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### **Morphosyntactic innovations in Afro-Yungueño Spanish**

Afro-Yungueño Spanish (AY) is a restructured variety of Spanish spoken in the Bolivian Yungas valleys by a small community of descendants of former coca slaves. Due to its stigmatized status and intense contact with Bolivian Highland Spanish, AY is experiencing rapid decreolization. As a consequence, a considerable body of literature (Lipski 2008 and related work, Sessarego 2014 and related work) deals with the variation found in, for instance, the AY noun phrase and verb phrase, while no systematic description of this variety has been elaborated.

In the present paper I set out to describe three innovative features of AY on the basis of my own corpus that are not discussed in the aforementioned works. These features were overlooked, I believe, because their meanings and functions do not correspond to the meanings and functions of their apparent Spanish counterparts. One such feature is the reanalyzed Spanish adjective *limpio* ‘clean’, which is used with the meaning of ‘all’ and thus replaces *todo*. Another innovative AY feature is the item *la*, which Lipski (2008: 84) describes as a feminine article that (randomly) precedes masculine nouns. In my corpus, this item is predominantly used in locative constructions, such as *nohotro taba la puente* ‘we were on the bridge’. For this reason, I would like to propose that it is in fact a locative marker rather than an article. A third innovative AY feature that needs closer analysis is the use of *pue* from Spanish *pues* ‘thus, alright’. The data show that this item is frequently used in questions, such as *Tío Ramón taba pue?* ‘was Tío Ramón there?’, which suggests that it functions as an interrogative particle in AY. The detailed description of these three features in different grammatical contexts shall contribute to a more complete picture and understanding of this vanishing Afro-Hispanic variety.

#### **References**

- Lipski, John. 2008. *Afro-Bolivian Spanish*. Madrid/Frankfurt: Iberoamericana/Vervuert.  
Sessarego, Sandro. 2014. *The Afro-Bolivian Spanish Determiner Phrase. A Microparametric Account*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.