A Blast from the Past: Ritualized Afro-Hispanic Linguistic Memories (Panama and Cuba)

John M. Lipski

Introduction

Africans taken as slaves to Spanish America and who learned Spanish in adolescence or adulthood spoke with the characteristics of second-language learners, at times exhibiting areal characteristics of specific African language families, and in other cases replicating errors found among second language speakers of Spanish worldwide. There exists a large and diverse corpus of literary imitations of the speech of *bozales* (as African-born learners of Spanish were called), beginning in Spain at the turn of the 16th century, and continuing into colonial Spanish America beginning in the early 17th century and lasting until the early 20th century. Many of the linguistic features of these imitations are typical of all learners of Spanish; others are found in Afro-Iberian creoles such as Papiamentu, Palenquero, Cape Verdean and São Tomé creole Portuguese. Finally, many of the literary imitations are simply grotesque racist parodies, devoid of any resemblance to the true results of Afro-Hispanic language contacts. Lipski (2005) summarizes the issues at stake.

Central to the debate over the reconstruction of *bozal* language, especially in Latin America, is the extent to which *bozal* speech exhibited consistent traits across time and space, and the possibility that Afro-Hispanic pidgins may have creolized across large areas of Spanish America. The abundant bibliography of studies based on corpora of literary, musical, and folkloric texts has broadened the discussion to include a wide range of hypotheses and scenarios, but ultimately the texts in question are imitations or recollections produced by non-*bozal* authors, and therefore of debatable validity. Only evidence from authentic speech communities can round out the discussion, and the search for such remnants among contemporary Afro-Latin American groups is one of the most pressing tasks in contemporary Spanish dialectology.

To complement spontaneous speech data from the remaining Afro-Hispanic speech communities data can be drawn from another—twice-removed—source of leftover *bozal* language,

namely the retention of purported ancestral Afro-Hispanic speech in religious and secular rituals. Afro-American ceremonial and ritual language has frequently been tapped for surviving African words as well as transplanted and syncretic religious expression. In addition to these relics, a subset of Afro-Hispanic rituals contain departures from contemporary regional varieties of Spanish that hark back to time periods in which non-native *bozal* Spanish was still a living language. The pidginized Spanish is usually recognized as such by modern practitioners, but occasional *bozal*-like asides have escaped notice. Most Afro-Hispanic ritualistic *bozal* carryovers center around two poles: the first is the Carnival tradition, and the second are religious ceremonies in which the speech of *bozal* ancestors is imitated, either through song or through spirit possession in which the possessed individual purportedly channels the voice of an ancestor. Both phenomena are well represented in the Caribbean, and there is a ritualistic Afro-Hispanic linguistic component found to a greater or lesser extent in all the Spanish-speaking Caribbean nations. The present remarks will focus on two of the most robust manifestations of ritualized Afro-Hispanic language, found in one of the oldest Afro-Caribbean communities (Panama) as well as in the most recently formed Afro-Hispanic community (Cuba), running the gamut from some of the oldest Afro-Hispanic communities (Panama) to the most recently formed (Cuba).

The language of the *negros congos* of Panama

The most extensive Carnival-time reproduction of earlier *bozal* speech—although by no means the most trustworthy—comes in the ritualized speech of the *negros congos* of Panama, centered around the colonial ports of Portobelo and Nombre de Dios. The principal linguistic studies are Joly (1981, 1984) and Lipski (1985, 1986a, 1986b, 1989, 1997). Historical and anthropological studies of the *congos* include Béliz (1959), De la Rosa Sánchez (1988), Drolet (1980a, 1980b), Franceschi (1960), Laribe (1968, 1969), Smith (1975), Tejeira Jaén (1974). Panama was the site of one of the most prolonged Afro-Hispanic demographic contacts, since almost all slaves destined for the Pacific coast of Spanish America passed through Panamanian ports. The first Spanish port on the Caribbean side was Nombre de Dios, but this village lacks a good natural harbor, and frequent pirate attacks forced the treasure-shipping operation out of the area. The next Spanish port was established at Portobelo, on a deep bay providing an excellent natural harbor.

Stone fortifications were built, and warehouses erected to hold the treasure arriving from Peru. Once a year ships from Spain docked at Portobelo, to receive the treasure and to sell goods from Spain and other Latin American colonies. This event drew citizens from all over Panama, and grew into a festive *feria*, the memory of which is still preserved in local folk traditions. For a long time, the Portobelo-Panama route was the only motivation for Spanish settlement in Panama, and large numbers of African slaves were brought in to support the effort. With the decline of treasure shipments from Peru, Portobelo waned in importance, and by the end of the 18th century the Afro-Panamanian population of the *costa arriba* (to the east of the canal) and the *costa abajo* (to the west) had sunk into a marginality that continues to this day. During colonial times, slave rebellions were as common in Panama as in other Spanish American colonies, and maroon communities were formed along the rivers and trails of the interior. In these villages, African traditions were frequently maintained for several generations, and vestiges of African languages, together with Afro-Hispanic pidgin or semi-creole language, evidently survived even longer in some villages. The original village of Palenque (a few kilometers inland from the contemporary village of the same name) was typical of such maroon communities; a few hundred Blacks at most, distributed in huts scattered throughout the rain forest.

Of all the cultural manifestations of Panamanian society, which is richly endowed with a wide range of folkloric traditions, perhaps the most curious and the least understood is the phenomenon of the *negros congos* of the Caribbean coast. The *congo* ceremonies, which take place during Carnival season each year, combine a historical component (the reference to the history of Black slaves in Panama), a Hispanic component (the music and to a certain extent the dancing), and an African aspect (the drumming and the costumes). The *congo* ritual presupposes the existence of a *cofradía* or brotherhood of initiates, which finds its antecedents both in Hispanic society, where religious brotherhoods and societies abound, and in African cultures, where daily activities are circumscribed by family and tribal ties and by fraternal organizations. *Congo* groups are found in the Costa Arriba (to the east of Colón, up to Santa Isabel), in the Costa Abajo, and in some towns in the interior. One of the components of the *congo* games is the use of a special dialect mode, distinct from regional popular Spanish, the so-called *hablar en congo*. The *congo* speech is a special dialect of Spanish, which is all but unintelligible to the uninitiated,

and which the *congo* dramatic personages use in addressing members of the community during dances and requests for "donations" of food, rum, etc. In each community, only a relatively small group of residents are recognized as experts in the dialect, although most residents have at least a passive awareness of its structure, and children listen to and imitate the *congo* dialect as heard among adult community members. Although this dialect is not used on a daily basis outside of Carnival season, its use is by no means limited to that period of the year, and at any moment residents of the coastal towns interject dialect phrases consciously or unconsciously into their speech, to call to friends and children, and to comment on daily activities. The oral tradition among the *congo* groups maintains that the dialect is in essence a continuation of colonial *bozal* Spanish. Objectively, however, this claim must not be taken uncritically, for the passing of nearly 400 years since the establishment of the principal coastal settlements and their Afro-colonial communities has had a considerable effect on the linguistic structures of local speech. Given the early decline of the African slave trade in Panama, *bozal* slaves were rarely found in large concentrations in Panama after the middle of the 17th century, with the result that Afro-colonials in Panama gradually acquired the Spanish language as spoken around them by Spanish colonists and government officials.

Since any creole-like Spanish dialect would have disappeared from Panama probably by the end of the 18th century, it is tempting to suggest that *congo* dialect is a post-slavery and hence modern invention, coupled to the *congo* games in order to celebrate freedom, and to hark back to earlier periods when Black slaves spoke an incomplete Spanish. This hypothesis is not likely, however, due to a number of considerations. First, the *congo* dialect shares remarkable similarities among a number of villages whose mutual geographical isolation would have precluded any conscious planning for restoration or invention of an imitation Afro-Hispanic language. Also significant is the Afro-Panamanians' lack of easily obtainable information regarding Afro-Hispanic speech of earlier centuries; quasi-illiterate residents of isolated coastal villages would have no access to historical materials that could suggest patterns upon which a modern imitation of *bozal* language might be based. Finally, given the known social prejudice against Afro-American groups in Panama, there would be no impetus to simply invent a speech form which serves to reinforce ethnocentric stereotypes.

Luque de Pérez (2001:54) in a recent note about the *congos* of the Costa Arriba, declares that:

The Congo language is an artificial jargon, but undoubtedly rooted in tradition. It is not a dialect therefore it suffers transformations from one individual to another. It is Spanish deformed. The vocabulary, the phonetics and the elocution are characterized by [...] the express deformation of the Spanish word, also with the object of making it similar to the Negro phonetics, so they will say sao for sé, pinga for piña, puquí, instead of aquí, cucuñera for compañera [...] the most difficult and at once comical is the absolute inversion of the terms, that is, the use of a word of phrase with the precisely opposite sense to the grammatical. Thus they will say ta morí for estar vivo; black means white, come means go, bad is good, and so on. They do this easily and naturally, and they understand each other so well that strangers do not believe that the Congos do this only occasionally.

This example is actually a translation of the distinguished Panamanian folklorist Zárate (1962:126–7); the latter author continues (pp. 126–7):

El habla del negro de hoy no difiere en nada de la parla de los demás habitantes [...] el lenguaje congo es una jerga artificiosa pero indudablemente enraizada en la tradición, aunque tiene a veces algo de improvisada [...] es un castellano expresamente deformado, por razones de estrategia en los mismos tiempos de las luchas o posteriormente para la imitación o representación de los sucesos originales. Manifiestamente este artificio de los contrasentidos debe tener su origen en los trucos o estrategias de las viejas luchas, destinados ya a confundir a los adversarios, ya a burlarse de los modos y usos blancos. [...] la rebeldía y la fuga eran crímenes que acarreaban penas de palos, hambre y muerte cruel. La preparación de cualquiera de esos actos necesitaba, pues, suma astucia. Hacerse ininteligibles y al mismo tiempo dar la sensación de que los negros aceptaban "ser unos verdaderos brutos", por ni siquiera llegar a dominar la lengua eran cosas manifiestas en aquel lenguaje y en aquella mímica de "revesinas". Pero, además debía haber un goce en todas aquellas prácticas que no sólo intentaban confundir al odiado seño de horca, sino que constituían una sátira y burla contra sus costumbres y modales.

Zárate was the first to suggest that the *congo* dialect was from the outset a deliberate distortion of Spanish with the purpose of deceiving White slaveowners and planning acts of rebellion and insurrection. This would be done by reinforcing the Spanish colonists' racist stereotype of the Black African who was incapable of learning "proper" Spanish, hence the deviations from Spanish

168

grammar, and by deforming Spanish words to the point of unrecognizability, thereby creating the impression of speaking an "African" language.

The *congos* interviewed by me in the villages of the Costa Arriba as well as outside this region coincide in affirming that the *congo* dialect derives from *bozal* Spanish "de la tierra de Guinea," using the latter designation as in Spanish colonial times to refer generically to all of sub-Saharan Africa. Even the most superficial comparison of *congo* speech from either the Costa Arriba or the Costa Abajo suffices to demonstrate that it differs significantly from all *bozal* attestations in Spanish, from the 16th century to the beginning of the 20th. That *congo* speech is used nowadays as a cryptolect for humorous purposes during Carnival season is beyond doubt, but it is not equally clear that this speech form derives exclusively from a colonial cryptolect used among rebellious slaves in defiance of their White masters. Such strategies as simply inverting the semantic value of words is not likely to confuse listeners for very long, while the massive substitution of vowels and consonants and other non-systematic deformation of Spanish words renders improvised *congo* speech all but unintelligible even to other community members, hardly an efficient way to communicate crucial details of resistance or insurrection. In the contemporary *congo* activities the dialect is rarely if ever used to communicate precise information, but rather to add to the festive environment through shouts of encouragement and mock derision.

The *congo* language is learned by children as part of the socialization process in Afro-Panamanian coastal villages. Joly (1981:17) describes the situation for the Costa Abajo; these remarks coincide with my own field observations in the Costa Arriba region:

[...] the semantic content takes precedence over morphophonemic structure in the ritual-play language. Although certain morphophonemic changes are made, the basic canonic shape of words and the syntactic structure of Spanish remains essentially the same so that the symbolic meaning of the words and sentences prevails [...] This is the way Afro-Hispanics are socialized into the play language, without anyone explaining the "regulations of the play." It is a sociolinguistic process similar to learning their native language: hearing, seeing, imitating, speaking with a speech community. It is plausible, therefore, that some words are memorized rather than generated by morphophonemic rules. The players, however, do not memorize verses or dialogues as in a theatrical drama but improvise

their performance according to behavior expected of their roles. Good players are those who are witty in improvisation.

And again (Joly 1981:23):

The adult players interact verbally with the common folk of the settlements, including the children. Even though the play-ritual language is used only once a year during the ritual season, this verbal interaction maintains alive a pragmatic understanding of the language among all members of the community [...] Children, moreover, imitate the adult players and form play groups of their own, even though they are not officially recognized as players.

Recent conversations with *congo* practitioners in Panama reveal a growing concern that children in both the Costa Abajo and the Costa Arriba communities may not be appreciating and learning the *congo* rituals and language as effectively as in the past. This decreased transmission to younger generations may be related to the tenacious lack of metalinguistic awareness among *congo* speakers, as well as the commonly held belief that *congo* speech is simply drunken babbling. *Congo* males (and occasionally females) offer the excuse that unless they are drinking (*estar bien sudao* in their own words) they can neither produce nor reproduce/translate *congo* language. Drolet (1980:9) describes the difficulties of studying *congo* dialect (in this case in the Costa Arriba) communities during fieldwork conducted in the 1970's; the observations are valid three decades later:

[...] when I tried to elicit translations of what was said in the dialect, I was confronted with responses that I could not follow. Because this approach proved a disaster, I wrote down Congo words and phrases to ask the following day for translations. I found, however, that while men could explain other elements of the ritual, they could not repeat sentences or phrases of the dialect out of context, unless they were drinking as they did during ritual enactment.

Drolet's remarks about the inability of *congo* participants to "translate" after the fact recorded dialogues in the ritual dialect eloquently underscore this point. Nonetheless, my field work has amply demonstrated the unimpeded ability of *congos* to freely use the ritual dialect both in monologues and with one another in a state of complete sobriety; indeed *congos* often use fragments of the language in daily life, both in the communities and when traveling to Colón, to distinguish themselves from Afro-Antilleans. A

speaker from the Costa Abajo informed me that she and her mother routinely discuss daily events in the *congo* dialect, and her recounting of a specific and non-trivial event entirely in the dialect demonstrates the ability of some *congo* practitioners to use the dialect for true communicative purposes. This usage, however, is quite rare in practice (indeed it would be of interest to determine if another *congo* could translate this dialog out of context, hearing only a recording). Even when deliberately using the *congo* dialect in public settings outside of the costal Afro-Panamanian communities, communication is typically limited to greetings or short oblique comments about third parties, not to the transfer of significant new information. All of this suggests that the *congo* dialect did not originate in a deliberately contrived language used by rebellious slaves, although certainly containing such elements. In true cryptolects designed to hide sinister purposes, such as thieves' cant and jargon and various *calós*, including the original *lunfardo* and *pachuco* slang, the primary vehicle is lexical substitution, sometimes using words from another language (*lunfardo* took regional Italian words, Spanish *caló* takes elements from Roma), with only a few deliberate distortions of Spanish words, e.g. Pachuco *simón* and *sirol* for *sí*, *nones* for *no*, *Califa* for *California* and *Pachuco* itself, apparently derived from *(El) Paso.*

Due to historical separation the *congo* dialects of the Costa Abajo and the Costa Arriba differ in several important aspects, although containing a considerable common core. *Congos* from both regions assert that they have no difficulty in understanding the ritualized speech from the opposite group, but such conversations rarely occur in practice and these assertions are therefore questionable. Nowadays, speaking *congo* involves a high degree of verbal improvisation and prowess, based on the notion of saying things "backwards"(Spanish *al revés*, which also means 'upside down' and 'inside out'). Common inversions include *vivi* 'alive' for *muerto* 'dead,' *adiba* 'up for *abajo* 'down,' *padase* 'stand up' for *sentarse* 'sit down,' etc. A less desirable alternative to semantic inversion of individual items is the negation of entire sentences, as in *do que no quedo eh...* 'what I [don't] want is ...' Partial semantic displacement also occurs, in which, for example, *agua de sodiya*, roughly 'tap water,' acquires the meaning of 'rum,' or when *cadeteda* 'road, highway' comes to mean 'front yard.' The use of semantic distortion and inversion in *congo* speech is related to the *congo* practice of putting old clothes on inside out as part of the Carnival activities, in imitation of the practice, common during the colonial slaveholding period in Panama, of plantation owners giving the slaves castoff and even new clothing to wear during the Carnival festivities. In Spanish, the phrase *al revés* means both 'backwards' and 'inside out' (and sometimes even 'upside down'), and the *congo* dialect capitalizes on this play of words to combine various violations of normal social customs, including verbal distortion, putting on extravagant clothing inside out or in inappropriate fashions, shaking feet instead of hands during greeting, etc.

In the Costa Arriba *congo* dialect, speakers routinely realize /r/, /rr/, /l/, and /d/ as stop [d] (e.g. [ka-de-te-da] for *carretera* 'road'; [e-te-dao] for *este lado* 'this side'), which departs sharply from normal Panamanian pronunciation, in which postvocalic voiced stops do not occur. These neutralizations are found in other Afro-Hispanic dialects; in particular the three-way neutralization suggests a Bantu substratum. Also frequent is the interchange of –o and –a at the end of nouns and adjectives or their replacement by –e or –i (e.g. vivi < vivo 'alive'). Word-internal vowels may be substituted apparently at random, but when more than one vowel is replaced there is usually vowel harmony (e.g. *cumpuñeda* < *compañero* 'comrade,' *punumeño* < *panameño* 'Panamanian'). Some speakers introduce an epenthetic [r] or semivocalic [i] to create onset clusters (e.g. *pripa* < *pipa* 'coconut'; *momriento* < *momento* 'moment'), and there are occasional shifts of /l/ to [r] in onset clusters (*diabria* < *diablo* 'devil'; *fraquito* < *flaquito* 'skinny'); the latter change is reminiscent of Portuguese and may reflect the early presence of Portuguese slave traders arriving in Portobelo, the principal Spanish port supplying slaves to the Pacific region of South America. A sample of Costa Arriba *congo* speech (from Portbelo) is:

¿Y tú qué haceh ahí padao? Y si tu te poneh entedo. Te vah a ponede er cudo Mayadi, aquí pade cubuyete ... y ahoda que vas a ayudá ... si no hay ná que llodá, y uhtede qué hacen en mi dancho, eh, qué dicen ustede, ya ehtama acuanda, e pa da útima todavía fatta prusupia, vengan todo que sacúa se ehta cuando ...

Approximate translation: What are you doing standing [sitting] there? You're going to get whole [break yourself up]. You're going to bust your ass, Mayadi, falling off the roof. And now what are you going to help [with], if there is nothing to cry about, and what are you all doing on my property, what do you say, what is today's date, and finally we don't have any budget [money], come and get it

A sample *congo* text from the Costa Abajo (Joly 1981) is:

Güene, poque ya eso mi meno sempe, cuando ya mi so la nuevecite, que mi meno útimo. Ya ete mi so lo rurumento delle. Y entonso masoto mi sigo la mime rurumento que mi meno tora la sumana [...] Po lo meno ahoro, masoto mi mene la otu sumana. Mi co Gubé, mi mene otu. Ya elle mimito como masoto; mi weyo [...] Entonce mi meno con la mimo rurumento mi weye, weweande la mime crosa. Ya eso mi so uno custumbre, como mi diso masoto. Uno custumbre que mi so...¿Cómo mi diso oro?

Translation: Bueno, porque ya eso viene de siempre; Cuando ya eran los nuevecitos (viejos) que vinieron de último (primero). Ya este es el reglamento de ellos. Y entonces nosotros seguimos el mismo reglamento, cuando venimos todas las semanas (años) [...] Por lo menos ahora, nosotros venimos la otra semana. (año). Lo mismo Gobea, vendrán otra vez. Ya ellos son mismito como nosotros; ellos juegan [...] Entonces venimos con el mismo reglamento del juego, jugando la misma cosa. Ya eso es una costumbre, como decimos nosotros. Una costumbre que es...¿Cómo dijimos ahora?

From my own recording of a *conga* from the Costa Abajo (made in 2001) comes the following example:

buene puh, cuando elle no se mele para truwao di yo, cuanda elle no se mene jorapapa di yo ... cuando elle no se mene ella no reperrara pepita era hueve aramongo que no so dera dera papa díutene. entonso, elle, era papa di yo no le a diche ara mohongo ara papa dera mama díutene, que cuanda ella no se mene para chakere nu kambrasa cora mama di elle no re a diche que elle no se mene poque no ta ma, buene entonso elle no le a diche no elle se mene a cora miñi-miñi, que no ta buene tumpoco ... entonso elle nombra cara curutiyi no se mene ... cuanda era papa di elle se mene para chakere entonso ella nora mamá corra buca, y nora diche quíera chakere anti diera puta serrá, y cuanda no ... pera ra pepitera huevotro, otro veh, era otro puta tumpoco no, no ta serrá

The speaker's free translation of this anecdote is as follows:

Lo que sucede es que ...cuando yo me iba con mi mamá para el hospital, viene, ella va con la niña al médico, y mi mamá le dice cuando veas, cuando viera a mi hermano, cuando veas a Benitín le dices que yo me fui para el médico, que venga a visitarme más tarde, pero él llegó a la casa y no encontró a nadie y como sabía que mi mamá estaba enferma de a varios días él se dio la vuelta por la ventana y comenzó a preguntar a los vecinos si la habían visto y todo y todo el mundo le dijo que no. Se desesperó y vio el abanico prendido y pensaba que se había muerto y me arrancó la puerta y la rejilla de hierro y todo y mi mamá llegó a la casa y me pone una llamada ¿qué, qué pasó en la casa? que habían metido y era mi hermano estaba desesperado, porque pensó que ya se estaba muriendo allá adentro

porque el abanico lo vio prendido por la ventana y entonces, suscitó ese, ese dilema , y ahora lo mejor del caso es que ahora tenemos puerta abierta totalmente

These texts show both similarities and differences with respect to the *congo* varieties of the Costa Arriba. The same replacement of vowels is found, as is the occasional introduction of epenthetic consonants (more common in the Costa Arriba). In the Costa Arriba dialects the four phonemes /r/, /rr/, /d/, and /d/ are pronounced as occlusive [d]. This rarely occurs in the Costa Abajo *congo* dialect, where only /d/ is routinely pronounced as [d]. The stop pronunciation occasionally extends to [r], perhaps in hypercorrect form, but never to /l/ or /rr/. The Costa Abajo pronunciation is similar to that of the Afro-Hispanic *loango* speech of Barlovento, Venezuela (Domínguez 1989, Hernández 1981, Mosonyi et al. 1983). Onset cluster reduction is more common in the Costa Abajo than in the Costa Arriba *congo* dialect; such combinations as *oto < otro, sempe < sempre*, and the pan-Caribbean *ombe < ombre* are an integral part of the Afro-Hispanic phonetic tradition, which begins in 16th century Spain (Lipski 2002b). Contemporary vernacular Brazilian Portuguese offers many prominent examples of onset cluster reduction, typified by *nego < negro*, now used as a term of endearment. A few contemporary Afro-Peruvian speakers continue this trend, although most cases of onset cluster reduction characterize only the oldest community inhabitants.

More interesting are the grammatical modifications in the Costa Abajo *congo* dialect, some of which more closely approximate early *bozal* Spanish than the *congo* language of the Costa Arriba.

(1) The Costa Abajo dialect has a single third person pronoun *elle*, taking the place of *él* and *ella*. Joly (1981) notes the similarity with Palenquero *ele*, possibly derived from Portuguese. The use of a single genderless pronoun is common to all Afro-Romance creole languages and to many pidgins. This pronoun is still remembered and occasionally used by elderly Afro-Cubans living in isolated rural communities (Ortiz López 1998). Other Ibero-Romance based creoles use the Portuguese-derived pronoun *ele* (with several variants) for masculine and feminine referents. Recently the invariant subject pronoun *ele* has been discovered in a unique and isolated Afro-Bolivian dialect (Lipski a, b).

(2) The first person plural subject pronoun in the Costa Abajo *congo* dialect is *masoto < nosotros*. This particular combination is not

attested in other Afro-Hispanic dialects, but the component modifications do occur in other varieties of Spanish. The replacement of initial /n/ by /m/ is found in Sephardic (Judeo) Spanish in the pronoun *mozotros* and in the Ternate dialect of Philippine Creole Spanish (Chabacano) in the pronoun *mijotro*. Similarly the reduction of the onset cluster /tr/ is frequent in Afro-Iberian language worldwide, and occurs elsewhere in the Costa Abajo *congo* dialect. The form *mosotro(s)* also appears in some Afro-Hispanic imitations:

(from Cirilo Villaverde 1979 *Cecilia Valdés*): *Mosotro* no son casá por le iglese
From Creto Gangá (José Crespo y Borbón; Cruz 1974): Mucho vamo a drivití, huoy *mosotro* se la halla, cumpare, poque cunvite lo debe sé a la campana como jiero [...]Ahuoy vamo ta *mosotro* como pecá dentro lagua [...]Ya yo lo ve que *mosotro* vamo a está mu divritío.

(3) The second person plural pronoun in the Costa Abajo *congo* dialect is *utene*. This is not only similar to (contemporary) Palenquero *utere* but to the Afro-Bolivian Yungueño dialect form *otene*. The replacement of an obstruent by a nasal is not found in any non-Afro variety of Spanish.

(4) The form *nengre* < *negro* is also found in the Suriname creole languages Sranan Tongo and Saramaccan, and appears elsewhere in *bozal* imitations, for example from Cuba:

(5) Joly (1981) notes the many examples of an apparently intrusive particle *mi* before verbs in the *congo* speech of the Costa Abajo; this usage does not occur at all in the Costa Arriba ritual *congo* speech. Examples from her corpus include:

Joroprango *mi* wa purí con too nengre y macha que *mi* teno dikí 'Aeroplano se va por ahí don todos los negros y mujeres que tenemos aquí'
Mugaña cuando *mi* so la ocha, *mi* mene Mutuanga la muntuña 'Mañana cuando son las ocho (cuatro), viene Matuanga de la montaña'
Ya eso *mi* meno siempre 'Ya eso viene de siempre'
Pero si *mi* teno una Barachate raspransable a Nengre 'Pero si tenemos un borrachote responsable de los Negros'

This element did not occur in my own elicited examples of Costa Abajo *congo* speech and may be confined to particular idiolects in the Costa Arriba communities. The use of *mi* in the *congo* texts is not consistent and does not correlate with specific functions normally assigned to preverbal particles, such as progressive or

habitual, but rather are inserted apparently at random to give an "African" sound to the speech.

The rapid-fire distortions of patrimonial Spanish words found in Panamanian *congo* language sounds at first like speaking "in tongues"and some descriptions of the behavior of *congos* during the most frenetic part of their ritual suggest a trance-like state and accompanying glossolalia: "Hemos visto hablar sin tomar respiro por largos minutos a un congo de éstos, arengando en forma que más parecía un alienado que un ser normal, mientras el grupo de oyentes daba muestras de aprobación y reía en ciertos momentos" (Zárate (1962:126–7). Similarly Drolet (1980:9) recalls that her consultants "could not repeat sentences or phrases of the dialect out of context, unless they were drinking as they did during ritual enactment,"which also could indicate an "altered state." In practice, however, *congos* do not have to be inebriated, and the appearance of being possessed is an entirely voluntary show of exuberance that forms part of the *congo* festivities. There is no known form of glossolalia that involves substituting sounds in a string of normally spoken language, thus indicating that *congos* are fully aware of their own language at all times. Nor is *congo* speech formed by predictable substitutions and syllable transformations, as in the various *jerigonza*-type games. The reason that *congos* may not be able to readily interpret recordings or transcriptions of outbursts by other speakers lies in the high degree of improvisation and the fact that very few *congo* utterances during the rituals carry any significant communicative content. When several *congos*, usually men, tease one another for the purpose of extracting "fines,"the general content is pre-determined: accusations of stealing one's wife or girlfriend, trespassing, etc.   Responses are equally formulaic, so there is no need for participants to actually parse individual utterances in *congo* dialect.   The fact that substantive linguistic content cannot be easily extracted by other participants is clear evidence that if *congo* speech originated as a cryptolect designed to allow for communication among restless slaves without the knowledge of their owners and overseers, it had a much different form than is found today. A more likely hypothesis is that contemporary *congo* language is an amalgam of two imperfectly remembered traditions, whose specific details have been all but obliterated from the collective memory: original *bozal* Spanish as spoken by African-born slaves, and some kind of deliberately distorted language spoken by insurgent slaves, whether *bozales, ladinos,* or *criollos.*

Under the layer of verbal improvisation and word play in the *congo* language lies a rather systematic suspension of noun-adjective and subject-verb agreement in fashions which closely parallel literary or attested specimens of earlier *bozal* Spanish. Any similarities between congo dialect and early *bozal* Spanish must be due either to fortuitous similarities, highly unlikely in the case of specific evolutions, or of the transmission, distorted across time and through the jocularity of Carnival, of previous Afro-Hispanic language. Modern *congo* leftovers do not suggest a complete creolization of earlier Afro-Panamanian Spanish, but rather a series of second-language approximations which fell short of the systematic restructuring implicit in creolization.

Bozal language in Afro-Cuban Palo Mayombe rituals

The excavation for leftover Afro-Hispanic *bozal* languages comes closest to the surface in Cuba, scene of the last wave of African slave arrivals and today the nation with the richest Afro-Hispanic culture. The heavy African presence in Cuba is a direct consequence of the Haitian revolution, which began in 1791. The French half of the island of Hispaniola, known as Saint-Domingue, was by far the world's largest sugar producer at the end of the 18th century, and the ratio of Black slaves to White masters was as high as 100:1 on some plantations. Following the revolution and the establishment of the free nation of Haiti by the 1820s, sugar production dropped almost to zero, and other Latin American countries which had previously been reluctant to compete against the French near-monopoly rushed to fill the gap. This required the immediate importation of hundreds of thousands of additional laborers, the majority of whom came directly from Africa, with a considerable number also drawn from other established Caribbean colonies. The largest participant in the new sugar boom was Cuba. Nearly 86% of all slaves taken to Cuba (an estimated 1.3 million) arrived during the first half of the 19th century, resulting in transplanted speech communities where African languages could survive beyond the first generation. Several West and Central African languages did survive into the 20th century and even into the beginning of the 21st; all are linked to Afro-Cuban religious and cultural practices: Kikongo with the Palo Monte cults, Yoruba with Santería, Efik in the Abakuá rituals, and Ewe-Fon with the Arará culture.

Unlike in the remainder of Latin America, where *bozal* language

disappeared centuries ago, the last African-born speakers of *bozal* Spanish in Cuba died around the middle of the 20th century. The extensive writings of Lydia Cabrera (born in 1900 and raised in the presence of many *bozal* speakers) reflect this heritage, as does the rich Cuban popular musical tradition, which continues to employ widely recognized *bozal* stereotypes. Several Cuban films have portrayed scenes during the slaveholding period, and have employed *bozal* Spanish imitations based on living memories. The most convincing is in the acclaimed film "La última cena" by Thomas Gutiérrez Alea, who consulted with linguists when preparing the highly accurate *bozal* language used by actors in this film, loosely based on a true historical incident. Nor are all remnants of *bozal* speech confined to memories of individuals long deceased. Ortiz López (1998) encountered elderly Afro-Cubans, particularly in remote regions of eastern Cuba, who continue to use *bozal* traits spontaneously, including the gender-invariant third person pronoun *elle* and the word *agüe* for *hoy* 'today.' It is, however, in the realm of ritual language that the largest repository of Cuban *bozal* language can be found.

The use of *bozal* language in Afro-Cuban religious ceremonies takes two forms. The first—and most useful as a source of data on early forms of the language—comes in memorized songs and chants associated with the Palo Monte rituals. The second manifestation takes place during "spirit possession" associated with a variety of Afro-Cuban cults, in which individuals appear to speak in a trance with the voice and linguistic traits of deceased ancestors, some of whom were African-born *bozales*. When combined with living memories and *bozal* remnants in contemporary Cuba these ritual fragments provide complementary evidence on the nature of *bozal* language of centuries past.

The Palo Monte cult derives principally from the Kikongo-speaking region of Central Africa, home of the Bakongo and related ethnic groups. In Cuba the Palo Monte religion is divided into several Reglas, of which the Regla Mayombe (named after a Central African ethnic group) offers the greatest amount of linguistic data. The Mayombe rituals contain large numbers of Kikongo words and expressions, as well as fragments of *bozal* language embedded in chants that also contain Kikongo and contemporary Spanish elements. Kikongo survivals and Palo Mayombe rituals have been the subject of several earlier studies (e.g. Cabrera 1979, 1984; Díaz Fabelo 1998; García González and Valdés Acosta 1978; Granda 1973a, 1973b), all of which converge on

the conclusion that Kikongo forms the principal African substratum for the Palo Mayombe practices. Schwegler and Fuentes (2005) is the definite linguistic study of the Palo Mayombe ceremonies (also Schwegler 2005), providing conclusive proof of the Kikongo basis for the rituals and providing numerous samples of *bozal* language intertwined with Kikongo and modern Cuban Spanish fragments. The *bozal* elements, while relatively few, are important confirmations of conclusions arrived at independently as to the nature of earlier *bozal* Spanish in Cuba. Some examples include:

(a) Yo te *llama* con mi maña
(b) Riba mundo *son* bacheche [saludable]
(c) y ese mimo tata *ta* pedir licencia

Example (a) demonstrates the use of the third person singular as invariant verb, a phenomenon common to pidginized Spanish worldwide, and frequent in *bozal* Spanish from many areas. In Spanish the third person singular is the maximally unmarked verb form and serves as quasi-invariant verb in early child language as well as in most second-language approximations to Spanish. Its use in Cuban *bozal* language is also confirmed in the correspondence between the Cuban scholar José de la Luz Caballero and the American encyclopedist Francis Lieber. I am grateful to Clancy Clements for providing copies of this fascinating and as yet unpublished correspondence. Lieber queried whether Afro-Cubans spoke a creole language and whether a creolized Spanish was used in religious teachings (as suggested by the recently published catechism in *bozal* Spanish written by the Spanish priest Nicolás Duque de Estrada in Cuba and designed to train priests in the use of *bozal* speech when preaching to African slaves (Laviña 1989). Luz Caballero's responses confirm other observations, that *bozales* spoke imperfect Spanish but without the consistent restructuring and transmission to successive generations found in creole languages. He also confirmed that Spanish priests at times spoke deliberately reduced Spanish when confessing the slaves, as suggested by Duque de Estrada's catechism. In other notes Luz Caballero offers an extensive critique of Duque de Estraeda's pseudo-*bozal* imitations, indicating a high degree of awareness of Afro-Cuban pidginized Spanish.. He mentions, for example, the use of the third person singular as invariant verb: "6° poner en el verbo la tercera persona en vez de la primera vg. "*yo tiene dinero*"en lugar de *yo tengo*."

Example (b) documents the use of *son* as invariant copula in Afro-Cuban language, a feature also well documented in folk

literature and living memories, and also found in Duque de Estrada's catechism (Lipski 1999a, 2002a). Example (c) contains an isolated example of what may be the preverbal particle *ta*, found in nearly all Ibero-Romance derived creoles as well as in some earlier imitations of Afro-Cuban *bozal* speech (Lipski 1987c, 1987, 1992a). In the entire *bozal* corpus from Spain and Spanish America, from the 15th century to the beginning of the 20th, *ta* as preverbal particle only occurs in some 19th century Cuban texts (and one Puerto Rican text), a fact difficult to reconcile with theories that attribute this particle to a pan-Hispanic creole, derived in turn from an early Afro-Portuguese "reconnaissance language"(Naro 1978). One possible explanation is the presence of Papiamentu-speaking laborers imported massively into Cuba and Puerto Rico in the mid 19th century, and whose language is documented in songs and folk texts (Lipski 1996, 1998, 1999b). Another possibility is the reduction of progressive constructions based on *estar* + GERUND in the rapid speech of highly non-standard varieties, such as occurs in the traditional Afro-Bolivian dialect, in which constructions of the sort *ta* + INFINITIVE (lacking the final /r/) alternate with normal progressive constructions (Lipski a, b), for example: *¿di ande pue compa ta viniendo? Ta vení di a mi casa; yo ta vení di tal parte; ¿ande p (u)e compa ta indo?* The Palo Monte Mayombe example (c) however appears to contain an unambiguous infinitive, reflecting the construction found in (European) Portuguese and which some have postulated as the source of *ta* constructions in Portuguese-derived creoles. The use of *estar* + INFINITIVE entered standard European Portuguese well into the 19th century, several centuries after the creole languages were formed. However there is considerable evidence that this construction existed in non-standard vernacular varieties of Portuguese as early as the 16th century, and in some 17th century texts these constructions are attributed to Black *bozal* speakers (Hatherly 1990): "os fia sempre *está a fazero* ..."; "pois toro *estamo* amorte *a pediro* ..." The single Palo Monte Mayombe example is not sufficient to verify the source of *ta* constructions in Afro-Cuban speech, but it does demonstrate that the debate is far from closed, and that additional fieldwork may uncover still more missing pieces of an unusually complex puzzle.

In addition to *bozal* grammatical constructions, the Palo Mayombe chants employ the Afro-Hispanic lexical item *agüe* (hoy) 'today,' also found in Palenquero and Papiamentu and possibly forming a link among these creole languages (Lipski 1999c). There are also examples of prenasalized consonants: *ncuarto < cuarto*,

ndinga < digo (Fuentes Guerra and Schwegler 2005:62–3 postulate a Kikongo etymology meaning 'word, language'). Finally, the documented presence of a strong Kikongo substratum in Cuba suggests a reexamination of negation patterns in 19th century Cuban *bozal* speech. Kikongo stands out among the Bantu languages for having a combination of preverbal and postverbal negative particles, similar to the French *ne ... pas* construction, and Kikongo influence has been postulated for negation patterns in São Tomé, Príncipe, and Annobón Portuguese-derived creoles, as well as the double negation (of the type *yo no sé no*) found in the Afro-Hispanic dialects of the Dominican Republic and the Colombian Chocó, as well as in vernacular Brazilian Portuguese (Schwegler 1996a, 1996b). Double negation is not found in contemporary Cuban Spanish, but there are several 19th century examples attributed to *bozales*, including the catechism of Duque de Estrada: "alma mio no va a juntar no, con cuerpo de otra gente ..." (Laviña 1989:89). In his correspondence with Lieber, Luz Caballero also noted the use of double negation in 19th century Cuban *bozal* speech: "10° Repiten los negros casi siempre la negativa asi dicen vg. "no va á juntar no""no va á salir no." In the case of the Dominican Republic a collateral influence of Haitian Creole may be at work (Lipski 1996, 1998, 1999b); Examples of double negation have also been recorded among elderly Haitians living in rural eastern Cuba, by Ortiz López (1999). However Luz Caballero, who lived in Havana, probably did not have contact with Haitian learners of Spanish; the documented presence of both large numbers of Kikongo speakers and double negation in *bozal* speech in 19th century Cuba suggests a causal link that warrants further inquiry.

Bozal language in Afro-Cuban spiritual possession

By far the strangest possible source of Afro-Cuban *bozal* language comes about as the result of the most intense phase of *santería, palo monte mayombe*, and other rituals. It can be called the "language of spiritual possession"; the practitioners believe this language to be of supernatural origin (in logical positivist terms; within these ceremonies there is a firm belief that speaking with the voices of one's ancestors is not supernatural but fully "natural"). As such any data gleaned from spiritualist sources cannot be fitted uncritically among authentic texts produced by living fully conscious speakers nor even with the often questionable historical and literary documents. Linguistics does not normally deal with

supernatural voices, and under most circumstances would do so only at the peril of losing its status as a serious scientific discipline. In the case of Afro-Cuban religious trances, however, the use of what is claimed to be *bozal* language is both an integral component of Afro-Cuban culture and strongly correlates with objectively obtained data on the pidginized Spanish spoken by African-born *bozales*. As such this special case of ritualized language provides a fascinating window into the collective unconscious and the survival of an originally reduced second language as an alternative means of expression.

The deliberate use of *bozal* language by Afro-Cuban native speakers of Spanish appears to date from colonial times, and represents a concession to African-born ancestors. Lydia Cabrera (1979:121) in her study of the *palo monte* ceremonies noted that:

> Es curioso que los Padres Nganga [...] que hablaban y sabían largos rezos en "lenguaje de congos", al entonar sus "membos"y dirigirse en sus ritos a su Mpungo, Nkisi o Nkita, al füiri, fumbi, fúa o füidi (muerto) mezclan con las bantu palabras castellanas pronunciadas como bozales, lo que no ocurría ni ocurre aun en el presente, con los Olorichas, que conocen bien su lengua y se dirigen a sus dioses en anagó (yoruba).

A *palero* priest explained the reason (Cabrera 1979:121): "eso lo hicieron los congos y los criollos para los rellollos en un tiempo en que ya todos hablaban español, por si algún *munangüeye* (hermano) no los entendía y porque así les gustaba hablar a los muertos, que eran bozales." Castellanos (1990:76), a close confidant of Lydia Cabrera in her final years, explains further: "This language [*bozal* Spanish] is also the preferred means of addressing the spirits of the dead during congo ceremonies [...] members of the very pragmatic congo Reglas, devoted primarily to the cult of the dead and to their manipulation through magical means, use bozal or Spanish in addressing the spirits, since the African tongue may not have been their native language. On the other hand, members of Regla de Ocha trust in the linguistic competence of their *orishas* (deities), who may understand Spanish, but prefer their native Yoruba." Strictly speaking, of course, any ancestor who could understand *bozal* Spanish would by definition be a native speaker of one or more African languages. Among contemporary *palero* priests it is more reasonable to assume that the latter have lost fluency in the ancestors' African languages, and that *bozal* language, being a reduced form of Spanish mutually intelligible to both native speakers of Spanish and Africans who learned the Spanish-based

pidgin upon arriving in Cuba, serves as a linguistic compromise.

Castellanos (1990) observed the speech of Afro-Cuban religious practitioners during their spiritual trances, when they purportedly speak with the voices of *bozal* ancestors. Although it is not permitted to record these ceremonies, Castellanos' reflections include typical *bozal* features including non-agreeing verbs and use of disjunctive object pronouns:

ta miní kun yo 'he/she is coming with me'
akoddá ri yo '(he) remembered me'

The issue of language produced during an apparent trance state deserves further comment. First of all, the "depth"of the trance experienced by practitioners of *palo monte, santería,* and other Afro-Cuban rituals cannot be judged, since psychological examination *in situ* is obviously out of the question. Visual impressions suggest that the individuals involved are in some form of altered state of consciousness, but the extent to which they are able to exercise conscious control over their language and other behavior will probably never be determined. All documented forms of ritualized language used by Afro-Cuban religious practitioners, whether or not "possessed" by ancestral spirits, falls into two categories: vestigial words from African languages (typically Kikongo or Yoruba), or imitations of the pidginized or *bozal* language once spoken by African-born slaves in Cuba. These manifestations are definitely not examples of glossolalia or "talking in tongues," that is the utterance of apparently meaningless streams of sounds and syllables while in an ecstatic state, that resemble a human language but do not belong to any known natural language. Glossolalia is usually associated with particular charismatic religious sects, including a number of Christian groups throughout the world, who take their cue from the Biblical account of Pentecost. In glossolalia there is no claim to be speaking with the voice of another entity, whether departed from this world or otherwise disembodied. Glossolalic utterances tend to be highly repetitive, with simple syllables sequenced together in a perseverative fashion that bears little resemblance to actual human speech. Linguistic studies of these manifestations reveal that the phonotactics of the speakers' native language(s) are almost always observed; some phones not present in the individuals' native languages may appear but this is not common. Another interesting feature of glossolalic speech as studied by linguists is the extent to

which regional or social dialect traits do not emerge when talking "in tongues." Samarin (1972:87) hypothesizes that "perhaps there is a kind of leveling of speech that produces a common denominator of sounds. This would result, for example, from filtering out pronunciations characteristic of one's native variety of language, especially if it were considered nonstandard or of low prestige." In Afro-Cuban ritual trances the use of *bozal* Spanish is both a sociolect and an ethnically marked variety of Spanish, intimately identified with the non-native use of Spanish by African-born slaves. This language was subject to scorn and ridicule at the time it was in use naturally and even today it is recalled with little affection, even by Cubans of African descent. Whether *bozal* language is used in religious rituals in deference to the memory of *bozal* Spanish-speaking ancestors or as an affirmation of the participants' own African heritage, it has to stem from language heard and internalized in everyday life and not simply an amalgam of phonotactic patterns stored in the speakers' unconscious linguistic competence. Given the manifestation of glossolalia in many cultures and religions throughout the world, there are occasionally exceptions to these observations, but Afro-Cuban trance speech does not fit in with *espiritista*, Pentecostal, and other forms of entranced language that can be heard in Cuba and neighboring countries. There is in fact a somewhat closer resemblance between true glossolalia and the rapid-fire jargon of the *negros congos* of Panama, although in the latter group real Spanish words lie at the root of the often considerably distorted utterances.

Conclusions

Given that the last African-born *bozales* disappeared from the Caribbean nearly a century ago—before the age of recordings and detailed linguistic studies—all reconstruction of *bozal* Spanish must be based on sources twice-removed from the original speech patterns. Ritualized language provides important data to complement the analysis of living memories and stereotypes embedded in popular culture. The preceding remarks have suggested some possible avenues of approach to the study of Afro-Hispanic ritual language. The results tentatively suggest that *bozal* language consisted of a series of approximations to Spanish by succeeding generations of second-language learners, rather than a consistent code that survived across generations to become a true creole language. However the data from ritual language contain enough points of ambiguity to preclude a definitive conclusion.

Considerable work remains to be done with the groups mentioned in the present study, as well as with other Afro-Hispanic communities throughout the Americas.

References

Anon. 2001. *Afro-American cultural identity in language and literature.* Panama: Universidad de Panamá; Sociedad de Amigos del Museo Afroantillano (SAMAAP); Kellogg Foundation.

Béliz, Anel. 1959. Los congos: Afro-Panamanian dance-drama. *Américas* 11(11).31–3.

Cabrera, Lydia (1979): *Reglas de congo.* Miami: Editorial C. R.

——. (1984): *Vocabulario congo (el bantú que se habla en Cuba).* Miami: Editorial C. R.

Castellanos, Isabel. 1990. Grammatical structure, historical development, and religious usage of Afro-Cuban bozal speech. *Folklore Forum* 23(1–2).57–84.

Cruz, Mary. 1974. *Creto Gangá.* Havana: Instituto Cubano del Libro 'Contemporáneos.'

De la Rosa Sánchez, Manuel Antonio. 1988. El juego de los tambores congos (tradición oral afromestiza de Panamá). *Segundo Congreso Nacional Asociación Latinoamericana de Estudios Afroasiáticos*, Universidad Veracruzana, Jalapa, Veracruz, 3 al 5 de jul de 1985, ed. Guillermo Quartucci, 153–177. México: El Colegio de México.

Díaz Fabelo, Teodoro. 1998. *Diccionario de la lengua conga residual en Cuba.* Santiago de Cuba: Casa del Caribe.

Domínguez, Luis Arturo. 1989. *Vivencia de un rito loango en el Tambú.* Caracas: Talleres de Hijos de Ramiro Paz.

Drolet, Patricia. 1980a. The Congo ritual of northeastern Panama: an Afro-American expressive structure of cultural adaptation. Doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois.

——. 1980b. *El ritual congo del noroeste de Panamá: una estructura afro-americana expresiva de adaptación cultural.* Panama: Instituto Nacional de Cultura.

Franceschi, Víctor. 1960. Los negros congos en Panamá. *Revista Lotería* 51.93–107.

Fuentes Guerra, Jesús and Armin Schwegler. 2005. *Lengua y ritos del Palo Monte Mayombe: dioses cubanos y sus fuentes africanas.* Frankfurt: Vervuert/Iberoamericana.

García González, José and Gema Valdés Acosta. 1978. Restos de lenguas bantúes en la región central de Cuba. *Islas* 59.4–50.

Granda, Germán de. 1973a. Materiales léxicos para la determinación de la matriz africana de la "lengua congo" de Cuba. *Revista Española de Lingüística* 3.55–79.

——. 1973b. Portuguesismos léxicos en la "lengua congo" de Cuba. *Boletim de Filologia* 22.235–250.

Hatherly, Ana. 1990. *Poemas em língua de preto dos séculos XVII e XVIII.*

Lisbon: Quimera.

Hernández, María Isabel. 1981. El habla de una zona rural de Barlovento en su entorno socio-cultural. Licenciatura thesis, Universidad Central de Venezuela, Facultad de Humanidades y Educación, Escuela de Letras.

Joly, Luz Graciela. 1981. The ritual play of the Congos of north-central Panama: its sociolinguistic implications. Sociolinguistic Working Papers (Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, Austin, Texas), no. 85.

——. 1984. Implicaciones sociolingüísticas del juego de congos en la Costa Abajo de Panamá. *Revista Lotería* 338–339.25–55.

Laribe, Lucette. 1968. Nombre de Dios et les "regnes de Congos." Panama: Alliance Française Panamá.

——. 1969. Les "regnes de Congos" de Nombre de Dios. Panama: Alliance Française Panamá.

Laviña, Javier (ed.) (1989): *Doctrina para negros: explicación de la doctrina cristiana a la capacidad de los negros bozales, de Nicolás Duque de Estrada.* Barcelona: Sendai.

Lipski, John. 1985. The speech of the *negros congos* of Panama: creole Spanish vestiges? *Hispanic Linguistics* 2.23–47.

——. 1986a. The negros congos of Panama: Afro-Hispanic creole language and culture. *Journal of Black Studies* 16.409–28.

——. 1986b. El lenguaje de los *negros congos* de Panamá. *Lexis* 10.53–76.

——. 1986c. Convergence and divergence in *bozal* Spanish. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 1.171 203.

——. 1987b. The construction *ta* + infinitive in Caribbean *bozal* Spanish. *Roman Philology* 40.431–450.

——. 1989. The speech of the *negros congos* of Panama. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

——. 1992a. Origin and development of *ta* in Afro-Hispanic creoles. *Atlantic meets Pacific: a global view of pidginization and creolization*, ed. Francis Byrne and John Holm, 217–231. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

——. 1992b. Spontaneous nasalization in Afro-Hispanic language. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 7.261–305.

——. 1996. Contactos de criollos en el Caribe hispánico: contribuciones al español *bozal. América Negra* 11.31–60.

——. 1997. El lenguaje de los *negros congos* de Panamá y el lumbalú palenquero: función sociolingüística de criptolectos afrohispánicos. *América Negra* 14.147–165.

——. 1998. El español *bozal. América negra: panorámica actual de los estudios lingüísticos sobre variedades criollas y afrohispanas*, ed. Matthias Perl and Armin Schwegler, 293–327. Frankfurt: Vervuert.

——. 1999a. Evolución de los verbos copulativos en el español *bozal. Lenguas criollos de base lexical española y portuguesa*, ed. Klaus Zimmermann, 145–176. Frankfurt: Vervuert.

——. 1999b. Creole-to-creole contacts in the Spanish Caribbean: the genesis of Afro Hispanic language. *Publications of the Afro-Latin American Research Association (PALARA)* 3.5–46.

_____. 1999b. El sufijo -ico y las palabras afroibéricas agüé/awe y aguora/ahuora: rutas de evolución y entorno dialectológico. El Caribe hispánico: perspectivas lingüísticas actuales, ed. Luis Ortiz López, 17–42. Frankfurt: Vervuert.

_____. 2002a. Génesis y evolución de la cópula en los criollos afro-ibéricos. Palenque, Cartagena y Afro-Caribe: historia y lengua, ed. Yves Moñino and Armin Schwegler, 65–101. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

_____. 2002b. Epenthesis vs. elision in Afro-Iberian language: a constraint-based approach to creole phonology. Current issues in Romance languages, ed. Teresa Satterfield, Christina Tortora, Diana Cresti, 173–188. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

_____. 2005. A history of Afro-Hispanic language: five centuries and five continents. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

_____. a. Afro-Yungueño speech: the long-lost "black Spanish." Spanish in Context, in press.

_____. b. El dialecto afroyungueño de Bolivia: en busca de las   raíces el habla afrohispánica. Revista Internacional de Lingüística Iberoamericana, in press.

Luque de Pérez, Colomba. 2001. The Congo of Costa Arriba. In Anon. (2001), 51–55.

Mosonyi, Esteban Emilio, María Hernández, Elizabeth Alvarado. 1983. Informe preliminar sobre la especificidad   antropolingüística del "luango" de Barlovento. Actas del III   Encuentro de Lingüistas, 159–167. Caracas: Instituto Pedagógico   de Caracas, Departamento de Castellano, Literatura y Latín,   Departamento de Idiomas Modernas.

Naro, Anthony. 1978. A study on the origins of pidginization.Language 45.314–347.

Ortiz López, Luis. 1998. Huellas etno-sociolingüísticas bozales y afrocubanas. Frankfurt: Vervuert.

_____. 1999. El español haitiano en Cuba y su relación con el habla bozal. Lenguas criollos de base lexical española y portuguesa, ed. Klaus Zimmermann, 177–203. Frankfurt: Vervuert.

Schwegler, Armin. 1996a. La doble negación dominicana y la génesis del español caribeño. Hispanic Linguistics 8.247–315.

_____. 1996b. "Chi ma nkongo": lengua y rito ancestrales en El Palenque de San Basilio (Colombia). Frankfurt: Vervuert. 2 vols.

_____. 1999. Monogenesis revisited: the Spanish perspective. Creole genesis, attitudes and discourse, ed. John Rickford and   Suzanne Romaine, 235–262. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John   Benjamins (Creole Language Library vol. 20).

_____. 2005. Habla bozal: Captivating new evidence from a contemporary source (Afro-Cuban "Palo Monte"). Studies in Contact Linguistics: Essays in Honor of Glenn G. Gilbert, ed. Janet   Fuller and Linda L. Thornburg. New York: Peter Lang.

Samarin, William. 1972. Tongues of men and angels: the religious language of Pentecostalism. New York: Macmillan.

Smith, Ronald. 1975. The society of los Congos of Panama. Doctoral

dissertation, Indiana University.

Tejeira Jaén, Bertilda. 1974. Los congos de Chepo. Patrimonio Histórico 1 (3).129–48.

Villaverde, Cirilo. 1979. Cecilia Valdés. Critical edition by Raimundo Lazo. México: Porrúa.

Zárate, Manuel. 1962. Socavón y tambor. Panamá: Imp. Nacional.