

Speaking "African" in Spanish and Portuguese: literary imitations vs. (socio)linguistic reality

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1. Introduction

One of the most interesting chapters in the history of the Spanish and Portuguese languages throughout the world is the African contribution. There exists a tantalizing corpus of literary, folkloric and anecdotal testimony on the earlier speech patterns of Africans, in the Iberian Peninsula and Latin America. In Spain and Portugal, the populations of African origin have long since been absorbed into the prevailing cultural and racial patterns, while in contemporary Latin America, despite a considerable Afro-American population in many regions, and notwithstanding racial stereotypes in literature and popular culture, there is nowhere to be found an ethnically unique 'Black Spanish,' comparable to vernacular Black English in the United States. Arguably there is no 'black Portuguese' in Brazil either, although the issue is clouded by the apparent restructuring of colonial vernacular Brazilian Portuguese through massive contact with African languages. The situation was different in the past, and there exists ample evidence that distinctly Afro-Hispanic speech forms did exist. The greatest obstacle in the assessment of earlier Afro-Iberian language is the high level of prejudice, exaggeration and stereotyping which has always surrounded the description of non-white speakers of Spanish, and which attributes to all of them a wide range of defects and distortions that frequently are no more than an unrealistic repudiation of this group. In the following remarks, I will survey the principal literary imitations of 'Africanized' Spanish and Portuguese, with an eye towards determining what element of veracity they might contain. In particular we will discover a cyclic pattern, oscillating between reasonably accurate linguistic imitations (although riddled with cultural

stereotypes and vicious word-play) and totally fanciful formulaic representations, perhaps based on some earlier legitimate Afro-Hispanic speech, but out of touch with the reality of the time. Not surprisingly, these cycles coincide with the demographic proportions of first- and second-language speakers of Spanish or Portuguese among the populations of African origin, in the Iberian Peninsula and in the Americas. Thus, in the 15th, 16th, and early 17th centuries, natives of Africa who struggled to speak Spanish or Portuguese were abundant in the major cities of Spain and Portugal, and literary imitations reveal demonstrable features of these language contacts. By the middle of the 17th century and continuing on through the 19th century in Spain and Portugal, the arrival of African-born second-language speakers of Spanish or Portuguese diminished to a mere trickle (although in the 19th century Portugal once again brought a number of workers from their African colonies); literary imitations concentrated on a handful of facile and formulaic stereotypes, most of which were irrelevant to a population which spoke Spanish or Portuguese natively, quite likely with little or no linguistic features which would reflect their African ethnicity. In Latin America, most 17th and 18th century imitations of Africans' attempts at speaking Spanish and Portuguese continued Peninsular stereotypes, although the African-born population was considerable in many areas. During the 19th century there occurred a great outpouring of Afro-Hispanic literary imitations, mostly from Cuba, Peru, Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil. Given the high percentage of African-born speakers during this last tidal wave of the slave trade, imitations tended to be linguistically accurate, if sometimes exaggerated and overblown, and the accuracy of these imitations continues into the early 20th century, especially in the Caribbean, where African-born Spanish speakers could still be found. The final sweep of the cycle includes much of contemporary Latin America, where literary depictions of 'black' Spanish (invariably spoken by native Spanish speakers of African descent) inaccurately suggest

objective linguistic differences between monolingual Spanish dialects and sociolects based on race or ethnicity. The linguistic features thus ascribed to 'black' Spanish are usually common to all popular strata in the countries in question, especially among the socially most marginalized sectors of society, in which individuals of African origin are overrepresented. That not all such stereotyping is racist in origin emerges from the fact that several prominent Afro-Hispanic writers (including Nicolás Guillén, Nicomedes Santa Cruz, Nelson Estupiñán Bass, Adalberto Ortiz, and Manuel Zapata Olivella) have also linked vernacular speech traits to speakers of African origin, assigning only 'normal' unmarked Spanish to their other personages.

2. The cycle begins: Portugal

Afro-Iberian linguistic contacts, although occurring sporadically throughout the Middle Ages, emerged as a significant phenomenon in the 15th century, with Portuguese explorations of the West African coast. Although Portuguese contact with Africa had begun in the 1420's, with voyages commissioned by Prince Henry the Navigator, the Portuguese first established permanent contacts with sub-Saharan Africa in 1445, upon building a trading station on Arguim Island, off the coast of present-day Mauritania. Following these initial contacts, Portugal established a permanent presence along the Gold Coast (Ghana) at the fortress of Elmina, and in the Congo Basin. All these contacts engendered greater awareness of the specifics of 'African' linguistic interference in Portuguese. Portugal was also acquiring greater familiarity with African geographical and ethnological terminology, albeit with considerable inaccuracy. This developing ethnolinguistic awareness, together with the inevitable fruits of language contact between Portuguese and Africans, emerged in literary imitations of Africanized Portuguese, beginning with a trickle of poems and songs, and culminating in a torrent of popular literature that encompassed the entire Iberian Peninsula (Brásio 1944, Saunders 1982, Tinhorão 1988).

Shortly thereafter, the African presence in southern Spain took on significant proportions, at first via Portugal, and later supplemented by direct contacts between Spain and West Africa.

Africans arriving in the Iberian Peninsula often learned only the most rudimentary forms of Spanish and Portuguese, and their halting attempts at speaking European languages earned them the name of *bozal* (*boçal* in Portuguese), a term roughly meaning 'savage, untamed.' From the outset, the pidginized Portuguese and then Spanish spoken by Africans was recorded in literature, first in poems and later in songs, plays, and prose. The earliest texts come from Portugal, written in the late 15th century. The earliest texts are poems in the *Cancioneiro geral*, published by Garcia de Resende in 1516, but the earliest of the poems is dated 1455. In the early 16th century, Gil Vicente used Africanized Portuguese pidgin in several plays, and the literary representation of Afro-Portuguese language recurred frequently during the 17th century, occasionally extending into the 18th century, in Portugal and Brazil {HANDOUT A}. By the early 16th century, the original Portuguese *fala de preto* had spread to Spain, and the corresponding *habla de negro* appeared in Spanish literature, and flourished until the end of the 17th century in Golden Age literature {HANDOUT B}. Spanish writers of the stature of Lope de Rueda, Góngora, Lope de Vega, Calderón de la Barca, and Quiñones de Benavente, as well as scores of lesser-known writers, routinely presented African characters speaking *bozal* Spanish.

The early Afro-Portuguese texts, written during a period in which sub-Saharan Africans were present in ever greater numbers in southern Portugal, contain many linguistic features which can be independently verified, since they made their way into the Portuguese-derived creole languages of West Africa, including São Tomé, Príncipe, and Annobón in the Gulf of Guinea, as well as the Portuguese creoles of Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau and the Afro-Hispanic Caribbean creoles Papiamentu (Netherlands Antilles) and Palenquero (Afro-Colombian

village of Palenque de San Basilio). Other traits found in Afro-Portuguese literature are simply those common to all second-language learners struggling with an unfamiliar language under difficult circumstances. Repeating traits which in all probability actually occurred in Afro-Portuguese *bozal* speech include {HANDOUT #19}:

- (1) Intervocalic /d/ pronounced [r] (*turo* < *tudo*;
- (2) Paragogic vowels (*seoro* < *senhor*)
- (3) Apparent vowel harmony (*Purutugá* < *Portugal*);
- (4) Delateralization of /ë/ (*muire* < *mulher*);
- (5) Loss of final /r/ in infinitives (*cantá* < *cantar*);
- (6) Loss of final /s/ in *-mos*;
- (7) Retention of /s/ only on first element of plural noun phrases (*dos may Zozefa*);
- (8) Shift /r/ > [l] in syllable onset (*agola* < *agora*, *pleto* < *preto*);
- (9) Use of invariant hybrid copula *sa* or *sã*, and occasionally the hybrid copula *santar*.
- (10) Use of (a)*mi* as subject pronoun; [very occasionally retained]
- (11) Use of invariant *bai/vai* for 'go'
- (12) General lack of gender/number agreement [occasional invariant *o/os*]
- (13) Minimal verb conjugation; use of 3sg. or infinitive [occasional]
- (14) Occasional substitution/omission of prepositions

Some of these traits can be directly attributed to contact with African languages; for example the confusion of prevocalic /l/ and /r/, which does not appear in Spain or Portugal until the late 16th century, is a feature of the Bantu language family, with many of the languages prominently represented in the Portuguese incursions into the Congo Basin and Angola. Similarly, use of (a)*mim* as subject pronoun, a practice already begun in the Mediterranean Lingua Franca and

influenced by northern Italian dialects in which *mi* had replaced *io* as subject pronoun, was reinforced by the coincidental similarity of first-person singular subject pronouns across a wide variety of West African languages, from the Senegambia region into the Congo/Angola area, all of the form *mi/ami/emi*. The adding of vowels to break up consonant clusters and word-final consonants reflects the fact that most of the African languages which came into contact with Portuguese and Spanish have no consonant clusters or syllable-final consonants; modern vernacular Brazilian Portuguese continues to ameliorate consonant groups in this fashion: *flor* > *fulor*, *advogado* > *adevogado*, *Nova York* > *Nova Yorqui*, etc. In the aggregate, the early literary imitations are consistent with documented Afro-Lusitanian language, from which we can conclude that these Portuguese authors were interpreting foreigners' Portuguese for their own literary purposes, rather than re-inventing a non-viable speech mode as a social commentary. There is even some evidence that descendants of Africans born in Portugal and speaking Portuguese natively may have retained a few ethnolinguistic markers, such as *sioro* and *dioso* for *senhor* and *Deus* and even the invariant copula *sa*, as deliberate assertions of ethnicity. Eventually, however, no discernible 'African' Portuguese remained, and the large quantity of late 18th and 19th century pamphlet literature, almanacs, and calendars produced in Portugal and purporting to represent 'black' Portuguese were throwbacks based on earlier literary paradigms. That stylized use of speech traits which had disappeared from common usage nearly two centuries previously resurfaced in 19th century Portugal is a testimony to the power of the Afro-Portuguese linguistic interface during its heyday.

3. The cycle continues: Golden Age Spain

In Spain, the literary representation of 'Africanized' Spanish began early in the 16th century, although it is conceivable that some non-surviving texts from the late 15th century might have been

produced. The earliest examples show the definite traces of the already established Afro-Portuguese language produced by such writers as Gil Vicente. This fact is unremarkable in light of the slave trade from Portugal to southern Spain, in the late 15th and early 16th centuries, although some investigators (e.g. Granda 1969) claim that most Afro-Hispanic literary language, including the earliest texts, stems from direct contact between Spanish and native Africans, without the mediation of pidginized Portuguese. The earliest Afro-Hispanic texts, by Rodrigo de Reinosa and Lope de Rueda, suggest otherwise.

Once literary 'black Spanish' became established in Golden Age theater, the linguistic characteristics move sharply away from pidgin Portuguese, and acquire traits typical of Spanish 'foreigner talk,' together with considerable phonetic deformation. Judging by the literary examples, one would place the dates of the transformation in the last decades of the 16th century, since after the turn of the 17th century, bozal language becomes more consistently 'broken Spanish.' This apparent dating may, however, merely reflect the solidification of a characteristically Spanish literary stereotype, in that Portuguese features may never have been present in significant quantities in Africanized Spanish, or may have disappeared during the first decades of the 16th century. Following 1550, use of (a)mi as subject pronoun rapidly disappears (last used by Guete), as does use of bai/vai for 'to go' (used by Gil Vicente) and the bozal Portuguese items (of Arabic origin) taybo 'good' and marfuz 'bad.' More important in 'nativized' bozal Spanish are phonetic deformations, begun in the writings of Sánchez de Badajoz and Lope de Rueda, especially:

(1) interchange of /l/ and /r/ in nearly all phonetic positions, with occasional loss in word-final contexts;

(2) neutralization of /d/ and /r/, usually in favor of the latter element;

- (3) loss of /s/, originally only in word-final redundant contexts (e. g. n the verbal desinence -mos and in such words as Jesús, además, etc.) and later in other syllable-final cases;
- (d) neutralization of /y/ and /ll/, always in favor of the former phoneme;
- (e) epenthetic nasal consonants, particularly in the shift negro > nenglo/nengro/nengre and llamar > ñamar.

Other phonological deformations are more sporadic, and include vocalic imprecision, frequently associated with the partial neutralization of nominal and adjectival gender. In the area of morphology and syntax, literary bozal Spanish beginning in the 17th century exhibits fewer discrepancies with respect to normal Spanish of the time period. Some cases of unstable gender and number assignment remain, as do incorrectly conjugated verb forms, although use of the uninflected infinitive becomes increasingly rare. Confusion of ser and estar is still found from time to time, augmented by use of sar, and loss of the copula occurs sporadically. Also found is the occasional loss of prepositions (particularly de and a) and relative pronouns, as well as a generally simplified syntax, avoiding embedded constructions and reminiscent of baby talk and foreigner talk, which were obvious models for literary bozal Spanish in the Golden Age.

4. From authentic to stereotype: the later Golden Age

After the reasonably authentic early 17th century examples by writers such as Lope de Vega and Góngora, changes in the literary representation of Africans become evident, although some later texts continue to duplicate earlier patters, well into the 18th century. In general, grammatical deformations become less frequent, except for stereotyped morphological distortions such as *diosa* < *Dios*. Greater emphasis is placed on phonetic patterns and word play, unrealistically coupled with essentially normal Spanish grammar. Thus Quevedo (1988:127) once joked in the 'Libro de todas las cosas,' that 'sabrás guineo [= bozal Spanish:JML] en volviendo las rr ll, y al contrario: como

Francisco, Flancico; primo, plimo.' The most frequent stereotyping was not phonetic distortion but humorous plays on words, such as the frequent *cagayero/cagayera* for *caballero*, in the use of onomatopoeia and humorous pseudo-African songs, and in the repetition of stock lines such as 'aunque negro(s), gente somo(s).'

Taken at face value, the writings of Quiñones de Benavente, Calderón, and other later 17th century Spanish writers would indicate that by the middle of the 17th century, 'black Spanish' in Spain was at most a phonetically-influenced 'accent,' and may not even have existed at all in an objectively identifiable fashion. By this time, several generations of native Spanish-speaking blacks had been born in Spain. Nearly all were freeborn, and many worked as artesans, soldiers, and entrepreneurs. To the extent that they were at least partially integrated into Spanish society, a grudging acceptance of blacks as unremarkable human beings began to occur. Spanish writers began to differentiate between European-born blacks, whose speech was usually rendered in standard Spanish, and (African-born) slaves, who continued to speak a pidginized Spanish, sometimes laced with Portuguese elements. In Spain, literary use of *bozal* Spanish virtually disappeared after the end of the 17th century, although a handful of obscure 18th century songs and poems continue the literary stereotype beyond the time period when *bozal* language can legitimately be postulated as a common phenomenon in peninsular Spain and Portugal, since by the end of the 18th century few African-born *bozales* were found in the Iberian Peninsula (cf. Castellano 1961, Chasca 1946, Dunzo 1974, Granda 1969, Jason 1965, 1967; Lipski 1986a, 1986b, 1988, 1991; Veres 1950, Weber de Kurlat 1962a, 1962b, 1970).

5. A new cycle in Spanish America

Beginning in the early 17th century, songs and poems written in Latin America attributed a similar language to African-born slaves, with the most famous examples being found in some

villancicos by Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz {HANDOUT #35}. Other surviving 17th century documents demonstrate the existence of *bozal* Spanish in the highland mining areas of Peru, Mexico, Colombia, Bolivia and Guatemala. By the 18th century, literary representations of Africanized Spanish in Latin America broke away from the Golden Age patterns, and came to more closely resemble vernacular Caribbean and coastal South American Spanish of today, as well as Ibero Romance-based creoles. Few documents representing Afro-Hispanic speech remain from 18th century Latin America; Cuba and Mexico are among the regions so represented (cf. Megenney 1985a, Lipski 1995).

In early colonial Brazil, literary Afro-Portuguese pidgin appears in a few texts until the final decades of the 18th century. By this time, Africanized varieties of Portuguese were already well-established in Brazil, in many cases exhibiting significant differences from earlier European Portuguese literary examples. The use of European-derived stereotypes in late 18th century Brazil can most probably be ascribed to literary tradition, and should not be taken uncritically as a representation of how Africans actually spoke Portuguese at this time.

Beginning around the turn of the 19th century in Latin America, there is a great outpouring of imitations of *bozal* language {HANDOUT C}; by far the most extensive corpus comes from Cuba, the second largest group comes from Buenos Aires and Montevideo, with relatively small numbers of texts coming from Peru and Puerto Rico. Significantly, there are no known *bozal* imitations from the Dominican Republic, Venezuela, Panama, or Colombia from this time period, reflecting the proportionally small number of African-born *bozales* in these colonies. The existent Afro-Caribbean texts run the gamut from the crude parodies of past centuries to reasonably accurate travellers' observations, anthropological descriptions of local customs and language, and works written by abolitionist authors who had no reason to denigrate

Afro-Hispanic language. These abolitionist writers, whose imitations of *bozal* speech cannot be dismissed as racist parodies, were responsible for only a fraction of the Afro-Hispanic literary imitations from the 19th century Caribbean. Much more frequent were poems, newspaper columns, plays and novels, whose authenticity ranged from the most vulgar stereotypes to accurate--if not flattering--approximations to Afro-Hispanic pidgin. Particularly popular was the figure of the *negro* catedrático, speaking a macaronic mixture of erudite Spanish, filled with humorous malapropisms and fancy-sounding invented words, and at times infantile and ungrammatical Spanish. The sheer number of such texts, as well as the availability of information on the authors, makes evaluation of the linguistic details somewhat easier, especially when compared with the living memories described previously.

The earliest known bozal texts from the Río Plata come from the first decades of the 19th century (cf. the Appendix), which extrapolating backwards can be taken to represent AP speech of the final decades of the 18th century. In view of the demographics of the African population in the Río Plata, it is doubtful that a coherent bozal Spanish was found in Montevideo or Buenos much before the second half of the 18th century, although individual African slaves would speak a rudimentary approximation to Spanish when first learning this language. By the end of the 18th century, Afro-Hispanic speech in the Río Plata was more than a minimal pidgin, and appears to have had some consistent traits which were recognized by native Spanish speakers and used in literary representations of bozal speech. AP texts recur throughout the 19th century and continue into the first decades of the 20th century, representing little more than a century of Afro-Hispanic language, during which time little evolution can be noted. By the end of this period, only a few true bozales remained in the Río Plata, but given de facto social and cultural segregation of the black population in Buenos Aires and Montevideo, it is conceivable that second-generation

Afro-Americans in these cities exhibited speech patterns that did not entirely coincide with those of white criollos.

In urban areas of Buenos Aires and Montevideo, blacks in the postcolonial era lived predominantly in poorer areas such as conventillo tenement housing, retaining an ethnic unity well past the abolition of slavery and postdating the arrival of bozales from Africa. Although it is unlikely that a stable 'black Spanish' was retained more than a single generation beyond bozal Africans who learned Spanish as a second language, collective awareness of AP bozal and neo-bozal language was tenacious among both black and white residents. For whites, as in other Spanish-speaking areas, imitation of bozal speech was mostly frequently employed in humorous, condescending portrayals of blacks. These representations, even if well-meaning, often create an image of buffoonery and mental incompetence by drawing too close a parallel between AP Spanish and baby-talk or deranged rambling.

By the middle of the 19th century, Afro-Argentines and Afro-Uruguayans began to speak with their own voices, via the medium of the Carnival. With the Carnival, Africans formed comparsas and actively participated in Carnival events, including dancing and songs in which AP language often appeared. The music and dancing was in turn part of an even older tradition, dating back to the time when bozal slaves were allowed to organize dances and sing work songs. In Buenos Aires and particularly in Montevideo, Afro-Hispanic cultural and linguistic traditions in the Carnival continued until well into the 20th century, although by this time legitimate bozal Spanish had long since disappeared from the Río Plata. In Uruguay, for example, the music of the tamboriles or African drums continues to be played at Carnival time (Ayestarán 1990), and contemporary Afro-Uruguayan theatre and dance groups preserve some of the earlier traditions,

although without imitation of bozal language. The Buenos Aires Carnival, with its Afro-Hispanic comparsas, no longer exists, but its activities have been well documented.

After the 17th century, the locus of *bozal* Spanish in colonial Peru shifted from the highland mines and the settlements at Potosí and Cuzco to the coastal areas centering around Lima. The documentation of Afro-Peruvian language is not continuous; following the 17th century texts, no *bozal* examples are found until the very end of the 18th century, although indirect evidence of Afro-Hispanic speech for Lima and its environs appears earlier in the 18th century. Indirect comments on the speech, music and other behavior of Africans in 19th century Peru permit some conclusions as to *bozal* language at this time (cf. Estenssoro Fuchs 1988). It is frequent in Latin America for the speech of socially marginalized groups to be rejected as 'unintelligible,' even when the approximation to received Spanish is quite close. Colonial Peru was no exception, and the prevailing view that African *bozales* (if not their descendents) were incapable of speaking any reasonable approximation to Spanish underlies many unflattering remarks. On the other hand, Peruvian writers had no difficulty in reproducing Africanized Spanish when it suited their literary purposes. These imitations, although somewhat stereotyped, bear a greater than chance resemblance with *bozal* texts from other regions, which indicates a high level of accuracy in transcription. Africans' songs may well have been unintelligible to uninitiated white Peruvians, even if they were sung in Spanish, given the usual distortion introduced into sung language. If to this factor is added unfamiliar rhythms and musical forms, a heavy overlay of drumming, and the usual dose of xenophobia, the actual language of the songs may not have differed substantially from regional Spanish. On the other hand, the existence of *cofradías* centered around individual ethnic groups increases the likelihood that many of the songs were sung in African languages. Religious syncretism would result in some Spanish-language songs, particularly religious songs such as

villancicos, celebrating the birth of Jesus. The same would be true of funeral rituals and other culturally-bound ceremonies. Behind closed doors, the *cofradías* might escape the scrutiny of Spanish officials and engage in African ceremonies in African languages, but any public use of African languages would be limited to spoken conversations.

Beginning at the turn of the 19th century, a new group of *bozal* Peruvian texts emerges, representing a more evolved Afro-Hispanic language, concentrated in coastal regions. The 19th century Afro-Peruvian texts bear a much closer resemblance to contemporary vernacular speech of the Peruvian coast, as well as to Afro-Hispanic dialects elsewhere in Latin America. The symbiotic relationship between developing coastal dialects and the speech of *bozal* Africans is more clearly noted than in the 17th century texts, in which *bozal* speech sharply contrasts with highland Spanish.

Despite considerable variation in the literary nature, the linguistic features of 19th century Argentine, Uruguayan, Peruvian, Cuban and Puerto Rican Afro-Hispanic texts reflect predictable features of second-language Spanish, combined with the by now well-established Bantu family pattern of confusing /l/ and /r/. Many of the grammatical forms of Golden Age Afro-Hispanic language disappear, such as the invariant copular verb *sa* and use of (*amí*) as subject pronoun, while some new features occasionally creep in. Frequent in Afro-Cuban texts and found occasionally elsewhere is the invariant copula *son* (*yo son, tú son, nosotros son*, etc.). Also found in Cuba and Puerto Rico was the invariant third person pronoun *elle* or *nelle*, still remembered and actually used by some very old Afro-Cuba speakers. Some Afro-Cuban texts use the preverbal particle *ta* followed by an invariant verb derived from the infinitive, as in *yo ta hablá, tú ta queré*, etc., a construction also found in many Afro-Iberian creole languages. Some linguists have pointed to the existence of this construction—abundant in the writings of Lydia Cabrera and certain other Cuban authors—as proof that Afro-Hispanic language actually

coalesced into a stable creole language in the Caribbean, but the majority of Afro-Caribbean texts show only the normal errors of verb conjugation found among second-language learners of Spanish. Moreover my own research suggests that in some cases what Cuban writers were hearing was the Spanish of black laborers imported from other Caribbean islands and already speaking Afro-European creole languages with similar structures, particularly Papiamentu of Curaçao, whose speakers are amply documented in 19th century Cuba and Puerto Rico.

In nearly all cases, the children of the last African-born *bozales* natively learned the respective local varieties of Spanish, although in Cuba such lexical items as the pronoun *elle*, the word *agüé* for *hoy* (also probably of Papiamentu origin) and some African words were retained for while in marginalized Afro-Cuban Spanish. The number of authentic *bozales* dropped drastically by the end of the 19th century (although a few speakers lived until the middle of the 20th century), and most 20th century authors who described *bozal* Spanish (such as the Cuban Lydia Cabrera and the Peruvian López Albújar) based their writings on childhood memories. The last big cycle of Afro-Hispanic *bozal* imitations spanned the entire gamut from racist parodies to sympathetic abolitionist writings, although even in the latter the use of pidginized Spanish can be construed as revealing a paternalistic stance. In Cuba, the noted anthropologist and criminologist Fernando Ortiz originally regarded Afro-Cuban Spanish as inextricably linked with delinquency, and only later came to appreciate its cultural importance. Even Lydia Cabrera was ambivalent and often equivocal in her use of *bozal* language, sometimes ascribing such language to wise and creative individuals, while at other moments portraying *bozal* speakers as hapless bumpkins. What remains certain is that the Caribbean, Peruvian, and Porteño authors who imitated *bozal* Spanish almost always did so from first-hand experience, and although the

literary motives were often suspect, there is a considerable degree of veracity in the linguistic details.

6. The final stage: (fictitious?) “black” Spanish in modern Latin America

In contemporary Latin America, there is no ethnically identifiable ‘black Spanish,’ comparable to vernacular African-American English in the United States or Caribbean English in Great Britain. There are a number of isolated Afro-Hispanic speech communities in which some vestiges of earlier *bozal* language may remain; there are also many instances where Afro-American speakers of other Caribbean creole languages such as Haitian Creole and Jamaican English Creole use Spanish extensively as a second language, with consistently recognizable characteristics which some observers might mistake for a ‘black’ Spanish {HANDOUT D}. These speakers have virtually no linguistic effect on the surrounding communities, and their speech patterns are generally unknown outside of the limited areas in which they occur. Despite these facts, for the past century—that is well after truly second-language *bozal* Spanish had disappeared from Latin American nations—a number of writers have created literary stereotypes in which a marked form of language is attributed exclusively to (usually poor and marginalized) black speakers. In most instances the writings are racist in tone, although some Afro-Hispanic writers have deliberately adopted this ‘special’ language in order to give voice to dispossessed citizens of African origin. In all instances, the speech traits in question—nearly all phonetic in nature—are common in the vernacular speech of the region, irrespective of race. Indeed, with few exceptions all of these traits are common to vernacular Spanish worldwide, and represent linguistically universal patterns of consonant and vowel reduction. It is therefore instructive to examine the literary creation of objectively specious Afro-Hispanic language, and to ponder its place in the final cycle of Afro-Iberian literary representations.

The Cuban linguist Sergio Valdés Bernal (1971), who has extensively studied Afro-Cuban language past and present, adamantly asserts that:

... en Cuba hablamos el español que trajeron los colonizadores españoles--ya con sus características dialectales--de ellos los negros esclavos tomarían su forma de hablar ... muchas veces lo que denominamos "habla del negro" puede ser tan sólo motivado por un bajo nivel cultural--reflejado en el habla por carecer el individuo de suficientes conocimientos de dicción--lo que no tendría nada que ver con "influencias lingüísticas".

Despite this vehement affirmation of the non-existence of a contemporary 'black' Spanish, an ample literary and folkloric corpus attests to the tenacious maintenance of contrary views. Thus, for example, when the American adventurer Hassaurek (1868: 194) visited the predominantly Afro-Hispanic Chota Valley of highland Ecuador in 1861 (where presumably Spanish was spoken natively by descendants of former African slaves), he remarked about the songs he heard:

I was unable to make out any of the verses, but my companions told me the songs were composed by the Negroes themselves, and in their own dialect. Like the Negroes of the United States, the Negroes of Spanish America have a dialect and pronunciation of their own. The same guttural voices and almost unintelligible pronunciation, the same queer gesticulation and shaking of the body, the same shrewd simplicity and good humor ...

It is evident that, regardless of his qualifications as an explorer and an anthropologist, Hassaurek was a questionable linguist, who was strongly influenced by stereotypes and generalizations that even in the 19th century were invalid for Hispanic American dialectology. The fact that the choteños' songs were incomprehensible to the visitor (who apparently was not entirely fluent in

Spanish) says nothing essential about the local Spanish dialect, but rather exemplifies a natural phenomenon, the phonetic deformation of sung language and the stylistic discrepancies between daily speech patterns and the lyrics of popular songs. Despite this fact, the historian from Esmeraldas, Julio Estupiñán Tello 1967: 45-8) speaks of the settlements in the interior of Esmeraldas province that had virtually no contact with the outside world until the Ibarra-San Lorenzo railroad link was constructed a few decades ago, and where "los negros vivían semidesnudos y hablaban su propio dialecto ... así los encontró el ferrocarril Ibarra-San Lorenzo cuando por primera vez atravesó estas comarcas." Other linguists such as Peter Boyd-Bowman have also referred erroneously to a 'black' dialect of Ecuadoran Spanish. In once such account, Speiser (1985: 36) describes the speech of the predominantly black coastal province of Esmeraldas:

Visto que los negros esmeraldeños provienen de las tribus más distintas del Africa no podían mantener un idioma propio. Desde el principio de su estadía en Esmeraldas les tocó hablar castellano, pero sí desarrollaron un dialecto propio: hablan muy rápido, comiéndose algunas letras, sobre todo las "s." Además existe una serie de palabras que no se conocen en otras partes, como potro por canoa, mampora por guineo, y otras más.

The distinguished Ecuadoran linguist Toscano Mateus Mateus (1953: 19-20), while describing the phonetic characteristics of coastal Ecuadoran Spanish, claimed that '... no son menos peculiares del español haablado por negros. Estos, sobre todo en ciertas zonas donde antiguamente vivieron a sus anchas, sin mayor relación con el blanco, llegaron a desarrollar una jerga de la que todavía deben quedar rastros.'

In the introduction to a book of Afro-Panamanian poems by the Panamanian writer Víctor Franceschi, Matilde Elena López claims that `... se puede en Panamá, con rasgos propios dentro de la rica temática negra ... en la poesía americana, el acento negro no es un modo único, pero se impone con una fuerza tan poderosa, que la aventura rítmica en que se mezclan atavismos africanos y tradiciones indígenas ...' (Franceschi 1956: 12). She also asserts—again erroneously—that `Existe el acento de color ...' (Franceschi 1956: 13).

Contemporary Bolivia contains a small population of African origin, mostly found in the Yungas region to the east of La Paz, where they have intermarried extensively with the native Aymaras. Although what might be called Afro-Bolivian language is in reality highly laced with Aymara, this language has been described as `castellano peculiar y tonadeante que posee esta raza de color' (Pizarroso 1977: 111) and as `... el aymara y el castellano con ciertas variantes fonológicas (Gobierno Municipal de la Paz 1993: 6). In turn, Spedding (1995: 324) affirms that Afro-Bolivians `speak a dialect of local Spanish different from those used by Aymara-Spanish bilingual speakers.'

Speaking of the presumed existence of a natively spoken Afro-Cuban Spanish in the early 20th century, Fernando Ortiz (1916: 180) claimed: `Ese lenguaje se oye aún mucho en las comarcas campesinas donde antaño abundaron cañaverales, barracones y *cachimbos* y es marcada la persistencia y a veces el predominio de los elementos negroides descendientes de las africanas dotaciones.' For Mansour (1973: 170), la imitación del negro en la requiere `hablar como él, pronunciar el español como él ... así algunos poetas negristas ... recrearon en sus obras el "dialecto" de los negros hispanoamericanos ...'

Wilson (1979: 66), citing the Afro-Uruguayan poetry of Ildefonso Pereda Valdés, says that 'el poeta uruguayo no emplea casi el habla dialectal.' The Afro-Colombian writer Manuel Zapata Olivella (1987: 68) affirms that

... el castellano de la gran masa de esclavos negros tendía a convertirse en un dialecto propio, aunque se mantuvieran en contacto con los españoles. Oyeron la voz de algún maestro que los apartara del habla cimarrona, aquellos que prestaban sus servicios como domésticos ... la dificultad del aprendizaje del español ... se repetía con cada nuevo contingente de esclavos a todo lo largo de la trata pues los recién llegados entraban en contacto principalmente con los esclavos o los descendientes de los que les habían antecedido, aprendiendo de preferencia el mismo castellano arcaico adulterado ...

He also claims (p. 81) that the Afro-Colombian 'propició la formación de accidentes morfológicos y semánticos en el habla popular y aún en la culta: las mismas del peninsular analfabeto, criollo, indio o mestizo ...' He mentions (p. 81) la tendencia de confundir y eliminar /l/ y /r/ finales de palabra, el uso de la 'entonación africana' y las 'vocales oscuras' entre las

-Cruz (1970: 21) says that Afro-Hispanic literature 'adopta a veces modos de expresión peculiares del negro, con adulteraciones de la prosodia y morfología.'

Until only a few decades ago, Cuban radio drama prominently featured the personage of the *negro*, speaking in a distinctive language which listeners readily identified—this despite the fact that not all of the actors were Afro-Cubans. One black radio actor, Amador Domínguez, aspired to a more intellectual career, and tried to distance himself from the inevitable type-casting as buffoon. His aspirations were rebuffed by the station manager, who responded '¡ Bah!

Tu negocio es seguir hablando como negro!" (López 1981: 393; Lipski 1985).

Ruiz del Vizo (1972: 10), speaking of Cuban *bozal* language, calls it 'Un habla peculiar debido a la deformación del castellano por los esclavos, deformación que pasó a sus descendientes ...' The Cuban writer Emilio Ballagas says of Afro-Hispanic poetry '... lo que recibe el nombre de poesía afrocubana tiene el ropaje de un vocabulario intencionalmente deformado' (Pamiés and Fernández de la Vega 1973: 80). Moreno Fragnals speaks of 'la insuficiencia del instrumental gráfico castellano para reproducir la realidad fonética del verbo ces' (Pamiés and Fernández de la Vega 1973: 170).

The notion that black Cubans speak an ethnically distinct form of Spanish found its way into an anti-communist novel by the Guatemalan writer Carlos Manuel Pellecer (1969: 20-21), which is set in Cuban following the Cuban revolution. In describing the speech of a black servant, the author observes that 'hablaba omitiendo las eses, cambiando las erres por eles y éstas

Once of his fanciful imitations is in {HANDOUT #84}.

Similar opinions have been voiced regarding supposed Afro-Hispanic language in other countries. The distinguished Puerto Rican linguist Alvarez Nazario (1974: 175) referred to 'la tendencia del negro a la nasalidad,' an opinion reiterated by his compatriot Rubén del Rosario (1956: 8): 'los negros esclavos, base de la población negra y mestiza, tenían una clara propensión a la nasalidad ... el negro trajo o desarrolló su hábito de nasalizar ...' Speaking of supposed Afro-Peruvian language, Romero (1987: 102) speaks of the 'número abundante de nasalizaciones vocálicas, que parece provinieran de influencias afronegras.' (1958) described coastal Afro-Mexican language as 'special,' although not quite claiming that a

black Spanish existed in Mexico. Muhammad (1995: 175) says that 'the language of Afro-Mexicans is sometimes said to be "unintelligible Spanish" ... this unique Spanish dialect ... developed because maroon communities were isolated from the rest of the country.' In his study of Afro-Hispanic novels in Latin America, Jackson (1986: 73) says that 'todas las novelas revelan el uso de un idioma recreado por los esclavos y lleno de elementos africanos y características del habla de la comunidad afrohispanoamericana de las

In a linguistic study of Afro-Hispanic poetry Kubayanda (1982: 22) declared that '... in learning Spanish the Africans in Spain or in the Americas would tend, almost in the same way as their Motherland brothers, to transpose or disregard the peculiar phonological units. Only the rare circumstances of rigorous formal education can prevent this from happening on a large scale.' Later he adds (23) 'Of significance in these phonemic gains and losses, alternations and dislocations is the presence in written Spanish through the ages and across territorial boundaries of African oral varieties. These varieties reached both the literate and nonliterate speech societies of Spain and the Americans mainly through social and culture contacts.'

Contrary to the many writers who have claimed the existence of a contemporary 'black' Spanish in Latin America, other observers have denied the existence of such an ethnically distinct language. López Morales (1971: 67) asserts that purported Afro-Cuban speech merely continues the Andalusian character of popular Cuban Spanish. Valdés-Cruz (1974: 93), commenting on the supposedly 'Africanized' Spanish used by Lydia Cabrera in her Afro-Cuban writings, notes that:

Cuando incluye palabras en un español deformado que imita el habla de los negros, se vale de ciertos recursos, como la supresión de la "s" o de otras consonantes finales y a veces hasta de toda la sílaba final (má por más; seño por

señor, tó por todo). Otro recurso es el de la asimilación y la pérdida de consonantes interiores o el de la confusión de los sonidos "l" y "r" (cansao por cansado; yebba por yerba; arma por alma).

Jackson (1976b: 134) describes the language of the Afro-Colombian novelist Arnaldo Palacios as 'the uneducated speech of the people'. Speaking of the writings of the Afro-Venezuelan Juan Pablo Sojo, Belrose (1988: 143) observes that '... ateniendo a los usos, creencias y tradiciones de los negros de Barlovento, Juan Pablo Sojo reproduce también su habla, sus idiotismos ... el castellano que habla esa gente es el popular de Venezuela, con alguno que otro giro propio de Barlovento. Desde el punto de vista fonético, *erre* final, de la *de* intervocálica, cierta tendencia a contraer las sílabas ...' Lewis (1992: 100) correctly characterizes Afro-Venezuelan literary language as 'popular speech,' without claiming any special Afro-Hispanic identity for this speech community.

That matters have not been resolved in favor of those who claim no special 'Afro' Spanish in contemporary Latin America, {HANDOUT E} provides a selection of literary fragments in which distinctive language is attributed to black characters, and is not found in the speech of characters of other racial backgrounds. Invariably, phonetic modifications found in all varieties of popular Spanish, or peculiar to certain coastal dialects, are the sole features of this supposedly 'Afro-Hispanic' language. Unlike true *bozal* texts of earlier times, when the second-language nature of Africans' Spanish was revealed by significant grammatical modifications, modern 'black' Spanish literary imitations show no deviations from the speech of uneducated but indisputably native speakers of Spanish. The most common phonetic features ascribed to black characters are the loss of syllable- and word-final /s/, and the interchange of syllable- and word-

final /l/ and /r/, usually in favor of [l] or total loss of the sound. Both phenomena are widely found in southern Spain, the Canary Islands, and many regions of Latin America, independent of any former African presence. Indeed, these features are common to the evolution of the Romance languages, as a glance at any manual of Romance philology will demonstrate. Loss of intervocalic and word-final /d/ is another pan-Hispanic speech trait sometimes associated with literary 'black' Spanish. Only the pronunciation of intervocalic /d/ as [r], found in coastal Colombia and Ecuador (e.g. Candelario Obeso {HANDOUT #86}, Arnaldo Palacios {HANDOUT #87} {HANDOUT #92}) probably has its origins in the former prevalent use of Spanish as a second language among Africans. The feature is not uniquely African; indeed speakers of most languages, including English, similarly distort Spanish /d/, as any basic language teacher can attest.

In contemporary Brazilian literature there is a smaller but no less poignant suggestion that a 'black Portuguese' may exist in Brazil, a claim which cannot be rejected as readily as for Latin American Spanish, but which has been overstated in literature. Limitations of time preclude a detailed examination of contemporary Brazilian literature, but once again predominantly popular phonetic features define the 'black Portuguese' dialect. These include loss of final /r/ in *mulher* > *muiê*), loss of /s/ across noun phrases except for the first instances, usually an article (*os livro velho*), loss of /s/ in the verbal endings *-mos* and in such words as *mesmo* > *memo*. The only grammatical trait commonly found is use of the third person singular verb with other subjects, such as *nós trabalha, êles trabalha*. Whereas the latter trait strongly hints of an earlier stage when Portuguese was spoken as a second language in Brazil, all these features are found in vernacular Brazilian Portuguese as spoken by Brazilians of all racial and ethnic backgrounds.

7. Whither Afro-Hispanic language?

We have surveyed nearly five centuries of Afro-Hispanic and Afro-Portuguese literary language, observing the oscillation between the poles of linguistic verisimilitude and fanciful parody, as African-born speakers of Spanish and Portuguese waxed and waned in the Iberian Peninsula and the Americas. Writers—white in the overwhelming majority—adopted ‘black’ Spanish and Portuguese for a variety of purposes, most of which shamelessly exploited the linguistic difficulties of oppressed and marginalized groups, even when hypocritically clamoring for the abolition of slavery. So powerful did the literary stereotype of the black speaker of Spanish and Portuguese become in the collective consciousness of the Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking world that readers and writers alike could revive and respond to these stereotypes long after true Africanized Spanish and Portuguese had disappeared. As has happened with other subaltern groups—we have only to think of African-Americans, gays and lesbians, and various social and ethnic minorities—Afro-Hispanic writers claimed for their own the literary parodies and stereotypes, although this subversion extended only to written literature, not to spoken language. The result of the bouncing of ethnolinguistic stereotypes between the poles of good and evil is a state of considerable misinformation and confusion regarding the relationship between race, ethnicity, and linguistic behavior in Latin America. The preceding remarks, confined as they are to a specific literary sub-species and focusing rather narrowly on certain linguistic details, cannot dispel the myths and mysteries of Afro-Hispanic language, which are sure to exist for some time to come. I do hope that these remarks may whet the appetites of those for whom language is more than just a means to an end, and for whom literature is more than simple mimesis of the societies that produce it. The trail is still warm, and the journey in

search of the true nature of ethnolinguistic diversity in Spanish and Portuguese has room for many fellow-travellers.

Speaking "African" in Spanish and Portuguese: literary imitations vs. (socio)linguistic reality

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A. EXAMPLES OF EARLY AFRO-PORTUGUESE PIDGIN-PORTUGAL & BRAZIL

(1) From `Carta de D. Affonso rei do Congo, a elrei D. Manuel [Portugal]--5 de outubro de 1514'

Muito alto e muy poderoso pryncype Rey e Senhor. Nos dom affomso por graça de deus Rey de conguo e senhor dos ambados etc. "Nos encomendamos a sua alteza como a Rey e Senhor que muyto amamos e lhe fazemos saber como em vida de noso padre semdo nos crystão e cremdo firmemente na ffee de noso Senhor Jhesu Christo e asy dom pedro meu prymo huum fidallguo de nossa terra dise a ElRey noso senhor como eu e dom pedro noso primo eramos crystãos e que cryamos em deus e nam nos seus ydolos pollo quall ElRey noso padre dise que querya mandar trazer o dito dom pedro ao seu tereyro pera o mandar matar pera ver se deus o lyvraria daly e que a nos tyraria a renda ...

(2) Fragment from Fernam de Silveyra (ca. 1455)

A min rrey de negro estar Serra Lyoa,
lonje muyto terra onde viver nos,
andar carabela, tubão de Lixboa,
falar muyto novas casar pera vos.
Querer a mym logo ver-vos como vay;
leyxar molher meu, partir, muyto synha,
porque sempre nos servyr vosso pay,
folgar muyto negro estar vos rraynha.
Aqueste gente meu taybo terra nossa
nunca folguar, andar sempre guerra,
nam saber quy que balhar terra vossa,
balhar que saber como nossa terra.
Se logo vos quer, mandar a mym venha
fazer que saber tomar que achar,
mandar fazer taybo, lugar des mantenha
e loguo meu negro, senhora, balhar.

(3) Fragment from Anrique da Mota (in *Cancioneiro Geral*--1516)

a mym nunca, nunca mym
entornar
mym andar augoá jardim,
a mym nunca ssar rroyrn,
porque bradar?
Bradar com almexerico,
Alvaro Lopo também.
Vos loguo todos chamar,
vos beber,
vos pipa nunca tapar,
vos a mym quero pinguar,
mym morrer.

(4) Fragments from Gil Vicente

O clérigo de Beyra (ca. 1530)

Ja a mi forro, nama sa cativo.
Boso conhece Maracote?
Corregidor Tibão he.
Elle comprei mi primeiro;
quando ja paga a rinheiro,
deita a mi fero na pé.
He masa tredora aquelle,
aramá que te ero Maracote ...
Qu'he quesso que te furtai?...
Jeju, Jeju, Deoso consabrado!
Aramá tanta ladrão!
Jeju! Jeju! hum caralassão;

Furunando sá sapantaro.

Fragoa d'amor (ca. 1524)

Poro que preguntá bos esso?
Mi bem la de Tordesilha;
que tem bos de ber co'esso,
qu'eu bai Bastilla, qu'eu bem Castilla? ...

(5) Fragments from Antonio de Chiado (ca. 1550)

Auto das regateiras

A mim frugá, boso matá;
boso sempre bradá, bradá;
cadela, cadela, cadela!
Bendê-me pera Castela! ...
A boso sempre sa graia ...
A mi não cabá bessi...

Prática de oito figuras

Nunca elle mim acha
muito caro, nunca bem,
mim da-le treze vintem
pr'o dôzo; não querê dá.

(6) Fragment from *Auto da bella menina*, of Sebastião Pires (early 16th century)

hora beyio sua pee co sua caracanbar merado
mi trazey ca hu recado pera bay a bosso merce.
Eu sa negro de bosso yrmão que onte de Brasil chegou ...
Portugal sa elle agora tam bragante hora tam fermosante ...

(7) Fragment of Anon. `Auto de Vicente Anes Joeira' (mid 16th century)

mui gram trabaio que tem
homem que mi sere sentar,
sempre homem andar, andar ...
gaiar a mi quebra dentes
o tera muito roim
e o gimbo pera mim
pera pagai nam tem gentes
e responde bai-te daí ...

(8) Fragment of anon. `Sã qui turo' (ca. 1647)

Sã aqui turo zente pleta
turo zente de Guine
tambor flauta y cassaeta
y carcave na sua pé.
Vamos o fazer huns fessa
o menino Manué
canta Bacião, canta tu Thomé,
canta tu Flansiquia, canta tu Catarija,
canta tu Flunando, canta tu Resnando,
oya, oya, turo neglo hare cantá.

(9) Letter from `Rei Angola' to `Rei Minas' (Lisbon, 1730)

seoro cumpadra Re Mina Zambiapump taté, sabe vozo, que nossos festa sa Domingo,
e que vozo hade vir fazer os forgamenta, ya vussé não falta vussé cumpadra, que os
may Zoana os fia dos may Maulicia, e dos may Zozefa sa biscondessa dos taraya, nos
proessão hade vozo cantar o Zaramangoé, e traize vussé nos forfá que o pay Zozé
nos fezo o cutambala, zuambala cuyé numas minueta, agora se vozo vem zangana se
não zangana vussé homemo Zambiapump taté muitos ano.

Arizona conference -2-

(10) Fragment from *Plonostico culioso, e lunario pala os anno de 1819, telceila depoize dos bissexto*

Aviso ós pubrico: Amado Flegueza, mim vai a continuar com os Repertoria dos plesente Anno, e zurgo dever repetir os Advertencia, que os Repertoria que tiver nos Fontespicia, ou Subscrita: Porto, na Oficina de Viuva Alavarez Ribeiro, e Filhos ser mia, e outlo quaisquer de Pleto, que appaleça debaixo dos mia nome, não sendo ali impresso, ser falso; tomo vozo tento, pala nã ser enganaro.

(11) Examples from black Portuguese in Damão (18th century ?): 'The Negroes and St. Benedict's Feast'

Minha senhora Maria
já trazê para vos brincá
com meu Deus que ja nascê
tá sabê tuca sua bobra
tá sabê buli seu pê.
Este negro carrapito
com seu olho de combé
seus dentes de marfim
meu filho assim não é.
Este preto azavich
posto junto do seu pê
tá servi para olhar
para piquenino que já nascê.
Balha minha carrapito
dança para vos combe
vos tem mais preto
mais preto que cachundê.
Vos ja seri adorado
ja veio bijar seu pê
nós todos temos Macuane
já veio olhar para você.
Meu Deus, meu coração
minha flôr de Nazareth
tá embrulhad na sua palhinha
dormindo no seu presepe.
Catelo torcido cafarinho despido
toda gente fala tem cafre de Selfala
balha com igual ...
festa de Natal ...

(12) Fragment from 'Visitação de Santa Isabel' (Vinhais, Portugal, transcribed in early 20th century)

Levar nada ó esprétio
que sas um negro mui pobre
em casa de mi siôr
matar su escravo com fome...
Mi levar um esmigaço
de goma d'escorimá,
se mi siôr dar licença
que muleque também vá...
Doce nino de mi ogos
amante de mi osinia
anti nia de mi alma
ante alma de mi vida...
que inda em ser negro
mi coração ser blanco
quando falar em Jazú
logo mi alegre tanto...
Cativo no siôr,
non dar nara que non ter,
io trago um esmigaço
para o nino comer...

(13) Fragment of 'O preto, e o bugio ambos no mato discorrendo sobre a arte de ter dinheiro sem ir ao Brazil' (1789)

Já non pore deixá de incricá os cabeça, e confessá, que vozo doutrina sá huns doutrina tão craro, e verdadeiro, que pla mim sá huns admiracom non sé platicada per toro o mundo. O trabaio a que vozo obriga os pleto, e os blanco, sá huns trabaio a que ninguem se pore negá sem melecé huns cóssa bom; porque os genia, e os incrinaçom do natureza a toro gente move pala ere, e fôla de trabaio ninguem pore vivê em satisfaçom. Mim agola sem trabaia nom pore contê ainda que mim ter abominaçom a

cativeiro crue de blanco, de que sá forro; com turo non aglada a mim estar aqui sem nada fazê: evita vozo tanta plegiça, os excessa de plodigo, e dos varento, que nozo poderemo toro assi havé os oira, e triunfá dos indigencia, e du turo quanto pore infelicitá. Se aqui apalecera agola uns blanco, que pole escrevé os mavioso doutrina, que vozo platicá, e toro o gente ouvire cos oreia aberto, faria ere ao familia toro do mundo hum favoro, que meoro non pore imaginá.

(14) Fragment of purported early Afro-Brazilian text (Serafim da Silva Neto, *Introdução ao estudo da língua portuguesa no Brasil*)

O boio, dare de banda
zipaia êsse gente
dare pra trage
e dare pra frente.
Vem mai pra baxo
roxando no chão
e dá no pai Fidere
xipanta Bastião
vem pra meu banda.
Bem difacarinha
vai metendo a testa
no cavalo-marinha
o meu boio
desce dêsse casa.
Dança bem bonito
no meio da praça
toca êsse viola
pondo bem miúdo
minha boio sabe.
Dança bem graúdo.

(15) Fragment of purported representation of indigenous-based Portuguese pidgin in Brazil, ca. 1620 (Serafim da Silva Neto, *Introdução ao estudo da língua portuguesa no Brasil*)

Be pala cá Tapua Eguê,
façamo feça a nozo Rey
façamo façamo feça a nozo Rey.
Oye Tapua que rigo
Tapuya vem nos noproças
que nozo ha de fazê un feças
se vos vem quando te rigo.
Nós no quere ba contígo
minya Rei que me quere?
I Zazu quanto matanza
sen que nozo, branco sè
oy a menina manito
que sar esperando pro nozo
oya minina premozo
como sa parna Pherippo.
Par deze e pro Zazuclito
que eu minino querá be Eguê.
Oyá que mim sa doyente
Tapua, e sar mu Gaçados
se bos nom bem meu mandados
sar negros mu negro zente.
Nos não coiesse esso zente
proque ha de feça fazê?
Zente que sa tão premozas
a remudar condições
a remetê fecanos
ha reser muto morrozas.
Bozo sa Rei podrorozas
pode mandar nos co a pé
se bos mostra cofianza
y Rei frugá de nos be
i fará nozo un mercê.
Proroá bozo merce
proque nozo ha de bayá
tambem sabemo cantá
muto bem maguà, magué,
cadum faze o que sabe
começa moro cantá
Tapua reba bantaze
porque baijá e cantá.
Zá que temo Rey

nombá desse tera
se bai a Cacera
nozo ha de predeí
en que ere querei
nos quere também
robamo Tapua.
Nom predeí tarbem
nom cudar ninguem
que nos sar na rua
que en que sar Tapua.
Sar zente também
saber que nos peza
non ser ricos zente
por da un presente
.....
Nossa bozo irma
por Adram pai nozo
poze quasi sà
nos non sar patife.

(16) Afro-Brazilian folkloric fragment, transcribed 20th century (Roger Bastide, *A poesia afro-brasileira*)

quando eu era na meu terra
era rei de Zinangora,
gora tô interra di blanco
zoga cabungo fora.
quando iô tava na minha tera
iô chamava capitão,
chega na terra di branco
iô me chama Pai João.

(17) Variant of the same fragment (Arthur Ramos, *O folk-lore negro do Brasil*)

Quando iô tava na minha tera
iô chamava capitão
chega na tera dim baranco
iô me chama Pai João.
Quando iô tava na minha tera
comia minha garinha,
chega na tera dim baranco,
cane sêca co farinha.
quando iô tava na minha tera
iô chamava generá,
chega na tera dim baranco
pega o cêto vai ganhá.
dizofôro dim baranco
no si póri aturá,
ta comendo, ta drumindo,
manda negro trabaiá.
baranco, dize quando môre,
jezuchrisso que levou,
e o pretinho quando môre
foi cachaça que matou.
quando baranco vai na venda
logo dizi ta squentáro
nosso preto vai na venda,
acha copa ta viráro.
Baranco dize, preto fruta,
preto fruta co rezão,
sinhô baranco também fruta
quando panha casião.
Nosso preto fruta garinha
fruta sacco de fuijão,
sinhô baranco quando fruta
fruta prata e patacão.
Nosso preto quando fruta
vai pará na coreção,
sinhô baranco quando fruta
logo sai sinhô barão.
La no nosso terra
nóis é fôrro, liberto
agora chega ni terra di branco
ta no cativoiro.
Nóis in terra di branco
ta passando má

la in terra nosso
tamo liberto.

(18) Declaration of Afro-Portuguese dancer at the feast of Nossa Senhora do Cabo (Lisbon, ca. 1730)

Sioro eu sava mui pequeno
Quando vem do nosso terra,
Ca sava mia companhelo
Elle ensiná palla mi,
is dipogi cus dinhelo
Za mi forrá...

Sioro ganga, lá [em Africa: JML] fazem
Só cos nosso frecha os buia
Que lá os pistola na temo
Nem os polvora, nem os bala.

(19) Possible features of early Afro-Portuguese pidgin. *=probable retention in later nativized Afro-Portuguese vernacular in Portugal

- *a. Intervocalic /d/ pronounced [r] (*turo* < *tudo*);
- b. Paragogic vowels (*seoro* < *senhor*); [isolated forms only]
- c. Vowel harmony (*Purutugá* < *Portugal*);
- *d. Delateralization of /ð/ (*muiere* < *mulher*);
- *e. Loss of final /r/ in infinitives (*cantá* < *cantar*);
- *f. Loss of final /s/ in *-mos*;
- *g. /s/ only on first element of plural noun phrases (*dos may Zozefa*);
- h. Shift /r/ > [l] in syllable onset (*agola* < *agora*, *pleto* < *preto*);
- *i. Use of invariant copula *sa*;
- j. Use of (*a*)*mi* as subject pronoun; [very occasionally retained]
- *k. Use of invariant *bai/vai* for 'go'
- l. General lack of gender/number agreement [occasional invariant *o/os*]
- m. Minimal verb conjugation; use of 3sg. or infinitive [occasional]
- n. Occasional substitution/omission of prepositions

B. EXAMPLES OF AFRO-HISPANIC IMITATIONS FROM GOLDEN AGE SPAIN AND SPANISH AMERICA:

(20) Rodrigo de Reinosa, 'Coplas a los negros y negras' (ca. 1520): 'yo me ir a porta de ferro; a mí llamar Comba de terra Guínea, y en la mí tierra comer buen cangrejo.'

(21) Diego Sánchez de Badajoz, *Farsa teologal* (ca. 1525-30): 'Francisco estar mi mariro, ya etar casá ... no etar muelto ... no ra tene re sotar. Veamo cómo mantea ... así vueue trequilado ra bobo que bien po lana.'

(22) Feliciano de Silva, *Segunda Celestina* (ca. 1534): 'amí no estar tan bovo como tu penxar; tú pensar que no entender a mí; tú no querer andar? qué querer vox, voxa mercé?'

(23) Gaspar Gómez de Toledo, *Tercera Celestina* (ca. 1536): 'anxí por tu vira, puey no yamar muger a mí ... a mí entendendo ...'

(24) Jaime de Guete, *Comedia intitulada Tesorina* (ca. 1550): 'yo extar puto, dun viyaco maxgaruto? ... no saber qui xan poriro ajer ... en toro oy mi no comer.'

(25) Lope de Rueda (1538-42): *Comedia llamada Eufemia*: 'agora sí me contenta; mas sabe qué querer yo, señor Pollos'; *Comedia de los engañados*: 'ya saber Dios y tora lo mundo que sar yo sabrina na Reina Berbasina ... pensar vosa mercé que san yo fija de alguno negra de par ay? ...'; *Coloquio de Tymbria*: 'turo me lo conozco, turo me lo entiendes; ma samo corrido que delante que bien quieries me ofrentar aqueza rapaza'

(26) Simón de Aguado, *Entremes de los negros* (1602): 'aunque negro, samo honraro y no sufrimo cosiquillas, aunque sean del misimo demonios ... si sa crabo o no sa crabo, á dioso daremon conta'

(27) Luis de Góngora, 'En la fiesta del Santísimo Sacramento' (1609): 'mañana sa Corpus Christa. Mana Crara: alcolelemo la cara e lavémono la vista ... ay Jesús, cómo sa mu trista!'

(28) Lope de Vega (ca. 1605-1612): 'sensucliso cagayera, deseano bosamesé, no queremos que sabé lo que somo bata fuera'; 'si samo de monicongo ... pensé samo de mi terra, si querer ser mi galán' (*El santo negro Rosambuco*); 'hoy que del meso setiembre, pensa que tenemos ocho, sando el cielo llovenhero, triste nubrarro y mencónico' (*La madre de la mejor*)

pa que buca que bebé? Con qué oté lo va pagá?

(50) Cirilo Villaverde, *Cecilia Valdés* (1839/1881): 'Labana etá perdía, niña. Toos son mataos y ladronisio. Ahora mismito han desplumao un cristián alante de mi sojo. Uno niño blanca, muy bonite. Lo abayunca entre un pardo con jierre po atrá y un moreno po alantre, arrimao al cañón delasquina de San Terese. De día crara, niño, lo quitan la reló y la dinere. Yo no queriba mirá. Pasa bastante gente. Yo conoce le moreno, é le sijo de mi marío. Me da mico. Entoavía me tiembla la pecho.'

(51) Anselmo Suárez y Romero, *Francisco* (1839): 'sí, señó, contramayorá manda mí, sí, señó, yo va caminá ... que va hacé, pobre clavo? Ese ta malo que ta la carreta.'

(52) Martín Morúa Delgado, *Sofía* (1890): 'Médico. Y pa qué? Neye lo que tiene só un bariga con su yijo lento. Lo góripe que siá dao pué binilo un malo paito, pero Sisita médico pa sujetá un criatula?

(53) Francisco Calcagno, *Romualdo: uno de tantos* (1881): 'ése no son la jijo francé, ése viene langenio chiquitico ... no quiere la mayorá. no quiere cadena con maza ...

(54) José Antonio Ramos, *Caniquí* (1930): 'ése no son la jijo francé, ése viene langenio chiquitico ... no quiere la mayorá. no quiere cadena con maza... Camina po lo suelo, niña asustá, camina po lo suelo, cueva tapá camina po lo suelo, no sale má manque te juya tú báa morí coggao

(55) From José Crespo y Borbón ("Creto Ganga"):

Yo sabé que ño Rafé
son guardiero tu bují
que ta namorá de ti
y tú le correspondé.
Todo, Frasca, yo sé
manque me lo ta negando
porese ta diprisiando
mi corasó sinfilí,
porese yo ta morí
y pena me ta jogando...'

(56) Lydia Cabrera, *La sociedad secreta Abakuá*: 'Cómo va sé mano branco, si ta afé, ta prieto yo. Ta jugá. Ya branco ta debaratá cosa. Así no é. Ay, yijo, yo no tiene
El monte: ' Por qué tú coge owo Elégbara? Si é mimo dicí tú ta

olé y é te va agarrá pinando su papalote. Ve gallinero, trae akukó ... tú me saluda y deja quieto ya; tú pide bendició, sigue tu camino, yo ta pa riba, riba cielo, tú ta bajo, tú

(57) Recollections of Esteban Montejo (b. 1859), from Miguel Barnet, *Autobiografía de un cimarrón*: `Criollo camina allá adonde yo te diga, que yo te va a regalá a ti una cosa ... Usté, criollo, son bobo ... mire, usté ve eso, con eso usté consigue tó en cosa... Mientras tú trabaja mayombe, tú son dueño e tierra ... Tú son bueno y callao, yo va a

(58) RECOLLECTIONS OF FORMER *BOZAL* LANGUAGE BY ELDERLY AFRO-CUBANS (COLLECTED BY LUIS ORTIZ LÓPEZ, 1998):

Carajo, yo te va joder ... Yo va sarúa [saludar] al niño Otavio ... vá vení o yo ta aquí ... yo te ve se cuento de toro cosa de que to pasó ... porque yo ta vení de lo tiera mía de llá de lo de lo Africo ... yo mirá tú do ece ... ahora yo te va catigá ... yo tumbar caña la colonia ...

(60) AFRO-ARGENTINE TEXT `FRANCISCO MORENO' (BECCO S. F.: 16-7) [1830]

yo me llamo Francisco Moreno
que me vengo de confesá
con el cura de la parroquia
que me entiende la enfemela.
Curumbé, curumbé, curumbé.

(61) AFRO-ARGENTINE `CARTA A LA NEGRA CATALINA A PANCHITO LUGARES (BECCO S. F.: 18-9) [1830]

hacemi favol, ño Pancho
de apical mi tu papeli
polque yo soy bosadona
y no lo puedo entendeli.

(62) AFRO-URUGUAYAN `BATUQUE' (CARVALHO NETO 1965: 295-6) [1843]

Compañeru. Ya qui turu vusotro acaba mu ri bairá, ri batuqui cun nuestra ningrita, para rase a cunneé a ese Siñore branquillo, rumieru qui tinemu; ya qui hemu tumaru un pocu ri cachuri, y vamu a impezá ri nuevu nuestro bairi, mi parece mijuri, qui entre musotro memu, si fumase una caucioni, un renguarí ri brancu, para cantase cu primiso ri nuestro Generá, cuando se aseca esu brancu frujunasu, a tucánu ra ribarosa y rigueyo y tin tin, tirandu unu tiru, para gatase puvura un má. Esa cancioné narie puere hacere mijó, qui nuestro compañeru érotó Ci etá cu nusotro y turu ru negru rivemu pirisiru in nete mumentu, todos si, si.

(63) AFRO-URUGUAYAN `CANTO PATRIÓTICO DE LOS NEGROS CELEBRANDO LA LEY DE LIBERTAD DE VIENTES Y A LA CONSTITUCIÓN (ACUÑA DE FIGUEROA 1944: 255-8)

Viva len conditusione!
iva len leye patlisia!
Que ne tiela den balanco
Se cabó len dipotima.

(64) COPLA AFROURUGUAYA (PEREDA VALDÉS 1965: 135-6)

Semo nenglu lindu
Semo Vetelanu
Y cum Milicianu
Quiliemi piliá
Pue sabi haci fuegu
Y fuegu, avanzandu,
Y mulí, liliandu
Pu la livetá.

(65) 17TH CENTURY AFRO-PERUVIAN SONG JUAN DE ARAUJO (STEVENSON 1959: 236F.)

Los coflades de la estleya vamo turus a Beleya
y velema a rio la beya con ciolo en lo potal
vamo vamo currendo aya, oylemo un viyansico que lo compondlá
Flacico siendo gayta su focico y luego lo cantalá
Blasico Pellico Zuanico y Tomás y lo estliviyo dilá
Gulumbé gulumbá guachemo
bamo a bel que traen de Angola a Ziolo y a siola Baltasale
con Melchola y mi plimo Gasipar

vamo vamo currendo ayá curendo acá
vamo siguiendo la estleya lo negliyo coltezano pus lo rey
e cun tesuro, a la estleya tlas lo Rey a pulque ayá
de calmino los tles ban, Blasico Pellico Zuanico y Tomás e ya
vamo turu ayá, que pala al niño alegrar
Vamo turus los Neglios pues nos yeba nostla estleya que
sin tantos noche abla i co Pellico Zuanico y Tomás plimo beya
noche abla vamo alegre al polta riyo velema junto al peseble

(66) ANON. 17TH CENTURY AFRO-PERUVIAN SONG FROM CUZCO SEMINARY

Turulu neglo samboyarico,
que a naciro niño en Belen,
Niño Jesu dale que dale tumbere tumbere tumguruguo.
Niño Dioso nace en Belen lo pesebre tan condero
con su gaita turo junto yegaremos frasiquias
Doncel y madre pario turo y pantaro tenes
que chiqui i para toro tene corason abierta.
Danza y tañe y tañe la guitariya
niu danza hase la tu.

(67) PREGONES OF LIMA (AYARZA DE MORALES 1939: 5-8):

yu vendo yuva zambeta pala niña que so bonita,
yu vendo manzana helá pala niña enamorara,
yu vendo albaricoque, mi amita no se sofoque,
¿quien rice que esa chirimoya tié pepita?
¿quién rice que esa naranjita no so ruce?
Cuando sargo yo a vendé me grita Pancha ar pasá
negrito caracundé ven que te quiero comprá
mi negra chicharrora que contenta se pondrá
cuando coma er meloncito que le voy a regalá ...

(68) ANON. ENTREMÉS 1797 (ROMERO 1987: 164; UGARTE CHAMORRO 1974, VOL. 1, PP. 231-250) `ENTREMÉS DEL HUAMANGUINO ENTRE UN HUANTINO Y UNA NEGRA PARA LA NAVIDAD EN EL MONASTERIO DEL CARMEN DE HUAMANGA, AÑO DE 1797'

Justicia pide seño
una probe negra, conga,
porque toda mi mondonga
Huamanguino se comió ...
torara noche noche cocina
ra mondonga con ají
con seborbola y maní
para que tú me yeba? ...
yo son nengra, yo son ñata,
pero no conoce maccta.
Burbe pue lo que roba,
mi asarona, mi casuera
con que hace yo buñuera
para fieta Navidad ...
Mi tablaco y aquillotra? ...

(69) `ENTREMÉS PARA LA NAVIDAD QUE SE HA DE REPRESENTAR EN EL MONASTERIO DEL CARMEN, SIENDO RECRECIONERA LA SEÑORA SOR MANUELA GÁLVEZ' (ROMERO 1987: 163; UGARTE CHAMORRO 1974; VOL. 2, PP. 283-299):

Don Camacho, bueno ría ...
¿zapato ya ro has cosiro?
Ra zapato ro cosió?
eso re pregunto yo ...
aronde está ra zapato
opa macho, malo trato ...
sua opa vieco, qué remonio ...
te voy a atá
y fue te ha de apretá
remonio macho roguero ...
ya etá, vieco malo trato
¿a donde etá ra zapato? ...
ar fin, ar fin zapatero ...
¿tamarito quiere uté?

(70) MANUEL ATANASIO FUENTES, `LA LIBERTAD' (BIBLIOTECA DE CULTURA PERUANA 1938: 289):

Anda uté, Neglo Flasco
 anda uté, lo tabladiyo,
 aya tá señó Potillo
 que é caballero mu rico
 ande uté, voto llevá,
 que utena no irá de vare,
 aya tá capitulero
 lo dará a uté cuatro reares.
 Luego que empuña la prata
 y e papelito afrojá,
 utena va derecho
 a otra parroquia a votá
 ya no cagá uté mas agua
 ni tiene que tlabajá.

(71) ANON. AFRO-MEXICAN TEXT (17TH CENTURY)

que aregría que temo
 pos la santa nacimiento deste Deos
 o que nasce na seno.
 sá blanco nao sá moreno
 e may sá nosso palente.
 azuntamo turo zente
 cos flauto y os bitangola.
 birimbao,
 cos viola, cos arpa, e cascaué.

(72) ANON. AFRO-MEXICAN SONG FROM PUEBLA (MENDOZA 1956):

Ya lo ve como no me quiere,
 no me quiere como yo,
 y dice que la mujere
 no se mueren de amó.
 Ya lo ve como tu carricia
 no comprende mi doló
 y muero y de la tiricia
 se adficia mi corazón.
 Ay, mi Rió.

(74) ANON. AFRO-MEXICAN SONG FROM OAXACA:

Adió neguito,
 Me vite y llorá negrita de amor
 y no te olvidará ni pena ni dolor.
 Me da un abrazo pué de ultima ilusión
 si cantas ya lo sé que baila este son.
 Adió, tierra caliente, y langohita amarilla
 se sale muy valiente llevando fiebre amarilla.
 Andale neguito, ándale pue hombre
 sálgale chulito, ninguno lo asombe.
 Sígalen neguito
 a todito giro
 como canarito, de último suspiro.

D. CONTEMPORARY MANIFESTATIONS OF AFRO-CARIBBEAN SPANISH

(75) POSSIBLY IMPAIRED SPANISH, CAMBITA, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC (GREEN 1996, 1997):

No yo no a mendé e zapote no. 'I don't sell zapotes'
 sí, a siguiú 'yes, [she] went on'
 A cogé aquellos mango. '[I] picked those mangoes'
 Hay muchacho sí tabajá sí. 'There are young men who work hard'
 yo no hacé eso 'I didn't do that'

ONSET CLUSTER REDUCTIONS: *flojo* > *fojo* 'weak,' *pobre* > *pobe* 'poor,' *trabajo* > *tabajo* 'work,' *gringa* > *ginga* 'American,' *grande* > *gande* 'big,' *flores* > *fore* 'flowers,' *doble* > *dobe* 'double,' *libra* > *liba* 'pound,' *pueblo* > *puebo* 'town'

(76) EXAMPLE OF SPEECH OF NEGROS CONGOS OF PANAMA (LIPSKI 1989):

¿Pa onde tú tá dí, que yo no te vite hahta ahoda? 'Where have you been that I haven't seen you until now?'

(77) VESTIGIAL (AFRO) SPANISH OF TRINIDAD (LIPSKI 1990):

Tó nojotro trabajaban [trabajábamos] junto
 Yo tiene [tengo] cuarenta ocho año
 Asina, yo pone [pongo] todo
 Yo no sabe [sé] bien
 yo mimo [misma] me enfelmó [enfermé]
 nosotros ten[emos] otro pehcado que se come bueno
 hahta la fecha yo tiene [tengo] conuco
 cuando yo viene [vine], tiene [tuve] que trabajá mucho
 paltera lo llamo [llamamos] nosotros
 lo que ello ehtudian en lo [las] ehcuela
 Si pa mí [yo] tocaba un cuatro, yo no volví cantá
 me complace de encontrarse[me] con uhtedeh
 si el gobierno encontraba con tú [te encontraba] con calzón lalgo
 La salga eh buena pa uté [su] cabeza
 Tú tiene [cuando tú tengas] tiempo, viene aquí
 [la] crihtofina cogió [el] puehto del cacao
 yo tiene cuatro helmano

(78) PIDGINIZED SPANISH SPOKEN BY ELDERLY HAITIANS IN CUBA (ORTIZ LÓPEZ):

No pué decil na, si ta mal ... yo prende hablá catellano con cubano ... yo me guta hablá catellano ... pichona que nació aquí alante de mí, en la casa mío ... nosotros habla catellano, habla creol también ... yo cría mucho animal, siembra mucho animal, se roba to, toro, toro ... yo no sabe mucho catellano, pero sabe poquito ... el valón son tieniente La Habana ...
 Yo contrao [encuentro] un paisano mía nosotros habla su lengua e nosotros poco catellano él sbe yo sabe poco nosotros habla también
 Yo trabaja, yo come. Yo trabaja lo cañaverale
 Yo prende hablá catellano con cubano ... yo me guta hablá catellano, pero poca cosa no sabe ...
 Yo tiene aquí, tengo 16 año. Siempre una haciendo una trabajo yo comé, yo va bien.
 Yo hael mucho trabajal; coltal, coltal caña balato; recogel café a sei kilo ...
 Depué uté decansal ...
 Uté lo hablá, uté ta trabando con un dueño ma grande, quello decí uté hacé

(79) LITERARY EXAMPLES OF HAITIAN SPANISH IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC:

RAMÓN MARRERO ARISTY, *OVER*:

Bodeguela, depacha mué plonto. Yo quiele dejó la comía con la fam, pa jallalo cociná cuando viene del cote. 'Shopkeeper, serve me quickly. I want to leave the food with my wife, so it will be cooked when I get back from the fields'
 tu son gente grande, porque tu come to lo día, compai 'You're a big guy because you eat every day, my friend'

FRANCISCO MOSCOSO PUELLO, CAÑAS Y BUEYES:

¿yo? Andande ... tú me tá engañá, Chenche ... 'Me? Come on, you're kidding me, Chencho.'
 ¿Dónde yo va a bucá jente? 'Where am I going to find people?'

FROM 'DIÁLOGO CANTADO ENTRE UN GUAJIRO DOMINICANO Y UN PAPÁ BOCÓ HAITIANO EN UN FANDANGO EN DAJABÓN' BY JUAN ANTONIO ALIX (1874):

| | |
|---|---|
| Hier tard mu sorti Dotrú Pu beniro a Lajabon, e yo jisa lentención de biní cantá con tú. Manque yo tá lugarú pañol no tenga cuidá, deja tu macheta a un la pasque yo no cante así tu va blesé mun ici e freca daquí tu bá ... compad, contenta ta yo, e alegra de vu coné si un dí uté ba Lembé, mandé pu papá bocó. La cae mu gañé gombó bon puá rus e calalú. Tambien yo tengue pu ú cano de gento salé. Apré nu finí mancié tu tien qui bailá vodú ... pringá pañolo, pringá no biní jugá con mué | yo quier enseñá a tú ñan bonite societé y si tu lo quiero bé tu tien qui bailá vodú ... com yo ta papá bocó muche cose yo cané, e si tu lo quiero bé yo me ba vuelve grapó ... pas yo ta le mime diable ... compé Beicelá u hué que tu ta jablá mantí can le vodú an Haití ce la premier societé e sí tu no quiero cré nan sombi ni lugarú compad, tampi pu u ... compad, yo tá diré qui nan tan mucié Petión yo taba pití garsón e pur ès mu pa coné me de Tucén yo dí mué ... me pu qui tu ta dicí |
|---|---|

parece que u pa coné
qui yo ta le gran papá.
Si yo techa a ti guangá
pronto tu ba biní fú
pasque si ma chembé ú
coté yo jelé la jo
manque tu ta dí que no
tu tien qui bailá vodú ...
yo sabé tre bien jablá
la lengüe dominiquén
me si u vlé cantá an laten ...

Casufro yo te jedé
cam tu méme tu ta coné
que yo ta negra Daití
y si agor yo ta santí
com a cabrita cojú
ce pas qui yo ta bien sú
pu laguadient yo bebé
si ñon trag tu quiero bué
tu tien qui bailá vodú ...

(80) EXAMPLES OF SPANISH USED BY DESCENDENTS OF BLACK AMERICANS, SAMANÁ, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, 19TH CENTURY:

Mañana se llega aquí el vapor Independencia que se viene buscar eso gente. Coge todo ese vagamundo que se dice se están enfermos y mételes a bordo del vapor ... yo no se quiere en este provincia hombres que no se sirve para ná ...

Yo se sabe lo que tú se quiere decir, pero para que tú se consigue ese cosa que tú se dice, yo se va a dar un buen consejo ... tú se saca de aquí a generalo Shepard o se saca a mí, porque dos culebros machos no se puede vivir en un mismo cuevo ...

Antonces, por qué ustedes se viene decir con su grande boca que ustedes son Ustedes se salvó de chepa!

Son muy hermoso este guayaba ...

Con que tú son que se está toda la noche robando esos huevos ...

(81) EXAMPLES OF WEST INDIAN (CREOLE ENGLISH) SPANISH FROM THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC:

RAMÓN MARRERO ARISTY, *OVER*:

mi no vuelva 'I'm not coming back'
aquí yo pielda mi tiempo. Mijol que allá in Barbados no trabaja, pero no mi mata.
'I'm wasting my time here. It was better in Barbados, [I] didn't work but [I] didn't kill myself.'

FRANCISCO MOSCOSO PUELLO, CAÑAS Y BUEYES:

mi no comprendi, Chencho! 'I don't understand, Chencho.'

RAMÓN FERRERAS, *NEGROS*:

... estoy coge el caña yo tenga picá pa aumentá el suya, si soy así yo no voy seguí ser compañero suyo, conio. Tu soy muy sabio ... (p.29) 'I've been gathering sugar cane, I [have to] cut to get a raise, if things keep on like this I won't work with you. You're a wise guy.'

(82) AFRO-ANTILLEAN SPANISH IN CUBAN DOCUMENTARY FILM *MIS PASOSEN BARAGUÁ*:

Desde que yo viene de Jamaica, yo me quedó ... en Oriente, ahí [yo] aprendió ...
'Since I came from Jamaica, I stayed ... in Oriente, that's where I learned'
yo me gutaba má epañol que inglés ... [mi mamá] me llevá pa Jamaica otra vé ... 'I liked Spanish better than English, [my mother] took me back to Jamaica'

(83) RECORDED BY JOHN LIPSKI IN PUERTO RICO:

Yo viene pa cá pa vacacione 'I came her on vacation' (Jamaica)
Yo conoce Trinidad, yo fuite de vacacione 'I know Trinidad, I went [there] on vacation' (Jamaica)
yo puede hablal pero a vece no puede comunicarse con la gente 'I can talk but sometimes I can't communicate with people' (St. Kitts)
Yo vengo pa cá y yo aprende 'I came here and I learned' (St. Kitts)

E. LATIN AMERICAN LITERARY EXAMPLES IN WHICH "BLACK" SPANISH IS ATTRIBUTED TO NATIVE SPANISH SPEAKERS BORN IN THE COUNTRIES BUT OF AFRICAN ORIGIN

(84) CARLOS PELLECEER {GUATEMALA}, *UTILES DESPUÉS DE MUERTOS* (IMITATION OF BLACK CUBANS):

Lodlíquez quié'e matal a Joaquín ... Joaquín casi gorpea a Calos' Affael ...
Juan'el monea. Bla líe. Edí está mu'a ... Iletertuales contla obleros ... Eto se acabó!

(85) MARÍA, JORGE ISAACS (COLOMBIA):

'Buena tarde, ño Gregorio ... sí señó; suba pué ...'

(86) CANDELARIO OBESO (COLOMBIA), *CANTOS POPULARES DE MI TIERRA*:

Conviene a sabé que apena
se jalle en su romicilio
le cuente a toito er mundo
lo que aquí en Colombia ha vito;
Riga cómo ciuraranos
son er negro, er branco, er indio ...

(87) ARNALDO PALACIOS (COLOMBIA), *LAS ESTRELLAS SON NEGRAS*:

'No puero, ujteren pol que son tan abusivo, sáragase ... lo que sucere é que yo voy

(88) FORTUNATO VIZCARRONDO (PUERTO RICO), ¿ Y TUAGÜELA, A'ONDEETÁ?

Y bien que yo la conojco!
Se ñama siña Tatá ...
Tú la ejconde en la cosina,
Pocque ej prieta de a beldá.

(89) ADALBERTO ORTIZ (ECUADOR), *TIERRA, SON Y TAMBOR*:

Etando sacando tagua
un anjimá me picó.
Qué susto que me ha pegao!
Qué susto me a dao a yo!

(90) ADALBERTO ORTIZ (ECUADOR), *JUYUNGO*:

'Todavía vení a caé a deshoras este condenao aguacero'

(91) NELSON ESTUPIÑÁN BASS (ECUADOR), *CUANDO LOS GUAYACANES FLORECÍAN*:

' Cuánto no hicimo! ... Una vez pa ve si así dejaba el vicio.'

(92) AFRO-ECUADORAN FOLKTALES:

COSTA:

Con viento que a juavor sopla ...
Señolita, no te voy a comé ...
Ay, Frajico, de esoj perroj naidien se libra
Los carabalí no se levan con loj mandinga ... Antuco ni parece carabalí. Ondeas visto un carabalí que no pegue a su mujé? Encambio Antuco te umenta la comira ..
Así llamaban a yo en la otra vira. Ahora soy er enviado der Señor
Pasa er canajo grande. Traé hoja branca ... brancoj. Eso ej poquitoj ... unos ositoj ...
ejque loj branco nunca son buenoj
Quién e ese negro tan presumiro? ... se casó con la branca ... 45)

VALLE DEL CHOTA:

Porque ahí en Carpuela ... matan pollo duro, carmba que duelen las muela
Mujere con sus bailados son muy fulera
Me encuentro grande señore
El río del Chota se llevó las casa

(93) POEM WRITTEN BY (WHITE) CUBAN EXILE:

Qué cosa tiene la vida mi compadre Caridá
ante de Fidé yo era una negrita atrasá
vivía en Arroyo Apolo, un cualtico en un solá
pero ahora etoy viviendo un chalé en Miramá.
No hay silla onde sentalse, no tiene agua pa lavá,
pero no impolta, ahora vivo en Miramá

(94) FROM AFRO-BOLIVIAN FOLKTALES, 20TH CENTURY

Mile patloncito, costal vacío no puede palalse ...
Mile patloncito, costal lleno no puede doblalse ...

`A ver pué quien é el que se le pone gallito al jefe ... le juro patroncito, que no lo güelvo a hacé ... la culpa jué mfa y de ete endemoniao bebitraje ...'

(104) VÍCTOR FRANCESCHI, `BOCARACA' (PANAMÁ):

Pa tu monte quieres dí ...?
Tu vaquita a visital ...?
Yo asegura que en cañar
la traidora tá enrocá,
con suj ojos bien pelá ...
que te puee sorprendé ...

(105) FROM CONTEMPORARY URUGUAYAN STORIES:

Javier de Viana *La vencedura*: ` Cómo he'e sé! ... Tuito hemo'e morí, a cabo!'

Juan Mario Magallanes, *Desertores*: `No somo polecía, como ve ... somo gente'e paz ... Qui'anda haciendo, solo, po'estos lau? ... Son dó! ...'

Santiago Dossetti, *La rebelión*: `... Só negro embustero, mismo ... Apenda si me acuerdo yo, que soy má grande ... vo andaba gatiando en una batea vieja cuando ella se jué pal pueblo ... mirá como trabajan eso critiano ... son cosa que li han venido'e golpe al capatá ... quiere quemá la cicuta, lo cardo, lo hinojo, la ortiga, lo sabrojo ... va tar lindo ... pero dipué quiero ve ande ponen lo nidale de la gallina ...'

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vas a poné en er papé ... ya, tata, vua traé papé y lápice ... ponle ahí que su boca esuna miera, que su diente esota miera, su palaibra un montón de miera, miera esa mula que monta, miera su epuela, miera su rebenque, miera el sombreiro con quianda, miera esa cotumbe e miera diandá mirando tabajo ajeno ... léemela Patora, a ve qué fartra ... quítale un poco e miera a ese papé...Dile quel no sabe agadá lampa, que su cintura se quierba como carizo pordrido y se le ariscan la mano como la jeta del buro. Que nunca se viun hombre que le recule al deyerbe. Dile que no endereza yunta, que la yuntas lo empujan a él, que se van ponde quieden y lo surco le salen pura culeirba torcida. Dile que tampoco sabe regá, que lagua en su mano lo surco anegando el sembío y haciendo un charco temendo. Que la semía abre su brote pa que levante y derame su jruto, no pa ponese a nadá. Y dile tamién que su plantas se pasman, quiandan chamucá y encogía poqué no sabe ninguna cosa e gusano, quialo g sino de noche...

(102) CARLOS MANUEL ARITA, `EL NEGRO JOSÉ' (HONDURAS):

El negrito Juan José
tiene hambre y tiene sé.
Ha pasado muchos días
sin comé y sin bebé

(103) VIRGILIO RODRÍGUEZ MACAL, *GUAYACÁN* (GUATEMALA):

el léxico del teatro bufo en el siglo XIX. Islas

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