

A new perspective on Afro-Dominican Spanish:
the Haitian contribution

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0. Introduction

The African presence in the Dominican Republic is beyond question. Despite the undisputed African contribution to Dominican society, relatively little work has been done on Afro-Dominican language, past and present. Until the ground-breaking monograph of Megenney (1990), the issue of Afro-Dominican language was confined to a handful of comments concerning lexical items and ritualized songs. Megenney was the first scholar to situate Afro-Dominican language within the broader arena of creole languages, and to offer a systematic comparison with manifestations of Afro-Hispanic linguistic contact elsewhere in Latin America. The present study will capitalize on his careful scrutiny of Dominican linguistic facts, although arriving at different conclusions regarding the proper place of Dominican Spanish within the sphere of Afro-Hispanic language.

Among the most challenging issues in Afro-Dominican studies is the possibility that vestigial Afro-Hispanic language is still to be found in the Dominican Republic, especially in areas where the population of African origin is highly concentrated, and where African cultural traditions predominate. Results reported to date, while highly suggestive, have yielded no definitive conclusions. Outside observers tacitly assume an Afro-Hispanic linguistic legacy comparable to the African ethnic component in Dominican society, while investigators who have delved deeper into Dominican linguistics have not always explored alternative explanations for putatively Afro-Hispanic phenomena.

The present study represents a first attempt at reassessing the status of Afro-Dominican language. It will be proposed that the presence of African bozales (slaves born in Africa and speaking Spanish as a weak second language) diminished earlier in Spanish Santo Domingo than in other Caribbean areas which form the centerpiece for Afro-Hispanic linguistic theories. The 19th century sugar plantation boom which resulted in massive importation of African slaves into Cuba and Brazil barely touched the Dominican Republic, thus precluding the formation of a new bozal Spanish, as happened in Cuba. By far the greatest extra-Hispanic linguistic influence in the Dominican Republic has been Haitian Creole, a presence which began almost as soon as the latter language came into existence, probably towards the end of the 17th century or the beginning of the 18th century. At many points in its history, the island of Saint-Domingue/Española has coalesced as a single speech community (albeit using more than one language), and the interface between (at least marginal varieties of) Spanish and Haitian has been wide and long-lasting. Within the past century, these contacts have intensified through the presence of thousands of Haitian migrant laborers, now numbered in the hundreds of thousands, in the sugar plantations or bateyes of the Dominican Republic. In a few isolated areas, most notably along the Samaná Peninsula and also in the bateyes, varieties of English have also had an effect on local Spanish dialects. The sum total is a series of configurations which at times are indistinguishable from traces of bozal or pidginized Spanish found elsewhere in Latin America, or from post-creole remnants which signal an earlier stage in which Spanish was creolized in Afro-Hispanic communities. It is this potential indeterminacy which represents the greatest pitfall in assessing the African linguistic influence on Dominican Spanish.

1. Scarcity of earlier bozal attestations in Santo Domingo

1.1. Existing research has assumed, implicitly or explicitly, that the linguistic situation of Afro-Dominicans is comparable to that of Afro-Hispanic populations in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and along the Caribbean coast of South America. A closer examination of the history of Africans and their descendents in the Dominican Republic, as well as purported specimens of Afro-Dominican language, reveal the situation to be much more complex. At the crux of the matter is the noteworthy lack of materials representing the language of bozales in the Dominican Republic, blacks born in Africa and brought to Europe or the Americas past the age when they would acquire European languages natively.

1.2. Bozal language first arose in the Iberian Peninsula late in the 15th century; the earliest attestations come from Portugal. Bozal Spanish makes its written appearance in Spain early in the 16th century, and continues through the middle of the 18th century. Latin American bozal Spanish was first acknowledged by 17th century writers like Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz and other lesser-known or anonymous contributors, who imitated the bozal language used by black slaves in Mexico, Peru, Bolivia and Central America. Few documents representing Afro-Hispanic speech remain from 18th century Latin America; Cuba and Mexico are among the regions so represented. Beginning at the turn of the 19th century, the last big surge of slave trading, spurred by the sugar plantation boom and by increased urbanization of many coastal regions, resulted in an outpouring of literary representations of bozal Spanish. The geographical distribution of extant Afro-Hispanic texts mirrors the profile of the African slave trade in Latin America. The 19th century texts come principally from three regions: Cuba, coastal Peru, and the Buenos Aires/Montevideo region (cf. Lipski 1986a, 1986b, forthcoming).

1.3. Significantly, virtually no bozal texts come from the Dominican Republic, despite the abundant documentation of Dominican popular culture, in the form of stories, songs, poems, legends, and the like, and the equally rich tradition of negrista literature in the Dominican Republic (cf. Caamaño de Fernández 1989). This startling gap in an otherwise well-documented Afro-Dominican cultural tradition should arouse inquiry, but in fact the topic has been scarcely mentioned.

1.4. The Dominican situation contrasts with colonial Cuba, where a rich literary and folkloric tradition of representing the speech of Afro-Cubans arose in the middle of the 19th century, and continued well into the 20th century (cf. Lipski 1993 for a survey). Occasionally such stereotypes resurface even today, in novels and songs, although distinctively Afro-Cuban ways of speaking have long since disappeared. The prolific and captivating writings of Lydia Cabrera had the greatest effect in bringing the speech of Afro-Cubans to the attention of a wide audience, including linguists who used her transcriptions of the speech of black Cubans to promote theories that a stable Afro-Hispanic creole had once existed in Cuba and perhaps elsewhere in the Caribbean (cf. Granda 1971; Meggenney 1984, 1985; Otheguy 1973; Perl 1982, 1985, 1987, 1989a, 1989b; Ziegler 1981. For contrary points of view, cf. Laurence 1974; Lipski 1986, 1987a, 1993; López Morales 1980). Closer examination of these texts reveals that in virtually all cases, what is being represented is the speech of African-born bozales, rather than a creoloid Spanish acquired natively by blacks born in Cuba. According to direct testimony (e.g. Bachiller y Morales 1883), the latter spoke Spanish with no particular distinguishing characteristics: 'no es posible confundir un lenguaje [i.e. the speech of criollo blacks: JML] con el otro: la supresión de letras, la conversión de otras, no es peculiar de todo negro ...' Pichardo (1836) also described bozal language as 'comun e idéntico en los Negros, sean de la Nación que fuesen, y que se conservan eternamente, a ménos que hayan venido mui niños: es un Castellano desfigurado, chapurrado, sin concordancia, número, declinación ni conjugación, sin R fuerte, S ni D final, frecuentemente trocadas la L por la Ñ, la E por la I, la G por la V &; en fin, una jerga más confusa mientras más reciente la inmigración; pero que se deja entender de cualquiera Español fuera de algunas palabras comunes a todos, que necesitan de traducción.'

In the Dominican Republic, although African-born bozales were still found in the 19th century, they were proportionately few in comparison to criollo blacks, and no verifiable corpus of Dominican bozal language is known to exist. Moreover, as will be demonstrated below, many remnants of highly non-standard language among contemporary Afro-Dominicans are much more likely to derive from contact with Haitian or varieties of English than to represent a direct continuation of earlier bozal Spanish.

2. Africans in Santo Domingo prior to the Haitian uprising

2.1. Following the initial importance of Santo Domingo as Spain's front door to the New World, the Spanish colony rapidly declined in both prosperity and population. Small gold deposits discovered by the first Spanish explorers were soon exhausted, and the discovery of fabulous wealth in Mexico and Peru enticed colonists away from the Antilles. The remaining settlers were largely rural dwellers, engaged in cattle ranching and sugar cultivation. The island became a backwater when Spain adopted the fleet system, which upon entrance to the Caribbean touched at one of the Windward Islands before moving on to Cartagena or Veracruz, while upon leaving the Caribbean made port only at Havana. Once in the Caribbean, a few ships would break from the convoy to supply Santo Domingo with basic necessities, but the colony never regained its early stature. Later, when the French colony at the western end of the island became devoted entirely to sugar production, Spanish Santo Domingo enjoyed some economic resurgence in supplying the French with meat and hides.

2.2. Very early in the history of Santo Domingo, French incursions began to change the linguistic profile of the Spanish-speaking community. The first French presence began on the island of Tortuga, in the form of buccaneers and other interlopers. Once the French consolidated their positions on the mainland of western Santo Domingo, they began to attack Spanish settlements, beginning with the sacking of Santiago in 1667. As the French colony grew, the importation of African slaves reached significant proportions in the western part of the island; the French also raided slaves from Spanish settlers. Many slaves escaped to the maroon communities in the Spanish-controlled part of the island. The Spanish government encouraged these runaways, as a means of weakening French control of the western territory, and former French slaves were given freedom in Spanish Santo Domingo, in ironic contrast to blacks in the Spanish colony. As the number of former French slaves grew, the Spanish government sought to concentrate them in villages, where they would pose less of a threat to the Spanish slave system. The largest concentration was settled near the capital of Santo Domingo in the 17th century, forming the village of San Lorenzo de los Minas. As the free black population of former Spanish slaves also grew, there was a move to concentrate all free blacks in this and other Afro-American villages, but there is no indication that any such resettlement attempts were successful.

2.3. On the French side of the island, the proportion of African slaves grew astronomically, and blacks came to far outnumber whites at an early period in the history of Saint-Domingue. The French were aware of the potential danger in such a demographic imbalance, and Spanish observers at the other end of the island grew increasingly uneasy at the prospect of a large-scale slave revolt that might overrun the entire island. Slave uprisings had already occurred in Spanish Santo Domingo; the first reported revolt occurred in 1521 when the slaves on Diego Colón's sugar plantation rebelled (Deive 1989: 33). At this early period, the economy of Santo Domingo was based on sugar cultivation, but a combination of circumstances, in which slave revolts played a prominent role, caused a decline in sugar production, and consequently in the importation of fewer slaves. Beginning in the 16th century and continuing for two centuries thereafter, rebellious slaves or cimarrones escaped to fortified villages known as manieles. The maniel at Baoruco was among the most tenacious, successfully resisting several Spanish attacks, and boasting a population of several hundred fugitive slaves. Other maroon

communities sprang up all over the island, at times concentrating slaves from a single ethnic group, in which an African language could have survived for several generations, instead of, or in contact with Spanish. Already in the 17th century, maroon communities were found along the northern coast, including the Samaná Peninsula (Deive 1989: 80).

Spanish fears of even larger uprisings, if the proportion of Africans to Europeans were to attain the levels found in the French colony, were in large measure responsible for the Spanish reluctance to import African slaves in quantities similar to those found in French Saint-Domingue. Ultimately, however, it was the economic marginality of Spanish Santo Domingo, and the inability to prosper under the Spanish monopolistic system, which dictated the patterns of slave importation. As a consequence, the proportion of blacks in Spanish Santo Domingo never came close to the figures found in French Saint-Domingue. Bozal importations in the Spanish colony slowed to a trickle by the 18th century, and although African-born slaves could still be found in Santo Domingo well past the time of independence, they did not form a large proportion of the population, unlike Cuba and Saint-Domingue during the same time period. Of equal importance is the fact that at no time in earlier colonial history did African-born bozales (the group most likely to permanently affect the developing Dominican Spanish dialect) represent a very large or sociolinguistically prominent segment of the Dominican population.

2.4. Although no precise figures on the demographic proportions of Africans in Santo Domingo exist for the colonial period, some approximate figures will illustrate major trends (Larrazábal Blanco 1975: 184; Moya Pons 1986: 31-51; Sevilla Soler 1980: chap. II). As early as 1546, the colony of Santo Domingo had some 12,000 blacks, compared to 5000 Spaniards. The African slave population had risen to 20,000 by 1568. By the turn of the 17th century, slave mortality had caused the numbers to drop. Thus, in 1610, of a total population of almost 11,000 (excluding any of indigenous origin, almost 9700 were black slaves; the total slave population was some 80% and the total black population slightly more. Vázquez de Espinosa, who visited Santo Domingo in the first decades of the 17th century, observed that the capital city had some 200 españoles (although he might have been referring to heads of household or vecinos, in which case the number would be 4-5 times as great), as compared to some 4000 free and slave negros and mulatos, serving both in the city and on surrounding farms (Rodríguez Demorizi ed. 1970: 46). In 1646, Juan Diez de la Calle estimated some 700 vecinos (more than 3000 white residents) in the capital city, together with some 4000 blacks and mulattoes (Rodríguez Demorizi ed. 1970: 53). These early decades of the Spanish colony represent the only period in colonial Dominican history when the African/bozal population was proportionately high enough to have reasonably made a permanent (non-lexical) contribution to Dominican Spanish. However, by all indications the massive phonetic changes which characterize popular Dominican Spanish took place well after this period (cf. Lipski, forthcoming). Throughout Latin America, the African population in the early 17th century often reached figures comparable to those of Santo Domingo, but in regions where the population dropped sharply by the end of the 17th century (e.g. highland Bolivia, Colombia, Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, Peru), the regional Spanish dialects manifest no demonstrable 'African' characteristics. There is no doubt that bozales in 17th century Santo Domingo spoke the sort of pidginized Spanish associated with African-born blacks throughout the Spanish-speaking world, but the opportunity for a long-lasting African contribution was not viable at this time.

2.5. Following the early importance of the sugar industry, which was responsible for the importation of most of the slaves, came the economic collapse of Santo Domingo, which lasted until well into the 18th century. By 1681 the slave population of Spanish Santo Domingo had dropped to 16%, with a total 'colored' population of 60%. The latter, including both blacks and mulattoes, was mostly American-born, living in close contact with Spaniards, and presumably acquiring a more or less European variety of Spanish. The priest Domingo Fernández Navarrete, visiting the capital city of

Santo Domingo in 1679, estimated that total population de confesión (i.e. church-going) as just under 3000. Of this population, nearly 1700 were españoles (i.e. white), while the remainder were slaves. Navarrete also speaks of an undetermined number of pardos y mulatos, so that the total numbers do not add up (Rodríguez Demorizi ed. 1957: 10).

The low point in the 17th century came when only 80 slaves were to be found on the entire island, and when visiting slave ships were unable to sell most of their wares (Moya Pons 1986: 32). Following this time, and lasting until the Haitian revolts of the late 18th century, most immigration to Santo Domingo came from Spain and the Canary Islands, as well as from other Spanish colonies (especially Cuba and Puerto Rico). The growth of the black population in Santo Domingo occurred mostly through natural reproduction, not through the importation of large quantities of slaves from Africa. The French traveller Daniel Lescallier, who visited the capital city of Santo Domingo in 1764 (Rodríguez Demorizi ed. 1970: 127), noted that 'esta ciudad está habitada por negros libres, mulatos, caribes y por una mezcla de todas estas especies; hay allí muy pocas familias enteramente blancas. Varias hasta de las que ocupan el primero rango ...' This gives a good indication of the racial mixture, arrived at gradually, rather than through the sudden arrival of African-born slaves.

2.6. By 1794, shortly before the Haitian revolution, blacks and mulattoes represented some 66% of the Dominican population, but only 29% were slaves. In 1801, rough figures indicate a population which was 30% white, 50% mulatto, and 20% black; most slaves belonged to the latter category (cf. Cordero Michel 1968: 55; Machín 1973). At least the free blacks and an undetermined number of slaves were American-born and spoke Spanish as a native language. The French official Moreau de Saint-Méry (1944: 94), who visited Santo Domingo in 1783, was struck by the very small number of blacks in the Spanish colony, compared to the African presence in French Saint-Domingue. At this time, the French colony had some 30,000 whites, 40,000 mulattoes, and 500,000 black slaves (Franco 1969: 72). When it is acknowledged that many of the figures for the Spanish colony also mingle data from the French colony, in which the proportion of African slaves was always much higher (often more than 90% of the total), the racial and ethnic differences between Spanish Santo Domingo and other Caribbean slave-holding societies become apparent.

Beginning with the Haitian revolts and continuing through the nominal transfer of Santo Domingo to French and then Haitian control, the population of the Spanish colony dropped drastically. Thus from a high of some 120,000 residents in Spanish Santo Domingo registered in 1782, and the approximately 180,000 residents found in the last decade of the 18th century, a census of 1819 revealed only 71,000 people in the Spanish colony. By 1844, i.e. the end of the Haitian occupation, the population had risen to 126,000; in 1863 the population was 207,000, and in 1887 more than 380,000 residents of the Dominican Republic were counted. José Alvarez de Peralta, visiting Santo Domingo in 1860, estimated (probably too high) a total population of 400,000, of which 200,000 were white or mestizo, 70,000 were black, and the remainder mulatto (Rodríguez Demorizi ed. 1970: 162).

2.7. Most of the repopulation which occurred during the first half of the 19th century was the result of settlement by Haitians. This is amply documented in testimony from the time period. To cite but a single example, in 1884 the statesman Pedro Bonó commented that the southwestern border region of the Dominican Republic was 'expuesta a una invasión perenne y progresiva de población extranjera (haitiana), que hace desfallecer cada día más el elemento dominicano, el cual, desarmado y exhausto, desaparecerá por completo de esa región' (Rodríguez Demorizi (ed.) 1964: 280; cf. also Hoetink 1972: 63-4). Towards the end of the century, occasional immigration from Cuba and Puerto Rico occurred, following aborted independence movements in those colonies. This was also the period when Sephardic Jews and traders from Curaçao, Chinese, Syrians, and other groups immigrated to Santo Domingo

2.8. The demographic proportions of whites, mulattoes, criollo and bozal blacks in Santo Domingo also contrasts sharply with Cuba, the Caribbean region for which Afro-Hispanic language has been most extensively documented, and which forms the key region for theories of Afro-Hispanic creolization. In Spanish Santo Domingo, sugar production fell off rapidly after the 16th century, fading to a tiny fraction of the sugar produced in the neighboring French colony. Sugar production in Cuba, never very large, had also declined by the late 18th century, but it received a boost with the Haitian revolution of 1791, which destroyed the world's largest source of sugar production. Many Haitian planters escaped to Cuba, some even bringing their slaves, and the rapid increase in world sugar prices resulted in a frenzied conversion of all available land in Cuba to sugar cultivation. Sugar production is highly labor intensive, and to meet the skyrocketing labor demands, Cubans began to import African slaves on a scale never before seen in the Spanish Antilles. Some three quarters of a million slaves were imported in less than a century (Pérez 1988: 85), and in the first quarter of the 19th century African slaves represented as much as 40% of the total Cuban population (cf. also Castellanos and Castellanos 1988, 1990; Klein 1967; Knight 1970). If to this figure is added the large free black population, Africans and Afro-Hispanics made up well over half the Cuban population for much of the 19th century. The demographic distribution was not even; in the larger cities, the population was predominantly of Spanish origin, while in rural sugar-growing areas, the Afro-Hispanic population was very high, at times approaching the proportions found in Saint-Domingue. The linguistic effects of this demographic shift were considerable, and the full range of phenomena attributable to the African presence in Cuba has sparked a lively debate. The extraordinarily large free black population (proportionally estimated to be the largest of all slave-holding territories in the world) represented a linguistic and cultural bridge between Spaniards and creoles on the one hand, and unassimilated Africans on the other.

2.9. Despite their comparatively small numbers, Africans in Santo Domingo formed religious/social societies known as cofradías, much as occurred in other Spanish colonies, as well as among Africans in Golden Age Spain. These organizations were nominally religious, centered on a parish church, and dominated by the (white) parish priest. The cofradías gave Africans, both free and slave, a legitimate mechanism of holding meetings, holding dances and collecting funds for the benefit of the church, a small portion of which could also be applied to needy Africans. They also acted as mutual aid societies which collected money to buy the freedom of slaves, as well as to aid Africans in need, to provide housing and food assistance, and to maintain cultural traditions. Originally, most of the cofradías were organized around individual African ethnic groups, and allowed for the preservation and reinforcement of African cultural and linguistic traditions. Within the societies, African languages sometimes predominated over Spanish, especially in the case of new arrivals from Africa. These societies at times tried to continue the hierarchical leadership structure found in Africa, but eventually they resorted to election of leaders and officers. Many African religious traditions were maintained, including burial rituals and feast days, through the syncretic celebration of Christian saints' days. Some of these Afro-Hispanic religious cults have been maintained up until the present.

In the Dominican Republic, African cofradías reached their peak in the 17th century, and declined thereafter. The remaining societies were more loosely based on a variety of African ethnic groups, and were composed of a greater proportion of American-born or criollo blacks, rather than concentrating bozales (cf. Larrazábal Blanco 1975: 136f.). Once more, this contrasts with the situation in Cuba, where cofradías, naciones and cabildos formed of slaves and free Africans continued until the late 19th or early 20th century, and contained high proportions of African-born bozales. Currently, Afro-Dominican religious organizations are still found, and while some appear to have been formed originally by Dominican-born blacks (e.g. Cartagena Portalatín 1975), others are clear extensions of homologous groups in Haiti (e.g. Rosenberg 1979).

3. French and Haitian incursions into Santo Domingo

By the middle of the 18th century, the French colony of Saint-Domingue was strong enough to consider taking over the neighboring Spanish territory, which had suffered serious economic decline and heavy outward emigration. Such plans could not be fully implemented, for beginning in 1791, slave revolts and an increasingly well-organized slave resistance in Saint-Domingue drained the French military effort, and diplomatic and military maneuvering reached a new intensity. Sensing the opportunity for recapturing the western end of the island, the Spanish government in turn made contact with the leaders of the Haitian slave revolt, offering freedom for all slaves who united with Spain to expell the French. This offer was originally accepted by the principal Haitian leaders, including Toussaint L'Overture and Dessalines. As a further complication, taking advantage of the confusion, England invaded the French colony. France responded by offering abolition of slavery in Saint-Domingue, in return for aiding in the defeat of the British. This competition for the loyalties of French-held slaves was intensified in 1794, at the height of the French Revolution, when Robespierre declared the abolition of slavery in all French colonies. Toussaint abandoned his former Spanish allies and joined forces with the French Republicans.

Toussaint L'Overture and his black troops, together with French forces, began advancing on Spanish territory. By 1795, Spain was forced to capitulate to the French armies, and the Treaty of Basil ceded all of Spanish Santo Domingo to France, although the de facto French occupation did not take place until several years later. The combined French/Haitian forces finally defeated the British invaders in 1798, but by this time the island was in a state of total chaos, with what was to emerge as the Haitian revolution constantly gaining force.

Spaniards in Santo Domingo felt abandoned by their government, and feared the revenge of former slaves, who were already destroying the property of their former masters in Saint Domingue. By legal and illegal means, the Spanish sought to escape to Cuba, Puerto Rico and Venezuela, often taking their slaves with them. Spanish landowners along the western border often captured blacks from the French colony, reimposing slavery on the victims. By 1800 Toussaint L'Overture had emerged as the undisputed leader of the French colony, and in 1801 he invaded and conquered Spanish Santo Domingo and declared the unification of the former Spanish and French colonies and the abolition of slavery throughout the island. Napoleon sent an expeditionary force in 1802, which, although securing the Haitian retreat from Spanish Santo Domingo, suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of the black troops. In 1804, the western end of the island officially became the new nation of Haiti. Haiti, under the government of Dessalines, again invaded the former Spanish colony in 1805, and the Haitian troops were only expelled after a long and bloody struggle.

During this period, and until 1809, the former Spanish Santo Domingo was being increasingly turned into a French colony. Most Spaniards resisted the conversion, and emigration to Cuba and Puerto Rico was a common option. Complete French takeover was never possible, due to the continuing aggression of Toussaint L'Overture. Toussaint's initial stance was one of seeming respect for Spanish customs and lifestyle, although he attempted to implant the French landholding system--diametrically opposed to Spanish traditions.

In 1808, Napoleon invaded Spain, which caused further turmoil in the Carribean territories. England came to the aid of the beleaguered Spanish forces in Santo Domingo, and in 1809 the French were finally driven from the Spanish colony. At this point, Santo Domingo was completely devastated, and suffered a series of revolts, coups and invasion threats, all set against the weakening of Spain's colonial powers. In 1821, the 'Estado Independiente del Haití Español,' the future Dominican Republic, declared its independence from Spain, but the freedom was short-lived. The following year, following an initially peaceful gambit by Haitian president Jean-Pierre Boyer, Haiti again invaded the eastern part

of the island, remaining until 1844. Spanish Dominicans grew tired of Haitian rule, particularly since taxes were increased to finance the steep reparations which Haiti was forced to pay former French landholders, in return for official French recognition of Haiti. The Haitian takeover prompted even more Spanish emigration, as well as guerrilla-style resistance by those who remained. The Haitian occupation forces began to systematically dismantle the former Spanish administrative structure, abolishing slavery and confiscating and redistributing land and infrastructure. It was during this period that American blacks were settled in Samaná and other regions, part of an ambitious plan by Haitian president Boyer to create a settler-state of dispossessed blacks from throughout the Americas, who would owe unswerving allegiance to the Haitian revolution.

4. The entrance of French and Haitian languages into Spanish Santo Domingo

It was during the period 1822-1844, more so than in earlier decades, that the definitive Haitian-Dominican linguistic and cultural contacts were firmly cemented (cf. Granda 1991a for some additional thoughts). The extent to which French and/or Haitian was spoken in Santo Domingo during and after the Haitian occupation can only be guessed at from indirect reconstruction, since almost no direct documentation of the linguistic situation during the 19th century is to be found. It is likely that, even during the 'French' occupation of Santo Domingo, Haitian was in use more than European French, among the military forces. Thus one of the war cries of the Haitian army was: 'Grenadiers, a l'assaut! Ca qui mouri z'affaire a yo, gn'y a point papá, gn' y a pas maman! ...' (Lemonnier Delafosse 1946: 77).

Allowing for orthographic inconsistencies, this is clearly Haitian Creole, meaning roughly 'to the attack, soldiers, let them die, think nothing of fathers and mothers.' Even more clearly Creole is the taunt 'Zautes, blancs; vous va tous mouri' (Lemonnier Delafosse 1946: 76) 'All you white people are going to die.' The use of *zòt* for 'you (pl.)' is still found in some dialects of Haitian, and prevails in the French creole dialects of the Lesser Antilles. A report submitted in 1801 (Rodríguez Demorizi 1955: 77) indicates that invading Haitian soldiers used epithets such as *futre español*, *bugueré coquén* 'damned Spaniard, big bugger,' belong to Haitian Creole rather than French usage.

Many of the Haitian political leaders, such as Toussaint L'Overture and Dessalines, knew French and used this language in official pronouncements and dealings with the French and Spanish governments. However, Haitian Creole had already become established as the language of the masses of slaves, considerably before the Spanish-French conflicts. It is impossible to precisely date the emergence of Haitian as a stable creole language systematically different from French, but a date somewhere towards the end of the 17th century does not appear unreasonable. By the middle of the 18th century, Haitian was an established language, and when Moreau de Saint-Méry visited French Saint-Domingue (Moreau de Saint-Méry 1958) in 1783, he observed a language which does not greatly differ from contemporary Haitian (e.g. Carden and Stewart 1988). Illiterate slave leaders such as Boukman, as well as the former slaves who became incorporated into Toussaint's army, presumably spoke only Haitian Creole. In his reconstruction of the Dominican resistance to Haitian occupation, Henríquez Ureña (1951: 236) observed that 'en todo el occidente de la isla la gran mayoría del pueblo sólo habla *patois* o *créole* ...' Along the border with the Spanish colony, it is quite likely that many residents, both slave and free, knew some Spanish (thus giving rise to the intense borrowing of Hispanisms into Haitian), since Spanish farmers in western Santo Domingo provided the rich French colony with meat and hides.

During the various Haitian occupations of Santo Domingo, there were campaigns to force Spanish residents to learn French (which was spoken fluently by few Haitians), but given Spanish resistance to the foreign presence, such efforts appear to have been ineffective (cf. De la Cruz 1978: 30). In 1824, Boyer passed a decree prohibiting the use of Spanish in public, following an attempt to

establish French-language schools staffed by Haitian teaching personnel. Since the latter element was never numerous even in Haiti, the effects of French-language schooling during the brief Haitian interlude in Santo Domingo were probably negligible. A much more likely route of entry of Haitian linguistic elements is at the vernacular level, as small groups of Haitians settled in rural regions of Santo Domingo and remained even after the official Haitian occupation had ceased. Black Haitians and black Dominicans often shared a common destiny, living, working and raising families in the same villages. The Haitian revolution and the invasions of Santo Domingo had resulted in a large-scale emigration of Spanish landowners and small business owners, leaving large expanses of rural territory virtually abandoned. On the Haitian side, the population was already several times that of Santo Domingo, and concentrated into a much smaller territory. The redistribution of land effected by the revolutionary Haitian governments caused even further displacement of Haitian slaves turned peasants, and the available lands in Santo Domingo beckoned strongly (cf. Hoetink 1972: chap. II). The Samaná Peninsula, scene of earlier French attacks, received a predominantly Haitian-speaking population; as early as 1862, a document describing Samaná states that 'la población la supone de 2.000 almas, entre franceses, canarios, negros de la Florida y Haitianos ...' (Rodríguez Demorizi 1973: 333). In many rural regions of western and central Santo Domingo the Haitian linguistic and cultural presence increased. Today, only a minority of Dominicans can legitimately claim no traces of Haitian ancestry, although given the traditional hostility between the two nations most Dominicans take great pains to disavow any Haitian heritage (cf. Mariñez 1986, Moya Pons 1978). The 'blackness' of the contemporary Dominican population is due in no small measure to the emigration of Haitians over the past 150 years, and although the Spanish language has survived unchallenged as the official language of the Dominican Republic, as well as the de facto language in all urban and most rural regions, Haitian Creole has always maintained a vigorous presence in rural villages, and has affected regional varieties of Spanish as well. Only the effects of an improved educational system, better means of transportation and communication, and an effective network of radio broadcasting, have purged the traces of Haitian Creole from all but the most marginalized varieties of Dominican Spanish. A survey of direct and indirect attestations of Haitian Creole usage in the Dominican Republic will amply demonstrate this point, and will provide the basis for reconsidering possible 'post-creole' remnants in Afro-Dominican Spanish.

5. Attested use of Haitian Creole in Santo Domingo

Rodríguez Demorizi (1975: 16), speaking of the French and Haitian presence in western Santo Domingo, beginning at the turn of the 19th century, states that 'así se produjo en la isla el desplazamiento, transitorio e imperfecto, pero desplazamiento al fin, de la lengua española.' The French government established a French language publishing enterprise during the brief French occupation. Shortly after the Haitian occupation began, Haitian president Boyer ordered the military conscription of all male Dominicans between the ages of 16 and 25, an event which surely put them in contact with the language of the Haitian troops--Creole, not European French. In 1824 Boyer decreed the official prohibition of the use of Spanish in official documents. All official usage was in French, but once more Haitian Creole was much more likely the language of the Haitian occupying forces, except for a small cultural elite. According to Rodríguez Demorizi (1975: 18), French became the language of many cultural events in the capital city, but it is unlikely that this had much of a linguistic effect on the majority of the Spanish-speaking population.

Rodríguez Demorizi (1975: 18), in speaking of Samaná, does not acknowledge the direct implantation of Haitian Creole during or after the Haitian occupation of Santo Domingo, preferring instead to attribute the minority status of Spanish to a variety of sources: 'Si en la villa de Samaná y en

sus regiones aledañas no predomina de manera absoluta el español, ello se debe a la inmigración negra de los Estados Unidos ... y a las anteriores incursiones de piratas ingleses y franceses. Entonces nació el patois usado en la Península samanesa, confusa mezcla de español, francés e inglés.' In reality, the linguistic situation in Samaná is much more systematic, as pointed out, e.g. by Benavides (1973) and González and Benavides (1982). Three well-delimited languages are spoken: Spanish, English (in several varieties), and Haitian Creole (known locally as patois). There is none of the 'confusa mezcla' as stated above, although inevitably the languages have mutually affected one another. The ignorance of the situation in Samaná on the part of otherwise well-informed Dominican scholars (who evidently had little active knowledge of either English or Haitian) has distorted the true situation of this region. To a Spanish-speaking Dominican, the use of either Haitian or the extremely vernacular forms of English found in Samaná, interlarded with borrowings from Spanish, must surely have seemed like an unintelligible jargon, but the fact remains that Haitian Creole, followed by English, are stable substrate influences in Samaná.

One of the very earliest parodies of the speech of Haitians resident in Santo Domingo comes in 1845, a year after the final Haitian withdraw (Rodríguez Demorizi ed. 1944: 69-75). This article, appearing in a newspaper and poking fun at the endless political conversations taking place in cafes and on street corners, portrays Haitian expatriates as speaking French rather than Haitian Creole, which is not unreasonable among the more elite Haitians who frequented the improvised tertulias of Santo Domingo:

Antes tod, Ciril, tu dis que tiene tabacs muy buens; he olvidad mi cajetic alargame un ...
 compadre, siempr sale usted con eso; tod que dis ese papeluch es por decir; yo no pued crer un cose tan inverosimil. Si es ciert
 su triunf, no pued durar much si otre man ma poderos no lo coj baje su proteccion ... yo quier decir otr nación. Es precis que
 tu conveng que nosotre son mas.
 Hombr Ciril, tu te calient much, mira que es te has dañ.

This text shows no legitimate French interference; all words are Spanish, and the author has simply chosen to eliminate the majority of word-final vowels, as well as a few prepositions. In two instances (otre < otro, nosotre < nosotro(s)), a word-final vowel is replaced by e. While it is true that some Spanish-French cognates are characterized by schwa or elision of the final vowel in French (e.g. Fr. autre-Sp. otro/otra), no French speaker systematically drops final vowels when speaking Spanish. This grotesque parody thus bears no resemblance to French- or Creole-influenced Spanish, but it does document Dominicans' contempt for the languages of the former French colony. These early comic representations set the stage for later, more accurate, imitations of Haitianized Spanish.

Beginning in the latter decades of the 19th century, Dominican literature and folklore is replete with legitimate examples of the use of Haitian in fluid combinations with Spanish. For example, Larrazábal Blanco (1975: 198) relates a Dominican folktale in which a bewitched bird speaks the following:

no tire mue
 no tire mue
 coco y mamá
 si tira mue tu verá
 y de langué coco y mamá
 no coja mue ... etc.

In this fragment, mue is Haitian mwe 'I, me.' Larrazábal Blanco does not identify langué, but it is possibly Haitian lague 'war,' in which nasalization is common in the vernacular pronunciation. An alternative possibility is the vulgar Haitian epithet languèt mama (u) 'your mother's clitoris,' corresponding to Caribbean Spanish el coño de tu madre. Given that Haitian coco is also a vulgar term meaning 'vagina,' the latter hypothesis is quite plausible. Of more interest than the individual words

themselves is the smooth interweaving of Spanish and Haitian elements in this peasants' folktale. Rather than bilingual code-switching, this text suggests a gradual interpenetration of the two languages resulting in a creoloid form of Spanish which in the absence of knowledge of the Haitian contact could be taken for a vestige of an earlier purely Afro-Hispanic creole. Indeed, Larrazábal Blanco (1975: 197) cautions that 'la existencia de voces criollas haitianas en nuestros cuentos no debe ser índice de su origen afro, como pudiera suponerse.'

In Villa Mella, considered one of the most 'African' villages in the Dominican Republic, Haitian words have been recorded as part of the core vocabulary (for example, nu for nosotros 'we'; cf. Rodríguez Demorizi 1975: 108). Reported for Monte Plata (Rodríguez Demorizi 1975: 98) is amodecí 'por ejemplo,' which the observer speculated came from a mi decir. A much more likely etymology involves the archaic French creole pronoun mo (modern mwe in Haitian), still found for example in Louisiana Creole French. Decí may be a hybrid of Haitian di and Spanish decir, or a combination involving Haitian dézi 'desire.' Also reported for the same area is plesí (of uncertain meaning), possibly from Haitian plezí 'pleasure, pleased.' In Santiago, sipón (< Haitian zipon < French jupon) 'skirt, slip,' fulá 'kerchief,' and possible dolín (< Haitian dolè 'pain') 'anger' have been reported (Rodríguez Demorizi 1975: 146-9). Other Haitian forms appear throughout the Dominican Republic, at the vernacular level among rural, predominantly Afro-American populations; few have been recorded in glossaries or other dialectological accounts.

In Dajabón, near the Haitian border, a report made in 1922 (Rodríguez Demorizi 1975: 219) noted that at least 40% of the population was Haitian, speaking patuá. The author went on to state 'es muy rara la persona de nacionalidad dominicana que no sabe hablar el "patuá" ... sucede también que las familias acomodadas utilizan los servicios de las haitianas como cocineras y de los haitianos como peones. De ahí la oportunidad que favorece la influencia del "patuá" siendo accesible a los escolares y hasta a los niños de 4 años de edad en adelante.' The reference to 'la persona de nacionalidad dominicana' clearly refers only to the western regions along the Haitian border, but it does give a feeling for the use of Haitian among a broad spectrum of Dominicans, in conjunction with rural vernacular varieties of Spanish.

6. Literary imitations of 'Haitianized Spanish'

Many Dominican writers have incorporated imitations of the Spanish spoken by Haitians in the Dominican Republic. The richest literary representation of 'Haitian' Spanish comes from the writings of the satirist Juan Antonio Alix (1833-1917) (cf. Rodríguez Demorizi 1979: 268), writing at the end of the 19th century. The best example is the 'Diálogo cantado entre un guajiro dominicano y un papá bocó haitiano en un fandango en Dajabón (1874), from which come the following fragments:

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 di 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
 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 ...
 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 di mué ...
 me pu qui tu ta dicí
 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 ...

These fragments demonstrate that Alix had a profound knowledge of Haitian Creole. All the Haitian examples are authentic, and some correspond to earlier forms which have now evolved.¹ For example, the earlier vu < Fr. vous is now u 'you' in Haitian; both vu and u appear in Alix' poem. The first person singular pronoun, mwe in modern Haitian, was mo/mu as late as the end of the 19th century, as reflected in the 'Diálogo.' More than an example of Haitianized Spanish, this poem demonstrates code-switching, with entire sentences in Haitian intermixed with phrases in broken Spanish, of the bozal variety.² A closer look at the latter elements reveals a number of combinations which, when occurring in Afro-Hispanic texts from other regions, have often been cited as evidence in favor of an earlier pan-Latin American Afro-Hispanic creole.

Although Alix's poems are the best known and most humorous imitations of Haitians' attempts at speaking Spanish, other examples are found in Dominican literature and folklore, children's games, etc. Rodríguez Demorizi (1975: 305) notes that in the past, Dominicans invented a pseudo-Haitian oath, to be said while making the sign of the cross:

por la pe
por la panta crú
quilifú quilifú
María quitifú
umpá umjú

The first line is legitimately pu la pè 'for peace.' The second line, an obvious deformation of Santa Cruz, is reminiscent of the mocking habla de negros of Spanish Golden Age literature. Quilifú is quite probably derived from Haitian qui li fu 'who he/she [is] crazy,' while quitifú could be interpreted as 'who [is a] little crazy.'

Among more realistic representations of Haitian-Spanish interlanguage are passages from the novel Over, by Marrero Aristy (1939), which documents the situation of Haitian and West Indian laborers on Dominican sugar plantations or bateyes. Examples include:

En la finca tó son ladrón. Roba el bodeguera, roba el pesador, roba la mayordomo, y yo ta creyendo que la má ladrón de toitico son el blanco que juye en su carro.
(Bodeguel! A mi me se olvida el manteca. Vendeme un poquita ... dipensá ... mi no sabé ... dipensamué ...
(compai, utea decía la beldá!
(la dominicane son palejele!
pasá mué cinco
uí papá, uí papá. yo me va enseguala.
Bodeguela, depacha mué plonto. Yo quiele dejá la comía con la fam, pa jallalo cociná cuando viene del cote.
tu son gente grande, porque tu come tó lo día, compai.
(a mi sacán casi ajogao, compai!
compé, la saf tá fini
(a mí no consiga má!
la jambre ta dura,)cuándo tu va dando una trabajita?
)Qué pasando a compai bodeguel?

In this novel, similar examples are also attributed to cocolos, speakers of West Indian Creole English:
mi no vuelva ... aquí yo pielda mi tiempo. Mijol que allá in Barbados no trabaja, pero no mi mata. Yo me vuelva pa no vuelva.

Another novel representing the speech of Haitians is Cañas y bueyes by Francisco Moscoso Puello (1975). Some representative passages are:

)yo? Andande ... tú me tá engañá, Chenche ...
No juega tu Chenche. Tu siempre mi diga así. Y yo tá perdé. No sacá ná. Tú no ve mi pantalón ta rompío ...
)Dónde yo va a buca jente?
Pero tú mi va a pagá. Tu no mi va a jacé como la otra vé? ... Embute. Tu me dite quence plimelo, dipué vente y no mi dite má ... tu siempre mi diga así ...
Bueno, yo vá, pelo tu mi paga? ... Chenche, tu sabi mucho ...
Tú me tá apurá mucho, Fonse [to which the Dominican responds: "tá apurá no! Pasa la caña pronto! Mañé del diablo!"]
Yo quiere jablar contigo.
Quencena pasá yo tá cobrá quence pese y ete quencena da a mi siete pese no má. Quiere que tu mi diga que pasa?
Yo va pa Lajas...

This author also represents the speech of cocolos:

mi no comprendí, Chencho!

The Spanish of cocolos is also imitated by Ferreras (1982), for example:

tú no voy a salir del escuela si no tengo tú necesidad de hacerlo (p. 18)
... 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)

The story "Luis Pie" by Juan Bosch (1978b) also contains some revealing examples of Haitianized Spanish:

Piti Mishé ta eperán a mué
(Oh, Bonyé! ... piti Mishé va a ta eperán to la noche a son per ...
no, no ta sien pallá, ta sien pacá ...
Bonyé, Bonyé, ayuda a mué, gran Bonyé, tú salva a mué de murí quemá ...
Dominiquén bon, aquí ta mué, Lui Pie. (Salva a mué, dominiquén bon!
Oh, Bonyé, gran Bonyé, que ta ayudán a mué ...
Ah, dominiquén bon, salva a mué, salva a mué pa llevá manyé a mon pití ...) qué ta pasá?
Pití Mishé, mon pití Mishé) tú no ta enferme, mon pití?) tú ta bien?
Sí, per, yo ta bien, to nosotros ta bien, mon per ...
Oh Bonyé, tú sé gran ...

Although giving representations of Haitianized Spanish consistent with the earlier texts, Bosch evidently knew less about Haitian Creole than the Dominican writers mentioned above. No Haitian cane-cutter would say, e.g. mon per, but rather papa-m, nor mon pití but rather pitit-mwe.

A few brief and not particularly realistic imitations of Haitianized Spanish are found in the novel Jengibre by Pedro Andrés Pérez Cabral (1978):

papasite, papasite, no me mat ...
ay papasite, yo no vueive otra vé ...
c'est le diable, papasit
amite le teniente, ils son mirando la rí, et pur tant on pé atacá pur deriér ...
hata qué mí llegá

These fragments also exhibit the stereotype pronunciation of turning all final vowels to e, as well as confusing French forms (ils and on instead of yo). However, the remaining combinations consistently reflect Haitians' approximations to Spanish.

Several 20th century Dominican poets have also imitated Haitianized Spanish, with varying degrees of accuracy. One example comes from Rubén Suro (Rueda y Hernández Rueda 1972: 121-2), in the poem 'Rabiaca del haitiano que espanta mosquitos':

(maldite moquite!
me tiene fuñíe
con ese sumbie
que no pue aguantá.

Yo quema oja seque,
a be si se ba,

yo quema papel,
yo quema de to ...
y él pasa mu cerque ...
tú tené tu mañe
yo tené la míe ...
yo resa oracione
a Papá Bocó
y el noquite fuese ...
y luegue boibió! ...

By the same author is the 'Monólogo del negro con novia' (Rueda and Hernández Rueda 1972: 119-20):

(Hoy yo ta pa tené pique
yo no quie ni conbesá ...
soberine me cre rique
y yo ta sin tené na! ...
ya me a rote siete peino
y no canso de peinal;

eye cre que ba lisando
 (y el cabeye sigui igual!
 eye pide baseline,
 baseline yo le dal;
 eye unte por bidone
 (y el cabeye sigui igual!
 ... (tú ta por pagá conmigue!
 y la curpa sino e míe:
 cabeyite de "pimente"
 no curarlo brujería ...
 tú ta pa ponelte loque!
 mal de pele no curarse
 por ma que le pone graso,
 (que quien nasióle pa coque
 de piñonate no paso!

These verses exhibit the time-worn stereotype of replacing final vowels with e (or schwa), but also demonstrate the use of the third person singular (yo quemá), and the infinitive (yo tené), found in both bozal language and as a transfer from the Haitian uninflected verb system. The use of eye for ella is superficially similar to the pronoun elle/nelle/ne found in many bozal texts from Cuba and Puerto Rico (cf. Lipski 1993), and possibly reflecting a Papiamentu input to Afro-Hispanic language in the latter areas. In the Suro text, however, eye falls in line with the remaining instances where final vowels are replaced by e, instead of representing an otherwise unattested bozal pronoun in Afro-Dominican Spanish.

Chery Jiménez Rivera is another poet who has used 'una jerga domínico-haitiana nacida por el choque cultural y lingüístico de dos pueblos que se encuentran en el panorama fronterizo y tratan allí de reducir sus diferencias' (Caamaño 1989: 152). The poem in question is 'L'aitianita divariosa,' and most of the language is an eye-dialect representation of colloquial Cibao Spanish, in which the vocalization of syllable-final liquids is represented by e instead of i, as is more common in Dominican literature. Occasional fragments in Haitian Creole are interspersed, but despite Caamaño's classification, this text cannot really be considered a specimen of Haitianized Spanish:

... amaneció tó claro al otro día,
 clarito y ahumbrao ...
 hacen ya muchaj, noche y tuavi'ella pregunta:
)coté gazón quina mué, u pa ve li, Bon Ye,
 di mué, suplé? ...
 laj nube arrellanándose entre l'agua
 y vueive ai caserío ya en la noche, plaguiando:
 mue pa ue añé,)e ú compé, u p'ancó ue li?

Even more so than the Alix poems, this text exemplifies code-switching rather than true penetration of Haitian Creole into Spanish.

7. Creoloid features in Haitianized Spanish

The texts surveyed above are representative of literary representations of Haitianized Spanish, and are not inconsistent with contemporary observations of Haitians living in the Dominican bateyes (cf. Morgan 1987). In addition to the introduction of unassimilated Haitian vocabulary items (both function words and other lexical items), these texts share similarities with pidginized/creolized Spanish of other areas. In the absence of information that the texts were produced by speakers of Haitian Creole, some of the configurations could be interpreted as remnants of an earlier stable and consistent bozal Spanish created within the Dominican Republic. Among the more noteworthy features subject to this dual interpretation are the following:

(1) occasional introduction of Haitian pronouns such as mwe and u, invariable for case. At times this results in use of the cognate Spanish (a) mí as subject pronoun. This usage, once found in Spanish and Portuguese bozal texts from the 16th century, disappeared around 1550, following which time subject mí is found only when bozal Spanish is in contact with another language, such as Papiamentu or West African Pidgin English (cf. Lipski 1991). In other instances, pronominal usage is very unstable. The Haitian in Alix's poem addresses his Dominican counterpart variously as tu, uté, u (the corresponding Haitian form) and yu (French vous, scarcely used by monolingual Haitian Creole speakers).

(2) Defective subject-verb agreement, gravitating towards the use of third person singular forms for all instances. This trait, common to many vestigial and creoloid varieties of Spanish, is also a reflection of the lack of conjugated verbs in Haitian. Given that the 3rd person singular is statistically the most common form in Spanish, and may be regarded as the most unmarked variant, it is logical that Haitians would gravitate toward this form in search of an invariant verb stem similar to Haitian patterns. The same usage was typical of Caribbean bozal Spanish in the 19th century, even more consistently than in Golden Age texts and those from 19th century Argentina, Uruguay and Peru (cf. Lipski 1993)

(3) Inconsistent noun-adjective agreement.

(4) Incorrect endings on nouns (e.g. trabaja for trabajo, dominicane for dominicano, enferme for enfermo, etc.).

(5) Sporadic use of son as invariable copula (tu son gente grande). This usage became fixed in 19th century Cuban bozal Spanish, being found in a variety of texts, and is remembered even today by older Cubans as characteristic of the speech of the oldest Afro-Cubans (cf. Lipski 1993). It was also found occasionally in the English-influenced Spanish of Samaná (cf. Ferreras 1982): `Son muy hermoso este guayaba ... (p. 357)'; `Con que tú son que se está toda la noche robando esos huevos ... (p. 358).

In partial summary, the texts surveyed above, while obviously containing humorous exaggeration, are consistent with Haitian adaptation of Spanish words (as witnessed, e.g., by Spanish borrowings into Haitian), while grammatically the structures are essentially Haitian, with a chaotic mixture of Spanish and Haitian lexical items. Given the high percentage of cognate vocabulary between the two languages, such a partial relexification of Haitian discourse with Spanish elements could easily be mistaken for a Spanish-based creole formed entirely with Spanish input. None of the features found in the other texts directly implicates the substratum effects of an established creole (in this case Haitian), and all are found in general bozal Spanish, vestigial Spanish, and Spanish as spoken as a weak second language throughout the world (Lipski 1985a, 1986a, 1986b). These Haitianized Spanish examples, if taken out of context, are virtually identical to other Afro-Caribbean examples from Cuba and Puerto Rico which have been taken as specimens of bozal Spanish, and whose creoloid characteristics have been offered as evidence that a stable Afro-Hispanic creole once pervaded the Caribbean and perhaps other Latin American regions. Nonetheless, they represent bozal language of a different sort, twice-removed from African substrata. Haitianized Spanish of the sort surveyed above is, like the Africanized bozal Spanish found in other regions and time periods, the result of the imperfect acquisition of Spanish by speakers of another language. Unlike the bozal Spanish of other regions, the substrate is not heterogeneous, but consists of a single language, Haitian Creole. This language in turn was creolized across a variety of West African languages, but the structural patterns most closely reflect the Kwa languages, in particular Fon/Ewe (cf. Lefebvre 1986). However, the Haitianized Dominican Spanish texts reveal the transference of structures from an already established creole, one based on a language cognate with Spanish. The resulting Spanish interlanguage has already been `preselected' for creole features, particularly as regards the structure of the verb phrase. If the latter factor is not taken into account, one would appear to be witnessing the emergence of a spontaneous Afro-Hispanic creole.

8. Putative creoloid verb phrases based on ta + V_{inf}

The Haitianized Spanish examples contain one combination which is not as easily dismissed as simply the result of imperfect acquisition of Spanish by Haitian immigrants, and which, while not mentioned by any investigators seeking to establish an African substratum for Dominican Spanish, could conceivably draw the latter into the bozal pidgin/creole environment of the 19th century Caribbean. This involves the occasional use of verb phrases of the form ta + V_{inf}, found both in Alix, Moscoso, and Bosch. Indeed, the structural feature most frequently cited in favor of the common origin of Afro-Hispanic dialects is the unique verbal syntax and morphology, which often exhibits verbal constructions in the form of an uninflected infinitive stem (generally without the final /r/) preceded by a temporal/aspectual particle, usually ta, which is invariable for person and number (Granda 1978: 414-40; 481-91; Whinnom 1965; Taylor 1971). Combinations involving the preverbal particle ta are found in the Portuguese-based creoles of Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, and in virtually all the Asian-Portuguese creoles, past and present (including Goa, Damao and Diu, Macau/Hong Kong, Malacca, and Sri Lanka). It is also found in Philippine Creole Spanish (Chabacano), in Papiamentu, and in Palenquero. Significantly for the bozal/creole enterprise, similar combinations are found in a subset of Afro-Caribbean texts, all coming from 19th century Cuba and Puerto Rico (cf. Lipski 1987a, 1992). This fact, together with the appearance of the particle ta in the indisputably Afro-Iberian creoles Papiamentu and Palenquero, has been used as evidence that most African slaves brought to Spanish America already spoke and perhaps continued speaking in larger social nuclei, a creole Spanish which derived ultimately from creole Portuguese, and that the creole Spanish of widely separated areas of Latin America was originally very similar (Granda 1978: 362-423; 481-518; Megenney 1984; cf. also López Morales 1980, 1983).

It is striking that among the scores of Afro-Hispanic texts, from Spain and all of Latin America and spanning nearly 400 years, the combination ta + V_{inf} is found only (1) in a very small number of texts, (2) in the 19th century, (3) in Cuba and Puerto Rico. Even in the 19th century Afro-Caribbean corpus, constructions based on ta alternate with the archetypical bozal pattern of partially or incorrectly conjugated verb forms. No use of ta occurs in the large Afro-Hispanic corpus from Argentina, Uruguay or Peru, nor in scattered texts from other regions. If bozal Spanish as found in the Dominican Republic were demonstrated to have legitimate cases of ta as a preverbal particle, this would strengthen the theories of pan-Caribbean Afro-Hispanic creole. The examples provided by Alix and Moscoso therefore bear closer examination, since they can be considered from a dual perspective. On the one hand, they could conceivably represent legitimate bozal Spanish carryovers, hinting at an earlier Spanish-based creole in Spanish Santo Domingo. This is unlikely, in view of the almost total lack of other bozal attestations from the Dominican Republic, and the fact that ta appears only in texts attributed to speakers of Haitian Creole, whose halting command of Spanish is being mocked. On the other hand, if verbal combinations involving ta are a legitimate result of the contact between Haitian and Spanish, it is conceivable that instances of ta in Cuba and Puerto Rico could also have been influenced by the presence of French Creole speakers in the latter islands. The arrival of black laborers from Haiti and the Lesser Antilles in Cuba and Puerto Rico is well documented, beginning in the 19th century. As late as a few decades ago, French Creole songs were recorded in southern Puerto Rico, and Haitian contract laborers in central Cuba are found even today, although the Castro government has been more circumspect about openly recruiting these workers than in previous regimes. In Cuba, French Creole speakers were more common in the late 19th and early 20th century, forming a significant portion of the population of eastern Cuba, including Santiago (e.g. Wallace 1898: 14). (Creole-) French-speaking blacks in Cuba even organized into musical societies known as the tumba francesa (Alen Rodríguez 1986, 1991; Martínez Gordo 1985; Betancur Alvarez 1993: 43-8; Franco 1959: 76-7). These

societies still exist, and although many of the musicians are no longer completely fluent in Haitian creole, some of the songs mix Spanish and Haitian in fashions similar to the Dominican texts surveyed above (cf. Alén 1986):

Ey americano no hay remedio
ce Fidé gobierna Cuba
si ne contant nu si contant ... (p. 57)

Juventud chilena que crimen
gade cuma seno [= chen-yo `the dogs': JML] tuye Allende ... (p. 58)

Yo di Cuba é libre, Fidel fue quien la liberó,
me si ken dí con sa Cuba te digo adiós ... (p. 176)

Martínez Gordo (1989: 18) gives another example:

Dillo, mué ale peshé nanlamé ... taboron, me vio, taboron, huemue lisové. Mue ale peslle nan lamé. Cojí, áqua mala tanbien ... un pescado llamado rebalozó, el Tiboron, huemué, li sové

These texts cannot be confused with bozal Spanish, but rather constitute Spanish-Haitian code switching. The Spanish portions of these texts are relatively standard, although in the last example, it appears that some articles are missing. In earlier periods, however, native speakers of Haitian who arrived in Cuba and learned Spanish as a second language spoke with many of the same traits documented for the Dominican Republic.

The current state of documentation provides insufficient information, especially given the more likely route of entry via the documented presence of Papiamento-speaking laborers in 19th century Cuba and Puerto Rico (cf. Alvarez Nazario 1970, Granda 1973, Lipski 1987a). A survey of Cuban and Puerto Rican bozal texts reveals a number of other features which appear to have been transferred from Papiamento (cf. Lipski 1993), reinforcing the notion that direct Papiamento influence was responsible for at least some of the creoloid features of certain Afro-Caribbean bozal texts. Notably, traces of the Papiamento-like features found in Cuban and Puerto Rican bozal texts have ever been attested for any variety of Dominican Spanish, despite the arrival of Sephardic Jews and merchants from Curaçao in the 19th century (Hoetink 1972). There was a neighborhood in the capital city named Punda, as in Curaçao. However, in the Dominican Republic, these (presumed) Papiamento speakers formed part of the urban bourgeoisie, unlike in Cuba and Puerto Rico, where Papiamento-speaking laborers worked in the canefields side by side with African- and American-born blacks. The Papiamento traits documented for Cuban and Puerto Rican bozal texts include:

- (a) use of the undifferentiated third person pronouns elle, neye, nelle or ne;
- (b) use of ahuora for `now' (cf. Papiamento awor);
- (c) use of agüé/agüoí for `today' (cf. Papiamento awe);
- (d) use of yijo `son, child' (cf. Papiamento yiú);
- (e) use of (ar)riba meaning `on, upon' (cf. Papiamento riba);
- (f) use of bisa/visa for `say, tell' (cf. Papiamento visa);
- (g) use of (a)mi as subject pronoun (cf. Papiamento (a)mi).

In Afro-Dominican texts, the only recurring creoloid feature is the use of verbal constructions with ta in the Dominican texts, which therefore bear further scrutiny. The full list of examples in question is:

manque tu tá dí que nó ... {Alix}
que tu tá jablá mantí ... {Alix}
compad, yo tá diré ... {Alix}
me pu qui tu ta dicí ... {Alix}
cam tu méme tu ta coné ... {Alix}
e si agor yo ta santí ... {Alix}
pasque aquí yo ta comprendo ... {Alix}

tú me tá engañá, Chenche ... {Moscoso}
 Y yo tá perdé ... {Moscoso}
 Tú me tá apurá mucho, Fonse ... {Moscoso}
 Quencena pasá yo tá cobrá quence pese ... {Moscoso}
 Piti Mishé tá eperán a mué {Bosch}
 piti Mishé va a tá eperán ... {Bosch}
 no ta sien pallá, tá sien pacá ... {Bosch}
 aquí tá mué, Lui Pie {Bosch}
 gran Bonyé, que tá ayudán a mué ... {Bosch}
 yo tá bien, to nosotros tá bien ... {Bosch}

These are supplemented by instances of ta used as a copula with a predicate nominative, a usage also found in Papiamentu, but issuing in other Afro-Hispanic texts, including Cuban and Puerto Rican bozal examples:

manque yo tá lugarú ... {Alix}
 qui yo tá le gran papá ... {Alix}
 com yo tá bon lugarú ... {Alix}
 como yo tá papá bocó ... {Alix}
 pas yo tá le mime diable ... {Alix}
 yo tá pitú garsón ... {Alix}
 yo tá le cabe primer ... {Alix}
 e agor com yo tá bocó ... {Alix}
 que yo tá negra Daití ... {Alix}

In the latter cases, Haitian would typically use the copula se (e.g. mwe sé lugarú 'I am a sorcerer') or, when dislocation has taken place, the alternative copula ye (se lugarú m'ye). With predicate adjectives, Haitian normally uses no copula, unless dislocation has taken place. However, when the copula se does appear in Haitian with a predicate adjective, its position and function are identical to Spanish estar, reduced to ta in vernacular Dominican Spanish. A Haitian with minimal knowledge of a contact variety of Spanish would most likely hit on ta < estar as a generalized copula, usable anywhere a copula would be called for in Haitian (e.g. with predicate nominatives), as well as in those cases where the Spanish model provides a copula (with predicate adjectives). The examples by Bosch show the extension from an undifferentiated copula ta used with predicate adjectives to a free-standing copula. The occasional use of estar with predicate nominals, and with predicate adjectives which normally require ser, is a common feature of vestigial and transitional varieties of Spanish (cf. Lipski 1985a, 1987b; Silva-Corvalán 1986).

Returning to the apparent use of ta as preverbal particle in the examples cited above, we note that Haitian has a complete set of preverbal TMA particles, including ap (progressive/immediate future), (v)a (future/irrealis), te (past/perfective), as well as several combined forms. Among the latter, te and va combine to yield ta, with conditional force. It is unlikely that ta represents a conditional in any of the preceding examples, so that direct carrover of Haitian ta is ruled out. In fact, in the Haitian equivalent of each sentence, ap would be the appropriate particle. In Spanish, this progressive aspect would be realized by estar, reduced to ta in vernacular speech. It appears, then, that the Haitian speaker has simply adopted the Spanish equivalent of an already established Haitian particle, much as probably happened in other proto-creole situations, where speakers of African languages (e.g. of the Kwa group) possessing preverbal TMA particles adopted available Spanish or Portuguese elements such as ta, ya, luego/logo, etc. The line 'pasque aquí yo ta comprendo' appears to be a closer approximation to a full Spanish progressive construction, as do the Bosch examples ta ayudán and ta eperán.³ However, the Bosch examples suggest another possible source of misinterpretation. Vernacular Haitian employs wholesale vowel nasalization, including vowels which were not nasalized in the original French etyma (cf. Tinelli 1981; Valdman 1968, 1991). The same tendency is carried over to Haitians' rudimentary

attempts at speaking Spanish. Dominicans accustomed to this tendency would tend to ignore it. On the other hand, observers having less familiarity with Haitianized Spanish would more likely note unexpected nasalization.⁴ Juan Bosch evidently knew less about Haitian than the other writers surveyed above, and it is perhaps not insignificant that his texts show the verbal stem as ending in a nasal element: eperán, ayudán, which in turn was presumably derived from the Spanish gerund (cf. Lipski 1992b). This provides further support that verbal constructions based on ta in Haitianized Spanish were based on the model of a progressive construction.

9. Assessing the 'special' status of Samaná Spanish

Despite the cautions just stated, and despite their acknowledgement that Haitian Creole or patois is one of the major languages used in the Samaná Peninsula (together with several varieties of English), González and Benavides (1982) use data from nonstandard Samaná Spanish to raise the issue of the prior creolization of Spanish in this region. The authors adopt the perspective taken by Granda (1978) in several articles, in which the conditions for the likely formation of creoles in Latin America are presented. More specifically, they adopt Granda's (1971) postulate of a former creole in Cuba, based largely on the writings of Lydia Cabrera. Closer scrutiny of Cabrera's texts (e.g. Lipski 1987a, 1993) suggests that in these texts as well, carryovers from an already established creole (most probably Papiamentu) were at work, as well as hybrid Spanish-Yoruba combinations which give the superficial appearance of being Hispanic creole forms. In any event, González and Benavides survey the major grammatical points claimed by Granda (1971) to represent creole survivals in Afro-Cuban texts, and then describe similar phenomena found vestigially in Samaná Spanish. These include the following:

- (1) occasional discrepancies in gender/number concordance, e.g.:

la carne ... uté tenían que dárselo fiao

This feature is found in all second-language and vestigial forms of Spanish, both Africanized (e.g. of Equatorial Guinea--Lipski 1985b) and lacking an African substratum (Lipski 1985a). In true creoles such as Papiamentu and Palenquero, gender marking is entirely absent (except for occasional fossilized forms), and number marking is effected by separate particles, which are employed only when necessary to avoid ambiguity. The Samaná examples, rather than suggesting a former stable creole, fall in line with other examples of the halting Spanish spoken by Haitian and Creole English speakers, which typify the population of Samaná.

- (2) elimination of articles:

tengo cunuquito por ái.

Elimination of articles is found sporadically in all second-language and vestigial forms of Spanish. In the case of Haitianized Spanish, it is worth noting that the Haitian indefinite article yun is not used for simple possession, as in the example cited above. The direct article -(l)a (as well as the plural marker -yo) is a postposition, placed at the end of the entire noun phrase. This does not correspond to any possible Spanish patterns, and as shown by the preceding examples, Haitians frequently err in the use of Spanish articles, but never introduce strictly Haitian articles, either in form or in syntactic position.

- (3) elimination of the preposition de (e.g. por medio [de] el interés, no entendía nada [de] español, etc.). The examples offered by González and Benavides could also be analyzed as involving elision of the /d/ in de, followed by fusion with a neighboring vowel, much as occurs in vernacular Caribbean Spanish. If de is also missing from the underlying representations of the Samaná examples given as evidence, this could also represent a transfer from Haitian, in which the French preposition de has been replaced by simple juxtaposition of elements, except in a few fossilized combinations.

- (4) Elimination of the preposition a as indicator of directionality (empezaron [a] darno, ni diendo [a la] escuela, etc.). As in the cases involving putative loss of de, it is not possible to rule out

simple phonetic erosion and vowel fusion. If a has been eliminated, this could also represent a creoloid structure based on Haitian patterns. Haitian Creole does not employ the equivalent of the Spanish 'personal a' with direct objects. With expressions of directionality, a is used only occasionally in Haitian, while to indicate the recipient of an action, verb serialization involving bay 'give' is the most common option: li mandé yun kat bay papa-l 'he sent a letter to his father.'

(5) Discrepancies of subject-verb agreement. The examples cited by González and Benavides all involve use of the third person singular instead of a first- or second-person form:

yo supongo que [yo] debe tener como 78 a 80 año ...
me siento que yo pué trabajar
cuando yo cumplió lo cincuenta peso de multa ...

As shown above, this frequent use of the third person singular as invariant verb form is not only the most common bozal Spanish strategy, but also characterizes the speech of second-language learners and vestigial Spanish speakers. In the Dominican Republic, it is frequent for Haitians to commit this error in attempting to speak Spanish, since both statistically and in terms of overall morphological complexity the third person singular verb is the least marked and most basic element, most likely to be adopted by Haitians as a representation of the invariant verb forms characteristic of Haitian Creole.

(6) Elimination of the complementizer que:

yo le dije [que] yo podía di pal pueblo ...
pero dise [que] tenía algunas ...

Although bozal Spanish of all regions is characterized by reduction of syntactic complexity, the elimination of complementizers is by no means a pan-creole trait. Indeed, many creoles with a West African substrate use verb serialization (typically involving the verb say), and/or the complementizer from the lexifier language. Haitian rarely uses French que except in the most Gallicized urban sociolects. Most common is the absence of a complementizer, corresponding to the examples recorded in Samaná. Also found at the vernacular level is the use of konsa 'thus' as a de facto complementizer, especially after verbs of reporting.

(7) Categorical use of normally redundant subject pronouns. This is one of the most difficult features to evaluate objectively, since accurate quantitative studies of the use of subject pronouns in vernacular styles of Spanish throughout the world are very scarce. It is normally felt that Caribbean Spanish in general uses a very high percentage of overt subject pronouns, in partial compensation for the reduction of the verbal paradigm occasioned by loss of final /s/ and sometimes /n/ (cf. Hochberg 1986, Poplack 1980). Other observers of Dominican Spanish have noted the generally high rate of subject pronoun usage, whether or not an African/creole basis is postulated (cf. Benavides 1985; Jiménez Sabater 1975: 164-5; 1977, 1978). The same frequent use of overt subject pronouns has been observed for vestigial or semi-speaker Spanish, even in dialects where use of overt subject pronouns is not normally the rule (cf. Lipski 1985a). In all Afro-Romance creoles, including Haitian, obligatory use of overt subject pronouns is the rule. The same is true for all creole and non-creole varieties of English, including the dialects found in the Samaná region. Thus whether Samaná Spanish pronominal usage reflects erosion of verbal endings, contact with English or contact with Haitian, the same results are predicted. It is not necessary to postulate prior creolization of Spanish in order to account for the high frequency of subject pronouns.

(8) Lack of passive and reflexive structures. In general, Afro-Romance creoles do not have a Romance-style passive morphology. True passives of the sort Juan fue bautizado por el sacerdote do not normally occur in creoles, while 'passive reflexive' or unaccusative expressions of the sort el barco se hundió are normally expressed with the same verb form as used to express a transitive action (cf.

Haitian pyebwa-a dechuké 'the tree [was] uprooted'). True reflexive constructions never involve the Romance particle se (except in decreolized constructions). Romance verbs with reflexive form but no reflexive meaning are non-reflexive in creoles, while reflexive actions normally involve an analytical construction based on the word for 'head,' 'body,' etc. (e.g. Haitian li tuyé tèt-li 'he killed himself'). In Samaná, the combined presence of Haitian Creole and U. S. black/West Indian English provides ample motivation for the elimination of passive and reflexive constructions.

González and Benavides (1982: 128) conclude that 'existen evidentes coincidencias de tipo morfosintáctico entre el hipotético "criollo cubano" y el habla de Samaná ... es posible postular que en el habla de Samaná todavía se conservan algunos rasgos criollos en un posible estadio de "descrionización" ...' However, the data offered as evidence fail to demonstrate the existence of an originally Spanish-based creole on the Samaná Peninsula. None of the unmistakably Afro-Iberian creole features (e.g. use of the preverbal particle ta, genderless third person pronouns, use of mí as subject pronoun, verb serialization, predicate clefting, separable plural particles, etc.) are attested for Samaná Spanish. Every non-standard feature considered so far is consistent with the hypothesis that Haitians' attempts at learning Spanish lie at the root of the creoloid elements in Samaná Spanish. Nor is it likely that a Haitianized Spanish ever became nativized in Samaná, thus forming a creole or semi-creole (in the sense of Holm 1988: 9), referring to a language variety which has 'both creole and non-creole features but ... does not necessarily imply that they were ever basilectal creoles, since both creoles and non-creoles ... can become semi-creoles by borrowing features.' A semi-creole has never undergone the radical pidginization + reatavization which characterizes creole formation, but has been significantly restructured with respect to the original superstrate language. Black American English and vernacular Brazilian Portuguese are possible examples of semi-creoles. The examples collected by González and Benavides and also scattered throughout Rodríguez Demorizi (1975) represent the language of individuals whose first language was not Spanish. This fact is not always obvious, since in Samaná most residents refuse to admit speaking Haitian or patois as a first language; indeed, during the Trujillo government, speaking Haitian was grounds for imprisonment, or worse. There is less reluctance to admitting knowledge of English, but researchers from outside the area have not always found residents willing to identify themselves with the English-speaking community (cf. DeBose 1983, Poplack and Sankoff 1987, Tejada Ortiz 1984).

Ferreras (1982) provides several early examples of Spanish spoken in Samaná by native speakers of English, all of which exhibit some of the creoloid features just mentioned; for example:

Mañana se llega aquí el vapor Independencia que se viene buscar eso gente. Coge todo ese vagamundo que se dice se están enfermos y mételos a bordo del vapor ... yo no se quiere en este provincia hombres que no se sirve para ná ... (pp. 344-5)
 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 ... (p. 346)
 Antonces, ¿por qué ustedes se viene decir con su grande boca que ustedes son náufragos? (Ustedes se salvó de chepa! (p. 354)

10. Putative bozal carryovers in contemporary Dominican Spanish

10.1. The absence of well-documented bozal texts for earlier Dominican Spanish stands in contrast to the other Latin American areas where the African population was significant in the early 19th century, and raises the question as to whether any (non-lexical) aspects of contemporary Dominican Spanish can be traced to an earlier substrate of Afro-Hispanic language. The unique status of the Samaná Peninsula has already been dealt with, but a search of the bibliography reveals that other regions of the Dominican Republic with a significant Afro-American ethnic presence have also been occasionally cited as repositories of Afro-Hispanic linguistic remnants.

10.2. Leaving aside the data from Samaná, the only contemporary evidence of what might have been a legitimate bozal Spanish in the Dominican Republic comes in a few isolated words reported for some marginal dialects, whose phonetic deformations are more typical of attested bozal language from other regions than the results of contact with French- or English-based creoles. For example, in a song recorded in the predominantly Afro-American village of Villa Mella, we find the lines (Cartagena Portalatín 1975: 67):

ya lo viste
ere pambué, oye, ere pambué, ombe

It seems that ombe derives from hombre. The reduction of onset clusters is not typical of Spanish-Haitian contacts, but is found in earlier Afro-Hispanic language, as well as in the vestigial Afro-Peruvian speech of Chincha (cf. Gálvez Ronceros 1975). In earlier Afro-Hispanic bozal texts from elsewhere in Latin America, the occasional nego < negro appearing in Afro-Hispanic texts is more likely to be a writers' invention, possibly based on child speech which reinforces the stereotype of bozal language as baby-talk.⁵ However, other aspects of this song fragment suggest a more direct Haitian influence. For example, pambué could well be Haitian pa mwe 'mine, belonging to me.'⁶ Also found in some of the Villa Mella songs is the word musié < Fr. monsieur, common in Haitian. The word ombe recurs in several other songs from Villa Mella, in which neither Haitian nor African elements appear. The expression jombe que va has also been reported for the northwestern region near Santiago (Rodríguez Demorizi 1975: 148).

10.3. Found in Villa Mella and sporadically among other Afro-Dominican communities (e.g. Rodríguez Demorizi 1975: 267) is the pronunciation of intervocalic /d/ as [r] instead of the usual fricative/elided pronunciation (Jiménez Sabater 1975: 72; Megenney 1990; Núñez Cedeño 1982, 1987). The pronunciation of /d/ as [r] has been in existence for at least a century and a half (Granda 1987). It is tempting to attribute this pronunciation to a direct carryover of earlier bozal Spanish, particularly since the pronunciation of intervocalic /d/ as [r] is well documented for Afro-Hispanic language from the 16th century to the 20th (cf. Alvarez Nazario 1974; Chasca 1946; Lipski 1986b, 1986c). However, as demonstrated above, there are no other clear bozal remnants in Villa Mella Spanish, while Haitian elements do emerge in this dialect. The change /d/ > [r] is consistent with Haitians' pronunciation of Spanish, and given the documented presence of Haitian speakers in Villa Mella, the latter most probably contributed to the non-fricative realization of intervocalic /d/. The general area of Villa Mella was also the scene of immigration of speakers of black U. S. English in the 1824 resettlement scheme initiated by the Boyer government in Haiti. Unlike what happened in the isolated Samaná region, American blacks resettled around Santo Domingo and to a lesser extent those arriving in Puerto Plata (cf. Puig Ortiz 1978) were rapidly assimilated to local linguistic and cultural patterns, and rapidly switched from English to Spanish (and also acquired knowledge of Haitian patois in some cases). In Puerto Plata and other areas of the the Cibao, use of English was apparently retained for at least a few generations, aided by the use of English in some local schools (Puig Ortiz 1978: 65-6). Puig Ortiz (1978: 65) observes that 'de haber existido en Puerto Plata el "patois", se diluyó en sus orígenes.' However, the early presence of these English speakers in closely united Afro-American communities such as Villa Mella could well have had a permanent effect on the articulation of /d/. This proposed chronology is consistent with the observations of Granda (1987), rather than with the notion that the shift /d/ > [r] dates from the earliest Afro-Hispanic contacts in Santo Domingo. In any event, the flapped pronunciation of /d/ in Villa Mella is in all likelihood not a direct Afro-Hispanic carryover, but the result of contact with another, possibly creole, language.

10.4. Among the remaining attestations of what might be bozal leftovers in Santo Domingo, we find the following anonymous coplas, supposedly written by Dominican blacks in gratitude to Haitian president Boyer for his abolition of slavery in Spanish Santo Domingo (cf. Deive 1980: 228; Rodríguez Demorizi 1973: 52-3):

su mercé no dice
que no soy fea?
Pué yo me va
y buque otra negra
pa trabajá ...
Levántate negra
a hacé café
levántese uté
que estos no son tiempos
de su mercé ...
Dios se lo pague
a papá Boyé
que nos dio gratis
la libérté ...

The use of the third person singular verb form va in combination with a first person subject is typical of bozal language, but also characterizes Haitianized Spanish. The use of the French/Creole word libérté suggests a Haitian basis for this poem, rather than an Afro-Hispanic bozal remnant. Caamaño (1989: 234) regards this text as an Afro-Hispanic creole leftover, noting that 'el limitado testimonio documental que representa el texto bajo estudio no permite otras observaciones sobre el antiguo afroespañol criollo de Santo Domingo.'

11. Other possible African contributions to Dominican Spanish

11.1. Although the preceding examples practically exhaust the store of putative bozal remnants, other more generalized aspects of Dominican Spanish have occasionally been attributed to African (or occasionally, Haitian⁷) influence, with varying degrees of documentation. For example, in the Cibao region of the northwest, syllable-final liquids are 'vocalized' to a glide [j]: algo [ago] 'something' mujer [muhe] 'woman.' At the vernacular level, the phenomenon is found in nearly the entire northern half of the Dominican Republic (Jiménez Sabater 1975: 90-1). The origin of this phenomenon has yet to be satisfactorily determined. Golibart (1976) believes that vocalization of liquids is of Canary Island origin, although this pronunciation is very rare in contemporary Canary Spanish. However, Megenney (1990a: 80f.) hints at an African origin for the same pronunciation. This opinion was also expressed by Bosch (1978a: 125: '... del predominio en el número de negros y mulatos en la última mitad del siglo XVI y en el siglo XVII, y del hecho de que los niños de familias blancas fueran criados por mujeres esclavas, surgió el lenguaje típico del Cibao ...' For Bosch and Megenney, the bases for vernacular Dominican Spanish, at least in terms of its African component, were laid during the first century of colonization, the only period in which the black slave/free white ratio in Santo Domingo reached the levels found in societies where Afro-European creoles were formed. This matter of determining the 'critical period' for African influence on Dominican Spanish will be returned to below.

Few other areas of Latin America have ever manifested the vocalization of syllable-final liquids. Puerto Rican jíbaro speech of the 19th century apparently had this trait, now absent in all Puerto Rican dialects (Alvarez Nazario 1990: 80f.). Vocalization of liquids was also prevalent among the negros curros of 19th century Cuba, free blacks living in Havana who adopted a distinctive manner of speaking (Bachiller y Morales 1883; Bosch 1978a: 125; Cruz 1974; García González 1980: 119-20; Montori 1916: 108; Ortiz 1986), more related to Andalusian than to Afro-Hispanic patterns. It is noteworthy that in Cuba, this trait was never attributed to African-born bozales, which suggests that

in this nation at least, the change does not have African roots. Very occasionally in Afro-Peruvian language of the southern coast, vocalization of liquids is found (Gálvez Ronceros 1975), but never to the extent found in the Dominican Cibao. In a recent survey, Granda (1991b) proposes that liquid vocalization is due primarily to sociolinguistic marginality, rather than to substrate influences.

11.2. Schwegler (forthcoming) and Megenney (1990: 121-8) focus on the frequent use of double negation (e.g. nosotros no vamo no 'we aren't going') in vernacular Dominican Spanish, including areas of heavy Afro-American presence (cf. also Benavides 1985; Jiménez Sabater 1975: 170). They postulate that an African contribution may be at work here, much as in vernacular Brazilian Portuguese, where it is even possible to find only a single postposed negative (e.g. sei não 'I don't know'), as in Palenquero. Schwegler and Megenney trace this pattern to Bantu languages, particularly Kimbundu and KiKongo, where a combination of an (invariable) preposed negative element and an often variable postverbal negative element are used.⁹ For example from Kikongo: ke ... ko: ke + besumba + ko 'they do not buy.' Kimbundu uses postposed ki, with similar syntactic patterns. The other region where double negation is predominant is the Chocó region of northwestern Colombia, a zone of predominantly Afro-American population (cf. Schwegler forthcoming). In the latter zone, an African basis for double negation is quite plausible, particularly given the proximity of the Palenque de San Basilio and the earlier existence of other escaped slave communities, in which creolized language similar to Palenquero appears to have developed. Slaves who escaped from Cartagena or the mining camps in Antioquia often followed the course of rivers and ended up in the Chocó, and given the strong Bantu influence in Palenquero, it is reasonable to suppose that at least some Afro-Colombians acquired double negation due to a Bantu substrate. The same could be said for Brazil, where the Portuguese-dominated slave trade carried thousands of Africans from the Portuguese zones of Angola and the Congo directly to Brazil. Unlike in other Latin American regions where slaves came from a wide variety of African regions, Brazil received a much heavier concentration of Kimbundu and KiKongo speakers prior to the 19th century (when importation of Yoruba- and Ewe-speaking slaves became the major trend). In the Brazilian case, it is even conceivable that some slaves had acquired a Portuguese-based creole such as Sao Tomense, in which postposed negation is used. However, comparative data on Afro-Hispanic language from elsewhere in Latin America cast doubt on the notion that double or postposed negation was once the norm for a wider cross-section of Afro-Hispanic speech.

11.3. Among the extensive documentation of Afro-Hispanic bozal speech in 19th century Peru, Argentina, and Uruguay, there is not a single attestation of double or postposed negation, despite the fact that the Bantu substrate was particularly strong in the Rio Plata area. In fact, the only other Latin American region where double negation was attested in Afro-Hispanic language is 19th century Cuba, where several bozal texts representing the 19th and early 20th centuries appear to present such patterns:

yo no so pobre, no (Benítez del Cristo 1930)
Yo no so planeta, no (Benítez del Cristo 1930).
No moja no (Cabrera 1976: 25)
No é mío, no (Cabrera 1976: 44)
no señó, yo no soy cuchara, no. (Cabrera 1983: 443)
El amo no quiere matar Eugenio, no. (Malpica la Barca 1890)
Yo no bebe guariente, no. (Fernández 1987: 96).
... yo pensá que mama suyo que lo parí nelle no lo va a cuñusé, no. (Cruz 1974: 231)
alma mio no va a juntar no, con cuerpo de otra gente ... (Laviña 1989: 89 [1797])

The Cuban examples require a different approach, since by the time of the outpouring of 19th century bozal examples, the predominant groups were divided between KiKongo/Bantu speakers and speakers of Kwa languages, particularly Yoruba. The latter group, however, provided most of the linguistic input to Cuban bozal Spanish; Kikongo contributions were confined to certain Afro-Cuban

religious ceremonies. Cabrera (1983) amply documents the linguistic structures produced by Yoruba interference in bozal Spanish, but none of the examples of bozal Spanish as produced by Bantu speakers (e.g. the examples in Cabrera 1979) show other traces of Bantu syntactic influence. The remaining Afro-Cuban texts referred to above do not contain information on the possible ethnic background of the Africans in question.⁸

The Cuban data, when combined with the frequent use of double negation in rural regions of the Dominican Republic, suggest that a Haitian influence may be at least partially responsible. Within the Dominican Republic, double negation is particularly frequent in the Samaná Peninsula, and also in western regions where the Haitian presence is especially prevalent. Haitian is noted for use of a sort of double negation, combining the usual preverbal pa with cliticized phrase-final -non (ending affirmative sentences with cliticized -wi is an even more common strategy). Some of the Cuban tumba francesa songs exemplify this (Olavo 1986: 57):

yo di mué contan	`they say I am happy'
mué pa capa contan no ...	`I can't be happy'
mué pa capa ri no	`I can't laugh'

Given that Spanish no is cognate with Haitian non, while Spanish no occupies the same syntactic position as Haitian pa and is easily acquired by speakers of the latter language, the pathway to the formation of double negation in Haitian-Spanish contact situations is straightforward. In Cuba, the documented presence of Haitian speakers needs no further elaboration. Speakers of Haitian were certainly in the right places at the right time to have influenced the formation of double negatives in Cuban bozal Spanish, although there is no direct evidence of a Haitian contribution. This hypothesis does not invalidate claims of a Bantu influence in Cuban and even Dominican double negation, but it does reduce the necessity of such a postulate, by suggesting another contributing source. In the Dominican Republic, the case for Haitian transfer is easier to establish, while the absence of double negatives in bozal texts from other regions (including from Puerto Rico, where the number of French Creole speakers was minimal) suggests that more than a spontaneous Afro-Hispanic formation is at work.

This noteworthy lack of double negation structures in two Afro-Hispanic speech communities in which speakers of Bantu languages from the Congo/Angola region predominated undermines the notion that simple Bantu influence is at the root of double negation in the Chocó and the Dominican Republic, or that Afro-Hispanic speech throughout Latin America once contained a higher usage of multiple negation. In the Chocó, the typological similarities of vernacular Chocó Spanish and the established creole Palenquero suggest a more than casual transfer of creole features to neighboring areas of Colombia, as slaves escaped from Cartagena, or gradually emigrated from the various palenques to the safety of the Chocó, where capture by Spanish troops was very unlikely.

11.4. Megenney (1990) suggests other possible African contributions to Dominican Spanish, none of which, however, completely resists the alternative explanation of contact with Haitian Creole. One is the preference for voiced stops rather than fricatives, even in intervocalic position, in the pororó dialect of Villa Mella and its environs. The retention of intervocalic [b] is particularly noteworthy. Megenney reports occasional implosive /b/, a common West-African segment which in other areas has evolved to a simple voiced stop [b]. He proposes that conversion of implosive /b/ to [b] occurred in pororó Spanish, beginning in the 17th century when, according to Megenney, the basis for Afro-Dominican Spanish was laid. A similar process appears to have occurred in Palenquero and Gullah, while some isolated Afro-European creoles, such as Ndjuka, still give evidence of implosive stops. In the Dominican case, however, it is not necessary to postulate a return to the distant past, particularly given the absence of other early bozal carryovers. Haitians' pronunciation of Spanish is

characterized by uniformly stop pronunciation of the voiced obstruents /b/, /d/ and /g/, and in view of the other Haitian elements in Villa Mella, a Haitian origin for stop /b/ is very reasonable.

11.5. Megenney (1990: 115) suggests that the form romo < ron `rum' represents a paragogic vowel of the sort which occurred abundantly in earlier Afro-Hispanic language (cf. Lipski, forthcoming). He observed the form only in Villa Mella, but it occurs elsewhere in the Dominican Republic, always in regions where the Haitian presence is heavy. Indeed, observations contained in Marrero Aristy (1939) link the term romo directly to the presence of Haitian Creole speakers. The word romo also appears in the 19th century novel Baní by Francisco Billini (1973: 224); although set in the central Dominican town of Baní, the term is only used by a character from the Haitian border region. Yet another attestation is the story `Cico' by Leoncio Pieter (1945), also set in a region of Haitian presence.

12. Summary and conclusions

12.1. The African ethnic presence in the Dominican Republic is not commensurate with the degree of direct African linguistic influence in Dominican Spanish, nor with a recently disappeared bozal language. Although Spanish Santo Domingo rapidly became a mulatto nation, beginning in the 17th century or even before, early racial mixture did not produce a movement away from Spanish cultural patterns, nor were racial barriers such that Dominicans of African descent were excluded. This compares with French Saint-Domingue of the same time period, where the African slave population soon overwhelmed the European settlers, and where the mulatto population, while playing a pivotal socioeconomic role, never became a predominant sector of the population.¹⁰

The notion that the `critical period' for the transfer of African elements to vernacular Dominican Spanish occurred in the 16th or early 17th centuries cannot be sustained. It is conceivable that lexical elements from this early period are still in existence, but even the most nonstandard varieties of Dominican Spanish do not meet the conditions of isolation and abandonment that would justify the claim that key phonological or morphological features crystallized during the period of concentrated African presence nearly 400 years ago. The only areas of the Dominican Republic where Afro-Hispanic language which differed substantially from monolingual Spanish might have survived is in the manieles or escaped slave communities. All these settlements eventually were reabsorbed into Dominican society.

In the centuries following, native speakers of Spanish from Peninsular Spain, the Canary Islands, and other Caribbean colonies arrived in large numbers, bringing their own speech styles. Even in the poorest and most inaccessible regions of Santo Domingo, the sociolinguistic configuration was not appropriate for an originally bozal (i.e. non-Hispanic) African phonological or morphosyntactic structure to successfully compete with native Spanish models. In order for this to have occurred, either the bozal/slave population would have to enjoy a large numerical superiority over the white population (as eventually occurred in French Saint-Domingue), or the Africanized variants would have to enjoy a special prestige, allowing them to prevail over patterns brought by successive immigration. The latter scenario is clearly inapplicable, while the former possibility is contracted by demographic data from 18th and 19th century Santo Domingo. It is therefore not feasible to assume that any early proto-creole language which might have resulted from Afro-Hispanic linguistic contacts survived to form the contemporary dialects of Samaná, Villa Mella, etc.

12.2. The Dominican Republic has been the scene of much Afro-European contact, and has provided an environment in which various languages, creole and non-creole, have come into extensive contact. Due to the unique history of the island, variously divided, unified, and split by invasions and fortuitous immigrations, Spanish has often been displaced and even replaced among populations of African origin. Superficial similarities with other Afro-Hispanic populations, such as in Cuba, Puerto Rico, Colombia, Venezuela, and Peru, are deceptive, since in the Dominican Republic the most

demonstrable African influence came (1) at the very end of the colonial period and the following postcolonial period, and (2) mediated through other Afro-American linguistic forms. The interpenetration of Spanish and Haitian Creole in Santo Domingo has been so thorough that most Dominicans themselves are unaware of the true extent of Haitian/creole influence on vernacular Dominican Spanish. Nationalistic pride, and its extreme form, Haitiphobia (cf. for example Pérez Cabral 1967: chaps. III-IV), has deflected the attention of Dominican observers away from the reality of Haitian-Dominican linguistic contacts, while the general reluctance to identify with African origins has led many Dominicans to assume that any African presence in the Dominican Republic is confined to enclaves such as Villa Mella or Samaná. Linguists working with Afro-Hispanic creoles, on the other hand, have assumed that highly nonstandard, non-Hispanic morphosyntactic and phonological patterns found in Dominican Spanish in regions of predominantly black population are the last vestiges of an Afro-Hispanic contact language. The preceding remarks have demonstrated that few if any 'anomalous' features of popular Dominican Spanish can be attributed to the original African slave population held in Spanish-speaking Santo Domingo. This conclusion helps to explain the otherwise odd fact that a country with such a high proportion of Afro-Americans should have virtually no documentation of earlier bozal language, in contrast to its other Caribbean neighbors.

12.3. The foregoing conclusions require further study and refinement, and are meant to stimulate discussion rather than to discredit previous Afro-Dominican studies. It has been suggested that the available materials, as sparse and ambiguous as they are, be reevaluated from the standpoint of contact with Haitian Creole and English. The latter two languages are fading from the scene (except in the bateyes, where they are spoken by foreign-born cane cutters), but the creoloid vestiges caused by earlier contacts constitute a once-removed African influence which may be the most lasting African linguistic presence in the Dominican Republic.

Notes

¹ Curiously, Caamaño 1989: 140-1 feels that Alix's poem is irrelevant since it is 'escrito dentro de los moldes dialectales propios del español vulgar dominicano de particular influjo fonético cibaëño' While this is certainly true of the Dominican peasant in the dialogue, the Haitian's use of Spanish is by no stretch of the imagination a vernacular Dominican variety.

² Max Henríquez Ureña 1966: 303) refers to the language as 'un curioso lenguaje fronterizo o menjurge idiomático, mezcla de patois de Haití y de palabras españolas.'

³ In the Lesser Antilles French Creoles, the counterpart to ap is ka, which bears a strong phonetic similarity to ta. It is unclear whether ka was ever used in earlier varieties of Haitian Creole, but if this form was in circulation in Haiti, it could have reinforced the choice of Spanish ta.

⁴ Cf. the analysis of Lipski (1992a) for Spanish speakers' perception of nasality in earlier forms of Afro-Hispanic language. There is another possibility, in that vernacular Dominican Spanish often nasalizes final vowels, particularly when /s/ has been lost. This results in pseudo-transcriptions such as señoren for señores (e.g. Pérez Cabral 1978). There is nothing to directly implicate a Haitian origin to this phenomenon, but Haitians in contact with an already nasalized Cibaëño dialect would surely find it compatible with their own system of nasalized vowels (including many verbs ending in nasal vowels), and further extend this usage in their own Spanish usage.

⁵ Thus, for example, a poster advertising an Afro-Argentina comparsa of the late 1800's shows a stereotyped barefoot black escobero, broom in one hand and hat in the other. The caption is 'voy a pintá la cara a la donseya. (Dice que no me quiere po sé nego! Pues la pinto de nego, y nega es eya' (Matamoro 1976: 68). Reduction of syllable-initial clusters is also found in some isolated vernacular dialects of Brazilian Portuguese in which a heavy African presence can be documented (e.g. Jeroslow 1974: 45f.; Mendonça 1935: 114; Raimundo 1939: 70f.).

⁶ Another, more remote possibility, is that it refers to the African ethnic group Pamué, known in Spanish as Fang, which inhabit modern Equatorial Guinea and Gabon.

⁷ To cite but a single example, Harding 1949: 174) speculated that 'the Haitian invarions in particular wrought havoc with the clean consonants of Hispaniola and led to the dropping of final syllables. The same is true of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Lesser Antilles, where the omission of every final s (in the spoken language only) leads strangers to suppose that Caribbean Spanish has no plural.' There is no need to elaborate on the fallaciousness of these remarks.

⁸ The examples from Laviña (1989) represent a catechism written by the Spanish priest Nicolás Duque de Estrada in 1797, with the purpose of instructing other priests in ways of 'simplifying' their language in order to preach to African slaves. None of the other attempts by Estrada to approximate the pidginized Spanish of Cuban bozales coincides with other attestations of Afro-Cuban language, and it is likely that his use of double negation was simply meant to be emphatic, and did not reflect prevailing usage among the African slaves in Cuba. The appearance of double negation in the other Afro-Cuban texts remains an open topic for discussion.

⁹ Cf. also Schwegler (1991). Although it is generally felt that in Portuguese, double negation (or simple postposed não) is found only in Brazil, it is in fact found in vernacular Portuguese as spoken in the musseques or working class neighborhoods of Luanda, Angola, among native speakers of Kimbundu and occasionally KiKongo. Examples include:

Tem home *não* volta mais *não* ... *não* volta *não* (Soromenho 1978)

Não vamos ainda, *não*? (Vieira 1974)

Não deve tanto, *não* (Ryder 1979)

Não é magia, *não*! (Ribas 1973)

This provides support for a Bantu origin of Brazilian Portuguese double negation. However, comparative data on Afro-Hispanic language from elsewhere in Latin America cast doubt on the notion that double or postposed negation was once the norm for a wider cross-section of Afro-Hispanic speech. Among the extensive documentation of Afro-Hispanic bozal speech in 19th century Peru, Argentina, and Uruguay, there is not a single attestation of double or postposed negation, despite the fact that the Bantu substrate was particularly strong in the Rio Plata area.

¹⁰ Thus for example Hoetink (1972: 301) observes that 'es notable el que en un país con un grupo poblacional negro tan numeroso, el folklore en sentido estricto sea predominantemente español.' This is not entirely true, however, Dominican folklore does reveal elements which probably came from Haiti; in particular, Buquí, the trickster, appears in many Dominican folktales (cf. Andrade 1948: 167-171), accompanied by Lapén. In Haiti, Bouqui is a familiar folk figure, whose companion is Maliz. Andrade (1948: 44-5) attributes the Buquí stories to Haitian influence, and suggests that Lapén may represent Haitian lapin 'rabbit' (cf. also Julián 1981). These stories have evidently been in Santo Domingo for a long time, since Dominicans do not associate the stories with Haiti, nor are the protagonists as clearly animal-figures as in the Haitian counterparts. One Dominican oral narrative contains a figure named Malisia (identified with the Spanish word malicia 'evil'), which may represent an evolution of the Haitian Maliz (Montero 1986: 134). Other Dominican folktales do resemble Afro-American manifestations, for example variants of the tar-baby stories; these may represent authentic Afro-Dominican carryovers, or may have been transferred from Haitian, United States black, or West Indian groups living in the Dominican Republic. In the balance, however, Dominican folklore follows well-established European patterns.

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