerindian)	Verbal suffix
Ewe	Gbe (Niger-Congo)	Pre-verbal and sentence-final morpheme
Gen	Gbe (Niger-Congo)	Pre-verbal and sentence-final morpheme
Fon	Gbe (Niger-Congo)	Pre-verbal or sentence-final morpheme
Kikongo	Bantu (Niger-Congo)	Pre-verbal morpheme or verbal prefix and/or suffix *and clause-final morpheme*
Akan/Twi	Tano (Niger-Congo)	Verbal prefix
Principense	Portuguese-based creole	Sentence-final morpheme

4 Conclusion

The present analysis is narrow in scope both in terms of the linguistic structure under analysis (discontinuous negation or NEG2) as well as the geographical re-

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[14]This is in fact unique to Principense as compared to the closely-related Portuguese-based creoles Santome, Angolar and Fa d'Ambô. According to Maurer (2013), "[t]he fact that … Principense has no double negation like Santome *na … fa* is probably due to the existence of the validator *na* (epistemic modality) in Principense, which has the same shape and the same position of the negator *na*, namely immediately preceding the tense, aspect, and mood markers".

gion of its use (Chocó, Colombia). However, the account offered here is perhaps somewhat more far-reaching insofar as NEG2 has been the subject of some debate regarding its origins in Chocó as either a contact feature derived from a West African source (Granda 1978: 514, 1988, Ruíz-García 2001, Schwegler 1991a) or one that developed across Ibero-Romance in the 15th c. via Jespersen's cycle and thus reflecting Spanish varieties spoken by colonists (Sessarego 2017). The latter argument has been challenged and largely discounted by Schwegler (2018) in part because the pattern of NEG2 in Chocó as seen in examples (1–3) above involves a pre-verbal and a sentence-final negator after objects, adverbs, and other intervening morphemes, while Jespersen's cycle[15] involves immediately post-verbal negators, as do all of the examples in Sessarego's (2017) analysis of 15th–19th c. Spanish from the Davies (2002) *Corpus del Español*. There is no existing evidence of NEG2 occurring in colonial varieties of Spanish, nor has any attempt been made to provide data showing its use in western Colombia during the relevant time period. On the other hand, there is an abundance of evidence that NEG2 appears frequently in Ibero-Romance varieties in intense contact with West African languages, including Afro-Hispanic varieties of Chocó, Colombia and the Dominican Republic, as well as Brazilian Portuguese and the creole languages Palenquero, Santome, Angolar, and Fa d'Ambô. The origin and persistence of NEG2 in each of these varieties requires an analysis based on local sociohistorical and linguistic evidence.

In the case of Chocó it has been particularly important to adopt a local perspective, as opposed to a macroscopic or comparative one. The structure of the present paper thus proceeds from a review of original archival documents that shed light on the languages most likely to have been in the right place at the right time to have exerted an influence on Spanish in Chocó – in accordance with Bickerton's Edict – before considering them as possible substrates. The historical and linguistic evidence I present here indicates that speakers of Gbe varieties, in particular Ewe and Gen speakers enslaved in the Bight of Benin and sold in Cartagena in the late 17th c. and early 18th c., were in all likelihood the key agents that introduced NEG2 structures found in contemporary varieties of Spanish spoken in Chocó. My account allows room for the contribution of speakers of Bantu languages as well, particularly Kikongo, who were enslaved in West Central Africa and trafficked through Cartagena in the relevant time period, but whose numerical presence was substantially less than that of the Gbe-speaking group and

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[15]This is the version of the cycle as originally conceived by Jespersen (1917). Recently, van der Auwera (2009) has offered an expanded version of the cycle that includes the development of patterns with sentence- or utterance-final negator morphemes – notably, this has been invoked primarily to account for these sorts of patterns in West African languages, not European ones.

whose language does not present negation patterns strictly analogous to NEG2. Speakers of Chocoan languages (especially Emberá) were the only other group present in Chocó in the 17th and 18th c. with large enough populations to have significantly influenced the development of Chocó Spanish. It is apparent that NEG2, however, did not originate in any of these varieties, all of which express negation by way of verbal suffixation.

Acknowledgements

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